

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Cayla L. Hill for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Anthropology presented on December 1, 2014.

Title: The Expansion of Catholicism: An Exploration of St. Joseph's College, the First Catholic Boarding School for Boys within the Oregon Territory

Abstract approved:

David R. Brauner

St. Joseph's College was located within St. Paul, Oregon, the first Roman Catholic mission in the Pacific Northwest. The St. Paul mission was finally established in 1839 by Father Francois Blanchet, four years after the French-Canadian settlers in the area, appropriately known as French Prairie, had requested the presence of a Catholic priest. On October 17th, 1843 St. Joseph's College was officially dedicated becoming the first boarding school for boys within the Oregon Territory. Two priests, Fathers Antoine Langlois and Jean-Baptiste Zacharie Bolduc alternated as headmaster until the school's closure in June 1849 due to the California Gold Rush. This thesis examines the expansion of the Catholic Church during the development of the Oregon Territory. The daily experiences and activities of the Catholic priests as well as the significance of their institution, St. Joseph's College, is explored through the use of the historical and archaeological record.

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The Expansion of Catholicism: An Exploration of St. Joseph's College, the First
Catholic Boarding School for Boys within the Oregon Territory

by
Cayla L. Hill

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APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

Director of the School of Language, Culture and Society

Dean of the Graduate School

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

Cayla L. Hill, Author

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On October 17, 1843 St. Joseph's College, the first Catholic boarding school for boys within the Oregon Territory was officially dedicated and opened for use within the settlement of St. Paul (Blanchet 1878:138). Retiring French-Canadian fur trappers began settling in the Willamette Valley in 1829, after permission was granted by their former employer, the Hudson's Bay Company (O'Hara 1916:24). In 1836, these French-Canadians requested the presence of Catholic priests from eastern Canada in order to fulfill the religious and educational needs of the predominantly Catholic community of St. Paul (O'Hara 1916:17). Two priests, Vicar General Francois Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers, were sent from the province of Quebec in 1838 (Blanchet 1878). Yet, it was not until the year 1842 with the arrival of Fathers Antoine Langlois and Jean-Baptiste Zacharie Bolduc, also from Quebec, that the boys' school was finally finished (Blanchet 1878; Kowrach 1978).

In general, the history of St. Paul has been well-documented due to the efforts of past researchers and the survival of primary documents. Yet, the majority of the research surrounding the settlement of St. Paul has primarily focused on the Roman Catholic Church itself or the daily activities of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, who arrived in St. Paul in 1844 (McNamee 1959; Poet 1996:27). In fact, when excavated in 1986 and analyzed in 1996, the site of St. Joseph's College was assumed to have been the convent occupied by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Poet 1996). Thus, it was not until a map of St. Paul, dating to 1851, was found within the Gonzaga University Catholic archives during the late 1990s that the site (35MA67) began to be recognized as St. Joseph's College, the boys' boarding school. Therefore, the research within this thesis

project has been designed in order to investigate a new set of research questions in the hopes of remedying the errors surrounding the history of the site and the contextual analysis applied to the artifact assemblage.

As a result, the history of St. Joseph's College and its occupants will be extensively researched by utilizing primary and secondary sources including letters, diaries, maps, illustrations, and photographs. Second, the descriptive identity and functional classification of each artifact within the archaeological assemblage will be re-analyzed. Further conclusions concerning the social activities will then be attempted, based off of the compilation, frequency and distribution of artifact types and functional classifications. Influential factors such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, gender, market access and ideologies like religious affiliation or aesthetics will also be examined in order to gain a clearer understanding of the consumer choice decisions made by the occupants of the site. In addition, the origins of currently unidentified and unique artifacts will be researched further in order to potentially identify the trade networks, both domestic and international, that would have been available and utilized by the occupants. In the end, the re-analyzed artifact assemblage will then be compared to other assemblages excavated throughout French Prairie including the Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission, just to the south of French Prairie.

This research study is the first to discuss the historical context of the site as St. Joseph's College, as well as integrate the material culture into this context. The site of St. Joseph's College includes important historical and archaeological information which offers an updated interpretation of the past for the entire state of Oregon, especially early French-Canadian and Catholic communities such as St. Paul, which played a significant

role in the history and expansion of the Oregon Territory and remained an important historical Catholic settlement during the nineteenth- century.

By reanalyzing the historical and archaeological record, which includes a unique artifact assemblage, the earlier contextual applications and interpretations left by the previous researcher can be re-evaluated in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the daily lives and consumer choices made by the actual occupants of the site including the Catholic priests and their students. Overall, the history of St. Joseph's College and the artifact assemblage it has yielded thus far, illustrates the development and growth of St. Paul, French Prairie and the Catholic Church within the Oregon Territory.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the fur trade was the most lucrative profession within the Oregon Country, a region which stretched from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean including the current states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho as well as portions of western Montana and British Columbia (O'Hara 1916:1;3; Oregon Historical Society (OHS) n.d.). The southern boundary followed the 42nd parallel north, along the current border of Oregon and California, with the northern perimeter located at the Alaska-British Columbia border, 54 degrees, 40 minutes north (Hussey 1967:119; McKay 1980:1; O'Hara 1916:1) (Figure 2.1). Members of the Northwest Company of Montreal including the famous explorer, Alexander Mackenzie, first arrived to the Oregon Country in 1793 and rapidly established active trade connections among the Native Americans (Lyons 1940:xiv; O'Hara 1916:3). The Northwest Company later employed Simon Fraser (1806) and David Thompson (1807) for further exploration of the region in order to ultimately establish trading forts from the Columbia to the northern waters of Canada (Hussey 1967:21; Lyons 1940:xiv). Meanwhile, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark returned to the Eastern United States after completing their westward expedition in 1806, spreading word of the vitality and potential profits from the fur trade and catching the attention of John Jacob Astor, a merchant from New York (Hussey 1967:22-23; O'Hara 1916:2-3).

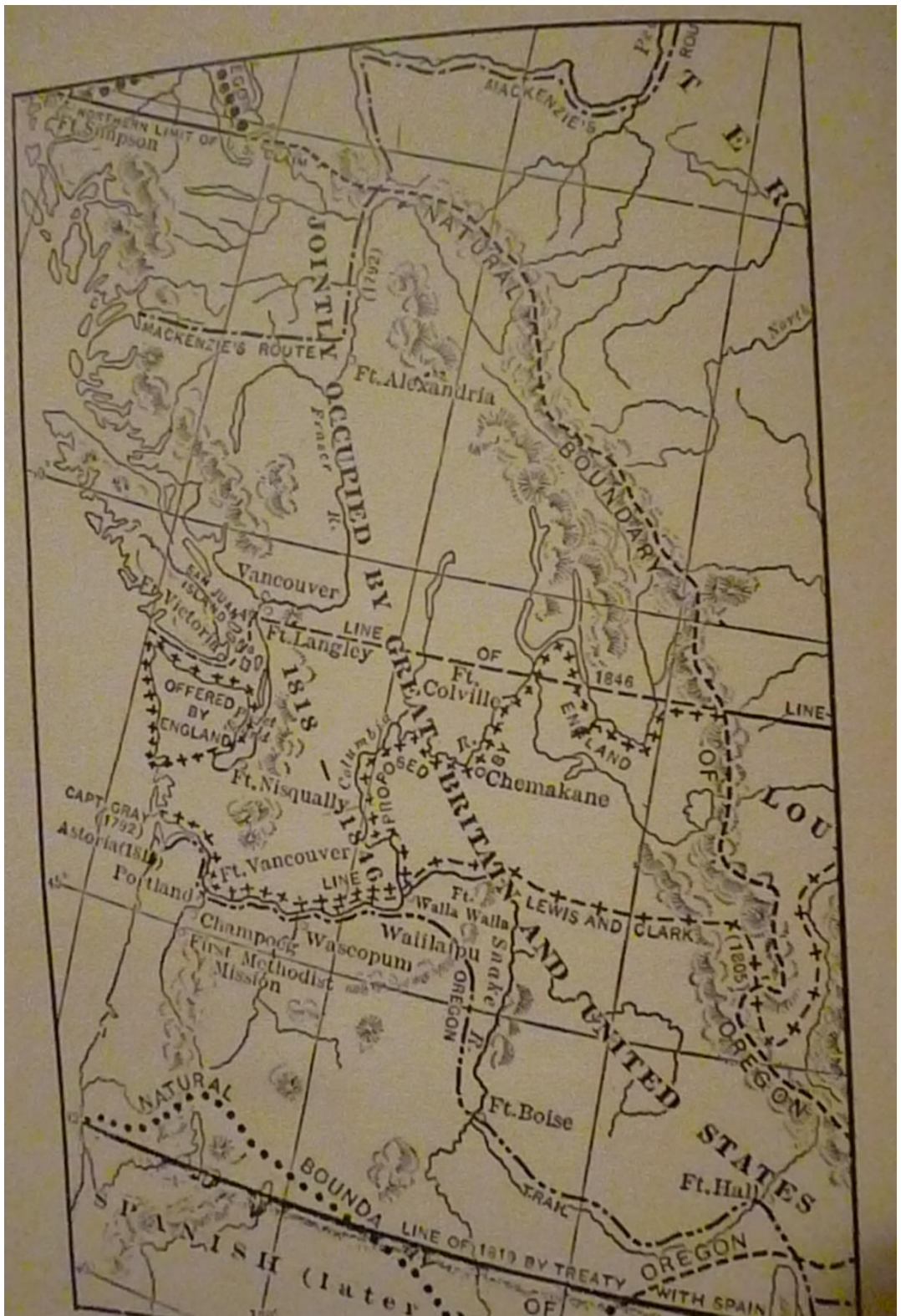


Figure 2.1: Map of the Oregon Country 1792-1846 (O'Hara 1916:1).

In 1811, Astor sent a ship to the mouth of the Columbia near the location where Lewis and Clark had spent the winter of 1805-1806 and where his own crew founded the first American settlement in Oregon, Fort Astoria, in honor of their employer (Hussey 1967:23; Lyons 1940:xiv; O'Hara 1916:3). The Pacific Fur Company and its associated trading post was officially established later in the year, after the addition of the overland party which consisted of several French-Canadian fur trappers employed by Astor (Hussey 1967:23; O'Hara 1916:3). Although success was just beginning for the Pacific Fur Company, the American fur trade was shut down by the year 1813 due to the outbreak of the War of 1812 and the confiscation of Fort Astoria by the British (Hussey 1967:27; O'Hara 1967:3). Thus, the Northwest Company once again took control of the fur trade within the Oregon Country and further confirmed their dominance by placing a trading post within the Willamette Valley near the developing town of Champoege and affectionately calling it Willamette Post (Brauner 1989:11; Hussey 1967:28-29; O'Hara 1916:4).

However, in 1821 the Northwest Company lost its foothold in the Oregon Country when it was merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, a company that had previously been concerned with the fur trade in Canada but now had a clear-cut monopoly over the entire region (Lyons 1940:xv; McKay 1980:4; O'Hara 1916:3-4). In 1824, Dr. John McLoughlin was sent to Oregon as Chief Factor of the British-operated, Hudson's Bay Company, where he established Fort Vancouver on the north side of the Columbia River in 1825 (O'Hara 1916:6; Schoenberg 1987:14; Wilson & Langford 2011:7). Initially, the Hudson's Bay Company required their former fur trapping employees to return to their place of enlistment in eastern Canada, the British Isles or

Continental Europe after their term of service was completed, rather than allowing any form of settlement in the Oregon Country (Brauner 1989:16; Hussey 1967:45). However, after 1829, retiring Hudson's Bay Company fur trappers, primarily French-Canadian men, many of whom had originally come to the Oregon Country with either the Astor Party or through the Northwest Company's trading operations, were allowed to settle and establish homesteads and farms within the Willamette Valley with the support and assistance of Dr. McLoughlin (Blanchet 1878:71; Brauner 1989:14; 16; Landerholm 1956:1; Lyons 1940:1; McKay 1980:5; O'Hara 1916:16-17; Poet 1996:13). The request had come from many of the French-Canadian men who had established families within the region through their marriages to Native American women and consequently no longer wanted to return to eastern Canada after their term of service expired (McKay 1980:5). Dr. McLoughlin convinced the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters that actually allowing settlements and agriculture in the region would be beneficial to the firm's trading operations due to the fact that the supply of furs was rapidly decreasing, and the Russian settlements to the north, the Spanish missions to the south as well the Sandwich Islands all required additional imported food in order to sustain their own operations (Hussey 1967:51; Lyons 1940:xvi; 1; McKay 1980:5; Ross 1976:3; Wilson & Langford 2011:8).

Thus, it should be noted that although the Oregon Country was unmistakably dominated by British jurisdiction through the actions of the Hudson's Bay Company, the primary fur trade organization in the Pacific Northwest, the region was technically under the authority of both the American and British governments through the Joint Occupancy Agreement, which was enacted in 1818 and remained in place until the signing of the

Treaty of Oregon in 1846 (Hussey 1967:120; Lyons 1940:xv; xvii; OHS n.d.; O'Hara 1916:3-4;73; Schoenberg 1987:13; Wilson & Langford 2011:7). Therefore, subjects of either the United States or Great Britain had equal rights to the land, but it was not until the opening of the Oregon Trail in 1842-1843 that a noteworthy number of Americans actually began to settle in the Oregon Country (O'Hara 1916:4;37). Although, Presbyterian missionaries representing the Protestant American Board Missions, including Reverend Henry Harmon Spalding and Dr. Marcus Whitman, had settled in the Oregon Country in 1836, two years after their Methodist counterparts, Reverend Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee had settled out West (McNamee 1959:111; O'Hara 1916:31; Schoenberg 1987:19; 23). By 1843 a provisional government had been formed after a formal vote among the male settlers had taken place at Champoege, and it was determined that the United States of America, not Great Britain, would have control over the region (McKay 1980:16). As a result, in 1848, the disputed Oregon Country was divided, with the Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana portions officially becoming a territory of the United States of America (OHS n.d.).

Environmental Setting

The first French-Canadian settlers including Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, and Louis Labonte, all of whom had come to the Oregon Country with the Astor Company in 1811, moved to the area located between the Willamette and Pudding Rivers, in what has since been recognized as French Prairie (Blanchet 1878:74; Brauner 1989:6; McKay 1980:3;5; O'Hara 1916:24; Poet 1996:13). French Prairie is located within the Willamette Valley on an ancient flood plain, spanning an area of eighteen miles from north to south, with the Willamette River forming the northern and western border, and fifteen miles

from east to west, with the eastern border defined by the Pudding River in combination with the Little Pudding River (Brauner 1989:6; Chapman 1993:6; Hussey 1967:5;7; Munnick 1979:xvii; O'Hara 1916:17; Poet 1996:8). In the past, Lake Labish, near present day Keizer, was recognized as the southern border of French Prairie but has since been drained due to continuous agricultural production (Brauner 1989:6; Munnick 1979:xvii).

However, during the 1800s, the vegetation within the region of French Prairie consisted of oak forests encompassing open prairie grasslands, with the occasional flood creating fertile alluvial deposits on the Willamette Valley floor, and making it an ideal location for the establishment of these farms (Brauner 1989:6; Hussey 1967:3; Munnick 1979:xvii; Poet 1996:8). Natural forest vegetation of white oak (*Quercus garryana*) stands, Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), big-leaf maple (*Acer macrophyllum*), alder (*Alnus rubra*), Oregon ash (*Fraxinus oregana*), willow (*Salix*) and shrubs such as Oregon grape (*Berberis aquifolium*), salmon berry (*Rubus spectabilis*), and elderberry (*Sambucus glauca*) (Chapman and Weber 1984:15;48; Hussey 1967:3; Poet 1996:8). Fir (*Abies*), pine (*Pinus*), spruce (*Picea*), hemlock (*Conium*), cedar (*Cedrus*), larch (*Larix*) and madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*) could be found on the valley floor but were most often found in the nearby hills (Hussey 1967:3). Camas (*Camassia quamash*), wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*) and cat-tails (*Typha latifolia*) were also prevalent and important seasonal food sources, primarily for the Native American tribes such as the Kalapuya within the region (Chapman and Weber 1984:47-48; Landerholm 1956:177; Poet 1996:10). Salmon, trout (*Oncorhynchus*), eels (*Anguilliformes*) and suckers (*Catostomidae*) were the main sources of protein for the Kalapuya (Brauner 1989:11; Chapman and Weber 1984:48; Landerholm 1956:180). Common big game animals

within the Willamette Valley included Roosevelt elk (*Cervus canadensis roosevelti*), black-tailed deer (*Odocoileus columbianus columbianus*), white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus leucurus*), and black bear (*Surus americanus altifrontali*) (Brauner 1989:11; Hussey 1967:3). Rabbit (*Sylvilagus bachmani ubericolor*), gray squirrel (*Sciurus griseus griseus*), Douglas's ground squirrel (*Citellus douglasii*) as well as a myriad of migratory waterfowl including swans and geese were commonly found and hunted within the Willamette Valley (Landerholm 1956:179; Poet 1996:10). In addition, animals hunted by both the Native American inhabitants and French-Canadian settlers for their fur bearing qualities included fox (*Vulpini*), muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*), wolf (*Canis lupis*), otter (*Lutrinae*), ermine (*Mustela ermine*), mountain lion (*Felis concolor oregonensis*), bobcat (*Linx rufus fasciatus*) and most importantly the Pacific Coast beaver (*Castor Canadensis pacificus*) (Brauner 1989:11; Hussey 1967:3; Landerholm 1956:179; Poet 1996:10).

The Establishment of St. Paul

Once settled, these French-Canadian trappers turned farmers requested, with the encouragement of Dr. McLoughlin, the presence of Catholic priests in 1834 and again in 1835, in order to fulfill the religious and educational needs of the expanding and heavily Catholic community of the region (Blanchet 1878:22;75-76; Lyons 1940:1; Munnick 1979:xvii; Munnick 1989:47; O'Hara 1916:17). Bishop Joseph Norbert Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus* at Red River, Manitoba, Canada was not able to fulfill the requests immediately due to a shortage of missionaries (Lyons 1940:1; O'Hara 1916:16-17). This led some of the French-Canadian families to begin attending church and sending their children to the mission school found at the nearby Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission led by Jason Lee (Chapman & Weber 1984:22; Gandy 2004:100;

Lyons 1940:21; Poet 1996:14-15; Schoenberg 1987:20). Yet, hope for Catholicism and the presence of a priest for the region remained and in 1836, many of the French-Canadian settlers erected a log church near their homesteads in order to begin to fill this religious void and further persuade Bishop Provencher that priests were welcome and needed within the French Prairie settlement (Bischoff 1945:2; Munnick 1979:xviii; Munnick 1989:70; O'Hara 1916:16; Poet 1996:15). The first Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest was originally placed along the Willamette River by the French-Canadians in 1836, but due to seasonal flooding Dr. McLoughlin arranged for the church's relocation to another site (Schoenberg 1987:25). Thus, the entire seventy by fifty foot structure was placed in a seemingly perfect location, near a natural spring within a large prairie on the eastern side of the Willamette River, and on the road to the townsite of Champoeg (David Brauner, personal communication with Joe McKay, 1986; Schoenberg 1987:25). It was from this second location that the mission and settlement of St. Paul was then established (Figure 2.2).

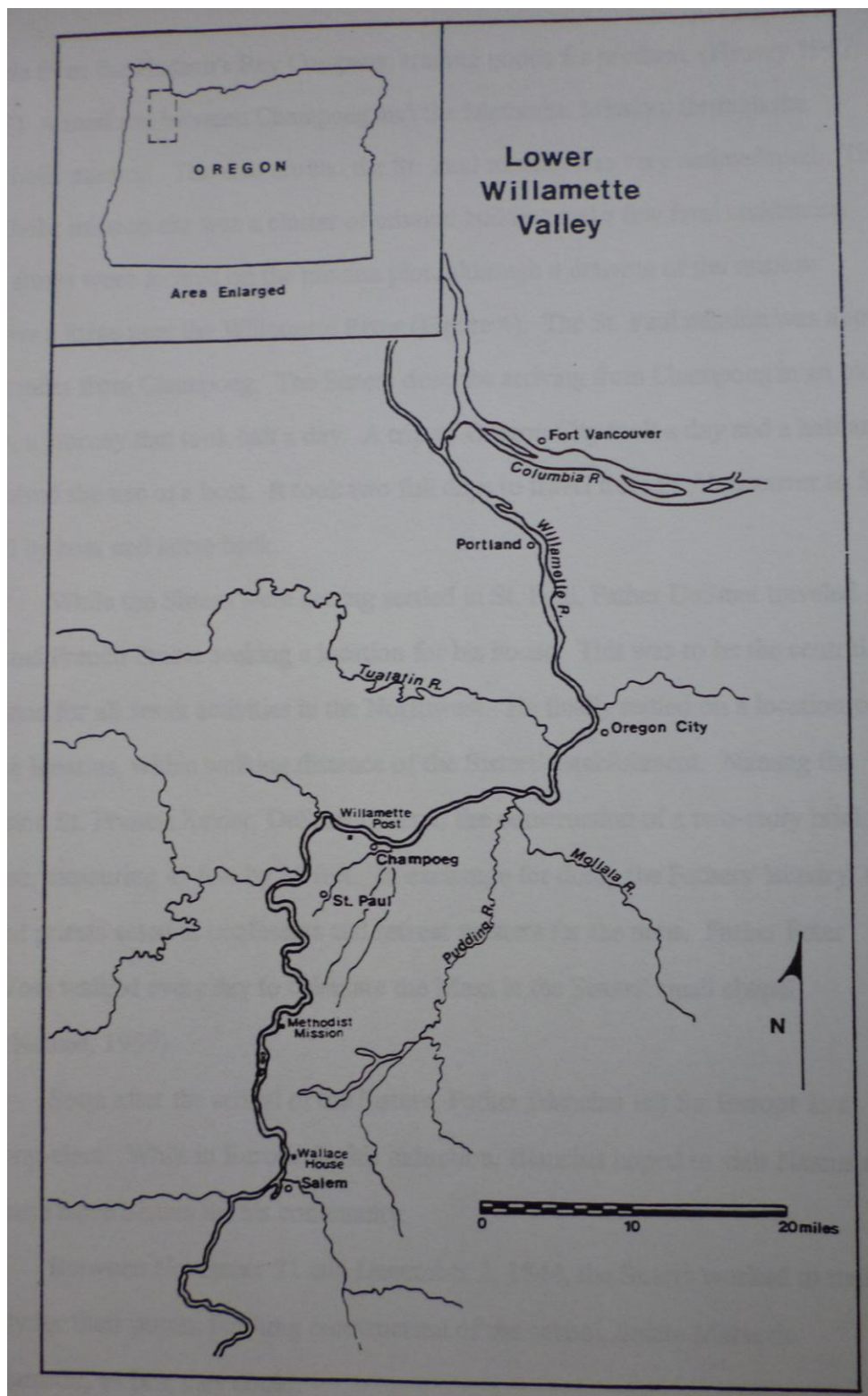


Figure 2.2: Map of French Prairie Settlements (Poet 1996:26).

Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers

In 1838, the community of St. Paul was finally appointed two secular or diocesan priests from the province of Quebec; Father Francois Norbert Blanchet, who was appointed Vicar General over the entire Oregon Country by Father Joseph Signay, the Bishop of Quebec, and Father Modeste Demers, his assigned assistant (Bischoff 1945:4; Blanchet 1878:27; Lyons 1940:7; McKay 1980:11; McNamee 1959:119; O'Hara 1916:19; Poet 1996:15; Schoenberg 1987:26). Born in 1795 to Pierre and Rosalie Blanchet of St. Pierre, Quebec, Father Francois Norbert Blanchet served as a missionary among the French Acadians and Micmac Indians in New Brunswick for seven years before spending eleven years at the parish, St. Joseph de Soulange, in the village of Cedars near Montreal, Quebec (McNamee 1959:117; Munnick 1989:6;16; O'Hara 1916:9-11). Meanwhile, Father Modeste Demers had been born in St. Nicholas, Quebec on October 11, 1809 and was ordained in 1836, a mere fourteen months before his journey to Oregon (Lyons 1940:7; McNamee 1959:119).

Finally, in May of 1838, Father Blanchet, at the age of forty-three, and Father Demers, age twenty-nine, left from Lachine with the Hudson's Bay Company's overland brigade for the Oregon Country, arriving first at Red River, where they spent a month with Bishop Provencher and later celebrating Mass among the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, before being welcomed at Forts Colville, Okanogan and Walla Walla (Blanchet 1878:33-36; Landerholm 1956:3;8-9; Lyons 1940:10-17; O'Hara 1916:20-21). However, the expedition also suffered a great tragedy losing twelve lives at the "Dalles of the Dead" before eventually arriving at Fort Vancouver on November 24, 1838 (Blanchet 1878:36; Lyons 1940:18; McNamee 1959:119-121; Munnick 1989:58-61). James

Douglas, who was Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the absence of Dr. McLoughlin, as well as Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, and Pierre Belleque, French-Canadians from the Willamette settlement, warmly welcomed both Fathers to Fort Vancouver, the hub of Hudson's Bay Company activities in the Oregon Country (Blanchet 1878:50-51; Lyons 1940:19; McNamee 1959:121; O'Hara 1916:6-7; 21). The first Mass in Lower Oregon was celebrated the following day, Sunday, November 25, at Fort Vancouver (Blanchet 1878:61; Lyons 1940:20). Soon after, on December 12, Father Blanchet set out for the Cowlitz River, in order to establish the agreed-upon mission, St. Francis Xavier, located north of the Columbia River (Blanchet 1878:73; Lyons 1940:24-25; McNamee 1959:122; Munnick 1989:62).

Meanwhile, Father Demers remained at the St. James Mission, located at Fort Vancouver, and continued to follow Bishop Signay's missionary instructions, teaching first and foremost, the Native Americans in the region, which was best accomplished through the lingua franca known as Chinook Jargon, a dialect he had quickly learned in a period of a few weeks (Blanchet 1878:26;55;67; Landerholm 1956:14;19; Lyons 1940:22-25; McNamee 1959:122; Wilson & Langford 2011:36). A few months later, when he had returned to the Cowlitz mission, Father Blanchet developed the educational and evangelical tool, the Catholic Ladder, which laid out the history of the Catholic Church through illustrations in order to more easily teach the growing number of Native Americans at the mission (Blanchet 1878:85;92; Lyons 1940:35; McNamee 1959:123; O'Hara 1916:26) (Figure 2.3). Bishop Signay in faraway Quebec also instructed Fathers Blanchet and Demers to focus on furthering the teachings of the Catholic Church among

the French-Canadians, the “wicked Christians who have adopted there the vices of Indians” (Blanchet 1878:26; Schoenberg 1987:30).



Figure 2.3: Catholic Ladder (Kowrach 1978:80-81; OHS n.d.).

After returning and celebrating Christmas at Fort Vancouver, Father Blanchet decided to pay a visit to the Willamette settlement in the hopes of later establishing a mission among the French-Canadians who had petitioned for his presence (Lyons 1940:26; McNamee 1959:122; Munnick 1989:62). On January 3, Father Blanchet began making his way south from Fort Vancouver to the Willamette settlement; the trip consisted of two full days, with a four mile overland trek from Champoeg (Blanchet 1878:76; Lyons 1940:26; O'Hara 1916:25; Poet 1996:27). Then, on January 6, 1839 the first Catholic Mass in the Willamette Valley was dedicated to the Apostle St Paul in the log church at its new location above the flood plain (Blanchet 1878:77; O'Hara 1916:25; Poet 1996:16). Before leaving after a month of missionary work, Father Blanchet asked for a property land grant of "31 arpents of frontage by 147 of depth" or approximately 3252 acres, when converted, which was later restricted to 640 acres after the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, in order to establish a permanent church and rectory as well as schools near the location of the log church (Blanchet 1878:80; Landerholm 1956:13; Munnick 1977-1978:6; O'Hara 1916:25). Finally, persuaded by Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been visiting the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters in London, Governor George Simpson permitted Father Blanchet to establish a Catholic mission south of the Columbia River in October of 1839, even though ownership over the area remained contentious between Great Britain and the United States of America (Blanchet 1878:98; McKay 1980:11; O'Hara 1916:29; Poet 1996:15; Schoenberg 1987:50). As a result, Father Demers moved north of Fort Vancouver to the Cowlitz mission, and Father Blanchet headed south to officially reside in St. Paul which became the regional

administrative center for all Catholic missions due to its shift in recognition as a now permanent mission (Blanchet 1878:99; Gandy 2013; Schoenberg 1987:50).

Change and Progress at St. Paul

Father Blanchet soon found that he required help in order to meet the needs of the approximately 900 Catholics recorded in the Oregon Country at the time of his arrival (Landerholm 1956:15-16). Father Blanchet was further convinced that a greater number of Catholic missionaries were needed in the region in order to firmly establish the teachings of the Catholic Church among the Native American tribes such as the Kalapuya Indians (Blanchet 1878:59; Lyons 1940:22-25). Conflicts within the already established Protestant missions, especially the Methodist missionaries such as Reverend Jason Lee of the Willamette Mission, located just twelve miles to the south of St. Paul, also prompted Father Blanchet to ask for an increase in the number of Catholic missionaries in the area (Blanchet 1878:16;90; Landerholm 1956:54; Lyons 1940:45; Schoenberg 1987:20; 57) (See Figure 2.2). The Methodists had been quickly offended by the presence of the nearby Catholic mission and Father Blanchet's insistence that all couples married and all children baptized under their care, in the absence of a Catholic mission, should be re-married and re-baptized in order to be valid (Blanchet 1878:90; Laidlaw 1980:4; Landerholm 1956:10; Schoenberg 1987:20; 47). Other disputes were caused by the printing and distribution of the scandalous book *Maria Monk*, which questioned the morality and honor of the Catholic missionaries (Blanchet 1878:90-91; Landerholm 1956:54). The hostility between the religious factions was evident in the Catholic Ladder as well as the Protestant Ladder, which was an imitation of the previously created

Catholic version, with each one depicting the opposition's followers on the path to hell (Landerholm 1956:45; O'Hara 1916:140; Schoenberg 1987:45).

As a result, Father Blanchet requested additional aid in the form of permanent priests as well as men and women instructors via the Bishop of Quebec, who was also the President of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith Council (Landerholm 1956:174; Lyons 1940:46;). This organization was first established in 1822 in Lyons, France and became a universal Catholic organization in 1840, with the purpose of advocating for and collecting funds for the founding and development of Catholic mission in and outside of France (Carey 2011:126-127; Pipes 1925:170-171). Yet, the appeal was not granted due to a limited number of potential volunteers for the positions in combination with the concerns of Governor Simpson in regards to the extension of the Catholic mission due to a lack of adequate information discussing its current situation and success (Lyons 1940:45-46; Schoenberg 1987:57). However, Father Blanchet had also sent a letter to Bishop Joseph Rosati of the Society of Jesus in St. Louis, Missouri, requesting Catholic missionaries from the Jesuits, the order which had been officially tasked with the care of the Indian missions in 1833 and had since focused on converting the tribes located in the eastern section of the Oregon Country (Blanchet 1878:20; Landerholm 1956:70; Lyons 1940:45; O'Hara 1916:25; Schoenberg 1987:57-58; 61; 68). In addition, Father Blanchet had sought out the Jesuit missionaries due to their relative success when it came to converting Native Americans, a task which the Protestants had essentially failed to complete (Lyons 1940:73; O'Hara 1916:63). On June 8, 1842, Jesuit Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet answered the call and arrived at Fort Vancouver in order to

discuss the needs of the Catholic Church within the Oregon Territory (Landerholm 1956:71-72; Lyons 1940:61; Poet 1996:16-17; Schoenberg 1987:58).

Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet

Father DeSmet became renowned for his missionary work and involvement in the development of the early Western missions (Blanchet 1878:20-21; Fanning 1908). He was born into a respectable and well-known Belgian family in 1801 in the village of Termonde, Belgium, the sixth of nine children between his father, Josse-Arnaud DeSmet and his mother, Marie-Jeanne Buydens (Chittenden and Richardson 1969, vol. 1:9). After attending the Seminary of the Malines until the age of twenty-one, he volunteered to immigrate to the United States for missionary purposes, becoming part of the Jesuit order in Maryland in 1821 (Chittenden and Richardson 1969, vol. 1:10;12; Fanning 1908). He became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1833 before returning to Belgium for a four year stint due to poor health (Chittenden and Richardson 1969, vol. 1:13). In 1837, he made the return voyage and moved to St. Louis, Missouri helping found the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus and later St. Joseph's Mission at Council Bluffs (Chittenden and Richardson 1969:14; Fanning 1908). In 1840, he traveled further west, to Montana, and in 1841 established the Jesuit mission of St. Mary's among the Flathead Native Americans (Blanchet 1878:117; Chittenden and Richardson 1969, vol. 1:34-37; Fanning 1908; Poet 1996:16).

The Arrival of Fathers Antoine Langlois and Jean-Baptiste Zacharie Bolduc

Later that same year, September 17, 1842, two additional Canadian secular or diocesan priests from the province of Quebec, Fathers Antoine Langlois and Jean-Baptiste Zacharie Bolduc, arrived at St. Paul by ship via Boston, Cape Horn and the

Sandwich Islands, rather than overland with the Hudson's Bay Company brigades (Blanchet 1878:131; Landerholm 1956:73-75; Lyons 1940: 59-60; McNamee 1959:124; O'Hara 1916:69). Father Antoine Langlois was born on November 10, 1812 in Sainte Pierre de la Riviere du Sud, Province of Quebec and became an ordained priest in 1838, volunteering alongside Father Bolduc for the Oregon mission three years later (Lyons 1940:59; McGloin 1967:407-408). Father Jean-Baptiste-Zacharie Bolduc was born in Saint-Joachim-de-Montmorency, Quebec in 1818, and set out for Oregon mere days after being officially ordained (Kowrach 1979:10; Lyons 1940:59). Father Langlois was appointed the director of the boys' boarding school at St. Paul, St. Joseph's College, while Father Bolduc resided over the newly founded mission at Victoria, on the south end of Vancouver Island (Kowrach 1979:120; McNamee 1959:124; Munnick 1979:xix; O'Hara 1916:69).

Both Fathers Langlois and Bolduc, led rather illustrious lives after leaving the Willamette Valley. For instance, Father Langlois followed many of the settlers to the California gold fields in 1849, becoming the first pastor at the first parish in San Francisco, St. Francis Church (Blanchet 1878:179; Kowrach 1979:11; McGloin 1967:407; Schoenberg 1987:124). From 1853 until 1868, Father Langlois became a part of the Dominican order, before becoming the secular pastor at Spanishtown, and afterwards serving in the Catholic community of Martinez for thirteen years, prior to his death in 1892 (McGloin 1967:409-410). Father Bolduc also left the Willamette Valley in 1849 and returned to Quebec where he became the Chaplain of the naval hospital and Beauport Asylum in Saint-Roch de Quebec. He rose to the rank of domestic prelate by

Pope Leo XIII in 1886 but died in Quebec City three years later in May, 1889 (Kowrach 1979:12).

The Founding of St. Joseph's College

Schools were meant to be established whenever possible, as discussed within the missionary instructions developed by Bishop Signay (Bischoff 1945:5; Blanchet 1878:27; Lyons 1940:24). Thus, Father Blanchet had been striving to open a school at St. Paul complete with catechism classes for the Metis children since his arrival (O'Hara 1916:92; Schoenberg 1987:75; 125). Officially blessed and opened to students on October 17, 1843, St. Joseph's College was the first Catholic boys' boarding school within the Oregon Territory (Blanchet 1878:138; Kowrach 1979:125; Schoenberg 1987:75). It was built with the donation of 4800 francs from Joseph Larocque of Paris, with the school then acquiring its name in his honor (Landerholm 1956:229; McKay 1980:12; McNamee 1959:124; Munnick 1979:xix; O'Hara 1916:92). The donation was a result of Joseph Larocque's previous employment as a trapper with the Northwest Company and later as a chief trader within the Hudson's Bay Company after the merger between the two companies had gone through in 1821 (O'Hara 1916:92). As noted previously, Father Langlois was appointed as the initial director of the school, with Mr. King serving as the principal and English teacher and Mr. Bilodeau, acting as his assistant as well as the French teacher (Blanchet 1878:138; McNamee 1959:124-125; Schoenberg 1987:75). Father Langlois continued to be responsible for the school until December of 1844, after which Father Bolduc took over supervising the then 28 boarders, with Father Langlois moving north to the Cowlitz Mission (Blanchet 1878:148-149; Kowrach 1979: 127; Landerholm 1956:206; McNamee 1959:149) It seems that both Father Bolduc's poor

health, he had previously contracted the recurring disease known as ague, trembling fever or malaria, which was made only worse by his visits to the sick, and Father Langlois's open criticism of Father Blanchet at St. Paul, had led to the exchange in personnel (Kowrach 1979:11;118;127; McNamee 1959:149; Wilson & Langford 2011:79).

The structure itself is believed to have been a single-story building, 62 by 25 feet in size, made of hand-hewn logs and plank floors, raised in March 1841, with historical records suggesting that a second-story was added in 1845 under the care of Father Bolduc (Blanchet 1878:124;149; McNamee 1959:141; Munnick 1979:xix). The structure may have served as the parish priest's lodgings, as well as the community hall, prior to its inception as the boys' boarding school and was potentially the structure in which the June 1, 1841, provisional government meeting was intended to take place before it was cancelled (Blanchet 1878:124; Hussey 1967:139; McNamee 1959:144; Munnick 1979:xix; O'Hara 1916:71). Additionally, the building is noted as possibly having been initially intended to serve as a convent for the desired addition of nuns to the community (McNamee 1959:124-125; 131).

In 1843 when the school was first opened, Father Bolduc expressed the extreme necessity of establishing a school at St. Paul in order to serve the large number of uneducated and uncivilized Metis children, as seen through the following statement:

There is no lack of children here and especially dreadfully wicked children. If instruction does not come to their aid, there is great doubt that this generation will be any better than the most barbaric savages (Kowrach 1979:120).

As a result, thirty boys, possibly 35 in accordance with Father Bolduc's records, between the ages of six and twelve, enrolled as boarders within the first year in order to learn catechism, elementary sciences and arithmetic as well as learning how to read and write

in both English and French (Kowrach 1979:120; Landerholm 1956:229; McKay 1980:12; Munnick 1979:xix; Schoenberg 1987:75). Within a letter written by Father Bolduc to the Bishop of Quebec, he mentions that the subjects of history and geography would also be taught in time, with Father Blanchet also recording that Latin would be added as well in order to begin preparing students for the priesthood (Kowrach 1979:120; Landerholm 1956:229; McNamee 1959:124). The overwhelming majority of the boys were of Metis ethnicity, sons of French-Canadian farmers and their Native American wives, yet one Native American boy, “the son of a powerful tribal chief”, as well as children of the American Protestants were also mentioned as having been enrolled in the school (Kowrach 1979:120; Landerholm 1956:229; McNamee 1959:125; Munnick 1979:xix; O’Hara 1916:92; Schoenberg 1987:75).

A student roster, listing each of the names of the boys enrolled is not available, but a speculative list of the boys’ names has been created based on the archival research extracted from the Catholic Church Register from the lifetime of the school (1843-1849) by Dr. David Brauner of Oregon State University and French Prairie Historian, Harriet Munnick (Brauner 1989; Munnick 1979). The following boys are recorded within the Church Register as being of the correct age in order to enroll at St. Joseph’s College: Amable Arquet II, Louis and Francois Ausant, Pierre Belleque (II), Antoine Cloutier, Pierre Depot (II), Antoine and Francois Felix, Felix Gregoire, Pierre, John, and Charles GrosLouis, Louis and Paul Guilbeau, Pierre Charles Kitson, Joseph Laderoute, Joseph Laframboise, Francois and Francois Xavier Lavigneur, Ambroise Leno, Louis Lucier, Bartholomie Martineau, Joseph and Pierre Menard, Andre Palous, Francois, Charles and Michel Rivet, George Rondeau, Andre Sanders as well as the son of Andre Hop-Hop

(Brauner 1989; Munnick 1979:xix). Michel Rivet, recorded simply as Michel within the Church Register, was baptized at five years of age by Father Blanchet after the first Mass at St. Paul on January 6, 1839 (Munnick 1989:72). Records uncovered by Harriet Munnick show that this former student and occupant of St. Joseph's College never married, served in the military during the Indian Wars, and eventually moved north near present day Colton in order to care for his brother's children (Chapman 1993:2; Munnick 1989:72).

The Arrival of Father DeSmet and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

On August 17, 1844, Father DeSmet and five other Jesuits, Fathers John Nobili, Michael Accolti, Anthony Ravalli, Louis Vercruysse and Brother Francis Huysbrecht, came to St. Paul from Antwerp, Belgium, and established a central mission for all Jesuit activities in the Northwest, the St. Francis Xavier Mission, which was located approximately one mile west of the St. Paul Mission (Bischoff 1945:45; Lyons 1940:67; O'Hara 1916:67; Poet 1996:27;32; Schoenberg 1987:82-84). In addition, at the request of Father DeSmet, six nuns, Sisters of the Order of Notre Dame de Namur also took up the seven month journey from their native Belgium on the ship the *L'Infatigable* with the intent of founding a convent and academy for girls at St. Paul (Chittenden and Richardson 1969, vol. 1:45-48; Kowrach 1978:93; McNamee 1959; Poet 1996:21; Schoenberg 1987:83). Due to their summer arrival date, both the Jesuit priests and sisters were temporarily lodged in St. Joseph's College while construction was completed on their respective buildings (McNamee 1959:141; Schoenberg 1987:84). Sisters Loyola, Norbertine, Marie Catherine, Mary Aloysia, Mary Cornelia, and Mary Albine, were the first sisters to step foot in the Pacific Northwest and were also responsible for opening the

first academy for girls in Oregon on September 9, 1844 (McKay 1980:13; McNamee 1959; O'Hara 1916:93; Schoenberg 1987:82-84).

The Opening of Sainte Marie de Willamette Academy

Each female student at the Sainte Marie de Willamette Academy was charged a quarterly tuition in the following amounts: 100 pounds of flour, 25 pounds of pork or 36 pounds of beef, 1 sack of potatoes, 4 pounds of hog lard, 3 gallons of peas, 3 dozen eggs, 1 gallon of salt, 4 pounds of candles, 1 pound of tea and 4 pounds of rice (McKay 1980:13; McNamee 1959:159; O'Hara 1916:94; Terrell 1964:191). The mission farm provided additional means of food subsistence for the Sisters and the girls as well (Terrell 1964:191). Students were taught how to make their own clothing, with some of the girls actually embroidering vestments for Father Blanchet himself (O'Hara 1916:95). In July 1844, it was recorded that Captain Bailey of the British frigate *Modeste* came to St. Paul and assisted in a public examination, held at the college where he was also lodging, which covered topics such as French, English, writing and arithmetic (Blanchet 1878:142; Landerholm 1979:229; O'Hara 1916:94). The following year, Father Demers observed the pupils at the academy, assisted the Sisters in the dispersal of prizes and helped explain the meaning of each to the parents, the majority of which had never attended school themselves (McNamee 1959:162; O'Hara 1916:94).

The Expansion of the Catholic Church within the Pacific Northwest

Meanwhile, on December 1, 1843, St. Paul Mission was accepted as a Vicariate Apostolic, recognized as the Titular See of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was later changed to the Titular See of Drasa in May of 1844 in order to limit confusion with the Philadelphia found in Pennsylvania (Blanchet 1878:139;144; O'Hara 1916:74;

Schoenberg 1987:88). However, Father Blanchet remained unaware of his appointment as a Bishop-elect until November 4th, 1844 (Laidlaw 1980:5; Schoenberg 1987:88). On December 5, 1844, Father Blanchet left for Montreal, Canada in order to receive the required Episcopal consecration (O'Hara 1916:74). In addition, by the end of 1844, Father Blanchet reported that fifteen missionaries could now be found in the Pacific Northwest and had been responsible for successfully establishing nine missions, five of which were located in Lower Oregon, and all of which included a chapel or a church (Blanchet 1878:153; O'Hara 1916:75). He also noted that two educational establishments were in operation at St. Paul, one for boys and one for girls (Blanchet 1878:153; O'Hara 1916:75-76). On the other hand, the Methodists officially closed their Willamette Mission in 1841, located at Mission Bottom, after seven years of operations, with missionary efforts concentrated at their Mill Creek site in present-day Salem instead (Chapman and Weber 1984:32).

After Father Blanchet's consecration on July 25, 1845, as the first bishop of Oregon, the Titular Bishop of Drasa, he headed to Rome in order to petition for further progress in regards to the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest (Blanchet 1878:154; Laidlaw 1980:5; Landerholm 1956:141; O'Hara 1916:75; 98-99; Schoenberg 1987:92). As a result, Pope Gregory XVI elected to adopt an archiepiscopal see with suffragans dioceses within the territory of Oregon (Laidlaw 1980:5). Thus, on July 24, 1846, the former Vicariate was elected into an ecclesiastical province with three Sees including Oregon City, Walla Walla and Vancouver Island (O'Hara 1916:98-99). Bishop Blanchet was elected as Archbishop of Oregon City and became only the second Archbishop within the entire United States, with his brother, A.M.A. Blanchet becoming Bishop of

Walla Walla and Father Demers promoted from Vicar General to Bishop of Vancouver Island (Blanchet 1878:157; Gandy 2013; Kowrach 1978:16; O'Hara 1916:99; Schoenberg 1987:92; 95).

Growth at the St. Paul Mission

Back in St. Paul, Father Demers had overseen the construction and dedication of the first brick church in the Oregon Territory, which was composed of approximately 60,000 bricks and cost approximately \$20,000 to build in 1846 (Blanchet 1878: 149-150; McKay 1980:14; Munnick 1979:xx; Schoenberg 1987: 96) (Figure 2.4). Consequently, Archbishop Blanchet traveled throughout Europe, including Geneva, Marseilles, Paris, Lyons, Prussia, Munich, Austria, Aix-La-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, Mayence, and Vienna, for many more months in the hopes of gaining more missionary recruits, supplies and monetary donations in order to pay off his increasing debt the results of ongoing construction and the expansion of the St. Paul Mission (Blanchet 1878:154-157; Gandy 2013; O'Hara 1916:99-100; Schoenberg 1987:93; 96). Finally, on February 2, 1847, Archbishop Blanchet set sail from Brest, France on board the ship, *L'Etoile du Matin* and arrived back at St. Paul on August 26, 1847 (Blanchet 1878: 161; O'Hara 1916:100; Schoenberg 1987:99-100). However, his travels had not been in vain, he returned with a retinue of seven fellow Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, three Jesuit fathers, three Jesuit Brothers, five secular priests like himself, two deacons and a student, in addition to a donation of 18,000 francs courtesy of Louis Phillipe, the King of France (Blanchet 1878:158; Lyons 1940:169; O'Hara 1916:100; Schoenberg 1987:99).



Figure 2.4: 1847 Painting of St. Paul Mission by Paul Kane (Vaughan 1971:12).

The Decline of St. Paul

Unmistakably, the 1840s were a period of continual growth for the Catholic Church within the region, with the future of the mission including its educational institutions looking extremely bright (Bischoff 1945:49; Landerholm 1956:206). Yet, by 1849, much of the Willamette Valley including St. Paul had been depopulated due to the craze associated with the California Gold Rush (Bischoff 1845:49; McKay 1980:27; O'Hara 1916:96-97; Poet 1996:32). It left the entire community of St. Paul in a state of decline, including St. Joseph's College which no longer held enough male students to continue operations, and eventually closed in June of that year (Blanchet 1878:180; McKay 1980:27; McNamee 1959:229; O'Hara 1916:96-97; Poet 1996:32). The St. Francis Xavier mission closed soon afterwards in 1850, with the Sisters eventually

closing their convent, Sainte Marie de Willamette, in 1852 and relocating to Oregon City for a brief year, before making their way to San Jose, California (McKay 1980:30; McNamee 1940:242; 251; O'Hara 1916:97) (Figure 2.5). In addition, by 1848 Bishop Blanchet had already permanently moved his residency from St. Paul to Oregon City to be near the new school which had just been opened by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur a few months previously (McNamee 1959:200-201; O'Hara 1916:96).

St. Joseph's College After 1849

After its closure, St. Joseph's College served as a hospital for a brief time in 1850 during a typhoid fever outbreak, with the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur serving as the nurses for the community (Gandy 2004:136; McNamee 1959:229). General Land Office maps dating to 1852 still clearly depict the land claim in Township 4 South, Range 2 West, Section 19 as belonging to the 'Catholic Fathers' (University of Oregon 2012) (Figure 2.6) The Marion County maps and Donation Claim Records dating to 1878 also list the land as part of the St. Paul Mission (Williams 1878:28; 43) (Figure 2.7).

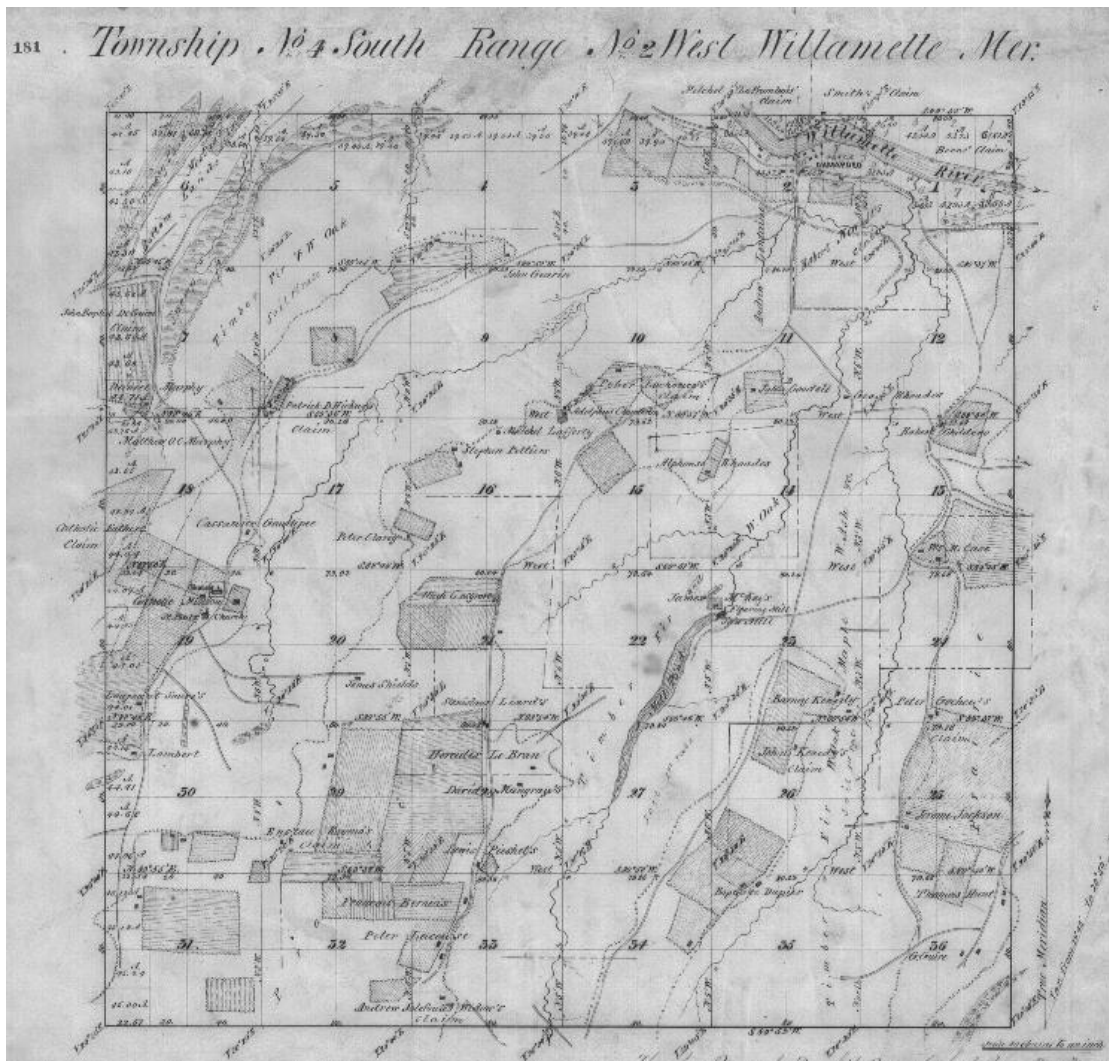


Figure 2.6: 1852 General Land Office Map (University of Oregon 2012).

During its period of operation, Fathers Langlois and Bolduc had the closest association with St. Joseph's College due to their time as administrators at the school, rather than either Fathers Blanchet or DeSmet, even though they remain the more well-known missionaries within the region (McNamee 1959:124-125; 149; Schoenberg 1987:75). In fact, during the school's time of operation, Father Blanchet was constantly visiting each of the newly established missions for various blocks of time, rather than remaining solely in St. Paul (Blanchet 1878). Furthermore, he was absent for at least two

years and seven months due to his trip to Montreal for official Episcopal consecration, as well as his journey to Rome and throughout Europe seeking out fellow missionaries and donations (Blanchet 1878: 161; Schoenberg 1987:100). Additionally, although the college and its occupants would have had strong ties to the entire Catholic community and would have closely interacted with the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and their associated convent and academy due to its location just northwest of the boys' school, it is important to note the fact that St. Joseph's College was opened in 1843, a year prior to the arrival of Father DeSmet and the sisters (Schoenberg 1987:75;84).



Figure 2.7: 1878 Marion County Map; Donation Land Claim Numbers 81 (200.84 acres) and 75 (439.76 acres) (Williams 1878:28;43).

Eventually, the structure was destroyed by one of two fires, recalled through local memory, and evident through the archaeological record (Munnick 1979:xx). Historical accounts from 1891 also state that new structures had replaced the originals such as the boys' school, and by 1956 the lot was recorded as abandoned (Poet 1996:33-34). Local informants interviewed prior to site excavations also stated that the land was forested as late as the 1950s and was then cleared for agricultural purposes (Nicholls 1986:65a; Poet 1996:35). Today, the site of St. Joseph's College is situated in a wheat field, located across from St. Paul High School, at the crossroads of Faber Road and River Road (Highway 219) (Figure 2.8).

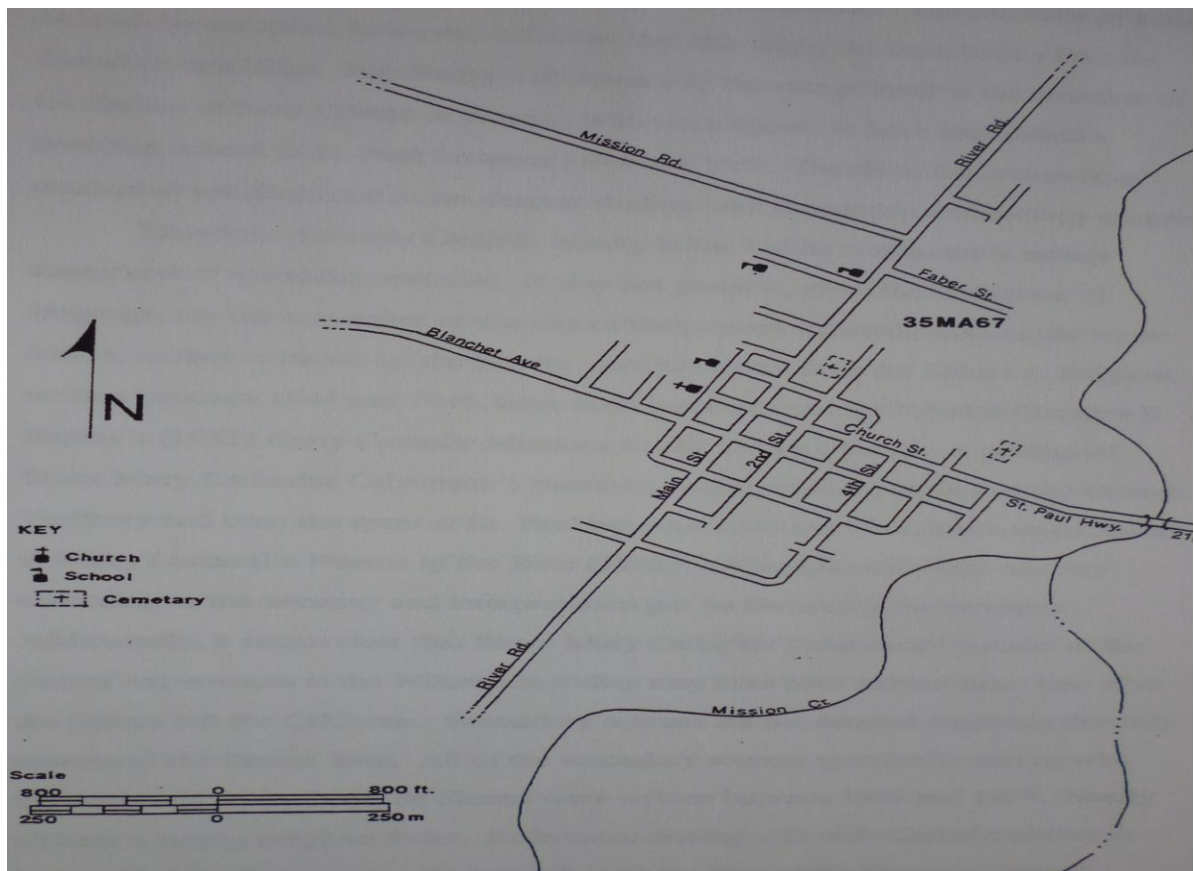


Figure 2.8: Map of Site Location (Poet 1996:4).

Conclusion

Thus, by the time Oregon became an official territory of the United States of America in 1848, St. Paul's cultural and political importance within the Oregon Territory had quickly begun to decline (OHS n.d.; Schoenberg 1987:125). In its place, Oregon City had risen in prominence, with the first Cathedral in the Pacific Northwest constructed there in 1845. However, due to the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1849 lands within the Oregon City claim could not be sold; consequently leading to its decline by the mid-1850s (O'Hara 1916:69; 86; 97). Years later, on August 14, 1862, Archbishop Blanchet shifted his residence from Oregon City to Portland, and officially declared the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Portland as the Cathedral Church (Laidlaw 1980:7). Yet, upon Father Blanchet's death in 1883, the man recognized as "The Patriarch of the Northwest" due to his significant contributions to the development of the Oregon Country and expansion of the Catholic Church, returned to St. Paul, where he remains buried today (Gandy 2013).

In the end, the seemingly inconsequential small town of St. Paul has a remarkable story to tell as one of the first settlements in present-day Oregon and home to the first brick building in the Oregon Country (Schoenberg 1987:96). The St. Paul mission site, first established in October of 1839 by Father Francois Norbert Blanchet, eventually expanded to include a barn, shop, and forge in addition to a boys' school in 1843, a Jesuit mission, a convent and an academy for girls in 1844, and a permanent brick structure in 1846, all of which are illustrated by Father Nicolas Point, a Jesuit priest who was visiting the St. Paul community in 1847 (McKay 1980: 11; Munnick 1979: xix) (Figure 2.9). However, the mass exodus of French-Canadian families to the California gold fields

decimated the population of St. Paul, which consequently limited the prestige and success of the mission as well as the growth of the Catholic Church within the region (Schoenberg 1987:125). Due to the lack of information pertaining to St. Joseph's College, the first boys' boarding school in the Oregon Country, within the historical record, the archaeological record must be researched and analyzed in order to better understand the early Catholic mission and its operations and influence during the 1840s, a time of development and success for the Catholic Church within the Oregon Country. Therefore, the daily life, activities and consumer choices of the occupants associated with the mission and more specifically St. Joseph's College, can be explored and discussed through the material culture left behind.

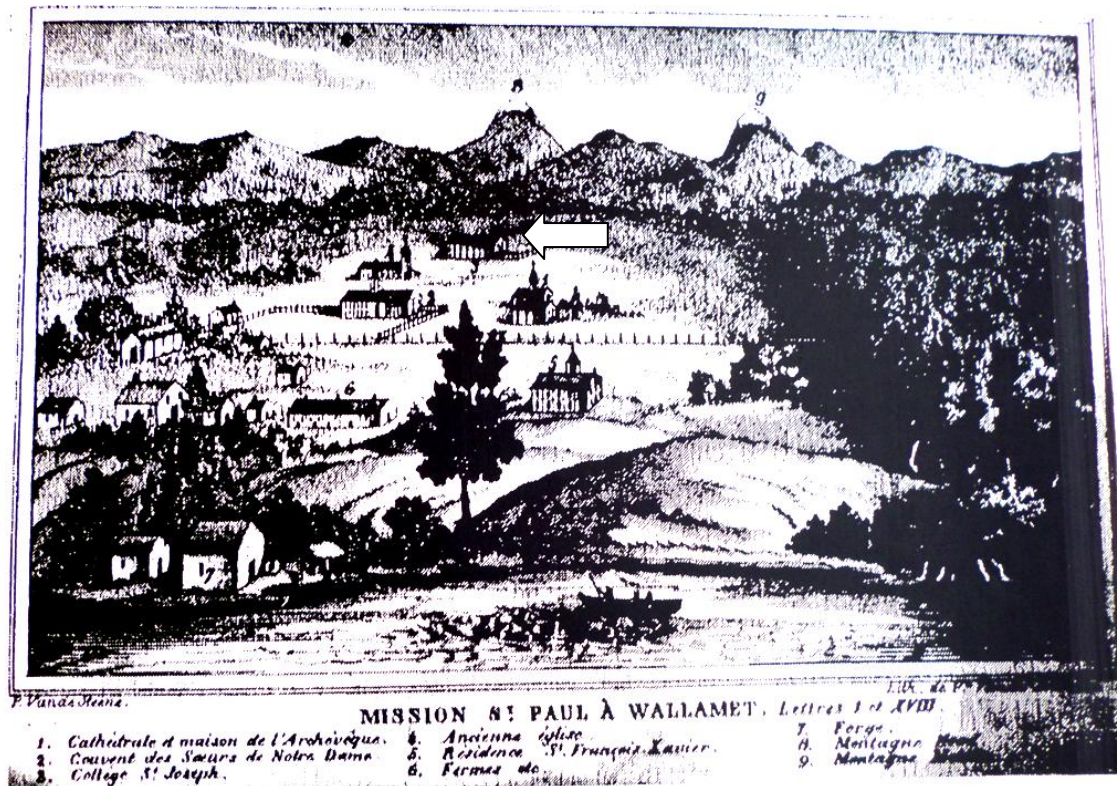


Figure 2.9: Sketch by Jesuit priest, Father Nicolas Point (1847) (McKay 1980:15; Poet 1996:28).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Applications

The overall history and development of the settlement of St. Paul and St. Joseph's College is known through the use of the historical record. However, the actual day-to-day activities, consumer choices and trade networks with which the occupants, primarily the Catholic Fathers, Blanchet, Langlois and Bolduc would have been engaged in, are not especially well-documented within the primary accounts, reports and letters that they left behind (Blanchet 1878; Kowrach 1979; Landerholm 1956). Moreover, even less is known about the actual identities, lives and activities of the male students enrolled at St. Joseph's College because of their ambiguity or absence within the historical record (Brauner 1989; Munnick 1979:xix). Thus, in order to answer the research questions posed within the exploration of the site and better understand the lives of the priests and pupils, it is necessary to incorporate the archaeological record in association with the application of certain theoretical approaches.

Middle-Range Theory

A variety of different theoretical approaches can be used to interpret the material record left behind at historical archaeology sites such as St. Joseph's College. The concept of middle-range theory can aid in the interpretation of the archaeological record through its investigation of the relationships between the present, static archaeological record and the past, dynamic cultural nature of a site and its use of formal or relational analogies based off of historic records (Binford 1967:2; Johnson 2010:63; Kosso 1992:22;34). Lewis Binford concept of middle-range theory, when applied to the archaeological record, tests relevant behavioral framework hypotheses or propositions, formulated from ethnographic or historic records, in order to help fill the gaps left in the

“middle-range” or space in understanding and provide motivational data for further investigations (Binford 1967; Johnson 2010:51; Spencer-Wood 1987:5-7). Binford argued that middle-range theory is an inherent part of archaeology, a methodological approach that is ultimately utilized every time an interpretation of the archaeological record is attempted (Johnson 2010:51; Pelto & Pelto 1978:2). Yet, the concept of middle-range theory is more than methodological, but theoretical because it attempts to explain human behavior, an innate aspect of theory as defined by Dr. Elaine Pedersen (2007:107). The concept of middle-range theory does incorporate a theoretical approach under this definition, by establishing general statements, explanations or theories about past human behavior through the investigation and understanding of the flow of information from the past to the present (Kosso 1992:33; Johnson 2010:51; Pedersen 2007:123). Within this study, middle-range theory was utilized in the interpretation of the overall site function as well as the potential social activities and their associated locations.

Conjunctive Approach

Along these same lines, Walter Taylor’s conjunctive approach investigates the relationship between the materials left behind and the human behaviors of the past in order to further understand the non-material, cultural articulations of the occupants of the site (Taylor 1983:95-96; 102). Taylor (1983:100-101) argues that the overall concept of culture is then a mental construct, either personal or shared among the occupants of a site, which can then be interpreted based on the accumulation of cultural traits including unobservable human behaviors and their resultant and observable material remains. Thus, he states that several lines of evidence must be established before an interpretation about the cultures or behaviors in the past, as seen through the archaeological record, can be

justified (Taylor 1983:95-96). Therefore, the archaeologist must be prepared to support their interpretations through the recovery and analysis of “independent accounting claims” may be drawn from varying artifact types as well as historical sources (Kosso 1992:32).

The conjunctive approach was applied with the aid of Sprague’s (1980) functional classification system, as well as with middle-range theory in order to interpret the overall site function and social activities. The historical record was used as one source of information or line of evidence and was then analyzed in combination with a varying number of functionally-classified categories, which each served as additional lines of evidence. This approach was used in particular when interpreting the consumer choice decisions of the occupants, primarily Fathers Blanchet, Bolduc and Langlois.

Consumer Choice Theory

The linking arguments used within the application of middle-range theory can also be applied to consumer behavior or choice theory which will be utilized in order to better understand the occupants, their daily lives as well as their associated material goods remaining at the former site of St. Joseph’s College (Spencer-Wood 1987:5-7). For instance, a generic behavioral framework hypothesis may use historical documents such as census records indicating that the occupant of the site was extremely wealthy, leading to the hypothesis that the consumer would have chosen to buy some of the most expensive goods from that time period, which would then be reflected within the archaeological record seen in the present (Johnson 2010:61). Thus, consumer choice theory can be a beneficial application to the analysis of a site, even when the occupants are not included within the historical record because it draws upon the archaeological

record which can give insights into the socioeconomic, cultural, and psychological factors involved in consumer behavior and preference (Spencer-Wood 1987:1).

Consumer choice theory can also be especially useful when identifying individual or group preferences as well as variation between different individuals or groups (Orser, Jr. 2004:242).

With the aid of historic documents, it was determined that Fathers Blanchet, Langlois and Bolduc were the priests primarily in charge of selecting and purchasing the material goods at St. Joseph's College (Blanchet 1878; Kowrach 1979; McNamee 1959). As a result, the archaeological record at St. Joseph's College should reflect their consumer behavior. However, the consumer decisions or choices made by these priests were most likely influenced by a variety of factors including socioeconomic status, market accessibility, ethnicity, gender, and ideologies like religious affiliation and aesthetic preference (Spencer-Wood 1987:1).

First, the occupant's social class can be demonstrated through the material record if other factors such as market access and ethnicity are controlled (Spencer-Wood 1987:3). Upper-class socioeconomic status can be evident within the archaeological record through the overwhelming acquisition and presence of expensive or high-class goods, with an opposing archaeological assemblage serving as evidence for lower class standing (Spencer-Wood 1987:2). Additionally, when applying consumer choice theory to the archaeological record, an occupant's ethnicity can sometimes be identified, typically as a marker of identity or as a symbol of opposition to dominant ideologies, state or broader economic interests (Mullins 2011:134). Thus, one hypothetical example would suggest that because French-Canadians make-up the majority of the occupants

within the settlement of St. Paul and also among the priests in charge of St. Joseph's College, a distinct selection or preference for goods imported from Quebec as well as from the British-operated, Hudson's Bay Company would be present in the archaeological record at the boys' boarding school, rather than American goods.

In the case of St. Joseph's College, other factors such as a limited market access due to the dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest, as well as gender considerations and ideologies like religious affiliation and aesthetics should also be evaluated but may not be clearly evident within the site's archaeological record without comparative archaeological data (Spencer-Wood 1987:58). Yet, it is important to evaluate the possibility of these factors within the archaeological record in order to understand if they influenced the occupants and their associated consumer behaviors or choices, as well as the impact that these material goods may have had on the occupants' daily lives and experiences (Spencer-Wood 1987:1). In the end, all of the theoretical concepts including consumer choice theory have attempted to create a more complete and accurate picture of the past by explaining the archaeological record in anthropological terms with the awareness of linkages between humans, their materials, and consequently, their culture (Binford 1962:217; Spencer-Wood 1987:5-7; Taylor 1983:95; 98).

Chapter 4: Research Methods

This study is focused on reanalyzing and researching a previously collected and analyzed archaeological assemblage from the site of 35MA67. A prior thesis concluded that 35MA67 was the location of the convent, Sainte Marie de Willamette, operated by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur from 1844 until its closure in 1852 (Poet 1996). However, the discovery of an 1851 map entitled, “Map of the possession of the Jesuits at Lake St. Ignatius of the Willamette in Oregon with the possession of the Canadian mission at St. Paul”, within the Gonzaga University Archives led to a re-evaluation of the site and its associated occupants and operations due to the depiction of the Catholic boys’ boarding school in the location of the 35MA67 excavations (Figure 2.5). Thus, this study is now responsible for researching and analyzing the site of 35MA67 and its associated archaeological record within the proper historical context, that of the Catholic boys’ boarding school which was established in 1843 by the secular priest, Father Francois Blanchet.

Field Work

Excavations at St. Joseph’s College (35MA67) a Future Farmers of America research plot, located across from and owned by the St. Paul High School, were led by Dr. David Brauner of Oregon State University over the course of two field seasons, in the years 1986 and 1987 (Poet 1996:35). In 1986, the six week field school, designated as the French-Canadian Archaeological Project, was partially funded by the State Historic Preservation Office in order to locate French-Canadian sites in the Willamette Valley (Brauner 1989; Nicholls 1986:3; Poet 1996:1). Horizontal control was established by a standard Cartesian grid and vertical control was put into place via an arbitrary datum

(Poet 1996:35) (Figure 4.1). Three different data collection methods were utilized at 35MA67 and included test pits, block excavations and pedestrian survey. All test pits were excavated as 10 centimeter arbitrary levels and 1 x 2 meter units, with each 1 x 1 meter excavated at a time and designated as either the north or the south half of the overall unit (Nicholls 1986:3). Test pits were terminated after two consecutive levels of sterile deposits (Poet 1996:39).

In addition, all soils were screened through ¼ inch mesh (Poet 1996:35). Test Pits A, B, C, D, E, F, G, J, K, L, M, O, P, Q, R, and T all remained as 1 x 2 meter units (Nicholls 1986). Test Pits A through F formed the southern baseline of the overall grid (Poet 1996:35). Test Pits G through J were placed 26 meters from the datum, in a north-south line. Test Pits H and I were both extended, with Test Pit H including a 20 centimeter balk wall and an additional 1 x 1 meter unit to the north (Nicholls 1986:41a). Test Pit I was extended by a 1x1 meter unit to the south but lacked the addition of the balk wall, creating an overall 1 x 3 meter test pit (Nicholls 1986:60) (Figure 4.2). Test Pits K, L, M, O, P, Q, R and T were placed in various locations, based on the concentration of surface artifacts and potential feature areas. Test Pits R and T (not pictured in Figure 4.1) were set on top of one another, essentially forming a 1 x 4 meter unit, near the dump area of the site and west of the barn (Nicholls 1986:87). Test Pit R was terminated after Level 1 due to the large number of modern materials such as car parts (Nicholls 1986:91).

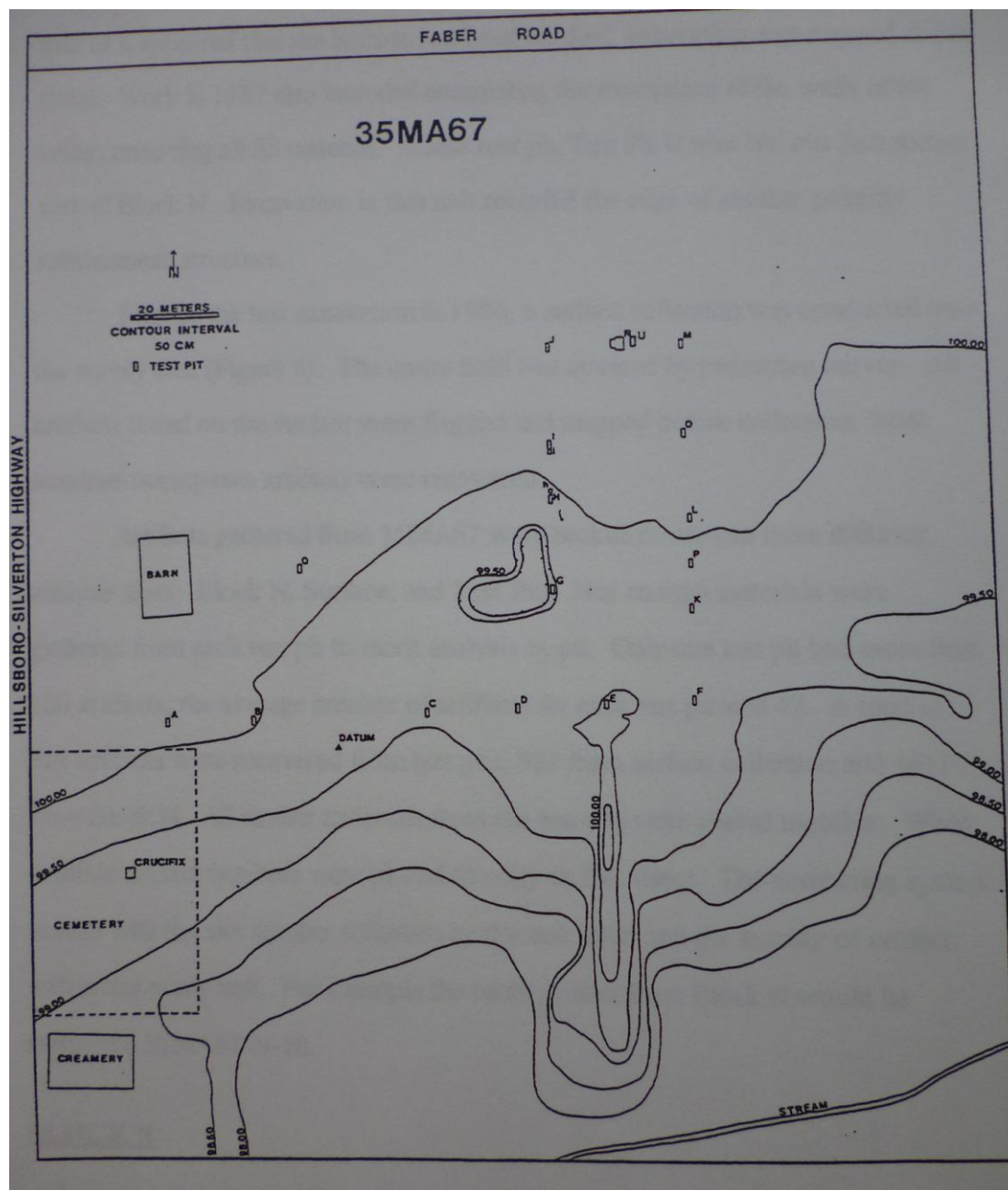


Figure 4.1: Map of Test Pit and Block N locations (Poet 1996:36).

Artifacts were not mapped *in situ* within the test pits, but were placed in level bags based on the north-south designation of the overall unit and collected by 10 centimeter levels. Completed level bags were then processed back in the lab (Nicholls 1986:3; Poet 1996:39). Additionally, artifacts such as wood, bone, and lithics as well as

soil samples for all excavations were placed in a separate catalog. It should be noted that all artifacts from both field seasons were processed and curated at Oregon State University, where the collection remains today. Each artifact is identifiable by its label which includes the site number, unit letter and corresponding catalog number (Poet 1996:37).



Figure 4.2: Test Pit I with 1 x 1 Meter Extension.

Block N originally began as a 1 x 2 meter test pit (N-1) but was then extended by 1 x 2 meters to the west (N-2). The extension was added after Level 18 of Block N-1 had been completed (Nicholls 1986:79; Poet 1996:39). Excavations on the western extension

began with the removal of the plow zone (Levels 1-3) as one level, with all subsequent levels excavated in 10 centimeter increments (Nicholls 1986:79-80). An additional extension, 1 x 2 meters from east to west, was placed north of the already excavated 2 x 2 meter block excavation and was excavated in a similar fashion (N-3) (Nicholls 1986:89). All extensions were taken down to Level 18, with Blocks N-1, N-2 and N-3 treated as a block excavation, with all artifacts within and below Level 18 mapped *in situ* (Poet 1996:39) (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Blocks N-1, N-2, N-3 and N-4 Excavations.

A fill feature was first observed in Level 8 of Block N-1 and later seen in Level 5 of N-2 and N-3 (Nicholls 1986:73;86;91a; Poet 1996:39). Excavations on this subterranean feature, believed to have been the cellar, continued within Blocks N-1, N-2 and N-3 (Nicholls 1986). Heavy charcoal concentrations were found in Levels 13 through 17 of Block N-1, with Levels 16 and 17 featuring burned, cedar wood beams and

associated nails and spikes (Nicholls 1986:76-77;93). Block N-2 also included evidence of charcoal within Level 17 in addition to a lesser quantity of artifacts than was recovered in N-1 at the same level, especially in regards to clear flat glass quantities (Nicholls 1986:103a). However, the artifacts that were recovered such as transfer-printed and Asian ceramics were larger in size than those found within the same level of N-1 (Nicholls 1986:91a). Levels 18 through 20 consisted of primarily architectural artifacts (Nicholls 1986:104). At Level 20, vertical wood posts were observed, with the overall structure appearing to have been a square, wood-cribbed well (Nicholls 1986:104). This well, recognized as a darker area of soil within the center of the cellar was excavated as a 1 x 1 meter unit from the centers of Blocks N-1 and N-2 to a depth of 3.10 meters (Level 31) within the 1986 field season (Nicholls 1986:113) (Figure 4.4). The areas remaining within Blocks N-1 and N-2 were excavated to a variety of depths (Nicholls 1986:114). Another western extension, Block N-4, was excavated to a level of 170 centimeters (Level 17) at the end of the 1986 field season (Nicholls 1986:103a). The excavations were then lined with plastic and back-filled at the end of the season, and subsequently removed the following year (Poet 1996:39).

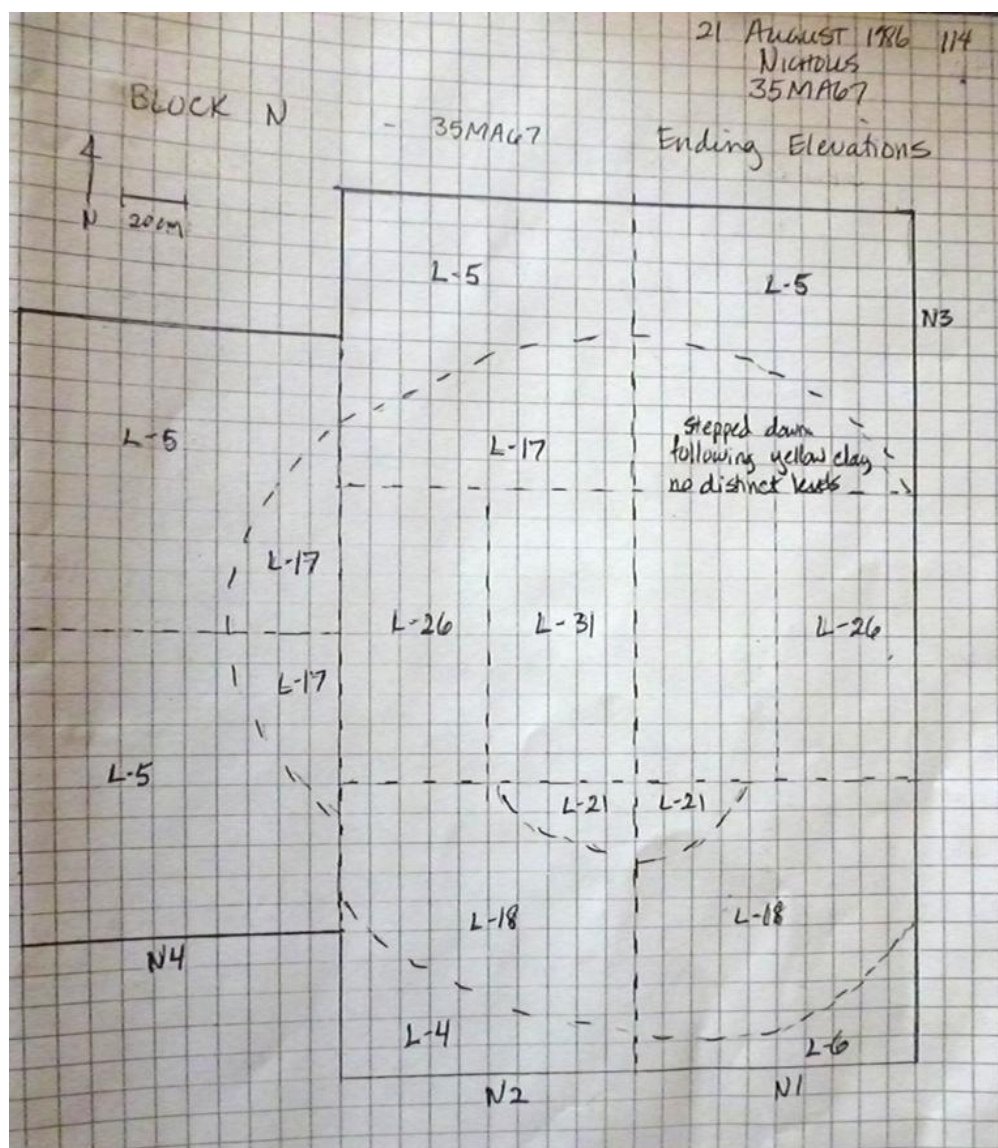


Figure 4.4: 1986 Block N Excavations (Nicholls 1986:114).

In 1987, the well continued to be excavated by Dr. David Brauner with a new group of Oregon State University Archaeology Field School students (Poet 1996:35). Excavations began at Level 32 of the 1 x 1 meter unit within Blocks N-1 and N-2 and were completed at Level 43 (Nicholls 1986:117; Poet 1996:37). As deeper excavation depths were reached, artifact fragments continued to increase in size, while the artifact quantities decreased in frequency (Nicholls 1986:96;104). No cultural materials were

found in Level 44, and the soil was found to be very cold and damp, suggesting that the water table was extremely close and the bottom of the well had been reached at 4.44 meters below the surface of the ground (McClelland Aug. 18, 1987; Poet 1996:37). All fill material was removed from the cellar feature found within Blocks N-1, N-2 and N-3 as well (Poet 1986:37) (See Figure 4.3). Test Pit U was also set in and excavated during the 1987 field season and was placed a mere four meters from Block N's eastern wall (Nicholls 1986:118; Poet 1996:37) (See Figure 4.1). Wood, possibly associated with another subterranean feature, was also prevalent within this unit, which was excavated as a 1 x 2 meter test pit to an overall depth of 170 centimeters (Level 17) (Poet 1996:37).

Overall, the Block N excavations uncovered two subterranean features, a cold cellar in association with a wood-cribbed well, the first of its kind to ever be found on French Prairie, in addition to a total of 3611 artifacts (Dr. David Brauner, personal communication; Nicholls 1986; Poet 1996:37). However, a cold cellar had already been found during excavations at the Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission in 1980, and was recorded as having been present at the Sainte Marie de Willamette convent within the journals of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Chapman & Weber 1984:59; McNamee 1959:197). The Sisters describe it as having held dairy products, meat, potatoes, bread and other perishable goods and being conveniently located near the kitchen within their convent (McNamee 1959:197).

A pedestrian survey was completed prior to excavations in order to locate and collect all surface artifacts. All artifacts were pin-flagged and mapped based on their angle and location from one of nine possible transit stations, which were positioned next to the corner of certain test pits (Nicholls 1986:19;21a). A distribution map illustrating

the location of 922 artifacts was created after collection during the 1986 field season. However, errors occurred during surface collections in the northeast and southeast quadrants, limiting the distribution analysis for these artifacts.

In the end, the excavations determined that although the property was believed to have been cleared and cultivated for agricultural purposes during the 1950s, the integrity of the site had not been disturbed due to these activities because no modern artifacts were found within the major block excavations, and the few that were found in Block N, were limited to the plow zone (Levels 1-3) (Poet 1996:35;114). Other modern artifacts were also limited to the plow zone as well as areas of known disturbance. Additionally, although the survey area has been clearly disturbed due to various forms of agriculture, as seen by the utilization of the land as an alfalfa field during the 1986 and 1987 excavations and its use as a wheat field today, the general horizontal location of the surface artifacts has not been greatly affected (Poet 1996:3) (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: 1986 Site Excavations at 35MA67.

Previous Research

In 1996, a Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Anthropology, Geography and History thesis was produced by Rebecca McClelland Poet of Oregon State University. The thesis, “Women of Valor: The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, St. Paul, Oregon 1844-1852”, analyzed the artifact assemblage in terms of its association with the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, a group of upper-middle class, Belgian women, the alleged occupants of the site (Poet 1996). Consequently, an emphasis was placed on gender, socio-economic status and ethnicity during artifact analysis (Poet 1996:2). The written record left behind by these women was then explored in order to better understand the historical context of the materials within the archaeological record (Poet 1996:3).

Artifacts were categorized using a modified version of Roderick Sprague’s functional classification system (Sprague 1980). Artifacts found to be similar in description or material and located within the nineteen test pits (Test Pits A-U) were analyzed together due to the low number of artifacts found within each one (Poet 1996:37). These were then compared to the 922 artifacts collected on the surface in addition to the 3611 found within the Block N excavations. The artifact assemblage was found to be representative of a homestead, dominated by domestic activities rather than those associated with religion or education (Poet 1996:7). Window glass primary mode analysis determined that the dates of occupation were between 1835 and 1845 within the surface and test pit collections and between 1845 and 1855 in Block N (Poet 1996:115). This supported the occupational dates recorded within historical documents stating that the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur arrived to St. Paul in 1844 and operated a convent

and academy until 1852 (McNamee 1959). However, historical documents also explain that the Sisters of the Holy Names came to St. Paul and reopened the convent in 1861 and continued to own the land into the twentieth-century (Poet 1996:119). While the window glass analysis does not support the fact that there was another occupational period it does support the primary years of operation for St. Joseph's College, from 1843 until 1849 with a brief reopening as a hospital in 1850 (McNamee 1959:229).

Historical Method

The historical method was implemented, prior to the reanalysis of the 35MA67 collection, in order to gain a much broader understanding of the overall site of St. Joseph's College and its occupants including Fathers Blanchet, Langlois and Bolduc in particular. Four main sources can be utilized through the historical method including written, extant, oral and illustrative sources (Gottschalk 1969:52-53). A combination of these different source types should be sought in order to create a more valid representation of the past. Additionally, both primary and secondary written, illustrative and oral sources can be used. Primary sources are often viewed as more reliable due to their close proximity to the time and place under investigation (Gottschalk 1969:53). That being said, all sources should be evaluated, regardless of its source type or time of publication, in order to determine if biases exist within the document that could possibly threaten its validity or relevance as well as its reliability or trustworthiness (Cosbey, Damhorst & Farrell-Beck 2002:120; Tosh 1991:57; 60).

Within this study the main sources of information used within the historical method include written, both primary and secondary sources, in combination with illustrative sources such as historical maps for support, and of course the extant, material

culture excavated from the site and subsequently analyzed. Historical background information regarding the site and its occupants, as well as trade and market research was initially drawn from primary and secondary written sources. Primary sources and archival materials were first sought through email correspondence with the Foley Center Library located at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, which houses the Jesuit Oregon Province Archives. Due to the fact that Fathers Blanchet, Demers, Bolduc and Langlois were secular or diocesan priests, and not ordained as Jesuit priests, little additional was obtained. The archivists at the Willamette Heritage Center and Mission Mill Museum as well as the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon were contacted via email; these correspondences resulted in the conclusion that further information was not available at these locations.

Primary sources were difficult to come by but did include Father Francois Norbert Blanchet's *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church of Oregon during the Past Forty Years*, published in 1878 during his retirement. Unfortunately, not all of Father Blanchet's original publications such as those included within the *Catholic Sentinel* have been translated from his native tongue, French. Therefore, they were not accessible nor able to be located for research purposes (Landerholm 1956:ii). Father Jean-Baptiste Zacharie Bolduc's own journal and letters were originally released in French in 1844, just after his voyage to the Oregon Country, but were not translated into English until 1979 (Kowrach 1979). The missionary reports and letters sent by Fathers Blanchet, Demers, Bolduc and Langlois to the Archbishop of Quebec were also researched due to their publication by the Catholic Church within a five volume series entitled, *Missions de Quebec* (Landerholm 1956:i). Seven of these reports within the volume, *Mission de la*

Colombie, were translated from the original French by Carl Landerholm (1956:i) and were recognized as secondary sources within this study.

Although not a contemporary account, Edwin V. O'Hara's book, *Catholic History of Oregon* (1916) was an important, early source describing the development of the Oregon Country and the St. Paul mission, especially since O'Hara himself was a Catholic priest. Valuable information also came from historian, Reuben Gold Thwaites's 1906 publication, *Travels in the Far Northwest: 1839-1846, Volume 2*, which incorporated the accounts of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet's early travels in the Oregon Country with those of T.J. Farnham, an American lawyer who came to the Willamette Valley in 1840 in order to convince the settlers that they should send a petition to Congress about becoming a territory of the United States (Pipes 1925:184). The 18141 journal of Eugene Duflot de Mofras, a French government agent who had been sent to the Oregon Country in order to consider the establishment of commercial stations in the region, was partially translated by Nellie Bowden Pipes (1925:151) and provides an alternative perspective on the commercial and political situation in the area. Works published about the Catholic missionaries by persons within the Catholic Church such as Sister Letitia Mary Lyons (1940), Sister Mary Dominica McNamee (1959), and Wilfred P. Schoenberg (1987) were also very informative due the availability and use of Catholic Church resources and archives within their research. However, the information provided had to also be evaluated for biases possibly skewing the depiction of the past. This remains true especially when referencing books published by descendants of the French-Canadians such as that written by Harvey McKay (1980). In addition, information was also obtained through Rebecca McClelland Poet's 1996 thesis as well as the works of French Prairie

historian, Harriet Munnick including *Priest's Progress: The Journey of Francis Norbert Blanchet from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific in the Three Parishes* (1989) and *The Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: St. Paul, Oregon 1839-1989* (1979). It should be noted that publications narrating events without in-text citations such as M. Leona Nichols's (1941) *Mantle of Elias* were not used due to the ambiguity of the source information.

In the end, Father Blanchet's primary source and a large variety of valuable secondary sources, a number larger than is described here, was required in order to better understand the historical context and growth of the region. Each source provided a different focus and perspective, describing various aspects of the past. For example, the Catholic priests of St. Paul heavily concentrated on discussing the development of the Catholic Church in the region, listing logistics such as the number of baptisms and marriages, rather than describing the mission and its everyday activities in detail. In contrast, Sister McNamee's (1959) secondary account of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the book *Willamette Interlude*, actually sheds light on their experiences and daily lives within St. Paul. Thus, when corroborative information was discovered within several of the sources, each source was cited in order to demonstrate the strength of the research as a representative interpretation of the past (Howell & Prevenier 2001:70). Primary illustrative sources such as General Land Office maps and site sketches were also included in order to support the written record.

Finally, the extant sources or the material culture left behind by the occupants were clearly integral research components when trying to understand the past activities and occupants of St. Joseph's College. However, it should be recognized that not all

material goods once produced and used may have survived until the time of excavations and are not necessarily seen within the archaeological record due to factors such as material composition, environmental degradation and soil disturbance (Renfrew and Bahn 2008:56-61). Thus, the artifacts that were discovered within the archaeological record may not clearly represent the daily lives and activities of the site occupants. Therein lies the value of historical archaeology, which pursues a more holistic image of the past through the incorporation of additional types of sources (Orser 2004:4).

Reanalysis Methods

The artifact assemblage was first approached as an unanalyzed collection in order to create original research and eliminate any biases of identification or classification found within the previous analysis. However, Rebecca McClelland Poet's (1996) research was referenced for comparative purposes and additional information after the initial analysis was completed. In fact some of her analysis methods such as the identification of a large portion of the transfer-print ceramic patterns as well as her primary mode window glass thickness measurements, both of which were analyzed in order to approximately date the period of occupation of the site, continued to be used within this study (Poet 1996).

During the reanalysis process it was discovered that on several occasions similar artifact types were bulk bagged within the levels, rather than being separated and cataloged as individual artifacts. This also remained true for the artifacts found in Block N as well as those collected on the surface (Poet 1996:37). Not all of the wood and bone artifacts were included in the previous analysis because the majority of these artifact types were cataloged separately. Test Pits R and T were also left out of Rebecca

McClelland Poet's thesis (1996) due to the high concentration of modern artifacts. As a result, the actual artifact counts for the test pits, Block N and surface collection as well as the overall assemblage remained much lower, at a mere 4540 artifacts, rather than the 10,131 artifacts that are being analyzed within this study (Poet 1996:48).

However, the artifact assemblage from Test Pit T, which was an extension of Test Pit R, was added within this study in order to depict the areas of modern artifact disturbance and the integrity of the overall site. The test pit, Block N, surface as well as the lithics, bone and wood catalog were all digitized during the reanalysis process. All surface artifacts were once again included and extended due to previous bulk bagging practices. Artifacts that were bulk bagged and previously analyzed as representing only one artifact, even though the fragments do not form one artifact and were not shovel-faceted, were each given an individual, arbitrary number, located below the bulk bag artifact number within the digitized catalog in order to establish accurate artifact counts and distribution data from the test pits, Block N and the surface collection. Each of these artifacts was not relabeled, but their number designation was marked on the bulk bag next to the artifact number and overall counts. Any artifacts found to be unclean, unlabeled, or requiring further preparation for long term curation such as an application of beeswax, were reprocessed within the lab and placed back within the reorganized collection.

Therefore, after reanalysis, the overall artifact counts expanded to 10,131 artifacts, which is 5,591 more artifacts than were previously cataloged or analyzed. Although this study includes analysis of only a sample of the potential artifacts that could be found in association with St. Joseph's College, due to the expansion of the artifact assemblage, a closer representation of the historical occupants and operations as well as

the current state of the site and its entire collection of artifacts can be discussed. It should also be noted, that although the Smithsonian trinomial site number 35MA67 was applied to all of the field notebooks, maps, catalogs, artifacts and previous theses and will be continued to be used within my research here in order to identify the site since the time of excavations, presently the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office officially recognizes this site by the Smithsonian trinomial of 35MA00260 within its database as a result of the relabeling process which affected all historic sites found within the state (Oregon Parks and Recreation (OPRD) n.d).

Artifact measurements and descriptions were also updated when necessary, as a result of further research and more recent publications since the initial excavations completed in 1986 and the collection analysis in 1996. Due to the revisions to the catalog, the functional classifications designated by Poet (1996) were re-examined accordingly. Thus, a modified version of the functional classification developed by Roderick Sprague (1980) was used within this study as well. It categorizes artifacts based upon possible function or use, in combination with its relationship to other artifacts, rather than by the material composition or morphology of the artifact (Sprague 1980:1-2). The use of Sprague's functional classification system is a beneficial method for studies such as this where the research questions are focused on locating and interpreting potential social activities occurring at the site. However, it can also be problematic in circumstances where an artifact had a secondary function that is not readily apparent in the archaeological record (Sprague 1980:2). In addition, artifacts which are difficult to identify or classify do remain classified based upon their material composition (Sprague 1980:10).

Therefore, based on the research questions associated with locating and identifying potential activity areas, all of the test pits were examined separately in order to evaluate the distribution density of each functional artifact category. Descriptive statistics such as assemblage percentages were also used in order to summarize and compare data characteristics for each functional artifact category within each test pit and are included within Appendix A (Barber 1994:233). However, percentage comparisons contrasting the entire test pit assemblage with that of Block N as well as the surface collection were also completed, as seen in Poet's research (1996).

Spatial distribution maps were also completed in order to visually demonstrate the differences in artifact dispersal. Unfortunately, the surface collection was not able to be analyzed based off of location due to recording issues within the field. In addition, Test Pit T is not included within the spatial distribution maps due to ambiguity on its exact location, but the contents of the test pit are included within the entire test pit assemblage counts. The data symbolization within the spatial distribution maps was determined based off of the Jenks natural breaks classification method, which is a data cluster method that is useful for visual purposes (Lauren Tierney, personal communication, October 24, 2014).

Additionally, minimum number of vessel (MNV) counts were recorded when possible or known. Yet, spatial distribution maps remained based on artifact counts due to the limited number of identifiable vessels within test pits as well as some occurrences of cross-mending across artifact assemblage locations. Analysis determining whether or not fragments were representative of similar vessels was based off of differences in vessel form, the potential position of the fragment on the overall vessel, the curvature and

thickness of sherd bodies, and the decorative style, glaze, pattern, and color (Voss and Allen 2010:1). Although completing minimum number of vessel counts better describes the actual material goods found in the past, it can also be problematic for comparative analysis (Voss and Allen 2010:1-2). Low vessel counts are common when uncertainty regarding the fragments exists, especially when the entire vessel or the bodies of vessels are undecorated or not standardized, as in the case of handpainted wares (Voss and Allen 2010:1). Thus, assemblage percentages were completed in association with both the minimum number of vessels as well as the number of fragments of each functional artifact category and type in this study due to the ambiguity of several fragments, resulting in the high frequency of low vessel counts within the analysis.

Block N was analyzed in comparison to the test pits as well as the surface collection. All artifacts collected from the surface were not analyzed based on density distribution or location due to the errors incurred during collection. Consequently, surface artifacts were analyzed together.

In conclusion, this study was based on field work completed in 1986 and 1987 and was designed to expand upon and reanalyze the artifact analysis completed in 1996. The historical context of the site and the occupants was re-established through the historical method. The collection was updated and reanalyzed as specified above, with all methods utilized meant to be replicable for future studies as well. However, some forms of analysis completed by Rebecca McClelland Poet (1996) such as the window glass primary modes and transfer-print ceramic identification and dating research were not re-completed but are used within this study in order to continue to analyze this collection.

Chapter 5: Descriptive Archaeology

Dr. David Brauner led excavations at the site of St. Joseph's College (35MA67) during the 1986 and 1987 field school seasons. Students of Oregon State University excavated nineteen one-by-two meter test pits and investigated the well and cellar of the school within a larger block excavation. Artifacts were also recovered from the surface of the site.

In total, 10,131 artifacts were recovered from St. Joseph's College (Table 5.1). Three thousand, two hundred and ten artifacts were excavated between all nineteen test pits. Each test pit contained a differing assemblage, in both quantity and content (Table 5.2). Five thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight artifacts were within the Block N excavations, which spanned both field seasons (Table 5.3). On the surface alone, 1,453 artifacts were collected.

Table 5.1: General Artifact Distribution

Excavation Location	Quantity	Percentage of Assemblage (%)
Test Pits	3210	31.69%
Surface	1453	14.34%
Block N	5468	53.97%
Total	10131	

Table 5.2: Test Pit Assemblage Levels and Quantities

Test Pits	Level Terminated	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit Assemblage (%)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (%)
A	3	52	1.62%	0.51%
B	4/3	29	0.90%	0.29%
C	4	14	0.44%	0.14%
D	5	33	1.03%	0.32%
E	4/6	26	0.81%	0.26%
F	5	39	1.22%	0.39%
G	4	60	1.87%	0.59%
H	7/6/9 (Extension)	984	30.65%	9.71%
I	5/9/7 (Extension)	451	14.05%	4.45%
J	3/4	99	3.08%	0.98%
K	5	653	20.34%	6.44%
L	5	93	2.90%	0.92%
M	4/5	51	1.59%	0.50%
O	5	168	5.23%	1.66%
P	5/3	189	5.89%	1.87%
Q	5	11	0.34%	0.11%
R	1	No record- Modern	-	-
T	1/2	172	5.36%	1.70%
U	17	86	2.68%	0.85%
TOTAL		3210	100%	31.69% of total assemblage

Table 5.3: Block N Artifact Quantities and Percentages

Block N	Quantity	Percentage of Block N Assemblage (%)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (%)
N-1	2843	51.99%	28.06%
N-2	2004	36.66%	19.78%
N-3	238	4.35%	2.35%
N-4	383	7.00%	3.78%
TOTAL	5468	100%	53.97% of total assemblage

Material Culture Descriptions

As mentioned previously, each artifact at St. Joseph's College was analyzed in terms of its functional classification (Sprague 1980). Each artifact was functionally classified to the tertiary level which included a category, group and class division. If the function of the artifact remained unknown during analysis, then the artifact was categorized by its material. Table 5.4 lists the functional classifications and their associated quantities as well as the minimum number of vessel counts, when applicable, for the entire site of St. Joseph's College.

All four Block N units were analyzed as one collective block excavation due to the large amount of cross-mending of vessels across units as well as the lack of exact provenience points for each artifact. Test pits were analyzed separately as well as collectively. Information regarding the functional classification, artifact quantities and percentages of each test pit's assemblage, as well as the surface and Block N assemblages can be found in Appendix A: Artifact Assemblage Analysis.

It should also be noted that although the wood and bone artifacts were previously cataloged as separate artifacts, they have now been added to the overall artifact assemblage. All bulk-bagged artifacts were separated, creating a much higher overall artifact count, although the assemblage still remains as a mere sampling of the site's overall archaeological assemblage. Modern artifacts were included within the assemblage in order to better understand the spatial distribution of the modern artifacts and the level of disturbance the site may have experienced since its period of occupation.

Table 5.4: Artifact Functional Classifications

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum number of vessels (MNV)
Personal Items	428	27
<i>Clothing</i>	21	-
<i>Footwear</i>	3	-
<i>Adornment</i>	2	-
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	5	-
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	2	2
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	74	11
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	321	14
Domestic	1616	235
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Culinary</i>	64	31
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Gustatory</i>	1190	204
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	8	8
Architecture	5914	-
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	2651	-
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	3263	-
Commerce & Industry	654	-
<i>Currency</i>	1	-
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	73	-
<i>Hunting</i>	30	-
<i>Manufacturing</i>	550	-
Group Services	22	-
<i>Education</i>	22	-
Unknowns	1079	-
<i>Glass</i>	693	-
<i>Metal</i>	371	-
<i>Rocks</i>	15	-
Miscellaneous	283	-
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	201	-
<i>Lithics</i>	70	-
<i>Other</i>	9/3	-
Modern	135	-
TOTAL	10,131	

Personal Items

Clothing

Cloth. One piece of cloth was recovered from Block N. The artifact includes several layers of a woven textile. The type of weave and possible fabric type was not identified within the research period.

Buttons. During excavations, twenty buttons of varying types and materials were located (Table 5.5; Figure 5.1). Two button types were identified at St. Joseph's College including four eye-loop shank buttons and fourteen four-hole, sew-through buttons. Sixteen buttons were within Block N, one was in both Test Pit L and Test Pit B, and two were found on the surface. One button, located on the surface, is recorded as having been a black glass button. However, at the time of analysis this button could not be located within the collection but will continue to be included within the site's functional analysis.

Six ferrous metal, one-piece, four-hole, sew-through buttons were found within Block N (Olsen 1963:553; Aultman & Grillo 2012:4). Three of the buttons were able to be analyzed but three of the buttons have deteriorated into pieces since excavations in 1986 and 1987. Four prosser buttons were located within Block N. Prosser buttons were first manufactured after 1840 and can be identified by their often white coloration, orange-peel texture and glass-like appearance. Although, in fact the material used to create the molded buttons is a high-fired ceramic (Sprague 2002:111). A variety of buttons were manufactured and varied in decoration, including calico and pie crust buttons, as well as form, with four-hole, sew-through, as well as two-hole panty-waist, and shank buttons all produced (Sprague 2002:112). All of the prosser buttons within this assemblage were white as well as four-hole, sew through buttons.

Two cobalt blue glass buttons were found during excavations, but they vary immensely in appearance. The opaque, cobalt button is very similar in size, shape and form as the prosser buttons. Meanwhile, the other is only a fragment of what would have been a relatively large, possible four-hole, sew-through button. The center is concave and the glass is transparent. A similar button was found within Test Pit B but was made of amethyst glass.

The final four-hole, sew-through button is made of brass and has the following French inscription, “Au Vampire Confection” written around the rim of the button, which measures 1.7 centimeters in diameter (Figure 5.2). When translated from French to English, the term ‘vampire’ remains unclear, but the word ‘confection’ refers to ready-to-wear clothing, with ‘confectionner’ meaning ‘to make’ or ‘manufacture’ in French (Lazar 1993:39). Further research also reported that these French words were commonly used on pants buttons (National Button Bulletin 1961:123).

A two-hole, sew-through, ferrous metal button, comprised of two pieces was also found within Block N (Aultman & Grillo 2012:4; Olsen 1963:553). Meanwhile, the eye-loop shank buttons also vary in material and form. One brass button is a one-piece cast, flat-disc with a cone shank and embedded wire eye, but it is evident that the front would have included a decorative element at one time (Aultman & Grillo 2012:8; Olsen 1963:553). Two other buttons are one-piece, flat-disc buttons and also have cone shanks with wire eyes. However, they vary in size and metal type. The final eye-loop shank buttons is a rounded button, made of amethyst glass with a soldered, but missing shank (Aultman & Grillo 2012:8).

Table 5.5: Button Types and Descriptions

Button Type/Form	Material	Dates	Description	Quantity	Location
1a-f: Four-hole, sew through	Ferrous Metal	1800- 1860	-One piece, cast metal -1.8 cm & 1.5 cm diameters	6	Block N
2a-d: Prosser	Ceramic	1840	-White, opaque - Four-hole, sew- through. -1.2 cm diameter	4	Block N
3: Cobalt; opaque	Glass	-	-Fragment -Looks similar to the prossers. -Four-hole, sew- through	1	Block N
4a: Cobalt; transparent 4b: Amethyst; transparent	Glass	-	-Edge fragments; concave centers. -Possibly four- hole, sew-through buttons	2	Surface Test Pit B
5: Inscribed; Four-hole, sew-through	Brass	-	-“Au Vampire Confection” is written around the center -1.7 cm diameter	1	Block N
6: Two-hole, sew-through	Ferrous metal	-	-Two-piece, pressed -1.8 cm diameter	1	Block N
7: Decorative flat disc; eye- loop shank	Brass	-	-One-piece, cone shank with wire eye -Decorative front missing -1.1 cm diameter	1	Test Pit L
8a: Flat disc; eye- loop shank 8b:	Brass Pewter	-	-Large: 2.3 cm diameter -Small: 1.7 cm diameter -One-piece, cone shank with wire eye -Loops missing	2	Block N

Table 5.5: Button Types and Descriptions (Continued)

Button Type/Form	Material	Dates	Description	Quantity	Location
9: Amethyst, eye-loop shank	Glass	-	-Rounded, molded button -Soldered shank -Loop missing -1.2 cm diameter	1	Block N
10: S-306	Black Glass	-	-Not Found	1	Surface

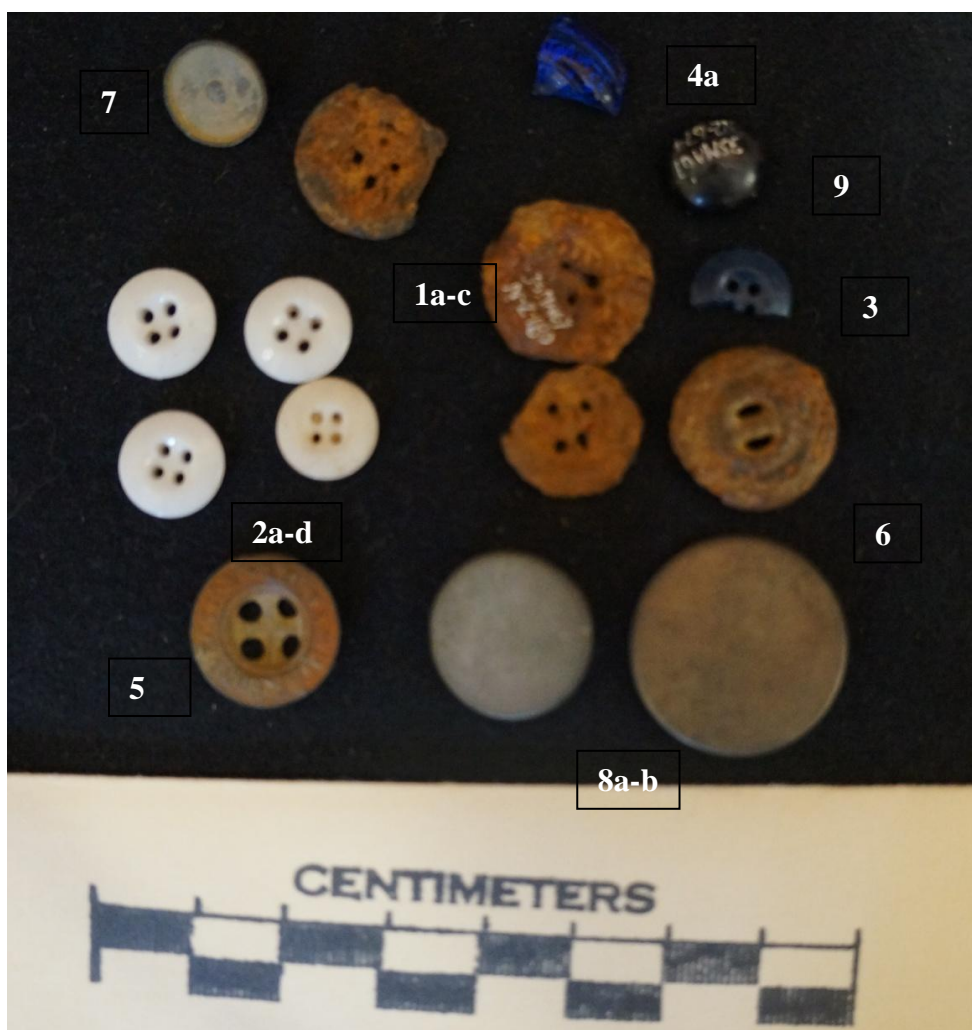


Figure 5.1: Button Types. The following are not pictured: 1d-f, 4b and 10



Figure 5.2: “Au Vampire Confection” Four-hole, Sew-through Button (#5)

Footwear

Three footwear artifacts were identified within the entire assemblage, all of which were found within Block N specifically. One specimen is comprised of the sole and heel from a leather shoe. The heel measures 6 centimeters wide, but due to the shrinking of the leather since the 1986 and 1987 excavations, this may not represent the original size. The shoe has a nailed sole, rather than a machine-stitched sole, as seen by the presence of deteriorating nails within the sole (Adams et al. 1975:90).

Two brass shoe fragments, possibly scuff plates, were also recovered (Figure 5.3). Due to the relatively small width (4.8 cm and 4.4 cm) of the brass fragments, it seems likely that these would have been applied to children’s shoes. Yellow metal scuff from children’s shoes have reportedly also been found at Fort Vancouver during past excavations (Poet 1996:51; Ross 1976:628).



Figure 5.3: Brass Shoe Fragments

Adornment

Beads. Two beads were found overall at the site. One bead, from Block N, was a cylindrical, bone bead with two annular grooves carved around the diameter. The bead is also unique because it has a hole through the center as well as the diameter of the bead, making it possible to string in different ways. The bead is relatively small bead, measuring 6.1 millimeters in length and 5 millimeters in diameter at either end (Poet 1996:53).

The other bead, also from Block N, is a very small, white seed bead. It measures 1 millimeter in length and 2.7 millimeters in diameter (Poet 1996:53). Seed beads are a type of tube or drawn bead, which are produced through a process of stretching or pulling a glass bubble into a tubular shape, hence the name (Chapman & Weber 1984:80; Francis, Jr. 2002:11; Wilson & Langford 2011:61). The glass would then dry, be cut into

the appropriate bead sizes and then finished through another process typically known as ‘hot tumbling’ (Wilson & Langford 2011:61). Hot tumbling essentially reheats the bead within an agitated environment of sand and charcoal, and produces an oval or rounded bead as the end product (Chapman and Weber 1984:81). Tube beads such as seed beads were mass-produced and apparently very popular historically, with 72,389 beads of this type, the majority of the bead assemblage, found at Fort Vancouver alone (Chapman & Weber 1984:81; Ross 1976:698).

Body Ritual and Grooming

Combs. Two baleen comb fragments were uncovered from St. Joseph’s College. One fragment, found within Block N, is a comb tooth fragment and the other, found on the surface is part of the shaft, of possibly the same comb. Baleen can be identified by its dark, shiny black coloration and was often used for such products as combs due to its lightness in weight and durability (Minnesota n.d).

Mirror Glass. Three pieces of mirror glass were found within the collection, identified by the black, shiny surface on the back of typically clear flat glass. One piece was found within Block N, one in Test Pit H and one was present within Test Pit T.

Pastimes and Recreation

Ink wells. Two inkwell fragments were collected during the Block N excavations. One fragment was part of a base to a conical-bodied inkwell, while the other was a shoulder panel (Lindsey 2014). Both fragments were made of aqua glass.

Indulgences

Tobacco. Thirty-three pipe bowl fragments and forty-one pipe stem fragments, for a total of seventy-four tobacco-associated artifacts, were found at various locations throughout the site. Twenty-four were located on the surface, and twenty-seven were found in Block

N and twenty-three were within the test pits. Nine bowl fragments, for a sum of five vessels, were made of red earthenware, while the rest of the fragments were all made of kaolin clay. Two fragments appeared to be part of a knobby pipe, two bisque fragments cross-mended into a 4.3 centimeter tall bowl, and another was embossed with dots and covered in a purple-black slip (Pfeiffer 1982:86). One complete bowl (2.5 cm across, 2 cm tall, 0.5 cm thick walls) still had part of the stem attached (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: Redware Tobacco Pipe Bowl Examples

Within the kaolin pipe assemblage, eleven bowl and pipe stem fragments featured decorative designs. Six different vessels were identified within these fragments. One pipe bowl included the impressed letter “T” on the exterior of the bowl and resembled the commonly produced TD type pipe bowl, which can be found in abundance at Fort Vancouver (Pfeiffer 1982:35-36; Poet 1996:57). Two of the pipe stem fragments included

the same molded scroll-like decoration and the following letters, “COR” and “AND” (Figure 5.5). One tobacco bowl fragment featured an “I” and a “F” on either side of the spur, identifying it as a tobacco pipe manufactured by John Ford of England (Chapman & Weber 1984:92; Poet 1996:56). Commonly referred to as Ford Stepney pipes due to their associated manufacturing location, these pipes were imported by the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1831 as well as from 1833 until 1835 (Chapman & Weber 1984:92). Thus, it is not a surprise that Ford Stepney pipes are found in abundance throughout the Pacific Northwest, especially at the Hudson’s Bay Company headquarters located in Fort Vancouver (Chapman & Weber 1984:92-94; Pfeiffer 1982:25-26; Wilson & Langford 2011:72). Additionally, three tobacco pipe stems with the letters “PRINCE” in combination with the letters “GOUDA” on the other side, were found to have been manufactured by the J.& G. Prince, a Dutch tobacco pipe manufacturing company, based in the city of Gouda, which was known to have had a trade relationship with the Hudson’s Bay Company during the nineteenth-century (Pfeiffer 1982:25-26; Poet 1996:57).



Figure 5.5: Decorated Kaolin Pipe Bowl and Stem Examples.
Indulgences

Alcohol. Olive glass was the most commonly manufactured color of glass during the nineteenth-century. This type of glass could potentially be used when producing wine, champagne, liquor, beer and ale bottles, figured flasks as well as mineral water, ink and snuff bottles and some food vessels (Lindsey 2014). Due to the historically known manufacturing association between olive glass and alcohol consumption, as well as the actual identification of a variety of types of alcoholic vessels within the assemblage, all of the olive glass pieces, diagnostic or not, were classified as personal indulgences within this study. Although, it should be mentioned that any wine bottle fragments may have been used for religious ritual, the context of the site as a boys' school as well as the excavation of several other types of alcohol bottles makes it difficult to determine if the wine would have functioned differently from the other indulgence vessels.

Three hundred twenty-one pieces of olive glass, in varying shades and thickness, were collected from the site of St. Joseph's College. Of these, 197 were recovered from

Block N. A minimum of nine vessels were accounted for within the Block N olive glass assemblage. The minimum number of vessels was determined based on the number of base fragments as well as the shape, coloration, texture and treatment of the glass. Three base fragments were found overall. The first base fragment contains more of the body than the push-up within the base, but it appears to have had a bell-shaped heel (Jones and Sullivan 1989:114). The second base is dark olive in color and has bubbles present in the glass. A glass “open” pontil scar is clearly evident within the middle of the square base with flat chamfered corners, often diagnostic of either gin or bitters bottles (Jones and Sullivan 1989:102; Lindsey 2014). The third base is fragment is one centimeter thick and nearly black in color, with bubbles also present within the glass. It includes a portion of the body, the rounded heel and the piece of the dome pushup (Jones and Sullivan 1989:110; Poet 1996:54). Five other pieces, including a bulged neck fragment, similar in color and overall appearance are possibly associated with this base fragment as well.

A fourth vessel includes eleven cross-mended pieces, which comprise the portions of the body as well as the entire circumference of the vessel at the shoulder and neck intersection. Six additional pieces are also associated with this vessel. Four of which are cross-mended pieces of the body, one of which is a portion of the neck and the last of which is the circumference of the finish in its entirety. Portions of the neck illustrate vertical striations, as well as a hand-applied, flattened string rim (Jones and Sullivan 1989:90; Poet 1996:55). The lip features evidence of having been fire-polished so as to round the sharp edges left behind by the “cracked-off” lip formation process, which was common practice during the nineteenth-century (Jones and Sullivan 1989:80). The finish and fragments of the neck all have remnants of the lead which would have sealed the cork

within the champagne style bottle, which is described as having a long sloping shoulder merging into the neck and topped by a flat banded finish, a similar description of the vessel recovered from St. Joseph's College (Lindsey 2014). This type of bottle was actually used in order to export champagne or wine from Europe and was most likely manufactured through the free-blown or dip-mould processes, which were the methods utilized during the early nineteenth-century (Lindsey 2014).

The fifth vessel was determined based on the large quantity of bubble present within the glass as well as the unique curvature of the fragment, which appears to be the shoulder of a gin bottle (Lindsey 2014). The sixth vessel is a large glass bottle, probably either a champagne or wine bottle, and is comprised of at least three large glass pieces, similar in color, thickness and quality of glass. No mould-marks were evident. The seventh vessel contains five pieces of glass, all of which feature a dip-mould "seam", recognized by the orange-peel textured exterior below the shoulder and a glossier, smooth appearance above it (Lindsey 2014). The eighth vessel is made up of two pieces of olive glass which are almost blue-green in color. One piece is a flat chamfered corner of a square vessel, which makes it potentially a piece of a number of different liquor bottles such as gin or bitters (Jones and Sullivan 1989:102; Lindsey 2014).

Finally, the last vessel recovered from Block N is comprised of sixteen cross-mended pieces and two other fragments. The vessel fragments are relatively thin and make up a portion of the body, the shoulder as well as the neck. Seam lines from a three-piece mold can be seen running horizontally at the intersection of the body and the shoulder in addition to the shoulder and the neck, as well as vertically along the sides of

the body of the vessel (Lindsey 2014). The other two fragments also have evidence of these seems on the exterior, demonstrating their association with the rest of the bottle.

One artifact from Block N is a broken fragment of a blob seal, with the embossed letters “VI” still visible. Blob seals were applied to a variety of glass vessels, although wine bottles were the most common, in order to either identify the contents within the vessel or the owner of the vessel itself. They date from the eighteenth-century up until the twentieth-century but were most common prior to 1840 (Jones and Sullivan 1989:17; Lindsey 2014). Further research suggested that this blob seal in particular would have stated “VIEUX COGNAC” in its fullest form and was produced circa 1820 until 1840 (Munsey 1970:64).

One hundred forty-one of the pieces were not able to be classified within the minimum number of vessel counts due to ambiguity in association between base fragments as well as the coloration and treatment of the glass. However, it was evident that fourteen of these pieces were from bottle necks and two were fragments of rounded lip finishes. Four pieces also had similar evidence of a dip-mould “seam”, recognized as a horizontal scratch at the point of intersection between the shoulder and neck (Lindsey 2014).

Aside from two vessels, one located in Test Pit U and one in Test Pit T, all of the glass fragments within the test pits (n=49) were too small to identify. The vessel from Test Pit U was identified due to its unique curvature, representing a rounded corner fragment of a square vessel, similar to those seen on gin bottles (Jones and Sullivan 1989:102; Lindsey 2014). Several fragments were cross-mended in order to recreate the

flattened string rim finish, containing usually wine or champagne (Jones and Sullivan 1989:88;96; Lindsey 2014).

Three other vessels were identified on the surface of the site. One fragment was a rounded cone push-up, while another was a large mamelon push-up (Jones and Sullivan 1989:112-113). The final vessel included four fragments of a dark olive, almost black glass. One fragment was identified as a rounded heel and partial dome push-up (Jones and Sullivan 1989:110;113). The vessel walls were 1.5 cm thick, and even thicker at the heel. A bulged neck and two other body fragments with the same coloration and orange-peel texture were also associated with this vessel (Jones and Sullivan 1989:97). Two rounded heels were also found on the surface, but were not included as vessel counts due to their possible association with the already discussed push-ups.

Domestic

The domestic assemblage was functionally classified by culinary and gustatory classes, but in order to better illustrate the contents of the overall assemblage, artifacts were separated based on material type including ceramics and glass. The following table (Table 5.6) depicts the type of ceramic and its associated sherd and vessel counts and form as well as their location within the site. The same has table has been completed for the glass wares (Table 5.8).

Housewares and Appliances-Ceramics

Table 5.6: Culinary and Gustatory Ceramic Types and Quantities (Sherds/MNV)

Fabric; Design	Test Pits	Surface	Block N	Total Quantity (Sherds)	Total Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Vessel Form: Hollowware /Flatware/ Unknown
Stoneware	6/6	17/ 11	35/15	58	32	31/0/1
Redware	0/0	1/1	4/2	5	3	3/0/0
Creamware	0 /0	2/1	3/ 1	5	2	2 / 0/ 0
Yellow ware; molded	1/ 0	0/0	4/ 2	5	2	2 /0/ 0
Yellow ware; undecorated	3 /1	0/0	11/5	14	6	3/ 0/ 3
White Earthenware ;undecorated	47/ 2	91/ 14	267/ 19	405	35	19/16/0
Mochaware	0 /0	1/1	1 / 1	2	2	2 / 0/ 0
Slip-Banded wares	5 /3	5/2	20/8	30	13	13/0/0
Slipware; white	1/1	2/1	0/0	3	2	2/0/0
Hand- decorated wares	2/0	7/2	78/18	87	20	10/8/2
Edge- decorated wares	0/0	2/1	31/8	33	9	0/9/0
Transfer- prints	90/2	189/13	197/ 34	476	49	24/25/0
Flowing Colors	0/0	0/0	106/12	106	12	3/9/0
Porcelain	1/0	0/0 208/1	15/6	16	6	6/0/0
Asian Ceramics	64/0		42/24	314	25	3/22/0
Totals	220/ 15	525/48	814/ 155	1559	218	123/89/6

Stoneware. Stonewares are generally non-porous vessels made from fine, dense clays with the addition of impurities such as feldspar and quartz within the clay mixture (Gaston 1983:12; Chapman 1993:87). Thus, they can be high-fired to the point of vitrification, but not to the point of translucency like porcelain (Gaston 1983:12). Stonewares can come in a range of colors from dark brown or gray to light white, red or pink and were typically decorated on the exterior by slips or salt glazes, with the interior decorated much less often (Chapman 1993:87; Greer 1999:14). Both American and British potteries manufactured stoneware vessels during the site's period of occupation and grew increasingly popular during the mid-nineteenth-century due to the health hazards associated with the lead-glazed redware vessels (Chapman 1993:88; Poet 1996:78). Due to the durability and lack of porosity of the ceramic fabric, stoneware vessels were generally manufactured for utilitarian purposes such as food or beverage storage and preparation (Chapman 1993:87; Greer 1999:16). As a result, the most common vessel forms included jugs, bottles, preserve jars or crocks, bowls, churns and pitchers (Chapman 1993:88).

Fifty-eight stoneware sherds, making up a minimum of thirty-two vessels are included within the St. Joseph's College collection. Based off of the sherd count, stonewares account for 3.72% of the overall ceramic assemblage. In terms of vessel count, stonewares make up a larger proportion of the assemblage, 14.68%.

Thirty-five sherds came from Block N, seventeen from the surface and six were excavated from all of the test pits. The minimum number of vessels was determined based off of the interior and exterior glazes, the thickness of the body, as well as the vessel shape or form of each fragment. Consequently, a minimum of fifteen hollowware

vessels were found within Block N, all of which appear to be wheel thrown and all but one vessel appearing to be decorated with a salt glaze. Five vessels were found to be culinary in function, with the base of one vessel measuring ten inches in diameter. The ten gustatory vessels all have wheel thrown vessel forms resembling bottles, but vary in color due to differences in the salt glaze decoration. Of the eleven hollowware vessels found on the surface, all were salt glazed in an assortment of colors on the exterior aside from one red-slipped culinary vessel. Overall, six culinary vessels were categorized, with five wheel thrown gustatory vessels including the finish and shoulder to one bottle, as well as a bottle base, measuring 3 ½ inches in diameter, from a different vessel were also found at the site. The rim of one, brown-slipped culinary vessel was located within Test Pit L, and four sherds, each representing a different salt-glazed culinary vessel were found within Test Pit T. One salt-glazed sherd was excavated from Test Pit O and may correspond with two sherds collected from the surface, representing a minimum of one culinary vessel from both locations.

Redware. Redware vessels are formed from red earthenware clays, on either a potter's wheel or simply by hand (Slesin et al 1997:55). Redwares were produced by American manufacturers and were very popular within Colonial America but fell out of popularity by the middle of the nineteenth-century due to an associated increase in stoneware production and the introduction of glass and tin as storage containers (Chapman 1993:86; Slesin et al. 1997:55). Typically utilitarian, redwares can represent a number of different vessels including pitchers, pots, pans, plates, bowls, crocks, mugs, cups, jugs, sugar bowls, salts, tumblers, teapots, as well as flower pots and bricks. A multitude of different decorative designs can be applied to the generally porous earthenware bodies, such as

simple, clear lead glazes, colored slips and salt glazes (Chapman 1993:86; McAllister & Michel 2003:9; Slesin et al. 1997:55).

In total, five redware sherds, representing a minimum of three hollowware vessels were located at St. Joseph's College. Four of these sherds and a minimum of two hollowware vessels were found in Block N. All of the artifacts had a dark brown-black slip on the exterior and a white slip applied to the interior. One redware sherd, and consequently a minimum of one hollowware vessel, was collected from the surface. The sherd had been burned before collection making it difficult to determine whether or not it was once decorated by a slip or glaze during its period of use. However, evidence of an impressed egg-and-dart motif on the exterior of the vessel's side was still clearly evident.

Creamware. Creamwares were developed in England during the eighteenth-century as a result of the advancements in the refining of the coarser, stoneware clays (Rickard 2006:1). Creamwares continued to be manufactured throughout the nineteenth-century but lost their popularity by 1830 (Chapman 1993:76). Five creamware sherds, three of which were found within Block N and represent a minimum of one hollowware vessel are included within the archaeological assemblage at St. Joseph's College. The other two sherds were located on the surface and illustrate a minimum of one hollowware, utilitarian vessel.

Yellow ware. Yellow ware is a ceramic type which results from the firing of a yellow earthenware clay and the application of a clear glaze (Chapman 1993:83). Yellow wares are ideal as utilitarian vessels because they are sturdier than redwares and less dense than stonewares (McAllister & Michel 2003:9). Both American and British potters manufactured yellow ware, but British yellow wares were available within the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, while American yellow ware production became prevalent during the 1820s, and generally was crafted as thicker, more utilitarian vessels (Chapman 1993:84). In addition, prior to 1830 the ceramics were typically thrown on a potter's wheel, rather than being mold-made (Chapman 1993:83).

A variety of design styles can be seen on yellow ware vessels including a plain, clear glaze, molded design, mocha decorations and slip bands (Golder Associates 2012:3; McAllister & Michel 2003:11). Various versions of these design styles can be seen throughout French Prairie as well as specifically at St. Joseph's College (Chapman 1993:259-265). Fourteen undecorated yellow ware sherds, making up a potential six vessels, three of which are hollowwares, were found within Block N as well as Test Pit H. Two molded, yellow ware vessels were also identified, with a total of five sherds, all representing hollowware vessels, having been found within Block N and Test Pit I.

White Earthenware. White earthenware vessels can be high-fired but are naturally opaque, non-vitreous and porous. Usually a clear glaze is simply applied to the vessels in order to decrease porosity and increase functionality (Gaston 1983:12). In 1779, cobalt began to be added as a clearing agent, producing a whiter end product than the earlier creamwares (Sussman 1977:105). Tin was later added as a clearing agent to white earthenwares, with lead-based clear glazes eventually dominating the market after the middle of the nineteenth-century (Brauner, personal communication, October 23, 2014). In addition, during the nineteenth century, underglaze transfer-printing was the most popular method of ceramic decoration and was most often applied to white earthenware fabrics (Sussman 1977:108). However, several other forms of decoration are commonly

applied to white earthenwares including edge-decorated, sponge-decorated and hand-painted wares.

Four hundred five sherds of undecorated white earthenware sherds were collected overall representing 25.98% of the ceramic assemblage. Two hundred sixty-seven came from Block N, ninety-one were found on the surface and forty-seven were collected from Test Pits B, D, E, F, H, I, J, M, O, and T. Determining the minimum number of vessel counts for the undecorated white earthenware category was difficult due to the relatively small sherd size of many of the fragments. In addition, limitations occurred due to the fact that several decorated types of earthenwares also have portions left undecorated including, but not limited to transferprinted, edge-decorated and hand-painted flat and hollowwares. As a result, only rim sherds, based on the shape and thickness of the fragments, decoration, interior and exterior glaze treatments, as well as any wear-mark evidence were analyzed for vessel identification.

Overall, a minimum of thirty-five undecorated white earthenware vessels, 16.06% of the ceramic assemblage, were recovered from St. Joseph's College. Thirty-five rim fragments were found within Block N, representing a minimum of nineteen vessels. However, ten of the rim fragments could not be classified according to their function or vessel form. Of the nineteen vessels, twelve were hollowware vessels and seven were flatware vessels. One of the hollowware vessels included approximately a quarter of the body and over half of the footring of a two-inch diameter, 3 ¼ inch tall, tulip-shaped cup. Two other rim sherds depicting the tulip-shaped rim were also found within Block N, with one possibly associated with this vessel, but the other representing another due to differences in the curvature and thickness between the fragments. The seven flatware

vessels include three undecorated vessel rims, and four with differing molded designs. One of the vessels, probably a small plate or saucer, had a shell or feather-edge mold decoration, but lacked the blue or green slip decoration. Another vessel had a scallop-molded edge decoration, while another had a simple molded band almost on the rim, and the last vessel, made up of two sherds depicted three horizontal molded bands along the rim.

In addition, it should be noted that one molded handle fragment, 1.5 centimeters wide, was excavated from Block N as well as a variety of flatware footrings and bases. Six differing hollowware footrings, all resembling the two-inch diameter, tulip-shaped cup footring referenced earlier were also found and have been functionally classified as gustatory fragments due to their known vessel form, but remain left out of the vessel count because of their unknown decorative bodies. Twenty-three of the two hundred and sixty-seven sherds also showed evidence of having been burned.

A minimum of fourteen vessels were found within the ninety-one sherds collected off of the surface of St. Joseph's College. Six of the vessels appeared to be hollowware vessels and the other eight were identified as flatware vessels. Five of the hollowware vessels were determined based on rim fragments but one vessel was counted separately based on its difference in coloration and vessel form from the other white earthenware fragments as well as a unique molded decoration near the base of the vessel. The vessel's form resembles the footed porcelain bowls, of probable Asian origin, also found at St. Joseph's College. However, the molded design along the footring and body intersection is completely distinct and includes two waving lines above repeating, short stripes.

Six of the eight flatware vessels are also undecorated, with the other two including differing scallop-molded rim designs. Two of the flatware fragments are more cream-colored than the rest of the fragments and several flatware and hollowware footrings are also found within this portion of the assemblage. Forty-seven sherds were located between all of the test pits, and all but one molded, flatware rim sherd from Test Pit F and four hollowware vessel sherds from Test Pit T, were too small in size in order to identify vessel form or a possible function classification. In the end, approximately three hundred and fifty-one of the four hundred and five white earthenware sherds were not able to be identified functionally or based on their vessel form.

Mochaware. The name mochaware is believed to have been used by British potters, in reference to the Yemenese port city, al Mukha or Mocha (Rickard 2006:46). During the eighteenth and nineteenth-century, the city exported large quantities of coffee to the British and was also the port city through which moss agate, a popular and decorative gem stone, better known as mocha stone, was shipped off to London (Rickard 2006:46). Due to the stone's popularity, in 1792 the British potters, Lakin & Poole, began to apply a moss-like or seaweed-like pattern onto their ceramics in order to simulate the design seen on the stones (Rickard 2006:46). Mochaware was manufactured throughout the nineteenth-century, up until the year 1939 and is referenced as a common pattern applied to brown, green or yellow drinking cups, bowls and jugs, with the appropriately associated decorative bands (Rickard 2006:50-51; 54). However, by the latter half of the nineteenth-century, demand for the British-manufactured mochaware had decreased, with American potters filling the void in supply but using yellow ware, rather than white earthenwares as the primary fabric (Rickard 2006:54-56).

Today, the term mochaware is often used interchangeably with a variety of slip-banded earthenwares but originally it was only used when referring to the dendritically decorated, slip-banded wares, first manufactured during the late eighteenth-century (Rickard 2006:ix-x; 12; Slesin et al. 1997:115). These mochaware vessels, typically utilitarian, were placed on a lathe and spun in order to apply the decorative slip-bands, which could be of contrasting colors. The dendritic designs, often resembling trees, ferns or seaweed, were then created through the interaction between the wet, alkaline slip-bands and an acidic slurry, known as “mocha tea” (McAllister & Michel 2003:11; Rickard 2006:46; Slesin et al. 1997:115). Within this study, the term mochaware will only refer to these specific types of decorated vessels.

The site of St. Joseph’s College contains two mochaware sherds. Both have a cobalt blue dendritic pattern applied to the dipped, white exterior of yellow earthenware, hollowware or utilitarian vessels. One sherd was found within Block N, while the other was found on the surface of 35MA67. The dendritic pattern and fabric differ, representing a possible of two minimum mochaware vessels at the site (Figure 5.6). Blue dendritic decoration on a white slip, which are then applied to a yellow ware fabric, is often associated with the British potter, Jabez Vodrey, who manufactured mochaware pottery from East Liverpool, Ohio during the mid-nineteenth-century (Rickard 2006:132). Thus, due to the design similarities and the use of a yellow ware fabric as well the site’s mid-century date of occupation, it seems likely that these two mochaware ceramics were manufactured in America, rather than at an earlier date in Britain.



Figure 5.6: Mochaware Vessels

Slip-Banded wares. A slip is a decorative substance that is formed by mixing clay, water and coloring agents together (McAllister & Michel 2003:11; Rickard 2006:1). Brown, blue and green bands were some of the most common slip colors (McAllister & Michel 2003:11). In order to create decorative banding, the slip would be applied to the exterior as the vessel spun on a lathe or potter's wheel (McAllister & Michel 2003:11; Sussman 1997:6). Slip-banded wares, generically recognized as mochaware, were manufactured in both America and England from 1830 up until the twentieth-century but were the most popular prior to 1850 (Chapman 1993:76; Golder Associates 2012:2). After 1850, slip-banded wares were only applied to the blue slip-banded varieties (Golder Associates 2012:2).

Slip-banded ware decoration can vary dramatically, which is the case at St. Joseph's College as well as among the rest of the sites excavated within French Prairie (Chapman 1993:33-243). Slip-banded wares at St. Joseph's College illustrate an

assortment of colors including blue, brown and white, with the decorative bands applied to either a yellow or a white earthenware fabric. Thirty slip-banded sherds, varying between five different design styles, were collected at St. Joseph's College (Figure 5.7).

One slip-banded, rim sherd found in Block N, representing one hollowware vessel has a white slip applied to the interior and exterior of the white earthenware body, and was then decorated on the exterior with the application of three thin, blue slip bands. Another design style included the application of reeded, thin, white and blue slip-bands, on the exterior of a yellow ware fabric. Five sherds were found in Block N, including a molded footring, believed to have been the base of a quart- capacity mug due to its overall form and relatively small, 3 ½ inch diameter (Slesin et al. 1997:124). One sherd was found within Test Pit O and Test Pit U, with another on the surface. Overall, four minimum hollowware vessels depicting the reeded, blue and white slip-bands were collected from St. Joseph's College.

The remaining three slip-banded ware design styles would often be the ceramics, mentioned previously, as falling under the generic design classification of mochaware. However, due to the lack of association with a dendritic decoration, these vessels will be referred to as slip-banded wares within this study. The first design style included seven sherds, all decorated with brown slip-bands on a dipped white surface and white earthenware fabric, and representing a minimum of four vessels. Five were excavated from Block N, one from Test Pit H, and one was on the surface. Next, a minimum of two hollowware vessels, one of which resembled a carinated bowl, were recognized from the overall eleven white earthenware sherds. All of the sherds were blue-slipped on the exterior with brown slip-bands added to the rim and base. Nine sherds were found within

Block N, while one was found in Test Pit I and one was on the surface. Finally, three light brown slipped-ware sherds were found, one within Test Pit U and two on the surface, and represent a minimum of two vessels.

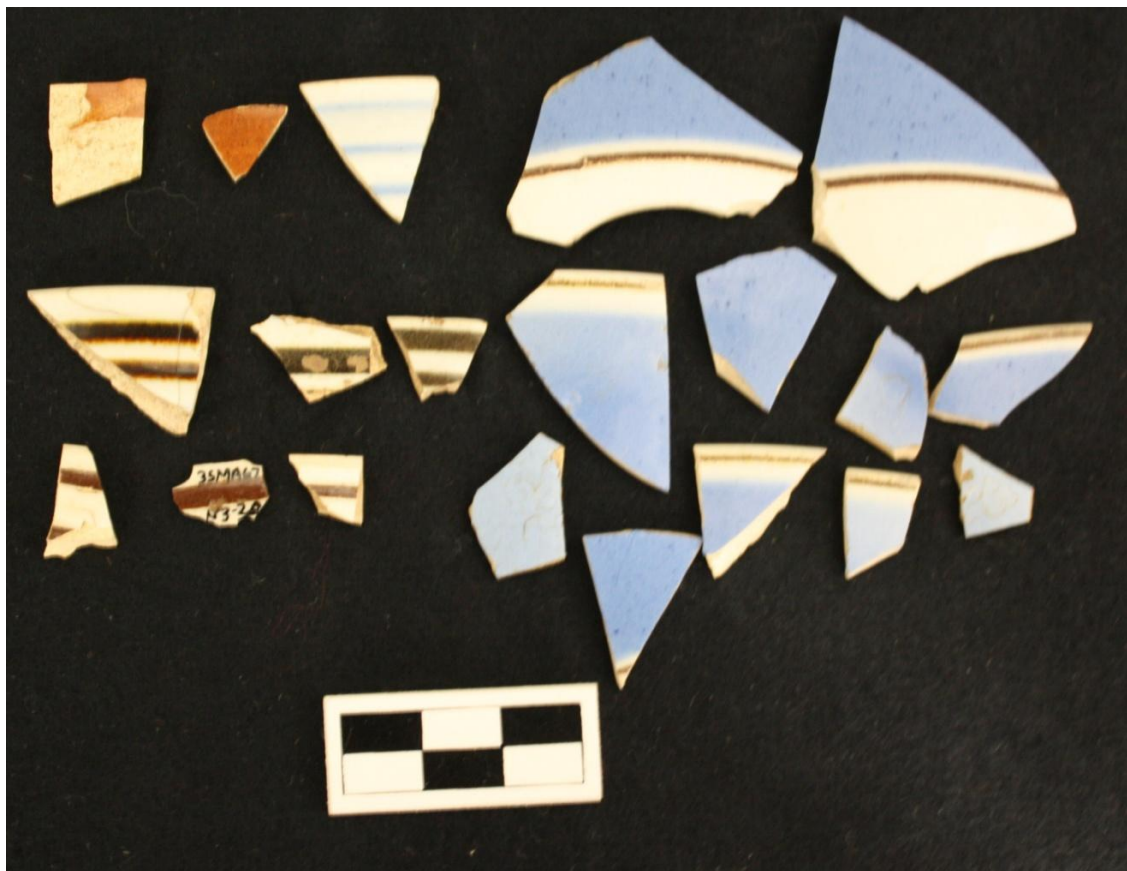


Figure 5.7: Slip-Banded Vessels

Slipware. As with slip-banded wares, slipwares are decorated with a slip, or a clay slurry mixed with water as well as a coloring agent (Rickard 2006:1). Although a rather generic term, slipware is applied to the three sherds listed here due to the application of a plain white slip to a thick, white earthenware fabric. Two of the sherds, collected from the surface and representing a minimum of one hollowware vessel, have a white slip applied to both the exterior and interior. However, the exterior of the base sherd, which measures nine inches in diameter, is bisque and further suggests that this vessel was utilitarian in

function. The other sherd, found in Test Pit H, depicts another minimum vessel, with the white slip applied to only one side of the vessel.

Hand-painted wares. Two types of hand-painted wares were collected from St. Joseph's College, polychrome floral painted and spongewares (Figure 5.8). Hand-painted polychrome floral motifs, applied to white earthenwares, are found throughout French Prairie including the site of St. Joseph's College. The term 'cottageware' is sometimes applied to these wares, which has several distinct colors including lime green, red, blue and black (Chapman 1993:75; Wilson & Langford 2011:48). English hand-painted wares were more expensive than edge-decorated, slip-banded and mochwares, but were cheaper than transfer-print ceramics, making them popular within the American market, especially between 1820 and 1850 (Chapman 1993:74).

Due to inconsistencies in the hand-painted designs, the minimum number of vessels was difficult to determine. However, efforts were made based on fragment thickness, form and the coloration and style of the decorative motif. Thus, among the twenty-five fragments, sixteen of which came from Block N, seven from the surface and one from Test Pits H and O, a minimum of ten vessels were identified. Two vessels have a similar pattern on the interior of the vessels, which includes large, lime green leaves, with red, round flowers attached to black stems. The decorative application of tri-petaled red flowers on black stems with small lime green leaves in association with blue flowers make up another pattern, which is found on the interior of a saucer. The rim of a hollowware vessel, possibly a cup, includes round blue and red flowers on the exterior as well as evidence of hand-painted decoration on the interior as well. The footring of a

hollowware vessel with a diameter of three inches and decorated with a red floral motif and band, was found on the surface.

In addition, two flatware vessels have different hand-painted patterns within their respective centers, with one depicting blue flowers and the other with a single, red flower. Four sherds, one of which is the handle (1.5 cm wide) to a hollowware vessel have been decorated with green leaves and blue flowers that are distinct in color and form from the other polychrome hand-painted vessels. Finally, two of the polychrome painted vessels could not be functionally classified, but did have different design applications than the other vessels. One sherd from Block N had included yellow dots, and two sherds, representing one vessel from the surface, had lime green leaves and black stems applied to the exterior of an unidentifiable vessel.

Another type of hand-painted ware that is easily recognized and simply named is spongeware. Spongewares were a cheaper alternative to the transfer-prints which dominated the nineteenth-century (McConnell 1997:28). Blue on white spongewares were the most popular, probably due to their relative similarity in color to the more expensive, blue transfer-print ceramics of the time (McConnell 1997:17-18). Both English and American potters manufactured spongewares, but it is recorded that American potters only manufactured blue on white earthenware, spongewares from 1850 until 1870 (Chapman 1993:79). It should be noted that although the terms spongeware and spatterware are often used interchangeably, all of the sherds collected at St. Joseph's College have been identified as sponge-decorated due to the repetitive nature of the applied designs, which would not be the case on spatter-decorated fragments (Majewski & O'Brien 1987:161).

All sixty-two of the spongeware sherds found at St. Joseph's College were within Block N. A minimum of ten vessels were recognized due to differences in sponge decoration and patterns, as well as vessel form and thickness. One vessel, comprised of six cross-mended sherds, clearly depicts a handle-less tea cup measuring 2 ½ inches in height, with approximately a 2 inch diameter. Three other vessels appear to also be similar hollowware vessels. The six other vessels included three hollowware vessels, possibly cups and three flatware vessels, believed to be shallow bowls or saucers based off of the one almost complete example.



Figure 5.8: Hand-painted wares: Floral Polychrome and Spongeware

Edge-decorated wares. Hand-painted, edge-decorated wares such as shell-edge and lined wares will be discussed separately due to their specific and easily identifiable decorative styles. Shell-edge wares, also known as feather edge wares, were first introduced in 1779 by Josiah Wedgwood and quickly became manufactured by other potters, with the style remaining very popular until about 1830 (McAllister 2001:13-14; Sussman 1977:105). Shell-edge vessels, made of white earthenware, typically had a

molded edge in a variety of styles including a scalloped-rim, creating a “ruffled” design, a scalloped-rim with embossed designs, or a plain rim with a repetitive series of slanted vertical lines (McAllister 2001:11; Sussman 1977:106-107). Typically, blue or green, but even brown, purple or pink underglaze slips could then applied to the molded-edge surfaces (Majewski & O’Brien 1987:149; Sussman 1977:105). Shell-edge wares were first produced in a variety of vessel types, but by the end of its period of popularity, platters with the blue coloration, rather than the green, were the dominant vessel type recorded (Sussman 1977:106;109).

A small number of shell-edge sherds were found at the site (n=4). Two cross-mendable, molded, blue shell-edge sherds were found within Block N and clearly make up one vessel. On the other hand, two molded green shell-edge sherds, representing a minimum of one vessel, were collected from the surface, which is interesting since the production of the green shell-edge is recorded as having been discontinued sooner than the blue (Sussman 1977:106).

Lined ware vessels are believed to have been first brought by the Northwest Company, as seen by the presence of such vessels at Northwest Company archaeological sites as early as 1812, and making this decoration type one of the earliest in the Pacific Northwest (David Brauner, personal communication, October 31, 2014). Decoration entails one hand-applied, broad band, in either blue or brown, on the edge of the vessel, which would have typically a plate (Sussman 1977:109).

Twenty-nine lined ware vessel sherds were recovered, all which were functionally classified as gustatory and all of which were from Block N. Eleven sherds had brown-edge decoration and represented a minimum of two different vessels. Two of the sherds

when cross-mended, comprised over half of the nine-inch plate including the entire center and footring (Figure 5.9). Evidence of hand-trimming could be seen on the edge of these sherds as well. Eighteen blue lined sherds were also found and a minimum of five vessels were identified. Due to the possibility of irregularities in band-widths on the same vessel, the minimum number of vessel counts was primarily based on the shape and thickness of the fragments.



Figure 5.9: Lined Ware Plate

Transfer-print Ceramics. Transfer-printed ceramics, typically white earthenwares and primarily illustrating blue underglaze designs, dominated the market during the nineteenth-century (Sussman 1977:108; Sussman 1979:9). English Staffordshire transfer-prints were especially popular in America and were primarily manufactured for the North American market during the years 1812 until the beginning of the Civil War in 1860 (Neale 2005:174). This process of underglaze transfer-printing was first invented in

Battersea, London in 1756 and was perfected during the early nineteenth-century (Neale 2005:14). During the transfer-printing process, ink, typically cobalt oxide is applied to a design which would have been engraved into a copper plate (Neale 2005:11). Tissue paper is then placed on the copper plate and pressed by a felt-covered roller in order to soak up the inked design (Neale 2005:12). The sized tissue paper is then laid on a biscuit fired, white earthenware and transferred onto the ceramic. Once the tissue paper is removed and the ceramic is dry, the vessel is then covered in a clear glaze and fired (Neale 2005:13). Transfer-prints can be distinguished from other types of decoration by the detail of the designs, made possible by the stipple engraved copper plate (Neale 2005:11). Transfer-prints are also characteristically monochrome in coloration, although it is possible to have the center and rim decorations differ in color due to the fact that these pieces of tissue would have been cut and applied separately (Neale 2005:13). These additional transfer-print colors were first introduced in 1829 but quickly became popular within the American market and included the following colors: brown, green, pink, red and purple or puce (Neale 2005:17;174).

In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company began purchasing transfer-printed earthenwares from the Spode/Copeland pottery, located in Staffordshire, England (Sussman 1979:8). Consequently, Spode/Copeland transfer-prints, recognized by the company name Copeland and Garrett until 1847, W.T Copeland from 1847 until 1867 and finally W.T. Copland and Sons, from 1867 onward, are now the most common type of tablewares and toiletwares to be found within early French Prairie archaeological sites such as St. Joseph's College due to the dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company within

the trading industry of the Pacific Northwest from 1821, essentially until the opening of the Oregon Trail in 1843 (Chapman 1993:16; Sussman 1979:9).

Although Spode/Copeland was the predominant manufacturer of the transfer-printed wares at the site, several transfer-print patterns manufactured by Davenport, W. Adams and Sons, T.J. and J. Mayer, J and M. P. Bell and Ridgway were also identified. Four hundred seventy-six transfer-printed earthenware fragments were collected from St. Joseph's College, making it the most abundant ceramic type, and representing 30.53% of the entire ceramic assemblage. Fifty-six were recovered from various test pits, 124 were collected from the surface and the final 166 were within Block N. The additional 130 were unidentifiable.

Analysis regarding the number of minimum vessels was typically based off of the sherds found within Block N due to the relatively small size and amount of fragments found in the other locations. However, when possible, vessels were accounted for within the test pits as well as on the surface. Forty-nine transfer-print ceramics (22.48% of all ceramic vessels) were identified, twenty-four were recognized as hollowware and twenty-five were flatware.

Overall, twenty-three patterns were recognized, six of which were not produced by Spode/Copeland. Patterns were primarily printed in blue, but pink, green, sepia and mulberry colored prints were also found within the assemblage. The most prevalent transfer-print patterns were *Camilla*, *Italian* and *British Flowers*, all of which were available through the Hudson's Bay Company and produced by the Spode/Copeland company (Sussman 1979). Table 5.7 depicts all of the transfer-print patterns found at St. Joseph's College in more detail.

Adelaide's Bower

The manufacturer of the sepia transfer-print recognized as *Adelaide's Bower* is unknown (Coysh & Henrywood 1982:17; Williams 1978:179). Four sherds, representing one flatware vessel were unearthed within Block N. Other examples have also been found at the Lucier, Belleque and Champoeg sites, making the possible date range of manufacture from 1830 until approximately 1850 (Chapman 1993:126).

B-772

Also found at the Despard and Laframboise sites as well as Fort Vancouver, the pattern recognized as *B-772* was produced by Copeland and Garrett as well as W. T. Copeland, circa 1839 and potentially after 1882 (Chapman 1993:176; Sussman 1979:65). One flatware sherd was found on the surface at St. Joseph's College.

British Flowers

The third most abundant transfer-print pattern type found at St. Joseph's College was the Copeland and Garrett and W.T. Copeland manufactured pattern, *British Flowers*. Produced from 1829 until well into the twentieth-century, the pattern included a variety of different floral centers (Sussman 1979:61). Thirty-eight blue-printed fragments were found in total, with nineteen located in Block N, eleven on the surface and eight within an assortment of Test Pits including I, K, O, P and U. A minimum of two vessels, one hollowware and one flatware, were identified within the pattern's assemblage. The flatware vessel has a scallop-shaped edge and the hollowware vessel includes decoration on both the exterior and interior. The Belleque, Gervais, Laframboise and Champoeg sites also included the *British Flowers* pattern (Chapman 1993:130).

Broseley

Similar to the Spode pattern, *Temple*, Copeland and Garrett, W.T. Copeland and Spode manufactured the pattern *Broseley* between 1818 and post-1847. Other manufacturers also produced this pattern due to its popularity during the nineteenth-century (Sussman 1979:63). Also of note, is the trademark design associated with the pattern, which is in the printed “Copeland & Garrett: New Blanche” style (Chapman 1993:130). Twenty-three sherds were found, with eleven in Block N, three among Test Pits H, K, and O and nine were on the surface. A minimum of four vessels, three of which were identified as hollowware vessels and one was a flatware vessel. A hollowware footring with the associated center, possibly belonging to one of the three identified vessels, was also found within the Block N fragments. *Broseley* is also found at the Champoeg and Lucier sites (Chapman 1993:130).

Byron Views

Copeland and Garrett manufactured *Byron Views* on dinner services in a variety of colors including brown, green, pink and puce (Coysh & Henrywood 1982:64). The border design was the same as Copeland and Garrett’s pattern, known as Byron Groups (Sussman 1979:68). The different views illustrated, were based off of the engravings in Finden’s *Landscape and Portrait Illustrations to the Life and Works of Lord Byron*, which was published by Murray in 1833 (Coysh & Henrywood 1982:64). The “Copeland & Garrett: Late Spode” trademark associated with this pattern was in production from 1833 until 1847, and records from the Copeland and Garrett factory state that it was no longer produced after 1868 (Coysh & Henrywood 1982:64; Sussmand 1979:69; 240).

In total, thirteen fragments were collected, seven of which were printed in pink, rather than blue. One pink sherd was found in both Test Pit H and M, and five were found on the surface. Four blue sherds were found on the surface and two were in Block N. A minimum of two vessels, one hollowware and one flatware, was found between the two blue sherds in Block N. Another flatware vessel is also possible as a result of the pink sherd count.

Camilla

Seventy-nine fragments of *Camilla* were collected from St. Joseph's College, making it the largest transfer-print pattern assemblage from the site. *Camilla* was first manufactured by the Copeland and Garrett company in 1833, and the pattern continues to be produced today (Sussman 1979:83). Forty-one fragments were within Block N, twenty-six were on the surface and twelve were found between Test Pits H, I, J, and U. A minimum of three vessels were recognized, all of which were scallop-edged flatware. Two vessels were recognized within Block N and one was of a noteworthy difference within Test Pit U. The *Camilla* pattern was also found at the Lucier and Belleque sites (Chapman 1993:132).

Chinese Flowers

Chinese Flowers was manufactured by during both the Copeland and Garrett and W.T Copeland company periods, circa 1815 until post-1847 (Sussman 1979:86). Two vessels were recognized among the fourteen fragments, nine of which were cross-mended into a hollowware vessel. Twelve sherds were within Block N, and included the hollowware vessel as well as a flatware vessel. One sherd was on the surface and another was within Test Pit H. It included a portion of an impressed Copeland and Garrett

trademark, which gives the sherd a date range of 1833 until 1847, the time period the trademark was in use (Sussman 1979:88). *Chinese Flowers* is a pattern also found at the Despard, Lucier and Champoeg sites within French Prairie (Chapman 1993:61).

Chinese Gardens

From 1834 until 1879, Copeland and Garrett and later W.T. Copeland manufactured *Chinese Gardens* (Sussman 1979:87). Three *Chinese Gardens* sherds were recovered from the site. The two surface fragments appear to be a flatware vessel, while the Block N fragment represents a hollowware vessel due to the curvature of the sherd and the presence of a transfer-pattern on the interior and exterior. The pattern is also found at the Lucier, Belleque, Despard sites (Chapman 1993:134).

Columbia

The *Columbia* pattern, manufactured by W. Adams and Sons was first introduced, circa 1840 (Furniss et al. 1999:56). It is found at Champoeg as well as the Lucier and Belleque sites (Chapman 1993:136). Seven sherds, six of which cross-mend and form the spout of possibly either a tea or coffee pot, were found within Block N. The other sherd can be recognized as the center of a small hollowware vessel, possibly a tea cup. The combination of the two vessels makes it possible that a tea set featuring the *Columbia* pattern was utilized at St. Joseph's College.

Crystal Palace

The transfer-print pattern, *Crystal Palace*, was possibly manufactured by J. and M.P. Bell, circa 1851 in honor of the Great Exhibition of 1851, which featured the Crystal Palace within Hyde Park (Williams 1978:247). Six sherds were found, two on the surface and four within Test Pits H (n=2), I, and G. The fragment from Test Pit I includes

the rim, as well as the top portion of a flared, teacup handle, which is similar in form to the handle on Spode's London teacups, circa 1812 (Whiter 1989:127). Overall, a minimum of two vessels, one hollowware and one flatware, was determined. *Crystal Palace* has also been found during excavations at the Lucier, Belleque, Gervais and Champoeg sites (Chapman 1993:136).

French (Radiating) Sprigs

The pattern known as *French (Radiating) Sprigs* was manufactured by Copeland and Garrett and W.T. Copeland, circa 1833 until after 1847 (Sussman 1979:116). One rim sherd of a hollowware vessel, printed in pink, was found on the surface. It has also been found at the Lucier site (Chapman 1993:140).

Fruit & Flowers

Fruit and Flowers was produced by Copeland and Garrett and W.T. Copeland, beginning in 1826, but was later registered under the pattern name *May* during the 1880s (Sussman 1979:121). One fragment was found on the surface of St. Joseph's College. It represents a hollowware vessel with decoration on both the interior and exterior.

Italian

Twenty-two sherds of the *Italian*, blue transfer-print pattern produced by Copeland and Garrett, W.T. Copeland and Spode from 1816 until the present day were found at St. Joseph's College, making it one of the more popular pattern designs within the assemblage (Sussman 1979:134). Five were within Block N, two in Test Pits L and H, one in both Test Pit O and J, with eleven found on the surface. A minimum of two vessels were within Block N, one hollowware and one flatware. One surface sherd was recognized as the center of a hollowware vessel due to the associated footring. *Italian*

was also a popular transfer-print pattern elsewhere on French Prairie, being found at Champoeg as well as among the French-Canadians at the Lucier, Belleque, LaFramboise, and Despard sites. The Methodists at the Willamette Mission also were found to have been using the Spode/Copeland pattern (Chapman 1993:144).

Lily

Copeland and Garrett and W.T. Copeland manufactured the pattern *Lily*, throughout the nineteenth-century. In fact, in 1894, the same border pattern was being produced but under a different name, *Chatsworth* (Sussman 1979:138). *Lily* was the second most abundant transfer-print collection at sixty-five total sherds. Twenty-six sherds were within Block N, ten were in Test Pits F, I, J, M, and O, and twenty-nine were on the surface. Eleven fragments were printed in sepia, but the rest were all in blue. One hollowware vessel is represented by the seven sepia fragments found in Block N. Three flatware vessels were found within Block N and another hollowware vessel, possibly a carinated bowl, was identified between the sherds found in Test Pits M and I. The Despard, Gervais, Belleque and Lucier French-Canadian homesteads as well as Champoeg, all have *Lily* patterned transfer-prints (Chapman 1993:144).

Macaw/Pagoda

The *Macaw* and *Pagoda* transfer-print patterns were produced by Copeland and Garrett and W. T. Copeland from 1838 until post-1872. Both prints had the same border, but with differing center designs (Sussman 1979:146). Two border sherds were found on the surface and could either represent a *Macaw* or *Pagoda* flatware vessel. Five sherds were found in Block N including a footring, possibly from a teacup, and depict part of the center decoration from the *Pagoda* pattern.

Non Pareil

The transfer-print pattern, *Non Pareil*, was produced by T.J. and J. Mayer from 1836 to 1838 (Chapman 1993:146; Snyder 1997:120). The pattern was presented in a variety of colors including green, brown, sepia as well as the popular cobalt blue, which is the type found on the surface of St. Joseph's College (Snyder 1997:120). The one sherd came from a hollowware vessel, possibly a cup based on the form of the fragment as well as the interior and exterior decoration. This pattern had not been associated with St. Joseph's College prior to this analysis, but had been found at the Belleque site as well as among the Champoeg collection (Chapman 1993:146).

Pattern 113

The four green transfer-printed sherds found within Block N and representing a minimum of two hollowware vessels were identified by Rebecca McClelland Poet as 'Pattern 113' (Poet 1996:65). One vessel, composed of two, burned sherds, depicts the footring of a tulip-shaped cup with decoration applied to both the interior and exterior. The actual pattern name and manufacturer remain unknown, but the dates of manufacture are hypothesized to have been between 1830 and 1850 due to the presence of the pattern at other French-Canadian sites including the Lucier and Laframboise homesteads (Poet 1996:65).

Persian Vase

Persian Vase was a pattern manufactured by William Davenport and Company, circa 1844. Although only three sherds were found at St. Joseph's College, the pattern is found at several other French Prairie sites including Champoeg as well as the Lucier, Belleque, Gervais and Laframboise sites (Chapman 1993:148). The sherds were found

within Block N (n=2) and within Test Pit M (n=1), and represent one potential flatware vessel.

Portland Vase

Portland Vase was only originally produced by Copeland and Garrett for a very short time period, from 1831 to 1833, due to the intricacy of the pattern and the difficulty in manufacturing (Sussman 1979:161). The dates of the ceramic do not match the period of occupation of the site, making it likely that the vessel had been kept elsewhere for a period of time before it was brought to the site. Seven fragments, four of which were found on the surface, while the others were within Block N, depict a minimum of two vessels. One appears to be a hollowware sherd and the other a flatware vessel. Sherds were also found at the Lucier site (Chapman 1993:150).

Rhone Scenery

From 1843 until 1855, Thomas, John and Joseph Mayer produced the *Rhone Scenery* pattern (Williams 1978:390). Four fragments were found within Block N, nine were from the surface and six were excavated from Test Pits H, I, and O, for a total of eighteen sherds. Two flatware vessels were identified within Block N, and two hollowware vessels as well as one flatware vessel were found in the surface assemblage. One of the hollowware vessels appears to be a paneled cup with differing interior and exterior decorations. All of the flatware vessels have scalloped edges. The fragments are all printed in mulberry. *Rhone Scenery* has also been found in the Champoeg collection.

Tyrolean

William Ridgway and Company produced the *Tyrolean* pattern from 1834 until approximately 1854 (Williams 1978:437). One sepia sherd, representing a hollowware vessel was collected from the surface of St. Joseph's College.

Venustus/Pattern 80

One sherd of *Venustus*, also known as *Pattern 80*, representing one hollowware vessel was located in Block N. *Venustus* was manufactured by William Davenport and Company between 1830 and 1850. It has also been found within other sites in French Prairies including Champoeg as well as the Lucier, Laframboise, Despard, Champoeg and Gervais French-Canadian homestead sites (Chapman 1993:160).

Willow ware

Willow ware dates from the 1780s until the present day and has been produced by a variety of different manufacturers including Copeland and Garrett and Spode (Sussman 1979:235). Twenty-seven sherds of the popular pattern were located at St. Joseph's College, representing a minimum of three flatware vessels. Twenty sherds were found within Block N, three in Test Pit U and four on the surface. Due to the pattern's popularity, sherds of *Willow* are found throughout French Prairie.

Other transfer-print information. Eight trademarks were identified within the one hundred and thirty unidentifiable transfer-print pattern designs. Two of the trademarks had partial prints representing the "Copeland & Garrett: Late Spode" trademark, dating from 1833 until 1847. One mark was partially impressed with the "Copeland & Garrett: New Blanche", which also was in use from 1833 until 1847 (Sussman 1979:240). Three other fragments included similarly printed partial marks and one included a partial

impressed mark. One trademark, found on the surface, was printed in green and said the following: “Nautica: Made In...”, it also had a pink tulip on the interior surface. English law required the words “Made in” as well as the country of origin to be added to all trademarks after the year 1887, dating this print to the post-1887 period (Kovel & Kovel 1986:231). However, further information regarding this pattern and trademark could not be found within the time period of research. In addition, one identifiable molded coffee or teapot top, printed in an unidentifiable pink pattern, was found within Test Pit H.

Flowing Colors. Transfer-print ceramics were also produced in ‘flowing colors’, meaning that the ink applied to the bisque earthenware ran outside of the engraved and transferred pattern due to the introduction of powdered chemicals within the kiln prior to firing, creating a smudged appearance (Neale 2005:135). Hand-painted flown wares, primarily flow blues, were first produced during the 1820s, but transfer-print designs soon followed in the 1830s (Chapman 1993:63; Neale 2005:174). Similarly to the colored transfer-prints, introduced around the same time period, the flow blues became especially well-liked in America (Neale 2005:174). Flown wares could also be produced in puce, mulberry and sepia (Chapman 1993:63).

Flow blue ceramics from St. Joseph’s College were primarily hand painted-stenciled designs, but one vessel with four associated sherds has a transfer-print design. Overall, one hundred and three flow blue sherds were found, and all were located within Block N. A minimum of eleven vessels was determined mainly off of differences in decorative patterns and vessel form. Three hand painted-stenciled patterns were also recognized, but are difficult to describe due to the uniqueness of the decorative elements, which are not found any else on French Prairie (Chapman 1993:63). Thus, this portion of

the ceramic assemblage demonstrates that the occupants of St. Joseph's College were purchasing or receiving goods outside of the typical Hudson's Bay Company trade networks.

The first pattern, made up of twenty-two sherds, several of which cross-mend and represent a minimum of three flatware vessels. Pattern two, had a minimum of four flatware vessels between the twenty-eight sherds. One vessel appeared to be a small plate or saucer, while the others appeared to be larger plates. Fifteen sherds comprised the third pattern and the one minimum flatware vessel (Figure 5.10). Finally, the fourth pattern is represented by the four transfer-printed sherds and make up one vessel, a shallow bowl. Two other hollowware vessels were also identified, both cups, with one exhibiting the handle point of attachment and the other including both interior and exterior decorative elements. However, the vessels were not placed within the pattern types due to their ambiguity. In addition, the vessel form and decorative pattern applied to thirty-two of the sherds could not be identified; and therefore they were not included within the minimum number of vessel counts.

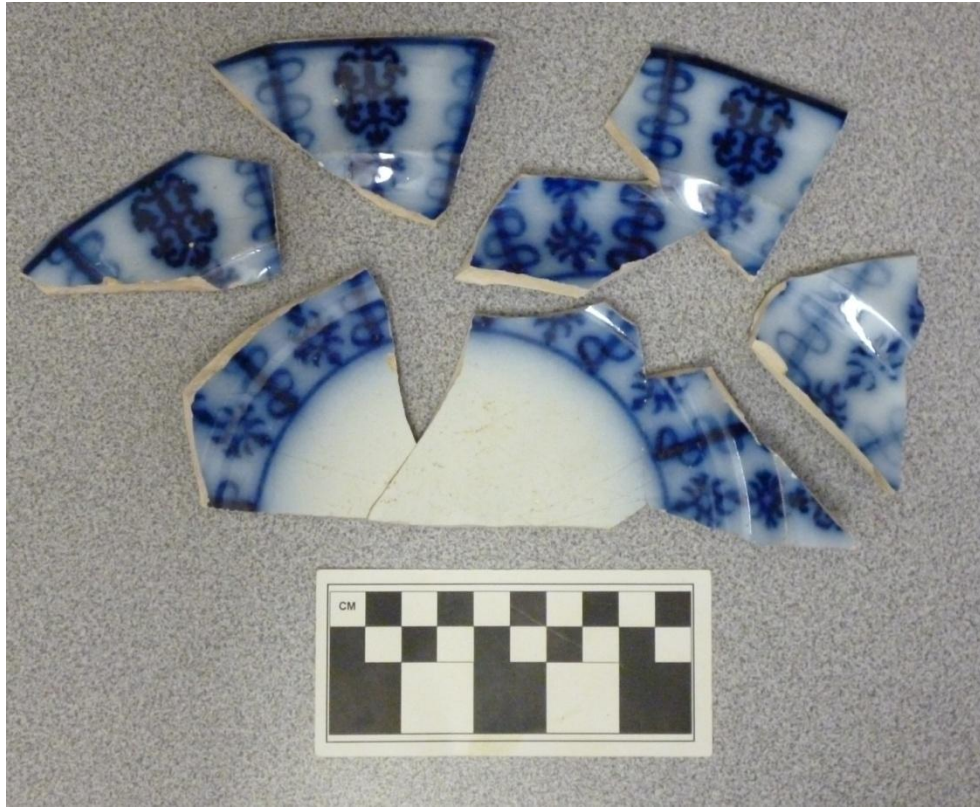


Figure 5.10: Flow Blue, Hand painted-stenciled Decoration Example (Pattern #3)

Other ‘flowing colors’ transfer-print ceramics include three mulberry sherds, representing one vessel, found within Block N. The hollowware vessel is a paneled, tea cup, approximately three inches in height. It depicts the *Cyprus* pattern, on both the exterior and interior rim as well as the base of the vessel. This pattern was produced by the English pottery manufacturer, Davenport, circa 1850 (Williams 1981:39).

Table 5.7: Transfer-print Quantities and Locations

Pattern	Test Pits	Surface	Block N	Total Quantity (Sherds)	Total Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Vessel Form: Hollowware /Flatware/ unknown
Adelaide's Bower	0	0	4	4	1	0/1/0
B-772	0	1	0	1	1	0/1/0
British Flowers	8	11	19	38	2	1/1/0
Broseley	3	9	11	23	4	3/1/0
Byron Views	2	9	2	13	3	1/2/0
Camilla	12	26	41	79	3	0/3/0
Chinese Flowers	1	1	12	14	2	1/1/0
Chinese Gardens	0	2	1	3	2	1/1/0
Columbia	0	0	7	7	2	2/0/0
Crystal Palace	4	2	0	6	2	1/1/0
French (Radiating) Sprigs	0	1	0	1	1	1/0/0
Fruit & Flowers	0	1	0	1	1	1/0/0
Italian	6	11	5	22	2	1/1/0
Lily	10	29	26	65	5	2/3/0
Macaw/Pagoda	0	2	5	7	2	1/1/0
Non Pareil	0	1	0	1	1	1/0/0
Pattern 113; Green Transferprint	0	0	4	4	2	2/0/0
Persian Vase	1	0	2	3	1	0/1/0
Portland Vase	0	4	3	7	2	1/1/0
Rhone Scenery	6	9	3	18	5	2/3/0
Tyrolean	0	1	0	1	1	1/0/0

Table 5.7: Transfer-print Quantities and Locations (Continued)

Pattern	Test Pits	Surface	Block N	Total Quantity (Sherds)	Total Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Vessel Form: Hollowware /Flatware/ unknown
Venustus; Pattern 80	0	0	1	1	1	1/0/0
Willow ware	3	4	20	27	3	0/3/0
Flow Blue	0	0	103	103	11	2/9/0
Cyprus; Mulberry; Flowing colors	0	0	3	3	1	1/0/0
Unidentified	34	65	31	130	-	-
Total	90	189	303	582	61	27/34/0

Porcelain. Porcelain is a translucent, dense ceramic ware, which is fired to the point of vitification (Gaston 1983:12; Majewski & O'Brien 1987:124). It can most often be identified based on the sugar-like texture of the fabric caused by the vitrification process. Fifteen sherds of plain white porcelain were excavated from Block N, with one sherd also found within Test Pit I. According to Teresita Majewski and Michael O'Brien (1987:164), porcelain is rarely left undecorated, meaning that these sherds are probably fragments of otherwise decorated vessels. However, a minimum number of vessel counts was determined based on the presence of several rim fragments within the undecorated porcelain assemblage. Therefore, of the sixteen fragments, a minimum of six vessels was identified. Fifteen of the sherds and all of the vessel counts were within Block N and one sherd was in Test Pit I. Three of the sherds were burned, but appeared to be part of a panel-molded, hollowware vessel. Two paneled, crisp white porcelain rim sherds comprised another hollowware vessel, possibly a teacup. One of the porcelain sherds was better identified as parian ware due to its bisque exterior (Lehner 1980). However, the functionality of the sherd could not be classified due to the unique shape as well as the

decorative additions including a series of molded flowers on what appears to be the upper and lower side of the vessel. The other three vessels were simple, undecorated rims of varying form and thickness, but were all associated with hollowware vessels.

Ceramics of Asian Origin. Three hundred fourteen ceramic sherds of Asian origin were found at St. Joseph's College, making it the third largest ceramic assemblage, in terms of sherd counts, from the site. Forty-two sherds were within Block N, sixty-four were within the test pits and the majority (n=201) were on the surface. The assemblage is primarily composed of thick, bisque-banded stoneware fragments, including a remarkable number of flatware footrings. However, one blue-grey porcelain teapot spout, the glaze color typical of Chinese export porcelains was identified among the Asian ceramic assemblage and may be associated with the seven other similarly glazed but cobalt blue hand-painted porcelain sherds of unidentifiable design, that were also found on the surface (Majewski & O'Brien 1987:128). Two bisque-banded bowls, which possibly served as rice bowls due to their six centimeter base diameters, with differing dark blue and green hand-painted exterior decorations were also identified within the collection (Dixon 2002:5) (Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.11: Interior of Bisque-banded Bowl of Asian Origin

The flatware fragments, possibly shallow bowls or plates, varied in body thickness, with some actually having footrings over one centimeter in height. The fragments were generally grey to buff porcelaneous, heavy-bodied fragments, with a light blue-green glaze. All of the footrings had associated bisque-bands on the interior of the body, which also varied in width. All designs were hand-painted and ranged in color from light blue to a dark blue-green slip decoration. One or two bands were typically placed around the exterior of the body and footring and center decorations were usually floral, circular or geometric motifs but differed greatly from fragment to fragment. None of the fragments included identifiable trademarks.

In order to determine the minimum number of vessels, many factors including fragment and footring thickness, bisque-band width and the color and style of decoration on both the interior and exterior had to be considered due to the large amount of variation

within the assemblage. Thus, the minimum number of vessels was determined based off of variations within the assortment of footrings, rather than including the assortment of body and rim sherds of varying decoration. Twenty-two flatware vessels were identified in addition to the two bowls and teapot discussed previously, making up 11.47% of the overall ceramic vessel assemblage. One of these vessels was cross-mended forming a plate with a footring diameter of 5.5 inches. The center features a flower painted in a green slip, and banding is present around the footring and exterior body (Figures 5.12 & 5.13).



Figure 5.12: Interior of Bisque-banded Flatware Vessel of Asian Origin



Figure 5.13: Exterior Footring of Bisque-banded Flatware Vessel of Asian Origin

Overall, this assemblage is significant due to the relatively large amount of fragments when compared to other ceramic types found at the site, and the fact that these types of ceramics have not been found anywhere else on French Prairie including known Chinese sites. During Poet's 1996 (82) research, Alison Stenger from the Ceramics Analysis Laboratory at Portland State University was contacted, and initially recognized these ceramics as being of Southeast Asian origin, possibly coming from either Vietnam or Thailand. In 2014, due to continued uncertainty in regards to the potential origins of the ceramics, Dr. Priscilla Wegars, the Research Associate at the University of Idaho's Asian American Comparative Collection, was consulted. Dr. Wegars identified these ceramics as Chinese-made wares, often manufactured for export to Southeast Asia (personal communication, March 28, 2014). The ceramics found at St. Joseph's College are similar to the Chinese blue-and-white tableware, known as "Kitchen Ch'ing", which also feature bisque-bands as well as hand-painted, underglaze folk art style decorations, hand-painted with similar colors (Dixon 2002:5; Poet 1996:82;84). Kitchen Ch'ing

ceramics are hypothesized as having been produced in China, most likely in either the Jingdezen or Minnan region, and progressively began to be found in Southeast Asia as Chinese emigration to the region continued over the centuries (Dixon 2002:5).

According to Gayle Dixon (2002:5), a former University of Idaho student, tablewares featuring bisque-bands, also known as stacking rings, which were commonly applied to mass-produced Chinese ceramics from the sixteenth- until the nineteenth-century, are relatively rare finds within the western United States, and differ greatly from the Chinese ceramics found within Chinese-occupied sites during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. However, these bisque-banded ceramics have been recorded at pre-1850 sites in North America, primarily in Mexico, but also within Spanish colonial/Mexican period sites in California (Priscilla Wegars, personal communication, March 28, 2014). Pre-1850 stacking ring vessels have also been found at archaeological sites within Southeast Asia (Dixon 2002:5).

Housewares and Appliances-Glass

Although the ceramics were categorized based on their fabric type or their decorative application, glass wares were functionally classified according to the vessel type identified. If a fragment was too small or otherwise unidentifiable the artifact was placed within the functionally unknown category. If the vessel form could be identified, but the possible contents were not able to be identified, the fragments were recorded within the functionally unknown category. Thus, the following glass vessel types were functionally identified as either culinary or gustatory.

Table 5.8: Culinary and Gustatory Glass Types and Quantities (Sherds/MNV).

Vessel Type	Test Pits	Surface	Block N	Total Quantity (Sherds)	Total Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)
Tumblers	0/0	1/0	3/1	4	1
Stemmed ware	0/0	0/0	1/1	1	1
Cup	0/0	3/2	0/0	3	2
Two-Piece Molded Bottle	0/0	0/0	7/1	7	1
Mason Jar	3/2	0/0	0/0	3	2
Totals	3/2	4/2	11/3	18	7

Tumblers are one of the most common forms of table glass found in archaeological sites (Jones and Sullivan 1989:143). At St. Joseph's College, only one hexagonal tumbler base and three paneled body fragments, potentially all pieces of the same vessel, were found. All but one was found within Block N, and it was on the surface. The tumbler has one inch, pressed panels tumbler, a tapered body and has a finished pontil mark on the hexagon- shaped base (Jones and Sullivan 1989:129).

One clear glass, plain conical, foot fragment was also identified within the assemblage (Jones and Sullivan 1989:140). The foot fragment, which has a two inch diameter, could have once been a part of either a stemmed drinking vessel or a dessert glass (Jones and Sullivan 1989:134).

One molded, clear glass cup body and rim fragment was recovered from the surface. Two plain, clear glass handle fragments, varying in coloration, and therefore, representing a minimum of two vessels, were also found on the surface.

A two-piece glass molded vessel was found within Block N (Jones and Sullivan 1989:27). The base of this vessel is a rectangle with flat chamfered corners and features the circular valve mark in the center of the base as well as the diagonal mold seam (Jones and Sullivan 1989:27; 102). This base type is often associated with condiment or sauce bottles (Jones and Sullivan 1989:27). Six other fragments were associated with the base due to its unique blue-green coloration as well as the presence of air bubbles in the glass.

Three jar fragments, representing a minimum of two vessels, were embossed with the following “M-PAT-NOV-185”, which if complete would actually look like, “ATLAS-MASON’S-PATENT-NOVEMBER-1858” (Lindsey 2014; Toulouse 1969:345). These shoulder seal jars were patented by John Landis Mason for canning due to the jar’s finish with a “vanishing lip” (Lindsey 2014; Toulouse 1969:342). Due to the 1858 patent date, as well as the jars’ location, found within Test Pit T, it seems obvious that these two jars were the result of post-occupational deposition.

Housewares and Appliances-Other Culinary

Two large, rounded, cast iron fragments were recovered from Block N as well as the surface. Due to the shape and the presence of a footring as well as a lip on the block N fragment, it seems likely that these fragments would have once been part of a nineteenth-century stove top. The entire base of the Block N fragment is present and it has a diameter of six inches.

Housewares and Appliances-Other Gustatory

Table Ware. Fragments of five table knives were collected from Block N. Three were blade fragments; one was the metal portion of a handle and another included part of the handle as well as the blade. Other gustatory items included a metal fork, which featured

three tines, as well as three spoon fragments, all representing different utensils were also excavated from Block N.

Maintenance and Tools

A variety of tools including chisels, a file and a gouge as well as a knife were found in an assortment of locations at the site (Figure 5.14). Test Pits I and L, as well as Block N, each contained the handle to a flat chisel within their assemblages (Richardson 1889:79). Typically, chisels were made for stone, metal or wood (Wendel 2001:45). A file was also found within Test Pit I. Block N housed a gouge, which would have removed wood in a circular plane rather than a flat aspect like a chisel (Wendel 2001:47). Finally, Test Pit H included a knife handle and blade, possibly either a drawknife or pocket knife due to the sharp angle of the handle in relationship to the blade.



Figure 5.14: Maintenance and Tools Assemblage

Architecture

Construction-Hardware

The most common type of construction-related hardware items at the site of St. Joseph's College are nails. Nails were identified within this research study based off of the field catalog records due to the deterioration of many of the nails since the time of excavation. If the nails still retained their integrity, efforts were made in order to beeswax the artifacts for preservation and curation purposes. The number of nail artifacts also increased since previous analysis was completed on the nail assemblage due to bulk-bagging practices.

Hand-wrought Nails. Hand-wrought nails were the most common type of construction hardware used and manufactured from the eighteenth-century into the early decades of the nineteenth-century. Both the head and shank were formed from a small iron rod, by the hand of a blacksmith. Typically, hand-wrought nails were shaped with roseheads or rosette heads, but broad "butterfly" or L-shaped heads were also produced (Visser 1997). Thirty-seven hand-wrought nails (1.7% of the entire nail assemblage) were located at the site. Six were found between the nineteen test pits, twenty-nine were within Block N and two were on the surface, including a clinch nail.

Machine-Cut Nails. Machine-cut nails began to first be produced in the 1790s, with the earliest versions still receiving hand-wrought heads. However, by the 1820s a more efficient and effective nail cutting machine was introduced, which was able to actually flip over the iron bar after every stroke, producing a tapered, cut nail. Machine-cut nails dominated the market throughout the majority of the nineteenth-century, primarily after

the year 1830 but were replaced in popularity by soft steel, wire nails during the late 1880s (Poet 1996:93; Visser 1997).

In total, 2572 machine-cut nails of varying sizes were recovered from the site, comprising 98.32% of the overall entire nail assemblage. Block N housed 2267 machine-cut nails, the surface included thirty-three, and the test pits had 272 machine-cut nails between them. One machine-cut brad was found within the collection as well. It is distinguishable primarily by its L-shaped as well as the equal thickness of the overall nail. These brads, which would have been used for flooring were some of the first types of nails to be produced by machine, beginning around the turn of the nineteenth-century (Pierson 2006:10).

Wire nails. Wire nails made of soft steel became popular during the 1880s due to technological advances which decreased the costs associated with soft steel production. In turn, the cost of the end product steel also decreased and made it an increasingly popular material within the nail production industry. By 1892, more steel-wire nails were being produced than the previously popular iron, machine-cut nails (Visser 1997). Seven wire nails were found, representing 0.27% of the entire nail assemblage, with two found within Block N, and the other five among the test pits.

Hinges. Five butt hinges were recovered, all of which were within Block N. All of the hinges were broken, but one fragment includes the entire center pin as well as one entire leaf. The leaf measures 7.5 cm in height and 2.5 cm in width and includes three vertically placed holes.

Miscellaneous. An assortment of other hardware artifacts was also found at St. Joseph's College. One brass rivet was found in Block N as well as four square washers as well as a

nut and bolt. A cast iron slide bolt and a cast iron door attachment with a row of horizontal holes, measuring 14 cm long and 3.4 cm in width was also found. In addition, a cast iron bail handle and attached plate (13 cm by 5 cm), probably once attached to a chest (Poet 1996:99). Two ferrous metal latches were within Block N as well, and a large metal hook was also located, but was on the surface of the site.

Construction-Materials

Brick. A total of 937 brick fragments were collected from St. Joseph's College, 28.72% of the materials assemblage. Six hundred forty-nine, 69.26% of the brick assemblage, came from Block N, fifty-three from the surface and 235 were located between all test pits, except Test Pit C and I. Since the social behaviors and spatial distribution of the artifacts were of primary concern within this study, the brick assemblage was not researched further than Poet's 1996 analysis. However, it is important to note that Poet (1996:91), only records the finding of one complete brick and a potential thirty-seven bricks with measurable dimensions. It is not surprising that almost all of the brick fragments remain as fragments within the collection due to the abandonment of the site and its construction materials during the nineteenth-century as well as the subsequent impact of agricultural disturbances.

Of note is the fact that the complete brick was shaped into a trapezoid as were some of the other identifiable brick fragments found, suggesting that they were not used as construction material but decoratively as facing or fire brick (Gurcke 1987:120-121). The complete brick was 2 1/8 inches or 5.4 centimeters thick and measured 7 11/16 inches (19.2 cm) along the bottom of the length, 6 1/8 inches (15.2 cm) along the top and had a 3 15/16 inch (9.8 cm) width (Poet 1996:91). The average thickness of the thirty-

seven measurable bricks varied from 1 14/16 inches to 2 ¼ inches, falling well within the dimensions of the average brick made during the 1840s (8 x 4 x 2 inches) (Chapman & Weber 1984:189; Poet 1996:91).

The bricks show evidence of having been manufactured via the sand-struck, hand-molded method (Gurcke 1987:16). The coloration and hardness of the bricks varied due to apparent differences in firing temperatures and possible clay origins (Gurcke 1987:28). However, in general the bricks within the St. Joseph's College assemblage were most likely manufactured with local clays from the Willamette Valley, as was the case at the nearby St. Paul Church, constructed with 60,000 bricks in 1846 (Harvey 1980:19; Schoenberg 1987:96).

Clear Flat Glass. Window pane glass typically found within the Pacific Northwest, especially during the early nineteenth-century was primarily supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was known to import their window panes from England. Crown glass was the predominant type of glass manufactured in England until approximately 1850, when the cheaper, cylinder glass method, already popular in America, began to be produced (Roenke 1978:116).

Five hundred twenty-three of the 2120 clear flat glass fragments were found within Block N. The surface included two hundred and seventy-two fragments and 1320 fragments were found within all of the test pits. The total amount of clear flat glass represented 64.97% of the architectural materials assemblage, with 62.26% of all of the glass fragments found within the test pits.

Rebecca McClelland Poet (1996:86) analyzed the primary mode of the window glass panes in order to determine the possible date range of the site. Her analysis was

based on the hypothesis that window pane glass increased in thickness over the course of the nineteenth-century, specifically within the Pacific Northwest was researched and supported by Karl Roenke (1978) through his analysis of window pane glass from fifteen historic sites in the region. However, the number of clear flat glass fragments has increased from the previous analysis as a result of the separation of previously bulk-bagged artifacts. Therefore, it should be noted that the previous primary mode window glass analysis completed by Poet (1996:86) may no longer be as applicable due to the addition of 1139 clear flat glass artifacts. The results of her analysis will still be included due to the fact that they could still be applicable. Thus, the window glass primary mode for Block N, analyzed by Rebecca McClelland Poet (1996:114) was 0.065 inches, while the primary mode for the surface and test pits was much different, 0.045 and 0.047 inches, respectively.

As a result, the possible dates associated with the flat glass from the various locations differs, with Block N dating to circa 1845-1855 and the surface and test pit portion of the clear flat glass assemblage dating to an earlier date, circa 1835-1845 (Poet 1996:115; Roenke 1978:116). The inclusion of window pane glass is recorded within the Sisters' *Liste des Objets*; and therefore, the archaeological record may include glass which was brought over later, in 1844 with the arrival of the Sisters (Poet 1996:138). This glass would have probably been manufactured in Belgium or The Netherlands, due to the Sisters' closer proximity to such production sources, rather than in England. This makes Roenke's suggested age range for primary modes of window glass thickness within the Pacific Northwest no longer viable due to the potential differences in the glass manufacturing process, which may have possibly impacted the glass thickness (Roenke

1978:116). However, if the glass was imported and purchased from the ever dominant Hudson's Bay Company, the presence of the later dating glass within Block N, the cellar, makes it possible that the glass panes were being stored for later use or represent additional periods of construction, after the original 1843 construction.

Wood. One hundred eighty-one pieces of wood were recovered from the site. One hundred sixty-nine wood fragments or 93.37% of the total wood assemblage were collected from Block N, the location of the cellar. Ten additional wood fragments were found within the nearby Test Pit U and two fragments were found within Test Pit E. During excavation it was recorded that the wood fragments within the cellar could be identified as cedar (*Cedrus*) (Nicholls 1986:77). Cedar would have been relatively easy to obtain due to its availability within the nearby Coast Range (Hussey 1967:3). For preservation and reanalysis purposes, the wood collected was first dried and then placed within foil for long-term storage.

Pigment. Twenty-five total remnants of three different pigment colors, red, yellow and green, were collected from St. Joseph's College. All of the examples were within Block N and two were associated or attached to wood fragments, making it likely that pigment would have been applied to the wooden structural components of the cellar.

Commerce & Industry

Currency

Coin. The one and only coin collected from St. Joseph's College during the 1986 and 1987 field excavations was an 1804 silver Spanish Real which was discovered on the surface, near Block N. Coins are a rare find on French Prairie due to the fact that trade was typically based on barter or credit systems (Wilson & Langford 2011:38). However,

contact with Spanish traders could have been likely, especially after 1829 when the Hudson's Bay Company began providing agricultural products to the Spanish missions located to the south (Hussey 1967:51).

The obverse side of the coin has the words "CAROLUS-III-DEI-GRATIA" and the date "1804" written around the center image which features the bust of this man, Carlos the IV of Spain, wearing a crown of laurel leaves (Not pictured). Meanwhile, the reverse side of the coin depicts the coat of arms of Carlos the IV below a crown and between two pillars (Figure 5.15). The coat of arms is divided into quarters with an illustration of a tower and then a lion placed above that of another lion and another tower. Written around the outside is the following: "HISPAN-ET-IND-REX", followed by "R-F-J".



Figure 5.15: 1804 Spanish Real; Reverse.

Agriculture and Husbandry

Buckles. Six ferrous metal buckles were recovered, all from Block N. Two were D-shaped (3.5 cm across and 3 cm tall), and two were square-shaped (2.5 cm across and 3 cm tall) (Grillo et al. 2014:10). All of but one of these buckles still had the tongue of the buckle still remaining (Grillo et al. 2014:8). One buckle was too deteriorated to analyze.

Staples. Three staples, probably used for fencing, were found at St. Joseph's College. Two were within Block N and one was on the surface. One was much larger than the others, 11.5 centimeters long with a width of 5.5 centimeters. One smaller version (2 cm) was still attached to a metal fragment. The surface staple was also made of cast iron, but measured 4 centimeters long, with a width of 1.5 centimeters.

Strapping. Forty-one distinguishable fragments of strapping of varying widths were collected from St. Joseph's College. One three centimeter wide, bent fragment from Block N measured approximately twenty-six inches in length. Another, four centimeters wide, featured three holes with a machine-cut nail still remaining in the third. Overall, the straps varied between 4 centimeters in width (n=4), 3.5 centimeters (n=1), 3 centimeters (n=1), 2.5 centimeters (n=9), 2 centimeters (n=16), 1.5 centimeters (n=6) and 1 centimeter (n=1). Strapping is typically associated with barrel manufacture, but other functions are also possible..

Unknown. Eight unidentifiable, fabricated metal stake-like fragments were collected from the site. Six are identical in form, and all feature intentionally cut diagonal edges, similar to tent stakes. Four appear to be whole, measuring 8 ½ inches, and two are broken fragments. Two others are also identical in form, and appear to be the frame portion of a mold.

Three other unknown metal fragments were also included within the Commerce and Industry category due to their inferred functional relationship. A twelve-inch, hollow handle fragment, possibly to a shovel or other farm equipment is one such artifact. A cast iron, four centimeter diameter ring was also found in Block N and believed to have been used functionally on the farm. Finally, an eight centimeter wide and twelve centimeter tall, oval band with the remnants of a metal attachment was also uncovered within Block N.

Transportation Artifacts. Three bolts, similar to those that would have been used on wagons or carriages, were found within Block N (n=2) and on the surface (n=1) (Adams et al. 1975:179). They varied in size and shape, measuring 2.5 inches, 2.3 inches and 1.7 inches in length. Two driving bits and one bridle bit are also featured within the assemblage, two of which came from Block N and one just off of the surface.

Hunting

Thirty artifacts were functionally classified in association with hunting. Twenty-six were all lead shot, with two actually identified as bird shot due to their small size. One of the lead shot artifacts was actually a molded lead cap, with a hole on the top and the bottom driven out. Two artifacts were .22 shell casings and one was actually .22 bullet lead. The final hunting artifact was a gunflint.

Manufacturing

Clinkers. The process of burning coal results in residual formations better recognized as clinkers. Clinkers are conglomerate masses of inorganic material, which appear as either partly fused with other forms of residual slag or as completely fused glassy blocks. Clinkers can vary in size, from small fused pieces to individual pieces weighing more

than one hundred pounds, due to the size of the furnace, from the method of burning or the amount of ash within the coal itself (Nicholls & Selvig 1932:27).

Five hundred fifty clinkers were found at the site of St. Joseph's College. No clinkers were found within Block N, and only three were found on the surface. Overall, 547 were found within all test pits, with the majority concentrated within Test Pit K (n=476), Test Pit P (n=64) and Test Pit L (n=7).

Group Services

Education

Slate and slate pencils. Slate tablets and pencils were often used for educational purposes during the nineteenth-century and are listed within the 'Liste des Objets' of mission items brought to St. Paul and recorded by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Concordia 2014; Poet 1996:137). Seventeen fragments of slate were located within St. Joseph's College. Nine fragments were found within Block N, four were located on the surface, and two were within Test Pit H and J (Figure 5.16). One of the slate tablet pieces from the surface has a straight, cut edge, rather than a beveled edge, which was common practice in order to fit the slate within a wooden frame (Poet 1996:98). Six slate pencil fragments were found in total, with five coming from Block N and one found on the surface. One of the fragments, made of dark black slate, was shaped in order to form a writing stylus. Two of the fragments are relatively large, measuring 3.8 centimeters and a dark gray slate, and the other 3.2 centimeters and a light gray slate, show evidence of both ends having been utilized.



Figure 5.16: Slate Tablets and Pencils

Unknown

Glass

Clear, amber and aqua glass fragments were also found at St. Joseph's College. A number of vessel types, with varying contents, were produced in each of these colors, making it difficult to functionally classify these fragments (Lindsey 2014). When possible, the basic form of the glass fragments was identified, resulting in approximately fifty-five bottles and seventeen jars. Several fragments included embossing in a variety of designs and phrases.

Two hundred six fragments of clear curved glass were recovered from the site. The test pits contained one hundred and nine of the fragments; Block N held seventeen and the surface had eighty fragments. Test Pit T included a finish with a flat, extract lip (Lindsey 2014). An oil finish was also found but within Block N (Lindsey 2014).

Eighty-one aqua glass fragments were collected and included a prescription lip finish (Jones and Sullivan 1989:93). Nineteen were within Block N and included a prescription lip finish (Jones and Sullivan 1989:93). Eighteen fragments were also on the surface and forty-four were located between all of the test pits. One fragment, found on the surface, was an aqua glass push-up which featured an open pontil mark scar (Lindsey 2014).

A modern, baffled bottle base, as well as ninety-two other amber glass fragments was found at St. Joseph's College. Fifty-three fragments were within the test pits, thirty-two were on the surface, with only nine actually excavated from Block N. Another fragment included embossed script, reading "uraglass", and probably represents an Owens-Illinois "Duraglass" bottle, which would have been produced after 1940 (Lindsey 2014; Poet 1996:56). The baffled bottle base, Duraglass artifact and low number of amber glass fragments found within Block N, just 9.6% of the amber glass assemblage, suggests that the site's amber glass assemblage may be comprised of more modern examples, rather than occupational period vessel fragments.

Six fragments of milk glass were found on the surface. One fragment is the body of a bottle and two of the others appear to have been a glass inner liner to a canning jar (Toulouse 1969:344). One piece of amethyst-colored glass was found on the surface of the site. The solarization of the glass to a purple tint is the result of the addition of

manganese, which was a common clearing agent in glass manufacturing from the 1880s until the beginning of World War I (Jones and Sullivan 1989:13; Lindsey 2014). In addition, three fragments of cobalt blue glass were located. Two were within Test Pit T and one small fragment was within Block N. Cobalt blue was one of the most popular colorants used during the late nineteenth-century due to its accessibility and was commonly used when manufacturing medicinal and cosmetic containers from the 1890s until the 1960s (Fike 1987:13; Jones and Sullivan 1989:14).

Overall, 229 pieces of glass were unidentifiable because they were melted or burned. Thirty-nine melted glass fragments were within Block N, 163 were on the surface and twenty-seven were located between the nineteen test pits.

Metal

The most common metal type within this category is ferrous metal. However, a small number of brass, lead and aluminum fragments also remained functionally unknown after reanalysis. Sixty-two of the unidentifiable metal fragments were located within the test pits. Fifty-eight fragments, in a range of sizes, were on the surface and 251 were unidentified within Block N.

Rocks

Fifteen rocks of unknown function were collected during excavations. Four of the rocks were on the surface, seven were within Block N and three rocks including one sandstone and one piece of chert were from Test Pit U with one was found in Test Pit T. Of the seven rocks in Block N, two were identified as agates, one as chert, another as quartz and another one was polished, with the other two remaining unidentified.

Miscellaneous

Faunal Remains

Two hundred one faunal bones were recorded within the 1986 and 1987 catalog. Due to extensive analysis by Hal Gard, an archaeologist with the Oregon Department of Transportation, within Poet's 1996 thesis (104-105), the faunal remains were not a focus of analysis within this study, especially since the bones have continued to deteriorate since the previous analysis was completed. However, the location of these bones, most of which were unidentifiable, but the recognition of some pig (*Sus*), cows (*Bos*), and deer (*Odocoileus*) bones was possible and should be noted (Poet 1996:104). One hundred eighty-four of the bone fragments were found within Block N, three were found on the surface and fourteen were located within various test pits (See Appendix A). Of these, one cow tooth was located within Test Pit U. Poet (1996:104) also notes that most of the bone fragments were exposed to some type of heat, either in an oxidized or reduced environment, with four fragments appearing to have been cooked. Eight of the bones included butcher marks and several of the long bones had long spiral fractures, possibly indicating the removal of the bone marrow (Poet 1996:104).

Lithics

A relatively small collection of lithic artifacts was found during excavations at St. Joseph's College. Seventy lithic fragments ranging in material from obsidian to cryptocrystalline silica (CCS) and including basalt and meta-volcanic rock as well were collected. A basalt hammer stone, a core trimming element, three core fragments and several flakes were identified by Poet (1996:103) within the assemblage. Thirty-four lithic artifacts were found between Test Pits A,B,C,D,E,F,G,J,K,O,P and U. Meanwhile,

seventeen were collected from the surface and nineteen were found within Block N including one projectile point. The dates associated with these artifacts remains unknown, but it seems likely that the artifacts could have been produced and used during the period of occupation due to the recorded presence of Native Americans and Metis at the St. Paul Mission for educational and religious purposes, with one Native American boy possibly enrolled at the boys' school itself.

Other

Gastroliths. Gastroliths are stones or pebbles, or in this case glass or ceramic artifacts, that have been ingested by an animal such as a chicken in order to aid in gastric digestion (Merriam-Webster 2014). They can often be identified by their small size, well-worn, rounded edges and smooth texture. Overall, nine gastroliths were recovered, all of which were found within Block N and possibly indicating the presence of chickens at the mission farm. All were made of clear glass, aside from one ceramic and one olive glass artifact.

Modern

A total of 135 various artifacts were determined to be of modern origins. This included the majority of Test Pit T and several surface artifacts including fifty-two modern clay tile fragments and pieces of a terra cotta drain pipe. Twenty-five of these fragments were unsurprisingly located on the surface. Two clay tile fragments were found in the plow zone of Block N, with the rest found in the upper levels of Test Pit B (n=3), E (n=2), H (n=2), J (n=1), and Q (n=3). Fourteen fragments of a terra cotta drain pipe were located within Test Pit T, which includes several other modern objects due to its location near modern developments and disturbances.

Chapter 6: Social Activities and Spatial Distribution Analysis

The links between past human behavior and material culture can be better explained through the implementation of a behavioral framework hypothesis, suggested by Lewis Binford's (1962:217) middle-range theory and Walter Taylor's (1983) conjunctive approach. When utilized in combination with Roderick Sprague's (1980) functional classification scheme, which places the artifacts in a functional and social context rather than a simple form, material or age classification system, the social experiences of the occupants of the site can be better interpreted and create a more accurate cultural reconstruction of the past (Chapman & Weber 1984:59). The addition of material culture illustrates the artifacts people actually owned, with functionality, signs of wear, high rates of disposal and large quantities revealing the materials that they actually used and interacted with on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, through the presence and pattern recognition among the artifacts within the archaeological assemblage, inferences can be made regarding human behavior, their social activities and potential activity centers within a site (Majewski & O'Brien 1987:174).

A suitable hypothesis regarding the overall site function would suggest that the St. Joseph's College would have operated primarily as an educational and religious facility. However, this hypothesis based off of the historical record, does not accurately reflect the archaeological record at the site of St. Joseph's College; and thus, demonstrates the importance of research involving archaeological excavations in combination with archival material (Majewski & O'Brien 1987:173). Instead, architectural material made up the majority of the assemblage with the site's role as a domestic homestead for both

the priests and boys enrolled at the boarding school serving as the primary site function (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Functional Classification of Artifacts: Quantities and Percentages

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum number of vessels (MNV)	Percentage within functional assemblage (sherd %)
Personal Items	428	27	4.22% of overall assemblage
<i>Clothing</i>	21	-	4.91%
<i>Footwear</i>	3	-	0.70%
<i>Adornment</i>	2	-	0.47%
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	5	-	1.17%
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	2	2	0.47% / 7.41%
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	74	11	17.37% / 40.74%
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	321	14	75.00% / 51.85%
Domestic	1616	235	15.95%
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Culinary</i>	64	31	3.96% / 13.9%
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Gustatory</i>	1190	204	73.64% / 86.81%
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	8	8	0.50% / 3.40%
Architecture	5914		58.38%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	2651	-	44.83%
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	3263	-	55.17%
Commerce & Industry	654	-	6.46%
<i>Currency</i>	1	-	0.15%
<i>Agriculture & Husbandry</i>	73	-	11.16%
<i>Hunting</i>	30	-	4.59%
<i>Manufacturing</i>	550	-	84.10%
Group Services	22	-	0.22%
<i>Education</i>	22	-	100%
Unknowns	1079	-	10.65%
<i>Glass</i>	693	-	64.23%

Table 6.1: Functional Classification of Artifacts: Quantities and Percentages (Continued)

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum number of vessels (MNV)	Percentage within functional assemblage (Sherd %)
<i>Metal</i>	371	-	34.38%
<i>Rocks</i>	15	-	1.39%
Miscellaneous	283	-	2.79%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	201	-	71.02%
<i>Lithics</i>	70	-	24.73%
<i>Other</i>	9/3	-	4.24%
Modern	135	-	1.33%
TOTAL	10,131		100%

Although some educational artifacts were located, specifically twenty-two slate tablet and slate pencil fragments, they only make up 0.22% of the overall assemblage of 10,131 artifacts. Most of the fragments (59.10%) were found within Block N. Figure 6.1 illustrates the spatial distribution of artifacts within the group services category.

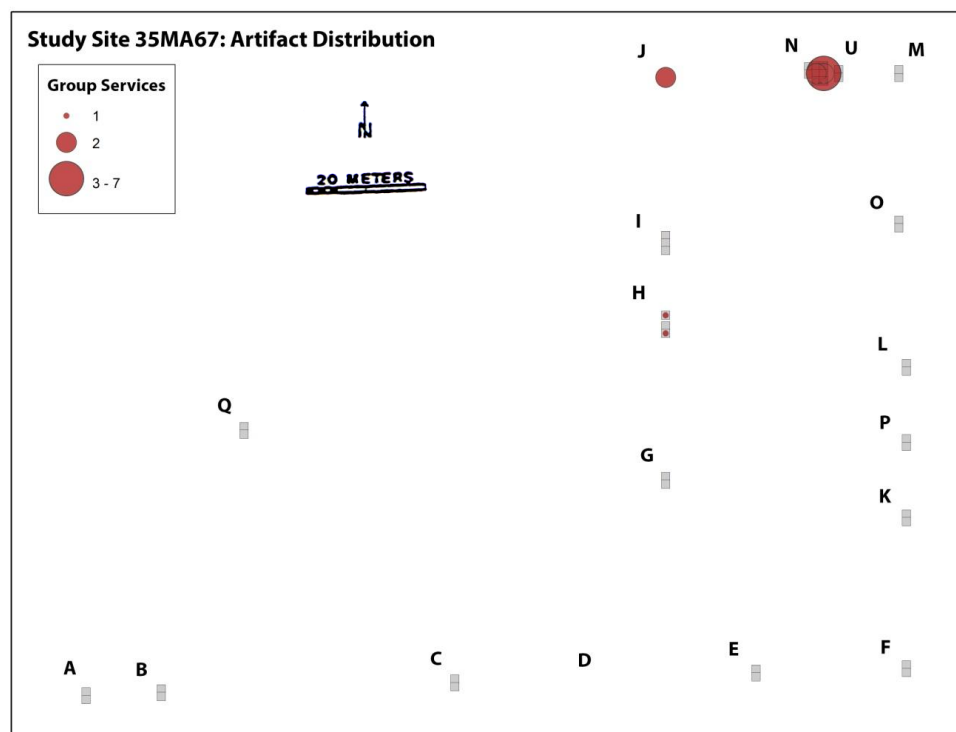


Figure 6.1: Group Services Spatial Distribution

In addition, no explicitly religious artifacts were found at the site, possibly due to the personal value as well as expense often associated with these items. Furthermore, religious items such as rosaries, crucifixes and religious medals are not common within the Fort Vancouver archaeological assemblage either (Wilson & Langford 2011:37). Yet, some religious artifacts have been found elsewhere on French Prairie. This includes the recovery of a brass crucifix at the French-Canadian Belleque homestead site, the home of one of the potential students enrolled at St. Joseph's College, as well as the collection of rosaries near the newly recognized location of the convent, Sainte Marie de Willamette (David Brauner, personal communication, October 31, 2014) (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2: Brass Crucifix found at the Belleque site, French Prairie

Functionally-classified domestic artifacts, representing the homestead aspect of the boarding school included culinary and gustatory ceramics and glass vessels, stove parts, tableware as well as household tools, and made up 15.95% of the overall artifact

assemblage, the second largest functional category. The majority of the artifacts (58.38%) collected from St. Joseph's College were associated with the architectural and construction-related, functional aspects of the site (Table 6.1). The overwhelming presence of architecture-related artifacts is not a surprise due to the fact that the majority of the collected artifact assemblage was recovered from Block N, which included the excavation of two architectural features, a cellar and a well. Historically, the site is referenced as having been occupied by a two-story structure, as is the ongoing construction of structures on mission lands including the brick church, Sainte Marie de Willamette convent and the St. Francis Xavier Jesuit mission nearby, all within the duration of the school (1843-1849). Many of these projects were overseen by Father Bolduc, the director of St. Joseph's College from 1844 until its closure in 1849 (Blanchet 1878; McNamee 1959:141). Therefore, due to the fact that the excavated site assemblage centered on the architectural features found within Block N in combination with the historical records referencing continual construction and structural additions, it is not entirely surprising that architectural hardware and materials would be recovered from every test pit and make up the majority of the site's assemblage. It should also be noted that artifacts within this functional category including clear flat glass and bricks are fragments and do not represent entire artifacts, meaning that the original quantity of complete window panes and bricks found at St. Joseph's College would be much smaller quantity and would not necessarily outnumber the quantity of domestic artifacts.

Yet, hardware items such as hand-wrought, machine-cut and wire nails comprised 26.17% of the overall assemblage, with construction materials like bricks, clear flat glass and wood making up 32.21%. Machine-cut nails, which would have been readily

available by the time St. Joseph's College was constructed, were the most common hardware artifact found, making up 97.02% of the hardware assemblage and 43.49% of the overall architectural assemblage (Table 6.1). Additionally, the machine-cut nails were primarily located in association with the architectural features in Block N as well as the extended Test Pits H and I (Figure 6.3). Meanwhile, clear flat glass or window pane glass made up 64.97% of the material assemblage and 35.85% of the architectural assemblage. Of note, is the fact that Test Pits H and I contained more clear flat glass architectural material than brick fragments, while the opposite was true within Test Pits J, U, M, O, L, P, K and F as well as Block N.

Architectural artifacts were the largest functional category to be found within the Block N assemblage (67.54%) as well as the entire test pit assemblage, making up 57.66% of the total test pit assemblage (Table 6.2). Appendix A: Artifact Assemblage Analysis breaks down the contents of each test pit even further, with Test Pits H and I having over 80% of their assemblages made up of architectural artifacts. Figure 6.3 demonstrates the spatial distribution of the architectural artifacts among all of the test pits as well as the density of architectural artifacts within Block N, making up 67.54% of the entire architectural assemblage (Table 6.3).

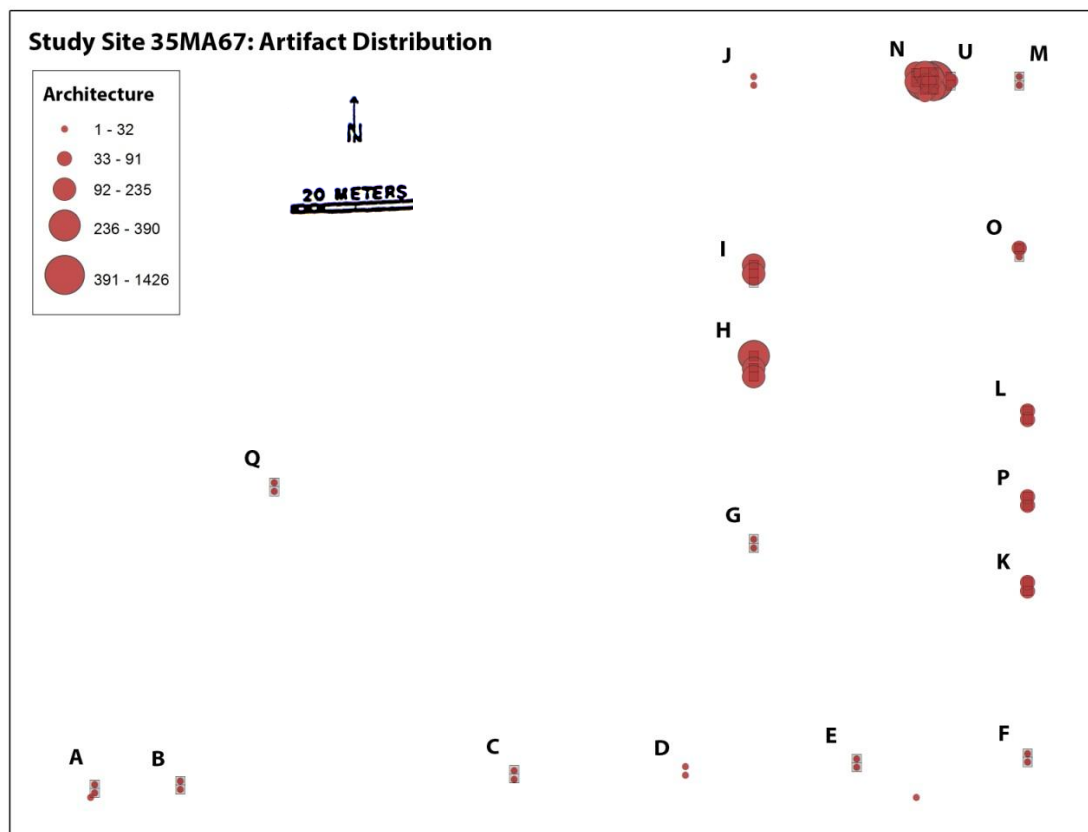


Figure 6.3: Architectural Assemblage Spatial Distribution

Table 6.2: Distribution and Percentage of Artifacts based on Assemblage Type

Category	Test Pits	% of Test Pit Assemblage	Surface	% of Surface Assemblage	Block N	% of Block N Assemblage
Personal	76	2.37%	102	7.02%	250	4.57%
Domestic	223	6.95%	535	36.82%	858	15.69%
Architecture	1851	57.66%	370	25.46%	3693	67.54%
Commerce & Industry	564	17.57%	4	0.28%	86	1.57%
Group Services	4	0.12%	5	0.34%	13	0.24%
Unknowns	362	11.28%	366	25.19%	351	6.42%
Miscellaneous	49	1.53%	20	1.38%	214	3.92%
Modern	81	2.52%	51	3.51%	3	0.05%
	3210	100%	1453	100%	5468	100%

Table 6.3: Distribution and Percentage of Artifacts based on Functional Classification Category

Category	Test Pits	% of category	Surface	% of category	Block N	% of category	Totals
Personal	76	17.76%	102	23.83%	250	58.41%	428
Domestic	223	13.80%	535	33.12%	858	53.09%	1616
Architecture	1851	31.30%	370	6.26%	3693	62.45%	5914
Commerce & Industry	564	86.24%	4	0.61%	86	13.15%	654
Group Services	4	18.18%	5	22.73%	13	59.10%	22
Unknowns	362	33.55%	366	33.92%	351	32.53%	1079
Miscellaneous	49	17.31%	20	7.07%	214	75.62%	283
Modern	81	60.0%	51	37.78%	3	2.22%	135
	3210		1453		5468		10,131

Although the architectural assemblage was dominant in terms of the artifact counts for the site, the domestic assemblage, making up almost 16% of the assemblage and including 235 vessels, more accurately represents the historically-referenced social context and activities which would have occurred at the site. The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur recorded their daily lives at the Sainte Marie de Willamette convent in great detail, with each day spent completing domestic chores in association with the education of the girls enrolled at their school (Gandy 2004:132; McNamee 1959; Manion 2014:140-141). Thus, inferences based off of the Sisters records due to a lack of historical information specifically pertaining to the daily experiences of the priests or boys at the school, contend that the priests would have also been engaged in primarily domestic activities at St. Joseph's College, rather than merely focusing on the religious and instructive duties of the school. This would have been especially true prior to the arrival of the Sisters in 1844, when the priests would have been responsible for all domestic chores and activities at the site including cooking, cleaning as well as clothing and house maintenance. However, after the Sisters' arrival some of the domestic chores such as

sewing and cleaning are recorded as having been completed by these women instead, but no reference ever states the Sisters ever were responsible for cooking for the priests and boys at the boarding school (McNamee 1959:142-143;163). Additionally, the archaeological assemblage at St. Joseph's College has been found to include a similar assortment of functionally-classified domestic artifacts as at other contemporaneous, domestic homesteads also located on French Prairie such as the Robert Newell Farmstead near the town site of Champoeg, but the similarities are primarily in regards to the culinary and gustatory artifacts, which would have been included within the domestic tasks that the priests would have been involved in on a daily basis (Manion 2014:129).

Two hundred and eighteen (92.77%) of the overall domestic vessels were ceramic vessels. Of these, holloware vessels made up 56.42% (123 vessels) of the overall ceramic vessel forms, with 40.83% (89 vessels) flatware vessels and 2.75% (6 vessels) remaining unidentifiable. Overall, 86.81% of the vessels within the overall domestic assemblage were recognized as gustatory. In stark contrast, culinary vessels accounted for 13.19% of the overall domestic assemblage. Transfer-prints were the largest ceramic type within the assemblage, making up 22.48% of the overall vessels, and are generally classified as gustatory or serving vessels. White earthenware (16.06%), stoneware (14.68%) and Asian ceramic (11.47%) assemblages followed in regards to vessel counts, with all but the stoneware vessels generally being considered gustatory in function.

Although the high quantity of serving vessels and lower number of culinary items could lead to conclusions that the preparation of food and cooking occurred less often or were of lesser importance as a social activity at the site, it should be noted that the more gustatory items could also be found at the site due to the location of the excavations with

the emphasis on Block N, which featured a cellar. The majority of the domestic fragments and vessels (53.09%) were located within Block N, with 65.96% of all ceramic vessels located here as well (Table 6.3; Figure 6.4). This would have been a likely location where serving vessels including the more expensive transfer-prints would have been stored, possibly even by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur after the school closed in 1849 and was reopened as a hospital for a short period of time in 1850. All of the tableware utensils (n=9) were also located within Block N, as was one fragment of the stove top. Thus, it is likely that the material goods recovered within the Block N excavations, especially the larger culinary and gustatory artifacts found within the lowest levels, were purposely deposited or stored by the occupants in this location due to its function as a cellar.

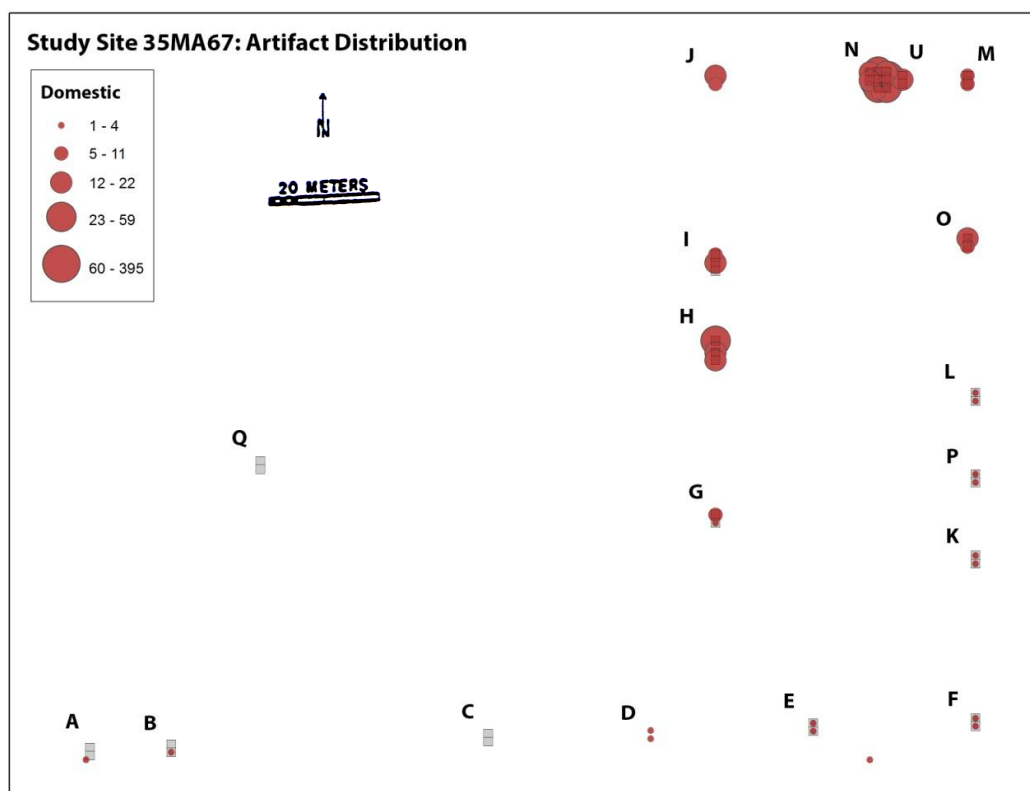


Figure 6.4: Domestic Assemblage Spatial Distribution

Additionally, even though Block N housed the majority of the domestic assemblage, domestic artifacts were actually the largest functional category to be found on the surface, representing 36.82% of the entire surface assemblage (Table 6.2). The maintenance and tools functional group actually had artifacts widely distributed throughout the site including artifacts in Test Pits H, I, L as well as the surface, with three of the eight total tools found within Block N (See Appendix A). Primarily woodworking tools, these artifacts included four chisels, a gouge, a knife handle, file and a possible draw knife and were classified as domestic maintenance tools due to their potential daily use around the home, rather than being classified simply as architectural tools.

It is interesting to note the location of the artifacts within the commerce and industry functional category which includes artifacts such as coins, lead shot, strapping, wagon bolts, as well as horse bits. In fact, the one coin found at the site, an 1804 Spanish Real, was found on the surface, near Block N, not within it. The majority of the listed commerce and industry classified artifacts, 86.24% of the entire assemblage, are distributed among the nineteen test pits. However, when the test pit assemblages are separately analyzed it is clear that a majority of the commerce and industry artifacts are clinkers from the manufacturing class, found primarily within Test Pits K and P, with the other commerce and industry artifacts actually found within Block N (Figure 6.5). Test Pit K contains 86.55% of all of the clinkers found at the site, with 11.64% coming out of Test Pit P, and none actually found anywhere else on the surface. Thus, it seems that the production of clinkers was localized to the area just southeast of Block N and may represent the presence of a forge. The presence of a forge would also explain the presence of several unidentifiable, hand-made metal artifacts as well as iron stock fragments found

at the site. Within the historical record, Father Point's 1847 woodcut illustrates the St. Paul Mission and does support the conclusion that a forge was located on mission lands, but the illustration places the large structure at a great distance from the boys' boarding school (Figure 2.9). However, it still remains possible that a smaller forge was present closer to the priests' operations at St. Joseph's College.

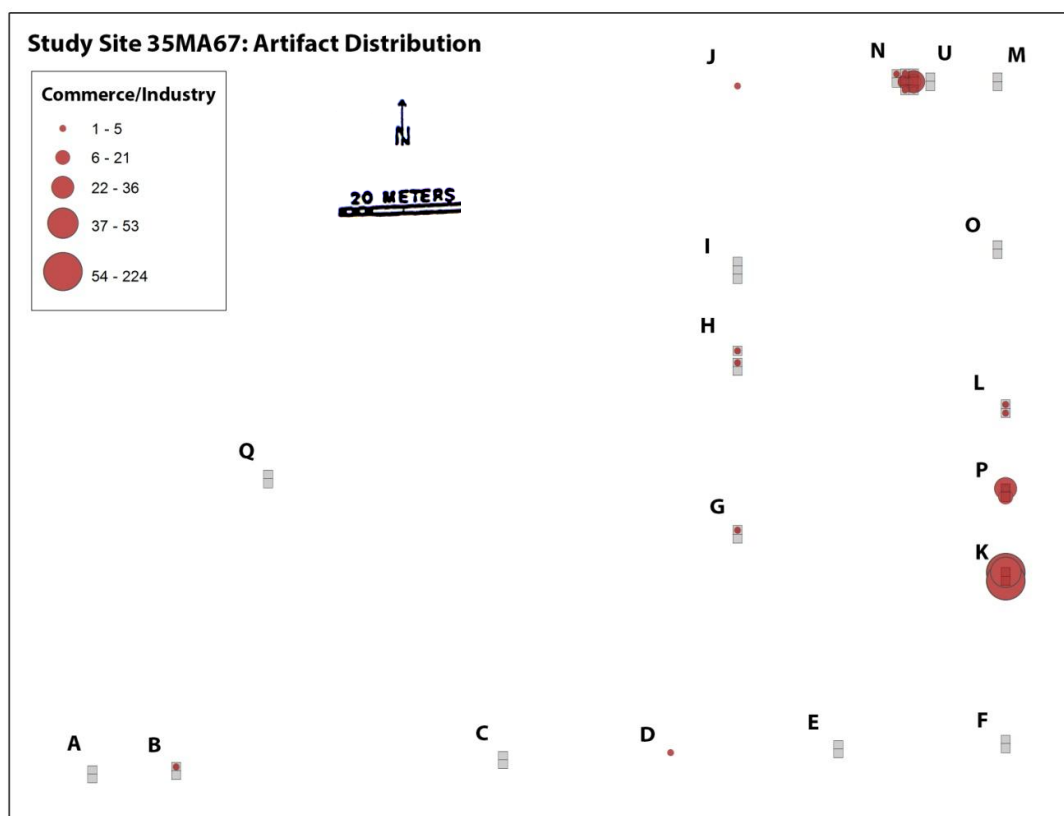


Figure 6.5: Commerce and Industry Spatial Distribution

The diverse assortment of artifacts within the personal functional category and making up 4.22% of the entire site assemblage, were primarily found within Block N (Figure 6.6). Some of the artifacts such as the cloth and leather footwear were more likely to be preserved and recovered because of their presence within the lower levels of Block N. However, these artifacts were probably originally placed within the Block N location

due to its original function as a storage cellar. The high percentage of olive glass fragments, 61.37% of the entire indulgences-alcohol assemblage, were located within Block N, and also supports the hypothesis that this would have been a storage and cold cellar, ideal for storing wine and other alcoholic vessels. Additionally, the miscellaneous category of artifacts including primarily faunal remains and some lithics, had 75.62% of the entire assemblage located within Block N. Butcher marks were evident on some of the faunal specimens, suggesting that the site's cellar could have functioned as a cold cellar due to its close proximity to the site's well.

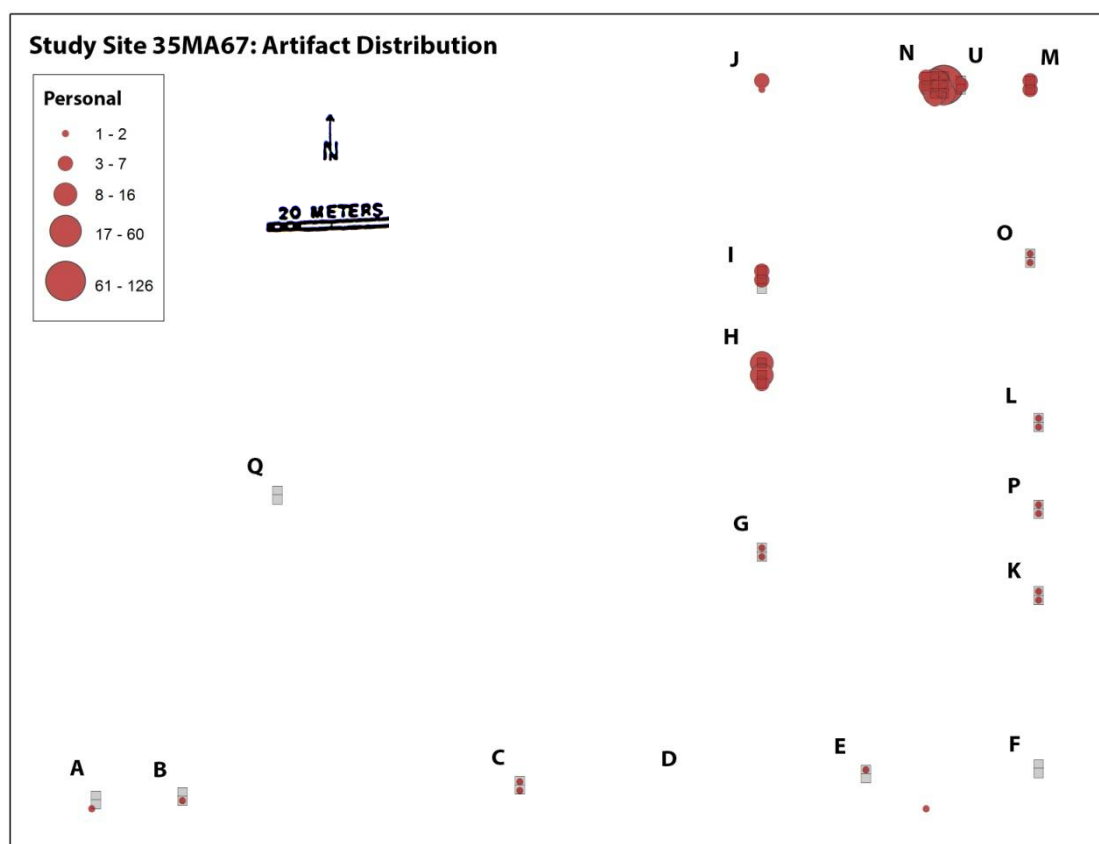


Figure 6.6: Personal Assemblage Spatial Distribution

Finally, modern artifacts were included within the analysis in order to understand the locations and levels of disturbance within the site. According to Poet (1996:39:114),

who was present during excavations, modern artifacts were absent below the plow zone (Level 3) within all excavations including the test pits as well as Block N. Similar results were found within the reanalysis of the assemblage. Only 3 modern artifacts (2.22% of the modern assemblage) were found within Block N and all were within the plow zone, ranging from Levels 1-3. Sixty percent of all modern artifacts were found within the test pits, primarily Test Pit T (37.04% of all modern artifacts). Just north of Test Pit Q and east of Test Pit H, was the approximate location of Test Pit T, which was recorded within the field notebooks as being just to the south of a modern barn, hence the modern artifact disturbance within these test pits (Nicholls 1986). Test Pit T is not located on the spatial distribution map (Figure 6.7) due to its relatively unknown location. Figure 6.7 demonstrates the other test pits that had a high occurrence of modern artifacts within their assemblage compositions including Test Pit A, B, Q, and H. The other 37.78% of modern artifacts were unsurprisingly located on the surface.

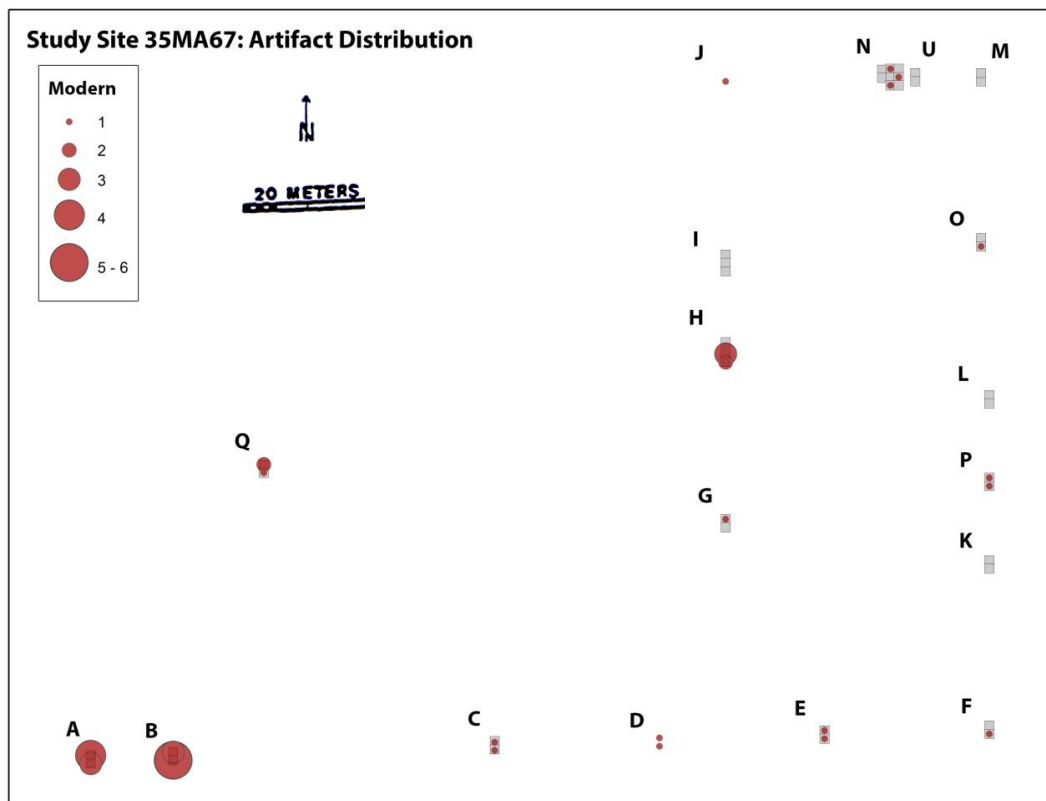


Figure 6.7: Modern Assemblage Spatial Distribution

The overall site function in association with the spatial distribution of the social activity centers of the occupants was better interpreted through the use of both the historical and the archaeological record as well as the application of Binford's (1962:217) middle-range theory and Walter Taylor's (1983) conjunctive approach. In this case, the historical record was needed in conjunction with the archaeological record in order to interpret the entire context of the site (Majewski & O'Brien 1987:174). Either source on their own would have left gaps within the functional interpretation of the site. However, when the historical context of the site as a boys' boarding school is applied as a behavioral framework in combination with the context of the archaeological excavations including information as pertinent as the primary location of the archaeological

excavations and the principal distribution of the functionally-classified artifacts, interpretations can be made which link the archaeological assemblage left behind with the probable social behaviors or activities of the past. Therefore, through the historical record, the site is known to have had an educational and religious function, but with the addition of the archaeological record, the domestic side of the site is also brought to the forefront, as is the architectural assemblage that includes hardware and construction materials in addition to significant features such as the cellar and the well.

Chapter 7: Consumer Choice Discussion

Consumer choice theory was applied to the archaeological record within this research study in order to better understand the daily lives and experiences of the occupants. As Grant McCracken (1986:73) emphasizes through his consumer research, material goods are just another form of social life in which culture can be clearly expressed. Thus, the artifact assemblage at St. Joseph's College was analyzed in order to determine if the consumer choice decisions made by the occupants were evident within the site's artifact collection, which clearly only makes up a mere sample of the potential site assemblage that still remains to be excavated (Cromwell 2005:5; Spencer-Wood 1987:2). The following factors such as socioeconomic status, market access, ethnicity, gender and ideologies like religion or aesthetics were evaluated in order to determine if they had a potential impact, if at all, on the occupants' consumer behaviors and selective preferences within the market economy present in the Oregon Territory during the nineteenth-century (Cromwell 2005:10; Spencer-Wood 1987:1).

This consumer choice analysis focuses on the socioeconomic status, market access, ethnicity, gender and ideologies that would be associated with Fathers Blanchet, Bolduc and Langlois due to the fact that the priests would have been the primary occupants responsible for selecting and supplying the material goods, especially the school supplies and ceramics, for the boys' boarding school, rather than the students enrolled. However, that is not to say that some of the material goods such as the personal items including buttons or shoe fragments, found within the archaeological record, could not have once belonged to the boys attending and living at the school. It should also be noted that some of the material goods within the archaeological record may have been

donated by some of the French-Canadian settlers in the area or provided by the boys' families as part of their tuition fees for attendance. Although there is no evidence of a tuition fee or list at the boarding school, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur do have a record of their tuition fee list among their journals, primarily requesting food stuffs rather than the selected material goods found in the archaeological record such as school supplies or kitchen wares (McNamee 1959:159). Thus, it seems likely that the priests would have requested similar goods if such a tuition fee did exist for the boarding school, leaving the goods that would have been selected within the archaeological record.

Socioeconomic Status

First, the socioeconomic status of each of the missionary priests' was researched in order to evaluate its potential influence on the archaeological record, primarily the ceramic assemblage due to records stating the expense of different types of wares (Cromwell 2005:7; Miller 2000). All of the priests that occupied St. Joseph's College at one time or another during the school's lifetime were born in and attended seminary school within rural villages in Quebec (Kowrach 1979; McGloin 1967; Munnick 1989:2). Very little information could be obtained about Father Langlois or Bolduc's families, but records show that Father Blanchet hailed from a particularly large family, the sixth of seven children, which made attendance at seminary school the best career path for a boy in his position at the time, and may have been the situation that both Fathers Bolduc and Langlois were faced with as well (Munnick 1989:6).

Also of note, is the fact that the Catholic priests at the St. Paul Mission primarily received funding through the donations made to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, with these funds usually reserved for the construction of more mission

buildings, as seen by the construction of St. Joseph's College (Carey 2011:126-127). Historical records illustrate Father Blanchet's letters to the bishop of Quebec, constantly requesting more funds as well as more missionaries in order to properly establish strong mission sites within the Pacific Northwest (Landerholm 1956:174). In fact, the St. Paul mission fell into incredible debt after the construction of the brick church in 1846, causing Father Blanchet to travel across Europe looking for funds (Blanchet 1878:154-157; Schoenberg 1987:96). Thus, the Catholic priests are not recorded as having been particularly wealthy men and would not have had disposable funds available to them, which is also reflected within the archaeological record.

The site includes a variety of ceramics representing numerous fabric and design types. However, the majority of these vessels (57.80%) are the ceramics of lesser expense within the nineteenth-century. The least expensive being creamware and white earthenware vessels (16.98% of the ceramic vessels), with mocha, slip-banded and slipware vessels (7.80%) priced just above the earlier vessels (Cromwell 2005:7; Miller 2000). Spongeware as well as edge decorated wares such as lined and shell-edge wares were also cheap vessels manufactured during the nineteenth-century (Miller 2000:91). The ceramics of Asian origin even demonstrate the Catholic priests' continual purchase of cheaper wares, as seen by the presence of the thick, heavy-bodied stoneware vessels with the addition of bisque-bands, evidence of mass-production (Dixon 2002:5). Additionally, only a small number, five vessels, were found which were made of the more expensive porcelain fabric.

Although transfer-prints would have been a more expensive ceramic type than the previously listed ceramics, within the sixty-one transfer-printed vessels, only one set was

possibly identified which included the tea or coffeepot spout and cup footring featured in the *Columbia* pattern. One tea or coffeepot top was also found within the transfer-print assemblage, otherwise serving vessels other than cups, saucers, bowls and plates were not readily apparent. Additionally, of the twenty-three patterns, only three patterns, *Broseley*, *Lily and Rhone Scenery*, have a minimum of more than four vessels. Thus, it seems that the more expensive dinner sets including as many as twenty serving vessels of the same pattern, were not being purchased by the Catholic priests, as seen in the archaeological record by the large variety of transfer-print patterns in addition to the lack of dinner sets within the ceramic assemblage (Sussman 1977:41). In addition, the majority of the ceramic vessels (56.42%) were hollowware, but over one-third of the hollowware vessels were made of the coarser, less expensive fabrics including redware, stoneware and yellow ware, indicating their probable culinary, rather than gustatory function (Adams & Boling 2000:116).

Another example demonstrating the socioeconomic status of the priests includes the limited number of ink well artifacts. Historical records demonstrate that both Father Blanchet and Bolduc would spend hours, possibly every day, writing in journals as well as writing letters to the Bishop of Quebec, reporting on the progress of their missionary work (Blanchet 1878; Kowrach 1979). Paper and pen were the main tools of correspondence within the nineteenth-century and would have been valuable commodities within the lives of the priests including Fathers Demers and Langlois as well, due to their expense (Concordia 2014). Thus, the limited number, just two fragments, first demonstrates that paper and ink would not have typically been used for

teaching purposes at the boys' school. Instead these ink wells would have been purchased sparingly as personal items due to their associated expense and value.

Therefore, it seems that the socioeconomic status of the priests presented by the historical records is an accurate representation. Consequently, the ceramic artifacts as well as the ink well artifacts, both of known expense, demonstrate that the priests' were purchasing more economical wares, rarely purchasing goods of higher expense. The priests may have been selecting cheaper, coarser wares as well as a variety of transfer-print patterns, rather than complete dining sets, as a result of the overall function of the site, as a boys' boarding school, which educated and housed approximately thirty students from 1843 until 1849. Yet, it seems that they were not concerned with their own status image within the community due to the presence of only a few, expensive ceramic vessels, in contrast to the much larger number of functional wares within the St. Joseph's College archaeological assemblage.

Market Access

Second, the market access and trade networks that would have been available to the Catholic priests during the nineteenth-century within the Oregon Territory were investigated in order to better understand their consumer decisions including whether or not the material goods found at the site were purchased simply because of market limitations or constraints. Within the Pacific Northwest, the Hudson's Bay Company was the primary supplier for goods such as transfer-printed earthenwares and tobacco pipes due to their domination of the market, as a result of the merger with their competitor, the Northwest Company in 1821 (Ross 1976:3; Sussman 1979:8). Fort Vancouver was the administrative headquarters and primary depot of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1824

until approximately 1845; and subsequently, became the main trading and supplies for settlers within the Pacific Northwest (Ross 1976:3). As a result, all goods purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company, which often included the newest goods that England had to offer, would have been the most available market choice within the entire region (Wilson & Langford 2011:52). In addition, Father Blanchet (1878:83) references having received bills of supplies for the St. Paul Mission, headed "Catholic Mission of Wallamette or of Wallamette falls", from the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company during the years 1839 until 1847. Thus, Father Blanchet's own contemporaneous accounts supports the fact that the material goods now present within the archaeological record would have primarily been supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver.

In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company began purchasing high-end, transfer-printed earthenwares from the Spode/Copeland pottery, located in Staffordshire, England (Sussman 1979:8; Wilson & Langford 2011:47;52). However, it should be noted that the Hudson's Bay Company did import ceramics from other English potters as well, including Adams, J.T. Mayer and Davenport transfer-prints, as seen by their presence elsewhere on French Prairie at the Champoeg site as well as several of the French-Canadian homestead sites. Therefore, the presence of the relatively large percentage of transfer-print wares, primarily manufactured by Spode/Copeland, at the site (22.48% of all ceramic vessels), would have been purchased in conjunction with the cheaper, coarser and typically hand-painted wares, due to the limited market within the Pacific Northwest, which would have reduced the variety of goods that could have been selected and purchased by the priests for use at St. Joseph's College.

Other material goods found within the archaeological record at St. Joseph's College that are recorded as having been imported and supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company include the British manufactured, Ford Stepney tobacco pipes (MNV=1) as well as the Dutch-manufactured, J. & G. Prince tobacco pipes (MNV=3) (Chapman & Weber 1984:92; Pfeiffer 1982:25-26; Wilson & Langford 201:72). At least one TD type tobacco pipe bowl, commonly found within the artifact assemblage at Fort Vancouver, was identified at the site (Poet 1996:57). Five redware tobacco pipe vessels were also recovered, but the origins of these vessels remains unclear, with at least one appearing to have been hand-made.

The dominance of Hudson's Bay Company supplied goods is evident, primarily within the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages at St. Joseph's College. Yet, twenty-five vessels or 11.47% of the ceramic vessel assemblage collected from the site were identified as having Asian origins. Eleven hand-painted, flow blue vessels (5.05%) seem to have been supplied outside of the Hudson's Bay Company. Both of these ceramic types are unique to St. Joseph's College. Additionally, a Spanish Real, dating to 1804 was also discovered, on the surface of the site. Also of note is the fact that both yellow ware and mocha ware ceramics began to be primarily produced by American manufacturers by the mid-nineteenth-century, making it possible that these two types of ceramics could have been produced in America, rather than manufactured in England and then imported by the Hudson's Bay Company (Chapman 1993:84; Rickard 2006:132). This combination of non-Hudson's Bay Company supplied goods led to further research regarding the potential trade networks associated with the site and its occupants in order to better understand the possible origins of these ceramics.

Trade Networks

Although the Oregon Territory during the nineteenth-century was seemingly isolated, globalized trade was actually prevalent within the region (Wilson & Langford 2011:70). By 1829, the Hudson's Bay Company began supplying agricultural foodstuffs to the Russian outposts in present-day Alaska and the Spanish missions to the south as well as to the Sandwich Islands (Hussey 1967:51). In fact, Valparaiso, Chile, was one of the most popular ports in South America for those trying to make their way to the Oregon Territory by sea including Fathers Bolduc and Langlois, and may be where the Spanish Real was acquired and subsequently brought to St. Joseph's College (Kowrach 1979:11). The priests' could have also had contact with the Spanish trading ships during one of their many visits to Fort Vancouver.

The Hudson's Bay Company as well as the British East India Company had established trade relationships with Asia including Southeast Asia during the nineteenth-century (Tarling 1966:97; Hurst & Allen 1992). In 1826, the Hudson's Bay Company founded a trading post on the Sandwich Islands, located in Honolulu and operated by the British Consul, Richard Charlton (Hurst & Allen 1992:13). Thus, by the time that St. Joseph's College was opened in 1843, the British trade networks were known to stretch from Asia to the Sandwich Islands to South America as well as to the Pacific Northwest, which then makes it possible that the ceramics of Asian origin could have made their way to at least the Sandwich Islands (Hurst & Allen 1992). Fathers Langlois and Bolduc spent approximately two months in the Sandwich Islands, after remaining in Valparaiso for two and a half months and sailing by way of the Gambier Archipelago in Tahiti, before they were able to get passage the rest of the way to the St. Paul Mission, and may have

purchased provisions such as the ceramics of Asian origin during their time in Honolulu (Kowrach 1979:11; Landerholm 1956:73-75). The Methodist missionaries are also reported as having purchased goods from the Sandwich Islands, although no Asian stoneware ceramics in the style found at St. Joseph's College were found at the Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission during excavations in 1980 (Chapman & Weber 1984:24).

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and Father DeSmet departed from Antwerp, Belgium in 1844 and also stopped at the Sandwich Islands, in addition to Lima, Peru as well as Valparaiso, Chile, which probably also had trade connections with Asia due to it being a common stopover for vessels coming by way of European and American cities such as Boston (Kowrach 1979:11; McNamee 1959:78-79). In Lima, the Sisters recorded that they had received provisions for the rest of the voyage from Madame Bosch, the wife of the Belgian Consul (McNamee 1959:90-91). The contents of these provisions is not explicitly stated within their journals, but could have included goods which would have been transported to the St. Paul Mission. However, the Sisters would have also brought provisions with them from Belgium, possibly including the distinct hand-painted flow blue ceramics, which are similar in appearance to the transfer-printed wares produced during the nineteenth-century by the Villeroy and Boch company, originally of France (Villeroy & Boch Group n.d.). It is possible that due to the close proximity of the convent and the boys' school, the continuous interaction between the Sisters and the Fathers, and the fact that the Sisters spent their first few weeks living at the school and essentially taking care of the structure after the school's closure, it is possible that some of the Sisters' original and acquired goods such as their ceramics

would have potentially been used during its period of occupation or even ended up being stored at the site after its closure.

In addition, from 1844 until 1847, Father Blanchet was absent from the Pacific Northwest because he was busy traveling throughout Europe, visiting Geneva, Marseilles, the French court in Paris, Lyons, Prussia, Munich, Austria, Aix-La-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, Mayence, Vienna, and eventually departing from Brest, Belgium, in order to raise funds for the Oregon missions (Blanchet 1878:154-157). Therefore, it is entirely possible that he actually brought back goods including the hand-painted flow blue ceramics or those of Asian origin to St. Joseph's College. However, it seems unlikely that the cheaper, bulkier Asian ceramics would have been transported for trade within the European market.

Another viable market, in which the priests' could select and purchase goods, became available in 1844 with the opening of Francis W. Pettygrove's warehouse in the town site of Champogeg (Hussey 1967:198). Pettygrove's general merchandise had been contracted through an American mercantile company from New England, rather than the Hudson's Bay Company (Orloff 2015). Yet, due to the close location of Pettygrove's warehouse to the St. Paul Mission, the Catholic priests reportedly traded and spent as much as \$12,000 to 15,000 dollars a year at Pettygrove's warehouse, which continued to be operated by him until 1848 when it was bought by Albert E. Wilson and David McLoughlin (Hussey 1967:198;356). Thus, it could be entirely possible that the identifiable, non-Hudson's Bay Company material goods found within the archaeological record at St. Joseph's College could have been selected for and purchased through Pettygrove's warehouse.

In the end, this research study has provided a better understanding of the market availability and potential trade networks within the Pacific Northwest during the nineteenth-century; even though conclusions regarding the origin of these two ceramic types have remained ambiguous within this research study. Although the Hudson's Bay Company was the main supplier of goods to those on French Prairie and the majority of those within the Pacific Northwest at the time, through the analysis of the archaeological record at St. Joseph's College, it is clear that supplies could be obtained through different trade avenues as well including Pettygrove's nearby warehouse. In addition, the priests occupying St. Joseph's College were able to travel quite extensively, even if the trips abroad could potentially last years, but making it an even greater possibility that they could procure artifacts from outside of Fort Vancouver for the mission's operations including the boarding school.

Ethnicity and Gender

Artifacts within the assemblage of St. Joseph's College do not clearly demonstrate the French-Canadian ethnicity of the Catholic priests as well as the students nor do they overly emphasize masculinity. One brass, four-hole sew-through button included a French phrase, "Au Vampire Confection." The origin of the button is unknown, but it is unlikely that the British-operated, Hudson's Bay Company would have been importing French buttons or clothing. Thus, the button may have been attached to a type of ready-made clothing, possibly pants, and was then brought from Quebec or French-Canada with either Father Blanchet, Bolduc or Langlois. Overall, the ethnicity of these French-Canadian priests and students just may not be evident within the archaeological record or may have been overshadowed by the limited market availability, which would have been

dominated by British-imported goods. The inclusion of comparative data from contemporaneous French-Canadian sites and homesteads in Quebec would help with any future studies attempting to interpret the archaeological record at St. Joseph's College in terms of French-Canadian ethnicity.

Yet, it should be noted that ethnicity did lead to some differences within the archaeological assemblages, as seen by the lack of transfer-print patterns recovered from the Willamette Station of the Methodist Mission. Overall, two Spode/Copeland patterns, *Broseley* and *Italian*, were found at both sites (Chapman 1993). However, unlike the Catholic French-Canadian priests, who were British citizens, the Methodists were primarily Americans and were supplied American goods in order to reduce reliance on the British-run Hudson's Bay Company (Chapman & Weber 1984:23-24;28-29;Poet 1996:108). Thus, religious affiliation did seem to impact the archaeological assemblages within French Prairie, as did political associations.

Evidence of any material goods which would have been preferred over one gender over another is not clearly evident within the archaeological assemblage collected from the site. All of the artifacts found at the site including items such as ceramics or hardware would have been utilized by the occupants whether or not they were male or female. However, according to Mollie Manion's (2014:129) Ph.D. dissertation research, which discusses the presence of women and children within the archaeological record at the Robert Newell House, certain functionally-classified artifact categories such as personal items (clothing, adornment, grooming and pastimes) as well as domestic (culinary and gustatory) artifacts can be associated with women and children due to historic research which has suggested that these are the categories most likely to reflect the activities

expected to be completed by women and children during the nineteenth-century. At the Robert Newell site, a variety of artifacts were identified as being associated with the women of the site, which in this case would have been Metis women (Manion 2014:158). Artifacts recognized as representing the women of the site included culinary and gustatory ceramics and personal items like baleen and tortoise shell hair combs, clothing buttons, trade beads, mirror glass, a perfume bottle, trade rings and small sections of leather boots (Manion 2014:143;158). Of the personal items, only two baleen hair comb fragments, twenty clothing buttons, which could have adorned male clothing as well and three mirror glass fragments were found at St. Joseph's College. Due to the fact that the women at St. Joseph's College were middle-class, Belgian Sisters, differences between the archaeological assemblages in regards to the recognition of women at each site is to be expected. Yet, the limited number of personal artifacts with linkages to female preferences and social activities, which were recognized at the Robert Newell site through the use of historic records, suggests that women were not the primary occupants of the site (Manion 2014:129). Therefore, the male occupants of St. Joseph's College, the priests, would have had to complete the domestic chores that reportedly would have been performed by a woman within a standard domestic homestead in the Oregon Territory at the time (Manion 2014:143). These domestic tasks would have included preparing and serving meals, and would have required the use of culinary and gustatory ceramics which evidently are found in abundance at the Robert Newell domestic homestead, known to have been occupied and maintained by women, as well as at St. Joseph's College, known to have been operated by Catholic priests (Manion 2014:143-157).

Education and pastimes are two social activities that are generally associated with children (Manion 2014:163). Artifacts within the archaeological record at the Robert Newell site that were interpreted as representing these children's activities included slate tablets and pencils as well as commercial and hand-made marbles and leather dolls (Manion 2014:164-167). Twenty-two slate tablet and pencil fragments were found at St. Joseph's College, and when placed in combination with historical documents which record this site as the boys' boarding school, it is clear that children would have contributed to the archaeological record. However, none of the games and toys artifacts found at the Robert Newell site were found at the boys' boarding school. Thus, the contents of the archaeological assemblage suggests that the boys were not bringing personal items such as games or toys with them to the school and also demonstrates that the priests were not selecting for or making such items. Since the archaeological collection is a mere sample of the site, it may also be possible that the activity centers containing additional children's artifacts including games and toys may have just not yet been excavated and collected for analysis.

In addition, approximately eleven tobacco pipe vessels were located within the site, as was a relatively large leather shoe sole and heel, and a small hunting assemblage. Although smoking tobacco was reportedly a social activity which crossed genders, especially among the Native American and Metis women, within the Oregon Territory, reference to such a social activity was not included within the extensive daily journals kept by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur during their time at St. Paul, nor was any mention made of the Sisters going hunting or shooting (McNamee 1959; Wilson & Langford 2011:84). Therefore, these artifacts which would stereotypically be associated

with male social activities, could most likely represent the male occupants of St. Joseph's College due to supporting information from the historical record or in this case, the lack of supporting historical information.

Ideologies-Religious Affiliation and Aesthetics

As discussed previously, zero religious artifacts were found at St. Joseph's College. However, religious ideologies may have influenced the consumer choices made by the priests, causing them to choose the more modest and subdued ceramics and material goods. The most common color applied to the wares found at the site is cobalt blue, but that was typical within the production of nineteenth-century transfer-print ceramics (Sussman 1979). With that being said, a wide variety of fabric as well as design types are actually found at the site, which makes any form of aesthetic preference for a certain type of ceramic unclear within the archaeological assemblage. Yet, the large amount of bisque-banded ceramics of Asian origin, unique to St. Joseph's College, could illustrate an aesthetic preference by the consumers, most likely the priests who would have been responsible for selecting the goods for the site, for the more durable, hand-painted stoneware ceramics.

In the end, it appears that the consumer choice decisions made by the Catholic priests occupying the site of St. Joseph's College were somewhat influenced by an aspect of each of the factors including their socioeconomic status, the market availability, their ethnicity and gender, as well as their religious ideologies and possible aesthetic preferences. The impact of the priests' socioeconomic status was potentially reflected within the archaeological record through the large quantity of the less expensive, cheaper ceramic wares for the time period in combination with the limited amount of more

expensive ceramics and goods. Market availability was clearly restricted to primarily Hudson's Bay Company British-imported goods. However, historical records suggested that goods could have been purchased from other merchants in the Pacific Northwest including Pettygrove's warehouse. The archaeological assemblage also made it evident that supplies could be reached through other trade networks as well, as seen by the presence of the distinct Asian and hand-painted flow blue ceramics.

Evidence of ethnicity within the consumer choice decisions of the occupants was only apparent through their consumption of British goods due to the fact that they were technically British citizens, even though they were French-Canadian. The high consumption of British goods is also skewed by the fact that the British-operated, Hudson's Bay Company limited the market within the Pacific Northwest. Gender was only able to be demonstrated by the absence of certain personal items interpreted as having been associated with women, in combination the lack of historical evidence suggesting that the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur would have been engaging in stereotypical male activities such as smoking tobacco or hunting (Manion 2014:158; McNamee 1959). Finally, religious affiliation and aesthetic preferences were not clearly evident within the archaeological assemblage at the site.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In conclusion, reanalysis has led to the placement of the archaeological assemblage of 35MA67 within its correct historical context; that of St. Joseph's College, the first Catholic boarding school for boys within the Pacific Northwest. Previous excavations had suggested that the site contained a distinct and intact artifact assemblage, which needed to be reanalyzed in order to remedy errors left behind by the previous researcher as caused by archival ambiguity, which suggested that the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur actually occupied the site for the entire duration of its history. Thus, further research included the identification and functional classification of the expanded artifact assemblage, of 10,131 artifacts, in order to better understand the daily lives and consumer decisions of the occupants including the social activities that were taking place at the site.

Functional classifications were identified down to the tertiary level and led to conclusions regarding the social activities and spatial distribution of the artifacts found at the site. Although the historical record states that the site's overall function was as an educational and religious facility, the archaeological record demonstrated a different view of the past. Education-related artifacts were found within the assemblage at St. Joseph's College, but the majority of the artifacts were actually architectural in nature. However, due to the fact that excavations centered on architectural features such as the cellar and the well, and inflation occurred among the architectural material counts including clear flat glass and brick due to fragmentation, the site's overall function was not found to be related to architecture either. Instead, with the aid of historical documents such as the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur's journals in combination with the archaeological

record, the site's overall function was interpreted as having been domestic in nature. St. Joseph's College would have served as a domestic homestead to the priests that ran the school as well as the boys that were enrolled. The priests would have been responsible for completing domestic chores such as cooking and cleaning at the boys' boarding school, just as the Sisters were responsible for such tasks at the convent. Thus, the functionally-classified domestic artifacts that have been left behind by the priests and now reside within the archaeological assemblage are truly representative material goods that the priests would have used within their daily lives and activities in order to survive within the Oregon Territory during the nineteenth-century.

Spatially, as would be expected, most of the artifacts were located within Block N, which also housed two architectural features, the cellar and the well. The square, wood-cribbed well was the first to be found on French Prairie. It is believed that the cellar was used as a cold cellar as well as storage location due to the fact that the cellar was placed in such close proximity to the well. In fact, even after the school's closure in 1849, the cellar could have been used by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur for storage purposes. Additionally, a high concentration of clinkers was found within Test Pits K and P, making it a likely location for a forge, which was recorded as being present at the site within historical documents, but was referenced to be in a different location. Also of note is the fact that the relatively small number of modern artifacts were all generally located within the plow zones of Test Pits A, B, Q and T.

Overall, the site's assemblage contained artifacts which fit within the lifetime of the school. Transfer-printed earthenwares found at the site were all produced during the time of occupation, aside from the *Portland Vase* pattern, which was produced sooner

and may represent a ceramic that was brought to the site from an outside source or donated by the French-Canadian family of one of the students. Additionally, Poet's (1996:86-90) window glass analysis supports the primary years of operation for St. Joseph's College from 1843 until 1849 and does not support the occupational period of the convent. Thus, making it seem even more pertinent for reanalysis to have taken place.

The consumer choice theory research and analysis that was applied to the archaeological assemblage at St. Joseph's College suggested that all of the following factors including socioeconomic status, market access, ethnicity and gender were at least somewhat evident within the archaeological record, even if it was minimal. Therefore, each of these factors could have influenced or impacted the consumer choices or decisions made by the occupants, primarily the priests, at St. Joseph's College. However, evidence of ideological influences such as religious affiliation and aesthetic preference remained unclear within the archaeological record.

In addition, the potential origins of two specific ceramic types found at St. Joseph's College as well as the potential trade networks that may have brought them to St. Joseph's College were researched as well. The two unique ceramic types, those of Asian origin and the hand-painted, flow blue ceramics, that were found at St. Joseph's College have not been found elsewhere on French Prairie. The distinctiveness of these ceramics indicates that the occupants had access to a different market or trade network than others residing on French Prairie. Unfortunately, the origins of the Asian and hand-painted, flow blue ceramics could not be pinpointed during the period of study. Yet, research provided information regarding the travels of the occupants of the site as well as

the possible manufacturing locations, markets, and trade networks that they priests would have had access to in order to purchase goods.

In the end, the settlement of St. Paul is historically significant because it was the first Roman Catholic Mission site in the Pacific Northwest. Innovative institutions such as St. Joseph's College, the first Catholic boarding school within the region as well as the Sainte Marie de Willamette convent were all established within the community.

Historically, the site of St. Joseph's College is notable due to its close association with influential figures such as Fathers Francis Norbert Blanchet, Antoine Langlois and Jean-Baptiste-Zacharie Bolduc, all of which were French-Canadian "pioneer" priests that made the long journey from Quebec to the Oregon Territory and played a prominent role within the initial development of the Catholic community at St. Paul as well as the Pacific Northwest as a whole. Yet, the site and the daily lives of its occupants including the French-Canadian priests as well as their students are left out of the history books, which has left the archaeological record with the task of filling in the historical gaps and presenting a better understanding of the lives and experiences of these men and children.

Archaeologically, the site of St. Joseph's College and its archaeological assemblage is unique to French Prairie due to the fact that the site includes a wood-cribbed well as well as a cellar, in addition to two types of completely distinct ceramics which may have been brought to the site via a different market or trade network than was typically available to the settlers on French Prairie. Even though historical records state that the site functioned as an educational and religious facility, the domestic aspect of the school is more prominent within the archaeological record, with the artifacts shedding light on the daily experiences and activities of the priests. Ultimately, the site is a

representative example of what nineteenth-century mission life would have looked like within the Oregon Territory, and provides future archaeologists researching in the area, an opportunity for comparative analysis.

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APPENDIX

Artifact Assemblage Analysis

Table A.1: Test Pit A Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit A Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	0	0 %
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	0	0%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	0	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	6	11.54%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	3	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	3	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	32	61.54%
<i>Glass</i>	28	
<i>Metal</i>	4	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	6	11.54%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	2	
<i>Lithics</i>	4	
Modern	8	15.38%
TOTAL	52	100%

Table A.2: Test Pit B Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit B Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	1	3.45%
<i>Clothing</i>	1	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	2	6.90%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	2	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	7	24.14%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	4	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	3	
Commerce & Industry	1	3.45%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	1	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	7	24.14%
<i>Glass</i>	2	
<i>Metal</i>	5	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	4	13.79%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	2	
Modern	7	24.14%
TOTAL	29	100%

Table A.3: Test Pit C Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit C Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	21.43%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	3	
Domestic	0	0%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	0	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	5	35.71%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	2	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	3	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	4	28.57%
<i>Glass</i>	3	
<i>Metal</i>	1	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	2	14.29%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	1	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	14	100%

Table A.4: Test Pit D Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit D Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	0	0%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	4	12.12%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	4	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	13	39.40%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	3	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	10	
Commerce & Industry	1	3.03%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	1	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	8	24.24%
<i>Glass</i>	6	
<i>Metal</i>	2	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	5	15.15%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	4	
Modern	2	6.06%
TOTAL	33	100%

Table A.5: Test Pit E Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit E Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	1	3.85%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	1	
Domestic	4	15.38%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	4	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	8	30.77%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	2	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	6	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	4	15.38%
<i>Glass</i>	3	
<i>Metal</i>	1	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	7	26.92%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	7	
Modern	2	7.69%
TOTAL	26	100%

Table A.6: Test Pit F Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit F Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	0	0%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	2	5.13%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	2	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	21	53.85%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	5	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	16	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	9	23.08%
<i>Glass</i>	7	
<i>Metal</i>	2	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	7	17.95%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	6	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	39	100%

Table A.7: Test Pit G Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit G Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	5.0%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	3	
Domestic	9	15.0%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	9	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	32	53.33%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	3	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	29	
Commerce & Industry	1	1.67%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	1	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	12	20.0%
<i>Glass</i>	9	
<i>Metal</i>	3	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	2	3.33%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	1	
Modern	1	1.67%
TOTAL	60	100%

Table A.8: Test Pit H Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit H Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	28	2.85%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	1	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	11	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	16	
Domestic	83	8.43%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	82	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	1	
Architecture	788	80.08%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	105	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	683	
Commerce & Industry	6	0.61%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	3	
<i>Hunting</i>	3	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	2	0.20%
<i>Education</i>	2	
Unknowns	69	7.01%
<i>Glass</i>	61	
<i>Metal</i>	8	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	3	0.30%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	3	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	5	0.51%
TOTAL	984	100%

Table A.9: Test Pit I Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit I Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	6	1.33%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	3	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	3	
Domestic	25	5.54%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	23	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	2	
Architecture	397	88.03%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	73	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	324	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	22	4.88%
<i>Glass</i>	21	
<i>Metal</i>	2	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	0	0%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	1	0.22%
TOTAL	451	100%

Table A.10: Test Pit J Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit J Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	4	4.04%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	4	
Domestic	19	19.19%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	19	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	46	46.46%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	6	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	40	
Commerce & Industry	1	1.01%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	1	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	2	2.02%
<i>Education</i>	2	
Unknowns	24	24.24%
<i>Glass</i>	21	
<i>Metal</i>	3	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	2	2.02%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	1	
Modern	1	1.01%
TOTAL	99	100%

Table A.11: Test Pit K Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit K Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	0.46%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	1	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	2	
Domestic	2	0.31%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	2	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	146	22.36%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	12	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	134	
Commerce & Industry	476	72.89%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	476	-
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	20	3.06%
<i>Glass</i>	7	
<i>Metal</i>	13	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	6	0.92%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	5	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	653	100%

Table A.12: Test Pit L Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit L Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	2	2.15%
<i>Clothing</i>	1	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	1	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	4	4.30%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	3	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	1	
Architecture	73	78.49%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	10	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	63	
Commerce & Industry	8	8.60%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	1	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	7	-
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	6	6.45%
<i>Glass</i>	4	
<i>Metal</i>	2	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	0	0%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	93	100%

Table A.13: Test Pit M Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit M Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	7	13.73%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	3	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	4	
Domestic	12	23.53%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	12	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	30	58.82%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	5	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	25	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	0	0%
<i>Glass</i>	0	
<i>Metal</i>	0	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	2	3.92%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	2	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	51	100%

Table A. 14: Test Pit O Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit O Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	1.79%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	1	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	2	
Domestic	25	14.88%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	25	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	134	79.76%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	23	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	111	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	4	2.38%
<i>Glass</i>	4	
<i>Metal</i>	0	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	2	1.19%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	2	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	168	100%

Table A.15: Test Pit P Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit P Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	1.59%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	1	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	2	
Domestic	2	1.06%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	2	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	112	59.26%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	22	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	90	
Commerce & Industry	66	34.92%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	1	
<i>Hunting</i>	1	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	64	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	4	2.12%
<i>Glass</i>	0	
<i>Metal</i>	4	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	1	0.53%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	1	
Modern	1	0.53%
TOTAL	189	100%

Table A.16: Test Pit Q Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit Q Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	0	0%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	0	
Domestic	0	0%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	0	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	6	54.55%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	1	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	5	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	2	18.18%
<i>Glass</i>	2	
<i>Metal</i>	0	
<i>Rocks</i>	0	
Miscellaneous	0	0%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	3	27.27%
TOTAL	11	100%

Table A.17: Test Pit T Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit T Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	9	5.24%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	1	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	8	
Domestic	8	4.65%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	8	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	6	3.49%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	0	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	6	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	99	57.56%
<i>Glass</i>	89	
<i>Metal</i>	9	
<i>Rocks</i>	1	
Miscellaneous	0	0%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	0	
<i>Lithics</i>	0	
Modern	50	29.07%
TOTAL	172	100%

Table A.18: Test Pit U Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Percentage of Test Pit U Assemblage (%)
Personal Items	3	3.49%
<i>Clothing</i>	0	
<i>Footwear</i>	0	
<i>Adornment</i>	0	
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	0	
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	2	
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	1	
Domestic	22	25.28%
<i>Housewares & Appliances</i>	22	
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	0	
Architecture	46	53.49%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	19	
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	27	
Commerce & Industry	0	0%
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	0	
<i>Hunting</i>	0	
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	
Group Services	0	0%
<i>Education</i>	0	
Unknowns	13	15.12%
<i>Glass</i>	6	
<i>Metal</i>	4	
<i>Rocks</i>	3	
Miscellaneous	2	2.33%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	1	
<i>Lithics</i>	1	
Modern	0	0%
TOTAL	86	100%

Table A.19: Surface Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Percentage of Surface Assemblage (Sherd %)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (Sherd %)
Personal Items	102	-	7.02%	1.01%
<i>Clothing</i>	2	-		
<i>Footwear</i>	0	-		
<i>Adornment</i>	0	-		
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	1	-		
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	0	-		
<i>Indulgences-Tobacco</i>	24	-		
<i>Indulgences-Alcohol</i>	75	2		
Domestic	535	48	36.82%	5.28%
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Culinary</i>	16	9		
<i>Housewares & Appliances-Gustatory</i>	518	39		
<i>Maintenance & Tools</i>	1	1		
Architecture	370	-	25.46%	3.63%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	42	-		
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	328	-		
Commerce & Industry	4	-	0.28%	0.04%
<i>Currency</i>	1	-		
<i>Ag. & Husbandry</i>	0	-		
<i>Hunting</i>	0	-		
<i>Manufacturing</i>	3	-		
Group Services	5	-	0.34%	0.05%
<i>Education</i>	5	-		
Unknowns	366	-	25.20%	3.61%
<i>Glass</i>	305	-		

Table A.19: Surface Artifact Assemblage (Continued)

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Percentage of Surface Assemblage (Sherd %)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (Sherd %)
<i>Metal</i>	57	-		
<i>Rocks</i>	4	-		
Miscellaneous	20	-	1.38%	0.20%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	3	-		
<i>Lithics</i>	17	-		
Modern	51	-	3.51%	0.50%
TOTAL	1453		100%	14.34%

Table A.20: Block N Artifact Assemblage

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Percentage of Block N Assemblage (Sherd %)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (Sherd %)
Personal Items	250	11	4.57%	2.47%
<i>Clothing</i>	17	-		
<i>Footwear</i>	3	-		
<i>Adornment</i>	2	-		
<i>Body Ritual & Grooming</i>	2	-		
<i>Pastimes & Recreation</i>	2	2		
<i>Indulgence-tobacco</i>	27	-		
<i>Indulgence-alcohol</i>	197	9		
Domestic	858	136	15.70%	8.47%
<i>Culinary</i>	41	13		
<i>Gustatory</i>	814	120		
<i>Tools</i>	3	3		
Architecture	3693	-	67.54%	36.45%
<i>Construction-Hardware</i>	1367	-		
<i>Construction-Materials</i>	2326	-		
Commerce & Industry	86		1.57%	0.85%
<i>Currency</i>	0			
<i>Ag & Husbandry</i>	61			
<i>Hunting</i>	25			
<i>Manufacturing</i>	0	-		
Group Services	13	-	0.24%	0.13%
<i>Education</i>	13	-		
Unknowns	351	-	6.42%	3.46%
<i>Glass</i>	93	-		
<i>Metal</i>	251	-		
<i>Rocks</i>	7	-		
Miscellaneous	214	-	3.91%	2.11%
<i>Faunal Remains</i>	184	-		

Table A.20: Block N Artifact Assemblage (Continued)

Functional Classification	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Percentage of Block N Assemblage (Sherd %)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (Sherd %)
<i>Lithics</i>	19	-		
<i>Gastroliths</i>	9	-		
Modern	3	-	0.05%	0.03%
Totals	5468		100%	53.97%

Table A.21: Block N Domestic Artifact Quantities

Fabric/Design	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Vessel Form: Hollowware/Flatware/Unknown
Adelaide's Bower	4	1	0/1/0
B-772	0	0	0/0/0
British Flowers	19	2	1/1/0
Broseley	11	4	3/1/0
Byron Views	2	2	1/1/0
Camilla	41	2	0/2/0
Chinese Flowers	12	2	1/1/0
Chinese Gardens	1	1	1/0/0
Columbia	7	2	2/0/0
Crystal Palace	0	0	0/0/0
French (Radiating) Sprigs	0	0	0/0/0
Fruit & Flowers	0	0	0/0/0
Italian	5	2	1/1/0
Lily	26	4	1/3/0
Macaw/Pagoda	5	1	1/0/0
Non Pareil	0	0	0/0/0
Pattern 113; Green Transferprint	4	2	2/0/0
Persian Vase	2	1	0/1/0
Portland Vase	3	2	1/1/0
Rhone Scenery	3	2	0/2/0
Tyrolean	0	0	0/0/0
Venustus; Pattern 80	1	1	1/0/0
Willow ware	20	3	0/3/0
Flow Blue	103	11	2/9/0
Cyprus; Mulberry; Flowing colors	3	1	1/0/0
Unidentified Transfer-prints	31	1	1/0/0

Table A.21: Block N Domestic Artifact Quantities (Continued)

Fabric/Design	Quantity	Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV)	Vessel Form: Hollowware/Flatware /Unknown
Stoneware	35	15	15/0/0
Redware	4	2	2/0/0
Creamware	3	1	1/0/0
Yellow ware; molded	4	2	2 / 0 /0
Yellow ware; undecorated	11	5	3/ 0 /2
White Earthenware; undecorated	267	19	12/7/0
Mochaware	1	1	1/0/0
Slip-Banded Wares	20	8	8/0/0
Hand-painted wares	78	18	10/8/0
Edge-decorated ware	31	8	8/0/0
Porcelain	15	6	6/0/0
Asian Ceramics	42	24	2/22/0
Totals	814	156	90/64/2

Table A.22: Block N Architecture Artifact Assemblage

Function/ Description	Quantity	Percentage of Block N Assemblage (Sherd %)	Percentage of Overall Assemblage (Sherd %)
Construction- Hardware	2326	42.54%	22.96%
<i>Hand-wrought nails</i>	29	0.53%	0.29%
<i>Machine-cut nails</i>	2279	41.68%	22.49%
<i>Wire nails</i>	2	0.04%	0.02%
<i>Hinges</i>	5	0.09%	0.05%
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	11	0.20%	0.11%
Construction- Materials	1367	25%	13.49%
<i>Brick</i>	650	11.89%	6.42%
<i>Clear Flat Glass</i>	523	9.56%	5.16%
<i>Wood</i>	169	3.09%	1.67%
<i>Pigment</i>	25	0.46%	0.26%
Total	3693	67.54%	36.45%