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HOME SWEDE HOME: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SWEDISH CULTURAL
IDENTITY AT A WESTERN HOMESTEAD

By

AMANDA CLARE HAUGHT

Bachelor of Science in Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, 2005

Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Anthropology

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

August 2010

Approved by:

Perry Brown, Associate Provost for Graduate Education
Graduate School

Dr. Kelly Dixon, Ph.D., Chair
Anthropology

Dr. Todd Ahlman, Ph.D.
Anthropology

Dr. Kenneth Lockridge, Ph.D.
History

Home Swede Home: The Archaeology of Swedish Cultural Identity at a Western Homestead

Chairperson: Dr. Kelly Dixon, Ph.D.

In the summer of 2003, the University of Idaho conducted an archaeological field school at the Nora Creek site under the direction of Dr. Mark Warner at a Swedish homestead just east of Troy, Idaho. The field school unearthed a plethora of historical artifacts including metal, glass, ceramic, and faunal items left behind by the inhabitants of the Johanson homestead in Nora, Idaho. Historical documentation indicates that the Johansons immigrated to America from Sweden in 1882 and they arrived in Nora in 1891. The research goal of this thesis is to determine whether and how a signature of Swedish identity may be manifested in the material culture of the Nora Creek site. The glass and ceramic assemblages, as well as the faunal collection, are integrated with historical research to examine this topic. In order to pursue an archaeology of Swedish identity, it is essential to consider the ways in which class, gender, and cultural identity contributed to a Swedish identity in the Nora Creek assemblage versus general homesteading assemblages contemporary to the time frame of the site.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I thank Dr. Kelly Dixon for her support, encouragement, and invaluable knowledge and aid in the writing and production of this thesis. I also thank Dr. Todd Ahlman and Dr. Kenneth Lockridge for their suggestions and direction. Thanks to Dr. Mark Warner, for the ability to continue working with this assemblage after I had moved on to the University of Montana, and also for his support and encouragement to get this thesis finished. Thanks also to Oliver Biemann for his faunal analysis, as well as his unwavering support and understanding, our many library dates, and oh so much more. And to my family and friends, thank you for your love and encouragement during this time in my life.

DEDICATION

This research and thesis is dedicated to my parents and brothers who loved and supported me as I wrote my “paper.” Thank you for your constant encouragement.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1862, the United States Congress passed the Homestead Act, opening the American West to droves of settlers wishing to make a new start. This mass migration included Americans, Europeans, and Asians, working and establishing themselves as “Yeoman farmers,” miners, ranchers, and railroad workers. As a result of the migration, homesteads began to appear all over the West, along with farming communities and mining towns. The railroad brought more and more people to the region and they created thriving communities along the train routes (Barton 1975:108). The Swedish Johanson family was among those who used the railroad to move westward. The Johansons decided to migrate even further west than the Swedish community of Dassel, Minnesota, where they had first made their residence after arriving in the United States in 1882, establishing a homestead in northern Idaho in 1891 (Oslund-Cox 1992:74).

In the summer of 2003, University of Idaho archaeological field school students unearthed the material remains of the Johanson homestead at the Nora Creek site, 15 miles east of Moscow, Idaho. These excavations recovered more than 24,000 historic artifacts, which included ceramic vessels, preservation jars, medicinal bottles, farming equipment, and toys, among many other items. When I entered the graduate program at the University of Montana I was still involved in the curation associated with the Nora Creek collection. Despite having opportunities to focus on a new topic for my master’s thesis, I kept thinking about unanswered questions pertaining to the Johanson family and

the homestead they established. I subsequently returned to the Nora Creek materials and history for my thesis research.

Published literature dedicated to historical archaeology in the American West has focused a range of topics, such as ranchers and cowboys (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962), battlefields (Fox and Scott 1991; Fox 1993), miners (Spude 1997, Hardesty 1998), the travails of westward migration (Hardesty 1997; Novak 2008), saloons (Dixon 2005), Mormonism (Scarlett 2006), as well as the Chinese communities (Wegars 1993, Williams and Voss 2008). While such topics are also prevalent among popular culture's presentations of the American West, the everyday life of the diverse cultural groups, such as Swedish homesteaders, who colonized the region and who struggled to make the West their home, are rarely presented in popular narratives, history lessons, or historical archaeological research. Cleland (2001:1-2) argues that the main goal of historical archaeology should be a focus on looking for the "regularities of cultural practice" and not a focus on unique events which he believes is just a reflection of the historical record with facts and narratives of a specific event. Hardesty (2001:23) builds on Cleland's argument stating that archaeologists have such a unique opportunity to use multiple sources in their research and that the individual events the archaeological record uncovers can be used to build a better understanding of cultural practices. This particular thesis research combines archaeological data recovered from the Nora Creek site with historical sources pertinent to the Johanson family and Swedish immigration to create a starting point for examining the Johanson's household as an individual event that can be used to build a better understanding of cultural practice related to Swedish immigrant homesteaders in the American West.

Yet, there is a lack of research dedicated to the archaeology of homesteads in the American West. Homesteads are often recorded in the archaeological gray literature of reports and surveys (e.g., Bick 1986; Fischer 1998), though rarely are any details – beyond their existence and names of those who established – ever recorded. It is even rarer to find archaeological research, published or not, associated with a Swedish family in the American West. The history of Swedes in the northwest is an important part of the cultural heritage of Latah County, Idaho, and the research objectives of this thesis will draw upon both archaeological and historical sources of information to help create a more complete picture of these immigrants in Idaho’s rural northwest. Despite the absence of “event-centered specifics” of Swedish homesteads in the West, there are publications and literature which discuss topics such as the ways in which archaeology can expand studies of cultural identity. This investigation of a Swedish homestead has the potential to contribute to the literature associated with cultural identity, so this topic will be used to establish an interpretive framework for the Johanson homestead at the Nora Creek Site.

The main objective of this thesis research is to determine whether and how a Swedish cultural identity can be identified in the archaeological record and whether and how this signature was manifested at the Nora Creek site. To approach this topic this thesis will examine the history of Swedish immigration, as well as literature related to the transmission of traditions to the lives of Swedes in America. This background will then be used, along with a comparative study of another 19th century artifact assemblage from a Swedish site, to examine the Johanson family and their material culture at the Nora Creek site. In researching the cultural identity of the Johanson homestead, this research will also address gender and class, because they likely contributed to the development,

maintenance, and continuation of the cultural identity (e.g., Scott 1994; Orser 2001) of the Johanson family during their time at the Nora Creek homestead. Scott (1994:8) argues that gender, class, and cultural identity are “interconnected” and the three issues should be studied together, stating, “...these factors combined to shape the lives of the men, women, and children who made, used, and discarded the material and/or documentary records we uncover.” The analysis of gender, class, and cultural identity at the Nora Creek site will be conducted using the glass and ceramic assemblages unearthed during the University of Idaho’s 2003 field school, and to a certain extent the faunal assemblage from Nora will also be examined.

These research topics are examined in the following chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of pertinent literature. The results of this review indicate that there is a paucity of information associated with the archaeology of homesteads in the American West, especially Swedish homesteads, as well as the need to address issues relevant to cultural identity--and its overlap with gender and class--in archaeology. Chapter 2 also outlines models developed by archaeologists to examine gender and class in the archaeological record; however, as will be discussed, models for approaching cultural identity are not as clear-cut because this topic covers a range of diverse cultural groups (e.g., Mullins 2008; Shackel 2010). Moreover, cultural identity is a broad topic in archaeology and one model can not easily be applied to the variety of diverse historical sites stretching from the east coast to the west. Because of this lack of an easily transferable model for identifying archaeological signatures of any given cultural identity, Chapter 2 also examines literature from a broader anthropological (rather than just explicitly archaeological) and sociological perspective. Chapter 2 ends with a discussion of the ways in which

historians have examined Swedish and Swedish-American cultural identity in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

In order to better understand a Swedish and Swedish-American cultural identity, it is necessary to understand the context of the identity examined in Chapter 3. In this chapter, the history of the Swedish immigration to America is discussed along with the story of Per Johanson and his family's journey to the New World and their migration to Idaho. Chapter 4 outlines the methods used to excavate the Johanson homestead as well as the laboratory methods used to analyze the artifacts from this site, such as how minimal vessel counts (MVCs) were determined. This chapter also discusses the methods used in researching the history of the site.

The results of the artifact analysis and MVCs are detailed in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 also integrates the archaeological data with the research models discussed in Chapter 2 to interpret the material vestiges of gender, class, and cultural identity in the Johanson household. Then, to address and interpret the ways in which the Nora Creek collection can specifically be used in an analysis of Swedish cultural identity, artifacts from Nora Creek are compared to the Swedetown assemblage of Quincy, Michigan (Pappas 2002). Similarities between the two Swedish sites may suggest the potential for identifying a Swedish immigrant signature among the archaeological remains. I originally planned to compare Nora Creek with other non-Swedish homestead sites, as a control, that is, to make sure that any patterns seen within Nora or Swedetown were not simply reflecting the norms of any homestead in the American West; however, literature related to homesteads in the inland northwest (e.g., Bick 1986, Tetra Tech 1991) lack appropriate data for a reliable comparison and thus are not included. Details of this problem are laid

out in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 5 ends with a brief discussion of the analysis of faunal remains from the Nora Creek site (Bielmann 2010), including the ways in which the faunal assemblage adds to the results of the glass and ceramic analysis.

Chapter 6 discusses the challenges of interpreting a Swedish cultural identity using the archaeological record and provides concluding comments associated with whether such a signature is visible in the Nora Creek assemblage. Before a meaningful understanding of a Swedish identity in the archaeological record is explored it is first necessary to look at the existing archaeological literature and models pertaining to archaeology and identity in the West to create a context for this research.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Archaeology, the American West, and Homesteads

Archaeology is in its broadest sense the study of past people through the examination of the artifacts they have left behind (Deetz 1996:4). Archaeologists study a vast span of time, from the origins of humanity (Johanson and Edey 1981), to boomtown saloons of the American West (Dixon 2005), to the trash thrown out just weeks ago (Rathje and Murphy 2001). Archaeological investigations of the more recent past are known as “historical archaeology.” Historical archaeology is generally text-aided and is “carried out with the aid of historical documentation that throws light on human life at the time” (Fagan and Orser 1995:4). The Nora site, with its accompanying historical records and late 19th and early 20th century occupation dates, falls within the realm of historical archaeology. Furthermore, considering the fact that the Nora site’s occupants were Swedish immigrants (and Swedish Americans), the site is associated with a common, but more specific definition of historical archaeology: “the archaeology of the spread of European cultures throughout the world since the fifteenth century, and their impact on and interaction with the cultures of indigenous peoples” (Deetz 1996:5; see also the Society for Historical Archaeology definition at <http://www.sha.org/about/whatis.cfm>). The Nora Creek site provides an opportunity to examine the everyday life of one of many diverse cultural groups making up the American West’s cosmopolitan history.

Orser and Fagan (1995:5) note the major strength of historical archaeology is its ability to reflect on the everyday history that is not recorded in texts or archives

associated with historical documents. Archaeology provides us with a means to see the everyday lives of past peoples, allowing interpretations of the ways in which individuals structured and gave meaning to their lives (Lightfoot 2005:7). Cultural identity begins and is manifested in the everyday lives of people, past and present. By combining archaeological and historical investigations of the Nora Creek site, it is possible to see the everyday lives of a family that made the American West, specifically northern Idaho, their home and to determine whether and how the cultural identity reflected in this site is Swedish, Swedish-American, American, or something entirely different.

Historical archaeology in the American West is a growing but diverse field. Over a decade ago, Hardesty (1991:29) stated that historical archaeology conducted in this region was spotty at best, noting the need for a regional research program to link the archaeology of site-specific, assorted, investigations. While developing a regional research strategy for the American West is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is essential to understand how a Swedish homestead fits within the context of existing archaeological projects addressing historical topics in the American West. The majority of published literature related to historical archaeology carried out in the region has focused topics such as ranchers (e.g., Fontana and Greenleaf 1962), miners (e.g., Hardesty 1998a, 1998b), saloons (e.g., Dixon 2005), brothels (e.g., Spude 2005), battlefields (e.g., Fox 1993), as well as Chinese communities (e.g., Wegars 1993; Williams and Voss 2008). While there are examples of farmstead archaeology in the east (e.g., Gibb and King 1991; Ahlman 2000; Groover 2008), the archaeological literature is meager when it comes to the published works on homesteads in the American West. While there are a handful of unpublished and gray literature sources dedicated to the archaeology of homesteads in the

American West, (e.g., Bick 1986; Brownell and Karsmizki 1990; Fischer 1998), these are limited to general surveys and lack detailed excavation data pertinent to comparison with Per Johanson's homestead at Nora Creek. Even so, these studies provide a starting point for examining a western homestead, with research goals pertaining to whether or not the sites are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. These reports therefore provide invaluable histories of an array of homesteads and outline descriptions of what has been considered significant at homesteads as a category of site types in the region. By digging deeper into the histories and the material culture left by those who lived on the homestead at Nora Creek, this thesis will contribute to the analysis of homesteads and cultural identity in the American West.

Initially the Nora site was going to be compared with these other non-Swedish homesteads in the West, but upon further research the level of comparison is just not possible with the limited datasets presented by these sources. Archaeological literature dealing with Swedish settlements in North America is even more sparse than that of archaeological studies on homesteading in general. After searching the literature, it became clear that there were no other publications dealing with the archaeology of Swedish homesteads. There is however, a master's thesis dedicated to the archaeology of a Swedish community associated with the copper mines of Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Pappas 2002). Given the problems associated with comparing the Nora Creek site and the studies of non-Swedish homesteads noted above, the assemblage from the Swedish copper mine site (Pappas 2002) provides an appropriate collection for a comparative analysis dedicated to determining whether material patterns are suggestive of Swedish identity. This comparison will be explored further in the history and analytical (results)

chapters of this thesis, along with an examination of historical documentation related to Swedish immigration to the U.S.

With such a small pool of available literature within which to frame an archaeological analysis of a Swedish homestead, this thesis represents a starting point. The Johanson household, and its associated material remains, will be described and examined as will the context of Swedish identity, homesteading, and settlement in the American West. This is intended to set the stage for future comparisons of Swedish sites and for similar studies of identity. Pertinent literature related to identity is examined here to establish a scholarly foundation for this thesis and to develop research questions for the Nora Creek project. In order to examine identity it is necessary to study related research issues, such as gender, class and cultural traditions, all of which contributed to daily life at the Nora Creek homestead.

Archaeology of Identity

Individual identities can have many layers; Orser (2002:279) identifies the different layers of identity as “gender, ethnicity and/or race, religion, economic status, social status, prestige status,” as well as “occupational or political affiliation.” Every individual is made up of many of these identities, or layers, and historical archaeologists are faced with the challenge to understand how these are used and manipulated within public and private settings. The household represents a private setting and in an effort to look at the daily life and identity within the Nora Creek homestead, it is essential to begin analysis at the level of the household. Thomas Schlereth (1992:1) states that “the American home, has been, and continues to be, a site, a space, and a symbol of enormous

importance – a key artifact for studying the nation’s past and present.” The household can be used as a basic starting point for analysis because it is a fundamental part of a settlement and is a “visible assemblage of persons sharing a common life space in a specified manner” (Hardesty 1981:71). The household is an ever-changing place in which daily tasks represent activities and adaptations that can be seen in the archaeological record (Hardesty 1981:70-71). Such activities aid interpretations of a household’s daily life, but gleaning evidence of identity from the archaeological records is more challenging (Orser 2002:279) because it is a relatively intangible, abstract concept. Yet it is a topic worthy of pursuit since understanding identity may potentially answer questions about “social interaction, site and artefact [*sic*] use, and cultural adaptation or persistence” (Orser 2002:279), all of which are significant to investigations of immigrant communities establishing homesteads in the American West.

It is important to examine gender roles as part of the household dynamic, as well as the socio-economics of the home, to understand the identity of a Swedish family on the western frontier. Scott (1994:8) emphasized the interconnectedness of the three issues of gender, class, and cultural identity, stating that these issues are interwoven and should not be studied in isolation. A person identifies him or herself and others through the interaction and differences of gender, class, and cultural identity. Scott stresses the importance of this point, stating, “when historical archaeologists interpret past societies, it is important to keep in mind how some of these factors combined to shape the lives of the men, women, and children who made, used, and discarded the material and/or documentary records we uncover” (Scott 1994:8). By examining the artifacts and historical documentation pertinent to the Nora Creek site through the lenses of gender,

class, and cultural identity and seeking to understand how those factors were interconnected within households, it is possible to establish a meaningful framework for analyzing the archaeology of homesteading in the West and Swedish life on the northern Idaho frontier.

Gender

The analysis of gender using the material remains of past peoples is an ever-growing research field in both prehistoric and historical archaeology (e.g., Conkey and Gero 1991; Hardesty 1994; Spude 1997). Due to the fact that archaeological research has the ability to shed light on the marginalized groups in history, archaeological inquiries dedicated to gender identity allow insight into the lives of those unable to leave a written account of their lives (Spude 2005:89). Conkey and Gero (1991:23) state, “by applying gender concepts and categories to familiar and original sets of archaeological data, women are brought into view as active producers, innovators, and contextualizers of the very material world by which we know the past.” By seeking to document and interpret archaeological data through the lens of gender, it is possible to see “much that is otherwise invisible about the lives of women and men” (Hardesty 1998a:284). If archaeologists ignore the issues of gender within the formation and settlement of the American West (or any region for that matter), they will “continue to assume that the region’s settlement by the Euro-Americans took place by and for the benefit of its male population,” when in-fact women “played a vitally important role in western history” (Spude 2005:104).

Gender-specific research can also shed light on how men and women organized and engendered work and domestic spheres and their landscape in the past (Hardesty 1998a:284). The Victorian era in the United States created a new middle-class and a larger demand for material goods. This increased the production of factory made commodities, spawned large retail opportunities, advertising, and mail order catalogs (Hardesty 1998a:286). In this cultural milieu, “material things often serve(d) as symbols of socially and culturally defined categories such as gender identities” (Hardesty 1998a: 285). For example, Fitts (1999:55) explains how owning an elaborate tea set may indicate, for the American Victorian, an identity steeped in traditions reflecting status; moreover, Fitts emphasizes the fact that the care and handling of this tradition was most likely carried out by the female presence in the household to create “domestic sanctuaries for their families.” Although the private versus public sphere distinctions have been debated (e.g., Wolff 1988; Landes 2003; Karusseit 2007), during the Victorian era, in general gender identity was divided into two very distinct spheres: the “public/commercial sphere of men” and the “private/domestic sphere of women” (Hardesty 1998a:286); although many women were involved with and worked in the public sphere and men were also active in the private, or domestic sphere. Because the household is a visible assemblage of the private/domestic sphere of a space shared by both female and male family members, this analytical level of the home, is an important starting point for investigations of the Johanson home at the Nora Creek site.

In his study of gender in the mining west, Hardesty (1994) notes that the “archaeological record of domestic households should contain much that is of importance to understanding how the principles of gender organized frontier mining towns,” a

concept that should transfer to all households in the American West (Hardesty 1994:136). When an archaeological collection of a home site is organized by the household activities that took place, one can begin to see how the home life was divided and how different roles gender applied to the household. Accordingly, “features and artifact assemblages are sufficiently distinctive to identify the basic household patterns and suggest that variability and change in how gender organizes the domestic household can be studied through the archaeological record” (Hardesty 1994:137). This can be accomplished using gender-specific categories Hardesty (1994) used when analyzing gender in mining towns. Here Hardesty (1994:137-138) applied artifact categories such as personal artifacts, male-specific (pocket knives, suspender straps, etc.), women-specific (perfume bottles, garter snaps, etc.), child-specific (toys, diaper pins, etc.), food preparation, storage and serving artifacts, and liquor-related artifacts to help identify the gender-specific make-up of households in the mining West. Catherine Holder Spude (1997) offers a similar and more in-depth model for analyzing gender within the western domestic sphere and this is the model, explained in depth below, that will be used to illuminate the Johanson household.

Spude (1997:29) used six artifact categories to attempt to identify masculine and feminine signatures in the archaeological record of mining camps. Her categories include: transient males, families, saloons, brothels, hotels and restaurants, and military. Setting aside artifacts associated with building construction, repair, and demolition, Spude (1997:29) found the easiest comparison between the transient male and family groups. The family assemblage included “higher frequencies of food storage items, decorated dishes, undecorated dishes, other household items, pharmaceuticals, and

female specific items (including jewelry, cosmetic bottles, and items of women's clothing)" (Spude 1997:29). The transient male collections contained "higher frequencies of male-specific items, including suspender buckles, cuff links, collar stays, shaving crème jars, and items of men's clothing; tobacco-related items; armaments; and other artifacts, especially those specific to certain occupations" (Spude 1997:29). Spude tried to explain why there is a low frequency of food storage items, along with low or absent numbers of dishes, within the transient male home, arguing that during the times of boom or bust in the American West, men found all the comforts of home outside of their own houses and within the walls of saloons, restaurants, and brothels. Hence she asserts that artifact assemblages from transient male residences will not reflect cooking, eating or drinking; such artifacts appear when wives and families arrived in mining camps (Spude 1997:29-30).

The family assemblage that Spude (1997) presents and that Hardesty (1994) discusses can be applied to homesteads in the American West. For example, since the Nora Creek site was the "private/domestic sphere" of the Johanson family, the family category of artifacts will be applied to the analysis of the glass and ceramic archaeological remains from this site to consider whether and how that homestead assemblage compares to households — and engendered uses — of space in mining camps. More importantly, it may also be possible to understand a Swedish immigrant's homestead from the perspective of a family matriarch; in this case, Per Johanson's wife, Anna. The concept of gender, however, varies among peoples, past and present, and can only be understood if one has an understanding of the class and cultural identity associated with the subject(s) undergoing analysis.

Class

While an examination of engendered artifact categories can shed light on one aspect of life in the Johanson home, it is also necessary to consider the economic position, or class, of the Swedish immigrants in that household. Class-based analyses are also used by archaeologists to create a more complete picture of marginalized groups in recent history. However, study of the socioeconomic positions, or class, of homesteads and homesteading in the American West has been overlooked by historical archaeologists, likely because the study of this topic is a complex and often daunting task (Paynter 1999:185; see also Wurst 1999:7). Despite the challenges and problematic nature of the topic, a class oriented approach can be a vehicle for studying poorer groups of people often marginalized in historical documents (Scott 1994:4; Paynter 1999:184).

In addition, class analysis can also aid in a general understanding of cultural change (Paynter 1999:184). For example, Paynter (1999:186) divided class complexity into three research areas: class process, class structure, and class formation. In researching the class process, scholars can examine how “surplus is extracted” as well as how the extraction “affects the general direction of historical change” (Paynter 1999:186). Class structure analysis looks at how a “given class process, or the conjunction of various class processes, result in the array of different class positions within a particular society” and helps examine the general ways in which class structures interact and effect other classes (Paynter 1999:186). According to Paynter’s third research area, class formation, it is possible to consider the reasons and ways different classes are created as “objective and subjective parts of the encompassing class structure” (Paynter 1999:186). While researchers may place more emphasis on one of the above

research areas (process, structure, or formation), Paynter (1999:186) argues that they should not exclude the other two within their research. To interpret the class formation, structure, and process associated with a Swedish homestead in the American West, this thesis will use ceramic and glass assemblages from the Nora Creek collection.

Ceramic artifacts represent one group of artifacts often used to analyze class or economic position. George Miller's (1991; 2000) mean ceramic index values will be used to interpret the buying patterns of the homestead, and the results of this analysis will be applied to an examination of the Johanson's economic position in the communities of Nora and Troy, Idaho. Miller (1991; 2000) developed a creamware CC index derived from the set pricing of ceramic creamware and whiteware over a period of almost 100 years, spanning 1787 to 1880. These wares remained, throughout the 100-year span, the cheapest ceramic vessel type and therefore an "excellent bench mark to gauge the cost of other wares in terms of its price" (Miller 2000:1).

To apply Miller's CC index values, a minimum vessel count must be undertaken, and vessels must be organized by decoration (Miller 2000:4). Drawing from Miller's (2000) appendices, the time frame of maker's marks is used to determine an index value for a particular vessel (Miller 2000:4). Once the index value is established, it is multiplied by the number of vessels present in the assemblage which have been assigned to that index value (Miller 2000: 4-5). This is done for each vessel type; then the totals from each vessel type are added together and the sum of these is divided by the total number of vessels, and this will "yield the average CC index value for the assemblage" (Miller 2000:5).

Miller's CC index values provide a useful tool to help archaeologists determine the historic value of a ceramic collection, and this can assist with interpretations of topics such as the class-based position of the Johanson household; however, the price alone of this material object type is not necessarily a reliable marker for economic status, especially given the complexities of class analyses (e.g., Paynter 1999). Hence Miller's index should be used with caution. Ceramics, while easy to identify and date, are not something that was used and thrown out like bottle glass. Ceramics could be given as gifts, were sold by many different vendors, and were usually not discarded until they had been broken to a point where the vessel was no longer usable. Because of this fact, Miller's CC index values will not be used as the sole form of evidence to investigate the Johanson's class status.

Examining manufacture and the types of the bottle glass found at the Nora Creek site can also aid in the analysis of class within the Johanson home. Bottle glass is one of the most ubiquitous artifacts associated with historical archaeological assemblages, being "relatively inexpensive and fragile, they are well-represented in the archaeological record" (Mullins 1989:1). The "use of bottled products extends to every social and economic class...[they] represent a very wide range of products and behaviors, are sensitive chronological markers, and reflect complex marketing patterns and consumer choices" (Mullins 1989:1). Determining where the supplies and food needed on this western homestead were coming from and how much if anything was being produced within the home reflects a consumer choice; when this choice is considered with Miller's CC index values, there are multiple lines of evidence to support as valid a framework as possible for discussing the Johanson household's material remains in the context of class.

In addition to the material record, the Johanson family's class position will also be examined using another line of evidence: historical records associated with Swedish immigration to the U.S. during the era of the Johanson's emigration to America and the West (e.g., Janson 1970; Barton 1975, 1984, 1992, 1994, 2006; Atteberry 1995, 2004, 2005; Marshall 2005). This historical approach will provide a context for the analysis of ceramics and glass by providing information pertinent to Paynter's (1999) recommended areas of research, including the background and creation of the Johanson's economic position (class formation); the economic status of the family in Nora and Troy, Idaho (class process), including the ways in which the different businesses with which Per was involved affected the family's social-economic position; and the family's interactions with the community economy of Latah County, Idaho to consider their position in (and perception of) that community (class structure).

Cultural Identity

Cultural identity is another important research issue in historical archaeology and the third in Scott's (1994:7) "triumvirate." Cultural identity can be defined as the many overlapping layers an individual uses to define him/her self and is reflected in an individual's actions and material culture. As one's environment is constantly changing, so can one's cultural identity. As individuals we are constantly creating and borrowing elements to add to or alter a layer of our identity as needed. Layers of identity are fluid, allowing for creations of new or revisions of established layers (Upton 1996:4). Gender and class are two layers of a cultural identity, and religion and ethnicity are also considered to be part of such identity; indeed all are manifested outwardly in cultural

traditions such as food, language, and clothing (Rodman 1992:318). Archaeological literature associated with cultural identity often deals with racial studies (e.g., Mullins 1999; Orser 2001). More often than not, these publications focus on minority groups such as African Americans (Mullins 1999; Orser 2001; Shackel 2010), Native Americans (Lightfoot 2005), or Chinese immigrants (Wegars 1993; Williams and Voss 2008). Rarely have Euro-American groups been considered in these types of studies; if they are included, more popular groups, such as Irish and Italians, usually receive the most attention (e.g., Wegars 1991; Costello 1998; James 1998; Brighton 2009). While all of these groups of people are vital to understanding the cosmopolitan cultural heritage of the American West, it is essential to include the other European groups that helped form this heritage to conduct a thorough study of cultural identity. Frederick Luebke (1998), when approaching the history of European immigrants in the American West, observed that European immigrants are generally overlooked within histories of the frontier and the American West, calling these immigrants the “forgotten people of the American West” (Luebke 1998:vii).

European immigrants were a “major component of American expansion into the West” (Attebery 2007:xiv). The archaeologies of the cultural identity of these groups and individuals who were involved in and affected by such an “expansion” are an important area of research. This thesis will look at just one of the many stories making up this part of American history by examining a family of Swedish American homesteaders. After reviewing historical research on this topic (e.g., Barton 1984, 2006; Blanck 1995), it is clear that the identity of Swedish Americans can vary. For example, if a Swedish homesteader and his family were isolated from other Swedes, they were more likely to

conform to the American cultural identity that surrounded them because it would have been harder to keep the Swedish cultural identity true with only elements of American or other cultural identities around them. However, if they lived in a community of Swedish settlers where their own cultural identity already abounded, then they were more likely to reflect and maintain a common Swedish heritage. Individual or collective reasons for emigrating from their homeland also could affect the various levels of a Swedish cultural identity in America. If one was bitter with the homeland conditions and/or with the country in general and wished to start anew elsewhere, it is expected that they would not reflect a strong Swedish cultural identity; whereas if a family emigrated out of necessity, then they may feel more attached to the home they left behind and therefore reflect that longing or pride for their homeland (Barton 2006:16).

When analyzing the collection from the Nora Creek site, how can one begin to look for and identify culture or cultural identity from artifacts? By examining other scholars' definitions of cultural identity, it is possible to provide at least some answers to the ways in which cultural identity can be seen archaeologically. In describing a dynamic ethnicity, Upton (1996:4) states that cultural identity is a "highly volatile" and ever creating and borrowing process; this is reflected in the above statements about the dynamic nature of Swedish cultural identity. As manifested materially, cultural identity will only be able to be maintained if the objects required are available in and/or accepted by the community. If these material items are unavailable, the cultural identity will adapt to what is available, creating and borrowing when necessary and developing a new or blended cultural identity. This is seen in the research conducted by Diehl et al. (1998) on the diet of Tucson's Overseas Chinese at the turn of the century. In their research they

found that while the households analyzed “maintained a traditionally diverse diet,” they did so by “preparing new foodstuffs in traditional ways,” borrowing what was available to them in their new environment, creating an altered yet traditional layer to their identity (Diehl et al. 1998:19).

Amy Oakland Rodman (1992:318) states that cultural identity gives an individual or a group their distinctiveness in the world around him or her and may be represented by traditional clothing, language, and foods. An example of this today is a group of foreign exchange students in the United States who partake in American culture but are distinctly of a different culture by the way they dress, the way they use their native languages with each other, or by the foods they prepare for themselves. At the Nora Creek site, this cultural identity likely appeared in the form of traditional Swedish cooking, decorative elements within their home, architecture, as well as things that would not last in the archaeological record such as language, and dress. Many traditional foods also would not survive in the archaeological record.

The “commodification” of one’s cultural heritage plays an important part in the creation and continuation of cultural identity; “objects – buildings, dress, foods – are called on to prove that volatile and contingent social identities are stable and intrinsic personal ones” (Upton 1996:4). For example, traditional ceramics and arts, items of one’s cultural heritage, brought over from a homeland reflect a personal cultural identity and these items may be found archaeologically. Pappas (2002:103) refers to specific Scandinavian ceramics found at the Swedetown location in Hancock, Michigan as a reflection of a possible Swedish settlement. In addressing cultural identity at Swedetown, Pappas briefly states that these artifacts may represent a “nostalgia and a strong sense of a

foreign home, even in the face of immigration,” however, he continues, because these items did eventually become part of the archaeological record, this could indicate a “slackening of the importance of origins” (Pappas 2002:150).

Beyond the example of Scandinavian ceramics and the above explanation and interpretation, Pappas does not explore cultural identity further in his thesis research. In a search for other examples of Swedish cultural identity in the archaeological record beyond Pappas’ research, no further study on this topic could be located.

A Swedish cultural identity is expected to be seen in the traditions and heirlooms brought over from Sweden or in the products of Sweden marketed to sell to Swedish-Americans in the United States. However, Stephenson (1926:7-9) stated that the “Swedes became Americanized more quickly and thoroughly” than other immigrants at the time. If this is true and the Swedes adapted more to an American culture and abandoned their own traditional culture, then it would be expected that the Johanson household assemblage would reflect this by *not* retaining any Swedish products or folk tradition. In the account of her parent’s journey to America, Emma Hedman (1985) recounts the contents of the sole trunk her parents brought to the New World from their homeland in Sweden. Hedman described this trunk as her mother’s “one link with the beautiful country across the sea,” and it contained a knitting machine; mason jars; a can of baking powder that she did not think would be available in America; linens, including a hand woven apron her mother-in-law had given her; and a portrait of the Swedish King Oscar and his royal family (Hedman 1985:19-20). While the latter is arguably a signature of cultural identity – or at least nostalgic loyalty – the other items are signatures of Scott’s (1994) other two members of the “triumvirate”: class and gender. For

example, such items reflect a working class family, and the items associated with sewing and maintaining a household remind us that a feminine gender was part of this snapshot of at least one group of Swedish immigrants; many of these items also are expected to survive and be reflected within the archaeological record. With only two possessions within the trunk heralding ties with a homeland cultural identity, it is not surprising that cultural identity is problematic to interpret from material remains. However, though new immigrants to America may have adapted to American culture as quickly as possible, as suggested by Hedman (1985) and as indicated by Stephenson (1926), as soon as these immigrants married and were settled in new lives on American soil, they easily reverted back to their native Swedish ways (Barton 1994:225).

While Barton (1994) concurs with Stephenson's (1926) assessment of immigrants quickly becoming Americanized in the earlier days of Swedish immigration, the years between 1875 and 1925 saw vast improvement in the transportation between Europe and America. This fostered Swedish cultural heritage in American communities because the easier travel from one country to another created a stronger link with homeland traditions and cultures (Barton 1984:287); hence the argument that Swedes could easily revert to their cultural traditions. Since the Johanson family immigrated in 1882, during the period of such ties and transportation, one would expect this increasing likelihood for a Swedish cultural identity to be reflected in the archaeological record at Nora. While the portrait of the royal family or the traditional apron of a Swedish province would most likely not last into the archaeological record, other elements that could carry a Swedish signature, such as decorative items, ceramics, personal and food preparation products, food-waste products such as faunal remains, and to a certain extent, architecture, are all materials that

would be expected in an archaeological excavation of a household. In 1913 the New York based Carl Dahlen Company published a mail order catalog to sell Swedish products to Swedish-Americans in the United States (Barton 1994:212-213). Any glass or ceramic products from this catalog identified in the Nora Creek assemblage would support arguments in favor of a “Swedish American” material signature and – or at least a Swedish American consumer choice – aid discussions of the ways in which a family in a new country made day to day decisions that reflect their Swedish cultural identity.

Along with an analysis of the food related glass vessels found at the Nora Creek site, a brief overview of the faunal analysis completed in 2010 is included in Chapter 5 of this thesis. What people ate and how they went about eating it “form a link with the past and help ease the shock of entering a new culture...for old and new ethnic groups in America, foodways – the whole pattern of what is eaten, when, how, and what it means – are very closely tied to individual and group ethnic identity” (Kalčík 1984:37-38). Faunal remains associated with the Johansons are expected to reflect Swedish cultural traditions in the choice of meat and in the cuts and how they ate the meats. However, when analyzing such a collection it is important to ask whether or not such interpretations are merely the reflection of a Swedish cultural identity or the identity of a family in a rural region of the American West. It is also important to consider the substitution of available local foods for traditional foods as mentioned above with the Overseas Chinese in Tucson (Diehl et al. 1998).

While beyond the scope of this thesis research [namely because there are no remaining standing structures at the Nora Creek site], architecture in a rural landscape such as Nora may also reflect a Swedish influence. Homes built in a rural area such as

Nora were commonly built by the owner and/or neighbors of the community. Because there was a large population of Swedes in the vicinity of the Johanson homestead, many of the homes in Nora most likely reflected a Swedish influence (Attebery 1991:106).

While the home on the Johanson homestead no longer stands, there are a few photographs of the structure. After examining photographs of the Johanson house, architectural historian, Lon Johnson, states that the home itself is an example of Colonial Revival architecture, and the selection of this design reflects the wealth of the family.

While this fosters a deeper understanding of the socioeconomic position of the Johanson family and serves as a reminder of the complexities of studying cultural identity, the home does not, however, reflect a Swedish influence that we may have expected in the Swedish community of Nora (Lon Johnson 2008, elec. comm.). Since context is key to flesh out such complexities, it is necessary to examine the historical background of Swedish immigration in America and the history of the Johanson family from Sweden to Nora.

Chapter 3

SWEDISH IMMIGRATION AND THE HISTORY OF THE NORA CREEK SITE

Swedish Immigration

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, floods of immigrants arrived on American shores. Seeking refuge or new beginnings during times of economic, political, and social hardships of their homelands, immigrants from all over the world came to the United States to start anew. According to Linnea Marshall (2005:6), whose thesis focused on the immigration of Swedes to Latah County, Idaho, five million people immigrated into the United States between the year 1815 to 1860, and the majority of these people were emigrating from Germany, Ireland, and Great Britain. Scandinavians were among America's newest arrivals, and 1825 marked the beginning of Norwegian emigration with a group making the journey together. The numbers of Norwegian immigrants in America continued to grow and were "gaining momentum" by 1840 (Marshall 2005:6).

Emigration from Sweden to the New World, however, got a later and slower start than the Norwegian emigration. This was due to the fact that a law in Sweden, which required citizens to obtain permission from the king to immigrate to another country, was not revoked until 1840. Even after this law was retracted the emigration rate remained low in Sweden (Marshall 2005:6). It is estimated that between the years 1820 to 1850, only about 5,000 Swedes immigrated to America, some legally and others illegally (Barton 1984: 282). These immigrants were mainly seafaring Swedish men who came and went as their lifestyle allowed. Swedish women were few and far between on American shores. By 1845, with the enduring settlement at New Sweden, Iowa, homes

with women and children were established on American soil (Barton 1984:282-283). During this time Sweden had a rise in population because of low death and high birth rates. The country was not very urbanized, so the number of farmers increased with the rise in population. Yet the amount of available land was dwindling. Family land increasingly became smaller and smaller as it was divided into inheritances, and there was soon a growing number of young men who neither inherited land nor were they needed to work on tenant land. These men were faced with two choices: 1) either leave the rural communities for the Swedish urban centers, or 2) leave entirely and begin a new life in a new country (Marshall 2005:6-7).

Immigration to America increased significantly in the decades following the removal of the law requiring the King's permission to emigrate from Sweden. The years after the first settlements of Pine Lake, Wisconsin in 1841 and New Sweden, Iowa in 1845, until the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, marked a significant increase in the Swedish immigration to America, with an estimated 20,000 Swedes leaving their homeland to come to the United States (Barton 1984:283-284). Emigration from Sweden slowed during the American Civil War, but gained even more momentum in the years following the war. Northern Europe suffered from major crop failures in 1867 to 1869; during this time the "Great Migration" from Sweden to America began. Annual immigration to America had been around 6,000, and in the late 1860s it increased to over 32,000 (Barton 1984:287). The mass waves of immigration continued to the 1914 outbreak of World War I, although the height of this immigration occurred in 1882, with 44,000 Swedish immigrants moving to the United States. By 1910 "Swedish-Americans of the first and second generations amounted to 1,363,554 persons," which at "that time it

was estimated that about one out of every five Swedes was living in America” (Barton 1984:287).

Motivations for leaving the homeland for a new and unknown world were not limited to Sweden’s spatial issues. Marshall (2005) gives other reasons for the Swede’s impetus to move to America, and one was the promise of religious freedom. In their own country, the only religion Swedes were allowed to practice was that of the state church, the Swedish Lutheran Church. All other religious sects and churches were illegal, and everyone was required to support the state church (Marshall 2005:7). The growing dissatisfaction with the Swedish church coincided with the “beginnings of emigration” (Stephenson 1926: 710). This dissatisfaction was magnified when the clergy of Sweden began preaching against emigration: “the spectacle of ministers in the pulpit condemning America as a Godless country, ravaged by sects, and denouncing emigrants as ‘traitors’ and ‘unfaithful sons’ was by no means unusual” (Stephenson 1926:715). Moving to a country known for its religious freedoms subsequently attracted Swedish emigrants.

The tension of class, in addition, was another high motivation for emigration, as “deep dissatisfaction with the forms of society reigned among the masses” (Stephenson 1926:719). The idea of being able to improve one’s social standing was a powerful justification to migrate to the New World. For example, common peoples’ opportunities for involvement in politics were not as prevalent in Sweden as in nineteenth century America. Swedes believed that “the real cause of poverty was bad government and a form of Christianity corrupted by the alliance with the civil authority” (Stephenson 1926: 719). Also all men were required to serve in the military at some point in their lives. If a

young man was at the right age when he wished to emigrate, it was his duty to fulfill the military obligation before leaving for America (Marshall 2005:7).

According to Marshall, the greatest reason for emigration from Sweden was economical: the “fluctuations in the numbers of Swedish immigrants correlate with the economic conditions in Sweden and the United States” (Marshall 2005:7). Letters from families in America, along with advertisements and articles in local newspapers, increased the Swedish awareness of an option to immigrate to the United States. Gustav Unonius, a young Swedish man, wrote of the many hopes and promises a new life in America would bring,

I have heard about America. Its rich soil and its industrial possibilities invite just at present thousands of Europeans, who in their homelands have in one way or another been hampered in their hopes by economic circumstances of their homes, or by a precarious livelihood. Work, in any industry only that it is honorable, in America is no shame. Every workman has there the same right of citizenship as the nobles. Conventional judgments, class interest and narrow-mindedness do not hang to your coat tail nor trample on your heels (Unonius 1862:4).

In 1841, Unonius led a group from Sweden to begin the first “Swedish colony of the nineteenth century” in the United States, establishing Pine Lake, Wisconsin (Janson 1970:118; Marshall 2005:7). The primary emigrants from Sweden during this time were farmers who were doing well but “hoped for more financial success in the new country” (Marshall 2005:8). Peter Hedman was another young Swedish man who was lured to the New World by rumors he heard in the villages as well as by the letters his wife received from her brother over in America. Upon arrival and settling in Nebraska, Peter himself wrote home the praises of America,

As I promised to write and tell you how we have it, I’ll let you know what I think from what I can see here. Here is a good land, the best anyone could wish for, and the Swedes who live here have it good only after three years,

and what matters most is the cost of food – real cheap here. More land is opening up here, but it isn't certain under what regulations (or conditions) one can take it. Perhaps you have to pay some, but it won't be much. I have taken up 160 acres of the best land one can wish for. It is ready to set the plow in... The journey here went well and we are all in good health...I nearly forgot to tell you that we are not longing at all for Sweden (Hedman 1985:17).

At the turn of the 20th century the Swedish government began to realistically address the problem of emigration. This effort resulted in a comprehensive report that indicated agricultural conditions fueled the majority of Swedish emigration. The survey also “revealed the steady undermining of the peasant class, the disappearance of the hereditary principle, subdivision of land, the menace of large estates, and the decline of the *torpare*, those who “ paid rent in kind and furnished a certain number of days' labor” (Stephenson 1926:721-723). To address these problems the National Society against Emigration was formed. Through this organization, Sweden reached out to its common people, creating more opportunities for them, assisting people to become property owners and ensuring that the children had a love and understanding of their homeland with educational programs dedicated to Swedish heritage (Stephenson 1926:723).

Two-thirds of the emigrating Swedes were families (Marshall 2005:8). Many of the Swedes who immigrated to the United States did so in groups. These “group immigrations” often resulted in Swedish “colonies.” During the American Civil War the Quincy Mining Company of Hancock, Michigan experienced a shortage in labor. In order to correct this shortage and get profits back in order the Quincy Mining Company decided to hire Scandinavian immigrant laborers and sent a Swede named Axel Silversparre out as a recruiting agent. Anticipating a large number of Scandinavian laborers to be hired, the Quincy Company built “a number of log houses, a root cellar, and a stable almost two miles from the mine site, at what was to become Swedetown

Location” (Pappas 2002:1). The large influx of Scandinavian laborers fell short of expected numbers and the Quincy Mining Company president stated the endeavor of importation of Swedish labor was only partially successful (Pappas 2002:1). While the plot brought over 100 Scandinavians to the area, this Swedetown location was eventually abandoned. The Swedes moved on, the structures decayed, and in 1982 and 1993 the site was excavated by crews from Michigan Technological University (Pappas 2002:2, 35). The results of the 1982 and 1993 excavations will be discussed again in Chapter 5. Once established, places like the Quincy Mining Company Swedetown and other Midwestern Swedish colonies tended to encourage other Swedish families to come to their community. These Swede towns later would become the starting point for Swedish groups to move even further west (Marshall 2005:10).

Johanson’s Early Sweden and Minnesota Days

Per Johanson was one of several 19th century Swedish immigrants who chose to move westward after settling for a time in the Midwest. He arrived with his family in Nora, Idaho in 1891. Prior to living in the Inland Northwest, Per along with his wife Anna and their family, immigrated to the United States from Sweden in 1882. They settled first in the community of Dassel, Minnesota. While historical research has not proven whether or not Dassel was considered a Swedish community, in addition, Minnesota is well known for its Swedish heritage and Dassel certainly was one of several communities where Swedish immigrants settled. Osterberg (1980:7) states that after a visit to Moscow, Per returned to Dassel and convinced his Swedish friends to move West with him, suggesting at least an enclave of fellow Swedes. Shortly after his time in

Dassel, Per packed his family and their belongings and headed west to the open country of northern Idaho.

Per Jönsson was born at Åfallberg, Östmark parish in the province of Varmland (Figure 1), Sweden on March 26, 1842. As a child, Per learned to read and spell, but was not taught to write because his teacher did not know how to write. Per was 20 years old when he finally was taught to write and “do figures.” He exchanged this later education



Figure 1: Provinces in Sweden highlighting the province from which Per came.
http://www.skansen.se/images/images/landskapskarta_varmland.jpg

for one year of work for the farmer who had taught him. Per completed his year of employment and began work as a contractor for log river driving. After a few years of log river driving, Per began log contracting and employed over 300 men and more than 150 horses on his contracts (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:73). During this early part of Per's life, Anna Nilsson arrived at the Jönsson household to work as a house servant. She was born in Varggården, Sweden on July 11, 1845. While most documentary sources are not certain of the date of the marriage, according to Per's obituary, Anna married Per in Sweden on January 1, 1857. If they did indeed get married on January 1, 1857, Anna would have later that year turned twelve years old and Per was just about to turn fifteen at the time of the wedding (*Latah County Press* 1927; Latah County Historical Society 1941; Oslund-Cox 1992:73). Per and Anna (Figure 2) continued to live in the Östmark parish, though records located by Oslund- Cox vary on



Figure 2: Per and Anna Johanson (Mercer 2005).

locations within the parish. Their first child, Ida Maria, was born on February 9, 1872 at Åfallberg and died on October 7, 1876. Per and Anna's first son, Nils Johan was born in 1874. Three years later they had another daughter, again named Ida who died only a year after her birth. Amanda Karolina was born in 1878 and in 1880 another daughter was born, Ida Kristina, named after her sisters who had died in infancy (Oslund-Cox 1992: 73).

After working on log driving, Per began to buy and sell timber and he eventually constructed a combination flour and saw mill with two business partners. Unfortunately after these mills were built they were destroyed by fire (Olsund-Cox 1992:73). The insurance policy held for the mill property stated that there should be a watchman all night but Per's mills only had a watchman until midnight. The fire damage property was therefore a total loss. Discouraged, Per collected and borrowed money to buy tickets for himself Anna and their three children, Nils, Amanda and Ida, to immigrate to America (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74).

Throughout their marriage, Per and Anna had a total of ten children, five children born in Sweden and five more born in America. By the time they sailed to America only three of the children born in Sweden had survived. On the trip overseas their son, Nils Johan died from measles and was buried at sea. Their daughter Ida Kristina died shortly after arriving to America (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74).

The Jönsson family arrived on American shores on April 28, 1882 and changed the spelling of their name from Jönsson to the more Americanized Johanson. In their group traveling from Sweden was Anna's brother, Henrik Nilsson, who changed his name from Nilsson to Oslund. He worked for Per in America as a hired hand. Anna's

house servant, Maria Persdotter, also made the journey overseas. Maria eventually married Henrik Oslund and also continued on to Idaho with Per and Anna (Oslund-Cox 1992:74).

The party first traveled to Dassel, Minnesota to begin their new life in America. Per had about \$750 in American money and set to work right away at building a small saw mill south of Dassel on Spencer Lake. When he ran out of funds he got a loan with a local bank. He paid his workers with notes and within three years he had paid back the debt to his employees. Per's business was successful, but in 1887 the mill and the surrounding timber burned. In 1888, Per collected what he could and gathered up his remaining mill machinery, packed it into a railroad car, and shipped it all to Moscow, Idaho, an area already inhabited by Swedish residents (Osterberg 1980; Olsund-Cox 1992:74). Later in this chapter the Johanson's life in Nora and Troy, Idaho will be discussed. Due to the fact that they immigrated to Nora with many other Swedes, the history of this Swedish migration is tied into the following section dedicated to the Johanson family history. When appropriate, the family history is connected with the context of Swedish American History.

Minnesota to Idaho: A Background in Idaho's Swedish County

"Now is the time to secure a good home easily in a great good country." These were the words Reverend W. B. Carithers wrote in 1887 to encourage settlers from the east to travel westward to Latah County, Idaho. Here he wrote "land can be purchased at rates ranging from \$5 to \$25 an acre" and many heeded his call (Otness 1983:3-4, 8). Many of the European and Euro-American homesteaders who ventured into the

American northwest came to Latah County between the years of 1868 to 1898. In 1885 the railroad made it to Latah County and the area grew in population. By 1900 Nez Perce County and Latah County were the two most populated counties in Idaho. The town of Moscow, established in 1887, became the county seat of Latah County. Moscow now houses the University of Idaho. The town of Troy sits about 15 miles east of Moscow (Figure 3). Troy was originally known as Huff's Gulch and in 1892 it was established as

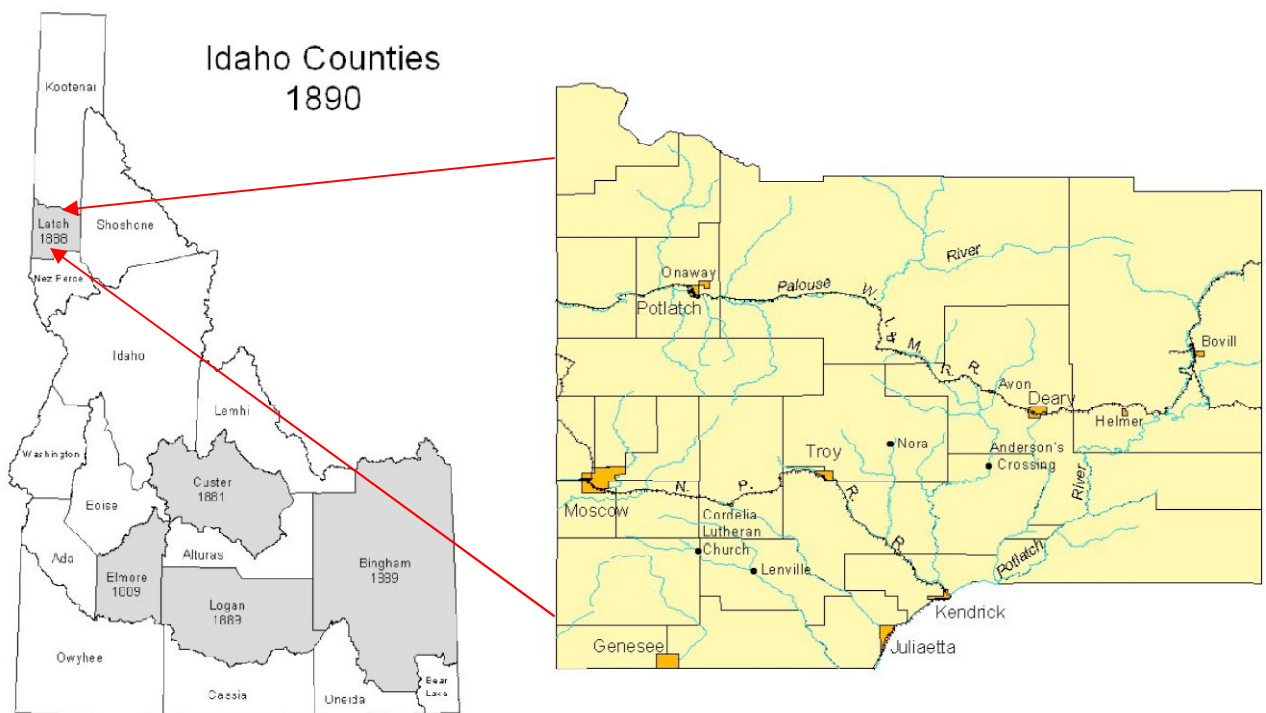


Figure 3: Map of Idaho counties in 1890 and a close up of Latah County (Marshal 2005:57, 81).

Vollmer. John P. Vollmer, a German immigrant to the area, was an influential member of the community who extended the railway from Moscow to Huff's Gulch (Latah County Historical Society 2008). In 1897 the town of Vollmer voted to change its name to Troy. Troy served as a commercial center and also a trade and supply center for the homesteaders in the area, but as the railway grew and other timber communities sprang up around Troy, the town's growth slowed (Otness 1983:128-129). Today the population

is 798, only slightly more than the 1910 population of 543 (Moffat 1996:99; US Census Bureau 2000).

Lured by the words of Reverend Carithers, the Johansons traveled west in a group of Swedish settlers heading for the Moscow area (Osterberg 1980:7). Per had decided to establish a homestead in Nora, Idaho, just east of Troy. Nora was a stopping point between the Moscow and Bovill stagecoach. The community of Nora was situated along Nora Creek in Latah County and was established by Swedish immigrant, Frederick Osteberg. Osteberg was very influential in getting other Swedish families to settle in the area surrounding Nora, thus creating colonies, or “Swede towns” such as those discussed above. For many Swedish families, Idaho resembled their homeland more than the vast open prairies of the Dakotas and Nebraska, and that characteristic was used to entice more Scandinavian settlers to migrate to the area, creating several Swedish settlements in the Inland Northwest. The first business in Nora was established in 1890, and by 1906 the village had several sawmills, a general store, post office, barber shop, saloon, blacksmith and three churches. More and more Swedish families through the convincing of families and word of mouth moved into the area and areas surrounding Nora. Swedish was the common language and soon the area of Nora Creek and the neighboring community of Big Bear Creek became known as “Little Sweden.” Over time the roads around the Nora village improved and there was no need for a stagecoach stop in Nora, so the town, as far as commerce goes, faded away. Mail delivery to Nora stopped on July 31, 1906, and residents had to get their mail in Troy thereafter (Randall 2005:97). The rural community still survived, however, and to this day there are still established and

working homes and farms along Nora Creek. The residents now simply travel to Moscow or Lewiston for supplies (Otness 1983:133; Marshall 2005:62-63, 67, 70).

The Johansons in Nora and Troy

Upon arrival to the newly settled area in rural Idaho in 1888, Per and his family established a homestead (Figure 4). From the start the families who moved to the area built log cabins, as well as shelters for the livestock. The remaining families, like Per Johanson's, eventually constructed more permanent dwellings and outbuildings. More and more Swedes followed the Johansons to Idaho, including Per's brother, Ivar Jönsson, along with his wife and family. In December of 1888 Per's parents, Jonas and Ingeborg Ivarson, moved to America to live with Per and Anna in Nora.



Figure 4: Johanson homestead in Nora, Idaho (Mercer 2005).

Timber in the area was selling at “\$6. per thousand” and Per built a saw mill (Figure 5) to take advantage of the opportunity (*Troy News* 1927:1). The economic panic of 1893 found its way to the small community of Nora, and Per was forced to mortgage his interest in his sawmill and his own land. During this time the Johanson Company gave credit to anyone in need of lumber. This generosity lost the company over five thousand dollars. Five years later the mill, which Per owned in partnership with three other men, was destroyed by fire. Per rebuilt the mill with partner Ole Bohman, another Swedish immigrant, the following year, but it too burned down (*Latah County Press* 1927:1; *Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74-76).



Figure 5: Per's first sawmill in the Nora area (Oslund-Cox 1992:74)

Per was a very influential man in his community and was a key figure in starting various businesses in the area. In 1904 Per decided he wanted to build a sash and door plant in Troy and so traveled up to Spokane, Washington to talk to several men about the possibilities of such an undertaking. He contracted four men from the Spokane Sash and Door Company and offered them stock in the new enterprise. The men agreed and soon moved to the Troy area. Per, along with Swedish partners, Ole Bohman, Emil Nelson and Charles Freed organized and established the Troy Lumber and Manufacturing Company.

This mill was the largest employer in the area and manufactured many products such as surface lumbers, doors, moldings, and fruit boxes (Otness 1983:130; Oslund-Cox 1992:76; Marshall 2005:110).

At the time, Per was rebuilding his mill after the last fire, he discovered white clay on his property. He tested the clay by making and placing a round ball in the forge at his mill. The clay did not melt after several hours of firing and Per was still unsure of what that meant. A friend of Per's, Pet Ortquist, visited the site and declared the clay to be fire clay. With this new discovery, Per began to make bricks by hand on his property and sold them to local saw mills as building supplies for their ever expanding industry (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:77).

In February 1905, Per bought a brick-making machine to speed up his brick production and the exciting news made it into the community's "Local Happenings of the Week," where it stated that "Per Johanson has purchased a complete and up-to-date brick making machine...With a man like Mr. Johanson pushing this new enterprise that it will be a big success goes without saying" (*Troy Weekly News*. Vol. 10. No.32.1905). The brick-making machine made it possible for Per to expand his business and sell bricks to a broader area. Soon after, he acquired a 20-horse power engine, a purchase that was also published in the weekly happenings of the area. Ten men worked the machine to produce an estimated ten thousand bricks per day.

Eventually Per gave his son, John, a 99-year lease on 80 acres of clay land and John created the Idaho Brick Company. Together John and Per made bricks on the Johanson property. Per along with a brickmason built a large kiln which could hold 110,000 bricks at a time. John later transferred his lease to the Idaho Fire Brick

Company. Along with his businesses in lumber and brick making, Per also owned a hardware store and a general merchandise store (Figure 6) in Troy (*Troy Weekly News*. Vol. 11. No.2.1905; *Latah Observer* 1980; Oslund-Cox 1992:77). While Troy is a small, yet active community today, it is unknown if the structures of these businesses are still standing.



Figure 6: 1905 advertisement (*Troy Weekly News*. Vol. 12. No. 10.1905).

Anna kept herself active during Per's busy days. A rather social person, Anna liked people and always had visitors from the area, as well as the boys from the sawmills, welcome in her home. She and Per had five more children after moving to America, including Huldah, John, Amelia, Alex and Edwin. Anna cooked four meals a day which included a coffee hour. She fed her large family, as well as her guests and her husband's employees. As the Johanson family grew older it also grew bigger, and Per and Anna often had their grandchildren stay with them during the summer months (Oslund-Cox 1992:77-78).

Per became ill at the age of 84 and on February 24, 1927 he passed away. He was buried at the Dry Creek Cemetery near his parents in Latah County. Per was an active

and respected member of his community and his obituary stated, “Mr. Johanson was always more interested in the welfare of the community than his personal affairs, and Troy owes much to him.” He was survived by his wife Anna and six of his ten children (*Latah County Press* 1927:1).

Anna lived fourteen years beyond Per. When she died, the property was left to her six children. The property remained in the family until 1958 when Per and Anna’s oldest son John and his wife sold the land to the Latah County Clay Company Inc. In 1988, the Clay Company sold the property to its current owners, the McKetta family of Moscow, Idaho (Warrenty Deed Record 1947:Book 9 [119-122]; Clapperton 2003:1). In 2003 the University of Idaho began archaeological investigations at the Johanson homestead on the McKetta Property which sparked the research herein.

The story of the Johanson family is the story of a long journey of dedication and hard work that led the family to settle in Latah County of northern Idaho. Their journey inspired many other Swedish families to head west to the villages of Nora and Troy in the Idaho countryside that became their new home. The family was very prominent in their community, with Per establishing businesses and therefore many jobs for people and with Anna’s unfailing hospitality and love of cooking to feed friends and family.

In researching the family homestead, the historical record clearly indicates that this Swedish family lived in a Swedish community in the American West. As far as examining the cultural identity of the Johanson family as Swedish homesteaders, language needs to be addressed. As noted above, Swedish was, at least initially, the common language spoken along Nora Creek. Grandchildren have recalled Swedish being spoken by Per and Anna and the Idaho community in which they settled (Oslund-Cox

1992:78). Despite the perseverance/use of Swedish language, it is noteworthy that the Johanson's still were influenced by the culture of Americanizing names. Many Swedish immigrants changed their last names to sound more American, or at least be easier to pronounce, thus changing their identity slightly. It was not uncommon for Swedes to change their name to a completely American name. For example, according to research conducted in this area by Henrik Williams (1995:7), immigrants born with names such as S. P. Johnson and Alfred S. Johnson changed their names to Davis J. Laurence and Alfred S. Hamilton respectively. While the Johansons did not change their name to something entirely new and American, not shedding this layer of identity completely, they did make it easier for Americans to pronounce, thus conforming slightly to an American culture.

While historical sources provide a relatively detailed understanding of names, dates, and business activities associated with Per Johansons family, it is necessary to turn to archaeological evidence to learn the material details representing the daily life of this Swedish immigrant family.

Chapter 4

EXCAVATION AND RESEARCH METHODS

Field Methods

In the summer of 2003 the University of Idaho, under the direction of Dr. Mark Warner, held an archaeological field school on the McKetta property just east of Troy, Idaho (Figure 7). Warner determined the

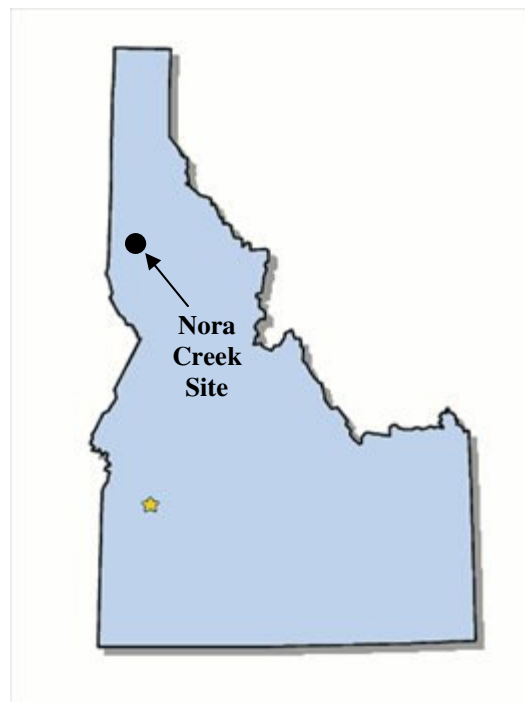


Figure 7: General location of the Nora Creek site in Idaho.

location of the field school after being denied the opportunity to excavate an urban setting where a new hospital in Moscow, Idaho was to be built. A former student of Warner's offered up his family property as a potential area for excavation. Warner agreed to use the location after he had visited the site and observed its research potential. Immediately visible on the site was a massive lilac bush (Figure 8) that is not native to northern Idaho. This, along with depressions in the ground and a trash pit 150 meters west of the lilac

bush, confirmed past settlement so excavation set out to locate the remnants of a homestead to shed light on this gem of Idaho's cultural heritage (Warner 2007).



Figure 8: Lilac bush in Area 1 of the Nora Creek site, Jenni Ackley and Amanda Haught (Haught 2003).

With the location set and preliminary background research conducted by Warner and graduate students at the Latah County Historical Society, the fieldwork was ready to begin. Prior to the start date of the field school, Dr. Warner along with two field directors, graduate student Steve Yodder and recent graduate Tosh McKetta, established a grid system over the site and determined which areas were to be excavated (Warner 2007).

Excavation of the Nora Creek site (10LT280) was divided into two sections; Area 1, which was the anticipated homestead location, and Area 2 which was a trash feature 150 meters west of Area 1 (Figure 9). Units were placed in these areas based on

geographic traits and vegetation changes, as well as high concentrations of visible surface artifacts. The original units in Area 1 were laid out and excavated as 2m x 2m units. Smaller 2m x 1m and 1m x 1m units were later excavated to test the surrounding areas. All of the units in Area 2 were 2m x 2m in measurement and were placed within the visible dump feature except for two that were placed on either side of the feature to the east and west.

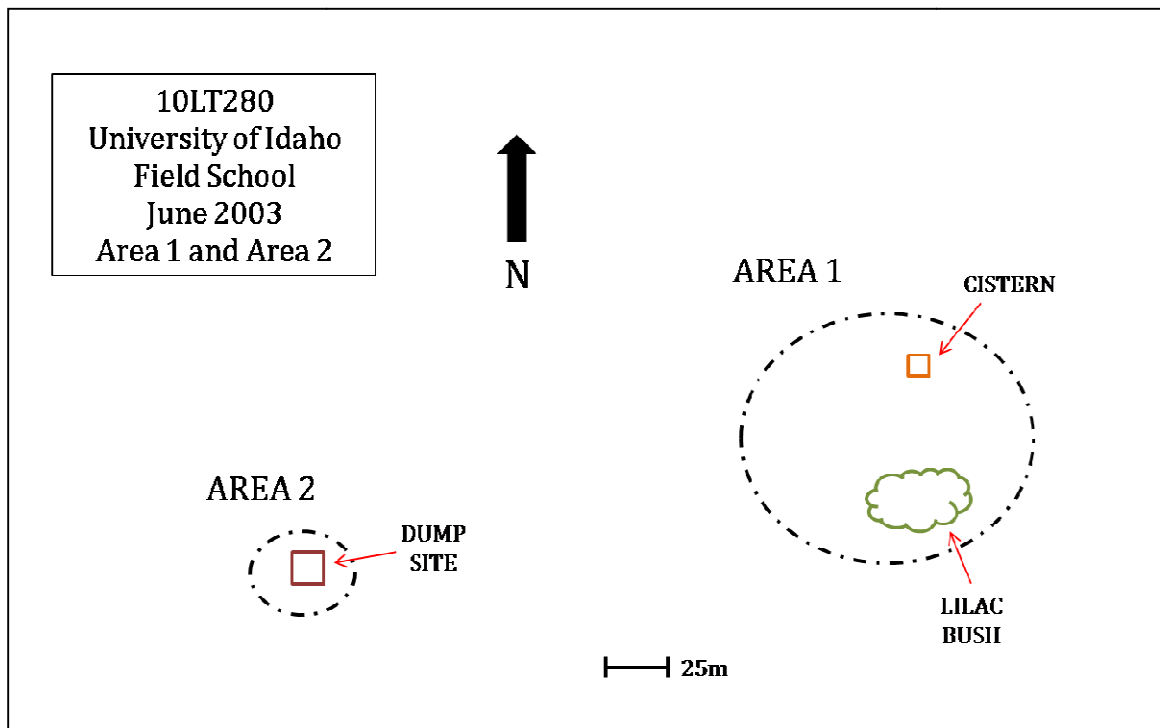


Figure 9: Boundaries of areas at the Nora Creek site; no house foundation was observed during research at the site.

Unless a change in stratigraphy occurred, excavation of each unit carried on in levels of 10cm. The level of soil to be excavated in Area 2 commonly exposed bedrock before 10cm could be unearthed. Students measured units using line levels and measuring tape by placing the line level with string at the highest corner of the unit and measuring downwards with the measuring tape. Students then gave each 10cm level a letter designation in the field to distinguish the individual arbitrary levels within a unit.



Figure 10: Back dirt pile and field school students in Area 1 (Haight 2003).

Both Area 1 and 2 had back dirt piles located to the northeast corner of Area 1 and to the north of the dump site of Area 2 (Figure 10). Buckets of excavated soil were brought to the back dirt pile and screened through ¼-inch mesh screens. Students then placed artifacts found within units or during the screening process into paper bags according to their level of provenience and labeled each bag with a bag number, the Smithsonian Trinomial site number, unit number, area number, level letter, the date, and the initials of the excavators.

Screened separately from the rest of a unit, students excavated soil from features stratigraphically. Field directors declared units sterile after a level excavated yielded no artifacts and after a window within each sterile level, measuring .5m x .5m was excavated to reveal sterile deposits. Individual unit excavation ended after the walls were cleaned up and wall profiles were drawn.

Other excavations in Area 1 included two trenches. Trench 1 measured 14m x 50cm and ran east to west down the center of the non-native lilac bush. Trench 1 was divided into two levels. The first level, A, was on a slight hill and the level was taken down to even out the trench area with the surrounding dirt, and level B dug down another 50cm. The second trench (Trench 2), measured 7m x50cm, ran north to south. Located just north of the lilac bush, excavation of Trench 2 only had one level that reached a depth of 50cm. Students used shovels to excavate both trenches and screened one out of every four buckets removed from the trenches. Artifacts from the trenches have been bagged and the bags labeled in the same manner as the artifact bags from the regular units. When finished the trench walls were cleaned and profiles were drawn of each wall.

Excavations ended after a six week period on July 2, 2003. July 3 closed the remaining units and finished the in field cleaning of artifacts. Black tarps and 2003 pennies were placed in every unit of area 1 and then filled with screened dirt from the back dirt pile. In two units placed next to the trash dump were also covered with a black tarp and 2003 penny (Figure 11) and then filled with back dirt. The units within the trash



Figure 11: Area 2 at the Nora Creek site after units were closed (Haught 2003).

pile were covered with back dirt without placing a tarp over the exposed bedrock because any dirt placed within these units would not stay there if any wind or rain came.

Laboratory Methods

An established field laboratory of tables and water access in a locked garage, located down the hill from the dig site, operated under a lab director and two rotating students while units were being excavated. Students brought artifact bags from excavated levels down to the lab to wait their turn to be washed, cataloged, and labeled at the end of each day.

Artifacts found during the excavations of the Nora Creek site were all historic except for a few small fragments of prehistoric stone debitage. Glass artifacts included fragments from bottles and containers, along with flat window pane fragments. Porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware ceramic artifacts included fragments of dishes, crocks, and other containers. The crew recovered brick as well as a large amount of machine parts and decorative metal. Other artifacts included bone, cables, marbles, buttons, bullet casings, and many other items.

All of the artifacts that could be, were washed in tap water and some gently scrubbed with a toothbrush. They were then laid out on dry racks to dry with one bag per rack to keep the artifacts sorted by unit and level. After being cleaned, students cataloged the artifacts. Artifacts that could be mended from the same level of the same unit could then be cataloged and bagged together. Artifacts which were the same material type, color, and portion/design, from the same unit and level were bagged together; generally, any artifact that displayed unique and/or diagnostic characteristics would then be bagged

separately. The initial catalog system and database breaks down into the following categories: catalog number, unit number, bag number, material class, material type, decoration/manufacture, color of glass or transfer print, portion of ceramic or glass, percentage of composition, modifications, count, and comments. Depending on the level from which it was excavated, each artifact received a catalog number. The first artifact cataloged from level A of a unit would then be given the catalog number A1, while the thirty-fifth artifact would be cataloged as A35.

Labeling the artifacts is the final stage in the process of cataloging. Artifacts at the field laboratory were painted, on a small area, with a mixture of solovar varnish and acetone. After that dried artifacts could then be labeled with ink and fountain pens, and again painted with the acetone mixture. Each artifact label included the Smithsonian Trinomial site number, area number, unit number, and catalog number. An artifact given the catalog number A8 that came from N10E35 in area one would then be labeled as 10LT280.1.N10E35.A8. Only artifacts that could be written on legibly were labeled.

After the completion of six weeks of excavation, all of the artifacts were brought to the University of Idaho, Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology, in Moscow, Idaho, where washing, cataloging, and labeling continued in the same manner that they were in the field. When all of the artifacts had been washed, cataloged and labeled, they were put in plastic bags, organized by material type and provenience, and then placed within boxes to await further analysis.

In the spring of 2004, as a part of Dr. Mark Warner's Artifact Analysis class with the University of Idaho, the minimal vessel count (MVC) for the glass and ceramic assemblages of the Nora Creek collection was determined by four students. Andrew

Hoge and Rebecca Clapperton analyzed the glass assemblage, and Jennie Ackley and I looked at the ceramic assemblage. A minimum vessel count or MVC is “a count of the minimum number of [vessels] recovered archaeologically” (Mullins 1989:16). This minimum count gives a number of identified vessels within a collection. As a reference of methodology we used Paul Mullins’ “Ceramic and Glass Reconstruction Guide” (1989) created for use with the collections from Annapolis, Maryland. The guide put forth by Mullins states that although the overall MVC process is similar, the consumer behavior and functions surrounding glass and ceramic vessels varies greatly as did the production, therefore similar but not the same techniques should be used when analyzing these two material types (Mullins 1989:1-2).

At the start of the MVC process for the Nora Creek glass assemblage, after all the artifacts from Nora had been cataloged and labeled, all the bottle glass was pulled from the collection and sorted according to color. Because we had multiple students working on this project, Mullins’ standardized general colors were used (Mullins 1989:6). The glass was then divided out further by identifying distinct characteristics such as “bases, embossed sherds...color, design or vessel form” which in turn would aid in identifying any unique vessels (Mullins 1989:4). When complete the MVC identified 176 different vessels out of approximately 6,900 glass fragments.

Fellow student Jennie Ackley and myself took on the task of analyzing and establishing a MVC for the Nora Creek ceramics, and as in the glass analysis, we also followed the guidelines laid out by Mullins (1989). After all the artifacts had been cataloged and labeled we separated the ceramics and organized them by ware type. The ware groupings included in the Nora Creek collection are porcelain, whiteware,

ironstone, yellowware, red paste earthenware, and stoneware. The stoneware was broken down further into brown, tan and gray-bodied stoneware, the color referring to the color of the stoneware paste. We then removed all brick and ceramic insulators from this level of analysis. When the initial ware type sorting was complete we divided each ware group even further by decoration, whether the sherds were hand painted, decaled, transfer printed, gilded, molded, or undecorated. At this point we began to piece together the mendable sherds; any ceramic sherd that could not be identified as an individual or mended with a known vessel was laid aside and not counted in the MVC. When sorting and mending were completed we added up the vessel count by ware-type. The MVC was dictated by the presence of 50% or more of the vessel and when this percentage was not present distinctive form, ware, or decoration became the deciding factor of whether or not the ceramic warranted inclusion in the count. We had identified a minimum of 163 vessels total out of the 1,830 ceramic sherds.

Here the results of both the glass and ceramic analyses and MVC counts are used to address the research objectives of determining whether and how a Swedish cultural identity can be seen archaeologically at the Nora Creek site. The methodologies this thesis research will use to examine cultural identity as well as gender and class in the archaeological record will be discussed in this chapter and applied to the Nora Creek assemblage in the following chapter.

Literature Research Methods

Upon entering the graduate program at the University of Montana in Missoula, Montana in 2006, I was faced with the common challenge of choosing a thesis topic. At the time I thought I should choose a new topic and move away from the Nora Creek site

since I had spent over three years working on that project. The more I researched the possibilities, the more I wanted to dive a little deeper into the background of the site I had spent so much time studying in the past. Eventually I realized I still had unanswered questions concerning the inhabitants of the Nora Creek site and decided to research and write a thesis on the people with whose landscape and material culture I had become so familiar. Part of this decision was influenced by Asian American archaeological projects associated with the University of Idaho, which houses a renowned comparative collection of Asian American artifacts. While working with this collection, I had become familiar with advances in Asian American archaeology. In addition, while attending the University of Montana I worked with students interested in the Chinese impact on the American West and became familiar with the literature emphasizing the material “ethnic distinctions” (e.g., Mullins 2008:154-155) associated with interpretations of the artifacts associated with Chinese communities. I began to consider how, if like the Chinese in the West, one could examine such distinctions and therefore cultural identity of other peoples. The Nora Creek site definitely had the potential to address this research goal in that the residents were rather recent immigrants from Sweden. I subsequently decided to use my knowledge of and experience at a single site to examine broad concepts such as cultural identity and cultural change among groups comprising the 19th century American West’s cosmopolitan heritage.

To begin my research I spent several days at the Latah County Historical Society in Moscow, Idaho researching the town of Troy and Nora and gathering the known history of Per Johanson and his family. In this search I found several newspaper articles and advertisements pertaining to the family and Per’s business ventures, as well as a book

on a local family's history that included the Johanson family (Oslund-Cox 1992). I combined this information with research that had been done prior to the start of the field school in 2003. This research had recovered a collection of newspaper articles, land deeds, and local histories of Nora and the Nora Creek property.

Once I developed a historic context for the Nora Creek site, I needed to do some background research on Swedes and immigration to America. This yielded a wealth of information. A most useful resource dealing with the Swedes in America and the Nora area was a history student's M. A. thesis from the University of Idaho (Marshall 2005). This thesis chronicled emigration from Sweden, migration further west than Minnesota, and the establishment of a Swedish community in Latah County, Idaho. Next, I surveyed articles in the *Swedish-American Quarterly* published by the Swedish-American Historical Society. Then, I visited the University of Minnesota and the Swedish-American Institute in Minneapolis in May of 2007 and obtained copies of these articles. The *Swedish-American Quarterly* includes key references associated with the history of Swedes in America and specifically references to Swedes in the northwestern states of the U.S. Other methods included several hours of library searching and research, as well as ample use of JSTOR's and the Society for Historical Archaeology's publication search engines.

Analytical Methods

While researching and writing on the history of Swedish immigration and the Johanson family's movement westward, I began to develop the research objectives laid out in the introduction. Since those objectives require integrating cultural identity with

gender and class, I incorporated resources discussed in the literature review chapter, including Hardesty (1981, 1991, 1994, 1998), Scott (1994) and Spude (1997, 2005), in order to analyze the artifacts from the Nora Creek site.

Gender will be examined using a model developed by Catherine Holder Spude (1997) which examines six artifact categories in order to identify male and female uses of space and identity in the archaeological record. The six categories include transient males, families, saloons, brothels, hotels and restaurants and military assemblages. To see gender in a clearer sense, Spude compares the assemblage of the transient male to the family artifacts. She believes that a male living on his own will not reflect an assemblage of artifacts related to cooking or even eating or drinking, stating that these activities would take place outside the bachelor home, at saloons, brothels, dance halls, and restaurants (Spude 1997:29-30). Spude argues that a feminine gender identity would be represented by feminine/family materials such as “jewelry, cosmetics bottles, and items of women’s clothing” along with household items including, “higher frequencies of food storage items, decorated dishes, undecorated dishes” and self medication pharmaceutical containers (Spude 1997:29). The assemblage of glass and ceramic from the Johanson homestead will be compared to Spude’s “male transient assemblage” and to her “family assemblage.” The male transient collection includes items such as “suspenders buckles, cuff links, collar stays, shaving crème jars, and items of men’s clothing; tobacco-related items, armaments; and other artifacts, especially those specific to certain occupations” (Spude 1997:29).

Collectively, ceramic and glass assemblages were expected to reflect either a male transient lifestyle at Nora or a family lifestyle, so these assemblages were examined using

Spude's (1997) model to determine whether and how the archaeological record reflects the domestic and gendered sphere of the homestead. We already know from historical records that the Johanson homestead was established and lived in by a family; hence, distinguishing gender from the archaeological assemblage may provide insights into the female sphere of the household that the historical record does not address and will add to the overall image of the cultural identity reflected at Nora Creek.

Examination of historical artifacts can also shed light on the economic class of people in the past. There are different models for measuring class and this thesis will use George Miller's (1991, 2000) model of ceramic index values consider consumer choice models, and also examine what the Johansons were eating as reflected in the glass and the faunal assemblages.

Applying Miller's (2000) ceramic index value model began with conducting a minimal vessel count (MVC). Next, the ceramics were organized by decoration. Then the ceramics maker's marks were dated and compared to Miller's mean index value, thus providing an estimated cost of the individual ceramics (Miller 2000:4-5). The sums of these values were then divided by the number of individual ceramics to gain a mean or average value for the assemblage (Miller 2000:5).

While a very useful tool when analyzing a ceramic assemblage, Miller's model will not be the only means for measuring class at the Johanson homestead. Ceramics are not a onetime use item and people tend to hang on to them for years if not decades after they are purchased. Glass and faunal remains, however, are often discarded fairly shortly after they are used and can give a more immediate indication of class through the lens of consumer choice. Glass can "reflect complex marketing patterns" as well as distinct

patterns of consumerism (Mullins 1989:1). The presence of national name brand products (e.g. bottles and jars) versus products produced in the home (e.g. canning jars and crockery) can reflect consumer choice. This is also reflected in the meats eaten by the Johanson family, which are represented by animal bones, that is faunal remains.

The faunal remains from Nora Creek were analyzed (Bielmann 2010) and the results will be summarized in the following chapter. Meat cuts identified by the faunal analysis can give insight as to what the Johansons were eating, but also can reflect upon the household's economic status as well. For example, Schulz and Gust (1983) provide a model of 19th-century meat cut values to help archaeologists interpret the value of animal bones found on historic sites; while not foolproof, such analyses can be used with other archaeological evidence to make statements about a site's socio-economic position (see also Schmitt and Zeir 1993). In addition to meat cuts, at the turn of the 20th century, foodways in America shifted from a focus on pork to beef. With refrigeration and the expansion of the railroad, beef gained popularity but remained more expensive than pork (Levenstein 1988:218), thus giving archaeologists a way to measure the economic status of a household based on the amounts and types of cuts of pork and beef present in a faunal assemblage. The results of the faunal analysis will be examined in this framework, determining what was consumed and how much more of one meat type – or value of meat cuts – were preferred over others.

Pinpointing cultural identity in the archaeological record is often challenging for historical archaeologists. It is, however, a challenge that is worthy of pursuit because when integrated with analysis of gender and class, an understanding of cultural identity can illuminate details of cultural and social adaptations, interactions, and persistence

(Orser 2002:279). While there is not an all-encompassing archaeological model for interpreting cultural identity from the Johanson assemblage, elements of historian models, specifically historians specializing in Swedish immigrant history in the U.S.

Cultural identity is often manifested outwardly in clothing, food, and language (Rodman 1992:318). According to the historical research (Barton 1984, 2006), it is believed that for the Swedish in America, it was easier to reflect a Swedish cultural identity if surrounded by other Swedes. The Johanson homestead was located in Nora, Idaho, a community known for being a Swedish community. Given this context, I expected that the Johansons maintained their Swedish identity despite their time spent in the U. S. and their plans to remain here. Moreover, it is likely that that identity was manifested through food and food consumption items, either traditional and/or imported from the homeland, as well as heirlooms and decorative elements brought over from Sweden.

Food and food consumption will be examined using the glass and ceramic assemblages as well as looking at the faunal assemblage. Food is “a significant way of celebrating ethnicity and group identity” and these material collections will be analyzed to determine if they reflect any Swedish ties, in product manufacture or elements of diet (Kalčík 1984:38). The products used will also be compared to what was found at the Swedetown site. Types and forms of ceramics will also be compared to see if any of these items reflect ties to the homeland. Beyond the archaeological record, architecture, clothing, and language should be considered as well in reconstructing the identities at the Johanson homestead. However, given the materials available for this analysis, glass, ceramic, and faunal remains will be the primary focus here. These materials will be

interpreted using the framework influenced by the research goals of determining whether and how a Swedish cultural identity can be seen archaeologically.

Chapter 5

RESULTS

The Nora Creek excavations unearthed over 24,000 historical artifacts during the University of Idaho 2003 six-week field school. The assemblage includes ceramic, glass, fauna, flora, metal, mineral (such as graphite), stone, and synthetic (rubber, plastic, textile, etc.) artifacts. The largest collections within this assemblage are the metals with 1,736 data entries and approximately 11,909 individual artifacts; the glass has 1,754 database entries and approximately 7,536 artifacts; the ceramics include 658 database entries and approximately 2,740 artifacts; the fauna materials comprise 156 database entries and 1,830 artifacts; and 274 other entries which include synthetic, mineral, stone, flora and unknown objects and include 971 individual artifacts (Table 1). This chapter will examine the glass and ceramic assemblages to interpret gender, class, and Swedish cultural signatures. In addition, the results of a faunal analysis completed by Oliver Biemann (2010) will be investigated to determine whether and how osseous remains can add to this analysis (Schmidt and Zeier 1993).

Material Class	Data Entries	Individual Artifacts	Percentage (%)
Metal	1,736	11,909	48%
Glass	1,754	7,536	30%
Ceramic	658	2,740	11%
Faunal	156	1,830	7%
Other	274	971	4%
TOTALS	4,578	24,986	100%

Table 1: Material classes represented in the Nora Creek assemblage.

Glass

The analysis of the glass assemblage from Nora Creek yielded a minimal vessel count (MVC) of 176 vessels which represent a wide variety of products, vessels, and product and manufacture's origins. The largest vessel group of identified glass within this collection is preservation jars with a MVC of 21 and manufactures such as Atlas, Kerr and Schram (Figure 12). The next largest grouping of identified glass is the lids to these preservation jars with a total of fourteen. According to Toulouse (1969:375), cookbooks in the U.S. began including recipes for canning around 1880. While it is unclear if this amount of preservation jars is indicative of a Swedish identity, canning likely was a common practice for homesteads in rural portions of the United States, especially in areas with harsh winters, such as those in northern Idaho.



Figure 12: Schram, Atlas and Kerr jar bases (Haight 2004).

Other food containing vessels found include jelly jars, and food bottles such as condiments and sauces and a bottle of flavoring extracts. Only two alcohol bottles, both of which were wine/champagne bottles, were identified. Decorative, personal, and medicinal containers were also found. Within the unidentified vessels there are seven decorative pieces. These are primarily press molded and most likely represent decorative tableware (Figure 13). Several of these pieces are solarized, suggesting that much of the Johanson's decorative glass was produced before 1920 (Lockhart 2006:54). Also found within the collection are three different containers likely associated with personal hygiene, including Velvetina Vanishing Cream and Vaseline (see also Clapperton and Haught 2005:4).



Figure 13: Press molded glass fragments (Haught 2004).

At least 14 pharmaceutical bottles were uncovered from the Nora Creek site and six of these had manufacture information available. A brown bottle embossed, OZOMULSION (Figure 14), represents a flesh forming medicine made by Dr. T. A.



Figure 14: Dr. T. A. Slocum Company Ozomulsion bottle fragments (Haught 2004).

Slocum Company (Fike 1987:175, 196). This medication was said to “build(s) up the tissues, imparts vigor, aids the natural resistance of the body, etc.” (Adams 1905:49). The second identified bottle, a colorless Lydia E. Pinkham’s Medicine bottle (Figure 15), was a vegetable compound containing at least 15% alcohol (Fike 1987:150) used to treat female ailments. A bottle for F. W. McNess’ Pain Oil (Figure 16), applied as a liniment for many pain-causing ailments, was also found and identified (Fike 1987:60).



Figure 16: Lydia E. Pinkham's Medicine bottle (Haight 2004).



Figure 15: F. W. McNess' Pain Oil (Haight 2004).

Two bottles were embossed with the WATKINS name and TRIAL MARK; these bottles were used by the J. R. Watkins Medical Company. The J. R. Watkins Medical Company began as a home production business in 1868 by Joseph R. Watkins in Plainview, Minnesota. Due to his original liniment production, which “offered relief for tired, aching muscles,” Joseph Watkins soon out grew his home and in 1885 moved the company to Winona, Minnesota (Watkins Incorporated 2008). With a new thriving business, additional “all natural” products were added to the Watkins line and by 1930 Watkins products were being shipped internationally (Watkins Incorporated 2008). Another pharmaceutical bottle found was embossed McCONNON & CO., a medical company also based out of Winona, Minnesota. The final bottle with an identifiable embossing is a solarized Riker New York bottle (Figure 17). The products of Wm. B. Riker and Son, such as Riker’s Expectorant, were advertised in the late 1800s and in the early 20th century (Fike 1987:178).



Figure 17: Riker New York bottle (Haught 2004).

The distribution of these glass vessels across the Nora Creek site is consistent with what one might expect of a homesteading site. The majority of the food storage containers and alcohol containers were found in the trash-dump location of Area 2, with a small exception of ten preservation jars found in Area 1. The pharmaceutical bottles and most of the personal containers were found within the dumpsite. The only category with the majority of its vessels found in Area 1 is the decorative tableware. This distribution indicates that containers in which the contents were used or the vessel broken were likely taken to the dump in Area 2 while glass that had a decorative function was probably kept at the house site in Area 1.

Looking back at Spude’s (1997) gender analysis model, transient male residence artifacts tend not to reflect any cooking, eating or drinking related items, because these items were used in social settings outside the home when there was no family to come

home to at the end of the day. At the Nora Creek site, 42 of the 176 glass vessels were identified as kitchen and food related containers, verifying a familial (and female) presence on the homestead as described in historical sources and as associated with Spude’s “family assemblage”. The Lydia E. Pinkham’s medicine bottle is also quite suggestive of a female presence at the Nora Creek site; the medicine was advertised (Figure 18) as “A Medicine for a Woman. Invented by a Woman. Prepared by a Woman” and



Figure 18: 1883 Lydia E. Pinkham advertisement (Jones 1959: 24).

was a remedy for “all those Complaints and Weaknesses so common to our best population” (Jones 1959:24). The glass assemblage also contributes to the class analysis of the Nora Creek homestead. Indeed, the above engendered interpretation is not complete without a consideration of whether and how artifacts may just as easily reflect the socioeconomic status of the Nora Creek residence. While Nora was located on the rural frontier of the state of Idaho, not far from Troy and Moscow, the glass bottles identified come from all over the nation. Manufacturing locations from places such as Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma, California, Washington, and Oregon illustrates that this family in rural Idaho had a link to national markets. Not only did the Johansons have this market link, but they also made the consumer choice to purchase from all over the country. The presence of well known brands and products of the day, such as Watkins and Lydia Pinkham's products, in the glass assemblage shows that even if locally manufactured products were available, it appears that the Johansons purchased these more nationally known products. By making these economic and consumer choices, the Johansons played a role in the market economy of Nora and Troy, Idaho, and the West (Shackel 2010:63). The presence of these nationally known products may also be due to the fact that Per owned a general merchandise store in Troy, with the family using products to which they had easy access. Moreover, when considered in the context of the Johanson's spacious and upscale house, these items suggest that the family was relatively well-off financially, and material culture and consumer choice reflect this.

Pappas (2002) analyzed glass and ceramic assemblages from the Swedetown site in Michigan, where the excavations of lower class households took place in 1982 and

1993. The 1982 assemblages were from a surface collection and the 1993 artifacts were excavated from a plow zone, as well as three structural areas. In his analysis Pappas divided the 1993 artifacts into two separate assemblages, the plow zone and the structural zone artifacts. These structural areas or zones yielded very small collections that may not have been directly related to the structure they were nearest when excavated and the results of these zones are therefore are not being compared to the Nora Creek assemblage. The Nora Creek site will be compared to the 1982 surface collection and the artifacts gathered from the 1993 plow zone, both to save time and because the other material may not be associated with the structural areas in which they were found and also because these collections better match the size of the Nora collection. The glass assemblages from these two excavations were quite different from that of the Nora Creek site. The Swedetown assemblage had higher percentages of both medicinal and alcohol container glass and the Nora assemblage contained a larger amount of food related bottles and jars (Table 2).

Vessel Type	Nora Creek	1982 Swedetown	1993 Swedetown
Medicinal	8%	34%	17%
Food Related	15%	5%	6%
Alcohol	1%	22%	44%

Table 2: Comparison of the Nora and Swedetown glass assemblages.

Pappas (2002:106) stated that the reasoning for such a small number of food related items in the 1982 assemblage is most likely due to the fact that the excavations were of disturbed plowed sediments. Both the 1982 and the 1993 glass assemblages were compared to the non-Swedish contemporary unskilled labor site of Fayette, Michigan

which yielded results similar to that of Swedetown (Pappas 2002:106-108). Both Swedetown and Fayette, communities of lower class laborers, had higher percentages of alcohol than the 1% found at Nora. Swedetown alcohol percentages for 1982 and 1993 excavations are 22% and 44% respectively, while Fayette had 37.5% (Pappas 2002:106). The majority of the Swedetown and Fayette alcohol within households was beer and liquor, while the Johanson household only had wine/champagne. If the Nora Creek site had had no alcohol related bottles it could be assumed that the Johansons did not consume alcohol, but with two wine/champagne bottles in the assemblage it is possible that the majority of the alcohol was consumed outside the home; moreover, it is likely that if the Johansons consumed more alcohol, it came in containers that are not in this collection. Such differences within the two assemblages are difficult to explain, as they may be the result of anything from discard behavior, to temperance ideology, to taste preference, and/or “class” difference. What is certain, however, is the fact that there appear to be no patterns indicative of cultural identity as seen from the glass collections at two Swedish sites (Swedetown and the Johanson homestead).

Since there are no glass artifacts between the Swedetown site and the Nora Creek site that suggest a Swedish archaeological signature or cultural identity, indicating that most likely these collections are typical of generic households throughout their respective regions. This being said, the difference in alcohol intake between the Swedetown households and the Johanson’s household, while not being a cultural identity marker per se, is significant. Swedetown was an industrial company town of miners and laborers, many of whom immigrated for the work, and not necessarily with family (Pappas 2002:1). On the other hand, the Nora Creek site was a homestead of a single family,

whose head was an entrepreneur, yeoman homesteader. The Johanson family came to this country for more than a steady job; they came to create a new home. While Swedetown and the Johanson's homestead at Nora Creek are sites associated with Swedish immigrants, the lives lived out at these locations was very different. Thus, Nora and Swedetown represent two very different working classes with differing consumption behaviors. When looking at cultural identity, it is important to remember that there are many complex elements that play a part in the development and maintaining of the identity; therefore, in this case, we are reminded that factors such as class need to be considered so as not to over generalize the identity.

As stated previously, published archaeological literature of homesteads in the West is lacking and the unpublished gray literature does not convey the amount of detail necessary to compare the results of an artifact analysis with a site such as the Nora Creek site. A site records search in the state of Montana resulted in various forms and reports (e.g., Bick 1986; Brownell and Karsmizki 1990; and Tetra Tech 1991) that only briefly state what was observed on the surface of the homestead sites if they mention artifacts at all. Contacting the Idaho State Historic Preservation Office yielded little to no pertinent information as well. Thus more in-depth research of the collections from homesteads in the American West needs to be done in order to support additional statements about the value of glass analysis for studying cultural identity. A ceramic analysis, the subject of the following section, provides another opportunity to study cultural identity and the Johanson family homestead.

Ceramics

The ceramic MVC yielded 162 vessels of various ware types, including porcelain, earthenwares (such as whiteware and ironstone), and stonewares (Table 3). The highest number of identified vessels were plates with 29 total; these were further broken down by diameter into smaller subgroups which consist of seven saucers (diameter of 6” or less), five muffin plates (diameter of 6” to 7”), nine twiffler plates (8” diameter), two supper plates (9” diameter), and six table plates (10” diameter). Cups yielded 19 vessels, and bowls are the next highest grouping with 16 vessels. Other identified vessels include one crucible, two crocks, one jar, and three crock lids.

Ware Type	Number of Vessels	Percentage (%) of MVC
Porcelain	36	22%
Whiteware	95	59%
Ironstone	7	4%
Redware	1	1%
Yellow Ware	1	1%
Stoneware	22	13%
TOTALS	162	100%

Table 3: Ware types present in Nora Creek ceramic MVC.

Thirty-six of the 162 ceramic vessels are porcelain dishes (Table 4), 18 of which are unknown vessels and the remaining 19 are dinnerware pieces. These dinnerware vessels are comprised of six cups, four saucers, five bowls, and three plates (one muffin

Vessel	Number of Vessels	Percentage (%)
Cup	6	17%
Saucer	4	11%
Plate	3	8%
Bowl	5	14%
Unknown	18	50%
TOTALS	36	100%

Table 4: Porcelain vessel types within the Nora Creek MVC.

and two twiffler plates). The muffin plate and one of the twiffler plates have matching decal designs of pink roses along the rim (Figure 19). Seven other porcelain sherds in the count are decorated; however, the majority of the porcelain collected was plain white and



Figure 19: Matching decal designs of pink roses (Haight 2004).

undecorated. A partial maker's mark was found on one vessel of undecorated porcelain. Though the mark is incomplete, it is believed to be the mark of John Maddock and Sons of Burslem, England. The design on the crown matches other Maddock and Sons maker's marks used around the turn of the twentieth century (Godden 1964:406).

The largest assemblage of ceramics found at Nora Creek are whiteware fragments. The MVC of the whitewares yielded 95 vessels (Table 5), including 12 cups, six bowls, two lids, and 16 plates of various sizes (three saucers, four muffin, seven twiffler, one supper, and five table plates). More than half of the sherds included in the count are unidentified vessels. As with the porcelain, 49 vessels and the majority of the whiteware in this assemblage have a plain colorless glaze and are undecorated. Eighteen vessels are decorated with just molding and five are molded with gilding. Decal decoration is found on 15 of the vessels in the count, eight of which are combined with other decorations such as molding, gilding and one example of hand painting with decal. There are also seven vessels with gilded decoration and three that are transfer prints.

Vessels	Number of Vessels	Percentage (%)
Cup	12	13%
Saucer	3	3%
Plate	13	14%
Bowl	6	6%
Lid	2	2%
Unknown	59	62%
TOTALS	95	100%

Table 5: Whiteware vessel types within the Nora Creek MVC.

Of the 95 vessels within the whiteware MVC, there are eight decoration matches indicative of matched sets. One pair from these matches includes a cup and supper plate (Figure 20). They are both decorated with a green and burnt orange decal with gold gilding running along the rims and woven through the decal design. The other matches include a bowl and cup with matching transfer prints (Figure 21), two plates with matching flow blue brim decoration, and two unidentified vessels with pink, green, and light blue decal decoration.



Figure 20: Matching green and burnt orange decal with gold gilding (Haught 2004).

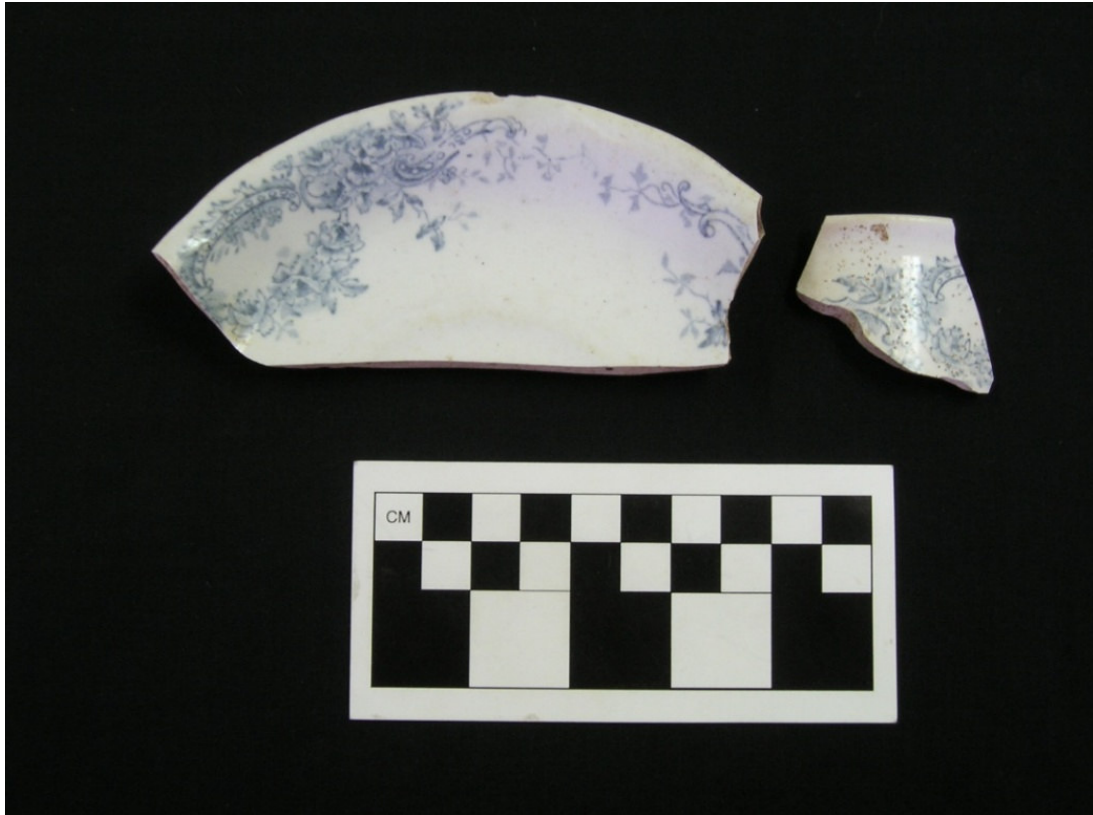


Figure 21: Bowl and cup with matching transfer prints (Haight 2004).

In the whiteware MVC seven maker's marks have been identified (Figure 22). Three of these were manufactured in the United States by the W.S. George Pottery Company. They resemble marks used by the company in the late 1930s and into the 1940s (Lehner 1988:162). The company had factories in East Palestine, Ohio, Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, and Kittanning, Pennsylvania (Lehner 1988:162). Alfred Meakin of the Royal Albert, Victoria and Highgate Potteries in Tunstall, England manufactured two of the plates in the assemblage. One of the marks includes a "Ltd." indicating that it was manufactured after 1897. The mark on the second plate, which is incomplete, closely matches the mark that came into use by the company in 1907 (Godden 1964:425-426). The last two vessels with maker's marks were manufactured by

Johnson Bros. Hanley Ltd. of Hanley Pottery, in Hanley, England; the makers mark present dates to circa 1913 (Godden 1964:355).



Figure 21: Examples of several maker's marks found at the Nora Creek site including Alfred Meakin, Maddock and Sons, W. S. George and Johnson Brothers (Haight 2004).

Ironstone, yellow ware, and red paste earthenware vessels are all present in the MVC as well. Five out of the seven ironstone vessels are unidentified while the remaining two vessels include a table plate and a cup. The single yellow ware piece is an unidentifiable molded vessel with a possible leaf decoration. The one vessel of red paste earthenware is a small crock with colorless glaze on the exterior and white glaze on the interior. The crock has a “Guernsey Cookingware CAP” mark on the bottom of the vessel (Figure 23). Guernsey was originally the Cambridge Art Pottery, but from 1909 to 1924, the company went by the name Guernsey Earthenware Company (Lehner 1988:72-73).



Figure 22: Guernsey redware crock (Haught 2004).

The stonewares excavated at Nora Creek included gray, brown and tan bodied sherds.; The MVC of these stonewares yielded eight brown, nine gray and five tan bodied vessels. Twelve of these 22 vessels are unidentified. The remaining vessels include five bowls, one lid, one supper plate, one crock, one jar, and one crucible. The crock is a Red Wing four-gallon crock made up of 48 sherds and is almost all accounted for (Figure 24). The mark on the side of the crock reads “Red Wing Union Stoneware Co. Red Wing, Minn.” In 1906 the Red Wing Stoneware Company and the Minnesota Stoneware Company merged becoming the Red Wing Union Stoneware Company until 1936 when they became the Red Wing Potteries, Inc. Because the crock found at Nora Creek says Union Square Co., it had to have been manufactured between 1906 and 1936 (Lehner 1988:365). The crucible recovered is nearly complete but does not have any distinguishing marks (Figure 25). Used for testing ores, this crucible may have been used by the Johansons to analyze the clay on their property (Mercer et al. 2004:6).



Figure 23: Four gallon Red Wing Stoneware crock (Haight 2004).



Figure 24: Crucible found at Nora Creek (Haight 2004).

Through this analysis we can begin to put the pieces of the Johanson past together. When looking at gender within this household using Spude's (1997) model, the presence of the kitchenwares seen in both the glass assemblage of canning jars and food bottles and in the ceramics listed here indicate a family living situation at the Johanson homestead, and suggest displays of the femininity within the home. In another analysis of gendered spheres and signatures – at a military site in Massachusetts – Clements (1993:55) found that households of officers with wives had higher percentages of canning jars, higher end ceramics such as porcelain and matched sets of ceramics than the households of single men. The number of canning jars found and the presence of matched sets within the ceramic tablewares at the Johanson homestead reflect the daily routines and consumer choices of Anna Johanson.

The ceramic assemblage also contributes to the socio-economic setting of the Johansons. In his analysis of the ceramics at Swedetown, Pappas (2002) compared the number of flatware vessels to the amount of hollowware vessels, arguing that a larger number of hollowware vessels “may indicate consumption of foods based on more simple single dish meals such as stew,” which may be a reflection of lower economic class (Lucas 1994:84; Pappas 2002:79). In contrast, a larger amount of flatwares may indicate a higher economic status with the variety of dishes and courses served on many different plates (Lucas 1994:84; Pappas 2002:80). At the Nora Creek site, 7% of the ceramic MVC is comprised of bowls, whereas 12% of the ceramic pieces are various sizes of flatwares (Table 6), an indication that the Johansons may have adhered to a higher economic status when setting their table and in their dinner menus. The ceramics of Swedetown's 1982 assemblage yielded 13% hollow and 19% flatwares and the 1993

assemblage had 9% hollow and 7% flatwares (Pappas 2002:80, 89). The lower labor class of these two locations is suggested by the simple meals prepared and eaten in hollowware vessels.

Vessel Type	Nora Creek	Swedetown 1982	Swedetown 1993
Hollowware	7%	13%	9%
Flatware	12%	19%	7%

Table 6: Flatware and hollowware comparisons between Nora Creek and Swedetown.

George Miller developed another method of analyzing class within a ceramic assemblage and Pappas used this to interpret Swedetown ceramics. While Miller's (2000) CC ceramic index does not cover the time period of the twentieth century, his methodology of the hierarchy of decoration techniques can still be used to give an estimate of the economic standing of the Johanson family in the same manner that Pappas (2002) used Miller's methods when examining the ceramic assemblages at Swedetown. When analyzing the ceramics from the Swedetown excavations, Pappas used Miller's four tiers of decorative technique hierarchy model and this approach could also be used here to analyze the socio-economic status of the Johanson family. Miller's first tier is comprised of the plain or undecorated ceramics and is the largest assemblage within the Nora ceramics. This large collection accounts for 46% of the ceramics within the Nora Creek MVC. However, within the 1982 and 1993 Swedetown assemblages, this plain undecorated ware makes up 32% and 30% of the collections respectfully (Pappas 2002:85, 90). Pappas argues that the undecorated improved white earthenwares (e. g., white granite, and ironstone), while still technically plainwares, may be considered more

valuable within a 19th and 20th century site where creamware is less evident. These undecorated pieces are nevertheless symbols of a lower social tier than any decorated ceramic (Pappas 2002:85). What Pappas is forgetting is the fact that, in a family setting, such as Nora Creek, an abundance of plainwares within an archaeological assemblage is not necessarily an indication of lower class. Because the Johansons had so many little hands within their household, it is possible that if nicer and more expensive dishes existed, they were kept somewhere safe for adult or special occasion uses, with only a few pieces of these nicer dishes broken and discarded. Meanwhile, the undecorated objects were used on an everyday basis by more people and therefore increasing the probability of becoming broken. Whatever the case, the plainware is more abundant in the archaeological record.

Despite Miller's and Pappas' potential misreading of the high percentage of undecorated ware, overall their methods suggests that the ceramics from Nora Creek display a higher class than those at Swedetown in both vessel form (lower percentages of hollowware at Nora) and in the decoration present in the ceramic wares (lower percentages of undecorated wares at Nora), with the exception of printed wares present within the collection (higher percentages of printed wares at Swedetown). The ceramics indicate two distinctly different economic positions: that of an upper class family homestead at Nora and a laboring working class at Swedetown.

The majority of the decoration techniques found on the Nora Creek ceramics include decal, transfer print, gilded, molded, and hand painted. Most of the decorative ceramics in the Nora collection exhibit multiple designs, but for the purpose of this research to obtain a rough estimate of the economic standings of the Johanson family,

Miller's CC ceramic index will be applied to the dominant decoration technique found on a vessel. Miller's second tier, only slightly higher than tier one's plainware, includes "minimal decoration by minimally skilled operatives," such as slip decoration, spongeware, banded decoration, and feather and shell edged decorations (Miller 1980:4). These vessels were among the least expensive decorative wares available at the time. Pappas (2002) added molded decorated vessels to this tier where Miller (1991) had not included it by arguing that a plain molded ware is "among the cheapest decorated vessels available because of the industrial nature of their production" (Pappas 2002:85). In the Nora Creek ceramic MVC, 16% of the vessels have a molded decoration and 9% are slip decorated, making 25% of Nora's ceramic MVC fit within this second economic tier. Swedetown's ceramic assemblages yielded a higher percentage of these second tier ceramics than the Nora collection. The 1982 Swedetown ceramic assemblages included 46% (26% being molded) of vessels within this lower class tier whereas the 1993 Swedetown assemblage yielded 42% (16% was molded) (Pappas 2002:85, 91).

Only 2% of the Nora collection includes hand painted vessels, Miller's third tier, and only 3% of the 1982 Swedetown collection includes hand painted ceramics, whereas 5% of the 1993 assemblage includes the more expensive vessels (Pappas 2002:86, 91). Transfer printed wares comprise 4% of the Nora ceramics. The 1982 and 1993 Swedetown assemblages had 11% and 14% transfer printed vessels, respectively (Pappas 2002:86, 91). A more intricate process is involved in creating a transfer decoration and therefore it is placed at the highest tier in Miller's economic scale; however, "the price differential between plain and transfer-printed wares dropped as the 19th century progressed" (Pappas 2002:86). The smaller percentage of transfer print vessels at Nora

Creek may, instead of indicating a lower class, be indicative of the prices between plain and transferwares leveling out. Another factor may be that the company town of Swedetown had ceramics provided for their laborers and further research beyond this thesis may bring to light why such elaborate ceramics were found at this laborer location. The Johansons may also have tried to keep better care of the printed wares and may not have discarded them if they were chipped or cracked; therefore they would not be as abundant in the archaeological record.

The Swedetown ceramic assemblage contained vessels and wares that were typical for the time and the location within America, including whiteware plates, cups, etc. However, the residents of Swedetown also brought with them from the homeland, Scandinavian red earthenware vessels. In his examination of these ceramics, Pappas (2002:104) notes his surprise that these ceramics would have been cared for so much that they were packaged for their journey across the Atlantic. This care could indicate that there were ties to the identity of being Swedish among the people at Swedetown. Pappas does state that these ceramics may have only been brought over because of the uncertainty of there being such vessels in America. This is similar to Emma Hedman's thought that she would not find baking powder in America and so brought it over as one of the few things she could fit within her trunk (Hedman 1985:19-20). Either way, the ceramics at Swedetown did make it into the archaeological record. If the vessels were brought over just because of a need and without any thought that they reflected a cultural identity, then it would not be an issue to toss them when they broke. However, if the vessels were a link and a manifestation of their Swedish identity, Pappas (2002:104)

argues that then, the ability to discard the vessels when they chipped or broke “represents a change in self-identity.”

The ceramic assemblage from the Nora Creek site does not indicate any ties with the homeland of Sweden. Maker’s marks identified on the ceramic sherds all indicated manufacture in either England or the United States. Vessel forms chosen by the Johanson household are all forms available through Sears, Roebuck and Company and other similar retailers. Through the archaeological record, it seems as if the Johansons shopped and made the same consumer decisions their American neighbors made. However, as indicated above in the arguments put forth by Pappas (2002:104), if the Johansons did have Swedish or Scandinavian ceramics such as the ones found at Swedetown, they may not have been as easy to throw away once damaged as the people of Swedetown seemed to be. The Johanson household may have had stronger ties to their homeland, treasuring what they had that may have manifested a Swedish identity, and subsequently did not leave these items to the archaeological record.

Faunal

Another avenue, however, in which identity may reveal itself and yet would be easily discarded after use are the faunal remains of the consumed meat. Bones of meat eaten by the Johanson family would have been discarded almost immediately after use and therefore their presence in the archaeological record may suggest a Swedish cultural identity. This indication of identity may be more likely to appear in the archaeological record than materials of cultural significance made of glass or ceramic. Whether or not the faunal assemblage from the Nora Creek site will reflect a Swedish cultural identity,

an examination of the fauna can mostly likely shed light on the economic status of the Johansons household adding to the discussion of class as part of identity.

The Nora Creek excavations yielded a faunal assemblage of 1,830 bones. The faunal assemblage analysis summarized here was examined by Oliver Biemann in 2010 and his results are as follows. Of the 1,830 bones within the Nora Creek assemblage, 1,765 bones or 96% are unidentifiable, due to either size or lack of diagnostic characteristics of the bone. Sixty-five of the 1,830, or 4%, are identified to species, genus, or family. Ninety percent of the identifiable bones are mammalian and 10% are avian or birds and within these percentages nine taxa were identified (Table 7). Cow, pig, deer, sheep or goat, and dog are among the mammals present in the collection and turkey, chicken and other small birds make up the avian assemblage.

Identified Taxa	Scientific Name	Common Name
Mammals	<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cow
	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig
	<i>Odocoileus sp.</i>	Deer
	<i>Capridae sp.</i>	Sheep/Goat
	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	Dog
	<i>Spermophilus beldingi</i>	Belding's Ground Squirrel
	<i>Thomomys talpoides</i>	Northern Pocket Gopher
Aves	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Turkey
	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Chicken

Table 7: Identified taxa from Nora Creek excavation (Biemann 2010:1).

Of the 65 bones recovered that are identifiable, 29 belong to cow (*Bos taurus*), comprising 44.6% of the identified bones. There are 10 pig (*Sus scrofa*) bones making up 15.3% of the identified assemblage. Cow and pig are the most common taxa found

within the assemblage of identified bones. Also identified are one sheep or goat (*Capridae sp.*) bone, equaling 1.5%; deer (*Odocoileus sp.*) and dog (*Canis familiaris*) totaled two bones or 3.5%. The avian collection is comprised of one turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) bone equaling 1.5% of the identified bones as well as two chicken (*Gallus gallus*) bones making up 3.5%. The remaining 11 bones of the 65 identified are only identifiable to size. Four of these bones or 6.1% are large mammals; four bones or 6.1% are small mammals; and three bones or 4.6% are small avian remains (such as robin or chickadee in size). The assemblage also contains intrusive rodents, including Belding's Ground Squirrel (*Spermophilus beldingi*) with one bone, 1.5% and Northern Pocket Gopher (*Thomomys talpoides*) with eight bones, equaling 12.3% of the assemblage (Table 8). Indeed, gophers were abundant even during excavation, so much so that the field school mascot was "Crazy Gophers."

The number of identified specimens (NISP) and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) were both calculated in the faunal analysis. The NISP indicates how many bones were identified within a taxa, while the MNI shows how many animals, at a minimum are represented within the assemblage. These figures can be seen in Table 9. Biomass was also calculated with the bones from Nora Creek. Biomass is measured by converting "dry bone weight into a measurement of fresh meat on the bone" (Bielmann 2010:3). The biomass calculations for the Nora Creek faunal assemblage are as follows: cow made up 15.4kg or 94.0% of the total meat weight; pig comprised of 0.34kg or 1.0%;

Taxa	Common Name	Count	Percentage (%)	Weight (g)	Percentage (%)
Mammals					
<i>Bos Taurus</i>	Cow	29	44.6%	1,188.4g	76.9%
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	10	15.3%	144.3g	9.7%
<i>Capridae</i>	Sheep/Goat	1	1.5%	5.1g	0.3%
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	Dog	1	1.5%	1.5g	0.09%
<i>Odocoileus sp.</i>	Deer	1	1.5%	3.5g	0.2%
<i>Spermophilus beldingi</i>	Belding's Ground Squirrel	1	1.5%	0.1g	0.03%
<i>Thomomys talpoides</i>	N. Pocket Gopher	8	12.3%	2.9g	0.1%
Large mammal		4	6.1%	188.3g	12.2%
Small rodent		4	6.1%	0.8g	0.05%
Aves					
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Turkey	1	1.5%	6.0g	0.3%
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Chicken	2	3.5%	2.4g	0.03%
Small Aves		3	4.6%	0.6g	0.03%
TOTAL		65	100.0%	1,543.9g	100.0%

Table 8: Summary totals for Nora Creek faunal assemblage (Bielmann 2010:2).

sheep or goat is 0.11kg and 1.0%; and deer made up 0.08kg and another 1.0% of the total meat weight or biomass of the assemblage. The unknown large mammal equals 0.36kg or 1.0%. It is assumed that the dog and the intrusive mammals were not eaten; rather they died and/or were disposed of within the grid of the archaeological excavations. The birds within the collection are included in the total meat weight with the turkey making up 0.1kg or 1.0%; the chicken comprised of 0.04kg or 0.5%; and the small unknown bird equals 0.01kg and 0.5% (Table 9).

The faunal collection also has a high number of burned bones; 1,046 bones within the assemblage was burned, which is 57.1% of the total number of faunal remains recovered from the Nora Creek site. Burnt bones may either be an indication as to how

the bones were prepared or cooked, or it could indicate that the bones were burned as part of the process of burning trash.

Gnaw marks upon the bones were scarce, with only 4 bones displaying signs of gnawing. This gnawing was from carnivores and rodents, and on one bone the gnawing of both rodents and carnivores is present. Biemann (2010:4) suggests that the lack of gnawing could indicate that the features from which the bones came were “filled and capped over a short period of time, thus eliminating the possibility of scavenger interference and the occurrence of gnawing.”

Taxa	NISP	MNI	Biomass (Kg)	Percentage (%)
Mammals				
<i>Bos Taurus</i>	29	2	15.4 Kg	94.0%
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	10	1	0.34 Kg	1.0%
<i>Capridae</i>	1	1	0.11 Kg	1.0%
<i>Odocoileus sp.</i>	1	1	0.08 Kg	1.0%
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	1	-	-
Large mammal	4	1	0.36 Kg	1.0%
Intrusive mammals				
<i>Spermophilus beldingi</i>	1	1	-	-
<i>Thomomys talpoides</i>	8	3	-	-
Small rodent	4	1	-	-
Aves				
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	1	1	0.1 Kg	1.0%
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	1	0.04 Kg	0.5%
Small aves	3	1	0.01 Kg	0.5%
TOTAL	65	15	16.4 Kg	100.0%

Table 9: NISP, MNI, and biomass totals for identified taxa from Nora faunal (Bielmann 2010:3)

Finally, in his analysis, Biemann (2010:4) addresses the presence of butchery marks on some of the bones, stating that “butchering information provides detailed

insight into the differing economic conditions of various communities across the U.S.”

Only 19 of the bones within the Nora Creek assemblage indicate butchering. Within this assemblage three techniques were identified: sawn, cut, and chopping. Eight of the 19 bones were sawn, 10 were cut and only one chopped bone was present (Table 10).

Taxa	Butchery	Burning	Gnawing
Mammals			
Cow	5	0	1
Pig	3	0	1
Medium Mammal	0	176	1
Large Mammal	9	870	1
Aves			
Chicken	2	0	0
Total	19	1046	4

Table 10: Butchery, burning, and gnawing totals for the whole Nora faunal assemblage (Bielmann 2010:4).

It is evident in the NISP of 29 and the biomass of 15.4kg, comprising 94% of the assemblage’s meat weight, beef was the meat of choice within the Johanson household. The next highest is pork with a biomass of only 0.34kg, its contributing percentage to the overall weight of meat within the assemblage is a mere 1%. During the early 19th century, pork was favored in the United States and beef was not as commonly consumed “in part because it was more expensive” (McIntosh 1995:82). Among more prosperous folks, however, the consumption of pork and beef was more equal (McIntosh 1995:82). As the century moved on beef gained more popularity and according to Levenstein (1988:4), “beef reigned supreme in status.” Families of four to six earning \$800.00 a year in the 1880s would consume more than twice the amount of beef as families earning less than \$400.00 (Levenstein 1988:218). Beef, by the turn of the century was a status

meat over pork and the Johansons consumed much more beef than pork as reflected in the faunal remains. This is indicative of the times and reflects a higher status in the Johanson household than that of the laboring class and/or poorer families. Beef was, however, still consumed by the lower and middle classes as a means to imitate the upper classes. Levenstein (1988:21) states that the middle class would “follow their social superiors, who shunned fresh and salted pork and deigned only to eat the occasional slice of smoked ham.” The lower price of pork, however, saw this meat choice more commonly on middle class tables than the upper class. The middle class itself saw pork as ranking “far below beef” (Levenstein 1988:21).

The Swedetown faunal remains represent a much smaller collection than Nora Creek. Food related faunal remains are absent from the 1993 excavations and the 1982 excavations yielded ten identified specimens. Similar to Nora, the assemblage favors beef over pork, which is a reflection of what was preferred in America at the time. Swedetown, however, is a labor class company town and Pappas (2002:114) explains the presence of beef as a desire among the residents to “maintain ‘respectable’ foodways.” While this explanation fits Swedetown, it is not believed to be the reasoning behind the Johanson’s beef intake. Swedetown had a higher percentage of pork (10%) present in the faunal assemblage indicating that they consumed pork at a higher rate than the Johansons mere 1%. The Johansons small intake of pork and reliance on beef seems to mirror Levenstein’s statement that the upper classes partook of the smoked ham very rarely (1988:21).

The preference of beef over pork at Nora Creek may indicate a higher class status among the household. However, this preference is seen throughout America during this

time and therefore does not reveal insights into a Swedish cultural identity in the faunal assemblage of Nora. Furthermore, a lack of a Swedish cultural identity within the Nora Creek faunal remains is supported by the highly variable regional foodways found throughout Sweden (Wright and Thompson 2006:85).

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The major goals of this thesis research were to determine whether or not a Swedish cultural identity can be seen in an archaeological record, and if so, how such identity was manifested in the Nora Creek site glass, ceramic, and faunal assemblages. Moreover, this study intends to call attention to an archaeology of homesteading in the American West and an archaeology of Swedish and Swedish American history and culture. In addition, this research was expected to contribute to the archaeological literature by providing an analysis of gender, class, and cultural identity in the West beyond the popular topics of saloons, brothels, boomtowns and miners. Swedish homesteaders were among the “forgotten people in the American West” and it is hoped that the story and research woven here can be a starting point to looking at the many diverse peoples that made the West their home (Luebke 1998:vii).

It is clear that the Nora Creek homestead was occupied by a family. The historical record indicated this, and the glass and ceramic artifacts from Nora are suggestive of a family. The presence of kitchen items such as condiment bottles and canning jars, along with ceramics relating to food preparation, consumption, and storage (bowls, plates, crocks, etc.) follow Spude’s (1997) model of a family home with objects associated with women’s presence in a household. Spude (1997:29-30) states that a bachelor home would most likely not have such a preponderance of kitchen items, particularly because single men would go to saloons and restaurants for meals. Another possible archaeological signature of a female presence within the home is through the

patent medicine, Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Extract, which was advertised as "A Medicine for a Woman. Invented by a Woman. Prepared by a Woman" (Jones 1959:24).

The Johanson family's economic status is suggested by the colonial revival architectural style of their home – as opposed to a simple vernacular log home. Such status is emphasized archaeologically through the glass, ceramic, and faunal remains. The glass and ceramic display a distinct consumer choice in what the Johansons consumed and how they consumed. The glass products identified within the assemblage are name brands that come from the mid-west and the eastern half of the U. S. Per and Anna Johanson could have bought locally available goods either in Troy or Moscow, Idaho, or even Spokane, Washington, and yet they chose nationally known brands such as Watkins and Lydia Pinkhams. A high percentage of flatwares, combined with the presence of decorative wares, suggest a higher status dining practice at the Johanson home. A stronger argument yet for the higher status of the Johanson homestead is their taste for beef over pork. The analysis of the faunal remains clearly indicates a preference for beef, a more expensive meat than pork. By the turn of the century beef was gaining popularity in America, however its price made it a meal for the upper classes. While lower classes mainly ate less expensive pork with the occasional meal of beef, the Johansons appear to have dined primarily on beef with an occasional pork meal; while this suggests a higher economic position, the preponderance of beef could also simply indicate a taste preference, there is no way to know for certain.

While two out of the three of Scott's (1994) triumvirate are visible in the archaeological record and shed light on the economic and gendered spheres of the Johansons' everyday lives, the third, a Swedish cultural identity is not apparent

archaeologically. The glass and ceramic assemblages include items manufactured in the United States or England that were readily available in catalogs such as Sears, Roebuck and Company. These assemblages, along with the faunal remains, appear to be more indicative of market availability, or perhaps a market driven, general American cultural identity in the West. For the Johanson homestead, then, my main research question transformed from “what Swedish cultural identity is present?” to why a Swedish cultural identity is not reflected in the archaeological record when historical documents indicate that they lived within a Swedish community (Nora), and oral histories state Swedish was the language spoken at the Johanson home.

For a Swedish cultural identity to be manifested archaeologically, the Swedish material culture would have to have been discarded or lost. Pappas (2002:150) speculated that the presence of discarded Scandinavian ceramics within the archaeological record of Swedetown suggested an adoption of a new, Americanized identity that was reflected by discarded ceramics from the homeland. Despite the lack of unequivocal archaeological signatures of a Swedish cultural identity, the absence of such evidence may actually still provide some fodder for discussion. For example, the Johanson family may represent a case that was the opposite of Pappas’ suggestion that Swedetown residents abandoned part or all of their Swedishness in that the Johansons may have retained their Swedish identity hard and fast as possible by *not* discarding any items that were brought over from Sweden; rather they might have held on to the items and passed them down through the generations. While the Johanson’s house has the potential to reflect Swedish architectural styles, the architecture of the homestead at Nora Creek was that of a colonial revivalist and reflected no Swedish influences at all.

However, Upton (1996:2) and Shackel (2010:56) warn archaeologists to not rely on architecture or even objects alone when addressing cultural identity. It may seem easier to say a certain architectural element or an object implies the presence of a certain culture; however, “when cultural traditions change, or when indigenous people stop using a particular architectural form, or stop using a particular object in everyday life, does that mean they are less ethnic, or their cultural practices are less pure” (Shackel 2010:59)? There are many other ways in which the Johanson family could have reflected their Swedish identity: language, writing, clothing, and organic items such as wooden objects that may not have survived the archaeological record.

In his study of the transfer of Swedish material culture to the United States, Barton (2007) found that Swedish immigrants brought with them very little that would indicate a Swedish identity. Immigrants already in the States would write home with advice to new emigrants as to what they would need in America. Many accounts include clothing and linens, objects that would not last prolonged use by the immigrants, let alone the archaeological record (Barton 2007:117). Emigrants were advised “not to bring any more household items than were needed for the journey” and that they “ought not bring any implements with them, because this country has perhaps the best implements in the world” (Barton 2007:117). Advisors who wrote these things also thought it a waste of money to pay for the transportation of such items when they were available, and, in their opinion better quality, in America (Barton 2007:117). Barton also notes that it is “striking how mundane, utilitarian, and unsentimental [Swedish immigrants] are concerning the material objects of everyday life” and this mind set alone should vividly

alert archaeologists that people do not put the same level of symbolism into their everyday objects as others.

Another point of discussion is, in line with the 1926 observations of George Stephenson discussed above, that Swedes in general, including the Johanson family, were “Americanized” at a quicker and deeper rate than other immigrants of the time (Stephenson 1926:7-9). If this is so, then it would not be a surprise that the archaeological record of the Johanson homestead does not reflect a cultural identity that is Swedish. Because of this, remnants of Swedishness could then have been discarded at the Johanson’s first settlement in Dassel, Minnesota and not have made the journey west to Nora. However, this quick change in identity is not necessarily supported by the fact that Swedish was recalled as the main language spoken at the Johanson household. If they were trying to shed their Swedish identity, the prevalent indicator of their native language should have not been spoken so frequently and freely. The community of Swedes the Johansons lived among is also an indicator that the family was not quick to hide their roots and still held ties to their homeland.

All-in-all, the above observations serve as a stark reminder that, to build a well rounded and complete picture of the past, we need to integrate interpretations of archaeological materials with historical documentation and oral histories. This, I believe, is the main contribution of this thesis research: the establishment of a method to use Swedish history resources to create a context for an archaeological research agenda dedicated to cultural identity. This methodology, of using historical documentation and historian research to set a backdrop for the analysis of cultural identity within in the

archaeological record, can be a starting place for future research of different cultural identities.

While this thesis research was not able to observe a Swedish cultural identity within the archaeological record it is intended that the information, analysis, and interpretation serve as a building block for further archaeological research of homesteads in the West and as a point of comparison with other Swedish sites on American soil. There are still other sources in which identity may be further extracted; even though these were beyond the scope and time limits of this thesis, they are briefly discussed here as incentive for future researchers. Church records can give very informative insights about other topics related to cultural identity, such as preferences in language, social groups, and of course religious beliefs. Moreover, a study of the architecture that once stood in the community of Nora, Idaho is a necessary addition to the history of the Swedes in Latah County and will also provide another case study for analyses of Swedish and Swedish American architectural forms. Record searches in local and state historical societies may offer up primary source documents such as memoirs, letters, or community gathering/events that can aid in the interpretation of daily activities among immigrants. Oral histories and interviews with family members and people of the community can also shed light on the more intangible aspects of identity, as well as the seemingly “mundane” tasks of everyday life that may be unimportant to letter writers but are key elements to historical archaeologists. Further archaeological research coupled with historical documentation of the lives of Swedes in the American West and beyond will aid in the overall picture of immigrant life amid the context of Euro-American colonization of the “New World.”

HOME SWEDE HOME: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SWEDISH CULTURAL
IDENTITY AT A WESTERN HOMESTEAD

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