

**Heiltsuk Adoption of Euro-American
Material Culture at Old Bella Bella, British Columbia,
1833 – 1899**

**by
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Abstract

The contact-era Heiltsuk settlement of Old Bella Bella, British Columbia, site of both HBC Fort McLoughlin (1833-1843) and a Methodist mission (1880-1890), existed during a time of rapid change resulting from interactions with Euro-American groups. Notable among these changes is a shift from traditional plank houses to European-style single-family frame houses that occurred shortly after missionary arrival. Using data collected during a 1982 excavation, this study compares the artifact assemblages from Fort McLoughlin, one contact-era traditional plank house, and one frame house to analyze changes in the frequencies of various artifact types between the two contact periods. By looking at how European goods were incorporated by the Heiltsuk into their culture over time, this research examines the process of adoption of Euro-American material culture on the Northwest Coast and explores the idea that material culture was actively used by the missionaries as a tool of enculturation.

Keywords: Heiltsuk; Historical Archaeology; Hudson's Bay Company; Material Culture; Methodists; Northwest Coast

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1. Introduction

The contact-era Heiltsuk community of Old Bella Bella existed during a time of rapid change that developed out of interactions between First Nations and Euro-American groups. The settlement, which existed from the early 1830s until the end of the nineteenth century, was the location of both the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort McLoughlin and a Methodist mission. This thesis analyzes the artifact assemblage from excavations at Old Bella Bella in order to examine the role that material culture played in early contact situations between indigenous peoples and Euro-American societies, and to consider how that role changed when overt attempts to change traditional culture through Christian conversion occurred.

The Heiltsuk are a Northwest Coast First Nation whose territory is located along the Central Coast of British Columbia (Figure 1.1). Their settlement at Old Bella Bella, which is located centrally within their territory, began as an encampment that sprang up around Fort McLoughlin, a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trade outpost, shortly after its establishment (Hobler 2000). By placing themselves near the fort, they were afforded convenient proximity to trade with the HBC, and they were able to maintain their longstanding status as middlemen in trade relations in the area (Fisher 1977:30; Hobler 2000). Their community survived the closing of the fort in 1843, and thrived for more than fifty years before relocating to a nearby village site (Maas 1990, Hobler 2000).

Two very different Euro-American groups were present at Old Bella Bella. The first, Hudson's Bay Company fur traders, arrived on the Northwest Coast with the agenda of securing trading partners for the purpose of making a profit. They had little interest in altering indigenous life ways to reflect European values (Drucker 1965:196-197; Duff 1969:9; Fisher 1997; Hobler 2000). The fur traders brought with them a variety of items that were of interest to First Nations groups. Goods commonly traded by the HBC were beads, silver, and copper, all of which were sought-after by native peoples as items for decoration. Other popular items included ceramic dishes, and large serving platters that were purchased for communal dining use. Metal in any form was valued because it could be reshaped into durable tools with traditional analogues. All of these items were European in origin, but incorporated into indigenous cultures in traditional contexts (Drucker 1965; Hobler 1986).

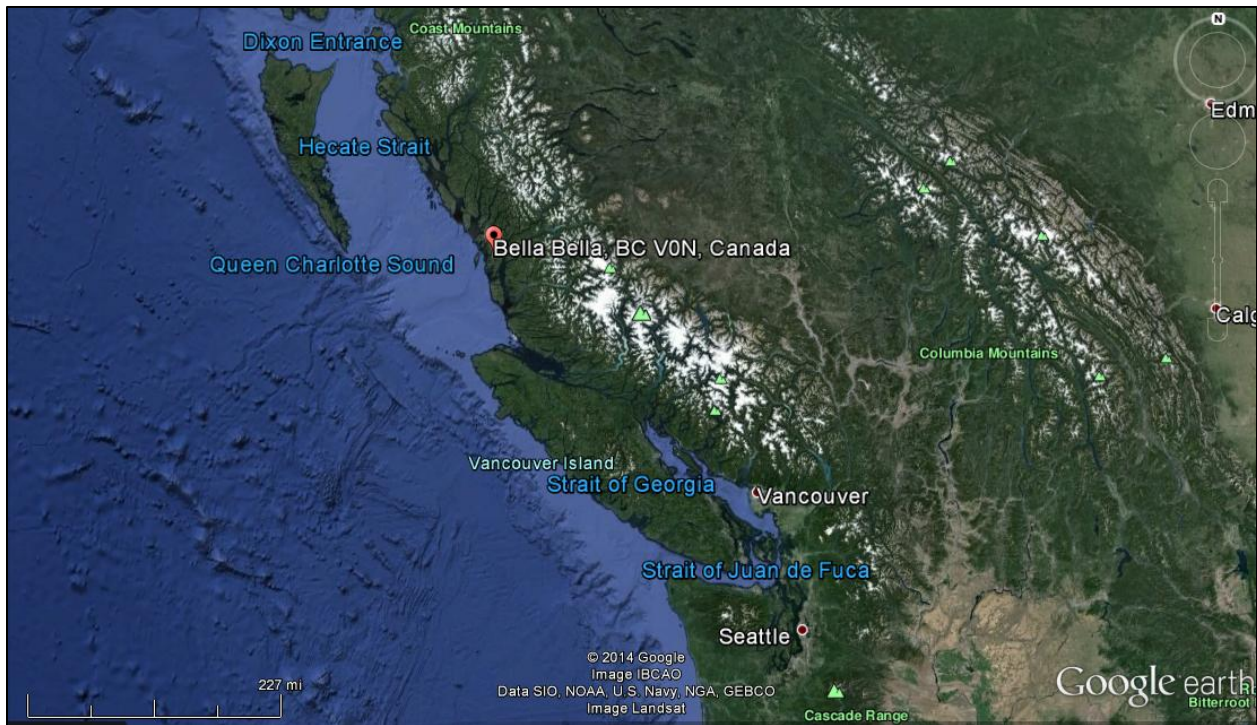


Figure 1.1. Location of Old Bella Bella, British Columbia. (Image Courtesy Google Earth 2013, Geo Eye, DigitalGlobe 2013, Data from SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO.)

The second group of Euro-Americans to settle at Old Bella Bella, Methodist missionaries, arrived on the Northwest Coast somewhat later than the Hudson's Bay Company, and with an entirely different agenda than that of the fur traders. Their goals included the conversion of First Nations groups to Christianity and the replacement of traditional indigenous lifeways with religiously devout Euro-American ones. Part of their strategy to bring the Heiltsuk into the Christian world was to replace traditional goods that reflected First Nations identities with ones that reflected European social norms and values (Fisher 1997; Harkin 1997; Hobler 2000). European material culture served one role in the context of First Nations – Hudson's Bay Company relationships, where its purpose was to facilitate a relationship between the two groups, and a completely different role in First Nations – missionary relationships, where it was used to promote a colonizing agenda.

Lightfoot (1998:202) argues that material culture plays an active role in the formation of social identities, depending on how materials are employed in daily practice. More than just a reflection of broader culture, material culture is an active participant in it and can be used as a

tool to promote culture change (Silliman 2005:68). The variable roles for Euro-American material culture in changing Euro-American/First Nations engagement is the underlying thesis of this work.

To explore these ideas, the artifact assemblage collected during 1982 excavations of the Old Bella Bella site is analyzed. Discussed in detail in Chapter 3, this excavation project was conducted by Philip Hobler in conjunction with the Heiltsuk First Nation. The project focused on three spatially discrete components of the site: a contact-era traditional Heiltsuk plank house built following the establishment of Fort McLoughlin; a Euro-American style Heiltsuk frame house built following missionary arrival; and the Fort McLoughlin Hudson's Bay Company site. Because each of these components correlates with a period of interaction with a different Euro-American group, comparisons can be made between the two households' assemblages to assess material culture change between the periods. The study of material culture can provide insight into First Nations responses to encounters with Euro-Americans (Pertulla 2010). Additionally, the archaeology of households can provide insight into a society's broader culture (Martindale 2006). Archival documents, including Hudson's Bay Company records and missionary journals, ethnographic texts, and Heiltsuk oral traditions assist in the interpretation of the results of these comparisons.

1.1 Hypotheses and Objectives

In order to assess the role that European material culture played in the cultural changes at Old Bella Bella, two hypotheses are developed and tested:

- 1) During the period of initial contact with Euro-Americans, trade goods were integrated by First Nations groups into traditional economic roles. Aspects of Euro-American culture which were easily incorporated, and/or provided some social or economic advantage, such as metals for tools or guns, were the first to be included into First Nations' lives after contact.
- 2) The overt goals and processes of Christian conversion at Old Bella Bella involved Euro-American material culture as part of the enculturation process to suppress traditional Heiltsuk identity and express Christianized views of civilized behaviors. The missionary era assemblage will include a general increase in Euro-American material culture, as it replaces traditional material culture. It will also show changes in areas corresponding

specifically to Methodist values, such as an increase in Euro-American clothing items, since the missionaries were concerned that their congregation was properly dressed, and a decrease in evidence of indulgences like alcohol and tobacco, as their use would have been discouraged by the Methodists.

I test these hypotheses through a study of temporal variation in artifact assemblages between pre- and post- mission era sites. I am particularly concerned with the nature of European goods that the Heiltsuk chose to consume during initial HBC contact, and how these consumption patterns changed during the mission era. Ultimately this allows me to address the larger question of how material culture plays different roles in different social contexts leading toward different consequences.

Carlson (2006) notes that contact era archaeological excavations in British Columbia have, with several exceptions (for example, Hobler 1983; Burley and Hamilton 1991; Burley et al. 1996; Porter 1997), primarily focused on fur trade forts, and not associated Native settlements. Archaeology provides a means of understanding Native responses to Euro-American encounters not available through historical documentation (Wylie 1992). The study of material culture change at Old Bella Bella is useful as a way to learn more about the early contact period on the Northwest Coast in general, and among the Heiltsuk in particular. It adds to the knowledge of how cultures deal with and are changed by the introduction of new objects and ideas, and provides insight into how new items are adopted into a culture.

1.2 Previous Archaeological Research and Data Context

Archaeology work on the Central Coast began with Drucker's survey of the Northwest Coast in 1938 (Drucker 1943). Much of the work that has taken place has dealt with the pre-contact period. Work has taken place at sites including Namu (Hester 1968; Luebbbers 1978; Carlson 1996; Conover 1972; Hester and Nelson 1978; and others), Kwatna Inlet (Carlson 1972; Hobler 1971, 1972); Kimsquit (Hobler 1971), and the northernmost island of the McNaughton group (Pomeroy 1980). Elroy White surveyed fish traps found in Heiltsuk Traditional Territory (White 2006). Excavations of the Hakai area have been conducted through the University of Northern British Columbia. Archaeological research dealing with the herring population in Heiltsuk Traditional Territory and the natural and cultural landscape of the territory from 12,000 BP to present is currently being conducted through the Hakai Network for Coastal

Peoples, Ecosystems, and Management, a research team resulting from the partnership between SFU, the Tula Foundation, and First Nations groups. A comprehensive overview of archaeology conducted in Heiltsuk Traditional Territory up to 1997, which is summarized here, can be found in *The Heiltsuk Traditional Territory Archaeology Overview Assessment: Volume I* (Maxwell et al. 1997).

Three projects dealing with the contact era in Heiltsuk territory took place in the 1980s. These projects include Hobler's excavation of Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin (Hobler et al. 1983), discussed below, Carlson's excavation of a house floor in the Troupe Passage area (Carlson 1984), and Streich's investigation of grave sites in the Bella Bella area (Streich 1983).

My thesis is based on the relatively large-scale excavation project undertaken by Professor Philip Hobler of Simon Fraser University in 1982. Professor Hobler died in 2006 prior to a full publication of his project results. The excavated artifact assemblage and project records were curated and stored at Simon Fraser University, importantly including a full assemblage catalogue.

Hobler (1986) previously wrote a substantive paper on European/First Nations interactions in coastal British Columbia. This paper, "Measures of the Acculturative Response to Trade on the Central Coast of British Columbia," examines the process by which European material culture was incorporated into, and eventually replaced, traditional material culture of Northwest Coast peoples. Although the replacement of traditional material culture with European material culture occurred over a rapid 150-year period, he hypothesized that the processes occur in regular stages. In order to identify these stages, he further suggested that sites of brief occupation that date to the historic era, or sites where the historic component of the occupation can be isolated, should be the focus of study. He ultimately chose assemblages from eight sites, seven on the Central Coast including Old Bella Bella, and one in Haida Gwaii, to test his hypothesis. His analysis and results are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

One of Hobler's students, Alexandra Maas (1990), also examined aspects of the Old Bella Bella data set for her 1990 thesis in Archaeology at Simon Fraser University. Specifically she was concerned with the process of adoption of European goods at Old Bella Bella through an examination of ceramic materials collected during the 1982 project. Maas compared the pre-mission era ceramics to the mission era ceramics and in doing so was able to look at material

culture change at Old Bella Bella at an even finer scale than Hobler's 1986 study. Similarly, my research attempts to identify changes between the pre-mission and mission periods at Old Bella Bella by analyzing the changes across multiple artifact categories.

1.3 Summary

It is hypothesized that the material culture record from an early fur trade contact era context should contain primarily traditional goods as well as certain types of European goods that were incorporated into a traditional lifestyle. Alternatively, with missionary efforts to convert Heiltsuk peoples to Christianity and subvert traditional ethnic identity, I hypothesize a general increase in European goods in the material culture, but in ways that correspond with imposed European values and norms. This hypothetically includes the replacement of traditional clothing with European-style dress, the replacement of communal dining items with individualized place settings, and similar types of transitional change in other areas. As will be discussed in the following two chapters, the archaeological record at Old Bella Bella provides an excellent opportunity to test this thesis.

2. Historical Background

2.1 Introduction

The Heiltsuk settlement of Old Bella Bella is located along the Central Coast's Llama Passage on Campbell Island approximately 525 km north of Vancouver, British Columbia, as shown in Figure 1.1. Within an archaeological/anthropological context, the Central Coast is defined by Hobler (1982:1) as beginning at "the north end of Vancouver Island and associated mainland coast. It extends northward some 400 km across the Queen Charlotte Sound to a point south of Douglas Channel."

Old Bella Bella was inhabited from 1833 to 1899. During its sixty-six year occupation, its residents saw a number of drastic changes relative to the nature of Indigenous/European contact, transitional change in traditional Heiltsuk society, the introduction of Christianity as well as many other social and economic transformations. The settlement's history, detailed below, makes it ideally suited to study issues of First Nations interaction with European groups and consequential impacts.

2.2 The Heiltsuk

The Heiltsuk are a Pacific Northwest First Nation whose traditional lands are located along the Central Coast of British Columbia. The Heiltsuk language, like the languages of their neighbours the Haisla, Oweekeno, and Kwakwaka'wakw peoples, belongs to the Northern Wakashan Language Family (Black 1997). The Heiltsuk are both geographically and culturally central to this region. Harkin (1997:1) calls them "the dynamic centre of diffusion of masks, dances, myths, and other elements of culture". Boas points to the Heiltsuk as the originators of the *hámáca*, or Cannibal Dance (Boas 1966:402), and the idea of the Winter Ceremonial diffused outward from Heiltsuk territory (Harkin 1996a:289)

Heiltsuk territory is located within a part of the Central Coast known as the Great Bear Rain Forest. With the exception of alpine areas, the region is part of the Coast Forest Biotic zone, characterized by high precipitation, mild winters, and moderate summers (Hilton 1990). A 1997 archaeological overview of Heiltsuk Traditional Territory divided the varied landscape into three physiographic zones (Figure 2.1): an inner channel and fjord zone including "the east of

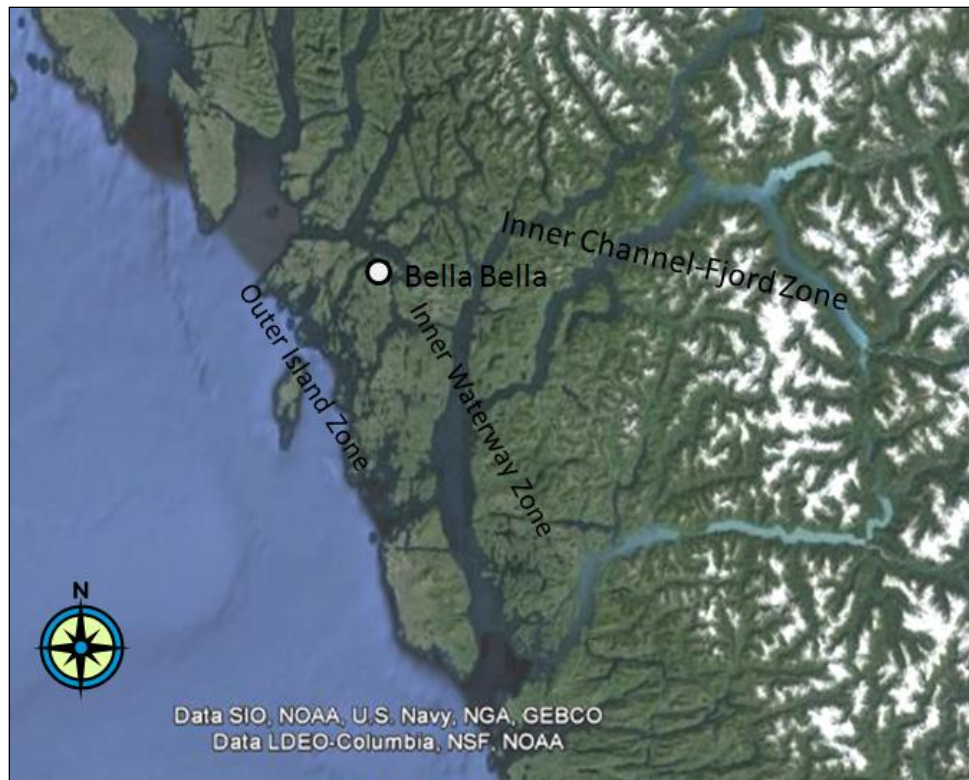


Figure 2.1. Heiltsuk territory physiographic zones. After Maxwell et al. 1997. (Image courtesy Google Earth 2013, GeoEye, DigitalGlobe 2013, data from SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, LDEO-Columbia, NSF.)

Fitzhugh Sound from a point north of Fish Egg Inlet up to the midpoint on the east side of Denny Island, and then the area east and north of a line running roughly northwest from that point;” an inner waterway zone consisting of the area “centred around the ‘Inside Passage,’ roughly from the moderately high relief areas (included in the Inner Channels and Fjords zone) making up the eastern edge of Hester’s (1968) and Pomeroy’s (1980) ‘protected waterway’ and ‘central zones;” and an outer coast zone made up of “the outer coast and island archipelagos, exposed to the Pacific, from Calvert to Price Island” (Maxwell et al. 1997:8). A rich and detailed description of the landscape of Heiltsuk Traditional Territory can be found in White (2006).

Ethnographers have reported various numbers of Heiltsuk sub-tribes located throughout their territory. As the result of European introduced disease like smallpox, several of these no longer exist (White 2006). Olson (1955) discussed eight different sub-tribes, while Boas named ten (Hilton 1990). The Hudson’s Bay Company physician William F. Tolmie recorded six sub-tribes in his journals (1963). Pomeroy (1980) studied the various reports and found a total of

eight sub-tribes. Today, the Heiltsuk recognize five sub-tribal groups: the Yisdaitxv, the Wuylatix, the 'Qvuquva'aixtv, the Wuithitx, and the Xaixais (Maxwell et al. 1997) (Figure 2.2).

Heiltsuk subsistence was organized around a seasonal round with well-defined movement in their traditional territories. Family groups would leave their winter villages in March and move from resource site to resource site to gather the food, bark, and other goods that would sustain them before returning to the winter village in October or November (Hilton 1990). Pomeroy provides a month-by-month breakdown of this seasonal round (1980: 46-48). During the winter months, the Heiltsuk made and repaired equipment, created artworks, stored surplus food, and participated in potlatches (Pomeroy 1980, White 2006). The seasonal round continued through the nineteenth century, but began to change following the establishment of Fort McLoughlin in 1833, when subsistence needs were able to be met in part through trade (Pomeroy 1980).

The first recorded interactions between the Heiltsuk and Europeans occurred in 1788, when Captain James Colnett and his crew passed through Milbanke Sound and spent several days trading with the Heiltsuk before continuing further south (Galois 2004:17). Colnett may have also encountered the Heiltsuk in his travels the previous year. In 1787, Colnett was nearby, trading with the Tsimshian and exploring the surrounding territory. It is possible that he reached Laredo Sound, at the northern edge of Heiltsuk territory (Galois 2004:14). Don Jacinto Caamano later reached northern Heiltsuk territory in 1792 (Wagner and Newcombe 1938).

In 1793, the Heiltsuk were visited both by Captain George Vancouver (Vancouver 1801) and Alexander Mackenzie (Mackenzie 1931). Vancouver described the people that he met during his time in Heiltsuk territory as friendly but cautious (1801:16, 19). In one instance, his men encountered a house guarded by four men, each armed with dagger-like iron weapons, who did not permit the European visitors to enter the dwelling (1801:26). In another, a village would not allow him to land his ships near the village (1801:22-23). At other times, Vancouver and his party were welcomed into villages and plank houses (1801:15).

Vancouver found many willing trading partners among the Heiltsuk. On a number of occasions he reports the trading of copper, iron, and items he referred to as “trinkets” for otter furs (1801:15-16, 19, 29), and notes that the Heiltsuk were “keen trading partners” (1801:16).

Following Vancouver and Mackenzie's visits, Heiltsuk territory became a frequent stop for maritime fur traders (Hilton 1990).

2.3 The Early Fur Trade Period (1785-1843)

2.3.1 The Maritime Fur Trade

The maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast began in 1785 following the 1784 publication of Captain James Cook's journals, which described the abundance of sea otter in the region and the prices that their pelts could fetch in Canton, China (Burley and Hobler 1997). By 1792 there were 21 American and British ships actively trading on the Northwest Coast (Fisher 1977); by 1820 it is estimated that 650 ships had travelled to the region (Burley and Hobler 1997).



Figure 2.2. Heiltsuk traditional territory. After Black 1997 and Maxwell et al. 1997. (Image Courtesy Google Earth 2013, GeoEye, DigitalGlobe 2013, Data from SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, LDEO-Columbia, NSF.)

The fur traders found their coastal trading partners, who were already accustomed to trading with interior Native groups, to be skilled negotiators (Burley and Hobler 1997). When Captain Cook and his crew arrived in Nootka Sound, they quickly learned the extent of these negotiation skills. Payment was demanded for any item the crew desired, including wood, water, and use of land (McMillan 1999:179). Northwest Coast Natives were also already familiar with Euro-American goods. Captain Cook reported the presence of iron-tipped knives and chisels during his Nootka Sound visit. These early fur traders also were met by indigenous peoples eager to acquire more iron (Drucker 1965). In 1793, both Alexander Mackenzie and George Vancouver reported that Euro-American trade items, specifically clothing and metal items, were present on the Central Coast (Hobler 1986). After the maritime fur trade began, Northwest Coast natives quickly gained advantage in their economic transactions, setting increasingly higher prices for their furs. The traders worked hard to discover and supply goods that would appeal to the natives, who were able to pick and choose which items of Euro-American manufacture they acquired (Drucker 1963). The Maritime Fur Trade era ended in the 1820s due to overhunting of sea otters. This led to a switch in focus to fur seal and beaver pelts, the latter often acquired through trade with inland partners (Burley and Hobler 1997).

Trade on the Northwest Coast during the maritime period had been unique in that it required no land-based presence (Burley and Hobler 1997). This changed when the Hudson's Bay Company made the decision to establish a number of forts along the coast to secure their trading interests. HBC Chief Factor for the Columbia District, John McLoughlin, for whom Fort McLoughlin was named, felt that trading posts were more effective than ships in the long run (McLoughlin and Rich 1941). Among these new forts was Fort McLoughlin, established in 1833.

2.3.2 Fort McLoughlin and Early Old Bella Bella

The origins of Old Bella Bella are tied to the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment of Fort McLoughlin. The Heiltsuk were already familiar with the Hudson's Bay Company as a result of the maritime fur trade and they possessed an abundance of Euro-American items by the time Fort McLoughlin was established. The new fort provided steady access to additional goods and quickly became central to Heiltsuk economy. According to Drucker (1951:184) the practice of wintering near trade posts and ports became common as trade grew in importance. In order to conduct trade with this new outpost easily, and to maintain their status as middlemen in business between interior peoples and fur traders, the Heiltsuk set up an encampment outside

Fort McLoughlin's walls. Due to the convenience afforded by proximity to the trade post, the camp grew into a permanent settlement (Hobler 2000). Hudson's Bay Company journals mention permanent Heiltsuk dwellings by 1835 (Tolmie 1963).

The creation of a permanent trading establishment was significant because traders who wanted to continue to do business with the same people over a long period needed a different strategy than those who planned to only visit an area once and then sail off (Drucker 1965). The fort depended upon the Heiltsuks' continued business for its economic survival, creating an economically favourable situation for the Native traders (Harkin 1997). The focus on longevity was reflected in the kinds of trade items with which Fort McLoughlin was stocked. Rather than catering to fads or easily acquired inventory that were likely to quickly change as the maritime traders had done, the HBC now focused on items likely to have local and lasting demand, such as Hudson's Bay Company blankets and other types of textiles (Drucker 1965).

In 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company decided that Fort McLoughlin had over-served its purpose in securing the area for trade. With returns on the decline, it was decided to close out the fort operations. Continuing trade along this part of the coast could be as easily accomplished with economic advantage by the employment of trading ships. The residents of Fort McLoughlin, who recalled previous resistance to fort closures by other First Nations groups, were concerned about how the Heiltsuk would respond to this move by the Hudson's Bay Company (Hobler 2000). Available records provide little information about what their response might have been; the fort was abandoned during the fishing season, when most residents were away from the settlement. This, apparently, avoided a confrontation of any consequence (Hobler 2000).

2.3.3 Old Bella Bella after Fort McLoughlin (1843-1880)

Following the fort's closure, the residents of Old Bella Bella continued to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company through periodic visits from trade ships. The records from these ships provide what little historic documentation there is about this era in Euro-American/Heiltsuk engagement, which lasted from 1843, when Fort McLoughlin was abandoned, to 1866, when a new trade post opened in Old Bella Bella (Hobler 2000).

It appears from photographs taken in the early 1870s depicting newer looking buildings that Old Bella Bella continued to grow during the 1843-1866 period, slowly at first, and then

more rapidly (Hobler 2000) (Figure 2.3). It has been hypothesized that the increasing population of Old Bella Bella was likely the result of the 1862-1863 smallpox epidemic, after which Old Bella Bella became a site of Heiltsuk nucleation (Hobler 1986).

Morris Moss, an independent fur trader, re-established a trade post on the Fort McLoughlin site in 1866. He maintained the store for about four years, until the Hudson's Bay Company realized that there was profit to be made in the area and reclaimed the property for its own use. The HBC re-established its trade post as an outpost of its larger Bella Coola store, where Moss' had previously been located. This new Hudson's Bay Company post continued to run until 1908, several years after the Heiltsuk relocated to the new Bella Bella town site (Maas 1990). One outcome of these events was that the residents of Old Bella Bella had consistent and easy access to Euro-American goods from 1866 onward. This ever-increasing involvement with the HBC led to a significant economic change for the Heiltsuk when, in 1877, they transitioned to a cash economy after the Hudson's Bay Company declared it would only accept fur or cash for trade (Maas 1990: 13). This need for cash resulted in many Heiltsuk finding employment at fish canneries.

Photographic documentation of Old Bella Bella began during the 1870s with consistent photographic information and written documentation for the site thereafter (Hobler 2000). Examination of these photographs indicates that the Heiltsuk were adding Euro-American-style features such as door frames and windows to their traditional plank houses as well as permanent siding (Figure 2.3). Hobler (1986, 2000) hypothesized that this indicated that the community was beginning to abandon their practice of the seasonal round and becoming increasingly sedentary.

2.4 Old Bella Bella and the Methodist Mission (1880-1900)

Methodist missionaries arrived at Old Bella Bella in 1880 at the invitation of the Heiltsuk chiefs, who had voted to allow a mission to be built in their settlement (Harkin 1993). There are several reasons for the relative willingness of the Heiltsuk to adopt the way of life advocated by the missionaries. One is that Heiltsuk society was in a state of change due to the drastic reduction of their population from smallpox and other epidemics (Hobler 2000). Another is that the missionaries were able to draw parallels between Heiltsuk and Christian practices and beliefs; for instance they related the tradition of gift giving at Christmas to the potlatch (Bolt



Figure 2.3. 1870 Photograph of Old Bella Bella, by Stephen Allen Spencer. Several of the plank houses have permanent siding. Euro-American style frame buildings are also visible. (Image A-06882 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives.)

1983; Harkin 1993). A third is that they saw potential advantages in allying themselves with the missionaries. At the time of missionary arrival, several chiefs were engaged in a struggle for political power. Economic warfare broke out as these chiefs attempted to outdo each other by bestowing the largest donation upon the mission in an attempt to increase their prestige and

gain missionary favour (Harkin 1993). The reverend Thomas Crosby, appointed by the Methodists as missionary to all the Native peoples of British Columbia in 1871, described the welcome he received and the presentation of donations to the new Church in a letter to the *Missionary Outlook*, writing:

We arrived at Bella-Bella Wednesday 22nd, at 9 a.m. after all was landed, we were staying in the house of the head chief, Umsit, who had moved here with all his tribe since my last visit. Here we had a meeting of all the people, and at night met again, and laid before them the subscription which was started two months ago when I was there. So the chief, who had, according to his promise, come here to live, led the way, and many of the people followed with blankets, money, &c., till the subscriptions in all ran up to about \$320; and with Mr. Tate and Wm. Henry Peers at the singing, we sang "Sweet By-and-by," "Over there," &c., in that large heathen house, 55 x 50, with plank roof, where the heathen dance had often been performed. We had a blessed time, and those poor people rejoiced that so soon a missionary had come to their help (Heiltsuk Cultural Education Center [HCEC], The Missionary Outlook, Misc. Missionary Journals 1881-1938 file, 1880).

The advantages that the Heiltsuk saw in allying with the missionaries were not limited to matters of personal gain. In August of 1882, the Indian Reserve Commission allotted twelve reserves for the people of Old Bella Bella and another six for those Heiltsuk still living in other settlements. In 1884, a law prohibiting the potlatch was passed, and in 1888 the first of a series of restrictive fishing regulations was enacted. The Heiltsuk may have hoped that the missionaries could help them deal with the Canadian government (Black 1997).

Because the chiefs accepted the missionaries, other members of the community followed suit. People moved from other areas to Old Bella Bella to be near this new source of power, and due to the speed with which the population converted to Methodism the town came to be held up as a model of missionary success (Harkin 1993; Black 1997). Reverend C.M. Tate, the first missionary to Old Bella Bella, said of the settlement that it had been his "privilege to witness some of the grandest transformation scenes that have ever taken place on this coast" (United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference Archives [UCCBCCA], Missionary Bulletin, microfilm, Bella Bella United Church fonds, box 23, file 1, 1904:181) and Reverend J.A. Jackson, missionary to Old Bella Bella in 1897 said of the town and its residents:

Their religious life is excellent considering their opportunities. When you measure them by the standard of what they were in their heathen state, and what they are

under the influence of Christianity, remembering that all of this has been brought about through a taught and not a read Bible, we are compelled to say – this work must be of God (Jackson 1898:12).

Of the changes in Heiltsuk tradition brought about by missionization, one of the most visible was the switch from traditional plank houses to Euro-American style frame houses. The Methodists insisted that the Heiltsuk needed to live in single-family dwellings, and as members of the Heiltsuk converted, they complied with this demand. In 1880, the trading post requisitions noted a dramatic increase in the sale of household items and building materials (Maas 1990). In 1881, a Heiltsuk chief made a request to the governor that a saw mill be built for the town to aid in the building of new houses, and from that time on the photographic record shows a growing number of Euro-American style homes (Maas 1990). The missionaries seem to have been pleased by the pace of the construction of new houses. Thomas Crosby reported in his 1882-1883 entry for Old Bella Bella in the Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada that “several new houses have been built, and the village ere long will put on quite a respectable appearance” (United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference Archives [UCCBCCA], Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada [ARMSMCC], microfilm, Bella Bella United Church fonds, box 23, file 1, 1880-1906). These frame houses were built away from the traditional houses, on the opposite side of the fort stockade and near the newly built mission (Figure 2.4). This created spatially separate archaeological assemblages that can be used to compare pre-mission and mission-era households.

By the 1890s, the residents of Old Bella Bella were running out of land on which to build. They attempted to buy Fort McLoughlin land from the owner, a former HBC employee named John Clayton, but were turned down. As a result, the Heiltsuk decided to relocate their settlement to a site approximately three kilometres away, which became the present day site of Waglisla, also known as Bella Bella. The move from Old Bella Bella was accomplished quickly and nearly everyone had moved to the present-day Bella Bella between 1899 and 1900 (Hobler 2000). This action surprised and dismayed Clayton, who now had a store without a town, and



Figure 2.4. 1887 Photograph of Old Bella Bella, by Richard Maynard. Euro-American style frame houses are visible on the hillside on the right half of the photograph. The Methodist church can be seen in the center of the photograph. (Image A-03977 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives.)

the missionaries, who had expended a good deal of effort to build their mission at a site that was now abandoned by their congregation (Hobler 2000).

In Waglisla, the residents built large Euro-American style homes, a new Church, a school, and a hospital (Figure 2.5). The town featured a wide boardwalk and street lamps. By 1907 it was the second-largest Methodist settlement on the coast with a population of 318. The community was touted by both the government of Canada and the Methodist church as a model of native assimilation (Black 1997).

2.5 Summary

For the Hudson's Bay Company, Euro-American goods were a way to entice the people of the Northwest Coast to engage in trade. Their policy was to interfere as little as possible with native culture (Drucker 1965), and their interest in groups like the Heiltsuk was purely economic.



Figure 2.5. The hospital (left) and residences at Waglisla. (Image B-010135 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives.)

As a result, the Heiltsuk and other Northwest Coast peoples had a great deal of choice in what items of Euro-American material culture they consumed. They chose items that fit well into already established contexts and gradually branched out to consume other types of goods as it suited them. Still, their increasing reliance on Hudson's Bay Company traders for supplies resulted in several major cultural changes, including increasing sedentism and a transition to a new economic system. The economic changes brought about by this reliance upon the HBC were apparent to the missionaries, who complained in a February 8th, 1890 entry in the Bella Bella mission journal that

One of the most serious hindrances to our work here has been the arrival of the boats on Sunday, which taken in connection with the 'Indian Company store' has done much to keep down the Spiritual Life of the people. The store has been a snare to the people in other ways. During the short time they were home they borrowed what they wanted until everything was gone and as a consequence have been compelled to go away in search of work much earlier than usual thus depriving themselves of the means of grace as well as their children of school. It has also helped to make the missionary subscription much lower than it should be (UCCBCCA 1870-1890).

With the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, there came a new set of rules regarding the consumption of Euro-American material culture. For the missionaries, conversion to Christianity meant a renunciation of traditional ways, which included renouncing of customs and goods, including Euro-American goods being used in traditional contexts. The Heiltsuk now had outside forces attempting to dictate to them how to behave, and by extension, dictating to them which kinds of goods to consume and how to use them. The Protestant missionary William Duncan, in order to eradicate traditional customs among the Tsimshian, expected his converts at Metlakatla to live in Victorian dwellings appointed with Victorian goods (Fisher 1977). Thomas Crosby, who worked throughout British Columbia, modelled his methods at Port Simpson after Duncan's Metlakatla dictates (Fisher 1977). Euro-American material culture became a tool that missionaries used to impose their social norms and values. Heiltsuk oral tradition even states that the Victorian style frame houses were designed to have especially large windows, the purpose of which was to allow missionaries to look inside in order to ensure that no prohibited behaviours were practiced (Harkin 1996b).

As a result of the Christian Mission, many outsiders came to perceive the residents of Old Bella Bella as "Europeanized." Today, researchers recognize there are many ways in which Heiltsuk culture adapted and persisted despite outside pressure to discard traditional values (for example, Maas 1990; Hobler 2000; Harkin 1993, 1996b; Black 1997). Early anthropologists working in the region, nevertheless, considered Heiltsuk culture to be inauthentic and uninteresting for study (Black 1997). Despite this, several ethnographers recorded aspects of Heiltsuk culture. Drucker (1963), Olson (1955), and Boas (1928) all visited Old Bella Bella in the course of their research on the Northwest Coast. All remarked upon the changes that the missionaries had wrought upon traditional culture. Olson, for instance, said that

[t]he time when a complete picture of Bella Bella culture could be reconstructed has long since passed. Since about 1880, when they moved to the present location, the Bella Bella have been under constant pressure from the missionaries and members of the hospital staff to give up their old culture. The success of these well-meaning and devoted persons has been all too great, from the ethnographer's point of view (Olson 1955:319).

Boas recorded a number of Heiltsuk stories, but did not stay to research other aspects of the society because he wanted to study a more traditional settlement (Pomeroy 1980, Black 1997), saying that "the whole culture of the Bella Bella has practically disappeared" (Boas

1928:ix:). In more recent times, Michael Harkin (1993, 1996b,1997) has conducted work on the missionary period at Old Bella Bella. His work has discussed ways in which the Heiltsuk maintained their identity and adapted Methodism to suit their own needs, and Martha Black has shown how Heiltsuk traditional culture was kept alive through artwork that often blended Euro-American and traditional influences (Black 1997). While the missionaries at Old Bella Bella may not have succeeded entirely in eradicating traditional ways, they were successful in replacing the traditional material culture to such an extent that, as Olson's quote illustrates, outside observers were unable to recognize the settlement, now moved to Waglisla, as anything other than a Methodist town.

3. Archaeological Background

3.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the changes that occurred in Heiltsuk material culture at Old Bella Bella from the time of Fort McLoughlin's construction through the establishment of the Methodist mission. To do this, artifacts from three areas of Old Bella Bella are compared, including Fort McLoughlin, a traditional-style Heiltsuk plank house, and a Euro-American style frame house. SFU Professor Philip Hobler recovered these artifacts from a 1982 excavation project. This chapter discusses in detail the 1982 Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin excavations and subsequent work with the collection. It draws largely from an unpublished report prepared by Hobler and others (Hobler et al. 1983) for the BC Heritage Conservation Branch. It also discusses a more recent analysis of the ceramic assemblage by Maas (1990).

3.2 The Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin Excavation

In 1982 a Simon Fraser University (SFU) field school, in partnership with the Heiltsuk First Nation, conducted an archaeological excavation at the site of Old Bella Bella and Fort McLoughlin (FaTa 4) on the central coast of British Columbia. The archaeological investigation was undertaken by Hobler, as is noted above, with Heiltsuk involvement coordinated with the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre (HCEC). Excavators consisted of twenty-eight SFU students and Heiltsuk community members. To increase understanding of the site, the HCEC provided access to their archival documents and photographs related to the site, and Heiltsuk Band elders provided first-hand recollections and historical traditions of Old Bella Bella (Hobler et al. 1983).

Project objectives, as defined by Hobler (Hobler et al. 1983), first included an assessment of the site for evidence of prehistoric occupation. Second, he identified four types of structures associated with the historic occupation of the site by Heiltsuk peoples. These included traditional-style Heiltsuk plank houses, Euro-American style Heiltsuk frame houses, mission-built structures such as the mission house, school, and church, as well as the palisades and structures associated with the trade site of Fort McLoughlin. Time constraints did not allow him an opportunity to excavate a mission-related structure but each of the other site components was successfully sampled (Hobler et al. 1983). The locations of Fort McLoughlin, the plank house and the frame house chosen for study are shown in Figure 3.1.

A total of 49 excavation units encompassing 48.516 m² were excavated across the three site components. These units varied in size from 1x1 m and 2x2 m units within the two house excavations to several exploratory trenches up to 13.5 m in length at the fort location. Unit dimensions were determined according to the nature of the archaeological remains. Units were excavated by trowelling and shovel-skimming in either natural or 10 cm arbitrary levels. Both wet and dry screening using 6.24 and 3.2 mm sieves were employed during the project.

Based on a tally from Hobler's database and catalogue, 11,909 artifacts were recovered. These include 5,044 from the traditional-style plank house, 4,255 from the frame house, and 2,485 from the Fort McLoughlin site. For the purposes of the database, an additional provenience designation (Unit 99) was assigned to 125 artifacts found outside the boundaries of the three excavation areas. The artifact numbers reported above differ from artifact frequencies reported in a later analysis by Maas (1990). Why this is so is unknown. Artifacts were classified into thirty descriptive categories created by Hobler, incorporating both traditional Heiltsuk and Euro-American goods (Table 3.1).

3.2.1 Fort McLoughlin

The specific objectives of the Fort McLoughlin excavation as outlined by Hobler (Hobler et al. 1983) included defining the fort's original 1833 boundaries, assessing the potential of remains to provide information about the HBC's coastal fort construction techniques and layout, and determining the amount of artifactual and faunal data that remained and could be used to reconstruct fort activities and subsistence patterns.

Prior to excavation, surface survey of the Fort McLoughlin site was undertaken to locate above ground features and to determine where excavation units would be placed. Because the objective of archaeological survey on the Fort McLoughlin site was to learn about the period of HBC occupation, activities focused on areas where Hudson's Bay Company structures and features could be identified in historical/photographic documentation. Historical photographs were especially important in the identification of areas likely to have those deposits. The southwest corner of Fort McLoughlin was not extensively surveyed after it became clear that it

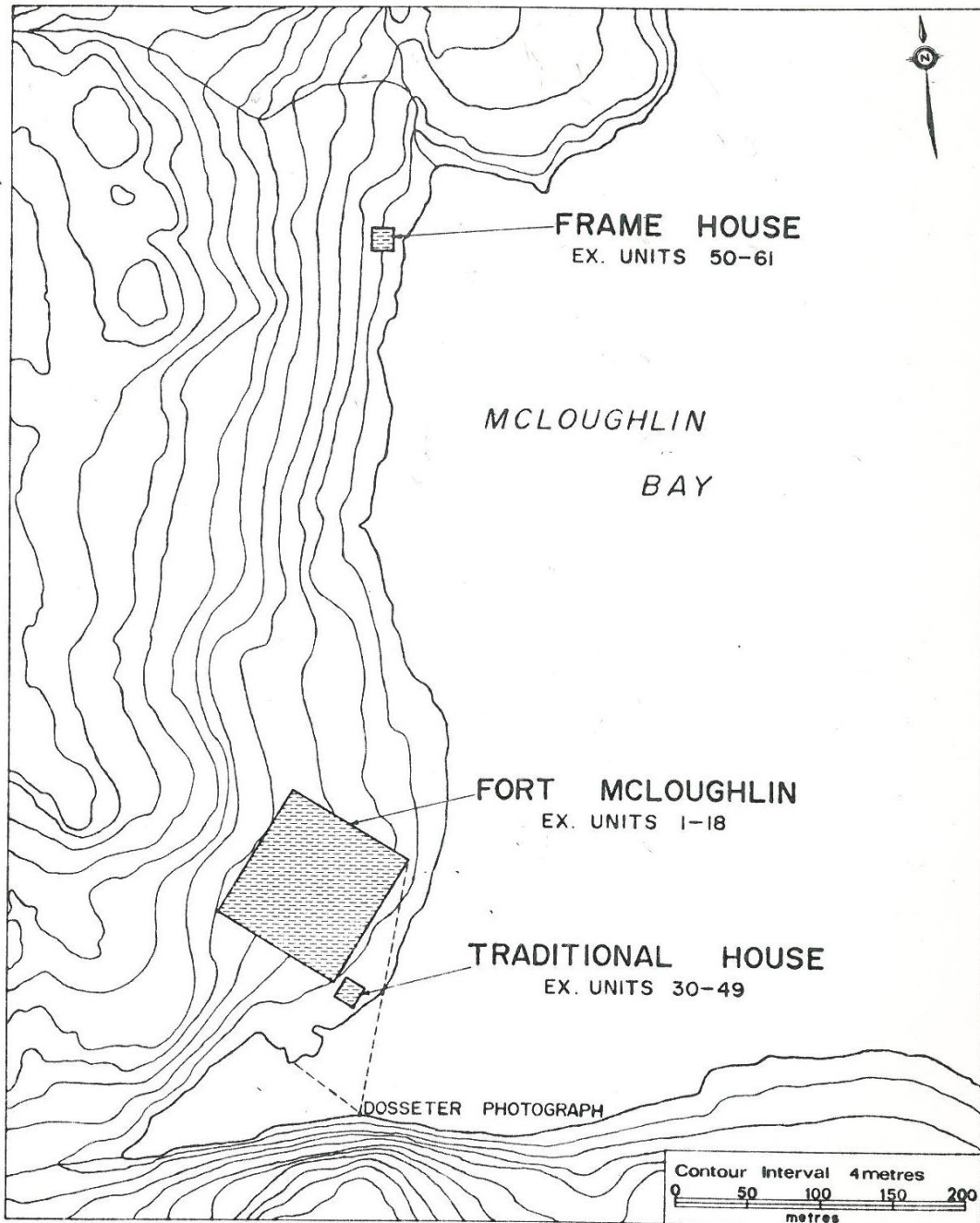


Figure 3.1. FaTa 4 excavation areas. The area shown in the Dossetter photograph (Figure 3.3) is marked. From Hobler et al. 1983.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Fort N</i>	<i>Plank N</i>	<i>Frame N</i>
Abraders	2	0	0
Ammunition	25	80	17
Beads	7	456	3
Bone Awls	2	0	0
Bottles	109	221	173
Buttons	3	4	12
Coins	0	14	0
Construction Mat.	829	1349	923
Containers	1	45	29
Cores	0	1	0
Earthenware	125	38	208
Glass Fragments	188	147	861
Gunparts-Flints	4	16	1
Hammerstone	5	0	0
H.stone - Grinder	0	1	0
Hardware	8	17	14
Microblade	12	0	0
Msc	34	76	50
Msc Metal	908	2311	1839
Ornaments	7	43	1
Pigments	0	0	1
Pipe Fragments	33	52	2
Plant Fiber	0	1	0
ProjectilePoints	0	1	0
Retouched Tools	2	0	0
Shoes	57	2	6
Stoneware	42	27	64
Unidentified Objects	1	0	3
Unmodified Flakes	3	10	1
Window Glass	78	132	47
Totals	2485	5044	4255

Table 3.1. Hobler's artifact categories and artifact counts for each area excavated.

was the site of the 1866 trade store, and was unlikely to yield information about the earlier fort occupation.

Excavation of the Fort McLoughlin site included 18 units, covering a cumulative area of 2 m². These units, from which 2,485 artifacts were recovered, were placed to explore the possible boundaries of the fort, to examine visible features, and to investigate likely locations of fort activity. The map of these units, as included in the excavation report, is shown in Figure 3.2. The unit positions have been redrawn to more clearly show their locations.

Fort excavation units were trowelled or shovel-skimmed in 10 cm arbitrary levels. Units were terminated at bedrock or once sterile levels had been reached. Soils were screened through 6.24 mm mesh, and approximately 5% of the total excavated matrix was wet screened through 2 mm mesh to estimate the number of small artifacts that were lost during the normal screening process (Hobler et al. 1983).

3.2.2 The Plank House

Initially, Old Bella Bella consisted of a single row of traditional-style plank houses that ran approximately 600 m along the shoreline on the south side of Fort McLoughlin, as seen in Figure 2.4. A large gap existed in the centre of the row of houses that is believed to have provided access to the 1866 trading post (Hobler et al. 1983). By comparison of landscape and other features to an 1881 Dossetter photograph of the settlement (Figure 3.3), Hobler was able to specifically identify one of the plank house locations that he then excavated. This house, identified on Figure 3.3, is the fourth one from the left, or the second building from the front left corner of the fence (Hobler et al. 1983). A short terrace running along the beach indicated the position of the house front. According to local informants, no plank house was standing on this location by the 1890s (Hobler et al. 1983).

Excavation units were positioned to explore visible features, such as surface depressions or other architectural features. The excavation included 18 units, incorporating 11.725 m². The surface area of the house was given a general provenience (Unit 30) for surface collected artifacts while excavation units were sequentially numbered 31-48. Wood fragments dating to a 1920s-era structure were found on the surface of the plank house excavation area. These, along with other surface cultural remains dating to the same period, were given a general provenience (Unit 32). Hobler's overview map, shown previously in Figure 3.1, identifies

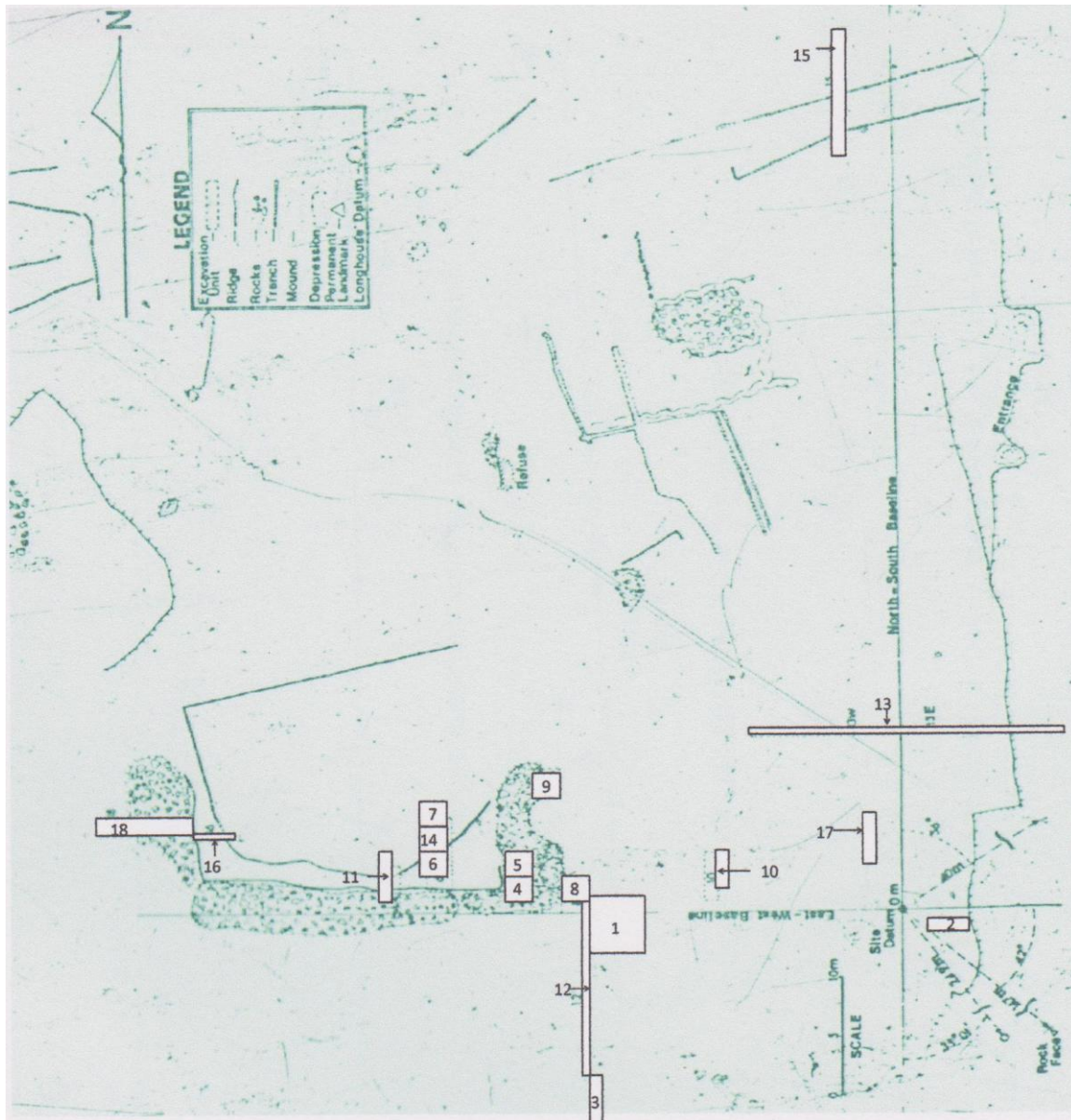


Figure 3.2. Fort McLoughlin excavation units and features. From Hobler et al. 1983. Unit locations are present on the original map and have been redrawn to make them more visible.



Figure 3.3. 1881 photograph of Old Bella Bella, by Edward Dossetter. Plank houses, including the one excavated by Hobler, run along the shoreline. The Fort McLoughlin stockade and trade store are seen in the center of the hillside, and frame houses are visible in the distance behind the stockade. (Image B-03570 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives.)

the plank house units to include numbers 30-49, but neither the excavation report nor the data base mention a 49th unit. The excavation report (Hobler et al. 1983) does not include a map of the plank house units or their coordinates but their likely positions can be inferred using information available in the report and in student field notebook sketches (Figure 3.4).

The plank house excavation units were excavated in a combination of natural and 10 cm arbitrary levels and terminated when bedrock or sterile levels were reached. Soils were screened through 6.24 mm mesh. The plank house units produced 5,044 artifacts, all of which are thought to date to the historic period. These include several obsidian flakes, which Hobler suggests cannot be said to be clearly prehistoric, and a side-notched obsidian point that Hobler

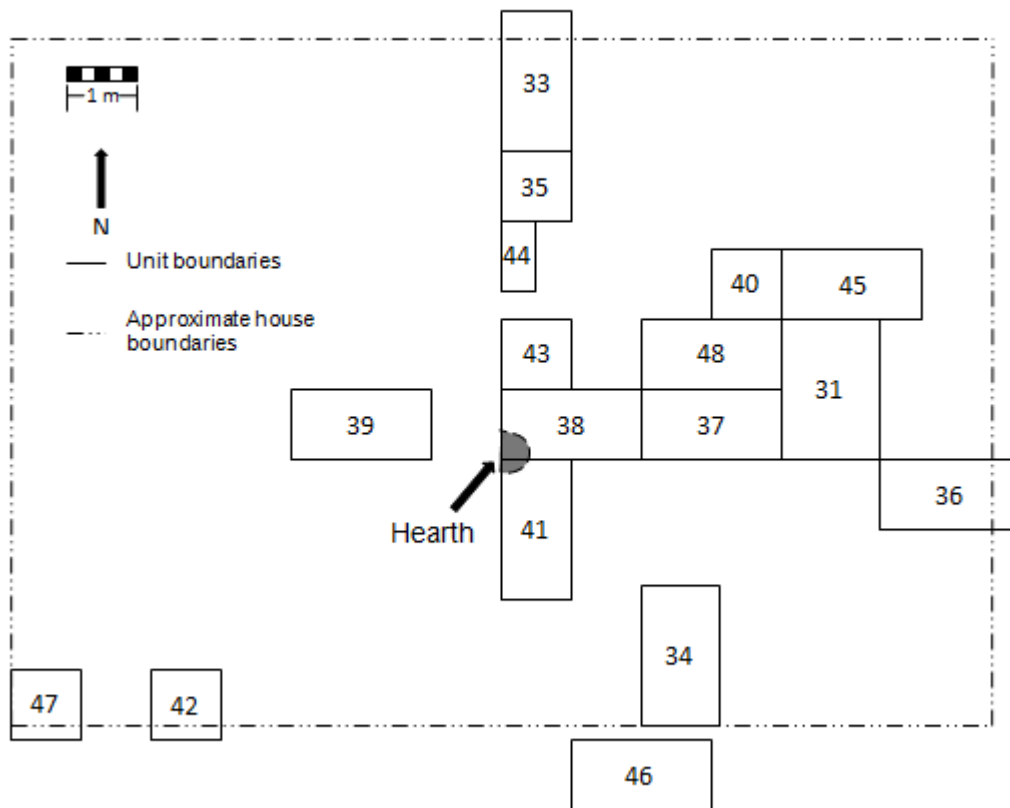


Figure 3.4. Probable layout of plank house units based on excavation report and student field notes.

describes as stylistically unlike any known from nearby prehistoric sites and may, therefore, be of historic manufacture (Hobler et al. 1983:15).

3.2.3 The Frame House

Euro-American style frame houses were located solely on the northern half of the bay, on the north side of the fort, opposite from the plank houses. A survey of the area revealed that a significant portion of the area had been logged during the 1970s. Hobler was able to locate a large undisturbed area containing the remains of at least three houses. He chose the most complete of these for excavation. No prior study of this type of residence in Northwest coast archaeology had been undertaken.

The surface area of the house was again given a general provenience (Unit 91) and the vegetation was cleared in order to map the architectural features. This attempt was abandoned due to ambiguity of surface architectural features and the high number of artifacts present on the surface and in the litter mat. Because architectural features were obscured, they could not be used to determine the placement of units. Instead, a grid was created for the house site and excavation units were placed according to this grid (Hobler et al. 1983) (Figure 3.5). The frame house excavation consisted of 11 units including 4.130 m² of excavated area. The units were sequentially numbered 50-60. Units were trowelled or shovel-skimmed according to natural levels, and soils were screened through 6.24 mm mesh. Excavation was terminated once bedrock or sterile levels were reached. A total of 4,255 artifacts were recovered during the frame house.

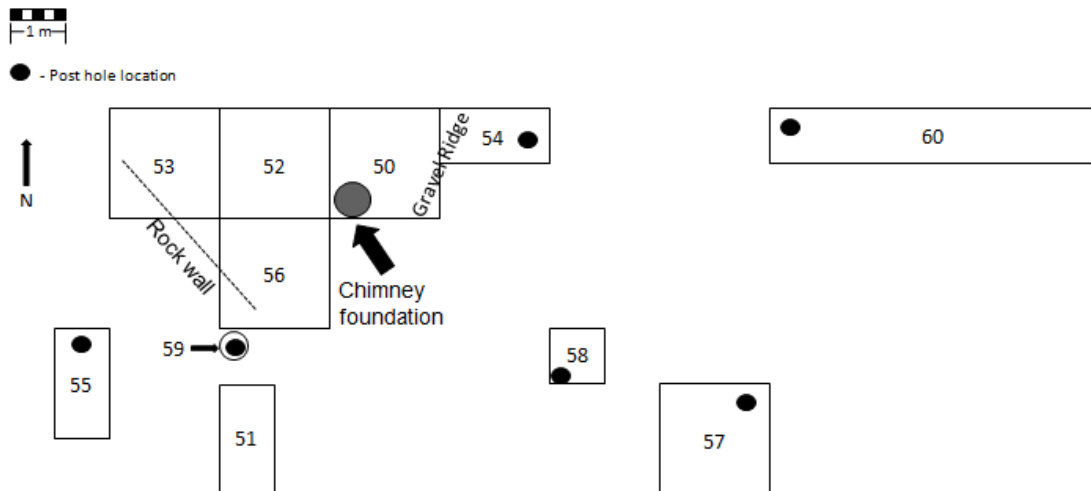


Figure 3.5. Layout of frame house units based on excavation report and student field notes. House boundaries were not defined.

3.3 Project Assessment

The 1983 Old Bella Bella – Fort McLoughlin excavations had two primary objectives. The first was to assess the possibility of a pre-contact occupation of the site. No definite evidence of a prehistoric settlement was found. This result is in keeping with the lack of traditional history or ethnographic accounts of pre-1833 site occupation (Hobler et al. 1983).

The second objective was to study four types of archaeological remains present at the site. As discussed previously, only three were investigated due to time constraints. Excavation of each of the structures studied yielded information regarding the construction techniques used to create them as well as a variety of other information about the lives of their inhabitants.

3.3.1 Fort McLoughlin Findings

The goals of the Fort McLoughlin portion of the 1983 archaeological investigation were to define the fort's original boundaries, evaluate the potential of the fort's remains to provide information about the layout and construction of coastal forts, and determine the amount of artifact and faunal data that remained and could be used to reconstruct fort lifeways (Hobler et al. 1983).

The excavation team was partially successful in their attempt to discover the boundaries of the fort. They were unable to locate the east wall but they believe they were able to define the fort's south wall and possibly the north and west walls. One interpretation discussed in the site report is that the east wall may have been located along a ridge running parallel to the beach. If these findings are correct, Hobler estimates that the dimensions of Fort McLoughlin would have measured 60 x 60 m (Hobler et al. 1983).

Hobler was interested in the question of whether or not Hudson's Bay construction techniques differed between coastal and interior forts (Maas 1990). Structural preservation was poor and little information could be obtained regarding the fort's architecture. That said, by comparing their archaeological findings with historical photographs of Fort McLoughlin, such as the 1881 Edward Dossetter photograph showing the remaining fort structures inside the stockade, they were able to determine that the store building was likely supported by stone or log pylons. These would allow buildings to be constructed on sloping land as well as preventing foundation timbers from rotting. The discovery of large stone piles in the southern part of the fort site further led them to postulate that stones may have been used as building foundations or to

support fences. Hobler consequently inferred that the HBC's method of constructing forts on the Central Coast differed from its method of constructing forts further inland, especially in foundation and footing construction techniques (Hobler et al. 1983).

No later than three decades after abandonment, the photographic record illustrates a lack of structural remains associated with the Fort McLoughlin site. Based upon these photographs and archaeological findings, Hobler inferred that excessive dismantlement of the fort might have occurred (Hobler et al. 1983). There was no evidence of large-scale burning to recover iron, though Heiltsuk oral histories indicate that this may have taken place on a smaller scale (Hobler 2000).

The outcome of the third goal, to determine whether representative artifactual and faunal data are present in the fort's archaeological record also proved successful. The Fort McLoughlin assemblage includes a diverse range of associated items. The faunal data have yet to be analyzed.

3.3.2 *Plank House Findings*

Hobler found that the extent to which Old Bella Bella plank houses could be identified by their surface remains varied greatly due to later land use at the site. For example, as the excavation progressed, it was clear that many of the surface artifacts from the plank house location were unrelated to the 19th century Heiltsuk residence. Similarly, several posts and postholes are interpreted to be a fence dating to the 1920s or 1930s (Hobler et al. 1983). The area also was disturbed by presence of a modern wharf.

For the plank house under investigation, associated surface features were the easternmost rear corner and a cut bank running across the back. Sandstone cobbles situated on the slope of this bank indicated that this retaining feature may have dated to the original Fort McLoughlin occupation, since fort construction also featured sandstone cobbles to modify slopes. The position of the fort was believed to partially determine the position of the plank houses (Hobler 2000). The plank house had been built into a 13% slope running to the beach. Excavations revealed that initial construction preparations included the use of gravel fill to create a house platform running outward from the slope (Hobler et al. 1983).

Hobler et al. (1983) identify all of the artifacts recovered from the house excavation, including flaked stone materials, as relating to the residential occupation. Included here, and of

particular note, is a triangular obsidian projectile point, described as crudely made. This point, as interpreted by Hobler et al., is unlike any previously excavated from nearby prehistoric sites, hence its association with the historic period. Considerable quantities of coal and cinders were present in house occupation deposits. This supported traditional histories by informants that a coal source exists in the area. Hobler et al. also note that the Heiltsuk informed HBC officials that coal was present near the north end of Vancouver Island, approximately 130 miles away. Finally, the presence of unfired fist-sized balls of clay in several units is discussed in the report. Clay had been used for chimneys at Fort McLoughlin and in post-1880 period structures. If similarly employed by the Heiltsuk, it would be a unique feature for traditional forms of northwest coast plank house construction (Hobler et al. 1983).

3.3.3 Frame House Findings

Foundation posts, postholes and associated rock features identified post-1880 frame constructed residences at Old Bella Bella. Hobler et al. (1983), however, found that the exact boundaries of the frame houses were more difficult to define than had been expected. They recommended studying artifact distributions in combination with posthole patterns and other remaining architectural features as a possible method of determining house boundaries.

Unlike traditional Heiltsuk plank houses, the frame houses had been elevated on posts up to a meter or more off the ground surface. This, it is inferred, was an adaptation for building on the rough uneven terrain upon which the frame houses were located. Hobler et al. (1983) also identify this as a European architectural feature introduced by the missionaries. In a later paper Hobler (2000) adds that a goal of the mission was to teach the Heiltsuk how to construct houses. He remarks that “confidence in both the religious correctness and also the technological superiority of Victorian civilization is never more clearly stated than in this intention to teach the Natives of the Northwest Coast how to build houses!” (Hobler 2000:14). The purpose of the rock features found with foundation posts is unclear. They appear to have been part of architectural construction, as opposed to boardwalks. Their existence was a surprise to local informants, and they are not visible in archival photographs (Hobler et al. 1983). Perhaps significantly, the excavated frame house had a brick chimney. Architectural remains in the residential area indicate that chimneys were present on several, but not all houses. Its presence, therefore, was speculated to be an indicator of status (Hobler et al. 1983).

Several other types of cultural features are noted for the later frame house residential area. A rock wall was uncovered during the clearing of surface vegetation. Though the possible remains of one other such wall were observed in the post-1880 residential area, Hobler et al. (1983) believe this feature to be atypical. A rock feature with squared faces and clay mortar was found in Unit 57. An artificially constructed gravel ridge running parallel to the beach was also excavated. This may identify the eastern edge of the frame house (Hobler et al. 1983).

Unlike the case for the plank house excavations, limited faunal data were recovered from frame house excavations, including but a sparse scattering of clamshell, possibly disposed of by the house's residents, though Hobler theorizes that they could also have been introduced by a mink. The scarcity of midden deposits indicates that residents were disposing of refuse in a new way. Hobler also points out that the frame house would have been occupied for a maximum of twenty years, and this may partially explain the lack of refuse (Hobler et al. 1983: 23).

3.4 Previous analysis of the Old Bella Bella – Fort McLoughlin Collection

Following excavation at Old Bella Bella, Hobler compared the Old Bella Bella assemblage with artifacts recovered from six other Central Coast sites and one site from Haida Gwaii. His intention was to test a hypothesis that the processes of adoption of Euro-American material culture occurred in identifiable stages (Hobler 1986). He analyzed the collections from these eight sites by calculating the relative abundance of nineteen different artifact classes. In doing so, he found that the sites could be grouped into three categories based upon similarities in their assemblages. He refers to these groups as Early, Middle, and Late Clusters. The four Early Cluster sites, which date to the 18th century, showed the highest proportion of artifacts of Native origin. European material culture for these sites consisted mostly of copper that may have been used for ornamental purposes. The assemblages from the two sites in the Middle Cluster were characterized by a fairly high percentage of aboriginal material culture compared to the Late Cluster. One of the associated assemblages contained 22% aboriginal material culture while the other had 34%, and less iron and more bottle glass than the Late Cluster. The Late Cluster, to which Old Bella Bella belonged, featured a high proportion of nails and other iron objects. Metal ornaments and other copper and brass objects occurred in much lower

proportions than in earlier clusters (Hobler 1986). These findings demonstrate that, at least initially, the most desired European goods were ones that could be used for adornment or for ceremonial purposes and that utilitarian objects were incorporated later (Maas 1990).

The artifacts recovered during the 1982 Old Bella Bella – Fort McLoughlin excavation were catalogued and stored at Simon Fraser University. As a central component for her MA thesis at SFU, Alexandra Maas (1990) initiated analysis of the Old Bella Bella ceramics assemblage. She was interested in the processes of ceramic adoption by indigenous groups and the function that ceramics served within Heiltsuk culture over the course of Old Bella Bella's history. To examine this subject, she developed a ceramic chronology for the site, in which she determined that the types of ceramics found at each component correlate to the reported dates of construction (Maas 1990). Beyond this, her analysis revealed differences in the distribution pattern of decorative and vessel types for each component. Transfer print earthenware and plain white earthenware were the most prevalent ceramic types across the site as a whole. The fort assemblage contained the greatest proportion of transfer print ware, while the frame house assemblage contained the highest proportion of plain white ware. The plank house assemblage contained relatively similar numbers of each ware type. Because inventory records show that both plain and transfer print wares were available during the 1876-1882 period, Maas hypothesizes that the increase in consumption of plain white ware from the plank house to the frame house indicates an increase in everyday use of ceramic goods, as white ware was cheaper than transfer print ware (Maas 1990).

A broad range of vessel types occurring in similar quantities was associated with Fort McLoughlin, while both house types exhibited more selective preferences for specific vessel types. The ceramic assemblage for both house types consisted primarily of cups and saucers, with bowls also representing a large proportion of each of these assemblages. Maas found that the number of dinner and soup plates increased from the plank house to the frame house assemblage. She suggests that this change may indicate the introduction of Euro-American style foods. Unlike stews commonly eaten by the Heiltsuk, these foods would have been more easily consumed from flat dishes than bowls (Maas 1990; Marshall and Maas 1997). Maas further states that the plank house assemblage, which is dominated by cups, saucers, and small bowls, "in general presented the impression of a much more selective use of Euro-American tableware over the fort component, with fewer vessel forms present" (Maas 1990:44) She

suggests this is evidence that the Heiltsuk were incorporating Euro-American ceramics into traditional roles, since they appear to have been choosing primarily vessels that could occupy the same roles as their own dining vessels. Additionally, historical evidence indicates that cup and saucer sets became an item of exchange in the potlatch complex (Maas 1990).

Based on the results of her study, Maas proposed that the Heiltsuk adapted the use of newly-introduced material culture to fit their own worldview when incorporating it into their culture. Items were selected based upon the forms and decorative types considered to be desirable. Over time, due to changes in Heiltsuk society, ceramics took on new roles and meanings, resulting in changing trends in the types of ceramics selected (Maas 1990).

Marshall and Maas (1997) seek to find generalized patterns of ceramic adoption by non-agricultural groups in a later study. Ceramic use was first compared between Heiltsuk at Old Bella Bella and the Mowachaht of Nootka Sound. These results, then, were compared to ceramic adoption observed among two non-Northwest Coast groups, Southwestern Alaskan Eskimo, and Canadian Metis. In every case it was found that Euro-American ceramics were first incorporated into ceremonial contexts; specifically they were first used to display food items during ceremonial social gatherings. Three conclusions are reached in the study. The first was that the study of the contact period in the New World has the potential to increase our understanding of the role of material culture in cultural change. The second is that pottery adoption may have been a result of its ceremonial use as much as its practical use. Based upon this, the third is that contrary to conventional wisdom, ceremonial aspects of a culture may be more open to change than practical aspects under some circumstances (Marshall and Maas 1997).

3.5 Summary

The archaeological record for the Central Coast provides evidence for more than 10,000 years of occupation. Many of the archaeological investigations of this region have dealt with its prehistoric period. Hobler's work at Old Bella Bella provides a window into the less-studied historic era.

The 1982 Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin project undertook excavations at the Fort McLoughlin site, one historic-era traditional plank house, and Euro-American style frame house. Through this exploration, investigators were able to partially establish the fort's initial boundaries

and to learn about construction techniques for each type of structure examined. Additionally, 11,909 artifacts were recovered that can shed light on the lifeways of the residents of Old Bella Bella.

Because of the decision to transition from traditional Heiltsuk to Euro-American style houses, there is excellent spatial and temporal separation of the pre-mission Hudson's Bay Company contact-era household and missionization-era household assemblages within the collection. This has created the opportunity observe material culture changes in the archaeological record that might otherwise be indistinguishable due to the site's relatively brief 76 year time-span. It also provides a chance to determine which of these changes result from Heiltsuk interaction with the Hudson's Bay Company and which can be attributed to Heiltsuk-missionary interactions.

The artifacts collected during the Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin excavation were catalogued and stored at SFU, where they have been well-curated. With the exception of the ceramics, the collection has never been fully analyzed. These artifacts can be used to shed light on the rapidly changing early historic period on the Central Coast.

4. Methods and Results

4.1 Introduction

As has been stated in the Introduction, my ultimate objective is to examine the changing nature and role of Euro-American material culture for Heiltsuk peoples at Old Bella Bella, from the initial contact period to the era of Christian conversion and missionary influence. I do this by asking two questions. The first is whether or not the archaeological record for the pre-missionary period at Old Bella Bella follows the assumed pattern of adoption of Euro-American goods by First Nations on the Northwest Coast. According to this pattern, the first types of Euro-American goods to be sought were those easily applied to traditional roles or offered some immediate advantage. Euro-American goods used in Euro-American cultural/social contexts only appeared later (Drucker 1965). My second question asks whether or not the material record reflects social changes that the missionaries tried to implement on Heiltsuk culture. To address these questions, the assemblage collected during the 1982 excavation from the contact-era plank house, which relates to the pre-missionary period at Old Bella Bella, and the assemblage collected during the 1982 excavation from the Euro-American-style frame house, which relates to the mission period at Old Bella Bella, were compared. From these questions two hypotheses for testing and associated correlates are defined:

Hypothesis 1. During the period of initial contact with Euro-Americans, it is hypothesized that trade goods were integrated by First Nations groups into traditional economic roles. Aspects of Euro-American culture which were easily incorporated, and/or provided some social or economic advantage, such as metals for tools or guns, were the first to be included into First Nations' lives after contact. **Correlates:** If true, the archaeological record for this period will consist primarily of traditional Heiltsuk material culture including bone, stone and shell items. Euro-American items when present would be useful in traditional contexts, such as beads or copper used for decoration. Euro-American items also conferring a practical advantage, such as gun parts, will be part of the dominant assemblage.

Hypothesis 2. The overt goals and processes of Christian conversion at Old Bella Bella involved Euro-American material culture as part of the enculturation process to suppress traditional Heiltsuk identity and express Christianized views of civilized behaviors. The missionary era assemblage will include a general increase in Euro-American material culture, as it replaces traditional material culture. It will also show changes in areas corresponding specifically to Methodist values, such as an increase in Euro-American clothing items, since the missionaries were concerned that their congregation was properly dressed, and a decrease in

evidence of indulgences like alcohol and tobacco, as their use would have been discouraged by the Methodists. **Correlates:** In the post mission Frame House assemblage there will be an increase in frequency of goods reflecting Euro-American cultural values and identity with decreased numbers of goods reflecting traditional social values. Goods reflecting behaviors contrary to Christian beliefs or norms, including those related to alcohol and tobacco consumption, will be rare.

As part of the correlates, a number of predictions were created regarding the types of goods expected to be present in the assemblage for each household. These are evaluated by comparing assemblages from the plank house and the frame house. Documentary and oral historical evidence were then used to aid the interpretation of results for comparison between the two household assemblages.

4.2 Hypotheses and Correlates – Rationale and Discussion

Hobler (1986) and others (Drucker 1965, Fisher 1977, Maas 1990, Prince 1992) suggest that, initially, the Euro-American goods sought by First Nations groups were those that fit easily into their worldview. These goods were of Euro-American manufacture but occupied traditional roles. Drucker (1965) described the early trade period as a time when First Nations groups “consistently selected things that fit readily into existing cultural patterns without strain or dislocation” (1965:197) and says that it was a period of acquisition without much culture change. Alternatively, they sought goods that could be converted into traditional forms. Drucker (1965) points out that iron was immediately sought out to make into blades for adzes and chisels; these were traditional tools, but Euro-American produced axes and hatchets were not. He also reports that beads and brass buttons were consumed for use as traditional decoration along with dentalia shell. However, traditional decorative items, including dentalia, were not replaced. Drucker (1965) also suggests firearms were initially used as weapons of war, and then only later, when coastal peoples became more familiar with them, they were used for hunting. Fisher (1977:17-18) believes that the weapons Northwest Coast peoples already possessed were more deadly than flintlock rifles, and that the damp climate increased the chances of a flintlock misfiring. With this in mind, Sellers (2013) argues that guns served primarily symbolic functions and were prestige items. Whether used as weapons or as symbols of wealth and power, firearms initially fit into existing roles.

From an archaeological context, the Euro-American ceramic assemblage from the Kupti site on Vancouver Island provides an illustrative case for the kinds of traditional usage of European materials. Several plate or platter sherds from Kupti were intentionally chipped to be used as inlays in wood carvings while clay pipe stem fragments appear to have been ground on the edges and reused as bead spacers (McMillan, as quoted to Maas 1990:86). To serve a traditional role, thus, some Euro-American goods may have been repurposed from new items rather than recycled from broken pieces. Studies of Old Bella Bella ceramics also found that large earthenware washbasins were among the first types to be consumed by the Heiltsuk (Maas 1990; Marshall and Maas 1997). As hypothesized by Marshall and Maas (1997), these basins were similar to and easily served the role of communal serving dishes employed in a potlatch feast. They note that washbasins disappear from the Old Bella Bella trading post inventory around the time of the establishment of the mission in 1880, as might be expected with changing cultural values related to material culture.

Hobler's (1986) study of eight contact-era sites on the Northwest Coast, including Old Bella Bella, demonstrates high percentages of Native manufactured goods, and that the Euro-American items that were present were used in traditional ways. Later contact-era sites had increasing amounts of Euro-American goods with, initially, increasing frequencies of copper items for ornamentation as well as bottle glass. Hobler provides no explanation for the latter although bottles do provide highly functional containers and glass sherds are the equivalent of an obsidian flake. Over time the relative proportion of nails and iron objects increased while bottle glass decreased. As Euro-American utilitarian items increased, there was a corresponding decrease in decorative items and items of Native manufacture. Hobler classified the site of Old Bella Bella, which includes the fort, plank house, and frame house components, as a late contact-era site. Overall he found a low proportion of traditional goods of indigenous manufacture compared to Euro-American ones (Hobler 1986:21-22).

Hobler's pattern of material culture adaptation and acceptance across sites of varying ages should be observable at a single site where the archaeological record can be examined at a fine enough time scale. Because the archaeological assemblage at Old Bella Bella can be divided into earlier (HBC) and later (Methodist missionary) periods in the contact era, it provides an exceptional context for study. Of particular importance it provides a substantive window into

post-fur trade era material culture where missionary and Euro-American influences are being experienced by Heiltsuk.

The arrival of the Methodist missionaries and subsequent adoption of Methodism by the Heiltsuk hastened the pace of adoption of Euro-American goods used in Euro-American contexts. By 1882, Reverend Charles M. Tate reported changes in the appearance of the settlement and its residence:

All the people attend the services, the younger ones showing great desire to learn the truths of Christianity. Some are beginning to read and write very nicely. Many of them are building comfortable cottages, whilst their dress and general appearance are changing gradually and we trust ere long will compare favourably with the older missions (UCCBCCA 1880-1906).

Trade post inventories similarly show evidence of changing consumption habits. Washbasins fall out of favor but cups, saucers and other items such as dinner plates, soup plates, and individual serving dishes appear in greater frequency (Maas 1990). Euro-American clothing, such as men's and boys' shirts, men's and women's shoes, and shawls also appear in much higher numbers than previously, along with dress clothing, including suits for both men and boys (Hudson's Bay Company Archives [HBCA], invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882). Drucker specifically mentions the importance of Euro-American-style clothing to the missionaries, saying:

...and the wearing of trousers, whether of dungaree or other material, is related on the North Pacific Coast to Christianity, for the early missionaries devoted considerable effort toward getting their converts to cover their nakedness. They introduced new concepts of "decent" apparel, morality, and shame (Drucker 1965:190).

The Heiltsuk engaged in a seasonal round prior to and continuing into the fur trade period that was later disrupted by the increasing employment of the population in fish canneries, reliance upon the trade store, and missionary discouragement (Hobler 2000). The Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby encouraged converts to engage in farming and gardening to engage in the "gospel of self help" (Bolt 1977). Firearms, as one of the consequences, had little value. Arthur Ebbstone, the first Heiltsuk convert to Methodism at Old Bella Bella, urged people to give up their guns, according to modern informants interviewed by Harkin (1993:12). According to

Hobler, as the Heiltsuk became more sedentary, they began to affix permanent siding to their plank houses (Hobler 2000), and this permanent architecture can be seen in Figure 2.3. Nails, window glass, and other construction materials increased in abundance as a consequence. Maas reports that the Hudson's Bay Company records show a sudden expansion in construction items only a year after missionary arrival (Maas 1990). As European frame houses subsequently were constructed through dictate of the Methodist mission, these materials became commonplace and would, it is predicted, dominate later period site assemblages.

The Heiltsuk participated in communal dining prior to missionary intervention, a practice that presumably made ceramic vessels such as the previously-discussed washbasins desirable. The missionaries encouraged Victorian-style dining customs, necessitating place settings for each person and a variety of individual dishes (Maas 1990). Missionaries also discouraged all traditional customs, including communal feast and potlatches for which large serving dishes were useful. Thomas Crosby believed that it was necessary to completely do away with all traditional practices (Fisher 1977). While in Nanaimo, Crosby was asked by several chiefs if the people could be allowed to continue to dance and potlatch during the week so long as they came to church on Sunday. He replied that they had to stop all of their heathenism, and that "the dance, the potlatch, etc., it is all bad" (Crosby 1907:106).

Maas found that the Hudson's Bay Company inventories demonstrated an increased availability of ceramics following 1880, and that not only were more ceramics available, but more types of ceramics as well (Maas 1990:46). She also found that, as cups and saucers gained prevalence in daily life, they also took on a new ceremonial role (Marshall and Maas 1997). These items became common as potlatching gifts. For example, in 1897, Caroline Tate, the wife of missionary Reverend Charles M. Tate, remarked in her journal (as cited in Marshall and Maas 1997:280) that some households had as many as two hundred cups and saucers that they had received as potlatch gifts. Ceramics, then, are an interesting case in which the same items took on both traditional Heiltsuk and Euro-American values. The missionaries, according to Hobler (2000:15), were able to substitute "elements of a Victorian technical, material, and stylistic catalogue" for items of traditional manufacture.

Finally, indulgence items such as alcohol and tobacco were popular trade items during the fur trade period (Drucker 1965; Fisher 1977). From the beginning, tobacco played a role in the fur trade as a desirable item that could be exchanged for furs (Wynia 2013). It also served a

role in facilitating trade relations. The fur trader Alexander Ross reported that no trade could begin until a smoking ceremony had taken place (Ross 1855:75). Later, Methodist doctrines, which equated bodily and spiritual purity, prohibited drinking and smoking (Bolt 1992). Conversion to Methodism brought a decrease in consumption of alcohol and tobacco, and a corresponding decrease in materials goods related to them.

Based on preceding discussion, Table 4.1 provides predicted correlates for traditional versus mission period household assemblages at Old Bella Bella. Column 1 outlines a number of specific correlates related to Hypothesis 1. These are based upon Hobler's archaeological observations discussed above as well as ethnographic accounts and missionary records. If the Heiltsuk were initially incorporating Euro-American material culture into traditional cultural roles during the pre-missionary HBC contact period, then the assemblage should consist primarily of traditional goods and Euro-American goods occupying traditional roles. Column 2 lists predictions based upon Hypothesis 2. If material culture is playing an active role in the processes of Christian conversion of the Heiltsuk by the missionaries, there will be a change not only in the relative proportion of Euro-American goods in the assemblage, but an increase in specific areas that reflect missionary values and acculturative traits.

4.3 The Old Bella Bella Artifact Assemblage and its Organization

The artifact assemblage recovered from Old Bella Bella is diverse, both in style and functional type. Following the excavation project, Hobler classified the materials into types recording them by provenience and attributes in an 80 column punch card format. The cards were then run through the SFU supported Michigan Terminal System on the university mainframe computer. The output was a series of database sorts by type or area proveniences which, when printed, were maintained with the artifact collections. It was possible to take Hobler's data and transcribe it into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. For comparative study, I subsequently applied a typology modeled after Sprague's (1981) historical artifact classification system, which largely groups items by function. Artifacts to which no function could be assigned were placed in the category "Unknown". This classification allowed for comparison between the fort, plank house, and frame house assemblages in order to test the correlates as defined in Table 4.1. Here I am primarily concerned with the similarities and differences between the two household components examining transitional change in consumption patterns taking place in Euro-American material culture between the HBC and missionary periods. Each house

assemblage is also evaluated against the fort assemblage. The fort assemblage is taken from the excavation and survey of the entire fort grounds, rather than a defined residential area. It is nevertheless useful as a way to look at what kinds of Euro-American goods were available versus what was being consumed by the Heiltsuk.

In the Sprague classification, artifacts are placed within a generalized functional category, but secondarily grouped into artifact classes relating to contextual usage (Sprague 1981). The categories used for this study are listed in Table 4.2. Artifact type descriptions are not included because the types are straightforward identifications in themselves. Photographs are provided, though, to illustrate the types and variety of artifacts found at Old Bella Bella. Not all artifact types are clearly related or have overlapping uses. Washbasins for example served multiple functions, including use as serving dishes. Based on previous discussions they are grouped with table items here rather than personal hygiene items. The total number of artifacts placed within each class and group are shown in Table 4.3.

The division of assemblages into artifact categories allows for statistical comparison of the similarity of each component to the others in different areas of life. One-sample chi-square tests are used to calculate the probability that the differences observed in individual classes between the three component assemblages being compared are significant. Because the chi-square test converts the frequency of each artifact category's occurrence into a proportion rather than comparing the actual numbers, it accounts for differences in assemblage size. Chi-square analyses were made for different artifact categories between each pair of components (fort-plank house, fort-frame house, plank house-frame house). This approach resulted in thirty-nine separate chi-square tests.

Conducting a large number of chi-square tests within the same study results in alpha inflation, where the error rate for the tests is cumulatively increased. Alpha inflation increases

Component	1. Plank House Predictions	2. Frame House Predictions
Dress and Decoration	Items associated with traditional dress and decoration, such as beads and copper, will be present in larger numbers than in the frame house assemblage	Few or no items associated with traditional dress will be present Items associated with Euro-American dress will be present in limited numbers related to clothing use

Tool Technology	<p>Traditional tools will be present</p> <p>Tools made of metal will resemble traditional stone tools in form and function</p>	<p>Traditional tools will be replaced by Euro-American ones, and few or no traditional tools will be present</p>
Economy and Mobility	<p>Because architecture becomes more permanent as the seasonal round changes (Hobler 1986), some permanent construction materials, such as nails and window glass, may be present, though not in high numbers</p> <p>Items related to traditional subsistence will be present</p> <p>Gun parts and ammunition will be present</p>	<p>Permanent construction materials will be abundantly present</p> <p>Items reflecting changing subsistence activities, such as gardening and/or farming tools, will be present</p> <p>Fewer traditional subsistence items will be present</p> <p>Few or no gun parts and ammunition will be present, due to changing subsistence patterns and Methodist discouragement of their use</p>
Dining	<p>Bowls and large ceramic serving vessels will be present, reflecting communal meals</p>	<p>Euro-American dining items, including a variety of dish types, will be present, reflecting individual place settings and new popularity as potlatch gifts.</p>
Indulgences	<p>Clay pipes and alcohol glass will be present</p>	<p>Few or no clay pipes and alcohol glass will be present, due to Missionary prohibitions on such items</p>
General Consumption of Euro-American Goods	<p>Traditional goods and Euro-American items used in traditional ceremonial contexts (such as decorative beads, copper items, and ceramic bowls and basins) or traditional utilitarian contexts (such as iron tools or guns) will make up the majority of the plank household assemblage</p>	<p>Euro-American items will make up the majority of the household assemblage and reflect all aspects of Euro-American life</p>

Table 4.1. Correlate predictions for household assemblages Hypothesis 1.

Function	Group	Artifact Type
Architectural Items	Construction Hardware	Hinges, Hooks, Nails, Pipe, Screws, Spikes, Staples, Tacks, Wires, Wood
	Construction/Maintenance	Files, Pick Axes, Pliers, Saws, Scissors
	Construction Materials	Paint, Paint Container, Tar Paper, Window Glass

Function	Group	Artifact Type	
Arms/Hunting	Firearms	Flints, Locking Mechanisms, Musket Balls	
Domestic Items	Furnishings	Drawer Knobs, Woven Matting	
	Housewares/Appliances	Cast Iron Pans, Stove Parts	
	Illumination	Kerosene Lamp Parts	
	Sewing	Sewing Machine Oil	
	Table Items - Dishes	Basins, Bowls, Crocks, Cups, Plates, Serving/Ornamental Dishes, Saucers, Soup Plates, Unident. Dishes, Glassware	
	Table Items - Utensils	Forks, Spoons	
Fishing Items	Tackle	Hook, Weight	
Lithic Items	Lithics	Abraders, Cores, Hammerstones, Grinders, Projectile Points, Unmodified Flakes	
Personal Items	Adornment	Beads, Bangles, Euro-American Jewelry	
	Adornment/Clothing	Buttons	
	Clothing	Fasteners, Materials	
	Footwear	Shoe Eyelets, Shoe Fragments	
	Grooming/Hygiene	Toothbrush	
	Indulgences		Alcohol Bottle Glass, Bottle Stoppers, Tobacco Pipe Fragments
		Indulgences/Medicinal	Patent Medicine Bottles
	Pastimes/Recreation	Toy Figures	
	Pocket Tools/Accessories	Keys, Pencil Leads, Pocket Knives	
	Storage	Food Storage	Mason Jars
Mass Storage		Barrel Hoops	
Unidentified Storage		Small Containers	
Unknown Items	--	Bone Frags, Chains, Nozzles, Pigment, Vessel Glass Frags., Weights, Wire Springs, Woven Fabric	

Table 4.2. Artifact classification, based on Sprague 1981.

Artifact Class/Group	Fort	Fort %	Plank	Plank %	Frame	Frame %	Total
Architectural Items	976	51.34%	1619	62.51%	886	40.35%	348
Construction Hardware	898	47.24%	1486	57.37%	835	38.02%	321
Construction/Maintenance	0	0.00%	3	0.12%	2	0.09%	5
Construction Materials	78	4.10%	130	5.02%	49	2.23%	257
Arms/Hunting Items	7	0.37%	6	0.23%	0	0.00%	13

Domestic Items	537	28.25%	47	1.81%	275	12.52%	859
Furnishings	1	0.05%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	3
Housewares/Appliances	387	20.36%	6	0.23%	5	0.23%	398
Illumination	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.36%	8
Sewing	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%	1
Table Items - Dishes	149	7.84%	37	1.43%	259	11.79%	445
Table Items - Utensils	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	2	0.09%	4
Fishing Items	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	2	0.09%	3
Tackle	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	2	0.09%	3
Lithic Items	8	0.42%	13	0.50%	1	0.05%	22
Lithics	8	0.42%	13	0.50%	1	0.05%	22
Personal Items	135	7.10%	610	23.55%	139	6.33%	884
Adornment	8	0.42%	460	17.76%	4	0.18%	472
Adornment/Clothing	4	0.21%	17	0.66%	10	0.46%	31
Clothing	4	0.21%	25	0.97%	9	0.41%	38
Footwear	57	3.00%	2	0.08%	18	0.82%	77
Grooming/Hygiene	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1
Indulgences	59	3.10%	99	3.82%	77	3.51%	235
Indulgences/Medicinal	0	0.00%	5	0.19%	18	0.82%	23
Pastimes/Recreation	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%	1
Pocket Tools/Accessories	3	0.16%	1	0.04%	2	0.09%	6
Storage Items	1	0.05%	2	0.08%	56	2.55%	59
Food Storage	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	29	1.32%	30
Mass Storage	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1
Unidentified Storage	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	27	1.23%	28
Unknown Items	239	12.68%	292	11.27%	837	38.11%	147
Chain	0	0.00%	4	0.15%	0	0.00%	4
Nozzle	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1
Pigment	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%	1
Vessel Glass Fragments	239	12.57%	285	11.00%	832	37.89%	135
Weight	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%	1
Wire Spring	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1
Woven Fabric	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	3	0.14%	4
Total	1903	100.00	2590	100.00	2196	100.00	669

Table 4.3. Artifact class and group counts.

the likelihood of committing a type I error, where a result is falsely found to be significant. To compensate for this, a modified Bonferroni correction, as suggested by Keppel (1991) was calculated. The Bonferroni correction takes into account the total number of chi-square tests conducted to derive an adjusted, more conservative alpha value, used to determine test significance (Keppel 1991). For this study, the Bonferroni correction resulted in an adjusted

alpha value of 0.02. Chi-square tests with a *p*-value lower than the adjusted alpha value, rather than the standard 0.05, were considered significant.

Expected values for chi-square analyses are calculated by first finding the total square meters excavated for each site component (Table 4.4), and then finding the percentage of excavated area for each component between each pair of components. Expected values were then determined by allotting the same proportion of total artifacts to each component as the proportion of excavated area. Expected values for several of the categories were less than five artifacts, a number generally considered too small for valid results. Chi-square tests were still conducted for these categories. The results are presented, but are denoted as having low expected values.

	<i>Excavated</i> <i>Area (m²)</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>Excavated</i> <i>Area (m²)</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>Excavated</i> <i>Area (m²)</i>	<i>%</i>
Fort	88.3	74.70	Fort	88.3	72.79	Plank	29.9	47.54
Plank	29.9	25.30	Frame	33.0	27.21	Frame	33.0	52.46
Total	118.2	100		121.3	100		62.9	100

Table 4.4. Excavated area for each site component.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Architecture

A large number of architectural items were found in all three assemblages (Table 4.5). The difference in the amount of construction material between each assemblage is significant (Table 4.6). Contrary to expectations, more items were found in the plank house assemblage than either of the other assemblages. The presence of construction materials in the plank house assemblage is related to the Heiltsuk permanently affixing their house siding and adding Euro-American architectural features to their traditional houses over time, as reported by Hobler

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort</i> <i>N</i>	<i>Fort %</i>	<i>Plank</i> <i>N</i>	<i>Plank %</i>	<i>Frame</i> <i>N</i>	<i>Frame %</i>
Construction	Hinge	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	2	0.09%
Hardware	Hook	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%
	Nails	885	46.31%	1468	56.72%	830	37.92%
	Pipes	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%

Construction/ Maintenance	Screws	1	0.05%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Spikes	3	0.16%	1	0.04%	2	0.09%
	Staples	3	0.16%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	Tacks	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Wire	6	0.31%	10	0.39%	0	0.00%
	Wood	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Total	898	46.99%	1486	57.42%	835	38.53%
	File	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Pick Axe	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Pliers	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
Construction Materials	Saw	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Scissors	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Total	0	0.00%	3	0.12%	2	0.09%
	Paint	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Paint Can	0	0.00%	6	0.23%	0	0.00%
	Tar Paper	0	0.00%	8	0.31%	0	0.00%
Total	Window	78	4.08%	116	4.48%	48	2.22%
	Total	78	4.08%	130	5.02%	49	2.26%
	Total	976		1619		886	

Table 4.5. Architecture items found in each component.

<i>Construction</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Construction</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Construction</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	976	1938.47	Fort	976	1355.35	Plank	1619	1190.88
Plank	1619	656.53	Frame	886	506.65	Frame	886	1314.12
Chi Square	1888.853		390.212		293.384			
p-value	<0.0001		<0.0001		<0.0001			

Table 4.6. Chi-square results for Architecture group.

(2000). Why construction materials are, in a relative sense, less abundant in the frame house assemblage is difficult to explain other than through sampling bias.

Traditional tools or metal tools resembling traditional ones in form and function were predicted to be present in the plank house assemblage, while Euro-American tools were predicted to replace traditional tools in the frame house assemblage. Similar numbers of Euro-American tools, categorized under the Construction/Maintenance group (Figure 4.1), were found

in each household assemblage (Table 4.5), but too few items were found to calculate significance between any pair of assemblages. Additionally, none of the Euro-American tools found were recovered from the fort component. The prediction for tool type replacement could not be assessed with the data at hand.



Figure 4.1. Assorted tools found at Old Bella Bella. From left to right: a pocket knife, pliers, and a file.

4.4.2 Arms/Hunting Items

The only evidence of firearms in either household assemblage was found in the plank house, where six gun flints were recovered (Table 4.7). Evidence of arms was also present in the fort assemblage with three musket balls (Figure 4.2), three gun flints (Figure 4.3) and one locking mechanism. A chi-square test was not calculated due to the very small number of

artifacts. There is a notable absence of firearms in missionary era occupation deposits associated with the frame house as predicted.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort N</i>	<i>Fort %</i>	<i>Plank N</i>	<i>Plank %</i>	<i>Frame N</i>	<i>Frame %</i>
Firearms	Flints	3	0.16%	6	0.23%	0	0.00%
	Locking Mechanisms	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	Musket Balls	3	0.16%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Total		7		6		0	

Table 4.7. Arms items found in each component.



Figure 4.2. Examples of musket balls from the Fort McLoughlin component.

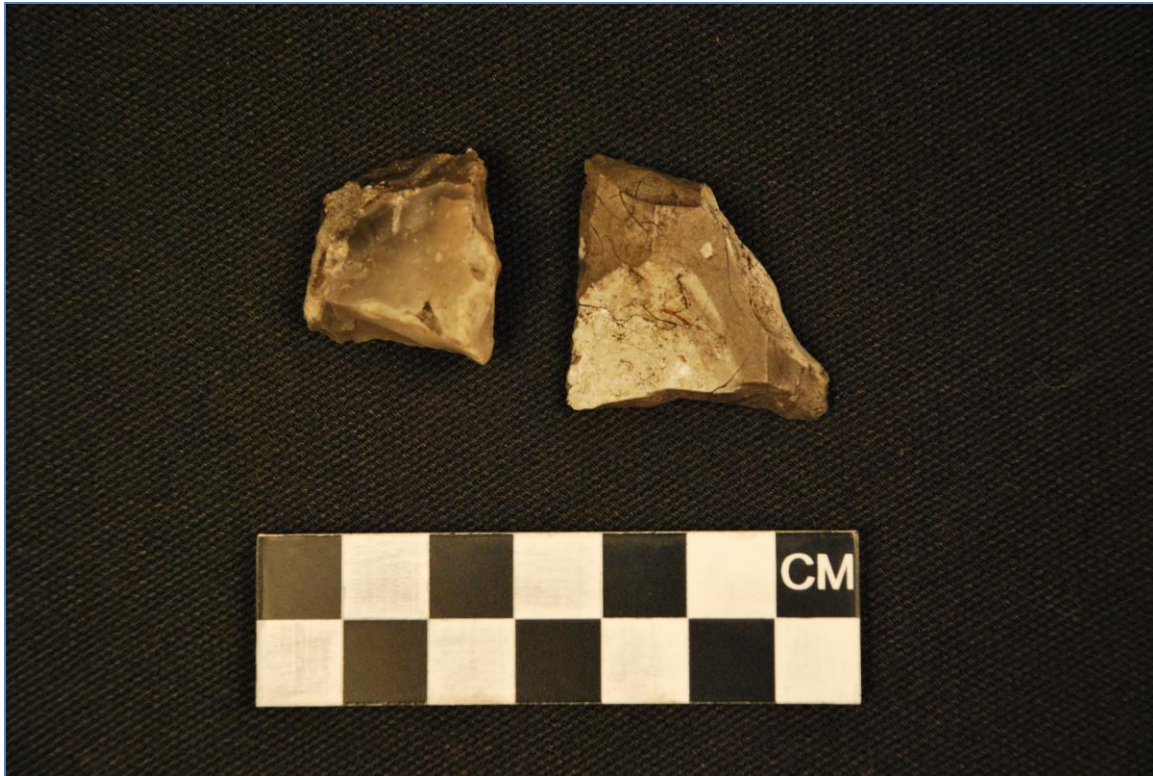


Figure 4.3. Gunflints found at Old Bella Bella.

4.4.3 Domestic Items

Relatively few domestic items were found in the plank house (n = 47) compared to the fort (n = 526) or frame house (n = 269) assemblages (Table 4.8). Among domestic items recovered from the plank house were two drawer knobs/pulls, indicating the presence of Euro-American furniture. Also of interest is the presence of kerosene lamp parts in the frame house assemblage. This item seems to indicate another aspect of Euro-American material culture being integrated into the Heiltsuk community during the mission era.

When calculating the chi square test for the Domestic Items group, stove parts were omitted. This is because a large number of small stove fragments were recovered, causing the artifact type to be represented in a falsely high proportion compared to other artifact types. The difference in the amount of domestic items between the fort and frame house and the plank and frame houses were found to be significant (Table 4.9).

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort</i>	<i>Fort %</i>	<i>Plank</i>	<i>Plank %</i>	<i>Frame</i>	<i>Frame %</i>	
Furnishings	Drawer Knob	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	
	Woven Matting	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	
	Total	1	0.05%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	
Housewares/ Appliances	Cast Iron Pan	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	
	Stove Parts	386	20.20%	6	0.23%	5	0.23%	
	Total	387	20.25%	6	0.23%	5	0.23%	
Illumination	Kerosene Lamp	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.37%	
Sewing	Sewing Machine Oil	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%	
Dishes	Basins	48	2.51%	0	0.00%	7	0.32%	
	Bowls	16	0.84%	17	0.66%	46	2.12%	
	Crocks	3	0.16%	8	0.31%	2	0.09%	
	Cups	11	0.58%	6	0.23%	49	2.26%	
	Plates	6	0.31%	2	0.08%	48	2.22%	
	Soup Plates	2	0.10%	0	0.00%	22	1.02%	
	Saucers	3	0.16%	2	0.08%	1	0.05%	
	Serving/Ornamental	2	0.10%	0	0.00%	22	1.02%	
	Unidentified	45	2.35%	2	0.08%	36	1.66%	
	Glassware	13	0.68%	0	0.00%	26	1.20%	
	Total	149	7.80%	37	1.43%	259	11.95%	
	Utensils	Fork	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
		Spoon	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	2	0.09%
		Total	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	2	0.09%
Total		526		47		269		

Table 4.8. Domestic items recovered from each component.

<i>Domestic Items</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	140	135.21	Fort	140	294.70	Plank	41	145.0
Plank	41	45.79	Frame	33	27.21	Frame	264	160.0
Chi Square	0.671		296.654		142.193			
p-value	= 0.4128		< 0.0001		< 0.0001			

Table 4.9. Chi-square results for Domestic Items class.

The Furnishings, Illumination, and Sewing groups contained too few items for statistical analysis, but chi-square tests were performed for Dishes and Utensils. These tests were then used to assess predictions made regarding dining practices. Ceramics (Figure 4.4) are predicted to be present in both the plank house and frame house assemblages, but different kinds of ceramics are expected for each. The plank house hypothetically should contain a large number of washbasin sherds and bowls, while evidence of a variety of tablewares is predicted for the frame house assemblage. Teacups and saucers are expected to be present in both assemblages. These predictions are assessed using the data presented by Maas' in her 1990 thesis as presented in Table 4.10.

Ceramic bowls, which would have been useful for consuming traditional foods, are present in the plank house assemblage in slightly greater numbers than in the frame house, while plates and soup plates that would be expected for Victorian-style place settings are slightly more abundant in the frame house. The predicted pattern is attested, though very weakly so. Cups and saucers, known to be popular potlatch gifts into the missionary period (Marshall and Maas 1997:280), are present in similar numbers in both assemblages. Contrary to expectations, no washbasins were found in the plank house, but they were present in the frame house assemblage. Ceramic variation in the frame house assemblage, interpreted by Marshall and Maas (1997:280), represents a formalized use of tablewares during the meal service.

Ceramics were not the only type of Euro-American table items recovered (Table 4.8). Glass serving dish and drinking glass fragments were found in the fort and frame house assemblage. These were absent from the plank house assemblage. Forks and spoons (Figure 4.5) were also found in both houses.



Figure 4.4. Examples of ceramic sherds found at Old Bella Bella.

<i>Vessel Type</i>	<i>Fort N</i>	<i>Fort %</i>	<i>Plank N</i>	<i>Plank %</i>	<i>Frame N</i>	<i>Frame %</i>
Basin	4	10.0%	0	0.0%	2	6.9%
Bowl	6	15.0%	6	20.0%	2	6.9%
Crock	4	10.0%	4	13.3%	1	3.4%
Cup	4	10.0%	7	23.3%	8	27.6%
Plate	5	12.5%	2	6.7%	4	13.8%
Saucer	5	12.5%	8	26.7%	7	24.1%
Serving/Ornamental	3	7.5%	2	6.7%	1	3.4%
Soup Plate	1	2.5%	0	0.0%	1	3.4%
Type Unknown	8	20.0%	1	3.3%	3	10.5%
Total	40		30		29	

Table 4.10. Vessel types found in the Old Bella Bella assemblage. After Maas 1990.



Figure 4.5. Dining utensils found at Old Bella Bella.

If we employ fragment counts rather than a minimum number of vessels forms for comparative analysis, and add in the additional items in the tableware category, the overall predicted pattern for tableware distributions prove true. That is, a significantly greater amount ($\chi^2 = 143.509$, $p < .0001$) of Euro-American tableware items is present in the frame house assemblage compared to the plank house assemblage (Table 4.11). This distribution, however, may be a consequence of different breakage patterns between the two areas.

<i>Tableware</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	149	140.436	Fort	149	298.439	Plank	39	142.62
Plank	39	47.564	Frame	261	111.561	Frame	261	157.38
Chi Square	2.064		275.007		143.509			
p-value	=0.1508		< 0.0001		< 0.0001			

Table 4.11. Chi-square results for Tableware group.

4.4.4 Fishing Items

Two Euro-American-style metal fish hooks (Figure 4.6) were found at Old Bella Bella; one in each household assemblage. Additionally, a fishing line sinker was found in the frame house assemblage (Table 4.12). This assemblage is far too small for comparative analysis, but it does imply continuity in subsistence pursuits. Fishing lines are included on the Hudson’s Bay Company ship inventories for 1880 (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882). The presence of small scatterings of clamshells contemporary to the frame house may also be indicative of continuing traditional subsistence patterns, though Hobler cautions that there may be other explanations for their presence (Hobler et al. 1983:23).

While traditional subsistence practices may have continued on past missionary arrival, documentary evidence indicates an increase in Euro-American subsistence practices and consumption of Euro-American food items after 1880. Hudson’s Bay Company inventories show that seeds for vegetables, chicken feed, and grass scythes were being shipped into Old Bella Bella, as were beef, pork, rice, butter, and bacon. Canned food was being shipped to Bella Coola, and may have been shipped to Old Bella Bella as well (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882).



Figure 4.6. Fishing hooks found at Old Bella Bella.

Group	Type	Fort N	Fort %	Plank N	Plank %	Frame N	Frame %
Tackle	Hook	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	1	0.05%
	Weight	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
Total		0		1		2	

Table 4.12. Fishing equipment recovered from each component.

4.4.5 Lithic Items

A number of lithic tools were found in the fort and plank house components, including abraders and hammerstones (Figure 4.7), as well as unmodified flakes and a projectile point. A single unmodified flake (Figure 4.8) was found associated with the frame house (Table 4.13). The majority of the lithic assemblage from the fort component consists of microblades, suggesting the presence of a pre-Euro-American occupation with subsequent mixing. These microblades were not included in statistical analysis, as they do not relate to the contact- era occupation of the site.



Figure 4.7. Examples of lithic items found at Old Bella Bella.



Figure 4.8. Unmodified flake from the frame house assemblage.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort N</i>	<i>Fort %</i>	<i>Plank N</i>	<i>Plank %</i>	<i>Frame N</i>	<i>Frame%</i>
Lithics	Abrader	2	0.10%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	Core	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Hammerstone	5	0.10%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	H. stone-Grinder	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Flake	1	0.05%	10	0.39%	1	0.05%
	Projectile Point	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
Total		8		13		1	

Table 4.13. Lithic artifacts found in each component.

One side-notched, obsidian projectile point was found in the plank house (Figure 4.9). Side-notched points are present on the Central Coast from 1500 BP on, and may have been traded from the Interior (Carlson 2008:76). The single projectile point in the plank house as well



Figure 4.9. Side-notched, obsidian projectile point found in the plank house assemblage.

as a small collection of debitage may be in context, given the contact-era nature of the assemblage. As noted in Chapter 3, Hobler believed this to be the case (Hobler et al. 1983). Significant differences are found in the amount of lithics present between the plank and frame houses ($\chi^2 = 11.512$, $p = 0.0007$), possibly demonstrating a decrease in the use of lithic technology following missionary arrival. The significant difference between the fort and plank house ($\chi^2 = 14.906$, $p = 0.0001$) (Table 4.14) makes sense, as the Euro-American inhabitants of the fort would not be expected to be using lithic technology. The frame house assemblage

<i>Lithics</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	8	15.69	Fort	8	6.55	Plank	13	6.66
Plank	13	5.31	Frame	1	2.45*	Frame	1	7.34
Chi Square	14.906		1.179		11.512			
p-value	= 0.0001		= 0.2775		= 0.0007			

Table 4.14. Chi-square results for Lithics group. * Indicates that the expected value is smaller than is recommended for this test.

contains the fewest number of lithic artifacts of the three assemblages, further suggesting a decrease in use of these items after the Methodists arrived (Table 4.13).

4.4.6 Personal Items

The Personal Items class (Table 4.15) was first examined as a whole, and then individual groups that were relevant to specific predictions were analyzed in order to assess those predictions. Each pair of components was found to be significantly different (Table 4.16).

Two predictions were made regarding dress and decoration. The first, that items related to traditional dress would be found in greater numbers in the plank house assemblage and smaller numbers in the frame house assemblage, holds true in the Old Bella Bella assemblage. Items associated with traditional forms of clothing decoration make up over 17% of the plank house assemblage and are all but absent from the frame house assemblage. Copper bangles (Figure 4.10) are completely absent from the frame house; five of these items were recovered from the plank house (Table 4.17). Additionally, a large quantity of beads (Figure 4.11) was found in the plank house, while only a handful was found in the fort and frame house. Two Euro-American jewelry items were found as well during excavation, a plain ring in the plank house, and, in the frame house, a plate of the sort attached to a necklace chain, inscribed with the word “BABY” (Figure 4.12). The difference between the two household assemblages regarding traditional adornment was found to be significant as was the difference between the fort and plank house assemblages ($\chi^2 = 1319.345$, $p < .0001$), (Table 4.18). The lack of significant difference between the fort and frame house assemblages ($\chi^2 = 0.224$, $p = .0636$), points to an increasingly Euro-American style of dress among the Heiltsuk, although this result must be interpreted with caution due to the small expected value for the frame house.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort</i>	<i>Fort</i>	<i>Plank</i>	<i>Plank</i>	<i>Frame</i>	<i>Frame</i>
		<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Adornment	Beads	7	0.37%	455	17.58%	3	0.14%
	Bangles	0	0.00%	5	0.19%	0	0.00%
	Jewelry	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Total	8	0.42%	460	17.77%	4	0.18%
Adornment/Clothing	Buttons	4	0.21%	17	0.66%	10	0.46%
Clothing	Fasteners	0	0.00%	22	0.85%	1	0.05%
	Materials	0	0.00%	3	0.12%	8	0.37%
	Total	4	0.21%	42	1.62%	19	0.88%
Footwear	Shoe	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Shoe	57	2.98%	2	0.08%	17	0.78%
	Total	57	2.98%	2	0.08%	18	0.83%
Grooming/Hygiene	Toothbrush	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
Indulgences	Tobacco	33	1.73%	51	1.97%	2	0.09%
	Bottle	26	1.36%	46	1.78%	75	3.46%
	Bottle	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%
	Total	59	3.09%	99	3.83%	77	3.55%
Indulgences/Medicinal	Patent	0	0.00%	5	0.26%	19	0.99%
Pastimes/Recreation	Toy Figure	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
PocketTools/ Accessories	Keys	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	Pencil	2	0.10%	0	0.00%	2	0.09%
	Pocket	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Total	3	0.15%	1	0.04%	2	0.009%
Overall Total		135		610		139	

Table 4.15. Personal items found in each component.

<i>Personal Items</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	135	556.52	Fort	135	199.44	Plank	610	356.07
Plank	610	188.48	Frame	139	74.56	Frame	139	392.93
Chi Square	1261.93			76.514			345.191	
p-value	< 0.0001			< 0.0001			<0.0001	

Table 4.16. Chi-square results for Personal Items class.



Figure 4.10. Copper bangles from the plank house assemblage.

<i>Adornment</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	8	349.6	Fort	8	8.73	Plank	460	39.19
Plank	460	118.4	Frame	4	3.27*	Frame	4	13.81
Chi Square	1319.345		0.224		495.311			
p-value	< 0.0001		0.6360		< 0.0001			

Table 4.17. Chi-square results for Adornment group.

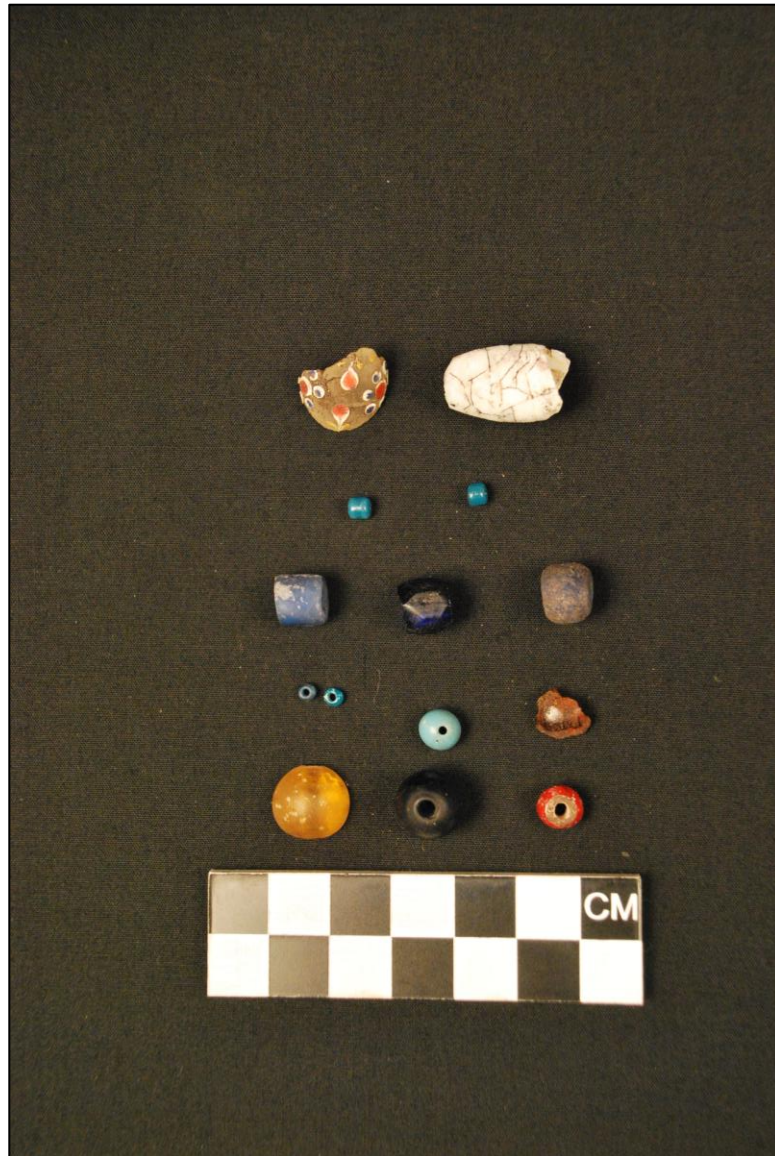


Figure 4.11. Examples of beads found in the plank house assemblage.



Figure 4.12. Brass plate inscribed with the word "BABY".

<i>Clothing</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	0	18.675	Fort	0	6.5511	Plank	25	16.13
Plank	25	6.325	Frame	9	2.4489*	Frame	9	17.87
Chi Square	73.814		24.076		9.28			
p-value	< 0.0001		< 0.0001		= 0.0023			

Table 4.18. Chi-square results for Clothing group. * Indicates that the expected value is smaller than is recommended for this test.

The second predicted correlate for Hypothesis 2 was that the frame house assemblage would contain greater number of items associated with Euro-American dress. Items of Euro-American dress are present in both household assemblages and, contrary to stated expectations, fasteners and clothing material occur in higher numbers in the plank house assemblage than the frame house assemblage. The term “fasteners” refers to clothing studs, grommets, buckles, snaps, and safety pins. The difference in numbers of these items between

the two assemblages is significant ($\chi^2 = 9.28$, $p = 0.0023$) (Table 4.19). Notably fewer buttons also were found in the frame house than the plank house assemblage and the difference between the two was not significant ($\chi^2 = 2.575$, $p = 0.1086$) (Table 4.20). Buttons (Figure 4.13) are known to be used for traditional decoration, as well as for clothing fasteners and this may explain the result.

Euro-American shoes (Figure 4.14) are another item of dress found at Old Bella Bella. A significant difference in the amount of footwear items exists between the two households ($\chi^2 = 11.307$, $p = 0.0008$) and between the fort and plank house assemblages ($\chi^2 = 14.992$, $p < 0.0001$) (Table 4.20). As with other clothing items, there is not a significant difference between the fort and frame house assemblages ($\chi^2 = 0.391$, $p = 0.5318$). This suggests an increased consumption in Euro-American footwear following missionary arrival, resulting in increasing similarity in Heiltsuk and Euro-American dress. In addition to buttons, fasteners, and shoes, the frame house assemblage also contains a bottle of sewing machine oil (Figure 4.15); an indicator of adoption of Euro-American methods of clothing manufacture.

The analysis illustrates differences in the amount of clothing items between the household assemblages, but in a way opposite to the predicted outcome. That pattern notwithstanding, Hudson's Bay Company inventory records do indicate an increase in consumption of European clothing over time (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1 1876-1882). These show that the HBC was stocking Euro-American shirts in small amounts prior to missionary arrival in 1877, but increased their clothing inventory considerably beginning in 1880, the same year that the missionaries arrived. The diversity of clothing types expanded as well. As reported, there were a large amount of men's and boy's shirts and pants and women's dresses, as well as handkerchiefs, caps, coats, and other clothing items available in 1880. That this is not reflected in the archaeological record is potentially problematic, possibly reflecting sampling bias or the insensitivity of my typology to documented variation. The Hudson's Bay Company records also show men's, women's, and children's boots being brought to Old Bella Bella beginning in 1880.

Evidence of tobacco and alcohol use was predicted to decrease substantially from the plank house assemblage to the frame house assemblage. A difference between the numbers of clay tobacco pipe fragments in the two household assemblages is apparent. Clay pipe

<i>Adornment/ Clothing</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	4	15.687	Fort	4	10.1906	Plank	17	12.8358
Plank	17	5.313	Frame	10	3.8094*	Frame	10	14.642
Chi Square	34.416				13.824			2.575
p-value	< 0.0001				= 0.0002			= 0.1086

Table 4.19. Chi-square results for Adornment/Clothing group. * Indicates that the expected value is smaller than is recommended for this test.

<i>Footwear</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	57	44.07	Fort	57	54.59	Plank	2	9.51
Plank	2	14.93	Frame	18	20.41	Frame	18	10.49
Chi Square	14.992				0.391			11.307
p-value	< 0.0001				= .5318			= 0.0008

Table 4.20. Chi-square results for Footwear group.



Figure 4.13. Examples of buttons found at Old Bella Bella.



Figure 4.14. Shoe fragments found at Old Bella Bella.



Figure 4.15. Bottle of Sperm Sewing Machine Oil from the frame house assemblage.

fragments (Figure 4.16) are all but absent in the frame house assemblage but well represented in the fort and plank house assemblages, and the differences between each pair of assemblages was found to be significant (Table 4.21). HBC ship inventories record tobacco and tobacco pipes in the late 1870s and early 1880s (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882), so it does appear that at least some Old Bella Bella residents were continuing to smoke after the arrival of the missionaries. Methodist doctrines, however, had strict rules against drinking, dancing, and smoking (Bolt 1992). They drew a strong parallel between bodily purity and spiritual purity, a subject that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The observed pattern, with very few clay pipe fragments present in the frame house assemblage, is no doubt a consequence.

Evidence of alcohol seems to be present across the site. Bottle glass was categorized on the basis of shape and color. Alcohol bottles and bottle stoppers were classified under the Indulgences group, while medicine bottles were designated as Indulgences/Medicinal, as patent medicines may have been used both to treat ailments and as indulgence items. Patent



Figure 4.16. Examples of tobacco pipe fragments from Old Bella Bella.

<i>Pipes</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>
Fort	33	62.75	Fort	33	25.48	Plank	51	25.2
Plank	51	21.25	Frame	2	9.52	Frame	2	27.8
Chi Square	55.755			8.16			50.358	
p-value	< 0.0001			= 0.0043			< 0.0001	

Table 4.21. Chi-square results for Tobacco Pipes.

medicines contained high alcohol content and some were served in saloons by the glass (Young 1961:130). Glass fragments that lacked identifying characteristics necessary to determine the function of the bottle from which they came were categorized as Vessel Glass Fragments and assigned to the Unknown group.

Both alcohol and patent medicine bottles (Figure 4.17) were found in both households (Table 4.15). While the difference in the number of alcohol bottles was not found to be significant between the two households ($\chi^2 = 2.176$, $p = 0.1401$) (Table 4.22), the difference in the number of medicine bottles was ($\chi^2 = 6.861$, $p = 0.0088$) (Table 4.23). Methodist admonitions against drinking do not appear to result in the predicted decrease in alcohol-related artifacts in the frame house assemblage, though the reason for their presence is uncertain.

Available Hudson's Bay Company ship inventories for Old Bella Bella include only one case of rum, shipped in 1880, the same year that the missionaries arrived; conversely, multiple shipments of medicine are recorded (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882). Since vessel glass is present at the frame house site, alcohol may have continued to be consumed at Old Bella Bella, even if it was not being shipped there for sale at the trade store, however, Chief Humchitt, in an 1881 address to the superintendant of Indian affairs, Dr. Israel Wood Powell, pointed out that the Heiltsuk had given up alcohol in his request for help obtaining a sawmill for the construction of plank houses:

We hope our chief, Dr. Powell, will see that there is a change among the people of Bella Bella. We have given up the potlatch and the dance. We have no more gambling nor whiskey drinking. All our people want to become better and do what's right. . . . As we have given up all our bad practices we want to give up our houses too. That is why we ask for a saw-mill (Chief Humchitt, as quoted in Harkin 1997).



Figure 4.17. Medicine bottle from the frame house assemblage, marked "PAIN KILLER" on one side, and "VEGETABLE" on the opposite side.

<i>Bottle Glass/ Stoppers</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	59	123.255	Fort	59	112.097	Plank	106	95.555
Plank	106	41.745	Frame	95	41.903	Frame	95	105.445
Chi Square	132.40		92.432		2.176			
p-value	< 0.0001		< 0.0001		= 0.1401			

Table 4.22. Chi-square results for Bottle Glass and Bottle Stoppers.

<i>Indulgences/ Medicinal</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		
Fort	0	3.735*	Fort	0	13.83	Plank	5	11.41
Plank	5	1.265*	Frame	19	5.17	Frame	19	12.59
Chi Square	14.763		50.826		6.861			
p-value	< 0.0001		< 0.0001		= 0.0088			

Table 4.23. Chi-square results for Indulgences/Medicinal group. * Indicates that the expected value is smaller than is recommended for this test.

Patent medicines were marketed as health-related goods and may have been a product accepted by the Methodist mission. It may also be that alcohol bottles may have been recycled for other uses that led to their presence.

4.4.7 Storage Items

Items related to storage were found in each component, but not in great enough numbers to require a chi-square test (Table 4.24). A number of small (approximately 3 cm in height and 2.5 cm in diameter), cylindrical containers were found in the frame house, and a single one of these items was found in the plank house (Figure 4.18). The purpose of these items could not be determined.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Fort</i>	<i>Fort</i>	<i>Plank</i>	<i>Plank</i>	<i>Frame</i>	<i>Frame</i>
		<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>

Food Storage	Mason Jars	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.09%
Mass Storage	Barrel Hoops	1	0.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Unident.	Sm.	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	27	1.25%
Total		1	0.05%	1	0.04%	29	1.34%

Table 4.24. Storage items found in each component.



Figure 4.18. Unidentified small container from the frame house assemblage.

4.4.8 Unknown Items

Several types of artifacts were found at Old Bella Bella that could not be assigned to a class because use could not be determined (Table 4.25). Among these items was a piece of pigment, probably hematite, found in the plank house. While no similar items were present in the frame house, HBC ship inventories record Chinese vermilion being brought to Old Bella

Class	Type	Fort N	Fort %	Plank N	Plank %	Frame N	Frame %
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Unknown	Bone, Ground Tip	2	0.00%	0	0.15%	0	0.00%
	Chain	0	0.00%	4	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Nozzle	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Pigment	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.05%
	Vessel Glass Frags	239	12.51%	235	11.01%	832	38.39%
	Weight	0	0.00%	0	0.04%	1	0.05%
	Wire Spring	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
	Woven Fabric	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	3	0.14%

Table 4.25. Unknown items found in each component.

Bella in the early 1880s (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882). This product may have served the same function, potentially indicating a continuation of traditional forms of art.

4.5 Summary

By classifying the artifact assemblage recovered from the 1982 Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin excavation into categories, beginning with broad groups and the subdividing them into more specific types, it was possible to compare the nature of fort, plank house, and frame house assemblages. Where the sample sizes are appropriate, observed versus expected distributions also were tested using the chi square statistic. Documentary evidence was used to aid in the evaluation of the results. While the findings must be interpreted with caution and are often inconclusive, they do provide a starting point for learning about changing patterns of material culture use by the Heiltsuk from initial interactions with the Hudson's Bay Company to the post Missionary era.

Artifacts related to traditional dress and decoration are present in much higher numbers in the plank house than the frame house. Items of Euro-American clothing were more abundant in the plank house than the frame house, with the exception of shoes, which were found in greater numbers in the frame house. Hudson's Bay Company records indicate that many Euro-American clothing items were being shipped to Old Bella Bella, and the lack of corresponding archaeological evidence of its presence suggests that it either did not survive or that it was discarded elsewhere.

Evidence of firearms, which first served as prestige items and weapons of war, and later served in traditional subsistence activities, is present in the plank house assemblage but absent

from the frame house assemblage. Very few items related to traditional subsistence were found, and none were related to Euro-American style farming or gardening.

Architectural items are a higher percentage of the plank house assemblage than was the frame house assemblage. This is in opposition to the original prediction. Nails, however, were used by the Heiltsuk to affix permanent siding to their houses, and historical photographs show that windows and doors were added to traditional houses at Old Bella Bella beginning in the 1870s (Hobler 2000). These practices no doubt resulted in the observed rather than predicted pattern for the architectural assemblage.

The presence of microblades and other lithic tools in the Fort McLoughlin assemblage indicates a pre-contact use of the site. The projectile point and lithic debitage recovered from the plank house may be related to the house's occupation.

As noted by Marshall and Maas (1997:279-280), the most abundant ceramic vessel types found in the plank house were bowls, cups, and saucers, all of which could serve multiple purposes and were useful for serving food from traditional-style serving basins, and crocks that could be used to store food. Bowls decline in the frame house assemblage in favour of plates, and a greater variety of dish types are represented, which they hypothesize is the result of a switch to Victorian-style individual place settings and specialized, rather than multipurpose dishes. This, in their view, illustrates changing patterns of etiquette in the dinner service.

There is a drop in clay tobacco pipe fragments from the plank house to the frame house, likely a consequence of Methodist prohibitions against smoking. Methodist doctrine also frowned upon drinking. There is no corresponding decrease in alcohol related artifacts and there is an increase in the presence of patent medicine bottles in the frame house. This may be a consequence of Methodist beliefs, and an attempt to imbibe alcohol in a more acceptable form. It may represent an increased use of Euro-American medicine. As noted previously, Chief Humchitt reported that the population of Old Bella Bella gave up alcohol as part of conversion to Methodism, so the presence of bottle glass may not be related to alcohol consumption. It is possible that these bottles were recycled and being used for entirely different purposes than originally intended.

It was predicted that traditional goods and Euro-American goods used in traditional contexts would make up the majority of the plank house assemblage, while Euro-American goods would dominate the frame house assemblage and reflect all aspects of Euro-American life. In several aspects, the results of the analysis seem to agree with the predictions made regarding the general consumption of Euro-American goods at Old Bella Bella, though not conclusively so. Some types of items that likely served traditional functions, such as beads and bangles for decoration, firearms used for either warfare or to signal prestige, and dishware that might have been used in traditional contexts, as discussed above, were found in greater numbers in the plank house than the frame house. However, the firearms category had too few items to conduct a chi-square test, and the results for the dishware category may be related to vessel breakage patterns. The single piece of pigment that was recovered may point to traditional art practices taking place, but is hardly conclusive. In the frame house, more Euro-American footwear, more types of dishware, fewer artifacts related to firearms, fewer items related to tobacco consumption, and more Euro-American furniture items were present. Again, these results must be interpreted cautiously due to low artifact counts.

In several instances, the stated predictions did not hold true. While more Euro-American items occupying traditional roles were present in the plank house, few traditionally manufactured items were found in either assemblage. Alcohol-related items did not disappear in the frame house assemblage, and there was no increase in the amount of Euro-American tools from the plank house to the frame house. No gardening or farming items were found.

Generally, Euro-American items used in traditional roles, are more prevalent the plank house assemblage than the frame house assemblage, but few traditionally manufactured items are present. These results, possible explanations and interpretations, and their implications for the hypotheses being tested will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, chi-square tests were used to compare the artifact assemblages for the plank house, frame house, and Fort McLoughlin components at Old Bella Bella. The results of these tests will now be discussed and used to assess the hypotheses put forth regarding the adoption of Euro-American culture by the Heiltsuk at Old Bella Bella. This is followed by a discussion about the changing role of Euro-American material culture at the site.

The chi-square test was chosen for statistical analysis because it provides a way of comparing the similarity between two assemblages. Because the test converts the frequency of each artifact category's occurrence into a proportion rather than comparing the actual numbers, it accounts for differences in assemblage size. While this test was useful for evaluating some artifact categories, many contained too few artifacts for it to be applied. In some cases, the number of artifacts in a category was high enough for a chi-square test to be calculated, but still relatively small to be drawing broad conclusions based upon the results of statistical analysis.

5.2 Heiltsuk Adoption of Euro-American Goods during the Fur Trade

The early contact period at Old Bella Bella was marked by interactions between the Heiltsuk and Hudson's Bay Company fur traders. While the fur traders were eager to introduce the Heiltsuk to items of Euro-American material culture for trading purposes, they did not direct them as to how to use them, or attempt to convince them to conform to other aspects of Euro-American culture. Based on this, the first hypothesis presented in this thesis is that initially, the types of Euro-American goods adopted by the Heiltsuk at Old Bella Bella would be those that fit easily into traditional roles, or conferred a social or economic advantage.

Several of my findings related to the plank house component appear to display the characteristics in support of this hypothesis qualitatively, though, as previously discussed, many artifact categories were too small to evaluate statistically. As predicted, items occupying traditional roles were present in higher numbers in the plank house than in the frame house assemblage, which dates to a somewhat later period of contact marked at Old Bella Bella by the

presence of Methodist missionaries. Euro-American goods, though often used in traditional contexts, made up the vast majority of the assemblage compared to traditionally manufactured items. This is likely attributable to the Heiltsuk having had access to Euro-American goods through the maritime fur trade for nearly fifty years prior to the establishment of the Old Bella Bella settlement. Hobler (1986:21-22) found an increasing amount of Euro-American goods and corresponding decrease in items of traditional manufacture over time in his examination of eight contact-era sites on the central coast of British Columbia.

The plank house assemblage differed from what was predicted in several areas. Some Euro-American architectural items were predicted to be present in the plank house assemblage, though the high number of them was somewhat unexpected. Permanent siding was affixed to plank houses as the seasonal round dwindled and settlements became more permanent, and other Euro-American features were incorporated as well (Hobler 1986). The addition of such attributes was practiced at other sites on the Northwest Coast besides Old Bella Bella. Extensive Euro-American architectural modifications are documented at the Haida village of Kaasan and in Bella Coola settlements; in both cases these modifications are believed to have been used to convey status, rather than simply to conform to Euro-American architectural standards (Blackman 1976). If this was also the case at Old Bella Bella, then these architectural items – and resulting modifications – were both practical and decorative, and were incorporated into traditional practices, despite being used to create a more Euro-American appearing house.

The difference in the amount of Euro-American clothing associated with the plank house and frame house assemblage was statistically significant. Euro-American clothing made up a higher, though still small, percentage of the plank house assemblage than the frame house assemblage, suggesting that there was little change in its popularity between the earlier and later periods. Heiltsuk oral history and Hudson's Bay Company documentary evidence seems to tell a different story. In Gordon Reid Sr.'s retelling of the historical narrative, *The First Schooner*, he relates the events of the first Heiltsuk encounter with a steamboat. An elderly couple visits a vessel, where they are given, among other items, Euro-American clothing to wear. Upon returning home, the other residents will not allow them to leave their canoe and join them until they change back into their cedar bark clothes (Harkin 1988:105). While some types of Euro-American goods were accepted readily, this story suggests that Euro-American clothing may not have been initially of interest to the Heiltsuk.

Regarding tool technology, it was predicted that traditional tools would be present in the plank house assemblage, and that metal tools would resemble traditional ones in form and function. While lithic tools were present in the plank house assemblage, some clearly predate the period related to the house, and it cannot be said with certainty that any are contemporaneous to it. No metal tools fashioned in traditional styles were discovered. By the time of the establishment of Fort McLoughlin, the Heiltsuk were already familiar with Euro-American tool technology. Euro-American axes are specifically mentioned in *The First Schooner* as gift items given to the couple that visits the trade ship (Harkin 1988:105). Euro-American tools may have already largely replaced traditional ones by the time the plank house was built.

The lack of traditionally manufactured items in the Old Bella Bella assemblage is noteworthy. The majority of the artifacts found in the plank house component were predicted to be traditional items made of stone, bone, or shell. Instead, only a small number of lithic tools were recovered. No shell items were found. Hobler reported four artifacts from Old Bella Bella in a “bone and antler” category in his paper contact era Northwest Coast sites (Hobler 1986:21), however these were not found with the stored collection. There is also a lack of Euro-American materials repurposed for traditional uses. In his study of nineteenth century Nuu-chah-nulth sites in Barkley Sound, Sellers reported a number of repurposed items, such as ceramic sherds made into decorative inlays, glass flaked into expedient tools, pierced thimbles, and copper strips reworked into tinklers (Sellers 2013). Conversely, in the Old Bella Bella assemblage, copper tinklers are the only artifacts of this type present.

Hobler speculated that the community of Old Bella Bella may not have really begun to grow until after the Hudson’s Bay Company departed in 1843 (Hobler 1986:22). If this was the case, perhaps the population of the settlement had been exposed to fur trade goods for so long that Euro-American items had largely replaced traditional ones by the time that the plank house that was excavated was established. While this is one possible reason for this result, it is only speculation. This near absence of traditionally manufactured and repurposed goods at the site, especially within the plank house component, is an unexpected result and is not easily explained.

While traditionally manufactured goods were relatively scarce in the plank house assemblage, Euro-American goods were present in most of the areas of life in which it was predicted that they would be found, possibly serving traditional roles. Results also point toward

Euro-American goods being incorporated by the Heiltsuk largely in ways that fit into their traditional culture or conferred an advantage. These results are tempered by the small data set in many of the categories examined, and the available information is not sufficient to say conclusively whether Hypothesis One is correct.

5.3 The Heiltsuk and the Lasting Impact of the Fur Trade

During the fur trade period, prior to missionary arrival, the Heiltsuk consumed Euro-American goods and incorporated them into their culture as they saw fit. It was not in the interests of Hudson's Bay Company fur traders to upset or insult their trading partners, and they so they were not concerned with attempting to alter traditional lifeways (Drucker 1965:196-197; Duff 1969:9; Fisher 1997; Hobler 2000). While the Heiltsuk benefitted from the presence of Fort McLoughlin as a convenient place to obtain the goods that they desired (Harkin 1997:35, 138), the Hudson's Bay Company was dependent upon the Heiltsuk for the fort's continued existence. Interactions with fur traders did result in cultural changes, but the changes that took place during this time stemmed from existing cultural patterns and were relatively gradual when compared to later periods in which attempts were made to directly impose cultural change (Drucker 1965:197; Fisher 1997:17).

The fur trade was incorporated into Heiltsuk economic strategies. In addition to directly trading furs with the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain desired goods, often at what the fur traders deemed exorbitant prices (Drucker 1965:195; Fisher 1977:26-27; Harkin 1997:138), the Heiltsuk found other ways to profit. Establishing a settlement next to Fort McLoughlin prevented them from being cut out as middlemen for interior peoples who wished to conduct trade (Fisher 1977:30; Hobler 2000). When Fort McLoughlin was abandoned in 1843, the Heiltsuk continued to find ways to benefit from it, selling wood, including wood taken from the fort's structures, to trading ships to power HBC vessels (Hobler 2000).

Though the Heiltsuk may have had to develop new strategies to make the most of the presence of Fort McLoughlin, the establishment of a settlement in order to take advantage of trade was not a new behavior for the Heiltsuk. Hobler relates that when he attempted to find a correlation between settlement sites and the most productive salmon streams and was unable to do so. When told of this discovery, Heiltsuk elders suggested that he examine trade as a determining factor for settlement locations rather than food resources (Hobler 2000).

While trade with the Hudson's Bay Company may have been an extension of existing cultural patterns, it did have consequences for Heiltsuk economic culture, and, as a result, other areas of Heiltsuk life. The fur trade created a system in which participants became increasingly indebted over time, resulting on an increased dependency upon Euro-American goods and the gradual disappearance of traditional technology (Burley 1996:131). As the Heiltsuk became familiar with, and increasingly reliant upon, Euro-American goods, they became part of a new system. This system eventually required them to transition to a cash-based economy following the Hudson's Bay Company's 1877 decision to cease accepting any items besides cash or furs as payment at a time when the fur market was in decline (Maas 1990:13).

This transition from a trade-based to cash-based economy encouraged the Heiltsuk to find wage-based employment, often in canneries, in order to pay off their debts and/or purchase goods. The increasing nucleation of the Heiltsuk at Old Bella Bella, combined with a large portion of the community's employment at canneries resulted in a shortening of the traditional seasonal round (Hobler 2000). Less time spent gathering food and other supplies meant that they had to be purchased instead, continuing to lock the Heiltsuk into this new economic system. These changes helped to create a situation favorable to missionaries seeking to convert the population at Old Bella Bella. Harkin sees acceptance of capitalism as a necessary ingredient for conversion to Methodism, which preached the importance of long days and hard work (1997:144). Bolt says that cash was required to buy the outward trappings of Methodist life (1992:49). The changes seen at Old Bella Bella following the arrival of missionaries in the 1880s, then, have roots in this earlier, fur trade contact period.

5.4 Heiltsuk Adoption of Euro-American Goods following Methodist Missionary Arrival

The second hypothesis presented in this thesis is that Euro-American material culture was actively used by Methodist missionaries at Old Bella Bella as part of their enculturation strategy. Many of my findings agree with the stated predictions, including a dearth of traditional dress and decorative items, an increase in Euro-American footwear, the presence of items associated with permanent architecture, an absence of firearms, a near absence of traditional lithic items, an increase in Euro-American dining items, and an increase in variety of dish types. Again, statistical results are not conclusive, due to issues such as small sample sizes in some

categories. As with the plank house, Euro-American goods make up the vast majority of the frame house assemblage, and traditionally used items appear to be nearly absent.

Findings for the frame house assemblage were contrary to expectations in several areas. As noted above, Euro-American clothing is present in the frame house assemblage, but the expected increase in clothing items from the plank house to the frame house does not occur. Documentary evidence helps to interpret this result. According to Hudson's Bay Company records, more types of clothing were being stocked at the Old Bella Bella trade store in increasing numbers in the early 1880s than in the 1870s. Missionary reports also mention change from traditional to Euro-American dress (UCCBCCA 1880-1906). This suggests that Euro-American clothing did become more popular following missionary arrival, though archaeological evidence does not confirm this.

While dishes in general conform to predictions in the frame house assemblage, ceramic cups and saucers cannot be easily categorized as supporting or opposing predictions about dining artifacts. Cups and saucers, which were known to be popular potlatch gifts both before and after missionary arrival, were present in similar numbers in both household assemblages. Whether these items were being used for their intended purpose or as potlatch gifts cannot be said, but given their popularity during the missionary period at Old Bella Bella as potlatch items, the possibility remains that they were being used for traditional activities, rather than as part of the lifestyle prescribed by the missionaries.

A similar situation occurs in the area of subsistence. The prediction was made that items reflecting traditional subsistence activities will have little presence in the frame house assemblage, and that items reflecting Euro-American subsistence activities will be present. It is true that only a few items that might be associated with traditional subsistence were found in the frame house, but a shell midden was also reported by Hobler to be associated with the frame houses at Old Bella Bella, indicating that some traditional subsistence was taking place. Farming and gardening tools, which would be expected if Euro-American subsistence was being practiced, were not present in the assemblage, but HBC records show that seeds and animal feed were being shipped to the settlement in increasing numbers after the arrival of the missionaries (HBCA, invoices, B.120.z.1, 1876-1882). This implies that the predicted shift in subsistence styles was taking place, though traditional methods were still being practiced.

Evidence of alcohol and tobacco consumption was expected to drop following missionary arrival due to Methodist admonitions against such indulgences. Evidence of alcohol is present in the frame house assemblage similar to the plank house assemblage, and the frame house assemblage also demonstrates an increase in the presence of medicine bottles. This may be representative of increased reliance on Euro-American medical treatments, a more socially acceptable form of alcohol consumption, or may have an entirely different explanation. As noted in the previous chapter, Chief Humchitt specifically mentioned that Heiltsuk converts to Methodism had given up drinking in his request for a saw mill. Tobacco use, however, does appear to drop significantly following missionary arrival, despite also being an indulgence discouraged by the Methodists.

In many instances, it appears that there is an increase of Euro-American items being used in their intended Euro-American contexts. There are also areas, such as dining items, where it is difficult to interpret whether the items were being used in traditional or Euro-American contexts. For Hypothesis Two, the correlate was developed that if it is correct, the frame house assemblage will be characterized by a dearth of goods reflecting traditional social values coupled with an increase in Euro-American goods reflecting Euro-American values, and that goods contrary to Christian norms will be rare. The findings just discussed support an increase in Euro-American goods, though it is often difficult to interpret the context in which they were being used. They do not fully support a decrease in goods contrary to Christian norms. It appears that Hypothesis 2 may be only partly correct.

5.5 Heiltsuk Reactions to Methodist Enculturation Strategies

Material culture seems to have played an important role in Methodist attempts to enculturate the Heiltsuk to Euro-American lifeways. The missionaries were quite concerned that their congregation looked the part of good Christians and have all the outer trappings associated with that manner of life. There was a special emphasis on clothing, which Drucker says was intertwined with Christianity on the Northwest Coast as Christian concepts of morality and shame were introduced (1965:190). The reverend Charles M. Tate makes several references to the changes in the manner in which the Heiltsuk dress following the establishment of the mission, notably saying “One year ago they (the Heiltsuk) might have been found in the midst of heathenism of the darkest and most cruel nature - to-day, many of them are ‘sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in their right mind’” (UCCBCCA 1880-1906). This quote was

made within a year of the mission's establishment, suggesting that the Heiltsuk complied with missionary teachings regarding clothing early on.

Missionaries also insisted upon a change from traditional housing to single-family frame houses. Residents of this new house type were expected to maintain a Euro-American lifestyle within it, which required Euro-American material culture. Traditional foods were discouraged, because gathering the ingredients necessary for their preparation required moving from place to place, and the missionaries preferred to keep their flock in one location (Harkin 1997:93-94). New table settings were required for serving new food types according to Victorian customs, and new furniture was required so that this food could be served and eaten in the proper, Euro-American manner.

Maintaining a Methodist lifestyle meant maintaining Methodist standards of cleanliness. Physical cleanliness was equated with spiritual cleanliness (Harkin 1996b:648). Houses were expected to be clean and orderly. A frequent comment made by missionaries on the subject of Heiltsuk houses is that they were "dark" and "dirty" (UCCBCCA1880-1906; Jackson 1898; Crosby 1914; Bolt 1992:65). While they discuss dirt and dinginess, there is also implication of spiritual impurity. Crosby states that "the only way to save the souls of his charges is to "get them out of the wretched squalor and dirt of their old lodges and sweat houses and into better homes" (as quoted in Hare 1995:95). Following the establishment of the mission at Old Bella Bella, the missionary's wife took up the task of teaching Heiltsuk women to make brooms with which to clean their new houses (Harkin 1996b:649), and emphasis was often placed on the cleanliness and orderliness of these new homes compared to the previously inhabited dwellings (Jackson 1898; Harkin 1996b).

Similar to the linking of physical and spiritual cleanliness was the equation of bodily and spiritual purity. The Methodists discouraged alcohol and tobacco use because they were seen as pollutants of the body (Harkin 1997:93; Bolt 1992: 29). Alcohol was also discouraged because of its potential to be socially disruptive, and further, was believed to be a direct cause of disease (Harkin 1997:93). In his book, *Life among the An-Ko-Me-Nums or Flathead Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, Reverend Thomas Crosby recounts the story of a man who, after converting to Methodism, has a dream in which he is told that he will not get into Heaven if he continues to smoke tobacco (Crosby 1907:225-227). Unlike so many items of Euro-American material culture, for which consumption was encouraged, the use of these products was not condoned. A

clean body and a clean environment were necessary for a clean soul, according to Methodist thinking.

While many of the Heiltsuk moved into new forms of dwellings, changed their outward appearances, and bought the outward trappings of Methodism, this does not mean that the missionaries were entirely successful in eradicating traditional culture, only that they were successful in convincing the Heiltsuk to give the outward appearance of complying with their wishes. There are many examples of change brought about by the missionaries at Old Bella Bella, but there are also plenty of examples of resistance to their enculturation attempts. The Methodists may have frowned upon the consumption of alcohol and tobacco at Old Bella Bella, but the archaeological and documentary records suggest the possibility of their continued consumption. Missionaries insisted on the Heiltsuk living in Euro-American style houses, but these houses were built with large open spaces, suited to accommodating traditional gatherings (Maas 1990:92). When the Reverend Tate's wife, Catherine, visited Heiltsuk women, she complained of finding them sitting on the floor, as they would have in their former homes, rather than upon furniture (Black 1997:67).

For the missionaries, the most vexing behavior that could not be eradicated was the potlatch. Traditional ceremonies were discouraged, and even outlawed by the Canadian government (Harkin 1997:146; Hobler 2000), but potlatching continued under new guises. Reverend R.W. Large reported

A man gives a party and calls his friends to dine with him. They come dressed in their best, and a blessing is probably asked upon the food, and all goes well till the after-dinner time. Then someone gets up, perhaps, and gives a new name to the giver of the feast, and he, in turn may distribute some small gifts, handkerchiefs, dress goods or spoons. The departing guests carry home with them food, and it may be a more generous supply is give to the head chiefs. Small things these, you may say, but they are the over-shadowings of the old potlatch" (R. W. Large, as quoted in R. Geddes Large 1968:15-16).

Crosby called the potlatch one of "the many evils of heathenism," "the worst, in fact, with the exception of witchcraft", and "one of the most difficult to root out" (1907:106).

Traditional activities continued in other aspects of life besides the potlatch. Black (1997) demonstrates that traditional art continued to be produced, and continued to evolve, after the

establishment of the Old Bella Bella mission. Traditional ways of life apparently resurged when the residents of Bella Bella were out from under the watchful eyes of the Methodists. The missionaries were worried about their congregation's "backsliding" when working at canneries or elsewhere and took steps to visit them in order to curb this (UCCBCCA 1880-1906; Harkin 1997:119). Moving seasonally from Old Bella Bella to the canneries was in itself a version of the seasonal round.

These examples of resistance do not alter the fact that real changes were taking place at Old Bella Bella, but they do demonstrate that the Heiltsuk did not have change forced upon them entirely against their will (Hobler 2000). While they accepted many forms of Euro-American life from an early point, they did not do so uncritically (Harkin 1990). They incorporated the aspects of Methodism that they wanted to, and negotiated the parts that they found unattractive.

5.6 Conclusion

Material culture analysis at Old Bella Bella reveals that the adoption of Euro-American goods was a complex process. Rather than a steady transition from traditional goods to Euro-American goods used in Euro-American contexts, it seems that different types of goods were incorporated into different roles at different times. Historical documentation alone does not offer a complete picture of how these items were adopted. Archaeological evidence, in conjunction with historical documentation and oral historical evidence to provide context, provides a fuller picture of the process of material culture adoption.

Through this study of material culture, we are able to learn about life during the contact period at the Old Bella Bella – Fort McLoughlin site. Euro-American material culture had a changing, but important role in the history of Old Bella Bella. The fur trade provided the Heiltsuk with access to an increasing variety of Euro-American material culture. The Heiltsuk placed themselves in a position to exert some control the trade of these goods, increasing the wealth of their community. Over time, the rising dependence upon Euro-American goods incorporated the Heiltsuk into a new economic system, one that required cash, and therefore wage labor. Working at canneries like the one nearby at Rivers Inlet to earn a wage did not eliminate the seasonal round, but it did shorten it. Relative sedentism, compared to previous times, and wage labor have been argued to have set the stage for acceptance of missionary teachings because

hard work was a virtue preached by the Methodists and a sedentary lifestyle made it easier for the missionaries to supervise their congregants.

The Heiltsuk were also reportedly receptive to Methodist missionaries because they saw advantages to developing a relationship with them. The missionaries were viewed as a power source, and allying with them could convey status and be helpful in dealing with the Canadian government. The Heiltsuk fared better than some of their neighbors due to their willingness to adapt to changing circumstances. The Oowekeeno refused to accept Methodist aid or ideology, and, unlike the Heiltsuk, whose population began to grow by 1916, their population continued to decline until 1940 (Hilton 1990:320).

Methodism required that the Heiltsuk abandon their traditional lifeways and take up Euro-American ones, requiring a new set of material cultural items. Material culture, then, appears to have been an important and successful part of the Methodists' enculturation strategy. The new, Euro-American items rapidly and irreversibly replaced traditional material culture (Hobler 2000).

The Heiltsuk attended church, dressed in Euro-American clothing, used Euro-American goods, and lived in Euro-American houses; however, they also practiced the potlatch under the guise of parties, as illustrated in the above Large quote, and created house layouts conducive to group gatherings. The Heiltsuk seem to have accepted the parts of Methodism and Euro-American life that suited them, and worked around the parts that did not. The material culture that provided the Heiltsuk with the outward trappings of Christianity also provided new representations of material wealth that could be incorporated into existing systems of status.

Heiltsuk culture changed, but it did not disappear. As interpreted by Black (1997) and to Hobler (2000) Euro-American culture was appropriated by the Heiltsuk according to their needs and desires. Harkin (1997) also argues that the Heiltsuk were able to control aspects of Methodist culture by incorporating them into their own. Perhaps it is for this reason that while Boas states in *Old Bella Bella Texts* (1928:ix) that there is nothing left of traditional culture at the settlement, he also writes in a letter that "The changes which have taken place since I was here the first time in 1886 are almost unbelievable.... Outwardly all the people are Methodists, (but) their former *Weltanschauung* (world view) is still deeply anchored in them" (Boas, as quoted in Black 1997:19-20).

The changes seen over the sixty-plus year span of Old Bella Bella's occupation are intertwined with the changing role of Euro-American material culture at the site. The ways in which it was used reflected cultural changes and affected the course that future changes would take. By studying the adoption of new material culture at Old Bella Bella, insight can be gained about the cultural changes that took place on the northwest coast in the nineteenth-century.

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Appendix A. Artifact Catalogue

EX AREA	LVL	MATRIX	CAT NO	N	MM	FUNCTION	GROUP	TYPE
0	1	SUBLITTERMAT	103	2	0	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	MUSKET BALL
0	1	SUBLITTERMAT	104	1	30	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	MUSKET BALL
1	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1	11	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
2	0	SUBLITTERMAT	17	7	39	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
2	1	SUBLITTERMAT	16	2	113	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
2	1	SUBLITTERMAT	19	2	69	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
2	1	SUBLITTERMAT	12	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
2	1	SUBLITTERMAT	21	1	27	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
4	1	SUBLITTERMAT	492	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
4	1	SUBLITTERMAT	14	3	26	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
4	1	SUBLITTERMAT	493	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
4	2	DARK HUMUS	552	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
5	1	SUBLITTERMAT	64	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
5	2	DARK HUMUS	509	26	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
5	2	GRAVEL	510	1	13	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
5	2	GRAVEL	515A	14	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
5	2	DARK HUMUS	508	1	99	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	CAST IRON PAN
5	2	GRAVEL	515B	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
5	1	SUBLITTERMAT	63	1	26	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
5	2	DARK HUMUS	507	1	53	LITHIC	LITHIC	H.STONE
5	2	GRAVEL	511	1	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
5	2	DARK HUMUS	512	1	12	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	PENCIL LEAD
6	2	DARK HUMUS	239	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	240	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	241	36	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	1	DARK HUMUS	166	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	1	DARK HUMUS	116	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	238	1	153	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	SPIKE
6	1	DARK HUMUS	169	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	1	DARK HUMUS	165	1	65	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	242	6	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
6	3	BLACK GREY	356	6	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
6	1	DARK HUMUS	167A	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	243	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
6	2	DARK HUMUS	244	1	23	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP

6	3	BLACK GRE	355	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
6	1	DARK HUMUS	167B	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
6	2	DARK HUMUS	245	1	24	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
6	2	DARK HUMUS	246	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
6	3	BLACK GRE	354	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
6	2	DARK HUMUS	247	1	4	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
6	3	BLACK GRE	357	1	9	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
6	1	DARK HUMUS	168	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	248	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	249	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	250	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	251	7	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	252	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	253	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	2	DARK HUMUS	254	1	29	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	3	BLACK GRE	352	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	3	BLACK GRE	353	5	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
6	3	BLACK GRE	358	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	874	27	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	871	11	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	931	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	1	GRAVEL	106	11	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	873	29	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	930	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
7	1	GRAVEL	108	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	FENCING STAPLE
7	1	GRAVEL	107	1	163	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	872	1	35	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	852	1	20	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	885	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	928	1	12	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	925	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
7	1	GRAVEL	112	1	14	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
7	1	DARK HUMUS	851	1	18	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	887	1	17	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP

7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	888	1	12	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	924	1	32	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	884	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	886	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	889	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	926	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
7	1	GRAVEL	111	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
7	1	GRAVEL	113	1	37	LITHIC	LITHIC	RE TOOL
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	875	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
7	1	GRAVEL	114	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	876	1	15	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
7	1	GRAVEL	110	12	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	UNCERTAIN	853	1	3	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	877	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	LITTERMAT	878	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	879	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	880	10	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	881	1	22	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	882	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	883	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	2	SUBLITTERMAT	890	1	74	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	919	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	920	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	921	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	922	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
7	3	SUBLITTERMAT	923	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
8	1	SUBLITTERMAT	547	21	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	497	29	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	255	13	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	256	34	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	498	1	67	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	259	1	18	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER

9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	260	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	258	38	0	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
				4				
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	261	1	19	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	501	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	496	1	15	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	506	7	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	262	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	494	1	31	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	1	SUBLITTERMAT	495	1	45	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	502	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	503	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	504	1	33	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
9	2	SUBLITTERMAT	505	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	473	11	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	477	16	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	478	18	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	476	13	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	2	SUBLITTERMAT	480	1	20	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	SCREW
10	2	SUBLITTERMAT	471	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	475	6	65	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	474	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
10	1	SUBLITTERMAT	472	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
10	2	SUBLITTERMAT	479	1	23	LITHIC	LITHIC	RE TOOL
10	2	UNCERTAIN	854	1	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	933	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	934	2	54	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	935	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	938	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	942	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	943	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	944	2	132	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	2	DARK HUMUS	964	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	939	22	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	936	2	107	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	937	29	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL

11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	941	1	41	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	949	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
11	2	DARK HUMUS	959	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	950	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
11	2	DARK HUMUS	962	6	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
11	2	DARK HUMUS	957	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	945	1	54	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
11	2	DARK HUMUS	956	4	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
11	2	DARK HUMUS	954	1	1	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
11	2	DARK HUMUS	955	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	951	1	19	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	PENCIL LEAD
11	0	UNCERTAIN	855	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	946	8	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	947	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	948	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	1	SUBLITTERMAT	953	9	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	2	DARK HUMUS	958	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	2	DARK HUMUS	960	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
11	2	DARK HUMUS	963	11	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
13	0	DARK HUMUS	665	1	55	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
13	0	DARK HUMUS	667	1	76	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
13	0	DARK HUMUS	671	1	45	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN
13	0	DARK HUMUS	668	1	270	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
13	0	DARK HUMUS	661	1	13	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
13	0	DARK HUMUS	666	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
13	0	UNCERTAIN	1002	2	0	LITHICS	LITHICS	ABRADER
13	0	DARK HUMUS	669	1	52	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
13	99	DARK HUMUS	674	1	131	STORAGE	MASS STORAGE	BARREL HOOPS
13	0	DARK HUMUS	660	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
13	0	DARK HUMUS	662	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
13	0	DARK HUMUS	663	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
13	0	DARK HUMUS	664	1	29	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
13	99	DARK HUMUS	673	1	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	614	1	68	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	637	7	85	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	657	5	45	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	659	3	42	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	626	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	631	5	100	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	4	SUBLITTERMAT	632	1	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	677	1	58	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	4	SUBLITTERMAT	634	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
14	0	LITTERMAT	611	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	630	1	41	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	639	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	642	1	11	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	645	1	60	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	653	1	72	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	607	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	612	1	65	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	655	1	37	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	619	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	622	1	27	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	649	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	648	1	38	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	617	1	13	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	623	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	624	1	22	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	627	1	27	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	4	SUBLITTERMAT	633	1	27	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	613	1	45	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	629	1	7	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	0	SUBLITTERMAT	641	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	654	1	18	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	658	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	606	1	26	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	646	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	608	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	632	1	16	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	605	1	38	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	609	1	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	640	1	7	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

14	1	SUBLITTERMAT	656	3	23	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	1	UNCERTAIN	856	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	615	1	27	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	UNCERTAIN	618	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	647	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	650	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	SUBLITTERMAT	651	1	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	2	UNCERTAIN	857	1	6	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	620	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	621	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	625	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
14	3	SUBLITTERMAT	628	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	570	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	596	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
15	0	GRAVEL	590	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	SPIKE
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	592	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1056	1	73	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1060	1	45	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	597	1	55	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	LOCKING MECH.
15	0	GRAVEL	587	1	11	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	599	68	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1069	3	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1070	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1071	1	36	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	601A	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1058	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
			A					
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	601B	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
15	1	GRAVEL	588	1	29	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	600A	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1058	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SOUP PLATE
			B					
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1057	1	44	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1065	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	600B	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN

15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	595	1	100	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1063	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
15	0	GRAVEL	589	12	0	LITHIC	LITHIC	MICROBLADE
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	598	20	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1055	1	18	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1062	1	34	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1067	12	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1068	9	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1072	19	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	2	UNCERTAIN	1054	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
15	1	UNCERTAIN	1064	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	568	1	37	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
15	0	SUBLITTERMAT	593	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	581	1	105	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	576	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	571	1	37	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	582	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	574	1	17	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	580	1	24	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	603	1	38	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
16	0	SUBLITTERMAT	578	1	18	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
16	1	DARK HUMUS	675	1	7	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
17	1	DARK HUMUS	732	21	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	736	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	737	14	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	2	GRAVEL	913	1	115	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	2	BLACK GREA	917	1	1	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	733	8	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	2	BLACK GREA	912	1	70	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
17	2	GRAVEL	914	1	65	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	738	1	32	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	739	2	37	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	2	BLACK GREA	911	3	115	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	915	1	110	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
17	1	DARK HUMUS	644	1	46	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
17	1	DARK HUMUS	734	1	10	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
17	2	BLACK GREA	909	1	56	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
17	2	BLACK GREA	910	1	65	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	KEYS
17	1	DARK HUMUS	740	57	0	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE

17	1	DARK HUMUS	735	1	14	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	0	DARK HUMUS	861	3	129	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	862	24	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	863	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	864	25	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	865	29	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	866	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	867	18	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	1	UNCERTAIN	1021	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1023	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1025	1	42	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	2	DARK HUMUS	1028	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	2	SUBLITTERMAT	1049	1	28	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	868	3	25	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	1	SHELL MID	903	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1006	31	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	3	DARK HUMUS	1035	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
18	2	DARK HUMUS	1031	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
18	3	DARK HUMUS	1033	1	342 0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
18	99	DARK HUMUS	743	1	27	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
18	99	DARK HUMUS	744	1	17	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
18	0	UNCERTAIN	995	1	28	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
18	0	DARK HUMUS	858	1	53	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
18	1	SHELL MID	902	1	37	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
18	1	UNCERTAIN	1019	3	17	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
18	1	SHELL MID	905	1	72	DOMESTIC	FURNISHING	MATTING
18	99	DARK HUMUS	747	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1003	1	30	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1009	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
18	99	DARK HUMUS	746	1	21	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
18	2	SHELL MID	968	1	12	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1001	2	0	LITHIC	LITHIC	H.STONE
18	1	SHELL MID	906	1	100	LITHIC	LITHIC	H.STONE
18	1	SHELL MID	907	1	85	LITHIC	LITHIC	H.STONE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	996	1	41	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	997	1	48	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1010	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
18	1	SUBLITTERMAT	988	4	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
18	3	DARK HUMUS	1032	1	9	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE

18	99	DARK HUMUS	745	11	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1008	1	1	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
18	0	UNCERTAIN	991	1	6	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
18	1	SHELL MID	900	1	16	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
18	0	UNCERTAIN	993	1	19	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	JEWELRY
18	0	UNCERTAIN	961	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
18	2	SUBLITTERMAT	1048	1	9	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
18	0	UNCERTAIN	999	1	39	UNIDENT		BONE FRAG
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1000	1	29	UNIDENT		BONE FRAG
18	0	UNCERTAIN	992	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	0	UNCERTAIN	994	1	40	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	0	UNCERTAIN	1013	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	1	SUBLITTERMAT	869	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	1	SHELL MID	898	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	1	SHELL MID	899	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	1	UNCERTAIN	1018	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	1	UNCERTAIN	1020	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	2	SHELL MID	969	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	2	DARK HUMUS	1026	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	2	DARK HUMUS	1027	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	99	DARK HUMUS	748	1	9	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
18	99	DARK HUMUS	749	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	798	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	4	DARK HUMUS	893	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	816	31	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	796	53	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	1	LITTERMAT	755	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	813	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	790	3	27	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	772	1	12	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
31	2	DARK HUMUS	805	1	25	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
31	2	DARK HUMUS	781	1	34	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
31	2	DARK HUMUS	785	13	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS

31	2	DARK HUMUS	794	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	791	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
31	2	DARK HUMUS	812	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
31	4	DARK HUMUS	894	1	9	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
31	2	DARK HUMUS	771	1	5	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	806	1	10	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	811	2	8	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
31	2	DARK HUMUS	783	1	26	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	784	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	788	1	42	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE STOPPER
31	2	DARK HUMUS	786	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	818	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
31	2	LITTERMAT	966	1	300	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
31	2	DARK HUMUS	803	18	1	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	2	DARK HUMUS	809	15	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	3	DARK HUMUS	891	23	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	2	DARK HUMUS	802	1	7	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	2	DARK HUMUS	807	1	8	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
31	2	DARK HUMUS	808	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	2	DARK HUMUS	810	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	6	GRAVEL	1127	1	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	2	DARK HUMUS	801	1	4	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
31	1	LITTERMAT	752	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	1	LITTERMAT	757	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	1	DARK HUMUS	782	1	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	774	1	24	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	775	1	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	776	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	777	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	778	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	779	2	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	780	1	42	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	789	11	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	2	DARK HUMUS	792	1	27	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

31	2	DARK HUMUS	804	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
31	4	DARK HUMUS	892	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	1	DARK HUMUS	728	23	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	823	44	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	821	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1206	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1210	1	60	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	820	1	42	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	721	1	35	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
33	1	DARK HUMUS	727	8	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
33	2	DARK HUMUS	839	1	26	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
33	1	LITTERMAT	1205	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
33	1	DARK HUMUS	835	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
33	1	DARK HUMUS	824	1	43	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1209	1	36	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1201	1	60	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1203	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
33	3	DARK HUMUS	1208	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
33	1	DARK HUMUS	834	1	43	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
33	2	GRAVEL	750	1	15	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
33	1	DARK HUMUS	769	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
33	1	DARK HUMUS	838	1	4	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
33	1	DARK HUMUS	833	1	8	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
33	1	DARK HUMUS	832	1	6	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
33	0	0	723	9	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	1	DARK HUMUS	724	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	1	DARK HUMUS	725	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	1	DARK HUMUS	726	7	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	2	DARK HUMUS	722	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	2	GRAVEL	751	1	22	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	2	DARK HUMUS	908	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	3	GRAVEL	819	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
33	1	DARK HUMUS	1204	1	28	UNIDENT		WIRE SPRING
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	764	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	HOOK
34	5	GRAVEL	977	4	31	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL

34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	692	42	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	693	1	111	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	3	DARK HUMUS	1157	9	91	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	1	LITTERMAT	754	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	0	SUBLITTERMAT	763	29	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	5	GRAVEL	978	1	27	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	765	15	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	761	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
34	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1182	1	23	DOMESTIC	FURNISHING	DRAWER KNOB
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	762	1	13	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	698	1	45	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	766	56	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	694	1	35	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE STOPPER
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	696	6	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	767	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
34	2	GRAVEL	768	1	25	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
34	3	DARK HUMUS	1158	1	25	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
34	5	GRAVEL	981	1	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	759	1	16	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
34	3	DARK HUMUS	1160	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
34	2	SUBLITTERMAT	760	6	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
35	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1106	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1224	1	60	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1229	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1107	10	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1226	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1228	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1112	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1115	1	35	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1277	2	0	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1227	1	34	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1111	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1113	4	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1225	1	84	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1275	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
35	1	DARK HUMUS	1114	1	31	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
35	2	DARK HUMUS	1276	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	3	DARK HUMUS	1308	1	70	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	HINGE
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1079	1	23	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
36	3	DARK HUMUS	1306	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL

36	2	DARK HUMUS	1187	19	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1078	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1259	13	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1080	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1264	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1188	1	10	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
36	7	DARK HUMUS	1234	1	24	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1191	1	45	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1235	1	20	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1233	1	42	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1086	1	42	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1269	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1185	1	15	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1083	1	14	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1265	1	53	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1266	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1268	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1270	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1271	1	32	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	1	DARK HUMUS	1272	1	34	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1084	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1085	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1087	1	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1088	1	32	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1089	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1090	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1091	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1092	1	30	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1189	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
36	2	DARK HUMUS	1190	1	22	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
37	2	MIDDEN	1174	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1366	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL

37	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1038	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1041	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	1	SURFACE	1037	13	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	1	SURFACE	1121	4	150	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	2	MIDDEN	1175	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
37	1	SURFACE	1123	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1364	3	22	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1368	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
37	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1039	1	6	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
37	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1043	1	92	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
37	4	DARK HUMUS	1298	1	10	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
37	1	SURFACE	1125	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
37	2	SUBLITTERMAT	1036	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1365	1	15	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1367	2	28	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1370	1	20	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
37	2	DARK HUMUS	1369	1	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
37	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1042	1	14	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	POCKET KNIFE
37	2	MIDDEN	1178	1	53	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1094	1	104	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1128	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1222	8	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1095	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1221	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1129	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1236	3	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1282	11	70	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1283	1	70	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1237	1	23	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1281	1	22	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
38	3	SANDY GRAVEL	1419	1	81	LITHIC	LITHIC	H.STONE/GRINDER
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1280	1	10	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1240	3	35	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1220	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1284	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1285	1	35	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1286	22	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1287	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	3	SANDY GRAVEL	1413	1	33	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
38	2	DARK HUMUS	1279	1	40	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE

38	1	DARK HUMUS	1238	1	45	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
38	1	DARK HUMUS	1239	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1255	1	121	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	3	SANDY GRAVEL	1386	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1354	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1102	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1256	72	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1257	49	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1097	1	117	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	PIPE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1120	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1353	1	26	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1192	8	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	TAR PAPER
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1355	39	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1103	7	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1302	1	33	DOMESTIC	FURNISHING	DRAWER KNOB
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1173	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1171	1	121	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1105	1	41	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1181	1	14	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1195	1	48	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1104	1	33	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1300	1	33	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1301	1	11	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	3	SANDY GRAVEL	1387	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
39	2	DARK HUMUS	1299	2	21	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
39	3	SANDY GRAVEL	1388	1	72	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1254	7	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1241	1	22	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1101	1	133	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1172	1	8	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1100	1	92	UNIDENT		NOZZLE
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1179	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
39	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1180	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1248	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1336	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1337	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1252	15	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1244	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL

40	2	DARK HUMUS	1330	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1168	1	23	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1247	10	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1331	8	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1334	1	103	DOMESTIC	UTENSILS	FORK
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1333	1	80	FISHING	TACKLE	HOOK
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1167	1	33	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1249	1	27	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1332	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
40	3	DARK HUMUS	1371	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1161	2	3	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1164	2	3	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1165	8	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	2	DARK HUMUS	1335	53	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	3	DARK HUMUS	1372	4	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1166	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1162	1	7	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1163	1	7	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1243	4	85	UNIDENT		CHAIN
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1169	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
40	1	DARK HUMUS	1246	1	0	UNIDENT		WOVEN FABRIC
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1149	10	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1415	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	2	MIDDEN	1310	1	45	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	2	MIDDEN	1311	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1148	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	2	MIDDEN	1312	1	22	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1151	5	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1216	1	21	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1200	1	27	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN
41	3	DARK HUMUS	1319	1	40	LITHIC	LITHIC	PROJ POINT
41	3	DARK HUMUS	1318	3	25	LITHIC	LITHIC	RE TOOL
41	2	MIDDEN	1309	1	19	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
41	3	GRAVEL	1328	3	0	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1152	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1154	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1156	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1198	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1199	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	3	GRAVEL	1384	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE

41	7	DARK HUMUS	1197	1	20	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	113 3	DARK HUMUS	1155	1	35	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
41	2	MIDDEN	1376	1	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1217	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
41	2	MIDDEN	1313	1	34	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1436	1	3	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1218	1	15	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
41	3	GRAVEL	1385	3	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
41	1	DARK HUMUS	1417	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
41	3	GRAVEL	1382	4	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
42	2	SUBLITTERMAT	1464	1	180	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	FILE
42	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1469	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
42	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1359	1	24	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
42	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1470	1	25	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
42	2	SUBLITTERMAT	1465	1	71	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
42	1	DARK HUMUS	1119	1	256	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
42	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1471	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
42	1	DARK HUMUS	1139	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
42	1	DARK HUMUS	1140	11	28	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
42	1	DARK HUMUS	1126	1	146	PERSONAL	GROOMING	TOOTHBRUSH
42	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1472	1	29	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1321	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	1	SANDY GRAVEL	1348	4	54	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	2	DARK HUMUS	1351	5	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	2	DARK HUMUS	1476	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1352	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1475	1	20	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1477	1	29	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1327	1	20	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1323	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1324	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1328	1	55	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1329	1	27	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	1	DARK HUMUS	1474	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	2	DARK HUMUS	1479	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
43	2	DARK HUMUS	1480	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS

								FRAG
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1293	4	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
44	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1544	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
44	1	SANDY GRAVEL	1297	1	122	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	SPIKE
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1291	1	22	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1292	8	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1296	1	7	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
44	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1545	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
44	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1543	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1288	1	27	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1289	1	35	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
44	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1294	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
44	1	DARK HUMUS	1295	1	52	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
44	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1547	1	20	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1429	1	90	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	HINGE
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1407	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1406	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1432	34	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1512	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	3	DARK HUMUS	1549	11	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1433	54	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1404	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	PAINT CONTAINER
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1422	1	28	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1422	1	28	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	TACK
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1428	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1515	1	89	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WIRE
45	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1390	17	150	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1434	21	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
				2				
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1513	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1405	4	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1485	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1487	3	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1518	1	15	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1519	1	13	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1520	1	17	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1524	1	25	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	3	DARK HUMUS	1528	1	28	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1409	1	144	DOMESTIC	UTENSILS	SPOON
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1430	1	74	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
45	99	UNCERT	1595	4	0	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS

45	1	DARK HUMUS	1424	1	14	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1421	1	15	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1427	1	64	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1482	1	25	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1484	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1486	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1521	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1522	1	28	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1525	1	46	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1526	1	28	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1425	7	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1517	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
45	99	UNCERT	1596	1	4	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
45	99	UNCERT	1593	2	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1423	1	14	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
45	99	UNCERT	1592	27	1	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
45	99	UNCERT	1594	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1551	1	170	STORAGE	UNIDENT. STORAGE	SMALL CONTAINER
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1483	9	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1488	1	24	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
45	1	DARK HUMUS	1489	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1523	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
45	2	DARK HUMUS	1527	1	40	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
45	3	DARK HUMUS	1548	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1444	16	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1502	16	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1505	42	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	3	LITTERMAT	1570	20	76	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	3	LITTERMAT	1572	54	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1443	32	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	3	LITTERMAT	1565	1	145	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	PLIERS
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1446	1	132	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	SCISSORS
46	3	LITTERMAT	1520	20	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1462	1	50	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1452	1	21	ARMS/HUNTING	FIREARMS	FLINT
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1447	7	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS

46	2	DARK HUMUS	1538	2	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
46	3	LITTERMAT	1557	3	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1461	1	23	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1457	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
		A						
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1507	1	31	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1529	1	24	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1457	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
		B						
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1458	1	28	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1460	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
46	3	LITTERMAT	1561	1	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1509	1	12	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1454	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1510	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
46	3	LITTERMAT	1560	1	36	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1448	8	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1449	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1451	0	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1453	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1537	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1566	1	26	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1533	8	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1556	1	14	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1558	1	24	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1559	1	47	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1456	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1463	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1535	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1573	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1563	1	55	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1564	7	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1435	2	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1532	1	6	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	3	LITTERMAT	1552	1	2	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1437	1	1	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1438	2	6	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1503	2	6	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1504	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	3	LITTERMAT	1555	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1450	2	50	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL

46	3	LITTERMAT	1569	2	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1459	1	27	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
46	3	LITTERMAT	1553	2	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
46	3	LITTERMAT	1562	1	93	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BANGLE
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1440	3	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1441	6	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	3	LITTERMAT	1554	1	5	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	1	DARK HUMUS	1439	1	12	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1511	1	25	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1531	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
46	2	DARK HUMUS	1539	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	1	DARK HUMUS	1093	22	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1212	40	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1578	1	21	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	SCREW
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1579	1	28	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1580	6	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
47	3	DARK HUMUS	1591	1	53	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1498	1	65	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1500	1	24	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1499	1	40	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1501	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
47	3	DARK HUMUS	1590	1	13	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
47	3	DARK HUMUS	1588	1	32	LITHIC	LITHIC	CORE
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1582	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1583	1	15	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1584	1	11	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1492	2	51	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1497	2	0	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1491	1	18	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1403	1	99	UNIDENT		HANDLE
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1495	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1540	1	16	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1541	1	14	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1577	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1585	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
47	2	SANDY GRAVEL	1586	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

47	3	DARK HUMUS	1589	1	24	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1391	20	64	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1400	1	13	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1395	1	20	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1397	1	48	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1399	1	12	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1401	1	24	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
48	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1402	3	0	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
50	1	UNCERT	263	12	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
				9				
50	1	SURFACE	3	1	204	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	SAW
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	124	10	80	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
50	1	LITTERMAT	83	6	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	126	30	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	130	1	35	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
50	1	LITTERMAT	56	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	65	9	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	LITTERMAT	87	1	14	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	176	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	69	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	117	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	66	1	61	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	91	2	40	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	125	1	100	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	61	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	123	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
50	1	LITTERMAT	58	1	90	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
50	1	LITTERMAT	86	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	122	1	29	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	118	5	0	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	72	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
50	1	GRAVEL	2	1	60	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SURFACE	4	1	31	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	71	1	56	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	LITTERMAT	85	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	88	2	24	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	92	1	72	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	120	3	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	129	5	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	67	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD

50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	128	1	8	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	59	7	115	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
50	1	LITTERMAT	57	2	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
50	1	LITTERMAT	84	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	89	1	34	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
50	1	SUBLITTERMAT	121	2	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	375	1	105	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	HINGE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	363	27	62	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	365	21	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	379	1	42	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	55	1	32	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	371	19	30	DOMESTIC	DISHES	GLASSWARE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	366	15	93	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SOUP PLATE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	46	4	180	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SOUP PLATE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	48	3	110	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SOUP PLATE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	47	2	36	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	368	4	40	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	367	1	27	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	45	1	110	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	49	1	60	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	50	1	43	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	51	1	22	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	52	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	53	1	32	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	380	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	TOBACCO PIPE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	369	14	65	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	372	1	14	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	373	5	33	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
51	1	SUBLITTERMAT	374	3	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	224	1	150	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	HINGE
52	1	LITTERMAT	188	2	25	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	212	82	135	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	284	1	27	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	280	1	37	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CROCK
52	1	LITTERMAT	7	1	80	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	197	1	58	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP

52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	213	5	50	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	232	3	70	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	278	3	48	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	279	2	45	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
52	1	LITTERMAT	190	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	289	1	35	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	231	1	15	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	483	1	11	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
52	1	LITTERMAT	10	1	45	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	127	1	52	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	LITTERMAT	187	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	191	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	228	1	67	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	283	1	55	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	287	1	20	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	2	LITTERMAT	185	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	225	1	155	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	272	1	42	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
52	1	LITTERMAT	184	1	8	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE EYELET
52	0	SUBLITTERMAT	227	1	55	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	LITTERMAT	8	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	LITTERMAT	9	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	LITTERMAT	186	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	192	1	35	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	193	1	55	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	195	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	196	1	67	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	198	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	226	1	80	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	229	1	28	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	230	1	48	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	233	1	26	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	234	1	85	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	236	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	237	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	285	3	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
52	1	SUBLITTERMAT	338	3	29	UNIDENT		WOVEN FABRIC
53	1	DARK HUMUS	43	2	33	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
53	0	SUBLITTERMAT	586	79	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
53	3	CLAY	516	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
53	2	CLAY	146	1	110	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	PAINT
53	1	SUBLITTERMAT	484	1	500	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAINT	PICK AXE
53	1	DARK HUMUS	33	3	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
53	2	DARK HUMUS	44	1	40	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
53	1	SUBLITTERMAT	485	1	237	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	WOOD CLEAT
53	1	DARK HUMUS	36	1	33	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
53	2	CLAY	147	1	36	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	94	3	86	DOMESTIC	ILLUMINATION	KEROSENE LAMP
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	139	3	0	DOMESTIC	ILLUMINATION	KEROSENE LAMP
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	141	2	0	DOMESTIC	ILLUMINATION	KEROSENE LAMP
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	96	21	69	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	134	1	21	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	132	1	52	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
53	1	DARK HUMUS	37	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
53	6	SUBLITTERMAT	481	1	37	FISHING	TACKLE	WEIGHT
53	1	LITTERMAT	27	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	1	LITTERMAT	28	1	30	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	1	DARK HUMUS	35	6	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	1	SUBLITTERMAT	295	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	76	1	38	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	77	1	28	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	135	1	63	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	3	CLAY	292	2	58	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	79	1	8	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
53	1	DARK HUMUS	39	1	15	UNIDENT		PIGMENT
53	1	DARK HUMUS	40	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	73	2	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	95	1	45	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	97	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	136	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	137	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	LITTERMAT	138	1	42	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	140	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	142	5	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	SUBLITTERMAT	143	1	62	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	CLAY	144	2	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	2	CLAY	145	20	33	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	3	CLAY	293	2	23	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
53	6	SUBLITTERMAT	482	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
54	1	GRAVEL	26	1	22	DOMESTIC	DISHES	GLASSWARE
54	1	SUBLITTERMAT	25	1	122	DOMESTIC	SEWING	SEWING MACHINE OIL
54	1	DARK HUMUS	41	1	10	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
54	1	SUBLITTERMAT	80	1	115	FISHING	TACKLE	HOOK
54	1	GRAVEL	82	18	38	STORAGE	UNIDENT. STORAGE	SMALL CONTAINER
54	1	GRAVEL	105	50 0	30	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	0	SUBLITTERMAT	553	13 1	153	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	152	1	126	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	SPIKE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	100	1	95	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	339	1	57	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	267	1	10	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	149	1	41	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	150	1	40	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	164	1	48	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	LITTERMAT	178	1	39	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	179	1	16	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	215	1	49	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	264	2	54	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	266	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	333	1	44	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	337	1	17	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	341	3	24	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	343	7	44	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE

55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	153	1	21	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	PENCIL LEAD
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	160	1	0	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	334	1	57	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	344	1	30	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	JEWELRY
55	0	SUBLITTERMAT	551	5	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	98	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	156	2	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	158	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	162	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	177	1	37	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	180	1	32	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	182	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	183	1	23	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	216	1	29	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	217	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	324	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
55	1	SUBLITTERMAT	336	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	360	71	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	173	5	0	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
56	1	LITTERMAT	300	1	48	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	309	1	30	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
56	2	SUBLITTERMAT	350	1	48	CONST. MAT	CONST. MAT.	WINDOW GLASS
56	1	LITTERMAT	311	1	40	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	326	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	407	1	17	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
56	1	LITTERMAT	429	1	37	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BASIN
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	170	13	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	202	1	9	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	208	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
56	0	LITTERMAT	402	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	189	1	46	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	206	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	210	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP

56	1	LITTERMAT	310	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	315	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	419	20	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	425	4	77	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	486	1	30	DOMESTIC	DISHES	CUP
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	159	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	203	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	307	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	316	4	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	LITTERMAT	323	1	22	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	329	1	17	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	330	1	14	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	331	1	11	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	390	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	391	1	12	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	392	1	21	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	394	1	9	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	395	1	16	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	403	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	415	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	487	1	16	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	LITTERMAT	404	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	0	SUBLITTERMAT	405	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	298	1	58	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	298	1	58	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	LITTERMAT	301	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	LITTERMAT	303	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	2	SUBLITTERMAT	348	13	88	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	386	1	11	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	LITTERMAT	412	1	15	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	413	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	418	18	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	297	1	25	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	321	1	11	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	110	17	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	LITTERMAT	299	1	41	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	LITTERMAT	304	1	10	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	305	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	308	1	14	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	332	1	9	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT

56	1	LITTERMAT	383	1	24	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	0	LITTERMAT	399	1	19	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	LITTERMAT	199	1	65	DOMESTIC	DISHES	UNIDENT
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	313	1	85	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	381	1	31	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	1	LITTERMAT	384	1	126	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	414	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	2	SUBLITTERMAT	345	12	95	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	2	SUBLITTERMAT	346	14	110	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
56	2	SUBLITTERMAT	347	4	140	PERSONAL	IND/MED	MEDICINE BOTTLE
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	204	1	7	PERSONAL	POCKET TOOLS	PENCIL LEAD
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	207	1	30	PERSONAL	PASTIMES	TOY FIGURE
56	0	LITTERMAT	401	1	210	UNIDENT		HANDLE
56	0	LITTERMAT	389	1	7	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	LITTERMAT	393	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	LITTERMAT	396	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	LITTERMAT	397	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	LITTERMAT	398	1	85	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	LITTERMAT	400	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	SUBLITTERMAT	406	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	0	SUBLITTERMAT	408	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	155	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	157	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	161	1	34	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	172	10	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	200	1	27	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	201	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	296	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	302	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	306	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	312	1	17	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	314	1	7	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SURFACE	318	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	319	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	320	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	322	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	325	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	327	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	328	1	11	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	382	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	385	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	409	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	410	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	LITTERMAT	411	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	416	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	420	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	421	7	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	422	14	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	423	52	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	424	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	426	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	427	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	428	1	20	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	3	SUBLITTERMAT	349	2	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
56	1	SUBLITTERMAT	359	1	0	UNIDENT		WEIGHT, 200 G
57	0	SURFACE	897	16	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
57	1	LITTERMAT	214	1	55	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SERV/ORN
57	1	SURFACE	221	3	0	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
57	1	LITTERMAT	218	1	50	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE

57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	219	1	28	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
57	1	GRAVEL	488	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	274	1	17	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	FASTENERS
57	1	GRAVEL	490	6	0	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	223	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	269	1	40	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	270	1	12	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	SUBLITTERMAT	271	1	21	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	LITTERMAT	273	1	22	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	UNCERT	275	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	GRAVEL	430	1	24	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	GRAVEL	432	1	10	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
57	1	GRAVEL	489	4	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	456	15	78	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
58	1	LITTERMAT	435	1	77	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	LITTERMAT	436	1	70	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	439	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	440	1	23	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	442	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	448	3	38	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	451	1	19	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	453	1	21	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	446	1	15	PERSONAL	CLOTHING	MATERIAL
58	1	LITTERMAT	437	2	265	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	441	3	72	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	438	1	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	443	1	13	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	444	2	38	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	445	1	8	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	LITTERMAT	447	1	18	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	449	1	7	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	450	1	30	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

58	1	SUBLITTERMAT	452	1	15	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
59	0	UNCERT	567	7	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
59	0	UNCERT	555	5	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
59	0	UNCERT	561	1	20	DOMESTIC	DISHES	SAUCER
59	0	UNCERT	564	1	76	DOMESTIC	UTENSILS	SPOON
59	0	UNCERT	565	1	89	DOMESTIC	UTENSILS	SPOON
59	0	UNCERT	562	1	180	DOMESTIC	HOUSEWARES	STOVE PARTS
59	0	UNCERT	558	1	53	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
59	0	UNCERT	559	1	78	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
59	0	UNCERT	560	1	95	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
59	0	UNCERT	556	6	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
59	0	UNCERT	557	1	29	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
60	0	SURFACE	826	1	65	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	719	2	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
60	1	LITTERMAT	825	1	155	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	845	11	145	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	842	2	40	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
60	1	GRAVEL	1357	2	45	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	NAIL
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1340	9	0	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
60	1	GRAVEL	1356	1	25	LITHIC	LITHIC	UNMOD FLAKE
60	0	LITTERMAT	827	1	52	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	718	1	26	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	828	1	24	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1339	1	34	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
60	1	SUBLITTERMAT	1342	1	8	PERSONAL	ADORNMENT	BEAD
91	0	LITTERMAT	542	1	123	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
91	0	LITTERMAT	535	1	61	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT	NAIL
91	0	LITTERMAT	460	1	240	ARCHITECTURE	CONST. MAT.	SPIKE
91	0	LITTERMAT	523	1	53	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
91	0	LITTERMAT	538	2	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	BOWL
91	0	LITTERMAT	463	3	0	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
91	0	LITTERMAT	470	1	51	DOMESTIC	DISHES	PLATE
91	0	LITTERMAT	467	1	12	PERSONAL	ADORN/CLOTHING	BUTTON
91	0	LITTERMAT	469	1	72	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	519	1	52	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	526	1	78	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	528	1	70	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	533	1	25	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE

91	0	LITTERMAT	536	1	73	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	543	1	68	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	544	1	47	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	546	2	0	PERSONAL	INDULGENCES	BOTTLE
91	0	LITTERMAT	462	1	68	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
91	0	LITTERMAT	468	1	45	PERSONAL	FOOTWEAR	SHOE
91	0	LITTERMAT	522	9	0	STORAGE	UNIDENT. STORAGE	SMALL CONTAINER
91	0	LITTERMAT	461	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	464	1	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	465	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	466	1	19	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	517	1	42	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	520	16	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	521	1	59	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	524	1	25	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	525	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	529	1	60	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	530	2	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	531	5	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	532	1	75	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	534	3	0	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	0	LITTERMAT	540	1	31	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG
91	1	GRAVEL	458	3	55	UNIDENT		VESSEL GLASS FRAG

