

CULTURE CONTACT AND GENDER IN THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY OF THE LOWER COLUMBIA RIVER 1824-1860

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Abstract

This thesis explores the example of the archaeology of Fort Vancouver not as an end in itself, but as a pointer to a more general call for greater sensitivity in searching for and interpreting evidence. In archaeological interpretation men are most visible. The history of excavation at Fort Vancouver could be adduced as a perfect example. Chapters on feminist history and Fort Vancouver history are presented as essential preliminary background, in two parts.

Part 1 describes the general background relating to historical archaeological practice, the growing visibility of women in historical investigation, the history of the fort, its occupants, and its excavations. Part 2 moves to the new story my research allows to be told.

This new story is: 1) Mapping evidence establishes a layout of buildings, but with no clear material evidence of the presence of women. 2) Documentary evidence establishes a substantial presence of women with great clarity. 3) Excavations have tended to confirm the first pattern of evidence but to neglect the second pattern of evidence. 4) Finally, one building in particular provides an example of a structure used both by married with family and single occupants, and should have been excavated with that history in mind. It becomes an important test case – either as evidence of what can be proved, or as a cautionary tale of what should have been better explored, or as both.

The story told is one of mixed success. Some of the evidence (extant maps and documentary evidence of families) demonstrates that women can be made more visible. However, some of the evidence (especially that of the physical remains and artifacts) is now largely lost or was neglected or overlooked, making it more difficult to present a clear picture.

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PREFACE

Since the 1960s, historical archaeologists have attempted to extract information about the lives of women. These attempts have tended to be singular in approach, disbursed inconsistently, and erratically applied. This thesis proposes that successful methodologies be assembled and actually used. The test of this approach will be a case study of the excavations at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

My thesis will attempt to extract gender information from the results of decades of archaeology at Fort Vancouver, a center of the British terrestrial fur trade of the first half of the nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest of North America, and home to hundreds of women, men, and children. I was familiar with the cultural material set at Fort Vancouver. Using historical and archaeological data compiled by various researchers over the years, the original intention of the dissertation was to look for the presence of women in the archaeological record. As my research progressed the quest moved from looking for women to looking at gender. It is argued that previous researchers have either not chosen to look for, actually looked for, or have not known how to look for, the presence of this type of information in these archaeological deposits. As a case study, this research will review the archaeology at the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site to demonstrate the comparative absence of interest in gender from the archaeological record. By using mid-range theory, spatial analysis, and a combination of historical and archaeological records, this research will demonstrate the possibility of making women more visible through historical archaeology.

The purpose of these demonstrative chapters is to show that small acts of actually looking for something can make a difference. A previous way of studying the past was to focus on only on the actions of famous individuals, usually white men in positions of power. Today we recognize that the supposedly minor daily actions are

equally important and may, in fact, be more representative of a cultural behavior. The goal of this thesis is to persuade historical archaeologists to perform many small actions in their daily approaches in order to see gender in the archaeological record. Overall, this case study is deconstructionist in theoretical approach, attempting to show how historical archaeologists can separate ideas that have been coupled in the past, and use this fresh perspective to create new ways of looking for and seeing gender.

The regional focus of this research has been the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) administrative post of Fort Vancouver and the three settlements of Lower Columbia River Chinook. These household sites have been identified with a multitude of ethnic backgrounds, including: Scots, English, French-Canadian, Hawaiian, Iroquois, and over thirty other Native American tribal groups (Hussey 1957, 1967; Kardas 1971; Thomas and Hibbs 1984). Historic records, such as the 1850 Census, identify the tribal affiliations represented by women and their children of the household sites to include Okanagan, Chellais, Nez Perce, Chinook, Selkirks, Quesnel, Kaalooops, Yamhill, Ute, and Snake (York 2005). Each site has a range of occupants and occupations.

Fort Vancouver National Historic Site has hosted National Park Service and Cultural Resource Management based archaeology for almost sixty years, resulting in an unrivalled collection of over two million HBC era artifacts. In conjunction with the artifacts are maps, field notes, photos, over thirty reports, soil samples, flotation samples, pollen samples, core samples, and metal analyses. Kardas (1971), Pollard (1990), Jette (1996), Kaehler (2002), and Cromwell (2006) have written masters and doctoral archaeological and history theses related to the site.

Why choose the question of gender for this study? This particular archaeological record provides a special opportunity to examine a data set representing a period of interesting convergence and transformation. Prior to the establishment of Fort

Vancouver, this region went from rare, sporadic mercantile contact with outsiders to a market monopolized by the British HBC, and finally to an international economy dominated by Euro-American market capitalism. Prior to contact with those from other continents, the Chinook of the Lower Columbia Basin were dominant traders in the region. Chinook women and men both participated as traders while the HBC trading company employed only men in Vancouver. Chinook sexual practices and gender differentiation were different from those of the Europeans. While both societies were patrilineal and had strong internal class systems, how the two genders functioned within their community was quite different. Chinook sexual coupling was not marriage dependent. The British sanctioned sexual coupling only after a church recognized marriage. Sexually transmitted disease grew epidemic in parallel with Euro-American contact. Death during delivery increased because of physical anatomical differences in scale (Pollard 1990:165-166). The number of abortions also increased with Euro-American contact (Pollard 1990:45). Yet sexual coupling and the creation of numerous families of these different backgrounds also increased.

This thesis project has the intention of demonstrating how an inclusion of gender can contribute to a more comprehensive interpretation of the historical past. National historic sites and/or parks often have a history of archaeological exploration, funded analysis and interpretation. They are built upon a historical archaeological data set that was collected during periods when there was not a particular interest in gender. Fort Vancouver reflects this interpretive heritage. Among the 58 national parks and 95 national historic sites in the US, Fort Vancouver seems like a “normal” special park, not a Yosemite or a Chaco Canyon, with a management heritage that may also be more “typical” (Wikipedia 2009).

Why choose Fort Vancouver, in particular, over the other HBC posts in the region? Fort Vancouver National Historic Site is the best area available for archaeological information representing activity in the region between 1829 and 1860. Excavation is difficult in many of the other HBC posts. Coulee Dam forms a reservoir over Fort Colville. Fort Walla Walla (Nez Perce) is flooded by McNary Dam. Fort George (Astoria) is buried under downtown Astoria, Oregon. Fort Nisqually was extensively plowed and farmed over prior to becoming a park, though it actually has an extensive archaeological excavation record too. Spokane House was excavated three times in the nineteen-fifties, once in the nineteen-sixties and now has park structures on top of it. The Wells Dam flooded Fort Okanagan. Floodwaters and a meandering river erode Fort Boise. Fort Umpqua has not been archaeologically defined. Fort Hall is protected on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation.

Why choose gender, in particular, as a thesis focus? I would argue that gender has always been a focus in archaeology, but it has been focused on men. An inclusion of women is something that has the potential to contribute new information useful in creating a more fleshed out understanding. Professional practices of historical archaeologists do impact interpretation. Cumulative interpretations make a difference. The goal of this thesis is to persuade historical archaeologists to look for women in the archaeological record and if their goal involves interpretation of human behaviors that gender consideration be included at the beginning of project design.

This thesis focus is on gender, not on ethnicity, but it must be emphasized that ethnicity and gender are inextricably linked, for all the women and all their offspring and some of the men of the households are Indian. Research work has been done on the subject of ethnicity and this work is referenced in the following chapters.

The thesis runs on two parallel paths. One path is a demonstration of what has not been asked about women and what needs to be asked. It frames what we understand and what we should do differently. This is the theoretical contribution. The second path is a test of these insights against previously gathered information from Fort Vancouver.

This demonstration has followed both paths, for each requires a different approach. Each path follows biographical behaviors: these include coming of age, courtship, sexual practice, partnering, childbirth, raising children, nursing, menopause, partnership end, and the mourning of the end of partnership. These behaviors expand beyond the more often studied economic choices that the fur trade men made and the buildings that were constructed in support of their industry. Gender behaviors typically represent behaviors of significant importance to both females and males. This significance is testified to by the maintenance of their relationships during life and also by choices made after a partner's death, with the living individual choosing to marry again. In its first research path, this thesis extracts gender information from historical demographics. The second research path looks at interpretation of gender-associated archaeological artifacts. The historical path is more thorough and stronger than the archaeological path, and this imbalance is discussed.

I will compose a more complete historical demographic construction, one made up of women, children, and men. Individual records representing males and females and the historically documented gender related information about their lives are compiled. This demographic set will be analyzed and its interpretative results discussed.

I will also examine what has been considered gender associated cultural material at Vancouver. For example, previous archaeological interpretations at the Fort have read the artifacts of sewing, particularly the common straight pin, as demonstrating the presence of women. Similarly, previous archaeological interpretations at the Fort have

interpreted the artifacts of smoking, particularly the common clay pipe, as associated with men. This thesis also will examine a more detailed approach to gender association, where certain assemblages of material cultural are considered indicative of gender presence.

Early in the fort history, the HBC employed men of specific ethnic groups for specific jobs. This thesis looked more specifically at Operation 14 – Feature 54, in the Village, outside the stockade walls. It is attractive because, over time, men of the same ethnicity (hence receiving the same wage) lived in this house. What changed was whether families lived in the house or men lived in the house without families.

Operation 14 excavated the area containing a house and its cellar. Marie Johnson, the Woman of the Umpqua, and John Johnson, the Scot from the Orkney Islands, are historically credited as living here between 1833 and 1852. After the death of Mrs. Johnson and the children, the residence was historically credited as being occupied by a group of Orkney Scotsmen. Finally, applying a feminist perspective, this Operation is examined and results are discussed.

CHAPTER 1

Gender and Archaeology

Introduction

This chapter begins with definitions of the general terms used when discussing gender and feminist theory in archaeology. It provides a brief historical framework of the feminist movement in the Anglophone world and the major archaeological theoretical responses to these cultural changes. In Chapter 2, I introduce a discussion of selected specific studies done at Fort Vancouver, examining what the studies did and did not do, and introducing the supporting evidence of original information contained in subsequent chapters.

Definition of Terms

“Gender” is used, popularly, as a word that categorizes something as female, male or neuter, depending upon biological distinctions. Gender is a social differentiation, as contrasted with sex, a biological distinction. Theorists such as Butler (1999) and Williams (2006) consider gender to be distinguished by behaviors rather than biology. Extracting homosexual, bisexual, and/or transsexual behavior from the historic archaeological record is not a part of this case study. This thesis defines “gender” as a measure or scale of being female or male, woman, or man.

One key axiom of contemporary feminist theory is that a condition of interdependence exists between the genders. Generally, feminists believe that a problem arises between genders only when gender inequality is oppressive. Certainly gender differentiation does not necessarily equate to sexism. Feminist theory insists (another key axiom) on an examination of the nature of social institutions we participate in, an examination of how we choose to participate, and how both society and individuals are

molded by these interactions. Typically, a feminist believes in personal agency, action and the need to change sexist thinking and actions.

Patriarchy is viewed by feminists as a system which demands gender privilege, and a competitive solidarity (of men and/or women) coupled with an operational dynamic of control and fear. Control is the core operational principal of patriarchy. People who operate within a patriarchal system believe that control and its rewards outweigh the consequences of oppression (Johnson 1997). Typically, oppressive systems promote fear. Fear is used in order to perpetuate a belief that control is required. Using power “over” another in this manner is described as “domination” or “oppression”. Most feminists believe that patriarchy is used for the protection of particular privileges. Typical privileges protected by patriarchies are usually those of mobility, income, wealth, power, safety, and respect.

Some of these dynamics of patriarchy are revealed in a story told to historian Munnick by Thomas Lachance (of the Pepin family of Vancouver).

My dad, Pierre Pepin (I) went back to Canada on one of the brigade trips and spent the winter with his parents there. Of course he told them all about the country, how mild it was and what a wonderful place. Then his sister Catherine spoke up, “I’m going back with you!” “Oh, no, no!” said everyone. “You can’t do that!” They were Catholic, and strict —. Dad told her, “It’s a rough, hard trip, no place for a single woman at all. You just can’t do it.” “Then I’ll get married first,” was her answer. She was the only sister he had, twenty-three years old, and not married yet! So he said he’d look around, see what could be done. That evening he met a fellow he knew, told him “Why don’t you marry my sister Catherine?” and the fellow said, “I’ll go see her!” for he admitted he’d been

casting eyes in that direction for some time. So they were married, and she came with the brigade. (Munnick 1972:A-41)

In this example Catherine lacks privileges of mobility, safety and the ability to choose where she wants to live because of her sex and marital status. She lacks the privilege of respect and power resulting in an arranged marriage to a person discovered by her brother. Pierre finds himself socially obligated to locate a fiancé, a man who has been thinking about getting married and is willing to marry someone already 23 years old whose objective is to move to the West. Catherine, Pierre, the fiancé, Thomas, and the reader all understand these dynamics of solidarity and functioning within a system of patriarchic privilege.

Another example of the dynamics of patriarchy is reflected in a series of male encounters (from a historic European male perspective) in an archived set of HBC letters (Rich 1941:186). This behavior involved male British sailors being sexually serviced by a male Indian sex worker. Dr. McLoughlin heard reports of this activity, ordered it stopped and reinforced the command with floggings. The activity continued and HBC employees castrated this Indian, who continued the sexual servicing of the British sailors. The patriarchal privilege of participating in the sex trade existed as long as it was British male with Indian female. Flogging and castration were used in anticipation that it would perpetuate fear with the Indian population and to convey a message of what constituted appropriate sexual activity between the sexes. Flogging and castration were attempts to control Indian practice and were oppressive. The British sailors were more privileged than the Indian. They were not flogged or castrated or identified.

Not all examples of patriarchy are explicit or intentional. Patriarchy, by promoting a partial view, can result in an overemphasis or underestimate of some kind of activities and ignore or underplay other activities, being very subtle and therefore difficult to recognize. For example, patriarchal perceptions about work can enable a dominant group (such as the male administrators of the HBC) to avoid recording and acknowledging their dependency on Indian women to perform disagreeable labor in return for low (or no) wages. The formally ignored labor contribution contributed to overall HBC fiscal success, measured by profitability, privilege, and affluence.

Another skewed perception is perpetuated by historical archaeologists studying the trapping culture by focusing on the minority of men who lived inside the fort stockade walls to the exclusion of half the population, Indian women who lived in the Village with their men and children. A majority of these women lived in the Village, and through their own economic agency maintained their families—both when their partners were away and to supplement the salary in credit and food, which the HBC provided only for its male employees.

Review of Feminism and Feminist Archaeology, Past to Present

Gender is not a new topic of consideration for archaeologists. Gender archaeology, looking at how women and men lived in the past (their relationships, identities, and ways) has been the subject of investigation in the archaeological community since the 1960s. At the same time, feminist theory has been widely expressed in the complementary fields of literature, psychology, religion, popular culture studies, philosophy, and anthropology. It has been organized and taught in university textbooks and courses.

Since the 1960s, a body of work has been published on feminist theory across the arts, humanities, and social science and on feminist theory within archaeology, both

prehistoric and historical. Cultural theorists and archaeological theorists, ranging from Rowe-Finkbeiner (2004) and Enloe (2000) to Gilchrist (1999) and Spencer-Wood (2006), acknowledge that the published body of work categorized as “feminism” is usually broken into three waves within the sociocultural evolution of feminism.

In this division, the first wave begins with the suffrage movement in Europe and North America. The women’s suffrage movement grew from local efforts in a variety of provinces and states in the 1860s and 1880s. The right to vote was gradually adopted, first given locally to women of a certain age who owned property and wished to influence education decisions, and then granted for other types of decisions and for other classes of women. By the 1920s, many women in Europe held the same voting privileges as men. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution granted women the right to vote. The period following the adoption of universal suffrage in the United States is often called the second awakening of feminism. This particular awakening marked a movement away from the “cult of domesticity” or the “cult of true womanhood.” The cult of domesticity restricted roles for white women. Proper conduct for women was bounded by the parameters of the home and demanded a life with its daily practices devoted to husband and children. In other words, proper upper-class white women did not do productive labor outside of the home or participate in political activities. Appearances and material possessions played a major role in establishing and demonstrating to others a family’s social and cultural aspirations. After they received the vote, white women moved more visibly into the political world of men, exercising their newly granted right and even holding public office, a departure from the assumptions.

The second feminist wave of the 1960s and 1970s emphasized a broadening equity for women, in campaigns such as the (failed) Equal Rights Amendment in the

United States, equal access to credit, and equity in hiring, employment, and reproductive rights. Women with financial access to the world pharmaceutical market were able to purchase the birth control pill, allowing women freer sexual exploration and expression without the risk of pregnancy. This second wave was greatly influenced by the American civil rights movement, which focused attention on oppression and discrimination, and worked on getting black women and men registered to vote. Concern for civil rights was accompanied by concern for legislating equity for women. As with the suffrage movement, this legislative and judicial agenda was set and achieved mostly by white, middle-class, or affluent American women. The opportunities provided by the new legislation proved advantageous to these same women, who already occupied positions of economic class and status, but were often not within the reach of those burdened by racism or poverty. Stereotypically, feminists in this second wave were described as fringe white women, elitist, college educated, urban, and anti-male (hooks 1990, 2000a, 2000b).

Since the 1970s, much of the work in anthropology has developed independent of theory (Ervin 2005:7). As archaeologists, we have watched the emergence of cultural resource management archaeology emerge and dominate the field financially. Today it is common practice for academic institutions to fund their field schools with money available because the archaeological excavation is necessary to meet the cultural resource management responsibilities of government agencies or private clients operating on federal lands or with federal resources. Yet it is surely possible to include theoretical principles in this setting (including feminist theory) if the archaeologist incorporates those principles in the original design and proceeds with intention.

In my own archaeological investigations, I have taken the position, which seems reasonable, that if one actually bothered to look for the signature of the presence of the

women, one would discover it. My thesis provides a *praxis* approach (Warry 1992:157). It is framed by the successful feminist theoretical approaches of others and provides an original contribution via the application of archaeological analysis. I proceeded from these general principles: information about gender differences can be seen in the archaeological record; careful interpretation of cultural debris, documentation, and critical awareness of one's own biases can provide information about gender distinctions and pattern; applied archaeological practices, both in excavation fieldwork design and incorporation during the project a consideration of gender, can result in more authentic data. This is normative (to contemporary anthropologists), it is the right thing to do, both because archaeological interpretations in the past have been erroneous and also because archaeologists strive for correct interpretations of meanings and settings.

The third wave of feminism emerged in the 1980s. Women of color and of low and middle income entered the intellectual and academic environment arguing for a more inclusive and diverse perspective of feminism. Feminist theorists offered a non-white (hooks 1990, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2004; Franklin 2001; Mohanty 2003), male (Johnson 1997), overseas (Chinese male) (Williams 2006) and queer (Irigary 1985; Butler 1999) perspective. These contributed to a deconstructionist methodological approach, calling for examination of the implicit assumptions and ideas in the monolithic frameworks of feminist thinking that have been used in the past.

During these decades archaeologists have borrowed, modified, and applied both theories and methodologies from a wide range of academic disciplines to their practices. The wave imagery that is frequently used as a tool of classification within feminism is an image that is often invoked as a tool of analysis of culture by archaeologists. In the period before the 1960s, in a period of positivism, culture was

often thought to ripple through the continents like a wave (Johnson 2005). The imagery was that a single source would create waves like those that result from a pebble dropping into a puddle. During this time, archaeologists looked at culture from within a social historical methodology, rooted in historical and anthropological ethnography.

Archaeological context and completeness of the archaeological record was not a concern of Americanist archaeologists in the 1940s and 1950s (cf. Taylor 1948; Willey and Sabloff 1993). ... Artifacts were collected because they did provide clues as to how people lived ... and could enhance the interpretive program, but there was seemingly no interest in completeness of the record or understanding human culture through the material world they left behind. Contextual information rarely went beyond association with particular buildings or features. (Brauner 1995:13-14)

When New Archaeologists of the 1960s argued that the processes of change did not spring from a single source, their reasons were seen as both multiple and dynamic. The “wave” was observed to be only a metaphor and not describing the process very well. These processualists, as they came to be called, saw a dynamic interrelationship between social and economic elements of environment and culture and change.

Specific to archaeologists, feminist theory and investigative research entered the American academic environment with the edited texts of Gero and Conkey (1997) and Hays-Gilpin and Whitley (1998), which facilitated academic development in gender in archaeology (Claassen 1992:1).

The New Archaeologists called for a systems approach that took into consideration social evolution, taphonomy (or site formation), and middle range theory in an examination of culture (Johnson 2005). They noted that archaeologists had made

many assumptions about the roles of women and of men during the first hundred years of the discipline. Typically, these assumptions involved an under-privileging of the role of women. The processualists noted that the descriptions they had inherited, of how the past must have looked were holistic approaches of single and simplified expression of a perspective, and that they needed modification. Women were present in prehistory, and they are present in the archaeological record. Specifically, women as well as men have always been a subject of archaeological study. It is the theoretical approaches of archaeologists, as they pertained to interpretation of the “true” role of women in history, that have become an increasingly volatile topic since the 1960s. During the following decades archaeologists demonstrated that biological determinism was incorrect and that sex, gender and sexuality are culturally negotiated. Early forms of this critique, lessening the popularity of biological determinism, focused on making women’s lives more visible, looked at gender as it played itself out exclusively in family settings, and considered the intersections of the topics of kinship and gender (Paytner 2000:187). The emergence of the “Man the Hunter” debates also challenged the idea that the function of gender was to organize labor. Archaeologists began also to question previous assumptions by archaeologists concerning the specific labor tasks that women had performed. If you wanted to study women or men of the past, knowing (and not just assuming) about cultural constructions of gender was considered necessary.

In a paralleling development female goddess-based culture studies were popularized beyond the archaeological community in the United States in Stone’s 1978 classic, *When God Was a Woman*. Stone reexamined Christian interpretations and introduced many to the idea that gender must be considered seriously if we are to understand the archaeologically derived past. She documented effects of female goddess worship and the reactions of the patriarchal systems of Judaism, Christianity,

and Islam through analysis of artistic, political, and historical events. Investigation of god in female form continued to gain popular audiences, particularly within the feminist community, in the studies of the Neolithic cultures of Old Europe (6500-3500 B.C.) by Gimbutas in the early 1980s. At the same time, the New Age spiritual religious movement was growing in popularity facilitating women's empowerment, fostering respect for women of the past, and generating respect for older ways. Archaeologists here too began to focus on gender as a particular area of investigation, illuminating issues of women's roles, facilitating women's empowerment, and fostering respect for women of the past and for archaeological professionals today.

As theoretical feminism grew less dialectical in approach, archaeologists started to reexamine the meaning of material culture, studying what constitutes meaning and how is it looked for. The 1980s saw the emergence of contextualism (Hodder 1986), where archaeological interpretation included not simply spatial relationships within a site, but also detailed description of cultural place (within the larger culture) and close attention to the question of significance. Contextualism, looking for the context of archaeology and interpretation, began to incorporate work done by others in the subject area of hermeneutics and structural theory. By the late 1980s, feminist archaeologists, influenced by contextualism, were asking questions in their work such as: How do inferences work? When do people dip into particular interpretations? How do you deal with ambiguity? At what points do people [archaeologists] have to dip into theoretical assumptions (Conkey 2000; Tringham 2000)?

Historical archaeologists have made headway at the ontological, epistemological and empirical levels, relating gender practices and symbols to the material record (Paytner 2000:188-190). In a post-processual approach, some archaeologists started to focus on the social relationships and the group interactions of these people. Hardesty

(1994:136-137) studied Mormons and their canning practices, both the cultural material of canning artifacts and the particular community of Mormons with involved and integrated religious, social relationships and the group interactions. Hardesty (1994:136-137) wrote, “Certainly the activities reflected in archaeological remains of households can provide key information about how gender influenced labor and social relations.” Studying some Métis hunters in Canada of the late 19th century, Burley et al. (1992) studied the transfer printed ceramics that they carried with them. Specifically, he explored their symbolic meaning to the individual Métis and their social meaning for the Métis women who took great efforts to protect tea service ware in their daily migrations.

Particular to the subject of feminism, historical archaeologists (Eisenstein 1979; Mies et al. 1986; Moore 1988; Walby 1990; Ferguson 1991; Yentsch and Hunter 1994; Amott and Matthaei 1996; Gero and Conkey 1997; Kowaleski-Wallace 1997) have created a body of work that suggests that as the European classes of people dominated the historical Western world, they carried with them an ideology of male superiority and a gendered separation of private domestic life (which was the life of women) and economic life (which was considered the domain of men) (Paytner 2000:188-189).

Decades of work and multiple examples of success (Burley et al. 1992; Bodenhorn 1993; Spector 1993; Bassett 1994; Hardesty 1994; Jackson 1994; Seifert 1994; Starbuck 1994; Wall 1994; Skibo et al. 1995b; Aponte 2000; Hides and O’Sullivan 2000; Nobles 2000; Brandt and Weedman 2002; Eastwood 2003; Read and Starhawk 2003) in theoretical development and practical application in field investigations exist. In summary, after nearly 50 years of change in the philosophy of archaeology people in these last two decades are asking elementary questions. There are many projects where gender is noted, but

... the minority of practitioners who do address gender in their research often find themselves still asking questions of a rather fundamental nature: How can we see the archaeological evidence of gender operating in past societies? What material remains can be associated with men, women, and children in the particular contexts we have available to us archaeologically? How do we move from men and women's artifacts to interpretations about the role gender played in the structure of life ... ? How do we link the material evidence of gender with (and separate it from) that of socioeconomic position, ethnicity, and race in our interpretations of the past? How does paying attention to gender enable us to say more than we otherwise could about the societies we study? (Scott 1994b:5)

Scott's 1990s questions could read as the manifesto of my research thesis work. The fundamental questions regarding the archaeological evidence of the behavior of men, the material remains associated by men, the interpretations about the role of men in the structure of life at Fort Vancouver, with the material evidence of socioeconomic position, ethnicity, and race are evident in how the past has been interpreted. A historical archaeologist, working from an academic sociocultural anthropological foundation, recognizes that systems of domination, oppression, power, and status are woven from the threads of race, class, and gender. Interestingly, the reflection of our own culturally driven behaviors can govern our perceptions (Hodder 1986; Johnson 1997; Marshall 2002).

Practically, archaeologists work in teams in order to strengthen individual weaknesses and with the belief that a multiplicity of people and opinions will flush out interpretative blindness. In past years, the archaeology of gender was sometimes dismissed as not "testable." Today, recognizing and "seeing" social behaviors of people

and how these reflect a particular theoretical paradigm in the archaeological record is seen as inherently interpretive and also political because of our belief that we are participants and influences in the common cultural social experience.

In his review of historical archaeological approaches to New World archaeological problems, Paynter finds that in the 1980s and 1990s, archaeologists used one of three theoretical approaches (Paynter 2000:188-189). The first approach involved an examination of patriarchy's underlying economics—for example, the ways in which capitalism affected gender and family systems. The second approach was to look at the exploitative division between the genders. The third, which Paynter calls the dual systems theory, “articulates the independent dynamics of class exploitation and gender related oppression, blending an examination of accumulation of capital with the dynamics of dominance and where systems of affection can become ‘co-opted’ by capitalism or they can provide a domain of resistance” (Paynter 2000:188-189).

Uniformly, feminist archaeologists of the 2000s have a belief in multiple perspectives. They are, generally, still asking questions that wrestle with the topics of personal responsibility, interpretation, evidence, and questions of ambiguity.

During these contemporary times, with field and academic training, those same parties who have been marginalized subjects of the investigations in the past are now doing the critiquing of gender and archaeological work. Archaeologist, black and female, Dr. Franklin writes, “It is due to the continued absence and misrepresentation ... that the issues of heritage, representation and power remain central in the struggle for recognition ... and we have the opportunity to influence perception” (Franklin 2001:114-115). Franklin's work on women in prisons in historic Louisiana (2001) asks how gender articulated in the lives of these black women. In addition to questions revolving around interpretation, I have noted an increasing interest in what constitutes

evidence, a strong technique, or an improvement in methodology. Brandt and Weedman (2002:50-53) report on an ethno-archaeological study of women hide workers of Ethiopia who practice with the traditional stone tools that they themselves have made. Looking at living peoples, they ask, is it possible to see signs of identification of social inequality and ranking? What is the social context for stone toolmaking? Can activities be differentiated by gender? (Brandt and Weedman 2002:50-53).

Interest in the qualities and quality of evidence is also exemplified by the questions archaeologists Beaudry and Voss ask in their research (on the East and West coasts of the United States). They ask whether artifacts associated with women and ignored by previous archaeological interpretation can be reinterpreted to provide new information? Beaudry (2006) is looking at what the common straight pin can reveal. Voss (2006) is examining the bias involved in the assumptions of what a house feature “is.” The work of Beaudry and Voss is elaborated in forthcoming chapters.

In summary, the feminist works of this millennium appear uniformly concerned with how knowledge is produced, asking: What questions are worth asking? What is worth knowing? Who produces knowledge? What questions about gender, identity, maleness, and femaleness are worth asking? Who is the audience of the feminist archaeologist? Hodder (2002) illustrates this concern in his writings asking,

How should an archaeologist decide which questions to ask about the sites they are excavating? How are the various stakeholders engaged? What is the archaeologist’s duty? (Hodder 2002:174-181)

Conkey and Tringham believe that the crux of the feminist works questions is the issue of knowledge. They say that this question is, What is the knowledge that is extracted from what basis of archaeological data (Conkey 2000; Tringham 2000)?

The archaeologist working within a feminist context is considered to be involved in a political act via their investigation. Archaeological investigations can be political, with or without the practitioner's awareness. When perception is perpetuated by an act, or series of actions, this pattern can take on a political tone. Site mitigation can allow road construction, which facilitates sprawl, and destruction of farmland, wetlands, and rural life. Participation in the work implies tacit assent to the purpose for which the work is done. This official affiliation can spread beyond actions. When practices involving a power differential are perpetuated, this practice too takes on a political tone. Hodder (2002) points out "archaeology becomes reflexively part of the social process" (Hodder 2002:181). The archaeologist has multiple constituencies, typically involving allegiance to a university, to other archaeologists, and to those in the communities where they are working. Sites and data will tend to be used to advance the political preferences of the constituents. In reiteration of the beginning of this chapter, feminist theory insists on an examination of the nature of things we participate in, an examination of how we choose to participate, and how both society and individuals are molded by these interactions. Typically, a feminist believes in personal agency, action and the need to change sexist thinking and actions.

When studying the British in the New World, one of three forms of gender systems is present (Paytner 2000). The first is "father patriarchy," where women are wives and daughters and men are fathers and sons, wives are subservient to husbands and fathers, and children and servants are subservient to parents-masters. The second is the "cult of domesticity"/"moral motherhood" in which men are public actors and women operate in the domestic spheres. The third is "public patriarchy," which developed in the tandem of consumerism and the joint-wage family, where the power is transferred away from the male to the public state and professional experts—the

public/professional agents become the father patriarchs and both women and men become subservient (Paytner 2000:190-197). Feminist and gender considerations for archaeologists require not only looking for women and men but seeing both women and men within the environment they functioned in, with all its patterns of behaviors, corresponding power differentials, spheres of activity, influence, independence and dependence.

Unchallenged and unconscious habitual practices risk a perpetuation of erroneous results. Not incorporating archaeological methodological theories and practices of analysis that have been developed over these decades seems intellectually lazy or just pigheaded. Treating men as the subject and women as exception does not make sense on a site where the population is evenly balanced. Issues of gender attribution and how to link a specific gender group with a specific artifact on a site where both females and males live must be carefully considered. Our own consciousness must be aware enough to catch our own examples of sexism. At times, this feminist approach is in conflict, culturally, with our own rewards systems institutionalized in the university and cultural contracting communities. These communities typically prefer a methodology resulting in a single interpretation and the specifics of a singular and authoritative narrative. As a result, feminist approaches are sometimes marginalized in both the academic and cultural resource management community, perceived as irrelevant to archaeologists who are interested in doing “real world” work, where “x” marks the spot and there is a single authoritative truth. To the questions “Why look for the women? We know they were there. What can be gained?” I respond, “We know men were there yet we have looked with them as the principal subject for sixty years. Today we should pay attention to evidence associated with

women, men, and children and link that particular evidence with an interpretation of the past.”

This thesis suggests the creation of a stronger, more realistic interpretative history considering all data as representing both women and men. An interpretative history of the site has developed using the artifacts to tell us about the men and the structures where they administered trade. This thesis looks at specific cultural artifacts that had been treated as male as also female. Using some selective examples allows documentary evidence to tell us about both women and men and children. This information then informs us as archaeologists what we can consider particularly important features for investigation. These pieces are the fundamental materials with which interpretations are constructed regarding life at Fort Vancouver. Fundamental should not be interpreted as being synonymic with simplistic or unworthy and with enthusiasm we can return to the fundamental building blocks of previous archaeological interpretation and create a more gender inclusive and effective interpretation.

CHAPTER 2

The Setting and History of the Fort and the People Who Lived There

Introduction

Both the HBC Fort Vancouver and the village that surrounded it have attracted historical, cultural, and archaeological interest for more than 60 years.¹ Early studies focused on an interpretation of architectural elements of the fort itself, the community within the stockade walls, HBC administration, and identification of fur-trapping artifacts. Using standard archaeological practices of the period 1940-1970, archaeologists identified a selective group of artifacts. Information provided by interpretation of these artifacts allowed for building reconstruction and the development of a historical narrative of life within this fort. Life beyond the stockade footprint, of those who lived in the village or surrounds, was not considered in this formative period of what would become a US National Park Service property. Historical archaeology, nascent in America and particularly in the Pacific Northwest, and the beginnings of fur trade material culture studies developed from this work. These first studies, although they may accidentally have told us something about women did not even look for information about the actual women present.

Ethnic study has been more profitable in discovering the presence of women. Interest in ethnic identification, as an archaeological research focus, started with Kardas in 1971. From Kardas's foundation, we know much of the ethnic makeup of the population of the fort between 1830 and 1860. Kardas also attempted, although

¹ We have studies by: Caywood (1948a, 1948b, 1955), Combes (1966), Hussey (1957, 1967, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1997), Larrabee and Kardas (1968), Kardas (1969, 1970, 1971), Hoffman and Ross (1972a, 1972b, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1975), Roulstone (1975), Steele (1975), Steele et al. (1975), Ross (1976, 1979, 1990), Chance et al. (1983), Ross and Carley (1976), Carley (1982), Thomas and Hibbs (1984), Towner (1984), Pollard (1990), Ellis (1993), Rogers (1993), Brauner (1995), Thomas (1995), Garnett et al. (2001), Cromwell (2002, 2003, 2006), and Cromwell et al. (2003).

unsuccessfully, to identify artifacts that were Chinook and therefore distinctively “women’s” assemblages. Using the work of Kardas as a foundation and adding Catholic Church records to her documentation, Towner (1984) identified the males, by name, assigned an ethnic identity to them based on their name and job, and assigned some of the ethnic identities to some of their wives. York (2005) added to this base through an inventory of the local cemetery.

Pollard’s historical research (1990) focused on those children of the fort and village who were the offspring of Native American women and Euro-American employees of the HBC. In 2006, interested in ethnic identification, Cromwell conducted the first scholarly research that directly compared household archaeological assemblages of the village with those from households within the fort (Cromwell 2006:207). Cromwell was interested in the ethnic origin of the populations of the fort and the village, and not particularly in gender. Nevertheless, he concluded that women at Fort Vancouver most likely used British table china to demonstrate to those within the community their status and their influence in shaping their domestic environment (Cromwell 2006:24). Cromwell combined research into the number of broken vessels per household, the Miller’s CC Index, and a created Fort Vancouver Index of values, and demonstrated that in the Fort Vancouver community ceramic assemblages held a social value greater than their economic value (Cromwell 2006:290). Pollard (1990) and Cromwell (2006) observed that families were faced with an increasing social pressure to fit into a society that was becoming predominantly white, during a time when social structures of community life under the HBC were changing as a result of mass migration into the Oregon Territory, the missionary movements, and the new and increasing presence of white women. Pollard contributed to fresh gender-based methodological approaches: first, with her subject choice of gender (women) and

secondly, through her use of documentation that was not sourced from HBC administrative records and records of fur trade company officers. Pollard wrote from questionnaires and interviews done by 19th century historians Bancroft and Dye and 20th century historian Munnick (who had collected information on this population since the 1920s). Cromwell also contributed fresh gender-based methodological approaches: first, by consideration of gender-associated artifacts and secondly, by demonstration that gender issues, not income or class, best explained ceramic purchasing choices at the fort.

The methodology I am proposing will address gaps in research prior to 2006. First, however, I will provide an overview of the ecological, economic, and cultural context of Fort Vancouver in the early nineteenth century.

Natural and Cultural Overview

The history of the Pacific Northwest provides a web of economic, ecological, and cultural context to the study of Fort Vancouver. A great deal has been written on the natural and cultural history of the Pacific Northwest, the HBC, and economic development of the region in contrast to the amount of attention to the historical archaeological sites of the Pacific Northwest. These few paragraphs introducing the non-archaeological topics offer only a brief summary.²

Understanding of the Pacific Northwest and the lower Columbia River basin area begins with the local weather, watersheds, and topography. Weather moves in from across the Pacific Ocean, with the air picking up moisture from the sea, pushing in from the west, bumping into the Coast Range Mountains and producing rains. The rain seems to be always falling, sometimes hard, but more often softly, and fogs and mists add to

² Principal sources for this information are Ray (1938), Jacobs (1958, 1959), Roulstone (1975), Ruby and Brown (1976, 1988, 1993), White (1980, 1991), Gibson (1985, 1992), Schwantes (1989), Pollard (1990), Buan (1991), O'Donnell (1991), Rogers (1993), Burley (1997), Robbins (1997), and Morrison (1999).

the cool, damp quiet. Typically, there is one long, grey wet season of about nine months and one short dry season. Parts of the region receive 140 inches of rain a year. Others receive only 70 inches. For comparison, the average annual rainfall in London is around 23 inches.

East of the Coast Range lies the inland Willamette Valley. Moisture-laden air masses move from the west, and when they hit the Cascade Mountain range this moisture falls as rain and snow. In the summer months, when the valley heats up, fog is pulled in from the Pacific. In autumn, when nights begin to cool, tulle fog frames both ends of the day.

Temperate rain forests are a dominant feature of this bioregion. Old-growth forests in the area can have a biomass of over 2,000 metric tons per hectare, exceeding the biomass of a tropical rain forest. The climate and topography contribute to the formation of forests and healthy habitat for a variety of trees, plants, wildlife (including animals with fur), and fish. The region is rich in food and other natural resources, but the topography along the major waterways challenges human access.

The major river in the region is the Columbia River. The Columbia River flows from east to west across four mountain ranges. The volume of water is enormous and contains 40% of the entire hydroelectric power potential of America (Schwantes 1989: 12). The Columbia River is only one of two rivers that break across the Cascade Mountain range. The Columbia River births in the Rocky Mountains of (today) Canada, flows 1,270 miles to the Pacific Ocean, and drains 258,000 square miles (more than the combined area of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands) (Schwantes 1989:11-13). In the Pacific Northwest the Columbia River has been an important trade route from pre-contact times through today (Schwantes 1989:12).

Earliest Inhabitants

The first peoples to live in this region are today called Indians. The term “Native American” evolved to distinguish between those who lived in North America and the people of India. Today most Native Americans choose to use the word “Indian,” and this is the word I will use (Buan 1991:57). The word “tribe” itself is a Euro-American construction. Most Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, prior to contact with Euro-Americans, did not have political units or territories with corresponding boundaries, internal organization, and a strategy of extended collective action (French 1991:56). “For the first Oregonians, gathering, hunting, trade, and social activities took individual bands across any dividing line scholars may devise” (Buan 1991:viii).

The grouping of these peoples and how they are studied varies according to the academic discipline. The people of the Lower Columbia River basin lived in a zone of intersection, one band in proximity to the other. The predominant group of Indians along the Columbia River was the Chinook. For this research, I have chosen to call Chinook those Indians who spoke Chinook and lived from the mouth of Columbia River to 200 miles upstream, to the falls at The Dalles. Included in this grouping are the Clatsop, Chinook, Shoalwater Chinook, Kathlamet, Skilloot, Multnomah, Clackamas, Clowewalla, Cascades, Hood River, Wasco, Clackamas, Cascades, White Salmon, and Wishram, all of whom spoke Chinook or a dialect of it. During this period, these Indians of the Northwest coast were the second largest language population group north of Mexico (Ames and Maschner 1999:43). Bordered to the north, east, and south by other peoples, the Chinook of the lower Columbia River operated as trade intermediaries in a network that stretched from the northwest coast of British Columbia to the Rocky Mountains, and to San Francisco Bay (Figure 1).

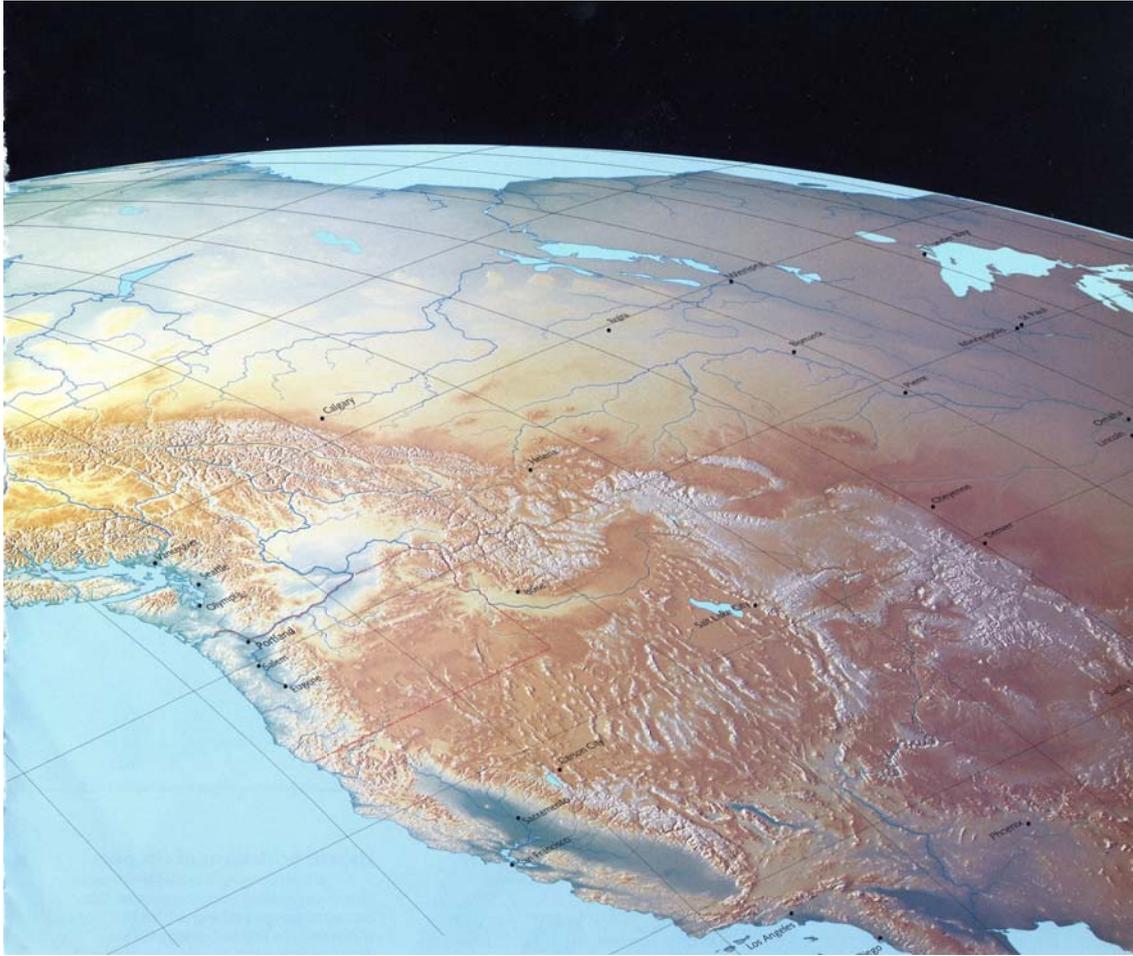


FIGURE 1. Map of the Pacific Northwest coast in the context of the world (Loy 2001:2-3).

The population of the Chinook people immediately before the beginning of a period of repeated and frequent European contact (1775) may have been around 188,000 (Ames and Maschner 1999:53; Boyd 1975:135-154). The Chinook were seasoned traders among the native peoples along the Columbia.

The Chinookan peoples economic position was strengthened as outsiders moved into the region to exploit its resources. By the 1790s, the Chinook were trading with Russian, Spanish, French, American, and British fur traders and dealers in goods for the China market (Gibson 1992:xi-xiii). Thus, they accumulated decades of experience with traders and trade goods. The Chinook were first interested in iron goods, guns, European clothing, molasses, tobacco, and blue and white beads (Kardas 1971:231). In

the next years, there was more of an interest in tobacco, luxuries, and medicines (Kardas 1971:231-232). Certainly, the trade goods that were available to Indians was a menu of items that the trader or trading company supposed would be of interest to them. Goods to supply Fort Vancouver were purchased according to an “indent” system. The Fort’s purchasing agent took an inventory of what remained in stock, compared it to that of the previous year, anticipated what would be needed from England, and placed an order which would be sent to England via ship. Ordering, packing, shipping, and delivery of goods was a slow process in the HBC’s far-flung empire (Hussey 1957:HBCA N223/d series); it could take up to three years for ordered goods to arrive.

Explorers

Indians of this region had been recipients of Euro-American and Asian maritime trade goods for centuries (Gibson 1992:8). European and American explorers included Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo, Bartolome Ferrelo, Sir Francis Drake, Spain’s San Francisco Xavier; Comte de La Perouse’s crew; Bruno de Hezeta, Francisco de Bodega y Quadra, James Cook, John Meares, George Vancouver, James Kendrick, and Robert Gray (Gibson 1992:12-25).

Exploration interests were paired with a desire for the natural resources in the region. Gibson (1992) writes of the maritime trade for sea-otter fur on the Northwest Coast during 1785-1841. The Russians too were interested. Their fur trading pushed them across northern Asia and by 1784 they had established a post on what is now Kodiak Island, Alaska. By the 1790s Russian trading ships also traveled up and down the Pacific coast as far south as northern California (Schwantes 1989:38-46).

International trading interests in the region were driven by the fashion for fur, fur being made into a felt fabric used in hats, the main market interest of the HBC.

Indian Ethnography

No primary anthropological fieldwork was done among the Chinook while they maintained their own villages in the lower Columbia region. Life in these communities was disrupted by waves of epidemic disease, which killed almost all the populace (Boyd 1975:135-154). Most cultural information about the Chinook is derived from observations about their practices during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by European and American explorers, trappers, adventurers, travelers, and commercial agents of international trade.

The ethnographic fieldwork that forms the roots of our anthropological understanding of the pre-contact Chinook was undertaken by Boas (1894, 1901), Sapir (1909), Spier and Sapir (1930), Ray (1938), Drucker (1943), and Jacobs (1958, 1959). Their ethnographic work focused, however, not on the lower Columbia River Chinook but on upper Columbia River Chinook (Ruby and Brown 1976:244-246). These cultural anthropologists used informants who were Chehalis (Ruby and Brown 1976:244), not Chinook. The field interests of most of these anthropologists were in linguistics and oral tradition, not in the descriptive ethnography that would have been more useful to archaeologists. As archaeologists and as anthropologists, we are therefore working with incomplete data.

The diaries, journals, and letters of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and their contemporaries build the foundation of our historical information about the Chinook. Particularly valuable are the writings found in Ross (1904), who traveled among the Chinook from 1811-1813, Lewis and Clark from 1805-1806, and compiled volumes of letters and interviews of the men who settled in the region by Bancroft and Dye (1845-1927).

Archaeology provides additional information about the cultural and material daily life of the earliest contact period and prehistoric lower Columbia River Chinook. The Chinook villages of the lower Columbia at the Mier and Cathlapotle sites were excavated in the 1990s; the work was published by Ames and Maschner (1999). Ruby and Brown (1988, 1993), and Ames and Maschner (1999) are the foremost academic interpreters of Chinook life on the lower Columbia, interpreting life of the Chinook in the pre-HBC period, along with the HBC days.

Another source of information about Chinook life is through their stories. The Chinook believe that they have lived in the area since the earliest mists, when animals and humans still spoke to one another (Regional Learning Project 2009). The Chinook oral history of their occupation of the region began with a meeting between Old Man South Wind and Old Woman Giant. The South Wind was hungry and wanted food so the Giant gave him a net. With the net, he caught a little whale. The Giant was explicit in her directions, but South Wind butchered it incorrectly (crossways and with the wrong tool) and the fish changed into a Thunderbird. Thunderbird flew up into the sky, blocking the Sun, and its wings shook the earth. Thunderbird then flew towards the mouth of the Columbia, lit on Saddleback Mountain, and laid a nest of eggs. The Giant found the nest and broke open one of the eggs. Finding it rotten, she tossed it down and it became a Chinook. The Giant broke all the eggs and each became a Chinook (Clark 1953). This story illustrates for modern archaeologists that the Chinook date their presence for a length of time beyond memory. It also illustrates a religious tradition that included “figures” of the natural earthly world whose elements had associated sexual biology. Old Man South Wind was male. Old Woman Giant/Thunderbird was female. In this illustration, all Chinook are believed to come from the same origin and location.

Chinook Life Before Contact

Pre-contact Chinook social organization is characterized as a stratified society of large, permanent, independent villages strongly linked together by trade and marriage alliances (Zucker et al. 1983:8). Households were estimated to range in size from 30 to 100 people (Ames and Maschner 1999:25). Chinooks were complex hunter-gatherers, with household-centered economies, in which the household is the basic unit of both consumption and production (Ames and Maschner 1999:120). Archaeologists believe that there was a strong gender-based division of labor in the Chinook communities, and that slave labor was used.

Chinook family structure was not based on the nuclear family, but rather on a network or extended multi-generational family. Households, as a group, owned both real-property resources and rights to nonmaterial resources, such as spirit beings, oral histories, genealogical depth and knowledge and songs (Ames and Maschner 1999:122). The Chinook severely disapproved of hoarding of material goods and also being a spendthrift. What was respected was successful negotiation. It was characteristic even for the bride price and dowry to be negotiated (Driver 1975:209-213).

The knowledge of the role that Chinook women played in the Chinook economy is derived from the early contact period. European and American traders noted that Chinook women were accomplished traders in their own right. American explorer Lewis recorded that Chinook “men permitted the women to speak freely, ‘consult[ing] them in their traffic and act[ing] in conformity to their opinions’ ” (Ruby and Brown 1976:100). The Chinooks of both genders valued excellence in the trading process itself—a trader’s skill in arriving at a good bargain was appreciated at least as much as the goods that might be gained by the trade.

Traditional Chinook dress used local animal, plant and tree materials (Figure 2).

Explorer Alexander Ross (1904:106-107) wrote,

In addition to the rat garment used by the men, the women wear a kind of fringed petticoat suspended from the waist down to the knees, made of the inner rind of the cedar bark and twisted into threads, which hang loose. ...The females are excessively fond of singing and adorning their personas with the fantastic trinkets. ...



FIGURE 2. Coos woman wearing historic period everyday clothing and Coos man wearing historic period special occasion clothing. Photo taken in 1905 (Buan and Lewis 1991:6).

However, “It was the custom of the women to not wear beads, bracelets or any kind of bonding or rope during pregnancy” (Pollard 1990:68). As clothing articles became trade items, Chinook women incorporated male trousers into their attire and added layers,

probably for warmth. As Euro-American values became more dominant, Chinook women dressed more like women in Britain.

The Chinook had distinct attitudes toward status and wealth. Until the 1880s, the Northwest Coast Indians practiced the potlatch, a feast that centered upon giving away wealth as a confirmation of status (Ames and Maschner 1999:16). The objective of hosting a potlatch was to demonstrate one's family's success and rank by giving things away. The potlatch was a ritual demonstration that one was so wealthy one did not need these goods—they were surplus. The practices of the potlatch varied from community to community, but the overall values that supported the potlatch practice indicate that the Chinook understood well that appearances and material possessions played a major role in establishing and demonstrating a family's social position and its aspirations (Drucker 1943:131-143).

Another demonstration of status was the practice of head flattening. Free and/or high status infants were carried on a cradle board with a flat piece of wood that extended down over the forehead, so that as the child's head grew the board flattened the front of the cranium (Ruby and Brown 1988:47). This shaping produced life-long anatomical evidence of status.

Individualism was also important, and so valued that reference would be in an indirect manner. An individual's given or "real" name was only known to relatives or friends, and was never spoken to the person's face.

Social status was also reflected through the practice of slavery, with slaves at the bottom of the social scale. Slaves provided important labor, hauling wood and water and helping with all the tasks of daily life. Both male and female free persons owned slaves. Both women and males were enslaved. Slaves were a possession and used for any work needed, regardless of gender, with recorded descriptions of males doing

female tasks and females doing male tasks (Ruby and Brown 1993:70-71). Many slaves came from Shasta and Pit River peoples north of the San Francisco bay area. The lower Plateau tribes traded horses and other goods for slaves at the “the market” in The Dalles, up the Columbia River about 90 miles. Slaves also came from the area north of the Columbia River. Slaves were a possession that could be taken, traded, gambled, purchased, gifted, and included in a dowry.

The physical life of a slave was of such low value to the owner that when a slave died his or her body was simply abandoned and left unburied. Even so, unlike black slaves of the American South, Indian slaves were not sexually exploited. Though a Chinook slaveholder had total power over a slave, sexual intimacy was taboo because it would be considered a contamination of the slaveholder. Even the “non-physical” life of a slave was devalued. Slaves did not have their own names—their names denoted only their birthplace or the place where they were purchased. Slaves did not even own the dreams they dreamed at night (Donald 1997:251). The slaveholder had a type of “copyright” on the slave’s “non-physical” life.

It was shameful to be a slave or descended from a slave. Escaped or freed slaves were still considered as slaves in their social standing. People acted as slaves and slaveholders treated the individual as a slave. Slavery of blacks in the United States ended with the Civil War in 1865, but as late as 1869, some Indians in the Warm Springs area of central Oregon still held slaves (Ruby and Brown 1993:269). “Slave ancestry continues to be a potential blight on the political and social lives of some individuals in many native communities” (Donald 1997:251).

Slavery of Indians by white American traders on ships is described in early 1800 documents. White traders enslaved lower Columbia Indians for crew labor, bought slaves, and traded slaves for furs (Ruby and Brown 1993:76-77).

The British living in England opposed both the Chinook slave trade and the practice of slavery (actually abolished in 1834) (Donald 1997:238). Fort Vancouver's Chief Factor John McLoughlin acted in opposition to slavery. When from time to time he discovered ostensibly free individuals under his jurisdiction who were actually slaves he declared them as free, and he reported this finding back to England (Rich 1941, 1943, 1944). It was common to see Chinook women at Fort Vancouver being waited on by slaves (Jessett 1959:132). The Reverend Beaver, during his stay at the fort, complained to HBC headquarters about the slavery practiced within the community (Donald 1997:239-243). It is likely that the slaves at Fort Vancouver had arrived with the women who owned them, or were former slaves who had married HBC employees (Ruby and Brown 1993:71). Based on the two primary academic references on Pacific Northwest Indian slavery, Ruby and Brown (1993) and Donald (1997), I estimate that up to a quarter of the women who lived in the Village may have been slaves, though McLoughlin could have changed their status at some point in their lives.

Their presence and status was a source of friction between the shareholders of the HBC and McLoughlin. I suspect the contentious debate, and McLoughlin's repeated self-defense over the years, indicates a practice so pervasive that it just kept surfacing. McLoughlin's stern words suggest that it was regarded by McLoughlin as a personal affront to his authority and jurisdiction. McLoughlin detractors would cite the presence of slavery as an example of the Chief Factor's incompetency.

For its part, the HBC had a formal policy to not use slaves. However, the company turned a blind eye to trappers who brought in more furs than they could physically have trapped or processed themselves.

The Native prostitution trade did develop in parallel to the European and American trading economy (Donald 1997:250). The HBC's policy against slavery may

actually have increased the trade value of the slave. With British policy opposing slavery, epidemics killing Northwest Indian and Vancouver residents, and a growing demand for labor as the Fort economy grew, slaves became increasingly valuable.

In the 1830s the American naval lieutenant William A. Slacum noted that near the mouth of the Columbia the price of a slave ranged from eight to fifteen blankets. ...Should a slave die within six months of purchase, he observed, the seller returned half the purchase price. (Ruby and Brown 1993:71)

By the 1870s, slaves were worth 200 blankets each when HBC blankets were worth \$5 each (Ruby and Brown 1993:73).

The dead body of a free Chinook was treated in a particular manner. In the 19th century in this region the status of high level individuals continued on from life through death and then decomposition: at death the body was wrapped and placed in a boat or other container, beyond the residences and placed above the ground in the elements, sometimes with possessions (Ames and Maschner 1999:192).

Until the periods of massive epidemic death, the lower Columbia Chinook “buried” their non-slave dead in special locales (Regional Learning Project 2009). Figure 3 shows a traditional Chinook burial with ceremonial canoe, woman in ceremonial dress and top decorated with trade beads. The severity of the epidemics impacted burial practices, the healthy population unable to keep pace. At Fort Vancouver, Christian style burials of the Christian dead took place at the cemetery of St. James Mission.

In sum, archaeologists recognize that important values in the pre-contact Chinook life were one’s free status, the type of labor one performed, one’s name, the dreams one has in one’s sleep, one’s relationships within the community, one’s social



FIGURE 3. Chinook burial grounds, c. 1870. John Mix Stanley, Gift of Mrs. Blanche Ferry Hooker, Photograph c 2007 The Detroit Institute of Arts. This image illustrates a burial practice NOT chosen when the body was buried at the St. James Mission Cemetery.

position, how one's body was buried after death, the demonstration of one's social position through successful trading, the ability to give extravagantly, and the anatomical shape of one's head. Values changed in the contact period.

Chinook Women

Our awareness of the role that women played in the Chinook pre-contact economy is filtered through the lens of male European explorers. These men did note that Chinook women were accomplished traders and that the women's male counterparts treated them with respect and as peers. Chinook women were known to have been owners of property, including boats and slaves (Ruby and Brown 1988:64). Excellence in trading was determined not just by the value of the material possessed after the trade was completed, but through the skill displayed in the negotiation. The Chinook had years of experience trading in European, American, and Asian products,

and by the time the HBC arrived they had a sophisticated knowledge of the trade goods market (Ruby and Brown 1988:59-80). At Station Camp Lewis and Clark recorded their frustration with the Chinooks' complacency towards the trade goods they offered them upon their arrival in 1805 (Ruby and Brown 1988:101-102).

Chinook women practiced premarital sex and were comfortable having sex with a variety of men (Pollard 1990:83-84). A woman would leave a man when she did not want to stay in a relationship with him (Pollard 1990:89-90). Traditionally, the Chinook believed that their illnesses were caused by evil beings or foreign objects which had entered their bodies and had to be destroyed or removed in order for a cure to be effected (Coues 1897:825-826). These contact-period Chinook did blame sexually transmitted disease on the white men, but documentary evidence indicates that they appear not to have modified those practices that exposed them to disease (Ruby and Brown 1988:81). Lewis and Clark recorded that the Chinook were suffering from venereal disease in 1805. By 1815, it was epidemic (Pollard 1990:25). Gonorrhea and syphilis can contribute to abortion, miscarriage, stillbirth, sterility, and congenital infection all of which affected the population. During the early contact period, Chinook woman practiced a variety of birth control methods, including self-induced abortion and infanticide (Ruby and Brown 1988:81).

In the 1840s, Reverend Frost recorded a discussion between his wife and a Chinook woman who admitted having committed 'many infanticides':

“When asked the reason why she destroyed her infants, she said that they had become very poor, and had no slaves, the drudgery all fell upon the women and if they had many children they were prevented from doing their work; so that when their husbands came home weary and hungry, and found no fire and no

roots to eat, they were angry, called them lazy, and beat and otherwise abused them. Therefore, in order that they might relieve themselves of much trouble and care, and escape abuse from their husbands...they destroyed their infants as soon as they entered upon the stage of action.” (Pollard 1990:16)

Since Boas (1894:11) does record a Chinook woman’s belief that babies have a life before they are born and after death, I think that this example of infanticide is not birth control, but rather a logical recourse for a woman living in extreme poverty and without the help with childcare.

Anthropologists know that by the time traders began to write of these women, Chinook women had recognized the value of sex as a commodity.

Bancroft believed that the value of Chinook women increased after marriage since a woman’s fidelity acquired a marketable value to their husbands who could sell it at their discretion. George Gibbs was more detailed in his description when he noted that wives kept their own private effects; separate from their husband’s possessions, except earnings “arising from prostitution, which are her husband’s.” (Pollard 1990:23)

Traders and travelers expressed concerns about Chinook women’s dress, behavior, mobility, labor, and morality (Williams 2003:84). It is clear that Chinook women appreciated, just as European and American women did, the value of being in companionship with a man and raising a family. It is not known what motivated Chinook women to marry fur-trapping men and enter into the fur trade business (or its affiliates) with them. What is documented is that many of these marriages lasted beyond the fur trade years, beyond the childbearing years, and into the non-Chinook partners’

futures. Documents also record that time and time again partners made great sacrifice for each other and acknowledged their love for each other.

Pollard (1990) argues that Chinook culture was destroyed between 1805, when Lewis and Clark arrived, and the 1850s, when the last of the Chinook were placed on the Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations. She ascribes the demise to three factors: the fur-trade culture, which disrupted the Chinook culture and environment; childbirth practices, which kept the Chinook from reproducing after periods of massive epidemic death; and the low regard for illegitimacy on the part of both the Chinook and the British, which encouraged children of Indian or partial Indian heritage to meld into the dominant popular Euro-American culture when they could (Pollard 1990).³ The result was that Chinook culture as it was being practiced before contact was not allowed to evolve as it might otherwise have done.

The Chinook of the lower Columbia River region had numbered about 16,000 in 1800.

Disease wiped out whole villages of the Chinooks of the lower Columbia River and the Kalapuyans of the Willamette [*sic*] Valley between 1829 and 1833.

...The Chinook population declined to one-tenth its former size. ...The Black Death that ravaged Europe in the mid-1300s wiped out about one-third of its population and contributed to profound changes of all types. (Schwantes 1989:36-37)

In 1841, the HBC recorded a Chinook population of 1,229. By 1850, because of the ravages of European diseases, only about 150 full-blooded Chinook were left alive

³ The word “destroyed” could lead someone to believe that there are no longer Chinook around. The Chinooks are still alive and dynamically involved in sustaining Chinook culture today.

(Pollard 1990:3,48-49). However, a new Chinook population emerged, the Métis, children of Euro-American fur-trapping fathers and Chinook mothers.⁴ These Métis children numbered in the thousands by the mid-1800s (Pollard 1990:4).

Pollard's research focuses on the children. But what of their Chinook mothers? To what extent did the Chinook wives retain native culture in their new setting? To what extent did Chinook women acquire Euro-American values and practices?

Mrs. Birnie's [Charlotte Birnie, wife of James Birnie] canoe was one of the wonders of the lower river. No larger one in the memory of Indians had ever been seen there. It was said that it could carry seventy people. In the fall of the year this canoe, manned by twenty or thirty Indian men and women, with all their belongings and household furniture aboard, would start seaward from Cathlamet. Mrs. Birnie, all fire and energy, would be in command, and no woman on the river could command better. ...After a few weeks of hunting and fishing the party, with its spoils, would return. ...Mrs. Birnie would doff her Indian character and again assume her role as the grand dame of Birnie Hall. (Pollard 1990: 90-91)

The case of Mrs. Birnie shows a straddling of cultures. Numerous anecdotes testify that the Chinook women at the fort retained some of their native cultural practices, but Chance and Chance (1976), Ross (1976), Ross et al. (1975), Kardas (1971), and Pollard (1990) all conclude that the extent to which they did so is unclear. But if one could identify the remnants of the lives of the Chinook women—in fact, if one could positively identify some of the debris of the village as belonging to the

⁴ The Métis Indian Alliance defines membership as anyone of one-quarter Indian ancestry and any other ancestry who identifies with their mother's native culture (Pollard 1990:xxxix).

women who were there—perhaps archaeology could contribute answers to these questions.

The Hudson's Bay Company

Among all the European and Asian explorers, adventurers, and traders who had been coming to the Pacific Coast since the 1500s, the British Hudson's Bay Company had the opportunity to create an important cultural foundation for the region because it offered opportunity in the presence of epidemic disaster. It brought to the region an entire cultural inventory, a complete way of thinking and of looking at the world and economic activities. The HBC and its forts stood for England and its European and British sensibilities.

Fort Vancouver constituted a small, almost self-sufficient European community that included a hospital; thirty to fifty small houses where employees lived with their Indian wives; storehouses for furs, trading goods, and grain; and workshops where blacksmithing, carpentry, barrel making, and other activities were carried on. A sawmill provided lumber for repairs and the construction of buildings and equipment. The company also operated a shipyard, gristmill, dairy, orchard, and farm of several hundred acres where employees planted crops and raised herds of cattle and other domestic animals. Ships from distant ports called at Fort Vancouver bringing news, books, and periodicals to stock the post's library (Schwantes 1989:62-63).

The Fort managed a trade based on European goods for NW natural resources: furs valued at about \$150,000/year, smoked meat and salmon, lumber, vegetables and grains left the region and went to Hawaii, Russian Alaska, China, and England (Walker 1968:188).

Inside the HBC's wooden palisades was the administrators' idea of England, transplanted halfway around the world. It was transformative. The HBC community, with its fur-trapping culture, administrative presence, British trade goods, and values (and diseases), dramatically altered life in the region. Of particular interest to this research is that it also altered gender behavior and expectations (Pollard 1990:71-82). Women who lived within the aura of the HBC lived a different way of life from those who did not (Pollard 1990:71-82).

The Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in 1670 with a royal charter from King Charles II, making it the oldest commercial corporation in North America and one of the oldest in the world. Its charter gave it a monopoly over the Indian trade and the fur trade, in the watershed that fed into Hudson Bay, an area of 1.5 million square miles (3.9 million square kilometers). The first North American HBC headquarters were at Fort Nelson, on the Nelson River in today's Manitoba. Other posts were next built on the southern edge of the Bay and in today's Ontario and Quebec.

The HBC's shareholders, called proprietors, represented a mixture of the London business community and members of Parliament. The North American operation was headed by a governor who was ultimately responsible for all the day-to-day operations. The governor traveled occasionally between London and North America. Written correspondence was the predominant means of linking the two worlds. The North American operation was divided into departments, or geographic areas, which operated as administrative units. Departments were further divided into four to six districts each.

In 1779, the profitability of the fur trade convinced others, who were not part of the HBC, to ignore the HBC monopoly and set up competing trading companies. Fur routes were established that ran from Montreal to the present-day Minnesota border and

along the rivers to the Pacific Ocean. The HBC responded to this competition by pushing their company's physical presence farther and farther west.

With the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804 to 1806, the United States demonstrated interest in the Pacific Northwest. Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery spent four months at the Columbia River's mouth, establishing Fort Clatsop and exploring along the lower Columbia and trading with the Chinook.

In 1786, New Yorker John Jacob Astor started his own venture, the Pacific Fur Company, which competed directly with the Hudson's Bay Company for the fur trade in the American West. Astor established a chain of forts and posts along the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers. He established his terminal post, which he called Fort Astoria (later named Fort George) at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811.

Astor sent two groups to start the post. One group arrived in 1811 on the ship *Tonquin* and the other traveled overland, arriving in 1812. Americans from Fort Astoria first visited the Willamette Valley during 1811 and 1812. The fort's supply lines were soon strained by conditions created during the War of 1812. The Astorians sent trappers out to check on the amount of fur in the area, to establish a trading post, and to collect food (Speulda 1988:6). War conditions impacted the trading triangle. Astorians at the fort sold it to the North West Company in 1813, afraid that it would be captured. Astor, in New York at the time, was furious when he heard the news (Wells 2006).

In 1821, when the Napoleonic Wars had depressed the European fur market, the Montreal-based North West Company, previously a fierce competitor, merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, and many of its employees transferred their loyalties to this new employer. Governor George Simpson, head of the North American operations of the HBC, and Chief Factor John McLoughlin, head of the Columbia District of the

North American operations, looked at the existing Fort George and decided to relocate upriver and build a new headquarters. The HBC established its new post approximately ninety miles up the Columbia River, on the site of the present-day city of Vancouver.

Fort Vancouver was the administrative depot of the Columbia District of the Western Department. The Columbia District controlled an area of 700,000 square miles (1.8 million square kilometers). It was bordered to the north by Russian Alaska, to the south by today's San Francisco area (yesterday's Mexican California), to the west by the Pacific Ocean, and to the east by the Rocky Mountains. Within the Columbia District, the HBC employed approximately 2,000 men in 28 posts and forts.

The time of the HBC's presence in the Pacific Northwest can be divided into three economic periods. The first (1827-1837) was during a time when men were employed in jobs related to water. The second (1837-1845) was during the time when the company was chiefly engaged in mercantile and land-based activities (not "exclusively" fur trade). The third (1842-1861) was during the time when Oregon Country was becoming rapidly settled by migrants over the Oregon Trail (Towner 1984:793) (Figure 4).

The first location of the Fort at Vancouver, from 1825 to 1829, was on a defensible bluff above a grassy plain called Jolie Prairie (Hussey 1957). Their exact location and its boundaries remain unknown (Ellis 1993). Portage distance from the Columbia River and lack of fresh water made the location unsuitable, and in 1829 the fort was moved on to the Jolie Prairie, its current location. Hussey (1957), Hoffman and Ross (1972a, 1972b), and Ross (1976) describe the architectural boundaries and construction details of this second fort.

The Fort Vancouver community, established in 1829, was composed of about 600 people. About 40 lived inside the stockade walls, and about 560 lived in an

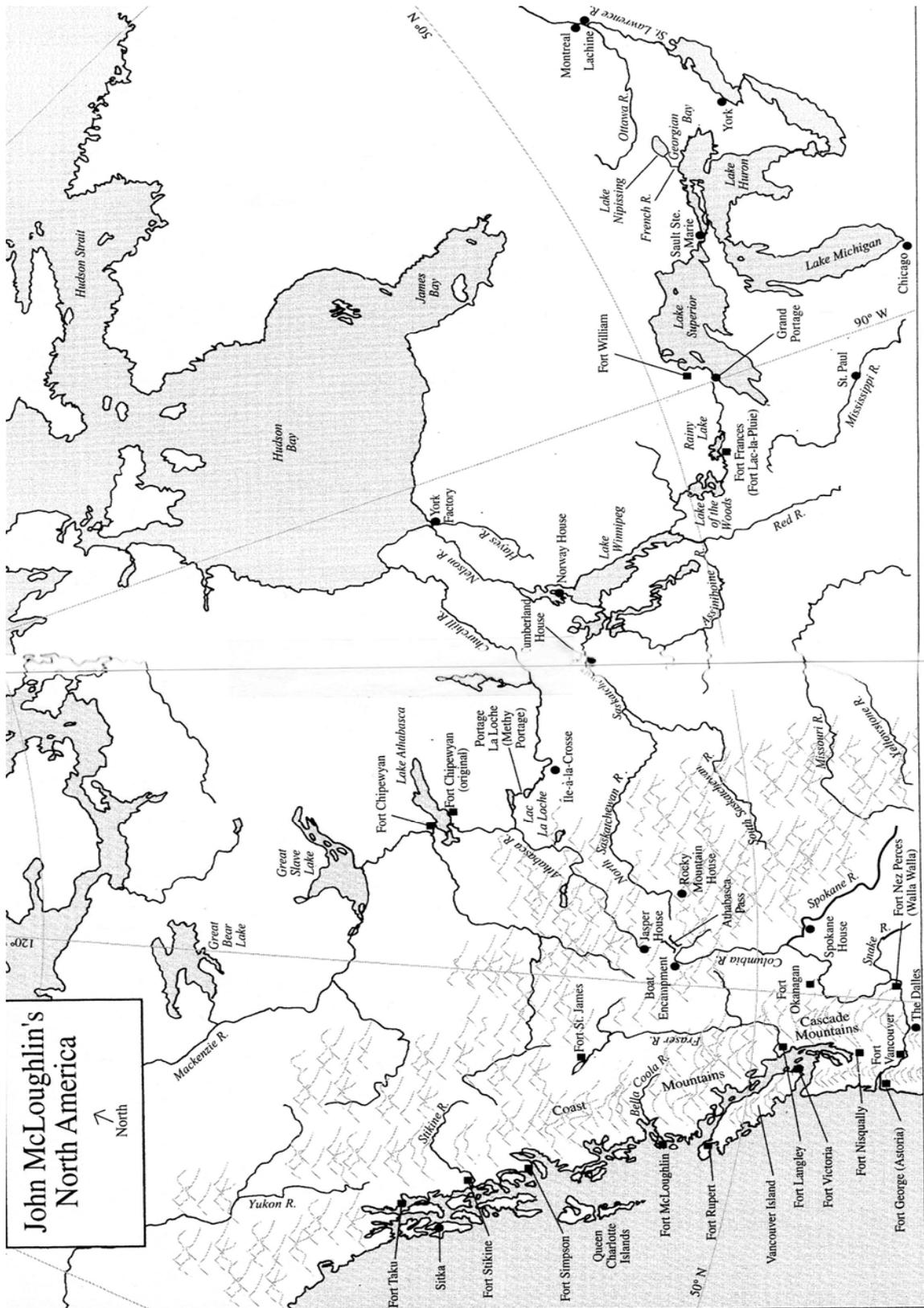


FIGURE 4. Map shows forts, houses, large lakes and rivers, encampments, passes and portages of North America during the administration of Chief Factor John McLoughlin (Morrison 1999:inside cover).

employee village outside the stockade. The fort's population represented many different nationalities (National Park Service 2006b). The HBC is often compared to a military organization. All employees were male, and they were organized into two classes: officers, also called gentlemen, and engages, also called servants. The chief factor, chief trader, clerk, and apprentice-clerk were all gentlemen. The servants worked as clerks, interpreters, traders, guides, voyageurs, laborers, shipwrights, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, carpenters, tin workers, bakers, butchers, coopers, agriculturalists, millers, sawyers, cooks, stewards, and marine workers.

The HBC had permanent recruiters in Great Britain. Prior to the 1800s, the HBC generally hired Englishmen and Scottish Highlanders (Brown 1980:113) as gentlemen and Orkney men as servants (Brown 1980:103). Men were hired on contract, typically for a three-year term. Periods of employment ranged from three to thirty years. It was rare that a servant became a gentleman, but over time an employee could move up within the servant job ranks, and they were paid more as they demonstrated loyalty, via a special action or through long service, to the HBC. It was common for experienced laborers with seniority to be paid similar amounts to lower-grade officers without experience (Hamilton 1990:141-166).

The staffing practices at Fort Vancouver, however, differed from this. Many employees from other trading companies had become absorbed into the ranks, and there was a strongly segregated social order among the men. Due to the isolation of Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin had a different relationship with the recruiters from that of other factors; his requests went directly to Governor Simpson (Rich 1941:liv). One consequence of this was that Simpson's personal preferences and prejudices with respect to nationality were reflected in the makeup of employees at Fort Vancouver (Roulstone 1975). The work force was segregated according to nationality. Voyageurs

(transportation workers—those who paddled the boats) were French-Canadians, Métis or Iroquois; lumber workers and laborers were Kanaka (Hawaiians/Owyhees) or Scottish Islanders; mariners were Englishmen; and farm laborers were local Chinook Indians. Tradesmen were an exception to this prejudicial hiring system; they seem to have been hired based on skills and experience. For example, of the six coopers at the fort, one was Orcadian, one French, three were Métis, and one was Kanaka (Roulstone 1975:31-32).

Household Goods

Gentlemen and their families lived inside the stockade, and servants and their families lived in the Village. Gentlemen ate together in a mess, while servants received weekly food rations as part of their pay package (two meals a day). Employees were paid in pounds sterling, accrued as an annual credit in the fort's company store, called the Sales Shop, where employees could buy goods and charge the cost to their account. The price charged for a given commodity was based on the purchaser's employment status. I was unable to find purchase records for employees at Fort Vancouver at the HBC Archives, but Cromwell (2006:119), while analyzing an employee's ability to purchase tableware, developed Table 1.

Clues in the Debris

The debris beyond the fort's buildings, left from the people inside and outside the fort walls, reflects some of the purchasing choices made by the employees of the HBC from the supplies offered to them at the company store. This debris consists mostly of ceramic sherds, clay pipe fragments, iron nails, bottle glass, and window glass. Its archaeological potential is similar to that of many other historical sites with similar formation processes and state of preservation. The dominating interest by most archaeologists in this cultural material has been to look for ethnic markers.

TABLE 1
 GENERALIZED PAY SCALE OF FORT VANCOUVER EMPLOYEES BY
 COMPANY CLASS AND JOB RANK (MORRISON 1999; CROMWELL 2006:119
 AND HCBA B.223/D/162)

CLASS	CAPACITY	P/YEAR LOW	P/YEAR HIGH	MEAN P/YEAR
Commissioned Officers	Chief Factor	78.19	500	289.1
	Chief Trader	50	250	150
Servants	Gentlemen	30	150	90
	Tradesmen	20	50	35
	Voyageurs	17	22	19.5
	Laborers	16	17	16.5

Describing the life of the Village community, Kardas argued that the men played a minor role, with their hours spent in HBC work (Kardas 1971:233). She believed that due to the distance men had to travel to move to Vancouver that men brought little in the way of material goods, while women, who came a shorter distance, would have brought with them the handicrafts of their society (Kardas 1971:233). Kardas believed that the material culture that she would find in the Village would be a composite. This would include European goods “acquired by” the women via their husbands and the HBC trade store, the aboriginal handicrafts, and European objects which the women altered and to use in their traditional ways (Kardas 1971:233). Kardas believed that since the men were absorbed in their work that observable ethnic expression in the cultural material of the Village would be because of the effort of the women. Kardas anticipated that these would be distinctively observable as an aboriginal ethnic expression.

Kardas and other archaeologists have found very few Indian artifacts. Kardas (1971:417-418) writes,

If we had only archaeological data from the site we would consider it to have been predominantly European in culture. We might know that some Indians had

been present but we could not prove, and might not even suspect, that at least half the adult population consisted of Indian women, and that most of these were Chinook.

What Kardas did not recognize is that the cultural material that was purchased and used by the Indians became *de facto* Indian. In the 2000s Cromwell (2006) took up the Kardas inquiry but did not assume a gender bias in the consumption behavior or in what people brought with them when they came to Vancouver.

Cromwell looked for ethnic patterns using English Staffordshire ceramics. He started with the premise that ceramics bought and used by British were British and that ceramics bought and used by Villagers were Villagers, anticipating that he would find ethnic divisions that corresponded to ethnic areas within the Village. Cromwell analyzed the inventory records for the Sale Shop for five years in a thirty-year period. He compared these years with the Staffordshire Price Lists provided by Miller (1991). The Fort Vancouver Sale Shop marked up these ceramics an average of 2,000% per vessel (Cromwell 2006:120). There were obviously tremendous costs in shipping and packing goods from England but these prices can also be seen as monopolistic gouging. The price of these goods was further altered by an HBC tariff applied to various commodities depending on the classification of the purchaser's job with the company. At Fort Vancouver, as we have said, an HBC employee's job classification was in some ways a proxy for his ethnicity and class. Cromwell summarized data collected by Hussey (1972:190) and Ross (1976:150) in Table 2.

Ceramic tableware for those workers of lower income living in the Village represented a much more substantial investment than it did for those living within the fort (Cromwell 2006). Stocking one's table with ceramic dinnerware would have been

TABLE 2
 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE COST OF GOODS AT FORT VANCOUVER
 BASED ON SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNIC IDENTITY CA. 1829-1860
 (CROMWELL 2006:121)

	Imported Goods			Country Made Goods		
	Summer	Winter	Annual	Summer	Winter	Annual
Commissioned Officers	Cost plus 25%	Cost plus 100%				Cost
Servants			Cost plus 50%	Cost plus 12.5%	Cost plus 50%	
Owyhees			Cost plus 200%			Cost plus 200%
Settlers, Missionaries —cash sales			Cost plus 100%			Cost plus 100%
—fur or grain exchange			Cost plus 50%			Cost plus 50%

the modern equivalent of buying a car—easier for those with higher incomes.

(Cromwell 2006:123).

Surprisingly, Cromwell (2006:263) found that the total vessel counts per household at Fort Vancouver were independent of the socioeconomic class of the occupants of the household. There was not a statistical correlation between the number of ceramic pieces and the socioeconomic class of the residents (Cromwell 2006:263). Looking at distribution, Cromwell found that the village households had collections of matched sets. In fact, the peoples living outside the stockade walls had an absolutely statistically similar ceramic assemblage (with as many repeating pattern types) as those households inside the stockade. He found that all household debris contained multiple transfer print patterns with multiple individual vessels, representing multiple matching sets of differing patterns; and all household assemblages displayed multiple patterns represented by single vessels (which indicates piece, not set, acquisition) (Cromwell 2006:273). He also noted that the overall value of the ceramic goods compared to total

income over the years of occupancy also suggested ceramics might have been seen to reinforce social standing. Ceramics indicated a social value which increased in importance as the rainbow composition of the community was increasingly exposed to white women.

Studying primary documents is another way to get at a descriptive account of women's presence at the fort. In 1982 Towner was hired by archaeologists to complete a demographic study of Kanaka Village males, using such primary documents as the employee rosters of the HBC; fur brigade rosters from journals and diaries; Catholic Church records of births, deaths, marriages, and baptisms; and Kardas' 1971 Ph.D. dissertation (Towner 1984:793), which is a record of documents identifying women who lived at Fort Vancouver. Kardas (1971) included Catholic Church documents compiled by Munnick, journals and diaries, and copies of interviews conducted by Dye and Bancroft. However, Kardas's source notes have not been located.

I have extrapolated from Towner's research (1984) to identify one aspect of the lives of 107 women Towner was able to determine lived in the Village. Towner was adamantly uncomfortable with many of the primary assumptions made in collecting the data. He was dismayed at this gender bias and he had many suggestions and hopes for studies that might be funded in the future (Towner 1984).

Figure 5 shows the tribal affiliations of the women at Fort Vancouver, which I have extracted from Towner's research. The vertical axis represents the actual number of women. The horizontal axis represents tribal affiliation. The first year women were documented as living in the Village was 1827; the last documented was 1844. The largest recorded number of women was in 1842. A woman's average residency was five years, but one woman lived in the Village continuously for 14 years, and another for 13. Many resided there for only one year.

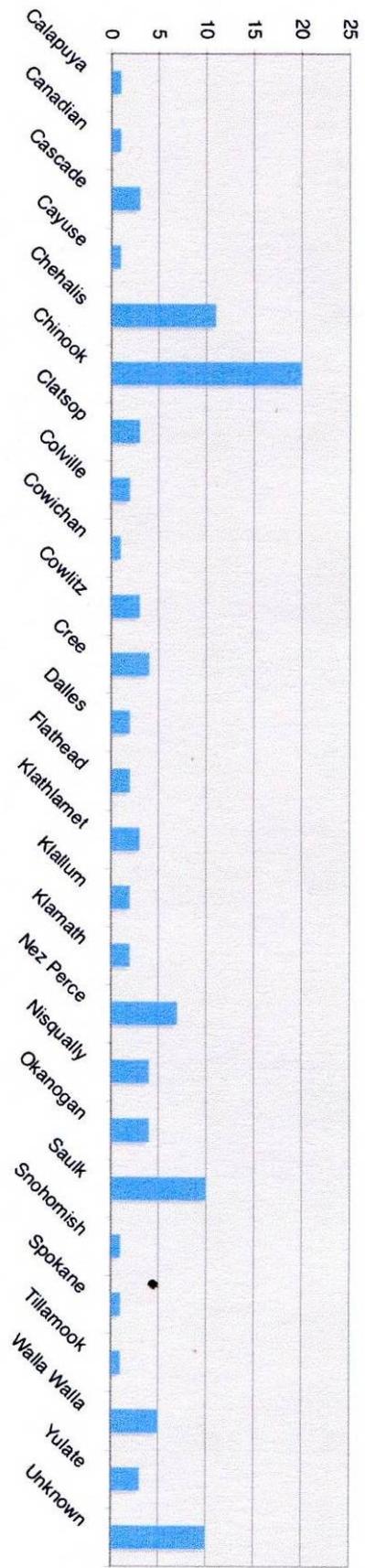


FIGURE 5. Tribes represented by women recorded by Towner.

French Prairie and the Oregon Trail

As it came time for men to retire from HBC employment, they faced a dilemma. HBC policy, for decades, had required men to return to the location they had left. Through marriage, they had become part of a multi-racial family rooted in the region. However, after their employment, French-Canadian men who returned to their place of origin had difficulty finding work. Eastern Canada lacked enough land for those who wanted to farm, and inheritance traditions denied opportunity to those who had been younger sons in family birth order. Inability to earn a living may explain why these men left in the first place and during these years, the East had been undergoing a period of crop blight and subsequent poor harvests. Moreover, the United States was being inundated with immigrants from the British Isles; about 300,000 arrived between 1815 and 1840 (Jette 1996). For HBC employees who were retiring from work at Vancouver, land was available to farm just south on the French Prairie. Indian challenges were few. Accordingly, the HBC was unable to continue to keep people from settling and farming lands in the Fort environment. Chief Factor McLoughlin granted permission to retirees and their families to move south of Vancouver and the Columbia River and take up farms on French Prairie. The map shown in Figure 6 shows Champeog on the French Prairie and its relationship to Fort Vancouver, including the HBC trail.

McLoughlin provided additional support to these families, in addition to maintaining a degree of control, by lending them start-up seed (the commodity currency of the Oregon Country at this time was wheat) and by providing a market for the crops raised—the only market, in fact, until the 1840s. Thus during the 1830s, the French Prairie town of Champeog became a farming community composed of retired servants of the HBC and their Indian families, as well as some Americans and their Indian families (Speulda 1988:11-12).

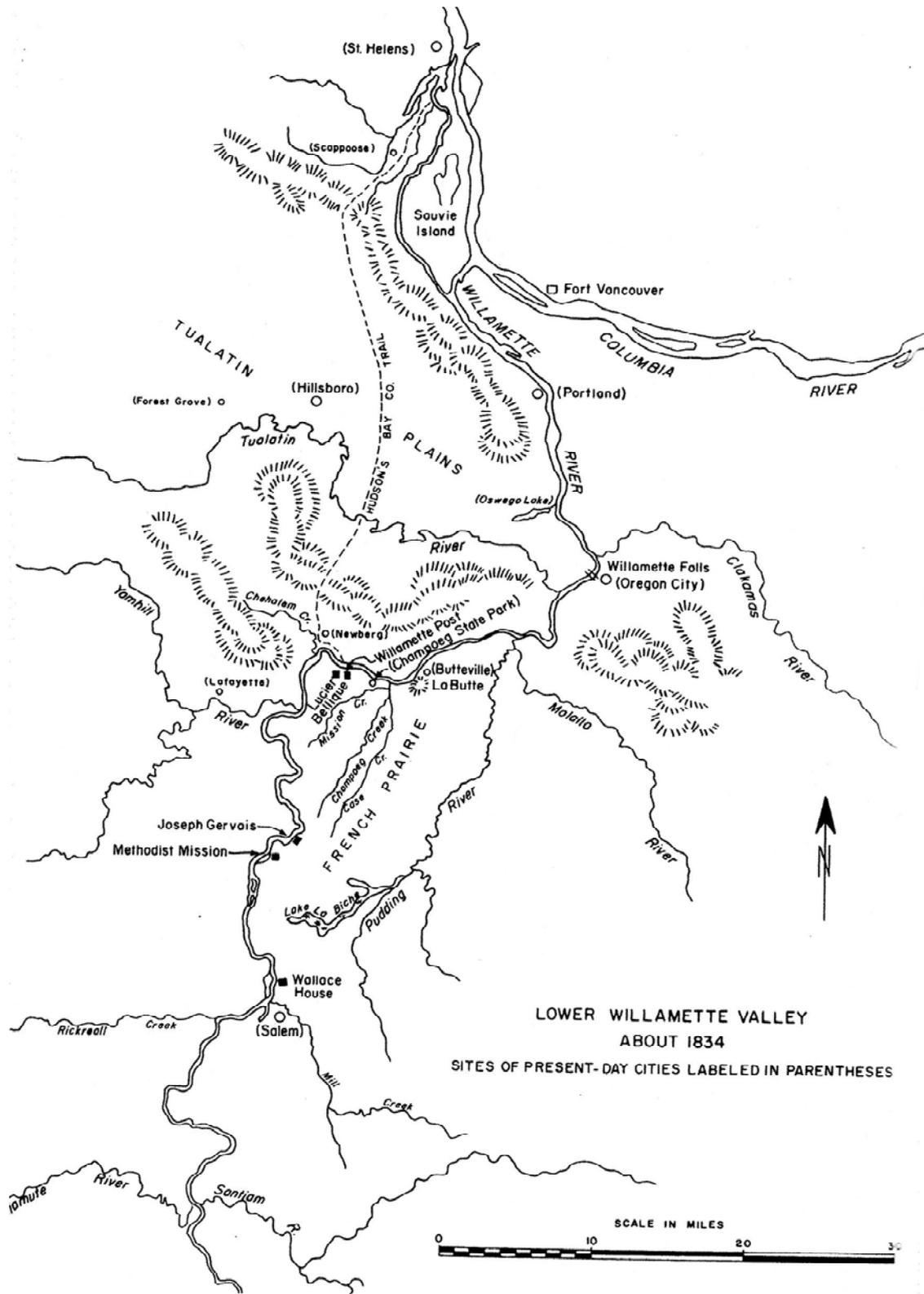


FIGURE 6. Map of Champoug and Fort Vancouver (reprinted from Hussey 1967:42). Champoug lies at the heart of the French Prairie. Fort Vancouver is near the intersection of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers.

In the early 1840s, migrants from the Midwest and other parts of the United States began streaming into the Oregon Country. The Oregon Trail would mark the end of the HBC's hegemony in the country of Oregon. Patriotic speeches, travel guides, newspaper accounts, and exaggeratedly rosy descriptions of the Pacific Northwest contributed to an effective marketing campaign, and thousands of Americans came to settle in Oregon during the 1840s and early 1850s. The Oregon Trail delivered a trickle of migrants in 1841, and then the "Great Migration" of 1843 brought in 800 to 1,000 new settlers. The migrations would continue through the early 1850s. Some of the newcomers settled in the already-established community of French Prairie.

During occupancy at the fort, the Hudson's Bay Company was effectively the government of the Oregon Territory. With Chief Factor McLoughlin at the helm, the HBC provided the only regulation of property rights, the only operational justice system, and the only source of goods and markets in the region. Virtually all supplies came from the HBC at Fort Vancouver. The HBC's annual supply ship in the spring was the only regular trading vessel in the area until the California gold rush in 1849 (Speulda 1988:15). By 1843, the increasing American population had created greater demands for goods than the HBC could supply, and merchant suppliers to other West Coast areas had recognized the potential of this burgeoning market (Speulda 1988:16-29).

Thus, paradoxically, two of the most important influences on social life at the fort were first, its original remoteness from civilization and second, its later inundation by civilization. Fort Vancouver, therefore, unlike other Hudson's Bay Company posts, such as Edmonton, was unique, inasmuch as it did not gradually evolve from a fur-trading society to an urban society, but rather, came

to an end both culturally and literally when civilization was thrust upon it. Fort Vancouver was one of the largest posts in the fur-trade and ... at the end of the fur-trading period in history, ... [*sic*] offers an opportunity to examine one of the highest expressions of the fur-trade society before civilization engulfed it (Roulstone 1975:18-19).

In 1843, the white male population of French Prairie town of Champoeg voted to form a provisional government in a move towards statehood in the United States. The original law reserved suffrage to white males 21 years of age; women and non-whites continued to be excluded when these laws were formalized into state constitutions. Oregon was made a territory in 1848 and became a state in 1859. Internationally, the U.S. and British government settled their ongoing land-claim disagreement by setting the boundary at the 49th parallel. The HBC transferred its headquarters from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria in 1846. In 1849, the U.S. Army established a Columbia Barracks post west of the HBC's fort. In 1860, the HBC abandoned Fort Vancouver and the structures were demolished. In 1861, a flood swept the town of Champoeg entirely clean of buildings, which left the area "as bare as a sand beach" (Hussey 1967:231).

Gender

Historical documents are filled with data about the men of the fur trade: their names, their jobs and pay rates, and sometimes even what they purchased (Cromwell 2006). The Company did not quite ignore the existence of employees' families, but neither did it show much interest in them (Hussey 1977:40). HBC records document that only in the most severe and exceptional cases did the Company financially aid women and children (Rich 1941, 1943, 1944).

On the other hand, historical observations on Vancouver's women are rare (Kardas 1971; Pollard 1990; Gembala et al. 2003). Visitors noticed this isolation of families and remarked on it. John Ball, speaking of conditions at Fort Vancouver during 1832-33 said: "We saw nothing or little of their women, except perhaps sometimes on Sundays out on a horse-back ride, at which they excelled" (Hussey 1977:64-65).

While it is known that almost all the women lived in the village, archaeologists have been able to tell us very little about what the women did there. We do not know how women lived their daily lives at Vancouver, how they fed or clothed themselves and their children, what they did with their time, or the nature of their relationships with one another or with the administrators of the HBC. We know, from historical documents, that inside the stockade walls, cooking, baking, cleaning, healing, administration, blacksmithing, cooperage, security, fur packing, construction, and anything requiring literacy was done by men (Hussey 1977).

We know that some women and children accompanied men on fur brigades, leaving in September and returning in June, and were essential for their labor, ability to navigate and manage crisis and their emotional support (Morrison 1999:158-159). The size of brigades was around one hundred twenty-five (Morrison 1999:160). The impact of the brigade on the more permanent Village community when they returned in the summer is unknown.

We know that all married employees of the HBC were married to Indians. Until the 1830s there were no European (or white) women living at the Fort or in the Oregon Country (Roulstone 1975; Pollard 1990). Women and children were of mixed (Métis) or pure Indian heritage, regardless of economic or social class. The first white women to live at the fort were Mrs. Capendal, wife of the dairyman, and Mrs. Beaver, wife of the minister, who both came and stayed for a very short time in 1836. The next white

woman to live at the fort came in 1843. Owing to the paucity of white women (marriageable or otherwise), officers married half or quarter Indian daughters and granddaughters of those who had been in the fur trade. According to a letter of Reverend Parker, these young Indian women often had “fair skin,” “flaxen hair,” and “blue eyes.” One would conclude that educated and culturally European values of what a proper woman looked like (the more European the better) had influenced these marriage selections (Roulstone 1975:54-59).

The fact that so many HBC men had wives and children would have impacted the lives of everyone, regardless of their gender. Different ethnic groups of men held different jobs, with differentiated incomes, and they were charged different prices for consumer goods. The few wealthy and socially elite men and their families lived inside the stockade walls. Everyone else lived in the village. The fact that there were wives and children, and so many of them, changes the character of the fort’s population. A fuller narrative would change from being “all-male” to including a real description of family and community.

One might expect that evidence of this rigid segregation would appear in the remnants of the consumer goods the employees purchased. Before Cromwell’s important research, archaeologists had assumed that the Village would segregate itself further along ethnic lines. Beginning with Kardas, there has been intense archaeological study of class, ethnic differentiation, and consumer choice. Even for Kardas, however, women were not the major focus; she was looking for them in an effort to flesh out information about Indian practices.

It is the very complexity of Fort Vancouver’s population mix that forces us to step back and examine the obvious. At Fort Vancouver, the researcher is “given” a population of 600. This represents at least 35 different ethnic groups and a wide range

in both salary and purchasing power. I would suggest that studying the debris patterns at Fort Vancouver offers a potentially fruitful research opportunity. Variation in debris pattern needs consideration of gender explanation for the difference, as well as ethnic or economic factors. At Vancouver, the variables of gender, ethnicity and economics are all present, entangled, and impact each of the other variables. The first thing that ought to be included in any research design, therefore, is a methodology for identifying gender.

CHAPTER 3

The History of Excavation at Fort Vancouver

The information presented today in the Fort's living histories and displays is interpretive reconstruction. This interpretation is based on numerous, though incomplete, historical documents and an analysis of the garbage (artifacts) that the people who once lived in the area left behind. It is built upon sixty years of research on these 210 gross area acres (National Park Service 2006a). The historical archaeological literature is extensive and is accompanied by over three million artifacts. The objective of this chapter is to provide an understanding of what historical archaeology has been done at the site.

In 1848, the Oregon Country was declared by the US Congress to be a territory of the United States. In the early summer of 1849, the US War Department garrisoned a company just north of Fort Vancouver (Brauner 1995:4). A US military regiment arrived in Oregon City during the winter of 1849-1850 and then transferred to Fort Vancouver (Brauner 1995:4). Their presence expanded in 1852 with the arrival of the US agent Bonneville and an expansion of the base of the US military presence (also called Fort Vancouver) resulting in an engulfing of the Hudson's Bay Company (Brauner 1995:4). On June 15, 1860, the HBC left Vancouver.

In 1860 the U.S. military placed a guard to protect against vandalism of HBC property, but scavenging of structural materials started immediately (Hussey 1972:158). Next, the military chose to dismantle what was salvageable, and destroy by fire whatever was too decayed (Hussey 1972:158). Britain and the United States negotiated for five years on how to deal with the remains of the old fort (Hussey 1972:159-161). Weather, gravity, plunderers, and firewood collectors had the advantage over governments arguing *in absentia*. There were fires in 1865 and 1866 (Hussey 1972:160)

and “by 1866 only one ‘little rick of rotten hay and straw’ remained above ground to show where it stood” (Hussey 1957:vii). The Army and, under Army auspices, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Spruce Mill, used these grounds to support their contributions to various war and security efforts. The US military occupied the land in a different manner from the fur trade. Some of these differences included: their military presence with a military mission, they were Americans, their supplies reflected different consumer and vendor preferences, they used a different economic structure, they had a single dominant language, and their success was measured only by their contribution to the contemporary and overall military effort.

In 1946 the US Army decided to declare some of the property surplus, creating an opportunity for the Historical Societies of Washington and Oregon to push for the creation of preservation of the site to commemorate the importance of Fort Vancouver in the settlement and development of the Pacific Northwest (Hussey 1957:vii).

During the survey and boundary process required for this surplus property division, it was determined that the exact location of the stockade was not known (Caywood 1948a:2). Ground proofing would be required to understand what existed in the past. Figure 7 is a photo showing these grounds before dirt was moved.

In 1947, the National Park Service (NPS) funded historical research and an archaeological exploration by Caywood with an initial goal to locate the stockade corners (Caywood 1948a:2). Archaeologist Caywood worked with the Regional Historian and developed a strategy for locating the stockade walls. Due to no budget from the NPS, they chose to use a local labor pool instead of archaeologists (Caywood 1948a:1). They used old maps, information from historic documents, trenched the site,

pulled historical artifacts during the excavation period and looked for wood fragments to determine if they had found wall remnants (Caywood 1948a:8-19).

This original excavation strategy was to ground test and establish the accuracy of a copy of the 1854 Bonneville (U.S. Army) map measured against a map of the Vancouver Barracks. In addition to the Bonneville map they used the Emmons journal diagram of the stockade (Appendix 1 Figure 31), created during the Wilkes 1841 expedition at Fort from July 25-August 2; the Vavasour vicinity map of 1845 (Appendix 1 Figure 32); Warre's colored drawings (1845-1846); the 1854 Mansfield (U.S. Army) plan map (Appendix 1 Figure 35); and the 1859 Harney map (U.S. Army, Corps of Topographical Engineers) (Caywood 1948a:8-10). Reproductions of these maps are found in Appendix 1. Despite having these seven illustrations at their disposal the Caywood excavation of this period found it impossible to determine the boundaries of the military reservation. No noted survey section markers [triangulation points] or permanent markers could be found (Caywood 1948a:8).

Maps of the Fort

Maps vary in the information that they present. The process of building a map is molded by multiple factors, including what in the field is chosen to be measured; how a base is established; how the information is going to be used; the naming of structures; who are the recorders; and what was their formal training in mapping. Because these factors incorporate human choices regarding importance and non-importance, issues of power, politics, gender and economic relationships can entwine in the results drawn up and passed on through the years. These variations are found in the maps of Vancouver.

In 1845, a two-person team of Royal Engineers, Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour reported to the British their survey results of the fort and village and their defensibility in the face of American migration (Caywood 1955:xiv). Here the



FIGURE 7. Photo of George Hines (right) inspecting grounds prior to archaeological explorations at Vancouver (Oregon Historical Society Image Number OrHi94312). Used with the permission of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

mapmakers' purpose is to indicate vulnerability to attack and the potential for defense. On the other hand the Vavasour map (1845) sketches Vancouver and its surrounds to the dense forests of the west and north, eastern plains, and the Columbia River to the south (Hussey 1972:plate V). As a sketch, it is diagrammatic in presentation. There are very few building labels. The original map is located at the British Foreign Office with a reproduction map in Hussey (1972) at a scale that is difficult to read. Even with these limitations, it is possible to see that the map's purpose was to illustrate both these things.

The Warre sketch (Appendix 1 Figure 34) from this same period is a watercolor piece that views the southeast exterior of the stockade, the stockade corner, three

connecting structures, and rooftops peering above the wall (Hussey 1972:plate VI). This view offers a perspective of the Fort from the Village perspective but illuminates only a little detail of the interior stockade architecture. The image centers on the stockade wall itself, emphasizing the defensibility and separation of the interior and exterior spaces.

The Bonneville's map (1854) was created with the intention to plat and record the US Army boundary, which was field measured and drawn to scale (Garnett et al. 2001:3-4).

The Mansfield illustration, on the other hand, was only personal sketching for reasons of descriptive correspondence (Garnett et al. 2001:3-4).

Beyond differences in overall intentions for the map by the maker a mapmaker's prejudices or "blindness" can impact what is illustrated. Catholic Church priests Blanchet and Demers registered baptisms, marriages and burials at Vancouver. In their naming systems they used the word "chez." "Chez" meant clustered about the house (or place of) and is where some of the orphans, relatives, slaves and hired help lived (Munnick 1972:preface notes). Yet these structures are not drawn on the maps described above.

The number of buildings can vary from map to map over time, reflecting the mapmaker's prejudices or they can reflect an actual change in presence: Emmons (1841) shows 19 buildings inside the stockade; the Line of Fire map (1844) shows 20 (Appendix 1 Figure 32); Vavasour (1845) 22; and Covington (1846) 19 (as cited in Caywood 1955:7). It is odd to see a gradual growth followed by a loss of three structures in one year. Maps can also be partial in what they choose to describe. Both the Emmons sketch and Line of Fire map show no bastion yet the Warre and Vavasour examples describe it.

Similarly, word or label choice can present assumptions, bias, or prejudice. “House,” “residence,” and “domicile” are not identical and interchangeable words. A group of people living in a post Victorian residence probably occupy the structure in a different manner than an early fur-trapping contact period group living in their building. One would expect a different family configuration, different consumer practices, different expectations for the building itself, and even different building material choices. For example, the cooper made barrels and resided in the place where he made these barrels. The structure for the coopers are labeled the business name. But did he live alone or with his family or other families? How is this functionally different from a building labeled as a “house”? How many buildings that were businesses also operated as residences? Is the residence of a seamstress also a business? The maps with their information are often used as a starting point for historical archaeologists when designing a research and excavation strategy. It is important that all maps are examined and compared because words and titles do change over time, as do use of buildings. The 1841 Emmons journal legend describes the Indian Trade Store as also being the Hospital Dispensary while other maps describe it more simply as the Indian Trade Store.

Archaeological excavation and interpretation validates the reliability of what is presented on a map. The archaeologist must be careful not to have the map alone define their chosen parameters of the excavation (even if the map validates the specifics of a structure). The choice of excavation boundaries is made harder when budgets are small and are impacted by the principle of disturbing the smallest possible area. Dr. Barbara Voss (2006) has suggested that using a mapped structural footprint as excavation boundaries may actually be prejudicing conclusions. Chapter 6 of this work will include a discussion of Dr. Voss’s suggestion.

Applied Geographer Garnett is the foremost expert of maps and mapping of Fort Vancouver. In the early 1980s, he was charged with taking the historic maps and “putting them on the ground,” field-setting the various feature corners, or vertices, for archaeological testing by Thomas and Hibbs. Garnett geo-referenced his mapping and fieldwork to the coordinate system the Washington State Highway Design Division used. This was the first time this was done. Garnett’s research, and subsequent archaeological investigations led him to conclude that the 1874 F.K. Ward map was the most informative of the early maps (10 March 2008, pers. comm.). Garnett believes that the Ward map was constructed with actual field measurements conducted by the Army, which focused on structures that it would be responsible for defending and maintaining, and needed to define boundaries shared with the Catholic Mission property. Unfortunately, the Ward map is not particularly helpful to this research which covers a period before 1874. All the maps previous to the Ward map and used by this investigation prove more diagrammatic than planametric.

The Village

It is not known when historic period housing was first established in Vancouver outside the fort. There exist period sketches, lithographs, and painting of the village (Kane 1846; Stanley 1847; Gibbs 1851; sketch attributed to Gibbs 1851; Sohon 1854; Covington 1854; Hodges 1855) but none of these sketches includes all the houses found during excavations. Early maps (Vavasour, Covington, and United States Army) show a village boundary marked by roads. A historic west to east road (today’s East Fifth Street) forms a northern boundary. A road from the Catholic Church to the Columbia forms an eastern boundary (even though it is around 800 feet from the western fort walls). A road from the south stockade to the river forms another boundary (south). Along the south border of the Village, next to the Columbia River, there existed a

slough pond. This region surrounding the pond includes: the wharf, salmon store, cooper's shop, stables, sheds (including pig sty), hospital, salt house, McLean's, Smith's and servant's (and their families') homes. This "west" was about half a mile from the fort and contains today's Interstate 5.

The 1851 Gibbs sketches are thought to be the most accurate of the pre-Ward imagery. When overlaid, the two Gibbs sketches show the relationship of mountains to the stockade, and indicate scale. NPS staff believe that Gibbs may have used a camera obscura for his sketches, using a portable box camera obscura to create an inverse and upside down projection, which he then traced (Cromwell 2006:Appendix II i-iii). Mountains, stockade, and their relative scale appear accurate, which probably means that the other details of the Gibbs work, such as building locations, are relatively accurate (Figure 8).



FIGURE 8. The 1851 Gibbs sketches illustrate building locations.

Who Lived Inside and Outside the Walls

Prior to the arrival of the HBC, the Chinook of the lower Columbia had seasonal housing throughout the area, with some (undetermined) relationship to the fort itself. Douglas recorded staying in such a structure in 1825. In 1832 Ball wrote “For the servants and Frenchmen there were little houses outside the Fort” (Ball 1833:microfilm). Fort Vancouver was unique among the HBC posts in the Columbia District in that employee quarters were specifically designated in a Village area. Because of this intention, general belief is that the Village was occupied when the Fort was constructed in 1829.

All officers/gentlemen and their families lived inside the stockade walls. The only servants (and their families) who lived inside were the bakers and kitchen stewards. All other servants (including laborers, tradesmen, mechanics, trappers, voyageurs) and their families lived outside the walls, in the Village (also referred to as Kanaka Village) or in the HBC farms, dairies, and sawmill areas, as they developed.

Excavations

Data from these various excavations is present in a plethora of grey literature, and is typically broken out by material type, without being reassembled around a particular feature, such as a period house structure. To aid in retrieval of this artifact provenience data, maps are used which show, in plan, the details of excavation units by the archaeologist. Some of these maps are so large that they must be unfolded in a wide space, which involves moving material from one room to another in order to have the space to open and read the maps.

Another complication facing any researcher is no existing composite map assembles all existing excavation information. Appendix 1 Figure 36 is a small-scale copy of a large-scale composite map made to visually organize the various excavations

and existing structures so that I could orientate myself to what had happened over time on the overall site.

Identification of fur trade HBC architectural elements has consistently driven archaeological investigation.

Funding for any phase of the investigation has never been adequate and the curatorial department has never been able to catch up to date.

In the beginning excavation was done primarily by volunteer labor and today the principal archaeological labor is from students and volunteer.

Generally, all excavators have faced similar soil conditions across the acreage. Vancouver lies in a flood plain with the soil matrix and horizontal stratigraphy profiled in Figure 9.

It is the volume of cultural material (artifacts) which has presented a formidable challenge since the beginning. Despite this challenge, excavation remains a consistent, strong and dominating focus. The NPS does continue to fund reconstruction of buildings. One of the buildings, a house, is outside the stockade walls. The stockade walls and bastion have been built. Additional construction includes: the Chief Factor's House and Kitchen, the Bake House, Restrooms (a replica of the Wash House), Blacksmith; Indian Trade Store, Fur Store, Carpenter's Shop, New Office, Jail, and a Contact Station (not HBC and not a replica of anything). The expressed interpretive priority of the Federal government from the beginning and still today, has been to interpret the HBC period and the most visible form of interpretation is architectural.

Excavations Inside the Stockade and Their Results

Table 3 shows the archaeological excavation footprints, their archaeological primary investigators in the area inside the stockade walls (Figure 10). Text summarizing these excavations follows.

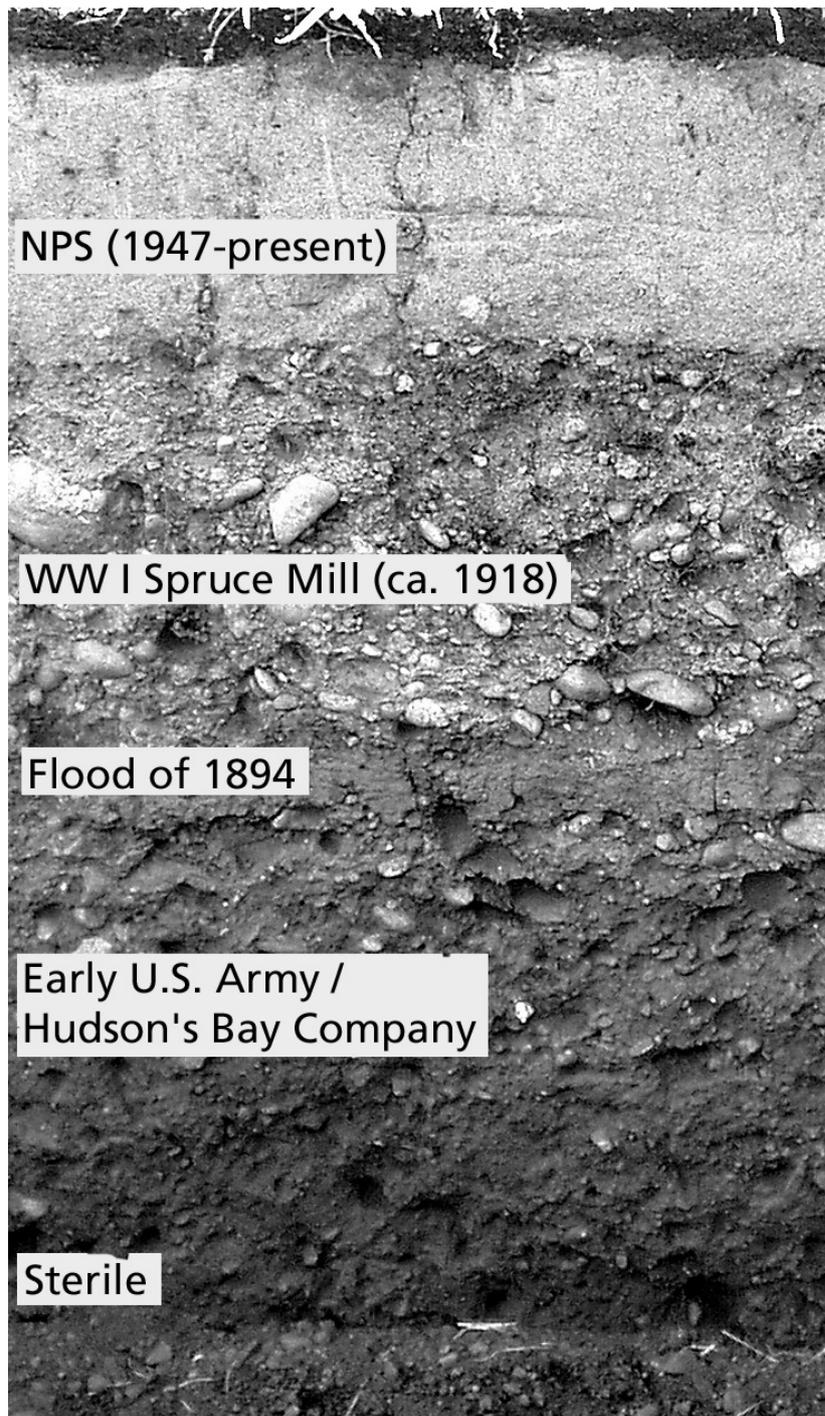


FIGURE 9. Image of a typical soil profile seen when excavating at Vancouver. Photo used by permission of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Vancouver, WA. Photo taken by Dr. Douglas Wilson in 2008. H20 FOVA image is on file at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Vancouver, WA.

Caywood Excavations (1947-1952)

The outlines of Fort Vancouver were determined in 1947 by excavating along the north wall and at the four corners (Caywood 1955:27). Caywood's study of these

TABLE 3
EXCAVATIONS INSIDE THE STOCKADE

Excavation Year	Principals And Report Date	Generalized Excavation Area
1947	Caywood 1948a, 1948b	Stockade corners, Bastion, Powder Magazine
1948	Caywood 1948a, 1948b	Owyhee Church, Kitchen, Chief Factor's House, Dwelling House (Bachelors quarters)
1947-48, 1950, 1952	Caywood 1955	Jail, Owyhee Church, Kitchen, Chief Factor's House, Dwelling House (Bachelors quarters), Bastion, Well 1, Shop and Stores (3), Harness shop, Indian shop (Trade store), Blacksmith shop, Iron store, Well 2, Root house
1970-1974	Hoffman and Ross 1972-1975	Harness Shop, Chief Factor's House and Kitchen, Flagstaff, Belfry, Sales Shop, Powder Magazine, NW Bastion, Stockade, Fur Store, and Indian Trade Store
1973 1994	Ross and Carley 1976 Brauner 1995	Bachelors' Quarters Privies Carpenter shop

stockade walls and chronology of construction led him to conclude that the fort “originated” in the east and grew to the west (Caywood 1955:27-30). Caywood’s excavations of the archaeological footprints agree with American explorer, fur trapper, hunter and map maker Jedediah Smith’s record that in 1829 the stockade was a square of 318 feet on each side that was expanded to its largest dimensions by 1851 (Gibbs), when it was 733 feet in length and 323 feet in width (Caywood 1955:30).

Excavations revealed two Bastions, both located in the NW corner of the stockade (Caywood 1955:8). The first bastion was two or three stories. The second was constructed sometime between 1844-1845 when the fort expanded west about 18 feet.

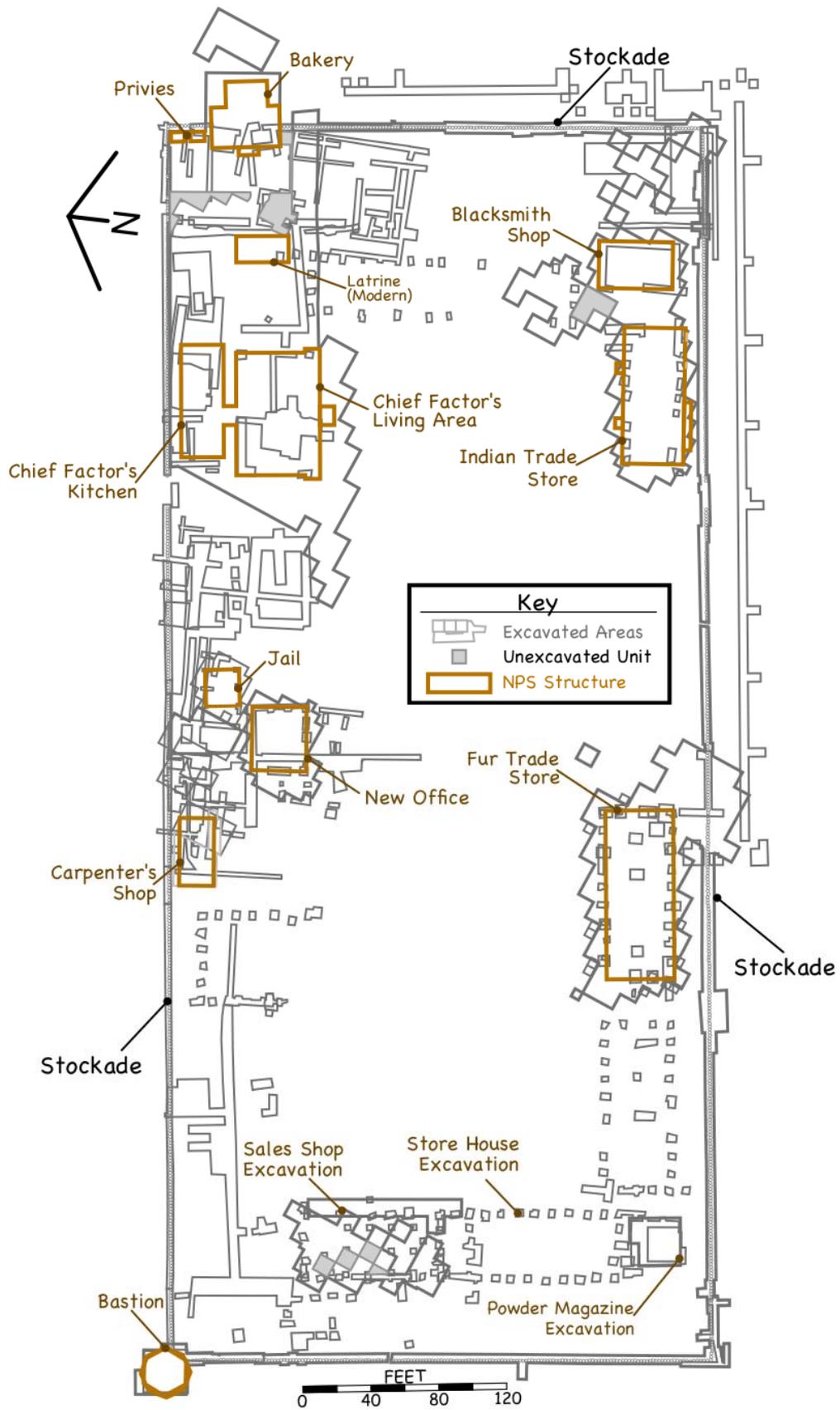


FIGURE 10. Stockade Excavation 1947-2004. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, June 29, 2009.)

Caywood's team was unable to find evidence of a Beef Store foundation but did find cultural material that corresponded to the generalized location presented by the Emmons and Vavasour plans (Caywood 1955:9-10).

By referencing the Vavasour plan and photographs taken in 1860, four storehouses (Shop and 3 Stores), each one story and with additional room under the hip roof, were found to be located on the west and south west areas of the stockade grounds (Caywood 1955:10-11).

Also in the southwest area was the Powder Magazine stone foundation (Caywood 1955:11, 1948:plate 3).

The Priest's House and "New" Office (Counting House) were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were still standing in 1860 (Caywood 1955:13-14).

The Jail, Pit Toilet, and Owyhee Church left remains of features that are consistent with the documentary evidence of 1846 and known to be extant in 1860 (Caywood 1955:14-15).

The Kitchen (later and earlier) and Chief Factor's Residence could be seen in footings of residential building and floors of both kitchens, with the dating of all three structures more effectively resolved in the Ross excavations.

For the Dwelling House (Bachelors' Quarters), footings were found where anticipated that matched Douglas's communication dating the completion of construction to the end of 1838 (Caywood 1955:17).

The Indian Shop (Trade Store) footings were found but were surrounded by previously disturbed soils (though more noticeably rich in the cultural materials of lead shot, musket balls, buttons, and beads than many other features) (Caywood 1955:17).

Caywood believes that the Blacksmith Shop was one of the first buildings constructed in 1829 (Caywood 1955:18). He found only the hard-packed floor of the

structure, but the location revealed an abundance of coal, charcoal, cinders, and iron fragments (Caywood 1955:18). The southeast corner of the corresponding Iron Store was fixed but the exterior structural definition was found sketchy.

The Emmons drawing (1841) shows the Bakery in the NE stockade corner and the 1835 Parker correspondence describes a bakery. The Caywood crew did not find structural elements that established an earlier date for this particular bakery. Fifty-five feet to the east they did find a new bakery building, from 1845 to 1846, built straddling the stockade. They also found an abundance of destruction of the Spruce Mill, which was a military project.

The Root House footings were found west of where the crew had trenched for the Beef Store (Caywood 1955:19-20). The Line of Fire map (1844) shows the existence of this structure, and the debris reflects US Army “clean-up” activities of 1860 (Caywood 1955:19).

One trash pit, two wells and nineteen depression pits were excavated. Of these, the well in the NE area of the stockade interior is “the only surviving structure of Fort Vancouver” (Caywood 1955:22). The trash pit was originally used as a toilet during HBC occupation and the bulk of the complete (and cross mended) artifact cultural material came from this feature (Caywood 1955:22-23).

Structures trenched for in anticipated areas but not found were: the Wheat Store building, described by Douglas as complete in 1839 and known to be still standing in 1860; the Carpenter Shop; the “Old” Office (Clerks’ Office) building, which was known to be in existence in 1833 and gone after 1847 (Caywood 1955:13); and the Roman Catholic Church (Caywood 1955:13).

Caywood also trench excavated in the Village in the old lagoon area (Caywood 1955:51). Unfortunately, Caywood’s reports record neither the location of this

particular trench nor information about any of the artifacts that might have been found in it.

With the exception of regions in the runway paths, the team revealed structural features via trenching and left these trenches open until the end of each season, when the trenches were backfilled from the back dirt piles (Caywood 1955:3). Using the methodology of the period, back dirt containing cultural evidence from all trenched areas and all periods (up through the 1950s) became the fill; so future excavators who inherited these trenches would reveal contextual mishmash and would be unable to determine details when compiling a report concerned with structures.

Hoffman and Ross Excavations (1972-1975)

Hoffman and Ross “comprehensively excavated” the Chief Factor’s House, the two related Kitchens and two related privies (Hoffman and Ross 1973b:176). This “complex” was the social focus of Fort Vancouver (Hoffman and Ross 1973b).

In addition to housing the senior officers and their families, the Chief Factor’s House served as a common dining hall for the gentlemen of the Fort, as a visitors’ center, as a social and economic center for the Hudson’s Bay company activities in the Department of the Columbia, and even as a public center of political activity in the Oregon country. (Hoffman and Ross 1973b:1)

Historic research contributed by Hussey revealed the existence of at least two kitchens: the first demolished in 1832, and a second completed in early 1838, demolished in 1852 and then rebuilt (Hussey 1972:165). The 1845 Vavasour map showed the footprint of this second kitchen. Hoffman and Ross found HBC period cultural materials in and around the kitchens to have experienced minimal site disturbance within the HBC levels.

Ross and Carley Excavations (1976)

The 1973 reconstruction of the east stockade wall revealed two cultural features, the Bachelors' Quarters Privies (BQP Feature 518 and BQP Feature 524) (Ross and Carley 1976:3). "These pits were excavated individually and by horizontal sections.... Each section was one-foot thick, extended from the southern to northern ends of the observable cultural feature, and included cultural deposits from surface to sterile" (Ross and Carley 1976:3). These two-hole privies contained five feet of HBC cultural deposits (Ross and Carley 1976:10). "From historical evidence, these pits could not have been created prior to 1841-1845 and must have been closed by 1860" (Ross and Carley 1976:10). Ross and Carley were able to date the depositions into three categories: early (up to 1851-1855), late (1851-1855 and 1855-1860), and unassigned (Ross and Carley 1976:10). Based on the material cultural associations, Ross and Carley identified three mutually exclusive assemblages: a late domestic assemblage associated with adult males (they presume bachelors) and two early domestic assemblages associated with families (Ross and Carley 1976:179).

Brauner Excavations (1995)

Based on Caywood's excavations the NPS had poured an asphalt cap on the area that Caywood had identified as the probable Carpenter Shop. Brauner and crew (of which I was a member) used the 1845 Vavasour map to confirm the field location of the probable footprint of the 1845 Carpenter Shop (there was no Caywood report). The excavation footprint was restricted, by the Park Service, to an area below the asphalt. Once the asphalt had been removed the excavation revealed HBC post-depositional changes. We were excavating trenches and back dirt from the Caywood excavations and were able to collect what had not been collected during the Caywood excavations. The eastern area of the potential footprint was excavated. Post HBC demolition,

construction, and Caywood excavations had compromised the area beyond accurate assessment (Brauner 1995:45). The collection curator was not interested in an archaeological analysis of all material and he discouraged retention of non-HBC material. Nonetheless, a complete analysis was done and all cultural material was conserved prior to presentation.

Excavations Outside the Stockade and Their Results

Table 4 shows the archaeological excavation seasons/campaigns and their archaeological primary investigators in the village area outside the stockade walls. Text describing these excavations is found in greater detail below and specific excavations are illustrated, by color, in Figure 11.

TABLE 4
EXCAVATIONS OUTSIDE THE STOCKADE (A SUMMARY OF THE
EXCAVATIONS OF THE VILLAGE SITE AND THEIR RESULTS)

Excavation Year	Principals and Report Date	Generalized Excavation Area
1952	Caywood (no report)	Notes digging “in Village” in Fort stockade report. Also mentions excavating a trench “in the pond.” No notes. No report.
1968	Larrabee and Kardas 1968	West of stockade
1969	Kardas 1970 and 1971	NE of 19 th century pond, House 2, House 3, House 4
1974	Chance and Chance 1976	Operations 1-25 in Village
1975	Chance et al. 1983	Operations 11,19,20,27
1977	Carley 1982	Operation 19, 28, 30
1980	Thomas and Hibbs 1984	House 1, Operations 6,14,20,Kanaka House 20A, 50-65, Kanaka Billy’s House Op58
1981	Thomas and Hibbs 1984	Operations 6,14,20,50-65
2001	Cromwell 2002	Village Survey

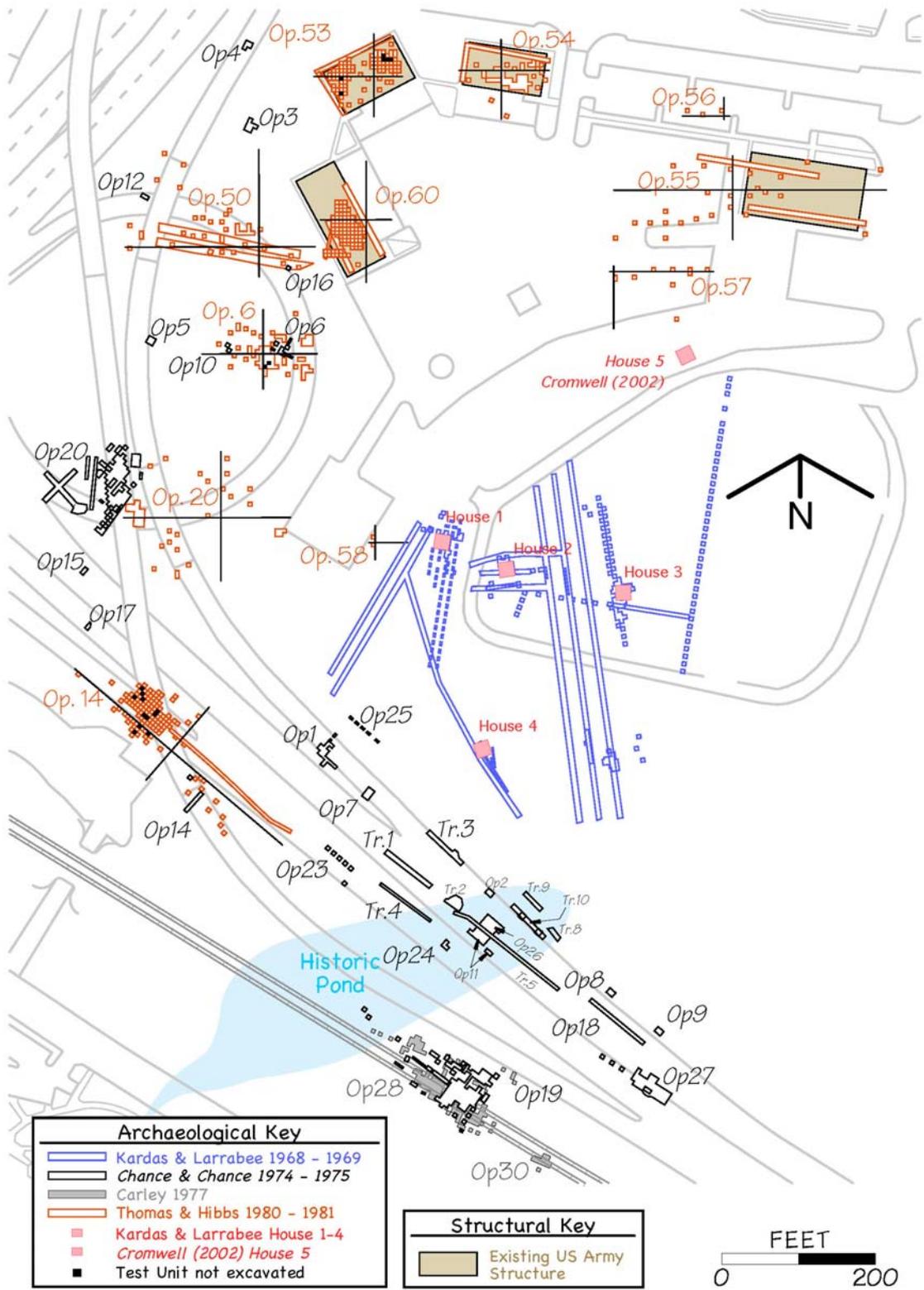


FIGURE 11. Excavations beyond the fort stockade walls. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, June 29, 2009.)

Larrabee and Kardas Investigations (1968-1969)

The intention of the Larrabee and Kardas 1968 field season was to precisely locate the boundaries of the Village and to assess the need for future excavation. Interpreting historic maps and tying into previous archaeological work done in the stockade within the Fort itself, they began by excavating a trench seven hundred feet west of the west stockade wall. They established their area labeling system by recognizing an existing blacktopped road that looped around the area. They titled the area enclosed by the loop “East.” The area west of the loop, which spread to the railroad spur and the National Park boundary fence line, was called “West.” South of the road became “South.” This naming system has continued to be used.

Additionally, in 1968, the specific features that demanded their focus were a house (#1); a trash concentration above; and a horse burial (#1). At the end of the season, all parties involved understood the need for additional work the following year.

In Kardas and Larrabee’s 1969 field season the excavation of the West Area was organized via the imposition of an internal local grid. Work focused on a number of additional specific features: a house (#2); rock feature; another house (#4); a late 19th century trash pit; a pig skeleton; and a group of three others (including house #3).

Kardas archaeologically discovered House 2 when a bulldozer cut exposed foundation stone and artifacts (Kardas 1969:25). Cromwell’s later review of stratigraphic profiles lead him to conclude that she had found the foundation sills for the house (Cromwell 2003:200). Unfortunately the artifact catalog does not list artifacts by level with some listed as being in a singular range of zero to 21 inches (Cromwell 2003:198).

The site of House 3 was also found by Kardas, laying about 150 feet southeast of House 1 (Kardas 1969:45). Similar to House 2 and 4, House 3 was first uncovered by

a trench. However, the site was discerned and the crew switched to hand excavation (Kardas 1969:45). Domestic household remnants were collected (Kardas and Larrabee 1969:23-87).

An excavation trench exposed the footprint of House 4. Unfortunately, after the floor feature had been cut through (Kardas and Larrabee 1969:61). Kardas expanded the trench to the east and south, but closed up because time was running out (Kardas and Larrabee 1969:62).

The Kardas crew did not find food debris or evidence of cooking utensils. They were so puzzled by the scarcity of food debris in and around the houses, that a modified version of Streuever's flotation technique was tested on House #1. The results were disappointing in that no fish bone or food debris was recovered (Kardas 1971:283-284, 320). Given the results and the additional work involved in flotation testing, it was not continued.

In her dissertation, Kardas acknowledges the lack of food and bone evidence and wonders if it is a case of not finding the evidence, or evidence of Chinook habits of cleanliness, or whether the evidence reflects a Chinook focus on the social process being of more importance than material consumption, so that pieces of material goods were not as abundant as one would find on other household sites (Kardas 1971:278).

In the early 2000s, a Vancouver lab volunteer found sacks containing Kardas and Larrabee's faunal samples. The material had not been analyzed at the time of the writing of this thesis section.

Chance and Chance Investigations (1974-1975)

Chance and Chance reported their work per Operation, an operation being a specific area of archaeological work within the overall investigation. Operations revealed or substantiated several clarifications of the Fort's history, including

substantiation of estimates of years when various buildings were constructed or moved, location of types of barns, field cultivation, location of and degree of destruction by fires, riverbank changes over years, and location of ponds and other water sources. Summaries of Operation 1 through 25 are detailed below. Each of operations 1 through 25 provides information about an event that could have directly influenced the everyday life of people living in Vancouver.

Summary of Chance and Chance Operations

Operation 1 was located at the western end of Area A. It was deemed to be circa 1900 and was (essentially) abandoned.

Operation 2 looked at a 1960s pit dug to receive World War 2 Army Barracks trash that covered the center of the “Kanaka” Village. The first foot of debris examined was of the HBC era. It turned out to be fill moved mechanically from Area A. The ground layers were disturbed enough that further research was abandoned.

Operation 3 was located at the northern part of Area B. It proved to be of an 1860s period barn, believed to be the Quartermaster’s, where horses were kept.

Operation 4 examined a wood drain feature (conveying runoff, not sewage). It served the Quartermaster’s shops.

Operation 5 was chosen to further examine a previously revealed shadow of boards. In this Operation an abandoned water line was exposed and this architectural elements were determined to be from either Kanaka Village or early Army period.

Operation 6 revealed a distinctive HBC layer, including basin-shaped pits (12-18 inches in diameter) indicating fires. The purpose of these fires and pits is still speculative.

Operation 7 was an Army period wallowing hole for animals.

Operation 8 lies east of the former pond and exposed an HBC period scatter. Additionally, a slight subsurface hard pan emerged suggestive of a field cultivated during HBC ownership.

Operation 9 was the easternmost test in Area A and very similar to Operation 8.

Operation 10 exposed an HBC Army 1885 mix, with later intrusions.

Operation 11 was located in the northern part of the former village pond. This pond was used as a dump. It proved to have the most rewarding volume of stratified materials, all periods datable and tied into a particular stratum, including a Stratum 10 (earlier than 1825, primarily prehistoric). The refuse of the HBC period dumped from the northwest bank of the ponds was from the pig sheds. The refuse indicated not just company activities from the fort, but also village domestic activities.

Operation 12 proved to be a shallow 20th century pit, not HBC period.

Operation 13 contained two separated pits (“East” and “West”) located in the northern part of the pond. Like Operation 11 it included a distinct HBC stratum. Unlike Operation 11, it appeared to be less from the fort and more from the village.

Operation 14 was an isolated pit and a long exploratory trench. It exposed an HBC presence but was disturbed by Army work, Chance and Chance estimated this Army disturbance occurred around 1883.

Operation 15 was a test located next to the US Army coal pad and forty feet south of the Ingall House. The Stratum 7 contained fill of HBC and 20th century pad, possibly scraped up from under the coal pad. The layer below contained sewage sludge and post 1850 materials related to the Ingall House.

Operation 16 revealed corral posts from the nineteenth century and an unusually small number of artifacts.

Operation 17 tested in the vicinity of the SW corner of the concrete coal pad in Area C. It contained HBC and later materials that had been scraped up elsewhere. Chance and Chance believed that it was probably from the east, the area where the pad was originally laid.

Operation 18 was a trench intercepting the structure near the eastern end of Area A. A solitary wooden post was found, and an unusually low density of artifacts.

Operation 19 was an east to west axis testing of the former crest of the riverbank. Testing pits were placed every ten feet. Additionally, Operation 19 searched for the coopeage and buildings clustered east of the 1840s pond. The HBC component, characteristic of both the stockade and the village, was exposed.

Operation 20 was placed between the coal pad and the present military reservation fence. This was in the area of the Quartermaster's House and Office, built by Ingall in 1850. The Chances discovered that the HBC strata had been scraped off prior to this construction.

Operation 21 tested in the pond south of Highway 14 and east of the railroad spur. It was chosen because of its distance from other pond test areas. It contained 1880s trash, with many luxury goods.

Operation 22 was laid in between Operation 19 and Operation 21. The Chances determined it had a "notable lack of stratigraphy" (Chance and Chance 1976:35). The bottom of the operation featured was most similar to the HBC components in Operation 19. The project deemed further continuation to be too expensive.

Operation 23 was a series of pits placed in an "L" at the southwest corner of Area A. These revealed a scraped and disturbed 1907 railroad installation.

Operation 24 lay between Operation 11 and the Camas Highway test in an old pond. It contained deposits from the Army occupancy and two early HBC periods, with notable ceramics and bones.

Operation 25 was a series of test pits on axis, in the northwest corner of Area A. It was the closest to the Kardas excavations in the center of the Village. An unmistakable indication of disturbance was exposed.

Carley and Thomas Investigations (1977)

Thomas and Carley's work expanded previous strategies of investigating Vancouver's area of Kanaka Village and the US Army Vancouver Barracks. This 1977 excavation resulted in a 1982 report, *HBC Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks 1977*. Their work was an expansion of previous archaeological excavations for better understanding of what those had found.

Operation 28 which was set in the historic period pond, established that it had been a pond during the HBC period and also served as the dumping ground of both the HBC and the Army.

Operation 30 tested east of the pond.

They excavated and recorded 73 additional features in Operation 19 and five features in Operation 30.

Thomas and Hibbs Investigation (1980-1982)

Bryn Thomas and Charles Hibbs, Junior, conducted archaeological excavations over a three-year period beginning in 1980. The project was driven by a relocation of Federal Interstate Highway 5, SR 14 Interchange and two construction sites. The focus was an assessment of the impact of these projects on two periods: the Hudson's Bay Company 1824-1860 occupancy and the US Army 1849-present occupancy. Their work is summarized in *The Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks, Washington 1980/81*, dated

1984, in three volumes – Vols. 1, 2(1) and 2(2). Of particular relevance to this research, their investigation exposed strata from the beginning of HBC occupancy to the present (Operation 6), the locations of four houses, a servant's quarters, and the Johnson house.

Cromwell Excavations (2002)

In 2002 Cromwell and the NPS/Portland State University Archaeological Field School program tested an anticipated Village Structure Site (Cromwell 2002:Abstract). HBC Village House 5, complete with a packed clay floor and a rock lined fire hearth were revealed (Cromwell 2002:Abstract).

Archaeological field methodology for these above sites, while appropriate to their time, varies in quality across the years and for each feature. Identification of fur trade HBC architectural elements remains a consistent, strong and dominating focus. NPS continues to fund reconstructions.

Artifacts

Data regarding each artifact is present in a National Park Service electronic database. No detailed reanalysis has been done since on the artifacts selected in this thesis. As previously mentioned, due to lack of funds, artifacts from some past projects have not been completely analyzed or appropriately integrated into the database.

This electronic database does not include specific point provenience for all artifacts, or even a majority of the artifacts in this study. Most point provenience must be manually retrieved from field notes and records. Per Federal direction, only a specially authorized individual with approved IT training has the security clearance for GIS mapping. I have pulled and assembled all point provenience information and mapping point information. The maps illustrating this research are generated by Keith Garnett who does the mapping contract work at the fort and is authorized to operate on the fort's CAD system. All data selection, point identification, and decisions are my

responsibility. I did the proofing and if there are errors the responsibility is mine. This study is the first to gather and map this scattered information.

Summary of the Excavations

Using old maps, period documents and histories, and following standard archaeological practices of the period, archaeologists have used the documentary evidence to excavate and locate buildings and to assemble primarily a construction and demolition chronology for structures. Early studies focused on an interpretation of architectural elements of the fort itself, the community within the stockade walls, HBC administration, and identification of fur-trapping artifacts. Garnett and I created a composite of the Winman structural map that provides an illustration of this information located in Appendix 1.

Information provided by interpretation of these artifacts has been used today for interpretative building construction and a development of a historical narrative describing the story of life within these fort walls and in the village community surrounding the stockade. A description of life beyond the stockade footprint, of those who lived in the village or surrounds, was not particularly looked for in the formative period of what would become an interpretative educational park for tourists.

During these formative years the discipline of historical archaeology was nascent in the United States (and particularly in the Pacific Northwest), and this period of Vancouver work was successful in establishing the beginnings of fur trade material culture studies. These first studies, although they may have told us something about women accidentally, did not try to look for information about the women and their family life. Later studies faced dramatic limitations because of these choices.

Research during the middle decades of the 1960s through 2000 focused on ethnic identification, an examination of the architectural features that related to these

ethnic groups, and on compliance work required by government agencies. Later work has broadened the focus with a consideration of how ethnicity might be researched.

In the 2000s, the Fort staff was professionally enhanced by hiring permanent staff members rather than subcontracting private or university archaeologists. This new professional staff had graduate training and years of field experience in historical archaeology, lab, curatorial and museum training, computers and data base management, and years of experience with sites involving components of the prehistoric, fur-trapping, military, and historic periods.

Since 2000, the Fort staff has faced the real challenge of a 60 year backlog of work to be done with minimal funds. Interpretatively, they have begun to incorporate more contemporary interpretive interests including: household archaeology, the economics of ethnicity, landscape, and an understanding of the larger regional context of the HBC period, and interpretation of the Army periods.

There are three PhD academic projects since 2000 which look at gender issues: one, in process, involves the women at Vancouver during the US military period; my current thesis, which represents the first survey of the whole archaeological record at Fort Vancouver during the HBC period that incorporates women and families into the record; and Cromwell's dissertation on ethnicity and ceramics.

As previously pointed out, gender differentiation does not necessarily equate to sexism. Problems occur when the gender dynamic becomes harmful or oppressive. With a feminist perspective, there exists an implicit belief in personal agency, action and the need to change sexist thinking and actions. One must look, or examine, our own actions and the actions of the institutions we participate in, and how these actions mold others, us, and the institutions themselves. The topic of how people lived at Vancouver has been a subject of archaeological investigation from Caywood to today. The more

contemporary the archaeological investigation the more likely feminist considerations are to be included. Gender can be found as a particularly voiced area of investigation, searching for information on roles, empowerment, respect for women in the past, and women now found as professionals at Vancouver. Best practices and professional archaeology is changing as our professional community reflects the changes of our own culture. Gender, as an explicit topic, though is not typical at Vancouver.

My methodologies using a feminist viewpoint address a few of the uninvestigated gaps in previous research and will propose more integrated methods of excavation and analysis. The challenges presented by the history of excavation of this site impacts what cultural material can be investigated in my pursuit.

Features of most obvious initial investigative interest for this thesis were the eleven buildings designated on historic maps as houses. These house sites are located inside and outside the stockade walls. These are the Chief Factor's House, the Bachelor's Quarters Dwelling House(s), the Priest's House, House 1, House 2, House 3, House 4, Kanaka Billy's House, the Johnson House, and Servant House. In past years of excavation, eleven HBC period houses have been partially excavated and identified by archaeologists (Larrabee and Kardas 1968; Kardas 1970, 1971; Thomas and Hibbs 1984; Thomas 1995; Cromwell 2002). Five of these eleven were substantial excavations including artifact collection, artifact curation, some photographic imagery, and some field notes. Field notes do not survive for all eleven houses nor has all artifact material been analyzed.

Preliminary to a description of these methods and an explanation for my case study choice, Chapter 4 provides an overview of the biographical details of some of the people who lived where these excavations took place.

CHAPTER 4

Family Formation

Introduction

As previously described, this thesis runs on two tracks. One demonstrates questions that can be asked of previously gathered information about gender. This track is particularly relevant to those historical field archaeologists who find themselves studying sites that have already been excavated and studied for decades. The first portion of this chapter reviews what information has been collected about the people who lived at Vancouver during the HBC period. After summarizing known census information I explain how gender did, or did not, factor into previous gathering of information. This thesis makes an archaeological contribution by providing new information, especially through a greater emphasis on gender, and comparing these insights with census information gathered by others about Lower Columbian Indians, about those who lived at Fort Ross, and about populations in Leicestershire and Abingdon, England.

It is the responsibility of the archaeologist to construct and negotiate interpretation, not to operate from a preconceived list of associations (Beaudry 2006:2-4). Gendered meanings can include cultural practices in the following areas: coming of age, courtship, sexual practices, partnering, raising children, childbirth, nursing, menopause, and the mourning of the end of partnership. Cultural anthropologists record these events as they participate in documenting lives. My interest is in determining how gender behaviors show up in the archaeological past, and particularly, in gender patterns at Vancouver.

David Gordon addresses the subject of witness memory reliability on the Contemporary Historical Archaeology list serve (11 July 2008, elec. comm.) quoting a

new work by the British Psychological Society on use of memory in the legal system: “Memories are a record of people’s experiences of events—not a record of those events themselves...and such recollections could—if heavily relied upon—lead to wrongful convictions.” To be most reliable, evidence should not be based simply on personal memory, but should be triangulated with additional pieces of information. Historical archaeology, incorporating both documentary records and the material evidence of behavior, can provide more insight into that behavior than by looking at the documentary record alone or the material evidence alone. This chapter focuses on the documentary record.

We know that there is more than biological difference between men and women. But historically, how is it manifested? Particularly, how does it show up at Vancouver? What are the independent and dependent variables? Gender information could provide insight into family formation choices, what constitutes a family, what changes occur in family structure, and how this relates to other changes, for example environmental and economic changes or health crises, including epidemics. Gender information will also enable us to compare the situation at Fort Vancouver with other situations in order to determine differences and similarities.

Research Questions

This chapter introduces into the Vancouver social history record a statistical analysis that for the first time combines male and female historical information. Specific data about the lives of the people at Vancouver and its surrounds will enable a more holistic description of people’s lives. This historical information is based on data drawn from a variety of documentary sources. I have assembled names for those whose names were recorded, recognized individuals whose names were not recorded but who were somehow acknowledged in the written records (these I labeled as Unknown), and

any recorded information I found regarding gendered meanings, either in behavior or symbolism.

In my descriptive statistical analysis, after determining the sex of the individual, I ask 57 questions. The first five are as follows:

1. What is the total number of females with names either recorded or recognized and labeled as Unknown?

2. What is the total number of females with recorded names?

3. How many of the total females had a recorded date of birth?

4. How many of the total females had a recorded date of baptism?

5. How many of the total females had a recorded date of marriage?

For Questions 6 through 57, see Appendix 3. Similar questions related to males are also asked. (Questions 58-118, Appendix 4.)

Documentary Sources for the Survey

My historical and descriptive analysis is based on data drawn from a variety of documentary sources. Census records for Vancouver are fragmented and sketchy. Before the construction of the new community a local population lived in the general area but in excavations below the HBC soil horizon, the ground is, typically, sterile of cultural material and there is no recorded observation on the size or nature of the local population at the site prior to the HBC fort. The HBC had their largest numbers of employees at Fort Vancouver in 1843 and 1845, and this is considered the “peak” of fort operations. It is this period that the present National Park Service tends to interpret (Curator Theresa Langford 23 Jul 2008, elec. comm.).

A primary source of demographic information on the Catholic members of the Vancouver community is the Catholic Church register of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials. These records were originally written in French and were collected in two

volumes (Volume One by Father Demers and Volume Two by Father Blanchet) between the years of 1838 (late) and 1855. This formal church registry began with the arrival of the first Catholic Church representatives to Vancouver. These two volumes were translated by Mikell De Lores Wormell Warner, annotated by Harriet Duncan Munnick, and published in 1972. Munnick added to the church records by including annotations on individuals that she had collected for decades from families, neighbors, government documents, and as a result of her own searches. “The volumes are not a complete record of the early population, but only the Catholic part of it.” (Munnick 1972:ii). Except for the French Canadians, almost all the HBC were men belonging to the faith of the Church of England. In spite of its faith related limitations on record keeping, the Catholic Church’s number of individuals’ records surpasses the religious records of other churches, with the result that this is considered “the” register.

Kardas, for example, in 1969 and 1971, referenced Munnick as her source for information on the women of Vancouver during her work on the Village, which led her to the conclusions reached in her dissertation and reports. Kardas discusses how she reached her conclusions on the basis of anecdotes from diaries, journals, and letters and her summaries of Munnick’s work. Her research focuses on women and primarily on the Chinook and the Catholics. Her notes are not available.

In 1977, Hussey also wrote a report on the women of Vancouver. He had been developing the histories of Vancouver and the French Prairie since the sixties, and was the official historian of both the NPS and of the Western region. His training in History of the West was traditional, and most of his research was done prior to the academic emergence of the New History movement of the West. His report on the women of Vancouver is rarely referenced or used in contemporary research, since it is less comprehensive than the work of Kardas. It was only of minor value to this thesis.

In 1984, Towner used the primary sources of diaries, letters, and journals, the Warner and Munnick book, and the reports of Kardas to analyze statistically the research parameters given to him by the archaeologists Thomas and Hibbs. He limited his research to information on the men who lived in the Village. Towner was uncomfortable with the parameters, writing that his work was hindered by lack of a computer and by the restriction to men. (The theoretical directions driving the archaeological research of this period were those of ethnicity, which was inevitably linked to economics since the HBC hired specific nationalities to do specific jobs. Archaeologists assumed that people with the same jobs clustered together within the village.) Towner wrote in his report that he hoped that additional research would examine women and children and non-Catholics, and would make use of computers (Towner 1984:793). This thesis addresses many of these considerations.

The most extensively researched narrative concerning family life in Vancouver was completed in 1990 by Pollard. Her description is sourced from the primary documentation of diaries and journals. Her research focused on children of Métis, not on their mothers. Even with that limitation, information on the Vancouver employee wives and family life in general is more abundant in her dissertation than in any other report. I have not found a document source prior to 1990 that was not examined by Pollard and included in her text or endnotes.

This chapter integrates the information gathered by Munnick, Towner, and Pollard. To this compilation is added information on individuals buried in graves in the local cemetery. During the period of inquiry, there existed a single cemetery, the Saint James Mission Cemetery at Vancouver. The original habitants of the Lower Columbia River Basin did not bury their dead in this cemetery and, for the most part, the areas where their bodies are laid are private, not recorded, and not discussed in any academic

forum. Figure 3 illustrates a traditional Chinook burial. One can see that the identity of the buried is not recorded in a manner that is recognized by a Christian documentarian. Only the burials noted by York are part of this research consideration. National Park Service Regional Anthropologist Dr. Frederick York based his work on a review of Warner and Munnick's work, upgraded with his own additions (2005, elec. comm. with spreadsheet attachment). I was given special permission to view them. At the request of Dr. York this information is not presented in the Appendix (though it is included in my data set). My research also adds information from Canadian linguistic researcher Laing, whose focus was on literacy and multi-lingual and Chinook Jargon language use.

Religion at the Fort

Since the fort was a British establishment, it is useful to understand contemporary conditions in Britain itself. During this time period religious life in Britain was undergoing changes. Even following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1828, Catholics were still socially excluded and disadvantaged in many areas of British public life (Jessett 1959:xvi). At the same time the High Church Tractarian movement was gaining in influence. These sectarian tensions are evident in the personal relationships between representatives of different religions.

In 1834 the American Methodist missionary Jason Lee came to Vancouver and went on to establish a mission south of Champog. In 1835 the Presbyterian Church sent the Whitmans and Spauldings to Vancouver who later established a mission in the far eastern portion of Oregon Country (Morrison 1999:245-248). The visiting preachers were invited to preach at the Fort and the reported audiences were ethnically diverse – “English, French, Scotch, Irish, Indians, Americans, half-breeds, Japanese, &c., some of whom did not understand 5 words of English” (Morrison 1999:244). The Chief Factor of Vancouver's maternal grandfather and both his uncles were Anglican, but his mother

was Roman Catholic and he had been baptized in her faith (Jessett 1959:xiii). Many French Canadians were Catholic and in 1835, services for the Catholics were introduced on Sunday, in French, along with a daily catechism for children (Jessett 1959:22-23, A.11/69 [Folios 23-27, 28-28d inc.]). Most of the laborers were also Catholic and McLoughlin himself would preach (Morrison 1999:253-254). There was no formal church structure within the stockade during this time period.

In September 1836, the Company itself sent a Church of England priest. The Reverend Beaver and his wife arrived at Vancouver from England (Morrison 1999:253), with a five-year contract to act as chaplain and missionary for the education and religious instruction of the Indians (Jessett 1959:xiii). The minister and his wife were immediately surrounded by controversy. He refused to teach children unless it was under his sole superintendence (no parental or local HBC “participation”); he disapproved of the housing, furnishings, and rations furnished (by McLoughlin and later by Douglas); he verbally assaulted and continually condemned those who had married in the custom of the country (even if it had been formalized by a civil ceremony), and relentlessly and publicly attacked Mrs. McLoughlin as a whore because she had not had a church recognized marriage (Jessett 1959:xix-xxiii). In January 1837 Reverend Beaver began a Wednesday evening lecture series “at the only house on the outside of the Fort ... where I could with propriety ... hold one. It is inhabited by five Orkeneymen, who, if they know but little, at present, of religion, are endeavoring by God’s grace to keep themselves unspotted from the world” (Jessett 1959:69). The Beavers remained at the fort for only two years before returning to England (Jessett 1959:xiii).

Reverend Beaver wrote that every Sunday he performed (in English) a service attended by 80-100 and an afternoon service attended by 40-50 (Hussey 1972:174-175).

He complained that Chief McLoughlin held three Catholic services (in French) which were well attended (Hussey 1972:178-179). It is impressive that a community with an estimated population of 600 would have 400 people attend Christian services (my estimate based on the Beaver claim).

Catholic priests arrived in 1838 and took over the McLoughlin services (Hussey 1972:177). McLoughlin spent 1838-1839 in England and Chief Trader Douglas was in charge of Vancouver. Following the departure of Reverend Beaver, Douglas or another employee would read the service from the English *Book of Common Prayer* (Hussey 1972:179).

McLoughlin returned to Vancouver but his influence and power were diminishing and the 1840s saw the arrival and settlement of the Americans who were not typically Catholic. By 1841 there was a chapel structure at the Fort and it was used for both Catholic and non-Catholic services (Hussey 1972:179).

I have not seen estimates of the religious choices of the people who lived in Vancouver. From Beaver's description I would assume that a service area would hold 100 people, and that Beaver preached to 135 people, and the Catholic services were attended by 270. Based on Reverend Beaver's statement, I estimate that until the 1836-1838 period Catholics represented 45% of the population and that afterwards, as the society changed, that the percentage of Catholics decreased.

York's Spreadsheets of Beaver's Records

Information about those who were not Catholic is taken from York, using the Church of England records of Reverend Beaver.

Information on those people who lived within the stockade walls is from HBC records. Previous researchers have looked at information as isolated pieces. This chapter looks at the data as a whole, women, children and men who live on both sides

of the stockade walls. Data includes statistical analysis of information about each individual, e.g., family names, dates of events, ages of individual at times of family events, summaries of ages of death (Appendix 5). To examine this body of information, I have used the software product SPSS 16.0 for statistical analysis leading to descriptive statistics commentaries. I used for this analysis a record created for each individual. A copy of the record form is found in Appendix 2.

The descriptive goal of this research piece is to achieve a more gender inclusive perspective on the following questions:

1. What were the census numbers at the Fort over the years?
2. How did the population subdivide by sex?
3. What was the adult population?
4. What was the child population?
5. Where did people come from?
6. What was the family census for each year?
7. How many marriages occurred?
8. What was the unmarried census for each year?
9. Of the population, how many were contractually employed by the HBC?
10. How many of this population were not contractually employed by the HBC?
11. When no longer employed by HBC did families stay?
12. What was the length of occupancy by the family (year of departure minus the year of arrival)?
13. What was the age at the time of marriage?
14. What was the difference between female and male marriage age within the couple?
15. Are religious differences reflected?

16. Is there a difference in marital status between women and men (first marriage)?
17. Is there a relationship between marital status and the sex of the individual?
18. At the age of a second marriage; what is the difference between female and male within the marriages?
19. What was the number of children recorded at their wedding?
20. What was the age of recorded first born child at time of wedding?
21. How many married couples have children?
22. What was the age of respondent when their first child was born?
23. How quickly did families grow in number?
24. How many deaths were recorded each year?
25. What was the age of the person who died?
26. Did more adults or children die?
27. At what age were women widowed?
28. Was there remarriage within two years? Was it to an individual already living at Vancouver?

A Study in Leicestershire

In his research, mentioned above, Towner wrote of the need for looking beyond the small section of the population he was hired to examine. For guidance in how to do this, I looked to David Levine's *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (1977). One of the examples examined here was in Leicestershire, England, when household life was undergoing change in a period of nascent capitalism in a rural environment, during a similar time period to my research project.

Unlike Levine's study, in my research the word "family" should not be interpreted as meaning "household." The HBC, Catholics, representatives of the Church

of England, census takers and mapmakers, all grouped people by individual names, and that naming system is perpetuated by its presence in record. The Chinook had a tradition of living in longhouses sleeping more than one immediate family. Records show that Vancouver suffered from a lack of adequate structures, and was built from nothing as the population continued to expand. Village homes were built by villagers on Sundays when they were not working on HBC tasks. For these reasons, we should not assume a social unit with one family per household or structure.

The data for Vancouver is assembled from a small collection of documents, for a discrete time period, recorded by four individuals, who were foreigners, unfamiliar with the community, non-Indian, male, and Christian. These four recorded information for their employer the Church and for Church purposes. Documentation limitations and restrictions included the fact of the recorders frequently not speaking the same language as the population they queried, not knowing or understanding naming traditions, having restricted access through being male, through the nature of their jobs, and through their economic class. Based on Reverend Beaver's observation on service attendance I estimate that 35% of the population is represented by these Catholic records. For the purpose of this analysis, I used what was available and treated it as complete and credible while acknowledging the limitations.

Using recorded ages at baptism, marriage and burials, I constructed and assigned birth dates. Most baptism records in Warner and Munnick included year and months in the age listed at baptism. Since the majority of the records did this, and since the same two men performed all the baptisms and created all the records, when they did not include the number of months I interpreted this to mean that the associated number of months was zero. For the occasional event where there was uncertainty about where the people lived, if there were three marriage banns (intervals of public announcements

of an upcoming wedding ceremony), witnesses to the recording were known to be alive in Vancouver, or the event was witnessed and recorded at Vancouver, I assigned the individuals as married members of the Vancouver community.

As mentioned earlier, we cannot assume that the recorded name was the actual name of the person. Among the Indians (except the Iroquois) and others who did not have a surname, the priests used the patronymic system (Warner and Munnick 1972:ii). Other variations of ways in which the unknown familiar or family name was treated included “Indian Woman,” “Indian,” “Infidel,” “Woman of” so and so, a particular tribal name in combination with “Woman,” or a familiar name combined with a particular tribal name (example: Nancy of the Dalles). Also used were the terms “not available,” “unknown,” “?”, or a name was simply not recorded. When recording the name on the document record I created for each individual, in the case of a familiar name that had been combined with a tribal name I recorded a first name and then assigned the family name as “unknown” (example: Nancy of the Dalles Unknown). All these other variations I assigned the signifier, “Unknown.”

Blanchet and Demers noted whether the individual lived as a slave and in a different dwelling from their owners (Warner and Munnick 1972:ii). Since the topic of slaves living in a different dwelling has not been researched, it is not known if it was a common or uncommon practice, and the archaeological research for this has not been done at Vancouver. My records treated a slave in the same way as a non-slave. (A caveat to any reader is that in the Pacific Northwest there exists a tribe called the Slave tribe, with the word “Slave” not representing a property status.) I looked at each example of a questionable “slave”, researched it, and made a decision based on my judgment.

When entering information onto each data form there were often differences in spelling between sources (example: Josette and Josephte). Unless there was an egregious error, I choose to allow records from Munnick to trump others, and followed Towner's spelling choice. Some families contained at least three generations with identical names - so I added another note (grandfather, father, son). Conditions of polygamy exist, but rarely. Children of recorded Christian marriages were assigned the last name of their father, unless their recorded birth father was different from their birth mother's husband. I calculated dates of death from records of burial.

In total, I created a composite data set on 1,277 people who had one point between 1824 and 1861 resided in Vancouver (in 1837 there was a population high point of 600). The data set I put together represents 385 women and 892 men. US Army personal were not included in the SPSS examination and were pulled from the Excel Spreadsheets I built from the individual records. If there were irreconcilable data conflicts internal to the individual record, I dropped that individual from the statistical consideration. When I did the data runs I pulled out the polygamous sets from the larger grouping. Due to the sample nature, I knew that my presentation must fall under the area of descriptive statistics.

A Comparative Population

In order to place the Vancouver data into a regional context, the Vancouver analysis will be discussed in relationship to other populations lying within the lower Columbia River basin. Beyond Vancouver there are three population groups represented by 1838 Census data (gathered for use by the HBC). It too will be statistically analyzed using SPSS 16.0. This is also original analysis.

In order to place this information in a larger regional context, this information is compared with the analysis done by others on community life at Fort Ross. Similar to

Fort Vancouver, Fort Ross was also a headquarters fort, located on the west coast of North America, with an employee population living outside the stockade walls. Fort Ross was a part of the Russian fur trade complexes. Family descriptive information is provided from Lightfoot et al. (1991). Death and mortuary behavior in this same community comes from Osborn's dissertation (1997).

Summary of the Results of My Analysis

Appendix 5 includes the runs for the SPSS tables of my collected information. Information is divided by questions asked of the three sets. These sets are females, males, and a combination of the first two.

My research identified 385 women. Some recorded name existed for 90% of them. The 10% of unnamed women were included in my research set for some other identifiable action (such as having a child who was named). For 68% of the women, there was a recorded first and last name that was particular to them individually (not their spouse's last name). For 16% of the women there was recorded only a first name; 6% of the women had recorded only a last name.

My research identified 892 men. As with other historical information, there is more known about the men. Both a known first name and a known last name were recorded for 80% of these males. Only 3% were known only by a first name and 17% were known only by a last name. The document records provided the names of more males than females and more complete names for the males.

Sixty percent of the time, these women had a recorded year of their own birth; 7% of the time the location of birth was recorded for the set of 385; 42% had a recorded baptism; and 38% of these women with records included the name at least one of their parent's.

The birth year was recorded for 236 females and showed a year of birth ranging from 1761 through 1854 (Appendix 5). The years 1771, 1774, 1777-1727, 1801, 1803, 1823, and 1851 contained zero recorded births. The bulk, 78% spread throughout the remainder dates with three years (1839-1841) contained 22%. Females of diverse ages were present at Vancouver.

The birth year was recorded for 30% of the males. Their dates of birth ranged from 1759 through 1854 (Appendix 5). Males of diverse ages were present at Vancouver.

Records in the set show 164 female baptism dates in the years between 1838 and 1854 (Appendix 5). The baptism rate of the women was only 4.3% in 1838. Eighty-eight percent of the baptisms occurred in the six years of 1839-1844. The greatest number of females, 26%, were baptized in the year 1839 and then held steady through 1844. The rates do not reflect an immediate surge of female demand upon the arrivals of Reverend Beaver in 1836 and Fathers Demers and Blanchet in 1838.

I found a total of 137 baptism dates for males ranging from 1836 to 1853 (Appendix 5). Male baptisms did not surge between 1836 and 1838, but the second largest baptism year was 1839. The year with the most baptisms was 1844.

More than half of the women, 66%, had in my records, the name of a specific spouse. The mean age of the women at the first marriage of my records is 21.9 years and they were marrying men with a mean age of 33 years.

There were 102 females with marriages between 1818 and 1870. Polygamous marriage records were dropped so that 100 females were included in this project query (Appendix 5). The most marriages, 31, were in 1839. The second most was 1844.

Of the 892 men, 16 men arrived at Vancouver already married. By anecdote more of the men were said to have experienced earlier marriages and for more of the women this was their first experience in a marriage relationship.

1839 saw a significant and acknowledged push for formal church sanctioned marriage ceremonies, which also required a baptism of the parties. The non-Catholics began the practice of “mass” marriages. It is unclear if the non-Catholic mass marriages motivated unmarried Catholics to marry but there was, overall, a big jump in the number of marriages from 1838 to 1839. The numbers suggest that baptism was driven by the desire for a Church recognized marriage more than baptism in and of itself.

The median family size was four. This SPSS calculation calculated the number of children birthed by each female with a child. Thirty-four percent of the women had a recorded year of a child who appeared to be a first-born. For almost half the females there was no record of children. For the women who had recorded children 15% had a single female child and 14% recorded a single male child, 1% had only female children, 3% had only male children, and 4% had multiple children of genders I was unable to determine (unknown).

Records beginning in 1824 show 8 births followed by births in single digits each of the following years, except for 1826 with 11 recorded births, continuing until 1836 when the birth number jumped to 16. Birth numbers eventually peaked at 33 in 1837. They dropped next year to 29 and increased to 30 in 1841. In 1842, the birth rate dropped nearly in half and held there for three years. There was only one recorded birth in 1845 and for each of the next eight years, but I believe these low figures are simply a reflection on the limitation of the records.

As described in Chapter 2, the region's population was experiencing waves of epidemics. The general full blooded Chinook population decreased from 1,229 to 150 between 1841 and 1850. So, in an overall context, the population around Vancouver was being transformed while the births at Vancouver were continuing.

The mean age of the women at first marriage is 21.9 years. The mean age of the women when their first child was born is 21.3 years. For females, years that a first child was born ranged from 1812 to 1881 (Appendix 5). Records indicate 224 total first births, with 216 first births in the study years. Of these 216 births, 158 occurred in the ten years between 1835 and 1844. For women, the birth of a first child and first marriage cluster with baptism and the recording of their name and even the naming of a parent. Interpretation from these mean dates and marriage and baptism trends leads to the impression that it was not pregnancy, but birth of the child that prompted the marriage ceremony, and that female baptism was driven by the marriage ceremony more than the arrival and availability of a church representative.

From the perspective of "average," the average number of births each year exceeded the deaths each year. The period of 1835 to 1844 saw the most births with 1844 the year of the most deaths (recorded).

The most women died in 1844. The next deadliest years were 1840-1842. The mean female age of death is 46.5 years. Female deaths spread more evenly across the other years (Appendix 5). Only two of the women who had remarried had marriage dates for a next marriage. Partner death dates were not found in sufficient number to compare the number of years between their first marriage and a subsequent one, and documents did not indicate whether the first marriage dissolved due to separation or death.

Dates of death of the males ranged up to 1915, but only 103 recorded dates were used in this project (Appendix 5). The most males died in 1844. For males the next deadliest year was 1849. The mean age of death of males is 49. Though this “mean” age at death for the females is not that different from the males, the family would be impacted quite differently by the age, because of the difference in the couple’s age at the birth of the first child and marriage. For example, the first child would be losing their father to death around the age of sixteen but they would not be losing their mother until they were in their early twenties.

Each year the death of one or two children, older than one year, was recorded. The single exception was 1842, with six deaths of children older than one year. Of children with both recorded birth and death dates, one third died before age one. Half of those children with recorded birth dates and recorded death dates died before the age of two.

Of the women in my set, 14% had noted dates of presence at Vancouver. This set showed the greatest number of women residing at Vancouver during 1837 and 1838, followed by 1827 and 1824. In other years the population of recorded women held steady.

Most of the women, 86%, had both an unrecorded date of arrival at Vancouver and an unrecorded departure date. Of the 52 women who had a recorded date of both arrival and departure the mean length of residency was three years. The maximum length of a female residency was 37 years. The shortest residency was less than a year.

For men, the period for residency at Vancouver showed a mean of 2.3 years, with a maximum of 30 years, a minimum of less than a year, and a median residency of one year.

The length of residency for females [and] was compared with the number of their children to see if these variables were related, as if this set of records was appropriate for the Pearson Correlation. There was no significant correlation between length of time at the fort and number of children.

Of those women who had a recorded departure date only two had a record of a date indicating the death of a child. With this data set there is no reliable way to measure if there was a relationship between the death of a child and the female action of moving away from Vancouver.

For the men in this record set, if this had been an appropriate sample population for statistical analysis, there is a relationship (though not a linear one) between numbers of children and length of residency at the Fort: the more children, more likely the man was to stay longer. However, this relationship is very slight and is more descriptive than statistical.

The length of residency at Vancouver, combining females and males, was broken into a mean of 2.4 years, a minimum of 0 (years, meaning they stayed less than a year) a maximum of 37 years, and a median of 1 year. Length of residency figures establish that the overall tenor of the community was dynamic. Most families had a short residency at Vancouver but there were some residents that stayed for a long time. If newer residents wanted to have contact with a longer term resident, and it was reciprocated, this opportunity was available. In other words, given a few residents who would “anchor” the social community there probably was a community “feel” despite the movements of people in and then away. It demonstrates that Vancouver was not a community in isolation, far from it. The data indicate an access of people to people of all ages and not a separation from those who may have learned traditional behaviors and practices.

The “Cathlalshlalah,” “Cathlacanasese,” and “Kliketat” Immediate Neighbors

For a Vancouver resident, how different were these life “events” from their immediate neighbors who did not live in a British trading company community? The only comparison data that I was able to find on Indians who lived in close proximity to Vancouver was a single census set. This set contains information on the Cathlalshlalah (HBCA Winnipeg B.223/2/1 folio 28d), Cathlacanasese (HBCA B.223/2/1 folio 28) and the “Kliketat” (HBCA B.223/2/1 folio 26 and 26d, B.223/2/1 folio 27). The information that I used for the Indian Population surrounding Vancouver is drawn from a Hudson Bay era source: an 1838 Census of Indian Population. A microfilmed copy of this document is located at the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (HBCA) in Winnipeg, B.223/z/1 folios 26-28.

The heading on one portion of the document itself describes a population as Klikitats and living as a main body on the elevated prairies at the base of the Mount Hood range of mountains, with another portion of this same census population living on the adjacent plains of Vancouver, often moving for game onto the Kalapooya Plains, west of the Willamette River (this is south of today’s Vancouver/Portland metropolitan region, having a boundary with the Champoeg area). This first population has a census total of 345. Also included is the Cath la-cana-sese Tribe Village about ten miles below (west) Vancouver. This population has a census total of 37. The third neighboring group belongs to the Cathlalshlalah on the banks of the Columbia opposite Fort Vancouver, with a census population of 142.

Information included the name of the male person who was considered head of household, a number of adult women who were called wives, a number of sons preceding a number for daughters and followers, number of canoes, guns, horses and the occasional note. Notes included the topic of their work, if they were a liberated

slave, and the mode of death. For discussion of all three I am going to refer to each male Indian named, with listed wives, sons, daughters and followers as a family.

Information in this set similar to my SPSS data set includes, name, gender and number of children, numbers of marriages, and date of death. All of the names listed in the three neighboring populations were different from the names included in my Vancouver SPSS set. There was no overlap or duplication of names which could indicate a movement of the people between the Village and these neighboring communities.

The Cathlalshlalah records a total population of 142. Family 18 was documented with 2 arithmetic errors on the ledger page. I have adjusted the spreadsheet to correct this, going to 6 followers for a total family population of 9, adjusting the record set population to 133 (29 men, 31 wives, 11 sons, 20 daughters and 42 followers). The population of 133 was made up of 29 families. Four families had no wife. Four families had two wives. One family had three wives. Sixteen families had no sons or daughters. The smallest family was made up of one. The largest family had 13. The family with the most sons and daughters had 5 with 11 members. The average family size was four to five. When families had sons and daughters, the average number of these was two. No deaths of men are noted. No deaths of women are noted. One job of one of the men is described: beaver trapper.

The Cathlacanasese Census records a total population of 37 (9 men, 12 wives, 1 son, 3 daughters, and 12 followers). The population of 37 was made up of 9 families. All families had a wife. One family had three wives; another had two wives. Seven families had no sons or daughters. The five smallest families were made up of two persons. The largest family had 10 members. Of the families that had sons and daughters, one had two daughters, the other had one son and one daughter. The average family size was

four. No deaths were noted. Two jobs of the men were noted, a beaver trader and a deer meat hunter.

The Klikatat Census records the largest population, 81 men, 88 wives, 77 sons, 63 daughters, and 33 followers. This population of 345 was made up of 81 families. Four families had no wife. Eleven families had two wives. One family had three wives. Seventeen families had no sons or daughters. The largest family had a population of eight. Five families were made up of eight members. The smallest family had a single member. The largest number of sons and daughters in a family was five. Five families had five sons or daughters or a combination: all boys, three girls, the third one all girls, and the last family had two girls with three boys. Twenty-two families had only one son or one daughter. The average family size is four. There was notation of only three deaths and all were male. One death was noted as a killing in a fray occurring in 1838. Another was a suicide in 1838. The third was simply listed as, "Dies 1838." All remaining notes concerned occupation for the men: 9 deer hunters, 14 beaver trappers, 1 horse jockey and gambler, 1 horse dealer, 1 gambler, and 2 men of medicine.

Table 5 allows a quick comparison of the information described above. The summary data of the neighbors of this community can be found in Table 6.

This collection occurred in 1838 and did not contain identically or even similarly measured information by comparison with the SPSS runs. There is not enough information for it to be used as a proxy variable allowing for a measurement of what could be expected. However, the neighboring Indian tribal population and the Vancouver surveys do contain two similarities: 1) Records of more male names than female names. Female names are not included at all in the neighbor set; and 2) Family size is similar. It does not appear that living at Vancouver resulted in families choosing to have either a greater or a fewer number of children. A noticed difference between

TABLE 5
TRIBAL COMPARISON

	Cathlalshlalah	Cathlacanasese	Kliketat
Total population	133	37	345
Subtotal men named	29	9	81
Wives	31	12	88
Sons (s)	11	1	77
Daughters (d)	20	3	63
Followers	42	12	33
Families with 0 wives	4	0	0
Families with 1 wife	20	7	71
Families with 2 wives	4	1	11
Families with 3 wives	1	3	3
Fam. With 0 s & 0 d	16	7	17
Family of 1 (M)	1	0	1
Largest family	13	10	8
Average family size	5	4	4
If s & d ave. total num	2	2	2

those living at Vancouver and the surveyed neighbors was the presence of more single marriages (only one spouse at a time) among those living in Vancouver than in the surveyed neighbors. Neighbors were not living in the same types of communities nor did they have similar religious environs.

TABLE 6
SUMMARY DATA OF NEIGHBORS

	Cathlalshlalah	Cathlacanasese	Kliketat	Average
Total population	133	37	345	172
Subtotal men named	29	9	81	40
Wives	31	12	88	44
Sons	11	1	77	30
Daughters	20	3	63	29
Followers	42	12	33	29
Families with 0 wives	4	0	0	1
Families with 1 wife	20	7	71	33
Families with 2 wives	4	1	11	5
Families with 3 wives	1	3	3	2
Fam. With 0 s & 0 d	16	7	17	13
Family of 1 (M)	1	0	1	1
Largest family	13	10	8	10
Average family size	5	4	4	4
If s & d ave total num	2	2	2	2

Fort Ross Life

Was Fort Vancouver life unique? Were the choices about settlement similar to those made by locals when traders arrived? Another fur trade era fort of the Pacific Coast was Fort Ross. Fort Vancouver was the Columbia District headquarters fort with Indian and employee housing outside the stockade for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1821 to 1861. Fort Ross was the Russian-American fur trade headquarters fort from 1812 to 1841.

Fort Ross was located in the Cazadero, south of the Oregon Country, about a hundred miles north of today's California Bay Area (see Figure 1. Map of the Pacific Northwest coast in the context of the world, the Bay Area in proximity to San Francisco). The fort lies in the coastal foothills. To the west is the Pacific Ocean; to the north are redwood forests. The Russian-American Company administered Fort Ross from 1812 to 1841 (Lightfoot et al. 1991:147). The Russians had a two-fold objective for Fort Ross. "The new colony was to serve as a staging area for hunting sea mammals along the California coast, and as an agricultural base for raising crops and livestock primarily to supply the North Pacific colonies" (Lightfoot et al. 1991:3). This new colony was placed in the neighborhood of Kashaya Pomo Indians.

The Native workers of Fort Ross lived in their own communities and performed agricultural work (Lightfoot et al. 1991:147-150). The Russian-American company employed Europeans, Creoles, and native laborers from Siberia, the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, coastal Alaska, and northern California (Lightfoot et al. 1991:147). The workers were paid in scrip and commodities which would then be used to purchase European, American, and Asian products in the company store (Lightfoot et al. 1991:147). Many local women of the Pomo/Miwok tribes in the area partnered with the native Alaskan men who worked at the Fort (Lightfoot et al. 1991:147).

Fort Ross has a historic record similar to the historic record of Fort Vancouver, so that “little is known of the population for at least two reasons: uneven ethnographic observations of the native populations at the colony and past archaeological projects have focused on the excavation of Russian structures” (Lightfoot et al. 1991:3).

The 29 years of this history is summarized by Osborn as being of two periods: the first from 1812-1828 was as a fur trade community engaged in hunting of fur animals, settlement construction, shipbuilding, and failing at agriculture; then from 1830-1841 begins a greater focus on farming and a lesser focus on furs, and an export emphasis on farm products and metals rather than furs (Osborn 1997:293-294). Osborn found that half the men populating the first historical phase were Native Alaskan; this number 00 to one-third during the second agricultural period (Osborn 1997:295). The number of Native Alaskan women dropped from 25 to 2 (Osborn 1997:295).

The Russian-American Company recruited Europeans, Creoles, and native laborers from Siberia, the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, coastal Alaska, and northern California for workers.

The colonization of Fort Ross did not trigger a sudden or catastrophic transformation in the traditional lifeways of the Kashaya Pomo. Rather, the timing, rates and magnitude of cultural change fluctuated widely among the different dimensions of Kashaya society ... [In which] different causal factors appear to have kicked off changes in some aspects of Kashaya society and not in others. ...

While the Russians were sometimes brutal when ‘recruiting’ local natives as agricultural workers, the general policy of the Russian-American Company was not to produce Russian-Orthodox neophytes. Rather they allowed

the native workers to live in their own communities and to observe their own customs, taboos, ceremonies, and subsistence practices. There is little evidence that the Russian administrators at Fort Ross attempted to regulate the native Californians' material culture or religious practices ... and [it is] amaz[ing] how conservative native California workers were in adopting European customs ... the apparent ambivalence the local natives exhibited towards European technology ... [and their lack of interest in] the fluid movement of European/Asian goods within the native community. (Lightfoot et al. 1991:148-149,149-151)

The original, non-Northern Californian work force was 25 Russian men and 80 native Alaskans (primarily from Kodiak Island, Alaska) (Lightfoot et al. 1991:3).

In the best documented census data, taken on June 1, 1820 by Ivan Kuskov (Fedorova 1975:12), the numbers of women either married or cohabitating with Russian, Creole, and Alaskan men were twelve, six, and fifty respectively. Of the women living with Russian men, four were identified as Creoles, two as native Alaskans, and five as California Indians. Four native Alaskan, one Creole, and one native Californian woman lived with Creole men. Finally, of the fifty women living with native Alaskan men, one was Creole, eight were native Alaskans, and thirty-six were native Californians from the Fort Ross, Bodega Bay, Point Arena and the Russian River areas [which comprises the Cazadero region in northern California]. (Lightfoot et al. 1991:21)

Annual census reports were required but have never been located by experts in Fort Ross and the Russian-American Company (Osborn 1997:178-179). Archaeologist

Osborn estimated population figures for the Fort community using visitors' travel accounts and two sets of religious reports (1820 and 1821 Kuskov registers and 1836 and 1838 Veniaminov confessional records) (Osborn 1997:147-180). Osborn was able to record information on 781 individuals, of whom 243 were children (Osborn 1997:296). Osborn found that only one Russian woman lived at Ross. Thirty-seven percent of the Russian men were listed as married (Osborn 1997:209). With only one exception, all men were older than their wives.

The age range in 1836 and 1838 between the married Russian men and their wives was from one year to 37 years. ... The average age difference was 15.3 years. ... Eighty percent of the Yakut men and 100% of the foreign and California Indian men were married (Osborn 1997:209-210).

Osborn did not present further information on this set of the population because of the small number of Yakut and California Indian men (Osborn 1997:210).

Osborn calculated the total population for seven years as 1,878 from which she estimated an annual population of 268 people (Osborn 1997:297-298). The proportion of children in the population grew from 26% in 1820 to 47% in 1838 (Osborn 1997:214). Osborn found that in later years the adult population size diminished while the number of children increased.

In Table 7, Population Estimates of the Ross Colony, Lightfoot et al. (1991) have compiled estimates of the population based on five separate sources: Wrangell (1969:210), Fedorova (1973:135, 1975:12), Gibson (1976:12), Golovnin (1979:162).

Accurate annual information on the number of deaths at Ross does not appear to have survived. ... During the 29 years that Ross was occupied, numerous deaths

TABLE 7
 COMPILED ESTIMATES OF THE ROSS COLONY (LIGHTFOOT ET AL. 1991:22)

	1812	1818	1818-1819	1820	1833
Russian					
males	23	26	21-27	23	41
females	0	0	0	0	4
children	0	0	0	0	5
Creole					
males	-	-	0	5	10
females	-	-	0	6	15
children	-	-	0	-	63
Native Alaskan					
males	80	102	75-78	116	42
females	-	-	-	7	15
children	-	-	-	-	26
Californian Indian					
males	-	-	-	-	35
females	-	-	-	41	37
children	-	-	-	-	?
[populations	103	128	96-105	198	293+]

occurred, as seen by the 131 graves located in the cemetery. Given the total population of the colony between 1812-1841, a large number of individuals died there. ...The cemetery appears to have included men, women, and children of Russian, European (men only), Creole, and Native Alaskan ethnic background. Children of California Indian mothers may also be buried in the cemetery if they were baptized. ...It is unlikely that any California Indians are buried in the cemetery. (Osborn 1997:229-230,266-293)

Osborn uses historic documents from Kuskov (1820, 1821) to describe women from the Cazadero area who lived at Ross as returning to their tribal home when widowed or separated from their partner, when their partner had a new wife or was transferred out of the region (Osborn 1997:293-295). I did not use Osborn's data and results for deaths

rates at Fort Ross for comparison in this research because I could not follow her premises or determine how these arithmetic results were calculated.

How Did Fort Vancouver Compare with Fort Ross?

It is true that both communities represented similar economic thematic periods during their existences. However, the two communities also existed during different times, for a different number of years, and in different geographies.

The periods of time between the Ross and Vancouver information sets are very different. Osborn's Fort Ross data set represents seven years of that twenty-nine year span. Fort Vancouver represents thirty-one years of a thirty-one year span. Fort Ross data set numbers begin in 1812 and Fort Vancouver data begins more than a decade later, in 1824.

The population numbers are different. Using Osborn's mathematical calculation methodology, a summary population of individuals for thirty years at Vancouver would be 4,234 (without the brigades). This calculation shows a difference in population "load" between Ft. Ross and Ft. Vancouver. Again, I am not comfortable with Osborn's approach nor do I see much benefit in applying it to Fort Vancouver. While Fort Ross was treated as a "steady" load, the population of Fort Vancouver cannot be considered steady. In 1823 Vancouver has a population of zero, a peak population of 600 in 1837 and in 1861 a population of zero, with brigades moving in and out. The length of residency at Vancouver does not allow for direct comparison.

A few comparisons can be made. At Vancouver a woman's mean age at marriage was 21.9 and the man's mean age was 33 reflecting an age difference of 11 years. This is less of a difference than the 15.3 years difference at Fort Ross. The data sets that I saw for Fort Ross did not allow for a calculated marriage ages the adults

when their (Fort Ross) first child was born. Osborn found that the adult population decreased over time and the number of children increased.

Osborn believes that there are no California Indians buried in the cemetery. She found the number of non-Indian burials in the cemetery to be consistent with the number of buried dead of this time period in Europe. Fort Vancouver's cemetery has a mixed population of both Indian and Europeans in the cemetery. The Vancouver cemetery is not differentiated by nationality but by religious baptism.

However, the Indian communities and topography that made up the two environs were quite different. The Cazadero area is more isolated, being located in a "cove" of hills. Vancouver sits on one confluence of a major east west river system and a north south river system, and in a giant plain. Osborn notes that Indians could and would leave Ross and return to their Indian community. The Indian communities surrounding Vancouver were disappearing in waves of epidemic death, discouraging return. This disappearance had further implications in that country land lay "open" for imaginable opportunity. Both communities had the opportunity for fluid movement between the employee village areas and the traditional tribal communities but the options had quite different practicalities. Cazadero was isolated and more protected. Vancouver lay at the crossroads of transportation corridors and in a large and accessible plain inundated by people moving in, through, across, and out.

Too many substantial differences exist for useful demographic comparison between the two forts of Ross and Vancouver.

Abingdon Research

In a contemporary study of British of this similar historic time period, Todd picked a specific local context of the town of Abingdon, England where all people could be traced within the document records of a single church parish and where

numerous non-church records, including court records, marriage bonds, probates and leases, are equally well preserved (Todd 1985a:56-57). Abingdon did not record the marital status of brides when they remarried (Todd 1985a:59).

This particular inquiry was searching for information on the remarriage of women. Since Abingdon did not record the marital status of brides when they married, Todd picked a group of women from probate records and then picked another, smaller group, which he used as a control for minimizing bias. With these records he found that 40% of the “widows from the large sample and 20% from the cohort sample could not be traced” (Todd 1985a:59). In this study, the actual ages of the few probate widows were difficult to calculate and ultimately he was able to determine length of marriage and fate of only 18% (Todd 1985a:63).

“In 1840 the statistician William Farr used the mortality and remarriage statistics for that year to calculate that one-quarter of women widowed then [in Abingdon] would eventually remarry” (Todd 1985a:61).

Cambridge demographers Wrigley and Schofield also found it rare for English registers to record the marital status of brides; they found only two registers that did for periods of time (Todd 1985a:58-59).

I found three women recorded as both widowed and remarried while a resident at Vancouver. This small number makes it too speculative to determine if at Vancouver their deceased partner’s job type impacted the woman’s rate of remarriage while at the Fort.

My set of information, biased in collection and gathered in the far reaches of the Pacific NW on the Lower Columbia River, is, interestingly, not that dissimilar in quantity to the female British population inclusion set from Abingdon, and is appropriately used for description and discussion.

Discussion

In a fur trapping economy, where the fur purchaser required the exchange of money (or scrip) for skins to occur between two men, there may have been a written recording of one man's wages. However, the skills and contributions involved in arriving at that point of exchange, includes additional work necessary to achieve the particular "earning."

Each beaver pelt necessitated not only the trapping of the animal; there is also the skinning of the fur from the animal, the processing of the fur, the packing, the hauling of the fur, the cleaning, cooking, gathering and hunting of food, water, and fuel for all, the construction, maintenance, and possibly taking apart of some form of shelter, and clothing, animal and children care. Fur trapping was a family affair. Families or households never lived on only the labor of the husband.

Fort Vancouver operated as an administrative center for fur exchange, as a clearinghouse for the international exchange of other raw materials, and as a source of food, health care, rules of social etiquette, education, religion, and morality. It was a distribution center for European and Native made goods, and a hub of ethnically and linguistically diverse populations who managed to live in relative harmony for over three decades. Vancouver was the site of a new community. With it came job creation and growth in wage generating and non-wage employment. This took place within the context of epidemic disease and death in both the surrounding communities and within Vancouver, and drove an economic shift from a fishing, hunting and trading economy to an economy which also included trapping, services, logging, farming, and mercantilism. As the population at Vancouver grew and the impact became more permanent, food and fuel resources not controlled by the HBC (and necessary to those not receiving food and wood as part of their pay) would have pulled further away from

the fort environs. Economic growth was fueled by work from both genders. Labor records kept by the British only documented one part of labor and until recently historical archaeological analysis has focused on males and the fruits of their labors as the subject.

The SPSS generated results from the information that I collected suggest that people, generally speaking, were not coming to the fort because they wanted the wage security for supporting themselves or their children. It was true that records indicate that a man was more likely to have a recorded child prior to coming to the Fort than a woman. More men had had previous marriages prior to coming to the fort and one assumes children may be a result of this. Generally speaking though, the children came just before the marriage and the marriage happened at Vancouver. There is no suggestion that women came to the fort because they wanted wage security for supporting themselves, or that their children once born kept them at Vancouver longer.

In Vancouver people were living in what would be called today extended family groups. Structures were insufficient for the population numbers. It is not known if groups of people came together or were put together via a set of social behavioral practices or happenstance. My research shows that the immediate family size of four was the same as the immediate family size of neighbors and clustered as the neighbor families did.

Families did not reside long at Vancouver. When viewed in the composite analysis it was most typical for families to move into the community and after one year to three years, move away. Acculturation, via personal exposure to British and HBC behaviors, spread throughout the entire Pacific NW beginning in 1811. Personal exposure to British and HBC behavior while living at Vancouver was, typically, brief. However, there were enough people of various ages that exposure to a variety of

behaviors and skill sets (British, HBC, and of multiple tribes) could have occurred. While old ways may not have been available to be taught in the larger neighborhood, as a consequence of severe epidemics and illness, there were people at Vancouver who were of an age to know of the Indian cultural ways.

Short residencies at Vancouver, the European priests and ministers not arriving until the 1830s, the very small population numbers represented by the non-Catholic records, and the lack of demographic information describing life prior to the HBC presence all make a bigger picture analysis easier to achieve than one which may be more “microscopic.”

Historic documentation testifies that British family values influenced family values at Vancouver, exerting power via economic and social options. The subtlety and complexity of this power and its influence can be reflected in many ways. Sometimes it was demonstrated in a single public highly visible exchange, such as when the British missionary Herbert Beaver arrived at the Fort and accused the wife of the Chief Factor of being a prostitute because they did not have a formalized marriage (even though there had been no Church representative to formalize their marriage).

The respected historian Pollard chose to focus her historical research on the Métis children of Vancouver and the region, arguing that they were growing up not in an Indian world and not in a European world but in a mixed world. My interpretation is that families were not typically at Vancouver long enough to “grow up” but what was being carried beyond Vancouver by those who were moving on was a creation of an extended community richer in social variety, one that had shared Village daily life with peoples that their ancestors would never have ever imagined. The length of exposure to this amalgam community was short, since people constantly moved in and then moved

out, so that the influence of the British was modified by the inhabitants' ability to choose behaviors that they wanted.

The data does not allow for a definitive conclusion on why families moved in and out with the frequency that they did. Perhaps life was not significantly easier at Vancouver. Perhaps the opportunities and quality of life beyond Vancouver was not significantly harder.

What the evidence does show is a continual circulation of new people coming to Vancouver. Each brings their own cultural practices to Vancouver and probably influences, however minimally, those around them. With this small quantity of change, it is going to be difficult to see very specific instances of change. What will be easier to see is the trending of change. The cause and effect relationship is hard to hold onto because of the short periods of residency and because one is looking at something that is loose and not behaviorally "rooted".

Couples were older than I had expected. Women were in their early 20s and men in their early 30s. I suspect they came to Vancouver and left Vancouver with their values mostly intact. While there was opportunity for behavioral change and certainly a lot of exposure to new behaviors the, impact of the length of residency must be affirmed.

The various Church records show that people, and in particular the women, were not pretending to change. People got new names, they got baptized, they got married and buried in the eyes of the Church, and it was all noted publically and said aloud and recorded in documents. This is all different from what had been practiced before. Whether this shift actually occurred while at Vancouver, or more gradually, cannot be measured by the data I have collected in this chapter.

The historical archaeologist will find church records which will document a shift in values and behaviors, but these particular records do not cover a period of time long enough to tell how impactful acculturation to the British and HBC way of life really was. In the excavator's ground the material cultural remains of this period may look like values changed but the fact remains that they represent the debris of families and/or individuals who left after a short period of time in cultural records.

In order to identify adaptation or change archaeologists are going to have to focus on Vancouver itself (and not a proxy such as Ross). They are going to need to have access to multiple sites within Vancouver, and the archaeological research design is going to have to be looking for artifacts that are used by both sexes. Because anthropology and archaeology involves the deductive process the archaeologist has to create a research design that includes presence and absence. This archaeologist also has to be looking for very subtle changes in a trend (as opposed to a single event with an adaptive response) and then to be able to extract from that data subtleties which can impact interpretive description. This is necessary because the overall objective of anthropology is culture description and a culture description that includes a more inclusive description of a community which was composed of both sexes.

CHAPTER 5

Pins, Beads, Pipes and Other Things

Introduction

What Material Culture Remains Can Be Associated with Women?

Historical interpretation of Fort Vancouver has focused on the oldest materials excavated and in relation to projects meeting contemporary interpretative goals. Interpretation of the site through an exclusive focus on a male HBC administration presence is gradually being challenged. This new examination is aided by a newly initiated GIS project. In the 2000s, Vancouver Park and Reserve archaeologists began a project to better organize provenience information and to visually represent this information on maps. Three million artifacts are in the inventory. Because of funding difficulties and restrictions, one million of the excavation material culture finds have not yet been entered into the federal data system. Every archaeological excavator set an independent datum, so the artifact provenience records on the bags and in the catalogue are not all recorded in one single system. The numbering system is not chronological. At present, determining where in the ground artifacts came from ultimately depends on the researcher pulling each artifact and its artifact provenience field record. My research is based on data sets that exist within the current older interpretative informational system. There is both a restriction in access and a lack of computer terminals. These difficulties must be balanced by the promise of new information.

In the summer of 2007, the Fort Vancouver archaeological staff invited all archaeologists who had worked on the site in the last sixty years to a round table discussion with a hosted dinner and guest speakers. I was excited to attend. It seemed a golden opportunity for discussion and inquiry and an opportunity to hear something that might contribute to my research. I introduced myself to, and shared my dissertation

questions with, the senior archaeologist present, and he immediately launched into discourse saying, “We only found two items that could be defined as related to gender and those were both found in the US Army...” I was taken aback. This archaeologist had done solid excavation work and analysis. In the 1970s, his work was better than most who were working in the Pacific Northwest. He is still working as a Primary Investigator. However, his perspective on gender sounded as if it had remained in the 1960s, a period where artifacts were associated with a specific population segment: arrowheads indicated Indians, Spode china was about HBC European male traders, and all artifacts were male unless they were used exclusively by women.

But the problem with this approach is that direct association, association of a single type of artifact to a specific population subset, is the thinking that allowed Kardas, in her excavation and analysis of Kanaka Village, to argue that remarkably little demonstrated the presence of Indians or women.

Although at the time other dwellings were not available for comparison, we felt that the artifact material had a ‘masculine’ look to it. This was based on the relatively small number of beads found and the lack of any lithic material ... in general. This, coupled with the large number of rum bottles and pipe stems, led us to think that this might represent a bachelor’s quarters [in Kanaka Village].

(Kardas 1970:14)

Men, women and children all inhabited the village and fort. Many of the archaeological artifacts found must have demonstrated the products of preference of both Indians and women—the European made goods were their purchased products of choice. These same goods were also the products of preference of non-Indians and men.

Can the presence of a particular artifact, or a combination of artifacts indicate the presence of “just” women or “just” men or “just” families?

Archaeologists Ross and Carley argued that some of the early assemblages they found reflected family life because the artifact mix included a notably less numerous presence of “conspicuous consumption goods” and goods that were more publically conspicuous and expensive (Ross and Carley 1976:179). Using only the artifacts collected from two associated Bachelor Quarter privies inside the stockade walls dating between 1841-1860, they divided them into three groupings: an 1850-1860 assemblage indicating adult males and the other two as containing debris that included families (Ross and Carley 1976:179-180). Ross and Carley noted a “marked restraint” in liquor related products, smoking pipes, and a limited number and styles of glassware (Ross and Carley 1976:179). Ross and Carley’s interpretative artifact “sets” included few or no tobacco pipes, few liquor related items (including glassware), few beads, and few or no lithics. Their interpretation is that the absence (or minimal presence) of the particular artifact groups such as tobacco pipes, liquor related artifacts, beads, and lithics represented women and children living with men (families) instead of (or in addition) to men living without their families.

Hoffman and Ross (1973b) excavated the Chief Factor home (inside the stockade walls), which provided housing to the important administrative officers of the HBC with their families (who were Indians). These excavations contain noticeable quantities and qualities of consumer goods, including pipes, liquor related items (including glassware), beads, and lithics. Two associated privies had “rich yields” (Hoffman and Ross 1973b:64).

The Hoffman and Ross conclusions do not conflict with the Ross and Carley conclusions for in the case of Gentlemen, their administratively and socially important

functions occurred predominately at this particular House and Kitchen area. Guests and staff were men, and the family was not included (Hussey 1977:64). Family use of facilities, meaning female and child were included in the use of facilities, in both number and days of presence, would be moderated by HBC use.

Do “bachelor” males (even if living with other males) differ in their consumer choices from males living with families (whether the males are sexually paired with the women or not)? At the Chief Factor House, Bachelor Quarters and in Kanaka Village, there were several categories of residents, including: sequential “single family” within stockade walls; “single family” living with bachelors inside stockade walls, bachelors living together and without families inside stockade walls, and outside the stockade walls people whose lifestyles reflected a “masculine look” (Kardas 1970:74).

The practices of the social community changed over time, as was dramatically noted by the Vancouver women themselves, when white missionary women began to arrive in the community in the late 1830s. This important event at Fort Vancouver, in Hudson’s Bay Company and regional history is shown in the late 1930s Schwartz and Faulkner Works Program Administration (WPS) style mural in the entrance and rotunda of the Oregon State Capital (Figure 12). The man with the white hair is Chief Factor McLoughlin.

Three examples of practices that changed are: 1) In 1836 the Chief Factor included these white women at his dining table, which had not happened with Indian women before (Morrison 1999:248-249) and afterwards the women of McLoughlin’s family found themselves more often included (Morrison 1999:248-249); 2) Fort Vancouver trade records demonstrate a decrease in the purchase of the trade product vermilion between 1826 and 1850 (HBCA microfilm Reel IM627, B223/d/207-208). Vermillion is a product often used on skin resulting in a glowing complexion luster. In



FIGURE 12. Detail of “Dr. John McLoughlin welcomes the first women to cross the continent by covered wagon in 1836,” Frank H. Schwartz and Barry Faulkner Works Program Administration (WPA) style mural in the entrance and rotunda of the Oregon State Capital (Salem, Oregon).

another HBC store, in a region beyond the presence of white women, vermilion sales did not decrease but increased from 1830 to 1850 (Prince 1992:68-69). This may suggest that the desire to have one’s complexion be shinier and more noticeable decreased when white women with white complexions arrived; 3) Children who had been schooled as a group became separated by sex (Pollard 1990:297). In order to understand what artifact evidence reflects a social change in gender practice (such as who used vermilion when and for what purpose) we must think about how gender is evident in the material culture.

This section examines some particular consumer goods that have been previously interpreted by previous archaeologists as indicative of the presence of a particular sex. These materials include objects relating to children, gender-specific jewelry items, gender-specific clothing items, smoking items, and the material culture of needlework and sewing as represented by the common straight pin.

Figure 13 illustrates two Colville women sitting, one doing needlework. The culture of sewing has been associated with women in historic letters. Charles Dunn, who visited Fort Vancouver in the 1830s, wrote,



FIGURE 13. The photographer Richard T. Lewis took this picture of an older woman with a blanket over her shoulders sitting on a wooden porch with needlework in her lap. Sitting with her is another woman, with her head covered with a scarf (reproduced by permission from the Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture/Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane, Washington reproduction identification number L91-167.158). Note that the woman wearing a blanket is doing needlework on cloth, the various types of needlework on display in their attire, and that they are sitting outside.

Many of the officers marry half breed women. These discharge the duties of wife and mother with fidelity, cleverness, and attention. They are in general, good housewives, and are remarkably ingenious as needlewomen. ... Though they generally dress after the English fashion, yet they retain one peculiarity—the leggin or gaiter, which is made (now that tanned deerskin has been superseded) of the finest, and most gaudy coloured cloth, beautifully ornamented with beads. (McKinnon 1998:36-37)

Charles Dunn also wrote of the attire of women who married men who were not officers:

... the lower classes of the Company's servants marry native women. They too generally speaking, soon learn the art of useful housewifery with great adroitness and readiness, and they are encouraged and rewarded in every way by the Company to acquire domestic economy and comfort. These too, imitate, in costume, the dress of the officer's wives as much as they can; but from their position, which exposes them more to wet and drudgery, they retain the moccasin, in place of adopting the low-quartered shoe. (McKinnon 1998: 36-37)

The culture of sewing is also evidence of economic and income-generating activity by Indian women at the fort. Vavasour's trade accounts documents Mrs. McIntosh doing \$12.22 worth of needlework and Mrs. Catherine Humpherville Pambrum was credited \$7.00 for garnished work (Caywood 1955:66). She lived at the fort and after her husband Pierre died in 1842, she supported and educated their children with her needlework (Munnick 1972:A-37).

The first artifacts that I chose to examine were items that have been identified as women's: women's clothing, women's stockings, and women's shoes. Then items that were identified as infants or children's: clothing, stockings, shoes, toys (with items that could be used for gaming-such as dominoes and marbles not included). Non-ornamental thimbles, trade awls, needles and other sewing material culture are mapped.

The sewing needle is used with thread on cloth. Thousands of needles for sewing were sold across the continent to Indians (Potter 2005:10). Thread was also sold including blue, green, red, and "all colors" (Potter 2005:10). Threads and needles are noted in lists of trading items. Like other trade supplies that were sold in large quantities, soil conditions and weathering resulted in oxidization that destroys organic items. Years of weathering and soil conditions present at this site has reduced the

interpretative value of surviving textiles and leather shoe pieces by making most too fragmentary to reconstruct (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:518). Many fabric pieces are not in a condition where they can be interpreted, even by expensive and specialist analysis. I depended on previous archaeological identification and analysis of textiles.

Unidentified textiles, threads or organic fragments remained unidentified and were not included.

Sewing on skins or beadwork utilizes sinew or horsehair. After threading the beadwork, the sinew or horsehair is inserted into a hole made by an awl. Thimbles and coins can be applied in a similar manner after the piece that is being appliquéd has been punctured for “threading.” Ornamental thimbles, like beads and coins, are not included in this narration. Sail needles are not included since sail mending and creation was a task done by men. Packing needles and packing twine, used to seam covers (cheap or damaged skins and/or burlap), creating a bale of something such as fur, also are not included since this was also done by men only.

Various objects were used for personal adornment (jewelry) and in the trade: finger rings; plain brass bands and brass with colored glass settings were in the lists of trading items and were traded in large quantities (Caywood 1955:50). Jewelry selections were not so gender specific, and unless the item of jewelry was particularly noted as a woman’s, it was not separated out in mapping. These omissions were made because they could have reflected the presence (or absence) of either sex.

Material Evidence: Clothing, Ceramics, Beads, Pins

Why Choose Pins?

Clothing, ceramics, beads, and articles used as if they were a bead for decoration, in the HBC collection cannot be used to distinguish male from female ornamentation choices. Wearing apparel such as a finished article of clothing, and the

materials that were used to construct this apparel were in demand by everyone at Fort Vancouver during the HBC period. “To meet this demand the company both imported large quantities of ready made articles and encouraged the local production of ‘country-made’ articles” (Ross 1976:585). The most popular items of dress among this population were capotes, shirts, shoes, trousers, vests (worn by both sexes) and textiles including blanketing, cotton, duffle, and strouding (Ross 1976:147; McKinnon 1992:18-19).

In the Red River settlement from 1815 to 1835, 83% of the households spent up to 25% of their total expenditures on textiles and items of dress (McKinnon 1992:44). McKinnon demonstrated that most spending was done by European Protestants, followed by Métis Protestant, Métis Catholic, and European Catholic (McKinnon 1992:44-55). McKinnon’s research revealed that settlers bought goods that met perceived immediate needs, and that this purchase was also dependant on demographic criteria (McKinnon 1992:53). For example, cultural descent influenced color choice when purchasing products with different color purchase options, with European Catholics favoring green stroud (McKinnon 1992:53-57). At Vancouver, the archaeological excavator finds, in the ground, color variation mainly in two artifacts types: ceramic dishware and glass trade beads.

Around 25% of the entire Vancouver artifact collection is ceramic vessel sherds (Chance and Chance 1976; Carley 1982; Chance et al. 1983; Thomas and Hibbs 1984; Cromwell 2006). Cromwell’s dissertation is the currently definitive research document on the British ceramics at Vancouver. Ceramic sherd evidence demonstrates a greater color variety in households with more diverse populations (Cromwell 2006:273). All household debris showed multiple transfer print patterns with multiple individual vessels, representing multiple matching sets of differing patterns (Cromwell 2006:273).

In ceramic selection, color rather than pattern (as ornamentation choice) was definitive enough of a correspondence to allow researchers to predict the job of the employee. Since the HBC hired specific ethnicities for specific jobs, ceramics might reflect ethnic background, and possibly their family partner selection (Cromwell 2006). This direction was not pursued by the Cromwell dissertation but future studies should take account of it.

Another consumer product, variable in size, color, and pattern is the trade bead. Over ten percent of the entire Hudson's Bay Company Collection at Fort Vancouver is composed of trade beads (Kaehler 2002:4-6). Archaeologist Ross (1990) and Kaehler (2002) have examined beads of the Lower Columbia River region. Ross's (1990) definitive research, "Trade Beads from Hudson's Bay Company Fort Vancouver (1829-1860)" developed the standards of typology (identification, description and classification) for HBC trade bead research. In this standard study, Ross writes that his analysis does not include the HBC Kanaka Village or Riverside Complex sites, and only the archaeological work done in the years between 1974 and 1981. The Ross work has a descriptive focus on the beads themselves. In the 2000s, Ross has begun to examine beads from the Village and Complex area. His research results are not yet available.

Kaehler's thesis examines 704 glass trade beads found in two Chinook communities on the lower Columbia River, Cathlapotle and Meier sites. These two protohistoric sites have been recently excavated. Kaehler (2002:5) writes, "The historic record supports the hypothesis that glass beads were items of status and wealth along the Lower Columbia in the early 1800s, however, the archaeological record at two study sites [protohistoric Chinook] does not."

Neither Ross nor Kaehler searched for a correlation between the sex of the purchaser or user of the bead and the beads themselves—since beads decorated items such as clothing, hair ornamentation, and jewelry were used by both women and men. With hypotheses involving questions of ethnicity, status, economics or looking for specific markers of presence or absence of a particular sex, color in trade beads has not been found to have specific interpretive value. Beads turn out to have no specific gender distinguishing interpretative contribution.

Would another material element of clothing or sewing, one that has been considered unique to women, demonstrate some of the places where women had been on site—inside the stockade walls and outside them in the village?

Two functions of pins are as a fastener, in clothing, and as a sewing item. While pins sit in singular category as “sewing items,” different sizes were used for different functions (and functions beyond sewing). Beaudry (2006:24) developed a table roughly grouping types of pins and their approximate lengths and diameters (wire gauge). The table below includes the categories: lills, sewing pins, blanket pins, lace pins, wig pins, mourning pins, and shroud pins. Early garments of this period were fastened by ties or dressmaker pins. The smallest pins, categorized as lills, were used for securing pieces of women’s clothing but were also used for pinning ruffs of men and boys (Beaudry 2006:24).

Beaudry’s research describes lills being used in the 1700s by women to pin veils or extremely fine fabrics and by men and boys to pin ruffs. A ruff is a circular trim of a line or similar cloth piece worn around the neck and sometimes the cuffs. They are worn for decoration and fashion but also because they are smaller than an entire garment and are more easily washed and dried.

Dunn, while at Vancouver, described Indian women as choosing attire similar to the officer's wives but that their choice varied according to their position and living circumstances which subjected them to the rainy weather and drudgery (McKinnon 1998: 36-37). Readymade European style clothing and materials necessary for constructing clothing were both available. Circa 1868 photos of Indian women show women wearing simple shirts with a front opening, long sleeves with no trim, and plain necklines similar to the men's shirts available for purchase, in earlier years, by HBC laborers (McKinnon 1998: 73).

I was not able to find examples of the use of ruffs in the studies of the Hudson's Bay Company influence on fur trading forts of Langley or Vancouver, or on the Carrie, Coastal Salish, or Chinook dress between 1830-1850 (McKinnon 1998 and Prince 1992). Research on the clothing worn in California and the Far West in 1845 notes that only Gentlemen's Day Suite Shirts were white linen or cotton with detachable collars (Rickman nd: 37).

Because women living in the Village did many hours daily of hard physical work, because their work was frequently near flames, and because of the evidence in these photo images, I have chosen to interpret the lills as indicative of the presence of extremely fine fabrics or veils and of women's clothing.

Pins varied in size related to fashion and function and vary in material composition and in how they were manufactured, whether by hand or by machine. This makes pins useful in dating and useful as evidence of gender, based on what the pins were used for. Mechanization of the manufacturing process of the pin did not begin until 1835. Prior to mechanization the pin was made in a manner similar to the nail: the wire is drawn, straightened, cut, pointed, and a head is formed. Towards the middle of 1835, the Howe Manufacturing Company was founded and had five machines operating

making pins in England and America (Petroski 1994:55). Early manufactured pins were brass (an alloy of copper and zinc). Over years the material of pin composition shifted to include more iron. Beads are not evidence that can be used to determine gender presence since decorative beading was not unique to a particular sex. But pins, if carefully analyzed, can determine gender presence. Lills found in the Chief Factor's House Kitchen indicated that someone was wearing male clothing and also that someone was doing laundry of female clothing. The "someones" in this kitchen were all men since all kitchen employees were male.

Purchasing Behavior

Historic information on the sex of the product purchasers and the sex of the ultimate consumer is also incomplete. The small and incomplete set of extant Vancouver accounts records demonstrate that males made the recorded purchases. Examples also document purchases that could have been made for the consumption of others. For example, Warre and Vavasour, arrived (not accompanied by women) in 1845 to assess the investment and physical risk of the fort, stayed only a few weeks, and then departed. While at the fort Vavasour purchased (in part):

... a fine beaver hat, frock coat, cloth vest, buckskin trousers, tweed trousers, white cotton shirts, silk handkerchiefs, one pair blucher shoes, one pair Warner shoes, 2 yards hair ribbon, 2 yards Highland gaiters, 9 yards lace, black braid, 1 pair ladies shoes, one Valencia vest, and 2 ½ yards of white blanketing among other items. (Caywood 1955:65)

Historic accounts from the Trout Lake (Timiskamig) Indian Debt Book record a female, "His Mother" of Poothawatchie paying off debt (HBCA B.221/d/8 1850:8).

Figure 14 illustrates both females and males of the Slave tribe and an HBC store.



FIGURE 14. South Slavey family outside and exiting the store. Reprinted by permission from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Center, NWT Archives, Photo N-1979-073-0249 (1950093). Credit: Russell/NWT Archives/N-1979-073:0240. Note the sign on store next to the door which says H.B.C. Also note that women are in the store and outside the store with families.

Figure 15 shows women unloading an HBC boat. The solitary male in the picture is not carrying a load. Holes in the documentary record might have shown that



FIGURE 15. This Hugh A. Peck photograph shows Indian women unloading supplies in Wakeham Bay (Kangiqtujuaq). The image is a gift of Richard H. Peck to the Musee McCord Museum and is reproduced with permission (Negative M2000.113.6.206).

despite policy the HBC may have had an increasingly inclusive eye regarding whom they would let “work” and an occasional blind eye regarding the sex of the individual spending money.

How Many Pins Were Sold over How Many Years

All extant accounting records were examined in order to know how many pins were sold at the Fort over the years. Durnford, Baraty & Company of 36 Gracechurch Street in London supplied Big Corking, Blanket and Mixed Pins that were sent to Fort Vancouver from 1821 to 1852 (Ross 1979:84). In 1826, thirty-nine papers of pins were recorded as sold to Servants (B.223/d/5 folio 39-45). In 1833, the Sale shop sold as Outfit supplies five dozen pins (B.223/d/52 folio 47-53). In 1841, the HBC was supplied with two pounds of mixed pins and twelve and a quarter dozen of B.C. Pins (B.223/d/136 folio 33-39). Two years later the demand for B.C. Pins had increased to 3-2/3 dozen B.C. pins and 5-1/8 pounds of mixed pins. By 1852, the HBC supplied the Sale Shop with five pounds of mixed pins (B.223/d/205 folio 4-17).

Pins in the Collection Examined

The artifact set that I selected of Fort Vancouver included all pins currently included in their ANSI catalogue, an accession of 199 pins that are considered to be common straight pins. The collection uses five words or phrases to name pins: pin, straight; pin, sewing; pin, common; pin, iron; fastener, unidentified. In some circumstances, groupings of pins were assigned a single accession number. A grouping is not a consistent number. One group can have a different number of pins from another group. Some pins are complete and some pins are fragments. Fragments include complete and incomplete heads, complete and incomplete shanks, complete and incomplete points and various combinations of these.

I pulled each accessioned piece from the storage cabinet and drawer. Next I examined and measured each pin. My notes confirmed excavation provenience, the actual number of pins and/or fragments were counted, and the material type, and length of the pin or the type of fragment (head, shank, head and shank, shank and point, shank fragment) were recorded. Since only HBC occupation pins are of interest to this research, the date of the context that the pin was found in was also confirmed.

Types of Pins are Located in Which Pits

After measuring the pins in the HBC period of the Vancouver collection, I organized them in the pin “typology” developed by Beaudry (2006:24). Four of the pins are located at such a distance from the Village and Stockade Interior that they have not been included below (Table 8).

TABLE 8
PIN TYPES AND NUMBERS FOUND

PIN TYPE	APPROXIMATE LENGTH	NUMBER
Lills	½ inch (12 mm)	22
Sewing pins		
Short whites	1 inch (24-30 mm)	35
Long whites	1-3 inches (3-7 cm)	4
“Blanket pins” or corkins		
Double long whites	3 inches (7.6 cm)	0
Lace pins	Variable	0
Wig pins	7.5 inches (19.05 cm)	0
Mourning pins	Variable	0
“Shroud” pins	Variable	0
Fragments	Variable	132

Fifty-two of the pins had material composition included with their provenance (Table 9). I deferred material analysis to what was recorded in the curatorial system. These might well be the same materials.

When assigning specific point provenience for mapping, pin artifacts were placed in the center of the unit they were found in when excavated. In the few cases

TABLE 9
MATERIAL COMPOSITION OF PINS

	Pin, straight	Pin, sewing	Pin, common	Pin, iron	Fastener, unidentified
Brass	26	0	0	0	0
Copper alloy	3	0	0	0	0
Cupreous	7	1	0	0	0
Cupreous metal	2	0	0	0	0
Iron	1	0	0	1	2
Iron/brass	0	0	1	0	0
Non-ferrous	1	0	0	0	0
White metal	2	0	0	0	0
Yellow metal	4	1	0	0	0

Note: Brass - any alloy of copper and zinc

Zinc – a basic element

Copper – a basic element, found uncombined in earth

Alloy – two or more elements mixed, with at least one a metal

Iron – a basic element, iron carbon alloys create steels, most used of all metals

White Metal - lead-base or tin-base alloys, Some of the metals that make up a white metal alloy are antimony, tin, lead, cadmium, bismuth, and zinc

Yellow Metal – a brass with a lot of zinc

where the unit information was not recorded, the pin was placed in the center of the excavation area. Three pins are not shown on this map.

Additionally, when data was input into the United States National Park Service archaeological federal database (ANSI), the artifact provenience became “access limited.” Access to data is restricted to a NPS research facility, with specific IT clearance and access to a staff computer. For a researcher, this means that there is no way to perform a “sort” for the provenience of, for example, a button. The button will have an ANSI number that is particular to this artifact and identifies it as a button, but that button’s test unit or point provenience requires the assistance of a staff archaeologist “pulling out” of the federal system the original numbering ranges. Next, a hand sort-through and examination of both the original feature forms and the original excavation profiles will tie the artifact back to test unit and excavation report. Table 10 summarizes pin type and location.

TABLE 10
PINS, TYPES, AND LOCATIONS

	Lills	Short Whites	Long Whites	Fragments	Subtotals
INSIDE STOCKADE					
Blacksmith	0	1	0	2	3
Dwelling House BQPs	16	9	2	28	55
CF Living	0	2	0	2	4
CFK (First)	0	1	0	0	1
CFK (Second)	5	12	2	24	43
NW Indian Trade Store	0	3	0	0	3
NW Modern Latrine	0	0	0	2	2
Outside Fur Trade Store	0	0	0	2	2
Sales Shop	0	0	0	1	1
Bastion	0	0	0	1	1
OUTSIDE STOCKADE					
Op 14	1	6	0	60	67
Op 20	0	1	0	3	4
Op 53	0	0	0	4	4
House 3	0	0	0	3	3
OTHER					
Not Enough Info					2
SUBTOTALS	22	35	4	132	195

The base maps (Figures 16, 17, 18, and 19) show the HBC village and stockade excavations and the Village complex. The light tan colored buildings indicated former HBC dwellings, some excavated, and most not. The brown buildings represent existing US Army structures, the green buildings are NPS buildings, and the screened-back lineal features are the network of current roads, freeways, and Interstate. The reddish lines are Thomas and Hibbs Kanaka Village excavation pits; the grey units are the Village units for Operation 14 and Operation 53. Inside the stockade walls, the grey illustrates the excavations of Caywood thru Hoffman and Ross. The red squares in both the Village and interior to the stockade are units that contain pins, simply noting presence.

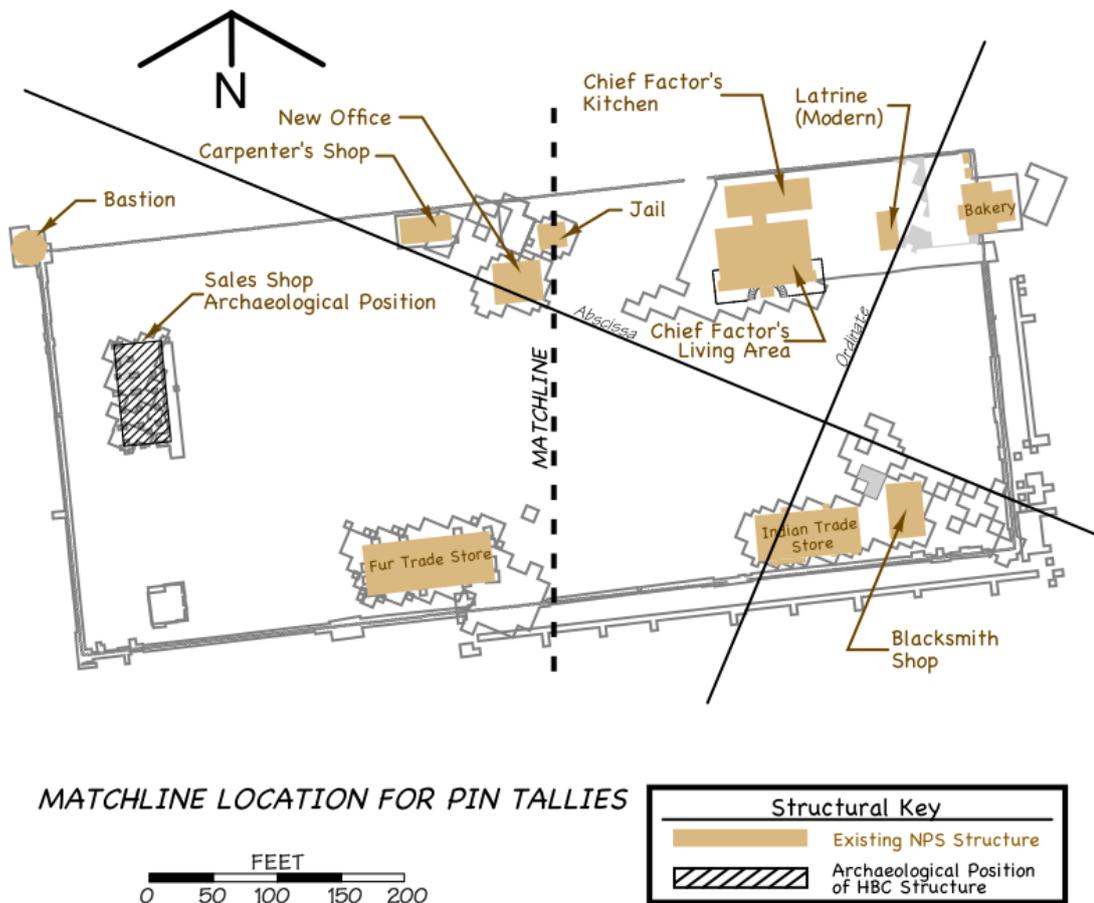


FIGURE 16. Stockade units with pin tallies. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, January 23, 2009.)

Location of Pins

Pins are located in the areas shown on the map of the stockade interior (Figures 16, 17, and 18). These pits are located in: the Chief Factor's Kitchen; Chief Factor's Living Area; the area of Feature 152 (the location of the second Chief Factor's Kitchen); the area of Feature 527 (the two privies of the Bachelor's Quarters); the Blacksmith Shop; the area direction south of the Fur Trade Store, between the store itself and the stockade; the Sales Shop; the Bastion; two pits interior to the SE stockade, north and east of the Indian Trade Store; the Owyhee Church; Priest's House; and north of the New office (west of the jail). Excavated pits where pins were not located were the Powder Magazine; Carpenter's Shop; New Office; Jail; Fur Trade Store; and Indian Trade Store.

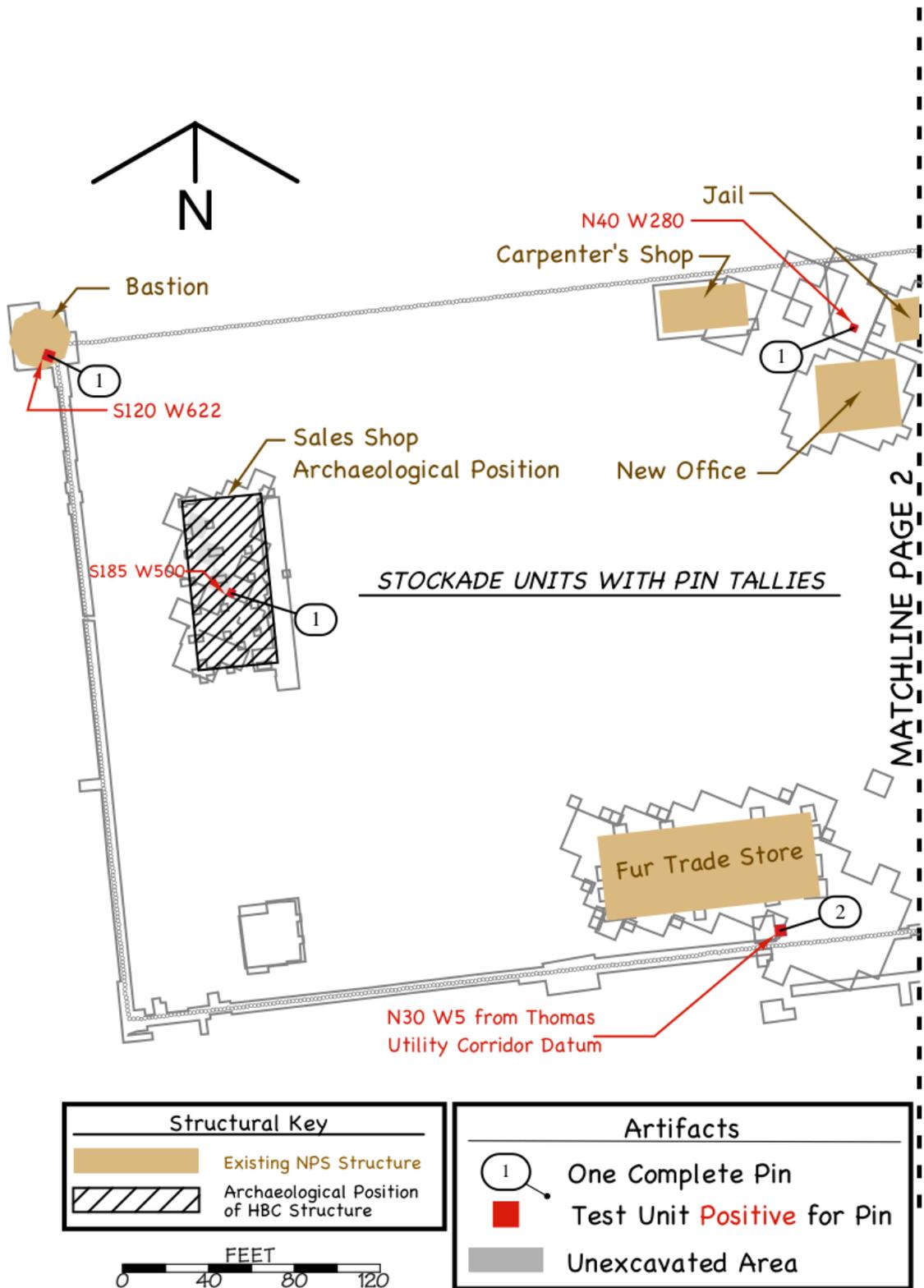


FIGURE 17. Stockade units with pin tallies (left side detail of Figure 16). (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, January 23, 2009.)

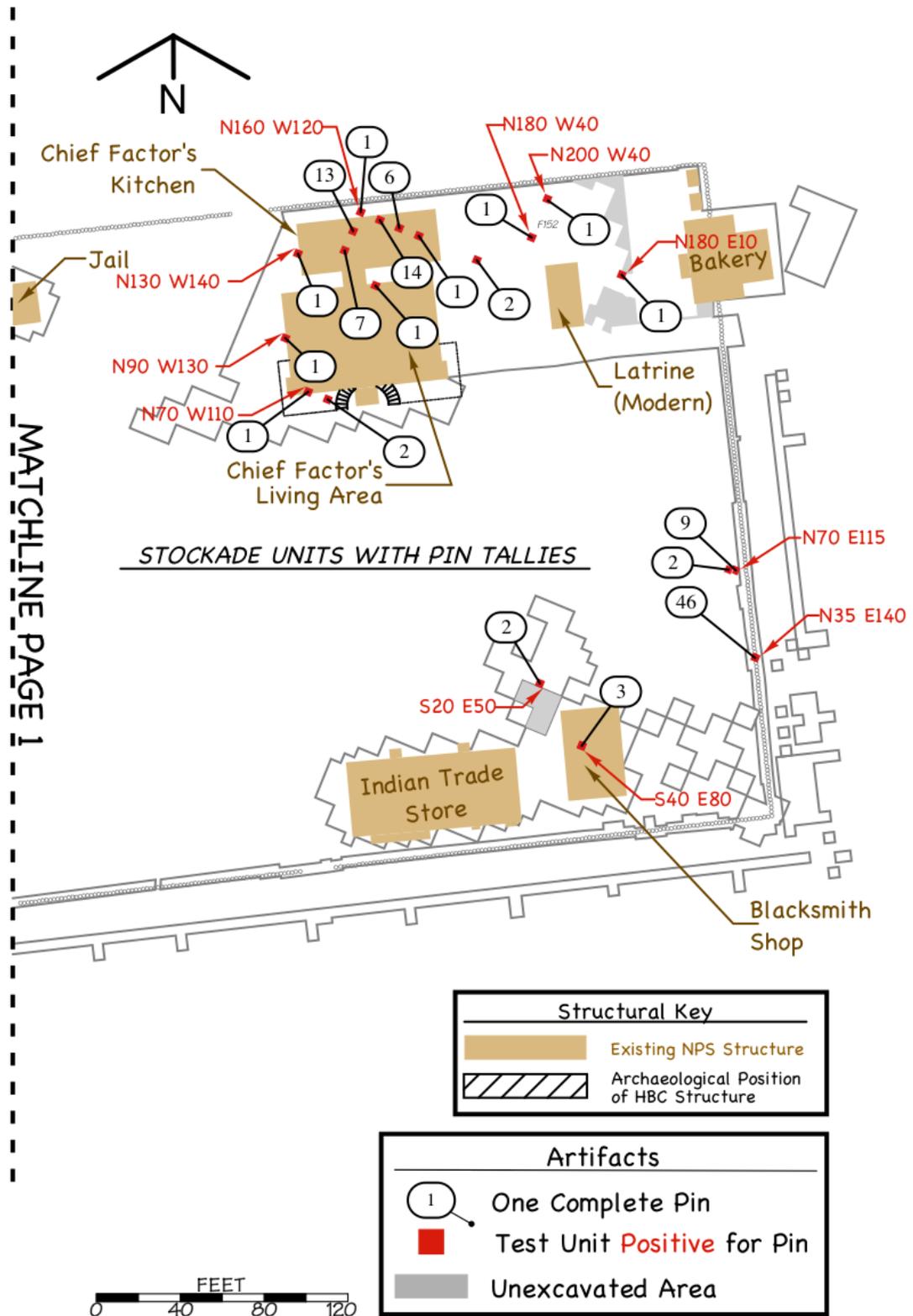


FIGURE 18. Stockade units with pin tallies (right side detail of Figure 16). (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, January 23, 2009.)

Outside the stockade walls, pins are located in these excavated areas: Operation 53; House 3; Operation 14. Excavated areas where pins were not found include these Operations: 4; 3; 54; 56; 55; 57; 12, 50, 16,6; 5; 10; 16; 10; 20; 15; 17; 58; 25; 1; 7; 23; 24; 11; 26; 8; 9; 18; 19; 27; 28; 30; 2; Tr. 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 8; 9; 10; House 5; 4; 2; 1 (Figures 19, 20, 21, and 22).

The House 3 archaeological scatter included a cellar feature, square-shaped, located in either the south central portion of the structure or just outside the structure (Cromwell 2006:210). This cellar contained “clay, sand, charcoal, and artifacts” (Kardas 1969:47). Some of the artifacts in the cellar cross-mended with material found in the floor of House 3. Kardas, Larrabee and Cromwell noted this association and the domestic objects themselves and interpreted the function of this cellar as being for food storage or as a cold cellar (Cromwell 2006:211). Bone, glass beads, and ceramic pipes and other domestic refuse indicated a deposit between the dates of 1830 and 1850 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:446-526).

Sampling Bias, Bias, Assumptions, and Discussion

Repeatedly, Vancouver archaeologists brought up the theme of inherent sampling bias in the excavation of this particular artifact. The question, “Isn’t it a waste of time to study the pin, due to methodological evolution over time, with excavation strategies in the 2000s being so much more exacting? The facts behind the questions are that the pin is very small; the soil is sticky and gathers into pick hard clumps, screen mesh size is variable and was selectively used (or not) over the last sixty years. The assumption is that an item like a pin was more likely to be missed in decades when archaeologists were less methodologically exacting.

Complete pins and pin fragments are considered small or microdebitage. Gembala and Sherwood define microartifacts as “small artifacts that usually bypass

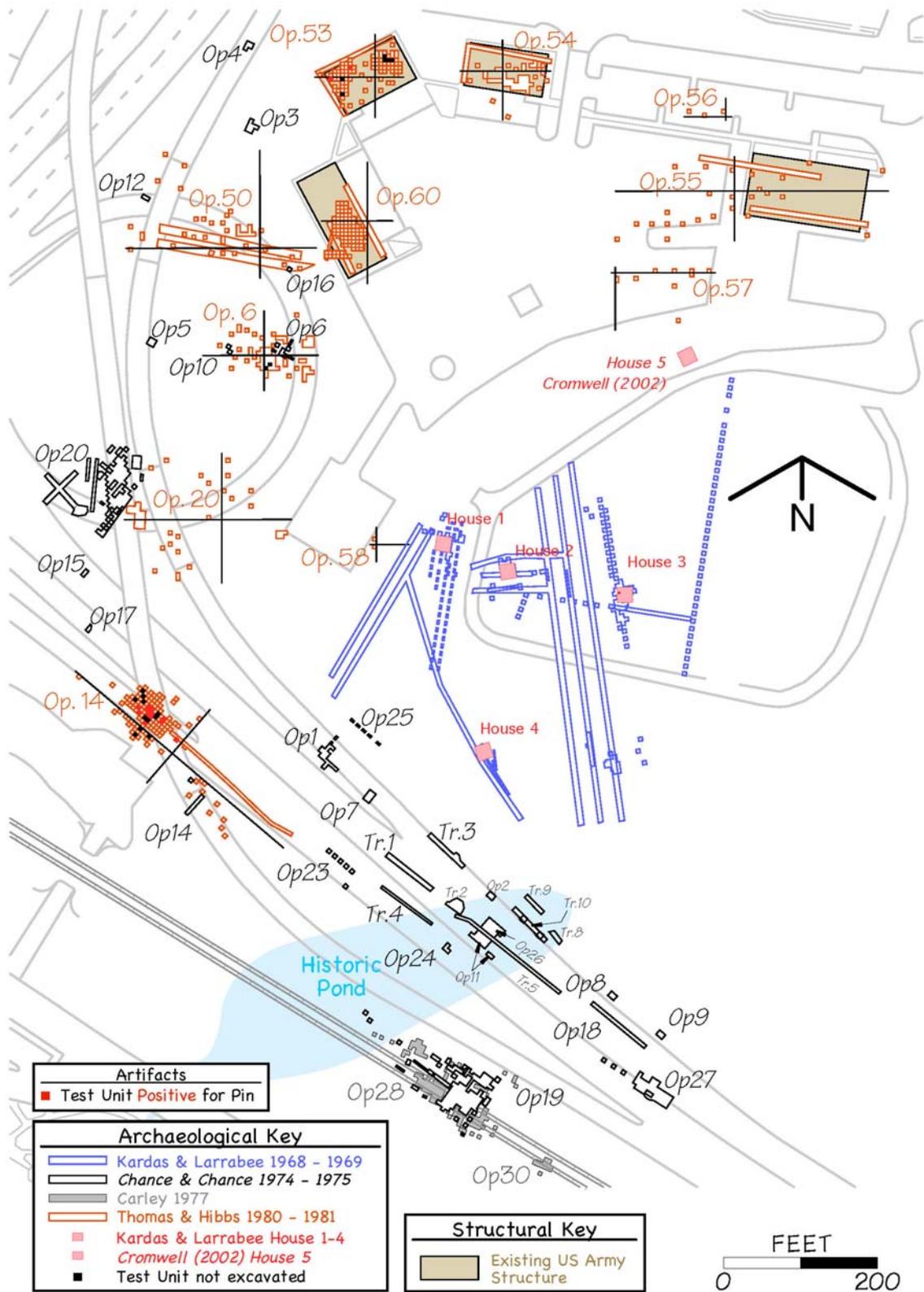


FIGURE 19. Pins found beyond the fort stockade walls. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone.)

Operation 14 Pin Totals

(Thomas & Hibbs: 1980/1981)

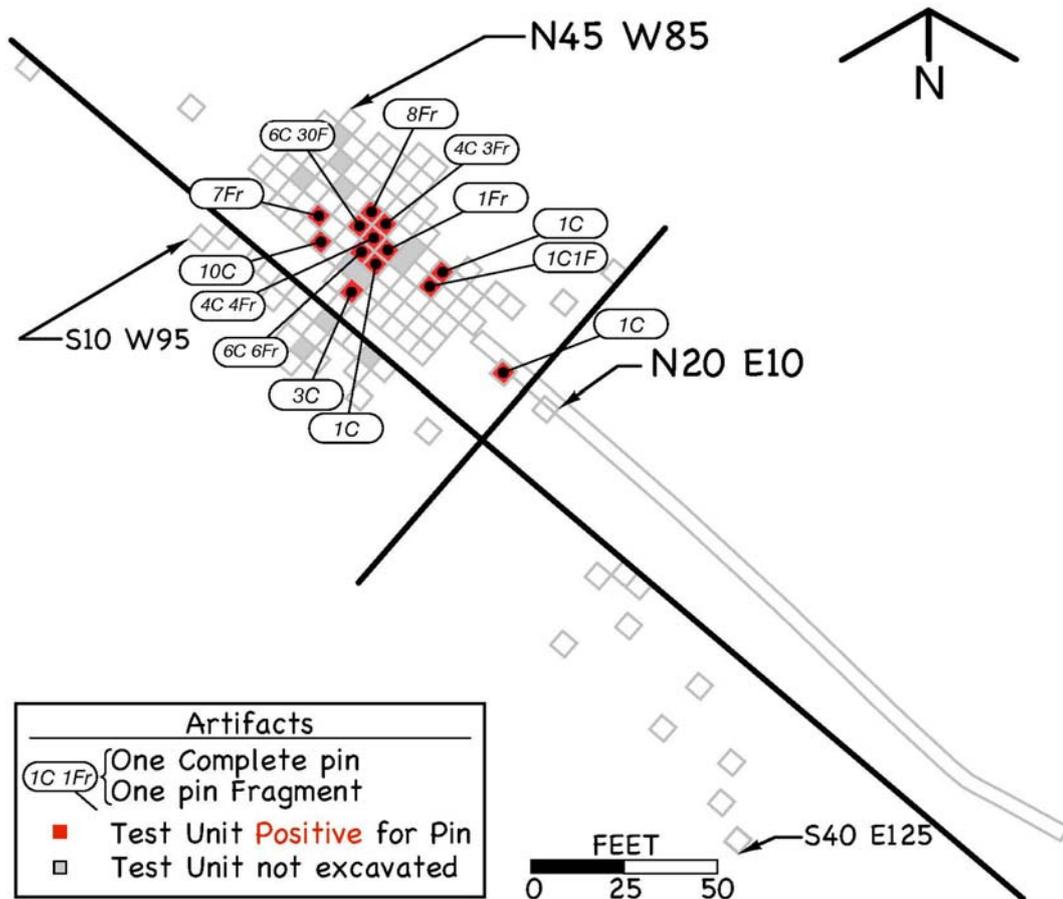


FIGURE 20. Operation 14 pin totals. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone.)

standard techniques of field collection, and require magnification for identification—generally between 1-4-inch (6.35 mm) and 0.018 (0.5 mm) (2001:327-328)” (Gembala et al. 2003:14). Microdebitage does not “travel” or migrate to the extent that larger pieces of artifacts do during periods of freezing and thrust (such as what happens in Vancouver between October and April) (Danielle Gembala 2004, pers. comm.). Pin fragments found in situ are more likely to be exactly where they were dropped than would be true of a slightly larger artifact. Smaller in size in this soil does not mean less exact and a waste of time, actually it is the opposite.

Operation 53 Enlargement (Thomas & Hibbs: 1980/1981)

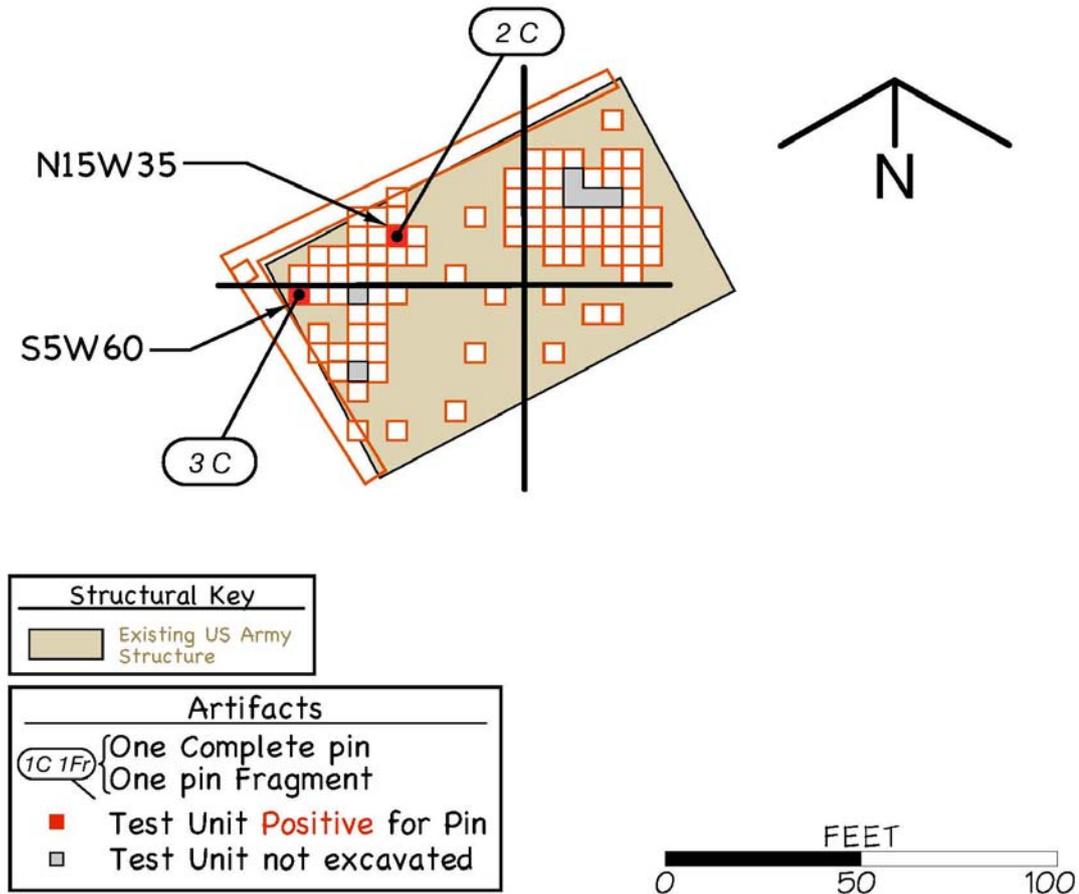


FIGURE 21. Operation 53 enlargement. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone.)

Additionally, 10% of all artifacts ever excavated here are beads, which are smaller (in length) than complete pins and many of the pin fragments. There has been no question, over the decades, of treating trade beads as worthy of study. Generally, the pits interior to the stockade were excavated in years prior to pits outside the stockade. Certainly the volume of soil removed and screening consistency and screen grid size is pertinent to this discussion. Screening everything, not selectively, was not a practice until Chance and Carley's investigation in the later 1970s. In the 2000s, Wilson and

House 3 Enlargement (Larrabee & Kardas: 1968/1969)

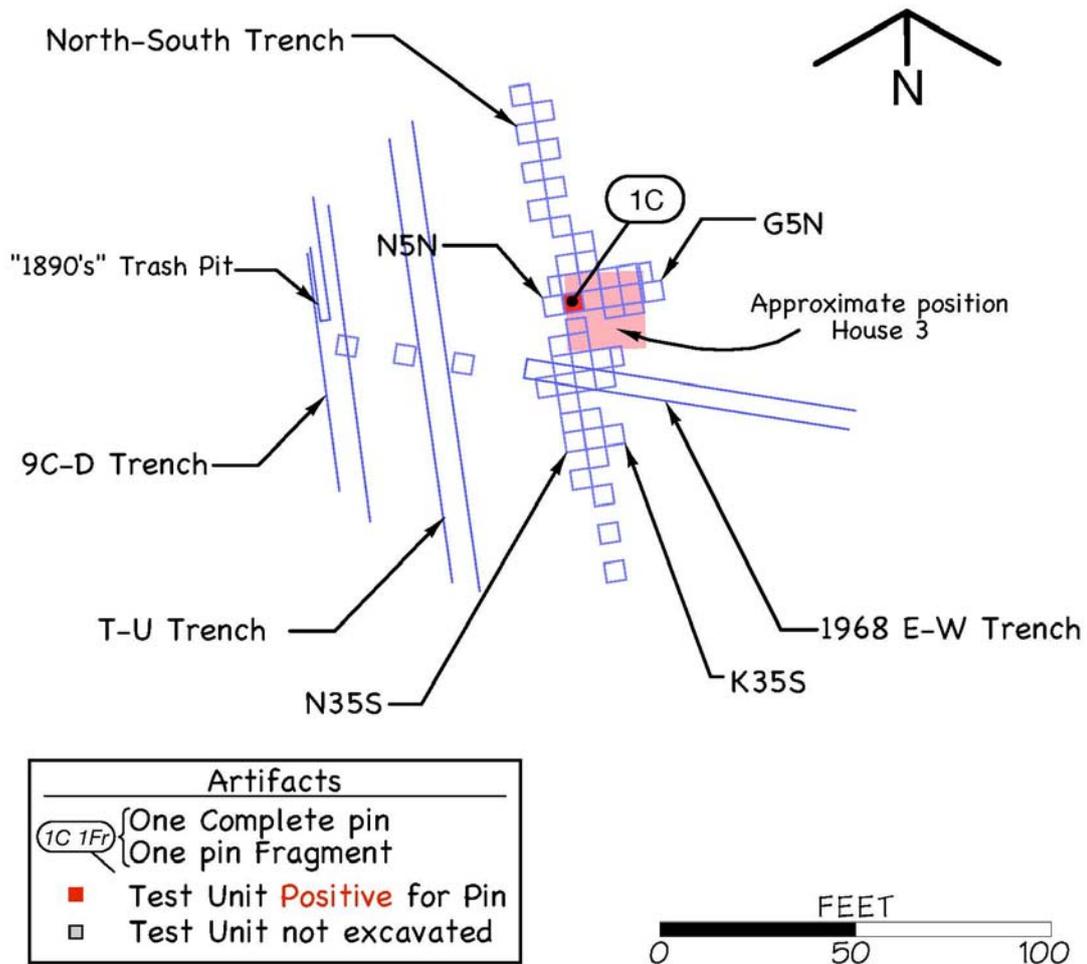


FIGURE 22. House 3 enlargement. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone.)

Cromwell began a consistent use of the 1/8 inch screen. Volumes of soil per excavation varied. As noted in Chapter 4, the two largest soil volumes removed were in Operation 14 (outside the stockade) and the Chief Factor's House (inside). In the best possible world the archaeological methodology would have been exacting and consistent over time, but the inconsistent and looser methodologies have impacted all artifacts

archaeologists have elected for interpretation. Despite the hodgepodge, including fragments, 75 pins were found inside the stockade and 116 outside the walls. Both the trade bead and the common straight pin were manufactured in Europe. Both were used by Indians. Why were the beads studied and not the pins? For me, this is the best question in the whole thesis project.

Beads and sewing goods were both trade items with the Indians around the Bay and the HBC Company as early as the 1670s (Woodward 1965:2). The Lewis and Clark journal of 1814 describes the bead as the great circulating medium of trade with all nations on the Columbia River (Woodward 1965:16-17). During the archaeological projects involved with the damming of the rivers of the West, the bead was selected as “the common denominator” by fur trade archaeologists (Woodward 1965:4). The volume of the bead in trade across entire geographic regions and its compositional ability to weather the years made it attractive as an object of study.

However, the straight pin is also available for research: they are present in the artifact record and despite soil pH and weathering, have proven durable enough for analysis. In conclusion, the evidence for gender determination in specific sites has been available, but has not been adequately utilized. Since pins are available for analysis they should be considered by archaeologists for analysis and interpretation.

Pipes

Another durable artifact, present in the archaeological record at Fort Vancouver, has distinctive visual and brand variation which could provide information about the daily lives of people at the fort. This artifact is the smoking pipe. My first exposure to the Vancouver collection of tobacco smoking pipes, entire and in fragments, began in the pits. I have pulled and seen pulled from the earth many pipe pieces. Their appearance, as an artifact, is so numerous and ever present that I assumed every man,

woman, and child smoked. After the field season, during a lab period, I was surprised to find in the literature and interpretations of smoking at the Fort that it was only men who were credited with being smokers and that the presence of smoking pipes was indicative of the presence of men.

Iconic images of feminism and women's liberation in the 1960s were quickly absorbed, integrated, and delivered by American advertisers and manufacturers to the public. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the tobacco manufacturer of Virginia Slims ran a publicity campaign, "You've come a long way, baby," suggesting that women who smoked publicly were stylish and liberated. In sepia colored footage, these cigarette advertisements showed women wearing olden day outfits, sneaking a smoke near the outhouse (and in similarly private spaces) and being disciplined when caught. The truly modern beautiful woman smoked with her friends while walking down a public urban street. Advertisers gave the graphic expression to the belief that earlier in history smoking, and especially smoking in front of others, was appropriate only for men.

By the nineteenth century, the use of tobacco had become an accepted custom among most Euro-American males. Tobacco was smoked, inhaled and chewed; but generally not in the presence of women. During the Victorian era, smoking was considered a social vice, to be done in inconspicuous places and not too publicly. (Apperson 1916:156)

"Popular British tobacco customs of the day primarily consisted of the taking of snuff and the smoking of pipes, but cigars were also becoming popular and among the lower economic classes, an occasional chew was tolerated" (Ross 1979:799). "Tobacco was one of the most important items in the fur trade economy. From the accounts of some of

the trappers and traders it appears to have become one of the few luxuries in the lives of the Indians as well as the whites” (Caywood 1955:60).

Why Choose Pipes?

The artifact of a pipe can be useful in defining social areas and in dating. Historical archaeologists sometimes use pipes stems to aid in dating a particular deposition. On east coast U.S. historical sites of this time period archaeologists measure kaolin ceramic pipe stem bores, applying Harrington’s or Binford’s pipe stem bore diameter measurement formulas, and use this information to contribute to the dating of periods of site occupancy. Unfortunately, “the indicated U curve for the stem bore diameters is not presented as characteristic for the Pacific Northwest” (Pfeiffer 1982a:122). The interpretive benefit of understanding pipe scatter evidence at the fort is in learning the patterns of behaviors, not occupancy.

Interpretation of cultural activities involving tobacco use typically depend upon unreported pipe characteristics such as whether there are physical signs of smoke (Pfeifer 1981:224). “A high density of pipe bowl fragments without the stains characteristic of smoking would indicate the place where pipes broken in shipment were discarded. An area where the majority of bowl fragments show heavy smoke staining would be indicative of a social area” such as that described by Ross (1975:45):

With after dinner beverages consumed, a leisurely smoke is enjoyed by most, but not in the Mess-Hall. As social custom dictates, and due to a company rule prohibiting smoking indoors for fear of fire, all retire outdoors to an area west of the kitchen. Best described as a ‘yard of clay’ because of the many broken pipes trampled into the soil, this locality serves as a common social area when weather permits. Tobacco is taken by most, either by the pipeful or as snuff. For

American visitors who prefer to chew, the factor has provided two single-piece brown glazed earthenware spittoons. (Pfeifer 1981:224)

The people Ross refers to are all male—the men ate together and without women present (a habit modified for the first time with the arrival of American female missionaries.) When interviewed in 1878 Eloisa McLoughlin (daughter of Dr. John McLoughlin) said,

When my father had company, he entertained them in the general mess room, and not in the family mess room. The families lived separate and private entirely. Gentlemen who came trading to the fort never saw the family. We never saw anybody. (Hussey 1997:64).

Mapping the tobacco pipe, with its interpreted association with the presence of males and male socializing, is of interest to this thesis research. These interpretations are accurate as far as they went, but do they not illustrate only a portion of the picture? Are there not areas where there are no pipes? Are areas with a history of only male presence different from areas where male and females live? Is a general mess room which saw only the presence of men reflected differently in the depositional record from an area where families (with an inclusion of women and children) ate? Would mapping pipe fragments reveal if women were on the site at a particular point in time? What was the pattern of behavior? Some answers to these questions are suggested in the following pages.

How Many Pipes Were Sold over How Many Years

During this HBC period, pipes were shipped from Europe to be used as trade items. They are represented as a continuum category spanning the Pacific Northwest

interior fur trade from 1810 to 1871 (Pfeiffer 1981:221). Table 11 presents the amount and type of pipes, snuff, and tobacco in Fort Vancouver Inventory over the years. The HBC records from 1828 indicate that all Company tobacco purchasing was done with the London firms of Robert Laing, Robert Currey and John Mackenzie (Caywood 1955:60). By 1846, the supplier of pipes was J. Wilson & Co. of New York (Caywood 1955:60).

Sale Shop records from Fort Vancouver record supply requests for smoking pipes in 1839 (B223/d/118ss.doc) and 1840 (B223/d/132ss.doc). Inventory records from Spring 1840 (B223/d/126.doc) show the presence of short and long clay pipes in the shop. Accounts of goods record pipes sold to resident servants in 1826 (B223/d/5ss.doc, B.223/d/5 folio 39-45) and to servants going out on Outfit in 1840 (B223/d/132ss.doc) [Outfits were parties sent out to collect furs in autumn and returning late spring. These parties went into the eastern Snake River land and to southern regions of Salt Lake and the Sacramento River valley and are they are referred to as the Brigades]. These same records show the import and sale of snuff, leaf and twist tobacco (B223/d/136.doc, B223/d/52ss.doc, B223/d/5 folio 39-45).

How Many Pipes Are in the Collection

Broken clay pipes were a very common item found in every section of the stockade (Caywood 1948a:18). The clay pipe tobacco specimens found during archaeological excavations at Fort Vancouver have as their largest categories the pipe brands of Ford Stepney and McDougal—Glasgow (Pfeifer 1981:222). As one would expect, because of the material use and design itself, the number of pipe stem fragments on site exceeds the number of pipe bowl fragments.

TABLE 11
NUMBER AND TYPE OF PIPES, SNUFF, AND TOBACCO IN INVENTORY OR
SOLD AT THE HBC STORES SOLD OVER THE YEARS

YEAR	QUANTITY	ITEM	SOURCE
1826	11/24 Gross	[C]lay Pipes	Sales Shop – Sold to Servants-Recapitulation B223/d/5 f. 39-45
1833	14-1/2 Gross	Hunters Pipes	Sales Shop Outfit 1833 B223/d/52 f.47-53
	½ Pounds	Brown Rappee Snuff	
	5-1/2 Pounds	Princes Mixture Snuff	
	2 Pounds	Macouba Mixture Snuff	
	1575 Pounds	Canada Roll Tobacco	
	1190 Pounds	Irish Roll Tobacco	
	2356 Pounds	Carrot Roll Tobacco	
	24 Pounds	Leaf Roll Tobacco	
	1072 Pounds	Plug Roll Tobacco	
	55 Pounds	Ladies Twist Tobacco	
1836	9 Gross	Short Clay Pipes	Supplies to Sale Shop on A/C of Outfit 1836 B223/d/85f.58-66
1839	27 Gross	Long Clay Pipes	
	8-1/2 Gross	Long Clay Pipes	Supplies to Sale Shop B223/d/118 f.43-54
	39-1/2 Gross	Short Clay Pipes	
	4626 Pounds	Canada Roll Tobacco	
	910 Pounds	Carrot Roll Tobacco	
	810 Pounds	Leaf Roll Tobacco	
	246 Pounds	Shag Roll Tobacco	
	1991 Pounds	Cavendish Roll Tobacco	
1840 (Spring)	6 Gross	Short Clay Pipes	Sale Shop Inventory B223/d/126f.19-24
	1/6 Gross	Long Clay Pipes	
	1 Pounds	Brown Rapper Snuff	
	52 Pounds	Leaf Tobacco	
	448 Pounds	Cavendish Plug Tobacco	
	90 Pounds	Cut Plug Tobacco	

YEAR	QUANTITY	ITEM	SOURCE
1840	38-1/3 Gross	Short Clay Pipes	Supplies to Sale Shop Outfit 1840
	12-3/4 Gross 3300 Pounds	Long Clay Pipes Canada Twist Tobacco	
	873 Pounds	Irish Twist Tobacco	
	729 Pounds	Carrot Twist Tobacco	
	420 Pounds	Leaf Twist Tobacco	
	2578 Pounds	Plug Twist Tobacco	
	130 Pounds	Cut Twist Tobacco	
	1641 Pounds	Plug Tobacco	Sundries from Spalding
	774 Pounds	Plug Tobacco	Sundries from Couch
1841 (Spring)	3-3/4 Pounds	Canada Twist Tobacco	Sale Shop Inventory B223/d/136f.33-39
	249 Pounds	Irish Roll Tobacco	
	24-1/2 Pounds	Cavendish Roll Tobacco	
	1-1/2 Pounds	Snuff No. 37	Fixed Prices
1852	5 Gross	Long Clay Pipes 18 in.	Invoice of Sundry Goods, Sale Shop from Vancouver Depot on Account of Outfit
	50 Gross	Short Clay Pipes 9 in.	
	8 Pounds	Macouba Snuff	
	6 Pounds	Princes Mixture	
	6 Pounds	Brown Rapper Snuff	
	552 Pounds	Canada Twist Tobacco	
	1678-1/2 Pounds	Irish Twist Tobacco	
	870 Pounds	Negrohead Twist Tobacco	
	719 Pounds	American Plug Tobacco	
	245 Pounds	Inferior Negrohead Tobacco	

Where Pipes are Located on Site

The number of pipe artifacts is substantial. Thousands of pipe stem pieces have been found. Within the stockade walls, Caywood, alone, found over 5,000 smoking pipe stem fragments (Kardas 1970:15). Archaeologist Cromwell has no memory of any

pit excavated outside the stockade walls where numerous pipe fragments have not been found (Robert Cromwell 2007, pers. comm.).

In the decades prior to the 2000s the Fort curator and administration gained his expertise more “on the job” than through an academic, museum, historical or archaeological professional training. He chose to catalog the pipe artifacts into the ANSI catalog system, not with the actual provenience of artifacts but with a provenience system that reflects the pattern shown in Figures 23, 24, and 25.

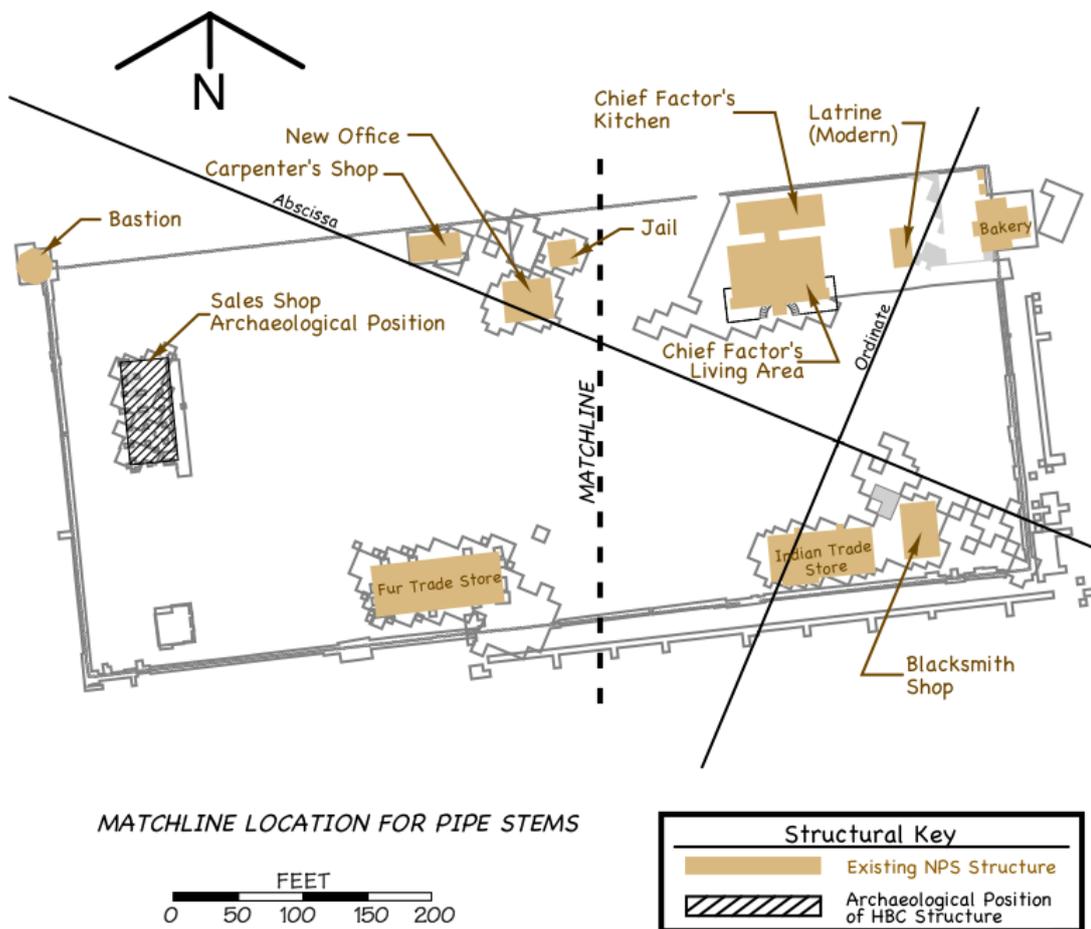


FIGURE 23. Pipes mapped per provenience stored in ANSI catalog system. (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, May 26, 2009.)

In 1984, Thomas and Hibbs provided an in-depth analysis of the pre-1860 tobacco pipes in their excavation of Operation 14 (The Johnson House). They described

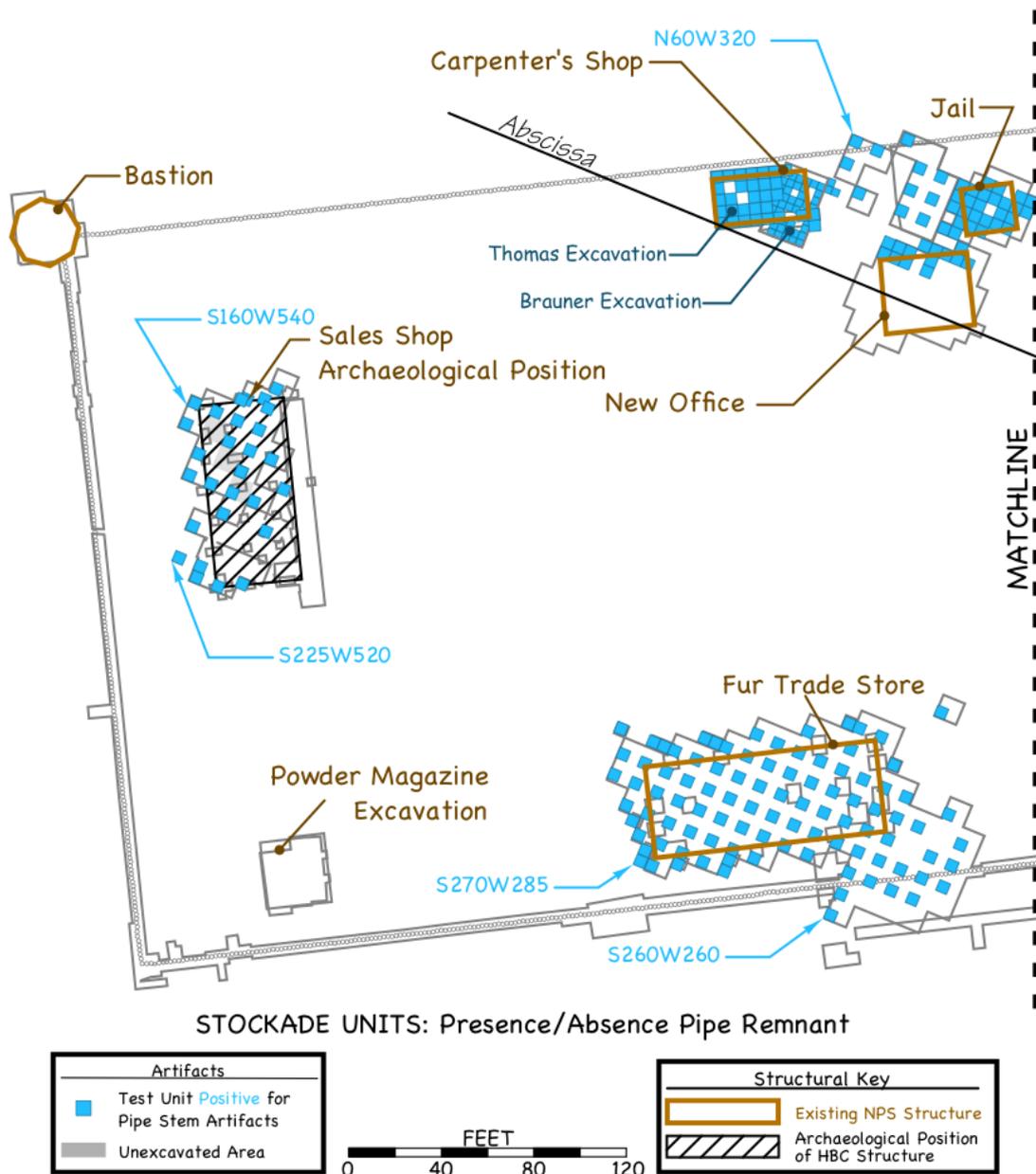


FIGURE 24. Pipes mapped per provenience stored in ANSI catalog system (left side detail of Figure 23). (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, May 26, 2009.)

43 different tobacco pipe types (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:250-265). The spatial distribution of pipes was found to be nearly identical to that of all the pre-1860 artifacts, a major deposition in the southeast corner and within the cellar (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:250). Here “the frequency counts reached a peak of 16.6 fragments per square foot, comparable to that defined at outdoor smoking localities adjacent to interior Fort

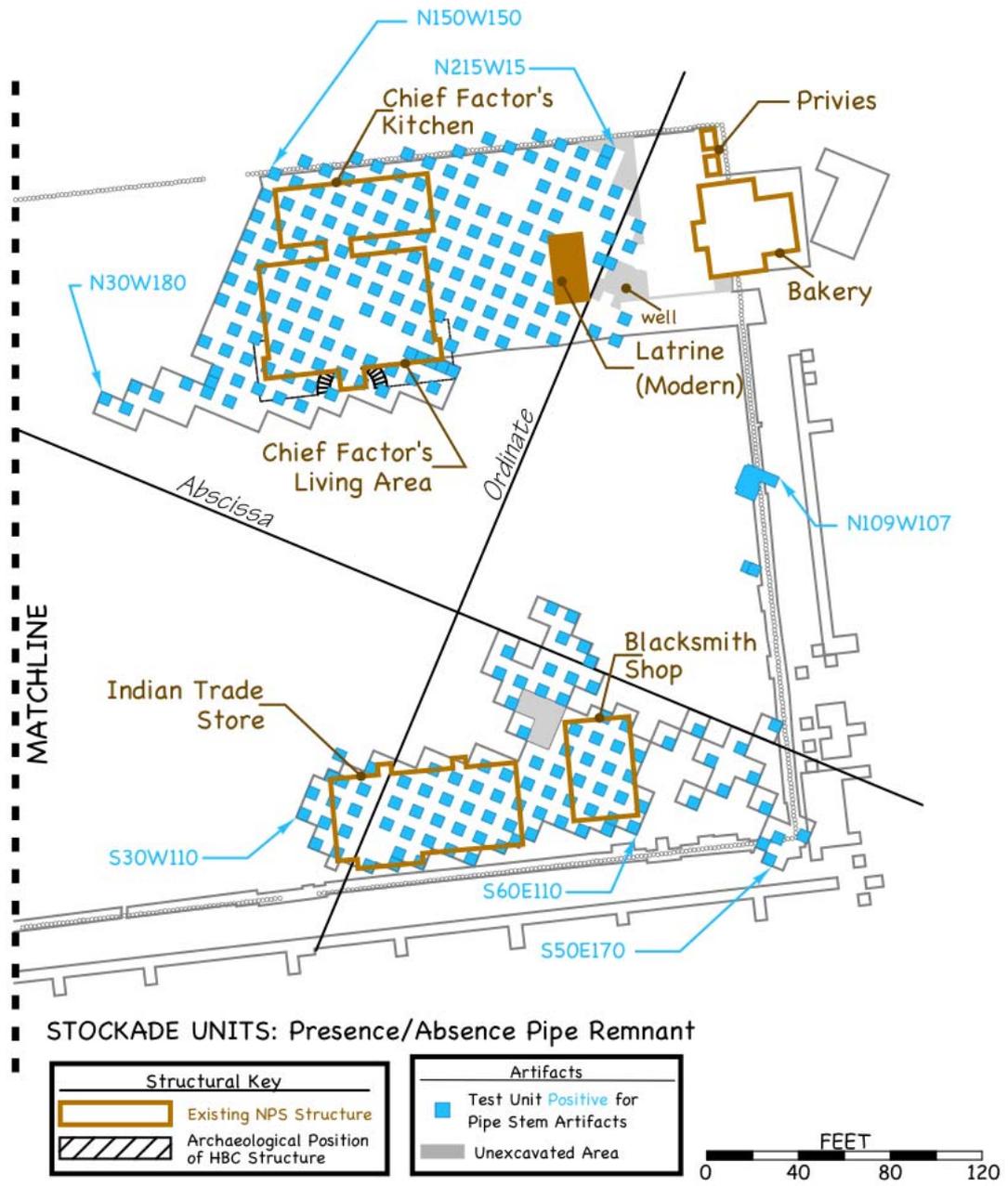


FIGURE 25. Pipes mapped per provenience stored in ANSI catalog system (right side detail of Figure 23). (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, May 26, 2009.)

Vancouver buildings” (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:250). Tobacco pipe fragments as a chronological indicator for historical interpretation of depositional layers could be reconstructed from this base work (not what is in the computer ANSI database) for aid in future excavations.

Another Evidence Path

The appearance of the pipe as an artifact is so common that I always assumed that every man, woman, and child smoked. Investigation reveals that women pipe smokers may be uncommon, now, but female smoking of pipes was popular in previous centuries. Women smoking pipes is illustrated in centuries old European paintings (Boyle 2002). In the 1800s, President Andrew Jackson's wife smoked a pipe in public (Michael Pfeiffer 2005, pers. comm.).

Period correspondence describes Native women smoking in the Canadian territory,

When we arrived we found eight pagas, including two old women of 80 and 75 years old, one girl and four children. After many friendly 'boozhoos' and hearty expressions of welcome, the Missionary and guide seated on shingoob branches rested their wearied-limbs beside a blazing fire, whilst the two old women smoking their pipes and preparing rabbits and pike for dinner. (Wilson 1886)

Closer to the Oregon Country, there is evidence that prehistorically Indian tobacco was grown throughout much of California (Balls 1962; Tobacco.org 2009). One assumes that tobacco was available as a country made trade item, and traveled the land route that many trade items did, in this case from northern California, through the Klamath Lakes area, and into to the Columbia River region. Because of the presence of prehistoric smoking pipes and tobacco, archaeologists know that people smoked in the prehistoric period. When the camera came to the West both Indian and non-Indian men and Indian women of the area were photographed smoking.

This archaeological evidence prior to the arrival of the HBC and anecdotal and photographic evidence after the HBC period suggests that pipe smoking is a practice

that was present during the HBC period. A recorded anecdote during the HBC occupancy at Vancouver tells how Catherine [Humpherville], born at York Factory on Hudson Bay to Thomas Humpherville and his native (metisse) wife Anne, married Pierre Pambrun at York Factory and they came out and settled at Fort Vancouver (Munnick 1972:A-37).

Catherine smoked a pipe, as many pioneer women did. Pierre wanted her to give it up, but she couldn't seem to do so. He made a trip to England, and when he came back he brought a pair of diamond ear-rings. "These are for you," he said "if you will give up smoking." She tried, but the habit was too strong, and the ear-rings were laid aside." (Munnick 1972:A-37)

Discussion

One problem with using analogy is that human behavior can change or even disappear. Because it is unusual to see women, today, smoking a pipe does not mean that women of that past did not smoke. However, behavior that is seen today may actually resemble past behavior. There is no hard data on exactly who was smoking at Fort Vancouver (Michael Pfeiffer 2005, pers. comm.). There is no hard data on men being the only smokers to support the archaeological interpretation in the grey literature. My interpretation, of the narrative and illustrative examples, demonstrates that interpretive illustrations should show both sexes smoking pipes. The material culture of smoking should not be associated only with the presence of men. Evidentially, the material culture of smoking is associated with the presence of both sexes.

Can the presence of a particular artifact denote behaviors of a specific gender? What of the presence of the common straight pin (with the exception of lills), sewing

scissors, sewing needles, sewing thimbles, women's clothing and shoes, women's jewelry, awls, and children's toys?

Appendix 6 summarizes these other cultural materials found during excavations which may also be useful as indicators of gendered behavior. They are sewing scissors, sewing needles, sewing thimbles, specifically female clothing and shoes, the Indian awl, and children's toys. Whenever any item from this list of "others" was found pins were found, with a single exception. The exception is House 1 where needles were found but no pins.

The presence of pins did not mean that these other items would be found. However, in twelve out of eighteen features pins were found with one of these other items.

The pond was used as for trash disposal. I interpreted material found in the pond as trash.

I believe that the presence of pins at the Bastion, Bakery, Blacksmiths, and Priest's house indicated that women sewed in that area and may have even taken shelter there. In particular I suspect that the Bastion served as a residence when Vancouver was sheltering volumes of people, way beyond the structural capacity. Unfortunately I have not been able to find historic documents that confirm this or that list occupants and/or residents in these buildings.

The archaeologist cannot expect an artifact informing on gender behaviors to show up covered with frills saying "female". The same goods which have today become archaeological artifacts were available at historic Vancouver for acquisition to those who selected to allot resources for them whether they were female or male.

A more contemporary perspective of gender identity views associations not as a set of rules to be applied but as something constructed and negotiated (Beaudry 2006:2-

3). With this perspective, the job of the archaeologist involves recognizing a pattern, establishing a specific context, applying a specific interpretation of what it indicates, and then associating this specific to a larger cultural context.

Pins have proven to be durable enough to persist in the archaeological record in a noticeable quantity. Since they are available they should be considered for analysis. Pins can be informative because of their probable use related to clothing. Size, type, and exact location where they are found inform interpretations. Pins do not necessarily mean the presence of women, decreasing the consideration of information regarding the presence and activities of men. I believe that the presence of lills in the Chief Factor Kitchen excavation area means that laundry of the Factor's house was done in this kitchen and by the male kitchen staff. Lills and the other pins larger than lills, both found in the Johnson house, testify to both female and male household activities. Pins do provide explicit information on gender related activity areas.

The testimony, photographs, and archaeological collection evidence presented in this research inform the reader on why I say that both females and males commonly smoked tobacco pipes during the historic period at Fort Vancouver. Historic representation should include both sexes with tobacco pipes.

The enormous number of pipes, complete and in fragments, with their distinctive brand information and ceramic variations could also inform the archaeologist on the activities of both sexes. Former employees chose to camouflage, by not accurately recording in the database, the provenience information on pipes. The magnitude of the collected and not accessible information continues to grow with each additional excavation. The appropriate response to this dilemma is many-fold. These responses have fiscally difficult and also ethical implications. As an interim, the archaeologists should include both accurate provenience detail and close up digital

photographs of pipes in the written reports. The archaeological heritage of unprocessed artifacts, underfunding of staff, equipment, electronic catalogs and mapping makes artifact retrieval for research extremely difficult. Retrieval of very large numbers of artifacts, such as pipes, becomes prohibitively expensive for staff and for the outside researcher.

For an archaeologist to anticipate that a specific artifact will be indicative of a single or specific group of individuals is so simplistic it can simply be wrong. The research artifact analysis which begins with an assumption of nuanced use takes more time and work. Additionally, for historical archaeologists, both the data set provided in documentation and that of material evidence can also be considered for nuance and a more sophisticated interpretation. Both historical and archaeological documentation are necessary for interpretation along with a feminist perspective. The Johnson feature in the following chapter provides an example.

CHAPTER 6

A Key Test Case of Multiple Occupations: Operation 14, Feature 54, (House and Cellar)

Introduction

It was not until the late 1960s that the first Village house was excavated. Kardas located portions of four different houses [House 1, House 2, House 3 and House 4]. Working in the Village in 1982 Chance tentatively identified a possible servants' house (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:111). This area was within the boundaries of an oncoming Federal Interstate Highway Interchange and a bridge footing cut (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:111). As the construction progressed archaeologists Thomas and Hibbs were hired to mitigate the archaeological impact. They focused on land being impacted by construction and their research design concentrated on architectural evidence (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:9-11). Thomas and Hibbs noted that Chance and Chance (1976) had excavated one unit and a trench in the area, which contained window glass and square nails, suggestive of an HBC period residence that informed the placement of Operation 14 units (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:113). It was anticipated that the resulting artifacts could be used principally to identify the architectural footprints of the types of structures that were present, and era that they dated from. As luck often runs in a salvage situation, Operation 14 revealed a Hudson Bay Company era house or houses, a cellar, and an abundance of Hudson Bay Company period material. In their efforts, Thomas and Hibbs excavated over 109 five foot by five foot units in the operation [see map], removing and screening over 2,725 square feet of soil, making this the single most intensively excavated Village structure (Cromwell 2006:233; Thomas and Hibbs 1984:20,114).

The general excavation strategy was to dig in half-foot levels and to screen soils (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:113). When the silt deposit layer indicating the signature of the 1861-1862 flood appeared, trowels were used in addition to shovels (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:113). Data recovery became more exacting as features appeared. Distribution of the pre-1860 HBC artifacts appeared in Stratum 3, which will here be called the HBC stratum. The assemblage was concentrated within the house and to the east (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152-153). Thomas and Hibbs recovered every type of artifact that had been previously found at Fort Vancouver (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152). Thomas and Hibbs believed this particular area provides “a unique chronological data base for identifying specific assemblages associated with Native American/European village households and subsequent changes to U.S. Army consumption in the pre-1860 period” (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152).

Stratum 1 was a contemporary and US Army deposition, set on fill, and was removed mechanically (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:20). Stratum 2 was indicated by a silt deposit left by the 1861-1862 flood. Six strata filled with cultural debris lay below the flood silt deposit: silty loam 3A, and in the area Thomas and Hibbs analyzed as the 1835 and later floor of the house (and cellar) a ca. 0.05 foot silty loam, overlaying a yellow brown silty loam containing three culturally defined deposits (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:117-152). Reminders of wooden cribbing framing the cellar were revealed. Various strata identifiers were used by the archaeologists during excavation of the cellar.

Operation 14 also revealed a component structure, which Thomas and Hibbs interpreted as a house (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:282-297). A later structure with revealed remodeling and additions occurring in three distinct dates was found adjoining the first house (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:282-297). For the discussion within this thesis

the component structure, both the original and second and additions, will be called “the house”. The original (1825-1835) house, that they call “Component A-1,” was defined by post features, an east west orientation, window glass debris of a thickness absent in other areas, and a floor of different soil (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:282-297). Adjoining A-1 is an area also defined by post features and a compacted silt loam floor, measuring approximately 20 x 13 feet (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:282). “Component A-2” is either a new house or an addition to the original small house (with A-2 dating to 1835-1846 from the artifacts found in Feature 54, Strata G-K), a cellar (Feature 54) and a wooden floor (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:289-292) bringing the house to a size of 21 x 19 feet. “Component A-3” is third addition (1846-1854) increasing the footprint to 33 x 21 feet and changing the profile to a north south orientation (as seen in the 1854 Bonneville map) (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:292). A-1 was identifiably different from the remodels because it lacked a light brownish gray silt loam 0.05 foot deposition that was present in the area between the post holes framing these later additions (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:117-152). Feature 54 (the cellar) was backfilled in eight distinct levels (dated by artifact chronology, specifically by the ceramics) and was separated for archaeological interpretation into three periods: prior to 1835, 1835 to 1846, and 1846 to 1860 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:130-140). All artifacts found below Stratum Two in the Feature pre-date 1860 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:113). For this discussion, Feature 54 will be called the cellar.

Figure 26, from the Thomas and Hibbs field notes on file at the fort, profiles the strata revealed in excavation of the cellar feature.

Thomas and Hibbs discerned no depositional interruptions and drew the distinction based on new artifact type additions corresponding with the introduction of the US Army at Vancouver (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:279). The “Early” assemblage

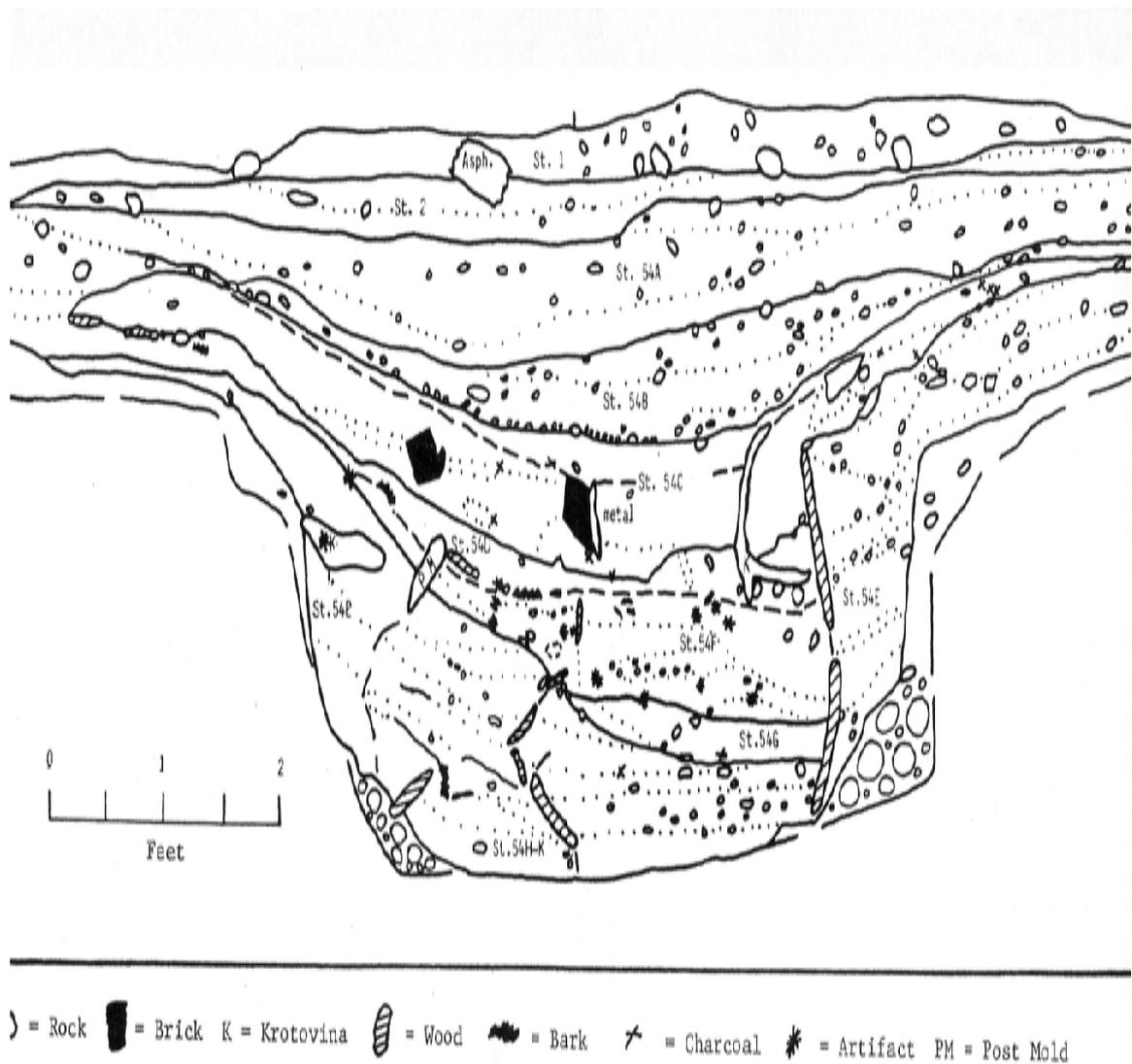


FIGURE 26. Cellar profile, Units N25 E55-65 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:138).

was the group of artifacts found in Strata H and J. The late assemblage is Strata F and D. Stratum C contained the overall demolition debris (see Figure 26).

The Recovered Artifacts from the House

Glass beads, personal metal objects including perforated thimble, bone, and ceramic ware were prominently represented in the early cellar grouping (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:276-279). In the house and cellar the ANSI system records no scissors, needles, non-perforated thimbles, or items specifically identified as women or children's clothing, shoes, or toys.

The house contained many artifacts—particularly in the cellar—but the majority of those artifacts present in the cellar were merely included as part of the artifact assemblage in consideration for the entire operation, unless they were relevant to the dating of architectural changes. In the stage of report writing, the artifacts were not compared, internally, within a particular feature (and in this case, Feature 54—the cellar).

Regarding the artifacts, as a whole, Thomas and Hibbs found a “remarkable homogeneity existing among operation assemblages. (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:726). They credited this to the Fort being a primary source of all goods and that “Indian wives may have had a greater role in village consumption patterns than is appreciated” (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:726). Thomas and Hibbs noticed that ethnic diversity is not reflected in the assemblages and that “artifact assemblages may reflect adaptability and acculturation rather than ethnic diversity” (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:726, 822).

Fifty-six flaked stone tools, implements, chipping waste, and ground stone tools representing approximately one percent of the total of overall artifacts recovered (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:154). Chipped stone artifacts were comparable to chipped stone artifacts reported elsewhere from the lower Columbia River sites (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:154). Thomas and Hibbs write that the 56 examples integrated within the house and eastern concentrations indicate that this particular assemblage technology is integral to HBC domestic life (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:154).

Thomas and Hibbs divided the approximately 43,000 house artifacts (100%) found into two groups by date “defined primarily on the basis of the stratified deposition within the Feature 54 cellar” (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:276). The first they called the pre-1860 Hudson’s Bay Company artifact group and the second they called the post—1849 US Army artifact group (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152-265). Most of

the artifacts fell into the pre-1860 HBC group (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:164). The four artifact classes of ceramic wares (26%), glass bottles (10%), glass beads and other ornamentation (total not presented but examples add up to 2,744 beads of 47 types or 6%) and tobacco pipes (9%) were emphasized in their analysis (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152-265).

With an absence of window glass found in the cellar they believe the cellar construction occurred around 1835 ten years after the beginning construction period date of the structure to the north (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:265).

When Thomas and Hibbs wrote their excavation report (1984) the report addressed the entire excavation and looked at many of the artifacts in a collective fashion. Generally, the various individual artifacts were described and analyzed per operation, in this case Operation 14. Artifacts presentation were amalgamated and not separated by context of strata division. The choice to amalgamate was a serious compromise. Artifact distribution for pre-1860 material for the house and cellar, measured by frequency per square foot, was visually presented in frequency maps for: all artifacts, products of Indian technology (flaked stone tools, implements, chipping debris, ground stone tools, and bone artifacts), ceramic wares, bottle glass, glass beads, ceramic pipes, and window glass (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:152-292).

So that artifacts could be analyzed in a different manner, at some unforeseen and unfunded point in time, by some future researcher, artifacts were connected to an individual test unit in both site forms and cataloguing. Assigned unit number and the various stratum of provenience are recorded and the number of artifacts listed.

The Thomas, Hibbs, and staff paperwork is meticulous and I can follow their paper trail almost thirty years later. Their excavations and reports are *de riguer* of current archaeological thought on Village daily life and are the most referenced

publication on this topic (Cromwell 2002:10). Fortuitously, some of the staff are still present in Oregon and Washington, and can recall their excavation work on this particular feature. They were available to discuss their work. Garnett surveyed and laid the unit grid system. The crew foreman was Stilson who was also the individual mainly responsible, for this particular section of the report. His unit, N25W60, was entirely within the cellar. As Bray's unit (N25W65) progressed, Stilson was partnered with him. Stilson also made the hand drawing of the pit profiles. Finally, his feature form dates to June 1981, as opposed to the earlier forms of May 1981—making his work the latest and strongest. The Stilson field notes are exemplary. No other reporting, prior to 2000, that I have seen would have allowed this thesis research to progress.

Thomas and Hibbs assign occupancy of the house (including the cellar) from information on the Covington map which labels a house as belonging to Johnson; the excavated materials that indicate HBC period occupancy and reflect consumer choices of greater affluence (“better class”); the presence of a specialized iron hammer, which might be a cooper's tool, found in Feature 109 [N20W85]; and an 1843 roster listing John Johnson as a cooper (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:297-299).

The Covington map, in the area northwest of the road between the Fort and the Salmon Store, shows a building labeled “John Johnson's” and a second building labeled ““C” Farmer Johnson's” surrounded by other buildings labeled “Servants.” These three structures labeled within this operation could possibly be associated with Johnson. Cromwell notes the difficulty in making a specific association, quoting former HBC clerk Crawford during the British American Joint Occupation Committee hearings of 1865-69, “North of [the Salmon Store] about one hundred yards commenced Kanaka Town, where the employees of the Hudson's Bay had houses, such as the carpenter, the cooper, the blacksmith, the Shepard [sic] and Pilot Johnson and others. ...” (Cromwell

2006:233). Decades of excavation have demonstrated that the Covington map has schematic value yet informant testimony makes what is illustrated less certain and creates overall confusion about who was living in a house or other building. Thomas and Hibbs believed that this house was the same structure rented by the US Army in 1849 for use as the quartermaster's office and clerk's quarters (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:292).

The 1981 excavations at Operation 14 located the first definitely identified Euro-American structure [outside the stockade walls] ... this was a house belonging to John Johnson, a cooper [1833-1852 at the Fort]. ... This house was rented by the U.S. Army in 1849 and was demolished in 1857. ... Rufus Ingalls' testimony definitely places Operation 14 house destruction in 1857. "The house in which I lived [James Johnson's] ... I had it removed in 1860. The other 'Johnson House' was pulled down some time in 1857" (Papers 1865-1869:Vol. 9, p. 537). (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:111, 293-297)

Selecting from four employees named John Johnson, Thomas and Hibbs assign much of the occupancy to one particular John Johnson and family. The John Johnson, a Scot from the Orkney Islands, was employed at Vancouver from 1833-1852 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:298-299) and was married to Marie, the Indian Woman of the Umpqua. The two of them had a son Georges who at the age of three months in 1849 was baptized by Father Develaud at the Fort Vancouver's Saint James Mission (Munnick 1972:102). Marie Johnson was baptized and buried in May 1852 (Munnick 1972:127). The composite of all document dates makes the Thomas and Hibbs choice and assignment a bit tenuous. In the 1850s their Johnson "disappears" from the record. They attribute this to a likelihood that he was on Brigade in California and theorize an early

return in order for him to be present (and in Vancouver) at the end of his wife's life in May 1852 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:298-299). Their historic interpretation is plausible but the general picture is confusing enough that doubt is created and lingers. Can looking at history via family history evidence clarify some of the confusion?

Applying Family Formation Perspective to the Question of "Who Lived in the House?"

The documentary evidence assembled in Chapter 5 allows us to identify many individuals. Historic documents present four employees with the name James Johnson of variant spellings (Johnston is the common Orcadian name [Tarlow 2010, pers. comm.]). These men are of similar age range who served the HBC in Vancouver during the same era. They are:

1. James D. Johnstone from Orphir /Stromness Parish (Orkneys) in service from 1829 to 1837 (HBCA A.32/35 folio 136).
2. James Johnstone from the Walls, Parish Orkney in service from 1850 to 1859 (HCBA B.239/g/31, B.226/g/5).
3. James Johnstone, from Essex /Walhampton Parish(England), who drowned at Vancouver in April 1845 a month after arriving in the West on the ship *Vancouver* (Beattie and Buss 2003:213-215,415,444).
4. James R. Johnstone from the Parish of Lerwick, Shetland (Scotland) in service from 1839 to 1855 (HCBA C.3/14 folio 84, B. 239/g/49; Beattie and Buss 2003:70,444).

To add to the confusion, some of these James Johnsons married Indian women and had sons with the same names (James and George). Additionally, the names James and John (and even sometimes Jaque) are interchanged.

The 1850 Oregon Territory Census (conducted in October 1850) records a John Johnson, forty years old from Scotland, as one of six occupants of "House 42" along

with five other men with origins in Scotland and Oregon. No women or children are listed as present. In 1850 James of Walhampton is dead; James of Walls is 18; James of Lerwick is 45; and James of Stromness is 55 and in Europe. This strongly suggests James of Lerwick, who is also known as James R. Johnson was living in the house in 1850, but without his family.

The feminist archaeologist considers the house as containing both genders. If instead of focusing solely on the adult males and we include female and the documented history of the children, we begin to see each set of the parents and children as more distinct. By including everyone, you have an opportunity to make a more accurate interpretation.

Two of the men named James Johnstone (one from Walls and the other from Stromness in the Orkneys) had no children of record in Vancouver.

Another John (James) Johnstone (Johnson) is on record as having an Indian wife, Jane Chinook (Hoqueem Tchinouk-Quinault). If these two and their children are the inhabitants, then the house should be named the Jane Hoqueem Tchinouk (Chinook)-Quinault and John R. Johnson Family House.

Jane and John R. had four children of record, all born and baptized at Vancouver. Their first was born when they were in their thirties: "Baby" Johnson, born February 24, 1842, lived for two years, drowned in the Columbia River and was buried on March 10, 1844 (witnesses were James Johnson and Charles Desroches) (Munnick 1972:VAN II 36,37,38). Jane was eight months pregnant at the time, Their second child, Gregoire Johnson, was born April 1844 and baptized March 6, 1844 (Godmother Emelie Marie Guilbeau). Their third son was George Johnson, born a bit early on November 23, 1845 and baptized December 26, 1845 with godparents Pierre and Marie Emelie Gilbeau (Munnick 1972:VAN II 95,96). Their last child was James Johnson

(also in the records as Jaques Janhson), born in Vancouver on April 2, 1848, and baptized on May 2, 1848; Godfather Abraham Rabbi (Munnick and Warner 1972:VAN II 95,96).

We are considering two male candidates for residency in this particular house: John Johnson, a seaman, and John Johnson, a cooper. The two men probably had different salaries: the seaman/bar pilot was less well paid than the cooper, who earned 25 pounds per year with a 5 shillings gratuity (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:298). However, economic vitality should not be determined only on the basis of the salary of the HBC employee. The seaman's wife came from a family of economic note, for when they left Vancouver it was noticed in correspondence that they built a large residence near the mouth of the Columbia River in the region of her family (Munnick and Warner 1972:A41-A42). The wife of the cooper was from an area in the south of Oregon and her family connections were not specifically noted in the record. Both families seemed to have had the affluence that could result in the debris found in Operation 14. I would suggest that the presence of a specialized hammer that might be a cooper's tool (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:289) found in the yard northwest of the residence, might indicate that the tool was NOT one used to generate income by the occupant. Tools which contribute to one's trade craft are generally carefully kept.

To summarize: the James [R] Johnson who lived in this house of interest is as likely to have been the Scot, from the Lerwick, Shetland Parish. He was born in 1805 and married to Jane Hoqueem Tchinouk (Chinook)-Quinault at some unknown date. He entered HBC service in 1839, as a seaman and arrived in the Columbia District in 1839. Jane Tchinouk (Chinook)-Quinault was born in 1810 to Comtia Koholwish and Chief Hoqueem of the Quinaults (Munnick 1972:VAN II 42). Both James (1805-1855) and Jane (1810-1852) are reported to have moved to Baker's Bay (also known as

Chinookville) where they built a beautiful white house in the late 1840s and he worked as a bar pilot at the mouth of the Columbia River. James last served at the Vancouver Depot in 1849 but appears to have remained in California and was still linked to the HBC in 1850 (HBCA B. 239/g/49). James retired from service in 1850. The couple is reputed to have moved to Chinookville in the late 1840s. It is possible that the family maintained the older residence while building the home they would reside in while James was a bar pilot at the mouth of the Columbia. Records become more obscure between 1850 and 1857, the year when the next Census took place. Chinookville, Washington is now a ghost town, and after World War Two became a state park.

It is not possible to choose definitively between the two John Johnsons but what has been demonstrated, via Thomas and Hibbs and by means of this genealogical application, is that this house was a Village house in which at least one family lived, prior to 1850. Sometime around 1850/1852 to 1860 the house became male occupied. The males represented on either side of this “divide” were of the same ethnic group, and (to judge by ceramic artifacts and census numbers) represented similar economic classes and populations.

The house represents, therefore, an excellent example of a house with specific occupants of documented gender with specific dates. It provides an opportunity to see if there is a difference between the household debris of an occupancy by both sexes (and ages) and a single sex occupancy (male), and one in which the men were of the same ethnic and economic backgrounds.

Looking at the Material from a Feminist Perspective

I have found true the conclusion by Thomas and Hibbs that the house and its excavation is a unique opportunity at Vancouver. Their historic research, good practices

of excavation, and their experience on the site informed them of the opportunity they faced.

The Operation 14 research design objective was mitigation. Knowing that the area was going to be completely compromised the excavation objective should have been to find and record, with maximum professional skill, what lay in the ground prior to construction. Operation 14 began with a design bias towards identification of architectural footprints, attempting to locate and identify HBC buildings.

Thomas and Hibbs further diluted the usefulness of their findings by adding filters. They chose to focus their reported findings on consumption behavior and by grouping their analysis into the two groupings per male administrative governance, a US Army post HBC period and the HBC period. With the vast majority of the 43,000 artifacts falling into the HBC period this grouping was not particularly helpful to researchers who followed. The incomplete analysis and presentation of findings matched with the ANSI system of data storage and point provenience needing to be found artifact by artifact in a paper filing system, in practice, prohibits others who would follow them from using the information.

In order to visualize their artifact category content in relationship to the eight archaeological excavation levels, and to complement the profile of the Feature illustrated in Figure 26, a rough bar chart examination was created in an attempt at a cursory understanding of the artifacts present (Figure 27 and Figure 28).

The bar charts shown in Figures 27*a-c* and Figure 28*a-c* illustrate artifact presence per half-foot excavation level. On the left of the chart is the sum of the artifacts, which is illustrated also by the height of the bar. The bar color represents the eight excavation levels. The bar charts present a noticeable change at 1.5, 2.5, 3.5, and 4.0 feet. (A drop at 4.0 is to be expected, it represents moving into sterile soil.)

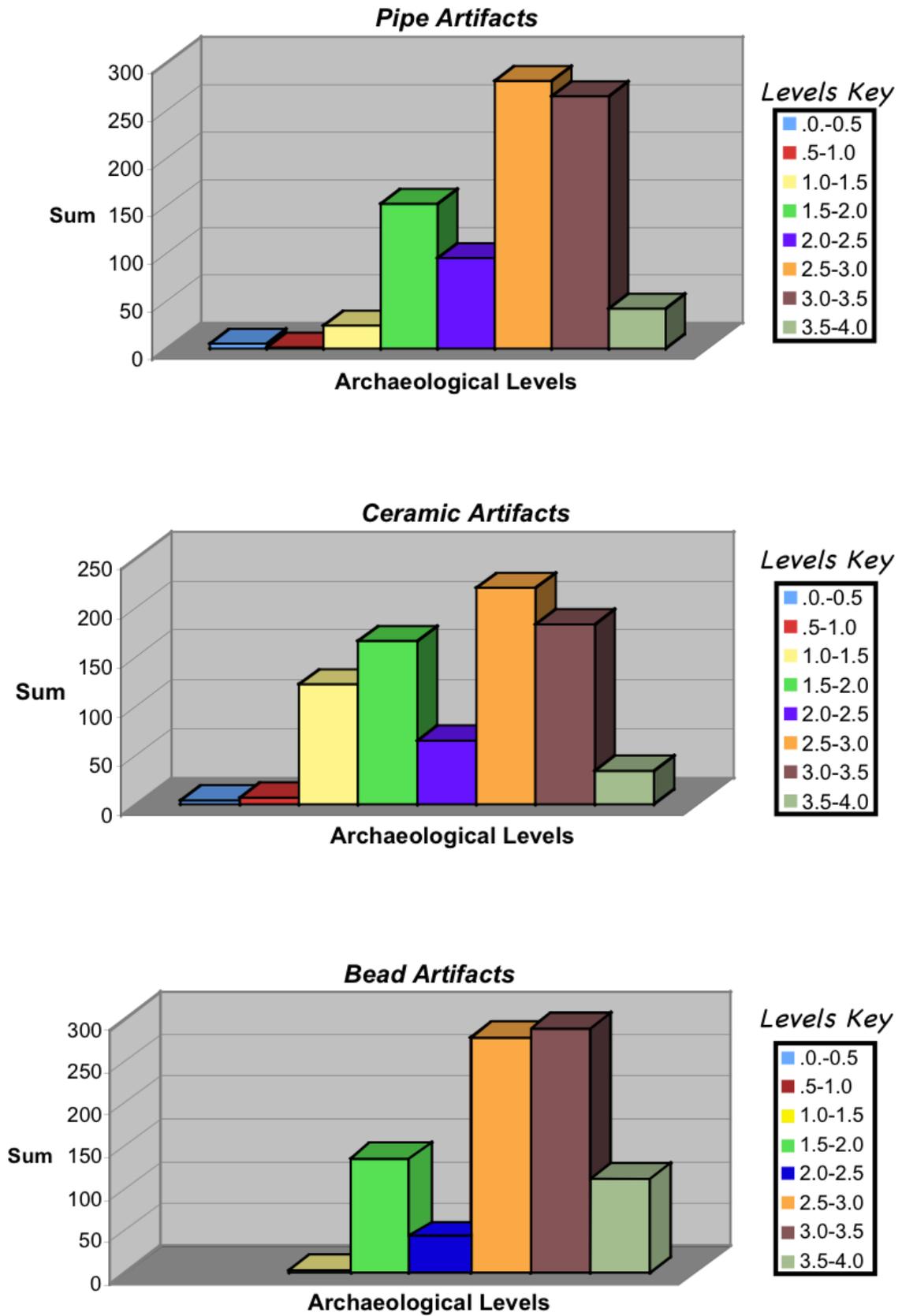


FIGURE 27. Bar charts show presence of artifact groups in cellar: (a) pipe artifacts, (b) ceramics, and (c) beads.

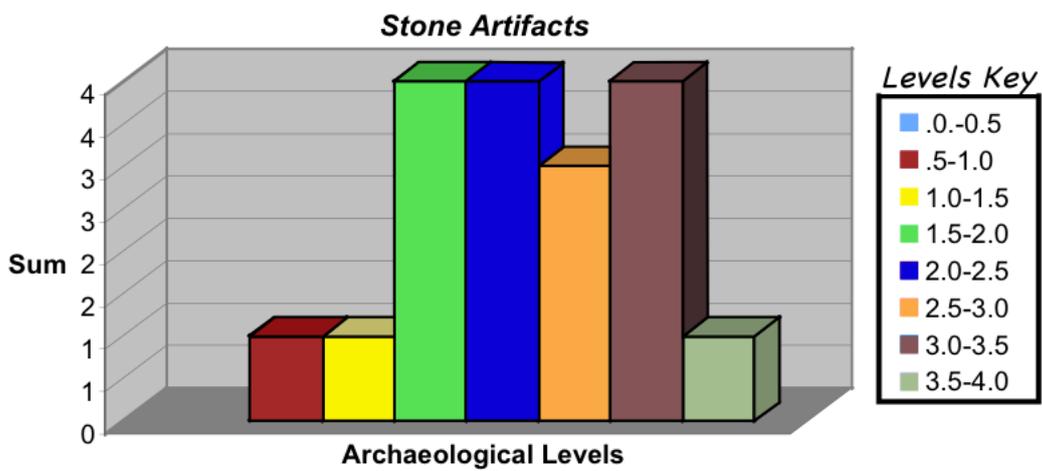
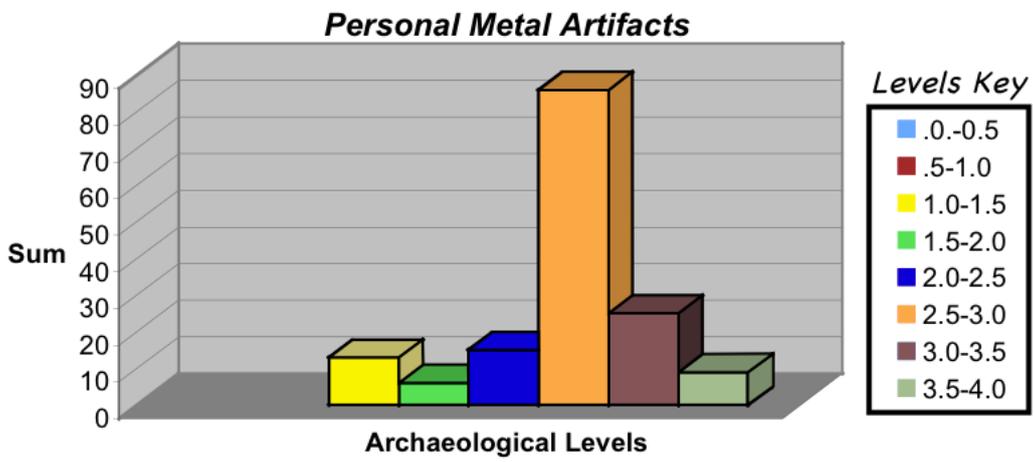
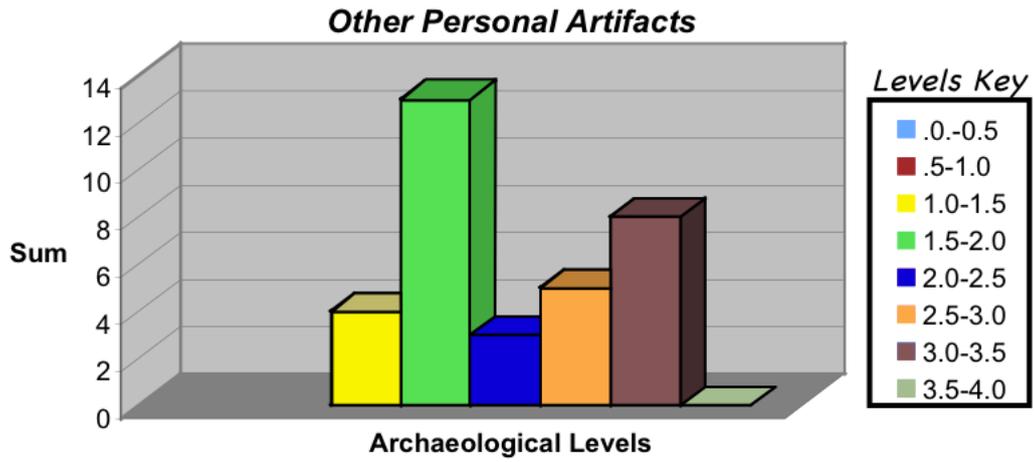


FIGURE 28. Bar charts show presence of artifact groups in cellar: (a) other personal items, (b) personal metal objects, and (c) stone artifacts.

This house also represents an excavated household of two different occupancy sets, where the variation is the presence (or not) of families inclusive of women and children. Thomas and Hibbs concluded that artifact additions simply reflected different purchasing product choices due to the US Army moving in but did not contemplate that one of the differences might reflect solely male presence as opposed to a family occupation.

Applying the family data, it is possible that the house became occupied by the John and Marie family as early as 1833 or the James and Jane family as early as 1839 and that there was a shift from family occupation to male only around 1850. Thomas and Hibbs interpret the house as being circa 1825, having a cellar construction date of around 1835, and demolition at 1860. Analysis date ranges, suggested by occupation of the household would be 1825 to 1839, 1835-1839 to 1850, and 1850 to 1860.

My pin research reveals that Operation 14 contains the largest number of pins excavated in any operation on the site to date. More pins were found here than at the Factor excavations. More pins were found here than any other operation inside or outside the stockade walls. A total of 35 complete pins and 59 fragments were found. This represents a larger number than the flaked stone tools, implements, chipping waste and ground stone tools, which Thomas and Hibbs did choose to specifically analyze (there could be excellent artifact association with Indians, particularly of the 1825-1839 period). Pins were located outside of the cellar but interior to the house, in the cellar, exterior to the house and cellar (yet in proximity), and beyond the exterior posts of the house (in less proximity). In addition to short whites, one lill was found interior to the house. To sort through these changes I created images to ease visualization.

Figure 29 illustrates the excavated area of Operation 14, the cellar (Feature 54), and the revealed postholes, which are being used to define the house structural parameters. No single unit is completely contained by the cellar. The cellar straddles

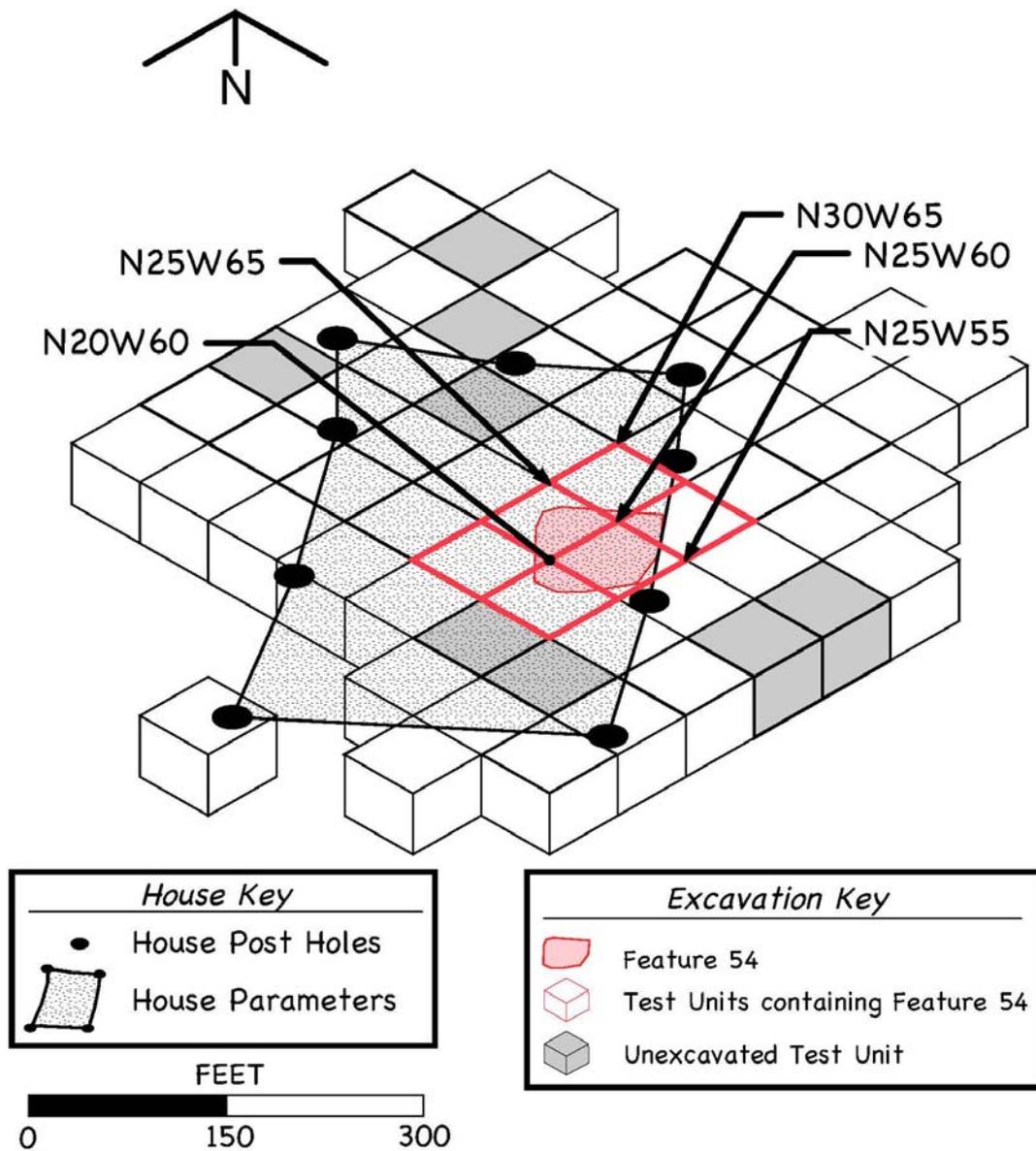


FIGURE 29. Map showing house and cellar excavation test units and their coordinates (my map number 080309). (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone, August 3, 2009.)

across and inside six excavation units: N30W60, N25W60, N20W60; N20W65; N25W65 and N30W65. The unit containing the mass of the cellar is N25W60.

The particular convention used for unit labeling used was to name the unit by the NW corner. Figure 30 illustrates this. The house excavation parameters lay within the unit coordinates of N30W85, N50W70, N15W50, and S5W65. This parameter includes the cellar.

								N40W 90		
			N15W 85	N20W 85		*N30 W85	N35W 85		N45W 85	
			N15W 80	N20W 80	N25W 80	N30W 80	N35W 80	N40W 80		
			N15W 75	N20W 75	N25W 75		N35W 75	N40W 75	N45W 75	
			N15W 70	N20W 70	N25W 70	N30W 70	N35W 70	*N40 W70	N45W 70	
*S5W 65			N15W 65	C	C	C	N35W 65	N40W 65	N45W 65	N50W 65
		N10W 60		C	C	C	N35W 60	N40W 60	N45W 60	N50W 60
	N5W 55	N10W 55		N20W 55	N25W 55	N30W 55	N35W 55	N40W 55		
		N10W 50	*N15 W50	N20W 50			N35W 50			

FIGURE 30. Illustration showing the excavation unit with associated unit name.

Excavation units are named by the NW corner unit coordinates (convention established by Thomas and Hibbs 1984). The “*” notes one of four corners of residence, inclusive of the original and the additions. “C” is a cellar unit of excavation. No label indicates that unit was not excavated nor included in the thesis analysis.

Table 12 lists the test unit where pin and pin fragments were located within HBC associated levels. An important note is that all pins, complete and fragments were recorded as located in stratum layer 3. “Fr” means fragment and “C” means complete.

It became apparent to me as I tried to construct a three-dimensional understanding of the various soil profiles and to “reconstruct” the cellar, that there is

TABLE 12
 TEST UNIT WHERE PIN AND PIN FRAGMENTS
 WERE LOCATED WITHIN HBC ASSOCIATED
 LEVELS

UNIT	PIN TOTAL
N25W60	8Fr
N25W55	4C 3Fr
N15W50	1C
N25W35	1C
N5W50	3C
N15W55	6C 6Fr
N20W55	4C 5Fr
N10W60	10C
N15W70	7Fr
N20W60	6C 30Fr
PIN TOTAL	35C 59Fr

strata non-registration at common edges of profiles. For example the north wall for test units N25W65 and N25W60 in Feature 54 are profiled, as is the east wall of N25W60. The east wall strata points should register with the north wall in the same unit. Unfortunately, they do not. There is a “sort-of” merging of some of the strata together in the east profile that does not merge in the northern profile.

The excavation philosophy of digging at six-inch layers within the house operation and digging by excavation and backfill layers within the cellar, and using a trowel when called for in any situation, was and remains appropriate in this setting. It is appropriate because this is a time increment that allows the interpreter to look at a depositional framing of time which is “tight enough” to be of use when trying to date other cultural material that resides within that same depositional layer, and also an opportunity to look for the reflections of how life may have changed over the entire deposition.

The choice to group the artifact material analysis into only two periods of administrative occupation makes it difficult for future researchers, and particularly for

me, to ask questions which look beyond those asked by Thomas and Hibbs. The presence of the common straight pin illustrates that living choices happened in the house, cellar and outdoors. Sewing illustrates the desire to clothe in cloth, the choice to spend time in the activity of sewing, reflecting respect for one's femininity, one's position and participating in a task respected and which may even be used to generate income. The presence of a lill suggests the use of a particular type of male decorative fashion or curation of the artifact. The presence of the more common pins suggests women sewing and also to a greater degree than has been found in other residences.

Ceramic and tobacco pipe analysis could potentially allow a more detailed date association per excavation layer. A future academic project of value would involve reanalyzing the ceramic vessels and tobacco pipes in order to create a more specific elevation and stratigraphic analytical tool (as in dendrochronology). Ceramic and tobacco pipe analysis could potentially contribute to a more refined understanding of the occupancy associations of the cellar and through this analysis also what was happening in relation to the overall house floors and activities of the occupants. This dating possibly would allow a more detailed analysis and more descriptive conclusions regarding all the occupants, female and male.

The ability to spot provenience of each artifact in the field and then to integrate it into a functioning data set as one goes along in the excavation as well as when the investigator needs to produce a profile or report could lead to greater accuracy of interpretation. With the contemporary electronic ease of "three-dimensional" construction, it would make sense to do this from profiles prior to backfilling and closing out excavations.

In general, I would suggest that all future excavation analysis and report construction include more specific attention to elevation. This more contemporary and

discriminating excavation strategy could also allow more association of particular artifact sets with specific occupancy periods.

For example, more specific artifact provenience could also allow field testing of the Voss suggestion that historic period occupants of houses used their homes in a different manner than the occupants of the suburban houses of the 1960s and the archaeological strategy should be set to search for that difference (Voss 2006). The presence of pins both inside and outside the house support the Voss suggestion. I would recommend that future Village house excavations be designed to go beyond a restricted structural footprint. In the past, when I have applied for an excavation permit I have tried to contain ground disturbance to as close as possible to the “known” architectural footprint with a few pits positioned beyond for reasons of time, excavation funding, laboratory analysis time, curation costs, research time, and the knowledge that excavation is destructive and leaving as much as is reasonable for future archaeologists. However, I will be following the Voss suggestion, and in the years to come look carefully at my presumptions regarding architectural boundaries and footprints.

The Johnson house contains the largest ceramic assemblage recovered from any single HBC Village household site (Cromwell 2006:244). Because of the way that the ceramic information was categorized, stored in the database, and written up in the Thomas and Hibbs report, however it is impossible to separate out teaware from tableware, minimum number of vessels, and certain information that could have been gleaned from the stoneware and porcelains (Cromwell 2006:245-246).

Due to the number of the ceramics collected and the time that would be required for reanalysis, Cromwell utilized the Thomas and Hibbs ceramic assemblage data as it was presented, as a whole and not based upon elevation or deposition position (Cromwell 2006:245). Cromwell was able to find that the mean ceramic date of the

ceramic vessels of the entire operation matched very closely to the estimated date range of occupation of ca. 1835-46 (Cromwell 2006:251).

In general, Cromwell accepted the conclusions of Thomas and Hibbs' work when he created the background context for his ceramic research, which included ceramics from the Johnson house. He credited Thomas and Hibbs with making a good case for identification of the household with the cooper, John Johnson (Cromwell 2006:235).

Cromwell accepted that the Thomas and Hibbs interpretation of the ceramic artifact collection associated with the residence suggested occupants of higher income. He also noted that the overall value of the ceramic goods compared to income over the years of occupancy also suggested that ceramics might have been viewed by this household as a means to reinforce social standing, the ceramic data from this house not showing substantially different quantitative or qualitative difference from other Village households (Cromwell 2006:289). Feature 54 data showed a similar richness in the number of broken ceramic vessels at two other Village households, of lesser annual salary, which Cromwell thought unusual, since Johnson was probably raised with the cultural value of using ceramic vessels as tableware back in England (Cromwell 2006:258). Cromwell suggested that it raised questions about the occupants of the other Village houses being of a similar origin or socio-economic class as the Johnson household (Cromwell 2006:258). Diplomatically put by Cromwell, his data could also point to the Johnson household as not having been correctly identified by Thomas and Hibbs, or at least not as conclusively identified as has been interpreted since 1984.

The information in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 has shown that the following items are not useful indicators at Vancouver in the examination of the material record for

behaviors reflecting specific and singular gender behaviors: color choice, wealth, status, beads, and pipes.

My research suggests the use of pins as a clue which can be useful in describing specific gender presence in an archaeological site. Written documents support the use of pins as an indicator of gender. Pins can be a valuable tool for identifying gender related material artifact presence and activities. Similar to other cultural materials their migration does depend on the amount of post depositional disturbance. Pins endure climatic exposure. They are good to find because they can be supported via information found in documentary records, including illustrations and sales records. Pins can be a reliable indicator but they are also subject to limitations of past researcher bias in project design, collection, recording, and curation.

This chapter contributes and expands on the interpretation of the Johnson house and cellar. It demonstrates what opportunities could have been taken but were missed.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Suggestions

This research project had its genesis from a combination of personal experience and personal attitude rather than emerging from a specific research question. For years, I have suggested that if one anticipates seeing an item in the refrigerator (such as the milk container), prior to opening the door, the odds of actually seeing the item on the shelf when one looks in the refrigerator is higher. My suggestion was not based on a scientific study, but on the experience that twice a week milk is purchased and put in our refrigerator. We do not consume a lot of milk, and a carton can usually be found inside. A certain member of our family always says, as he walks towards the refrigerator, “Is there any milk?” He then opens the door, looks in, closes the door, turns towards me and says, “There is no milk.” I then get up (expecting to find the milk carton), go over to the refrigerator, and open the door. I peer across the items and pull out the milk carton.

Being of the milk carton “finder” persuasion, and knowing what to look for, it seems reasonable to attempt to look for the evidence of presence of something if there is information that suggests that what I am looking for is going to be there, if I actually look. Gender behaviors can be both significant and nuanced behaviors. Inclusion of gender considerations presents the archaeologist with a more thorough and accurate research design. A shift in the paradigm of archaeological research design is imperative in order to capture examples of gender behaviors.

As discussed in the first chapter, professional archaeology is changing as our professional community reflects the changes in our culture. Archaeologists have begun to ask different questions and view the archaeological record with a new perspective. The profession continues to adapt to a previously ignored reality. The result is a better

understanding of the behaviors of women, men, and children and their visibility in the historical record. I believe that we are still at the beginning stage of change because only a minority of practitioners are paying attention to feminist theory, and asking the very fundamental questions of how it links with archaeological research.

Fort Vancouver is a well-documented site that offers an opportunity to assess the strengths and challenges of its many investigators in taking account of the presence of women, men, and children and their impact on the archaeological record. Based on the archaeological excavation material, evidence can be summarized as follows: the general architectural footprint plan of Fort Vancouver is very generally understood inside and outside the stockade walls. The further west the archaeologist moves from outside the stockade walls the earlier the era of Hudson's Bay Company structures and the more contemporary construction disturbances. Within the stockade the architectural footprint and architectural construction choices are very well documented and understood.

That men have been the principal subject of investigation has skewed the interpretation of the archaeological data. Feminist perspective requires the principal subject to be humans. By incorporating historic information and the feminist views the principal subject becomes human and their associated interrelations. This more holistic perspective is what allows the archaeologist to speak to adaptive cultural behaviors at Vancouver.

This thesis assembles for the first time the accumulated documentary evidence from multiple sources for women at the Vancouver site. Together with the information on the men, these documents present a considerable body of evidence. The family size as Vancouver was four, similar in size to two neighboring populations. The overall population at Vancouver included diversity in ethnic backgrounds and age. Some lived

in the community for a long time but most lived at Vancouver for one to three years. Women were marrying and birthing their first child right about the same time and when they were 21 while their partners were around 34 years old. Men and women were dying around the same age, in their late 40s. The impact on the children would be that they would have more years with a living mother.

The documentary evidence suggests significant adaptation to British culture. The various Church records show that people were making substantial changes away from some of the traditional behaviors described in the second chapters. Whether this shift happened during residence at Vancouver or simply was recorded at Vancouver is impossible to confirm with the documentary evidence examined.

The documentary evidence of the particular presence of women, children, and men is reasonably good while the archaeological evidence is patchy. At Vancouver, through the public excavations and the ability to watch and do lab work all day every day, the public is shown that both excavation and the cultural material analysis of the artifacts found during excavation are important. The public is not shown the importance of the good practices of storage, interpretation, and avenues of accessibility for those who will need to, or want to, use the cultural materials. Vancouver could provide examples of how to construct good overall research design, from historic documentation findings, establishment of an excavation strategy that allows the objective to be reached, good practices of excavation, analysis, storage, interpretation, and avenues of accessibility. Collections management should be an important a demonstration as excavation and cultural material analysis.

Feminist perspective demands a consideration of interdependence between the artifacts and the archaeologist. It also believes that gender is a social differentiation with a need to focus not on male or female, but on one behavior. One cannot see the

entire data set for what it could tell about behavior unless you assume that both sexes may have had similar behavior choices. It takes a feminist perspective from the archaeologist in order to look at the material for evidence of social differentiation. In this thesis the contemporary group of male archaeologists looking at the body of evidence for pipe smoking at Fort Vancouver interpreted pipes as indicating a singularly male behavior. However, by applying feminist perspective, the reality and interpretation becomes very different. Historic pipe smokers were both male and female.

Utilizing a feminist perspective to study the debris of daily behaviors can provide key information on how gender influenced labor and social relationships. Examination of sewing and consideration of an income relationship and how that impacted social relationships provide one example of this perspective.

The research on pins in this thesis again demonstrates this feminist perspective. At Fort Vancouver sewing, using the common straight pin, was done by women. Sewing was taught to the Indian women and children as a skill that indicated appropriate female and feminine behavior. The artifact of the pin elicited inferences from the archaeological records and the documentary and historic research which revealed behaviors about both men and women. The pins revealed the social and economic behavior of men doing laundry in addition to cooking in the Chief Factor Kitchen. Women sewed as a social behavior and as an economic behavior in their Fort Vancouver life, sewing both indoors and outdoors.

Not all places where women had been present contained straight pins. However, the common straight pin was found in locations where people had resided and where people had gathered. I would suggest that the presence of straight pins in the Bastion,

taken together with the housing shortages, provides evidence that the Bastion also served as a residence.

Artifacts can be descriptive and inform the historic descriptions or stories used to describe and/or understand cultural behaviors. However, the archaeologist can never reach this point of interpretation, as this thesis demonstrates, unless the paradigms that the archaeologist uses are as unbiased as possible. The paradigms impact the research design, objectives, methodology, curation and access. When there is bias in these areas, the interpretation remains limited.

The largest body of existing archaeological evidence of an era household outside the Fort Vancouver stockade is the Johnson house. The dates of deposition of pins at the Johnson House were all tied to the HBC era. The Thomas and Hibbs report analyzed a data set of approximately 130 years of two administrative occupations, US Army and Hudson's Bay Company. This is not nuanced enough to describe a household occupancy of approximately 30 years with at least three different occupant "sets" (an unknown, a family, and a "family" or group of five men). The amalgamation of large number of artifacts, however, works against future research, and especially study being done as an academic project by a single student. For example, when trained, and dealing with ceramic sherds of a known identity, it is possible to identify around 40 artifacts per hour. Given the thousands of artifacts found during a typical excavation at Fort Vancouver, "biting the bullet" by paying for and doing appropriate analysis the first time through is the responsible choice, for it allows the current investigator to answer particular investigative questions and create future archaeological analysis. Pushing the appropriate analysis off into the future for later funding and subsequent available hours actually dilutes the archaeological integrity of the whole of the Vancouver data set.

It is possible that reanalyzing the Johnson (house and cellar) artifacts and creating a more descriptive analysis of what happened in their debris could allow any future researcher a better understanding of what happened on the site. Additionally, this information could help date artifact material in other projects of this time period in other NW sites. This information could act as valuable chronological markers during any future excavations at the multiple acre Park.

I anticipate that the largest body of undisturbed unexcavated household information is probably at the Bachelor's Quarters (documentary evidence indicates that women and children also lived in this residence). When this excavation occurs, or any other excavation in the Park, it is anticipated that the professional staff of the park will find the depositions to be very similar to those that have been previously excavated. Archaeological material evidence for all residents of Vancouver, independent of their gender, marital status, ethnic background and/or nationality, is typically from the same basket of Hudson's Bay Company imported goods.

It is critical that the preliminary historical research is included and happens prior to excavation. Archaeological evidence alone provides an incomplete description.

Much of my analysis presents a limited picture, because so many completed digs were unconscious and unconcerned about gender behavior. I would recommend that more could be done through incorporating the following managerial suggestions for improvement.

I would encourage resistance to selective retention and storage of artifacts. The pin analysis in this research required access to artifacts of a type that had not been valued. This thesis research required the presence of the pins themselves. An evolution of inquiry requires that the body of historical evidence remain intact and available to researchers.

The decision to professionalize Fort Vancouver staff and have them run the archaeology (rather than hiring various and ever changing subcontractors each season) has resulted in a superior level of excavation, lab work, report generation, and the beginning of a semblance of order and systems in examining the reports of decades. It is now possible to know what maps, records, reports, images, notes, and books the Fort holds and where they are located. When this research project started it was not possible. Archaeologist subcontractors prior to this professionalization did not have this advantage and were digging more blind than they needed to be. Adding professional permanent staff, rather than temporary subcontractors, should be encouraged, given the magnitude of information that must be carried in one's mind.

Historical archaeologists who have been hired at Fort Vancouver have special dual training, being able to research and view historical documentation with the double perspective of training and experience in field archaeology. This thesis work demonstrates that a greater commitment and more thorough use of historical documents prior to excavation would help the investigator develop an excavation strategy that pays greater attention to the small details that might indicate the presence of women and gendered behavior. Through the decades much time and dollars have been spent on excavation, curation and analysis. The archaeologist as a historical investigator on the staff at Fort Vancouver understands the nuanced reflection of behavior in the artifacts spread throughout the layered depositions. Committed funding for the staff to do historical research and the physical space in which to do this work is an important corollary. A commitment to historical analysis should include: funding for research prior to excavation, purchase of computers for use by onsite researchers and each staff member, with software to be used for archiving and also for completing the latest urgent excavation report; creation of map layout space so that maps can be used;

integration of maps to show all unit locations and tie unit information into the provenience data of artifacts; funding and acquisition of copies of all Vancouver specific HBC materials and copies of Catholic and tribal genealogical information; funding to update material analysis; completion of GIS work and artifact material entry so that my work and Cromwell's are not unique in their examination of material inside and outside the stockade walls. The current funding and the demand that historical archaeological work should continue without appropriate funding is "Penny wise and pound foolish." Professional staff must have appropriate facilities, equipment, time and funding in order to do professional work. The grounds are protected. With funds staff does have the time to bring backlogs up to date and truly accessible for study.

The Vancouver collection would be an internationally valuable source of information if funding dollars were committed to making the information usable. With each excavation the collection grows. With significantly important information about the artifacts not being, practically speaking, retrievable, and with the incomplete analysis of particular categories of artifacts, the collection grows less useful as it grows larger. I would recommend that excavation be minimized until this is resolved.

It must be emphasized that the "seeing" of gender does not only emerge at the point of finding gender related cultural material. In order to see gender, all stages of the archaeological project must take gender into consideration. In this thesis the clearest information came from the historical documents and genealogy. This evidence was validated by the artifact collections.

As for the documentary evidence, the "historical" side of the equation can be summarized as follows: The greatest surprise of this thesis project was the quantity and strength of historical documentation that existed for individuals, independent of their sex or age. I had anticipated that there would be greater invisibility but the more

daunting reality was the abundance of biographical information. Tribal genealogical research and an exhaustive search of Church documents went beyond the scope of this project and could potentially add to or change my family formation conclusions. It seems that every year a new and better computer program for genealogy research appears on the market. Like Towner, I would recommend this as an area for new research.

The volume of recorded marriages, births, baptisms, deaths, burials, and witnessing shown in this research project all testify to the importance of these kinds of social relationships to the females and males who lived at Fort Vancouver, in the Village and inside the stockade walls.

When archaeologists apply for an excavation permit they must describe their excavation strategy and assure good practice. I believe that as valuable and important an element is the good practice of historic research and its ability to inform the excavation. This is how good research designs are formulated.

Feminist archaeological interpretation would be as inclusive as possible, and would guard against a research design bias towards architecture. The point of the feminist archaeological interpretation is larger than my original theme of “seeing” women at the Fort. The question of finding women, on its own, is smaller for two reasons, one positive and one negative. The positive is that it was fairly easy to establish the presence of women through documentary evidence. The negative reason is that most of the previous archaeological investigators of the site did a poor job of looking for women archaeologically. This makes a discussion of the presence of women and of gendered behaviors paradoxically both strong and weak.

The larger point of the feminist archaeological interpretation is about integrating all the evidence in an investigation (evidence of all deposition, of artifacts, and of

documents) to create a more holistic picture. This composite is the story of a fully coordinated and meticulously documented investigation, in which the smallest pins would be preserved and tabulated as carefully as trade beads, and where the historical documentary evidence is married to all the archeological evidence to create a nuanced picture. This did not happen fully successfully at Fort Vancouver, but examples of the ideal process are described in this thesis. My proposed approach makes all findings more effective. I offer the combination of artifact and documentary evidence assembled in my thesis as a stimulus to further coordinated analysis of this kind, at Fort Vancouver and elsewhere.

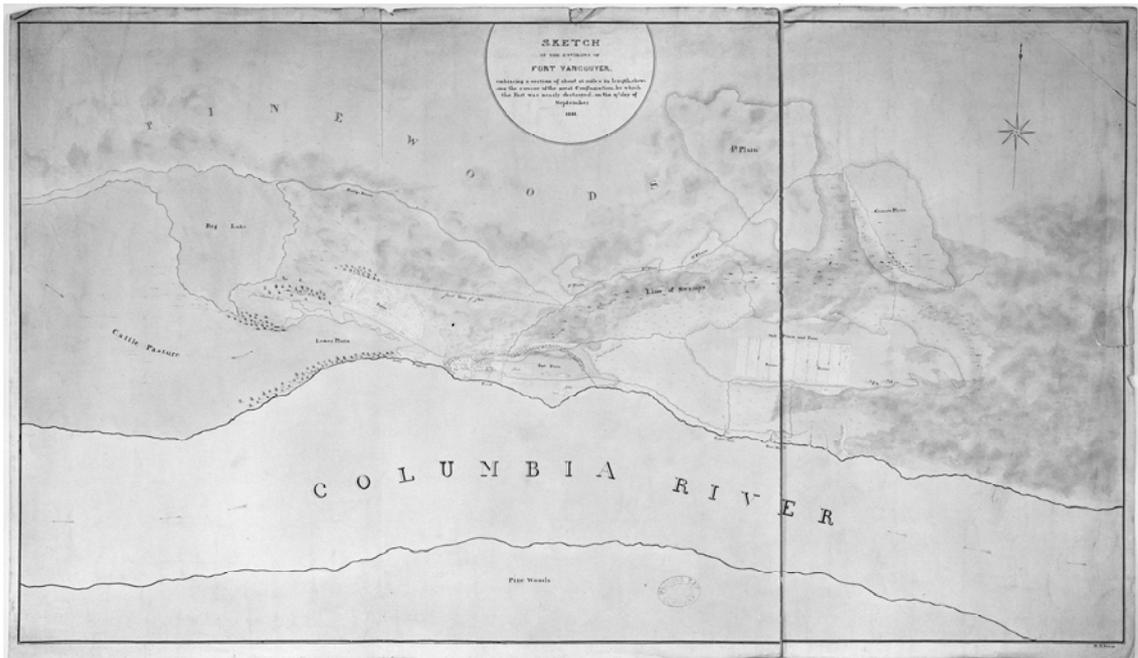


FIGURE 32. The “Line of Fire Map” H.N. Peers map showing the fire line in September 1844. The map provides an overview of the locale, showing the Fort and about 16 miles of fields surrounding the Stockade. The formal title of the map is “Sketch Of The Environs of Fort Vancouver, embracing a section of about 16 miles in length, showing the course of the great Conflagration, by which the Fort was nearly destroyed, on the 27th day of September.” Image is reproduced with permission of the HBCA, reference number is HBCA G.1/125. The negative number is N4445.

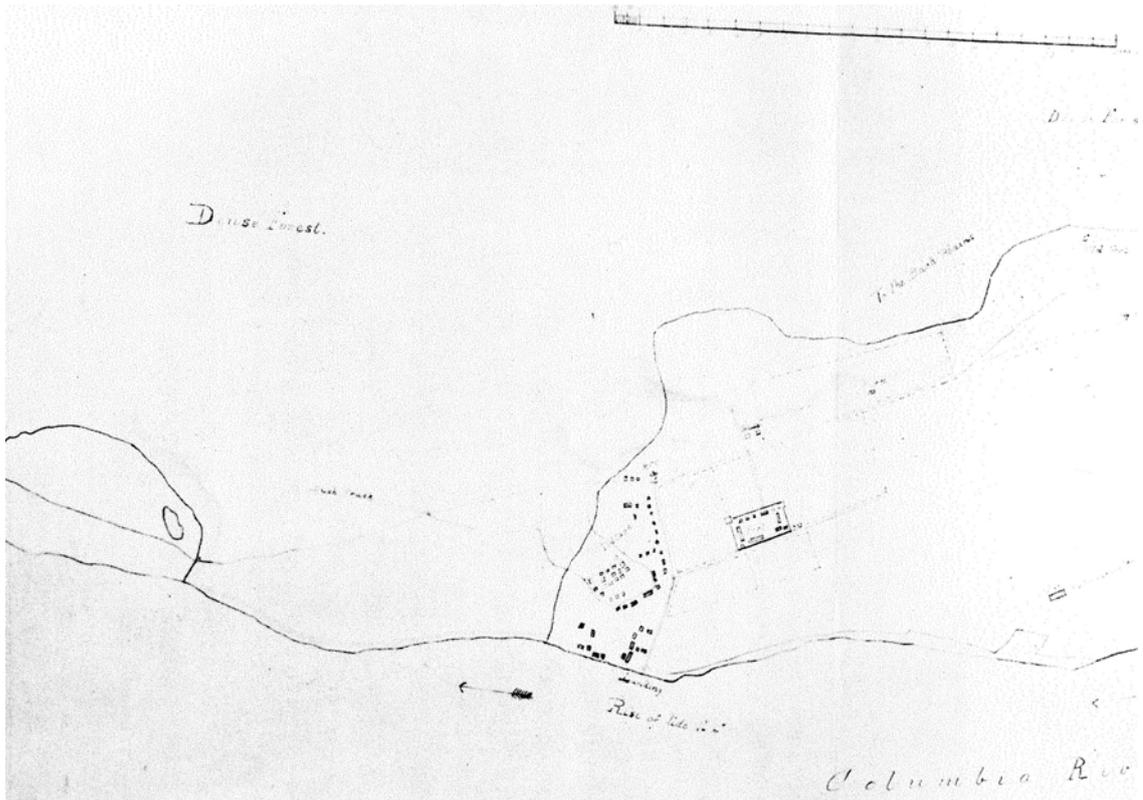


FIGURE 33. Vavasour Map of 1845 showing the vicinity of Vancouver (Hussey 1957:Plate V).



FIGURE 34. 1845 Ware drawing showing the southwest corner of the stockade. The image centers on the fort stockade wall, focusing on the issues of defense and division. Also note: the flag, the buildings outside the wall, the proximity of the less developed and wilder landscape (the Line of Fire Map shows 16 miles of fields), and Indians not attired in British style clothing (Hussey 1957:Plate VI).

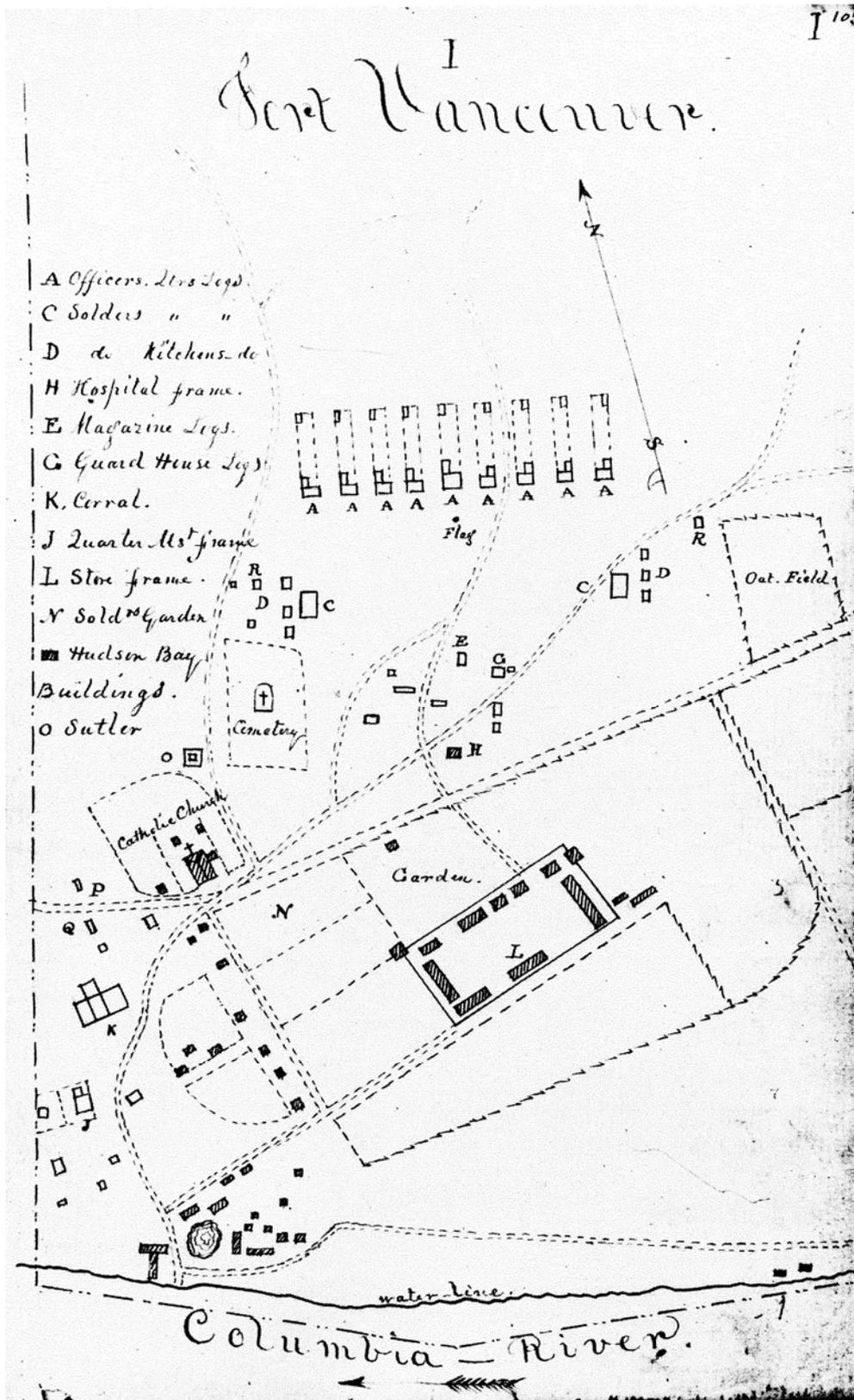


FIGURE 35. Mansfield 1854 map of the military reservation. The emphasis is on military reservation details (Hussey 1957:Plate XVII).

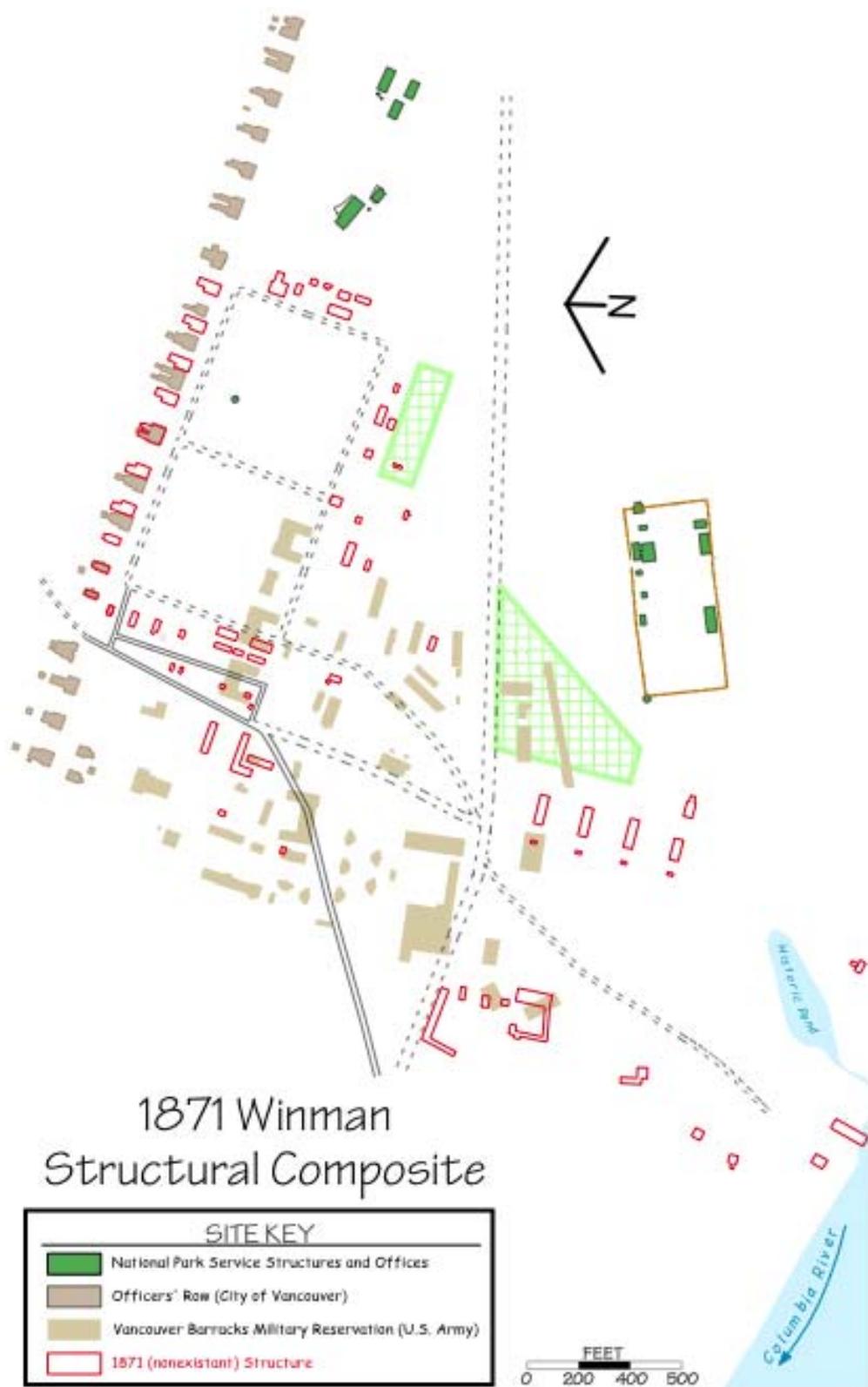


FIGURE 36. 1871 Winman in Composite with NPS structures, US Army and City of Vancouver Buildings, and HBC Building footprints or reproduced structures (Keith Garnett and Delight Stone).

APPENDIX 2

SPSS Data Questionnaire

I have created a record for each individual containing this information:

Family Birth Name [LASTNAME],

Familiar Birth Names [FAMILIARNAMES],

Family Married Name [MARRIED1NAME],

Family Married Name [MARRIED2NAME],

Respondent ID Number [ID],

Sex of Respondent [SEX],

Religious Registration [RELIGION],

Baptism Date [BAPTISM],

Ethnic Affiliation [HERITAGE],

Marital Status [MARITAL],

Year of Birth [BIRTH],

Employment Status at Fort [CONTRACTLABOR],

Months Employed by Contract [MONCONTRACT],

Year Arrived First at Fort [YR1ARRIVED],

Year Departed First at Fort [YR1LEFT],

Year Arrived Second at Fort [YR2ARRIVED],

Year Departed Second at Fort [YR2LEFT],

Year Arrived Third at Fort [YR3ARRIVED],

Year Departed Third at Fort [YR3LEFT],

Age When First Child Born [AGEFIRSTKID],

Number of Minor Aged Children When First Married [MARRY1CHILDREN],

Number of Minor Aged Children When Second Married [MARRY2CHILDREN],

Age When Second Child Born [AGESECONDKID],
Age When Third Child Born [AGETHIRDKID],
Age When Fourth Child Born [AGEFOURTHKID],
Age When Fifth Child Born [AGEFIFTHKID],
Age When Sixth Child Born [AGESIXTHKID],
Age of Respondent Death [AGERESPDEATH],
Age of Respondent on Death1 of Family Member [AGEFAMDEATH1],
Age of Respondent on Death2 of Family Member [AGEFAMDEATH2],
Age of Respondent on Death3 of Family Member [AGEFAMDEATH3],
Burial Location of Respondent [BURIED],
Notes [WITNESS NAMES AND OTHER MISC].

APPENDIX 3

Questions Asked Specific to Females

Specific questions in my statistical analysis relating to females (questions 6-57).

6. What was the youngest age of female who had a recorded date of marriage?
7. What was the oldest age of female who had a recorded date of marriage?
8. What was the median age of females who had a recorded date of marriage?
9. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded date of death?
10. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded birth of a child(ren)?
11. What was the youngest age of female who had a recorded date of birth of a first child?
12. What was the oldest age of females who had a recorded date of birth of a first child?
13. What was the median age of females who had a recorded date of birth of a child (first recorded)?
14. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded name of a marriage partner?
15. What was the youngest,
16. oldest, and
17. median age of females who had a recorded date of marriage (first recorded marriage)?
18. How many had second marriages?
19. Third marriages?
20. Fourth marriages?
21. Of females with recorded marriages, what is the range of recorded date of next marriage after death of partner? Did women who were married to men who were of a certain HBC job (and its associated economic class) remarry quicker than others?

22. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded name of parent(s)?
23. What was the youngest age of female who had a recorded date of death?
24. What was the oldest age of female who had a recorded date of death?
25. What was the median age of females who had a recorded date of death?
26. What was the number of females who had a recorded date of age at death? What was that age?
27. What was the youngest death of female, who had a recorded date of born child?
28. What was the oldest age of death of female, who had a recorded date of born child?
29. What was the median age of death of female, who had a recorded date of born child?
30. What was the range of number of children for females who had a recorded number of children?
31. Largest number?
32. Number of male children?
33. Number of female children?
34. Average number of children?
35. Number of recorded sibling sets?
36. Number of all female sibling sets?
37. Number of all male sibling sets?
38. What was the youngest age of death of female, who had a recorded date of death of a child?
39. What was the oldest age of death of female, who had a recorded date of death of a child?
40. What was the median age of death of females, who had a recorded date of death of a child?

41. Of women who had recorded dates of death, how many women died within two years of a death of a newborn?
42. One year?
43. What was the youngest age of death of females, who had a recorded date of death of a male partner?
44. What was the oldest age of death of female, who had a recorded date of death of a male partner?
45. What was the median age of death of females, who had a recorded date of death of a male partner?
46. Of women who had recorded dates of death, how many women died within two years of a death of a male partner?
47. One year?
48. How many of the total females, recorded, had a recorded date of first arrival at Vancouver?
49. How many of the total females, recorded, had a recorded date of leaving Vancouver (first departure)?
50. How many of the total females, recorded, had a recorded date of returning to Vancouver?
51. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded date of first arrival and first departure?
52. What was the median length of residency at Fort Vancouver?
53. What was the shortest length of residency at Fort Vancouver?
54. What was the longest length of residency at Fort Vancouver?
55. For females, is there a relationship between recorded number of children and length of residency at Vancouver?

56. For females with recorded names, is there a relationship between recorded death of a child and recorded date of departure?

57. How many of the total recorded females also had a recorded place of birth?

APPENDIX 4

Questions Asked Related to Males

Specific questions asked in my statistical analysis questions relating to males (questions 58-118).

58. What is the total number of males, names recorded or recognized and labeled as unknown (but recorded as existing)?

59. What is the total number of males whose names are recorded?

60. How many of the total recorded males, also had a recorded date of birth?

61. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded date of baptism?

62. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded date of marriage?

63. What is the age of the youngest?

64. The oldest?

65. Median age of males who had a recorded date of marriage?

66. Oldest?

67. Median?

68. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded date of death?

69. How many of the total males, recorded, also had a recorded birth of their first child(ren)?

70. What was the age of the youngest?

71. The oldest?

72. The median age?

73. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded name of a marriage partner?

74. What was the age of the youngest recorded males who had a recorded date of marriage (first recorded marriage)?

75. What was the age of the oldest males who had a recorded date of marriage (first recorded marriage)?
76. What was the median age of males who had a recorded date of marriage (first recorded marriage)?
77. How many had second marriages?
78. Third marriages?
79. Fourth marriages?
80. Of recorded marriages, what is the range of the recorded date of next marriage after the death of partner?
81. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded name of parent(s)?
82. What was the age of the youngest male who had a recorded date of death?
83. What was the age of the oldest males who had a recorded date of death?
84. What was the median age of males who had a recorded date of death?
85. What year had the most deaths?
86. What year had the fewest deaths?
87. Did females die at the same rate as men?
88. What was the age of the youngest male?
89. The oldest?
90. The median age of death of males, who had a recorded date of born child?
91. What was the range of number of children for males who had a recorded number of children?
92. Greatest number?
93. Number of male children?
94. Number of female children?
95. Average number of children?

96. Number of recorded sibling sets?
97. Number of all female sibling sets?
98. Number of all male sibling sets?
99. What was the age of death of the youngest male, who had a recorded date of death of a child?
100. The oldest?
101. The median?
102. Of men who had recorded dates of death, how many men died within two years of a death of a newborn?
103. One year?
104. What was the youngest age of death of males, who had a recorded date of death of a female partner?
105. The oldest?
106. The median?
107. Of men who had recorded dates of death, how many men died within two years of a death of a female partner?
108. Within one year?
109. How many of the recorded total of males had a recorded date of first arrival at Vancouver?
110. How many of the recorded total of males had a recorded date of leaving Vancouver (departure)?
111. How many of the recorded total males had a recorded date of returning to Vancouver?
112. How many of the recorded total of males also had a recorded date of first arrival and first departure?

113. What was the length of shortest residency?
114. Longest?
115. The median length of residency?
116. For males, is there a relationship between recorded number of children and length of residency at Vancouver?
117. Is there a relationship between recorded death of a child and recorded date of departure?
118. How many of the total recorded males also had a recorded place of birth?

APPENDIX 5

Results of SPSS Data Run

Reader please note that despite the use of terms such as “correlation,” the written interpretation uses descriptive statistical analysis due to the representative qualities, quantities and variations in the data and data collection methodologies and restrictions.

“.xlsx” refers to the Excel Spreadsheet name that contained the information set used by the SPSS program.

Age when first married female and male SPSS data

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Valid N
Age when first married	25.9	10.0	69	24	114
Age when 1st Child Born	26.1	9.0	60	23	75
Age at Death	44.5	0.0	100	47	193
Age of death of mother among those with a	54.1	20.0	100	51	38
Total number of female children	0.2	0.0	6	0	1277
Total number of male children	0.3	0.0	6	0	1277
Number of children of unknown sex	0.1	0.0	8	0	1277
Total number of children	0.6	0.0	8	0	1277
Age of death of mother among women who had a recorded child death year	68.5	50.0	85	70	4

Correlations for female SPSS data set.xlsx

		Residency length	Total number of children
Length of residency at fort	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-0.187
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.183
	N	52.000	52
Total number of children	Pearson Correlation	-0.187	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.183	
	N	52.000	385

Departure date male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	486	54.5
No	406	45.5
Total	892	100.0

Female SPSS data age when first.xlsx

	Mean	Minimum
Age when first married	21.9	10
Age when first child born	21.3	9
Age at death	36.5	0
Age of death of mother among those with a recorded child birth year	46.5	20
Total number of female children	0.4	0
Total number of male children	0.4	0
Number of children of unknown sex	0.1	0
Total number of children	0.9	0
Age of death of mother among women who had a recorded child death year	85	85

Maximum	Median	Valid N
43	20	73
37	21	50
100	31	69
87	41	20
6	0	385
6	0	385
8	0	385
8	0	385
85	85	1

First year at Fort.docx (female SPSS data set)

Year	Number	Percent
1824	3	5.6
1826	1	1.9
1827	4	7.4
1828	1	1.9
1829	1	1.9
1831	2	3.7
1836	1	1.9
1837	13	24.1
1838	22	40.7
1839	1	1.9
1841	1	1.9
1842	1	1.9
1846	1	1.9
1856	1	1.9
1861	1	1.9
Total	54	100.0

First Year at Fort male SPSS data set

Year	Number	Percent
1824	2	0.4
1825	2	0.4
1826	3	0.6
1827	147	30.2
1829	1	0.2
1830	34	7.0
1831	3	0.6
1833	2	0.4
1834	2	0.4
1836	2	0.4
1837	58	11.9
1838	30	6.2
1839	9	1.9
1840	1	0.2
1841	110	22.6
1842	34	7.0
1843	17	3.5
1844	3	0.6
1845	5	1.0
1846	1	0.2
1847	1	0.2
1848	1	2.0
1851	1	0.2
1852	1	0.2
1853	5	1.0
1854	2	0.4
1855	3	0.6
1856	3	0.6
1857	1	0.2
1858	1	0.2
1859	1	0.2
Total	486	100.0

Had child before they arrived at the fort separated female and male data set.xlsx

First Year at Fort	Male Number	Female Number	Total Number
1824	0	1	1
1825	0	0	0
1826	0	0	0
1827	2	0	2
1828	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	0	0	0
1831	0	0	0
1833	0	0	0
1834	1	0	1
1836	0	0	0
1837	4	1	5
1838	1	3	4
1839	0	1	1
1840	0	0	0
1841	7	0	7
1842	1	0	1
1843	3	0	3
1844	1	0	1
1845	2	0	2
1846	0	0	0
1847	0	0	0
1848	0	0	0
1851	0	0	0
1852	1	0	1
1853	1	0	1
1854	0	0	0
1855	1	0	1
1856	0	0	0
1857	1	0	1
1858	1	0	1
1859	0	0	0
1861	0	0	0
Total	27	6	33

Notes:

This is based on the year they arrived at the fort and makes the following assumptions: if they had a child prior to the year of arrival and there is no evidence of the child dying before first year at the fort they are considered to have a child upon arrival since many of them do not have a child death date - it is not clear that these are correct

Had spouse prior to year they were first at fort female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

First Year at Fort	Male Number	Female Number	Total Number
1824	0	0	0
1825	0	0	0
1826	0	0	0
1827	1	0	1
1828	0	0	0
1829	0	0	0
1830	1	0	1
1831	0	0	0
1833	0	0	0
1834	0	0	0
1836	0	0	0
1837	0	0	0
1838	2	3	5
1839	0	1	1
1840	0	0	0
1841	5	0	5
1842	2	0	2
1843	1	0	1
1844	0	0	0
1845	1	0	1
1846	1	0	1
1847	0	0	0
1848	0	0	0
1851	0	0	0
1852	1	0	1
1853	0	0	0
1854	0	0	0
1855	1	0	1
1856	0	0	0
1857	0	0	0
1858	0	0	0
1859	0	0	0
1861	0	0	0
Total	16	4	20

Notes: These are people, based on the year they arrived at the fort, who had been couples prior to arriving. Since we do not have spouse's death date, we do not know if the spouse was still alive at that time

Have date for departure female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	52	13.5
No	333	86.5
Total	385	100.0

Have date for departure female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	538	42.1
No	739	57.9
Total	1277	100.0

Have date for first arrival female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	540	42.3
No	737	57.7
Total	1277	100.0

Have date for first arrival female SPSS data only.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	54	14.0
No	331	86.0
Total	385	100.0

Have date for first arrival male SPSS data set

	Number	Percent
Yes	486	54.5
No	406	45.5
Total	892	100.0

Is there a recorded location for birth female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	56	4.4
No	1221	95.6
Total	1277	100.0

Known parent name female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	296	23.2
No	981	76.8
Total	1277	100

Known parent name female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	148	38.4
No	237	61.6
Total	385	100.0

Known year of baptism female and male.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of baptism	490	38.4
No recorded year	787	61.6
Total	1277	100.0

Known year of baptism female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of baptism	161	41.8
No recorded year	285	58.2
Total	385	100.0

Known year of baptism male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of baptism	137	15.4
No recorded year	755	84.6
Total	892	100.0

Known year of birth female SPSS data.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of birth	230	59.7
No recorded year	155	40.3
Total	385	100.0

Known year of birth male SPSS data.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of birth	260	29.1
No recorded year	632	70.9
Total	892	100.0

Known year of death female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of death	76	19.7
No recorded year	309	80.3
Total	385	100.0

Known year of death female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of death	221	17.3
No recorded year	1056	82.7
Total	1277	100.0

Known year of death male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of death	145	15.7
No recorded year	747	83.7
Total	892	100.0

Known year of marriage female and male SPSS data.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of marriage	244	19.1
No recorded year	1033	80.9
Total	1277	100

Known year of marriage female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of marriage	100	26.0
No recorded year	285	74.0
Total	385	100.0

Known year of marriage male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Recorded year of marriage	144	16.3
No recorded year	748	83.7
Total	892	100.0

Length of residency at fort female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Valid N
Length of residency	3.0	0.0	37.0	0.0	52.0

Length of residency at fort male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Valid N
Length of residency	2.4	0	37	1	532

Male SPSS data set ages.xlsx

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Valid N
Age when first married	33	13	69	33	41
Age when first child born	35.9	11	60	37	25
Age at Death	48.9	0	100	54	124
Age at death of father among those with recorded date	62.5	35	100	65	18
Total number of female children	0.2	0	4	0	892
Total number of male children	0.2	0	5	0	892
Number of children unknown sex	0	0	8	0	892
Total number of children	0.4	0	8	0	892
Age of death of father among men who had a recorded date	63	50	71	68	3

Male SPSS data set length of residency.xlsx

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Median	Valid N
Length of residency at fort	2.3	0	30	1	480

Male SPSS data set Types of sibling arrangements.xlsx

	Number	Percent
None	704	78.9
Multiple female children only	14	1.6
Multiple male children only	12	1.3
Single female child	53	5.9
Single male child	48	5.4
Some male and some female children	52	5.8
Single child - unknown sex	3	0.3
Multiple children unknown sex or not known	6	0.7
Total	892	100.0

Parent name recorded male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	148	16.6
No	744	83.4
Total	892	100.0

Recorded birth location male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	30	3.4
No	862	96.6
Total	392	100.0

Recorded location of birth female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	26	6.8
No	359	93.2
Total	385	100.0

Recorded year of a child born female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	273	21.4
No	1004	78.6
Total	1277	100

Recorded year of a child born female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	133	34.5
No	252	65.5
Total	385	100.0

Recorded year of a child born male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	140	15.7
No	752	84.3
Total	892	100.0

Spouse name recorded female and male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	615	48.2
No	662	51.8
Total	1277	100.0

Spouse name recorded female SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	252	65.5
No	133	34.5
Total	385	100.0

Spouse name recorded male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
Yes	363	40.7
No	529	59.3
Total	892	100.0

Status of name female and male.xlsx

	Number	Percent
First and last name known	969	75.9
Only first name known	86	6.70
Only last name known	177	13.90
Neither name known	45	3.50
Total	1277	100.00

Status of name male SPSS data set.xlsx

	Number	Percent
First and last name known	708	79.4
Only first name known	25	2.8
Only last name known	155	17.4
Neither name known	4	0.4
Total	892	100.0

Types of sibling arrangement female and male SPSS data.xlsx

	Number	Percent
None	901	70.6
Multiple female children only	19	1.5
Multiple male children only	24	1.9
Single Female child	112	8.8
Single Male child	104	8.1
Some male and some female children	93	7.3
Single child - unknown sex	4	0.3
Multiple children, unknown sex not completely known	20	1.6
Total	1277	100.0

Types of sibling arrangement female SPSS data set

	Number	Percent
None	197	51.2
Multiple female children only	5	1.3
Multiple male children only	12	3.1
Single female child	59	15.3
Single Male child	56	14.5
Some male and some female children	41	10.6
Single child - unknown sex	1	0.3
Multiple children, unknown sex	14	3.6
Total	385	100.0

Year First Child Born Results for Combined Female and Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1812	1	0.2
1817	0	0.0
1818	1	0.2
1819	2	0.4
1820	2	0.4
1821	1	0.2
1822	1	0.2
1823	0	0.0
1824	3	0.6
1825	4	0.9
1826	9	1.9
1827	2	0.4
1828	0	0.0
1829	8	1.7
1830	10	2.2
1831	9	1.9
1832	10	2.2
1833	12	2.6
1834	11	2.4
1835	22	4.7
1836	29	6.2
1837	30	6.5
1838	36	7.7
1839	61	13.1
1840	38	8.2
1841	42	9.0
1842	15	3.2
1843	29	6.2
1844	21	4.5
1845	1	0.2
1846	3	0.6
1847	1	0.2
1848	0	0.0
1849	8	1.7
1850	1	0.2
1851	1	0.2
1852	4	0.9
1853	12	2.6
1854	4	0.9
1856	1	0.2
Total	445	95.7

Year 1st Child Born Results for Female SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1812	1	0.2
1817	1	0.2
1818	1	0.2
1819	2	0.4
1820	0	0.0
1821	1	0.2
1822	1	0.2
1823	0	0.0
1824	2	0.4
1825	2	0.4
1826	4	0.9
1827	2	0.4
1828	0	0.0
1829	3	0.6
1830	7	1.5
1831	7	1.5
1832	6	1.3
1833	8	1.7
1834	4	0.9
1835	11	2.4
1836	17	3.7
1837	18	3.9
1838	22	4.7
1839	28	6.0
1840	17	3.7
1841	18	3.9
1842	7	1.5
1843	13	2.8
1844	7	1.5
1845	0	0.0
1846	0	0.0
1847	1	0.2
1848	0	0.0
1849	3	0.6
1850	0	0.0
1851	0	0.0
1852	1	0.2
1853	6	1.3
1854	1	0.2
1856	1	0.2
Total	223	48.0

Year First Married Female SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1816	0	0.0
1817	0	0.0
1818	1	1.0
1819	0	0.0
1820	0	0.0
1821	0	0.0
1822	0	0.0
1823	0	0.0
1824	0	0.0
1825	0	0.0
1826	0	0.0
1827	0	0.0
1828	1	1.0
1829	1	1.0
1830	3	3.0
1831	1	1.0
1832	1	1.0
1833	0	0.0
1834	2	2.0
1835	2	2.0
1836	0	0.0
1837	0	0.0
1838	6	6.0
1839	31	31.0
1840	6	6.0
1841	4	4.0
1842	8	8.0
1843	9	9.0
1844	10	10.0
1845	3	3.0
1846	1	1.0
1847	0	0.0
1848	1	1.0
1849	0	0.0
1850	1	1.0
1851	3	3.0
1852	2	2.0
1853	1	1.0
1854	1	1.0
1856	1	1.0
Total	100	100.0

Year First Married Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1816	1	0.7
1817	0	0.0
1818	0	0.0
1819	0	0.0
1820	0	0.0
1821	0	0.0
1822	0	0.0
1823	0	0.0
1824	0	0.0
1825	0	0.0
1826	1	0.7
1827	0	0.0
1828	1	0.7
1829	1	0.7
1830	4	2.8
1831	1	0.7
1832	0	0.0
1833	0	0.0
1834	2	1.4
1835	3	2.1
1836	0	0.0
1837	0	0.0
1838	14	9.9
1839	45	31.9
1840	5	3.5
1841	3	2.1
1842	10	7.1
1843	14	9.9
1844	13	9.2
1845	9	6.4
1846	1	0.7
1847	0	0.0
1848	1	0.7
1849	0	0.0
1850	0	0.0
1851	4	2.8
1852	2	1.4
1853	3	2.1
1854	2	1.4
1856	1	0.7
Total	141	100.0

Year Baptized Results for Combined Female and Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1836	1	0.3
1838	8	2.7
1839	66	22.1
1840	15	5.0
1841	42	14.1
1842	43	14.4
1843	23	7.7
1844	73	24.5
1845	3	1.0
1847	1	0.3
1851	1	0.3
1852	7	2.3
1853	13	4.4
1854	2	0.7
Total	298	100.0

Year Baptized Results for Female SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1836	0	0.0
1838	7	4.3
1839	43	26.2
1840	13	7.9
1841	21	12.8
1842	21	12.8
1843	12	7.3
1844	35	21.3
1845	1	0.6
1847	1	0.6
1851	0	0.0
1852	2	1.2
1853	6	3.7
1854	2	1.2
Total	164	100.0

Year Baptized Results for Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1836	1	0.7
1838	1	0.7
1839	24	17.5
1840	3	2.2
1841	21	15.3
1842	22	16.1
1843	11	8.0
1844	39	28.5
1845	2	1.5
1847	0	0.0
1851	1	0.7
1852	5	3.6
1853	7	5.1
1854	0	0.0
Total	137	100.0

Year Born Combined Female and Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1759	1	0.2
1761	1	0.2
1771	1	0.2
1774	1	0.2
1775	1	0.2
1777	1	0.2
1780	1	0.2
1781	1	0.2
1782	2	0.4
1784	2	0.4
1788	3	0.6
1790	5	1.0
1792	5	1.0
1793	2	0.4
1794	7	1.4
1795	3	0.6
1796	2	0.4
1797	1	0.2
1798	5	1.0
1799	4	0.8
1800	10	2.0
1801	2	0.4
1802	5	1.0
1803	2	0.4
1804	5	1.0
1805	7	1.4
1806	1	0.2

Year	Number	Percent
1807	3	0.6
1808	3	0.6
1809	6	1.2
1810	7	1.4
1811	3	0.6
1812	6	1.2
1813	6	1.2
1814	12	2.4
1815	12	2.4
1816	2	0.4
1817	5	1.0
1818	5	1.0
1819	9	1.8
1820	9	1.8
1821	11	2.2
1822	12	2.4
1823	4	0.8
1824	8	1.6
1825	5	1.0
1826	11	2.2
1827	6	1.2
1828	3	0.6
1829	6	1.2
1830	7	1.4
1831	3	0.6
1832	8	1.6
1833	3	0.6
1834	8	1.6
1835	12	2.4
1836	16	3.3
1837	17	3.5
1838	17	3.5
1839	33	6.7
1840	29	5.9
1841	30	6.1
1842	16	3.3
1843	17	3.5
1844	14	2.9
1845	1	0.2
1846	1	0.2
1847	3	0.6
1849	4	0.8
1851	1	0.2
1852	6	1.2
1853	5	1.0
1854	4	0.8
Total	490	100.0

Year Born Female Only SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1759	0	0.0
1761	1	0.4
1771	0	0.0
1774	0	0.0
1775	1	0.4
1777	0	0.0
1780	0	0.0
1781	0	0.0
1782	0	0.0
1784	0	0.0
1788	0	0.0
1790	0	0.0
1792	0	0.0
1793	0	0.0
1794	0	0.0
1795	0	0.0
1796	0	0.0
1797	0	0.0
1798	2	0.8
1799	3	1.2
1800	5	1.9
1801	0	0.0
1802	1	0.4
1803	0	0.0
1804	2	0.8
1805	3	1.2
1806	1	0.4
1807	3	1.2
1808	1	0.4
1809	5	1.9
1810	2	0.8
1811	3	1.2
1812	2	0.8
1813	1	0.4
1814	10	3.8
1815	9	3.5
1816	1	0.4
1817	5	1.9
1818	3	1.2
1819	7	2.7
1820	7	2.7
1821	5	1.9
1822	6	2.3
1823	0	0.0
1824	8	3.1
1825	2	0.8

Year	Number	Percent
1826	6	2.3
1827	3	1.2
1828	3	1.2
1829	3	1.2
1830	2	0.8
1831	3	1.2
1832	3	1.2
1833	3	1.2
1834	4	1.5
1835	4	1.5
1836	6	2.3
1837	8	3.1
1838	6	2.3
1839	19	7.3
1840	15	5.8
1841	18	6.9
1842	5	1.9
1843	8	3.1
1844	4	1.5
1845	1	0.4
1846	1	0.4
1847	1	0.4
1849	1	0.4
1851	0	0.0
1852	2	0.8
1853	5	1.9
1854	3	1.2
Total	236	100.0

Year Born Male Only SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1759	1	0.4
1761	0	0.0
1771	1	0.4
1774	1	0.4
1775	0	0.0
1777	1	0.4
1780	1	0.4
1781	1	0.4
1782	2	0.8
1784	2	0.8
1788	3	1.2
1790	5	1.9
1792	5	1.9
1793	2	0.8
1794	7	2.7
1795	3	1.2
1796	2	0.8
1797	1	0.4
1798	3	1.2
1799	1	0.4
1800	5	1.9
1801	2	0.8
1802	4	1.5
1803	2	0.8
1804	4	1.5
1805	4	1.5
1806	0	0.0
1807	1	0.4
1808	2	0.8
1809	2	0.8
1810	5	1.9
1811	1	0.4
1812	4	1.5
1813	5	1.9
1814	2	0.8
1815	3	1.2
1816	1	0.4
1817	0	0.0
1818	2	0.8
1819	2	0.8
1820	3	1.2
1821	6	2.3
1822	6	2.3
1823	4	1.5
1824	1	0.4
1825	3	1.2

Year	Number	Percent
1826	5	1.9
1827	3	1.2
1828	0	0.0
1829	3	1.2
1830	5	1.9
1831	0	0.0
1832	5	1.9
1833	0	0.0
1834	4	1.5
1835	8	3.1
1836	10	3.8
1837	9	3.5
1838	11	4.2
1839	14	5.4
1840	14	5.4
1841	12	4.6
1842	11	4.2
1843	9	3.5
1844	10	3.8
1845	0	0.0
1846	0	0.0
1847	2	0.8
1849	3	1.2
1851	1	0.4
1852	4	1.5
1853	0	0.0
1854	1	0.4
Total	260	100.0

Year Died Combined Female and Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1832	1	0.6
1833	0	0.0
1834	0	0.0
1835	1	0.6
1836	0	0.0
1837	0	0.0
1838	0	0.0
1839	6	3.7
1840	9	5.6
1841	16	9.9
1842	14	8.7
1843	2	1.2
1844	30	18.6
1845	3	1.9
1846	3	1.9
1847	1	0.6
1848	5	3.1
1849	12	7.5
1850	5	3.1
1851	4	2.5
1852	8	5.0
1853	11	6.8
1854	4	2.5
1855	3	1.9
1856	2	1.2
1857	2	1.2
1858	3	1.9
1859	2	1.2
1860	5	3.1
1861	6	3.7
1862	3	1.9
Total	161	100.0

Year Died Female SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1832	0	0.0
1833	0	0.0
1834	0	0.0
1835	0	0.0
1836	0	0.0
1837	0	0.0
1838	0	0.0
1839	3	5.4
1840	5	8.9
1841	7	12.5
1842	6	10.7
1843	0	0.0
1844	11	19.6
1845	2	3.6
1846	0	0.0
1847	1	1.8
1848	3	5.4
1849	1	1.8
1850	3	5.4
1851	4	7.1
1852	2	3.6
1853	3	5.4
1854	2	3.6
1855	0	0.0
1856	0	0.0
1857	1	1.8
1858	0	0.0
1859	0	0.0
1860	2	3.6
1861	0	0.0
1862	0	0.0
Total	56	100.0

Year Died Male SPSS data set.xlsx

Year	Number	Percent
1832	1	1.0
1833	0	0.0
1834	0	0.0
1835	1	1.0
1836	0	0.0
1837	0	0.0
1838	0	0.0
1839	3	2.9
1840	4	3.9
1841	9	8.7
1842	8	7.8
1843	2	1.9
1844	19	18.4
1845	1	1.0
1846	3	2.9
1847	0	0.0
1848	2	1.9
1849	11	10.7
1850	2	1.9
1851	1	1.0
1852	6	5.8
1853	8	7.8
1854	2	1.9
1855	3	2.9
1856	2	1.9
1857	1	1.0
1858	3	2.9
1859	2	1.9
1860	3	2.9
1861	6	5.8
1862	0	0.0
Total	103	100.0

Years at Fort Female and Male Separated SPSS data set.xlsx

Fort Year	Male Number	Female Number	Total Number
1824	2	3	5
1825	4	2	6
1826	5	3	8
1827	151	7	158
1828	45	8	53
1829	46	8	54
1830	80	7	87
1831	81	8	89
1832	24	6	30
1833	25	6	31
1834	25	6	31
1835	25	6	31
1836	27	6	33
1837	84	18	102
1838	96	31	127
1839	97	9	106
1840	53	6	59
1841	160	7	167
1842	191	6	197
1843	163	5	168
1844	38	3	41
1845	33	3	36
1846	18	4	22
1847	12	4	16
1848	11	4	15
1848	10	2	12
1849	8	2	10
1850	8	2	10
1851	9	2	11
1852	9	2	15
1853	13	2	15
1854	14	2	16
1855	10	2	12
1856	11	3	14
1857	10	2	12
1858	11	2	13
1859	10	2	12
1860	8	2	10

Notes: These are the number who were definitely at the fort during the associated years

The survey records their first year at fort and last year

If they have both recorded dates, then if the year falls within that range of years, they were considered at the fort.

If they only have a first year or a last year (not both) at the fort, they are only considered to be at the fort in that particular year, as there is no evidence of any other time period. Undoubtedly this is understating the number at the fort.

Note also that these do not add to any particular total, as individuals fall into multiple years.

APPENDIX 6

Summary of Information

Summarizing the following two questions of artifact presence in the excavation area, (the answer is “yes” and “no.” Yes means that it was found by the archaeologists.):

1. Can the presence of a particular artifact denote behaviors of a specific gender?

2. What of the presence of the common straight pin (with the exception of lills), sewing scissors, sewing needles, sewing thimbles, women’s clothing and shoes, women’s jewelry, awls, and children’s toys?

- Toys were found in only one place, at the Sale Shop inside the stockade.
- Awls were found inside the stockade at the Blacksmith Shop and the Chief Factor’s Kitchen, and outside the stockade in Operation 28. This is the pond area near the river and the Salmon Shop.
- Clothing and shoes specific to women and children were found in Operation 28.
- Thimbles were found in Operation 28.
- Needles were found in House 1 outside the stockade and the Sales Shop, and a Bachelor Quarters Privy inside the stockade
- Scissors were found in Operation 20 in disturbed ground in an area near what would become a coal storage area.
- Pins were most abundant and found inside the stockade in the Bastion, Blacksmiths, Chief Factor’s House, Chief Factor’s Kitchen (1 and 2), an area which was trenched to put in a utility line, a Bachelor Quarters Privy, the Indian Trade Store, the Fur Trade Store and the Priest’s House (also inhabited by people who were not priests). Pins were found outside the stockade in House 1 and House 3 and areas described in detail in the Johnson house research in Chapter 6.
- The Blacksmiths and Chief Factor’s House contained both awls and pins.
- The pond held thimbles, clothing and shoes, and awls.

Map label	Presence	pins	scissors	needles	thimbles	clothing & shoes	awls	toys	Notes
AL.	1	no							
Bakery		no							bakery
Bastion		yes							bastion
Blacksmith		yes					yes		blacksmith shop
Carpenter		no							carpenter's shop
CFHouse		yes							CFHouse
CFKitchen		yes					yes		CFKitchen
Fur		no							fur trade store
Hse.	1	yes		yes					house 1
Hse.	2	no							house 2
Hse.	3	yes							house 3
Hse.	4	no							house 4
Hse.	5	na							house 5
Indian		no							Indian trade store
Jail		no							jail
Latrine		no							grounds
N180W40		yes							CFKitchen2
N200W40		yes							CFKitchen2
N30W5		yes							utility corridor at stockade trench
N35E140		yes							BQ privy
N40W280		yes							Priest's house
N70E115		yes							BQ privy
New Office		no							office
Op.	1	no							circa 1900
Op.	2	no							WW2
Op.	3	yes							barn
Op.	4	yes							wood drain
Op.	5	no							undetermined archt features & abandoned water line
Op.	6	no							HBC basin shaped pits
Op.	7	no							Army wallowing holes

Map label	Presence	pins	scissors	needles	thimbles	clothing & shoes	awls	toys	Notes
Op.	no								HBC field/cultivated
Op.	no								similar to above
Op.	no								HBC mixed with Army
Op.	no								HBC refuse dump
Op.	no								pit, not HBC
Op.	***	***							exploratory trench est. 1883 & est. locations of 4 Kardas hses
Op.	no								post 1850 Ingall house material
Op.	no								corral
Op.	no								SW corner of Army coal pad
Op.	no								wooden post
Op.	yes								HBC building
Op.	yes		yes						HBC, proximity to Quarter-master's House & Office
Op.	no								1907 railroad
Op.	no								Army and HBC
Op.	no								too disturbed to tell
Op.	no								
Op.	no								
Op.	no								
Op.	yes			yes		yes	yes		
Op.	no								
Op.	no								included Op.12 & 16, Quarter-master's depot stable
Op.	yes	yes							field ordnance maint shop on top of HBC deposition
Op.	no								square corral area, ne corner an HBC deposition
Op.	no								search for row of houses (Charlebois, Little Prouix, de Roche)
Op.	no								search for row of houses (Charlebois, Little Prouix, de Roche)

Map label		Presence	pins	scissors	needles	thimbles	clothing & shoes	awls	toys	Notes
Op.	57	no								search for row of houses (Charlebois, Little Prouix, de Roche)
Op.	58	no								house of Kanaka Billy
Op.	60	yes								was no historic data about this nw corner of Village
Powder		no								powder magazine
Privies		no								privy
S20E50		yes	yes		yes					grounds
Sales		yes	yes		yes			yes		sales shop
Tr.	1	no								
Tr.	2	no								
Tr.	3	no								
Tr.	4	no								
Tr.	8	no								
Tr.	9	no								
Tr.	10	no								
Tr.	5	no								

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- Wright, Mary C.
1980 *Chapter 3: French Canadians Familial Relations and Their Effect on the Fur Trade*. Doctoral dissertation, Graduate Program in History, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey at New Brunswick. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Yentsch, Anne E., and Julie Hunter
1994 *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- York, Frederick F.
2005 Spreadsheet modified by York and based on information from Warner & Munnick 1972 St. James Mission Record of Burials. Spreadsheet manuscript in Thomas & Freidenburg Architectural Office. Spreadsheet made available by Regional Anthropologist, National Park Service, Pacific Region, Seattle, WA.
- Youngberg, Elsie
1970 *1850 Oregon Territorial Census*. End of Trail Researchers, Lebanon, OR.
- Zenk, Henry B.
1976 *Contributions to Tualatin Ethnography: Subsistence and Ethnobiology*. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Portland State University at Portland, OR. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

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1983 *Oregon Indians: Culture, History, and Current Affairs*. Western Imprints,
Oregon Historical Society Press, Portland, OR.

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VITA

H. Delight Stone

- Business Address:** 220 NW Oregon Ave., Suite 201, Bend, Oregon 97701, U.S.A.
- Telephone:** 503-339-6753
- Internet Address:** Delight@CurryArchitecture.com
- Personal:** Born: San Rafael, California, 1956. Married (Clifford B. Curry); two adult children (living in Indiana and Samoa)
- Education:** Ph.D., Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, England, 2010
Title: "Culture Contact and Gender in the Hudson's Bay Company Households of the Lower Columbia River 1824 - 1860"
M.A., Applied Anthropology in Historical Archaeology, OSU, 1997
M.I.M., American Graduate School of International Management (Thunderbird), 1985
B.A., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1979
- Languages:** English, Brazilian Portuguese, Spanish
- Community:** Direct Action with activist group Living River in social justice protests (WTO, Climate and anti-War) and discrete forest activism in Pacific NW (10 years)
North Santiam Watershed Council: stopped construction of Kinross International Copper Mine in Cascades (7 years)
Deschutes County Historic Landmarks Commission (2 years)
Founding Board member of La Clinica Medical de la Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe in Salem, OR (15 years)
Director of the charity Curry Stone Foundation (3 years)
Board member for the Curry Stone Design Prize (3 years)
- Professional Memberships:** American Anthropological Association
Association of Oregon Archaeologists
Society for Historical Archaeology
Society for Applied Anthropology
American Institute of Archaeology
Oregon Historical Society
Register of Professional Archaeologists

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE

FIELD

Survey and Testing

- 1999 Newell site, Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR
2x2 meter test pits for archaeological assessment of site boundaries and integrity, Oregon Field Guide television program
- 1998 Newell site, Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR
Walking, GPR and magnetometer survey
- 1995 Peter French Round Barn, Princeton, Malheur County, OR
2x1 meter testing in Heritage Team repair and restoration areas of this National Register Site
- 1994 Fort Hoskins, Kings Valley, Benton County, OR
2x2 meter test pits for definition of Civil War era hospital site boundaries and integrity
- 1993 Mount St. Helen, Lewis River, WA, prehistoric fishing site
2x2 meter test pits for archaeological assessment of site boundaries and integrity
- 1991 Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR
Historic town site survey and testing, included use of metal detectors, GPR, and resistivity meters, survey and mapping equipment, and multiple 2x2 meter testing for site boundaries and integrity

Excavation

- 2005 Chinook house site, Station Camp area, Washington, block excavation, volunteer in the guest pit
- 2002 Newell site, Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR, 11-week block excavation
- 1999 Newell site, Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR
Archaeological Assessment of Pre-territorial period farm of a US and Nez Perce family done as a block excavation
- 1994 Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Clark County, WA
Archaeological Assessment of the 1844 to 1860 Carpenter Shop site done as a block excavation
- 1993 Smith House, National Register Site, Dayton, OR
Archaeological Assessment of 1859 to 1992 residence done as a block excavation
- 1992 Johnson Cabin, Butchers and Tavern, Champoeg State Park, OR
Block excavation

Monitoring

- 1996 Pioneer Cemetery, Saint Paul, Marion County, OR
Cultural Resource monitoring and photographing bulldozer dig trench on neighboring lot
- 1997 Champoeg State Park, Marion County, OR
Assessment of a potential historic site, discovered during unauthorized plowing in an unauthorized area. Used survey equipment to tie into previous baselines established by archaeologists, walking survey to define plow zone spread of historic artifacts
- 1994 Catholic Church, Saint Paul, Marion County, OR
Monitoring during demolition, foundation, and repair work from earthquake damage. 1836 National Register structure contained Native American burials and European relics.

- 1993 Smith House, Dayton, Yamhill County, OR
1994 Testing of house interior, salvage archaeology

LABORATORY

1993-1995 Smith House collection
Archaeological Lab manager of collection of 10,000+ artifacts required cleaning, labeling, stabilization of artifacts and supervision of students also working on the collection. Personally responsible for entire catalogue and database entry.

RESEARCH

- 1998-2001 Robert and Kitty Newell in Champoeg area, Marion County, OR
Historical archaeological research relating to Newell family and their contact period presence.
1993-1996 Andrew and Sarah Smith and their territorial period home, Dayton, Yamhill County, OR
Historical archaeological research included a general analysis of 10,609 artifacts and their associated provenience
1992 Patton House, Salem, Polk county, OR
Research culminating with a report and recommendation with regards to a residential listing on the National Register of Historic Places

TEACHING

- 1998 Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR, Department of Anthropology
Graduate course in archaeological theory
2002 Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR, Department of Anthropology
Field foreman for summer archaeological field school

REPORTS

Reports on file and submitted to the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office

- 2000 *Archaeological Testing of the Newell Historic Farmstead Site (ORMA-41), Champoeg State Park, Oregon.* By Robert J. Cromwell, Helen Delight Stone, David R. Brauner.
1997 *The Archaeology of the Smith House (ORYA-3), Dayton, Oregon.* By Helen Delight Stone.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

Recovering a Past: Historical Archaeology at Champoeg State Park. Introduced and Present video (twice) at the 32nd Annual Meeting for Historical Archaeology Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 1999.

Salvage and Salvation: The Contribution of Archaeology to the Smith-Jones House Museum. Presented at the 49th Annual Northwest Anthropological Conference, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, March 1996.

Salvage and Salvation: The Contribution of Archaeology to the Smith-Jones House Museum. Presented at the 29th Annual Meeting for Historical Archaeology Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Cincinnati, Ohio, January 1996.

RELATED

Production of a 17-minute video documenting an archaeological field season from Phase I research through back filling of excavation units. Currently shown at the Champoeg State Park Visitors Center and can be viewed on the internet via The Archaeology Channel (*Recovering a Past: Historical Archaeology at Champoeg State Park.*)

Discovery Room Installation in the Salem, Oregon Public Library, 13 Hands-on Exhibits for children ages three to eight years old. Installation received 30,000 visits in a three-month run.

1998 Procured \$17,000 in funds for the French Canadian Archaeological Project.

CONTINUING EDUCATION, TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION

2001 Forensic Anthropology Course, National Museum of Health and Medicine, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, American Registry of Pathology

1998 Non-Destructive Investigative Techniques for Cultural Resource Management, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service

1997 Coping with Water Saturated Artifacts, Advisory Council for Underwater Archaeology

1994 Forging Preservation Partnerships: Principles and Practice, National Park Service Cultural Resources Training Initiative