





AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Mollie Jo Manion for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Anthropology presented August 29, 2014.

Title: Where Have All the Women and Children Gone? An Examination of Domestic Life at the Newell Farmstead (35MA41) in the Early Oregon Country

Abstract approved:

---

David R. Brauner

The Newell Farmstead (35MA41) archaeological site lies in the heart of the French Prairie in the Willamette Valley in the Champoege State Heritage Area, Oregon. The integrity and depth of deposition have made the Newell site a unique opportunity to look at activity areas and domestic life of early Euro-American settlers in the early Oregon Country before statehood. Large block excavations have revealed a domestic structure with unique architectural features and one of the largest domestic assemblages of this era in Oregon. By using large block style excavations, exposing the interior and exterior of the household living surface, the author hopes to be able to show how the occupants of this household, the majority of whom were women and children, lived their day-to-day lives as active members of their household, in charge of

domestic tasks, including childcare, farming, animal raising and indigenous traditional skills. Due to the patriarchal societies that most historical archaeologists research, many of the historical documents are written for, by or about men. Historical archaeologists often interpret archaeological sites as if these male head households were the only ones in the household contributing to the archaeological record or making any meaningful decisions in the past. However, the majority of historic domestic households were composed of women and children. I propose that in historical archaeology, we should look at the historical demography of the communities we study before we interpret who is present at the archaeological site, which can lead us to more of a holistic interpretation of these past populations.



©Copyright by Mollie Jo Manion  
August 29, 2014  
All Right Reserved

Where Have All the Women and Children Gone?  
An Examination of Domestic Life at the  
Newell Farmstead (35MA41) in the  
Early Oregon Country

by  
Mollie Jo Manion

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Presented August 29, 2014  
Commencement June 2015

Doctor of Philosophy dissertation of Mollie Jo Manion  
Presented on August 29, 2014

APPROVED:

---

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

---

Director of the School of Language, Culture, and Society

---

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

---

Mollie Jo Manion, Author

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No epic undertaking like this dissertation ever happens alone or in a vacuum. I could not have finished this work without the support, kindness and love of some very important people.

Ross Manion, my wonderful husband, you are my rock, my love, my partner. It has been a roller coaster ride with countless ups and downs, but we made it through. I can't wait to see what our next adventure brings into our life.

Moira and Fiona, my precious girls, I hope I have set a good example for you. I want you to know that you can achieve your dreams, even against some pretty tough odds. You are amazing teenagers and having you in the field with me each summer has been one of the most rewarding things I have done as a mother. Go reach for the stars and become the awesome women I know you are.

Thank you to my friend and mentor Dr. David Brauner. I am the archaeologist I am today, largely due to your influence, teaching and kindness. It thrills me to no end that I am your first PhD. No one can ever take that away from me.

Jamie French you helped me create some awesome maps from some really big and unwieldy databases. You were also a great source of support and friendship, thank you so much.

Thank you to all the friends and colleagues who have given me support, listened to my rants and let me cry on their shoulder with a cup of tea. I may not have gotten through this without all of you. Your kind words meant more to me than you could ever know.

Thank you to Oregon Parks and Recreation Department for their continued support of research and public interpretation in state parks, especially Dennis Willey. Dennis, you really get what we are trying to do, and it is greatly appreciated.

I also want to say a huge thank you to all the field school students, lab students and staff who have worked on this project. It took many people and several years to collect and process all the data I analyzed for this dissertation. Your efforts and labor, big or small are very appreciated.

Finally, a big shout out to my sweet animals Raja, my giant kitty and Ozzie Pawsborne, my silly sweet dog, you two kept me company and cheered me up when I thought I couldn't possibly write another word.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1. Introduction .....	1
Chapter 2. Natural Setting .....	7
Chapter 3. Historical Setting .....	13
Early Euro-American Settlement .....	13
John Ball .....	22
Nathaniel Wyeth.....	30
William Johnson and Family .....	33
Walter Pomeroy .....	36
Robert Newell and Family .....	37
Donald Manson .....	44
Chapter 4. Theoretical Position .....	47
Feminist Critiques of Archaeology .....	47
Rethinking Binary Models: How Feminism Has Led to Gender Studies .....	61
Children in the Archaeological Record .....	63
Women and Agency in the Archaeological Record ..	72
Historical Archaeology Embraces the “Cult of True Womanhood”.....	79
Research Questions .....	84
Chapter 5. Field Schools And Public Involvement .....	88

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 6. Descriptive Archaeology .....	98
Excavation Methods .....	91
Previous Archaeology .....	91
Lab Methods .....	95
Feature Descriptions By Field Season .....	106
Field Work 2009.....	106
Front Door Path.....	107
Evidence Of Wattle And Daub Fireplace.....	108
Field Work 2011.....	112
Cold Food Storage Pit.....	112
Brick Rubble Path and Foundations Extension.....	116
Gravel Distribution.....	118
Field Work 2012 .....	120
Brick and Burned Clay Anomaly.....	120
Intrusive Pit.....	121
Fieldwork 2013.....	124
Well Feature.....	124
Chapter 7. Discussions And Conclusions .....	130
Assemblages Chosen for Analysis 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	
Gender Expectations.....	133
Changing Gender Expectations in the Fur Trade.....	135
A Morality Tale.....	140
The Arrival of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Oregon.....	141

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 7. Discussions And Conclusions Continued .....	130
Women's Activity Areas in the Archaeological Record.....	144
Culinary: Cooking and Baking.....	144
Gustatory.....	146
Personal Items.....	158
Lithics.....	160
Children's Activity in the Archaeological Record.....	163
Education.....	164
Past Times.....	166
Commercial Toys .....	167
Hand made toys .....	167
Unexpected Findings of Poultry Raising .....	169
Disposal patterns.....	173
House floor and Front Door.....	173
Garbage Pits near Northeastern Exterior of House.....	176
Well Deposits.....	180
Recommendations for Future Research.....	183
Conclusions.....	185
Bibliography.....	195
Appendix A.....	207
Appendix B.....	227



## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
2.1. Distribution of Willamette Valley prairies in the 1850s .....	10
2.2. USGS Map of Champoeg Park within the Willamette Valley ..	11
2.3. Lower Willamette Valley about 1834 .....	12
3.1. Settlement Map of French Prairie circa 1852 – 1853 .....	21
3.2. John Ball .....	22
3.3. Nathaniel Wyeth .....	30
3.4. Robert Newell.....	37
3.6. Donald Manson.....	44
4.1 Betty Freidan’s The Feminine Mystique .....	51
4.2. Métis mother and child, 19 <sup>th</sup> century, Oregon.....	66
4.3. Family photo on French prairie late 19 <sup>th</sup> century .....	69
4.4. Family photo on French Prairie late 19 <sup>th</sup> century .....	70
5.1. The author giving a public tour at the archaeological site .....	90
5.2. Children from a day camp visiting the park.....	90
6.1. Removing tarps after back dirt has been removed .....	94

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
6.2. Brick rubble feature at maximum exposure.....	98
6.3. Catawba Wine Bitters bottle and Dutch gin bottle.....	99
6.4. Intact brick hearth surface.....	101
6.5. View of hearth facing east, with ash deposits and artifacts <i>in situ</i> .....	103
6.6. View of reproduction of fire and hearth at Fort Vancouver .....	104
6.7. Cast iron oven door as found on eastern side of hearth.....	104
6.8. Extent of excavations in 2003.....	105
6.9. House foundation extensions and brick rubble pathway.....	107
6.10. Burned clay nodule.....	109
6.11. Detail of charcoal (lower right) and boards (center left) at edge of brick rubble.....	110
6.12. Soil profile at 35MA41 with no disturbance.....	111
6.13 Exposed brick disposed of in rubble pit .....	114
6.14. Storage pit while excavation was in .....	114
6.15. Auguring into clay matrix.....	115

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
6.16. Brick Rubble path and foundation extension facing North .....	116
6.17. Gravel density map .....	119
6.18. Burned clay anomaly, feature number 09-3 .....	120
6.19. Beginning of intrusive pit feature .....	122
6.20. Intrusive pit feature after excavation.....	123
6.21. View of intrusive pit feature at end of 2012 .....	123
6.22. Excavations at the beginning of the 2013 field season.....	126
6.23. Feature after sandy flood deposits removed .....	126
6.24. Well at maximum exposure at the end of the 2013 .....	127
6.25. Well feature at end of 2013 field excavation.....	127
6.26. Extent of Excavations – August 2013 .....	128
7.1 House Floor Artifact Distribution.....	145
7.2 Ceramic patterns from tea “sets” identified.....	147
7.3 Undecorated cups and saucer.....	148
7.4 Ironstone cup in “Sydenham” pattern.....	148
7.5 Variety of edges from featheredge plates.....	156
7.6 Variety of banded ware shards from 5 ½ in bowls.....	156

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
7.7 Transferprint ceramic distributions.....	157
7.8 Fragments of baleen combs.....	159
7.9 Perfume bottle recovered from the Newell site.....	159
7.10 Projectile points recovered from 35MA41.....	161
7.11 Ground stone artifacts from 35MA41.....	162
7.12 Close up of modified agates.....	162
7.13 Slate tablet fragments and slate pencils.....	165
7.14 Marbles recovered from the Newell site.....	168
7.15 Children's Artifacts and Gastrolith Distribution.....	169
7.16 Gastroliths .....	172
7.17 House floor disposal patterns.....	175
7.18 Deer Antler and sheep ribs found in small garbage pit.....	176
7.19 Larger fragments of olive bottle glass.....	178
7.20 Glass Distribution.....	179
7.21 Well Artifact Distribution.....	182
B.1 Hooks and eye, and eyelets.....	228
B.2 Military button.....	231
B.3 Glass and Prosser buttons.....	231
B.4 Brass and ferrous metal men's buttons.....	232

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
B.5 Russian Trade Style beads and seed bead.....	236
B.6 Earthenware broach with gilded brass leaves.....	239
B.7 Decorative buttons and gilded brass ring.....	239
B.8 Brass smoking pipe lid.....	243
B.9 Ferrous metal baking pan.....	257
B.10 Hand forged hook and pin.....	257
B.11 Shards of purple transferprint, “Voilet”.....	272
B.12 Blue banded mochaware.....	281
B.13 Flintlock hammer and flints.....	302
B.14 Lead gunpowder lids.....	303

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
7.1 Ceramic tea “sets” patterns and dates of manufacture.....	147
7.2 Tablewares Minimum Vessel Count (MVC).....	153
7.3 List of ceramic patterns, MVC and dates.....	154-156
B.1 Buttons recovered from 35MA41.....	233
B.2 Beads recovered from 35MA41.....	237
B.3 Inkwells.....	297



## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

In 1998, Dennis Wiley (park manager at the time) first discovered the Newell Homestead site within Champoeg State Heritage Area after the field was plowed and 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts were discovered on the surface of the ground. Mr. Wiley then contacted Dr. David Brauner from Oregon State University to conduct testing at the site to see if the site was indeed that of Robert Newell. It was known from General Land Office maps that Newell, co-founder of the short-lived 19<sup>th</sup> century town of Champoeg, had lived somewhere on the eastern side of the town, but the exact location had never been confirmed. Non-invasive techniques (ground penetrating radar and cesium magnetometer), in 2000 surface collections and 1x2 meter test pits were used to evaluate the integrity and composition of the site. Testing confirmed a significant 19<sup>th</sup> century domestic site with great potential for research into early Oregon history (Cromwell, Stone, and Brauner 1998).

Large block style excavations with Oregon State University Historical Archaeology field schools were conducted in 2002 and 2003, creating the data set used for Manion's Master's Thesis *A Settlement Model at the Robert Newell Farmstead (35MA41), French Prairie, Oregon* (Manion 2006). Excavations were resumed in the years 2009, 2011, 2012,



and 2013. All excavations were conducted under Archaeological permits #1250, 1520, 1553 and 1793, issued by the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, within Oregon Parks and Recreation Department to Dr. David Brauner, with Mollie Manion as field director. In the course of excavations, over 30,000 artifacts have been recovered from the Newell site. This dissertation is the document summarizing the work done under these permits.

This dissertation uses a feminist analysis of the domestic items recovered during excavations that have taken place over the last ten years (2000-2013) at Champoeg State Heritage Area at the ca. 1833-1861 Newell farmstead (35MA41). Prior work at this archaeological site has produced a master's thesis (Manion 2006), as well as interim field reports (Cromwell, Stone and Brauner 2000, Manion and Brauner 2009, Manion and Brauner 2012). As this dissertation continues the research begun by the author in her master's thesis, background information from previous research is used in this document, modified with new data or information where applicable.

Manion's previous work (2006) established a sequence of early historic occupations at the site, including the Oregon Country's first teacher, John Ball (1833-1834), tenant farmers working for Nathaniel Wyeth (1834-1836), retired fur trapper William Johnson, his Native

American wife and their children, along with two Kalapuya slave boys (1836-1842), and retired fur trapper and early Oregon politician and business man Robert Newell, his first Nez Perce wife Kitty, his second American wife Rebecca and their combined seventeen children (1842-1855).

The Newell site lies on a natural seasonal flood levy that has buried the cultural materials relatively deep, which has preserved the site from 20<sup>th</sup> century plowing. This has left a remarkably intact homestead that provides us with a unique opportunity to look at activity areas and the domestic life in the early Oregon Country before statehood. Further work has also revealed a domestic structure with unique architectural features and one of the largest domestic assemblages (well over 30,000 artifacts to date). With large block excavations exposing the interior and exterior spaces of the structure that is the center of the household, I hope to be able to show how the predominantly women and children occupants of this household, lived their day-to-day lives as active members of their household, in charge of domestic tasks, including childcare, farming, animal raising and indigenous traditional skills. This dissertation hopes to continue exploring the lives of these early occupants' at the site, in particular the women and children from the Johnson and Newell occupations.

Traditional history has frequently focused on big men, politics and war, often represented by lists of dates and battles to explain a sequence of events. However, these types of histories often leave out the majority of the population such as the illiterate, the poor, immigrants, women and children, just to name a few. In historical archaeology however, we have an opportunity research not only the battles and plantations of powerful male figures, but we can look at the marginalized people who did not make it into the history books, but were the people who made day to day life work in the past.

Due to the patriarchal societies that most historical archaeologists research, many of the historical documents are written for, by or about men. Historical archaeologists often interpret archaeological sites as if these male head households were the only ones in the household contributing to the archaeological record or making any meaningful decisions in the past. However, as in many, but not all 19<sup>th</sup> century households, the majority of the Johnson Family (89%) and the Newell Family (92%) were composed of women and children. I am proposing that in historical archaeology, we should take into account the demography of the occupants of the archaeological site before we interpret who is present at the archaeological site. By including all of the family in analysis it can lead us to more a holistic interpretation of these past populations.

This dissertation has two distinct research questions using a feminist theoretical model. Firstly, can distinct activity areas be determined? If, they can be identified, can we use these data to incorporate women and children into the story of early Oregonians as active participants and agents in their own right? Secondly, since children make up the majority of the household members after 1836 (78% of the Johnson household and 75% of the Newell household), can their presence be distinguished in the archaeological record from the rest of the household? What artifacts could be identified as being associated with children?

Household demography shows that women and children make up the majority of the household (89% of the Johnson household and 92% of the Newell household), while men make up less than 10% of the residents after 1836. In addition to the demography present at the household, Robert Newell in particular was away quite often for extended periods, leaving his wives in charge of his household (as per 19<sup>th</sup> century gender expectations). That left the women with several children at home caring for livestock, crops, childcare, etc. Therefore, their activities running the farm should be recorded in the archaeological record and should be attributed to all of the members of the household, not just the male head of house who appears on legal documents.

## **Chapter 2. Natural Setting**

The Newell Farmstead Site (35MA41), lies within the 447.7-acre Champoeg State Heritage Area, which is managed by the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department. The site lies to the east of the historic town site of Champoeg, an archaeological area that is on the National Register of Historic Places. Its legal location description is Section 2, Township 4 South, Range 2 West, Willamette Meridian, Marion County, Oregon. Site 35MA41 lies on the south bank of the Willamette River approximately 18 miles above Willamette Falls, at Oregon City. The site is located on the first terrace of the river on a natural levy, which is the highest ground on the flood plain (See figure 2.1). The area is seasonally flooded around the natural levy. The elevation of the site ranges from 90 to 100 feet above mean sea level. Alluvial flats surrounded by rolling hills characterize the area (Manion 2006:7). The climate is modified marine with warm dry summers and wet winters. Average temperatures in January are 55 degrees and in July 80 degrees (Spuelda 1988:1).

The site is on the northern most boundary of the area most commonly known as French Prairie, which is approximately eighteen miles long north to south and fifteen miles east to west (See figures 2.2 and 2.3). The prairie is bounded on the north by the Willamette River, on the east

by the Pudding River and to the south by the historic Lake Labish (now drained) in Marion County. French Prairie is well known for its deep alluvial soils, which are extremely fertile (Manion 2006: 9)

The vegetation on French Prairie was composed of Oregon white oak (*Quercus garryanna*) interspersed with expansive grassland prairies. Riparian deciduous forest consisting of Oregon Ash (*Fraxinus latifolia* L.)(Hitchcock 1973:356) and Cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. &G.)(Hitchcock 1973:65) grew along streams and other waterways. The historical environment was culturally managed however. The oak savanna was a result of the native peoples, (Kalapuya) seasonal burning of the prairie landscape (Hussey 1967: 7). The burning was designed to keep the prairie free of trees, such as the fast growing Douglas Fir (*Psuedotsuga taxifolia*), and encouraged a habitat that supported abundant edible crops such as camas (*Camassia quamash*)(Gunther 1973:24), upon which the Kalapuya were dependent for food as well as for trade. Camas was roasted in pit ovens, dried and pressed into cakes for storage (Sturtevant 1990:547). Camas grew in such quantity that local Kalapuyans not only consumed it as a major food source, but also had sufficient quantities to trade excess with other tribes for foods such as salmon (Spuedla 1988: 3). The tarweed plant (spp) also thrived under a fire regime. Other plants of secondary importance were wapato (*Sagitaria spp*)(Hitchcock 1973:559),

hazelnuts (*Corylus cornutta* L.)(Hitchcock 1973: 74), berries (*Berberis spp*, *Ribes spp*, *Rubus spp*, *Fragaria spp*)(Gunther 1973: 30,32,34,35-36) and acorns from the white oak (*Quercus garryana*) (Sturtevant 1990: 547). On the surrounding hills oak woodlands were predominate, with coniferous forests at higher altitudes (Sturtevant 1990: 547).

Historically the area was abundant with animal life, which provided food for the Native Kalapuyans as well as acting as an inducement for the fur trapping industry after 1812. Early historical accounts list: Bear (*Ursus americanus*), black and white tail deer (*Odocoileus spp*), elk (*Evarctos americanus*), fox (*Vulpes fulva*), and beaver (*Castoridae canadensis*). Seasonal flooding created marshes and lakes (Sturtevant 1990: 547), which attracted many migrating water fowl, such as Canadian Geese, swans, cranes, ducks, etc.

The Willamette Valley's rich wildlife population was a major incentive for the fur trapping industry to establish itself in the area (Spuela 1988: 1). The valley's appeal to settlers was soon to follow. In 1835 American Methodist missionary, Daniel Lee, wrote, "Here was a broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered, and supplied with timber, oak, fir, cottonwood, white maple, white ash, scattered along the borders of its grassy plains, where hundreds of acres were ready for the

plough” (Lee and Frost 1973: 125). A new era of occupation was about to begin in the Willamette Valley.

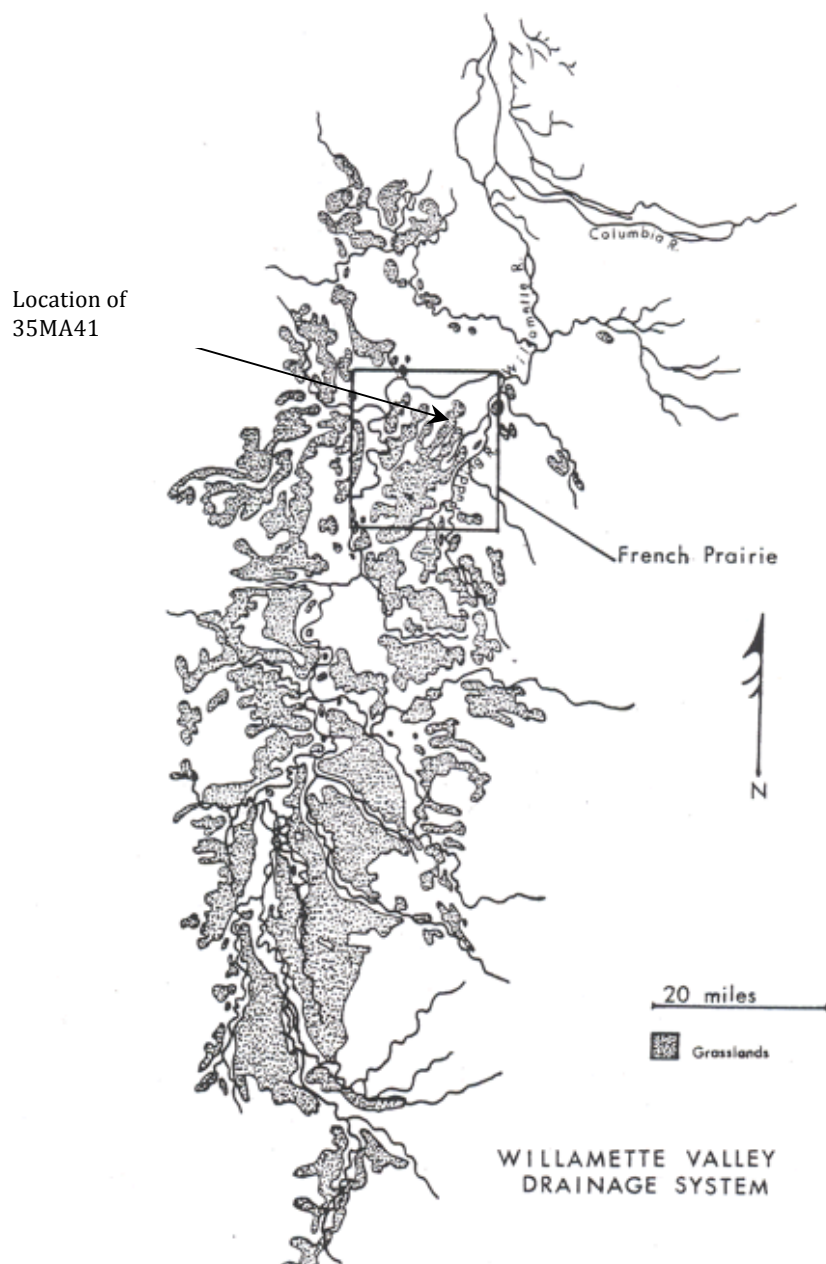


Figure 2.1 Distribution of Willamette Valley prairies in the 1850s (Bowen 1978:6)



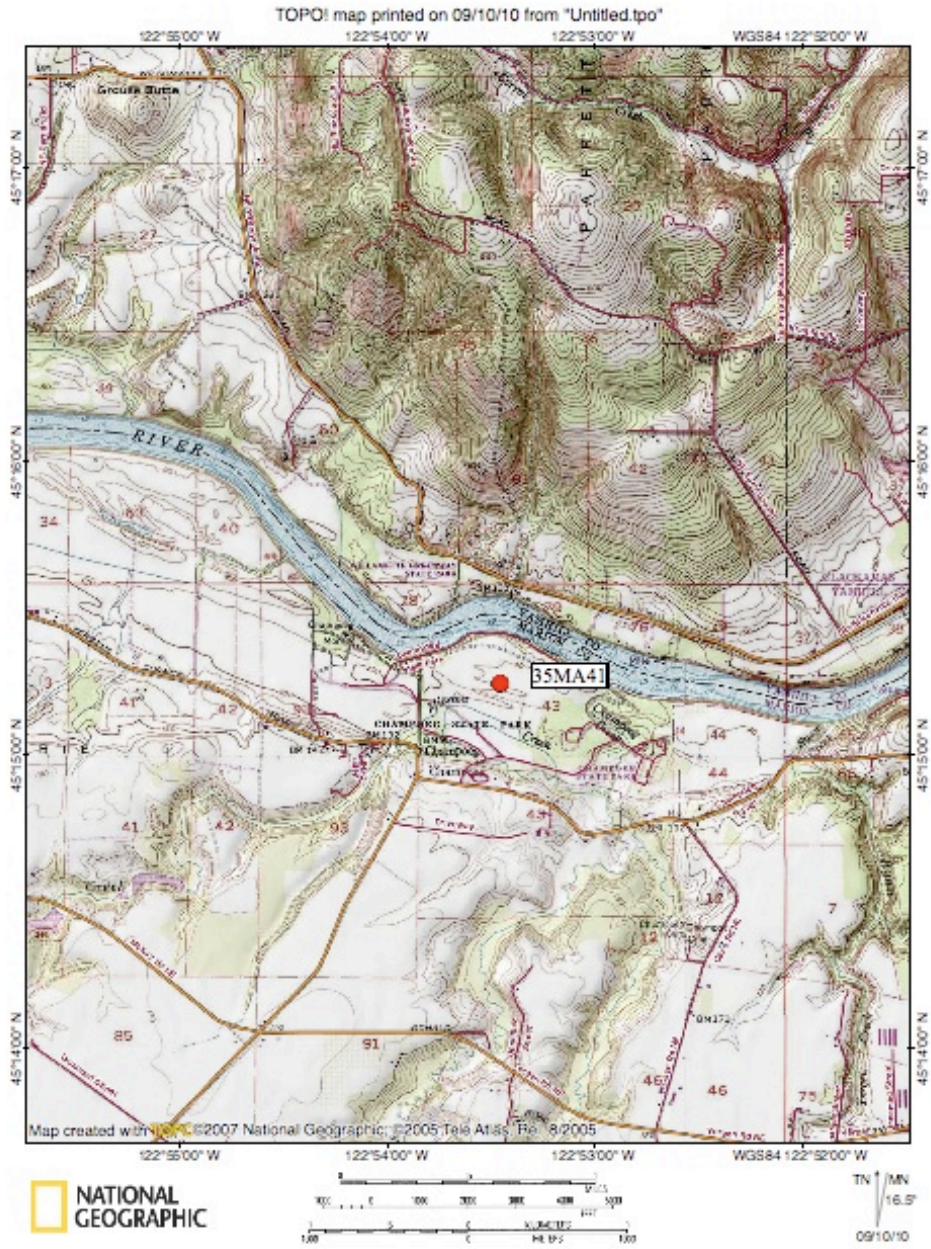


Figure 2.2 Location of Site 35MA41 as projected on a 7.5 minute series USGS Map of Champeog Park within the Willamette Valley

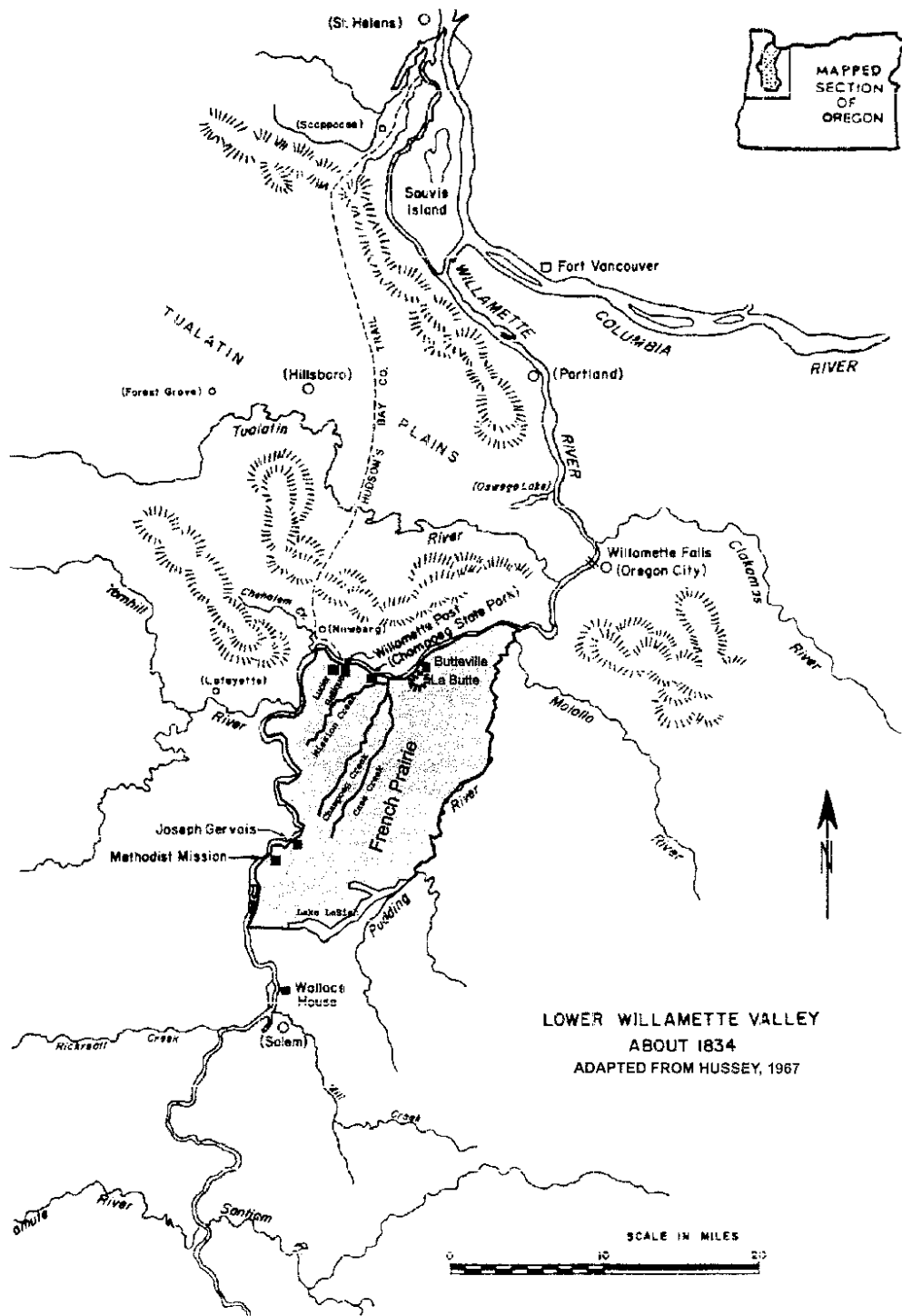


Figure 2.3 Lower Willamette Valley about 1834 (Adapted from Hussey: 1967)

### **Chapter 3. Historical Settings**

#### **Early Euro-American Settlement**

The early Euro-American presence in the Pacific Northwest revolved around the great fur trade companies who vied for the right to exploit the rich resources of the area. Ultimately the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) would prevail in dominating the scene but the first fur company to make an appearance in the Oregon Country was John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company (known as the Astorians), who established Fort Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811 (Hussey 1964: 23; Brauner 1989: 11). The Astorians ventured into the Willamette Valley on hunting and trapping expeditions and for convenience created a fur trade post, known as Wallace House in 1812, which was located somewhere near what is now Keizer. This outpost of the Pacific Fur Company was used for only one season, before it was abandoned (Hussey 1964: 23-24).

As a result of the War of 1812 the Astorians sold their interests in the Pacific Northwest in 1813 to the British-owned North West Company. The North West Company retained many of the employees of the Pacific Fur Company, as well as the administrative headquarters at Fort Astoria, which was renamed Fort George (Hussey 1964: 27; Brauner 1989: 11). The North West Company soon established a post in the valley in 1813, known

as Willamette Post, which is in the heart of what was to become French Prairie. Willamette Post functioned until 1821 as a trading post and as a base camp for hunting and trapping expeditions for Fort George (Hussey 1964: 28; Brauner 1989: 11).

In 1821 The North West Company was absorbed by its long time competitor, the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company kept Fort George open, but moved its headquarters farther inland and established Fort Vancouver (Brauner 1989: 11). At this time the British crown also awarded the Hudson's Bay Company the exclusive rights to trade with the Indians from the Spanish territories in the south to the Russian territories in the north, thereby consolidating the Companies position in the Pacific Northwest as the most dominating economic force in the region (Hussey 1967:32).

During the early fur trade, there were no permanent domestic settlements created in the Willamette Valley. All agricultural activity was confined to the large Forts such as Fort Vancouver. Prior to 1829 the Hudson's Bay Company policy was that any employee upon leaving the employment of the company was to be returned to his place of recruitment, often in Eastern Canada. This sentiment against settlements was succinctly expressed by Chief Factor James Douglas who wrote from Fort Vancouver, "the interests of the Colony and Fur Trade will never

harmonize, the former can flourish, only, through the protection of equal laws, the influence of free trade, the accession of respectable inhabitants: in short by establishing a new order of things, while the fur Trade, must suffer by each innovation.” (Hussey 1967:44).

Many of the Hudson’s Bay employees were married “according to the custom of the country” to native women, and had started families. Being sent back to Canada or Scotland meant either abandoning their wives and children or relocating their families to unfamiliar surroundings to which the native women had a difficult time adjusting (Van Kirk 1983: 28). However, many of the free trappers that came to the Hudson’s Bay Company from the Pacific Fur Company were not under the same contract obligations as the other Hudson’s Bay Company employees. They saw the Willamette Valley as a place to raise a family and prosper (Brauner 1989: 24). They had seen the successful agriculture at Fort Vancouver and experienced the Valley’s mild, if wet, winters. In order to divert this group of freemen, Chief Factor McLoughlin sent a trapping expedition to the Umpqua Valley with “the hope that we would find place where we could Employ our Willamette freemen, so as to remove them from a place where they were Anxious to begin to Farm.” (Hussey 1967: 45). McLoughlin’s efforts were in vain, since it was not just the French-Canadian freemen who were interested in the Willamette Valley.

Americans were very interested in the Oregon Country and the Hudson's Bay Company was about to lose its monopoly on the land. Shortly after sending the freeman to the Umpqua Valley, McLoughlin wrote to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, "You may Depend that the country along the coast from Puget Sound to San Francisco is much finer country than Canada or New York. The soil is better in many places and the climate is milder and... such country will not remain long with out settlers."(Hussey 1967: 51). McLoughlin was seeing the writing on the wall, and he thought it better to have settlers who were friendly to the Hudson's Bay Company, not antagonistic towards it, and McLoughlin decided to allow the free trappers to settle down to farming in 1829. In order to deal with these new farmers McLoughlin set up protocols for approval of settlement. The first was that the men who applied for settlement must be good and honest and *have families*. The second was that they were required to establish farms, not to live with their wives' families. The third was that they needed to have at least 50 £ in credit on the Company books to cover the cost of outfitting their new farms. If approved, McLoughlin would supply them with oxen, wheat seed, plows and other necessities for setting up a farm (Hussey 1967: 51).

These early farmers chose the area around Champoeg for several compelling reasons. The men who decided to settle down to farming were

not coming into unknown land. They had been trapping and living in seasonal camps in the area for years. They were familiar with resources, such as open prairie, water, access to the river and timber. It is likely that native wives were also familiar with the native foods available in the area (Gandy 2004: 58). In fact, Etienne Lucier settled in 1829 on land where Willamette Post had been (Fig. 3.1) (Wyeth 1969: 79).

Another important reason that the retired fur trappers and their families chose the Champoeg area was transportation. The Willamette River was navigable from Champoeg all the way to Willamette Falls. However, the river upstream from Champoeg took such a circuitous route with numerous oxbows, that travel became much quicker on horseback through the open prairies (Hussey 1967: 57). As well as being a navigable section of river, the Champoeg area had fingers of prairie that actually extended down to the river itself. This was important due to the thick and heavy timber on either side of the river. One early settler recounted that Champoeg “was the only point between the Willamette Falls and Salem where a trail or road could be opened to the river without having to cut through a heavy body of timber.” (Hussey 1967: 58). Early American fur trader, Nathaniel Wyeth, who settled at Champoeg in 1834, also noted that he had chosen a farm “with a good mill stream on it and prairie that goes to the river.” (Hussey 1967: 70).

The first generation of agriculturalists of the 1830s in the Oregon Country consisted mostly of retired servant class Hudson's Bay engages or voyageurs and their Native American or métis wives. The wives of these men came from many tribes throughout the Northwest, such as the Chinook, Cowlitz, Kalapuya and Nez Perce, among many others. This blend of people created a unique community often referred to as métis. The métis is a term deriving from the French for "mongrel" but often refers to a mixed ethnicity group composed primarily of Euro-American men marrying into a native population (Pollard 1990: xiv). The early French speaking community on French Prairie petitioned the Catholic Church in 1834 and again in 1835 to send them priests to educate their children (Munnick 1972: 1). The St. Paul Mission was established in 1839 and established the first Catholic diocese west of the Mississippi and north of California (Munnick 1972: xviii).

Along with the church a boys and girls school was established by the Catholic Church for the practical and religious training of the children in the community (Gandy 2004: 117). The Church also kept detailed sacramental records of the marriages, births and deaths of the Catholic community on French Prairie, which are some of the only remaining documents that at least mention women's names before a territorial government was established (Munnick 1972). Primary references related



to women are scarce as women are only mentioned in passing, or the records have been lost entirely (Gandy 2004: 17). The next generation of men to settle in the area, due to migration or retirement from HBC married into the first generation of métis girls.

However, this unique métis community was short-lived as a distinct ethnic group, which lasted for only two generations before 1843, when American immigration flooded into the valley, quickly overwhelming the métis population, regional culture and language. Many métis families on French Prairie put a great emphasis on educating their children and to “raise them white”, as John McLoughlin put it (Gandy 2004: ). Their goal was to assimilate to their children to Euro-American culture and away from the native cultures of their mothers.

This strategy worked fairly well for many métis girls who had the ability to marry into higher social status in the fur trade. However, boys did not have the same access to social mobility as the girls. Good female marriage partners were seen as essential to the success of these early farms, as their gendered labor was a crucial contribution to the family. This did come at the cost of abandoning their mother’s traditional ways and families for European so-called civility.

The boys, though many were well educated, were not seen as suitable marriage partners or even employees to the newly arrived

American immigrants. Americans gave no special status to their mixed heritage and considered Indians. By 1855 Americans forcibly moved many of the métis boys onto reservations with their native relatives (Gandy 2004:33).

The following settlement history at 35MA41, the Newell farmstead echoes some of these strategies used among the métis on French Prairie. After 1836, 35MA41 is home to two families with mixed heritage and their children. The following chapter includes the known archival information of these two early families.



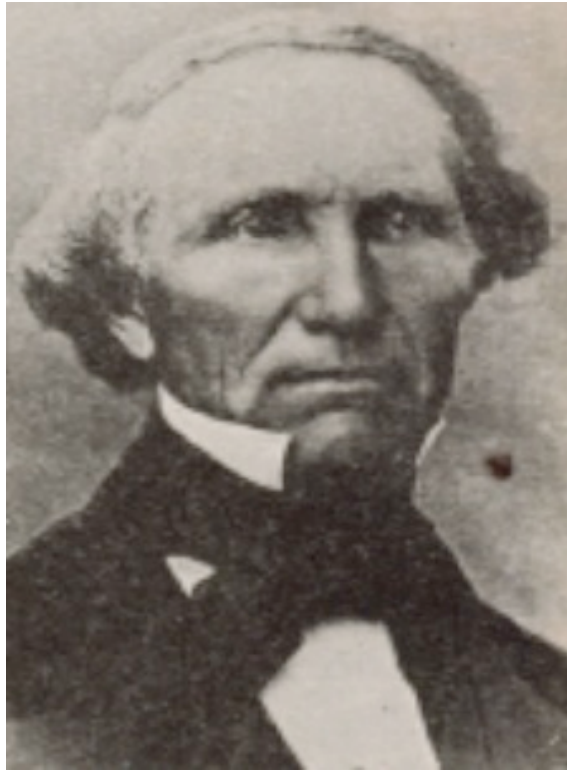


Figure 3.2 John Ball (Ball 1925)

### **John Ball**

As demonstrated in the author's previous work (Manion 2006) the earliest Euro-American settler at 35MA41, as first speculated by Hussey (1967:222) was a man by the name of John Ball (Fig. 3.2). John Ball was born in 1794 in Grafton County, New Hampshire. Ball grew up on a farm, listening to the stories of the Pacific Northwest and the Flathead Indians who lived there. His neighbor John Ordway, who had been a sergeant with Lewis and Clark's Voyage of Discovery, told these stories to a young John Ball, leaving a strong impression of the West on him (Hussey 1964:

63). He furthered his education all the way through college, often by teaching to pay his way. In 1820 he graduated from Dartmouth College and in 1824 he was admitted to the New York bar. Shortly after this Ball took over the management of his widowed sister's oil cloth manufacturing plant, which had been failing. By 1831 he had the plant back on its feet and was looking for new opportunities (Ball 1925:32-34)

By 1831 there had been much publicity on the East Coast of America about the Oregon country, much of which came from Hall J. Kelly. Much of the publicity was a plea for American occupancy of the Oregon Country (Dobbs 1932: 31). Ball heard of a joint stock venture being put together by Nathaniel Wyeth in Boston to go overland to the Columbia and compete in the fur trade. Ball decided that, "having worked so hard all my life so far I decided I would take a little recreation", and decided to join the venture. Ball traveled to Missouri and from St. Louis he left on the adventure of his life in May of 1832 (Hussey 1967:63). Little did Ball realize that his "recreation" might have turned out to be some of the hardest work of his life.

Twenty-five men started out on the overland trip, of these only eleven made it all the way to the Columbia River (Hussey 1967: 63). The trip proved to be very difficult, the men dealt with many challenges, including desertion and near starvation, which was prevented only by

coming across a group of Native Americans willing to share their meal with the party. By November 1832 the remaining eleven party members made it to Fort Vancouver (Dobbs 1932:32). At Fort Vancouver the party were given rooms within the fort and ate as guests with Dr. McLoughlin (Ball 1925:93). After some rest and food, several of the party continued on to the coast, having come so far they wanted to see the ocean. Here John Ball watched the sunset over the Pacific, and felt he had now truly completed his journey west, and possibly saw the stories of his childhood come alive. After a few days at ocean the party returned to Fort Vancouver (Ball 1925:92).

Upon arriving back at Fort Vancouver the Wyeth party disbanded their business relations. John Ball “not wanting to live gratis” (Ball 1925: 93) petitioned Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson’s Bay Company for a position. As early as 1806 the Hudson’s Bay Company directed fur trade posts that all children at the fur posts, regardless of class or race, aged five to twelve be schooled at the fur posts (Gandy 2004: 92). However, it wasn’t until 1832 that Fort Vancouver had a formal school when Dr. McLoughlin hired John Ball to teach his son and the other boys formally at the fort, thus making John Ball the first school teacher in the Oregon Country (Ball 1925: 93; Gandy 2004: 94). It wasn’t until after 1835 that the servant class daughters were also allowed to attend the school (Gandy 2004: 94).

However, the officer's daughters were still being educated privately, often intermittently, when female protestant missionaries visited Fort Vancouver (Gandy 2004: 92).

All of Ball's twenty-five students were métis boys of various nationalities and ethnicities, with native mothers from various tribes. As Ball described his students, they were "all half-breed boys of course, there not being a white woman in Oregon." Ball found his pupils, despite the language barriers they encountered, to be "docile and attentive, making better boys than men" (Ball 1925:93). As for the men of the Hudson's Bay Company, he found the "gentlemen in the Fort to be pleasant and intelligent" (Ball 1925:93).

After spending several months at Ft. Vancouver as a teacher, John Ball realized that there was no immediate way of leaving the Oregon Country without re-crossing the mountains. Alternatively, he could settle in the Oregon Country (Ball 1835:14). Rather than stay at Fort Vancouver as a teacher Ball was "thinking I might stay long in this country, I determined to go farming" (Ball 1925: 94). In a letter written to his parents February 23, 1833 he explains: "I am going to the trade you taught me-farming-from which more comforts can be obtained with less labor and it is more healthy than most others" (Hussey 1967: 64). He also describes his choice of land in the letter, "a tract as large as the whole state of New

Hampshire, except that which is taken by seven other farmers” (Hussey 1967:64).

In March 1833 he chose land on the south bank of the Willamette River near the home of Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay, and “a little above *Camp Du Sable*” (Hussey 1967:65). Those “seven other farmers” probably had a great influence on where Ball chose to establish a farm. These other settlers had all taken tracts of land along the Willamette River, in relatively close proximity to one another. Their farms were all located west of McKay’s land claim along the northern tier of French Prairie. This places Ball on the next available and tillable piece of land along the river. This of course also allowed Ball to stay at McKay’s home while he constructed one of his own. Ball describes his farm as having beautiful scenery of the mountains, near the river, with a cool spring for water “out of the river’s bank” (Ball 1925: 96).

After choosing his building sight Ball returned to Fort Vancouver and Dr. McLoughlin, seeing he was determined to go through with this plan, loaned Ball twenty-five bushels of wheat for seed and meal, corn, potatoes, farming utensils, and as many horses as he cared to break (Hussey 1967:65). While setting up his farm Ball boarded with Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay’s family for three months in 1833 (Hussey 1967:55, Ball 1925: 61).



On this land, which fits the physical description of 35MA41, Ball started a life alone, and from scratch. He created harnesses for his horses out of deerskin; elk skin strings, and crooked oak limbs. With these he drew out logs for a cabin, put up rafters and created a roof of peeled cedar bark, which was covered with poles and tied with wood string to the timbers below. For furniture he split planks (as there was no sawed lumber available at the time) for a bedstead and table (Ball 1925:95). With assistance from his neighbors Ball broke a large field for the cultivation of wheat, sowed his crop and enclosed it all with a fence (Ball 1925: 95). Ball was only partially successful as a farmer. While his wheat crop flourished, his potatoes and corn failed (Hussey 1967:66), however he did not go hungry. With meal from Fort Vancouver to make bread and ample venison and salmon available Ball ate well (Ball 1925:95).

As for companionship, a Mr. Sinclair (also of the Wyeth party), spent some of his time at Ball's farm. Ball also employed a "young wild native" to catch horses for him (Ball 1925:95), but Ball most likely did not consider him a social equal. Much of the time Ball was entirely alone in his "house of cedar and fir"(Ball 1925:95). Ball did not interact with the other farmers on French Prairie. Regardless of the language differences between Ball and his neighbors (most would have spoken French or native languages), it seems that cultural differences and Ball's own prejudice kept

Ball as aloof as possible. Despite the board at Jean Baptiste Desportes McKay's home and help with breaking his fields, Ball felt he had no "good neighbors", but only "Canadian French and half-breeds" and Ball "did not feel inclined to fall into the custom of the country and become identified with natives" (Ball 1835:14). He also did not welcome his neighbors into his home but felt that, "even my own house has not been enjoyed without the intrusion of those I did not wish" (Hussey 1967:66).

Social isolation was not the only thing that discouraged John Ball; he also had to deal with illness. The "fever and ague" (most likely malaria) had been present in the Willamette Valley since 1828-1829 and was at epidemic proportions at the time Ball was living in Oregon (Ball 1925:99). Fortunately for John Ball, a Mr. Sinclair from the Wyeth Expedition was visiting him when Ball came down with ague. Sinclair then left for Fort Vancouver to obtain medicine for Ball. Ball laments in his journal his lack of a nurse to care for him, while he was left alone to fend for himself for three or four days waiting for quinine, often with a high fever and delirium (Ball 1925:97).

Ball feeling discouraged and isolated by the end of the summer 1833, feeling he had "experienced the country", and with no American immigrants coming into the country he decided to leave his "primitive life" at the first available opportunity (Ball 1925:95). The opportunity arrived

in the early fall of 1833, when Ball exchanged his wheat crop for passage to San Francisco on to the Sandwich Islands and back to the East Coast of America. He left his farm behind, seemingly only regretting the loss of the view on September 20<sup>th</sup> 1833, having spent six months at farming in Oregon (Ball 1925: 99). Ball then moved to Lansingburgh New York briefly, before finally moving again to Michigan where he lived out the remainder of his life as a lawyer (Hussey 1967: 66).



Figure 3.3. Nathaniel Wyeth (Wyeth 1969)

### **Nathaniel Wyeth**

The next potential claimant of the property was none other than Ball's traveling companion, Nathaniel Wyeth (Fig. 3.3)(Manion 2006: 28). Wyeth returned on a second trip to Oregon in 1834 to attempt again to establish businesses on the Columbia River, (his first attempt at competing with the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade being a complete failure)(Johnson 1957: 76). These new enterprises included a salmon fishery and farm on Wapato (now Sauvie) Island, naming the venture Fort William (Winther 1950: 94). He also determined to start another farm down in the valley on French Prairie in September of 1834.

On the trip to find a suitable farm location he stopped at Mr. Thomas McKay's house and procured horses from his foreman Louis LaBonte. Wyeth then proceeds to describe the location he chose to farm as being three miles below "Dupatty's" [Jean- Baptiste Desportes McKay] in a "prairie about 15 miles long and 7 wide, surrounded with fine timber and with a good mill stream on it" (Wyeth 1969: 79, 97), just above *Camp Du Sable* (Hussey 1967: 60). This description is consistent with John Ball's description of his farm. It is not a great stretch to suppose that Ball's improvements of a cabin, barn and fenced acreage in what was most likely perceived as a wilderness, would be very desirable place to start out.

Wyeth however had no intention of ever living at this farm himself. He sent a Mr. Nutall, Mr. Townsend and Mr. Stout down to the valley to take care of the farm (Wyeth 1969: 80). What happened to these men is unknown, but apparently they did not stay for any length of time. Wyeth returned to the farm on October 27, 1835 commenting that Taylor and Sloat were not there, as they had gone to find him at the Lee mission (Wyeth 1969: 97). Whether he had changed foremen or lost Nutall, Townsend and Stout to desertion or illness we do not know. Illness certainly ravaged Wyeth's business ventures. Over seventeen men died the first winter and up to one-third were ill at any one time (Winther 1959: 94). Nathaniel Wyeth was not immune to illness, and combined with failing

business ventures, he determined to return to Cambridge in early 1836.

He describes these misfortunes in a letter to his wife:

“I have been very sick, but have got well, and shall be on my way to the mountains, to winter at Fort Hall, in about six days.

I expect to be home about November 1, 1836. We have lost by drowning, disease, and warfare seventeen persons up to this date, and fourteen now sick.” (Winther 1950: 94)

Thus he left the Oregon Country, selling Fort William and Fort Hall (his two main business ventures) to the Hudson’s Bay Company, and presumably abandoning his farms (Johansen 1957: 179), leaving his Oregon dreams behind him. Upon his return to Cambridge he returned to the ice business. He died in 1856 (Winther 1950:94).

### **Johnson Family**

In 1836 a new family joins the Champoeg scene, an ex-Hudson Bay man by the name of William Johnson, his native wife (name unknown) “several” children, as well as two native slave boys (Wilkes 1975: 104; Hussey 1964: 77-78;). William Johnson was born in the British Isles in 1790. As a young man he joined the US Navy during the war of 1812, fighting on the USS Constitution during the engagement with the *Guerriere*. Despite fighting for the United States William Johnson never did renounce his British citizenship. In 1817 he joined the Northwest Company, and was transferred to the Hudson’s Bay Company at the time of their merger in 1821. He worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company until some time in the early 1830s. Company records show that Johnson was definitely on French Prairie by 1837, but Hussey believes that Johnson most likely settled in the area in 1836 (Hussey 1967:76- 77). Again it seems reasonable to assume that land, which had improvements upon it, would be as desirable for Johnson as it was for Wyeth. As well as being a logical choice because of improvements, the physical descriptions left in journals of the time are consistent with the topography of Site 35MA41. In these journals, Johnson is said to have lived on a farm “at the mouth of Champoeg Creek” (Hussey 1967: 77). Wilkes says in his journal “to reach his dwelling, we passed through water over our shoes” (Wilkes 1975: 102).

This is consistent with 35MA41, which lies on a slight rise on a prairie prone to seasonal flooding. Johnson's farm is described as having forty acres under cultivation, with wheat and potatoes flourishing, a kitchen garden and livestock (Wilkes 1975: 104).

In 1839 Thomas Jefferson Farnham visited the Johnson farm, describing it as a "good shantee". It was a hewn log structure, (as was Ball's) about twenty feet square with a mud chimney, hearth and fireplace (Farnham 1977: 88). The interior furnishings of the house were also described by Farnham as "one chair, wooden benches, a rude bedstead, a floor covered with flag mats, sheet iron kettles, earthen plates, knives, and forks, and tin pint cups, an Indian wife, and a brace of brown boys" (Farnham 1977: 88). It is both interesting and disconcerting that Johnson's wife is listed with the furnishings along with the "brace of boys". At first glance this may seem a description of Johnson's family, but there is another possibility. Could the "brace of brown boys" be the two slave boys Wilkes who wrote two years later who did most of the domestic duties on the farm (Wilkes 1975: 104)? (Although Wilkes makes it very clear that the household is not to his American taste as he also noted that the home was "not very pleasant in appearance"... "having little the appearance of belonging to a white man" (Hussey 1964: 78) Johnson however, was quite proud of his wife, whom he claimed, "was worth half a dozen white women".



Mr. Johnson also made sure that Wilkes knew that he had hired a Mr. Robert Moore for “several months” to tutor his children (Hussey 1964: 78)

The exterior features of the farm were also described much as Wilkes had, with fenced fields of wheat and oat stubble and potatoes, a kitchen garden as well as a barn filled with the harvest (Hussey 1967: 78).

Johnson also ventured into another business area, and became most famous in the Champoeg area for distilling a beverage known as “Blue Ruin”, an extremely strong liquor (Hussey 1967:78). For unknown reasons in 1842 Johnson left French Prairie to move to the area, which is now Portland (Hussey 1967:78). William Johnson died on November 12, 1848 at age 58 (Hussey 1967: 78). William Johnson does not seem to have shared the Catholic faith with some of his fellow fur trappers. There are no records of a marriage or birth for the Johnson family in the Catholic Church records. The Johnson Family lived at Champoeg (1836-1842) before any formal government was established that would generate other documents. The only records uncovered to date that describe the Johnson household are the journals written by visitors to the house. It is not currently known what happened to his wife and children.

### **Walter Pomeroy**

How the land changes hands next is not known, but the long-standing tradition in the area has Walter Pomeroy owning the land. Shortly after he acquires the property it seems he traded the land claims with Robert Newell in early 1843(Hussey 1967: 107). What does seem clear is that if Walter Pomeroy was indeed the owner of the property, it was for a brief period, and with no intention of occupying the site himself. Possibly Pomeroy bought some land if not from Johnson, from Thomas McKay who ran a grist mill on Champoeg creek after the flood of 1843 swept away much of Champoeg (Hussey 1967:96). What is certain is that Walter Pomeroy in March of 1843 was a citizen of Oregon City, with 180 acres of wheat in cultivation on the Tualatin Plains. So perhaps trading the land at Champoeg with Robert Newell helped consolidate his holdings on the Tualatin Plains. Land records in 1847 do show that Pomeroy possesses land adjacent to a claim that G.W. Ebbert and Caleb Wilkins applied for, which is consistent with Robert Newell's original claim on the Tualatin Plains (Hussey 1967: 107).

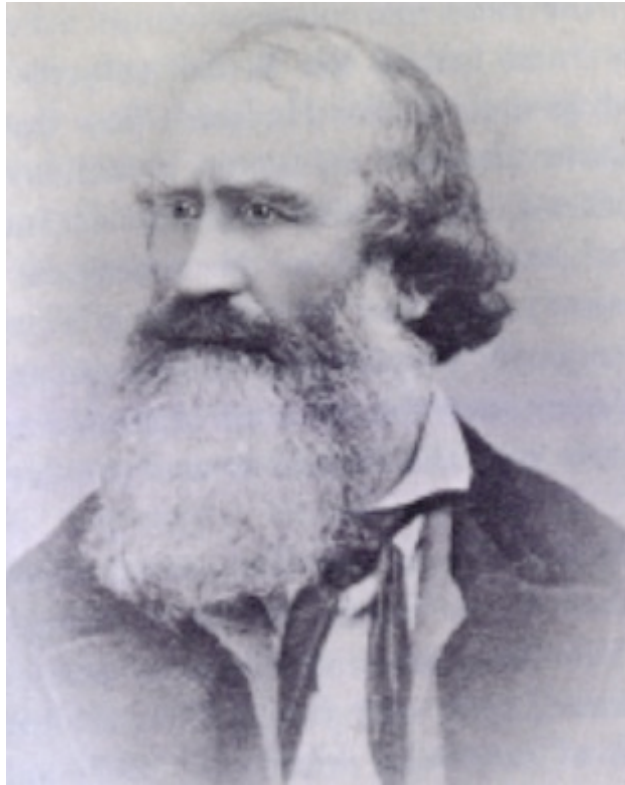


Figure 3.4. Robert Newell (Hussey 1967:155)

### **Newell Family**

This brings us to the first documented owner of 35MA41, Robert Newell (Fig. 3.4), who began occupying the site at some point in 1843; the exact time of year is unclear. Robert Newell was born in Zanesville, Ohio on March 30, 1807. As a young man he became an apprentice in saddlery in Cincinnati Ohio. At age twenty-two he joined the American Fur Company in St. Louis Missouri (Dobbs 1932:150-151), leaving for the Rocky Mountains with the Smith-Jackson Sublette party (Elliot 1902: 104).

During his time as a fur trapper, Newell acquired the nickname of “Doc”, for the simple surgical operations and simples or herbal remedies he used with positive effect on dogs, horses, mules, Indians and trappers (Elliot 1902: 104). Newell was well known for his love of songs and stories around the campfire as well as being a lover of books. He is said to have carried a bible and Shakespeare with him at all times (Hussey 1967: 193). Newell spent eleven years as a trapper, moving up in the American Fur Company as a leader of small parties (or bush-away and sub-trader, as well as a diplomat with the Indians (Hussey 1967: 193). In 1833 at Hams Fork of the Green River, Newell married a Nez Perce girl given the American name of Catherine, but called “Kitty”, the daughter of a Chief Kowesote (Elliot 1902: 105; Munnick 1979: A-71).

In 1840 Newell found himself at Fort Hall, along with two other trappers Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins. The fur trade was in decline and talk of Americans taking the Oregon country was abundant (Hussey 1967: 193). Having heard of the rich soils and mild climate of the Willamette valley Newell decided to leave the life of a fur trapper to settle in the Oregon Territory (Dobbs 1932: 151). Newell’s discussion with his fellow trapper’s was recorded thusly:

“Come,” said Newell to Meek. “We are done with this life in the mountains—done with wading in beaver dams, and freezing or starving alternately—done with Indian trading and Indian fighting. The fur trade is dead in the Rocky Mountains and it is no place for us now if it ever was. We are young yet and have life before us. We cannot waste it here; we cannot or will not return to the States. Let us go down to the Wallamet and take farms. There is already quite a settlement there made by the Methodist Mission and the Hudson’s Bay Company’s retired servants” (Delamarter 1951:25).

Wilkins and Caleb, both said to be Newell’s brothers-in-law by way of their Nez Perce wives agreed (Hussey 1967:193). The group started out from Fort Hall in wagons, which they drove over the Blue Mountains to the Columbia, making them the first wagon to come to the Oregon Country from the plains (Elliot 1908:107).

Upon reaching the valley Newell took up a claim on the Tualatin Plains. Here he built a wigwam type shelter, like the ones he successfully had used in the mountains. The wigwam was no match for the extremely wet weather in the valley. If they could keep the roof from leaking, the floor was soggy Newell writes in his diary, “the climate is not so healthy, I have had some sickness and also my family” (Delamarter 1951:38). The

Newell family, which included two small boys and a pregnant Nez Perce wife, named "Kitty", must have indeed been miserable that first year, unable to stay dry or healthy. Despite illness, in the spring Robert Newell obtained wheat seed from Dr. McLoughlin and began farming (Delemarter 1951: 38).

In the winter of 1842 Newell and his family moved to Oregon City (Elliot 1908: 109). Newell again showed himself to be a lover of books by helping to organize the Oregon Lyceum, a literary and debating society (Elliot 1908: 109), the first of its kind in Oregon (Dobbs 1932: 152). Also, in Oregon City, Newell showed an example of the good character for which he was known and the respect he had for métis girls. At a dance in Oregon City some of the American men "became free in their actions in dancing with some of the half-breed girls. Dr. Newell called Lieutenant Peel to one side to remonstrate him. The Lieutenant said, "I really did no harm, Doctor." To which Newell replied, "No lieutenant, but you know you would not have acted in that manner with a young lady of your own class in London." (Elliot 1908: 112; Pollard 1990: 463).

It seems that in Oregon City, Newell may have met Walter Pomeroy and decided to trade claims in 1843 (Hussey 1967: 194). Newell's claim of 640 acres included the lower course of Champoeg Creek and the mill sites

of both Hauxhurst and McKay (Hussey 1967: 195). This was later recorded as Donation Land Claim #2051 (Delamarter 1951: 93).

In 1843 Robert and Kitty Newell, and their children (which now consisted of four young boys), moved to 35MA41. Upon arriving at 35MA41 Newell plants a wheat crop, but is not terribly successful. This could have been due to poor growing conditions along the sandy flood plain at Champoeg. The next growing season Newell planted an apple orchard and turned his attention to other business ventures. (Hussey 1967:197).

In 1844-1845 he begins to promote Champoeg as a town with his neighbor Andre Longtain, platting the town and selling lots (Fig. 3.5) (Hussey 1967:197). Newell also begins to ship wheat to Oregon City with keelboats, the Mogul and Ben Franklin (Dobbs 1932: 152). These were the first on the Willamette River above the falls in 1846 (Delamarter 1951:92).

Apparently Kitty was still chronically ill after the move to Champoeg, for Newell made arrangements in July of 1843 for Alvin T. Smith to care for two of the boys. Smith writes in the agreement, "To all concerned be it known by these presents that for consideration here after specified I, Alvin T. Smith have received into my family the two little sons of Robert Newell, William M. now five years of age and Marcus W. now three years of age... to take a parental interest by means of family instruction, appropriate control in the physical, moral and intellectual

improvements of the above named” (Delemarter 1951: 90). Newell agreed to pay \$104 for the year for the care and a provision was made for renewal after the year was out. It is not known whether it was renewed, but by the 1850 census the boys were with Newell once again (Delemarter 1951: 90). On December 11, 1845 Newell is notified that his wife is ill and he takes a leave of absence from the legislature to go home and see her. On December 26, 1845 Newell had Kitty baptized by into the Catholic Church by Father Louis Vercruysse, “in danger or death” (Munnick et al 1979: 127-129). Kitty, who was only in her mid-twenties, died shortly thereafter, a month after the birth of their fifth son (Hussey 1967:200).

Six months after the death of Kitty, Newell married an American girl, Miss Rebecca Newman, age fourteen. During their marriage another eleven children were born, four of which died in infancy (Hussey 1967:201, Delamarter 1951:208). Sadly, there is no other documentation of Rebecca’s life that has been located to date.

Newell also became prominent in early Oregon government. In 1848 he becomes speaker of the legislature, and makes a speech, which kept the Nez Perce out of the Cayuse war. In 1849 Newell was appointed Indian agent for the Indians south of the Columbia. He soon leaves this position however to go to the California gold mines for a year (Dobbs 1932: 153).



The Oregon tax roll of 1844 listed Newell's taxable property as, "town lots valued total value of \$ 1,452, which put him at the 25<sup>th</sup> highest out of the 400 tax payers that year (Delemarter 1951: 84). By 1850 the census shows that Robert Newell is still doing quite well. He had "540 acres of unimproved land, 20 swine, 3 working oxen, 25 milk cows, 40 other cattle, farm machinery, \$150, 100 bushels of Irish potatoes, a farm valued at \$600" (Census Report Marion County ca. 1850). In 1854 Robert Newell began to build a new home on the higher terrace south of 35MA41 (Hussey 1967: 206). Which was where he was living when the 1861 flood wiped out the town of Champoeg on the lower terrace.



Figure 3.5 Donald Manson (Hussey 1967: 155)

### **Donald Manson**

The final owner of the property encompassing site 35MA41 prior to the 1861 flood was Donald Manson (Figure. 3.5). Manson was born in Scotland in 1798 or 1799. He joined the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) in 1817 and spent the next 40 years working in their service. For the first ten years of his service he worked in eastern Canada. In 1825 he was transferred to the Columbia Department (Hussey 1964: 223). He made his first visit to the Champoege area in May of 1826 on a southern fur expedition. During his subsequent years at HBC Manson worked throughout the Columbia district at Fort George, Fort Vancouver and in what is now British Columbia along the Fraser River (Hussey 1964: 224).

During this career he took the time in October of 1828 to marry Etienne Lucier's daughter Felecite.

In 1857 Manson asked for a furlough from the Company to take care of "family matters", which seems to have included the education of his children. He was granted the furlough from 1857-1858. During this time he purchased the Robert Newell farm. This included all of Newell's bottomland, excepting his holdings within the Champoeg town site. Also included in this land sale was a tongue of land on higher ground, the same terrace where Newell had built his new dwelling. The sale was concluded on October 6, 1857 for \$6500, although Manson did not move to the area until the summer of 1858 (Hussey 1967: 223-225). Previous research has shown that the Manson Family did not occupy the Newell Cabin, but built on the higher terrace upon arriving at Champoeg (Manion 2006:

Manson then asked that his furlough be extended and for permission to retire from the Hudson's Bay Company. Both requests were refused. By 1858, Manson had not achieved a rank higher than Chief Trader and was tired of the fur trade. He wrote on April 29, 1858, "having now given up all hope of further promotion in the fur trade [I am determined to resign] and settle down in the Willamette." (Hussey 1967: 225). At this point Manson began to improve his new lands, spending large sums on improvements and stocking his property. Unfortunately,

during the 1861 flood most of his improvements, including the old Newell house were washed away. Manson remained at Champoeg until his death in January 1880 (Hussey 1967: 225).

<b>Occupants</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Start of Residence</b>	<b>End of Residence</b>
John Ball	adult	male	1833	1833
Wyeth Tenants	adult	male	1834	1836
William Johnson	adult	male	1836	1842
Johnson's Wife	adult	female	1836	1842
Johnson child	child	male	By 1839	1842
Johnson child	child	male	By 1839	1842
Johnson child	child	male?	By 1841	1842
Johnson child	child	male?	By 1841	1842
Johnson slave	child	male	By 1839	1842
Johnson slave	child	male	By 1839	1842
Robert Newell	adult	male	1842	1855
Kitty Newell	adult	female	1842	1845
Rebecca Newman Newell	adult	female	1845	1855
Francis Newell	child	male	1842	1855
William Newell	child	male	1842	1855
Marcus Newell	child	male	1842	1855
Robert Jr. Newell	child	male	1842	1855
Thomas Newell	child	male	1843	1855
James Newell	child	male	1847	1855
Mary Jane Newell	child	female	1849	1855
Martha Newell	child	female	1852	1855
Harvey Newell	child	male	1854	1855

Table 3.1 Table of occupants at 35MA41.

#### **Chapter 4. Theoretical Position**

Anthropologists prior to feminist critiques of the last thirty years have, as a discipline, been looking at human culture through the lens of men. Anthropologists in the past have valued male informants over female informants, and male activities over female activities. Not only have anthropologists looked at culture from this androcentric point of view, they have even defined what *aspects* of culture are important (i.e. politics, public life, hunting) based on their presumed association with men and devalued others (i.e. domestic dwellings, childcare and children, plant gathering) based on their association with women (Conkey and Spector: 1984: 14; Gilpin and Whitley 2010:5-6; Ortner 1974: 357-359; Slocum 1975:419; Boderhorn 1990: 55-57; Watson and Kennedy 1998: 174).

These types of androcentric views within the discipline of anthropology should not come as a surprise to anyone. Anthropology was developed as a discipline in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century at the beginning of the Victorian era. This was a time that emphasized rigid class structures, European colonial ideals, and a dichotomous view of male and female gender roles (Spencer-Wood 1994: 176). These gender roles were viewed as distinctly separate spheres, rigidly divided between the public sphere of men and the private sphere of women. Nineteenth century-men created

anthropology in their own image. They adopted the European colonial ideals of their time creating concepts such as unilineal evolution, as well as imposing their patriarchal views of gender roles onto other people, places and societies (Slocum 1975: 420). While modern anthropologists have soundly rejected the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas such as unilineal evolution, with its three phases of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, only a few feminist anthropologists have questioned 19<sup>th</sup>-century binary gender roles imposed onto the past through the interpretation of the archaeological record.

### **Feminist Critiques of Archaeology**

Within the United States the general public often perceives that feminism only began in the 1960s. However there have been multiple waves of feminist movements as far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this section I will be exploring three of the main themes of feminist theory in relation to the late-20<sup>th</sup> and early-21<sup>st</sup> centuries and how they have influenced archaeological theory and research. I will then explore how feminist studies have laid a foundation for us to develop gender theory. Unfortunately, gender theory and feminist theory are often seen as interchangeable paradigms. While these theories are related to one another (in fact gender theory could not exist without the basis of feminist theory), they are not addressing the same fundamental research questions.

I will first discuss feminist theories and what they have added to archaeological interpretation, and then I will discuss how gender theory has built upon feminist theory to further elucidate archaeological interpretations of the past.

Feminist theory in archaeology was greatly influenced by Conkey and Spector's seminal article "Archaeology and the Study of Gender" in 1984. This was certainly not the first feminist article in Anthropology at the time, but it was the article that most influenced feminist archaeology. This article focused on three main critiques of the discipline. The first area was over the androcentric nature of archaeology as a discipline. The second argument refers to the sexual asymmetry within the discipline, which encompasses the disparities between the genders in regards to social hierarchies within societies. It also includes the asymmetry in areas of research questions and the interpretations by male archaeologists. The third area of focus is the anthropology of women and simply declaring this topic a valid research area, just as studies of male activities have been considered a valid topic of research (Conkey and Spector 1984: 6; Ortner 1974: 356-359; Slocum 1975: 419-422).

Much of early feminist theory in anthropology focused on the idea that women have always been subordinate to men throughout all of history (Ortner 1974: 356). Early anthropological feminists worked to try to

explain why there was universal oppression of women. These early feminists were focused on measuring the status of women through time, throughout the world in many different societies (Conkey and Spector 1984: 28). Feminist scholars felt that the social and cultural constructions of gender were primarily shaped by motherhood, kinship and marriage. This is a direct variation of Betty Friedan's (1963) seminal work *the Feminine Mystique*, where she explores how American middle class women have been confined and oppressed by their roles as housewives, mothers and sisters who are confined to the domestic sphere (Friedan 1963)(Figure 4.1). Unfortunately, by assuming the universal oppression of women, these early feminists were just as guilty of imposing current gender stereotypes onto the past as their male colleagues. By assuming women are passive victims to male oppression, throughout all of history and prehistory,; early feminists gave validity to male preconceptions about gender roles and their basis in biological determinism.



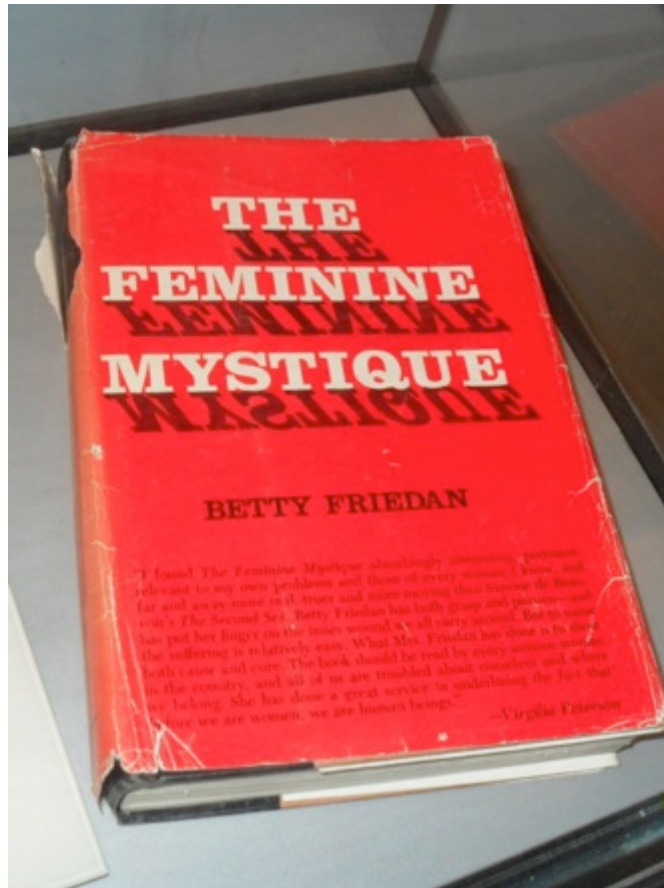


Figure 4.1 Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* made such an impact on America that it is currently on display at the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. (photo by Fiona Manion)

The second critique of archaeological theory focused on the research of contemporary archaeologists. Their work focused on political relationships, power, warfare, hunting, and the exchange of women, showing the interest of the researchers, which were predominantly men. Conkey and Spector (1984) argued that male researchers focused on and placed more value on men's activities. The archaeological literature became skewed towards portraying men as the only active agents able to make decisions in the past that could change and control culture.

Theoretical models such as “Man the Hunter” (Lee and Devore 1968) created in the late 1960s presented a picture of gender roles, which projected an inevitability of gender roles into the past. Researchers were bringing to their work the preconceived notions about what each sex ought to do and interpreting the archaeological record as such (Spector and Conkey 1984: 16, 20-25; Gilpin and Whitley 2010: 4-6; Watson and Kennedy 1998: 174-176). Models such as “man the hunter” portrayed men as strong, more aggressive, dominant, more active and thus more important in the archaeological record. Some researchers, such as Lovejoy, went so far as to attribute the increasing size of human brain capacity solely to male hunting activities, which allowed them to travel long distances, while women stayed at a base camp (Falk 1998:113; Lovejoy 1981). Women though were portrayed as weak, passive, and dependent, waiting for men to bring them food because they were so incapable of obtaining their own food due to the burdens of pregnancy and childbirth (Watson and Kennedy 1998: 174-176). Views of male activities were taken to represent the “true” meaning of a culture and that somehow feminine activities within a culture were considered not normative or somehow idiosyncratic. If women’s roles were described in the literature at all, they were never given as much detail or time as men’s activities, since they were considered to be of less value and less representative of the culture

(Conkey and Spector 1984:14). Conkey and Spector proposed that scholarly work using racial stereotypes perpetuates racism, by giving it validity, and so too does using imposing gender stereotypes “perpetuates sexism and gender asymmetry” in the present (1984:13; Gilpin and Whitley 2010: 5).

By imposing these types of dichotomous gender roles onto the past, an assumption of biological determinism was established within the field of archaeology. It was common for archaeologists’ assumptions to begin with men hunting big-game and women gathering plants at a base camp while they took care of children and waited for men to bring them food (Hayes-Gilpin and Whitley 1998: 5; Watson and Kennedy 1998: 174, 186; Zihlman 1998:94). These roles were considered primary and inevitable in prehistoric cultures, creating a gendered view of the past that is both binary and that assumed men were the only active participants in the creation of culture and any innovation in technologies (Hayes-Gilpin and Whitley 1998: 6). In addition to assuming a biological determinism for gender roles, these interpretations of how humans behaved in prehistory also made the Western pattern of one male supporting one dependent wife and small children as an ideal family pattern throughout all of prehistory (Slocum 1975:427).

However, gender roles differ dramatically from culture to culture, and are modified by issues of race, class, age, religion, etc. With this being

the case, it is very difficult to assert that biological sex differences are the sole fundamental factors in creating and modifying gender identities. As Conkey and Spector stated, aspects attributed to gender can often change through time and this “argues against simplistic and rigid notions in archaeological literature...[and] gender is a complex system of meanings rather than a biological classification” (Conkey and Spector 1984:25).

Conkey and Spector were not alone in their criticisms of the androcentric nature of the archaeological literature. Other feminists wrote articles such as Hayes-Gilpin’s *Gendering the Past* (1998), *Engendering Archaeology* by Gero and Conkey (1998), *Woman the Gatherer* (1989) by Zihlman, were just some of the early feminists in the field of archaeology to begin to critique the discipline. Zihlman even wrote a response to the “Man the Hunter” theoretical model with an article entitled “Woman the Gatherer” (Zihlman 1989). This article was written to present a balance to the assumptions about gender in the past. Zihlman pointed to evidence from women in modern hunter and gatherer lifestyles that they are “active, mobile individuals who could walk for long distances, carry heavy loads, contribute major sources of food, prepare food, provide small game and plants, use tools AND at the same time become pregnant, lactate and care for children”(Zihlman 1989: 100). Watson and Kennedy (1998: 185) also called into question the concept that women were passive

and in need of men to feed them while they care for their infants and children.

In spite of this, some of the biases regarding the *value* of different human activities were still maintained even throughout feminist critiques. Hurcombe (1995) noted that students desiring to improve the visibility of women in the archaeological record, wanted to find evidence of females hunting big game, as this would've been the more prestigious activity for the women to participate in (Hayes-Gilpin and Whitley 1998: 5). This closely mirrors efforts of modern American feminists in the 1980s to wear "power suits" and enter the workforce to gain value by participating in traditionally male activities.

Probably the most dominant form of feminist critique throughout the 1970s and 1980s was based on the fundamental, and somewhat rudimentary, concept that *women existed in the past* and therefore can be found within the archaeological record. While this may seem like a self-evident concept, it seems that many archaeologists were unaware of the fact. Feminist critiques often look at the interpretation of the archaeological record and found it to be simplistic, sexist, and very skewed towards male domination (Conkey and Spector 1984: Giplin and Whitley 1998: Gilchrist 1998: Wylie 1991).

Other feminist archaeologists began to apply feminist theory to specific archaeological research projects. Watson and Kennedy (1991: 174-186) took on the concepts of gender bias when looking at horticulture in the Northeast United States. They also identified the gender assumptions where men were considered active hunters in pursuit of game animals, and that women were passive plant gatherers. Watson and Kennedy identified the assumption that women were hindered by reproduction while men were not. They proposed that the physical limitations of women were conflated along with certain personality traits that were universally applied to the sexes, mainly that women were extremely passive creatures. By looking at the archaeological record and assuming that women are passive, this model assumes that women can't possibly be responsible for any type of culture change because they are not fundamentally men and therefore not active players within their own culture. However, despite the fact that women in the ethnographic record for the Northeast United States were documented plant gatherers and in charge of horticulture, archaeologists were still trying to find ways to make men responsible for the shift from gathering plants to actually actively cultivating plants. Watson and Kennedy (1998: 176) proposed that plant gathering and gardening had fundamentally been associated with women in the historic period and most likely in the prehistoric. They declared that it was women

were the ones responsible for creating horticulture in the northeastern United States (Watson in Kennedy 1991: 255–275).

Sassaman (1992: 160-167) specifically focused on the gender biases in the interpretation of lithic materials in the past. She pointed out that the archaeological literature began with a series of assumptions. One was that men were the only ones capable of making stone tools. Since the archaeological record itself is heavily skewed towards the inorganic stone or lithic materials found in archaeological sites, after taphonomic processes often destroy all the organic components, this led archaeologists to their next assumption. Since archaeologists assumed that only men were capable of making stone tools, and that lithic material made up almost all of archaeological record, archaeologists believed that men were the only ones leaving any records on the landscape of their activities. Sassaman pointed out that it is completely unreasonable to think that women sat around passively waiting on the byproducts of men's flint knapping in order to perform their normal daily tasks, or that men were the only ones using stone tools.

Jackson (1994) looked at the archaeology of the native peoples of Alaska within the Russian fur trade. Jackson focused on trade and how textiles among these peoples represented it. During her research she noted that men did most of the hunting while women did the cooking and

childcare. However, this does not mean that women were secluded into the private sphere of the home, while the men were in the public doing the “important” work of the people. She showed that there was diversity among the status of the women within these native Alaskan communities, ranging from female slaves being used as prostitutes to receive trade goods, girls being hired as paddlers for the Russians, and women trading on their own behalf with the Russians directly. She concluded that women played an integral role in the fur trade by not only trapping with their husbands but by also producing clothing and ornaments, or working for trade companies as paddlers (Jackson 1994:43–47).

Researchers in the 1980s and 1990s also began to do ethno-archaeology to look at hunting gathering cultures and their gender roles (Boderhorn 1990: Jackson 1994: Yu 1997). Boderhorn (1990) did research among the Inupiat people, which had been considered an extremely patriarchal and male-dominated society by other anthropologists, Boderhorn claimed that these studies had been based on unexamined assumptions about what it meant to be hunters to be married and what gender meant these people themselves. She pointed out that hunting could not be reduced just merely catching and killing of animals that it was a technological and symbolic act where men and women were both interdependent and need one another. She threw out previous assumptions



where men alone hunted big game and when women waited at home for the men to bring them hides to process and food to prepare. Instead, Boderhorn began talking to people about how they viewed their own culture and gender roles. What she found was drastically different than what other anthropologists had described in ethnographies. While men often were the ones to go out and hunt big game, they felt their wives are the ones responsible for tracking game. Symbolically within their own society it was considered the women who attracted game to the men and were therefore invaluable to the men when it came to being able to attain game animals. The Inupiat themselves viewed marriage as a key component to survival since men and women were interdependent and that was the key to success in the harsh region. The Inupiat did not feel that men or women were superior to one another but felt that hard work was something that one did for someone in of the other gender, typically your spouse. The Inupiat acknowledged their interdependence on one another and appreciated it. (Bodenhorn 1990: 57-64).

In order to write good scholarship on the history of all people, women are going to have to be a component in those histories (Gilchrest 1991: 53). Archaeology is in a good position to help us with including women into histories. Archaeology can look at past human behavior through time to look at changes in a culture through their material culture.

Unfortunately, the history of the discipline archaeology has often been used to substantiate current gender ideologies of what it means to be masculine and feminine onto the past. By doing so archaeologists who have imposed this assumption of gender roles onto the past has essentialized what gender roles ought to be, creating naturalized categories of masculine and feminine while supporting the idea of biological determinism. In addition, by looking at research focused on the universality of sexual asymmetry and dichotomous relationship of the dominant male and subordinate female this concept is also naturalized (Conkey and Spector 1984:27). This concept of universality needs to be abandoned to look at the variability that is present throughout human history.

Looking at women in the past is just as legitimate a research topic as any of the research done looking at men in the past. Things that women have done are just as interesting and important as anything males have done. By researching the historical concepts of gender, rather than imposing preconceived concepts, will allow us to form entirely new areas of research and profoundly alter our understanding of the past. If we continue to uphold the universality of these dichotomous views of gender, we continue to support the androcentric interpretation of the presumed male and female domains in the past. This also legitimizes these androcentric views (Conkey and Spector 1984:26).

## **Rethinking Binary Models: How Feminism Has Led to Gender Studies**

The problem with gender roles as a binary model is that they aren't solely tied to the sex of the individual. Gender roles are fluid, and expectations vary based on class, race, religion, and age of an individual. Gender theory focuses on the cultural ideals of the role of a gender within any given society. Culture mediates these meanings and the constraints of biology and human behavior within a social organization. As anthropologists we are familiar with the concept cultural vs. critical critique. This is the concept that in cultures there is often a discrepancy between those ideals held by a society for any gender and the reality of the lived experiences of individuals. It is important while exploring gender studies as an analytical concept to understand what gender means in any particular culture at that specific historical moment that we are researching. These concepts of gender roles must be explored and not just presumed to reflect those of our own culture and time. We must also remember that many written historical documents are often *idealized* concepts held within the culture that may not be the lived reality of all people within a society. Historical archaeology is at a distinct advantage to pursue these types of research questions, since unlike written documents,

archaeological sites are not edited to meet cultural expectations of idealized norms.

The thrust of gender theory is not to exclusively look at power hierarchies between men and women, but to look at how gender can inform interpretations about the structures of lives in past societies at the household, community or regional levels (Scott 1994: 5). We also have to be willing to realize that gender does not *just mean women*. Feminist archaeology has focused almost exclusively, and with good reason, on incorporating women into the interpretations of the archaeological record (Conkey and Spector 1984: Giplin and Whitley 1998: Gilchrist 1998: Wylie 1991). While not the focus of this dissertation, there are situations where gender studies would be an ideal theoretical model in which to explore male identity at genuinely male-dominated archaeological sites. For just as there are female gender ideals, so are there male gender ideals. Historical archaeology is full of examples of male-dominated societies, where women were scarce or absent entirely. Just a few examples of these would be military bases, male religious organizations, or newly created boomtowns, centered on extraction of natural resources. Just as interesting as looking at male identity of these sites, would be the juxtaposition of the women who did show up in archaeological record at these types of sites. As we began to explore how gender roles are used to structure a society, we must

realize that everyone participates in these gendered behaviors, whether male or female. In order to understand any culture, we have to look at everyone within that society; men women and children of all races, classes and ethnicities and ages etc. If we are ever to get a full picture of what life was like for them.

### **Children in the Archaeological Record**

As previously stated, archaeologists have also made assumptions about who is “visible” in the archaeological record. Archaeologists have assumed that men were present at archaeological sites, but that women and children had to be “found” (Baxter: 2008 166). Without the presence of men, it seems that many archaeologists cannot fathom that any active agency could have taken place in the past. In fact, much of current feminist theory in archaeology has focused on the idea that women were even capable of contributing to the archaeological record (Conkey and Spector 1984: Giplin and Whitley 1998: Gilchrist 1998: Wylie 1991).

I propose that if the demography of populations were examined, it would show that the make up of a many domestic households creating an archaeological site is composed mainly of women and their children. Certainly, the archaeological record may not always be able to differentiate between children’s versus adult’s use of space at an archaeological site, but

the archaeological record cannot be interpreted accurately if we don't include children *at all* as cultural actors in the archaeological record (Baxter 2008: 172; Ruttle 2010:79).

Children are often associated with women and therefore often seen as minor factor in women's activities, not as individual actors in their own right (Figure 4.2). If they are thought of at all, children are often thought of as distorting the true archaeological record (of male adults) rather than contributing to the archaeological record as active agents in their own culture (Ruttle 2010: 75). On the other hand, most archaeologists' still view children and their contribution to culture and the material record as invisible, even though children comprise significant portions of social groups (Baxter 2008: 160).

The historical record has shown and supports the idea that children are significant actors socially and economically in their own right. In many communities children perform chores from very early ages as often as young as five (Claasan 2002: 231; Ruttle 2010: 68). In fact, the United States school system, with summers off from school, is based in the country's agricultural roots. By having children available in the summer months they were able to in activities such as planting and harvesting, as well as contributing to food through hunting practices of small game and fishing. This is labor that was vitally needed in agricultural communities.

It often is perceived that it is not possible to see children within the archaeological record. The “unknowable child” cannot be perceived because childhood is seen as a preparation for adulthood and articles of material culture that are used to prepare children are frequently just similar tools that their parents used. This can make distinguishing between these types of tools extremely difficult in the archaeological record. Ruttle (2010: 82) suggests attributes of artifacts that may help identify children, such as non-centralized debitage disposal, re-used cores, and low quantities of lithic materials, among others. She also argues for the miniaturization of materials being a sign of children with smaller hands may correlate with these materials (Ruttle 2010: 82).



Figure 4.2 Métis mother and child,  
19<sup>th</sup> century, Oregon, St. Paul Historic Society

Despite the difficulty of being able to “find” children within the archaeological record, as represented by specific toys or smaller tools, we cannot assume that they did not exist and did not have any impact on the archaeological record. We may not be able to ask questions about individual children but we need to at least make sure that they are not absent from settlement studies of space in regards to work in and around a household. (Baxter 2008: 160-162; Kramer 2001; Ruttle 2010: 64) Children are another category of underrepresented individuals that are often



ignored in the archaeological record because they are powerless, unseen and associated with women (Figure 4.1).

As noted by Baxter, “children are significant social and economic actors in their own right and that the organization of families often prioritize the care and training of children” (Baxter 2008: 161). If this is the case then why are children marginalized in archaeological interpretations? In part at least, this has stemmed from the association of children with the sphere of women (Ruttle 2010: 65). Women and children have existed in a category of marginalization in archaeological interpretations. This “shared history of disempowerment and marginalization” (Baxter 2008: 162) has contributed to the androcentric interpretations produced by some archaeologists. Children are often not seen as providing significant labor in archaeological interpretations, despite ethnographies documenting children working in a variety of contexts, including child care, hunting small game, tending animals, gathering foods, food preparation, housework, and agricultural work (Baxter 2008: 165).

While it is becoming more and more common for cultural anthropologists to specialize in studying children (Crooks 1997: Greska 2007: Gillet-Netting et. al 2005: Crooks et al 2007), although this is still rare, cultural anthropology has acknowledged that children are actors

within their own societies. Children can create their own cultural behaviors they passed down to one another, that isn't shared by an adult population. They have their own perceptions of reality in the world they live in, and they are active members in their own society. While a specialization in childhood archaeology would be extremely difficult to tangle out from the rest of the artifacts within any given site (with the exception of possibly children dominated archaeological sites such as schoolyards, orphanages, etc.), it does not mean that we should either solely focus on children nor should we ignore children's' existence. How could we possibly expect to interpret the archaeological record correctly if we are not going to consider everyone in the population, including the children, as actors on the stage in the past? As archaeologists we should stop assuming we know who is present in the past and begin to look at the demography of entire populations (Baxter 2008: 171) from infants all the way through the elderly, men, and women. In order to study the entire human experience, we need to acknowledge the entire human population. We can no longer work under the assumptions of reductionist models if we are going to reflect human complexities. Surely, for a discipline as devoted to being as holistic as anthropology, studying the entire population of the human society is not that radical a concept. By using demography we can use data that actually reflects the community we are studying, instead of

using blanket assumptions of how we think a population “should” look (Figures 4.3 and 4.4).



Figure 4.3 Family photo taken on French prairie late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Note that only 22% of the family was adult males, versus 78% being women and children. (St Paul Historic Society)



Figure 4.4 Family photograph on French Prairie late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Note that adult men make up only 16% of this family, with 84% made up of women and children (St Paul Historic Society).

It is time to move away from creating nameless faceless blobs that populate a history with the exception of the few great men who stand out in front of them. We need to ask ourselves if we can really get down to the level of looking at men, women and children as separate individuals within the archaeological record or are we only going to be able to look at the archaeology at the level of the household? Either way, we should find out who is present at the site before we begin to interpret the archaeological data. The types of research question we ask will determine the types of sites we choose to excavate. Just as with any archaeological research question, what can be asked is determined by the data that is available at the archaeological site. Rock art sites may not be good examples of dietary

intake studies just as shell midden sites may not be a good source of data for symbolic structures within a society.

One of our primary goals within historical archaeology should be to write people into the history books who have for the most part been left out of history because of their marginalized places in society. Whether they were immigrants, marginalized minorities, women, children or Native Americans, etc., historically these groups have not been considered to be of any real importance to American society. Often disparaged by dominant groups, these underrepresented peoples were often illiterate or left few records. Even when they are documented in the written records, they are often referred to in pejorative terms because of their lack of status within the society. It is important to realize when doing any form of historical archaeology the interconnectedness of race, class and gender when studying any group of people (Scott in 1994:3). It is a matter of social justice to give back a voice to the voiceless, who couldn't write down their stories, or tell people about their lives. Those people are important. There is so much more to how the world works than "big men", war and politics. The people who grow food, raise animals, care for their children and love each other, those are the people who make the world.

## Women and Agency in the Historical Archaeological Record

“Your father may be the head of the household, but I am the neck, and I can turn that head any direction that I want” Mother to daughter, (My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2002)

“The men may be the ones talking at the council meeting, but who do you think is sitting behind them whispering in their ear what to say?” anonymous Crow woman.

“Let the men think they are in charge. They like that. We know who is really making the decisions.”  
My Grandmother.

As previously discussed in this essay, feminist critique in archaeology has argued that women need to be considered active agents in the past. As Watson and Kennedy put it, “Women can use the full powers of their intellect and their actions were a significant contribution to culture change, to innovation, and to cultural elaboration. Prehistoric women are capable of conscious action but are also capable of innovation.” (Watson and Kennedy 1991:186) In historical archaeology, on the other hand, we are often studying Western patriarchal societies. It is often assumed because of the power imbalance in patriarchal societies, women had no control over their own destinies. It is important to note that in spite of the power differential, women can live in a patriarchal society and still find means to have agency in their own lives. The questions we need to ask

ourselves now are; how do women resist this type of domination in daily life? How do women work within their own society's gendered expectations to negotiate power and agency in their own lives, and how is this reflected in the material record? Scott states that "to be less powerful is not to be power less or even to lose all the time" (1994:3).

This is an area that has only recently been explored by historical archaeologists as they have begun to look at individual agency as the focus of research (Dobres et. al 2000). While agency has been explored in the archaeological literature, specific analyses of women's agency in historical archaeology are rare. A few examples of such are both articles are within the book *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology* (Scott ed. 1994). The first is Hardesty's article *Class, Gender Strategies, and Material Culture in the Mining West* (1994:129-148) and Spencer-Woods article *Diversity and 19th-Century Domestic Reform: Relationships Among Classes and Ethnic groups* (1994:175-208). I will briefly summarize these articles in order to illustrate how the concepts of feminist archaeology, gender theory, and agency theory can be incorporated in interpreting the archaeological record. All of these theoretical approaches will be the lens through which 35MA41 will be analyzed.

Hardesty began to explore women's agency when he looked at the different mechanisms that working-class women and middle-class women used in male-dominated western mining towns (1994). He noted that working class and poor young women had no choice but to move out of the private sphere of the household and negotiate a way into the public marketplace. Hardesty argued that a prostitute-entrepreneurship with a successful strategy but that "to be sure, prostitution exploited the sexuality of those women, but it did allow for profit and control over the terms of the relationship". While debates may rage over this interesting turn of phrase, Hardesty at least gives these women the credit of having some agency in how they negotiated their choices in life, though their options may have been extremely limited (Hardesty 1994:133).

Middle-class women however used other adaptive strategies to negotiate these male-dominated societies. Women in frontier mining towns created reform movements centered on women's organization and the developments of churches and schools. Hardesty argues that for this reason, "the archaeological and architectural remains of schools, churches, and local clubs must be interpreted not only as locations of religious, educational, or recreational activities but also as reflections of gendered activities. He goes on to discuss that by using these group strategies



women, were able to increase their traditional power base within the community.”(Hardesty 1994:140).

In addition to the strategies used by women in the town to create private gendered spaces, “gender strongly structured regional geography” (Hardesty 140:1994). This means that the Middle Class women’s cultural expectations influenced and structured the way the community was built. Women reformers were creative in ways they incorporated themselves into public activities through schools, churches and other social events. Class and gender segregation was a major component of the frontier-mining town. Middle class women typically lived in the towns living with families or boarded at outlying ranches or toll stations managed by families. Men however occupied working-class satellite settlements clustered around the mines. A notable and significant difference was that many company towns closely regulated where working-class women lived. These women were spatially separated from middle-class women due to the company perception of the corrupting influences of these women, since many of them participated in prostitution (Hardesty 1994:141: Simmons 1989: 23-36).

Spencer–Wood’s article also discusses the oversimplification of women’s’ role by early feminist anthropology, particularly the projection of the Victorian dichotomy between women in a domestic sphere and men in

public sphere as a cultural universal. She argues that, “Victorian women usually were portrayed as housebound, except for the factory workers.” Spencer-Woods look to feminist historians’ critiques, that women’s roles particularly if they were in the public were often left out of histories, similar to the way feminist anthropologists had critiqued the archaeological record. By bringing to light these unrepresented women we are able to actually explore the complexity of historic gender systems and to rewrite the stereotypical constructions of gender that paint women as passive victims of male control through cultural processes (Spencer-Wood 1994:175–176).

Feminist historians have shown that women reformers were capable of being powerful social agents. They used a “variety of ideologies, strategies and material culture to transform the United States gender systems from 19th century into the 20th century” (Spencer-Wood 1994:177). Spencer-Wood argues that we should not be viewing women in binary opposition to men, but should be concerned at the way women reformers negotiated and cooperated with diverse groups of people, both men and women, to contest male dominance in public spaces. Her main question was to see if individuals from oppressed groups, (including women, immigrants, minorities and the working class), acted as “powerful social agents to shape their own lives and, through relationships, the lives

of individuals and dominant social groups” (Spencer-Wood 1994:177). She also points out that none of the social classes were homogenous and that they varied in the details but shared some significant fundamental similarities with some but not necessarily all members of other groups.

Spencer-Woods’ research also shows that reformers in particular did not directly confront male dominance, such as the suffragettes with the arguments of equality. Domestic reformer's intent was to change cultural ideologies and to transform the perceived subordinate roles of women into innately superior ability that powerfully justified increasing women's roles in both public and private spheres. Most reformers argued for in equal but separate sphere of power. By using these strategies reformers were able to successfully argue for female dominance in a number of public professions. They managed to feminize jobs in the public sphere and transform male professions such as primary school teacher, sales clerk, overseer of girls and women internal homes, reformatory schools and prisons, nursing, nutritionist, infant educator, playground supervisor and social worker into jobs that were appropriate for women. By focusing on the scientific and technological innovation in women's work, new material culture accompanied these transitions. Domestic reformers were able to transform the concept of women's roles in maintaining family health into the extension of women overseeing public health. Domestic reformers were

instrumental in arguing that women as public citizens could bring their superior moral influence to government, thus supporting women's suffrage in a less direct way than the suffragettes (Spencer-Wood 1994: when 78–180).

Spencer-Wood also found that there were examples of negotiation between performers and the working class and/or minority women and their families, showing that the families were not passive recipients of reform movements. These minority women often found other ways to empower themselves sometimes by forming parallel organizations and institutions that offer similar services that were valuable or desired by these women. In fact in some instances groups, such as Jews who were excluded from Catholic or Protestant institutions created their own strong identities by creating separate groups (Spencer-Wood 1994: 191).

### Historical Archaeology Embraces “The Cult of True Womanhood”

In the last decade historical archaeologists have begun to embrace an all-inclusive term adopted to represent feminine idealized gender roles in the 19th century known as the “Cult of True Womanhood”. This was a Victorian concept held by upper middle-class women that believed women should be dedicated to domesticity and the health, and morality of children and that the ideal personality traits of submissiveness, self-sacrifice, and impulsivity were characteristic of women (Hardesty 1994:132). Unfortunately, some historical archaeologists have taken these Victorian ideals and interpreted them as a *reality* in the archaeological record.

Critiques of feminist theory have often pointed out that much of the feminist movement has focused on the problems of middle and upper middle-class white women. With the case of interpreting archaeological record to his simplified concept of the cult of true womanhood much the same can be said of historical archaeologically as well. Experiences of middle and upper middle-class families are taken to be representative experiences of the population as a whole. It is ironic that while feminist notions are meant to “call attention to the inequalities of the past” (Fernandes 2010:98); they begin to perpetrate some of the same inequalities for marginalized populations of women in the past. Women as

a gender are often considered universal classification, a unifying factor to which all women relate to as the primary identifying factor in their existence. However, gender identity is often not the primary identity that women focus on when discussing their own identity. Being a woman is not always the only common denominator. In a historical archaeology that wishes to pursue gender as a topic of research, we must realize that gender is not solely tied to sex. Gender is something that exists alongside and in conjunction with age, race, ethnicity, culture, and class (Fernandes 2010:98).

Spencer-Wood points out that 19th century gender ideologies differed based on class. Not only were there proponents of a “Cult of True Womanhood” which advocated for careful marriage, physical fitness and training in the event that a woman *had* to work, other groups existed such as the anti-domestic group called “Single Blessedness” which argued that women should not marry at all and should take care of themselves. Both of these groups were tempered by the “Cult of Domesticity”, which rejected working women but whose middle-class religious beliefs glorified work as a moral option, and considered the idleness of wealthy women sinful (Spencer-Wood 1994:180). This further emphasizes our need to understand the historical context of gender ideologies for the groups that we are studying.

While the cult of “true womanhood” may have been a culturally held ideal for many middle-class Americans, who were also white and Protestant, it was far from the reality for poor women, immigrant women, Catholic women, etc. In fact, in order for the ideals of the cult of true womanhood to even exist, an entire class of servants was necessary to support a middle-class woman in pursuit of her ideal station. At what point are we going to give up the myth that women only work inside the home? It seems that every time evidence for women working in textile factories, as clerks, or any other occupation that contradicts mythical gender roles, it is somehow seen as aberrant behavior that must be considered an exception.

If we are to assume that the “cult of true womanhood” was a reality for some women middle class women, rather than ideal to be strived for, we have to acknowledge the social hierarchies that created servant classes that did “menial labour” freeing middle class women of such work. To adopt the “cult of true womanhood” as a reality that is representative of *all* women within a culture would once again be marginalizing the maidservants, domestic staff, and all the other working-class women that supported the upper classes. To ignore the reality of these women in the historical archaeological record, in favor of the middle class women and their “cult of true womanhood”, we have once again marginalized this

group of working-class women and are reproducing our own societal myths of women's role in society.

Working-class women were not able to achieve the domesticity of middle-class women in the same way. These were women who had to work for a living and had no choice but to go outside of their own homes, away from their own children, to find wage labor to support them and their families. By ignoring this entire class of women who have always needed to work for a living we relegate them to invisibility. We reduce the value of their work and reinforce the "naturalization" of the idea that women are weak /passive/domestic etc. As Scott (1994: 7) pointed out, "to use simplistic binary and ahistorical categories does an injustice to the complex relationships in colonial and post-colonial times". It also strips these women of their gender identity and reduces them to something less than human, something that isn't worthy of being studied.

An argument could be made that post-modernist feminist archaeologists, such as Conkey, Spector, Whitley, Zhilman, Kennedy, or Watson, among others have already explored the androcentric nature of the discipline to exhaustion. Others may assume, (erroneously) that archaeologists as a discipline are already using a more inclusive framework for analysis of past human experience because of such critiques made by the above-mentioned authors. I am proposing however, that



historical archaeologists, despite these feminist critiques, are still looking at the experience of women through the eyes of the men and the preconceived *value* of women's contributions in the archaeological record. We still try to *find* women's experience, where we *assume* we are looking at men's experience (Baxter 2008: 166). Due to the patriarchal societies that most historical archaeologists research, many of the historical documents are written for, by or about men. For example, while General Land Office maps may show the name of both the husband and wife, frequently sites are named solely for the male head of household, while the remaining occupants of the household are largely ignored. Historical archaeologists often interpret archaeological sites as if these male head households were the only ones in the household pinching to the archaeological record or making any meaningful decisions in the past. I propose that in historical archaeology, we should look at the actual demography of the community before we decide who is present at the archaeological site. Documents in the form of census records, marriage records, and birth records often hold much of the information that we would need in order to reconstruct the demographics of these past populations.

### **Research Questions**

The Newell archaeological site (35MA41) is a unique opportunity to look at a domestic household, from a feminist perspective, in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in the Early Oregon Country prior to statehood. The site location was less than ideal for a farm use due to the sandy soils, which gave it its first name of Sandy Camp (Hussey 1967: 17). The sandy deposits are a result of the site being located on a seasonal flood plain of the Willamette River. This resulted in the site being occupied for less than 30 years as a domestic living site during the early period of Euro-American settlement in the Oregon Country. Subsequently this property remained undeveloped due to periodic flooding and was converted into agricultural use after the 1861 flood and before becoming a state park. The flood deposits have also preserved the site by burying the site below the level of plows that can destroy archaeological features, such as clay house floors or activity areas.

Due to the high level of integrity and preservation at the Newell site (35MA41) it was thought that continued block excavations would be the best method to address research questions relating to gender theory at this site. The following questions by no means exhausts the potential for continuing research at this archaeological site, but are meant to constrain

this dissertation to two discreet questions. Recommendations for future work appear in the conclusions section of this document.

### Research Question 1

If distinct activity areas can be determined, then can we incorporate women and children into the story of early Oregonians as active participants and agents in their own right?

Household demography shows that women and children make up the majority of the household (89% of the Johnson household and 92% of the Newell household), while men make up less than 10% of the residents after 1836. In addition to the demography present at the household, Robert Newell in particular was away quite often for extended periods, leaving his wives in charge of his household (as per 19<sup>th</sup> century gender expectations). That left the women with several children at home caring for livestock, crops, childcare, etc. Therefore, their activities running the farm should be recorded in the archaeological record and should be attributed to all of the members of the household, not just the male head of house who appears on legal documents.

## Research Question 2

Since children make up the majority of the household members after 1836 (78% of the Johnson household and 75% of the Newell household), can their presence be distinguished in the archaeological record from the rest of the household? What artifacts could be identified as being associated with children?

As discussed in this chapter, children are frequently overlooked in the archaeological record, despite historical accounts (limited though they may be) recording children engaged in economic activities within the home, particularly at farms. Children are often engaged with household chores and childcare of younger siblings, with responsibilities increasing as the children age. With upwards of 75% of the Newell and Johnson households made up of children, they should be considered agents in creating the archaeological record along with the adults. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to distinguish children's labor from other household members by material culture that is shared by the entire household (such as ceramics). However, despite elusiveness of the economic contributions of children as represented by material culture, their pastime activities are frequently where children's' areas within the home may be identified. While much of

children's' play activities are to prepare them for future adult chores some may be identifiable as children's toys and activity areas.

## **Chapter 5. Field Schools and Public Interpretation**

Oregon State University has conducted archaeological field schools at Champoeg State Heritage Area. Field schools were conducted in the summers of 2002, 2003, 2009, 2011, 2012 and 2013. Dr. David Brauner acted as principle investigator of the project, with the author, Mollie Manion as field director of the project. Field school students were trained in archaeological excavation methods, archaeological mapping, and 19th century material culture and in public interpretation. In addition to academic research, these field schools were training opportunities for dozens of students interested in archaeology.

In addition to the field schools being an educational opportunity for college students, it was also an opportunity for the public to come and look at archaeology in action. The general public rarely gets a chance to see an archaeological site being excavated. The public's exposure to archaeology is frequently fictional, romanticized images of archaeologists, or of grand temples, tombs or monuments as seen in documentaries.

Public interpretation has been a stunning success at this site, with formal tours held two or three times a week throughout the excavation season (Figure 5.1). Several thousand people have come through the tours and evaluated them highly (OPRD staff: personal communication). Even when formal tours were not being conducted, we had a steady stream of

visitors coming to see what archaeology was all about. Visitors ranged widely from descendants of local settlers, tourists from Asia, Europe, and North America to campers in the park. It was also not unusual to speak with visitors who had come back every year we were there to see how the work had progressed (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.1 The author Mollie Manion giving a public tour at the archaeological site.



Figure 5.2 An informal visit from children from a day camp visiting the park to see what archaeology is all about.



## **Chapter 6. Methods and Descriptive Archaeology**

### **Previous Archaeology**

The Newell archaeological site (35MA41) was originally located when large concentrations of 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics were noticed on the ground surface after the field had been plowed in 1998 by a local farmer, who held lease to the land. As a result, both ground penetrating radar and magnetometer work was done on the site to explore the possibility that non-invasive techniques could locate subsurface features. In the spring of 1998 magnetometer survey was done on the site by Kendall McDonald, then a Portland State University student. Kendall McDonald ran a proton magnetometer survey over the site, which found three major anomalies on the site, which could indicate cultural features (McDonald 2002). In August of 1998, a ground penetrating radar survey was also conducted by James Bell of Pacific Geophysical Survey, Inc., which located four major anomalies within the site that could indicate cultural features (Bell 1998).

Based on these anomalies and large concentration of artifacts it was determined that subsurface testing should be done at this site to ground truth the non-invasive techniques (Cromwell, Stone and Brauner 2000). One by one and one by two meter test pits were dug over anomalies identified by the remote sensing techniques. The test pits over the

anomalies discovered, not only many 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts, but also what appeared to be large concentration of brick rubble. Surface collection was also done on the site. Test excavations were also placed away from defined anomalies to serve as cultural content and stratigraphic control units. The results of the subsurface investigations were encouraging. Cultural material was found up to 50 cm below the plow zone, one post mold/post-hole feature was defined, a brick concentration extending below the plow zone was indicated, and organic preservation was good. The preliminary assumption that the site was occupied during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was confirmed. With the exception of the Jason Lee Mission site (Sanders, Weber, and Brauner 1983), no other portion of early-to-mid-19<sup>th</sup> century sites have been located and excavated below the ~30cm plow zone on French Prairie. The preservation of organic material is also often usually poor due to the acidic nature of Willamette Valley soils. For detailed information on this phase of testing see *Archaeological Testing of the Newell Historic Farmstead Site (35MA41), Champoeg State Park, Oregon*, by Robert J. Cromwell, Helen Delight Stone, and David Brauner, located at the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office Salem, Oregon.

All excavations were conducted under Archaeological permits issued by the State Historic Preservation Office, within Oregon Parks and Recreation Department to Dr. David Brauner, with Mollie Manion as field

director. The archaeological excavations from 2009-2013 were conducted under permits #1250, 1520, 1553 and 1793. All excavation units were 1 x 1 m, and dug in arbitrary 10 cm levels. All excavations were conducted using hand tools, including flat nosed shovels, hand trowels, dental picks and brushes, as warranted. Excavators utilizing set protocols in excavation notebooks recorded all relevant observations. All artifacts found in situ were recorded with X (north-south), Y (east-west), and Z (relative elevation to 100 m arbitrary datum) coordinates, placed in individual bags with all provenience data, cataloged and mapped on field maps prior to being sent to the lab. All sediment was screened for any artifacts not observed in situ, usually due to their small size. Artifacts recovered in screens were cataloged by 1 x 1 m units with 10cm arbitrary levels.

At the conclusion of all of the field school excavations seasons, all excavated units were lined with tarpaulins, and the screened, excavated dirt was used to fill in the excavation. Grid pins and secondary datum were left buried in the site in order to re-establish the Cartesian grid units from year to year. At the beginning of the 2009 field season, and all subsequent seasons some or all of the back dirt from previous years was removed again and the tarpaulins were removed, revealing the features and level of previous excavations (Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1 Removing tarps after back dirt has been removed.

In 2011, 2012 and 2013 a supervised backhoe was used to remove the bulk of the back fill dirt, with the remainder removed by hand, as outlined in the above referenced permits. Once back dirt and plastic were removed, excavation proceeded using the same Cartesian grid in 1x1 meter excavation units as had been used in 2002 and 2003, ensuring that the entire project was mapped with the same grid each season. An arbitrary datum was established on the highest ground and given the designation of 100 meters. All vertical measurements were made in reference to this datum. In addition to the exact elevation of artifacts being mapped, units were excavated in 10cm arbitrary levels. Throughout excavations there was a focus on finding all artifacts *in situ*, so that activity areas and

artifact distributions could be mapped. As outlined in the permits, all excavated sediment was passed through ¼” mesh, with column samples passed through 1/8” mesh to recover any artifacts not found *in situ*.

The focus of the excavations strategy starting in 2009 was to expand off of the previous block excavation to the southwest, in order to expose a corner of the structure, to establish the extent of the structure and define architectural construction.

### **Laboratory Methods**

All non-porous artifacts such as glass and ceramic were cleaned and rinsed with plain water and gentle brushing. Porous items that could be damaged by moisture, such as bone or metal, were cleaned with dry brushing or dental tools, as appropriate based on the condition and fragility of the artifact. Once artifacts were cleaned a clear acrylic based lacquer was applied to an inconspicuous location on the artifact. A unique catalog number was assigned to every artifact that corresponds to the catalog information and field maps. Catalog numbers consist of the Smithsonian trinomial assigned by the State Historic Preservation Office, the year of excavation and a sequential catalog number (ex. 35MA41-12-209). The unique catalog number was written on each artifact, which was

then sealed with another coat of lacquer. Ferrous metal items were treated with a beeswax coating after cataloging to minimize or prevent further oxidization of the artifacts. Items were then sorted by material and function for analysis.

By individually numbering the artifact recovered, the artifacts could be physically manipulated and sorted, without fear of losing any provenience data. Attempts were made during the entire research period to cross-mend artifacts as completely as possible, in order to ascertain vessel type, design and size, where possible function. Artifacts were then sorted into functional categories based on Sprague's functional typology (1980).

Artifacts, numbering over 30,000 from all years of excavation were included in the analysis. In order to limit the scope of the research project, items from domestic categories were chosen as these categories are most identified with female gender roles in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Artifacts in the functional categories of architecture, commerce and industry, or unknown function are not included as a part of this analysis, although there is great potential for other research in these categories. Analysis for this dissertation will focus on personal and domestic items dated to the Johnson and Newell occupations (established by Manion 2006) in order to eliminate items from the bachelor establishments of Ball and Wyeth. All

artifacts at the end of analysis will be curated at Oregon State University in the Historic Archaeology curation facility, as outlined by the archaeological permits.

### **Feature Descriptions by Field Season 2009-2013**

After a year's hiatus, archaeologists from Oregon State University returned to the Robert Newell Site in 2002 with a grant from the Oregon State Parks and Recreation Division. Dr. David Brauner directed the project. Dennis Wiley served as State Parks liaison officer. Block-style excavations began around what was previously referred to as test pit F, which included the brick rubble. A pit full of hand-struck bricks and other artifacts, measuring approximately 1.5 by 2.5 meters was uncovered. In addition, by the end of the 2002 field season a small intact pavement composed of carefully placed fragmented bricks were encountered along the northwest corner of the brick filled pit. Since no intact architectural features had ever been found on early historic French Prairie sites the possibility that we had found a hearth, foundation, well or paved walk feature were all possibilities for these features. We did not at the time have enough of the feature exposed to draw any functional conclusions at

that time though. It was also unclear as to the relationship of the brick filled pit and the intact feature at that point (See figure 6.2).

The dating of the pit appears to correlate with the flood of 1861. The majority of artifacts found at 35MA41 are extremely fragmented, even those found below the plow zone. However, within the pit, a nearly complete “Catawba Wine Bitters” bottle was recovered in several large fragments (Fig. 6.3).



Figure 6.2 Brick rubble feature at maximum exposure.





Figure 6.3 Catawba Wine Bitters bottle and Dutch gin bottle.

This bottle is anomalous to the site as it is the only item to have a manufacturing date after 1855 and postdates the 1861 flood (Fike 1987:32). The fill matrix of the rubble pit is also a much sandier, softer deposits that is consistent with the contemporary descriptions of the flood making Champeog appear like a smooth sandy beach when the waters receded (Hussey 1967: 231)

Beyond the brick filled pit, a mix of domestic and architectural cultural remains were recovered to depths exceeding 90 cm below surface. No clear structural features other than the brick features were noted, and

no discrete occupation surfaces were defined at that point. As a consequence, the functional association of the artifact assemblage was unclear. The bulk of the recovered artifacts continued to date to the Newell occupation period but we were encountering very early 19th century ceramics and some hand wrought nails south and west of the brick filled pit with increasing depth. By the end of the field season we had not encountered the base of the cultural deposits and we were beginning to seriously consider that the site had been occupied prior to Newell's arrival at Champoeg.

Archaeological investigations resumed at the Newell site in 2003 with continued support from the Oregon Parks and Recreation Department. Excavations resumed using the same grid units that were being investigated in 2002. Exploration of the brick filled pit feature resumed. Excavations were expanded to the west of the brick filled pit in order to expose the intact brick feature and determine its function. The block excavation was also expanded to the northeast and south in order to search for structural features and /or clearly definable living surfaces associated with a dwelling. A series of 1x2 meter tests pits were also extended to the east to serve as control units to determine the extent of the cultural materials.



Figure 6.4 Intact brick hearth surface.

The 2003 archaeological excavations were directed by Dr. David Brauner, with Mollie Manion and Mathew Diederich from the Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University serving as field foremen. By the end of the 2003-field season the intact brick pavement, first noted the previous field season, turned out to be a large brick hearth (see figure 6.4).

The firebox and chimney appeared to have been torn down. A pit had been dug on the east end of the feature partially destroying the eastern margin of the hearth and the firebox brick had been thrown into the pit. An oven door, firebox hooks, and baking pans were associated with the brick rubble in the pit. The vertical and horizontal dimensions of the

brick filled pit were defined and enough associated artifacts were recovered to date the destruction of the firebox to the early 1860s. A prepared clay floor was identified immediately south of the hearth. The clay floor represented the first occupation of the house and has an associated artifact assemblage that dates to the early to mid-1830s. Several postholes with associated post molds were also identified. The dimension and arrangement of the postholes suggest a “post in the ground” construction technique usually attributed to French-Canadian builders (Herbert 2007: 20). It is interesting to note that all of the architectural features uncovered at 35MA41 are in line with magnetic north. The overall size of the dwelling was still unknown however. The hearth, prepared clay floor, postholes, and brick filled pit were left intact in anticipation of future archaeological investigations and interpretive options.

At the end of the 2003 field season, we had confirmed that the structure at 35MA41 is clearly a domestic household (see Manion 2006). The house also predates Robert Newell’s occupation by a decade or more. Based on these features, it was hypothesized at the end of the field season that the house had been remodeled and possibly enlarged during its life span. Newell and his family appear to have been the last occupants of the structure according to the archaeological evidence. Newell sold his Champoeg farm to Donald Manson in 1856, however Manson did not move

to the Champeog area until 1858 (Hussey 1967: 225). Based on the archaeological evidence, Manson and his family did not occupy the “floodplain” house. The house, or possibly just the firebox and chimney, remained on the flood plain until the 1861 flood. Soon after this devastating flood, Manson is believed to have destroyed the old firebox and tossed the remains into a large pit. For a detailed description of the work from 2002 and 2003 see Manion (2006)(Figures 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8).



Figure 6.5 View of hearth facing east, with ash deposits and artifacts *in situ*.





Figure 6.6 View of reproduction fireplace and hearth at the Chief Factor's House Kitchen at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.



Figure 6.7 Cast iron oven door as found on eastern side of hearth.



## **Feature Descriptions by Field Season 2009-2013**

### Field Work 2009

By the end of the 2003 field season the north wall of the house had been defined, based on the location of the hearth. However, the full dimensions of the house were not yet known, nor did we yet have enough of the structure to confirm a post-in-ground or post-in-sill construction technique. In 2009, based on the previous excavations, excavations began in the location of where we thought the southwest corner of the structure might be. It was also hoped that we could confirm construction techniques, and possibly any improvements that may have been made by the proposed occupants of 35MA41. In addition to expanding our understanding of the extent of the structure, it was hoped that further evidence of distinct features and activity areas could be identified.



### *Front Door Path*

The 2009 field season began with the expectation of finding post-holes and their accompanying post molds to further define architectural features at 35MA41. Instead, excavations revealed evidence of a possible front door opening bordered by a brick rubble pathway. This brick pathway consisted of small broken brick and river gravel, as well as a considerable number of artifacts. The brick path was approximately 50cm in width, with strongly defined edges. Approximately 3 m of pathway, were exposed on the southeast corner of the house (Figure 6.9).



Figure 6.9 House foundation extensions and brick rubble pathway.

*Evidence of Wattle and Daub Fireplace*

If the site of the Johnson cabin predates the Robert Newell land claim at 35MA41, then there should be evidence of a wattle and daub fire hearth, predating the brick hearth. This hypothesis is based on the archival records describing the Johnson house with a prepared clay floor, and a wattle and daub fire -box.

In order to look for evidence for a demolished wattle and daub firebox, we looked to areas of the site to the northeast of the brick rubble, where nodules of burned clay had been found in previous field seasons. Because the clay would have been taken from local sources, and grass fires had occurred in the area, charcoal and naturally occurring burned clay had been found in non-cultural, undisturbed soils (figure 6.12). As a result of this, we needed to find definitive evidence that hardened clay in the soil came from human construction activities, and not from seasonal fires. Further excavations confirmed that the burned clay we were seeing in the northeast area of the block excavations was from the demolition of a wattle and daub hearth (see Figure 6.10). In addition to the daubing we more evidence of larger fires in the form of chunks of charcoal (see figure 6.11), lower right hand corner.) The evidence of wattle and daubing in addition to

charcoal confirm a previous wattle and daub fire hearth, lending more supporting the Johnson occupation.



Figure 6.10 Burned clay nodule with remnants of the stick that forms the “wattle” of the wattle and daubing of the original fireplace.



Figure 6.11 Detail of charcoal (lower right) and boards (center left) at edge of brick rubble defining original orientation of the pit.

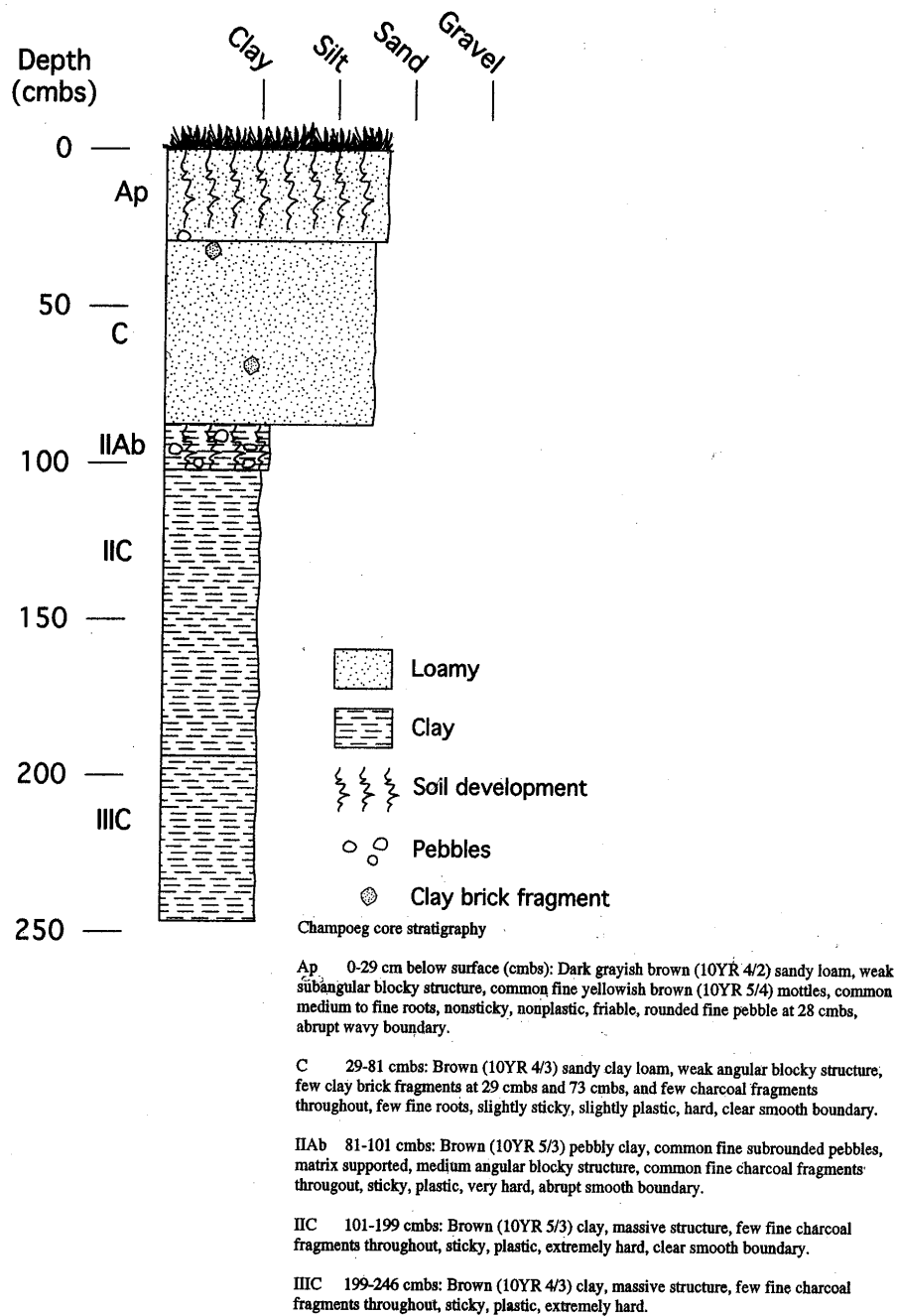


Figure 6.12 Sediment profile of 35MA41 with no disturbance.

## Field Work 2011

### *Cold Storage Pit*

As excavations were conducted to inquire about the demolition of the wattle and daub hearth, the eastern border of the brick rubble pit became more defined along with severely decomposed cribbing boards. Cribbing boards are wooden boards used to support the walls of intrusive pit features such as wells or storage pits, or prevent rodents and other vermin from accessing the stored food in the pit. These were very similar to cribbing boards identified at the St. Paul's Boys School in the well located in the cellar of the school (Brauner: personal communication). The top 5-10cm of the boards were exposed, showing that the boards were approximately 1-m long on the eastern edge of the brick rubble pit. The wood was severely decomposed, crumbling just hours after exposure to the air. As soon as the fragility of the boards was realized, the boards were left *in situ* with a buffer of soil to support them and prevent further exposure to oxygen.

At that point it was decided that excavating the eastern most unit of the brick rubble feature could potentially expose an intrusive feature that predated the 1861 flood disposal episode. Upon further excavation it did indeed appear to be the case, as the intrusive pit is aligned to magnetic north, just as all the other architectural features located at this site (figure

6.13). As excavations proceeded, the original boundary of the intrusive pit was easily defined by the fill matrix on the interior of the pit versus the extremely hard heavy clay surrounding the pit. This indicates that the pit feature is original to the construction of the house rather than randomly dug for garbage disposal (Figure 6.14).

The interior fill soil within the pit became progressively darker from the presence of organic material the feature was excavated. It was unclear in profile due to our attempts to preserve the cribbing boards, whether we had truly reached the end of the cultural material within this intrusive feature or if we had indeed encountered the non-cultural C-horizon in the soil. In order to determine this a gas powered auger was used in the center of intrusive pit unit in an attempt to determine whether cultural material was present or if we had a sterile fill layer above another cultural layer. Auguring was conclusive that we had hit the heavy natural clay that makes up the sterile C-horizon at this location. All sediments brought up by the auger were sterile for the entire 150 cm of the auger boring that we attempted. At this depth we reached the water table between 250-280 cm below the current surface of the ground. At that point continued auger boring was no longer feasible with the equipment that we had available (See figure 6.15).





Figure 6.13 Exposed brick disposed of in rubble pit.



Figure 6.14 Storage pit while excavation was in progress showing stained organic soil that makes up the fill of the pit versus the heavy clay surrounding the pit.





Figure 6.15 Auguring into clay matrix to confirm end of cultural deposits.

*Brick Rubble Path and Foundation Extension*

Upon returning to the front door area in 2011 we anticipated excavating a continuous path from the front door, to possibly locate commonly used out buildings, such as a privy. However, within 15cm of excavations to the west, the brick rubble path ended on the western edge. The extent of the brick rubble path was defined. In addition to uncovering the remainder of the path the foundation repair that intrudes onto the front door was uncovered to reveal that the foundation bricks extended to the north during our 2011 field season, which postdates the brick pathway. The extension consists of a double row of bricks that are superimposed on the brick pathway (see figure 6.16). The brick foundation extension supports the hypothesis proposed by Manion (2006), that Newell family created improvements to the structure upon purchasing the property. The brick foundation extension is in a different construction style than the post-in-ground construction found on the main structure. It is currently hypothesized that Newell created this extension to the original cabin structure to accommodate his rapidly growing family and social status.

In addition to the brick rubble path at feature, we also uncovered what appears to be a foundation extension, which postdates the brick pathway. The extension consists of a double row of bricks that are

superimposed on the brick pathway. The brick foundation extension supports the hypothesis proposed by Manion, that Robert Newell created improvements to the structure upon purchasing the property. The brick foundation extension is in a different construction style than the post-in-ground construction found on the main structure. It is currently hypothesized that Newell created this extension to the original cabin structure to accommodate his rapidly growing family and social status.



Figure 6.16 Brick Rubble path and foundation extension, facing north.

### *Gravel Distribution*

In the process of excavations on the west side of the house we began to discover large quantities of river gravels that were not present in the rest of the site and are not part of the natural soil sequence (see figure 6.12). In order to establish the frequency of gravel, the gravel was collected by level and unit in a separate bag. Upon returning to the lab, the gravel was counted and weighed by level and unit. This frequency information was then entered into GIS using ESRI ArcMap® software and generated the following density map for the gravel (see figure 6.17).

As the map illustrates, the gravel is concentrated on the southwest side of the house. The gravel increases in concentration along the West wall of the house orienting towards the North. It is especially heavily concentrated around the northwest exterior corner of the house. In addition to the brick rubble pathway being used to prevent frequently trodden paths from becoming mud pits, the gravel on the west side of the house indicates that that was used also in an attempt to keep people's feet out of the sticky clay mud from around the house.

## 35MA41 Gravel Density

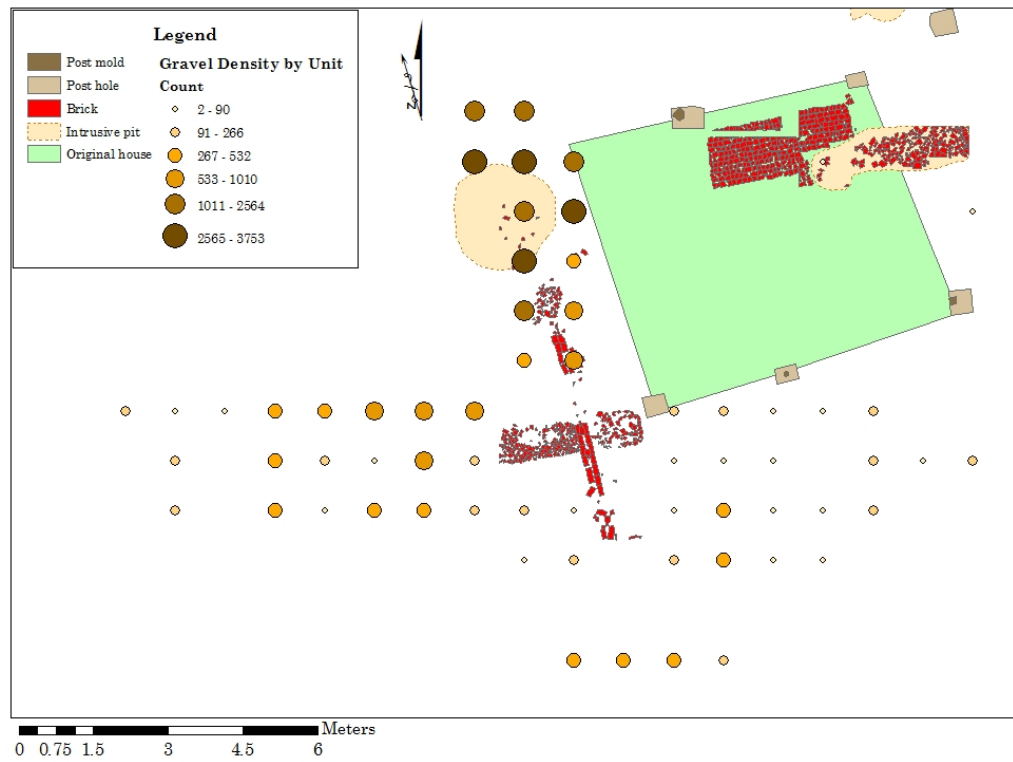


Figure 6.17. Gravel Density Map showing concentration on west side of house.

## Field Season 2012

### *Brick and Burned Clay Anomaly*

In 2011 we expanded excavations around a burned clay anomaly originally located in 2009 located at the southeast corner of the block excavation. The anomaly was slightly less than 1 m square in size, consisting of broken clay bricks, artifacts and heavily burned clay. At this point it is unclear exactly what the feature represents. Based on location, it may have once been some sort of foundation support. It does appear though, that some form of fire was present to harden the clay matrix to such an extent (Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.18 Burned clay anomaly, feature number 09-3.

*Intrusive Pit*

In the process of exposing the linear brick sill feature, a sandy pit filled with artifacts was discovered at the northern end of the foundation brick sill (see figure 6.19). Excavations were expanded around the feature at the end of the 2012 season. This pit feature was originally thought to be a small trash pit or shallow spot on the edge of the western exterior of the cabin became a much larger intrusive pit. Four 1x1 m units were opened over the intrusive pit feature in an attempt to find the boundaries and depth of the feature. It soon became clear that we had just hit the top of a very large feature. At the end of excavations the edges of the feature were larger than our 2x2 meter unit, and after 150 cm in depth of excavation we had not reached the bottom (figure 6.20).

At approximately 130 cm below surface the boundary between the pit fill and the natural clay soil became much clearer. It also became clear that the pit was dug into the culturally sterile C-horizon of the soil stratigraphy made up of a heavy, dense clay. The fill was made up primarily of a sandy soil deposited from a flooding episode, consistent with the flood deposits dated to the 1861 flood in the brick rubble pit. This boundary was approximately within 10 cm of the elevation of the prepared clay floor of the house. At that point excavations went from 10cm arbitrary levels in 1x1 meter units to 10cm arbitrary levels removing only the pit fill



material. This allowed us to see the original circular shape of the intrusive pit, approximately as it was at the time it was filled in by the flood deposits.

Because this feature could not be fully explored in the 2012 field season, the 2013 season was focused on excavating this feature, which will be discussed in the next section (See figure 6.21).



Figure 6.19 Beginning of intrusive pit feature.





Figure 6.20 Intrusive pit feature after excavation in a 2 x 2 m area.



Figure 6.21 View of intrusive pit feature at end of 2012 field season looking north.

## **Excavations 2013**

### *Well feature*

When the circular feature was uncovered in 2013, the soft, sandy pit fill had depressed and sunk below the level of the surrounding heavy clay soil, from the weight of the previous excavations back dirt. This made identifying the original pit-fill boundary simple to delineate. At this point excavations continued in 10 cm arbitrary levels, following the natural contours of the surrounding clay matrix. Coincidentally our excavation grid nearly bisected the feature into nearly even quadrants (Figure 6.22). The soft sandy fill had a large quantity of artifacts mixed into the fill similar to the sediments found in the brick rubble disposal pit east of the hearth. Once the fill was completely removed, it became clear that some of the irregularities in the clay matrix were due to slumping of the original clay matrix, creating uneven surfaces and pockets of sandy matrix. After exposing the clay matrix by removing the fill, the intrusive pit was over 4 m in diameter and 2 m deep. Based upon size, shape and location of the intrusive feature, we have concluded that this must be a well.

Getting in and out of the excavation was becoming more complicated by the depth and irregularity of the excavation features, and it looked as though we were still not close to being out of cultural material considering

the fact that at the base of the sandy matrix broken bricks were protruding into the clay (Figure 6.23). In an effort to proceed with excavations, while maintaining safety, we bisected the well into a 1x.5 m unit to explore the depth of the cultural deposits below the sandy matrix. The clay matrix that appeared to have had slumped down from the sidewalls ended varied from 5-8 cm in depth before abruptly ending.

Below the clay lens was a matrix of almost solid brick, with less than approximately 20-30% sediments, and a few other cultural items, such as nails and buttons. The bricks continued for over another meter in depth. At this depth of the excavations, the sediments below the clay lens were becoming very unstable, with bricks falling out of the walls randomly. At this point excavations were halted due to safety concerns. The extent of the brick deposits is still unknown at this time (figures 6.24).

Due to the enormous quantity of the brick removed from the pit was wrapped in a tarpaulin within the excavated portion of the site in order to keep the brick with the site for future research. All bricks excavated were cleaned and examined for diagnostic traits, with a sample of diagnostic bricks collected for further analysis at Oregon State University.



Figure 6.22 Excavations at the beginning of the 2013 field season.



Figure 6.23 Feature after sandy flood deposits removed.



Figure 6.24 Well at maximum exposure at the end of the 2013 field season, facing west.





Figure 6.25 Excavations at maximum exposure. Note the color difference in the soil changes from the prepared clay floor versus the naturally sandy loam on the edges of the excavations on the exterior of

# 35MA41 Total Excavations as of 2013

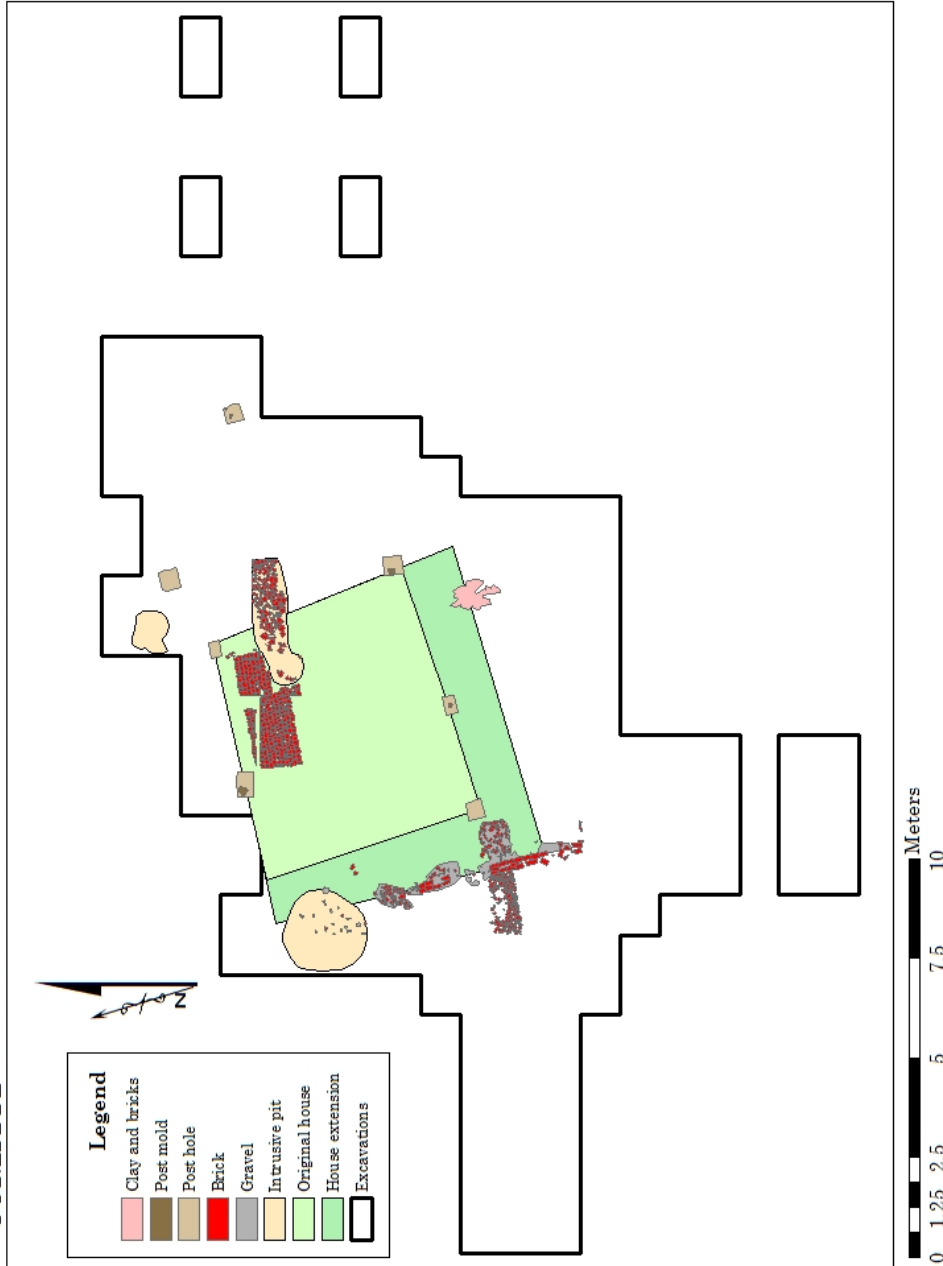


Figure 6.26 Extent of excavations at the end of 2013 field

## **Chapter 7. Discussions and Conclusions**

### **Assemblages Chosen for Analysis**

While all of the artifacts recovered from 35MA41 were examined, cataloged, sorted and cross-mended into functional categories using Sprague's *A Functional Classification for Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Sites in Historical Archaeology (1980)*, not all artifacts from 35MA41 were analyzed for this dissertation. Categories were selected based on their associations with domestic activities, which would have fallen under the purview of women or children's activities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These categories include, personal items (clothing, adornment, grooming, pastimes) and domestic items (culinary and gustatory) based on historic research, they are the classes most likely to reflect women or children's expected 19<sup>th</sup> century activities in a domestic setting.

The categories of commerce, industry, and architecture were not a part of this dissertation, as they were not thought to be as likely address the current research questions. In addition to these categories, the artifact assemblages associated with John Ball and Nathaniel Wyeth, as identified by Manion (2006) were excluded from this analysis in order to explore the domestic artifacts created by a family with women and children present.



Large block style archaeological investigations at the Newell site have exposed the features and artifacts associated with the domestic life of residents in the early Oregon Country. The features of the house that were discussed in chapter 6 were the stage upon which our actors performed their domestic duties, the majority of which would have fallen to the women and children.

To address the research questions regarding activity areas and artifact patterning, analysis has been broken into two main categories. Both are based on disposal patterns at the archaeological site and the mapping of *in situ* artifact frequencies and their relationship to features. During the nineteenth century garbage disposal was not centralized. Disposal of refuse could vary from expedient tossing on the ground, sweeping garbage out the door or to deliberate burial (Majewski 2005: 7-8). It wasn't until the late nineteenth century with the rapid expansion of urban populations drastically increasing the need for garbage removal in crowded environments and the acceptance of germ theory and a need for public sanitation that garbage disposal became centralized (Majewski 2005: 8) New York City's exploding population after the Civil War caused the city government to declare a war on garbage in 1866 (Majewski 2005: 10). Activities areas such as these leave evidence within the archaeological record that can tell us about the occupants of the house. The first level of

analysis focuses on artifact dispersal based off of activity areas within and outside of the house. The second area of analysis is for the buried garbage disposal pits, as well as sheet scatters.

While the Newell site is clearly rich with thousands of artifacts, it is probable that very few of the artifacts would have been visible on the surface for long during the occupation. After fifteen years of periodic excavations, I have realized that despite the expedient disposal patterns of the nineteenth century, very few artifacts are visible on the surface of sites in Champoeg State Park. Visibility of known sites within the park is usually very low (0-20%) due to vegetation. Surface finds of archaeological sites within the park have been most easily located after rain that washes the dust away, when park employees have removed vegetation, or in one of the many rodent burrows throughout the park. However, the author has observed that even in the areas with the greatest artifact density, most artifacts are not visible. The soft sandy nature of the native soils on the exterior of the house allows for artifacts to be pushed down into the soil by the action of working and walking around the site. A smaller assemblage of artifacts was also pressed down into the prepared clay floor of the interior of the house. These artifacts may have been pressed into the floor due to the high traffic areas within the house. These factors on the interior and exterior of the house would only be exaggerated in the wetter

conditions in the winter months. It is probable that during the houses occupation the environment and appearance of artifacts would not have been significantly different.

### **19<sup>th</sup> Century Gender Expectations**

Gender roles in Europe and the Americas in the nineteenth century became more and more rigid, with men and women's roles becoming more and more separate from one another. With the rapid population expansion in Europe and in the Americas, combined with populations shifting from rural farming to urban centers for jobs in the industrial revolution, men and women's roles and spheres of influence became almost mutually exclusive (Stone and McKee 1999: 35). During the colonial period in America women were seen as physically weaker than men, but biological differences were not emphasized. However, by the nineteenth century new medical models of biological determinism were being promoted that claimed women's frail reproductive systems made them unsuitable for anything other than domestic chores. It was even believed that too much education for women would sap precious energy away from the reproductive organs, possibly making women barren (Stone and McKee 1999: 36-42).

Men in contrast, were seen as biologically stronger than women and expected to compete in the “public sphere” in the areas of politics, trade and employment. A man’s world-view was faced outward into the public sphere. Women however, were expected to retreat to the safer, private, “domestic sphere” of the home, creating a haven from a heartless world for men who were off competing in the dog-eat-dog world of nineteenth century capitalism (Stone and McKee 1999: 42). Women on the other hand were expected to nobly sacrifice herself for the good of her husband and children, lest she be seen as selfish (Stone and McKee 1999: 35).

A women’s world-view was very much focused inward toward the home and family. Women had the primary responsibility for the home with domestic duties that were defined as solely their responsibility. In addition to running a household and raising a family, women were also seen as the moral and religious standard bearer for the family (Gandy 2004: 32). Women were perceived as naturally more virtuous and upright than men, and were responsible for instilling Christian morals into her family. Women were expected to use these “natural” traits to run the domestic sphere of life, providing a needed “civilizing” influence for their menfolk (Stone and McKee 1999: 35).

## **Changing Gender Expectations in the Fur Trade**

The gender expectations discussed above were of course the idealized gender roles for middle-class white people. The native women who married into the fur trade found themselves negotiating radically changing gender expectations during their lifetime when their families shifted from the nomadic life of the fur trade, to the sedentary life of farming on French Prairie. These changes had an enormous impact on the expectations of Native women and their daughters.

Native American women had been marrying into the fur trade almost from the beginning of the trade (Van Kirk 1980: 78-80). Such “country marriages” were seen as very advantageous to the fur companies, as even Native women were seen as providing the “comforts of a home” for their male employees (Gandy 2004: 58). More importantly however was the labor of the wives in the fur trade. Women’s labor was essential in the fur trade. Women trapped small game, fished, cooked and prepared pelts and made moccasins and they also adopted the use of European tools (Gandy 2004: 58; Van Kirk 1980: 80). Some tribes, such as the Nez Perce even considered beaver hunting (the most prized of the fur trade pelts) to be only fit for women or slaves to do, as beaver were considered too small a prey for men (Gandy 2004: 59). Native women in the fur trade took great pride in their work and were famous for competing with one another in

camp to see who could prepare the cleanest and best quality pelts in camp. (Gandy 2004: 59-60). Women were also valuable as traders in their own right, often creating trade networks between their tribe and the fur trappers, and acting as interpreters during trading. Native women in the northwest also still retained the products of their labor as their own property, not their husbands (Gandy 2004: 60; Van Kirk 1980: 82).

In addition to their own labor, native women often brought slaves to their marriages who provided a significant amount of labor for the fur companies. Slacum's report on the Oregon Country from 1836-1837 described an HBC fur brigade preparing to depart. Out of the party of 150-200 people, only 40-50 were identified as actual fur company employees, while the rest were women, children and slaves (Forsyth and Slacum 1912: 189). When Slacum questioned Dr. McLoughlin about the practice of keeping native slaves, McLoughlin is quick to point out that it is the *women* who *own* the slaves, not the Hudson Bay Company or its employees. Slaves were brought on brigades to chop wood, hunt, fish etc. and that each trapper had two to three slaves that provided labor the company did not have to pay (Forsyth and Slacum 1912: 192).

Expectations for the wives and daughters in the fur trade began to shift dramatically when settlement began on French Prairie In the early 1830s. Native skills that were essential in the fur-trade gave way to Euro-

American domesticity amongst the métis community. Unlike white women at the time, who were believed to have greater moral fortitude than men (Stone and McKee 1999: 35), native women were described as unchaste and corrupt. Métis girls were encouraged to remove themselves from the company of native relatives lest they too be corrupted (Gandy 2004: 90).

Dr. McLoughlin encouraged this shift to agriculture (McNamee 1959: 109-110) and discussed why letting some men settle in the Willamette Valley and farm is good for the Hudson's Bay Company:

“...as their children would be brought up with the sympathies and feelings of Indians, and as the half-breeds are in general leaders among Indians, and they would be a thorn in the side of the whites, I insisted they should go to the Willamette, where their children could be brought up as whites and Christians and brought to cultivate the ground and imbued with the feelings and sympathies of whites, and where they and their mothers would serve as hostages for the good behavior of their relatives in the interior.” (Gandy 2004: 74).

In 1836 John McLoughlin wrote in a letter to fellow HBC officer Edward Ermatinger regarding the missionaries:

“...let those who wish to do good to Indians- teach them to get their food in a different way than at present- in short teach them Agriculture While they are instructing them in religion...” (Gandy 2004: 133)

Through out French Prairie in the 1830s-1840s education for the children of the retired HBC employees became a very important way to improve their children’s chances of raising their status in life. For male children in the fur trade to qualify for respectable positions above *voyageur*, literacy was necessary. For the daughters, an education on how to run a home was essential in finding a respectable mate (Gandy 2004: 62). Father’s took great care to groom daughters as good marriage partners, making sure the girls were skilled with their hands, literate and morally upright (Gandy 2004: 62), as métis girls of good character were sought after marriage partners (Van Kirk 1980: 95) by the white officers of the company allowing for social advancement for the girls (Gandy 2004: 33). To achieve this aim, education for girls was very focused on acculturating



them to “become white” and adopt Euro-American housekeeping practices and gendered roles (Gandy 2004: 185).

A serious problem faced the community on French Prairie. Who was to educate the girls in their new gender roles? Many of the fathers were illiterate themselves and certainly didn't have the skills the girls needed to learn. White Protestant missionaries had taught the women of French Prairie to bake bread by 1839 (Dye 1900: 116), but far more training was needed than these women could provide, and they could not educate the girls in their father's faith of Catholicism. This created another dilemma, as the girls' native mothers were not seen to be fit to teach the girls either. As a result, the fathers in the community around St. Paul petitioned the Catholic Church (via John McLoughlin) for nuns to come and teach their daughters how to “become white women” (Gandy 2004: 5). On the education of his own daughter Eliza McLoughlin, Dr. McLoughlin said, “my object is not to give her a splendid education, but a good one – at least a good education for a girl” (Gandy 2004: 89), clearly reflecting the gender expectations for girls and the purpose of their education.

### **A Morality Tale**

The following is a story said to be handed down in the family of Phil Thompson, but it reads more like a morality tale explaining the transition native wives were expected to make for the good of her family. It is illustrative of the expectations and sacrifices native women were asked to make between their tribes and their husbands and children.

“After trapping many years in the Rocky Mountains and marrying a native woman of the Snake Indians, he saw his oldest daughter beginning to grow up to womanhood, and concluded that he must follow the missionaries who had come into the Willamette Valley that the girl might be educated. He talked the matter over with his Indian wife, who perceived the advantage of the child becoming a white woman; but could not bring herself to leave her country. She bade him and the girl a sad farewell, and Thompson set out, and after one day’s journey made camp. Another day’s march was made; but once more, as morning came, the Snake Indian mother was there to say good-bye. Thus continuing several days she finally gave up her tribe to follow her child and in the Willamette Valley became

known as one of the most careful of housewives. She tried to learn the white women's ways, and visited her white neighbors, noticing all the home arrangements and ways of cooking, washing and keeping house, and introduced these at home to please her husband and that her children might grow up like white people." (Gandy 2004: 130).

### **The Arrival of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Oregon**

In 1844 six Belgian nuns from the Order of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur arrived at the St. Paul Mission in the Oregon Country to establish a girls school Sainte Marie de Willamette (McNamee 1959: 159). Their presence was seen as crucial by the priests for the education of the women and children (McNamee 1959: 124).

The nuns emphasized practical skills, including basic religious and literacy training, including spelling, arithmetic, reading, grammar, and later on writing, more importantly though, these women taught the girls how to run a European household (Gandy 2004: 127). Girls were taught to make aprons, sew clothes, knit stockings, spin, weave, patchwork, weaving, and they took turns cooking with the nuns (Gandy 2004: 132). Girls were rotated through all necessary household and barnyard chores such as

cooking, washing, sweeping, milking cows and making butter as a part of their education (Gandy 2004: 132; McNamee 1959: 163)). Working in the fields and in the kitchen garden were also a large part of the curriculum at the school (Gandy 2004: 113). Girls were also encouraged to teach these skills to their mothers to help them also conform to the new ideal of “true womanhood” the sisters introduced to French Prairie (McNamee 1959: 163).

The priests at the Mission at St. Paul emphasized the importance of the women to the success of the new community. Women learning European domestic skills were seen as crucial to the establishment of an agricultural community in Oregon. Father Bolduc of the St. Paul Mission stated it thusly:

“All the Canadians are married to native women of different tribes, who have no proper knowledge of how to keep a household in order.... Only farmers married to skillful Canadian wives could make a fortune here. Their example would be of great usefulness for the country, which, without that, will long remain stationary” (Gandy 2004: 131)

Sr. Julie Billiart reiterated these aims when she described the educational goals of order of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur for the girls, in a letter to a prospective mother requesting “special” classes:

“Madame, our end is to train good Catholic women, who know how to manage a household and bring up her family, women who understand business, who can read, write, and keep accounts, who speak like educated people and are not ashamed to work. Especially, especially, Madame, do we train girls to be virtuous.” (Gandy 2004: 117).

## Women's Activity Areas in the Archaeological Record

### *Culinary: Cooking and Baking*

Based on 19<sup>th</sup> century gender expectations women performed much of the domestic labor on the farms in 1830s-1840s. One of these tasks would have been food preparation. During this time period there were few stoves in Oregon, so most cooking done was with indirect heat from ashes and embers or over direct heat in a kettle or pot over open wood fire on hooks (Hussey 1967:117). Indirect heating methods using hot coals and embers is referred to as “down hearth cooking”. Small amount of embers are moved out of the fire under a small iron trivet upon which a cooking vessel can be placed. Heat is controlled by the amount of embers placed under the trivet. When cooking is accomplished, the embers can simply be returned to the hearth fire (Rubel 2008: 59).

As discussed in chapter 6, the second brick hearth at the Newell site was composed of broken bricks laid into a smooth flat surface, the base for the oven/hearth firebox. In addition to ash deposits recovered in situ on the eastern end of the hearth utensils, ceramic sherds, an oven door, firebox hooks, and baking pans were also recovered. Down hearth cooking of food with embers has left its mark in the archaeological record in front of the hearth at the Newell site. Burned clay directly south of the hearth shows evidence of repeated heating over long periods, creating a solid and

hard clay surface. Other artifacts found around the hearth are all associated with culinary and gustatory activities (figure 7.1).

Women used European skills, such as bread making, to compete for status within their own community (Dye 1902: 116), much as they had with pelts in the fur trade. The hearth with a built in oven would have been a luxury on French Prairie during the period of occupation as ovens were rare during this period.

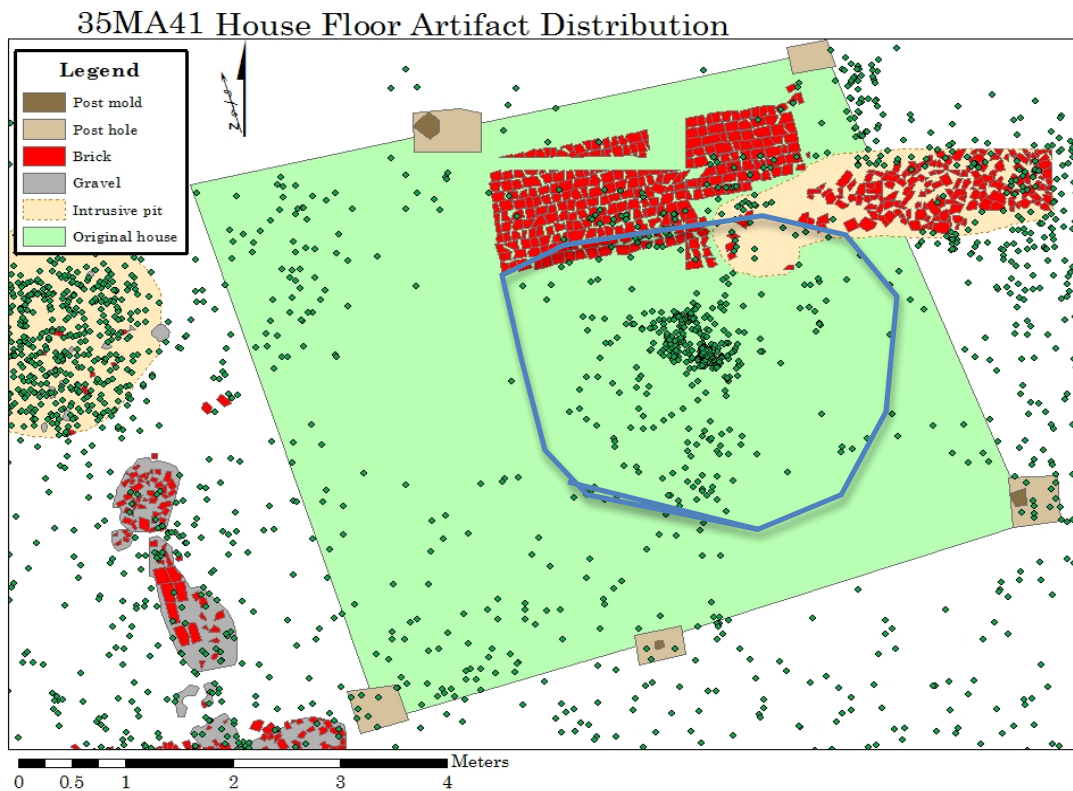


Figure 7.1 House Floor Artifact Distribution, culinary activities outlined in blue.

### *Gustatory*

One of the defining characteristics of the Newell site is the great diversity and quantity of 19<sup>th</sup> century English ceramics recovered in Oregon from a domestic setting. Over fifty different transferprint decorated ceramic patterns have been identified at the Newell site to this date. These patterns represent hundreds of vessels that were in use at the site during its occupation. Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) analysis of ceramics from 35MA41, show trends in ceramic purchasing patterns for specific functional items.

As other researchers have shown, ceramics were an expensive item related to status in the métis community (Cromwell 2006; Burley 2000). The ceramics at the Newell site appear to be grouped into two sets; ceramic sets matched for similarity and ceramic sets matched for variety (figure 7.2; table 7.1). Ceramic minimum vessel counts show that while there was great variety of ceramics at the Newell site, there were also attempts made to create matched sets of certain categories of ceramics. Wilkes notes as late as 1839 HBC still has a monopoly on European goods coming into the Oregon Country (Wilkes 1973: 330).



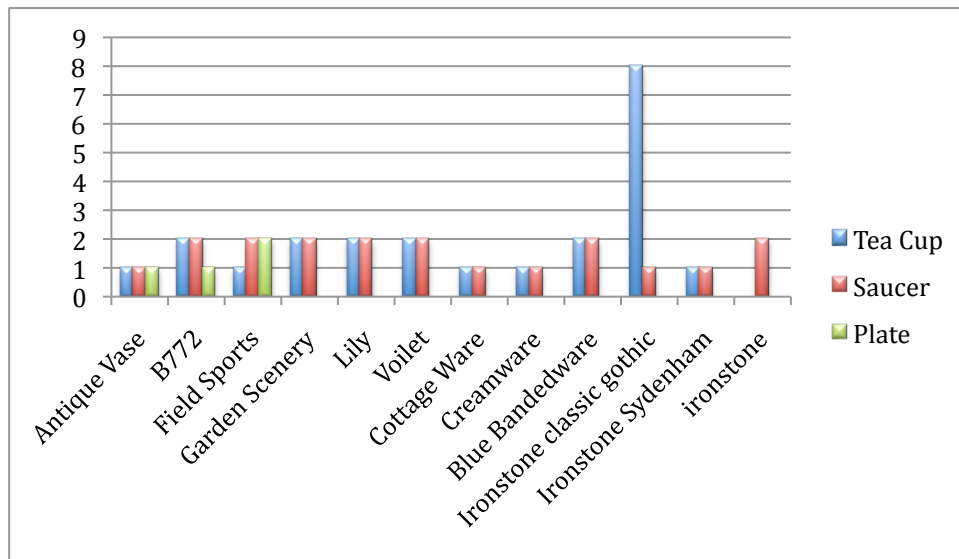


Figure 7.2 Ceramic patterns from tea “sets” identified.

Pattern name	Decoration Type	Dates of Manufacture
Antique Vase	Blue transferprint	<1847
B772	Flow Blue Transferprint	1839
Field Sports	Green and Blue Transferprint	>1846
Garden Scenery	Blue transferprint	1843-1855
Lily	Blue transferprint	1837>
Voilet	Purple Transferprint	1840-1850
Cottage ware	Hand painted, floral	1820-1840
Cream ware	Molded design	unknown
Blue Banded ware	Blue slip decorated	1830-1850
Classic Gothic Ironstone	Molded, geometric	1850-1870

Table 7.1 Ceramic tea “sets” patterns and dates of manufacture



Figure 7.3 Undecorated cups and saucer. Note the cup on the right is a white earthenware fabric, while the cup and saucer on the left are a later ironstone fabric.



Figure 7.4 Ironstone cup in "Sydenham" pattern.

Less expensive, often plain or hand painted ceramics are the patterns that appear in the archaeological record in minimum vessel counts over two . Current analysis shows that 12-inch plates, 5 ½-inch bowls, and handless cups are three categories in which it appears that matched ceramics seem to be desired (figure 7.3, 7.4). Over fifteen 12-inch shallow soup plates were recovered from the Newell site. Of these, twelve were “featheredge” plates and three were plain white rims of the same shape. There were also two matching serving dishes in “feather edge” recovered. While the individual plates are the same shape, each of the rims is painted with a unique combination of impressed markings and painted blue glaze (figures 7.5, 7.6, table 7.2).

Seven 5-½ inch –banded ware bowls were recovered. While these bowls were again, all the same vessel shape and size, the individual patterns were unique, while all were decorated in similar banded patterning. The same attempt at creating “matched” sets can be seen in coffee cups, which are all white, either plain or with a molded gothic pattern. They also include both earthenwares and ironstones in similar patterns.

The variety in individual decorations on vessels versus the continuity we see in vessel shape and size may indicate the attempt at

creating a “matched” set over a period of multiple purchasing episodes of everyday tableware. It could be hypothesized that this was due to the expense of ceramics at the time, but the volume of ceramics recovered argues against that idea. It seems just as likely that new ceramics were purchased as the size of the households fluctuated with the birth of new family members. This would take into account the small variations in the featheredge, banded ware and plain white wares, yet the overall attempts at creating similar sizes and shapes of everyday tableware.

An entirely different pattern begins to emerge when the transferprint ceramics are analyzed. Over a dozen “sets” of tea wares were identified in varying ceramic patterns, the majority of which were transferprint designs. The tea “sets” were made of a teacup, 6-¼-inch saucer and a 10-inch plate. The dozen “sets” range in color and patterns, but the vessel types are consistent, if not exactly the same form. With over fifty ceramic patterns identified at the site, the dozen full “sets” of tea wares is probably underrepresented, as other patterns may have been purchased in such a “set”, but not enough of other vessels were recovered from the archaeological context to establish vessel types to establish other “sets”.

The variety of transferprint patterns could be explained for a variety of reasons (figure 7.7). As was stated above, the relative expense of these

ceramics was considerable compared to the income for many of the métis community (Cromwell 2006:84). But the presence of hundreds of vessels argues against a purely economic motivation. Transferprint ceramics should be considered more than just purely utilitarian objects. Burley (2000) argued that the presence of fragile tea wares amongst the Hivernant Métis, who followed the bison herds seasonally, curated their tea wares because of the social and ceremonial uses of the tea wares outweighed their fragility. Transferprint ceramics are also highly decorative objects, with exotic, romantic scenes (accuracy of the scenes aside) of far-flung locations around the world. In addition, without expensive cabinetry, the dishes were most likely displayed on open shelves and acted as decorative objects even when not being used functionally. In a mostly illiterate society, the romantic scenes could also act as a springboard for storytelling, such as the Catholic Church used the Catholic Ladder (an illustration of bible stories) to teach religious catechism to their students (McNamee 1959: 110). The expense of these ceramics would only increase their value as a status symbol in the community, if that were one of the motivations for the purchases.

This is certainly not an exhaustive analysis of the ceramics at the Newell site, but the size of the database does allow for more sophisticated

questions to begin to be asked of the lives of the community on French Prairie.

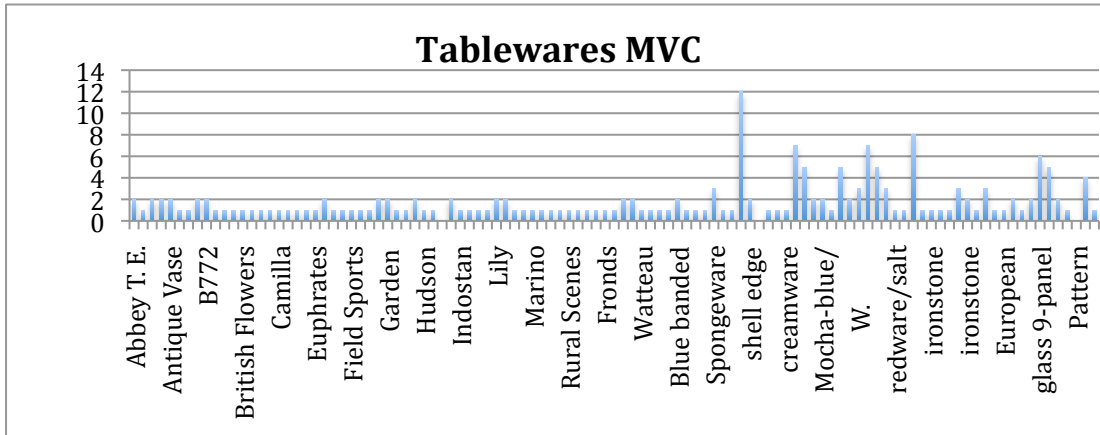


Table 7.2 Tablewares Minimum Vessel Count (MVC)

<b>Pattern</b>	<b>vessel type</b>	<b>MVC</b>	<b>Decoration</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Abbey T. E. Scene	Plate	2	Blue transferprint	1839-1841
Abbey T. E. Scene	serving dish	1	Blue transferprint	1839-1841
Abbey T. E. Scene	hollowware	2	Blue transferprint	1839-1841
Alhambra	hollowware	2	Blue transferprint	>1848
Antique Vase	plate	2	Blue transferprint	<1847
Antique Vase	Saucer	1	Blue transferprint	<1847
Antique Vase	cup	1	Blue transferprint	<1847
B772	cup	2	Blue transferprint	1839
B772	saucer	2	Blue transferprint	1839
B772	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1839
Bedford	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1855
British Flowers	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1829-1974
British Flowers	serving dish	1	Blue transferprint	1829-1974
Brosely	hollowware	1	Blue transferprint	post 1847
California	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	
Camilla	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	
Camilla	tea pot	1	Blue transferprint	
Chinese Export	pitcher	1	Blue transferprint	1814-1830
Columbia	serving dish	1	Blue transferprint	1848
Doria/Epirus	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1841-1855
Euphrates	cup	1	Blue transferprint	1830-1834
Field Sports	plate	2	Blue transferprint	post 1846
Field Sports	saucer	1	Blue transferprint	post 1846
Field Sports	saucer	1	green transferprint	post 1846
Field Sports	cup	1	green transferprint	post 1846
Floral	unknown	1	pink transferprint	
French Radiating Sprig	unknown	1	flow blue	1833-1847
Garden Scenery	cup	2	Blue transferprint	1843-1855
Garden Scenery	saucer	2	Blue transferprint	1843-1855
Geranium	lid	1	Blue transferprint	1818-20th c.
Hudson	plate	2	pink transferprint	1839-1841
Hudson	plate	1	brown transferprint	1839-1841
Hudson	plate	1	purple transferprint	1839-1841
Indostan	plate	2	pink transferprint	unknown
Indostan	saucer	1	pink transferprint	unknown



<b>Pattern</b>	<b>vessel type</b>	<b>MVC</b>	<b>Decoration</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Isolla Bella	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1819-1864
Italian	Saucer	1	Blue transferprint	1816-present
Lily	serving dish	1	Blue transferprint	1837-present
Lily	cup	2	Blue transferprint	1837-present
Lily	saucer	2	Blue transferprint	1837-present
Lily	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	1837-present
Louis Quatorze	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	1844-?
Marino	plate	1	Blue transferprint	1834-1838
Non Pariel	hollowware	1	Blue transferprint	
Rhone Scenery	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	1843-1855
Ruins	unknown	1	Blue transferprint	1848-present
Rural Scenes	flatware	1	Blue transferprint	c. 1850
Seasons	serving dish	1	Blue transferprint	1835-20th c.
Temple Warriors	flatware	1	pink transferprint	
Fronds	unknown	1	purple transferprint	
Fronds	unknown	1	brown transferprint	
No ID pink	Saucer	1	pink transferprint	1830-1840
Voilet	cup	2	purple transferprint	1840-1850
Voilet	saucer	2	purple transferprint	1840-1850
Watteau	Saucer	1	Blue transferprint	pre-1847
Willow	flatware	1	Blue transferprint	1780s-present
No ID Brown	Saucer	1	brown transferprint	
Floral blue	cup	1	flow blue	
Blue banded	unknown	2	hand painted	
brown banded	unkown	1	hand painted	
Stamped ware	plate	1	hand painted	
Stamped ware	hollowware	1	hand painted	
Spongeware	flatware	3	hand painted	
cottageware	cup	1	hand painted	c. 1820-1840
cottageware	Saucer	1	hand painted	c. 1820-1840
shell edge	plate	12	hand painted	1800-1840s

<b>Pattern</b>	<b>vessel type</b>	<b>MVC</b>	<b>Decoration</b>	<b>Dates</b>
shell edge	serving dish	2	hand painted	1800-1840s
applique	flatware	1	hand painted	
creamware	cup	1		
creamware	Saucer	1		
Mocha-polychrome	bowls	7	hand painted	
Mocha-polychrome	hollowware	5	hand painted	
Mocha-blue/white	Saucer	2	hand painted	
Mocha-blue/white	cup	2	hand painted	
Mocha-blue/white	hollowware	1	hand painted	
W. earthenware	plate	5		
W. earthenware	saucer	2		
W. earthenware	Saucer	3		
W. earthenware	Saucer	7		
yellowware	hollowware	5		
b. earthenware	hollowware	3	slip decorated	
redware/salt glaze	crook	1		
ironstone	hollowware	1	Blue transferprint	
Ironstone classic gothic	cup	8		
Ironstone classic gothic	Saucer	1		
ironstone	waste bowl	1		
ironstone	hollowware	1		
Ironstone Sydenham	cup	1		post-1853
Ironstone	cup	3		post 1853
ironstone	Saucer	2		post 1853
Chinese Porcelain	ginger jar	1	hand painted	
Chinese Porcelain	bowl	3	hand painted	
Chinese Porcelain	serving dish	1	hand painted	
European Porcelain	Saucer	1		
Stoneware	crook	2		
Stoneware	hollowware	1		

Table 7.3 List of ceramic patterns, MVC and dates.



Figure 7.5 Variety of edges from feathered edge plates.



Figure 7.6 Variety of banded ware shards from 5 ½ in bowls.

### 35MA41 Transferprint Ceramics

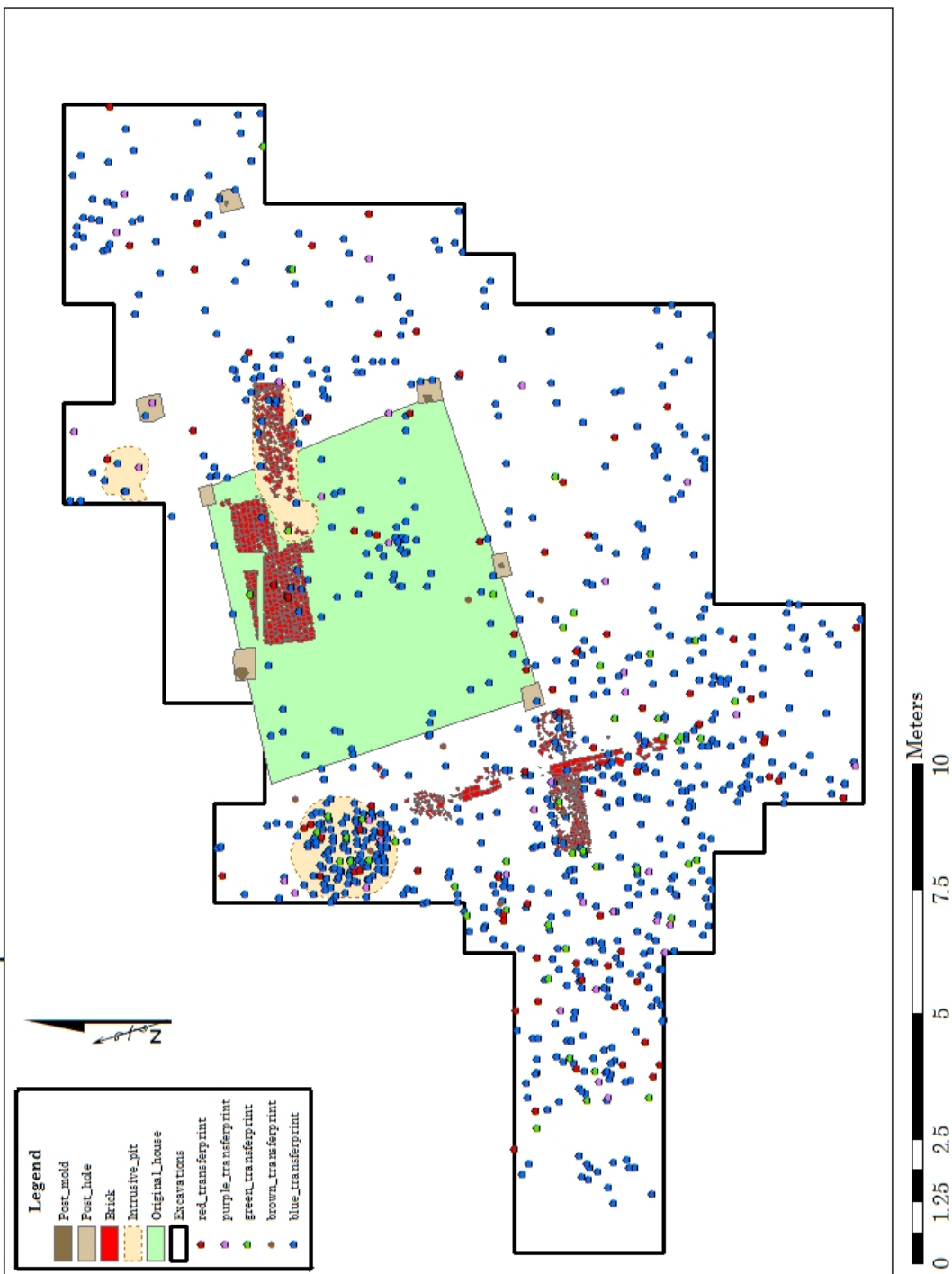


Figure 7.7 Transferprint ceramic distributions.

*Personal Items*

As a result of métis women's dual cultural heritage, and the limited access to European goods, métis women created their own sense of fashion in the Oregon Country that suited their lifestyles. The brief descriptions that we have of métis women on French Prairie describe the women as wearing a combination of European and native dress. Calico dresses with red kerchiefs on their heads or tied across their chest, with elaborately beaded leggings and moccasins (Dye 1902: 35, 105). Personal items related to women's fashions among the métis recovered from the Newell site are consistent with this description. The pattern of personal items was consistent with the overall dispersal of artifacts across the site.

Personal items consist of baleen and tortoiseshell hair combs (figure 7.8), clothing buttons, trade beads, mirror glass, a perfume bottle (figure 7.9), trade rings and small sections of leather boots. These likely represent a very small sample of personal items that would have been well curated by the owners. Interestingly, there were no women's shoe buttons located at the Newell site. While this is not conclusive of the women not using European shoes, it is consistent with the known practice of métis women preferring leggings and moccasins as foot wear.



Figure 7.8 Fragments of baleen combs (top) and single tooth from a tortoiseshell comb (bottom).



Figure 7.9 Perfume bottle recovered from the Newell site.

*Lithics*

A small assemblage of lithic tools was recovered at the site. They consist of four projectile points, seven utilized flakes, and several pieces of ground stone. Three of the larger pieces of ground stone are edge worn cobbles used to soften leather hides. While the assemblage is small, it is consistent with a small working toolkit for basketry and hide working. These are also the tools necessary for making Nez Perce cradle boards, which was a tradition that was maintained by the métis into the fur trade period (Dye 1902: 105) It is possible that this small assemblage may be evidence of Kitty Newell's ethnicity and presence at the site. These tools consistent with Nez Perce tool kit (Brauner: personal communication). Kitty's short occupation of the site, along with the emphasis on distancing children from native skills in favor of European skills along with the very young age of Kitty Newell's children at the time of her death makes it unlikely to be related to other occupants at the site.

The utilized flakes appear to be expedient tools from local river gravels or pieces of glass. The low quantity indicates that the tools are either from a shorter occupation of an individual, or that it was not a favored tool, but occasionally convenient. Several smaller (5-10cm) polished stones were also recovered that could have been used in plant processing such as basketry.

All four of the projectile points are the same corner notched plateau style and are consistent with materials found in plateau projectile points (Brauner: personal communication; Aikens 1993; 25,98-99). It is possible that a member of the Newell family brought the points with them from the plateau as curiosities or relics, as the occupants at the site had more advanced technologies in the form of firearms (figure 7.10).

Two small agates that have been modified were recovered that show modifications. One agate has use wear, probably from being tied to a string, and an applied decorative dot pattern (see figure 7.11, 7.12) and the other agate was pecked on the sides to shape the agate. Function of these objects is unknown, but could represent decorative objects or a game piece.



Figure 7.10 Projectile points recovered from 35MA41.





Figure 7.11 Ground stone artifacts from 35MA41.



Figure 7.12 Close up of modified agates, not the decorative pattern on the left agate and use wear around the middle.

*Children's Activities*

Certainly, the archaeological record may not always be able to differentiate between children's versus adult's use of space at an archaeological site, but the archaeological record cannot be interpreted accurately if we don't include children *at all* as cultural actors in the archaeological record (Baxter 2008: 172; Ruttle 2010:79). As has been discussed in previous chapters, children may seem illusive in the archaeological record. Much of their material culture is shared with adults and not unique to children. I propose that children's age segregated activities may be the best way to identify them as a subset population within the family. This is not to say that they should be excluded from all other household analysis, but age segregated items may identify their activities outside of domestic chores.

Two activities that are typically focused on children is play and education. These activities might appear to be more distinguishable than other forms of material culture since childrens activities are often age segregated based on developmental abilities. Two of these activities are education and pastimes, such as games or toys. Both are represented at the Newell house.

### *Education*

Almost two hundred fragments of slate tablets and slate pencils were recovered from the Newell site. It is thought that these represent the educational activities of the Johnson and Newell children at the site. As previously discussed, education became a priority for many fathers on French Prairie. William Johnson made sure to tell Captain Wilkes that he had hired a Mr. Moore of Illinious as a tutor for some months to educate his children when the American visited the farm in 1841 (Hussey 1964: 78).

Robert Newell was one of the few who entered the servant class of the fur trade who was literate. He was known during his trapping years to always carry a copy of the bible and Shakespeare with him, and was known to read aloud around the campfire to those who could not (Hussey 1967: 192) As mentioned earlier, Newell helped to organize the Oregon Lyceum, a literary and debating society (Elliot 1908: 109), the first of its kind in Oregon (Dobbs 1932: 152). The slate tablets and pencils are likely a reflection of Newell's these families commitment to educating their children (figure 7.13).



Figure 7.13 Slate tablet fragments and slate pencils.

## **Past Times**

Games and toys may be one of the few areas within a domestic setting that children have their own separate material culture. That being said, the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not share our modern focus on mass consumption of goods for children. Few commercial toys were available to be made exclusively for the use of children. At the Newell site we have examples of commercially made toys and home made improvised toys.

### *Commercial Toys*

Two types of commercially available toys were present at the Newell site. Three commercially made ceramic marbles and two leather doll hands were recovered. The small sample size relative to the size of the other artifact categories could be explained with multiple hypotheses. The marbles and dolls could have been expensive and hard to come by when commercial goods were limited or scarce, or children could be curating highly valued objects, that never were left to the archaeological record.

*Hand made toys*

Seventeen whole or fragmented hand made clay marbles were recovered from the Newell home. These marbles were rolled from local clay found on site, then “fired” in the hearth. The broken marbles that burst in the fireplace were subsequently thrown out with the ashes, out the front door (figure 7.14).

Most interestingly, objects such as toys and slate that are associated with children at the Newell site are almost exclusively located (with the exception of two slate outliers) on the southwestern side of the house, opposite from the disposal sites of the majority of the large glass fragments recovered. This could indicate segregated areas for childrens activities on that side of the house (figure 7.15).



Figure 7.14 Marbles recovered from the Newell site. Commercially made porcelain marbles (top row) and hand made clay marbles (bottom three rows).

*Unexpected Findings of Poultry Raising*

In addition to the above activity areas that had been defined, an unexpected pattern of livestock behavior was observable in the gravel around the southwestern corner of the house. The raising of chickens and other small animals was an activity that would have been the responsibility of women or children in the house. Poultry require daily tending, feeding, watering and egg collection. The sisters at St. Marie de Willamette kept over one hundred chickens, and taught their students to care for them.

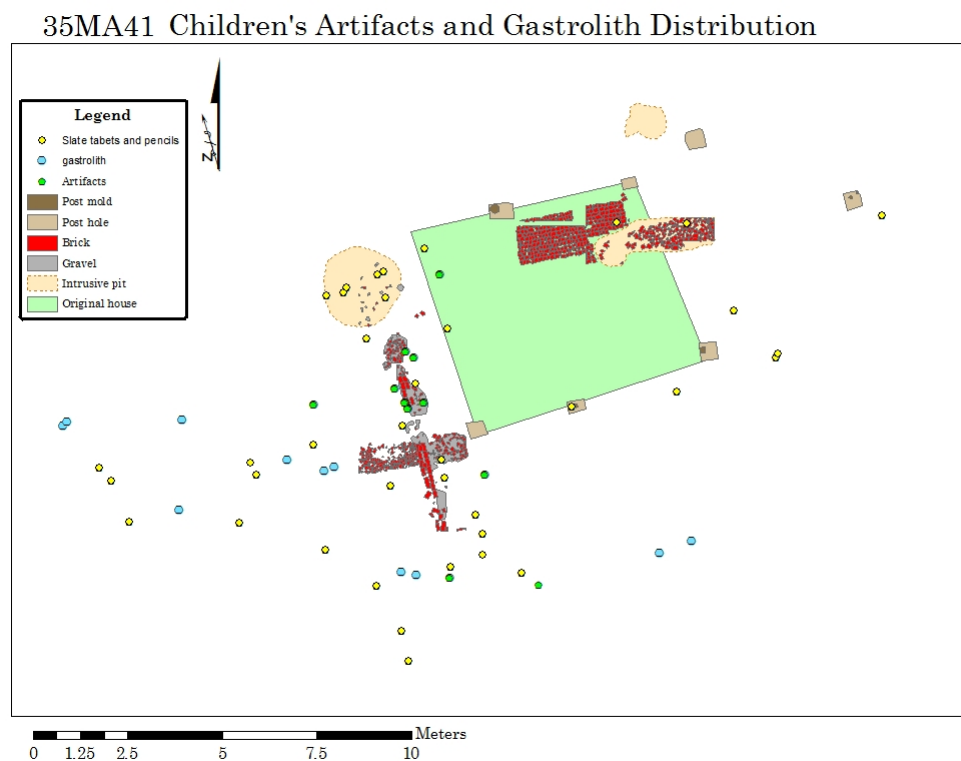


Figure 7.15 Children's Artifacts and Gastrolith Distribution



While there is documentation for several other forms of livestock, such as pigs, oxen and dairy cattle are mentioned in the Newell census records (Census Report Marion County ca. 1850), poultry was probably not a valuable enough animal to earn a line item mention. This partial documentation of what animals may have been present on the farm can skew the evidence or give the appearance that only the raising of larger animals took place. Evidence for larger animals in the archaeological record is also skewed, as their bones last longer in the archaeological record, while bones from smaller animals might be entirely consumed by dogs or scavengers at the site, or decompose more rapidly in the soil than larger bones; or the livestock may have been raised to be sold and would not end up deposited within the archaeological site. Occasionally, though, there is other evidence of small animal rearing, in this case of poultry at the Newell farm, despite a complete lack of written accounts or bird remains recovered.

It is possible to see the activity of livestock that were traditionally cared for by women and children in the archaeological record. Poultry were collecting and regurgitating grit, as illustrated by (figure 7.15) on the southwest exterior of the house. Chickens and other small poultry collect small pieces of rock, known as grit, are picked up by birds and swallowed

to help grind food in a muscular pouch called a gizzard. Because the birds have no teeth, they grind grains and other foods in the gizzard to aid in digestion (Rossier 2002: 104). Nineteenth century newspapers gave advice to new farmers on chicken rearing and the importance of adding grit to a chickens diet necessary for nutrition absorption in the livestock (Ohio Farmer 1906: 164.)

The grit can vary in size from grains of sand to small pebbles often though; chickens are just as likely to pick up small shards of ceramic or glass present in a domestic setting. These pieces of grit known as gastroliths have the appearance of having been ground and polished, which in essence they have been in the gizzard. Gastroliths are a result of birds, such as chickens that have picked up human made items such as ceramic shards or glass as grit. Eighty-four gastroliths were recovered from the southwestern exterior of the house. It is likely that the gastroliths are all located on the southwestern side of the house, where gravel deposits were the densest. This most likely reflects free range poultry collecting grit from gravelled areas and picking up the small sherds of ceramic or glass, as well as the natural gravel.



Figure 7.16 Gastroliths recovered from southwestern exterior of the house.

## **Disposal patterns**

### *House floor and Front Door*

The function of a brick path by the front doorway was most likely to keep the occupants of 35MA41 out of the mud and soggy ground, which typifies the French Prairie region of the Willamette Valley for much of the year. The discovery of the “doorway” also assisted us in interpreting the orientation of the front of the house. It appears that much of the interior household debris was frequently swept or thrown out the front door on a regular basis. The crescent shaped dispersal pattern is consistent with debris being swept out towards the front door. The remaining artifacts recovered from the clay floor may have become embedded into the floor due to the high traffic area and soft soil. In addition, many of the items recovered from the clay floor may have become covered by the later addition of a wood floor of the cabin, preventing them from being swept away later. (Manion 2006: 63).

A corresponding, broad sheet scatter of domestic debris was recorded on the southwestern exterior corner of the house, near the front door of the house (Figure 7.17). This sheet scatter is consistent with 19<sup>th</sup> century disposal patterns of sweeping garbage out the door (Majewski 2005: 7). The assemblage consists of a variety of domestic artifacts mixed with charcoal and ashes. Fire burning hearths require frequent ash

removal and it appears that smaller food remains and other small pieces of household debris were swept out the front door on a regular basis along with ash and charcoal from the hearth.

In addition to the charcoal and ashes, some of the ceramic shards recovered on the western side of the house showed signs of having been burned. It could indicate that the hearth served as a first line of garbage disposal for the house, with non-combustible items, such as ceramic vessels, were then disposed of when the fireplace was cleaned out. Shards of ceramic have a trend of being slightly smaller in size (less than 2-3cm) on this side of the house, than objects found on the northeastern side of house in disposal pits, which range from 2cm up to 40cm.

Another smaller area of artifacts was concentrated in the northwest corner of the house, possibly indicating an interior access to the well and a secondary disposal area to sweep out debris. The areas within the house that lacked a significant deposit of artifacts are likely related to the placement of furniture within the households. The main items in a house of this size would have been a table, bedding areas and storage that would prevent artifacts from depositing in those areas.

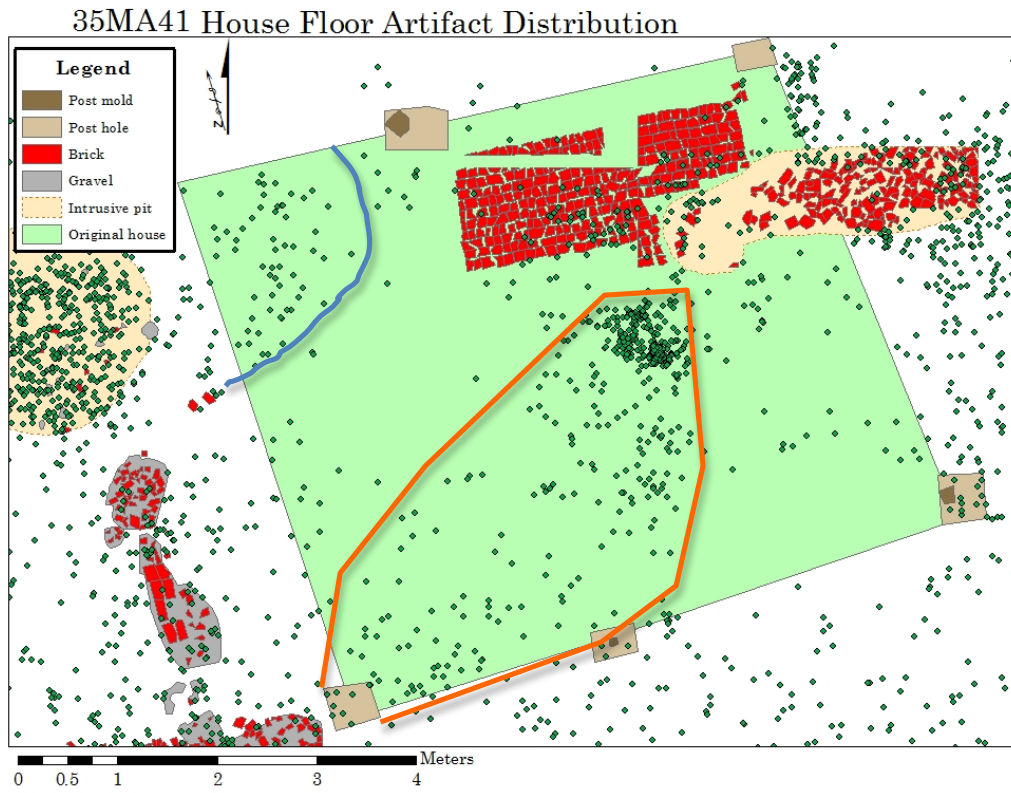


Figure 7.17 House floor disposal patterns.



Figure 7.18 Deer Antler and sheep ribs found in small garbage pit on eastern side of house.

#### *Garbage Pits near Northeastern Exterior of House*

Several small garbage pits were excavated on the northeast exterior of the house. These pits were haphazard and appear to have been small, possibly less than 40 centimeters in diameter and dug in succession. This could indicate repeated garbage disposal events in the area of small quantities of items. Defined pit edges were difficult to identify in this area due to the intrusive nature of later pits and extensive rodent damage (Figure 7.18). Pits were identified most often by pockets of artifacts that

had not been disturbed. The shape of the pits themselves, is not the significant aspect of the disposal action however. The items on the northeastern side of the house disposal appears to have consisted of larger items, which may be unpleasant for some reason and needed to be segregated out of the rest of the household debris that was simply swept out the front door. This was most likely for a very practical reason such as the smell from the decomposition of food remains or the danger of large sharp glass shards. Unlike other household items that have a generally even dispersal across the site, larger bottle glass from olive, green or aqua bottles were the only class of domestic artifact that has a dispersal pattern densest on the eastern side of the house, away from other activities of children, etc. rather than out the front door (See figure 7.19, 7.20). They are also the class of artifact most often found in some type of buried features. Tidiness is clearly not the issue, since many other types of artifacts are dispersed all over the southwestern side of the house. It appears that safety may be the issue, whether this was for the sake of livestock, children or everyone in the household, we cannot know for certain, but it appears to be a very deliberate behavior.

In addition to the garbage pits, the distribution of artifacts in relation to the exposed posthole patterning suggests that artifacts were also collecting against a solid object. This type of artifact distribution is



frequently a result of a barrier, such as a wall or solid fence that prevents the artifacts from dispersing evenly across the landscape. This might indicate that a shed was attached to the eastern wall of the house, which would account for the postholes on that side of the house.



Figure 7.19 Larger fragments of olive bottle glass recovered from intrusive pits at the site.

### 35MA41 Glass Distribution

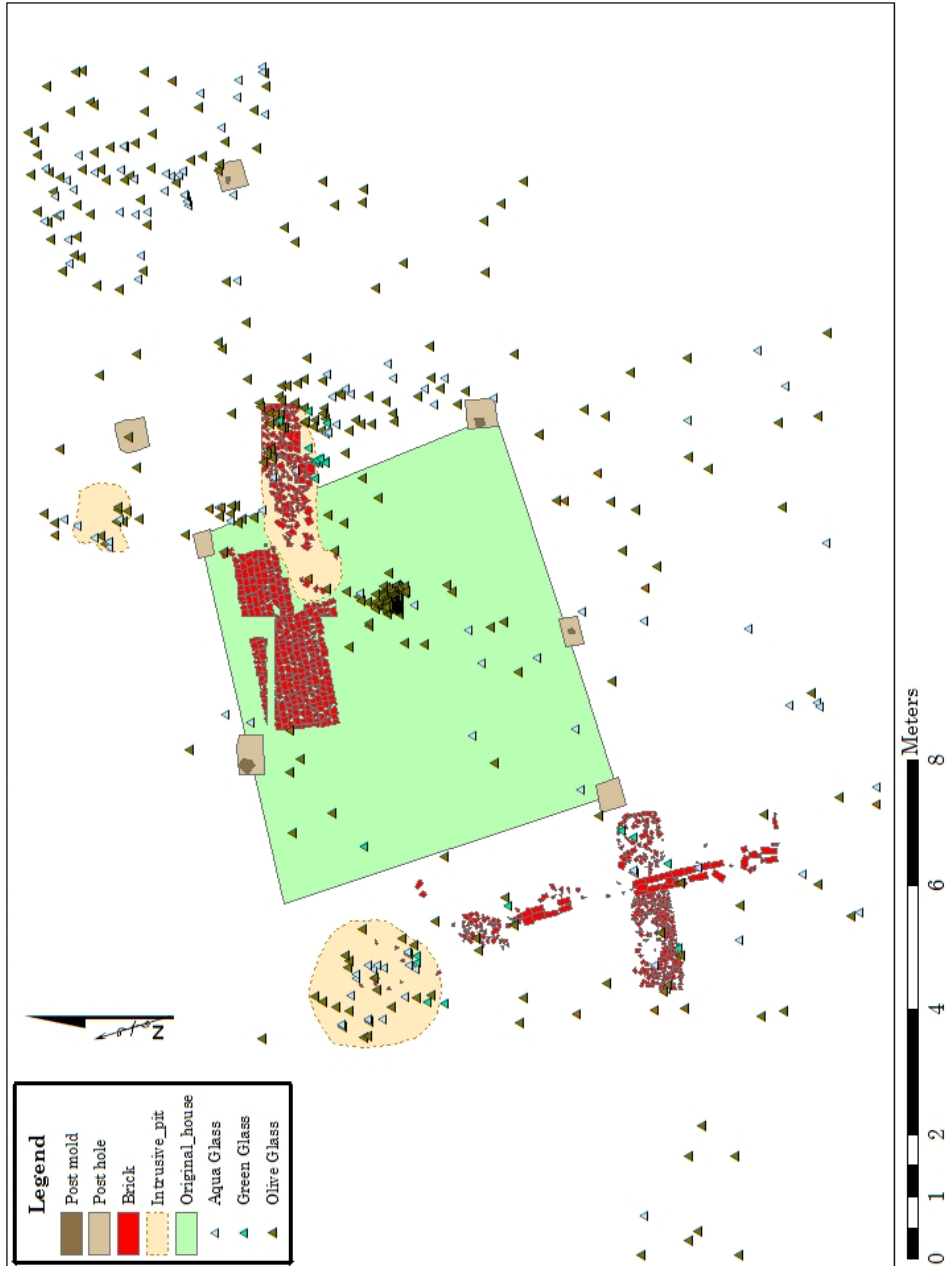


Figure 7.20 Glass Distribution

*Well Deposits*

The well on the northwest exterior corner of the house has large concentrations of cultural material, even when all the brick within the well is excluded (Figure 7.21). The top 150cm of the well feature consist primarily of a sandy fill consistent with 1861 flood deposits identified by Manion (2006). Based upon this matrix, it appears that the upper portion of the well was open at the time of the 1861 flood. Floodwaters could also account for the super-saturation of the clay matrix that created the slumping of the clay walls in the upper well.

During the lifetime of the well, it likely had a wooden cover, possibly with a hand pump, preventing debris from accumulating. The location of the well indicates that there may have been an opening from the interior of the house to access water, would have been a huge labor saving for the women and children, who would not have needed to haul water long distances for cooking, drinking or cleaning.

During the period of abandonment from 1855-1861, the well was probably still covered with a wooden structure for the safety of people as well as livestock. After the 1861 flood all wooden structures in the town of Champoeg had floated down the Willamette River with the current

(Hussey 1967: 230). This could account for the well being open at the time of the flood to fill with the flood debris.

Below the clay lens, which varied in depth from 3-8 cm, the matrix in the well was filled with broken brick. A dozen or so artifacts, other than bricks, consisting of small items that could percolate through the bricks were found within the brick matrix. Since the 1861 flood deposits are clearly *after* the brick disposal, as opposed to brick disposal on the eastern side of the hearth, which dates to *after* the 1861 flood. This may indicate that there were two disposal episodes, where exposed or damaged brick were disposed of, but after the 1861, more elements of the hearth and firebox may have become exposed, requiring a second round of brick disposal on the eastern edge of the hearth.

### 35MA41 Well Artifact Distribution

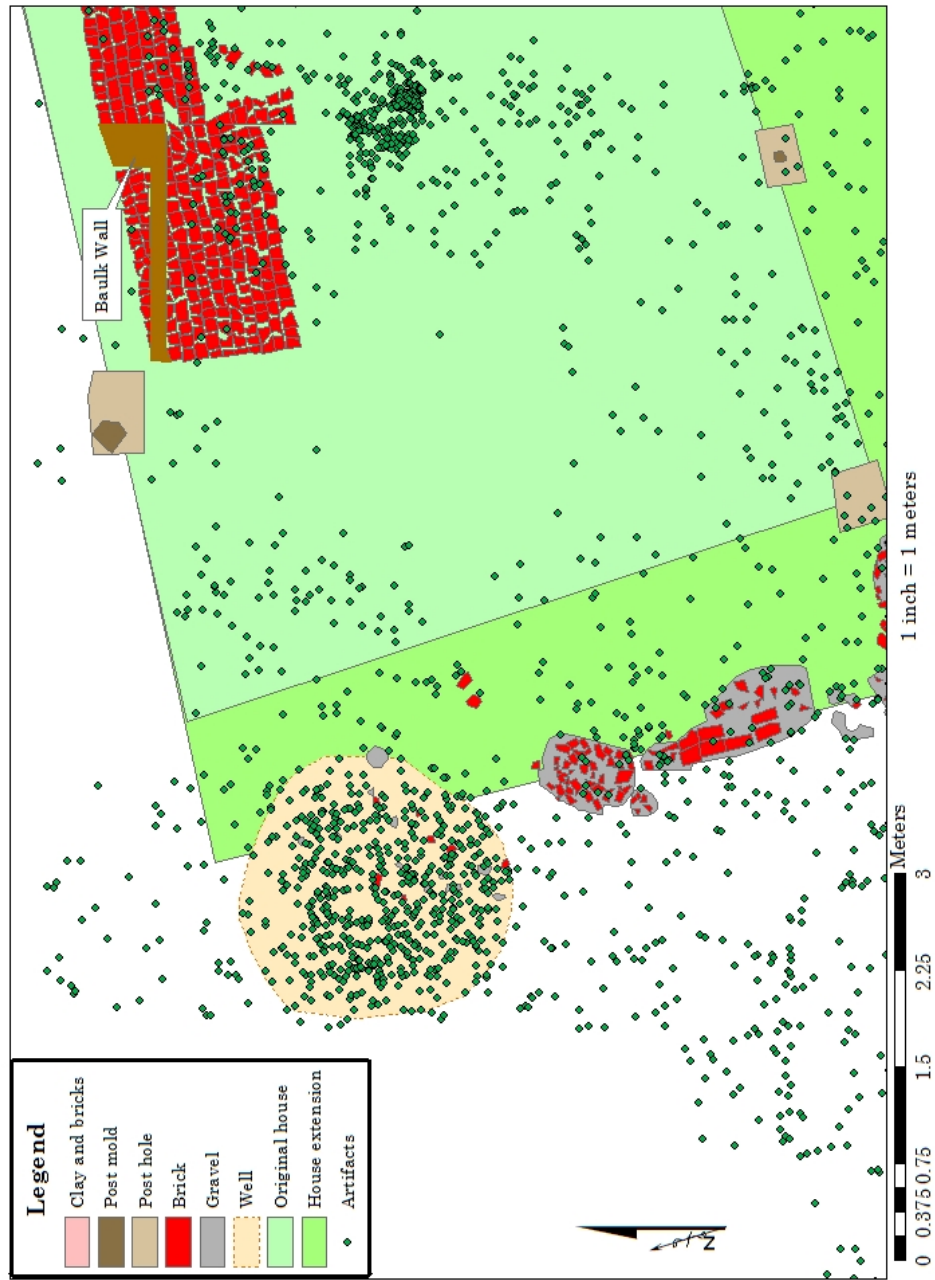


Figure 7.21 Well Artifact Distribution

## **Recommendations for Future Research**

Despite the many years of work that have already gone into researching the Newell site, new questions and areas for research are constantly being generated as new data and features have come to light. The excellent integrity of 35MA41 contains data that could answer many other research questions.

The architectural elements of the cabin appear to originally have been post-in-ground construction associated with French-Canadian structures. However, the two courses of brick on the western wall of the house appear to be a sill support for another style of construction. The evolution of the structure appears to speak to the ethnicity of the occupants who constructed the original cabin, as well as subsequent occupants who made improvements later (most likely Newell).

Other more social aspects of research into gendered roles in the Métis community are also another fascinating area that needs more work. Formal tea ceremonies amongst the métis on French Prairie have not been investigated. Initial observations made in this dissertation indicate that the women are making thoughtful and socially complex decisions about ceramic and other household purchases. It is naïve to think that because women are not allowed in the sale shop at Fort Vancouver to purchase the

ceramics or other goods themselves, that they did not know what was in the shop, either by asking the men who had been in the sale shop or by seeing goods in their friends homes. Indeed, as Champoeg became a commercial center, more options would have been available for purchase increasing the variety available in the area. Considerably more work could be done with ceramics or other classes of artifacts to explore consumer choice theory during this time period. This dissertation has also shown patterns of acculturation in towards a Euro-American economy and culture on French Prairie. Further work on sites that do not have an American component (as with Rebecca Newell at 35MA41), may be excellent for further research into acculturation studies. It would also be interesting to see if there is a difference between the ceramic purchases seen at the Newell site as compared to a French-Canadian site.

## Conclusions

The métis is a term deriving from the French for “mongrel” but often refers to a mixed ethnicity group composed primarily of Euro-American men marrying into a native population (Pollard 1990: xiv). A short-lived métis community existed on French Prairie in the Oregon Country in the ca. 1829-1861. This distinct ethnic group lasted for only two generations before American immigration flooded into the valley in the 1840s and 1850s, soon outnumbering the métis population.

The métis population that developed at French Prairie only lasted as a distinct community for one or two generations, before the massive influx of American immigrants flooded the Oregon Territory, changing the religious, linguistic and political climate of the area. The first generation of agriculturalists of the 1830s in the Oregon Country consisted mostly of retired French Canadian Hudson’s Bay Company *voyageurs* and their Native American wives. These women came from many tribes throughout the Northwest, such as the Chinook, Cowlitz, Kalapuya and Nez Perce, among others. After this first generation had established farms and a community around St. Paul.

Along with this community they established a Catholic Church, and were the first Catholic diocese west of the Mississippi and north of



California. At the Catholic Church a boys and girls schools were established for the practical and religious training of the children in the community. The focus of the school was not just to read and write, but to assimilate the métis children to European culture. It was also hoped that by educating the girls in European house keeping, they would then take that information home to their native mothers, helping them to assimilate as well. Assimilation was seen by the community at large as the best way to transition the métis community to an agriculturally based economy, very different from the world of the nomadic fur trade. A major component of this was to educate the children in European culture and gender expectations. For the girls, this meant cooking, baking and otherwise taking care of the domestic household.

Historical archaeology has had a history in the past of using an androcentric framework for research. This dissertation hopes to have shown that the demographics of historic communities should be established for sites being researched by archaeologists when adequate data sets are available to create a holistic and inclusive framework for research. Demographics should be looked at to understand the composition of the community and the individual within households, where possible, before we can attempt to interpret the archaeological deposits they leave behind. One of the key advantages of historical archaeology is access to

archival materials in addition to archaeological deposits. In order to do demographic work we should delve into census records, tax records, civil or church marriage records, baptismal and death records and land claim records to give a fuller context for the community.

This dissertation has been an attempt to demonstrate that domestic households in the 19<sup>th</sup> century should be considered a gendered space run by women. The 19<sup>th</sup> century and the industrial revolution changed reinforced rigid gender roles, which consisted generally of domestic household run by women. I have identified distinct activity areas and classes of artifacts that are associated with women or children, based on 19<sup>th</sup> century gender expectations in order to look for their presence in the archaeological record. I have showed that women and children were not just passively present at the site, but were active participants at domestic sites in the early days of the Oregon Country. Women were crucial to the success of this new agricultural community and left abundant evidence of their lives in the archaeological record.

Children made up the majority of the household members at 35MA41 after 1836 (78% of the Johnson household and 75% of the Newell household) and historical records show that children were seen as an essential part of assimilating the métis community into the new agricultural based economy and as a source of labor within the house and

farmyard of a homestead. Therefore we must incorporate them as members of the household contributing to the archaeological record.

There are multiple lines of evidence at the 35MA41 that women and children are active participants in the economy and domestic life of a farmstead. The cooking, baking and serving of food are all activities that women or girls would have been almost exclusively responsible for in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and are well represented in the archaeological record. Evidence for baking (a much desired skill to learn on French Prairie in the 1840s), has been identified in the form of baking pans and evidence of an oven/hearth constructed on the north wall of the house. Open hearth cooking as well as down hearth cooking are also evident in the presence of cooking utensils, pothooks and burned clay in front of the brick hearth.

The small assemblage of lithic material may very well be evidence of Kitty Newell's ethnicity and presence at the site, but the small size may also indicate both the rapid assimilation to European goods and the brief time that Kitty Newell lived at the site. The small assemblage is consistent with a tool kit for doing basketry and leatherwork.

Chores such as milking cows, making butter, feeding poultry and other livestock were other daily activities that would have been carried out by the women and children in the home. Evidence for raising poultry was recovered on the same area of the southwestern exterior of the house, the

same area where the majority of children's slate tablets and toys were located. It clearly shows an exterior area being shared by the children and poultry outside the house.

The personal items recovered from the household are consistent with the limited descriptions we have of preferred women's dress on French Prairie. Imported glass faceted buttons and hooks and eyes from European style women's dresses were recovered, along with trade beads consistent with native decorative beadwork that was common on leggings during the time the house was occupied. The presence of only men's European style boot soles and no evidence of women's European style shoes could be an indication of the use of leggings and moccasins by the women of the household.

Women's agency and choice of ceramics are evident at the Newell site, which appear to incorporate both practical and symbolic uses of ceramics within the home have been identified during the course of researching this dissertation. Less expensive, hand painted earthenwares (consisting of feathered edge soup plates, white earthenware cups and saucers, and banded ware bowls) were most likely for day-to-day gustatory activities. These ceramics appear to have been purchased serially over a period of time, possibly as the families grew in size, rather than all at once. While ceramic vessels are the same or very similar in size and shape, the

individual decorations on the feathered edge rims and banded ware bowls vary within the assemblage.

More expensive ceramics, consisting mainly of transferprint vessels, do not follow this same pattern. A large variety of patterns (over fifty identified to date) were recovered in extremely fragmented form. Of the identifiable vessel types a preference for buying transferprints in “tea sets” consisting of a teacup, saucer and plate were identified. Twelve of these “tea sets” were identified and are consistent with the patterns of tea ceremony adopted by the metis community. These transferprint ceramics would have been high status items, associated with the assimilation of the metis community, as well as decorative items within the home.

Children’s education and leisure activities, primarily in the form of slate tablets, pencils and marbles, appear to be located on the southwestern exterior of the house. These items do not make up a large quantity of artifacts at the site, but activities that are exclusive to children in the 19<sup>th</sup> century should be expected to be a small part of an archaeological assemblage, as *any* individual members *personal* items would be within a household. This holds especially true for the early communities in Oregon that had limited access to European consumer goods, compared to their contemporaries on the east coast of America or in Europe. The vast majority of items within a household, (especially the

broken discarded items that end up in the archaeological record) are used in a communal fashion with the whole household. Items related to cooking, eating, garbage disposal, etc. are objects that are not necessarily associated with an individual person.

Similar problems may arise with the use of personal items to identify the presence of women at an archaeological site. It has been my observation that many archaeologists try to identify gender roles based solely off of personal items such as beauty products or items of personal adornment. This may be a case where gender roles may be more evident due to the extreme difference in men and women's fashions, but it is just as probable that personal items represent personal idiosyncratic behavior. I would argue that looking at just a small class of artifacts exclusively could be a very slippery slope of interpretation. If archaeologists are *only* looking at singular items, particularly those that are stereotypical such as beauty products to represent the roles of women at an archaeological site, then the interpretations are at best naïve and at worst reductionist and prejudicial. To reduce the entire impact of women at an archaeological site to a beauty regimen or hair combs is to reinforce patriarchal stereotypes that rob women of any form of agency in interpretations.

By looking at the household as a gendered space run primarily by a woman and her children (based off of historical documentation of gender and age differentiated work), we can see that women are not at all illusive in the archaeological record. Evidence of their presence is everywhere in a domestic setting, and incredibly important to include in the interpretation of archaeological sites. By using the historical documentation of women's work, we can then compare cultural ideals and concepts of gender against the archaeological record to see if there is consistency with these roles and ideas, or possibly resistance to them. By doing so, we may just be able to expand our understanding of the expression of culture and gender in the past. We may just find that our understanding of gender in the past may need to expand to include a more nuanced understanding of humanity.

By using a holistic approach to the research of this group, incorporating historical, cultural, ethnic, gender and material culture studies, it is hoped that a fuller understanding of the human experience on French Prairie can be accomplished. With this approach, it is hoped that more inclusive studies that take into account the agency of the whole household and their contributions to the maintenance of the household and archaeological record. Only by trying to understand the complexities of human social life can we begin to reflect a fuller picture of the past, and

not reproduce a politically fueled patriarchal agenda often found in traditional histories.



## **Bibliography**

Aikens, Melvin, C. (1993) *Archaeology of Oregon* US Dept. of the Interior. Portland Oregon.

Bailey, Margaret Jewett (1986) *The Grains or Passages in the life of Ruth Rover with Occasional Pictures of Oregon, Natural and Moral*. First published in 1854. Oregon State University Press, Corvallis, Oregon.

Ball, John (1835) Narratives of Travel to the Willamette Valley. The American Journal of Science and Arts. Vol. XXVIII—July 1835. New Haven Connecticut.

Ball, John (1925) *Autobiography of John Ball*. Compiled by Kate Ball Powers, Flora Ball Hopkins, and Lucy Ball. Grand Rapids Michigan.

Barker, David and Teresita Majewski (2008) Ceramic Studies in Historical Archaeology, The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry (editors) Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom pp205-231

Baxter, Jane Eva (2005) *The Archaeology of Childhood; Children, Gender, and Material Culture*. Altimira Press, Walnut Creek California.

Baxter, Jane Eva (2008) *The Archaeology of Childhood*. Annual Review of Anthropology 37: 159-175.

Baxter, Jane Eva (2005) *The Archaeology of Childhood; Children, Gender, and Material Culture*. Altimira Press, Walnut Creek California.

Bell, James (1998) Report of the Ground Penetrating Radar Survey at Champoeg, August 1998. Pacific Global Surveys Inc., Oregon.

Boderhorn, Barbara (1990) "I'm Not a Great Hunter, My Wife Is: Inupiat and anthropological models of gender" in *Models of Gender*, 14(1-2): 55-74.

Brauner, David, R. (1986) *Archaeological Evaluation of Site 35MA72: Hudson's Bay Co. Granary, Champoeg State Park, Marion County*. Report to Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, Salem, Oregon, from Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Brauner, David, R. (1986) *The French Canadian Archaeological Project Willamette Valley, Oregon: Site Inventory*. Report to Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, Salem, Oregon, from Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Brauner, David R. and Mollie Manion (2004) *Interim Report of Archaeological Sampling at the Robert Newell Farmstead Site (ORMA41)*, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Burley, David V. (2000) "Function, Meaning, and Context: Ambiguities in Ceramic Use by the *Hivernant métis* of the Northwestern Plains". In: *Approaches to Material Culture Research For Historical Archaeologists*. (David R. Brauner compiler). The Society for Historical Archaeology, California, Pennsylvania. Pp. 399-408.

Chapman, Judith Sanders (1993) *French Prairie Ceramics: the Harriet D. Munich Archaeological Collection Circa 1820-1840 A Catalogue and Northwest Comparative Guide*. Anthropology Northwest: Number 8, Corvallis, Oregon.

Claassen, Cheryl Ed. (1991) "Gender, Shellfishing, and the Shell Mound Archaic," in J.M. Gero and M.W. Conkey (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 276-300.

Conkey, Margaret W. and Janet Spector (1984) "Archaeology and the Study of Gender", in *Archaeological Method and Theory* 7:1-38, New York: Academic Press

Cromwell, Robert. *Theoretical Perspectives Position Paper on HBC Fort Vancouver and Kanaka Village*. Unpublished proposal, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

Cromwell, Robert (2006) "Where Ornament and Function are so Agreeably Combined": Consumer Choice Studies of English Ceramic Wares at Hudson's Bay Company Fort Vancouver." Unpublished dissertation, Syracuse University, Syracuse New York

Cromwell, Robert, Helen Delight Stone, and David R. Brauner (1998) *Archaeological Testing of the Newell Historic Farmstead Site (ORMA41), Champoeg State Park, Oregon*. Report to the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office from the Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Crooks, Deborah L. (1997) *Biocultural Factors in School Achievement for Mopani Children in Belize*. *American Anthropologist*, 99, 3, 586-601.

Crooks, Deborah, L. Lisa Cliggett, and Steven M. Cole (2007) *Child Growth as a Measure of Livelihood Security: The Case of the Gwembe Tonga*. *American Journal Of Human Biology*, 19, 669-75.

Delamarter, George Guy (1952) *The Career of Robert Newell-Oregon Pioneer*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. University of Oregon, Eugene Oregon.

Dobbs, Caroline, C. (1932) *Men of Champoeg. A Record of the lives of the pioneers who founded the Oregon Government*. Metropolitan Press, Portland, Oregon.

Dobres, Marcia-Ann and John E. Robb editors (2000) *Agency in Archaeology*. Routledge, London and New York

Dye, Eva Emery (1902) *McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company.

Edward, Jay D. and Tom Wells (1993) *Historic Louisiana Nails Aids to the Dating of Old Buildings*. Geosciences Publication Department of Geography and Anthropology, Baton Rouge Louisiana.

Elliot, Thompson C. (1908) Doctor Robert Newell: Pioneer. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 9:103-126.

Falk, Dean (1997) "Brain Evolution in Females: An Answer to Mr. Lovejoy," in L. Hager (ed.) *Women in Human Evolution*, London: Routledge, pp. 114-136.

Farnham, Thomas J. (1977) *An 1839 Wagon Train Journal: Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory*. (Copyright 1977 by Rodney R. McCallum.) Greeley & McElrath Tribune Building, New York.

Forsyth, John and William A. Slacum *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Jun., 1912), pp. 175-224

Friedan, Betty (1963) *The Feminine Mystique*. Norton.

Fernandes, Leela (2010) Unsettling "Third Wave Feminism: Feminist Waves, Intersectionality, and Identity Politics in Retrospect" (Nancy A. Hewitt, Ed.) *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism*. Rutgers University Press. Pp. 98-118.

Fike, Richard E. (1986) *The Bottle Book: A Comprehensive Guide to Historic, Embossed Medicine Bottles*. Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fitzgerald, Diane (1999) "A Precious Tool" *Beadwork Magazine*, winter 1999 p. 53-55. Interweave Press, Loveland Colorado

Gartley, Richard and Jeff Carskadden (1998) *Colonial Period and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Children's Toy Marbles: History and Identification for the Archaeologist and Collector*. The Muskingum Valley Archaeological Survey, Zanesville, Ohio.

Gero, Joan M. (1991) "Genderlithics: Women's Roles in Stone Tool Production", in J.M. Gero and M.W. Conkey (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 163-193.

Gilchrist, Roberta (1991) "Women's Archaeology? Political Feminism, Gender Theory and Historical Revisionism," *Antiquity* 65:495-501.

Gillet-Netting, Rhonda and Amber Perry (2005) Gender and Nutritional Status at the Household Level Among Gwembe Valley Tonga Children 0-10 years. *American Journal Of Human Biology*, 17, 372-375.

Goodman, Alan H. (2001) "The Biological Consequences of Inequality in Antiquity". In: *Building a New Biocultural Synthesis: Political-Economic Perspectives on Human Biology*. (Alan H. Goodman and Thomas L. Leatherman, Eds.) An Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 147-169.

Goodman, Alan H. and Thomas L. Leatherman editors (2001) *Traversing the Chasm between Biology and Culture: An Introduction*. In: *Building a New Biocultural Synthesis: Political-Economic Perspectives on Human Biology*. (Alan H. Goodman and Thomas L. Leatherman, Eds.) An Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 3-42.

Greska, Lawrence P. et. al. (2007) Growth and Health Status of Street Children in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *American Journal of Human Biology*, 19, 51-60.

Gunther, Erna (1975) *Ethnobotany of Western Washington, the Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants by Native Americans*. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London.

Hardesty, Donald L. (1994) "Class, Gender Strategies, and Material Culture in the Mining West" In: *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson and London. Pp. 129-148.

Hays-Gilpin, Kelley and David S. Whitley (1998) Introduction: Gendering the Past. In: *Reader in Gender Archaeology* (Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley, Eds). Routledge, New York, New York. Pp. 3-10.

Herbert, James M. (2007) "Culture Built Upon the Land: A Predictive Model of Nineteenth-Century Canadian/Métis Farmsteads." Unpublished Master's thesis, Oregon State University, Corvallis Oregon.

Hitchcock, C. Leo (1973) *Flora of the Pacific Northwest and Illustrated Manual*. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London

Hussey, John A. (1967) *Champoeg: Places of Transition*. Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

Jackson, Thomas L. (1991) "Pounding Acorn: Women's Production as Social and Economic Focus," in J.M. Gero and M.W. Conkey (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 301-328.

Johnson, Dorothy, O. and Charles M. Gates (1957) *Empire of the Columbia, a History of the Pacific Northwest*. Harper and Brothers, New York, New York.

Jones, Olive and Catherine Sullivan (1985) *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*. National Historic Parks and Sites. Ottawa, Ontario.

Hitchcock, C. Leo (1973) *Flora of the Pacific Northwest and Illustrated Manual*. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London

Hussey, John A. (1967) *Champoeg: Places of Transition*. Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

Jackson, Thomas L. (1991) "Pounding Acorn: Women's Production as Social and Economic Focus," in J.M. Gero and M.W. Conkey (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 301-328.

Johanson, Dorothy, O. and Charles M. Gates (1957) *Empire of the Columbia, a History of the Pacific Northwest*. Harper and Brothers, New York, New York.

Kramer, Steve (2001) *Toys in the Historical archaeological record of the Smith House* (ORYA3) Unpublished Thesis.

Lee, Daniel, and Joseph N. Frost (1973) *Ten Years in Oregon*. Arno Press, New York.

Lee R. B. and I. Devore (eds) (1968) *Man the Hunter*, Chicago: Aldine.

Lovejoy, C.O. (1981) The Origin of Man, *Science* 211: 341-350

Majewski, Teresita (2005) Down in the Dumps: Context Statement and Guidance on Historical-Period Waste Management and Refuse Deposits. Contributions from the SHPO Advisory Committee on Historical Archaeology, State Historic Preservation Office Arizona

Manion, Mollie (2006) *A Settlement Model at the Robert Newell Farmstead (35MA41), French Prairie, Oregon*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis

McDonald, K. (2002) *Archaeological Applications of Magnetometry and Ground Penetrating Radar on Flood Plains of the Pacific Northwest*. Masters of Arts thesis, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

McNamee, Mary Dominica (1959) *Willamette Interlude*. Pacific Books Publishers, Palo Alto California.

Polak, Michael (2002) *Bottles Identification and Price Guide*. Krause Publications, Iola WI

Pollard, Juliet (1990) The Making of the métis in the Pacific Northwest, Fur Trade Children: Race, Class and Gender. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Social Science and Educational Studies. University of British Columbia.

Ohio Farmer (1856-1906) "GRIT." 110.10 (1906): 164.

Omwake, H. Geiger (1965) Analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> Century White Kaolin Pipe Fragments from the Mero Site, Door County, Wisconsin. *Wisconsin Archeologist* 46:125-139.

Ross, Lester (1976) *Fort Vancouver 1829-1860: A Historical Archaeological Investigation of the Goods Imported and Manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company*. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Division, Washington, D.C.

Rossier, Jay (2002) *Living With Chickens: Everything you need to know to Raise Your Own Backyard Flock*. The Lyons Press, Guilford, Connecticut.

Rotman, Deborah. (2009) *Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives*. Spinger, New York.

Rubel, W. (2008). HEARTH COOKING. *Mother Earth News*, (231), 58-64.

Ruttle, April (2010) Neither Seen Nor Heard: Looking for Children in Northwest Coast Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 34: 64-88.

Sanders, Judith A., Mary K. Weber and David R. Brauner (1983) Willamette Mission Archaeological Project: Phase III Assessment. Corvallis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University.

Sassaman, Kenneth (1992) "Lithic Technology and the Hunter-Gatherer Sexual Division of Labor," *North American Archaeologist*. 13:249-262.

Scott, Elizabeth M. (1994) "Through the Lens of Gender: Archaeology, Inequality, and Those "of Little Note" (Elizabeth M. Scott, Ed.) In: *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson and London. Pp. 3-26.

Simmons, Alexy. (1989) *Red Light Ladies: Settlement Patterns and Material Culture on the Mining Frontier*. Anthropology Northwest



Number 4. Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Slocum, Sally (1975) "Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology" In: *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*. (R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Warms, Eds.) Mayfield Publishing Company, Mountainview California. Pp. 419-428.

Snyder, Jeffery B. (1997) *Romantic Staffordshire Ceramics*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd. Atglen, PA.

Speulda, Lou Ann. (1986) *Champoeg: A Perspective of a Frontier Community in Oregon, 1830-1861*. Anthropology Northwest Number 3, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. (1994) "Diversity and Nineteenth-Century Domestic Reform: Relationships Among Classes and Ethnic Groups" In: *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson and London. Pp. 175-208.

Sprague, Roderick (1980) *A Functional Classification for Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Sites in Historical Archaeology*. North American Anthropologist. 2: 251-261.

Speulda, Lou Ann. (1986) *Champoeg: A Perspective of a Frontier Community in Oregon, 1830-1861*. Anthropology Northwest Number 3, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.

Sussman, Lynne (1979) *Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns Found at 20 Hudson's Bay Company Sites*. Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 22, Ottawa.

Sussman, Lynne (1977) Changes in Pearlware Dinnerware, 1780-1830. In *Historical Archaeology*, V. 11.

Swedlund, Alan C. and Helen Bell (2001) Nature, Nurture and the Determinants of Infant Mortality: A Case Study from Massachusetts,

1830-1920. In: *Building a New Biocultural Synthesis: Political-Economic Perspectives on Human Biology*. (Alan H. Goodman and Thomas L. Leatherman, eds.) An Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 191-228.

Van Den Bossche, Willy (2001) *Antique Glass Bottles: Their History and Their Evolution (1500-1850)*. Antique Collector's Club, Wappinger's Falls, New York.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. (1990) *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman.

Victor, Frances Fuller. (1974) *The River of the West*. Originally published 1870. Brooks-Sterling Company, Oakland, California.

Wetherbee, Jean. (1996) *White Ironstone: A Collector's Guide*. Antique Trader's Books, Dubuque: Iowa.

Watson, Patty Jo, and Mary C Kennedy (1991) "The Development of Horticulture in the Eastern Woodlands of North America: Women's Role," in J.M. Gero and M.W. Conkey (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 255-275.

Williams, Petra (1977) *Staffordshire: Romantic Transfer Patterns. Volume One*. Fountain House East, Kentucky.

Williams, Petra (1986) *Staffordshire: Romantic Transfer Patterns. Volumes Two*. Fountain House East, Kentucky.

Williams, Petra (1998) *Staffordshire: Romantic Transfer Prints. Volumes Three*. Fountain House East, Kentucky.

Wilkes, Charles (1973) *Life in Oregon Country before the emigration*. Ashland, Oregon Book Society.

Winther, Oscar Osborn (1950) *The Old Oregon Country: a history of frontier trade, transportation and travel*. Stanford California, Stanford University Press.

Wyeth, Nathaniel (1969) *The Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth*. Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield Washington.

Yu, Pei Lin (1997) *Hungry Lightning Notes of a Woman Anthropologist in Venezuela*. University of New Mexico Press.

Zihlman, Adrienne (1989) "Woman the Gatherer: The Role of Women in Early Hominid Evolution", in Sandra Morgen (ed.) *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*, Washington DC: American Anthropological Association, pp. 21-40.

**APPENDICES**

APPENDIX ATypology 35MA41**Personal Items**Clothing, fasteners

Hooks and Eyes, total	4
Hooks	3
Eyes	1
Buttons, total	69
Buttons, brass, gilded	13
Buttons, brass other	5
Button, bone, brass shank	1
Button, bone, four-hole	1
Buttons, ferrous metal, fabric covered	3
Buttons, ferrous metal, other	5
Buttons, prosser, white, four holes	17
Button, glass, black, nail head design	7
Button, glass, black, pressed design	2
Button, glass, black, wound with brass loop	2
Button, glass, green, wound with brass loop	1
Button, glass, blue/white with brass loop	1
War of 1812	3
Button, copper	1
Button, copper, cut design, gilded	1
Button, glass, Amethyst, nail head design	5

Footwear

## Shoe

Heel/Sole	3
Fragment	2
Eyelets, leather and brass	3

Adornment

## Beads 17

Russian Trade Style, blue glass	4
Russian Trade Style, white glass, opaque	2
Seed, green glass	1
Bugle, black	2
Pressed/faceted	3
Mandrel wound	3
Burned	2

Brooch, earthenware center, gilded wire 3

Rings, brass 3

Ring, silver, child's 1

Body Ritual and Grooming

Perfume bottle, whole, clear glass 1

“J. Haul Phil A”

Brush, wood 1

Comb, Baleen 8

Comb, Tortoiseshell 2

Mirror glass 10

Hair Pomade 2

Indulgences

## Pipes

MVC: 48 pipes

Pipe Bowls, white kaolin	124
Pipe stems, white kaolin	489
Pipe bowl, white kaolin, Ford Stepney- Bee (Minimum vessel=18)	19
Pipe bowl, white kaolin, Ford Stepney- Shield (Minimum vessel=4)	4
Pipe bowl, white kaolin, Ford Stepney other (Minimum vessel=5)	5
Pipe bowl, Cross hatch (Minimum vessel=6)	29
Pipe bowl, cockles (Minimum vessel=4)	49
Pipe bowl, beaver (Minimum vessel=2)	10
Pipe bowl, horse head (Minimum vessel=1)	6
Pipe bowl, circle and dot (Minimum vessel=2)	10
Pipe bowl, knobby (Minimum vessel=2)	7
Pipe bowl, Campaign (Minimum vessel=1)	1
Pipe bowl, beads and stripes (Minimum vessel=1)	3
Pipe bowl, spatter ware (Minimum vessel=1)	1
Pipe bowl, red earthenware, effigy (Minimum vessel=1)	4
Pipe bowl, gray fabric, effigy pipe (Minimum vessel=1)	2
Pipe bowl, porcelain, brown	1

Indulgences

## Pipes

Pipe lid, brass	1
-----------------	---

## Alcohol

Case Gin Bottle, olive glass (Minimum vessel=1)	122
--	-----

## Wine Bottles

“Catawba Wine Bitters” (Minimum vessel=1)	16
--	----

Wine bottles, olive green glass (Minimum vessel=5)	Total	928
	finish	15
	Neck	14
	Shoulder	11
	Body	802
	Base	14

Pastimes

## Toys

Marble, porcelain, white with stripes	1
Marble, porcelain, white	2
Marble, clay, handmade, whole	4
Marble, clay, handmade, fragments	13
Doll parts, hands, leather, painted	2

## Pocket tools and accessories

Watch keys	2
------------	---

## Penknife

Side panel, brass	1
Knife blade, brass	1



## Domestic Items

### Furnishings

#### Furniture

Escutcheon, brass	1
Brass knob, screw type	1

### B. Housewares and Appliances

#### Culinary

Baking sheet, ferrous metal	1
Lead can fragments	50
Hook, ferrous metal (for hanging pot)	1
Oven door, ferrous metal	1
Stove pipe	1
Tin cans, lead seals	3

#### Gustatory

#### *Ceramics*

#### Earthenware, transferprints

“Abbey (scene)” Blue (minimum vessel=5)	Total	70
	Body	39
	Foot ring	3
	Rim	27

“Alhambra” Blue (minimum vessel=2)	Body	Total	70
	Body		63
	Rim		7

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

“Antique Vase” Blue (minimum vessel=4)	Total	157
	Body	124
	Rim	33
“B772” Flowing Blue (minimum vessel=5)	Total	280
	Body	217
	Foot ring	4
	Handle	4
“Bedford” Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Rim	55
	Total	18
	Body	9
“British Flowers” Blue (minimum vessel=2)	Rim	9
	Total	118
	Body	68
	Base	23
“Brosely” Blue	Rim	27
	Total	2
“California”	Total	2
“Camilla” (Minimum vessel=2)	Total	5
	Body	4
	Rim	1

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

“Chinese Export” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Rim	2
Columbia” Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Pedestal base	1
“Doria” or “Epirus” Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Total	18
	Body	12
	Rim	6
“Euphrates” Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Total	2
	Body	1
	Rim	1
“Field Sports” Blue (Minimum=3)	Total	13
	Body	10
	Rim, scalloped	3
“Field Sports” Brown	Total	2
“Field Sports” Green (minimum=2)	Total	149
	Body	134
	Rim	15
“Floral” Pink (Minimum vessel=1)	Rim	1

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

“French Radiating Sprigs” Flowing Blue		
	Total	12
(minimum vessel=1)	Body	5
	Rim	7
“Garden Scenery” Blue		
	Total	87
	Base	23
(minimum vessel=4)	Body	38
	Rim	26
“Geranium” Blue		
	Total	15
	Body	3
(minimum=1)	Lid	12
“Isola Bella” Blue		
	Total	3
	Body	1
(minimum vessel=1)	Rim	2
“Hudson”		
	Total (all colors)	54
Purple	Rim	9
Brown	Rim	5
Pink	Rim	19
(Minimum vessel=4)	Body	21
“Indostan” Pink		
	Total	97
	Base	15
(Minimum vessel=2)	Body	62
	Rim	9

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

“Isola Bella” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	7
	Body	5
	Rim	2
“Italian” Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Total	6
	Body	4
	Rim	2
“Lily” Blue (Minimum=6)	Total	481
	Base	7
	Body	393
	Foot ring	2
	Handle fragment	1
	Rim	78
“Louis Quatorze” (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	4
	Body	2
	Rim	2
“Marino” Blue, (Minimum=1)	Total	85
	Body	66
	Rim	17
	Base	2
“Non Pariel” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	18
“Rhone Scenery” (Minimum vessel=1)	Rim	1

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

“Ruins” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	3
	Rim	1
	Body	2
“Rural Scenes” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	12
	Rim, scallop	3
	Body	9
“Seasons” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Body/Rim	308
“Temple” Blue (Minimum vessel=1)	Rim	1
“Temple Warriors” Pink (Minimum vessel=1)	Rim	1
“Unidentified Fronds” (Minimum vessel=2)	Total (all colors)	18
	Rim, brown	5
	Base, brown	4
	Rim, purple	3
	Base, purple	1
“Unidentified Pink” (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	43
	Body	34
	Rim	6
	Foot ring	3

## Gustatory

*Ceramics*

## Earthenware, transferprints continued

"Voilet" Purple (minimum vessel=4)	Total	127
	Base	18
	Body	63
	Foot ring	6
	Rim	40
"Watteau" Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Total	31
	Rim	6
	Base/Body	25
"Willow" Blue (minimum vessel=1)	Total	8
	Rim	3
	Body	5
Earthenware, brown transferprints Unidentified (minimum vessel=1)	Total	5
	Body	4
	Rim	1
Flow Blue floral (minimum vessel=1)	Total	16
	Body	11
	Rim	3
	Foot ring	2
Unidentified Blue transferprints	Total	315
	Rim	8
	Body	282
	Handles	8
	Foot rings	17

Gustatory

*Ceramics*

Earthenware, transferprints continued

Unidentified Flow Blue	Total	47
	Body	46
	Foot rings	1

Unidentified Mulberry transferprints

Total	2
-------	---



## Earthenware Hand Painted Ceramics

## Gaudy Dutch, hand painted

Body	16
Foot ring	3
Rim	1

Earthenware, Featheredge Patterns, blue  
(Minimum vessel=17)

Rim	171
-----	-----

## Mochaware/Bandedware

Polychrome bandedware (Minimum vessel=12)	Total	139
	Body	100
	Rim	39

Blue bandedware (Minimum vessel=5)	Total	330
	Body	306
	Rim	24

White earthenware, applied decoration (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	5
---	-------	---

Yellow earthenware (Minimum vessel=5)	Total	286
	Base	32
	Body	219
	Rim	35

## Other Earthenwares

Brown earthenware, slip decorated	Total	53
	Body	42
	Rim	9
	Base	1
	Handle	1

Creamware, molded design (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	8
--	-------	---

Classic Gothic, white fabric, saucers (Minimum vessel=7)	Total	44
---	-------	----

Soup plate, 12-inch, plain rim (Minimum vessel=5)	Total	53
--	-------	----

#### Other Earthenwares

Saucer, 6 ½ inch saucer, scalloped rim (Minimum vessel=3)	Total	39
--	-------	----

Saucer, 6 ½ inch saucer, plain rim (Minimum vessel=2)	Total	7
--	-------	---

White earthenware, unidentified	Total	3,360
	Body	2,876
	Base	292
	Rim	167
	Handles	25

#### Ironstones

“Sydenham” (Minimum vessel=1)	Body	4
	Base	1
	Rim	3

“Classic Gothic” (Minimum vessel=11)	Total	55
	Body	18
	Base frag.	10
	Rim	27

Unidentified blue transferprints (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	5
--	-------	---

## Ironstones continued

Undecorated	Total	65	
(Minimum vessel=5)	Base/foot ring		6
	Body	38	
	Rim	22	

## Porcelains

Porcelain, Asian, gray fabric, ginger jar			
(Minimum vessel=1)	Body	127	
	Lid	16	

Porcelain, Asian, white fabric,			
(Minimum vessel=4)			
“Chrysanthemum”	Body	3	

Unidentified	Rim	4	
	Body	2	

Porcelain, European, white fabric			
(Minimum vessel=1)	Total	7	

## Stonewares

Stoneware, buff fabric	salt glaze exterior, crock		
(Minimum vessel=1)	Total	16	
	Base	2	
	Body	13	
	Lid	1	

Stoneware, red fabric, glazed interior and exterior			
(Minimum vessel=2)	Total	36	
	Body	29	
	Rim	6	
	Base	1	

## Stonewares continued

Stoneware, red fabric, salt glaze in interior, crock (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	174
	Base	4
	Body	160
	Rim	10

Stoneware, white fabric, pearlware glaze (Minimum vessel=1)	Total	8
	Rim	7
	Body	1

## Unidentified Ceramic, burned

Total	138
-------	-----

## Tumblers

Glass Tumbler (solarized) (Minimum vessel count=2)	Total	2
---	-------	---

Glass Tumbler, 9-panel pressed	Total	175
	Base	14
	Rims	42
	Body	119

Round glass tumbler (Minimum vessel count=2)	Total	18
	Base	1
	Body	17

Lead Crystal Tumblers, 11-panel (Minimum vessel count=2)	Total	72
	Base	9
	Body	61
	Rim	2

222

Utensils

Bone handle knife	1
Fork	4
Serving spoon	2

Portable Illumination

Hurricane glass, clear, curved	Total	28
	Body	17
	Rim, fire polished	11

Home Education

Inkwells (Minimum vessel count=4)	Total	15
Aqua, molded panels		2
Olive green, molded panels, hand blown		12
Olive green, pressed glass pattern, hand blown		1
Slate tablet fragments		173
Slate pencil fragments		26

Cleaning and Maintenance

## Sewing

Needle fragment, ferrous metal	3
Straight pins, brass	3
Thimbles, brass	3

Commerce and Industry

## Currency

Dime, 1853 Seated Liberty, America	1
------------------------------------	---

Ammunition, lead shot	34
Gun part, flint lock	1
Flint	3
Gun Powder lids, lead	2

Unknowns, by material type

## Lithics

Debitage	75
Utilized flakes	7
Projectile points	4

Gastroliths	84
-------------	----

## Glass

Aqua, bottle		14
Aqua, bottle		32
Aqua, bottles (2)		28
Aqua, bottle, embossed		8
Aqua, unidentified	Total	508
	Neck	9
	Base	9
	Body	482
	Finishes	8
Amber, bottle		
(Minimum vessel=1)		
Curved	Total	34
Olive, light, bottle, curved	Total	138
(Minimum vessel=1)	Body	137
	Base	1
Pale green, frosted, bottle, molded	Total	155
(Minimum vessel=1)	Body	153
	Base	1
	Finish	1
Glass, clear		
Bottle finishes		6
Pressed glass dish		2
Embossed		43
Stemware		3
Stopper, ground		1
Finial, floral design		1
Burned		116
Curved		518
Flat		376
Solarized		10

## Metals

Ferrous metal	182
Strapping	23
Barrel hoops	5
Hand forged	1
Lead fragments	86
Lead with "RK" molded into top	1
Unknown sheet metal, white metal	2

## Organics

Bone Fragments	343
Ivory	1



## APPENDIX B

### Artifact Descriptions

#### **Material Culture**

The material remains recovered from 35MA41 were organized for analysis using the functional classification scheme developed by Roderick Sprague (1980). If function was not discernable, items were classified by material type. Where possible, minimum vessel count (MVC) was estimated based off of unique morphological and decorative traits such as design or color, etc.

## Personal Items

### Clothing, Fasteners

#### Hook and Eyes, Brass

Four brass hooks and one brass eye were recovered. The eyepiece measures 6x10mm, and the hooks measure 8x12mm, 9x13mm, 9x13mm and 12x16mm (Figure B.1).



Figure B.1 hooks and eye, and eyelets.

#### Buttons

A total of sixty-nine buttons were recovered from 35MA41. Material types included brass, ferrous metal, ceramic, bone and glass. Buttons were from Men's coats, women's dresses, and shirt buttons. Measurements are in standard measurements, as that is the original size system under which the buttons were manufactured and sold.

### Brass Buttons

Thirteen brass buttons were recovered, with plain fronts and loop shanks soldered onto the back in three sizes (see Table 10). Similar buttons were recovered from the town site of Champoeg and were believed to have been from men's coats and originally gilded. Small traces of the gilding are present on these buttons. These buttons were at their peak of popularity between 1830-1850 (Spueda 1988:37).

Five other styles brass buttons were recovered. Three are four-hole sew thru and one is a two part button with a domed front and shank.

### Ferrous Metal Buttons

Three hollow ferrous metal buttons, made from two pieces were recovered. These were originally covered with fabric. The fabric has deteriorated, but the impression of the fabric is embedded in the corrosion on the buttons (figure B.4)

### Ceramic Buttons

Seventeen ceramic four-hole buttons were recovered. This style of button is referred to as a “prosser” button (based on the manufacturing process) or as “Chinas” by button collectors. These are a common style of button found on shirts. Several styles were recovered from very plain white, to embossed or dotted designs (figure B.3).

### Glass Buttons

Nineteen whole or fragmented buttons made from glass were recovered. All the glass buttons appear to be from women’s clothing. These buttons fall into two main methods of manufacture; mandrel wound or pressed glass with a wire shank (see table B.1). Two of the mandrel wound buttons were of opaque black glass beads with a wire shaft looped to create the shank. The other mandrel wound button is made of a green glass, but the wire shank is embedded directly into the glass.

### Military Buttons

Three buttons were recovered related to the War of 1812 American Uniform. Two are brass with a horn and stars design (Tice 1997), and the third is a smaller gilding over brass basket weave design, possibly from the cuff of the uniform (figure B.2).



Figure B.2 Military button



Figure B.3 Glass and Prosser buttons.



Figure B.4 Brass and ferrous metal men's buttons.

### Bone Buttons

Two bone buttons were recovered. One bone button is a smooth disc of bone with an applied brass loop shank. The other is a four-hole sew through, self-shanking shirt button.

Type	Quantity	Material	Diameter	Design
Men's coat	6	Metal, Brass alloy	3/4 inch	Plain brass form with soldered attached shank
Men's coat	2	Metal, brass alloy	7/8"	Plain brass, loop shank, sprig design on back
Men's coat	3	Metal, brass alloy	3/4 inch	Plain brass, loop shank, plain back
Men's coat	2	Metal, brass alloy	7/8 inch	Plain brass, loop shank, plain back
Men's coat	3	Metal, brass alloy	5/8 inch	Plain brass, loop shank, plain back
Unknown	2	Brass alloy	1/2 inch	Hollow discoid, with recessed well with bar across central hole to form two hole self-shanking button
Unknown	1	Brass alloy	3/4 inch	Hollow discoid, with recessed well with bar across central hole to form two hole self-shanking button
Unknown	1	Brass alloy	3/8 inch	Two part button, domed front with bras looped shank
Unknown	3	Brass alloy	5/8 inch	Four-hole sew through
Unknown	3	Ferrous metal, fabric covered	7/8 inch	Two-part hollow button, fabric covered originally, loop shank
Unknown	5	Ferrous metal	N/A	Sew through, too corroded for further description
Unknown	1	Bone, brass shank	1 inch	Flat disc of bone, with applied brass shank
Shirt button	1	Bone	3/8 inch	Four-hole sew through
Women's Dress	1 whole 6 partial	Black glass, brass wire shank	3/8 inch	Nail head pressed glass pattern, embedded wire shank
Women's Dress	2, one whole, one partial	Black glass, Brass shank	3/8 inch	Mandrel Wound, plain spherical
Women's dress	1	Black glass, wire shank	1/2 inch	Pressed design, oval shape with diamond

Table B. 1. Buttons recovered from 35MA41

Type	Quantity	Material	Diameter	Design
Women's dress	1	Blue and white glass, wire shank	¼ inch	Conical pressed blue glass, white center, wire shank, burned
Women's dress	1	Green glass, wire shank		Green mandrel wound glass with wire shank
Shirt	12	Ceramic, prosser	3/8 inch	Discoid, recessed well, one-piece, four hole, self shank button
Shirt	1	Ceramic, prosser	½ inch	Discoid, recessed well, one-piece, four hole, self shank button
Shirt	1	Ceramic, prosser	3/8 inch	Discoid, recessed well, one-piece, four hole, self shank button blue background with white dot pattern
Shirt, Calico	2	Ceramic, prosser	3/8 inch	Discoid, recessed well, one-piece, four hole, self shank button white fabric with blue dot pattern
Shirt, Calico	1	Ceramic, prosser	3/8 inch	Discoid, recessed well, one-piece, four hole, self shank button white fabric with embossed "pie crust" design
Women's Dress	4 whole, 1 fragment	Amethyst glass, transparent	13.38mm .52 inches	Nail head pressed glass pattern, embedded wire shank
Military, coat	2	brass	1 inch	Horn and stars design, War of 1812 Uniform
Military, cuff	1	Brass, gilded	½ inch	Basket weave, gilded, War of 1812 uniform
Dress	1	Copper, with gold gilding	15.5mm or .61 inches	Cast copper abstract floral design with cross hatched background, soldered applied shank, sewing thread present

Table B.1 Buttons recovered from 35MA41



## B. Footwear

Five pieces of shoe leather were recovered, all of which seem to represent heels of shoes. 02-2673 is relatively intact and measures 66.8mm wide by 63.7mm long by 21mm thick, which represents the full size of the shoe heel. Thirty-four square shoe nails are present, and show a whitish oxidization, indicating white metal nails, not a ferrous metal. They are 1.9mm square and spaced approximately 2.25mm apart. 03-2300 contains two smaller fragments, a partial heel and interior fragment measuring 62.9mm wide by 33mm long by 14mm thick. Twenty nails are present along the heel. They measure 1.8mm square and are spaced 2.5 mm apart. These nails also show a white oxidization, indicating white metal, not ferrous metal. 03-3924 is a small heel fragment measuring 37.5mm long by 9.3mm wide by 4.5mm thick. It has eight round nails present measuring 1mm in diameter and spaced 2.7mm apart. 02-2955 is two leather fragments with brass grommets for reinforcements. Three other fragments, measuring less than 1cm, of shoe sole leather were also recovered.

### C. Adornment

#### Beads

Seventeen beads were recovered. Five are a “Russian Trade” type in cobalt blue and two are a semi-opaque white. They were cane drawn with facets ground on the ends. Three pressed glass beads were recovered in blue, black and yellow. Two black faceted bugle style of beads were recovered. Four mandrel wound beads were recovered in blue and aqua. One green seed bead was recovered. Two beads were recovered and burned. See Table 11 for measurements.



Figure B.5 Russian Trade Style beads and seed bead

Type	Artifact quantity	Design/Color	Size/Diameter	Description
Russian Trade Style	4	Cobalt Blue glass	6mm x 7mm 5mm x 5.5mm 7mm x 7mm 5mm x 5mm	Cane drawn, faceted
Russian Trade Style	2	Semi-opaque white	7mm x 8mm 5mm x 6mm	Cane drawn, faceted
Seed	1	Green	2mm	Cane drawn, fire polished
Bugle (Tube)	2	black	3mm x 20mm 3mm x 10.5mm	
Pressed/faceted	3	Blue Black Yellow	5.8mm x 6.8mm x 6mm x 8.25mm 8.5mm x 10mm	Pressed, faceted
Round	3	Blue Blue Aqua	15mm 13mm 7mm	Mandrel wound glass
burned	2	indeterminate	7mm N/A	N/A

Table B.2 Beads recovered from 35MA41

### Brooch

A decorative brooch was recovered in three fragments. The center of the brooch is cream earthenware formed into an oval, which is flat on one side and convex on the other. It measures 2.2cm long by 1.7cm wide and .7cm at the center. In the center of the oval there are two holes measuring 2.75mm in diameter, which are spaced 8.5mm apart (Fig. 38). These holes connect a group of brass leaves and wire coils to the ceramic base. The leaves and coils have portions of the original gilding still intact. Two other fragments of a brass and wire frame from that would have surrounded the earthenware were also recovered. The brass frame was also gilded.

### Rings

Four trade rings were recovered. One was a whole plain brass band ring, which has been smashed flat (Fig. 39). It measures 2.7cm in length and the band measures 1.65mm in thickness. One is a fragment of a plain brass trade ring. The third is a fragment of a brass ring with a stamped design, which probably had a faceted piece of glass as a center decorative stone. The last ring is much smaller, measuring 2mm in width and only 14mm in diameter. This appears to be a child's ring. All of these rings are similar to rings in the Fort Vancouver collections and are early to mid 19<sup>th</sup>

century, dating from the Hudson Bay company era at the fort, although the silver ring is certainly the most valuable of all the rings (figure B.7).



Figure B.7 Decorative buttons and gilded brass ring, crushed

### **Body Ritual and Grooming**

#### Perfume

Perfume bottle, "J. Huel Phil A", whole, clear glass, (9cm x 4.6cm x 2.1cm), glass pontil mark

#### Brush

A fragment of a wooden brush was recovered from the site. It is made of wood with five holes across and seven holes down the fragment. The holes are filled with the remains of bristles, most likely made from animal hair. On the backside green oxidation from copper wire used to hold the bristles in place is present. The bristles were folded in half and secured at the fold with the copper wire in and then inserted into the holes. It is not known what type of brush this was. It could have been a human hairbrush or a horse brush. The brush fragment measures 5.1cm wide by 8.4cm long by 1.1cm thick (Fig. 37).

#### Comb

Ten fragments of hair combs were recovered. Eight fragments were made out of whale baleen and two fragments were made from tortoiseshell.

### Mirror glass

Ten fragments of clear flat glass with a patinated silver coating were recovered. These fragments likely came from a small mirror or looking glass.

### Hair pomade

Two fragments of White earthenware ceramic, with a mulberry transferprints pattern were recovered. The fragments appear to be from the lid of product for use on the hair. Not enough of the label was recovered to further identify the product.

## Indulgences

### Tobacco Pipes

MVC:48

Tobacco smoking was a common practice among all social classes in the nineteenth century, with pipes as the primary method of smoking tobacco (Spuelda 1989: 44). Manufacturers most often made the pipes from clay, which was easily molded. Many pipes were decorated with trademarks, floral designs or geometric patterns as well as other designs, and these features make pipes a very datable item in the archaeological record (Spuelda 1989: 44). Two factors make these clay pipes a common artifact in an archaeological assemblage: one, they were inexpensive and easily broken, which got them into the archaeological assemblage and two, although often broken they do not decompose and remain to be found during excavation.

The most common style of pipe recovered was made of white kaolin clay with a long tapering pipe stem attached to the bowl. A total of 311 pipe bowl fragments and 489 pipe stem fragments were recovered from 35MA41, representing a minimum of forty-eight different pipes.



## Pipe Lid

One brass lid with a perforated design was recovered (Figure B.8)



Figure B.8 Brass smoking pipe lid.

## Pipe stems

Out of the pipe fragments recovered, 489 of these are white kaolin pipe stems. They range in size from 9.5mm in diameter near the pipe bowl to 4.1mm near the mouth of the stem. Five have unidentified molded patterns.

### Pipe Bowls, white kaolin, unglazed

One hundred twenty-four fragments of plain white kaolin clay pipe bowls were recovered. Some of these fragments may also represent plain areas of decorated bowls.

### Ford Stepney

Twenty-eight fragments of “Ford Stepney” pipes were recovered, which have a two different makers marks, all of which fall into the time frame for the site (Ross 1976: 808-812). Nineteen of the artifacts have “Ford Stepney” stamped in a circle around an insect, most likely a bee. They represent a minimum vessel count of eighteen pipes. Four fragments have “Ford Stepney” stamped around a shield which is divided into quarters with a “+” in the upper left quadrant. These four fragments represent a minimum of four pipes (Fig. 44). Five other “Ford Stepney” pipes were recovered, but not enough of the maker’s mark is left to further identify the motifs.

### Cross Hatch

Thirty fragments with a crosshatch design and a flower frond going up the mold seam and stars circling the edge of the bowl were recovered. This pipe is most likely a “TD” crosshatch pattern that dates to 1837-1847

(Omwake 1965: 139). This represents a minimum of six pipes. This pipe was produced as a patriotic American product commemorating the war of 1812 (Spueda 1989: 44).

#### Cockles

Three white kaolin bowl fragments with a large cockles pattern. All three fragments have widely spaced ribs that measure 5.8mm wide. Forty-six other bowl fragments have alternately wide and narrow ribs measuring 2.5mm and 1mm respectively. These represent a minimum of four pipes.(Spueda 1989: 45).

#### Beaver

Ten fragments of a pipe bowls with a stylized beavers were recovered. These represent a minimum of two pipes. (Brauner: personal communication)

#### Horse Head

Six fragments of a pipe bowl in the shape of a horse head wearing a harness were recovered. They represent a minimum of one pipe.

### Pipe Spurs

Twenty-one fragments of pipe spurs were recovered. Seven were plain spurs, one was a scroll design and thirteen had a “t” or “f” on the spur. These spurs likely represent fragments from other decorated pipes. Thirteen have simple spurs with an “I” on one side and “F” on the other. These pipes were imported by Jesse, Thomas & John Ford (London) (Ross 1976: 811). One spur has a scroll design. One has a flattened spur with “WU” impressed on the base (Fig. 46). One pipe spur is too fragmented to make out any design element. Seven are undecorated.

### Pipe Bowls, other clay or finishes

Four fragments of a cockles pipe bowl were recovered. This represents a minimum of one pipe. The bowl is made from white kaolin and has a light terra cotta slip on the interior and exterior of the bowl. The cockles are wide and narrow alternately measuring 2.3mm and .6mm respectively (Ross 1976: 812).

### Circle and Dot, short stem

Ten fragments of a brown ceramic pipe bowl were recovered. The bowl’s rim tilts outward with a row of circles with dots inside encircling the pipe and a line below the circles. This is a short-stemmed pipe meant to be

used with a reed for smoking. The short stem is also present with the same circle and dot pattern around the stem. These fragments represent a minimum of two pipes.

#### Knobby

Seven fragments of a redware pipe bowl, with a clear glaze on the exterior were recovered. The fragments are from a design with a hobnail design (aka “knobby” pipe) were recovered. These fragments represent a minimum of two pipes.

#### Redware, effigy

One fragment of a redware pipe bowl was recovered.

#### Beads and Stripes

Three fragments of a pipe bowl with a white kaolin fabric and a pale terracotta slip were recovered. The bowl had a molded design of beads and stripes. These fragments all came from one pipe.

#### Spatter ware

One white earthenware pipe bowl with a green and yellow spatter ware glaze on the exterior was recovered.

### Porcelain

One porcelain pipe bowl was recovered. The exterior of the pipe was glazed with a dark brown glaze. The bowl had a short stem for use with a disposable reed.

### Effigy

Two effigy pipe bowls were excavated from the site. An effigy pipe has a molded design of a human face on the bowl of the pipe. There were a great variety of these novelty pipes produced. Five fragments were of a gray effigy bowl. It has a man's face on the front with an arrow and hook design along the back of the bowl. Six fragments of a red ware effigy pipe, of the short stem type were recovered. The short stem is plain, with a man's face on the front (Fig. 45).

## Alcohol

Several alcohol bottles were recovered from 35MA41. They include a case gin bottle, Catawba Wine Bitters and several dark olive green alcohol bottles, often associated with wine.

### Gin bottle

An olive green case gin bottle was recovered in 122 fragments from the front of the hearth feature, which cross-mended into an almost complete bottle (Fig. 34). The bottle measures 23cm high with a tapered body that is square in cross section with rounded corners. It measures 8cm at the shoulder and 5.5cm at the base. It has a blowpipe pontil scar and hand applied flanged finish measuring 1.6cm high from the shoulder on a rudimentary neck and 4.1cm in diameter on the exterior of the finish. The bore measures 1.8cm. This bottle has been identified as a common case-gin bottle produced in Holland, referred to in Dutch as 'kelderfles', dating from c.1780-1830 (Van de Bossche 2001:132).

### Catawba Wine Bitters

Sixteen bottle fragments of emerald green glass was found in the brick rubble. These fragments cross-mended to from approximately 80% of a Catawba Wine Bitters bottle (Fig. 30). The bottle is mold blown with a

hand-applied finish. It is square with flat chamfered corners in cross-section. Almost the entire base is missing; therefore any pontil identification is impossible. The bottle has a two-part finish with a down-tooled lip and string rim. The lip measures 2cm and the string rim measures 46cm. The entire finish has the remains of a lead seal still intact. Two opposing panels have a molded grape design; the other panels have "CATAWBA WINE" and "BITTERS" on opposing panels. The bottle measures 24cm in height, the panels measure 6.3cm and the total bottle width is 7.6cm. This bottle dates from 1860-1867 (Fike 1987:32)>



## Olive Glass Alcohol Bottles

The remaining alcohol bottles are of an olive green glass that varies from a nearly black in color to a lighter olive green, varying from bottle to bottle and depending on glass thickness. These bottles are usually associated with wine. Jones and Sullivan describe “wine bottles” as, “a generic term to describe the dark green glass bottles with a circular cross section first developed in England in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.”(1989: 73). They go on to describe the attributes of these bottles in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as having, “a two-part finish (i.e. a lip and string rim), an indented base, a roughly cylindrical body, a rounded well-defined shoulder, and a neck one-quarter to one-third of the total body height, and be dark green in colour” (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 73). The dark green glass discussed in this section, although much fragmented agrees with this description.

A total of 928 olive green curved glass fragments associated with these alcohol or wine bottles were recovered. Of these fifteen fragments are finishes, fourteen are neck fragments, eleven are shoulder fragments, 802 were body fragments, fourteen were kick-ups and eight were bases. These represent a minimum of six bottles.

### Bases

Of the eight base fragments, four have intact pontil marks. Three of the pontils are iron pontil marks and one has a blowpipe pontil.

### Finishes

Of the fourteen fragments that are finishes, ten are hand applied two part finishes, with a down tooled lip and v-tooled string beneath the lip. Two other finishes have a Champaign flat top with a string rim that measures .6cm in length. The lip, string rim and a small portion of the neck have remnants of a lead seal still intact. The neck measures 7.2cm from the shoulder to the base of the string rim. The neck is tapered from the finish to the shoulder with a very slight bulge toward the middle of the neck. This was the only complete neck fragment recovered, as well as complete finish (Fig. 47).

## Pastimes

### Marbles

Seven whole and fourteen fragments of marbles were recovered from 35MA41. Three of the whole marbles and one fragment are commercially available marbles made from a white porcelain fabric. Two marbles are plain with no decoration, while the third is decorated with three purple concentric stripes and four red concentric stripes perpendicular to the purple forming a small squares at the intersection of the lines (Fig. 49). This marble is consistent with “Chinas”, which were first produced in Germany in the 1840s, and enjoying popularity particularly in the 1850s and 1860s, however they were still in use through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gartley and Carskadden 1998:131)

The remaining marbles recovered from the site, four whole and thirteen fragments appear to be marbles created on site using the local clay. The clay appears to have been hand rolled, sun dried and then “fired” in the hearth.

### Dolls

Two fragments of doll hands were recovered. Both appear to be constructed from split leather that was molded into the form of a hand, dried and painted, most likely with a lead based paint.

## Pocket tools

### Watch keys

Two watch keys were recovered in excellent condition from 35MA41. Watch keys were used to wind pocket watches (Fig.50). They would often become stripped, and would be replaced, which may explain why two items associated with a very expensive item (pocket watch) were recovered (Brauner personal communication). However the keys are of different sizes and may have been used for separate watches. 03-2109 is 30mm long, 15mm wide and 4mm thick and is made of brass. 03-961 is slightly smaller at 24mm long, 13mm wide and 2mm thick. The actual “key” portion used to wind the pocket watch is missing.

## **Domestic Items**

### **Brass escutcheon**

A brass escutcheon, used to line a keyhole was recovered. It measures 25mm long, 12mm wide and 4.6mm thick on the exterior. The interior length is 20.48mm. It is most likely that the escutcheon came from a piece of furniture such as a dresser or lap desk.

### **Brass knob**

One brass knob was recovered. The knob measures 21.13mm in overall length with the threading measuring 7mm and the knob measuring 9.29mm at the widest girth. The knob most likely came from a small drawer (Fig. 51).

## Housewares and Appliances

### Culinary

#### Baking sheet, ferrous metal

A partial shallow baking sheet made from ferrous sheet metal was recovered. Its complete size cannot be determined, however the fragment measures 39 x 17cm at the widest points. The edge of the baking sheet is turned up 3.4cm with a rolled edge (figure B.9)

#### Lead can

Fifty fragments of a lead can were recovered. It is constructed out of sheet lead and appears to be pieced together by simple pounding, without solder. The largest fragment 03-2301 measures approximately 4 inches (10cm) across with a 3-inch(7.5cm) hole cut out and covered on the exterior with more sheet lead. It is possible that this can was used to hold flammable material such as gunpowder, since the lead would not create any sparks, thus making it a much safer vessel. After consumption of the powder the lead could then be melted and used for other purposes.

#### Ferrous Metal Cans

Three ferrous metal cans with lead seams were recovered. The first and smaller of the two measures approximately 4.5cm in diameter and

approximately 2.8cm in height. It has lead solder on the bottom and side seams. The larger can is approximately 8-9cm in diameter and 11.5cm in height. It has a rolled edge and rolled base with lead solder on the seams.



Figure B.9 Ferrous metal baking pan



Figure B.10 Hand forged hook and pin, used for hanging cooking pots over the hearth fire.

#### Oven door, ferrous metal

On the edge of the brick hearth an oven door was recovered. It measures 36cm long by 18cm wide and 0.7cm in thickness. The backside of the door is plain. There is a lip that is 1.6cm wide, which runs the length of one long end. It is inset by 0.5cm on either side and extends 0.9cm over the body of the door. The front of the door has three raised ridges of metal measuring 1.1 cm high from the door and 0.5cm in width. The exterior ridge along the edge of the door is inset by 1.2cm on each side. The other two ridges run the full length of the door. They are spaced 3.3cm apart. The inset metal on the edge could be to facilitate the opening of the door of the oven (Fig. 27).

#### Hook, ferrous metal

A hand forged metal hook, such as those used to hang a cooking pot over a fire was recovered. It measures 11.5cm (4 inches) in overall length and the interior of the hook measures 4.5 cm (1.75 inches). Looping the iron stock back on itself forming the eye created the eye of the hook. The tip of the hook is tapered (Fig. 26)



## **Gustatory**

### **Transfer print Ceramics, white earthenware**

Abbey T. E. (Scene):

MVC: five, two plates, one serving dish, two unknown

Sixty-seven fragments of Abbey (scene) manufactured by Thomas Edward, in blue were recovered. There are thirty-nine body fragments, twenty-seven rim fragments and three pedestal fragments were recovered. The pattern was manufactured between 1839-1841 (Williams , Vol I 1986: 173, Vol II 1986: 539).

Alhambra:

MVC: two, hollowware

Seventy fragments of dark blue Alhambra were recovered. Seven are rim fragments and the remaining sixty-three are body fragments. Spode Copland Co. registered this pattern on June 30, 1848 (Sussman 1979: 35).

Antique Vase:

MVC: Four vessels, two plates, one saucer, one cup

One hundred fifty seven fragments of blue Antique Vase were recovered. Thirty-three are rim fragments and one hundred twenty four are body

fragments. These fragments are from two plates with scalloped edges, one saucer and one cup. The introductory date of this pattern is not known, but it produced by Copeland and Garret pre-1847, and was reintroduced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Sussman 1979: 36).

B772:

MVC: five, two cups, two saucers, one plate

Two hundred eighty fragments of B772 in a flowing blue were recovered. From the hollowware cups forty-seven are body fragments, four are foot ring fragments, four are handle fragments and twelve are rim fragments. Of the flatware fragments forty-three are rim fragments and one hundred seventy are body/base fragments. This pattern dates from ca. 1839 and was produced by W.T. Copeland and Sons' (Sussman 1979: 66).

Bedford:

MVC: One plate

Eighteen blue fragments of a Bedford plate were recovered. Nine are rim fragments and nine are body fragments. The rim fragments indicate that the vessel was hollowware plate. This pattern was produced by Spode c. 1855 (Sussman 1979: 55).

British Flowers:

MVC: two, one plate, one serving dish

One hundred eighteen fragments of blue British Flowers were recovered representing two vessels. Sixty-eight were body fragments, twenty-three were flat base fragments and twenty-seven were rim fragments. The fragments from the serving dish had a scalloped rim. Spode produced this pattern from 1829-1974 (Sussman 1979:61).

Brosely:

MVC: One, unknown

Two body fragments of blue Brosely was recovered. This pattern dates to ca. 1818 or post 1847. It was manufactured by Spode; Copeland & Garret; W.T. Copeland and William Ratcliffe (Chapman 1993: 130).

California:

MVC: one

Two fragments of flow blue of this pattern were recovered. One is a rim fragment, and one is a body fragment.

Camilla:

MVC: Two, one unknown, one possible teapot

Five fragments of this pattern in blue were recovered. One fragment is a rim fragment, four appear to be part of a tea pot (Sussman 1979: 83)

Chinese Export:

MVC: one pitcher, size unknown

Two fragments of blue Chinese Export were recovered. They are from a pitcher rim. Chinese export was produced between 1814-1830 (Williams Vol. II 1986: 83).

Columbia:

MVC: one, serving dish (?)

One fragment of blue Columbia was recovered. It is from a pedestal base. This pattern was produced c. 1848 by William Adams & Sons (Snyder 1997: 16).

Doria or Epirus:

MVC: one gothic molded plate

Eighteen fragments of either blue Doria or Epirus were recovered. Both patterns used the same rim design, and positive identification cannot be made without a fragment of the center pattern. Twelve are body fragments and six are rim fragments. Doria was produced by J. Ridgeway and Co. from 1841-1855 (Williams Vol I 1978: 253). Epirus was produced c. 1846 (Snyder 1997: 167).

Euphrates:

MVC: One, cup

Two fragments of blue Euphrates were recovered. One is a rim fragment and one is a body fragment. These fragments appear to be from hollowware with printing on the interior and exterior of the rim fragment. This pattern was produced c. 1830-1834 (Williams Vol III 1998: 28).

Field Sports:

MVC: six, one unknown, two plates, two saucers, one cup

One hundred sixty four fragments of Field Sports representing six vessels were recovered in three colors. Two brown body fragments of an unknown

vessel type were found. Thirteen blue fragments, three rim and ten body pieces from two plates and a saucer were found. One hundred forty nine green fragments, fifteen rim pieces and one hundred thirty four body fragments were recovered. The green fragments represent a saucer and cup. This pattern was registered September 14, 1846 and was produced by W.T. Garrett and Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1979: 112).

Floral:

MVC: 1, unknown

One rim fragments and fifteen body fragments of pink "Floral" were recovered. This patter dates c. 1830s with the earliest pattern number 4977 (Sussman 1979: 114)

French Radiating Sprigs:

MVC: One, unknown

Twelve fragments of French Radiating Sprigs in a flowing blue were recovered. Five are body fragments and seven are rim fragments. This pattern dates from post-1833 or post 1847 and was produced by W.T. Copeland and Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1979: 116).

### Garden Scenery:

MVC: 4, two teacups, two saucers

Eighty-seven fragments representing three vessels, a teacup and two gothic-molded 6-¼ inch diameter saucer, of blue Garden Scenery were recovered. Of these 23 are base pieces, thirty-eight are body pieces and twenty-six are rim fragments. Twenty-eight fragments cross-mended and formed a partial dish measuring 16cm or 6 3/8 inches across at the rim. This pattern was produced from 1843-1855 (Williams Vol. I 1978: 268).

### Geranium:

MVC: Two, one lid. One unknown form

Fifteen fragments of blue Geranium were recovered. Twelve are lid fragments, three are body fragments from an unknown vessel. This pattern was produced c.1818-20<sup>th</sup> century, early examples were made only by Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1979: 123).

### Hudson:

MVC: four plates, molded gothic form in three colors

Three colors of Hudson pattern were recovered; brown, purple and pink. The brown Hudson consists of five rim fragments. The purple consists of

nine rim fragments. The pink consists of nineteen rim fragments and twenty-one base fragments that indicate that the vessel is flatware with a pearlware glaze. Two of the four minimum vessels were pink. The Hudson pattern was produced from c. 1839 to 1841 by Thomas Edwards (Chapman 1993:143, Snyder 1997: 58).

Indostan:

MVC: Two, one-flatware plate (possibly gothic molding) and one saucer with scalloped edges.

Ninety-seven fragments of pink “Indostan” were recovered. Of these fragments fifteen fragments of base/foot ring, sixty-two are body fragments, eleven plate rim fragments, nine scalloped saucer rim fragments. This pattern was identified by the top of the trademark, which appears on the back of one of the rim fragments. The maker’s mark is broken off the fragment and identification in published sources has not been possible (Fig. 56). The pattern is consistent with the ceramics being produced by Adams & Sons in the 1830-1840s in both the pink color and the exotic scene.



Isola Bella:

MVC: one plate

Seven fragments of blue Isola Bella were recovered. Two are rim fragments and five are body fragments. Adams and Sons produced this pattern from 1819-1864 (Snyder 1997: 21).

Italian:

MVC: one, flatware (saucer?)

Six fragments of blue Italian were recovered. One is a base fragments, which indicates a flatware vessel, two are body fragments and two are a rim fragments. This pattern was produced from 1816 until the present. It was manufactured by Copeland and Garrett and W.T. Copeland, and is currently manufactured by Spode Limited (Sussman 1979: 134).

Lily:

MVC: six, one serving dish, two cups, two saucers, one unknown hollowware form

481 blue fragments of the Lily pattern with pearlware glaze were recovered. Of these one hundred eight were from cups, two-foot rings, one fragment was from a cup handle, twenty-eight were rim fragments and

seventy-seven were body fragments. There were eleven fragments of a serving platter, four rim fragments and seven base fragments. The remaining fragments were from two saucers, forty-six of which were rim fragments and two hundred and eight were body/base fragments. This pattern dates from 1837 to the present and was produced by W.T. Copeland and Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1979: 138).

Louis Quatorze:

MVC: 1 vessel, unknown

Four fragments were recovered of this pattern, two of which are rim fragments of blue Louis Quatorze were recovered. This pattern began being produced in 1844, by W.T. Copeland and Copeland and Garrett; the ending date is unknown (Sussman 1979: 145).

Marine or Marino:

MVC: one gothic molded plate

Eighty-five fragments of blue Marino were recovered. Sixty-six are body fragments, two are base fragments and seventeen are rim fragments. The rim fragments indicate that this was a hollowware vessel, most likely a soup plate with a gothic molded rim. This pattern was produced from 1834-1838 (Williams Vol I 1978: 327, Snyder 1997: 137).

Non Pariel:

MVC: one hollowware vessel

Eighteen blue fragments of a hollowware vessel were recovered of this pattern. This pattern was produced from 1836-1838 by T. Mayer (Chapman 1993: 146-7, Williams Vol. I 1978: 350, Snyder 1997: 120-121)

Rhone Scenery:

MVC: one, unknown

One blue rim fragment of Rhone Scenery was recovered. T.J. & J Mayer produced this pattern from 1843-1855 (Williams 1978: 390).

Ruins:

MVC: one, unknown

Three fragments of dark blue Ruins were recovered. One is a rim fragment and two are body fragments. This pattern was produced from 1848-20<sup>th</sup>, early examples were produced by W.T. Copeland and W.T. Copeland and Sons' (Sussman 1979: 168).

### Rural Scenes:

MVC: One, flatware, scalloped rim

Twelve fragments of blue Rural Scenes was recovered. Three were scalloped rim fragments and nine were body fragments. This pattern was produced c. 1850 by W.T. Copeland (Sussman 1979: 170-180).

### Seasons:

MVC: one serving platter

Three hundred eight blue fragments of a serving platter with scalloped edges and chamford corners were recovered. This pattern was produced by W.T. Copeland and Copeland &, Garrett from 1835-20<sup>th</sup> century (Sussman 1979: 194).

### Temple Warriors

MVC: one flatware vessel

One pink fragment of a flatware vessel in red transferprints was recovered. It has a scalloped edge, with molded dot design under the transferprints. (Chapman 1993:160, Laidacker 1951:18, Williams and Weber 1986:674, Furnis et al. 1999:26)

### Unidentified Fronds patterns

MVC: two, unknown

Eighteen fragments of a frond pattern earthenware were recovered in brown and purple transferprints pattern that remains unidentified. Of the brown transferprints five are rim fragments, one is a base fragment and three are foot ring fragments. Of the purple ceramics three are rim fragments, one is a base fragment and five are body fragments. The rim fragments have a gothic molded pattern on a hollowware vessel. Base fragments fabric is very thick (12mm) compared to the rims (4mm), suggesting that minimum vessel count may actually be four, with a matched basin sets in both brown and purple. More fragments would be needed to confirm this however.

### Unidentified Pink Transferprints

MVC: 1-6 ¼ inch saucer

Forty-three fragments of an unidentified pink transferprints were recovered. Six are rims, three are foot rings and thirty-four are body fragments. The fragments are from a 6 ¼ inch saucer with a pearlware glaze.

Voilet:

MVC: four, two cups, two saucers

127 fragments of purple Voilet, representing two hollowware vessels and two saucers were recovered. Two of the vessels are handled teacups. The other vessel may be the matching saucers. Forty are rim fragments, sixty-three are body fragments, eighteen are base fragments from saucers and six are foot rings from the tea cups. All fragments have a pearlware glaze. One of the rim fragments has a fragment of a handle on it. This pattern was produced by John Thomson c. 1840-1850 (figure B.11)(Chapman 1993: 160)



Figure B.11 Shards of purple transferprint, “Voilet”

Watteau:

MVC: One saucer

Thirty-one fragments of blue Watteau were recovered. Six are rim fragments and Twenty-five are a base/body fragments. This pattern was produced before 1847 and then after 1861 by W.T. Copeland and Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1979: 231).

Willow:

MVC: one, flatware

Eight fragments of blue Willow were recovered. Three are rim fragments, and five are body fragments. This pattern began being produced in the 1780s by Copeland & Garrett and continues until the present (Sussman 1979: 236).

Blue Unidentified Transferprints

Three hundred and thirteen fragments of unidentifiable transfer printed blue ceramic were recovered. The small size of the fragments and poor condition of the glazes makes identification unlikely on these pieces. Of the sixty-nine fragments fourteen of these are base fragments. Two base

fragments have partial makers marks reading, "land" and "20, land, ode". These most likely represent Spode Copeland ceramics. One of the base fragments is from a cup with a pearlware glaze. The other ten fragments appear to be from flatware vessels. One unidentified pattern is a rim fragment. One fragment is from a molded handle. The remaining forty-nine are body fragments

#### Brown Transferprints Unidentified:

MVC: one 6 ½ inch saucer

Five fragments of an unknown brown transferprints saucer were recovered. The saucer measures 6 ½ inches in diameter.

#### Flow Blue floral cup:

MVC: one cup

Sixteen fragments of a flow blue cup were recovered. Three are rim fragments, two are foot fragments and eleven are body fragments. The cup has a flowing floral pattern on the interior and exterior of the vessel. The body of the cup is molded into panels.



Unidentified Blue Transferprints:

314 fragments of and identifiably transfer print were recovered. Under these, 281 were body fragments, 8 were rim fragments, 17 were base/foot ring fragments, and 8 were handle fragments. All of these fragments represent transfer prints too small to associate with known patterns.

Flow Blue Unidentified: One fragment of a flow blue with a geometric pattern was located at Fort Vancouver, however the pattern was unidentified in their records as well.

Flow Blue Unidentified: forty-seven fragments of unidentified flow blue ceramic were found. One of these is a partial foot ring with a floral pattern on the interior of the base. The remaining forty-seven are body fragments. Most of the fragments are too small to identify to pattern, although some may represent French Radiating Sprigs, which is more difficult to identify due to the varied floral patterns used with the same rim edge.

Unidentified brown: Five fragments were recovered. Two are rim fragments and three are body fragments.

Unidentified mulberry: Two body fragments of mulberry transferprints were recovered.

### **Hand Painted Earthenware**

Unidentified blue band:

MVC: one, unknown

Three fragments of white earthenware with a simple blue band were covered.

Unidentified Brown banded ware:

MVC: One, unknown

One fragment of white earthenware with a single Brown band on the rim was recovered.

Unidentified blue-banded ware:

MVC: one, unknown

One fragment of white earthenware with an irregular blue hand painted line was recovered.

### **Stamped ware**

MVC: 2; one flatware plate, one molded hollow ware vessel

Yellow dots surrounding blue dot: Five fragments of stamped ware were recovered. The pattern is over glaze with hand-painted dots in circular

patterns. The base fragment indicated that it is a flatware vessel, and there are four other fragments with the same pattern and colors. This vessel has a pattern of gold dots encircling one blue dot (Chapman 1993: 252). This vessel has a pearlware glaze. This design was used circa 1840's. One of the body fragments is slightly burned along the edges of the fabric.

Green dots surrounding red center dot:

The other thirteen fragments are from a molded hollowware vessel. The over glaze dots are green and red. One is a rim fragment, the other eleven are body fragments.

### **Sponge ware**

**MVC:** 3 unknown flat wares

Four fragments of sponge ware were recovered. One fragment is applied sponge under glaze in cobalt blue. This fragment is from a flatware vessel. There are two fragments of the under glaze red over blue variegated sponge decoration ; one is a rim fragment, the other is a body fragment. The last fragment is a green applied sponge design with a black stripe.(Chapman 1993: 248)

Cottage ware:

MVC: 2, One Teacup with high foot ring, one 6 ¼ inch saucer

One hundred six with hand painted floral decoration were recovered. Thirty-six are rim fragments from a tea cup (18) and a 6 ¼ inch saucer (8), three are foot rings and eighty are body fragments. The decoration consists of hand painted flowers in red and blue with green leaves, with black stems. This type of ceramic was most popular between 1820-1840 (Chapman 1993: 220)

Earthenware, transferprints, hand painted

MVC: one hollowware vessel

Two rim fragments of earthenware hollow vessel were recovered. The rim has a design of three black stripes and dot around the rim in transferprints. The lines have a pale yellow hand painted filling the transferprints design.

Edge Decorated Earthenware

MVC: 17, two serving dishes, twelve plates

One hundred seventy one fragments of blue “Feather Edge” or “Shell Edge” ceramic were recovered. This ceramic consists of a white fabric with a hand applied blue edge decoration and pearlware glaze. The edge

decoration varies from an irregular hand painted blue decoration to a simple blue line, usually over some type of impressed lines (Sussman 1977: 49). There is no way of discerning plain white earthenware body fragments from the featheredge ceramics, with out further chemical analysis. The identifiable fragments of featheredge represent a minimum of seventeen vessels. Two serving dishes and twelve soup plates. Featheredge was produced mainly between 1800-1840 and most popular in the 1820s (Chapman 1993:206).

#### White Earthenware, applied decoration

MVC: one flatware

Five and fragments of a white flatware vessel with applied decoration were recovered. The applied application is floral with ribbons and painted a blue. Much of the appliqué has detached from the ceramic. (Chapman: 1993: 256-257).

#### *Cream ware*

Eight body fragments of undecorated cream ware were recovered.

*Polychrome Mocha ware/Banded ware*

MVC: 12; seven 5 ¼ inch bowls, two polychrome banded hollowware vessels, three hollowware Mocha tree designs.

139 fragments of Polychrome Mocha ware were recovered. Of these 100 were body fragments and 39 were rim fragments from a minimum of twelve vessels. Polychrome Mocha ware refers to several patterns of hand-applied slip based patterns on a variety of earthenware fabrics. This category includes banded ware, cat's eye and Mocha Tree and dates from 1830-1850 (Chapman 1993: 76). Several varieties of banded ware and Mocha Tree were identified at this site. Due to the nature of the earthenware used in these ceramics, the artifacts are extremely fragmented. Also due to the nature of the patterns and varied colors it is difficult to separate patterns out. Therefore the ceramics have been separated by fabric type and general banded ware or mocha tree designs, with minimum vessel count established due to unique rim variations.

Yellow fabric mocha: Seven fragments of mocha on a yellow ware fabric were recovered. All have a clear glaze on the interior. Two body fragments have a blue and white stripe pattern. Seven fragments of "Mocha Tree" pattern with banding were recovered in brown, green and blue.



Figure B.12 Blue banded Mochaware

Blue and White banded ware:

MVC: five, two saucers, two cups, one hollowware vessel

Three hundred thirty fragments of blue and white banded ware were recovered (figure B.12). The fragments are from a minimum of five vessels. Seventy-five fragments were from two saucers. Nine fragments were from a hollowware vessel. Of the fragments from the two cups, one is a foot ring, twenty- four were rim fragments and one hundred twenty one were body fragments.

12 inch Soup Plate, plain rim

MVC: 5

Fifty-three fragments of 12-inch soup plates, made from a white earthenware fabric, with a plain rim and pearl ware glaze were recovered.

6-½ inch saucer, plain rim

MVC: 2

Seven fragments of white earthenware from two 6-½ inch saucers were recovered. These saucers had a plain rim and a pearl ware glaze.

6-½ inch saucer, scalloped rim

MVC: 3

Thirty-nine fragments of white earthenware were recovered. These fragments represent a minimum of three 6-½ inch scalloped edge saucer. These saucers had a pearl ware glaze.



6 ½ inch saucer, classic gothic design

MVC: 7

Forty-four fragments of white earthenware fragments from a minimum of seven saucers with a classic gothic molded pattern were recovered (Wetherbee 1996: 10).

White earthenware, undecorated

3,360 fragments of plain white earthenware body fragments were recovered. Much of this plain white earthenware may not come from plain white vessels. An unknown quantity could come from white earthenware vessels, which are partially decorated, such as featheredge. Because of the small and fragmented nature of the shards, there is no way to know what was a plain vessel and what is from a decorated vessel. Of the artifacts recovered one hundred sixty seven were white earthenware rim fragments, twenty-five handle fragments, and 292 base or foot ring fragments. These most likely represent undecorated white wares.

Yellow earthenware, slip decorated

MVC: Five hollowware vessels

286 fragments of yellow fabric earthenware with a clear glaze were recovered. They consist of 32 base fragments, 219 body fragments and 35 slip decorated rim/body fragments. The fragments of yellow ware were all

thin and very fragmented. It was not possible to identify them past the type of fabric. However some mocha was produced in with a yellow fabric, and these fragments may represent some of this mocha. The thickness of the fabric is consistent with utilitarian kitchen ceramics often associated with yellow ware.

Brown earthenware, Slip decorated

MVC: three hollowware vessels

Fifty-three fragments of a brown earthenware vessel were recovered. Of these one is a handle fragment, nine are rim fragments, one is a foot ring, and forty-two are body fragments. Three hollowware vessels are represented. All fragments have a clear glaze over either slip decorations in yellow, or blue stripes on the exterior, with some having white slip on the interior of the vessel. The rim fragments have a molded dot design around the rim.

Redware/Salt glazed interior

MVC: One storage crock

One hundred and seventy four fragments of a red stoneware crock were recovered. One hundred and sixty are body, ten are rim and four are base fragments. The fabric is red with a salt glazed interior and unglazed

exterior. The rim is 1.25 cm thick and 2 cm wide. The base is approximately 20 cm in diameter and 1.8 cm thick. Of the one hundred and sixty body fragments, twelve are unglazed. There is a minimum vessel of one.

### Ironstone

Ironstone refers to a sturdier ceramic fabric than earthenware, which is usually seen as a solidly white vessel with molded designs. White Ironstone ceramics were introduced in the 1840s, reusing the shapes, which had been used on transfer printed ceramics (Wetherbee 1996: 9). Some of the earliest shapes introduced included *Classic Gothic*, *Octagon* and *Paneled Grape*. White ironstone was most popular in America between the 1850s and the 1970s (Wetherbee 1996: 10).

### Ironstone/blue transferprints:

MVC: One hollowware vessel

Five fragments of a hollowware vessel with a blue floral transferprints were recovered. The pattern is unidentified.

Classic Gothic:

MVC: eleven, eight cups, one 6-½ inch saucer, one bowl, one unknown hollow ware vessel 4 1/2 inches

Fifty-two fragments of molded gothic design ironstone were recovered. Of the fragments ten were base fragments, twenty-two were rim fragments, and fifteen were body fragments. These fragments represent eight cups, one saucer and a bowl. Eight fragments are from a hollowware vessel that is 4 ½ inches in diameter. Five of these are rim fragments and three are body fragments.

This pattern dates from the 1840s to the 1850 (Wetherbee 1996: 35). The foot ring measures 4.5cm on the exterior surface. While there are at least eight gothic cups represented, they are not uniform in the quality of the fabric or glaze. This suggests that the cups were not all purchased from the same stock and therefore were an attempt to get a matching set of cups over time.

Sydenham: Eight fragments of Sydenham were recovered consisting of four body fragments, one base fragment, consisting of the entire base, and one rim fragment. The exterior diameter of the foot ring measures 4.8cm in diameter. The height is 9.2cm and the rim diameter is 10cm or 4 inches.

These fragments all represent a single cup. Sydenham was introduced in 1853 (Fig 63) (Wetherbee 1996: 50).

Ironstone, plain, no molded design:

MVC: Five, three cups, two saucers

Ninety-three fragments representing a minimum of five vessels of plain ironstone were recovered. Nineteen fragments were from a saucer, thirteen were from one of the cups and the remaining vessels were represented by six base shards, twenty two rim fragments and thirty-three body fragments.

Ceramic-burned

One hundred and thirty eight ceramic shards were recovered that were burned to the point of having all glaze and decoration burned off, making further identification impossible.

Porcelain, gray fabric

Ginger Jar: 127 body fragments and sixteen lid fragments were recovered of a single Chinese ginger jar. It is made from gray porcelain with a clear glaze and blue under glaze patterning. It has a bare rim on the vessel and on the lid. The foot ring is also bare of glaze. This type of ginger jar is

often referred to as a Canton ginger jar, as this was the city it was exported out of (Spuelda 1993: 93-94). These types of jars have been found on many of the French Prairie archaeological sites including Despard, Lucier, Laframboise, Belleque, St. Francis Xavier Mission, Champeog, as well as Kanaka Village and Fort Vancouver. These types of jars were usually used to store foodstuffs (Spuelda 1993: 94).

The ginger jar lid measures 2.4cm high and 8.8cm in diameter. The interior and exterior of the lid are glazed, with blue under glaze design on the top and sides of the exterior. The rim of the lid is bare of glaze. The jar measures 13.7cm in diameter and the widest point of the shoulder measures 14cm. The height of the jar is 17cm with out the lid on. The bore of the mouth of the jar measures 6.3cm and the exterior of the mouth measures 7.3cm. The decorations on the jar include two houses with trees near water (Fig. 35).

MVC: 3 rice bowls, 1 serving bowl

Chrysanthemum: Three body fragments and three rim fragments of hand painted Chinese porcelain were recovered. The decoration is a cobalt blue hand painted stylized flower (Fig. 64). This design dates from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century (Chapman 1993: 291).

Unidentified: Two body and four rim fragments of unidentified of hand painted Chinese porcelain were recovered. The rims have two concentric blue lines around the rim and an abstract pattern below on the interior. There are also two concentric lines on the exterior of the rim.

#### Porcelain Saucer

MVC: one saucer

Seven fragments representing foot ring/base fragments were recovered.

#### Stoneware

MVC: two crocks, one hollowware

Buff fabric:

Sixteen fragments of buff stoneware with a salt-glaze exterior were recovered. Two were base fragments, thirteen were body fragments and one was a lid fragment. The lid fragments has a large dark brown glaze inclusion on it. These fragments would have come from a utilitarian storage-type crock (Fig 65).

#### Red stoneware

Twenty-eight fragments of a light Redware crock were recovered. Of these four were rim shards, one is a base shard and twenty-three are body

fragments. All but the base fragments are glazed with a clear glaze on the interior and exterior. The base fragment is only glazed on the interior.

Red fabric, glazed interior and exterior:

Eight fragments of red fabric stoneware were recovered. All pieces were glazed on the interior and exterior. Two fragments are from the rim and six are body fragments.

White stoneware:

MVC: one unknown hollowware

8 fragments of the wheel thrown stoneware with the sensed him pearlware glaze were recovered. The vessel measures 5 1/2 inches in diameter. Of the fragments recovered, 7 or rim fragments and one is a body fragment.



## Tumblers

MVC: 16

A total of minimum vessel count of sixteen different tumblers were recovered from 35MA41. Tumblers were a common drinking vessel in the nineteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 143). The tumbler fragments vary in composition, design and manufacture. I have broken them down by these criteria.

## Solarized glass

MVC: two tumblers

Two base fragments and eight body/rim fragments manufactured from a solarized glass were recovered. These fragments have a slight lavender tinge to them and appear to represent a single vessel. The fragment of base that is present is completely flat, with no pontil scars. The small amount of body showing appears to be round. The base measures 6.5 cm in diameter or 2.5 inches.

## Pressed Glass-Nine Panels

MVC: Six tumblers

One hundred seventy-five fragments of clear pressed glass tumblers were recovered, representing six vessels of the same style. Of these fragments

fourteen are base fragments, forty-two are rim fragments and one hundred nineteen are body fragments. The tumblers appear to have been pressed in a two-part mold, as only a single set of mold lines are visible at the edge of the tumbler base. The finish would have been completed by hand. The tumblers measure 7.8 cm or 3 inches in diameter at the finish and have a base diameter of 5cm or 2 inches. The tumbler has a circular finish with a fire- polished rim. The base is divided into nine panels, which go up the body of the tumbler 6.4 cm or 2.5 inches. The panels are 2 cm or .75 inches across at the base of the tumbler. The base of one of the tumblers is present, showing a finished pontil. A finished pontil is where the rough glass from the pontil is ground away leaving the glass smooth and allowing it to sit flatly on a surface (Fig. 66)(Jones and Sullivan 1989: 129).

#### Round Glass Tumbler

MVC: five tumblers

Eighteen fragments of cylindrical tumblers were recovered. They represent a minimum of five tumblers. The single intact base measures 7 cm or 2.75 inches in diameter. The base is cylindrical and smooth on the exterior with a single large air bubble inclusion, as well as many smaller air bubble inclusions. The base of the glass is completely flat with no evidence of a pontil or mold seams. The body of the glass appears to have

a straight-sided body, which thins out considerably to only 1.5mm in thickness.

### Leaded Glass Tumblers

MVC: two tumblers

Seventy-two fragments of leaded glass were recovered. Two were rim fragments, nine are base fragments and sixty-one are body fragments. These represent a minimum vessel count of six tumblers (Fig. 67). Artifact D-153 is a complete tumbler base. It measures 7 cm or 2.75 inches in diameter at the base. It has eleven panels cut into the glass. The base has a finished pontil. Artifact G-9110 is a base fragment. It has cut panels and a base similar to D-153, and most likely represents a tumbler of the same design.

### Utensils

Six utensils were recovered from the site. One is a partial bone handle knife of the type commonly used in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Brauner: personal communication). The fragment measures 7.7cm long. The entire handle is present, but the blade, which is made of ferrous metal, is severely corroded. The handle portion measures 5.8cm long and the intact portion of the bone handle measures 7mm in thickness. Four are partial

fork fragments. They are not as intact as the knife and the handles are entirely missing, as well as the prongs. This is due to the poor preservation of the ferrous metal, which left only the thicker portions of the forks intact. The forks had three prongs. Two fragments of one serving spoon, made from unknown white metals were recovered.

#### Portable Illumination

Twenty-eight fragments of a hurricane lamp were recovered. Seventeen were body fragments of clear glass with an identifying circular stress lines from manufacture. Eleven of the pieces were rim fragments, along which the edge had been fire-polished. There was enough of the rim intact to deduce a diameter of 8.5cm along the finished rim.

## **Home Education**

### Inkwells

#### MVC: 4

Fragments of four inkwells were recovered from the site (Fig 68). Ink began to be commercially produced in America after the first commercial patent was filed in 1816 (Polak 2002:174). Glass inkwells then became popular and were usually very decorative, as inkwells were often displayed prominently on desks (Polak 2002: 174) and reused and refilled in the home (Jones and Sullivan 1989:71). The most common shape for inkwells during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a multi-sided conical bottle known as “umbrella ink” (Polak 2002:174). These bottles usually had a paper label (Van der Bossche 2001: 371), making the manufacturer difficult to identify, as the labels do not preserve well in an archaeological context. Three of the inkwells recovered from 35MA41 are umbrella conical in shape, although all are different colors of glass. The fourth inkwell is mold blown three-part inkwell.

The yellow-olive umbrella inkwell has thirteen fragments, four of which have cross-mended. The majority of the base and one side of the body of the bottle are present. The base measures 5.75cm in diameter with a blowpipe pontil mark. Mold seams are also present on the base. The body of the bottle would have consisted of eight panels in a conical

formation. The finish of the bottle is absent and the shoulder area of the bottle has been burned. The size, color and shape of the bottle are consistent with umbrella ink bottles manufactured between 1840 and 1860 (Polak 2002: 178).

The aqua umbrella inkwell consists of two body fragments. It most likely had eight panels as well. Four panels are present, comprising roughly half of the circumference.

The light aqua umbrella inkwell consists of one body fragment. The glass is significantly thinner than that of the other umbrella ink, measuring 1.7mm at the thickest point, as opposed to aqua inkwell, which measures 4.4mm at the thickest point. The light aqua inkwell is also corroded, showing an iridescent sheen.

The molded inkwell is an olive green glass, which consists of one piece that includes the entire base and a partial body (Fig. 42). The base measures 6cm in diameter with a glass pontil mark measuring 1.9cm in diameter. The lower portion of the body has a molded diamond and triangle pattern. The diamonds measure 1cm in length and .75cm in height. There are fifteen diamonds running the circumference of the inkwell. Above the diamond and triangle pattern is a string design, which measures 2.5mm in width. Above the string is a smaller all-over diamond pattern in which the diamonds measure 4.4mm in height and 3.7mm in

width. This inkwell has been identified as being manufactured by Coventry Glassworks in Connecticut, USA between 1815-1840. This inkwell would have been blown into a three part mold and have an applied disc on top (Van der Bossche 2002: 364).

Color	Shape	Fragment	Date range
Aqua	Umbrella conical	1	Unknown
Light aqua	Umbrella conical	1	Unknown
Yellow olive	Umbrella conical	12	1840-1860
Dark olive	Mold blown geometric design	1	1815-1840

Table B.3 Inkwells

### Slate and Slate Pencils

173 fragments of slate were recovered, and all are a dark gray color. 143 of the fragments are from slate tablets. Twenty-six fragments are of slate pencils, sharpened with a knife. One complete slate pencil, still wrapped on one end with a ferrous metal foil was also recovered. In addition, three cylindrical slate cores were recovered, most likely from an early mechanical pencil. The slate may represent either children's education or family bookkeeping, since slate was used both in schoolhouses and by the Hudson Bay Company clerks (Spuela 1996:91).

## C. Cleaning and Maintenance

### Needles

Three fragments of ferrous metal are believed to be remnants of sewing needles. In the nineteenth century the needle making industry was based largely in England, which would have been the most likely source for any needles coming into the Champoeg area. Needle making was a specialized industry with different families working in different processes. Many steps were required to manufacture needles. A needle would begin with a coil of steel wire, which was constricted and through a draw plate of steel into finer and finer diameters. Then it was cut to the length of two needles. The drawing process would curve the needles so the next process after cutting was straightening. Then the needles would be pointed on either end by a man known as a “pointer”. This highly skilled and dangerous job garnered high wages, but pointers often did not live past the age of 30 due to lung damage. After pointing the eyes of the needles would be stamped, a job usually done by women. A good day could see over 20,000 needles stamped by one woman. Then the needles needed to be tempered, a hardening process that was used to prevent the needle from being too brittle to use. After all these processes the needles needed to be cleaned and polished to remove any sharpness, particularly in the eye,



which could fray thread or fabric. Needles were exported all over the world and proved to be excellent trade items. They are compact, easy to transport in large quantities and were highly desired as trade goods (Fitzgerald 1999: 53-55). Because needles were made of ferrous metal they are often in very poor condition in archaeological sites, making identification difficult if not impossible, or they are not found at all.

#### Straight pins

Three brass straight pins, usually associated with sewing were recovered from 35MA41. Two are fragmented and one is complete. The intact pin measures 27.3mm long; the head measures 1.5mm in diameter and the shaft measures .5mm in diameter.

#### Thimbles

Three thimbles were recovered from the site. One is intact, although somewhat flattened. The others are fragments. All the thimbles are brass with the same impressed pattern. The top of the thimble is dimpled, in order to “catch” the needle being pushed through the fabric. Below the dimpled pattern is a band with two rows of impressed lines going around the thimble. The bottom of the thimble is rolled upwards.

The intact thimble measures 2.3cm long and measures 2.6cm in width at the base and tapers to 1.3cm at the top.

#### **IV. Commerce and Industry**

##### **Currency:**

One single United States 1853 seated liberty dime

##### **Hunting: ammunition**

Thirty-four pieces of ammunition were recovered from the site. Most are lead shot or lead balls. These would have been used in smoothbore flintlock weapons, which were in general use up through the 1850s (Spuelda 1989: 89). One is a 22 caliber lead bullet. Shot ranges from .25cm to 1.5 cm.

In addition to the lead shot, other fragments of lead were recovered showing evidence of bullets being manufactured on site.

### Gun Part, Flintlock Hammer

One flintlock was recovered from 35MA41 (Fig. 70). The style is consistent with the Barnett lock and hammer that was used in the fur trade from 1811-1832 (Gooding: 79). The flintlock measures 9cm (3.56 inches) in length. The remaining width, due to corrosion, is 6mm (.24 inches). The smaller hole on the end measures 4mm (.17 inches) in diameter. The larger hole measures 8.5mm (.33 inches) in diameter. The area where the flint would have been placed measures 9.65mm (.38 inches) in width.

### Flints

Three flints were recovered. Two are a dark gray/black flint and one is of a white flint (Figure B.13)

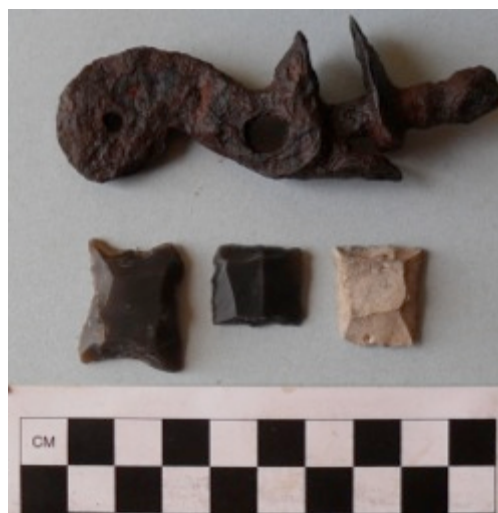


Figure B.13 Flintlock hammer and flints.

### Lead Powder Lids

Two lead lids were recovered (figure B.14). The label on only one lid is still legible it reads “E.I.DuPont & Co”. E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, commonly referred to as DuPont, is an American chemical company that was founded in July 1802 as a gunpowder mill by Eleuthère Irénée du Pont (2010 Form 10-K, E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Company.)



Figure B.14 Lead gunpowder lids.

**Lithics**

Seventy-five lithic artifacts were recovered from the site. Twenty-three are CCS cobbles ranging from a mustard yellow to a dark red, due to various amounts of heat treating, which makes the CCS more workable for lithic reduction. Of the remaining lithic materials, forty were debitage and shatter, one was a CCS cobble used for polishing, showing multiple ground surfaces. Seven artifacts were utilized flakes, five are obsidian and two are from uncolored glass.

**Projectile Points**

Four projectile points were recovered. All are corner notched and made from local gravels. Two are made from CCS, one is obsidian, and one is a lavender jasper. These points date to the late archaic in the Willamette Valley (Aikens 1993:214)

### Gastroliths

Eighty-four of the artifacts recovered appear to be what are known as gastroliths. The majority of the gastroliths recovered were either glass or ceramic, but it appears that any small hard object might be picked up by a bird, such as buttons or pipe fragments in addition to the bits of glass and ceramic that would have been laying around the house. Of the eighty-four gastroliths recovered twenty-seven are glass (5 olive, 6 light olive, 2 aqua, 14 colorless), fifty were from ceramic vessels (5 blue transferprints, 1 shell edge, 4 blue banded ware, 1 redware, 3 red transferprints, 36 white earthenware), two were from pipe bowl fragments, one was an earthenware button, two were prosser buttons, two were fragments of Russian trade style beads (one white, one blue).

**Organics**

## Ivory

One fragment of ivory measuring 1 cm x 3cm was recovered. It appears to have been sawed into a rectangular “blank”, possible in preparation for carving or other decorative uses.



## V. Unknowns

Glass fragments were determined to be of unknown function if they lacked diagnostic features, such as seams, stretch marks, embossing, or other features, which would aid identification of the product contained and therefore the function of the artifact. While some fragments have diagnostic features, they are so fragmented as to make them unidentifiable past a general bottle category.

### **Glass Aqua**

Total Aqua MVC: 10

Bottle fragments

MVC: one bottle

Fourteen fragments of a single aqua bottle were recovered. The glass is extremely corroded and flaking with an iridescent patina. Two fragments were from the finish, which is a one-part finish with a flat sided, folded out lip. The lip measure .9cm and the bore measure 2.9cm. Twelve fragments are from the neck, which measures 5 cm in length.

MVC: one bottle

Thirty-two fragments of an aqua bottle created in a three part mold were recovered. Two fragments are from a hand blown simple folded lip finish. One is a rectangular base fragments with chamfered corners. Twenty-nine fragments are body fragments.

MVC: two bottles

Twenty-eight fragments from two hand blown aqua bottle were recovered. Five fragments are from a kick-up, six are body fragments and seventeen are neck/finish fragments. The finish is straight fire polish with a small amount of the original lead seal.

Embossed, aqua

MVC: 1

Eight fragments of embossed aqua glass were recovered. All have one to two partial letters embossed into the glass. This was typical of proprietary bottles often containing medicines or culinary offerings. Due to the extremely fragmented nature of the artifacts identification was not possible as to contents and function.

### Unidentified Aqua Glass

508 fragments of unidentified aqua glass were recovered. 482 fragments were of curved body glass. Nine are from fragments of bottle shoulder and neckpieces. Nine are base fragments, two of which have iron pontils and two have a glass tipped pontil mark (Van Der Bossche 2001: 64). Four of the bases are rectangular with chamfered corners. One of these bases has the embossing "YNES". Five finish fragments have a one part, folded out and rounded finish. Three finishes have down tooled lips and four fragments have a flanged lip (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 92).

### Amber, bottle

MVC: one bottle

Thirty-four fragments of curved amber glass were recovered. All appear to represent bottle glass with a minimum vessel count of one.

### Clear Glass

Bottle finishes

MVC:8

Six fragments of clear bottle finishes were recovered. Two finishes have hand blown prescription lips, two finishes have a flanged lip and one has a folded out lip (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 92).

### Pressed Glass Dish

Two fragments of a pressed glass dish were recovered. Not enough of the vessel is present to measure dimensions but the entire vessel is less than four inches in diameter.

### Clear Embossed Glass

Forty-three fragments of pressed or embossed glass were recovered. Twenty-nine are non-diagnostic. Four are panels from bottles embossed with "TON", "RIVER" and "ESS".

### Stemware

Three fragments appear to be from stemmed glassware. One fragment is the base of stemware with the pontil mark ground off.

One artifact is a hand blown finial pressed into a floral design.

Two fragments are faceted stems with a starburst interior design.

One glass stopper was recovered.

One glass finial with tear drop design.

### Burned/Melted glass

One hundred-sixteen fragments of burned or melted glass were recovered.

### Non-diagnostic Clear Glass

518 fragments of clear curved glass were recovered.

376 fragments of clear flat glass were recovered. These most likely represent window glass, but due to the fragments being of such small size it cannot be confirmed.

### Solarized Glass

MVC: two bottles

Ten fragments of solarized glass were recovered. Nine are curved bottle body fragments. One is non-diagnostic fragment of a darker purple, representing a different vessel.

### Olive, light, bottle, curved

MVC:1 bottle

One hundred thirty eight fragments of a light olive green glass bottle were recovered. They seem to represent a minimum of a single bottle. One fragment part of a kick-up and the remaining pieces are body fragments.

Pale green, frosted, bottle, molded

MVC: one bottle

One hundred fifty five fragments of pale green, glass were recovered from the site. The glass has a frosted appearance on the exterior and interior, but not on the breaks, indicating the frosting was originally present and not a result of depositional oxidation. One fragment is from a bottle base with a circular indentation and rough interior texture, created in a three-part mold. Fragments consist of both flat and curved pieces, possibly representing panels and shoulder fragments. The small size however makes it unclear. Six fragments have molded angles possibly representing corners. Five flat fragment are molded with a “&” and a partial curved line embossed into the glass. Seven fragments have an embossed geometric design and the glass is curved. Five fragments from two bottle finishes were recovered. The finish appears to be one-part, straight sided with a folded lip. Enough of the finish was present to extrapolate an approximate exterior diameter of 4cm or 1.6 inches. One hundred forty-four fragments are body fragments.

## Metals

### Ferrous

#### Barrel hoops

Twenty-three fragments of barrel hoops were recovered. One of the hoops was intact. It measures 15cm (5.9 inches) in diameter and tapers out to 16cm (6.25 inches). It is 2.3cm (.9 inches) in width. The hoop overlaps by 4.2 cm and is possibly secured with a rivet, corrosion making certainty difficult. The remaining xx are all fragmented and fragile due to corrosion.

### Brass

Three unknown brass items were fragments of brass were recovered. Two are brass rods and one is an end-cap with a threaded interior, which measures 8.8mm in diameter. Two padlock escutcheon covers were recovered.

### Unknown, hand forged

One unknown piece of hand-forged iron was recovered. It measures 4 inches (10cm) in length. One end is square measuring .7 inches (1.73 cm). The end of the artifact tapers in length and measures .4 inches (1 cm).

## Lead

Eighty-six fragments of sheet lead were recovered from the site.

A fragment of molded lead was recovered from the site. The piece measures 2cm in width, 1.9cm in length and is .77cm thick. It has "RK" impressed onto the top. It is possible that it is a fragment of a lead seal from a trading post goods.