# THE ADOPTION AND USE OF 19TH CENTURY CERAMICS AT OLD BELLA BELLA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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## Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis and interpretation of a ceramic assemblage from Old Bella Bella-Fort McLoughlin. Processes relating to the adoption and use of 19th century European ceramics by a Native community on the Central Coast of British Columbia are addressed. Fort McLoughlin, a short lived Hudson Bay Company fur trade post built in 1833 and abandoned ten years later, provided the impetus for the coalescence of the Heiltsuk community known as Old Bella Bella. The community developed over the rest of the century until it was also abandoned in the late 1890s.

With the arrival of Europeans, change happened very rapidly at some Central Coast contact sites and much more slowly at others. At Old Bella Bella in particular, archaeologists have noted the apparent rapid replacement of much of the Native material culture inventory with European material culture items during the last quarter of the 19th century.

The study of interethnic dynamics has been the subject of ongoing academic attention throughout the last half of the 20th century. Beginning in the 1940s theories of culture change have suggested that trade goods are initially sought that have meaning and continuity in the adoptive group. Desirable trade goods convey meanings and perform functions which are consistent with the values and customs of the adoptive culture and this quality may initially outweigh considerations of expedience where incoming goods are concerned. Further, modifications may be made in the form or use of new items, thereby indicating a fundamental relationship between form, use and meaning.

Recent approaches to the study of interethnic dynamics have shown that motivations for the adoption and use of new items of material culture are complex, reflecting sociohistorical and cultural considerations for both cultures in the contact situation. Thus explanations for the adoption and use of 19th century ceramics at Old Bella Bella are offered in the context of an examination of the changing cultural dynamics underway in Old Bella Bella in the late 19th century.

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I would like to thank the members of my committee. Philip Hobler, my senior supervisior, provided me with both the subject matter of this thesis and the practical resourses to carry it through. He made his collections and his own data available to me, as well as laboratory space, technical advice, and his photographic expertise. More than this, he was an unfailing source of encouragement and good humour, for which this graduate student will always be appreciative. Dr. David Burley, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, the second member of my committee, through his class in archaeological theory and his interest in ceramics as indices of gendered cultural dynamics, provided me with the intellectual stimulus to take a similar approach in my own work. In the final stages of preparation he took time to read and revise several drafts, making many helpful suggestions and offering practical advice and support. I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Louise Jackson, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia who acted as external examiner. Her genuine interest in the subject and very thorough review of my work has been most reassuring and is gratefully acknowledged.

Jennifer Carpenter, the Director of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre, Waglisla, British Columbia, was responsible for introducing me to the long history of the Heiltsuk through work I did for the centre early in the course of my studies. I would like to thank her as well as the hereditary chiefs, the Council and the people of Bella Bella for allowing me to pursue my interest in their history through access to their artifact collections, some of which are housed at Simon Fraser University. I hope the following work will be found useful.

Other individuals I would like to thank include Lynn Sussman of Parks Canada for taking the time to examine and discuss aspects of the Fort McLoughlin ceramic collection with me, and Barbara Winters, Curator of the Museum of

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# CHAPTER ONE
# INTRODUCTION

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

## Archaeological Background.

The Central Coast, specifically that area of coastal British Columbia between Douglas Channel to the north and Rivers Inlet to the south is approximately 240 km in length (Fig. 1). Archaeological interest in the area began with Drucker's 1943 survey and has continued and intensified, particularly in the last two decades, with work done by researchers associated with Simon Fraser University and others (Drucker 1943, 1950; Apland 1974; Hill and Hill 1974; Carlson 1976; Hester 1978; Luebbers 1978; Pomeroy 1980; Hobler et al 1983; Streich 1983; and Cannon 1989). A number of these investigations have identified historic components and several

have produced ceramic collections. Notable in this context are the excavations done by Carlson (1976) and Hobler et al (1983, 1989) in the Bella Coola and Bella Bella regions. Despite the body of work already accumulated, little research pertaining to the specific study of ceramics has been done for the Central Coast. As a result archaeological collections of ceramics from the area have remained largely unexamined. This thesis attempts to provide an initial contribution to such an analysis.

While ceramics studies for central coast sites have yet to be carried out, this is not the case for the Northwest Coast as a whole. Of particular relevance to this study is the work of three researchers: Lueger (1981), Jackson (1991), and Marshall (1993). With this work, a pattern for the incorporation of 19th century ceramics at contact sites has begun to emerge and the potential of ceramics for archaeological interpretation is beginning to be recognized.

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

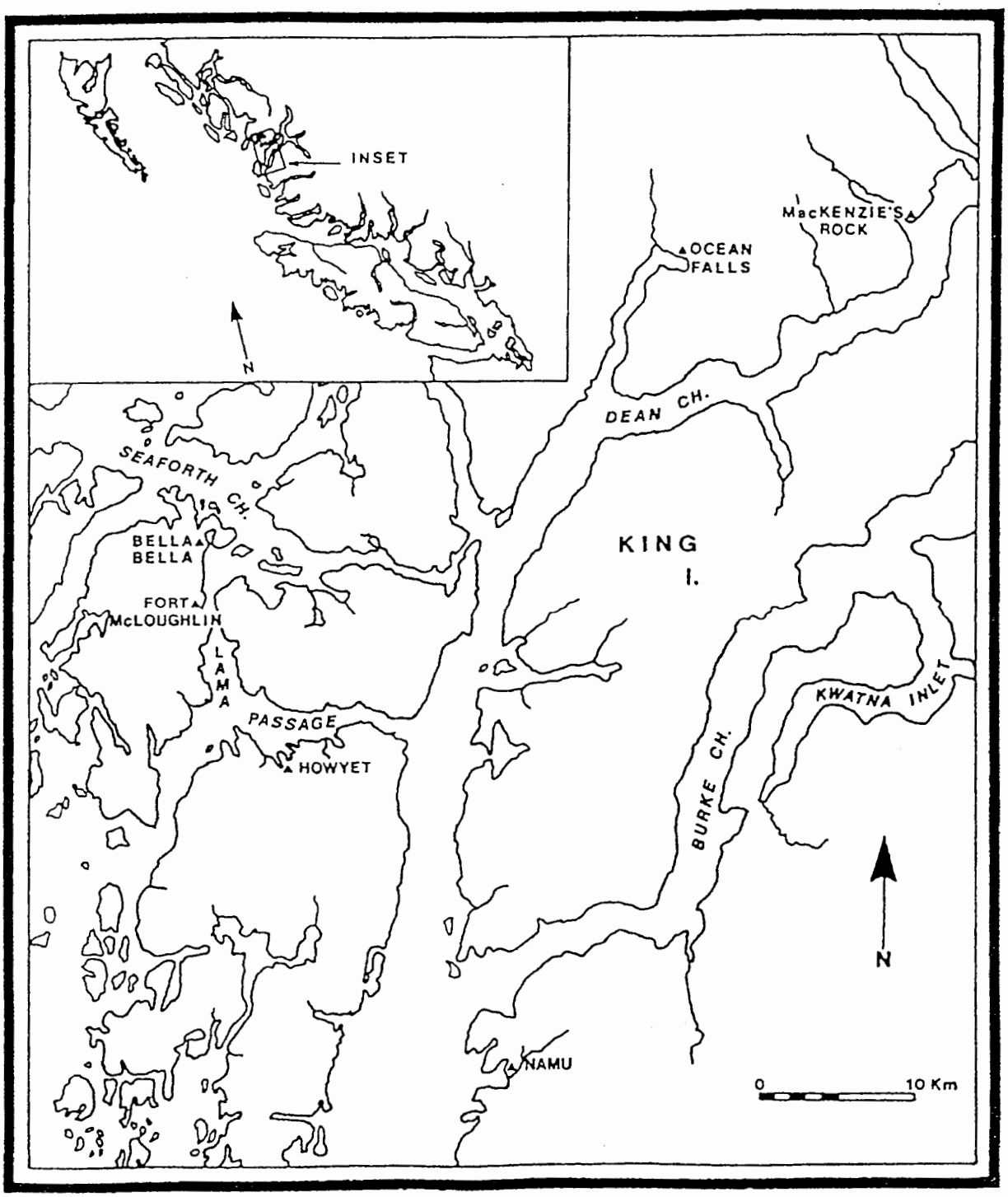


Figure 1 The Central Coast. From Hobler (1983)

To the north in southwestern Alaska, Louise Jackson (1991) reanalyzed ceramic collections from six sites excavated in the 1960s by Oswalt, Townsend and Vanstone (Oswalt and Vanstone 1967; Townsend 1970; Oswalt 1980) . Like the later Yuquot component, the Alaskan ceramics are also late 19th and early 20th century wares. As stratigraphy was shallow at the Alaskan sites, Oswalt, Townsend and Vanstone hoped to use British ceramics to establish a chronology and thus discern a sequence of settlement patterns among different sites. Further, they hoped to examine changes in Native technology resulting from European contact, thereby addressing questions concerned with the adoption and modification of European trade goods by aboriginal cultures.

At the time of the original investigation in the 1960s, comparative material for the identification of ceramic patterns had not yet been collected and analysis of the sherds did not progress beyond initial gross classifications into ware types. As a result, the project had to be abandoned. Two decades later, Louise Jackson (1991) was able to take the same collections and, after identifying many of the sherds according to a system of decorative types and pattern design correlation, establish both a chronological and interpretive key to explain settlement patterns and cultural dynamics for the area.

Most recently, Yvonne Marshall (1993) made surface collections of ceramics from 17 Vancouver Island sites in the course of her survey work in the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribal areas. She was able to establish a chronology for the sites using an analysis of late 19th and early 20th century decorative types. Her examination of vessel function also mirrored the emerging pattern of selection and use found in both of the previous studies. The nature of this pattern is elaborated in the discussion section of this thesis.

At the outset, these studies had similar objectives: the interpretation of cultural dynamics and lifestyles of the inhabitants through an examination of their

ceramic refuse; and the advancement of the methods of analysis for Native/ European contact site ceramic collections.

## Introduction To Problem

Fur trade goods began to be incorporated in a systematic way at Old Bella Bella with the establishment of Fort McLoughlin in the 1830s. However it is unlikely that major changes in the Heiltsuk cultural system occurred during this period (Hobler 1982, Harkin 1988). Between abandonment of the fort in 1843 and the 1880s, access to European trade goods was via steamship and consequently more intermittent. The adoption and incorporation of domestic items of European material culture expanded in the 1880s with the opening of the salmon canneries, the subsequent transition to wage labour, and the arrival of Methodist missionaries at Old Bella Bella (Crosby 1914; Pierce 1933). Hobler (1982) has hypothesized a rapid replacement of much of the Heiltsuk material culture inventory with European material culture items during this period. Further, the shift in economic and material relations, and the missionary presence, resulted in major changes to social, economic and religious aspects of Heiltsuk culture (Olson 1954, 1955). These changes were rapid, with the majority taking place in the 30 years between 1870 and 1900 (Drucker 1950; Olson 1955; Hobler et al 1983). However, initial incorporation of European goods into the Native material culture inventory and later adjustments in the social, economic and religious spheres of Heiltsuk society are intertwined in complex ways.

This complexity is particularly evident in the transition in traditional Heiltsuk architectural styles (Hobler 1983; 1987). In the decades following the establishment of the mission in Old Bella Bella virtually the entire population moved from large communal residences, housing the traditional family lineage, to small European style single family homes. Tolmie, who took a census in 1835, estimated that an average of 25 or more people resided in each of the large Heiltsuk houses (Tolmie 1963: 306). By the early 20th century, the number of residents in the

European style houses averaged four per home (Large 1909: 8-10). While signs of culture change are superficially apparent in the archaeological record, including the rapid appearance of European architectural styles, inter-ethnic dynamics and motivations for the adoption and use of new items of material culture are more complex than archaeological investigation alone can decipher. As such, they require an explanation which, if it is to be in any way adequate, attempts to understand change in the historical context of a joint Heiltsuk/European dynamic.

Having said this, it must be borne in mind that 19th century historic documents for the Central Coast are infused with a European and, in the case of missionary records, religious bias (Crosby 1914). The archaeological record, because of its material nature, has the potential to provide a somewhat more objective view. Still, archaeological evidence cannot speak to intellectual motivations unless used in combination with other sources. Therefore, in this thesis, historical documents are used to contextualize the results of the ceramic analysis.

Archaeologists have often made reference to utility theory in offering explanations for the adoption of new items of material culture. What interested me about the adoption and use of ceramics at Old Bella Bella during the last half of the 19th century was that, as an item of European material culture, their function in the Heiltsuk material inventory could not have been primarily expedient. Why then were ceramics of interest from the earliest days of the Maritime fur trade? A reference in the ship's logbook of the explorer and trader John Meares bears witness to trade in ceramics as early as 1789 (Meares 1967). If practicality was not the prime motivation, perhaps the study of this single well documented artifact category had the potential to offer insights into the cultural dynamics underway in Heiltsuk society during the late 19th century.

In a recent archaeological study of Arikara/Euro-American contact relations, Daniel Rogers has suggested that:

> Another means of monitoring the relationship between material change and social dynamics, in very particular instances, is to consider the role played by individual ethnohistorically documented artifacts. Such an undertaking is different from the general category approaches cited above, in that it is applied under limited and very controlled circumstances. Furthermore, it is not an attempt to correlate material and social change at a general undifferentiated level. From an individual artifact class point of view it would, for instance, be useful to establish the link between items known to be of consistent worth, or that were in demand on the basis of cultural preference alone, with the observed archaeological usage of these objects (Rogers, 1987: 226).

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

More specifically, Terry Klein (1991), in his examination of viable consumer behavior models for the study of ceramics at mid 19th century sites in the United States, has suggested that it has been common practice for historical archaeologists to extrapolate from patterning found within a given ceramic assemblage to general statements on the social and economic status of the site occupants. His review of the models most frequently used to explain purchasing patterns among Americans of the period suggested that many diverse and interrelated variables play a part in ceramic purchasing patterns. As he states: "Given the heterogeneity of 19th century society, this jump from ceramic vessels to the behavior of social or economic groups

has no solid basis" (Klein 1991: 88). Although Klein is discussing the use of ceramics by Europeans, this criticism applies equally well to any context in which ceramics are found. He recommends that the scale of research be limited to "household specific contexts" as the most appropriate level at which to conduct this kind of analysis.

By building on findings from a number of household studies, it may then become possible to draw broader conclusions regarding social or economic behavior (Klein 1991). The ceramic assemblage from Old Bella Bella is well suited to a small scale analysis of this nature. It is composed of vessels from two different Native houses, and the Hudson's Bay Company fort compound, later the site of an independent trading post, both of which served as the source of supply for the village and therefore for the two households above.

Following on from Klein's argument, I have not attempted here to make broad ranging statements about Heiltsuk economic or social change during the latter part of the 19th century. Rather, I have attempted to explain the archaeological evidence by situating ceramic adoption and use in the larger Heiltsuk social and economic context documented in the historic records of the late 19th century.

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

## Objectives and Hypotheses

The words "adoption" and "use" from the title of this thesis have been the focus in setting the objectives for this study. An examination of these two key

words structures general questions about the broader study of ceramics at Native/European contact sites.

The word "adoption" raises a question about the progression of ceramic use as a gradual process over the course of several decades, and therefore implies a time-depth study. In view of current research (Klein 1991, Jackson 1991), a number of questions are posed. What role did ceramics play initially in Native/European trade and how did they come to be a part of the exchange process? For example, in Southwestern Alaska, Jackson (1991) has shown that tea was the vehicle by which ceramics first came to be used in a Native/Russian trading context. Burley on the other hand has found that in the case of the Metis of the Northwestern Canadian Plains, ceramic use originated "with an initial concern for female status and etiquette in Red River fur trade society" (1989:97) and ultimately functioned in the spheres of social organization and integration. Not only is it important to ask how and why ceramics became an item of trade in the first place, but also what kind of selection process was taking place with regard to the items available through Hudson's Bay Company supplies and did this change over time?

The second key word, "use" raises the question of the function or meaning of ceramics in their adopted context. Once something is known about which types of ceramics were or were not being selected, questions can be asked about their sphere of use in the overall pattern of Heiltsuk material culture.

From this general discussion, three objectives are identified for this study. First, I will provide a description and analysis of the Old Bella Bella ceramic assemblage. Second, I will establish a ceramic chronology with which to verify the integrity of the assemblage and ensure consistency within the historically documented settlement sequence for the site. Finally, and based on the first two, I will examine the process of adoption and function of ceramics in Heiltsuk culture over the course of the last half of the 19th century.

# CHAPTER TWO

# HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

## Introduction

An historical review of developments at Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella over the course of the 19th century is presented in the first section of this chapter. This discussion provides the background needed to consider the rapidly increasingly pace of change which occurred in many Northwest Coast Native communities, Old Bella Bella among them, toward the end of the century. The resultant implications of these changes, for Heiltsuk material culture, may then be explored in their proper context. This is done in chapters three and five of this thesis. The historical background is followed by an overview of the 1982 archaeological investigations accompanied by a description of the ceramic collection from the site.

## Historical Background

The 1982 excavations at Old Bella Bella and Fort McLoughlin were conducted at what originally had been one of the first major European trading centres on the Central Coast. An earlier maritime trading center, in Millbank Sound on the extreme outer coast, had become a center of trade at the end of the 18th century (Hilton 1990). Fort McLoughlin, built by the Hudson Bay Company in 1833, was one in a series of coastal forts established by the Company in the early decades of the century, in an attempt to better monopolize the Coastal trade, much of which was being lost to the Americans. No Native settlement of the site previous to the construction of the fort was noted by the early traders there (Tolmie 1963), nor did archaeological excavation discover any indication of a prehistoric component (Hobler et al 1983).

The history of the town itself had its start at the beginning of the 19th century, and possibly much earlier, when a process of nucleation by several of the

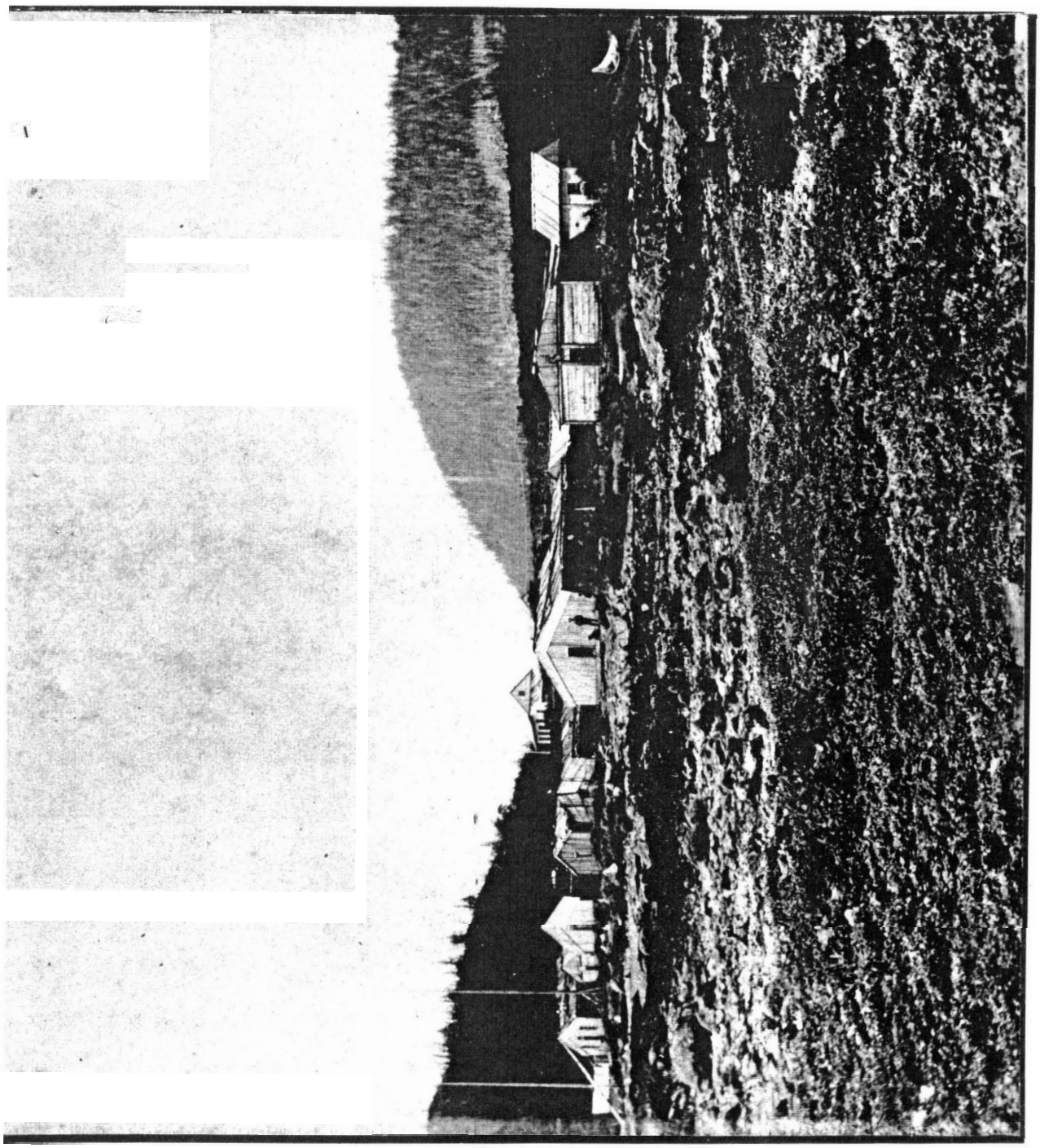

Figure 2 Photograph of Bella Bella, taken in the 1870s;

(With permission of the British Columbia Public Archives, A-6882)

Heiltsuk speaking bands took place in Lama Passage. This partly aggregated population moved to McLoughlin Bay once the fort was built. William Fraser Tolmie (1963), trader and physician at Fort McLoughlin from 1833 to 1836 notes the initial appearance of Native residences in his diary in the mid 1830s. The Native village consisted of a row of large traditional houses of post and beam construction. These had grown up along the beach front on either side of the fort. They can be seen in the earliest photographs of the town in the 1870s, although by this time the original site of the fort compound was represented by a break in the row of houses approximately midway down the beach (Fig. 2). Occupation of the site continued and developed over the rest of the century despite the abandonment of the fort in 1843.

Overview of Trade History and the Introduction of Wage Labour

Historic records for the town are scant between 1843, after the fort was abandoned and 1880 when the mission was established. Although trade continued during this period, there is a 40 year lull in the historical records. Nevertheless excavation has shown that European trade goods began to enter the archaeological record in quantity once Fort McLoughlin was established in the 1830s. As a result of the restructuring of Hudson's Bay Company trade practices for the coast as a whole, the fort's existence was short lived and Fort McLoughlin was abandoned ten years after its inception. The buildings and palisades of the fort may have been disassembled at this point (Hobler et al 1983). Trade was continued in the ensuing period via the Company's steamship "The Beaver," but in much diminished form, and the Heiltsuk's initial position of primacy in the Central Coast fur trade had ended (Hilton 1990).

In 1866 Morris Moss, an independent trader, opened a small trading post on the site of the original Fort McLoughlin and was supplied with goods for trade by the Hudson's Bay Company (Hobler 1982). Four years later the Company forced

Moss out of business and reasserted their right claim to the land by establishing a regional outpost of the trading store at Bella Coola. This situation continued until the Hudson's Bay Company sold both the Bella Bella and Bella Coola stores to John Clayton, a former employee, in the 1880s (Charles 1883; Kopas 1970).

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

In 1880, a Methodist mission was established in the village. The missionary logbook records that the Reverends Crosby and Tate along with Mrs Tate arrived accompanied by a large load of milled lumber in September of 1880 (Bella Bella Mission Journal 1880-1924). Immediate construction of a mission house was begun and was soon followed by various other European style buildings. Photographs taken in the 1890s (Fig. 3) show that construction included the building of more than 30 frame houses of milled lumber, a church, a mission house, a school, a large store, and two wharfs.

By the end of the 1890s further expansion had been thwarted because large portions of the southern half of the bay, on which much of the original Native

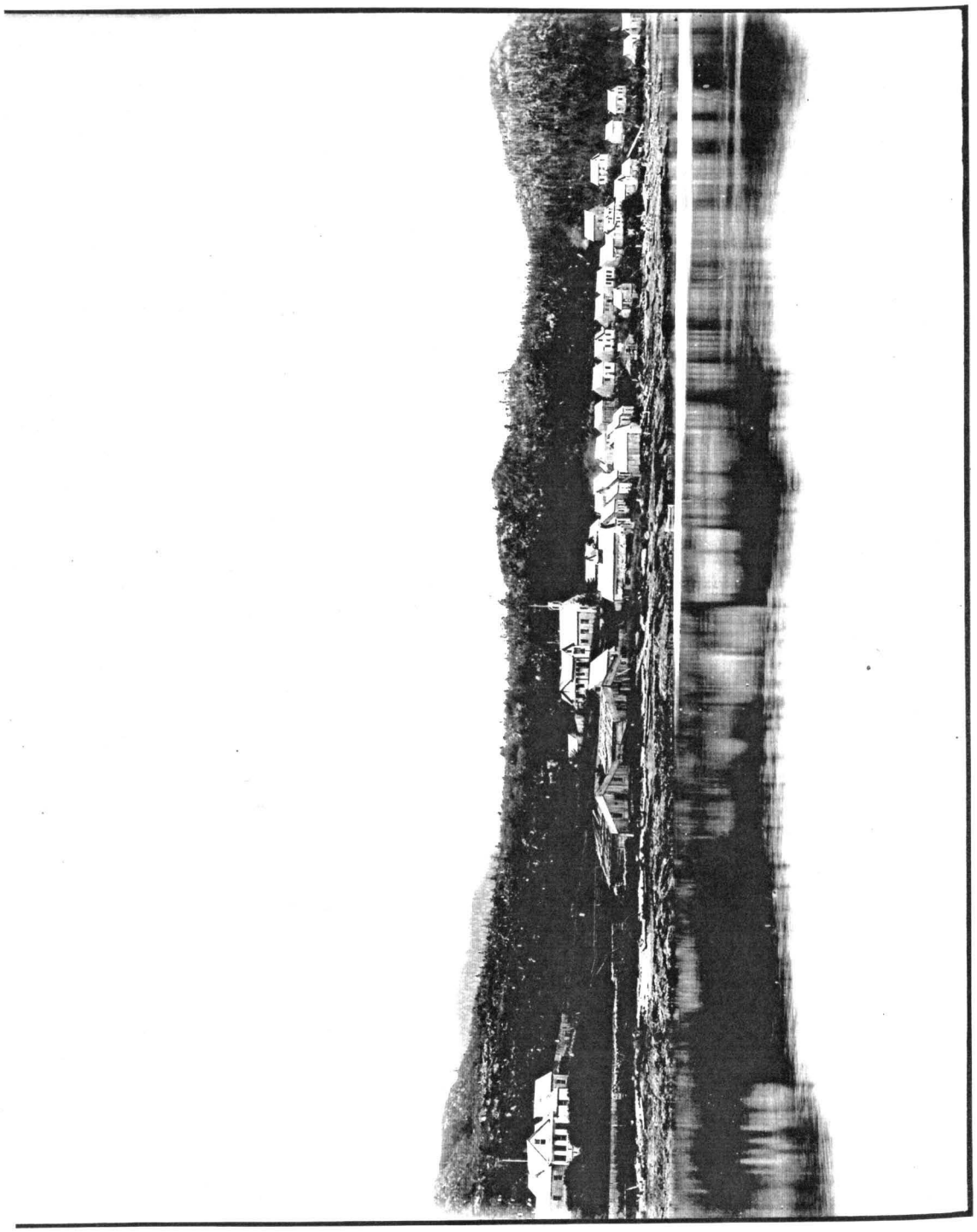

Figure 3 Photograph of Bella Bella taken in the 1890s

(With permission of the British Columbia Public Archives, A-3977)

settlement had grown up, was owned by the operator of the trading post, John Clayton. At this point, the whole village, by this time a prosperous and developing town with many recently completed buildings, was abandoned. Over the last few years of the century and the first several years of the 1900s residents moved 2 km up Lama Passage and established the present town site of Waglisla.

Missionary Arrival and New Material Relations

Following a smallpox epidemic in 1862, the Heiltsuk population was reduced from 1300, estimated by Tolmie in 1835 (1963: 320), to 300 individuals by the 1890s (Large 1968: 5), a devastating reduction of more than 80 percent of the overall population for the area. Previous epidemics in the late 18th century and early decades of the 19th century had already taken their toll and the 1835 figure cannot be considered representative of the pre-contact Heiltsuk population (Boyd 1990:137). Shortly after the epidemic began in 1868, Thomas Crosby, head of the Methodist missionary effort in British Columbia, travelled up and down the coast by boat administering smallpox vaccines. It was during this trip that he first understood the need which could be filled by medical missionaries on the Pacific Coast (Crosby 1914).

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

As with other parts of the Coast, a new social mobility arose due to access to cash and created opportunities for ceremonial display and social advancement (Codere 1961). This was largely because the devastation of smallpox and other epidemics resulted in a shortage of appropriate inheritors for traditional chiefly positions. For the first time, by the early 20th century, women among the related Oowekeno had been given certain ceremonial roles not normally allowed to them because there were no men to inherit the right (Stevenson n.d:88). The disruption in social organization was further reflected in the restructuring of household living arrangements and the move to single family residences.

One of the most visible and dramatic indications of change at Old Bella Bella during this period was the transition in architectural styles. By 1885, five years after the Reverend Tate had arrived, bringing with him the necessary milled lumber for the mission house, single family dwellings dominated and superseded use of traditional Native houses. Agnes Knight, a young unmarried missionary woman, arrived in Bella Bella from the relatively pastoral reaches of Southern Ontario in that year on her way to Port Simpson to take up her new position as the Matron of the Crosby Home for Native Girls. In her Reminiscences she notes that, in her estimation, Bella Bella was one of the "prettiest Indian villages on the Coast" because:

> The huge old houses in which they lived in the old heathen days had even then been replaced by neat cottages and a wide wooden sidewalk which made it quite pleasant to go visiting from house to house. In some of the heathen villages one has to go through mud or clamber over a rocky beach to get about at all (Knight n.d: 10).

The dramatic decline in Heiltsuk population during the 1860s and 1870s was a devastating cultural disruption in itself, with implications for the stability of Heiltsuk social structure. This was compounded by a fundamental change from communal to nuclear living arrangements. As previously noted, an average of 25

persons per household lived in the traditional houses in 1835; after the shift to single family dwellings, this was reduced to four persons per household (Tolmie 1963: 306, Large 1909: 8-10). Although this transition was encouraged by the missionaries, it was made possible by the advent of new material relations. The consequences of this transition were far reaching and are more clearly understood when the place of the traditional household in Heiltsuk society is considered. Traditionally the larger family lineage had been solely responsible for the organization of all aspects of production and consumption. With the opening of the salmon cannery and the new social mobility brought about by access to waged employment, single families were in a position to establish independent households.

For this purpose and for other construction projects (Bella Bella Mission Journal 1880-1924) the Heiltsuk were in need of a saw mill. The Methodists were in agreement on this. Barely a year after the Reverend Tate's arrival the Heiltsuk Chief Hae'mzit took the opportunity of a visit, in 1881, by I.W. Powell, the superintendent of Indian Affairs, to request that a saw mill be built so that they might cut the lumber for the new houses (Canada 1882 in Harkin 1988: 295). For the Methodists, saw mills were integral to their campaign for acculturation. It was with some satisfaction that Crosby wrote of the changes brought about, by the successful establishment of the nearby mill:

> The saw mill that had been built started a new state of things in that once heathen village. A great number of families now began, out of their small savings, to put up little "Christian" homes, of three or four rooms each, and thus got out of the old heathen lodges or community houses, where four or five families had often been herded together. This entailed much work in preparing plans for houses and streets. This continued for some years until the village began to show a quietly civilized appearance. Finally every heathen house was removed and nearly every family, by their own industry, had a nice, little, separate home. In later years a much better class of house was built, and we could say we had a Christian village. (Crosby 1914: 75)

In dealing with changes brought about by outside forces the Heiltsuk instituted new domestic and living arrangements which included a shift to smaller household size and single family residences. It will be argued in subsequent chapters that the transition to single family dwellings and the changes wrought thereby had ramifications for every aspect of Heiltsuk material culture, including the adoption and use of a variety of European household items, ceramics among them.

## Archaeological Background

The excavations at Old Bella Bella were a joint project of the Heiltsuk Band and Simon Fraser University. Band members were involved at all stages of the project including the planning and later field components of the work. The Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre provided much of the organizational support and invaluable access to their well documented historical and photographic files. The Band Council gave its official support to the project in the form of permission to excavate. During early discussions with the committee of Band Elders associated with the Cultural Centre, a question was asked about their reasons for wanting the site excavated. After a short pause, one of the older women said jokingly that they were interested in the kinds of china patterns their forbearers had used (Hobler pers. comm, 1994).

## Site Description

The 1982 excavation of Old Bella Bella was intended to explore each aspect of the 19th century occupation. The original site extended about 600 meters along the beach front and comprised roughly 50,000 sq. m. in size. The excavated area represented approximately 1% of the total remains. Test excavations (see Table 1) were carried out in three areas of structural remains at the site, and surface

collections were conducted near the site of the trading post, built within the fort compound after the abandonment of the fort, and in the area of the frame built house. The goal of the excavators was to examine each area for architectural remains and material culture. Excavations results are provided in detail in a report submitted to the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist, Heritage Conservation Branch, Victoria (Hobler, Pyszczyk, Horsfall, Streich 1982). A brief summary is provided below for the purpose of situating the ceramic analysis within the context of the larger excavation.

The excavated structural remains included the palisades and structures of Fort McLoughlin, one of the Native-style houses, and one of the small single-family Native residences built of milled lumber (Fig. 4). The surface collection and all three excavated areas produced ceramics (Table 1).

Units 1 through 18 explored the original Hudson's Bay Company fort compound and palisades. Units 31-49 and 50-61 represent excavations done in the areas of the traditional Native house and the later frame built house respectively. Ceramic assemblages from these latter areas are unique in that they are indicative of ceramic use in two individual and very different types of households. Specifically, they include a large communal Native household and a later nuclear family based household characteristic of Bella Bella after the coming of Methodist missionaries in 1880. The nature of these household changes, particularly with reference to changing architectural styles and

Table 1 Excavation Areas

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

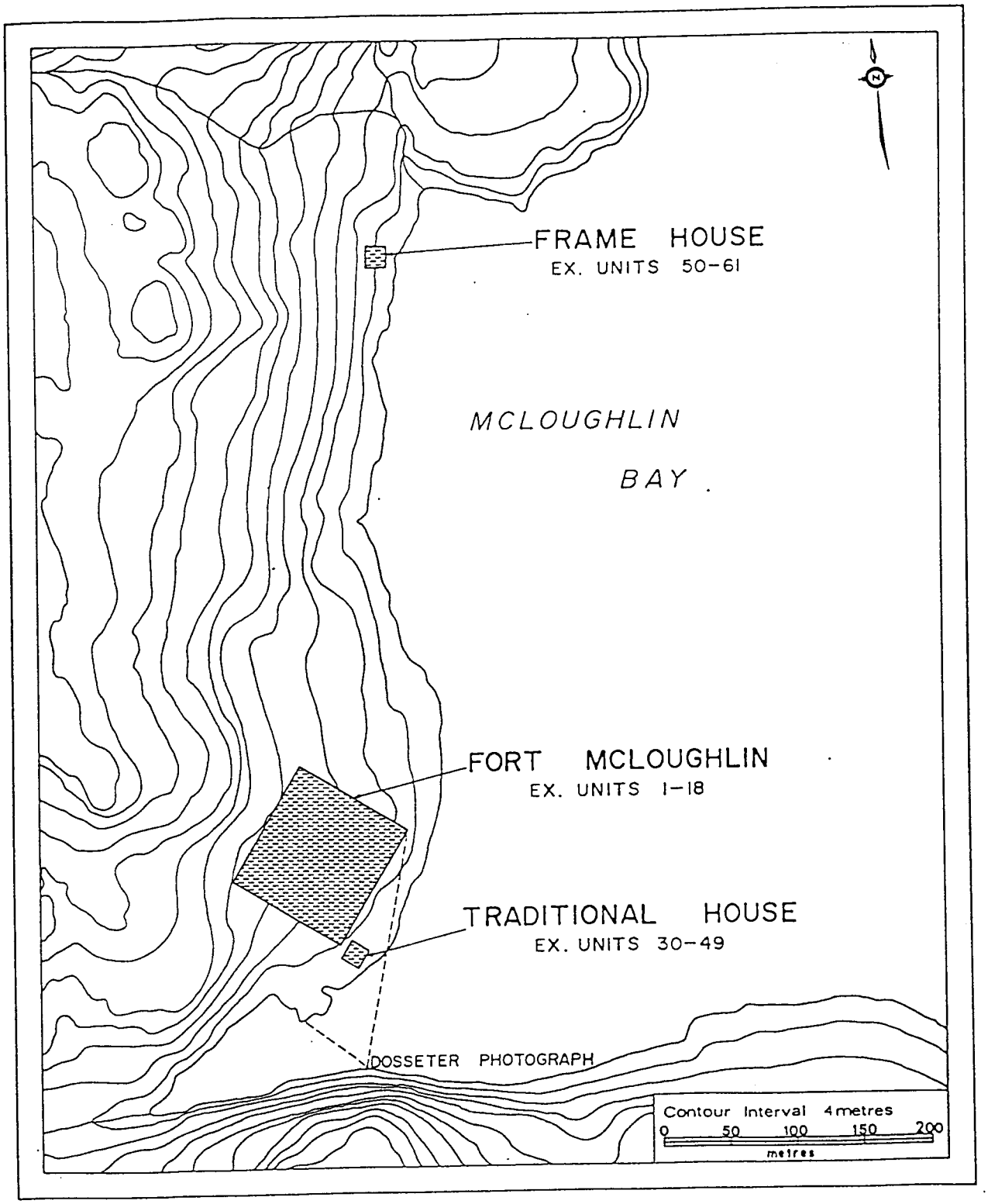


Figure 4 Excavated areas, FaTa 4. (From Hobler et al 1983)

population demographics has been explored respectively by Hobler (1982) and Harkin (1988).

Units 19 through 30 were intended to explore other late 19th century town site structures such as the church, school, and mission house. Unfortunately, time constraints prevented the completion of this aspect of the work.

Site Overview

Archival photographs, dating from the 1870s, were used to identify the original settlement at Old Bella Bella. From these it was known that the village had extended from the river on the south end of McLoughlin Bay to the far north end of the bay. Traditional Native houses extended the length of the beach with the exception of an opening or gap which provided beach front access for a trading store built in 1866. This had the effect of creating two rows of houses, one to the north and another to the south. Directly behind the break between the north and south rows of houses, a large clearing located approximately in the middle of the site indicated the location of the original fort compound. By referring to the 1870s photographs of the village, the excavators postulated that the store had been built approximately in the middle of the original fort compound. By this time no indication of the fort remained in the photographs. The substantial nature of the buildings within the fort palisades as described by John Work, a trader stationed at Fort McLoughlin the 1830s, in combination with the results of the test excavations conducted in 1982, lead the excavators to suggest that extensive dismantlement of the fort had taken place after its abandonment in 1843.

When compared with the pictorial record of the 1870s, photographs taken in the 1880s indicated that a rapid shift in settlement pattern had occurred. Shortly after the arrival of the Methodists in 1880, the north half of the site became the locus of an increasing number of European style buildings, including the mission house and school followed by a row of single family residences situated on terraces behind

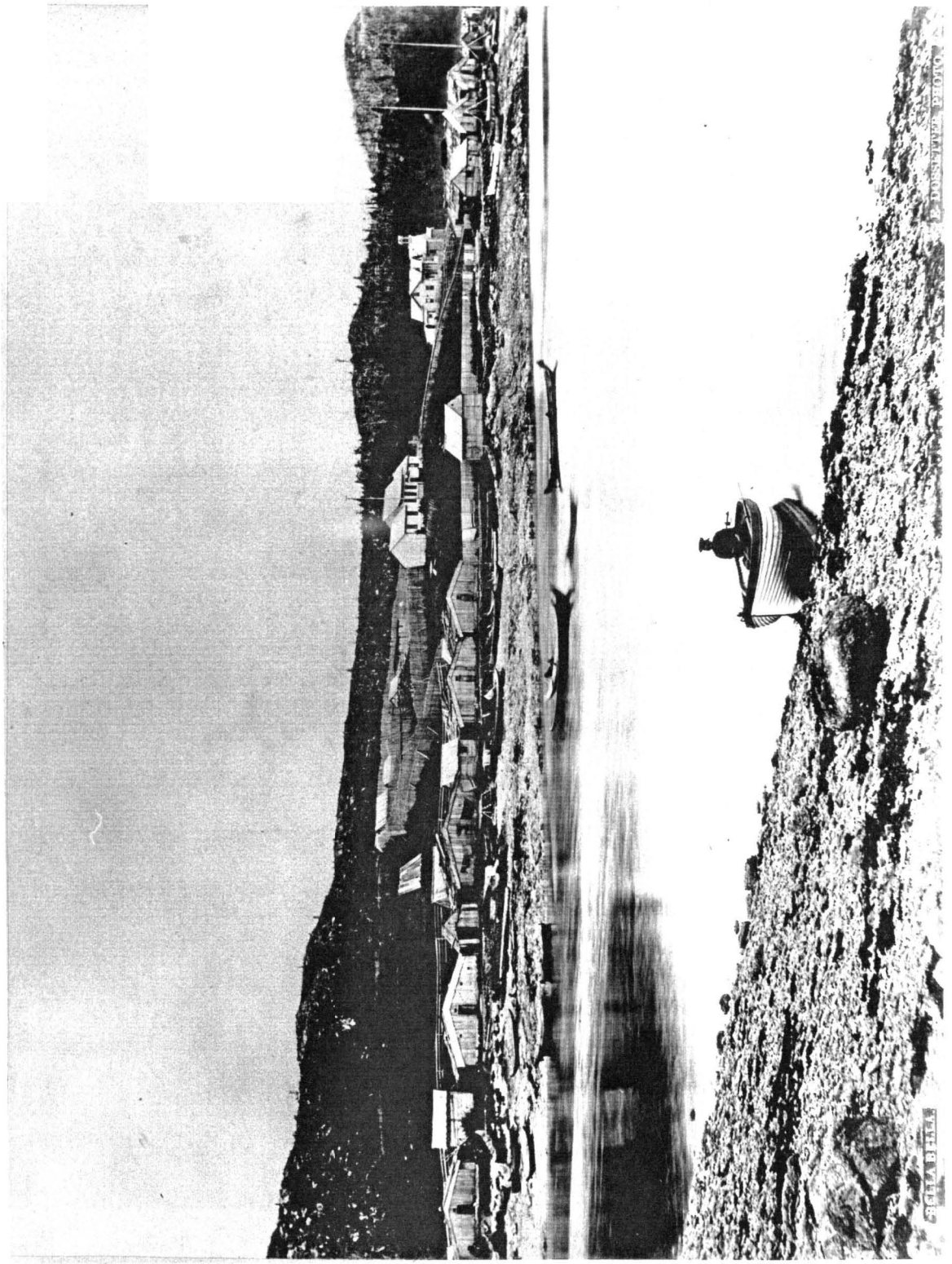

Figure 5 Photograph of Old Bella Bella, early 1880s by Dorsetter (B.C.P A, B-3570)

the beach front. The photographic record for the next two decades indicates that the traditional houses were almost completely replaced by small frame built houses before the end of the century. Most of this development had taken place in the northern half of the bay because large portions of the southern half had become privately owned after the Hudson's Bay Company sold the original site of the fort compound along with the trading post in the late 1890s. Ultimately this shortage of land forced the community to relocate the entire town site 2 km. up Lama Passage at the present day site of Waglisla

## The Traditional House

The location of the traditional house was determined using a technique which employed a photograph (Fig. 5) of the south end of the village taken from across the bay by Dorsetter in 1881 (Hobler et al 1983`). By this method the excavators estimated that they had been able to plot on the ground the position of a number of houses in the central portion of the photograph to within 2 m of their original position. With reference to the photograph, the excavated house is the second one on the left of the fence surrounding the store on the hill (Fig. 5).

Several shallow drifts cut into a slope at the back of the house area and superimposed one upon another, were revealed after surface clearing. These indicated attempts to level the site in an effort to provide a level building surface, and suggested a sequence of structures or modifications to the original house. Local informants state that no longhouses remained in this area of the site by the 1890s. A variety of surface features indicated a brief 20th century occupation unrelated to the traditional house. The general area of the house was numbered unit 30 for the cataloguing of surface finds. Excavated units were numbered 31 to 48, for a total of 18 units, which produced 3321 artifacts altogether.

All artifacts were thought to be historic in age; no definite evidence of prehistoric remains were recovered. Several utilized obsidian flakes were found but

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

The Frame House

Most of the frame houses were built on the upper and lower terraces above the beach at the north end of the bay. Much of this area was logged in the 1970s and large portions of the residential remains have been destroyed. However an undisturbed area was located on an upper terrace 175 to 300 m north of the site datum (Fig. 4). The remains of at least three houses were identified by standing and fallen posts, fallen beams, rock features and artifacts found on the surface and in the littermat. The most complete of these three was designated unit 91. A grid was established for the house excavations in reference to a secondary datum which was located 458 m north and 164 m west of the original site datum.

Surface clearing revealed the remains of a brick chimney, scattered brick and a rock wall. However, it proved more difficult than anticipated to define the

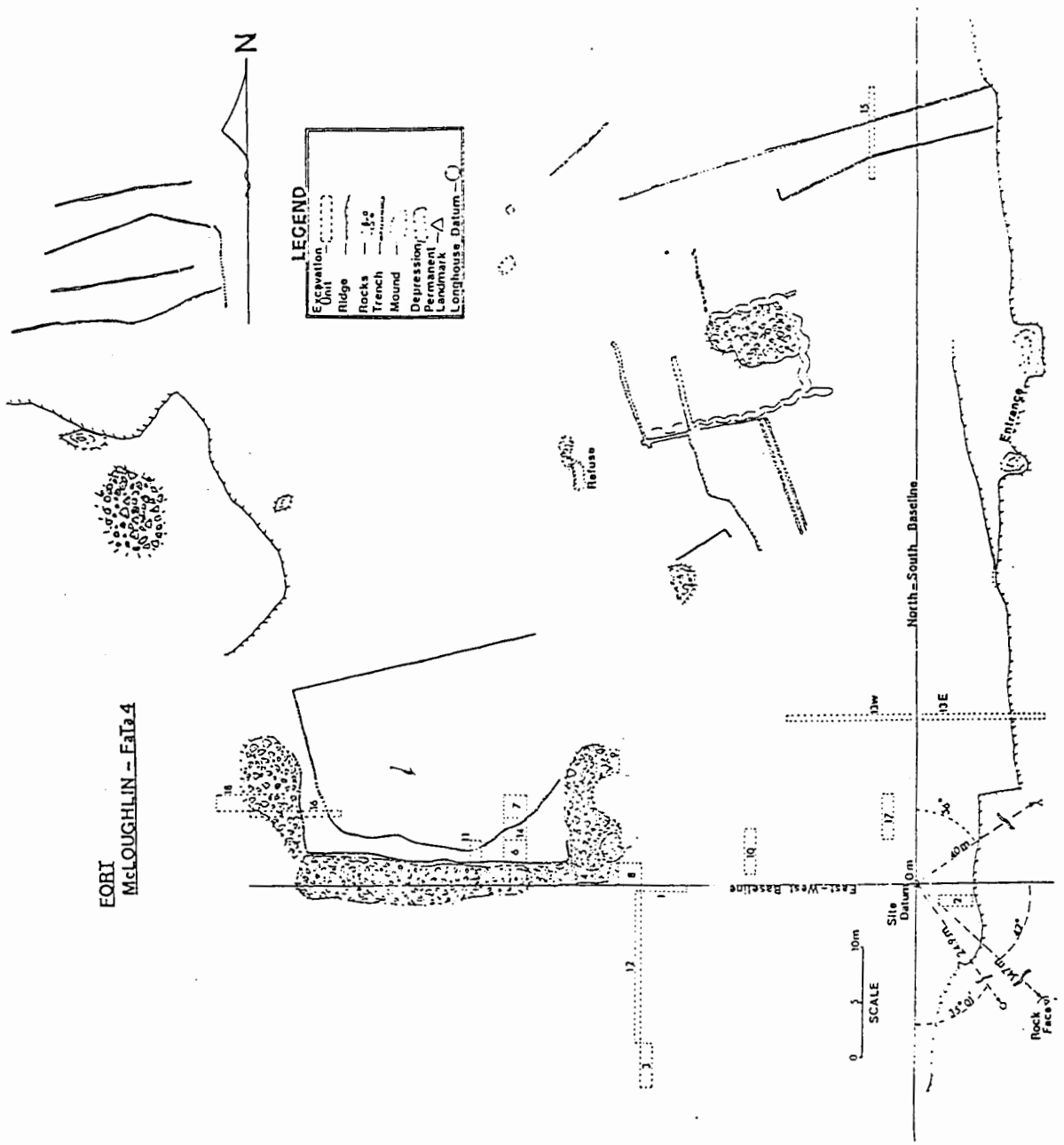


Figure 6 Map of Fort McLoughlin showing excavation areas. From (Hobler et al 1983)

exact boundaries of the house due to the ambiguity of a number of the architectural features. Houses tended not to be built directly on the ground due to the uneven and rocky nature of the terrain in this area of the site. Instead foundations were supported by tall pilings. This was a distinct break from the aboriginal pattern of house construction, and was thought to be a result of the less than optimal ground sites available to the community due to the advent of private ownership by Europeans at the end of the 19th century. Excavations units were numbered 50 through 60 and produced a total of 2085 artifacts; surface collection produced 74 artifacts.

Fort McLoughlin

Excavations in the area of the fort focused on identifying architectural remains with the goal of defining the location of the original boundaries of the compound and fort palisade. Further, little is known about construction techniques for coastal forts and the excavators hoped to determine how the demands of a coastal terrain affected construction methods relative to those of interior forts. A grid coordinate system was established for the fort area with a permanent datum (00 m) marked by a buried metal bar at 10. 92 m above the tide level and tied to two permanent landmarks. Both landmarks were marked by metal bolts. All excavation units, numbered 1 through 18, were dug in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all matrix was screened through quarter inch mesh screen. Total artifacts for this area numbered 2434. A map of the fort compound is provided in Figure 6.

Excavations began in the southeastern area of the fort compound, since no construction could be seen in 1870s photographs suggesting that the 1833-1843 occupation may have been undisturbed in this area. Surface features included a large row of rocks extending across the southern section of the area thought to represent support for the fort's southern palisade wall. However, excavation units placed here revealed that structural preservation was poor. Three long test units

were excavated in the east and north, as well as in the south areas of the grounds, in an effort to locate fort boundaries in these areas. Unfortunately, due to problems of poor preservation, and later disturbance the fort boundaries ultimately proved difficult to discern. The southern back corner of the fort could be discerned because it was dug slightly into the hillside. As well, a clear double ditch gives evidence of the front half of the north side palisade. The southwest area of the compound was investigated for evidence of the west wall. This area was also defined by a row of rocks and surface depressions extending at right angles to the southern rock feature. This was the location of the later 1866 trading store and many surface features and artifacts were evident in the area. Surface collections were made but excavations in this area were not done as the original fort occupation was the primary focus of investigation.

Within the fort compound the soil matrix was composed of 60 % angular medium sized gravel mixed with soil and organic material. This differed distinctly from the natural stratigraphy outside of the fort compound, indicating that gravel had been imported to the site, likely for the purposes of leveling the building site. Two types of stratigraphy were evident in excavated units within the compound. Within units near the stone wall feature (4, 5, 8, 10, 11) artifacts were found in the top 10-15 cm of the matrix. Units further away from the wall (6, 7, 9) produced cultural remains throughout the entire 30-35 cm depth of the gravel matrix indicating disturbance. Excavators postulated that later plowing for gardens in these areas had mixed artifacts throughout the matrix, and destroyed much of the structural evidence of the original fort occupation, at least in the areas under excavation during the 1982 field season.

## The Ceramic Collection

The ceramic collection from Old Bella Bella consists of 522 sherds which range in fabric from a coarse buff coloured earthernware to high-fired stoneware and

highly decorated semi-vitrified ware. The most common fabric found across the site as a whole was white transfer printed earthernware (Fig 7). Stonewares consisted primarily of high fired utilitarian vessels, crocks and jars, all of which are classified as crockery. Semi-vitrified ceramics tend to be high fired ironstone which was a Staffordshire innovation and response to competition from the French porcelain market in the 19th century. After cross mending, 99 individual vessels were identified. A small number of unidentified sherds were also present.

A complete catalogue of all ceramics from the 1982 excavations has been provided in Appendix A. Sherds were inventoried by catalogue number and then sorted by unit number and excavation area. Each sherd was described according to decorative style, vessel type, paste, and where identifiable, pattern name. As sherds were cross mended, a record was made of all the catalogue numbers related to each vessel, and a number was then assigned to each vessel. This facilitated computer sorting by area and vessel type. The ceramic analysis, found in the following chapter provides a series of charts and graphs generated as a result of data sorting done in this manner.

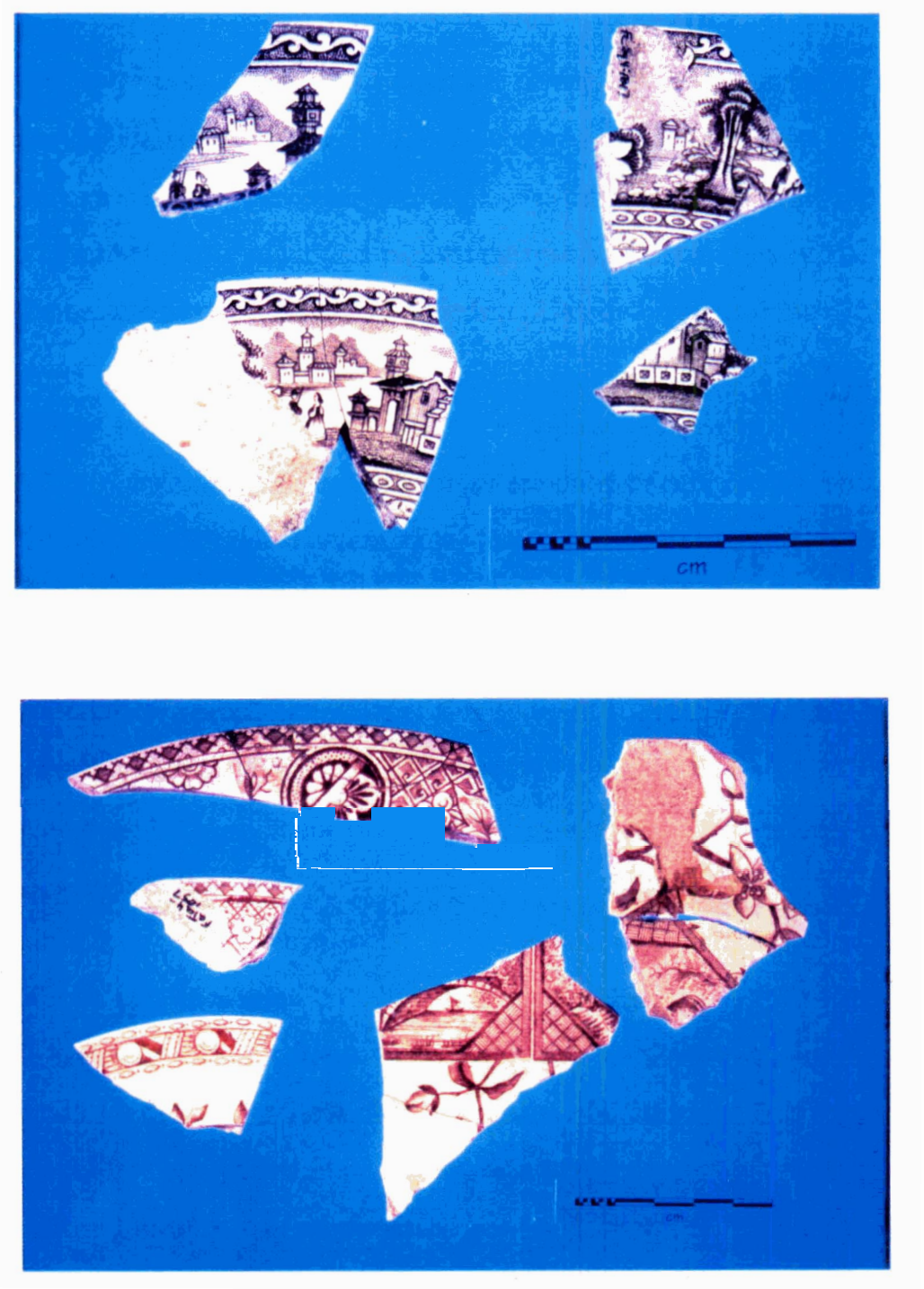


Figure 7 White Transfer Printed Earthenware illustrating patterns popular in the last half of the 19th century. Above, "Italy" made by Charles Meigh & Son between 1851 and 1861. And below, "Sitka" made by Thomas Hughes between 1860 and 1894. There are a total of four vessels illustrated in the bottom photograph. The Sitka pattern is in the top left corner of the photograph.

# CHAPTER THREE

# ANALYSIS

## Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella on the basis of decorative type and vessel form. Where possible, pattern designs have been identified. A chronology has been constructed based on a combination of identified pattern designs and decorative types. It can be found in the second part of the analysis section. Detailed descriptions of patterns and decorative types are found in chapter four.

Hudson's Bay Company inventories are available for seven years between 1876 and 1882 (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). These are used in conjunction with evidence provided by the archaeological assemblage. This analysis has been further supplemented by information from archival documents and historical records to provide a broad picture of the adoption and use of ceramics as a new item of Heiltsuk material culture. The results of this analysis suggest a changing pattern of ceramic usage over the course of the 19th century.

## Analytic Considerations

In building a methodology to carry out this research, I started with the larger question of why ceramics were initially adopted into Heiltsuk culture. To address this question, it was necessary to ask what kinds of ceramics were selected, and when and how ceramics became an item of Heiltsuk material culture. This focus led to a two part methodology and raised additional and specific questions regarding the initial incorporation of European ceramics as additions to the Heiltsuk material inventory with a role and function distinction from indigenous equivalents, versus the later replacement of traditional Heiltsuk cooking and eating utensils with European ones. The Heiltsuk produced no ceramic vessels traditionally, cooking

was done in wooden and bark containers with the aid of heated rocks. Carved wooden and stone dishes, many very elaborate in design, were used for eating and drinking.

Preliminary analysis of the collection on the basis of ware type and vessel function indicated that vessels associated with each of the three excavated areas - the fort compound, the traditional house, and the frame house - showed different patterns of ceramic distribution (Belokrinicev 1982). It was hypothesized that further analysis might shed light on Heiltsuk/European trade relations and socio-functional motivations as they pertained to ceramic use in 19th century Heiltsuk society. To this end, an examination of the collection based on decorative style and vessel function was conducted.

A chronology was constructed using a combination of decorative types and pattern identification. This was done largely to verify that the dates for the ceramic assemblage were consistent with the sequence of building construction as it is understood from the historical records. This was important for the purposes of ensuring that results of the vessel form analysis for each component of the site were in fact representative of those components. Combined with an examination of the historical documentation, this allowed for a reconstruction of the events relating to the adoption and use of European ceramics by the Heiltsuk during the latter part of the 19th century. That discussion follows in chapter five.

Cross matching and reconstruction of vessels was done where possible allowing for analysis to take place on the level of whole vessels. Throughout this chapter, graphs and charts present figures based on numbers of whole vessels. There were 99 vessels across the three components including 40 for the fort component, 30 for the traditional house, and 29 for the frame house.

One possible problem identified by the excavators of Old Bella Bella relates to the integrity of the site (Hobler et al 1983). Refuse from one area may have made its way to other parts of the site while the site was still in use, thereby skewing the

results of analysis. This was particularly a concern within the fort compound where two occupations were represented. the initial fort period between 1833 and 1843 and, the later trading post, built approximately in the centre of the fort grounds in 1866 where it remained until shortly after site abandonment in 1898. (P. Hobler, pers. comm).

Similarly, stratigraphy is shallow and units within the fort compound showed signs of disturbance in some units, the probable result of gardening as indicated in photographs of the trading post in the 1870s. In some cases the excavators were able to distinguish between the earlier and later fort ground occupations on the basis of stratigraphy (see discussion in chapter two) and surface features, particularly in those units known from historic photographs to have been in close proximity to the trading post. In other areas of the compound this was not possible. For this reason, the ceramic sample from both the fort occupation and the later trading post have been analyzed together as a single assemblage and viewed primarily as the source of supply for the other two components.

As a result of these concerns, attention was paid to the distribution of sherds and cross mends across the site. With one exception, sherds belonging to the same vessel were recovered in the same unit or in adjacent units within the same component. This suggests that vessels were likely recovered from the location in which they were last used or, alternatively, that pieces of a broken vessel were discarded together. If site integrity had been compromised by disturbance, more cross mends from disparate parts of the site might have been expected.

## Decorative Types and Chronology

The first stage of analysis involved the inventory and classification of the excavated and surface collected assemblages from all parts of the site during the 1982 field season. While a preliminary analysis of ware type had been undertaken in 1982 (Belokrinicev 1982) this required revision for the purposes of answering

questions specific to the present study. A classification based on decorative type was chosen, rather than ware type as has been common practice in historical archaeology (Miller 1980).

Ware type refers to the fabric or material from which the clay body is manufactured. The ware type system is geared to identifying manufacturing processes which are not relevant here as this information is well established for European ceramics. Further, by the 19th century the makers, traders and merchants of European wares themselves employed a classification based on decoration (Miller 1980). Therefore, using a similar basis for archaeological analysis makes for a more efficient and accurate use of historical documentation.

Surface decoration is often a sensitive temporal marker allowing vessels to be assigned to general time periods reflecting production dates, regional availability, and market demand. This information was used to assign relative dates to the site assemblages, allowing the sequence of building construction at the site to be verified. As represented in Figure 8, eight different decorative types were defined for the site. These include Transfer Printed Wares, Undecorated Plain White Wares, Plain Coloured Wares, Moulded Wares, Sponge Stamped Wares, Multi-Banded Wares, Hand Painted Wares and Decal Printed Wares.

Transfer Printed earthenwares and Plain White wares are by far the largest categories across the site as a whole (Fig. 8). Plain white wares include vessels variously labelled "Royal Ironstone", "stone china", "white granite", as well as other unmarked white earthernware. "Ironstone" and "Stone China" are trade names belonging to improved semivitreous earthernwares produced by Mason and Spode/Copeland respectively in the early decades of the 19th century. However, variations of these ware types, produced by many different pottery firms, developed in the second half of the century and a range of terms was used to describe them. Plain White wares continued to be popular into the 20th century. Miller uses the general term "white granite" to distinguish these later plain white and moulded

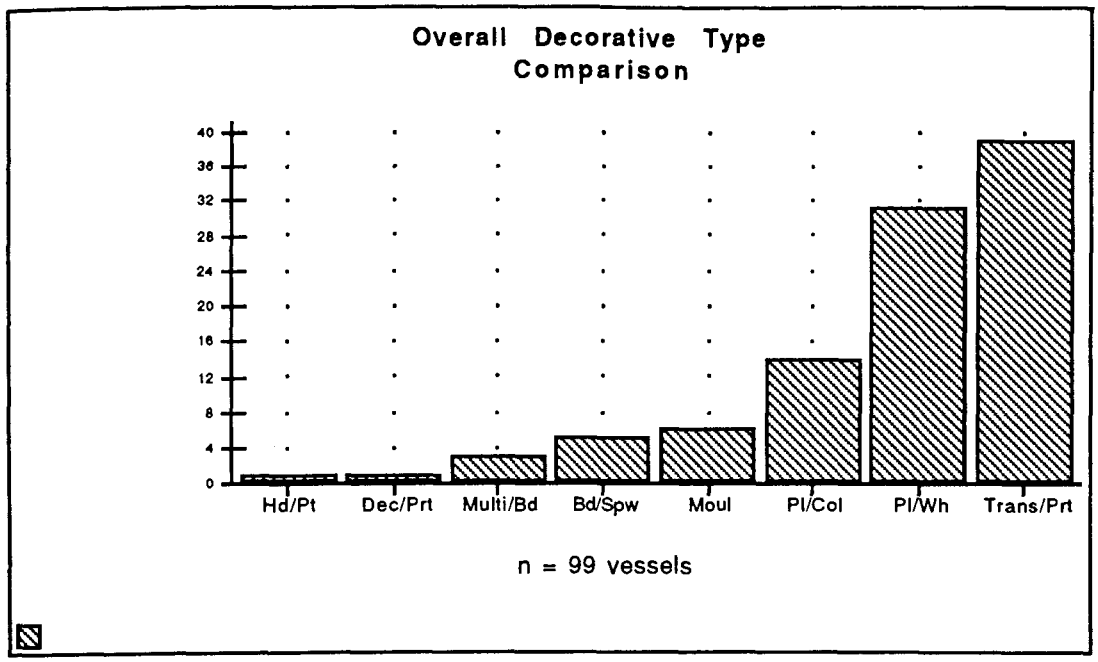


Figure 8 Fata 4 Old Bella Bella overall site distribution for decorative types, counts based on whole vessels.

wares from the decorated stone china wares of the early part of the century (Miller 1991:5). Requisitions for plain white and transfer printed cups, basins and bowls appear in relatively equal numbers on the order forms from the Bella Bella trading post in the late 1870s and into the 1880s (H.B. Co. B.B. 1876-1882)

Underglaze Transfer Printed earthenware was recovered from all three components. The dominant pattern colours were blue and brown with smaller amounts of green, red and black. Japanese influenced designs in subdued greens and browns became popular beginning in the 1870s through the end of the century (Majewski 1994:5). A high proportion of transfer printed wares from the fort units are indicative of these later styles sold from the trading post after the 1870s. Several brown transfer print vessels in the Japanesque style have also been recovered from the units associated with the frame house.

Plain Coloured wares are the next largest category. This category consists primarily of stoneware vessels including crocks, jars, and other vessels relating to

food storage. These wares are not temporally specific, and are found in relatively equal proportions across the site.

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

A very small number of Sponge Stamped and Multi Banded vessels were recovered in units associated with the trading store and the traditional house. These styles became available in Canada in the 1840s and 1850s and continued to be popular into the 1920s (Collard 1967:133; Miller 1991:6). While they might have been expected given their temporal range, none were recovered from the frame house. Both decorative styles were popular at other late 19th century Northwest Coast contact sites (Leuger 1981; Jackson 1991; Marshall 1993). A description of these styles is given in greater detail in Chapter 4.

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

In combination with pattern identification, decorative style comparisons between the three components have been useful in establishing time frames for each ceramic sample. Table 2 presents a percentage breakdown of the assemblage, classified according to decorative type, for each component of the site. The graph which follows provides a visual representation of those figures (Fig. 9). Finally, Table 3 in the next section, presents pattern and decorative types by location with their respective dates.

Excavation units associated with the fort and later trading post have produced a higher proportion of Transfer Printed ceramics over either house type. One of these vessels has been dated to the period 1830-1850 and another to post 1873 (refer to Table 3 for ceramic dates throughout this section). In general Transfer Printed

Table 2 Decorative type percentages from each component with number of vessels in brackets

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

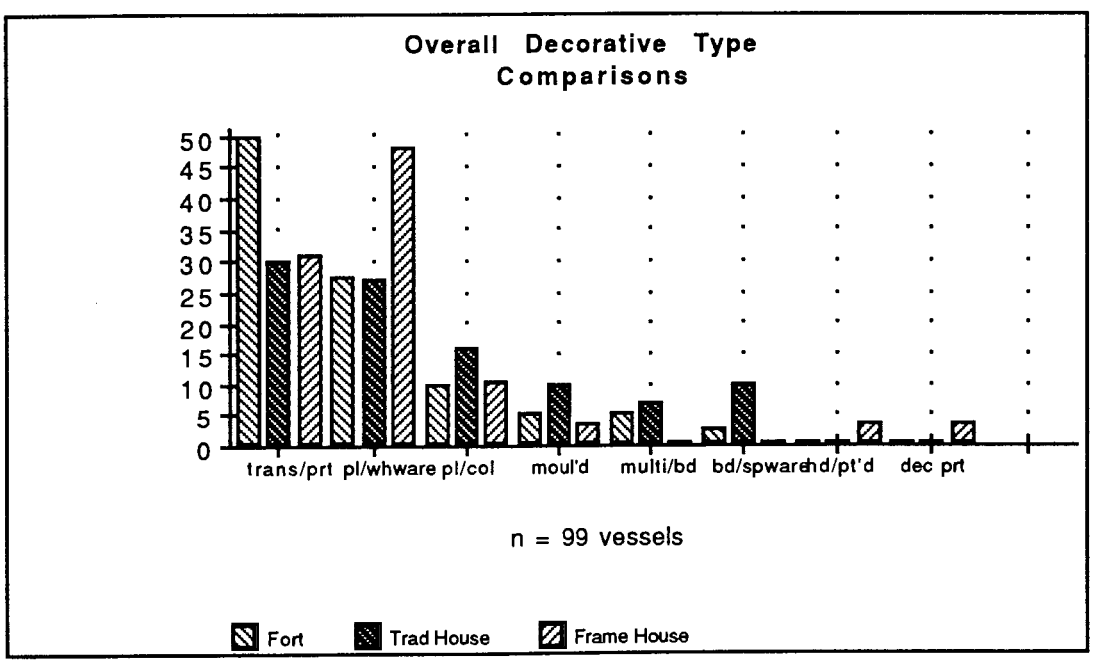


Figure 9 Percentage Breakdowns for Individual Site Components, numbers represent whole vessel counts.

wares were available over the course of the 19th century and are not temporally specific, (although individual patterns, once identified, can be very date specific). Rather, this relationship may be a reflection of the role of the fort area as the source of supply for the village. Excavation units likely associated with the later trading post have produced ceramic dates which postdate the fort and span the period 1860 to the 1890s, the transition period between the two house types.

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

In general, the dominant decorative types between the two houses were transfer printed and plain white wares respectively. The Traditional house produced relatively equal numbers of both types; in contrast, the frame house showed a marked increase of plain white over transfer printed wares. As both decorative types appear on the inventories and were thus available during the period 1876-1882, this may be indicative over time of the increased every day use of the more economical ware type, white wares being cheaper than the decorated wares. The continued role of the decorated wares in the potlatch complex is discussed below.

## Pattern Design Identification

A second typology was constructed using pattern design identification. Once designs and their corresponding dates were established, these were correlated with

Table 3 Patterns and Decorative Types by Location and Date

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

(* Suppliers as distinguished from manufacturers, Sussman 1978)

the components at the site (Fig 4). The historical records indicate a site chronology in which the establishment of Fort McLoughlin in 1833 preceded the Heiltsuk settlement by one or two years. The traditional Heiltsuk houses co existed with and out lasted the fort by three or more decades, and were themselves gradually replaced by the frame built residences of the post 1880s missionary period. Ceramics from each component of the site have produced dates which are consistent with these time frames. These results are presented in Table 3.

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

## Vessel Form and Function

A third stage of analysis involved an examination of vessel form and function for each component. This provides information about the type of vessels being selected, the context in which they were being used at the site and changes over time.

Vessel function was established by examining each reconstructed vessel and placing it into one of nine vessel categories, including: 1) Washbasins; 2) Bowls; 3) Crocks, Jars, Bottles and Jugs; 4) Cups; 5) Saucers; 6) Plates; 7) Soup plates; 8) Serving and Ornamental dishes and; 9) An unidentified category for items too fragmentary to identify as to function.

A bar graph showing the overall distribution of vessel forms at the site is provided below in Figure 10, followed by Table 4 showing distribution by component. These are then represented in the graph that follows (Fig. 11). Vessel type descriptions for each component of the site are presented in following sections of this chapter.

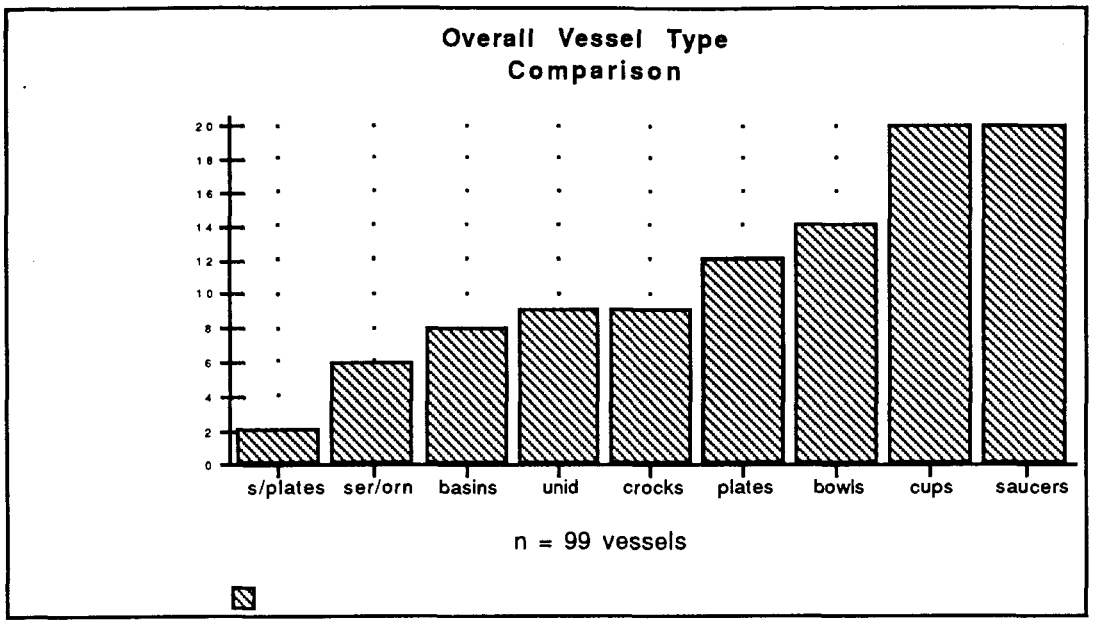


Figure 10 Fata 4 Old Bella Bella Vessel Form Distribution, (numbers represent whole vessel counts)

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

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

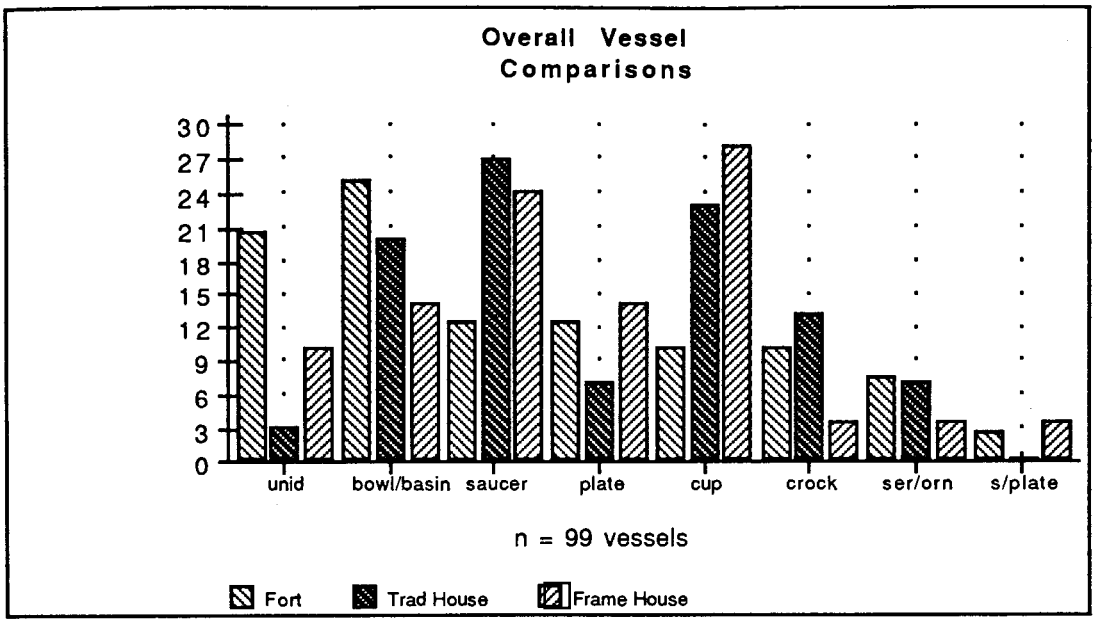


Figure 11 Fata 4 Old Bella Bella. Comparison of Vessel Types from each Component, (numbers represent whole vessel counts).

Analysis of the excavated ceramics at Old Bella Bella has identified a pattern of high usage among selected items of teaware and tableware. This is especially the case for vessel types coming out of the traditional house as well as the later frame house. In general these two components produced similar types of vessels in similar numbers. In these two components cups and saucers by far predominate and bowls of different sizes are found in quantity. However on closer examination some variation between the two houses became apparent.

Initially small and medium sized bowls and wash basins were separated into two categories. In the course of historical research (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882), evidence was found (as discussed below) which indicated that wash basins served the same function as the smaller bowls in that they were used for serving food rather than as washbowls.

Individual and medium sized serving bowls make up the third largest category in the traditional house. No wash basins were recovered from this

component. The frame house produced two wash basins and a number of smaller bowls, although fewer in quantity than the traditional house. Rather, in the frame house component, the number of dinner and soup plates increased and outnumbered bowls and basins by a small percentage. This may indicate the incorporation of some European food stuffs - grains, etc. - which, unlike the liquid based stews indigenous to the Heiltsuk, were more appropriately consumed from flat vessels.

As noted above, cups and saucers make up the largest categories representing over 50% of the assemblage in both houses. The predominance of these vessel forms is consistent with findings from other ceramic studies at Native/European contact sites in North America (Lueger 1988; Burley 1989; Jackson 1991; Marshall 1993). Historical evidence further indicates that cup and saucer sets had become an item of exchange in the potlatch complex. This aspect of the analysis is explored in further detail in the discussion chapter of this thesis.

The fort sample was the most diversified of the three components in the sense that a greater range of vessel types were well represented. All vessel types were found in similar quantities with no category predominating. This may reflect both European ceramic usage by Hudson's Bay Company employees during the fort's initial occupation, as well as the expanding nature of the ceramic stock kept on hand at the trading post built in the 1860s.

Comparative frequencies within components are slightly more revealing. In the following section each component is discussed individually accompanied by charts illustrating vessel types for each area of the site.

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

The units associated with the fort have produced a large proportion of basins, bowls, and crocks - such as might be used for the storage and preparation of food. As well, a good cross section of tea and tableware with similar numbers of plates, cups,

and saucers and a slightly smaller number of serving dishes were found. Most are of a strong but inexpensive earthernware. Where stoneware vessels are associated with the fort units, they are the high-fired utilitarian items, relating to food processing and storage. Of the eight categories of vessel types identified at the site, each was well represented within the fort sample giving the impression of an assemblage with all the expected elements of European ceramic usage (Fig. 12). The high percentage of unidentified vessels in this component is likely indicative of disturbance in many of the units associated with the fort compound. This would be expected of an area which is known, from the photographic records, to have been plowed for gardens attached to the trading post. As previously noted, excavations of the site indicated that several of the units, in areas near the trading post, showed signs of disturbance while others thought to be associated with the original fort occupation did not (Hobler et al 1983).

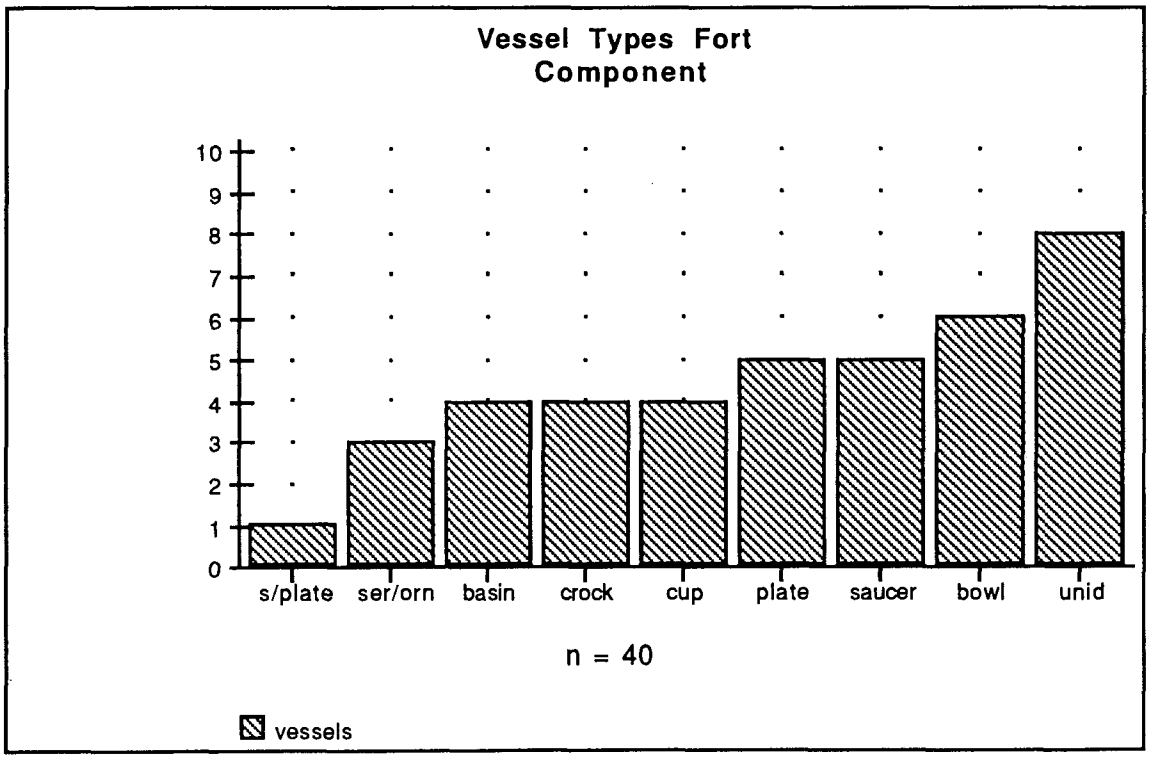


Figure 12 Vessel distribution, fort component, (numbers= whole vessels)

The Traditional House (Units 31 through 49)

Cups, saucers and small bowls dominate the ceramic assemblage of the traditional house. The traditional house component in general presented the impression of a much more selective use of European tableware over the fort component, with fewer vessel forms present (Fig. 13). As suggested earlier, this may be indicative of the adoption of ceramics into established Heiltsuk artifact categories. Small and large ceramic bowls were appropriate for the liquid based stews typical of Heiltsuk dietary patterns and would have been most similar to the traditional wooden bowls already in use. Supporting evidence for the incorporation of European ceramics into pre-existing Native artifact categories is found in Southwestern Alaska, where Jackson (1989) has noted that cups and saucers had been incorporated as grave goods in the mortuary complex of Native Alaskans by the 1880s where they served as status and prestige items. Utilitarian crockery made up a fourth category perhaps indicating the introduction of European dry goods and a growing need for vessels which could be used to store or process them.

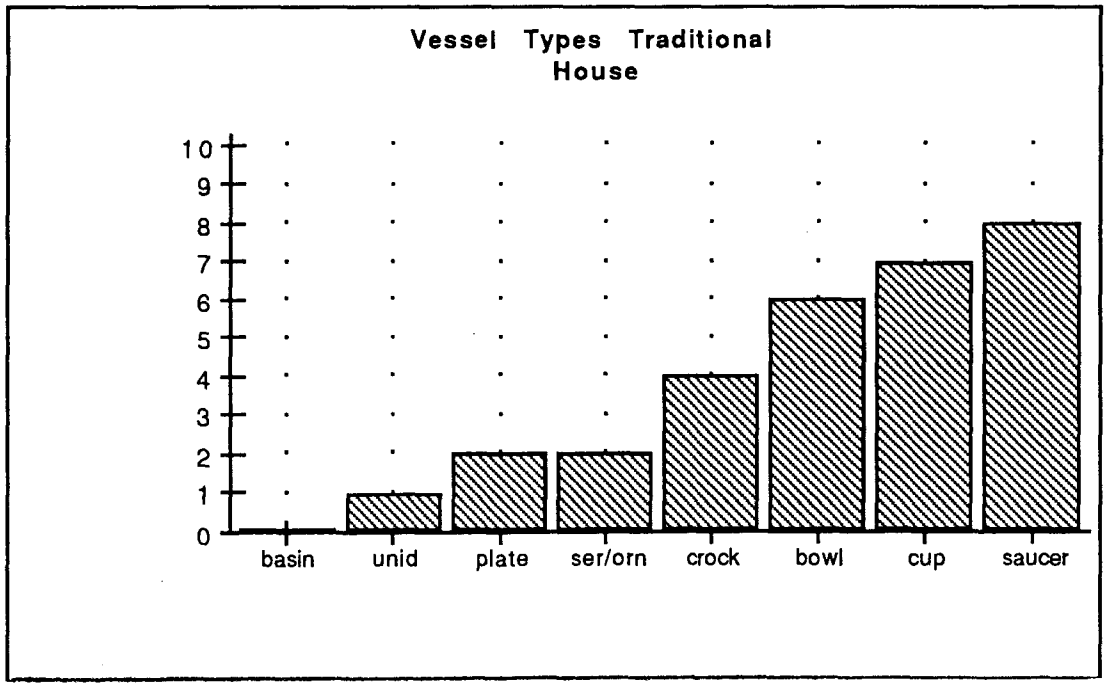


Figure 13 Vessel distribution, traditional house, (numbers=whole vessels)

No large basins were recovered in the traditional house, although the Hudson's Bay Company records for the period 1876 to 1882 clearly indicate that wash basins and serving bowls were being ordered almost exclusively during this period (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882).

The Frame House (Units 50 through 60 and Surface Collection)

The high usage of specific kinds of tablewares, namely cups and saucers and bowls, seen in the artifact assemblage of the traditional house, is repeated in units associated with the frame built house (Fig. 14). However, there was greater variety in vessel type with all forms represented by at least one vessel. Significantly, dinner plates were the third largest category while tableware in general far out numbered utilitarian crockery. In fact the percentage of vessels pertaining to practical functions

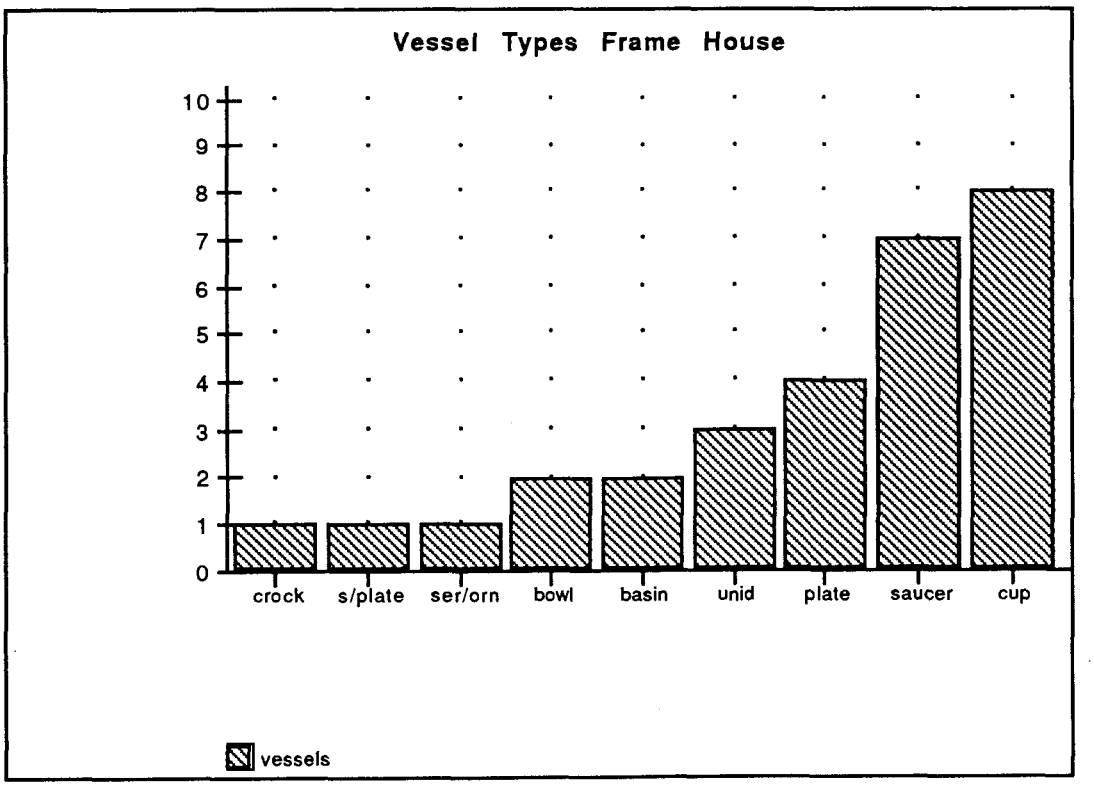


Figure 14 Vessel distribution frame house component, numbers=whole vessels.

such as storage was the lowest for this sample. Given the increased use of European foods such as flour, sugar, potatoes and grains as indicated in the historic inventories (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882) of the later trading store, this percentage might have been predicted to be higher, however, it may be that traditional Heiltsuk storage containers such as wooden boxes were being used for this purpose.

## Historical Evidence

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

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

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

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

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

By the early 1880s, a much expanded variety of vessel types were being ordered in quantity. Cups and saucers, a selection of jugs in different sizes and soup plates reappear, and dinner plates appear for the first time. As new items were appearing others were disappearing. The large wash basins, by this time arriving in all colours and sizes (Fig. 16), were replaced with a greater selection of smaller individual sized bowls including a large order for six dozen "small glass bowls" in 1881, the year after the mission opened. By 1882 the year end inventories show no wash basins of any kind in stock. By contrast, quantities of cups, saucers, small bowls, jugs, soup plates, and dinner plates can be found (Fig. 15, 17, 18).

An 1897 notation in the diary of Caroline Tate the wife of the Reverend Tate, a Methodist missionary at Bella Bella in the late 1880s, confirmed the trend we see in the earlier inventory records and suggested that cups and saucers had become an item of exchange at potlatches. She writes, "We are told that in some houses there are as many as two hundred cups and saucers that they have received at potlatches"(S. C. Tate 1870-1933: 102).

These findings are consistent with other Northwest Coast ceramics studies. On the West Coast of Vancouver Island, in an analysis of surface finds recovered

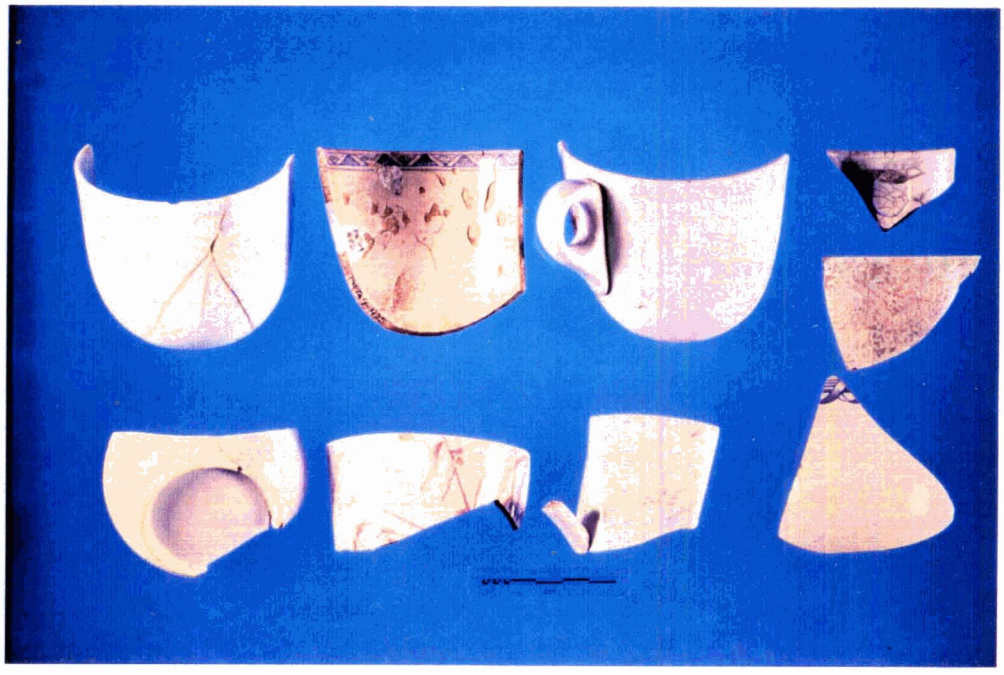

Figure 15 Examples of cup (above) fragments from Old Bella Bella.

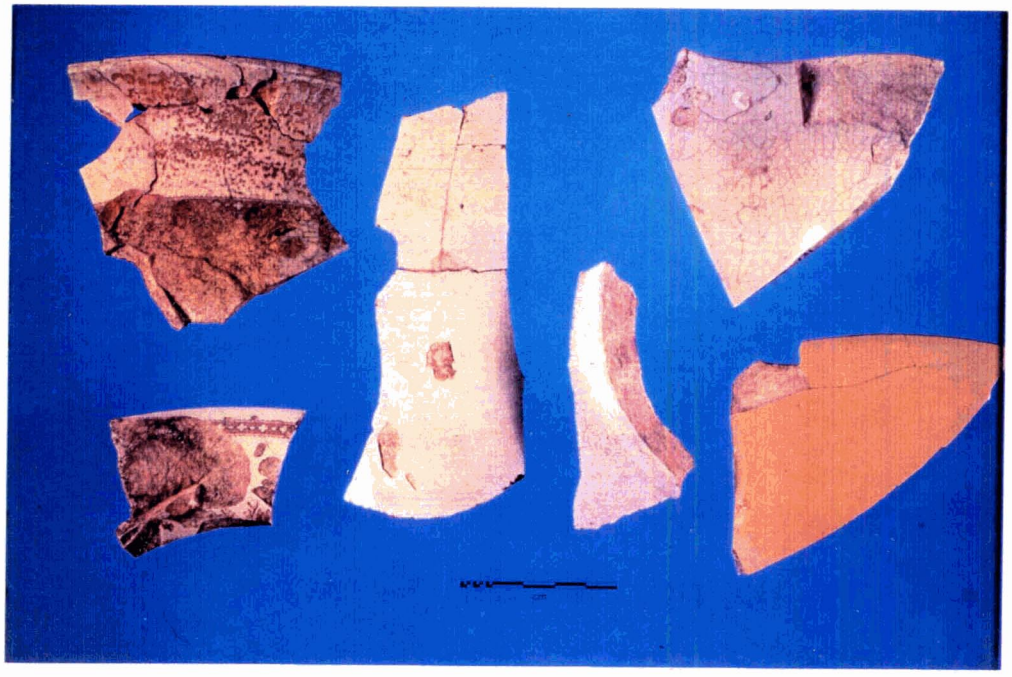

Figure 16 Examples wash basin fragments from Old Bella Bella.

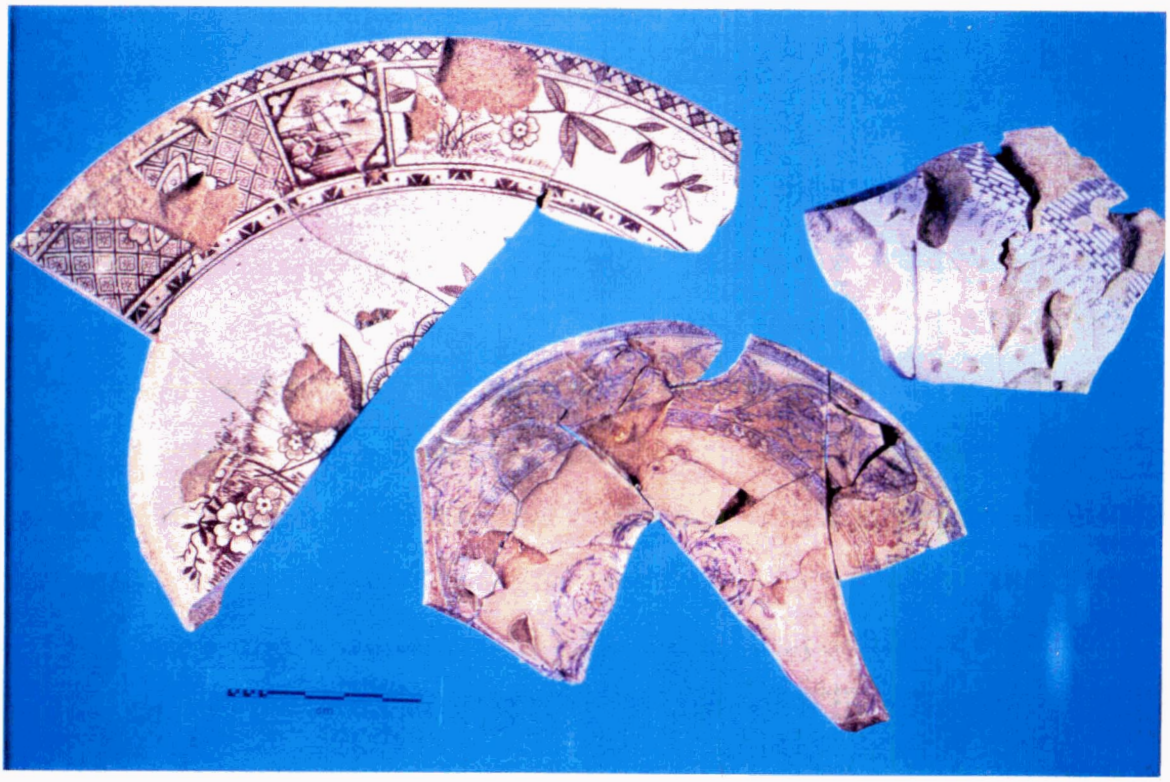

Figure 17 Examples of transfer printed soup plate in the Japanesque pattern Sitka made by Thomas Hughes (upper left) and saucers, (right) from Old Bella Bella.

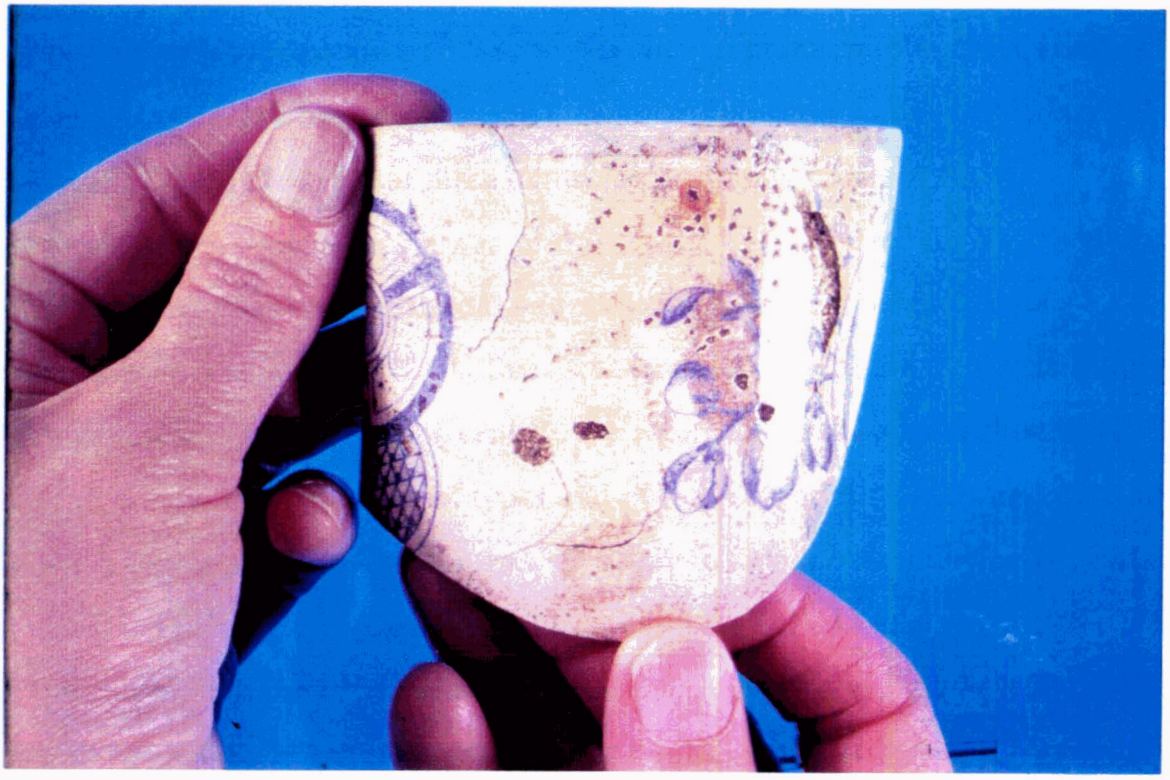

Figure 18 Example of a transfer printed cup from Old Bella Bella.

during survey work in Nootka Sound, Marshall has reported that initially, bowls were "the most common vessel form" (Marshall 1991:139) with cups making up a significant second category. Over time, this pattern reverses itself and cups become more prolific than bowls. In his ceramic study of the Nuu-chah-nulth reoccupation at Yuquot Lueger has said "as for forms, small bowls and cups were by far the most common ceramic objects recovered from excavations" (Lueger 1981:160).

Ceramics had made inroads among those items of European manufacture desired by the Heiltsuk from the earliest days of the maritime fur trade. This is evidenced in an entry in John Meares journal of his voyages to the Northwest Coast in 1789 relating to the trade of "coats, jackets, trowsers, pots, kettles, frying pans, wash hand basins, and whatever articles of a similar nature could be procured, either from the officers or the men" (1967: 368). However, their function in the Heiltsuk food production and consumption complex was not necessarily the one Europeans had intended, at least not initially. It would seem from an examination of the Hudson's Bay Company inventories (Table 5) that large coloured earthenware wash basins were among the first items of ceramic manufacture to enter Heiltsuk material culture, wash basins being the largest kind of ceramic bowl form available. It has been suggested here that these items, large ceramic bowl forms, were consistent with the communal usage of traditional Heiltsuk serving dishes and thus desirable. Lueger has made a similar suggestion with regard to wash basins recovered from Yuquot (1981:163). Subsequently, with the move to single family dwellings in the latter part of the century the record indicates a transition to a greater diversity of ceramic vessel types and ones designed for individual use. Over time wash basins and large bowl forms give way to smaller ceramic vessel forms and increased numbers of cups and saucers. Historic records (Blackman 1976; Tate 1897), including the previously cited entry in the diary of Caroline Tate indicate that cups and saucers had been incorporated into the Heiltsuk potlatch complex by the 1880s.

**Summary**

The ceramic analysis presented in this chapter set out to accomplish several related goals. Initially the historically documented sequence of building construction at the site was verified using decorative types and pattern identification. The ceramic assemblage was correlated with the approximate dates for each component and was found to be representative of them. Evidence of patterning was then sought in decorative styles and vessel forms. This aspect of the analysis showed a differential pattern of distribution in vessel and decorative types between the fort component and the two house types. Both houses produced similar types of ceramics - primarily cups, saucers, and bowl with minor variation in frequency and diversity of vessel forms within each component. However, plain white wares superseded transfer printed wares in the frame house, possibly reflecting the later increase in cheaper wares for everyday use as distinct from the more expensive decorated potlatch items. Overall, the most obvious pattern was the much more selective use of particular types of vessels in the two Native components over the broader range of vessel forms represented in the fort compound.

This chapter has examined both archaeological and historical evidence relating to ceramic use over the course of the 19th century at Old Bella Bella. Historical evidence in the form of Hudson's Bay Company inventories and correspondence, diaries etc., has been used to expand our understanding of the archaeological evidence, and has been particularly useful in formulating explanations for the ceramic distribution patterns in the two Native houses. For instance, reference to tea cups, given as gifts at potlatches, indicated that these forms, so numerous in both Native assemblages, had taken on a cultural function beyond their expected European meaning. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence helped to clarify the historical documentation in a different instance. While wash

basins are not especially prolific in the archaeological record of the two Native houses, their consistent appearance on year end inventories required explanation. When their function was considered in the larger context of a general preponderance of bowl forms in the archaeological record, their role as communal serving dishes became apparent. Therefore in this study the combined use of both types of evidence has been invaluable in arriving at a fuller analysis of the ceramic assemblage.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# MANUFACTURERS AND PATTERN DESIGNS

This chapter begins with a discussion of the Hudson's Bay Company's main supply sources for ceramics during the 19th century. A history of the Spode/Copeland pottery firm is provided, as the trading partnership between the Hudson's Bay Company and this firm was ongoing throughout the last two thirds of the 19th century, coinciding with the period when Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella was in existence. The second part of the chapter presents more detailed information on the patterns and decorative styles found in the assemblage. This information was used to build the chronology in the preceding analysis.

## Hudson's Bay Company Ceramic Supply to North America

Throughout the 19th century, the Hudson's Bay Company was supplied with ceramics by several different English pottery firms. However, the Company's relationship with the the famous Spode/Copeland Company of Staffordshire England, was the most long lived. It is of primary archaeological interest because a great deal of research has focused on the potential of these ceramics as a dating tool at Hudson's Bay Company sites (Whiter 1970; Chance & Chance 1976; Ross 1976; Copeland 1990; Sussman 1978, 1979).

In December of 1835, the Company contracted with Copeland and Garrett, formerly the Spode pottery of Staffordshire. The firm continued, through a number of name changes, as the primary supplier of ceramics to the Hudson's Bay Company throughout the rest of the century . Company records show the final contract end date with Spode/Copeland as 1891.

Immediately prior to Spode/Copeland, from 1802 to 1835 the Hudson's Bay Company was supplied by a London china merchant named Robert Elliot.

Concurrent with Copeland and Garrett's agreement, two other English china merchants sent regular shipments of ceramics to Hudson's Bay Company depots from London during the last half of the century (Sussman 1978). Unlike Copeland neither of these dealers manufactured their wares and both would likely have made up their orders from available goods produced by the Staffordshire potteries. William Boucher and Company exported annual shipments of earthenware to the Hudson's Bay Company in North America from 1852 through 1877. William Fairbairns, a London china dealer, also supplied earthernwares beginning in 1872 and took over as primary supplier after the end of Copeland and Garrett's contract in 1891. However, the Hudson's Bay Company did continue to receive Copeland made ceramics after 1891 through the "china hall" of A. T. Wiley, a Montreal dealer (Sussman 1978). Up until this time all Copeland manufactured ceramics had been shipped directly from the firm's factories in London to Hudson's Bay Company supply warehouses in North America and from there, to the outlying posts and Company stores.

History of the Spode/Copeland Firm

The history of Spode/Copeland pottery has its beginning in the 1770s some 60 years before it began its association with the Hudson's Bay Company. Founded by Josiah Spode in 1776 at Stoke-on-Trent, it became, over the next century, one of the major competitors in the world renowned British pottery industry (Sussman 1979). The prestigious Spode name was associated with many of the most important innovations in the industry of the period. For example, it was the first of the English potteries to introduce the use of steam power, and it perfected the technique of underglaze transfer-printing on earthenware. Transfer printed earthenware became the primary ware type produced for domestic and export use in Britain during the 19th century. Later, in competition for the European porcelain market, Spode developed stronger earthernware clay bodies with the introduction of

ironstone and bone china, the latter being a fine china used for tablewares in England even to this day (Godden 1971).

The period prior to 1833 is known as the Spode period during which the pottery was run by Spode, an assistant William Copeland, and eventually their respective sons. After the death of Josiah Spode III, his partner William Taylor Copeland, the first Copeland's son, bought the company in 1833. With this change of hands, the second period in the company's history began, a period which coincides with its relationship to the Hudson's Bay Company. W. T. Copeland took Thomas Garrett as a partner, and the company became Copeland and Garrett. At this time the marks and legal title were changed to reflect the new owners; the Spode name, however, continued to be incorporated in the marks as it was advantageous to do so.

Copeland and Garrett, provided the Hudson's Bay Company with table and toilet wares throughout the rest of the 19th and the first several decades of the 20th centuries. For the most part, the kind of ceramics the Hudson's Bay Company required were transfer-printed white earthernware and this was what Copeland and Garrett supplied almost exclusively. As the Company's major supplier of ceramics, Copeland and Garrett specialized in the manufacture of mass produced inexpensive transfer-printed wares. Large amounts of these wares have been recovered wherever Hudson's Bay sites have been excavated. Sussman, in conjunction with Ross, has identified over 100 separate Spode/Copeland patterns at some 20 sites within the Company's territory (Sussman 1979; Ross 1976). Sussman indicates that Spode/Copeland transfer-printed ceramics account for the vast majority of table and toilet ware at Hudson's Bay Company sites during the 19th century (Sussman 1979:10). Although this does not appear to be the case for Fort McLoughlin, it has been possible to identify some Spode/Copeland patterns as well as other non-Spode patterns at Old Bella Bella.

Until 1847 the firm continued to be known as Copeland and Garrett although the name Late Spode was often used in the makers' mark to identify the pottery's work. Between 1847 and 1867 W. T. Copeland, who had become Lord Mayor of London, assumed sole ownership and the company's name became W. T. Copeland followed by W.T. Copeland and Sons from 1867 to 1932.

After the 1870s, the amount of Spode/Copeland ceramic ware declines in proportion to that of other manufactures at Hudson's Bay Company sites. During the 1880s and 1890s a greater variety of ware types are recovered from excavations at Hudson's Bay posts in general and Fort McLoughlin is no exception here. It was during this later period that the Company began to receive its ceramic supplies through the Montreal "china hall" of A. T. Wiley.

The 1890s conclude the period of association between W. T. Copeland and the Hudson's Bay Company. Subsequently, the firm incorporated, reclaimed the Spode name, merged with Royal Worcester Limited and is known today as Royal Worcester Spode Limited. Robert Copeland great grandson of the first Copeland, has written books and articles on the history of the Spode/Copeland pottery and the pattern designs which serve as useful research tools (Copeland 1990). The period of greatest interest for the purposes of this analysis begins with the Copeland and Garrett partnership in 1833.

## Dating with Spode/Copeland Transfer Printed Ceramics

Transfer-printing technology, as used by Spode/Copeland, was first developed in the mid- eighteenth century and revolutionized the pottery industry in Britain as a result. It first required that a pattern be engraved on a copper plate. A metallic oxide mixed in an oil base was then applied to the engraving. The pattern was then "offset" on to a thin paper and applied to the ceramic, which had already been bisque fired. The vessel was then glazed and refired, during which the heat transformed the pigment into the intended colour.

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

Spode/Copeland produced tens of thousands of patterns, each one registered with a number in their factory pattern books (Sussman 1979). The beginning date for the range is commonly established from the number assigned to each pattern when it first appears in the pattern books. Using dated water marks in the pattern books, supplemented with other evidence, Whiter (1970) has produced a dating sequence for the first pattern series which included 10,000 patterns and ended in 1852. At that time a second series, the "D" series was introduced, the first 300 numbers of which were devoted to old patterns with slight changes. When this series reached 10,000, a third series, one which distinguished bone china patterns from earthenwares was begun in 1874 and ended well into the 20th century.

## Patterns and Decorative Type Descriptions

The following pattern and decorative style descriptions are intended to provide further detail on the ceramics used in constructing the chronology in the previous chapter. Only those vessels used in this way have been described. A complete listing of all the sherds in the collection is provided in the ceramic catalogue found in an Appendix at the end of this thesis.

Blue Willow 1720-20th Century (Figures 19 and 20)

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

Late Blue Willow 19th century (Figure 19)

Numerous sherds in this well known pattern, all belonging to a saucer, (FaTa 4 -245, -246a, -259, -260, -636, -884, and -962, vessel no. 20) were found in units 6, 7, 9, 11, and 14. These units, although within the fort compound, have produced ceramics with later dates than the period of fort occupation. They are likely associated with the Hudson's Bay Company store built within the fort compound after 1866. These are the same units which produced the Hawthorn pattern below which is dated after 1873. This version of blue willow is the later of two versions of the pattern produced by Spode/Copeland from the late 18th through to the 20th century. It is not possible to date this vessel more specifically than the 19th century.

Flow Blue Willow 1840-70 (Figure 22)

A rim fragment belonging to a cup (FaTa 4-0472 vessel no. 30), exhibits a crude version of the blue willow pattern on both sides. The pattern details run into each other giving the appearance of a flow blue effect. The technique was produced by the introduction of chlorides during the firing process and vessels of this type were most popular in Canada during the 1840s and 1850s (Collard 1967: 118).

This vessel was not manufactured by Spode/Copeland. The ware type is coarse and the pattern of too poor a quality to have been manufactured by this producer of refined earthernwares. It was recovered in unit 10 in association with what is suggested was likely the northern section of the fort palisade or a later fence line. The date of this pattern's popularity in Canada would put this vessel in the correct time period for association with the initial fort occupation or shortly thereafter.

Broseley 1825-1850 (Figure 20)

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

Foliage 1830-1850 (Not illustrated)

A small sherd (FaTa 4-0746, vessel no. 43) in this pattern was found along with numerous other ceramics and fur trade artifacts in a shallow midden in the southwest corner of the fort compound. The midden immediately to the west of a line of rocks, is associated with two shallow surface depressions (Fig 6). Although a number of the units producing fur trade items within the fort compound appear to be associated with the later store built on the fort site, the unit (18) from which this item was recovered was thought by the excavators to be contemporaneous with the original fort occupation. The sherd was too small to identify as to vessel type.

Sussman lists this pattern as one of the non-Copeland patterns occasionally found at Hudson's Bay Company posts (1978). The pattern dates to the period 1830 - 1850. This period of non-Copeland supply has been sourced to the London china merchant Robert Elliot (Sussman 1978), although this vessel may have been brought to the site by other means. The pattern has only been found in light blue where it has been identified on Hudson Bay Company sites (Sussman 1978). This is typical of the McLoughlin example which is also a light blue in colour. The introduction of new colours by the Staffordshire potteries began in the 1830s, following on from the popular and ubiquitous cobalt blue (Collard 1967). Transfer printed vessels in brown, pink, lavender, green, orange, grey, and light blue were immediately popular in British North America.

Dipped or Multi-banded Wares 1840-60 (Figures 23 and 24)

Two vessels designated as multi-banded ware were recovered from units associated with the traditional Native house (FaTa 4-243, -619, -622, -649, -684, vessel no. 19 in units 6, 14, and 32) and (FaTa 4- 1461, vessel no. 75 in unit 46). Both are bowls a form which is typical of this ware type as this was a decorative technique used primarily for utility wares. Vessel no. 19 was the only vessel in the entire ceramic collection with sherds which were cross matched from units associated with

more than one component, these coming from the fort compound and the traditional house.

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

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

Multi-banded 1840-60 (Figure 23)

Two vessels designated as multi-banded wares were recovered from units associated with the trading store, built within the original fort compound (FaTa 4-243, -619, -622, -649, -684, vessel no. 19 in units 6, 14, and 32), (FaTa 4-950a, vessel no. 53 in unit 11). Both are bowls (see preceding description of ware type).

Examples of blue and multi-banded wares found among the vessels recovered from units associated with the fort compound can likely be attributed to the period after fort abandonment when the trading store was in operation.

Ruins, Spode/Copeland 1848-20th (Figure 20)

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

Sussman's Unidentified No. 3 c 1850-1900 (Figure 22)

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

Cut Sponge Stamped Ware 1850-1920 (Figures 23, 24 and 25)

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

This designation is a decorative type rather than a specific pattern. Sponge ware describes a style of brightly coloured decoration applied with a cut sponge which was often accompanied by banding and hand painting. Sponge stamped wares without hand painting were more common after the introduction into Staffordshire potteries of cut sponges in the late 1840s (Turner 1923:149; Miller 1991:8). Initially used on tea wares, after this date, table and toilet wares were more commonly decorated in this manner. Although the forms available were the same as transfer printed vessels, the clay bodies tended to be of a heavier and coarser manufacture. Sponge stamped wares were among the least expensive decorated wares available during their period of popularity (Finlayson 1972:118; Miller 1991:8) and were apparently especially in demand for export purposes (Jewitt 1878: 564; Leuger 1981: 128).

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

Wheat 1860-1900 (Figures 27 and 28)

The wheat pattern is found in the Old Bella Bella collection in the form of a small plate (FaTa 4-463, -470, vessel number 29) from unit 91, the general designation for the frame house. This pattern is an example of moulded ware (Fig. 28) consisting of a raised rim decoration of grain and sheaf-like grasses. It came into production after 1848 when the first raised grain pattern was registered; over the

next four decades twenty more patterns were registered in similar designs (Sussman 1985) and it continues to be produced today. It was very popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, and Sussman suggests that most vessels in this pattern are dateable to the 1860s and 1870s (1978). Sussman (1985) has further noted that this design is found only on the semi-vitrified white earthenware commonly known as white granite (ironstone) which became increasingly prolific in the last half of the century.

Hawthorn, Copeland and Garrett ca 1873 (Figure 19)

The Hawthorn pattern appears in the form of a brown-transfer printed wash basin found in the fort component (FaTa 4-242 etc., vessel number 18). Pieces of it were recovered from units 5, 6, 7, 11 and 14. All these units are in close proximity to each other in the southwest section of the fort grounds. The soil matrix in units 6, 7 and 14 (all co-joining units) consisted of angular gravel mixed with organic material to a depth of approximately 20 cm. suggesting that this area had been disturbed. Artifacts were distributed throughout the matrix. Units 6, 7 and 14 produced the highest number of ceramic artifacts found anywhere in the fort component. Further, structural (wood) remains were found in units 5, 7 and 14, and in unit 7 at a depth of 30-35 cm below ground a squared log was found in a shallow trench in unconsolidated bedrock, resembling historic building sills used by the Hudson's Bay Company at interior forts.

The Hawthorne pattern is relatively late with Sussman giving it a date of circa 1873. Excavated pieces found at Hudson's Bay sites are date marked 1873 and manufactured by W. T. Copeland. Date marks, as distinguished from makers marks, were introduced in 1870 and appeared in combination with the maker's mark. Copeland (1990) states that the date indicates the year in which the pattern was first used and not the date of manufacture.

No date range given for this pattern. It is possible that the pattern may have been produced earlier than 1873, however supporting evidence for the authenticity of this date can be found in the absence of this pattern from those patterns found at Fort Vancouver II. Fort Vancouver II was in operation between 1829 and 1860 and has produced samples of most of the patterns identified by Sussman (1979).

If 1873 can be accepted as an accurate date then the Hawthorn basin and the other vessels coming out of the top 20 cm of units 5, 6, 7, 11, and 14 could not have been associated with the sill (squared off log) found in unit 7. As the Hudson's Bay Company Outfitters was located in the southwest area of the fort compound beginning in the 1860s it seems most likely that this vessel is associated with the later occupation.

Decal post 1890s (Figure 15)

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

**Makers Marks found on the Central Coast**

Makers marks were nonexistent or incomplete for most vessels recovered from Old Bella Bella. Specifically, one complete and three partial marks were found. Only the complete mark has been illustrated, (see Belokrinicev 1982 for illustrations of partial marks).

A Chinese mark (Fig. 21) on a surface collected, blue transfer printed rice bowl (FaTa 4-976, vessel number 95) indicated the presence of Asian ceramics. The

mark consists of four chinese characters. Translation of these has tentatively dated the vessel between 1911-1923 (Chen, per comm). An assortment of Chinese ceramics (Fig. 21) were recovered from Old Bella Bella, these likely arrived with Chinese cannery workers after the salmon canneries opened in the 1880s.

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

The words "AN" possibly from "England" were found on a brown transfer print dinner plate (FaTa 4-159 etc., vessel number 12). This partial mark is too incomplete to be useful for the purposes of identification. The pattern, a brown floral transfer print, although more complete has not been identified. It does not appear to be a Copeland and Garrett design. It is in the Japanesque style popular in the 1880s.

Finally, an uncollected bowl (unit 56, frame house) displayed a crest without a manufacturer's name. Only a photograph of this vessel with the (mark visible) has been retained (see illustration in Belokrinicev 1982), it reads "Imperial Ironstone" with the lion and unicorn crest. The maker's name was obscured, and as many similar marks exist, this mark could belong to any one of the many manufacturers using the royal arms during the 19th century.

## Other Central Coast Sites

Three vessels (Fig. 30) with unidentified patterns matching Old Bella Bella pieces, have been recovered from excavations at Snxlhh FcSq 4, Bella Coola (Hobler 1990). Another Central Coast site at Kimsquit (Prince 1993), has produced one complete makers mark which matches a Bella Coola piece (see below). Makers

marks from Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) are illustrated in the interests of facilitating future analyses of Central Coast ceramic collections (Figs. 29, 30, 31 and 32)

Although no Copeland and Garrett marks have been found to date at any Central Coast site, several of the same patterns, belonging to this manufacturer, have been recovered at Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) and Old Bella Bella. As well two vessels made by Mellor, Taylor & Co., one with the designation "Royal Ironstone China" (Prince 1992) from the Kimsquit excavations and one with the designation "Semi - Porcelain" from Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) are illustrated in Figures 31 and 32. This pottery, located in Burslem, Staffordshire produced hard wearing ironstone china ceramics for export and, to a lesser extent, the domestic market. Mellor, Taylor & Co. was in operation between 1881 and 1904 (Godden 1971).

As Bella Bella, Bella Coola, and Kimsquit were all supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts at Bella Coola and Old Bella Bella (Charles 1883; Kopas 19670; Prince 1992) ceramic wares produced by the same Staffordshire manufacturers would be expected at all three sites. As further analysis is done of ceramic collections on the Central Coast, cross matching between sites should prove a useful method of identifying ceramic patterns and manufacturers not identifiable on the basis of a single collection alone.

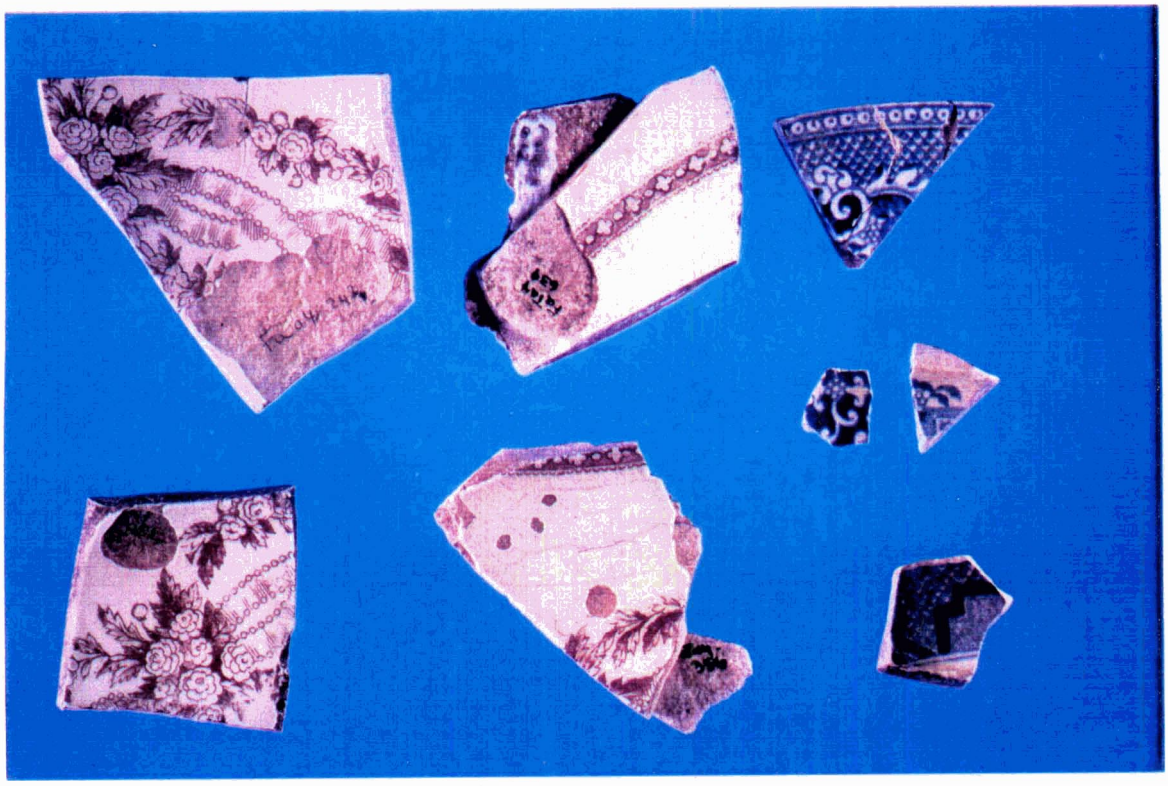

Figure 19 Examples of transfer print earthenwares from Old Bella Bella. Wash basin in Hawthorne pattern (Spode/Copeland, left) and saucer in Blue Willow pattern (right).

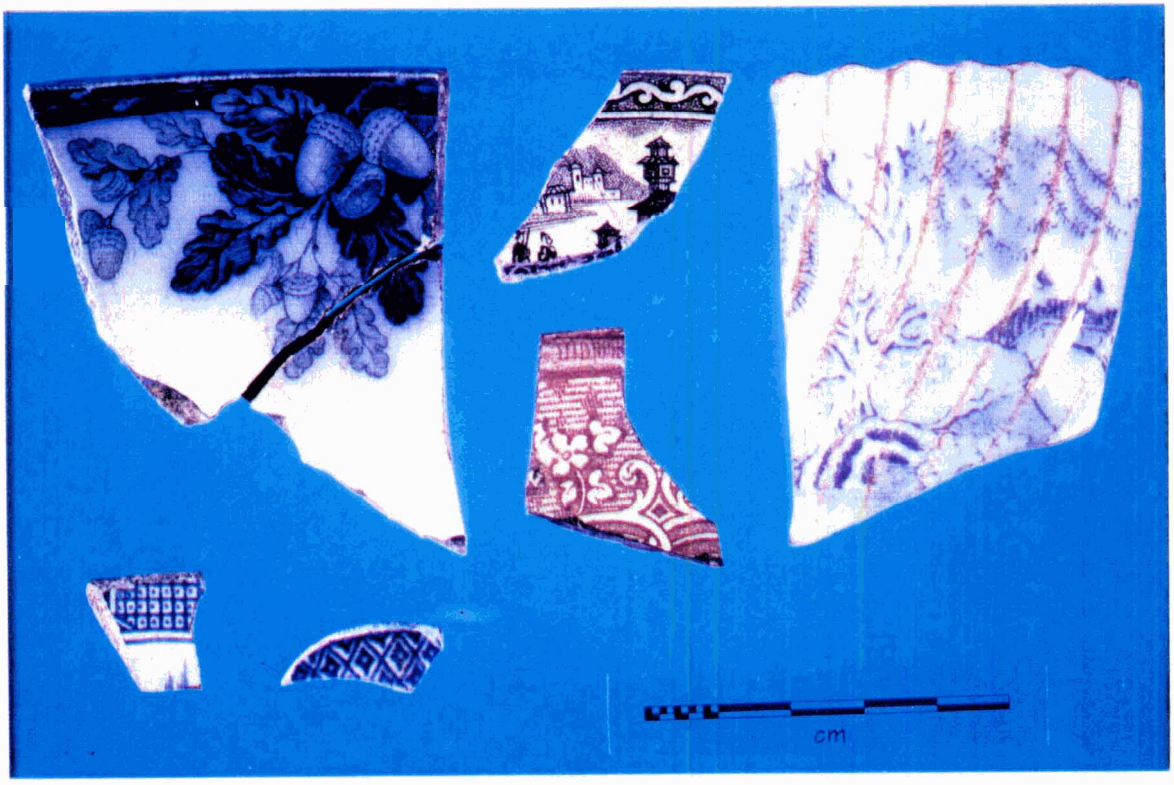


Figure 20 Examples of brown and blue transfer print earthenwares. Bowl in Ruins pattern (Spode/Copeland, top left), cup in Broseley pattern (Non-Spode, top right), saucer in Blue Willow (Non-Spode, bottom left) and saucer in Italy (top middle) from Old Bella Bella.

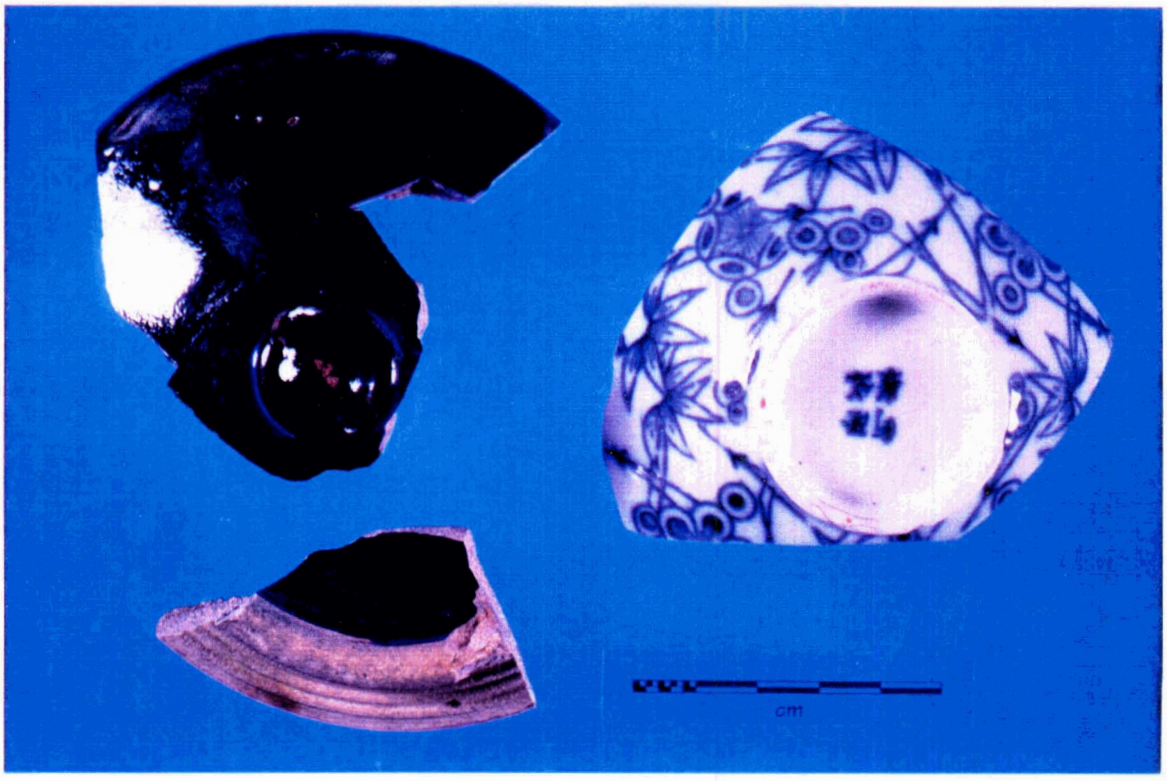

Figure 21 Examples of Chinese ceramics from Old Bella Bella.

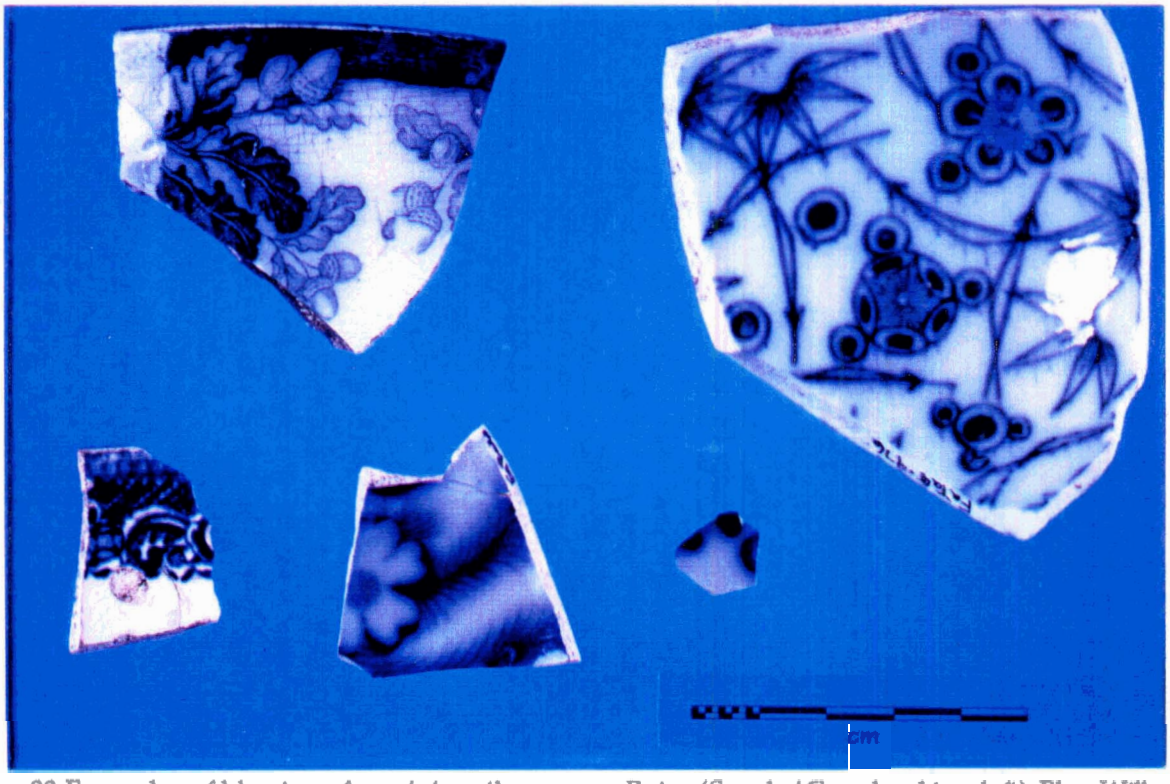

Figure 22 Examples of blue transfer print earthenwares. Ruins (Spode/Copeland top left), Blue Willow (bottom left), Unidentified number 3 (Sussman 1978), (bottom middle), and reverse of Chinese bowl above (top right) from Old Bella Bella.

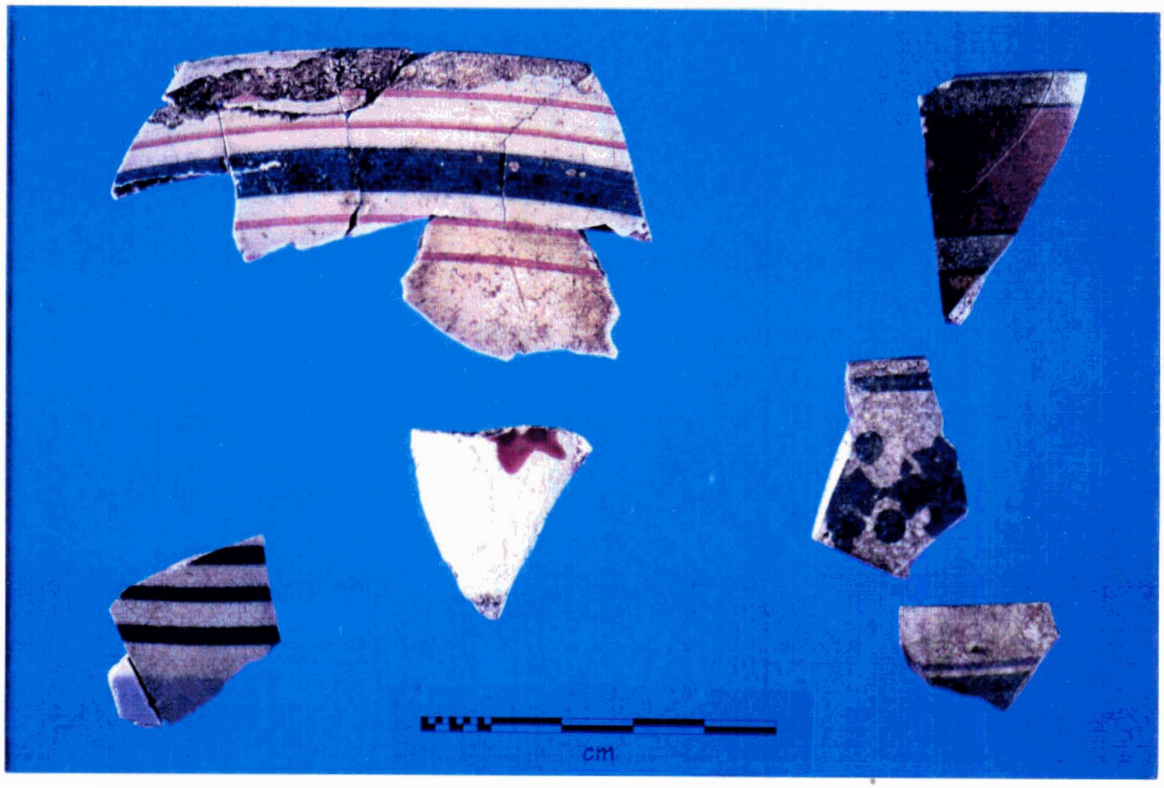


Figure 23 Examples of Cut Sponge Stamped and Blue-Banded (bottom left) ceramics from Old Bella Bella.

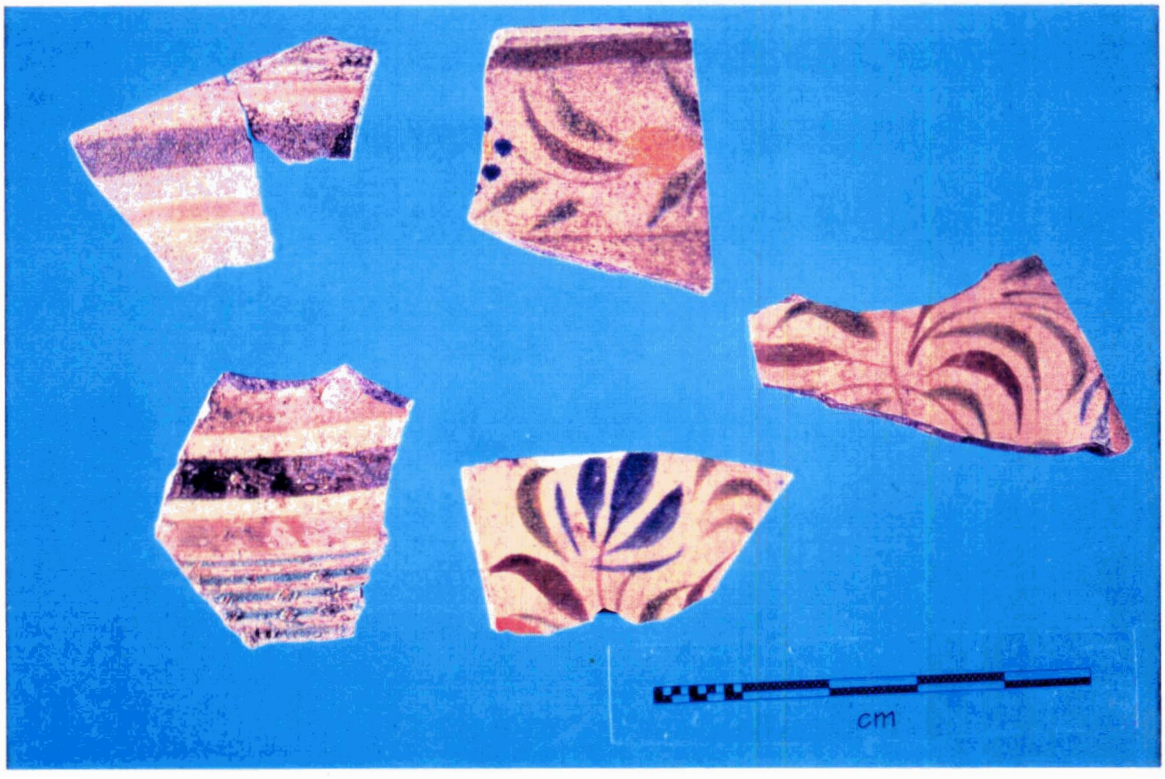


Figure 24 Examples of Cut Sponge Stamped/Hand Painted cup (right) and Multi-Banded bowl (left) from Old Bella Bella.

Figure 25 Cut Sponge Stamped soup plates, from a collection of "potlatch plates" in Mason Davis' private collection, Victoria.

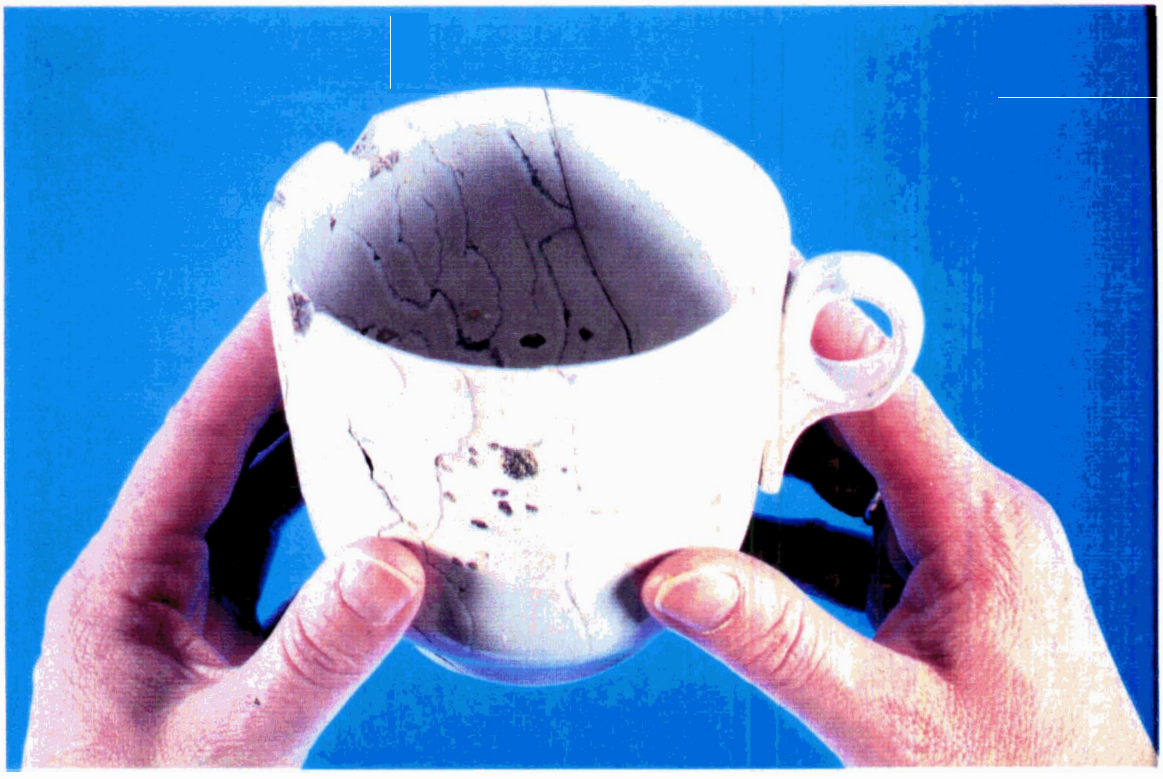

Figure 26 Reconstructed white ironstone cup from Old Bella Bella.

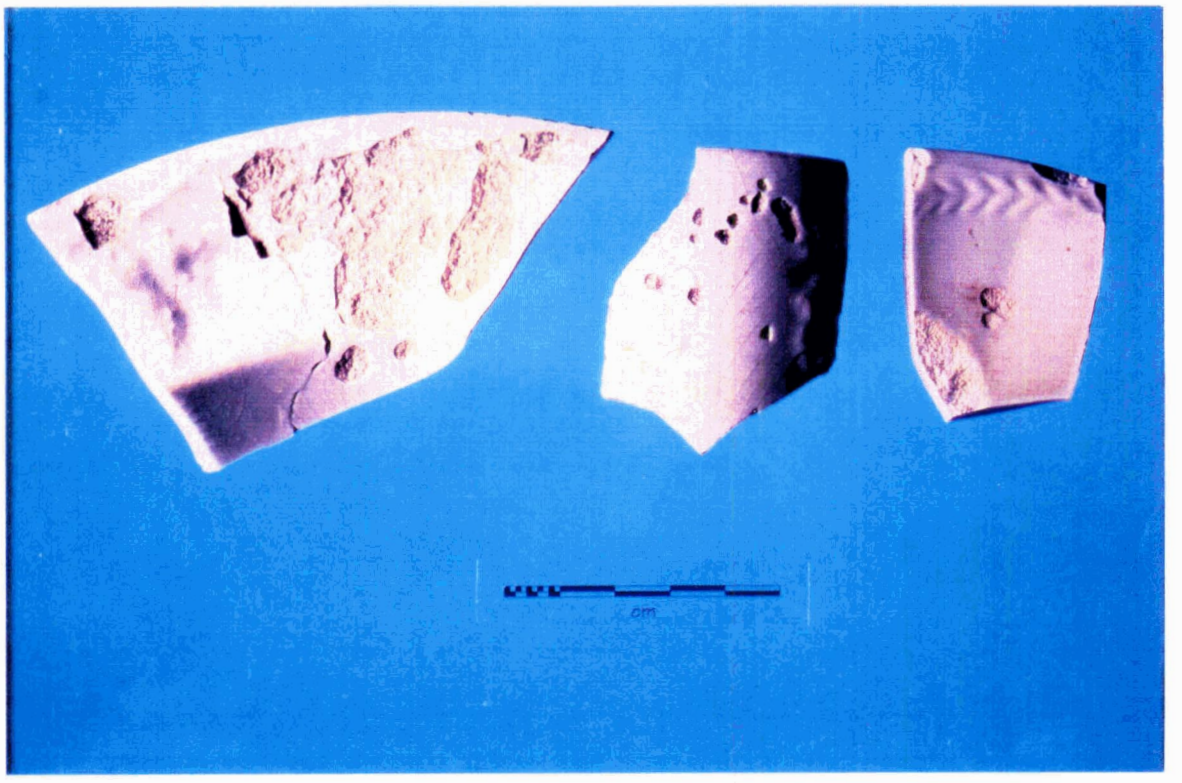

Figure 27 Examples of white wares from Old Bella Bella The sherd on the far right is a version of the Wheat pattern.

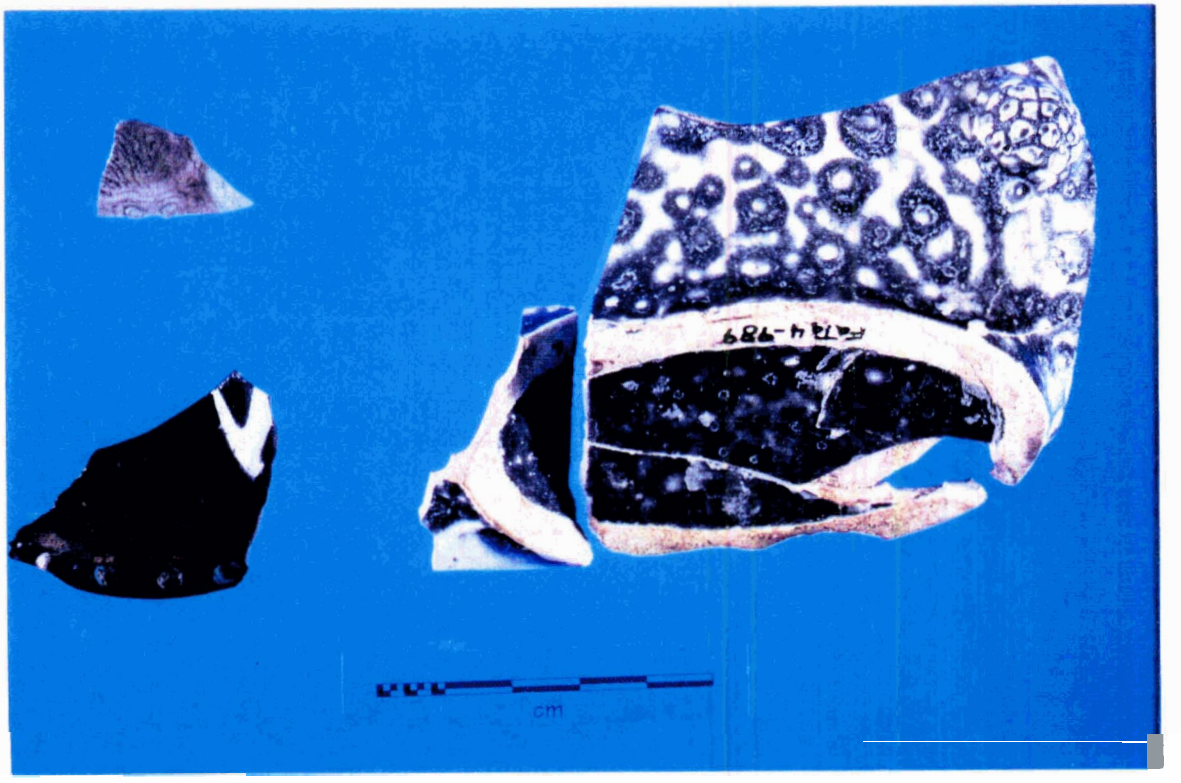

Figure 28 Moulded wares including the top half of a monkey's face (top left), a rim fragment from a brown serving dish, (bottom left) which matches a Bella Coola piece of the same design, and an unusual ornamental piece (right) with raised "pineapples" along the outside rim.

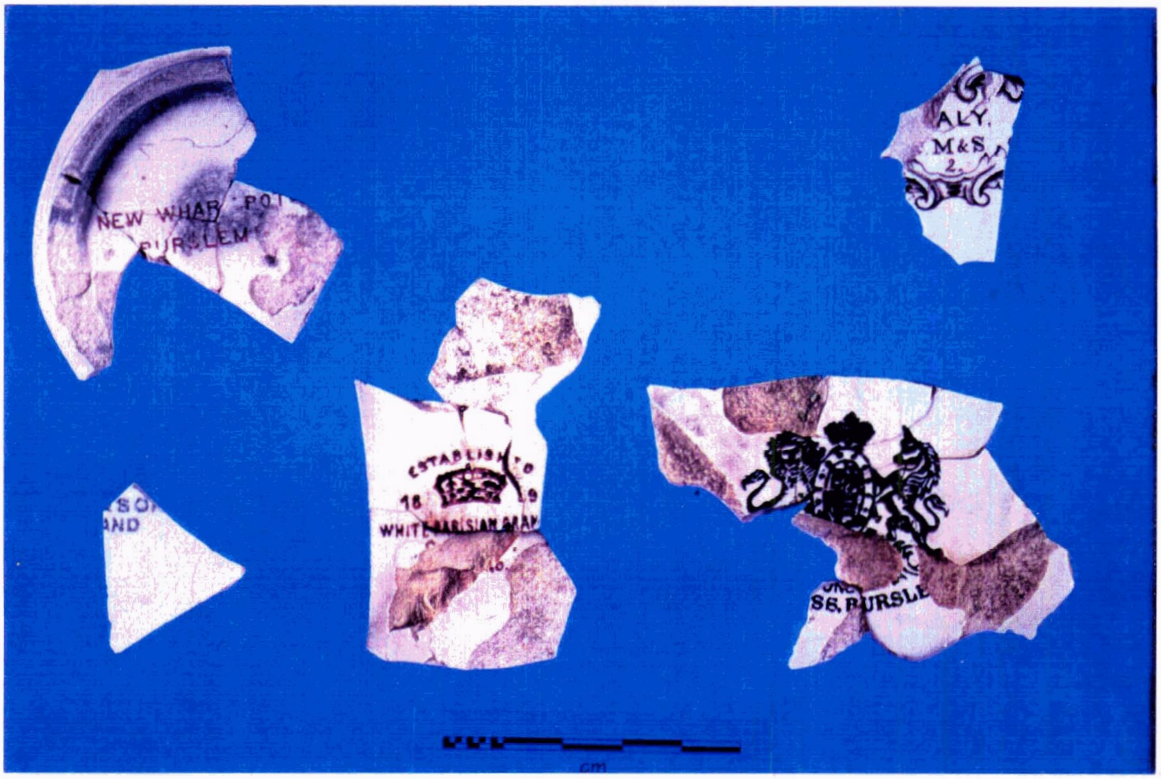


Figure 29 Makers marks from Snxlhh (FcSq 4) in Bella Coola

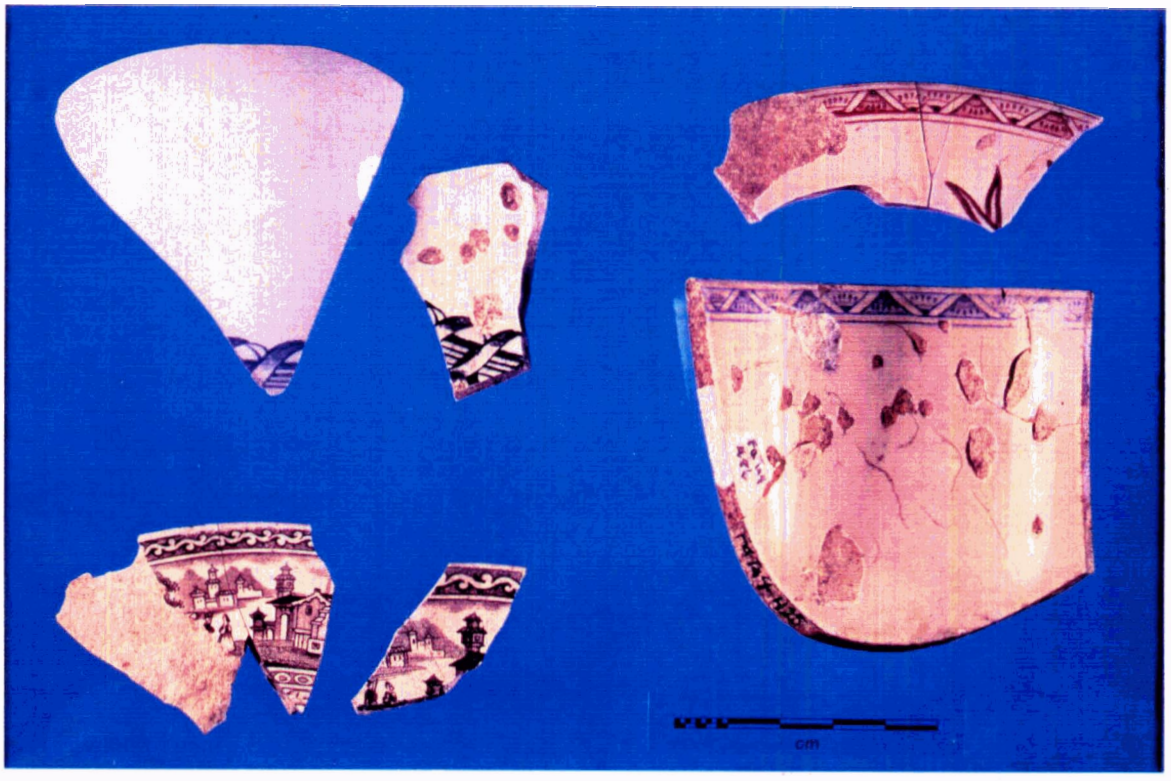

Figure 30 Examples of cups and saucers from Old Bella Bella, each with a matching piece from Snxlhh (FcSq 4) Bella Coola in the same design.

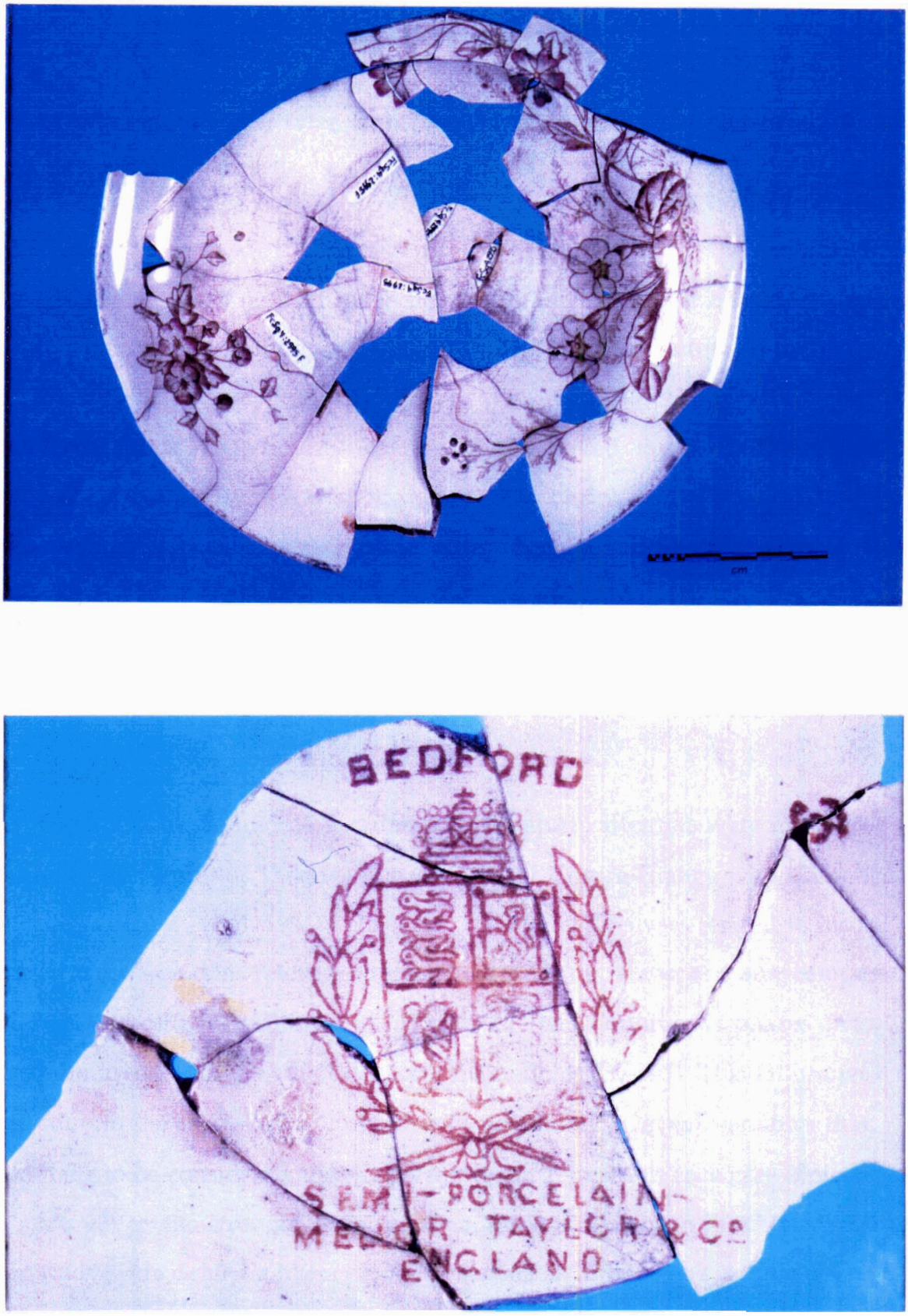


Figure 31 Reconstructed transfer print plate from Snxlhh (FcSq 4) Bella Coola (above) with makers mark clearly defined on reverse (below).

# CHAPTER FIVE: "CLOCKS, LAMPS, CUPS AND STUFF" DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Material culture, it is often correctly said, is not culture but it's product.

James Deetz 1977: 24

Culture has been defined as "socially transmitted rules for behavior, ways of thinking about and doing things" (Deetz 1977: 24). Material culture, is the tangible means by which archaeologists may examine the process of change within culture. Where trade goods of foreign manufacture are considered, this process is related to theories of selection. The last chapter in this thesis begins with a brief discussion of theories of culture change as they relate to the selection and adoption of new items of material culture. The role of ceramics is then addressed in the larger context of 19th century Heiltsuk culture change as it effected the process of material culture adoption and incorporation.

## Theories of Culture Change

Beginning in the middle decades of this century, attempts were made to systematize acculturation theories into a model of culture change with universal application (Barnett, et al. 1954). However, individual analyses tended to focus solely on those variables relevant to the situation being researched and comparative studies proved difficult. Ultimately, attempts to identify universal phases or to bring these together into a single coherent methodology failed. This failure was largely due to the overwhelming number of potentially relevant variables that would have to be considered, and then accepted or rejected in each case (Spicer 1961).

Moreover, the stronger criticism of earlier work has been that Native cultures under study were denied a history prior to contact as if they were an unchanging entity prior to the external stimulus provided by European arrival. This

assumption resulted from a failure to approach change as a continuous and creative process underway in Native cultures prior to contact (Trigger 1989). Thus cultures in contact were assumed to be "autonomous" (Barnett, et al. 1954: 974) rather than, as is more currently suggested, aspects of the same multi-faceted interethnic dynamic (Wolf 1982; Roseberry 1989). In the broader context of contact studies among colonialized peoples for example, this perspective has been referred to by Roseberry as the "world historical process" (Roseberry 1989: 215).

Compounding the tendency toward an ahistorical beginning, was the uncritical use of ethnohistoric documents to establish a baseline from which history could then be reconstructed. One of the problems with this approach for studies of culture contact has been that the effects of indirect contact were ignored and the records of directed contact, that initiated by missionaries, government agents and early settlers, has been presented by default, as the starting point for historical reconstructions (Trigger 1989).

Despite failed attempts to create a general model of acculturation, approaches to the study of cultural change have continued to develop. Methods differ and no universally accepted model of change has evolved. Nevertheless, a renewed interest in the study of intersocietal contact can be found in recent research (Wolf 1982; Fitzhugh 1985; Rogers 1990). Further, many of the underlying principles of earlier work have been accepted and continue to provide the basis for more recent formulations.

Theories of culture change developed in the 1950s and 1960s, held that new items of material culture are initially adopted and used in a manner consistent with pre-existing ideological constructs within an adoptive culture. Trade goods were sought if they had meaning and continuity in the culture group, the criteria of selection being first ideological and only later utilitarian. Further modifications might be made in the form or use of new items, thereby indicating a fundamental relationship between form, use and meaning (Spicer 1961; Linton 1963).

Consistent with earlier work, current researchers share an understanding that culture change is brought about as a product of contact between individuals, that items of material culture will be understood in the context of the cultural perspective and values of the receiving culture, and finally, that the product is a complex process of change in both Native and European culture (Fitzhugh 1985; Rogers 1990). Additionally, recent approaches have begun from an understanding that the progression of post contact change will be dependent on pre-existing cultural patterns and individual culture history. This implies the need for an understanding of the mechanisms of incorporation in a given cultural context; in-depth understanding of a culture's individual historical context; and perhaps most importantly, an appreciation that inherent cultural mechanisms will continue unabated to produce creative cultural expressions in the face of pressure to adopt new practices (Roseberry 1989).

## Material Culture, the Process of Incorporation

### Adoptive and Adaptive Strategies

The cultural mechanisms by which a Native community dealt with change prior to contact determined the ways in which it dealt with it in the context of European arrival. In his recent anthropological study of Heiltsuk culture change, as will be discussed below, Michael Harkin (1988) has argued that the Heiltsuk attempted to incorporate and thereby control new concepts, innovations and technologies on their own terms. It is apparent, that a complex dynamic is created when Heiltsuk strategies for dealing with change are taken in combination with the corresponding European strategies for cultural interaction. Thus interethnic dynamics can best be understood from the starting point of a full examination of the "historic social interaction context" (Rogers 1990: 213), and an awareness of the existence of motivations on the part of both cultures in the contact situation (Trigger 1978; Wolf 1982).

From the stand point of archaeology, an interethnic dynamic must be sought by examining the relationship between material change in the archaeological record and social change in the historical records of the period. In this sense European trade goods and, for the purposes of this study, ceramics specifically become an integral part of the process of change. This concept has been explored in depth by Daniel Rogers (1990), in his study of the relationship between change over time in the Arikara material record and the historical record of change in which Euro-Americans played a part. He has argued that contact relations are most accurately explained when the economics of the fur trade are set in the context of the "social process of exchange" as it was perceived by Native Peoples. Because exchange was perceived as a social process, indigenous populations applied a culturally determined set of expectations about who "Euro-Americans were and how they might be expected to behave" (1990: 214). This understanding allows further, for a consideration of the specific function items of material culture may have in a social context. As stated by Rogers:

> In many cases objects function in a social and symbolic way to define cultural categories by providing physical referents. To understand the process of adoption or exclusion of various kinds of goods requires considering the role objects play...In order for an object to be adopted as part of a material inventory it must make some kind of cultural sense, and through time the Euro-goods that became part of Arikara material usage changed in conjunction with redefinitions of the interaction process itself (Rogers 1990: 215).

## Traditional Forms of Giving

Just as the social context of trade implied expectations of Europeans, so long established trade relations between Native groups led to expectations of one another. Rogers notes that trade was tied to obligations and duties within the social context of Native culture itself. And within this context, trade goods were valuable

as a means to increased wealth and prestige rather than as a means of commodity acquisition (Rogers 1990: 216). This interpretation is supported for the Central Coast of British Columbia, in the records of fur traders at Fort McLoughlin. They indicate that trade goods were wanted by the Heiltsuk as potential wealth that could be displayed and given away at potlatches thereby increasing the status of the host. (Dunn 1844; Work 1945).

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

Traditional forms of giving in Heiltsuk culture fell into two general categories, both marked and unmarked. The first of these Harkin defines as:

> any marked material giving, which is to say giving which is formally counted .... Formal counting was done by a hereditary counter using tally sticks. A precise mental record was kept of all such transactions. This requires obviously a countable medium (Harkin 1988: 262).

One traditional type of marked giving, the exchange of generalized forms of power for particular ones, is described as the exchange of a generalized medium for particular rights and privileges. Formal marked giving was subsumed within the context of ceremonial exchange and opposed to unmarked exchange. Unmarked exchange took place outside of this sphere and was characterized by the exchange of subsistence and luxury items. European trade and eventually the move to a cash

economy, initiated new material relations which brought about the circulation of unrestricted objects and the introduction of "a class of persons with whom unrestricted but marked exchange could possibly occur" (Harkin 1988: 269).

Harkin has argued that the early maritime fur trade of the 1790s initiated a type of exchange similar to the type of exchange described above.

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

The First Schooner

In this next section two Heiltsuk narratives quoted below, each provides an account of an occurrence of contact. Both describe a different culturally mediated response to European arrival and shed some light on the initial position of trade goods in the Heiltsuk cultural context. The story of "The First Schooner", collected by M. Harkin in 1985 was, in fact, related to him as a two part narrative given in the order described below. Each part depicts the independent arrival of a European trading vessel in Heiltsuk waters, in part one, the first steamship ever seen in Lama Passage and in part two the first Spanish schooner. The narrator, Gordon Reid Sr., provides some insight, in metaphorical terms, into the importance of these events from the Heiltsuk point of view.

Harkin has analyzed both narratives in the order given as two parts of a whole, although the second event, the arrival of a Spanish schooner is more likely the earlier of the two events. Whether it was the intent of the narrator to juxtapose these two stories in the way Harkin has analyzed them is open to question. I will deal with the narratives as separate and unrelated occurrences, as the chronology of the events is not relevant here.

In the first narrative, an old couple fishing on the beach are taken onto the newly arrived steamship and given European food and clothing and then set back into their canoe with sacks full of objects, "White people already had everything then -- clocks, lamps, cups and stuff and so forth" (Harkin 1988: 72). When they get back to the beach, the people make them put their bark clothing back on before they are permitted to get out of their canoe.

In the second story, the people of Old Town are collecting sea food at a nearby beach when a Spanish sailing ship arrives and the sailors commence to compete in a series of games with the young Heiltsuk men, swimming races, canoe racing and boat racing all of which the Heiltsuk excel at, "the boys from there just walk away from them, cause that's all they do, they swim all the time" (Harkin 1988: 72).

In the first narrative, the older couple are "paralyzed" at the sight of the ship and are sent back to the beach with curious and unknown objects which are initially rejected. Nevertheless, these objects ultimately represent the introduction of European trade goods into the Heiltsuk material inventory. In the second narrative, in which the Heiltsuk compete and win against the Spanish sailors, relations with the Europeans are normalized and they are regulated to the role of competitors as with any trading partner. They brought no items of unknown or magical purposes instead they were seen to be less able then the Heiltsuk at the every day skills which both would have required as seafaring peoples. Michael Harkin has interpreted this narrative to argue that, faced with new technologies and innovations the initial Heiltsuk response was to attempt to control the potential change which could be

wrought by them (Harkin 1988). The Heiltsuk did this by incorporating the people who brought them in a context that was culturally consistent with the competitive nature of traditional trading relations on the Northwest Coast as a whole.

## The First Cup:
## The Potlatch Complex and the Role of Ceramics in Gift Giving

It is not my intent here, nor would it be possible in the space provided, to do justice to the content of the complete narrative or to Harkin's analysis of it. Rather, because the narrative makes specific mention of cups as one of the first items of European manufacture to be received by the Heiltsuk, some of the elements of the story are cogent to this thesis.

As the first items of European manufacture named in the narrative, clocks, lamps and cups are presumably worthy of mention because they are objects which have come to have a place in Heiltsuk material culture. Certainly of the range of ceramic vessel types available to the Heiltsuk in the late 19th century, cups and saucers were of particular interest to them. Significantly, these vessel forms are by far the most prolific in the ceramic assemblage under study, making up roughly 50% of the vessels from both the traditional and the frame house components.

Ceramics further signified categories of meaning within the broader pattern of Heiltsuk culture. In the area of ceramic studies in historical archaeology, consumer behavior theory, has been used to develop models of explanation for the adoption and use of new items of material culture. In this context material objects are understood to act as communicators of cultural categories which serve to structure the larger physical and cognitive world. Material culture as a whole becomes a corporeal framework upon which the categories of culture are seen (Douglas 1982). The symbolic role of ceramics in the potlatch complex and in a ceremonial context is explored below in this light.

For the Northwest Coast in general, historical records indicate that particular kinds of ceramics, notably cups, saucers, soup plates and wash basins were given away in large numbers at potlatches during the latter part of the 19th century (C. S. Tate 1870-1933; Blackman 1977; Marshall 1993). The records further indicate that the type of goods in high demand for distribution at potlatches, tended to be items of uniform quality that could be easily counted and therefore kept track of (Wike 1951:90). This is a criteria well matched by European ceramic vessels. The reconstructed ironstone cup illustrated in Figure 26 for instance, is a good example of the kind of ceramic vessel that was, during the latter part of the 19th century, widely available, cheap and easily accounted for.

Discussing this preference among the Haida, Blackman has noted that aboriginally potlatch goods had these qualities and that:

> the variety of European goods which found their way into the potlatching complex were selected for these same qualities. Mass produced, cheap, and available in quantity, Hudson's Bay blankets, washbowls, teapots, mirrors, platters, yard goods, and even furniture were ideally suitable as potlatch goods.
>
> Though the goods were alien, the attitude towards them was traditional. As potlatch wealth they were not utilitarian. "they think low of you if you use what you receive," Haida informants told me. The new potlatch wealth like the old was simply recycled, (Blackman 1976: 407).

Large collections of ceramics, including teawares, may be found on the Coast even in the present day. In her biography of Florence Edenshaw Davidson, grandmother of the well known Haida artist Robert Davidson, Margaret Blackman describes her subject's modern day kitchen: "The most eye catching feature of Nani's kitchen is the long bank of open shelves along one wall, which display some two hundred bone china cups and saucers (Blackman 1982: 11). From the quotes above it can be seen that while the use of ceramics may not have been the one Europeans intended

nor was their function strictly "utilitarian" in the sense that Blackman uses the word, ceramics were nevertheless *useful* in their role as potlatch goods.

Ethnographic Evidence of Adoptive and Adaptive Strategies

Historical and ethnographic accounts cited previously indicate that the initial tendency was to adopt those items of foreign manufacture which were most readily incorporated into pre-existing cultural constructs. Further, these cultural constructs were the ones associated with Native artifact categories such as items of adornment and objects used in the ceremonial and potlatch complex. This argument can be further demonstrated in the evidence of the archaeological record of the Central Coast.

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

A recent study dealing with Hobler's excavations at four Central Coast sites in the Kimsquit area at the head of Dean Channel found that for the three earliest sites the majority of trade goods had been reworked using Native technology to reproduce Native artifact categories in new materials. The only example of a replacement of a Native artifact category, prior to the intensification of directed European contact, was the use of iron adze blades in lieu of stone (Prince 1992).

Another supportive example, one involving ceramics specifically is documented at sites on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and in the Bella Coola region. Here small pieces of European ceramic have been recovered that appear to have been intentionally flaked (Hobler 1994; MacMillan pers. comm. 1992). Though less than conclusive, the shapes of these sherds suggest they were designed to fit as inlays in wooden carvings replacing the traditional shell inlays.

On the east coast of North America in the Eastern Woodland region, proto historic and early period examples of ceramic use have been identified providing still further support for an argument of adaptive use. Miller and Hamell (1986: 316) describe this context:

> Playing pieces from the Plumstone Bowl or dice game made from the "raspberry" prunts of a glass drinking vessel and from white glazed majolica and delft fragments have been found at seventeenth-century Seneca sites. Additionally, majolica and delft fragments have been found reworked into small circular gorgets and pendants, analogues of more traditional shell fragments. In all of these cases, the new materials were incorporated with similar traditional materials into a shared ceremonial context

The authors discuss the significance of sacred materials in Woodlands Native society and show that these materials were thought to be obtained through relations with powerful other world beings. They suggest that trade goods could have been incorporated in a similar context, in the sense that European wares would have, at least initially, appeared other worldly also.

Nevertheless, if European goods were seen initially as other worldly, this state of affairs did not last long. As the eastern fur trade continued into the 18th century, the "ceremonial" nature of the early trade was lost to the demands of the European capitalist imperative. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries utilitarian items were more exclusively sought, and the trade in metal knives, hatchets, kettles, and cloth rose while the demand for glass beads dropped reflecting the shift in trade goods with symbolic value to those with greater practical utility. The decreasing symbolic function of trade goods is perhaps further conveyed in the eventual prohibition by the Northern Iroquois of glass beads in their burials. (Shimony in Miller and Hamell 1986:327).

On the Northwest Coast, Wilson Duff (1964:57) has similarly suggested that European trade goods were seen initially in the same context as objects of Native manufacture with spiritual and ceremonial significance. However, as Harkin has shown in his analysis of the second narrative referred to above, this response was a short lived one. Here he demonstrates that the Heiltsuk attempted to normalize relations with Europeans by incorporating them into the Heiltsuk world view and assigning them roles in the Heiltsuk cultural context as competitors. Harkin suggests that indigenously "relations with outside forces are always characterized by an attempt to obtain them" (Harkin 1988: 102). Thus Europeans initially represented an unknown outside force which was quickly and definitively incorporated by way of setting up competitive, and therefore trading relations.

In summary it is proposed that the Heiltsuk incorporated new items of material culture by adapting their use to fit the Heiltsuk world view. The initial tendency was to adopt those items of foreign manufacture which were most readily incorporated into pre-existing cultural constructs. Further, these cultural constructs were the ones associated with Heiltsuk artifact categories including items of adornment and objects used in the ceremonial and potlatch complex. This may be especially the case for ceramic objects, items frequently having value in European

culture as symbols of status. European perceptions were likely conveyed to the Heiltsuk in subtle ways, for example the context in which ceramics were used at Fort McLoughlin. The initial view of European trade goods as imbued with derivative symbolic meanings analogous to established Heiltsuk artifact categories soon dissipated in the face of changes to the "social process of exchange" (Rogers 1990: 214) as it was perceived by the Heiltsuk.

Subsequently, with the transition in material and social relations and the shift to a cash economy Heiltsuk attitudes to the use of European trade goods, including ceramics, may also have undergone changes. The changing role of ceramics in Heiltsuk society is developed further in a final section of this chapter. Here the post 1880s period and the part played by missionary women in the further incorporation of domestic items of material culture is considered.

## Changes in Ceramic Use, The Role of European Missionary Women

European women played an integral part in the evangelizing efforts of Methodist missionaries on the Central Coast. Church doctrine held that in the model of a "good and well ordered Christian home" (Crosby 1914) one could find the essence of Methodist values. It fell within the realm of women's work to set this example. The following discussion briefly explores the influence Methodist women may have had in the use and diversification of ceramic vessel types in Bella Bella after 1880. To provide some historical background, this discussion is set in the larger context of the growing domestication of 19th century women's roles in general.

Both in England and North America, the 19th century saw the culmination of a change in European family structure which had begun in the previous century with the separation of male and female roles into public and private spheres (Coonzt 1988). These changes had their roots in an earlier economic shift away from the family as a productive unit to male heads of households as primary wage

earners outside the home (Woloch 1984). Growing industrialization lead to increasing class stratification and the identification, particularly among the middle class, of women's roles within the private spheres of family and children. As a result, the place of women became more solely focused in the household and an elaboration of all things domestic followed. This phenomena found expression in the popular women's literature of the early 19th century and has been referred to by historians as the "cult of domesticity" (Coonzt 1988).

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

The Victorian period, saw the appearance of separate dining rooms in homes, of matched sets of china, increased attention to the regulation of table manners, table decoration, and social behavior associated with dining, and in general, an elaboration in all aspects of consumption behavior. Dining of course was only one of the areas which saw an elaboration of domestic behavior in all the roles women played. Clark has further traced this phenomena architecturally, suggesting that specialized rooms for children (nurseries), the separation of public parlours and dining rooms from private sitting rooms and the appearance of individual bedrooms are linked to the increasing domestication of women's role in the mid nineteenth century (Clark 1988). Dining, in particular, became a ritualized

activity, designed to reinforce the growing middle class social order. "Architectural plan books of the period describe a good dining room as a space which reinforces the spiritual unity of the family" (Klein 1991:80).

Methodist women were not immune to the changes in 19th century women's roles. Although encouraged by church doctrine to work (Crosby 1914), and as a result perhaps enjoyed more independence than most women of the period, they were nevertheless products of the Victorian era (C. S. Tate 1870, Knight 1885-7, Hendry 1882). Single Methodist women came to the Northwest Coast, often from Ontario, as teachers and nurses, or as matrons at the homes for Native girls established at Port Simpson and Victoria. After several years of work, Methodist women usually married a missionary husband and, once married, were considered equal partners in their husbands' life work (C. M. Tate 1870; Crosby 1914). Many spent their married lives working at missions up and down the Northwest Coast. Mrs Crosby was considered just such an example:

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

While not conventionally middle class in much of their Methodist doctrine, the missionaries were nevertheless a part of the growing middle class population of English Canada. Consciously or unconsciously they conveyed the elements of this cultural code to the Heiltsuk.

In the context of a growing domestic and middle class emphasis, missionary women promoted the acceptance of Victorian refinements. Such rituals as the

taking of tea, and proper dining with the use of the appropriate dinner service, were understood to be a necessary part of the creation of a "good Christian home". As noted above, the act of dining was, in itself, an opportunity to reinforce spiritual values. These values could be conveyed along with the use of the necessary items of European material culture through the institution of the Methodist Homes for Native Girls where domestic duties and housekeeping skills were the primary subject of curriculum. These skills included the preparation and serving of food (Knight 1885-7).

Just as the 19th century saw an elaboration of European material culture items relating to domestic and household functions, so this was reflected in the goods available for trade at the Bella Bella trading post. Hudson's Bay Company inventories barely a year after missionary arrival show a sudden expansion in European goods of all kinds but particularly items associated with the construction and maintenance of houses. Ceramics were among those items whose availability increased after 1880. Items already available, such as cups and saucers, were ordered in larger numbers, there was also the appearance of new items: dinner plates, soup plates, and a much diversified selection of individualized serving dishes including an order for six dozen small glass bowls (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). This trend is further evident in the archaeological record of Old Bella Bella where greater diversity is found in the ceramic vessel forms of the later frame house as opposed to the traditional house (Fig. 11).

Many of these new practices promoted by missionary women were contrary to the consumption and feasting customs of Northwest Coast Native peoples. Changes were not always accepted without resistance, as has been noted in the retention of communal dining spaces in the new houses built after 1898 following the move to New Town (present day Waglisla). Harkin states:

> Indeed, the missionaries were correct in their assessment of the functional equivalence between new and old forms of marked distribution. There was a

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

Nor is it suggested here that social structures changed completely; the communal nature of production and consumption patterns continued to structure many aspects of Heiltsuk life, this was particularly true for the women. The traditionally co-operative nature of food collecting and preservation activities continued. In fact the missionaries complained that the women were more culturally conservative than the men because they persisted in these activities requiring pooled labour among households. (I. Large 1905). There is, however, evidence in the archaeological and historical record presented in the preceding analysis, which shows a general trend toward an increasingly individualized consumption pattern from the more traditional and communal one. This transition, found in the ceramic assemblage over time, is demonstrated in the adoption and use of items of European tableware - dinner plates , soup plates etc., - and particularly in the shift toward the use of ceramic vessels designed for individual rather than communal consumption

The transition from traditional to European style houses, with the accompanying shift from lineage to nuclear family living, infers dramatic changes in the social and economic structure of the Heiltsuk community. This then has implications for the purpose of explaining the changing pattern of ceramic use in the Heiltsuk material inventory. Missionary women promoted the increased use of ceramic tableware along with other domestic items of European material culture in developments which paralleled socio-economic changes in Heiltsuk society. In this light it seems reasonable to suggest that the historical and archaeological record

follows a move to European architectural styles which precipitated a transition to an increasingly individualized food preparation and consumption pattern in Heiltsuk society.

## Concluding Remarks and Broader Patterns

In this thesis a two part argument has been used to advance explanations for the ceramic distribution patterns found in the archaeological record at Old Bella Bella. The record showed that 19th century European ceramics were incorporated as an item of Heiltsuk material culture. Further, selection took place with regard to the specific types of vessel and decorative forms considered desirable. Finally, in combination with the historical evidence, the record indicated that a transition in vessel use took place over time. In the first part of this chapter, the initial adoption of ceramics was examined in the context of theories of selection which relate to the incorporation of new items of material culture in general.

In this light it is argued that ceramics were adopted into already established Heiltsuk artifact categories and their use incorporated into pre-existing cultural complexes. Ceramics, as luxury items, were desirable initially in the Heiltsuk ceremonial complex because they functioned in the same context as communal wooden serving dishes and as gifts at potlatches, and perhaps in pendants and carvings as analogues of traditional shell inlays. Cups and saucers, which became prolific as gifts at potlatches, may further imply that tea was incorporated as a beverage and that tea drinking became a social activity among the Heiltsuk. The social function of interaction associated with tea drinking and its role in Native/European trade relations is documented extensively in other North American ceramic studies (Jackson 1989, 1991; Burley 1989).

Over time, in the face of changes in the social and material relations of late 19th century Heiltsuk society, ceramic use took on a new meaning. The transition in living arrangements, demonstrated by the shift in architectural styles, had

ramifications for the adoption of all European material culture items of a domestic nature and ceramics were no exception.

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

> There is no better teaching than the object lesson of a good and well ordered Christian home. If he is walking "in His steps," the teacher will naturally illustrate by the fields....and by everything around us, and should be willing to show how to build a nice little home, from the foundation to the last shingle on the roof....As soon as the Missionary gets the language of the people-and every Missionary should do so - he should make an effort to get them out of the wretched squalor and dirt of their old lodges and sweat houses into better homes. (Crosby 1914:73/74).

In their preference for "nice little separate homes" (Crosby 1914: 75), each one removed some distance from its neighbour, the Methodists were expressing, in material terms, elements of a broader European world view. World view, as defined by Deetz (1977), refers to the way different groups of people understand their environment and interpret the events which occur in the natural world, this perception determines the structure by which they organize their world into meaningful categories. As a product and reflection of European culture Methodist values were, at least in degree of emphasis, often opposed to those of the Heiltsuk.

The missionaries emphasized separation rather than incorporation, the individual rather than the group, hierarchical rather than equalitarian social and economic structures, and specialized rather than cooperative labour among the fundamentals of a good Christian lifestyle.

By contrast, Heiltsuk houses were reflective of a different world view. The construction of a house has been described as "one of the most important symbolic acts in Heiltsuk culture" (Harkin 1988:293). A traditional Heiltsuk house symbolized the founding of a lineage, and in the oral histories, of society itself. This is reflected, as noted by early ethnographers, in an organic building design with parallels to the human body; houses have mouths through which one enters, and the interior is organized into a "head" and "sides". The dead must be taken out through a hole cut into the back of the house (Boas 1928; Olson 1954, 1955). On a more pragmatic level, the corporate lineage was the traditional unit of economic production and consumption and therefore structured the fundamental subsistence strategies of village life itself. By incorporating the practices of waged labour and single family living the Heiltsuk made changes to the economic and social patterns which organized their community and these were made manifest in the material world of houses and the objects in them.

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

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue / in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0041 | 1 | 00 | pl/wh | sv | unid | related to 37 | 54 | | plain/white | monochrome glazed | | 10 |
| FaTa 4-0134. | 1 | 00 | pl/wh | sv | unid | unrelated | 53 | | plain/white | | | 21 |
| FaTa 4-0321 | 1 | 00 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated /4 | 56 | | plain white | | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0555 | 5 | 00 | pl/wh | e | saucer | unrelated | 59 | | plain/white | tiny wh frag/ 4 miss | | |
| FaTa 4-0886 | 1 | 00 | pl/col | e | unid | unrelated | 07 | | plain/beige | | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0889 | 3 | 00 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 07 | | cream col | | | |
| FaTa 4-0926 | 1 | 00 | pl/wh | e | unid | 889/926 | 07 | | plain/curved | | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0973 | 1 | 00 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 97/ms | | tiny white fr | surface "Clayton's ju | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-1009 | 3 | 00 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 18 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0007 | 1 | 01 | pl/wh | e | cup | 7/197/213 | 52 | | plain/white | | 095/190 rim | 80 |
| FaTa 4-0197 | 1 | 01 | pl/wh | e | cup | 7/197/213 | 52 | | plain/white | | | 58 |
| FaTa 4-0213 | 5 | 01 | pl/wh | e | cup | 7/197/213 | 52 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0014 | 3 | 02 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 04 | | plain/white | dolls saucer/much sn | 070/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0046 | 4 | 03 | trans prt | e | s/plate | 46/48/366 | 51 | | br trans prt | 2 vessels fd d/plate | | |
| FaTa 4-0048 | 3 | 03 | trans prt | e | s/plate | 46/48/366 | 51 | 1860-1894 | br trans prt | Sitka Thomas Hughes | | |
| FaTa 4-0366 | 15 | 03 | trans prt | e | s/plate | 46/48/366 | 51 | 1870s | br trans prt | d/plate 22 japanesqu | 240/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0056 | 5 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | 1850-1920 | bl hdpted | banded/spongeware | | |
| FaTa 4-0065 | 9 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | | bl hdpted | unid pattern | | |
| FaTa 4-0069 | 4 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | | bl hdpted | | | |
| FaTa 4-0087 | 1 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | | bl hdpted | | | 14 |
| FaTa 4-0117 | 5 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | | bl hdpted | | | |
| FaTa 4-0176 | 1 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 50 | | bl hdpted | | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0202 | 1 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 56 | | bl hdpted | | | 9 |
| FaTa 4-0208 | 2 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 56 | | bl hdpted | | | |
| FaTa 4-0402 | 2 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 56 | | bl hdpted | | | |
| FaTa 4-0523 | 1 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 91 | | bl hdpted | | | 53 |
| FaTa 4-0538 | 2 | 04 | hd pt | e | bowl | 56/65/69/8 | 91 | | bl hdpted | | | |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue / in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0047 | 2 | 05 | pl/wh | es | saucer | 47/61/348/ | 51 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0061 | 1 | 05 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 47/61/348/ | 50 | | plain/white | | 160/rim | 35 |
| FaTa 4-0348 | 13 | 05 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 47/61/348/ | 56 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0368 | 4 | 05 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 47/61/348/ | 51 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0386 | 1 | 05 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 47/61/348/ | 56 | | plain/white | | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0066 | 1 | 06 | pl/col | s | crock | 66/280 | 50 | | cream glaze | | | 61 |
| FaTa 4-0111 | 2 | 06 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 07 | | cream glaze | | | |
| FaTa 4-0280 | 1 | 06 | pl/col | s | crock | 66/280 | 52 | | cream glaze | | | 37 |
| FaTa 4-0091 | 2 | 07 | bd spware | e | cup | unrelated | 40 | 1850-1920 | pink/yellow/ | banded/spongeware | | |
| FaTa 4-0096 | 21 | 08 | trans prt | e | plate | unrelated | 53 | | pur trans prt | unident pat | | |
| FaTa 4-0112 | 1 | 09 | bd spware | e | cup | 112/244/35 | 07 | 1850-1920 | yw/bl/grn/e | sponge/hdpted | | 14 |
| FaTa 4-0244 | 1 | 09 | bd spware | e | cup | 112/244/35 | 06 | | yw/bl/grn/e | | | 23 |
| FaTa 4-0355 | 2 | 09 | bd spware | e | cup | 112/244/35 | 06 | | yw/bl/grn/e | | | |
| FaTa 4-0648 | 1 | 09 | bd spware | e | cup | 112/244/35 | 14 | | yw/bl/grn/e | | | 38 |
| FaTa 4-0888 | 1 | 09 | bd spware | e | cup | 112/244/35 | 07 | | yw/bl/grn/e | | | 12 |
| FaTa 4-0123 | 1 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298/30 | 50 | | bl&wh cir de | unident pat | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0298b | | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298b/3 | 56 | 1870s | bl&wh cir de | Japanesque design/ | 160/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0301 | 2 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298b/3 | 56 | | bl&wh cir de | | | |
| FaTa 4-0303 | 2 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298b/3 | 56 | | bl&wh cir de | | | |
| FaTa 4-0412 | 1 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298/30 | 56 | | bl&wh cir de | | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0413 | 3 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298/30 | 56 | | bl&wh cir de | | | |
| FaTa 4-0418b | 1 | 10 | trans prt | e | saucer | 123/298/30 | 56 | | bl&wh cir de | | | |
| FaTa 4-0125 | 1 | 11 | pl/wh | sv | cup | unrelated | 50 | | plain/white | | 085/rim | 100 |
| FaTa 4-0159 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | unident pat | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0203 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0298a | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 58 |
| FaTa 4-0307 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 25 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue /in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel # | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0316 | 4 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | |
| FaTa 4-0323 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 22 |
| FaTa 4-0329a | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 17 |
| FaTa 4-0330 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 14 |
| FaTa 4-0331 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0390 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0391 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 12 |
| FaTa 4-0392 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 21 |
| FaTa 4-0394 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 9 |
| FaTa 4-0395 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 16 |
| FaTa 4-0403 | 2 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | |
| FaTa 4-0415 | 2 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | |
| FaTa 4-0487 | 1 | 12 | trans prt | e | plate | 159/203/29 | 56 | | br trans prt | | | 16 |
| FaTa 4-0167b | 2 | 13 | trans prt | e | plate | unrelated | 06 | | bl scalloped | unident pat too erode | 200/rim | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0171 | 13 | 14 | pl/wh | e | saucer | unrelated | 56 | | plain/white | | 140/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0189 | 1 | 15 | dec prt | sv | cup | 189/206/21 | 56 | | faded flor/de | poss 2 vessels | | 46 |
| FaTa 4-0206 | 5 | 15 | dec prt | sv | cup | 189/206/21 | 56 | 1890-1920 | faded flor/de | faded floral design/d | 080/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0210 | 1 | 15 | dec prt | sv | cup | 189/206/21 | 56 | | faded flor/de | | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0329b | 0 | 15 | dec prt | sv | cup | 189/206/21 | 56 | | faded flor/de | | | |
| FaTa 4-0214 | 1 | 16 | pl/wh | sv | ser/orn | unrelated | 57 | | plain/white | handle/upright | | 55 |
| FaTa 4-0232 | 3 | 17 | trans prt | e | cup | unrelated | 52 | | rd trans prt | unident pat | 085/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0242 | 6 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 06 | 1873 ca | br trans prt | hawthorne | | |
| FaTa 4-0356 | 6 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 06 | | br trans prt | hawthrone | | |
| FaTa 4-0515a | 14 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 05 | | br trans prt | hawthrone | | |
| FaTa 4-0607 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0612 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 65 |
| FaTa 4-0639 | 3 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 7 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue /in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel # | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0642 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0645 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 60 |
| FaTa 4-0653 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 14 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 72 |
| FaTa 4-0850 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 97/tp | | br trans prt | coll in NE baulk /soil | | 11 |
| FaTa 4-0885 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 07 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0928 | 1 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 07 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | 12 |
| FaTa 4-0949 | 2 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 11 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | |
| FaTa 4-0959 | 5 | 18 | trans prt | e | basin | 242/356/51 | 11 | | br trans prt | hawthorne | | |
| FaTa 4-0243 | 2 | 19 | multi bd | e | bowl | 243/619/62 | 06 | | br pk &grn s | 243 and 684 fit | | |
| FaTa 4-0619 | 1 | 19 | multi bd | e | bowl | 243/619/62 | 14 | 1850-1920 | br pk & grn s | banded ware | | 35 |
| FaTa 4-0622 | 1 | 19 | multi bd | e | bowl | 243/619/62 | 14 | | glaze eroded | flared shape/moul | | 27 |
| FaTa 4-0649 | 3 | 19 | multi bd | e | bowl | 243/619/62 | 14 | | br pk & grn s | banded ware | | |
| FaTa 4-0684 | 1 | 19 | multi bd | e | bowl | 243/619/62 | 32 | | br pk & grn s | in cat as glass bottle | | |
| FaTa 4-0245 | 1 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 06 | 1780/20th c exca | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-0246a | 1 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 06 | pieces by C/G | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | |
| FaTa 4-0259 | 1 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 09 | 1836-47 | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | 18 |
| FaTa 4-0260 | 2 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 09 | | bl design | late blue willow | | |
| FaTa 4-0636 | 1 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 14 | | bl trans prt | late bl willow | 230 | 27 |
| FaTa 4-0884 | 4 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 07 | | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | |
| FaTa 4-0962 | 6 | 20 | trans prt | e | saucer | 245/246/25 | 11 | | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | |
| FaTa 4-0246b | 1 | 21 | trans prt | e | plate | unrelated | 06 | | bl trans prt | scroll & geo desn | | |
| FaTa 4-0261 | 1 | 22 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 09 | | plain/cream | | | 19 |
| FaTa 4-0279 | 2 | 23 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 279/297 | 52 | | plain/white | | 165/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0297 | 1 | 23 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | 279/297 | 56 | | plain/white | corroded to iron | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0894 | 1 | 24 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated to | 32 | | bl trans prt | late bl willow | | 9 |
| FaTa 4-0298c | | 25 | pl/col | e | basin | 298c/326 | 56 | | gr cracked gl | thin body | | |
| FaTa 4-0326 | 4 | 25 | pl/col | e | basin | 298c/326 | 56 | | gr cracked gl | thin body | | |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue / in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0311 | 1 | 26 | pl/col | e | basin | 311/407/42 | 56 | | gr crackled g | thick body | | 40 |
| FaTa 4-0407 | 1 | 26 | pl/col | e | basin | 311/407/42 | 56 | | gr crackled g | thick body | | 17 |
| FaTa 4-0429 | 1 | 26 | pl/col | e | basin | 311/407/42 | 56 | | gr crackled g | thick body | | 37 |
| FaTa 4-0418a | 18 | 27 | pl/wh | sv | cup | 418/419 | 56 | | plain/white | 418/419 prob 2 ves | 085/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0419 | 20 | 27 | pl/wh | sv | cup | 418/419 | 56 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0425 BC | 4 | 28 | trans prt | e | cup | 425/486 | 56 | | bl trans prt | *unident* pat matches l | | |
| FaTa 4-0486 BC | 1 | 28 | trans prt | e | cup | 425/486 | 56 | | bl trans prt | japanesque style | | 30 |
| FaTa 4-0463 | 3 | 29 | moul | e | plate | 463/470 | 91 | 1860/70s | embossed/wl | wheat pattern | 180/? | |
| FaTa 4-0470 | 1 | 29 | moul | e | plate | 463/470 | 91 | | embossed/wl | wheat pattern | | 51 |
| FaTa 4-0472 | 2 | 30 | trans prt | e | cup | *unrelated* | 10 | 1780/20th c | bl trans prt | bl willow, crude,flow | | |
| FaTa 4-0561 BC | 1 | 31 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated | 59 | 1851-1861 | br trans prt | Italy by Meigh & Son | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0600a | 1 | 32 | pl/wh | e | plate | unrelated | 15 | | plain/white | | 240/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0600b | 1 | 33 | pl/wh | e | ser/orn | unrelated | 15 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0601a | 1 | 34 | pl/wh | sv | basin | unrelated | 15 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0601b | 2 | 35 | trans prt | e | bowl | unrelated | 15 | 1850/1900 | bl trans prt | unid'd pat #3 sussma | | |
| FaTa 4-0644 | 1 | 36 | trans prt | e | basin | 644/734 | 17 | | white/bl edg | ne baulk | | 46 |
| FaTa 4-0734 | 1 | 36 | trans prt | e | basin | 644/734 | 17 | | gr/wh glaze | | | 10 |
| FaTa 4-0655 | 1 | 37 | pl/col | s | basin | 655/1058 | 14 | | gr/bl glaze | unident pat | | 37 |
| FaTa 4-1058a | 1 | 37 | pl/col | s | basin | 655/1058 | 15 | | gr/bl chin bo | 2 bl stripes | | |
| FaTa 4-0661 | 1 | 38 | pl/wh | e | unid | unrelated | 13 | | plain/white | | | 13 |
| FaTa 4-0666 | 1 | 39 | trans prt | e | unid | unrelated | 13 | | bl trans prt | unlike all other blues | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0671 BC | 1 | 40 | moul | sv | ser/orn | 671/1173 | 13 | | br/grn flutec | fluted sides matches | | 45 |
| FaTa 4-1173 BC | 1 | 40 | moul | sv | ser/orn | 671/1173 | 39 | | br/grn flutec | related to bella coola | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0727 | 8 | 41 | trans prt | e | bowl | 727/761/12 | 33 | 1848-20th excav | bl trans prt | ruins | | |
| FaTa 4-0761 | 2 | 41 | trans prt | e | bowl | 727/761/12 | 34 | egs made by S/C | bl trans prt | ruins | | |
| FaTa 4-1202 | 4 | 41 | trans prt | e | bowl | 727/761/12 | 33 | b/w 1847-67 | bl trans prt | ruins | | |
| FaTa 4-0731 | 1 | 42 | pl/col | sv | basin | *unrelated* | 97/ms | | gr/wh glaze | coll near fr houses/c | | 102 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue /in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel # | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0746 | 1 | 43 | trans prt | e | unid | unrelated | 18 | 1830-50 | bl trans prt | scroll w' dots Foliage | | 21 |
| FaTa 4-0775 | 1 | 44 | bd spware | e | bowl | 775/794 | 31 | 1850-1920 | rd/gr sponge | no art sheet | | |
| FaTa 4-0794 | 2 | 44 | bd spware | e | bowl | 775/794 | 31 | | rd/gr sponge | | | |
| FaTa 4-0791 | 2 | 45 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 31 | | thick/unglaze | | | |
| FaTa 4-0812a | 1 | 46 | pl/col | s | crock | 812a/812b | 31 | | br glaze both | | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0812b | 0 | 46 | pl/col | s | crock | 812a/812b | 31 | | br glaze one | | | |
| FaTa 4-0839 | 1 | 47 | trans prt | e | bowl | 839/1216 | 33 | | grn trans prt | | | 26 |
| FaTa 4-1216 | 1 | 47 | trans prt | e | bowl | 839/1216 | 41 | | grn trans prt | | | 21 |
| FaTa 4-0851 | 1 | 48 | trans prt | e | cup | 851/924 | 07 | | bl trans prt b | | | 18 |
| FaTa 4-0924 | 1 | 48 | trans prt | e | cup | 851/924 | 07 | | bl trans prt b | | | 32 |
| FaTa 4-0858 | 1 | 49 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 18 | | thick br glaze | | | 53 |
| FaTa 4-0887 | 1 | 50 | trans prt | sv | cup | unrelated | 07 | | lt bl prt both | badly corroded | | 17 |
| FaTa 4-0902 | 1 | 51 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 18 | | yell/br int | | | 37 |
| FaTa 4-0246c | 1 | 52 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated | 06 | | bl flor prt | 246/3 diff pieces w | | |
| FaTa 4-0950a | 4 | 53 | multi bd | e | bowl | unrelated | 11 | | bl bor hdpted | | | |
| FaTa 4-0950b | 0 | 54 | trans prt | e | unid | unrelated | 11 | | bl cross des | rim frag | | |
| FaTa 4-0972 | 16 | 55 | pl/col | s | basin | all marked 97 | 99 | | yw/white gla | surface store | | |
| FaTa 4-0974 | 1 | 56 | trans prt | sv | saucer | unrelated | 99 | 1870-1900 | bl/gold rim | surface store/fine ch | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0975 | 1 | 57 | trans prt | sv | cup | unrelated | 99 | 1870-1900 | bl/fluted | surface store/fine ch | | 43 |
| FaTa 4-0989 | 11 | 58 | moul | sv | ser/orn | unrelated | 99 | | black/emboss | surface store | | |
| FaTa 4-0990 | 2 | 59 | pl/wh | e | plate | unrelated | 99 | | plain/white | surface store | 230/rim | |
| FaTa 4-1003 | 1 | 60 | trans prt | e | ser/orn | unrelated | 18 | | bl both sides | | | 30 |
| FaTa 4-1039 | 1 | 61 | moul | e | cup | unrelated | 37 | | embossed/wl | | | 6 |
| FaTa 4-1057 | 1 | 62 | trans prt | e | saucer | same set as 3 | 15 | | br trans prt | | | 44 |
| FaTa 4-1063 | 1 | 63 | trans prt | e | unid | unrelated | 15 | | bl trans prt | | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-1065 | 4 | 64 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | unrelated | 15 | | plain/white | | 140/rim | |
| FaTa 4-1086 | 1 | 65 | pl/wh | e | plate | 2 unmarked b | 36 | | plain/white | | 200/rim | 42 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue /in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-1078 | 4 | 66 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 97/tp | | br glaze both | no unit recorded | | |
| FaTa 4-1140 | 1 | 67 | pl/col | sv | saucer | unrelated | 42 | | plain/white | | | 42 |
| FaTa 4-1200 | 1 | 68 | moul | s | ser/orn | unrelated | 41 | | monkey face | | | 27 |
| FaTa 4-1233 | 1 | 69 | pl/col | sv | crock | unrelated | 36 | | glazed one si | | | 42 |
| FaTa 4-1269 | 2 | 70 | pl/wh | sv | saucer | unrelated | 36 | | plain/white | | 140 | |
| FaTa 4-1329 | 1 | 71 | trans prt | e | cup/bow | unrelated | 43 | | bl trans prt | | | 22 |
| FaTa 4-1457a | 1 | 72 | trans prt | e | cup | unrelated | 46 | | white/bl stri | | | |
| FaTa 4-1458 | 1 | 73 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated | 46 | | br trans prt | | | 28 |
| FaTa 4-1460 | 1 | 74 | pl/wh | e | saucer | unrelated | 46 | | plain/white | | | 35 |
| FaTa 4-1461 | 1 | 75 | multi bd | sv | bowl | unrelated | 46 | | bl & blac stri | | | 23 |
| FaTa 4-1498 | 1 | 76 | trans prt | sv | cup | unrelated | 47 | 1830-1850 | bl trans prt | broseley | 90/rim | 65 |
| FaTa 4-1499 | 1 | 77 | pl/wh | sv | plate | unrelated | 47 | | plain white | makers mark/ stone | | 40 |
| FaTa 4-1500 | 1 | 78 | pl/wh | e | cup | unrelated | 47 | | plain white | | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-1507 | 1 | 79 | bd spware | e | cup | 1507/1529 | 46 | 1850-1920 | grn/bl sponge | no art sheet | | 31 |
| FaTa 4-1529 | 1 | 79 | bd spware | e | cup | 1507/1529 | 46 | | grn/bl sponge | | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-1561 | 1 | 80 | trans prt | e | saucer | 1561/1590 | 46 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-1590 | 1 | 80 | trans prt | e | saucer | 1561/1590 | 47 | | wh/gr des | small rim frag w grn | | 13 |
| FaTa 4-0747 | 3 | 81 | pl/wh | e | plate | unrelated | 18 | | gr/wh glaze | 2 app unrelated frags | | |
| FaTa 4-0588 | 1 | 82 | pl/wh | e | crock | unrelated | 15 | | yellow | | | 29 |
| FaTa 4-0617 | 1 | 83 | pl/wh | e | unid | 617/623/62 | 14 | | plain/white | | | 13 |
| FaTa 4-0623 | 2 | 83 | trans prt | e | unid | 617/623/62 | 14 | | bl trans prt | | | |
| FaTa 4-0624 | 1 | 83 | pl/wh | e | unid | 617/623/62 | 14 | | glaze eroded | very flat | | 22 |
| FaTa 4-0627 | 1 | 83 | pl/wh | e | unid | 617/623/62 | 14 | | plain/white | very flat | | 27 |
| FaTa 4-0633 | 1 | 83 | pl/wh | e | unid | 617/623/62 | 14 | | plain/white | | | 27 |
| FaTa 4-0995 | 1 | 84 | pl/wh | e | bowl | unrelated | 18 | | plain/white | thick body tapering t | | 28 |
| FaTa 4-0580 | 1 | 85 | trans prt | e | plate | unrelated | 16 | | blue design | no unit # | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-0404 | 1 | 86 | pl/wh | sv | plate | 404/405 ass | 56 | | plain/white | details fr art sheet | | 15 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue /in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0405 | 1 | 86 | pl/wh | sv | plate | 404/405 | 56 | | plain/white | | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-1058b | 2 | 87 | moul | e | s/plate | unrelated | 15 | 1850s-1900 | raised des/w | | 240/rim | |
| FaTa 4-0310 | 2 | 88 | pl/wh | e | cup | 310/315 | 56 | | plain/white | thick rim frag | | |
| FaTa 4-0315 | 2 | 88 | pl/wh | e | cup | 310/315 | 56 | | plain/white | thick rim frag | | |
| FaTa 4-0278 | 3 | 89 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated | 52 | | br trans prt | unident pat | | |
| FaTa 4-1237 | 1 | 90 | pl/wh | sv | unid | unrelated | 38 | | plain/white | | | 23 |
| FaTa 4-1205 | 2 | 91 | pl/wh | e | bowl | unrelated | 33 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-1501 | 2 | 92 | trans prt | e | saucer | related to otl | 47 | | bl willow | | | |
| FaTa 4-1139 | 4 | 93 | pl/col | s | crock | unrelated | 42 | | br glaze | lid | | |
| FaTa 4-0925 | 1 | 94 | pl/wh | e | bowl | 925/927 | 07 | | glaze errodec | steep ring base | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0927 | 2 | 94 | pl/wh | e | bowl | 925/927 | 07 | | base ring erri | ring base | | |
| FaTa 4-0976 | 1 | 95 | trans prt | sv | bowl | unrelated | 97/ms | 1911-1923 | bl decor | surface/chinese bow | | 83 |
| FaTa 4-1457b | 1 | 96 | pl/wh | e | saucer | unrelated | 46 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0170 | 17 | 97 | trans prt | e | bowl | matches desi | 56 | | trans prt | polychrome glazed/w | | |
| FaTa 4-0515b | 1 | 98 | trans prt | e | saucer | unrelated | 05 | | bl trans prt d | | | |
| FaTa 4-0167a | 1 | 99 | trans prt | e | bowl | unrelated | 06 | | bl trans prt b | | | |
| FaTa 4-0037 | 1 | | | | | related to 41 | 53 | | | monochrome glazed | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0063 | 1 | | | | | | 05 | | br trans prt | polychrome glazed | | 26 |
| FaTa 4-0086 | 1 | | | | | | 50 | | | monochrome glazed | | 25 |
| FaTa 4-0122 | 1 | | | | | | 50 | | | monochrome glazed | | 29 |
| FaTa 4-0132. | 1 | | | | | | 53 | | | body frag/w defoliat | | 52 |
| FaTa 4-0147 | 1 | | | | | | 53 | | | body frag | | 36 |
| FaTa 4-0190 | 1 | | | | | | 52 | | | monochrome glazed | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-0199. | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | | base frag | | 65 |
| FaTa 4-0289 | 1 | | | | | | 52 | | | polychrome glaze | | 35 |
| FaTa 4-0299 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | | | | 41 |
| FaTa 4-0304 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | bl&wh glaze | polychrome bl on whi | | 10 |

# Appendix

## Old Bella Bella FaTa 4 Catalogue / in order of vessel number

| catalogue no | quantit | vessel i | decor types | paste | vessel | related to | unit # | Time Span | decoration | notes; pattern na | circum in m | size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0305 | 2 | | | | | | 56 | | br&white gla | polychrome glazed | | |
| FaTa 4-0308 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | bl&wh glaze | polychrome glazed | | 14 |
| FaTa 4-0332 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | | | | 9 |
| FaTa 4-0354 | 3 | | | | | | 06 | | | | | |
| FaTa 4-0367 | 1 | | | | | | 51 | | br trans prt | polychrome glazed | | 27 |
| FaTa 4-0383 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | | | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-0399 | 1 | | | | | | 56 | | | | | 19 |
| FaTa 4-0501 | 3 | | | | | | 09 | | plain/white | | | |
| FaTa 4-0613 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | plain/white | monochrome glazed | | 45 |
| FaTa 4-0629 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | | | | 7 |
| FaTa 4-0641 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | | | | 35 |
| FaTa 4-0646 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | | | | 35 |
| FaTa 4-0654 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | | polychrome glaze | | 18 |
| FaTa 4-0658 | 1 | | | | | | 14 | | plain/white | monochrome glaze | | 15 |
| FaTa 4-0847 | 1 | | | | | | 97/tp | | | coll in NE baulk | | 24 |
| FaTa 4-0957 | 1 | | | | | | 11 | | burg trans pr | no unit #/polychrom | | 20 |
| FaTa 4-1281 | 1 | | | | | | 38 | | | | | 22 |
| Total no of sherds | 522 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1045 | | | | | | | | | | | |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0041 | related to 37 re art sheet |
| FaTa 4-0134. | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0321 | unrelated /419? |
| FaTa 4-0555 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0886 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0889 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0926 | 889/926 |
| FaTa 4-0973 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1009 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0007 | 7/197/213 |
| FaTa 4-0197 | 7/197/213 |
| FaTa 4-0213 | 7/197/213 |
| FaTa 4-0014 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0046 | 46/48/366 |
| FaTa 4-0048 | 46/48/366 |
| FaTa 4-0366 | 46/48/366 |
| FaTa 4-0056 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0065 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0069 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0087 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0117 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0176 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0202 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0208 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0402 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0523 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0538 | 56/65/69/87/117/176/202/208/402/523/538 |
| FaTa 4-0047 | 47/61/348/368/386 |
| FaTa 4-0061 | 47/61/348/368/386 |
| FaTa 4-0348 | 47/61/348/368/386 |
| FaTa 4-0368 | 47/61/348/368/386 |
| FaTa 4-0386 | 47/61/348/368/386 |
| FaTa 4-0066 | 66/280 |
| FaTa 4-0111 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0280 | 66/280 |
| FaTa 4-0091 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0096 | unrelated |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0112 | 112/244/355/648/888 |
| FaTa 4-0244 | 112/244/355/648/888 |
| FaTa 4-0355 | 112/244/355/648/888 |
| FaTa 4-0648 | 112/244/355/648/888 |
| FaTa 4-0888 | 112/244/355/648/888 |
| FaTa 4-0123 | 123/298/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0298b | 123/298b/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0301 | 123/298b/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0303 | 123/298b/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0412 | 123/298/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0413 | 123/298/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0418b | 123/298/301/303/412/413/418/419/515 |
| FaTa 4-0125 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0159 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0203 | 159/203/298/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0298a | 159/203/298/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0307 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0316 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0323 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0329a | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0330 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0331 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0390 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0391 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0392 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0394 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0395 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0403 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0415 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0487 | 159/203/298a/307/316/323/329/330/331/390/391/392/394/395/403/4 |
| FaTa 4-0167b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0171 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0189 | 189/206/210/329 |
| FaTa 4-0206 | 189/206/210/329 |
| FaTa 4-0210 | 189/206/210/329 |
| FaTa 4-0329b | 189/206/210/329 |
| FaTa 4-0214 | unrelated |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0232 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0242 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0356 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0515a | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0607 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0612 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0639 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0642 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0645 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0653 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0850 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0885 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0928 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0949 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0959 | 242/356/515/612/639/642/645/653/850/885/928/949/959 |
| FaTa 4-0243 | 243/619/622/649/684 |
| FaTa 4-0619 | 243/619/622/649/684 |
| FaTa 4-0622 | 243/619/622/649/684 |
| FaTa 4-0649 | 243/619/622/649/684 |
| FaTa 4-0684 | 243/619/622/649/684 |
| FaTa 4-0245 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0246a | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0259 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0260 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0636 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0884 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0962 | 245/246/259/260/636/884/894 |
| FaTa 4-0246b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0261 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0279 | 279/297 |
| FaTa 4-0297 | 279/297 |
| FaTa 4-0894 | unrelated to other bl will |
| FaTa 4-0298c | 298c/326 |
| FaTa 4-0326 | 298c/326 |
| FaTa 4-0311 | 311/407/429 |
| FaTa 4-0407 | 311/407/429 |
| FaTa 4-0429 | 311/407/429 |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0418a | 418/419 |
| FaTa 4-0419 | 418/419 |
| FaTa 4-0425 BC | 425/486 |
| FaTa 4-0486 BC | 425/486 |
| FaTa 4-0463 | 463/470 |
| FaTa 4-0470 | 463/470 |
| FaTa 4-0472 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0561 BC | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0600a | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0600b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0601a | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0601b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0644 | 644/734 |
| FaTa 4-0734 | 644/734 |
| FaTa 4-0655 | 655/1058 |
| FaTa 4-1058a | 655/1058 |
| FaTa 4-0661 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0666 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0671 BC | 671/1173 |
| FaTa 4-1173 BC | 671/1173 |
| FaTa 4-0727 | 727/761/1202 |
| FaTa 4-0761 | 727/761/1202 |
| FaTa 4-1202 | 727/761/1202 |
| FaTa 4-0731 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0746 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0775 | 775/794 |
| FaTa 4-0794 | 775/794 |
| FaTa 4-0791 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0812a | 812a/812b |
| FaTa 4-0812b | 812a/812b |
| FaTa 4-0839 | 839/1216 |
| FaTa 4-1216 | 839/1216 |
| FaTa 4-0851 | 851/924 |
| FaTa 4-0924 | 851/924 |
| FaTa 4-0858 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0887 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0902 | unrelated |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0246c | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0950a | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0950b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0972 | all marked 972 |
| FaTa 4-0974 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0975 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0989 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0990 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1003 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1039 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1057 | same set as 366 |
| FaTa 4-1063 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1065 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1086 | 2 unmarked but related pieces |
| FaTa 4-1078 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1140 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1200 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1233 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1269 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1329 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1457a | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1458 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1460 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1461 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1498 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1499 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1500 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1507 | 1507/1529 |
| FaTa 4-1529 | 1507/1529 |
| FaTa 4-1561 | 1561/1590 |
| FaTa 4-1590 | 1561/1590 |
| FaTa 4-0747 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0588 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0617 | 617/623/624/627/633 |
| FaTa 4-0623 | 617/623/624/627/633 |
| FaTa 4-0624 | 617/623/624/627/633 |
| FaTa 4-0627 | 617/623/624/627/633 |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0633 | 617/623/624/627/633 |
| FaTa 4-0995 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0580 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0404 | 404/405 ass w plate left in wall |
| FaTa 4-0405 | 404/405 |
| FaTa 4-1058b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0310 | 310/315 |
| FaTa 4-0315 | 310/315 |
| FaTa 4-0278 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1237 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1205 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1501 * | related to other pieces? |
| FaTa 4-1139 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0925 | 925/927 |
| FaTa 4-0927 | 925/927 |
| FaTa 4-0976 | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-1457b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0170 | matches design fr 61.51? |
| FaTa 4-0515b | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0167a | unrelated |
| FaTa 4-0037 | related to 41 re art sheet |
| FaTa 4-0063 | |
| FaTa 4-0086 | |
| FaTa 4-0122 | |
| FaTa 4-0132. | |
| FaTa 4-0147 | |
| FaTa 4-0190 | |
| FaTa 4-0199. | |
| FaTa 4-0289 | |
| FaTa 4-0299 | |
| FaTa 4-0304 | |
| FaTa 4-0305 | |
| FaTa 4-0308 | |
| FaTa 4-0332 | |
| FaTa 4-0354 | |
| FaTa 4-0367 | |
| FaTa 4-0383 | |

Catalogue Numbers for all related sherds

| Catalogue Numbe | Related to |
|---|---|
| FaTa 4-0399 | |
| FaTa 4-0501 | |
| FaTa 4-0613 | |
| FaTa 4-0629 | |
| FaTa 4-0641 | |
| FaTa 4-0646 | |
| FaTa 4-0654 | |
| FaTa 4-0658 | |
| FaTa 4-0847 | |
| FaTa 4-0957 | |
| FaTa 4-1281 | |
| Total no of sherds | |
| | bbb |

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