Beyond the Beads: The Representation of Métis Women in the Archaeological Record

by

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine stories pertaining to women as told by the belongings recovered during excavations conducted at three *hivernant* Métis sites. The *hivernants* were groups of Métis families who banded together to form winter bison hunting brigades. Overwintering on the Canadian prairies, they constructed cabins at sites that positioned them to take advantage of natural resources such as water and plant life, but also allowed them to readily engage in the bison hunt. The three sites that I focus on were occupied during the 1870s and are located at Buffalo Lake, Alberta (FdPe-1), Chimney Coulee, Saskatchewan (DjOe-3), and Petite Ville, Saskatchewan (FdNm-15). Although seed beads form the greatest proportion of belongings recovered from these sites, I seek to look beyond the beads to discern patterns within other categories of belongings that can be used to illustrate what daily life was like for the women and their families living at the study sites. Using approaches from Indigenous, feminist, and historical archaeology as my theoretical foundation, I also engage the artifact assemblages with the Cree and Métis concepts of *keeoukaywin* and *wâhkôhtowin* in mind. These concepts translate into "the visiting way" and the "state of being related". Incorporating these concepts into my research not only allows me to discern the details of daily life but also permits me to consider the implications of what the assemblage can tell me about the relationships that Métis women would have had with the other members of their community.

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Robert, Cassidy, and my parents have been my biggest cheerleaders throughout this whole journey. Now I'll finally have an answer for them other than "writing" when they ask me what my plans are for the evening or weekend. I am also excited to be supporting Cassidy on her own academic career in anthropology and I look forward to reading her MA thesis one day.

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belongings from the ethnographic and archaeological collections were above and beyond my expectations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EMITA	Exploring Métis Identity through Archaeology
EU	Excavation Unit
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
IPIA	Institute of Prairie and Indigenous Archaeology
MCFSS	Métis Children and Family Services Society
NWMP	North West Mounted Police

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

My grandmother's names were Marie Rosalie (Rose) Madelaine Dumont Piche and Mary Josephine Walton Hagerty. Their names echo within my first name: Rosemary. They each had eight children that survived to adulthood, but neither of them lived to see this happen. They both died tragically when my parents were young children, and I never had the chance to meet them. Growing up, I listened to my classmates tell of the time they spent with their grandmothers, and I envied them. On my wedding day, my husband's grandmothers embraced me as one of their own grandchildren, but it wasn't the same. I yearned for the missing stories of my grandmothers.

When I was in my twenties, I discovered that Grandma Mary had written diaries and my Aunt Muriel gave them to me. I learned that Grandma Mary loved to go to the movies, stay out late, and drive the neighbour's new car. Grandma Mary was the daughter of English immigrants and the wife of an Irishman, and I easily found the stories of others like her. I heard the story of Grandma Mary's life and the others that came before her, but Grandma Rose and my other Métis grandmothers were silent. All I knew was that Grandma Rose came from a prominent Métis family and that her beadwork was on display in the Sundre and District Museum. This floral beadwork was on a pair of white leather gauntlets that she had created with her own hands but were separated from mine by the glass of the display case and the watchful eyes of the curator.

I learned that my Métis family had its origins in the interactions between European men and First Nations women during the heyday of the Canadian fur trade. As the children from these interactions grew into identities that were neither European nor First Nations, the Métis arose as a distinct culture, and my ancestral kin spread throughout the territory between Red River and the Rocky Mountains (St-Onge and Podruchny 2012). Our relationships with each other and with

the Métis of the past define our belonging within our Nation. Knowing our origins was a start, but I still sought the stories of our Nation, especially the stories of my Métis Grandmothers.

As I sought out the stories of Grandma Rose and the Métis women who came before her, I found stories of leaders: Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, James Brady, and Malcolm Norris. I also heard how the Métis of the past were formidable bison hunters, how they traversed the vast plains in Red River carts, and how the Métis persisted after the 1885 Resistance. These stories centred the accomplishments of Métis men and left me to continue my search for the stories of the women. In my quest for the stories of Grandma Rose and those that came before her, I turned to archaeology as a tool to help give back the voices to the Métis women of the past.

When I think of Métis women, my thoughts inevitably lead to Grandma Rose's gauntlets and the other beaded items that she would have created. This beadwork was (and is) a skill developed by generations of Métis women. Our nature-based motifs have adorned moccasins, jackets, dog harnesses, gloves, and other useful items. This association of beadwork and Métis women extends into the archaeological record. The glass seed beads that were used by Métis women are preserved in their thousands at archaeological sites connected with the Métis. However, beadwork is only a small part of what it means to be a Métis woman. My thesis aims to go "beyond the beads" and answer other, more holistic questions about the Métis women of the past. I specifically seek to understand what the archaeological record can contribute to my knowledge about the daily life and relationships of Métis women in the 1870s.

The analysis of artifact assemblages from Métis sites in Alberta and Saskatchewan can provide insights into the lives of the Métis women who once lived there. This analysis can also add to my understanding of their social relations. To focus my research, I concentrated on the artifact assemblages from three sites. These sites were chosen based on the accessibility of the

assemblages and the Métis occupations being contemporaneous at each site. The three sites are known as: Buffalo Lake in central Alberta, Chimney Coulee in southwestern Saskatchewan, and Petite Ville in central Saskatchewan (Figure 1.1). Reading the names of the families associated with these sites, I found names that appeared in my own family tree: Dumont, Blandion, Breland, and others.

As bison hunters, the Métis adopted a lifestyle that was highly mobile. Although still anchored to settlements such as Red River and St. Albert, the dwindling bison herds forced the Métis to spend the winter bison hunting season in small communities on the prairies. The Métis who overwintered on the prairies were referred to as *hivernants.* The three sites that I focus on in this thesis were primarily occupied during the winter months and are *hivernant* communities. All three of these sites have been subject to previous analysis, however, my research is unique as I have approached my analysis from a feminist and Indigenous perspective.

The first site is Buffalo Lake (Borden number FdPe-1). Located in central Alberta, north of present day Stettler, the Métis established this site in 1872 and had abandoned it by 1878 (Beal et al. 1987:100). Next is Chimney Coulee (Borden number DjOe-6) which is located on the eastern slopes of the Cypress Hills in southwestern Saskatchewan. This site was occupied by the Métis in 1872 and 1873 and they may have also been present during trader Isaac Cowie's occupation of the site in 1871 and the subsequent North West Mounted Police (NWMP) occupation from 1876 to 1879 (Burley et al. 1992:86-88). Finally, I focus on Petite Ville (Borden number FdNm-15). This site is northeast of Saskatoon and was occupied by the Métis from 1870 until 1874 (Giraud 1986:396-397). I provide a further description of these sites and the archaeological research conducted at each one in Chapter 3.

Figure 1.1 A map of archaeological sites covered by this thesis. Sources: Esri, USGS | Esri, HERE, Garmin, FAO, NOAA, USGS, EPA, NRCan, Parks Canada | Esri, HERE, Garmin, FAO, NOAA, USGS, EPA, NRCan, Parks Canada

The data sources I use for this thesis consist of existing archaeological assemblages from the above *hivernant* sites. Although much of my analysis is based on the information contained within the artifact catalogues from these sites, I was also able to physically interact with the belongings through visits to the Royal Alberta Museum, the Royal Saskatchewan Museum, the University of Alberta, and the University of Saskatchewan. My analysis of the assemblages was based upon the theoretical and methodological foundations of historical, feminist, and Indigenous archaeology. As part of my analysis, I divided the assemblages into the following categories: beads, ceramics, personal adornment/religious iconography, and domestic belongings. My detailed analysis of each category includes quantities, physical attributes, spatial distribution, and origins.

In addition to forming the foundation for my own work, this research also contributes to Dr. Kisha Supernant's Exploring Métis Identity Through Archaeology (EMITA) research initiative. This initiative seeks to understand how a unique Métis identity developed in the nineteenth century (University of Alberta 2021a). In turn, this will work towards a greater anthropological understanding of the ethnogenesis of cultures.

It is my aim that this research will contribute to the decolonization of anthropology. This process is centred on reshaping how anthropologists think about the epistemologies and methodologies that we incorporate into our work (McGranahan and Rizvi 2016). Decolonization forces anthropologists to re-examine the relationships with the communities that are being studied and the political commitments to those communities (McGranahan and Rizvi 2016). It is also important to note that although I am a member of the Métis community, my work is not automatically decolonized. Understanding how my research impacts the Métis, particularly Métis women, is a vital component of my work.

The general overview of the contents of my thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical basis for my thesis. I consider theory from the subfields of historical, feminist, and Indigenous archaeology to each be a thread. This chapter explains how I weave these threads together to form my theoretical framework. This chapter also takes the concept of threads and weaving and introduces their relevance through the metaphor of the Métis sash or *ceinture fleche*. Finally, this chapter introduces the Métis/Cree concepts of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin* and how they influence my research.

In Chapter 3 I present the primary and secondary written sources that are available for understanding the lives of Métis women in the 1870s. I also discuss the advantages and limitations of each of these sources, along with the potential biases. This chapter also provides an overview of the archaeological research that has been conducted at each of the three study sites.

In Chapter 4 I present the methodology I used for the analysis of the belongings that make up the assemblages from each site. In this chapter I also explain the groupings that I subdivided the assemblages into for the purposes of my analysis.

Chapter 5 presents my analysis of the assemblages from each site. This includes quantitative and spatial analyses from each site. This chapter also summarizes the data collected during all previous excavations at the study sites.

In Chapter 6, I relay the stories that are told by the belongings as they relate to the daily lives of Métis women and their relationships with others. These stories are the result of my analysis of the data presented in Chapter 5 and my visits with the belongings themselves.

The closing chapter, Chapter 7, contains a summary of the information contained within this thesis. Additionally, it presents the conclusions that I reached as the result of my research and visits with the belongings of the Métis women. Throughout my work, I keep in mind that my

conclusions are representative of the stories that Grandma Rose could have told if I had grown up with her in my life. I am therefore grateful to be able to visit with these sites and learn the stories of the Métis women who once lived there.

CHAPTER 2: The Lives of Métis Women in the 1870s – How Archaeological Theory Can Guide the Understanding of the Past

In this thesis, I draw on theoretical frameworks from three major subsets of archaeology: historical archaeology, Indigenous archaeology, and feminist archaeology. These frameworks are the "threads" that will weave themselves throughout my thesis. In turn, the threads inform the epistemological lens of Métis archaeology that I base my analysis on. This chapter will provide the reader with an overview of these frameworks and how they are applicable to an analysis of the lives of Métis women at *hivernant* sites in the 1870s. The concluding section of this chapter will take a closer look at how I will weave these theories together by using the metaphor of the Métis sash to guide my research.

2.1 Theoretical Framework – Historical Archaeology

In 1996, James Deetz defined historical archaeology as "the archaeology of the spread of European cultures throughout the world since the fifteenth century, and their impact on and interaction with the cultures of Indigenous peoples" (Deetz 1996:5). Although the ethnogenesis of the Métis has its biological origins in the interactions between European fur traders and Indigenous communities, this definition is inherently Eurocentric and colonial in nature. Due to this, I will use an approach that is closer to Orser and Fagan's 1995 definition of historical archaeology as "a multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the post-prehistoric past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life" (Orser and Fagan 1995:14). This definition also has colonial overtones with its usage of the term "prehistoric" which implies a denigration of the oral histories of Indigenous communities. I will therefore focus on the multidisciplinary nature of historical archaeology, the understanding of the global nature of Métis life, and will

seek to incorporate oral histories whenever possible.

The multidisciplinary nature of historical archaeology and the desire to understand the global nature of modern life are of importance to the foundations of this thesis. Although the Métis can be studied from a purely historical point of view, I can augment my understanding through the incorporation of archaeology, gender studies, and other disciplines into my research. Likewise, through understanding how the Métis interacted with the global politics, economics, and society of the past, I can establish insights into how the modern global nature of Métis life developed and how these past interactions influence the interactions of today.

2.1.1 The Multidisciplinary Approach to Understanding the Lives of Métis Women

History and gender studies are just a few of the many disciplines that historical archaeologists can incorporate into their study of the past. As Orser and Fagan's definition highlights, historical archaeology relies on a special relationship between history and archaeology. Since Métis ethnogenesis and the *hivernant* era are both situated during a documented period of the Canadian past, historical archaeology is the best archaeological subfield from which to position my analysis. Fortunately, there are many historical sources available to help understand the lives of Métis women of the past and the implications for today's Métis. Some examples of these sources include fur trade journals, missionary records, and personal memoirs.

Each of these historical sources has distinct advantages and disadvantages with regards to Métis women at *hivernant* sites in the 1870s. I will discuss these in greater detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis, but I provide a high-level overview here. One of the major disadvantages of the available historical sources is that, with few exceptions, the authors were mostly non-Métis men. This means that there is a distinct bias towards the Euro-Canadian, male point of view, and it

may be difficult to find the voices of Métis women within these sources. Firsthand accounts have evidentiary benefits, however, and they do play a role in establishing context for my understanding of the past.

One phenomenon described by anthropologists that is fundamental to this project is ethnogenesis: the formation of a new group of people (Macdougall et al. 2012:3). Models related to ethnogenesis have included acculturation, hybridization, syncretism, and other approaches that have emphasized the changes resulting from culture contact and colonialism (Foster 2015, Supernant 2018, Voss 2015:655). The academic discourse surrounding these models is currently shifting from a change-centric focus to one that incorporates the persistence of earlier traditions (Devine, 2004; Voss 2015:655).

As part of the Indigenization of my research and the multidisciplinary nature of historical archaeology, it is important to also look at ethnogenesis through the lens of the Métis themselves. Métis archaeologist Kisha Supernant proposes a framework that rejects hybridity because of its focus on colonial binaries and the emphasis on mixedness (Supernant 2021:360). Instead, Supernant looks to five aspects of the Métis worldview to focus on understanding on the Métis "*way of being"* as opposed to how the Métis "*came to be"* (Supernant 2021:358). These aspects of the Métis worldview include geography, mobility, kinship, economy, and daily life (Supernant 2021:358). Each aspect is imbued with the relationships that the Métis establish to create and maintain their worldview. These relationships include the Métis relations with other Métis, their First Nations and European kin, the landscape, bison, and many other human and non-human relations. This worldview is also affiliated with the concept of *wâhkôhtowin* which I explain in greater detail in section 2.2.1.

Other Métis scholars such as Chris Andersen reject models based on hybridity because

they focus on Métis ethnogenesis as the result of a historical condition instead of "the effect of ongoing and constitutive struggles" (Andersen 2014:39). Andersen also emphasizes that being Métis involves identification on the group level, not just at the individual level (Andersen 2014:45). Again, it is the relationships that Métis have with others within their community that is a vital component when considering the origins of the Métis. These relationships are where the cultural distinctiveness of the Métis is fostered and perpetuated throughout the generations.

The final discipline that has a strong influence on this thesis is gender studies. Although I will discuss this discipline in greater detail in the section regarding feminist archaeology, there is a special relationship between historical archaeology and gender studies (Voss 2006:109). Throughout much of written history, it has been the voices of the privileged, literate elite that are heard the loudest. Women, children, the poor, and members of low-agency social groups seldom had the opportunity to document their point of view (Voss 2006:109). The application of historical archaeology at sites such as the slave quarters at Monticello, Virginia, the homes of Chinese workers at Barkersville, British Columbia, and coal miner housing at Lille, Alberta, has provided an understanding of the daily lives and struggles of the under-documented people who inhabited these places; an understanding otherwise absent in the historical record due to recording bias (Orser and Fagan 1995:20; Ross 2015; Porter 2006).

There are many other disciplines that play a role in the work of a historical archaeologist. I have described a few of the disciplines that are essential to this thesis. It is important to note that this is not an exhaustive listing, and I may draw upon other disciplines as required. Additional disciplines may also be useful in the understanding of the second part of Orser and Fagan's definition of historical archaeology: the global nature of modern life.

2.1.2 The Global Nature of the Lives of Métis Women

Given the current state of global interconnectedness, it is sometimes difficult to think of the lives of Métis women in the 1870s being impacted by global events. Despite this, historical archaeology requires consideration of these connections and their impact on the people of the past. With regards to the Métis women of the 1870s, some of the major global influences in their lives included their kinship connections to Europe, their religion, and their participation in the bison-based economic system.

Despite the relative isolation of the Métis homeland and the low speed of long-distance communication at the time, global influences would have still impacted the interpersonal relationships of the Métis. Historically, the genealogical origins of the Métis involved the interactions between First Nations and European fur traders (St-Onge and Podruchny 2012:61). Although the children in these early days of Métis ethnogenesis were raised in the homeland of their Indigenous mothers, there was still a connection with the far-off European homelands of their fathers, even if it was a homeland that the children never visited themselves. As successive generations of Métis married other Métis, these European connections would have diminished over time.

Another factor contributing to the global nature of the lives of Métis women was their Roman Catholic faith. With the church being based in Rome, and missionaries coming from Eastern Canada and beyond, the church was a daily reminder of the global nature of Métis life (Huel 1996). The church would have influenced gender roles within the household, the education of children, and the observation of rituals and traditions in accordance with the church calendar (Huel 1996:12). The Roman Catholic faith even influenced the bison hunt with hunting forbidden on the Sabbath day (Bryce 1900:371). Although there were regional influences, the

religious life of the Métis would have been familiar to other Catholics around the world (Huel 1996). Archaeologically, this global connection reveals itself through the presence of rosaries, saint's medallions, and the burial practices of the Métis which customarily occurred within the consecrated grounds of the church.

Economically, the Métis were dependent on the bison for their livelihood (Anderson 2006:208). Bison meat, pemmican, and bison hide robes were common products that were derived from this valuable resource. Indeed, it was the movements of the bison herds that led to the Métis establishing *hivernant* communities in the first place (Ens and Sawchuk 2016:54). Without the global connections, it is unlikely that the bison hunts would have taken place at the scale at which they did (Barkwell 2006b:214). Although it was the men who primarily did the actual hunting, the women would have performed much of the labour associated with the processing of the bison (Anderson 2006:210-211). The archaeological record reveals these activities through the presence of objects such as bison bones, hide processing tools, and rifle ammunition.

The successful sale of products generated from the bison hunts enabled the Métis to participate fully in the trade interactions between Rupert's Land and the rest of the world (Barkwell 2006b:214). Ceramics from England, tea from India, and beads from Italy, are all examples of the global nature of Métis purchasing habits. Some of these items are directly affiliated with Métis women. For example, women would have used beads to create the intricate flower patterns that they were (and are) renowned for. In fact, some researchers have proposed that it was the women who decided to purchase of fine ceramics instead of more sturdy tin ware available at the time (Burley 1989:102). Thus, not only can I see the global influences on Métis life, but also the influence of Métis women on the purchases made by their family.

Figure 2.1: Ceramic sherd in-situ at Chimney Coulee. Note that the maker's mark is associated with a factory in England. Photograph by author.

To summarize, the application of historical archaeology and its accompanying theoretical framework will be of value to the interpretation of Métis women's activities within this thesis. Taking the global nature of Métis life into consideration, as well applying a multi-disciplinary approach to the interpretation of the study sites, will help form a clearer picture. In keeping with this multi-disciplinary approach, I will also apply the theoretical framework associated with Indigenous and feminist archaeologies and will discuss them in the following sections.

2.2 Theoretical Framework – Indigenous Archaeology

There is an inherent tendency for archaeology to reflect its Eurocentric and colonial heritage. This instinct effectively commits the structural violence of disenfranchising Indigenous communities from the interpretation and curation of their own ancestral material culture. In response to this, there is a growing number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous archaeologists

who are actively incorporating Indigenous epistemologies into their archaeological research (e.g. Atalay 2020, Million 2005, Supernant 2021).

Indigenous archaeology as a concept began to coalesce in the 1980s with the term being consistently used by the late 1990s (Nicholas 2008:1660). George Nicholas and Thomas Andrews provided one of the first formal definitions in 1997 when they described Indigenous archaeology as "archaeology with, for, and by Indigenous peoples" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3) In 2008, Nicholas expanded on his original definition and said that Indigenous archaeology could also be defined as one or more of the following:

> "(1) the active participation or consultation of Indigenous peoples in archaeology"…"; (2) a political statement concerned with issues of Aboriginal self government, sovereignty, land rights, identity and heritage; (3) a postcolonial enterprise designed to decolonize the discipline; (4) a manifestation of Indigenous epistemologies; (5) the basis for alternative models of cultural heritage management or stewardship; (6) the product of choices and actions made by individual archaeologists; (7) a means of empowerment and cultural revitalization or political resistance; and (8) an extension, evaluation, critique, or application of current archaeological theory." (Nicholas, 2008:1660)

It is evident from this lengthy definition that Indigenous archaeology is a multifaceted and complex field of study. Indeed, Nicholas goes on to state that Indigneous Archaeology "resists formal or consistent definition"(Nicholas 2008:1661). Perhaps this is because unlike traditional academia where there are structured and standardized methodologies for research, there are innumerable Indigenous ways of knowing. As archaeologists, we must consider that the needs of each Indigenous community varies, and as such, Indigenous archaeologists must be adaptable in order to address these needs. Thus, my application of Métis knowledge to Métis archaeology has the potential to look different to the application of the knowledge of other Nations to their own archaeology. An example of how Indigenous archaeology can differ from one community to another is seen in Sonya Atalay's work. As an Anishinaabe-Ojibwe, her focus on the stories of Sky Woman, the Muskrat Earth Diver, and the origin of strawberries form the

key concepts of her practice (Atalay 2020:257). While these epistemologies may have correlating approaches within other Nations, they may not be the preferred methodologies.

In attempting to identify the theoretical aspects of Indigenous archaeology, Ian McNiven proposed three key concepts. First, the identification and removal of the colonial foundations of archaeology. Second, the furtherment of Indigeous ownership of their own archaeological heritage, and finally, the development of research practices based on partnerships with Indigenous stakeholders (McNiven 2016:28). In the following sections, I will discuss how I will apply these theoretical aspects and Métis specific epistemologies into my thesis.

2.2.1 Archaeological Application of Métis Epistemologies of Relatedness

As a Métis woman, I am acutely aware of the impact that colonialism and the settlement of the Canadian West has had on my own family. Land dispossession, the forced separation of families, poverty, and racism are all themes that have impacted my family as well as innumerable other Métis families. In some families, this has also had the impact of damaging the linkages between communities and the stories of the past through the interruption of oral histories. Archaeology is one of the tools that can be used to rebuild these connections to the past and restore the damages done by colonialism (Nicholas 2010:11). Through incorporating Métis epistemologies of relatedness into my archaeology, I can further contribute to the decolonization of archaeology and help the Métis gain meaningful ownership of their past.

As Chip Colwell found through his research, Indigenous peoples do not unilaterally reject science. Instead, they reject the scientific theories that belittle and dismiss their own perspectives (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012:276) Likewise, the application of Métis epistemologies in my work is not a denunciation of the established archaeological theory and practice but is instead an enmeshment of science with the worldviews of my kin. Through my research with the EMITA

project and the Institute of Prairie and Indigenous Archaeology (IPIA), I have been able to work closely with other Métis archaeologists, and non-Indigenous archaeologists, who are committed to doing archaeology for the explicit benefit of the Métis and not just for disciplinary consumption. It is within this environment that I have been able to approach my work with the worldviews of my ancestors in mind.

There are two main Cree/Métis concepts that influence my research: *wâhkôhtowin and keeoukaywin*. Although I present them as separate concepts, they are intertwined and inseparable. *Wâhkôhtowin* is a Cree and Métis concept that others have defined as the "state of being related" (O'Reilly-Scanlon et al. 2004:30). *Wâhkôhtowin* also implies a set of responsibilities and reciprocal obligations that everyone has for one another and includes non-human kin: the animals, spirits and landscapes that surround us (Campbell 2007:5, Wildcat 2018:14). My personal outlook of *wâhkôhtowin* aligns with the first of Matthew Wildcat's three components of *wâhkôhtowin.* This component emphasizes that *wâhkôhtowin* the ***act*** of being related (Wildcat 2018:14). To be in good relations with my kin requires action on my part and it is my responsibility to perform these actions.

The second component that Wildcat identifies is that all of creation is animate and has a spirit (Wildcat 2018:14). This includes the landscapes of my study sites and the belongings recovered from each site. The final component of *wâhkôhtowin* identified by Wildcat is the responsibilities and obligations that people have with each other and with our non-human relations (Wildcat 2018:14). This component dictates how I approach my study sites but also how I build and maintain relations with other academics and the Métis through my work.

Using *wâhkôhtowin* as a research methodology has been implemented by several other Indigenous researchers. One example is Brenda Macdougall's book *One of the Family* in which

she uses *wâhkôhtowin* to detail the networks of kinship connections that bind a nineteenth century Métis community in Northern Saskatchewan (Macdougall 2010). This book, and her other research related to kinscapes, can help to explain the formation of the bison hunting brigades as well as the interconnections between *hivernant* sites (Macdougall 2010, Macdougall and St-Onge 2013). Another example is found in the research approach used by Kathleen O'Reilly-Scanlon, Christine Crow, and Angelina Weenie (2004). In this research, *wâhkôhtowin* was used as the framework to investigate student memories of learning to read and write. This research included visits with elders and participation in ceremony (O'Reilly-Scanlon et al. 2004:35-36). This act of visiting highlights one of the ways in which I can act to build and maintain good relations: *keeoukaywin.*

Keeoukaywin is a Cree term that Cindy Gaudet describes as "the visiting way" (Gaudet 2019:47). It is through visiting that Métis and Cree learn from their relations and gain a sense of belonging to a community (Gaudet 2019:51). It is *keeoukaywin* that teaches us how to be in good relations and reinforces *wâhkôhtowin* in our lives. In my research, I am cognizant that my work impacts my human relations, but I also extend *keeoukaywin* to include the non-human relations. When I work with the belongings from each site, I am visiting with them to learn their stories. When I go to the physical location of each site and walk the same paths that my Métis ancestors walked upon, I visit with the landscape to understand the relationships between it and my kin. When I include smudging and ceremony in excavation protocols, I visit with the Métis ancestors and ask for their guidance and blessing.

In keeping with the teachings of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin,* McNiven's concept of establishing partnerships with Indigenous stakeholders becomes a natural part of my research. Not only do I routinely engage with other Métis archaeologists, but I recognize my

responsibilities in ensuring that my research remains accessible to all members of the Métis community. Whether this is through participation in site tours with local elders, consultation with Métis knowledge keepers, or just visiting with community members, understanding the needs of the Métis community and how archaeology can fulfill these needs is of utmost importance. Finally, I also seek to extend *wâhkôhtowin* to Indigenous archaeologists from other Nations and understand how their points of view can be incorporated into a Métis understanding of archaeology. Keeping this in mind, I will therefore conclude this overview of Indigenous archaeology with a discussion of how historical archaeology can be conducted from an Indigenous point of view.

2.2.2 Historical Archaeology from an Indigenous Point of View

As Alutiiq archaeologist Sven Haakanson, Jr. points out, anthropologists often use Indigenous people as sources of information about their ancestral past, but those same informants are routinely left out of the interpretative processes. Moreover, it is the anthropologist or archaeologist that gets the credit when they publish the oral histories (Haakanson 2010:117-118). This has rightfully contributed to the tendency of some Indigenous people to be mistrustful of archaeologists and anthropologists, but it has also led some, like Haakanson, to become more deeply involved in the interpretation of their own past. Haakanson also points out how the interpretation of an archaeological site is dependent on the experiences and exposure of the individual making the analysis (Haakanson 2010:120). He also reminds the reader that the point of view of those who record history are the ones who impact the course of history (Haakanson 2010:120). As more Indigenous individuals become involved in archaeology and bring their unique points of view to the interpretation of the past, they help to ensure Indigenous voices are contributors to the course of history.

When Indigenous archaeologists work at sites that they have a connection to, many (myself included) experience the tangible spiritual presence of the ancestors. (McNiven 2016:30). Not only does this instill an interest in the study of these sites, but it also elicits a deep emotional response to the Indigenous archaeologist's work (Supernant 2020:97). I will discuss this emotional response further in the next section, but it does influence the way in which some Indigenous archaeologists interact with the archaeological record. For many, the objects from Indigenous sites are more than just artifacts. As the belongings of the ancestors, the archaeological record has an inherent animate status that entitles it to a relationship and the reciprocal responsibilities contained therein (Million 2005:42). I have therefore made the conscious choice to refer to the artifacts from my study sites as "belongings". I do this to remind myself and the reader of the connection of these items to the ancestors. Through this terminology, I highlight the importance of *wâhkôhtowin* within the relationship between archaeologist and archaeological record.

Although this subsection began with an acknowledgement that oral history **is** history and archaeologists should not disregard it, there must also be a recognition that there are also Indigenous sites that lack a known oral history. This may reflect the impact of colonial influences on the Indigenous community and their traditional knowledge keepers (McNiven 2016:32). This causes me to consider my own situation where I am disconnected from the oral histories of my own Métis family due to the forced separation of my father from his family after the early death of my grandmother. While I may despair for my lost histories, as well as those of other Indigenous individuals and communities, I can also take comfort in knowing that archaeology is one way in which the Métis may reclaim their histories.

My desire to bring a Métis voice to Métis archaeology is part of what has motivated me

to complete this research into the lives of my ancestors. With the Métis theoretical frameworks of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin* informing my approach to Indigenous historical archaeology, I can incorporate and discuss the third major theoretical influence on my research: feminist archaeology.

2.3 Theoretical Framework – Feminist Archaeology

In its simplest form, feminist archaeology is the interpretation of past material cultures from the point of view of women. In 2007, Alison Wylie presented a set of commitments that can help guide the performance of feminist archaeology. These include addressing questions that are relevant to women, grounding research in the experience of women, and using reflexivity and ethical methodologies. In 2006, Elizabeth Brumfiel also identified four developments in the methodologies used by feminist archaeologists. These included attention to variability in gender data, concern with the inclusion of all genders in the analysis, caution in the use of ethnographic analogy, and new methods for determining past experiences of gender. These commitments and developments contribute to the framework I used for the analysis of my study sites.

More recent feminist scholarship expands this framework to integrate a "heart-centred practice" into archaeology. This practice relies on the centring of a rigorous and relational framework upon care and emotion (Lyons and Supernant 2020:5). While I strive to incorporate all four elements of rigor, relationality, care, and emotion within my work, the elements of emotion and relationality acquire a special importance when I consider my own role as an Indigenous archaeologist. Relationality harkens back to the importance of *wâhkôhtowin* within my work, while emotion acknowledges that my study sites and I have a personal connection.

Navigating these extra dimensions of relationships and emotions can seem daunting at times but this is where rigor and care can provide their greatest support. By standing on a solid

foundation of theory and rigor, and performing my research with an ethic of care, I not only ensure that my work meets the requirements of academic and archaeological standards, but I also minimize any harm that my work could bring to myself or to the Métis community (Lyons and Supernant 2020:9). Acknowledging the emotional responses that I experience when working with the archaeological story of my Métis ancestors is the first step in providing care to myself (Supernant 2020:97). I can then extend this care to the relationships with the living and non-living beings who I may impact with my work.

The following subsections will discuss my application of feminist archaeology in greater detail. Beginning with a brief overview of some of the advantages that feminist archaeology brings to my work, I will then discuss how I apply it to gender roles within the family and the implications for the gendering of the belongings found at my study sites. Finally, I will discuss how the use of space at a site is related to gender.

2.3.1 Advantages of Feminist Archaeology

Conducting feminist archaeology offers several advantages to my study of the past. The first is the re-enfranchisement of women. As Anne Yentsch pointed out in 1991, the focus on women in the past returns their history to them. This has the further benefit of allowing the communities of today to (re)establish a connection between themselves and their maternal ancestors (Yentsch 1991:252, Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020:103). Moving away from centering frameworks on men encourages archaeologists to consider the agency that women may have had within their communities. By looking at the materiality of the past through a feminist lens, a dimension of understanding is added that prior studies may not have considered (Hodgson-Smith and Kermoal 2016, Surface-Evans 2020, Todd 2020).

The second advantage of feminist archaeology is that it allows for the re-examination of

older sites from a new point of view. As noted, this can add further dimensions of understanding to the past but allows for a deeper comprehension of individual sites. This is of interest to my research since previous studies have taken place at all three study sites forming the focus of this thesis. The analysis of the Chimney Coulee site I provide in this thesis has the added benefit of being from an entirely Métis, not just feminist, point of view when I consider that John Brandon's series of excavations focused on the occupations of trader Isaac Cowie and the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) (Brandon 1995, 1996, 2001). Likewise, while Kimberly Weinbender's and Maurice Doll's analyses did cover information about the women at Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake respectively, neither considered Métis women to be the focal point of their research (Weinbender 2003; Doll et al. 1988).

A final advantage of feminist archaeology is that it can assist in overcoming some of the androcentrism that has been common throughout archaeology and anthropology as disciplines. While I assume that much of this androcentrism is unintentional, it still has had the impact of silencing the voices of the women from the past (Yentsch 1991:253). It is also important to not swing too far and veer into a state of gynocentrism. I must therefore remember that a focus on only women has the same limitations as a focus on only men (Geller 2009:67). Instead, feminist archaeology encourages viewing the same sites from a different perspective while furthering the understanding of the relationalities between the people who lived there.

2.3.2 Gender Roles and the Gendering of the Ancestors Belongings

Gender roles, and the interactions between those genders, varies throughout societies and throughout history. For the purposes of this thesis, the genders of male and female will be the primary focus. This is not meant to refute the possibility of transgender individuals in Métis wintering communities. I acknowledge that the influence of the Roman Catholic church may

have resulted in a tendency for people to conform to the church's ideals concerning gender roles (Huel 1996:288). Evidence of divergence from the influence of the church is not apparent at the sites I studied. Based on this, the genders and gender roles I present in this thesis will align with those that would have been recognized by the Roman Catholic church in the 1870s.

Traditionally, roles associated with Métis men in the 1870s focused on the bison hunt, freighting, and the fur trade (Hogue 2015:33). Métis men with connections to land in the Red River region may have also participated in roles related to agriculture such as crop production and animal husbandry. Since the three sites I investigated for this thesis are overwintering sites, I did not expect any belongings related to crop production. On the other hand, belongings related to the use of animals such as horses and oxen would not be unusual since the Métis would have used these animals as a means of transportation (Hogue 2015:33). Men would have also been heavily involved in cabin construction and in the construction and maintenance of Red River carts.

In contrast, women's daily roles were more domestic in nature and revolved around the care of the family and the home. Although the feeding of the family may have benefitted from the large game animals killed by the hunters, women also provided food for the family in the form of plants, fish, and small game (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:58). Women's labour was also particularly relied upon for the activities that followed a successful bison hunt. Processing hides, drying meat, and making pemmican were some of the immediate activities that followed the hunt (Callihoo 1960:25). The women would then process the hides and sinews further into clothing, footwear, and other items (Baillargeon 2006:91).

Despite these diverse and distinct activities, it is easy to see how the roles of men and women complemented each other. Without the men and their hunting skills, the women would

have difficulties in feeding their families a variety of protein sources. They would also lack the furs, hides, sinews, and other materials needed to make clothing for the family. Conversely, without the work of the women, the rewards of the hunt could go to waste. Each of these roles would generate its own assemblage of associated material culture for archaeologists to reveal. In turn, these assemblages will form the bulk of the analysis for this thesis.

On their own, the belongings are not inherently gendered. The domestic goods in a bachelors' cabin could be similar to those found in a family cabin. Conversely, the goods found in a cabin inhabited by a widowed woman would retain many of the same characteristics that it did when her partner was living. Despite this, the written and oral ethnographic accounts of the Métis can help in the determination of whether a belonging can be more strongly associated with men or with women. Given that the excavations focused on cabins at all three study sites, I expected that the assemblages would be heavily skewed towards domestic life and would therefore have more belongings associated with the work performed by women.

Another factor to consider in the gendering of belongings is the lifecycle of the object. In the case of the Métis, I can use Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records to identify the types of belongings expected at a Métis site. I can use these same records to see that it was the Métis men who were more likely to be involved in trading for these goods. For trade items such as beads, it was the women who crafted them into decorations for clothing and other objects. In turn, men were often the end users of these items. It therefore becomes difficult to fully gender a belonging without considering the point in its life cycle in which its owner discarded it. This difficulty serves to highlight the interaction of men and women in the selection of goods and the reflection of relationships in material culture. This reinforces my earlier point that individual belongings cannot be inherently gendered on their own. Instead, belongings serve to represent the

relationships within the household. These relations may be between the user and the belonging itself, or between the people themselves who are involved with the acquisition and employment of the belonging.

Despite these difficulties, there are several categories that are typically associated with women at Métis sites. The associations are representative of the relationships that women have with these belongings. Additionally, these associations reflect how the women use these belongings in their daily lives and in the establishment/maintenance of relationships within their community. These categories include beads, ceramics, personal adornments, and general domestic goods. I will provide a more detailed listing of these categories and what they contain in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. Identifying these categories will also aid in the spatial analysis of belongings and the potential gendering of space at Métis wintering sites.

2.3.3 The Relationship Between the Use of Space and Gender

A final aspect of feminist archaeology that I consider in this thesis will be the relationship between the use of space and gender. I evaluate the impact of these relationships in two aspects: the gendered use of space within the individual cabin, and the gendered inputs that contribute to site selection. Feminist archaeologists such as Anne Yentsch have also identified correlations between public and private spaces and the gendered work performed therein (Yentsch 1991:256). This correlation will have limited application in this research for one main reason: the excavations conducted at each of the three study sites focused on cabin interiors (and the immediate exteriors) and not the shared public spaces between cabins. It is therefore difficult to make a comparison between the activities performed in the public spaces versus the more private spaces within the cabins.

Since the ethnographically reported role of a Métis woman orientates towards the

domestic space, the focus on the use of the cabin, or household, as the unit of analysis serves to ensure that the assemblage reflects women and their domestic production (Tringham 1991:101). In addition to providing information about the role of the women at these sites, the use of space within the cabin will also help to highlight the interactions between the women and their family members. Through understanding the interactions of Métis women and their families at this microscale, I can then extrapolate and gain a greater understanding of the role of Métis women at the macroscale of Western Canadian society in the 1870s (Tringham 1991:118-119).

With regards to site selection, it is easy to see how sites such as Chimney Coulee would have been attractive to the bison hunters. Impressive viewsheds that would have allowed a clear line of sight to approaching bison herds would have offered a tempting advantage to the Métis man looking for a place to build his cabin. Taking the needs of the women into consideration, I can see evidence of their input into site selection as well. Access to water, plants for foods and medicine, and shelter from the winter winds are all evident at the each of the three study sites. There is also evidence of clustering of cabins at the Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville sites (Doll et al. 1988:262, Weinbender 2003:44). This could be reflective of a desire to be near kin and would have been a particularly important consideration for women in terms of receiving assistance with childcare and labour-intensive activities such as hide processing.

The relationships between space and gender provide evidence of the intentional balancing of the needs of the entire family group. Furthermore, the identification of gender roles and the gendering of belongings will assist in the identification of the gendered use of space within the sites. Through the application of theories arising from the subfields of feminist archaeology and historical archaeology, I can construct a clearer picture of the lives of Métis women at these sites.

2.4 Weaving it all Together: The Metaphor of the Sash

To bind the theories of historical, Indigenous, and feminist archaeology together, I will be using a prominent Métis symbol as a metaphor to guide my work: the Métis sash. Although primarily worn by Métis men in the past, the sash was the result of women's work. It is therefore fitting that I use the metaphor of the sash throughout this thesis to guide my work. For just as I may unintentionally overlook the weaver herself when admiring the patterns and utility of the sash, archaeologists may also unintentionally overlook the contribution of women at the sites that they study.

There are two main ways in which I use the sash as a metaphor. The first is through the "Métis sash of history" (Figure 2.2). In this form of the metaphor, I consider each line of evidence and knowledge as a thread. As historical archaeology places an emphasis on its multi-disciplinary nature, the sash is a useful metaphor for considering the threads of knowledge from each discipline that I weave together into coherent analysis. Using this metaphor, I can consider each line of evidence, written history, oral history, and the archaeological record, as threads I can weave into my research. On their own, each thread provides a glimpse into the past, but together, they form a strong and bright sash which represents a deeper understanding of the past.

The second way in which I use the sash to guide my work is through the colour symbolism that is present in the design of the sash. Although colour meanings may vary from community to community, I have chosen to reference the colour symbology that resonates most with the teachings within my own family. As I examined various aspects of Métis archaeology and categories of belongings, I considered how they would be represented within the colour symbology of the sash. Most important within these colours was the black thread which my father taught me was representative of the dispossession of the Métis lands following the 1885

Resistance. This thread reminds me of the stories that were lost as a result of this dispossession and the importance of my work in helping the Métis to reclaim our connections to the past.

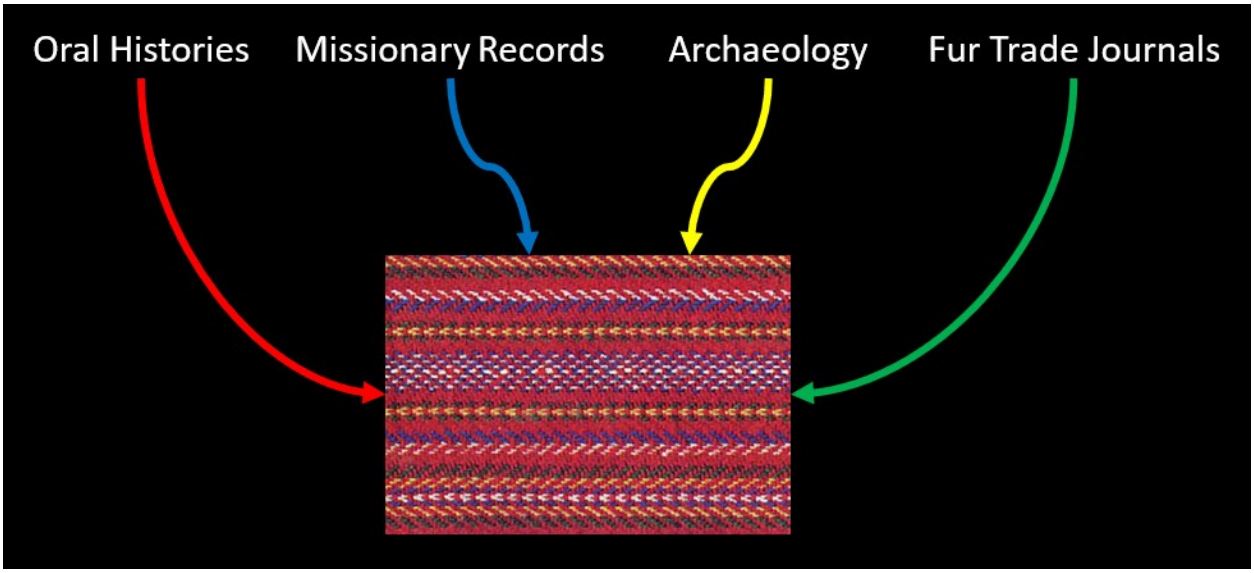

Figure 2.2: The Métis Sash of History.

The sash is more than a simple representation of women's work; it is also a reflection of the relationships that were present in the lives of the weaver. I can describe these relationships through the notion of "kinscapes". Brenda Macdougall and Nicole St-Onge describe this concept as a set of "relational constellations" which reflect the networks of social relationships that intersect the landscape (Macdougall and St-Onge 2017:261). As the Métis moved in their pursuit of the bison hunt, they would have also moved around these constellations and used their kinship connections to maintain community, no matter where they found themselves in the physical landscape.

Thus, I can see *wâhkôhtowin* and the corresponding kinscapes manifesting themselves within the threads of the sash. Looking at the sash through the lenses of *wâhkôhtowin* and kinscapes I recognize that the weaver of the sash is not the only person involved in the weaving. There is also the person that she wove the sash for, the women who taught her how to weave, and even the other weavers in her community. I can also see the community linkages expressed

through variations in patterns and colour selection. The sash requires each thread to be strong, just as the weaver requires each relationship in her life to make her family and community strong. Moving forward through this thesis, I will make references to how the sash has influenced my research with special attention paid to the representation of the sash weavers, the women, in the archaeological record.

Figure 2.3: Close up of a woven Métis sash with a Métis flag. Photograph by author.

CHAPTER 3: The Lives of Métis Women in the 1870s: What the Historical Record Reveals and How Archaeology Can Fill in the Gaps

As a foundation for my thesis, I must understand what the historical record and other researchers can tell me about the lives of Métis women at *hivernant* sites in the 1870s. I must also understand the gaps within the historical record so that I can apply archaeology as a method to fill these gaps. To accomplish this, I will divide the records and sources discussed in this chapter into three broad groups. These are: primary sources, secondary sources, and the archaeological record. I also recognize that the oral histories of the Métis are another important source of information. For the purposes of this research, I will consider only those oral histories that others have incorporated into their work. Examples of these include the stories recorded in *Métis Legacy Volume II: Michif Culture, Heritage, and Folkways, Stories of Métis Women: Tales My Kookum Told Me,* as well as the stories of Marie Rose Delorme Smith recorded by Jock Carpenter.

Each of these sources constitutes a thread in the Métis sash. If I only consider one or two of the sources at a time, my sash would be drab in colour and have many gaps. It would be simple and lack the complexity revealed by the weaver's fingers. To create a strong and colourful sash with its complex patterns, I need to consider all the threads of the past. I also need to consider that just as an old sash may have holes resulting from time and use, my sash created from the threads of the past may also have holes. Lapses in memory, loss of oral continuity in families, and destruction of written records may all contribute to the creation of holes in my sash. Luckily, archaeology is one of the threads that I can explore further and may help to mend the holes in my Métis sash of history.

This chapter will review some of the source threads that are available and discuss their

benefits and limitations. This chapter will limit the discussion of the archaeological record to the work done by earlier archaeologists at the Buffalo Lake, Petite Ville, and Chimney Coulee sites. I will discuss my analysis of these sites conducted through the lenses of feminist and Indigenous archaeology in Chapters 4 through 6 of this thesis.

3.1 Primary Sources and Métis Women

For historians, the thread with prominent importance is the written record. Historians refer to the documents written by authors who lived through the events that they describe as primary sources. Researchers are fortunate that there are several sources of primary records related to life in Western Canada during the 1870s. Historians have access to records created by the HBC, the Oblates, surveyors, and many other documents. These primary sources can give me an idea of what it was like to live in Rupert's Land; the name of the region that would eventually become the Northwest Territories and then subsequently Alberta and Saskatchewan. The nature of these documents means that they are often reflective of the male perspective since their authors were typically men and their intended audiences were other men (Van Kirk 1980:6). Although First Nations and Métis men were often the topic of these documents, they were very seldom the authors. This leaves me with a gap in the primary sources when it comes to firsthand accounts of the lives of the First Nations and Métis of Western Canada.

This gap becomes a chasm when I consider that there are even fewer primary sources written from a woman's point of view. When primary sources consider First Nations and Métis women within their text, it is often in terms of their conversion to Christianity, how their labour may benefit the fur trading post, or as adjuncts in the narratives of the lives of their male kin (Binnema and Ens 2016, Payment 1996:25). There are several reasons for the lack of women's voices in the primary sources. One important consideration may be the high value of oral

histories and storytelling in Métis and First Nations communities (Bell, 2001:2, Iseke-Barnes 2009:35). Illiteracy, poverty, or lack of free time to record personal thoughts are also contributing factors (Payment 1996:19). Two notable exceptions exist. These are the memoirs of Victoria Callihoo, who was born in 1861, and Marie Rose Delorme Smith, who was born in 1870.

Each of these primary sources has their advantages and disadvantages when it comes to researching the lives of Métis *hivernant* women. In the sections that follow, I will discuss the general content of these sources, along with their benefits and limitations. I have grouped the primary sources into two major categories: those written by non-Métis authors, and those written by the Métis themselves.

3.1.1 Primary Sources: Non-Métis Authors

Religious orders, fur traders, and surveyors provide me with many of my primary sources. Each of these sources has their own advantages and disadvantages when it comes to providing more information regarding the lives of Métis women at *hivernant* sites. In evaluating the value of each source, I need to consider the intended audience, the topics covered by the source, and the potential biases of the authors. As noted, men were the authors of most of these sources, apart from the archives created by the Grey Nuns. The overview that follows will discuss each of these sources in order of their value of adding to the understanding of the lives of Métis women at *hivernant* sites; from least useful, to most useful.

3.1.1.1 The Surveyors

One colour that is almost always present in the Métis sash is white. Some Métis consider this thread to represent the connection to the earth (Kikino Métis Children and Family Services Society (MCFSS) N.d.). Colonization has meant that the Métis of the twentieth and twenty-first

centuries have not been free to move about their territory as their ancestors did. The Métis sash represents this dispossession with the colour black (Kikino MCFSS N.d.). The dispossession of land and the restriction of Métis movement throughout their homelands has its origins in the planned settlement of the Canadian West and the Canadian government facilitated this through the formal surveying of the Canadian West. In 1872, the Canadian government passed the Dominion Lands Act. The associated order in council required the initiation of an accurate land survey of Western Canada in preparation for the arrival of future homesteaders. In response to this order, the government dispatched surveyors throughout Western Canada to establish an accurate description of the western lands and to reserve parcels for the railroad, the HBC, and future schools. In addition to the records required by the survey itself, many of the surveyors kept field notes; some of which are available to this day. Although these surveyor's notes describe the land itself and contain information about who was already living on the land in the 1870s, their use is limited for several reasons.

First, the surveying took time. Although the surveys started in 1872, progress was slow, and the surveyors did not formally record the areas surrounding Edmonton until 1880. By this time, the Métis had already abandoned the *hivernant* sites of Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake, and Chimney Coulee. The bison herds were gone, and the Métis had abandoned the *hivernant* way of life for more permanent settlements at places like Lac Ste Anne, St. Paul, and Batoche. Although the surveyors may have encountered *hivernants* in the earlier years of their work, these encounters were likely in the Manitoba regions and outside of the current study area of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Next, although the entire survey took time, surveyors moved rapidly through the countryside. This implies that even if they did encounter an *hivernant* site, it is unlikely that they

would have lingered long enough to make detailed notes about the *hivernant* way of life, and the activities performed by the women. In fact, researchers have noted that the surveyors were much more interested in efficiently recording the boundaries of the lots than they were in documenting the current inhabitants of the lands. This resulted in discrepancies where family names recorded in the 1870 census, were missing from the field notes of the surveyors (Sprague 2007:133).

The greatest value that the surveyor's notes hold for me is in the identification of potential new sites for future research into Métis *hivernant* sites. researchers can comb the field notes of surveyors for evidence of *hivernant* camps, even if the Métis had abandoned these sites at the time of the actual survey. Archaeologists could then investigate these sites to confirm the presence of Métis. For the purposes of this current research into the lives of the Métis women at these sites, the field notes do not hold much promise. To address this gap, I must turn to another group of primary sources: the records of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (the Oblates), and the Sisters of Charity of Montreal (the Grey Nuns).

3.1.1.2 The Roman Catholics

The Oblate priests arrived in Canada in 1841 and established a mission in Red River shortly afterwards (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 2017). At the request of the Oblates, the Grey Nuns arrived few years later at the Métis community of Lac Ste. Anne, Alberta in 1859 and they later established a mission at Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan in 1860 (Grey Nuns of Montreal, N.d.). These Roman Catholic institutions complemented the mission at Red River and served as bases from which the nuns provided nursing and education to the Métis. The Grey Nuns worked in conjunction with the Oblate priests to attend to the spiritual needs of the Métis.

Although the white thread in the Métis sash represents the connection to the earth, it is

also associated with the creator (Kikino MCFSS, N.d.). This conflation of meaning may be representative of the importance of earth as a gift from the creator. Additionally, this dual meaning speaks to the importance of both land and religion in the Métis way of life. As I expected, the archival materials created by the Grey Nuns and the Oblates are focused on the religious conversion and spiritual wellbeing of the Métis and their First Nations neighbours. As Roman Catholics, religion is an important thread that I must consider when weaving the Métis sash of history. As the reader will later see, evidence of this faith can even be found in the archaeological record.

Many of the European ancestors of the Métis brought their Roman Catholic faith to Rupert's Land with them. They would have facilitated the first introduction of this religion to their Indigenous kin and neighbours. As missionaries of the Roman Catholic religion, the Oblates and Grey Nuns helped to preserve and perpetuate this faith within the Métis community. The influence of the Catholics also helped to serve as a unifying and cohesive factor within the ethnogenesis of the Métis (Douaud 2007:7). Connections through a shared religion, expansion of kinship networks through god-parentage, and the importance of events such as the Lac Ste. Anne pilgrimage, are examples of aspects of Métis culture that the Oblates and Grey Nuns influenced and encouraged.

The archives of the Grey Nuns may seem to have the greatest potential to contain information relating to Métis women at *hivernant* sites, however, this is not the case. Although Métis families sent their daughters to the nuns to receive an education, it does not seem that the Grey Nuns spent much time with the *hivernants* in their winter camps. Instead, it was the male Oblate priests who were more likely to pay the *hivernants* a visit (Colpitts 2015:225). Due to the role of women within the Catholic church, this is not surprising. The archives of the Grey Nuns

therefore make very few contributions when in comes to depictions of life at the *hivernant* sites. Despite this, the archives are not without their value to the *hivernant* researcher.

Since many Métis women would have received their education with the Grey Nuns, I can use the curriculum offered by the convent to determine some of skills that they brought with them to the wintering camps. English, painting, music, and decorative arts were all subjects offered by the Grey Nuns (Payment 2012:266, 276). Of these, archaeologists most commonly find evidence of the decorative arts at *hivernant* sites. The thousands of seed beads found at every Métis site speak to the importance of beadwork. For the Métis, this beadwork evolved to more than just a decorative art. It also became a way to strengthen relationships within the community, a way to pass on knowledge, a way to represent connections with the land, and an act of joy (Farrell-Racette 2004:274, Keromal 2016:129-130, Ray 2016:364). Thus, although the archives of the Grey Nuns do not provide me with firsthand accounts of *hivernant* sites, they may prove to be useful when interpreting the archaeological record from these sites.

Turning from the Grey Nuns, there is a greater opportunity to learn of the *hivernant* way of life within the Oblate records. The Oblates were known to travel with the Métis hunting brigades and spend time visiting their overwintering camps (Colpitts 2015:225). From these visits, I can obtain a sense of what life within the *hivernant* community would have been like for Métis women. It is prudent that readers, including myself, should use caution when studying these documents. This caution is necessary due to the biases evident in the writings of the Oblate priests. For my purposes, two main biases exist. These are: the Oblates attitude towards the Métis way of life, and their limited involvement with the day-to-day activities of the women.

First, the Oblates had one important objective with regards to the Métis. That is: the conversion of the Métis to the ideal Roman Catholic way of life. This way of life would have

seen the Métis as settled farmers and merchants (Payment 1990:110). The church therefore viewed the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the *hivernant* bison hunter as an obstacle to true conversion and the priests encouraged the Métis to abandon this way of life. The priests often expressed their frustration at the Métis reluctance to "settle down" in their letters. In one such letter written by Father André in 1875, he bemoans the "laziness, heedlessness, and inconstancy" of the St Laurent Métis in response to their departure for the seasonal hunt (Payment 1990:110-111). This contrasts with the knowledge that the hunt required patience, skill, and a lot of physically demanding work to process the heavy hides.

The church levied further criticisms at the Métis when it came to the description of their winter activities. In 1875, Father Fafard wrote that "expressions of joy appeared to me somewhat excessive" during the Christmas season (Beal et al. 1987:47). He also comments that he made mention of this observation to the Métis and that they put an end to the feasting and dancing. Previously, Bishop Grandin had advised Father Doucet to discourage the dancing and hand games of the Métis (Beal et al. 1987:40). Despite these efforts, the Métis still consider dancing and music to be one of their favourite ways to come together socially and re-connect with friends and kin. Since the Oblate Priests had negative view of some aspects of the *hivernant* lifestyle, I must consider this as an influencing bias when reading their descriptions of the *hivernant* settlements.

Another bias of the Oblates and their description of *hivernant* life would be related to gender. Unlike their Grey Nun counterparts, it is unlikely that the Oblate priests would have had unfettered access to the intimate world of the Métis women. Propriety may have demanded that the priests were not alone with the women, and this may have given the priests few opportunities to witness the women's daily activities. There may have also been an attitude of disinterest in

many of the activities performed by women. If the women were working within their homes and fulfilling what the church saw as their traditional gender roles, it is unlikely that the priests would have commented on them.

Importantly for this research, I can see evidence of the relationship between the Métis and the Roman Catholic Church in the archaeological record. Archaeologists have found belongings such as rosaries and saint's medallions at many Métis sites, including all three of my study sites. Their religious beliefs resulted in the Métis favouring the burial of their dead within church consecrated grounds. This means that archaeologists do not expect burials at Métis sites without a church (Swan and Jerome 1999:84). Additionally, the influence of the Roman Catholic church also impacted the abandonment of at least one of the three focus sites of this thesis. In this example, the Métis relocated their community at Petite Ville to the settlement of Batoche at the encouragement of priests Father Andre and Father Moulin (Weinbender 2003:25).

Despite the potential biases of the Oblates towards the *hivernants*, their records offer some of the most direct evidence of what life was like in the overwintering community. Their documents, in addition to those created by the Grey Nuns, can provide me with a sense of how religion and spirituality would have impacted the lives of Métis women in the 1870s. Having now looked at sources which discuss the land base and spirituality of the Métis, I can turn to a final set of outsider sources which can provide information about the economic and material aspects of Métis *hivernant* culture.

3.1.1.3 The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)

The cheery yellow thread in the sash represents the prospect of prosperity (Kikino MCFSS N.d.). For the Métis *hivernants* of the 1870s, economic prosperity was reliant on the result of the annual bison hunt. Indeed, it was the prospect of prosperity that led them to establish

their overwintering camps in the first place to follow the migratory bison herds. For the Métis, a successful hunt was not the only factor in achieving prosperity, they also required access to a market to sell the spoils of the hunt. For many Métis, especially those in 1870s Rupert's Land, the HBC was the facilitator of their access to the world markets. Thus, to strengthen and brighten the yellow thread in my sash, I turn to the archives of the HBC.

The HBC journals and their associated archives are potentially the most significant primary source regarding the lives of the Métis. This collection spans the years of 1671 to 1970 and includes information related to the day-to-day operation of the trading posts, personal diaries, photographs, maps, and other materials (Archives of Manitoba N.d.). These comprehensive archives therefore provide me with many opportunities to learn of the lives of the Métis; from the arrival of their first European kin in the West, to their ethnogenesis as a distinct culture, and beyond.

One major benefit to the HBC trading post journals is that they provide me with an overview of daily life in the Canadian West. Mundane details such as daily weather reports and hunting successes/failures give insights into the environmental pressures that the fur traders and their Métis and First Nations neighbours experienced. Records that name the Métis men who came to the posts to trade help to identify the families that were in the region of the individual posts. When these same names appear in the journals of other posts, I can also gain a sense of the mobility of the Métis and their families. The details regarding the goods received in trade by the Métis can provide an understanding of their material culture. As the trading posts would have been loathe to stock items that were not in demand, I can surmise that these records reflect the goods that the Métis men and their families would have desired. When making a close study of these records, these details can be valuable to the archaeologist in their attempts to discern Métis

sites from First Nations or later settler sites.

The HBC records do have their limitations though. As formal business records, they often only recorded the information that would be valuable to the investors in London. The names of the Métis women would not fall into this category as they were not the ones actively trading with the post. Although the women were often the end user of the trade goods, it was the men of their family who did the trading (Troupe and Barkwell 2006:105). Thus, it was the men's names that the clerks recorded in the journals, not the name of the actual end user of the trade goods. There is also the need to recognize that earlier events in the history of the HBC may have impacted the inclusion of women into the journals.

Men who were employed by the HBC often lived at the trading posts with their families. These families benefitted from the provisions of the post. Feeding and housing the families of their traders was not something that the directors of the HBC saw as conducive to maximizing profits. In 1822, the HBC sent orders to the trading posts to require the men to pay for the upkeep of their own families (Binnema and Ens 2016:xxxiv). Recognizing the value of the women to the trading posts, and the difficulty that some of the lower paid men would have in complying with this mandate, the company officers pushed back on these orders (Binnema and Ens 2016:xxxiv-xxxvi). As interpreters, gatherers of plant foods, caretakers of gardens, and manufacturers of clothing, the practical contributions of Indigenous women to the success of the post were innumerable. Additionally, the provision of emotional and intimate support to the men of the post would have been invaluable to the morale of the fur traders.

While the company officers were eventually successful in their campaign to allow the company to care for the women and children, the possible loss of hardworking contributors to the trading post success would have resulted in the trading post officers being more subtle in their

references to women in their journals. Although the women in the earlier years of the trading posts would have identified members of their First Nations families, successive generations came to see themselves as distinct from the families of either their Indigenous maternal lines or their European paternal relations. As these descendants came to identify as Métis, the persistence of earlier HBC policy regarding journal references to women and children in the trading posts contributed to the loss of visibility into the lives of Métis women of the past.

A final major drawback to the HBC records is that they describe life at the posts themselves. As Métis families started to spend more time away from the trading posts and began to coalesce into *hivernant* communities, their lives would have become more distinct from the daily life at the trading posts. Although I can use the HBC journals to describe the way of life for the men and families at the posts, they lack the intimate details of the families living in the *hivernant* communities.

To summarize, these primary sources provide the context that is necessary in understanding the world in which the Métis lived. Family names, movements between trading posts, listings of material goods, and interactions with the church and trading companies, are all valuable threads which contribute to the creation of my Métis sash. Disappointingly, the colours of these threads fade when I consider that the authors did not write from the point of view of the Métis themselves. They fade even further when I consider the paucity of information related to women and children during this time. Finally, the biases of the authors weaken the threads to the point where I must consider whether they will break when examined too closely. To bolster and brighten these threads, I can reinforce them with the primary sources written by the Métis themselves.

3.1.2 Primary Sources: Marie Rose Delorme-Smith and Victoria Callihoo

Blue is a colour that is associated with the depth of the Métis spirit (Kikino MCFSS N.d.). It is the elders who pass this spirit on to the next generation through their teachings. The memoirs and articles written by elders Marie Rose Delorme-Smith and Victoria Callihoo are some of the recorded teachings available to us. With these, I can add two strong, bright blue threads to my Métis sash of history. As Métis women who lived through the transitional times of the 1870s, the writings of these women are the most robust threads that I have with regards to the lives of Métis women during this time. While their writings are not without their issues, they are the best sources I have for understanding the experiences of women at *hivernant* sites.

3.1.2.1 Marie Rose Delorme-Smith

Marie Rose Delorme-Smith was born in Red River in the year 1861 (MacKinnon 2018:xix). As the daughter of Métis trader Urbain Delorme, she spent her childhood following the semi-nomadic way of life of the *hivernant* Métis (MacKinnon, 2018:195). Married at the age of sixteen to a Norwegian settler named Charlie Smith, Delorme-Smith eventually became the mother of seventeen children. Although she survived all but five of her children, she was the matriarch of a large Alberta Métis family until her death in 1960 (Carpenter 1988:142).

A prolific writer after she had raised her children, Delorme-Smith published several articles in the Canadian Cattlemen magazine in the 1940s. These articles, along with many other unpublished manuscripts, letters, and personal papers, are the most extensive collection of primary sources available that detail the Métis way of life from the perspective of a Métis woman. In addition to her own written works, I also have access to a chronicle of Delorme-Smith's life that her granddaughter, Jock Carpenter, recorded in 1988. While relying heavily on the writings of her grandmother, Carpenter also incorporated her knowledge of family oral

history into her book. Thus, I have an element of strength to the bright threads that Delorme-Smith's life provides to my Métis sash of history.

In her lifespan of nearly one hundred years, Delorme-Smith would have been witness to an astonishing amount of change. From the end of the bison herds to the atomic age, her writings provide insights into how these events transformed the lives of Métis women. With regards to the lives of Métis women at *hivernant* sites in the 1870s, Delorme-Smith offers several benefits. One of the most important advantages is she wrote from a woman's point of view and therefore offers a description of events that likely would have been important to other women. In a 1948 article in the *Canadian Cattlemen's* magazine, she describes the work that the Métis performed, and the games that they played, while moving an entire community of bison hunters and traders into the Canadian Plains for the annual winter bison hunt (Smith 1948a:30-31).

The second installment of this article also offers another interesting insight regarding the division of labour between men and women. Although the preparation of food is often viewed as women's work, Delorme-Smith offers an alternative situation when it comes to the production of pemmican: a mixture of dried meat, fat, and berries that was a staple food for the winter. Although the women performed all the labour related to making a low grade of pemmican, Delorme-Smith described how the men would lend their strength to pounding the dried meat to make a finer powdered meat and therefore a higher grade of pemmican (Smith 1948b:72). Since the Métis could sell a high-grade pemmican to trading companies for a higher price, this simple depiction of pemmican making shows how Métis men and women would have worked together to process the results of the hunt and to bring economic success to the family.

Thanks to Delorme-Smith's writings, I can use her depictions to provide context to archaeological investigations. Additionally, her descriptions of the work performed by women

provide me with an idea of the types of material culture that would be associated with women. For example, her description of pemmican making reveals that the Métis used stone mallets to pound the dried meat. Additionally, the women crushed dried berries to add to the mixture. Archaeologically, the presence of stone mallets or the remnants of crushed berry seeds could be indicative of pemmican making at a site.

Despite the advantages of Delorme-Smith's firsthand accounts, there are still some limitations that I need to consider. First, Delorme-Smith was part of a higher-class of wealthier Métis traders (MacKinnon 2018:10). Her class and status mean that her experiences may not be reflective of all classes of Métis families. Next, she was still quite young in the 1870s and did not write her manuscript until she was in her eighties. Unintentional lapses in memory may have resulted in errors in her depictions of Métis life. An additional consideration due to her young age in the 1870s is that her observations may not be reflective of all the activities that adult Métis women performed. Importantly, this does give the reciprocal advantage of describing the chores that the Métis assigned to children: an area of Métis life that is even more sparse in the historical record than that of women's life.

While the researcher does need to take some caution with Marie Rose Delorme- Smith's writings, they remain some of the most valuable sources of written information regarding the lives of Métis women in the 1870s. As a Métis matriarch, she contributes brightness and strength to my Métis sash of history. Despite the potential for gaps in her recollections, I am fortunate that I can turn to another Métis matriarch to help fill some of those gaps: Victoria Callihoo.

3.1.2.2 Victoria Callihoo

In 1861, Victoria Callihoo was born to the Belcourt family in their small cabin at Lac Ste. Anne (Taylor 2008:19). Like Delorme-Smith, Callihoo grew up in the last years of the bison

trade and accompanied her family on the annual winter hunting trips. In another parallel to Delorme-Smith, Callihoo married young and raised a large family. Marrying Louis Jerome Callihoo when she was only seventeen, the couple had thirteen children, ten of whom survived to adulthood (Taylor 2008:74-76). In 1948, she dictated several stories which she eventually published in the *Alberta Historical Review* during the years of 1953, 1959, and 1960 (Callihoo 1960:24, Taylor 2008:157). Although Callihoo was not a prolific writer like Delorme-Smith, her three publications provide another view into the past lives of Métis women.

Although Callihoo covers many of the same topics as Delorme Smith, there are several advantages to having access to her writings. First, Callihoo was slightly older than Delorme Smith when she accompanied her family on the winter bison hunt. This means that her memories may be more reflective of a young woman's experiences as opposed to those of a child. This has the potential to provide a wider scope regarding the experiences of Métis women. Second, her writings corroborate many of the details found in Delorme Smith's. This helps to bolster the trust that both sources are reliable depictions of the period and that both authors are relating accurate memories of their pasts.

A further benefit to Callihoo's writing is that she provides the perspective of the bison hunt from the Lac Ste Anne Métis community as opposed to Delorme Smith's experiences as a member of the Red River Métis community. The consistency between the descriptions offered by the two authors demonstrates that despite the distances between the two communities, there was a shared way of life that would have served as a unifying factor for the Métis. This is also helpful from an archaeological viewpoint as it means that *hivernant* sites should have a consistent presentation regardless of the originating community of the inhabitants.

As with Delorme-Smith's work, the researcher still needs to take some cautions when it

comes to Callihoo's writing. One issue is that Callihoo dictated her stories in an unidentified language (likely French) and translators converted the dictation into English. During this process, it is possible that the translator lost some of the finer details. Also, the articles themselves do not indicate those to whom Calihoo dictated her stories. It is therefore possible that Callihoo may have glossed over some details that she may have deemed to be unflattering to her family or unimportant to the person to whom she was dictating. Despite this, her work is still of vital importance to research regarding Métis women in the 1870s.

Victoria Callihoo and Marie Rose Delorme Smith each offer a rare view into the world of 1870s Métis women. The strength and brightness of the threads they offer are of singular importance to my understanding of this period. With the guidance of these elders, I can begin to untangle the various strands of the past and create my Métis sash of history.

3.2 Secondary Sources Regarding the History of Métis Women

Even with the help of written firsthand accounts, it still takes effort and skilled analysis to untangle the threads of history and weave a functional sash from them. In the 1980s and 1990s, historians like Sylvia Van Kirk, Diane Payment, and Jennifer Brown started to untangle the threads related to Métis women. Many of the works written by these researchers remain very influential to this day. As historians, their reliance on the historical record is subject to the limitations as noted above. Despite this, their interpretations of the historical record have contributed to my understanding of the role of Métis women in the past and the ethnogenesis of the Métis in general.

Many historians have focused on the lives of the Métis in Red River or in Batoche. Although these are both important political and economic centres in Métis history, the daily life of the *hivernant* may not fully conform to the understanding of life in the major settlements. I

can help address the gaps that exist in the historical interpretation of the past through the application of archaeology. An understanding of Métis history as explained by these secondary sources is an important first step in identifying what these gaps may be. This section will discuss four of the most influential secondary sources in which researchers have analyzed the lives of Métis women in the 1870s.

3.2.1 Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870

In 1980, Sylvia Van Kirk published her book on women in fur trade society; *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Based on her 1975 Ph.D. thesis, her book was one of the earliest publications to focus on the role of women in the Canadian fur trade. Working with the threads from primary sources such as the HBC and Oblate records, Van Kirk also draws from the journals and correspondence of dozens of explorers, adventurers, and entrepreneurs who ventured to Red River and beyond during the heyday of the fur trade. Although her work spans two centuries of fur trade history, it is valuable to any researcher wanting to explore the role of Métis women at *hivernant* sites in the 1870s. This is because Van Kirk provides the contextual background necessary to understanding the role of women in the ethnogenesis of the Métis as well as the conditions that led to the economic necessity of the *hivernant* lifestyle.

Van Kirk describes how Indigenous women played the role of "cultural brokers" during the early years of the fur trade. Anthropologists originally coined this word in the 1950s to describe individuals who negotiated the political and economic differences between cultures and were vital for successful relationships between nations and communities (Wolf 1956:1072). In later years, it becomes evident that the role of cultural broker was not as important to the Métis women of the 1870s as it was to their Indigenous ancestors of the earlier fur trade era. As the

Métis community became more homogenous, it may have been Métis men who were more likely to play the role of cultural brokers than the women.

Van Kirk's work is important as it is one of the earliest academic works to focus on the role Indigenous and Métis women played in fur trade society. She also describes how women of European descent displaced the Indigenous and Métis women as they made their way into Rupert's Land. While Van Kirk provides a detailed overview of life in Red River, she does not explain what life was like for those women who participated in the *hivernant* way of life. Despite this, Van Kirk's work in untangling the economic and political threads in Red River provide important context for the events that led to the *hivernant* way of life. Van Kirk's research is important as it led the way for other researchers such as Diane Payment to look at the specific roles that Métis women played in history.

3.2.2 "La Vie en Rose"?

Diane Payment published a chapter entitled *"La Vie En Rose"?: Métis Women at Batoche, 1870 to 1920,* in a collection of essays called *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength* (Miller and Chuchryk 1996). This chapter is the only one dedicated solely to Métis women, and when read in conjunction with the other works, it highlights how the lives of Métis women differ from those of their Indigenous kin, while still acknowledging and honouring those same kinship connections. This chapter has a further benefit to the archaeological research at *hivernant* sites; since the focus is on the Métis community of Batoche, it is likely that Payment's informants had direct ties to the *hivernant* site of Petite Ville. This is a result of the community of Petite Ville moving down river to Batoche in 1874 at the urging of Father Andre of the Oblates (Weinbender 2003:25).

Payment's chapter is based on oral interviews conducted between 1976 and 1985, with

eighteen Métis women who were born between 1886 and 1910 (Payment 1996:19). This means that her work can help to fill in some of the gaps in my Métis sash by incorporating the oral traditions and actual voices of Métis women into the weaving. Although these women were born outside of the research focus of 1870, Payment appears to have felt confident enough in the continuity of the oral histories to have extended her essay to cover the years before the births of her informants. The general cautions regarding the inadvertent lapses in memory and withholding information from the interviewer will still apply here.

Although Payment's work reiterates the significance of women's work to the bison hunt and their domestic role in the family, she also discusses the idea that women acted as "agents of civilization and Christianization within the family" (Payment 1996:21). During this period of intense change for the Métis, Payment assigns a high level of agency to the women of Batoche. Although it may be difficult to assign this same level of agency to *hivernant* women, archaeological investigation may be able to provide evidence of women's agency in site selection, use of space, and other aspects of *hivernant* life. Payment's analysis of the oral histories and other supporting primary sources are effective at untangling the many threads of history for this period, however, both Payment and Van Kirk touch upon a vital part of Métis life: kinship connections. The final important secondary source I discuss takes Métis kinship connections and examines the intricate network that these threads create.

3.2.3 Rooted in Mobility and Métis in the Borderlands

In 2013, Brenda Macdougall and Nicole St-Onge published an article that focused on the mobility of the Métis hunting brigades. They followed this up in 2017 with a book chapter included in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies.* Although other researchers have examined the mobility of the Métis bison hunters from the economic point of view, these

publications examined how this mobility interacted with kinship, and the formation of communities (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013, 2017). It is within this second publication that Macdougall and St-Onge present the concept of kinscapes as I discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis.

Using oral histories and census data, Macdougall and St-Onge traced relationships between the members of bison hunting brigades and revealed that it was often the kinship ties between women that formed the social network of the brigade (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013:24). These authors also focus on the relationships that Métis women had with each other and contrast with Payment and Van Kirk's emphasis on the relationships that Métis women had with the men in their lives. Macdougall and St-Onge's untangling of the threads of history to reveal the complicated network of matriarchal kinship connections is not dissimilar to my woven Métis sash of history (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013:25).

The 1870s were times of profound change for the Métis; the community felt the effects of economic, political, and social changes. In this time of upheaval, kinship connections would have offered one of the few areas of stability (St-Onge and Podruchny 2012:81). While other historians have suggested that it was relationships between men that made the *hivernant* lifestyle possible (Foster 2015:185), the kinship threads that Macdougall and St-Onge trace provide insights into how the mobile Métis built a strong nation despite the far-flung nature of their permanent communities and their semi-nomadic lifestyle. Although Macdougall and St-Onge do not offer an explanation as to why women would have formed the core of the bison brigades, they do acknowledge that they have identified an area that requires greater attention from researchers (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013:31).

Turning to the archaeological record may allow me to investigate the threads identified

by Macdougall and St-Onge in greater detail. As the reader will see at *hivernant* sites such as Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake, there is a distinct clustering of features (Weinbender 2003:44, Doll, et al. 1988:262). One hypothesis for this clustering is that the Métis may have built their cabins near the homes of other family members. From a woman's point of view, having close kin nearby for the purposes of childcare and cooperative work would have been a contributing factor when choosing a cabin site. This preference may have also extended to the bison brigade since the actual hunt was only part of the job; the women also need to skin the bison, make the pemmican, and process the meat. As the primary sources have stated, the women primarily performed these activities and having a group of known and trusted women to share the workload would have been just as vital to the success of the hunting brigade as the hunters were.

3.3 Beyond the Historical Record

The bright threads of the primary sources and the untangling efforts of the secondary sources provide the foundation for my Métis sash and for my thesis. However, they still leave me with gaps in my knowledge, particularly my knowledge about the lives of Métis women in the 1870s. These gaps lead me to ask more questions concerning the Métis and their communities. Through the application of archaeology, I can attempt to fill in some of these gaps.

Previous archaeological investigations related to the Métis have been focused on *hivernant* sites in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and river lot sites in Manitoba (Supernant 2018). Table 3.1 summarizes the excavations conducted to date. While all these excavations applied theory and methodology from historical archaeology, the previous archaeologists did not perform this work from a feminist or Indigenous archaeology perspective. This means that my integration of feminist and Indigenous theory into my work is unique within Métis archaeology.

While Buffalo Lake, Chimney Coulee and Petite Ville are not the only *hivernant* sites

that have been investigated to date, they are the sites which have been subject to the most intensive excavations. For this reason, and because of the availability of the artifact assemblages from these sites, I have chosen to focus my research on these three sites.

Site Name	Location	Type of Site	Sources
Riel House	Red River, Manitoba	River Lot	Forsman 1977
Garden Site	Red River, Manitoba	River Lot	McLeod et al. 1983
Delorme House	Red River, Manitoba	River Lot	McLeod 1982
Kawjeski Cabins	Cypress Hills, Alberta	*Hivernant*	Elliott 1971; Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978
Buffalo Lake	Alberta	*Hivernant*	Doll, Kidd, and Day 1988; Coons 2017
Four Mile Coulee	Cypress Hills, Saskatchewan	*Hivernant*	Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992
Chimney Coulee	Cypress Hills, Saskatchewan	*Hivernant*	Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992; Wadsworth 2020; Wadsworth, Supernant and Kravchinsky 2021
Kis-sis-Away Tanner's Camp	Saskatchewan	*Hivernant*	Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992
Petite Ville	Saskatchewan	*Hivernant*	Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1992; Weinbender 2003

Table 3.1: Summary of Archaeological Excavations Conducted at Métis Sites. Adapted from Supernant 2018.

The concluding section of this chapter will provide a brief overview of each of the three *hivernant* sites: Petite Ville, Chimney Coulee, and Buffalo Lake. This overview will include a summary of the various excavations that archaeologists have conducted at each site as well as the general history of the site. I will discuss and analyze these sites in further detail in the following chapters. On their own, each of these sites provides a glimpse into the world of the Métis *hivernants*. Together, they have the potential to fill in the gaps in my Métis sash of history and tell me more about the women and their families who once lived in these places.

3.3.1 Petite Ville

Also known by Borden Number FdNm-15, the Petite Ville site is located approximately sixty kilometers northeast of Saskatoon and fourteen kilometers upstream from the renowned Métis site of Batoche. Situated on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River, the entire site covers eighty-three hectares and is located on private property (Parks Canada N.d.a). Founded in 1870, or just prior to that date, the Petite Ville site was home to approximately forty families until its 1874 abandonment in favour of the Batoche site (Giraud 1986:396-397).

Figure 3.1: The Petite Ville site in July 2019 as viewed from the eastern bank of the South Saskatchewan River. Photograph by author.

Although it is likely that Métis oral history retained knowledge of Petite Ville's location, Parks Canada formally identified and surveyed the site in 1979 (Grainger and Ross 1980). Following this identification, David Burley conducted a further survey in 1986. This survey

delineated the extent of the site and identified 177 features within twenty-six distinct clusters (Burley et al. 1992:46). Test excavations resulted in the recovery of 193 belongings and 690 pieces of faunal materials which the Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina currently holds.[1] Burley later published his analysis of the site in a 1992 publication which focused on the spatial organization of *hivernant* sites and the use of lithics and ceramics at these sites.

After the surveys of Parks Canada and David Burley, Petite Ville was the site of three field school excavations. Dr. Margaret Kennedy conducted these excavations during the field seasons of 1998, 1999 and 2000 on behalf of the University of Saskatchewan. The field school focused on expanding the test excavations conducted by Burley since he believed that the tests had identified the interior of a structure (Weinbender 2003:46). Kennedy found this hypothesis to be correct and the field schools delineated the extent of the structure (Weinbender 2003:47-48). The only major publication arising from the field school was the thesis written by Kimberly Weinbender as part of her Master of Arts degree. This thesis focused on conducting a spatial assessment of the site. The field school recovered over 14,000 belongings which the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon currently holds (Weinbender 2003:76).

Although the three archaeological investigations at Petite Ville did not result in a detailed assessment of the lives of Métis women, the extensive field school excavations of a large living space will be beneficial to any researcher interested in *hivernant* domestic life. Additionally, Weinbender's analysis of the spatial properties of the site may provide insights into how Métis women may have used their space. Finally, the Petite Ville excavations provide a starting point

[1] Although Burley summarizes the Petite Ville artifact assemblage in his 1992 book *Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural and Historical Study*, I discovered discrepancies between his book and the catalogue provided to me by the Royal Saskatchewan Museum. Burley notes 196 belongings were recovered but the catalogue only lists 193. Since I used the catalogue to guide my visits with the belongings at the museum, I chose to rely on the catalogue data for this thesis.

from which I can compare multiple *hivernant* sites to brighten my threads of evidence for inclusion into my Métis sash of history.

3.3.2 Chimney Coulee

The second study site, Borden Number DjOe-6, is also located in Saskatchewan. Located just outside the small town of Eastend, Chimney Coulee is situated on the Eastern slopes of the Cypress Hills. The core of the site is comprised of just under 2.5 hectares and the province of Saskatchewan has designated it as a provincial park (Parks Canada N.d.b). Sadly, road construction has likely destroyed part of the site (Brandon 1995:12) and the lack of landowner permission has limited the ability to conduct an archaeological survey on the east side of the road. It must therefore be considered that this site was potentially much larger than currently acknowledged. In addition to the *hivernant* occupation of the mid 1870s, Chimney Coulee was also the site of Isaac Cowie's fur trading post in 1871-1872, a NWMP detachment in 1876-1887 and countless pre-colonial camp sites (Parks Canada N.d.b).

Named for the chimneys that once stood where the cabins were, Chimney Coulee was part of the surveys of *hivernant* sites conducted in 1986 by David Burley. Of the four *hivernant* sites Burley surveyed during this time, he noted that Chimney Coulee received "the least amount of attention" (Burley 1988a:73). In 1994 and 1995, John Brandon conducted a public archaeology program at the site. Focusing on Isaac Cowie's longhouse with some investigation into the NWMP buildings, Brandon and his team recovered 1,270 belongings in 1994 (Brandon 1995:28) and 932 belongings in 1995 (Brandon 1996:23). Brandon oversaw a further set of excavations in 2000 as part of a field school conducted for the Regina Archaeological Society. These excavations focused again on Isaac Cowie's longhouse and recovered 7,663 artifacts (Brandon 2001:i). Although Burley and Brandon both make mention of the Métis presence in

Chimney Coulee, the Métis occupation was not the subject of dedicated excavations until 2013.

Figure 3.2: The Chimney Coulee site as seen from above in August 2017. Note the road on the East side of the site. Photograph courtesy of Robert Wambold.

In 2013, Dr. Kisha Supernant of the University of Alberta began survey work at the Chimney Coulee site. As part of the EMITA project, this initial survey work led to subsequent field seasons in 2017, 2018, and 2019. In 2017 and 2018, the project recovered over 9,000 belongings, with the vast majority being seed beads. Final counts from 2019 are pending at the time of writing. To date, one thesis has been completed as part of the EMITA work done at Chimney Coulee. William Wadsworth authored this thesis, and he focuses on the geophysics and remote sensing techniques used at the site (Wadsworth 2020) Wadsworth has also collaborated

on a further publication which expands on the use of remote sensing at Métis sites using Chimney Coulee as a case study (Wadsworth et al. 2021). The EMITA project expects at least two more project team members to write their theses based on the data captured at this site (including this thesis).

Since Brandon's excavations focused on Cowie's trading post, they have limited application to my research. One potential area of benefit is that they may insights into the types of material goods available to the Métis women living in the region. On the other hand, Supernant's excavations of the Métis cabin have direct application to this thesis and have the greatest potential to add threads to my Métis sash, particularly when it comes to adding threads the represent the lives of Métis women.

3.3.3 Buffalo Lake

The third and final study site is Buffalo Lake: Borden Number FdPe-1. This site is located between Buffalo Lake and Lynn Lake, Alberta, and covers approximately twelve hectares of land (Heritage Resources Management Information System, N.d.). The Métis established this site as a *hivernant* settlement in 1872 and abandoned it in 1878 (Beal et al. 1987:100). At its height, observers estimated Buffalo Lake to have been home to around nine hundred individuals and there are suggestions that numbers of up to 1,700 inhabitants would not have been unreasonable (Doll et al. 1988:69).

In 1959, Richard Forbis was the first to identify the archaeological importance of this site. Eleven years later in 1970, Robert Kidd of the Provincial Museum of Alberta (now the Royal Alberta Museum) initiated excavations (Doll et al. 1988:3). This series of excavations and surveys continued until 1978 with further surface collection and salvage operations occurring in 1982 (Doll et al. 1988:3-4). While Kidd focused many of his excavations on cabins and refuse

pits that pot hunters and heavy equipment had disturbed, the excavations in 1975 focused on a relatively undisturbed feature that he designated “Cabin 3” (Doll et al. 1988:3-4). In all, he partially excavated five cabins, with surface collections performed at an additional seven cabin features. In 1988 Maurice Doll, Robert Kidd, and John Day published an Occasional Paper that described the entire series of excavations and included detailed summaries of each cabin excavation.

Figure 3.3: The Buffalo Lake site in June 2014. The site extends from the farmland and throughout the forested area. Photograph by author.

In 2014, archaeologists returned to Buffalo Lake when Dr. Kisha Supernant led a field school on behalf of the University of Alberta. The field school focused on excavating immediately adjacent to the previous excavations conducted at Cabin 3. This set of excavations

has the benefit of providing researchers with an idea of activities that would have occurred immediately outside of the cabin, thus allowing a comparison of interior and exterior use of space. To date, participants in the field school have completed two major papers related to the site. The first is the undergraduate honours thesis completed by Emily Parsons. This thesis focused on the beadwork at the site (Parsons 2016). The second was the thesis written by Aaron Coons as part of his Master of Arts degree, which focused on archaeogeophysics and the statistical analysis of the site (Coons 2017).

The comparatively high number of cabins excavated at Buffalo Lake gives me the ability to conduct comparisons between domestic living conditions at a single site. Additionally, the excavation of the area outside of Cabin 3 may provide information regarding the use of space in an area that archaeologists can regard as a transition from the private sphere of the home, into the public sphere of the community. When I add data from Buffalo Lake to the information from Petite Ville and Chimney Coulee, the threads of knowledge are at their strongest and brightest and are ready for incorporation into my Métis sash of history.

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

The primary sources, secondary sources, and the archaeological record all have varying degrees of value when it comes to understanding the lives of Métis women at hivernant sites in the 1870s. Of these, it is the archaeological record that has the greatest potential to yield new information. As I weave my Métis sash of history with my analysis of the archaeological evidence, I will be mindful of all sources in order to create the strongest sash possible. In the following chapters, I will analyze the archaeological record from the three *hivernant* sites to ascertain what they can add to my knowledge of Métis women during this period.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology: Visiting with the Belongings of the Ancestors

This chapter will describe the methods used to analyze the belongings that archaeologists have recovered from each of the three study sites. As each site was excavated at various times by different individuals, I will present a brief overview of the excavation techniques used at each site. I will also discuss the impact of the differing excavation techniques on the resultant collections of belongings. I will break my analysis of the collections into four main subgroups: beads, ceramics, personal adornment, and domestic material. I chose these four subgroups based on my analysis of the catalogues from each site. I found these subgroups to have the highest volumes of belongings associated with women's activities at the sites. I will also present the methods I used to determine the primary gender association of each belonging.

I must also provide a note on terminology at this point. As noted in chapter two of this thesis, I have chosen to refer to the artifacts from each site as "belongings". Also, when working with the belongings from each site, I use the term "visiting" as opposed to "viewing", "examining" or other similar terms. This choice of terminology is reflective of the feedback that I have obtained from Métis elders and knowledge keepers. These terms more accurately reflect the concepts of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin* and the relationship that I have developed with the belongings of the ancestors. The belongings have a story to tell, and it is through archaeological analysis that I can tell their story to the world. Just as I would visit with a Métis elder to learn their stories, I visit with the belongings to learn theirs.

4.1 Excavation Methods

As noted, archaeologists conducted excavations at each site. These excavations took place over a period of several decades and were conducted by various archaeologists and institutions. It is not my intention to critique the methods used at each site. Instead, I provide the

descriptions of the methods to provide context for differences between the assemblages. It is also important to note that although I indicate the years archaeologists first formally recorded and investigated these sites, the Métis have never forgotten the locations of these sites.

4.1.1 Buffalo Lake

Richard Forbis first formally recorded the Buffalo Lake site in 1959 while he was employed by the Glenbow Foundation (Doll et al. 1988:3). In 1970, Robert Kidd of the Provincial Museum of Alberta (now the Royal Alberta Museum) initiated a series of excavations as part of the Historic Sites Program (Doll et al. 1988:1, 3). David Crone led the 1970 excavations, and Kendal Arnold led the 1971 excavations. In 1973, Maurice Doll took over the excavations under Kidd's supervision and he conducted annual excavations and surveys until 1979. Doll limited survey and excavation work at the site from 1977 through 1979, as the project directed greater resources to the nearby Boss Hill site during those years. Doll led one further field season in 1982 after bulldozer work disturbed the site (Doll et al. 1988:4).

These early excavations focused on five cabins and features directly associated with those cabins (Doll et al. 1988:4). The project also collected surface finds from seven additional cabin localities (Doll et al. 1988:203). Doll conducted excavations using 10 cm arbitrary levels and soil was screened through 6.4 mm mesh (Doll et al. 1988:7). Doll notes he used finer mesh in some cases to capture small finds such as beads, but he does not note neither the size of the mesh nor the actual amount of fill screened in this manner (Doll et al. 1988:80). In situ provenience was based on positions within an arbitrary five-foot square grid although some proveniences are only traceable to specific trenches with no finer details provided (Doll et al. 1988:80).

In 2014, Buffalo Lake was part of the University of Alberta's field school excavations. Kisha Supernant led these excavations as part of the EMITA project. Excavations focused on an

area immediately adjacent to the exterior of the cabin that Doll designated as “Cabin 3” (Coons 2017:3). Although all other excavations used in this thesis focused on the interior of cabins, this excavation can provide information on the transition from the private, domestic space of the home, into the public, shared space of the Buffalo Lake community.

The field school excavated six 1.0 x 1.0 m units, with each excavation unit further divided into quadrants. Excavators used arbitrary 5.0 cm levels and natural layers as the excavation progressed. The field school also recorded three dimensional in situ provenience with the use of a total station. Fill was screened through 1/8” (3.175 mm) screen on-site, with further wet screening of sediment samples taking place in the lab. The screened sediment samples accounted for 25% of the excavated sediments. The wet screening used stacked sieves with 2.0 mm, 1.4 mm, and 1.0 mm meshes and targeted small belongings such as beads, and ecofacts such as seeds.

The Royal Alberta Museum in Edmonton currently holds the belongings recovered during the excavations during the 1970s and 1980s. The museum granted me permission to visit with these belongings in person in February 2019. Some belongings were not available for a direct visit as they were on display within the museum galleries, and I could only view them through the glass. During this visit, the museum also gave me the opportunity to access their ethnographic collections. This allowed me to contextualize the belongings from archaeological excavations by viewing complete belongings that were not impacted by post-depositional processes. The University of Alberta field school excavations yielded 442 belongings, excluding faunal remains and ecofacts. The University of Alberta in Edmonton currently holds these belongings. I was privileged to work as a research assistant to Kisha Supernant in 2017. This allowed me to visit with the belongings on a regular basis as I catalogued the assemblage.

Following the example of Aaron Coons in his 2017 Master's thesis, I have chosen to concentrate on the belongings associated with the excavation of Cabin 3 (Coons 2017:79). As stated by Coons, the belongings associated with many of the cabins were either surface collections, or heavily disturbed. This is particularly evident through the presence of Alberta vehicle license plates clearly dated to 1928 and 1929 found in the bulldozed area near cabin four. Although Coons also included Cabins 1, 2, and 5, I have chosen to focus on Cabin 3 due to the extensive analysis of the belongings conducted by Doll et al. Additionally, the association of the 2014 field school excavations with Cabin 3 has the potential to provide a more robust portrayal of the use of space inside and outside of a cabin.

4.1.2 Chimney Coulee

In 1986, a team of archaeology students from the University of Saskatchewan mapped Chimney Coulee (Brandon 1995:13). This mapping project was part of David Burley's survey of Métis *hivernant* sites. The students noted surface finds during this survey but did not collect them (Burley et al. 1992:91). This survey identified fifty-six features clustered into seventeen groups (Burley et al. 1992:91). These features included chimney mounds and depressions of varying sizes (Burley et al. 1992:91-92).

In 1994 and 1995, John Brandon, of SENTAR Consultants Ltd., led public excavations at Chimney Coulee. Access to Archaeology, the Eastend Community Tourism Authority, and the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation funded these excavations (Brandon 1995:1). In 1998 and 2000, Brandon returned to Chimney Coulee and conducted a field school with the Regina Archaeological Society (Brandon 2000:1, 2001:i). While Brandon focused these excavations on the NWMP buildings and Isaac Cowie's HBC trading post, there is still relevance to the understanding of this site as it pertains to the Métis (Brandon 1995:1).

Brandon's excavations consisted of a total of fifty 1.0 m x 1.0 m units, thirty-nine 1.0 m x 0.5 m units, and three 0.5 m x 0.5 m units between the trading post and the NWMP buildings (Brandon 1995:29, 1996:17, 2001:11-12). During the 1994 and 1995 excavations, Brandon conducted excavations using shovels, trowels, and 6.0 mm screen mesh (Brandon 1996:9). Brandon also noted that one unit in 1995 was water screened through a "tea strainer" as part of an attempt to capture all the bones associated with a small mammal. This technique resulted in the recovery of one hundred seed beads that the archaeologists would have otherwise missed (Brandon 1996:9).

The use of this screen technique was later expanded during the 1998 and 2000 excavations when the occupation level matrix was water screened through a window screen (Brandon 2000:1, 2001:10). Brandon recovered 1,270 artifacts 1994, 932 in 1995, 5,883 in 1998 and 7,663 in 2000 (Brandon 1995:1, 1996:35, 2000:1, 2001:i). In all, Brandon reported a total of 15,748 artifacts recovered from his four field seasons. It is important to note that Brandon included floral and faunal specimens within his artifact counts. This contrasts with the other reports referenced in this thesis which considered belonging and floral/faunal counts to be distinct points of data. Removing the floral and faunal specimens from Brandon's counts results in a total of 7,237 belongings recovered during his excavations. To maintain consistency with the belonging counts from the other sites, this will be the value used in this thesis. The Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina currently holds the belongings from the 1994 and 1995 excavations, and I was able to visit with them in July 2019. The belongings from the 1998 and 2000 excavations are still in Brandon's possession and I did not have the opportunity to visit with them.

Brandon's excavations have the potential to provide a fuller picture of life at Chimney

Coulee in the time immediately before and after the occupation by the Métis *hivernant* families. As a Métis style longhouse, Cowie's post offers the opportunity to study Métis architecture in more detail. It also offers insights into the types of trade goods that were available to the Métis at these posts. Furthermore, since Cowie reported that he travelled with several Métis hunters, there is the chance to discover how the life of the independent Métis hunter compared to the life of the Métis *hivernant* (Cowie 1913:422).

Brandon's 1998 and 2000 excavations offer tantalizing clues that the Métis hunters may have had their families with them at Cowie's post. These clues come in the form of belongings such as a doll's foot, beads, and a button from a woman's shoe (Brandon 2001:18). Thus, there is a research opportunity to investigate the similarities and differences between the lifeways of Métis hunters/traders and Métis *hivernants.* Due to time and resource constraints, I will not take up the challenge to analyze the lengthy series of occupations at Chimney Coulee and will instead focus on the later excavations conducted by Kisha Supernant.

In 2013, Supernant led a test pit survey of the site. This survey consisted of five shovel tests and one excavation unit. Supernant's team conducted the first shovel test in the vicinity of the earlier NWMP buildings and they placed the subsequent four in an area deemed likely to be the site of a Métis cabin. While these shovel tests were unproductive, a final shovel test in a new area immediately proved to contain historic belongings and Supernant expanded it to a 1.0 m x 0.5 m excavation unit. The University of Alberta in Edmonton currently holds the belongings from this excavation, and I have been able visit with the belongings on a regular basis throughout my research.

The success of the final shovel test in 2013 led to a series of excavations taking place at Chimney Coulee in 2017, 2018 and 2019. Kisha Supernant again led these excavations as part of

the EMITA project. These excavations focused on the area immediately adjacent to the unit excavated in 2013. The similarity of the assemblage to those found at Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake helped to determine that the site was part of the Métis *hivernant* occupation at Chimney Coulee.

In total, Supernant excavated eleven units. This included nine 1.0 m x 1.0 m units which incorporated the 1.0 m x 0.5 m unit from 2013, a 2.0 m x 0.5 m unit which transected a pit feature outside of the presumed cabin walls, and a 0.5 m x 0.5 m unit. Tebby opened this final unit in order confirm the interpretation of ground penetrating radar data which suggested the presence of the cabin wall (Wadsworth et al. 2021:328). This unit successfully provided evidence of the wall in the form of a "woody trench" which paralleled similar woody trenches in the other units and helped to determine a general size and orientation of the cabin.

As with the excavations at Buffalo Lake, Supernant used arbitrary 5 cm levels and natural layers as the excavation progressed and recorded three dimensional in situ provenience with the use of a total station. The matrix from all three years of excavations was wet screened through window screen and archaeologists have recovered a total of 4,807 belongings to date. The University of Alberta currently holds these belongings where researchers are continuing to process, analyze, and visit with them. In addition to the excavated material, the EMITA project took samples for the purposes of ethnobotanical and geophysical studies which are currently ongoing.

4.1.3 Petite Ville

In 1975, Paul Donahue was the first archaeologist to visit the Petite Ville site as part of his research for Parks Canada (Burley et al. 1992:46). Formal surveys took place a few years later in 1979 by Dana-Mae Granger and Brian Ross (Grainger and Ross 1980). Granger and Ross

did not conduct excavations during either of these survey visits and did not note any surface collections. David Burley conducted further surveys at the site in 1986 and identified 177 features in twenty-six discrete clusters (Burley et al. 1988a:50). Burley subsequently conducted excavations at one of these clusters which he designated as "Cluster A" (Burley et al. 1988a:52).

Burley excavated nine 0.5 m x 0.5 m test pits and nine trenches of varying sizes in Cluster A for a volume of 4.0 m^2 (Burley et al. 1988b:194-195). He and his team then performed screening through 6.4 mm mesh and maintained proveniences to 0.5 m x 0.5 m units (Burley et al. 1988b:196). While Burley notes that he conducted excavations in levels, he does not note the depth of these levels. Burley did not note three-dimensional provenience in his reporting.

These excavations revealed a structure with two fireplaces, possibly indicating a two-room building, that was approximately 8.5 m to 9.0 m in length and between 5.5 m and 6.0 m in length (Burley et al. 1986:200). Burley identified a series of features with minimal belongings that were located outside the back wall of the structure as mudding pits, and he interpreted another nearby feature outside of the structure as storage pit or cellar (Burley et al. 1986:200).

More extensive excavations of Cluster A took place in 1998, 1999, and 2000 when Petite Ville served as the field school for the University of Saskatchewan's Department of Anthropology and Archaeology (Weinbender 2003:46). Margaret Kennedy led these excavations, and they formed the basis for Kimberly Weinbender's Master of Arts thesis. Over these three years, the field school excavated a total of 62.0 m^2 (Weinbender 2003:46). During these excavations, Kennedy and Weinbender initially collected and screened dirt through a 6.0 mm screen. As their work progressed, they quickly realized that due to the small nature of most of the belongings, they required a smaller screen size. Thus, they screened the natural sod layers with 4.5 mm screen and used window screen (~2.0 mm) for the 5.0 cm arbitrary levels

(Weinbender 2003:48).

Kennedy and Weinbender also used three-dimensional provenience when possible, but the small size of the belongings meant that they found many in the screen. During the 1998 excavations, belongings found in the screen had provenience based on the 5.0 cm arbitrary levels and 1.0 x 1.0 m units (Weinbender 2003:49). In the subsequent 1999 and 2000 excavations, the screened provenience they refined this to 0.5 m x 0.5 m for each arbitrary level (Weinbender 2003:49).

Burley's testing yielded 193 belongings (Burley 1986). The Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina currently holds these belongings. The museum granted me permission to visit with these belongings in person in July 2019. The field school excavations yielded 14,033 belongings, the vast amount of these being beads. The University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon currently holds these belongings and Margaret Kennedy facilitated my visit with these belongings in July 2019.

4.1.4 Excavation Summary

Since all excavations focused on cabins, or the space immediately adjacent to cabins, they are good representations of domestic life at Métis *hivernant* sites. Also, as ethnographic evidence points to the home and related domestic activities as being the domain of Métis women, these sites can provide insights into women's activities and their interactions with their families (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:58-59). It has therefore been determined that these three sites are appropriate for inclusion within this thesis.

Site	Year(s)	Excavation Focus	Number & Size of Units	Number of Belongings	Location of Belongings
Buffalo Lake	1970 1971 1973 1975 1976 1978 1982	Cabins 1 through 5 (Surface collections only at cabins 6 through 12)	44 trenches of varying sizes and shapes in addition to surface collections	12,415 (Cabin 3) *1,411 (Remaining Cabins)	Royal Alberta Museum
Buffalo Lake	2014	Cabin 3 – Exterior	6 – 1.0x1.0	442	University of Alberta
Chimney Coulee	1994 1995 1998 2000	NWMP and HBC buildings	17 – 1.0x1.0 20 – 1.0x0.5 3 – 0.5x0.5	*7,237 (Belongings only)	Royal Saskatchewan Museum (1994 and 1995) John Brandon (1998 and 2000)
Chimney Coulee	2013 2017 2018 2019	Métis cabin	9 – 1.0x1.0 1 – 1.0x0.5 1 – 2.0 x0.5 1 – 0.5x0.5	4,807	University of Alberta
Petite Ville	1986	Cluster A	2 – 1.0x1.0 1 – 4.5x0.5 1 – 3.5x0.5 3 – 3.0x0.5 1 – 2.0x0.5 1 – 1.5x0.5 9 – 0.5x0.5	193	Royal Saskatchewan Museum
Petite Ville	1998 1999 2000	Cluster A	55 – 1.0x1.0 6 – 1.0x 0.5 1 – 0.5x0.5 3 – partial 1.0x1.0 2 – 1.0x1.0 with only 3 quads	14,033	University of Saskatchewan

Table 4.1: Summary of Excavation Activities at Each Study Site. Note that the belonging count for Brandon's excavations at Chimney Coulee omit the faunal materials that he included in his total artifact count. This was done to be consistent with the counts from the other sites. Sources: Brandon 1995, 1996, 2000, 2001; Burley 1986; Coons et al. 2021; Doll et al. 1988:84; Doll 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1982; and Weinbender 2003:112.
* Indicates belongings that I have excluded from this thesis.

The inconsistent use of screen size across the excavations has the potential to make direct

comparisons difficult. For example, at Buffalo Lake, Doll only switched to finer screens when he noted seed beads (Doll et al. 1988:80). Given the vast number of seed beads found at each site, I can infer that the techniques used were successful in capturing a reasonable sample of the small finds at each site. I will therefore not consider the inconsistent screen size as an impediment to comparisons across the sites. The only exception to this is the series of excavations at Chimney Coulee that were associated with the NWMP buildings and the HBC trading post which only used a fine screen for a portion of a single excavation unit. As already noted, I will be excluding these excavations from this thesis.

Overall, I deemed the excavation techniques used by archaeologists at each site to be similar enough to allow for a comparison of the resultant assemblages. I summarize the methods I used to analyze these assemblages after my visits with them in the following section.

4.2 Visiting with the Belongings: Assemblage Analysis

During my visits with the assemblages, it was quickly apparent that there were four broad categories of belongings that were related to the lifeways of Métis women: beads, ceramics, personal adornment, and other domestic belongings. Although I could include the ceramics within the other domestic category, there were enough of them present at each site that I deemed it appropriate to give them their own category. I describe the methods that I used to analyze each broad category below.

4.2.1 Bead Analysis

Beadwork is strongly associated with Métis women. Although this thesis aims to go "beyond the beads" and examine other aspects of the lives of Métis women, it would not be possible to present a full picture without analyzing beads. This is especially true since glass trade beads are one of several diagnostic indicators that indicate the possibility of Métis occupation at

an archaeological site (Supernant 2018:10). Described as the "flower beadwork people" by their Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota neighbours[2], their colourful beaded designs are as distinctive as the sashes they are known for (Brasser 1985:225). Like the sash, beadwork is representative of the skills of Métis women as artisans and the importance of that art to the Métis community as a whole.

Due to the vast number of beads found at each site, and the limitations related to accessing the beads held at each institution, detailed analysis of the various attributes of the beads found at the study sites is not possible. To address this, my thesis relies on the work previously done by Weinbender and Doll, as well as a sample set from the beads recovered from Chimney Coulee. I chose this sample set based on the bead analysis that I completed prior to the closure of the University of Alberta lab due to the 2020-2021 Covid-19 pandemic. This comparison is possible due to the relative homogeneity of beads found at each site with archaeologists identifying the majority as drawn tubular glass beads, also known as "seed beads" (Doll et al. 1988:113, Weinbender 2003:87).

Where I identified bead type outliers, a more in-depth analysis took place when possible. I did not include beads directly associated with rosaries and jewelry in the general bead analysis and instead included them in the personal adornment belonging analysis. The physical attribute analysis included the use of the Munsell colour coding system under fluorescent lighting to replicate the techniques used by Doll and Weinbender (Doll et al. 1988:113, Weinbender 2003:169). I also used the Karklins (1985) bead identification system to determine the type of bead.

[2] Past researchers have attributed this description of the Métis to these Nations, but in doing so have used a term that is considered derogatory by the Nations themselves. Out of respect for these Nations, I have used their preferred terminology here.

The site distribution analysis of the beads can provide insights into the work practices of the women themselves. Beads found in areas of low bead concentration may be indicative of the accidental loss of beads from finished beadwork or the dislodgement of the occasional bead caught in the clothing of the beadworker. In contrast, areas of high bead concentration may indicate the workspace of the beadworker. The accrual of beads in the workspace may be related to the accidental spillage of beads or the intentional discard of defective beads. I will therefore not discount the possibility of bead accumulation due to floor sweeping and "traps' such as cellars and other depressions.

To determine bead concentration at each site, I mapped the bead totals to the excavation units. When possible, I also mapped the bead totals were to the unit quadrant level. I then compared these results with any identified site features such as hearths and doorways to determine if I could identify any workspace patterns. Since beadwork requires a certain level of light, I also used these identified workspaces to infer the presence and location of light sources. Since the Métis primarily occupied the cabins at each study site during the winter, a period of limited daylight, external light sources would be necessary but difficult to pinpoint in the archaeological record. The identification of beading workspaces may help to extrapolate the position of lighting sources such as lamps or candles, or even architectural features such as windows.

4.2.2 Ceramic Analysis

Another type of belonging that contributes to the diagnosis of an archaeological site as Métis is the presence of ceramics (Supernant 2018:11). As I considered these objects to be primarily domestic in nature, I deemed them to have a strong association with the traditional roles fulfilled by Métis women. From a purely practical standpoint, sturdier and coarser ceramics

or even tinware may have been more suited for use within a winter hunting community. It is therefore interesting that archaeologists have consistently found finer ceramics at all three study sites. I will discuss potential reasons for the persistence of ceramics at these sites in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Although typically found as fragments, the original objects would have included jugs, bowls, plates, and teacups. The ceramic materials themselves range from plain, coarse ceramics, to finely patterned examples. In some cases, the surviving markings include makers marks and identifiable patterns. Analysis of the ceramics will be similar to that of the beads and will include physical attributes, sources, and site distribution.

When compared to the beads, the volume of ceramics identified at each site is much more manageable. This enabled me to create a summary of all identifiable ceramics present at each site and I deemed a sample set to be unnecessary. I divided ceramics into groups based on the ceramic type and identifiable patterns. For this, the work previously done by Weinbender at Petite Ville and Doll at Buffalo Lake was relied on for those sites and I followed their example for the work I did on the Chimney Coulee belongings. I identified ceramic patterns not previously identified by Doll or Weinbender though the use of the Lynne Sussman's Occasional Paper on the Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns (Sussman 1979).

When ceramic patterns were identifiable, I also identified their location of manufacture. I then used this information to see I could identify the channels of distribution within North America. Although I expected the Métis to acquire the majority from the HBC networks, I hoped I could also identify additional trade networks. I was particularly curious to see if ceramics from the Chimney Coulee site showed evidence of trade interactions with American traders given the proximity of the site to the American border.

Like the site distribution analysis of the beads, a similar analysis applied to the ceramics can provide insights into the activities of the women. Areas of high ceramic concentration may be indicative of cabin areas devoted to cooking, eating, and the entertainment of guests. Notably, the use of ceramics in the preparation and serving of food and the following clean-up are domestic activities highly associated with the traditional roles of Métis women. The accrual of ceramics in these areas may be related to the accidental breakage of ceramics while performing these activities. As with the beads, I will not discount the possibility of ceramics accumulation due to floor sweeping. To determine ceramic concentration at each site, I mapped the ceramic totals to the excavation units. When possible, I also mapped ceramic totals to the unit quadrant level. I then analyzed these results to determine if I could identify any patterns.

4.2.3 Personal Adornment Analysis

In comparison to Métis men, Métis women dressed in a more subdued fashion (Hourie and Barkwell 2006:74). Despite this, the women were known to use items related to personal adornment that the men did not also wear. This means that belongings related to personal adornment are some of the few items that can be directly associated with Métis women. Métis women would have worn items such as earrings, brooches, and other small types of personal jewelry. There is evidence of this in historic photographs such as the one in Figure 4.1.

A subset of personal adornment is the category of religious iconography. Since the Métis often wore or used items such as crucifixes, saint's medallions, and rosaries, I have chosen to include them in this category for discussion. I recognize that for most people, the significance of these items is much deeper than the meanings associated with personal jewelry. As Roman Catholics, the Métis would have used acquired these items from the church and from the Oblate priests that often travelled with them. The presence of these items may be indicative of a Métis

household as opposed to a Protestant trader or settler.

Figure 4.1: The Daughters of Edward McKay, Fort Walsh, Saskatchewan [ca. 1875-1899]. Note the various forms of personal adornment, including a cross at the neck of one woman. Image Source: Glenbow Archives, NA-4541-1.

While religious Métis of either gender would have used these belongings, I have chosen to include them in my research into the lives of Métis women for two main reasons. First, these belongings are reflective of the religious beliefs of the entire family. Religion therefore plays a role in the relationship that Métis women would have had with her family, her community, and with the spirit world. Second, recorded oral traditions indicate that women were responsible for

the spiritual needs and education of their families (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:59). Belongings related to religion found in a domestic setting could be indicative of a woman embracing this role within her household.

Unlike seed beads and broken sherds of ceramics, individuals would have searched for items related to personal adornment upon the discovery of their loss. As heavily curated items, it is therefore unsurprising that there are very few examples from each site. This enabled me to visit with each belonging on an individual basis. The analysis of these items will therefore focus on relating the story that each object can tell as opposed to a statistical or spatial analysis.

4.2.4 Visiting with Other Domestic Belongings

I also identified other belongings in the assemblages that I could examine from a feminist point of view. The belongings did not fit neatly into the categories described above and I therefore visited with them independently. Most of these belongings were associated with activities traditionally performed by women such as hide preparation, food preparation, and childcare. I also acknowledge that Métis men could have performed these tasks too, especially if they were widowed or lived as a bachelor. In most households however, women would have been the primary individuals performing these activities.

To aid in my visits with the belongings, I coded items as being associated with men, women, or both. This allowed me to concentrate on the specific items associated with women during my visits. I discuss the results of these visits in Chapter 6 of this thesis. The determination of whether a belonging was associated with women was based on ethnographic evidence. I assigned gender based on who I would expect to use the item the most during the primary processing/use of the item. For example, ethnographic evidence suggests that men performed much of the bison hunting and building construction activities (Callihoo 1953:21, 1960, 25).

Based on this, although women processed the resultant meat and hides from the hunt, and lived in the homes that the men constructed, I coded belongings related to hunting or construction as being primarily associated with men. Likewise, although men wore beaded clothing and ate food from ceramic dishes, it was the women who were primarily involved in beadwork and food preparation (Hodgson-Smith and Kermoal 2016: 153, 155).

Ceramics related to the consumption of tea are strongly associated with women as this was one way in which Métis women could demonstrate their social standing to each other. A woman using European ceramics to serve tea to her visitors demonstrated that she understood the proper etiquette associated with tea. It would also indicate that she had the social standing and material resources to use the delicate ceramics, even while overwintering during the bison hunt (Weinbender 2003:148; Burley 1989:104). For these reasons, I coded ceramics as being associated primarily with women even though men would have also used the ceramics and were the purchasers of the items. The ceramics formed a large enough sub-category that I was able to discuss them on their own per section 4.2.2.

Finally, I considered what might be missing from the archaeological record. The absence of certain items described within the ethnographic record could be indicative of durable objects. For example, I would not expect a tin plate to break when dropped, unlike its ceramic counterpart. Absent items could be indicative of the level of curation associated with those items. For example, a beading needle would be more difficult to replace than a straight pin and therefore a beadworker would spend more time in trying to retrieve a dropped beading needle.

4.3 Chapter Conclusion

The methodologies described in this section provide a high-level description of how archaeologists excavated each site and my approach to analysing the belongings as I visited with

them. The next chapter will provide the reader with the detailed data that I gathered during my visits with the belongings. This data will then form the basis of my interpretation of the stories told by the belongings which I will present in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5: Project Analysis: Listening to The Stories Told by the Belongings of the Ancestors

Before I can begin to tell the stories of the belongings of the Métis ancestors, I need to practice an important part of *keeoukaywin*: listening. As an archaeologist, I perform this listening through visiting with the belongings themselves and exploring their attributes. These attributes include spatial distribution, origins, physical descriptions, and other key qualities. Throughout this chapter, I will summarize the attributes that I observed during my visits with the belongings. As I did with the previous chapter, I will be breaking down this chapter into the following four major subgroups: beads, ceramics, personal adornment, and other domestic belongings found at the sites.

5.1 Beads: The Tiniest Belongings

The most common belongings found at Métis sites are beads. Despite their tiny size, archaeologists have recovered beads in their thousands at each of the study sites. In this section, I will detail the attributes of the beads found at each site. I will start with a basic numerical count to show how the beads vastly outnumber other categories of belongings. I will follow this with maps showing the spatial distribution of beads at each site. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the physical attributes of the beads, including colours, sizes, and physical outliers.

5.1.1 Beads: Numerical Summary

Table 5.1 presents the total number of beads recovered from each site and shows the bead total as a percentage of all belongings recovered. Table 5.2 provides a summary of the methods used to recover beads at each site. The information in Table 5.2 is presented to provide additional context for the quantity of beads recovered from each site. My discussion of this data will begin

with the sites with the lowest concentration of beads and progress to the sites with the highest concentrations.

Site and Excavation Years	Total Number of Beads Recovered	Total Number of Belongings Recovered	Beads as a % of All Belongings Recovered
Buffalo Lake - Cabin 3 (1975/76)	11,762	12,415	94.74%
Buffalo Lake (2014)	182	442	41.18%
Buffalo Lake Total	*11,944*	*12,857*	*92.90%*
Chimney Coulee (2013, 2017-2019)	2,589	4,807	53.86%
Petite Ville (1986)	72	193	37.31%
Petite Ville (1998-2000)	9,513	14,033	67.79%
Petite Ville Total	*9,585*	*14,226*	*67.38%*
All Sites Total	**24,118**	**31,890**	**75.63%**
All Sites Average %	--	--	**71.38%**

Table 5.1: Recovered bead totals from the three study sites. Sources: Burley et al. 1986; Coons et al. 2021; Doll et al. 1988:84, 112; and Weinbender 2003:111.

Site and Excavation Years	Bead Recovery Method(s)
Buffalo Lake - Cabin 3 (1975/76)	Fill was screened through 6.4 mm mesh. Finer mesh used when concentrations of beads noted. Water floatation of cellar fill samples. The majority of beads were recovered using this method.
Buffalo Lake (2014)	Fill was screened through 3.175 mm mesh. 25% of the fill was sampled and wet screened through stacked sieves with 2.0 mm, 1.4 mm, and 1.0 mm meshes.
Chimney Coulee (2013, 2017-2019)	Sod layers were screened through 10.0 mm mesh Remaining layers were wet screened through window screen (~2.0 mm).
Petite Ville (1986)	Fill was screened through 6.4 mm mesh.
Petite Ville (1998-2000)	Fill was initially screened through a 6.0 mm screen. Screening was then switched to 4.5 mm screen for sod layers and window screen (~2.0 mm) for the remaining layers.

Table 5.2: Summary of bead recovery methods used at each site. Sources: Burley et al. 1988b:196; Doll et al. 1988:80 and 112; and Weinbender 2003:48.

As can be seen in Table 5.1, beads represent an average of over 70% of the belongings recovered when looking at all excavations conducted at each site. Based on these numbers, it is easy to understand why beads are so important in determining whether a site is affiliated with the

Métis. The excavations with the lowest values for beads as a percentage of all recovered belongings are Burley's excavations at Petite Ville in 1986 and Supernant's excavations at Buffalo Lake in 2014. This can be accounted for by the excavation methodologies used at each site (see Table 5.2). In the following paragraphs I will expand on these methodologies and how they impacted the recovery of beads.

Since Burley was conducting a survey of Petite Ville, the locations of his excavation units and shovel tests were a mixture of areas inside and outside what he determined to be a cabin (Burley et al., 1992:51). The storage of beads, accidental loss during beadworking, and the shedding of loose beads from completed objects are activities that result in the entry of beads into the archaeological record. These activities are likely to occur within the cabin, especially during the winter months during which the Métis primarily occupied this site. Since Burley's excavations included areas outside the cabins, I do not consider the lower concentrations of beads to be unexpected. An additional factor to consider is that Burley did not conduct any screening beyond the use of 6.4 mm mesh (Burley et al. 1988b:196). Since Kennedy's later excavations showed that most recovered beads were 4 mm and smaller, it is likely that Burley's screening methods missed many beads (Weinbender 2003:88).

I initially attributed the comparatively low concentration of beads recovered in 2014 from Buffalo Lake to the purposeful location of the excavation units outside of the walls of Cabin 3. While these excavations were conducted in an area where beadworking and bead storage activities were unlikely, beads still make up a considerable proportion of the assemblage. Since only 25% of the fill was screened through fine sieves, the approximate count of beads could be four times higher. If this hypothesis was correct, the final bead count would increase to 728 beads for a total of 988 belongings. Beads would therefore represent 73.68% of the assemblage.

I attribute this high proportion of beads located outside the cabin to the positioning of the excavation units. Supernant hypothesized that the excavations were positioned at the entry into the cabin (Supernant, Personal Communication 2021). The movement of people in and out of the cabin would increase the likelihood of people shedding loose beads from clothing in this area. If there were any sweeping activities taking place, floor sweepings that included loose beads could accumulate outside the door if the person cleaning swept them outside. Finally, the area immediately outside the cabin door may have also been a place where beading took place on warmer days.

Of note are the high percentages of beads at Buffalo Lake (1975/1976) and Petite Ville (1998-2000). As the reader will see in the next subsection, each of these sites has large concentrations of beads associated with features identified as refuse pits or cellars (Doll et al. 1988:112, Weinbender 2003:115). Weinbender hypothesized that these concentrations are the result of the pit features acting as "traps" which served as a collection point for the small beads (Weinbender 2003:115). Although Supernant excavated a pit feature identified as Excavation Unit 8 (EU8) at Chimney Coulee, she only recovered thirty-five beads from the feature. It is important to note that this feature was determined to be outside the cabin walls. As beadwork activities were more likely to take place within the cabin during the main occupation season of winter, I propose that the relative lack of beads in features with the same characteristics as EU8 (i.e., fully outside the cabin walls) is to be expected. For future research projects, I would anticipate that the excavation of pit features within the cabin walls at Métis sites would show high volumes of bead accumulation.

Alternative explanations for the accumulation of beads in the pit features at Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake could be the intentional storage of beads. I also do not discard the idea that the

number of beads is simply related to accidental spills. A further explanation that I considered for the high Buffalo Lake numbers is related to the way Doll excavated Feature 2. For this feature, Doll notes he collected "large samples of earth" and then used water floatation to screen the fill (Doll et al. 1988:112). Doll does not report using this method on the excavations for any other cabin sites at Buffalo Lake. Indeed, excavations at the other four cabins only resulted in 1,446 beads (1,379 from Cabin 5) being recovered compared to the 11,762 beads recovered from Cabin 3 (Doll et al. 1988:139, 153, 163-164, 180, 199-200).

Thus, even at Buffalo Lake, the bead totals at Cabin 3 may represent an outlier. While Doll's screening methods may partially account for this, there is another possibility. Within the catalogue for this excavation, Doll notes a "bead concentration bag" which contained 2,484 individual beads from Feature 2. I considered that there was the possibility that these beads were part of a completed piece of beadwork that the Métis discarded and then was subsequently destroyed during Doll's excavation of the soil samples. Emily Parsons also considered this possibility in her undergraduate honors thesis (Parsons 2016:41).

Doll also recovered fragments of silk fabric from Feature 2 and wool and silk fragments from nearby Feature 3 (Doll et al. 1988:336-337). This indicates that the site had favourable conditions for the preservation of at least some types of textiles. While there is still the possibility that soil conditions destroyed the leather or textile that the beadworker had originally attached these beads to, I consider it unlikely that Doll and his team would have missed the presence of material or leather remnants during floatation of the sample. Without further information regarding the state of the bead concentration when Doll's team identified it, I am unable to confirm or refute whether the bead concentration represents a piece of discarded beadwork.

Even the consideration that Doll's sampling strategy may have destroyed a potential beadwork sample highlights the need for care when excavating Métis sites. This is particularly evident when considering the example of the Chimney Coulee site. When cataloguing and counting the beads at the Chimney Coulee site, I omitted approximately 350 beads from the count. These beads were part of a floral pattern that my colleague Eric Tebby revealed with painstaking care (Figure 5.1). While the fabric or leather that the beadworker originally attached her design to does not seem to have survived, the pattern remains. The cataloguer gave the pattern a single catalogue number and treated it as a single belonging, just as they would have had the backing material survived.

Figure 5.1: The Chimney Coulee beadwork in situ. Photograph courtesy of the Exploring Métis Identity through Archaeology Project.

Through the totals of beads found at each site, the reader can easily see why archaeologists can use the presence of beads as a diagnostic artifact when they determine whether a site is associated with the Métis. In the next section, I will continue my discussion with the beads on the topic of their spatial distribution at each site.

5.1.2 Beads: Spatial Distribution Summary

By determining the spatial distribution of each class of belongings, I hoped to gain an understanding of how the women at each site used and shared their space. To accomplish this goal, I mapped the bead totals for each site. Due to the differences in excavation unit layout at each site, some maps are more detailed than others. For example, I could only associate many of the beads recovered at Buffalo Lake in 1975 and 1976 to the 1.5 m in diameter feature that Doll associated them with. This contrasts with Chimney Coulee in which I was able to map to the 0.5 m x 0.5 m quadrant. I did not map the 1986 Petite Ville excavations as all beads came from a single excavation unit that Burley identified as a refuse pit (Burley et al. 1992:52, 56).

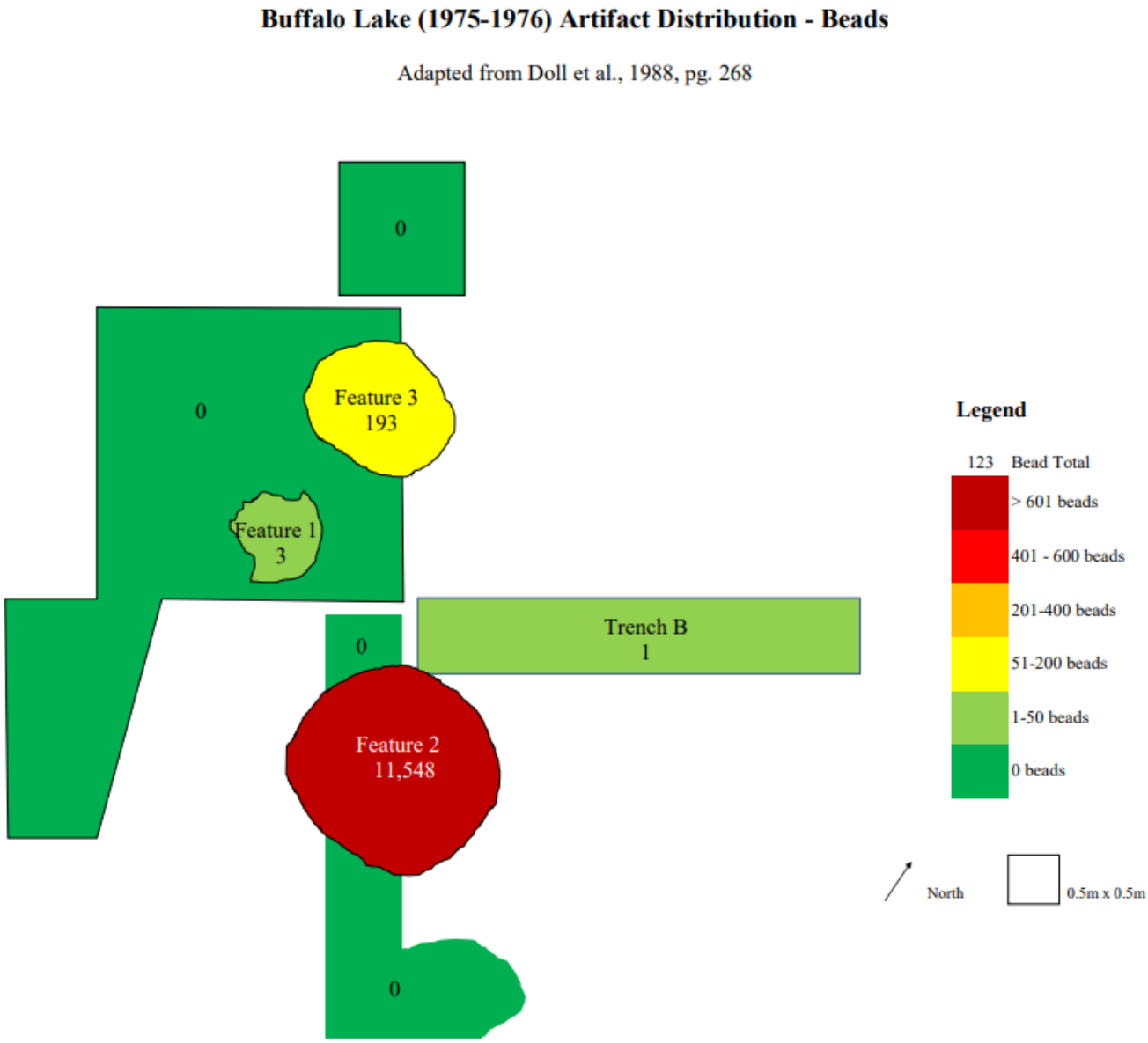

Figure 5.2: Spatial distribution of beads at Buffalo Lake (1975-1976). Source: Doll 1975, 1976.

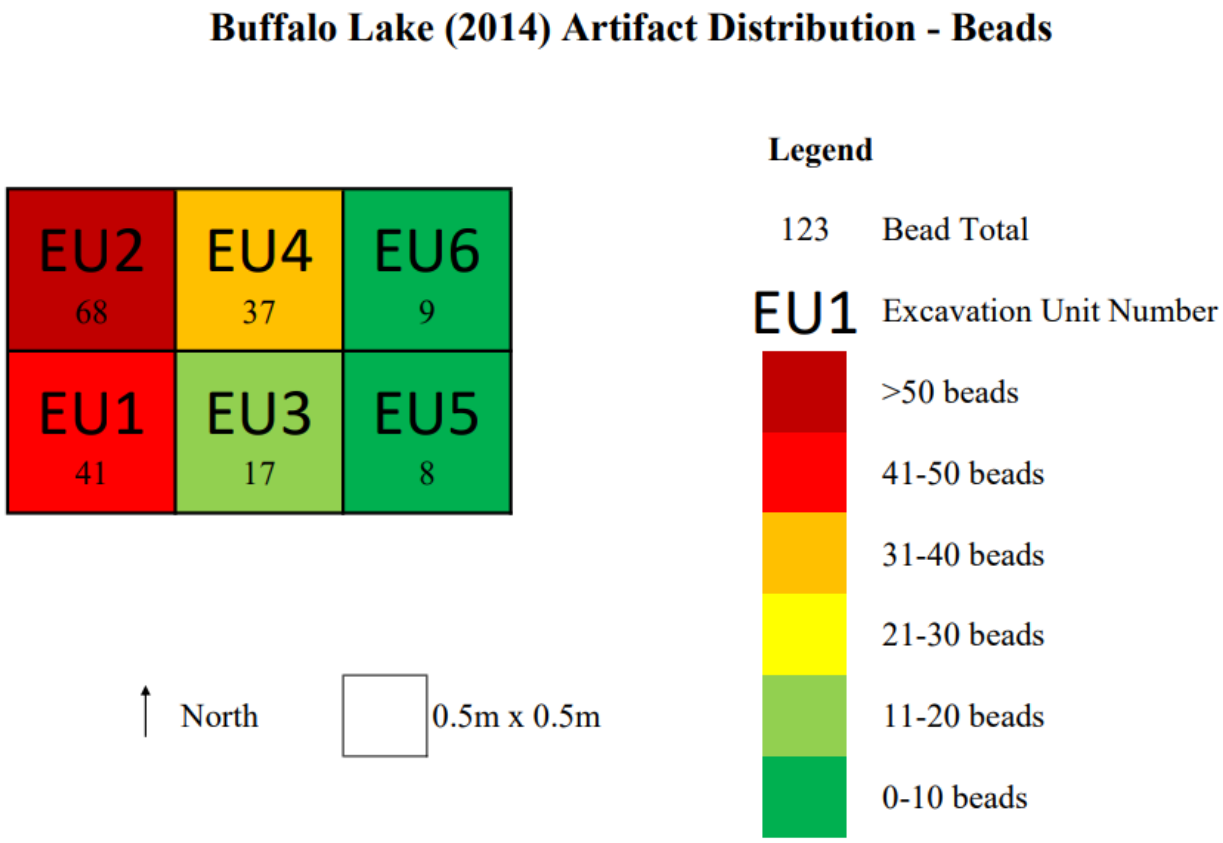

Figure 5.3: Spatial distribution of beads at Buffalo Lake (2014). Source: Coons et al. 2021.

Doll focused his 1975-1976 excavations at Buffalo Lake on the interior of Cabin 3. Of the three features he identified, it was the pit identified as Feature 2 that showed the highest concentration of beads. As discussed in the previous sub-section, this concentration may have been the result of bead storage or a spill of beads. It is important to note that the excavations outside of the features were devoid of beads. This contrasts with Petite Ville and Chimney Coulee where excavators recovered beads from almost all the excavation units. Excavation techniques may have accounted for this discrepancy as Doll used quarter inch screens unless he identified bead concentrations as he did in the two pit features (Doll et al. 1988:80).

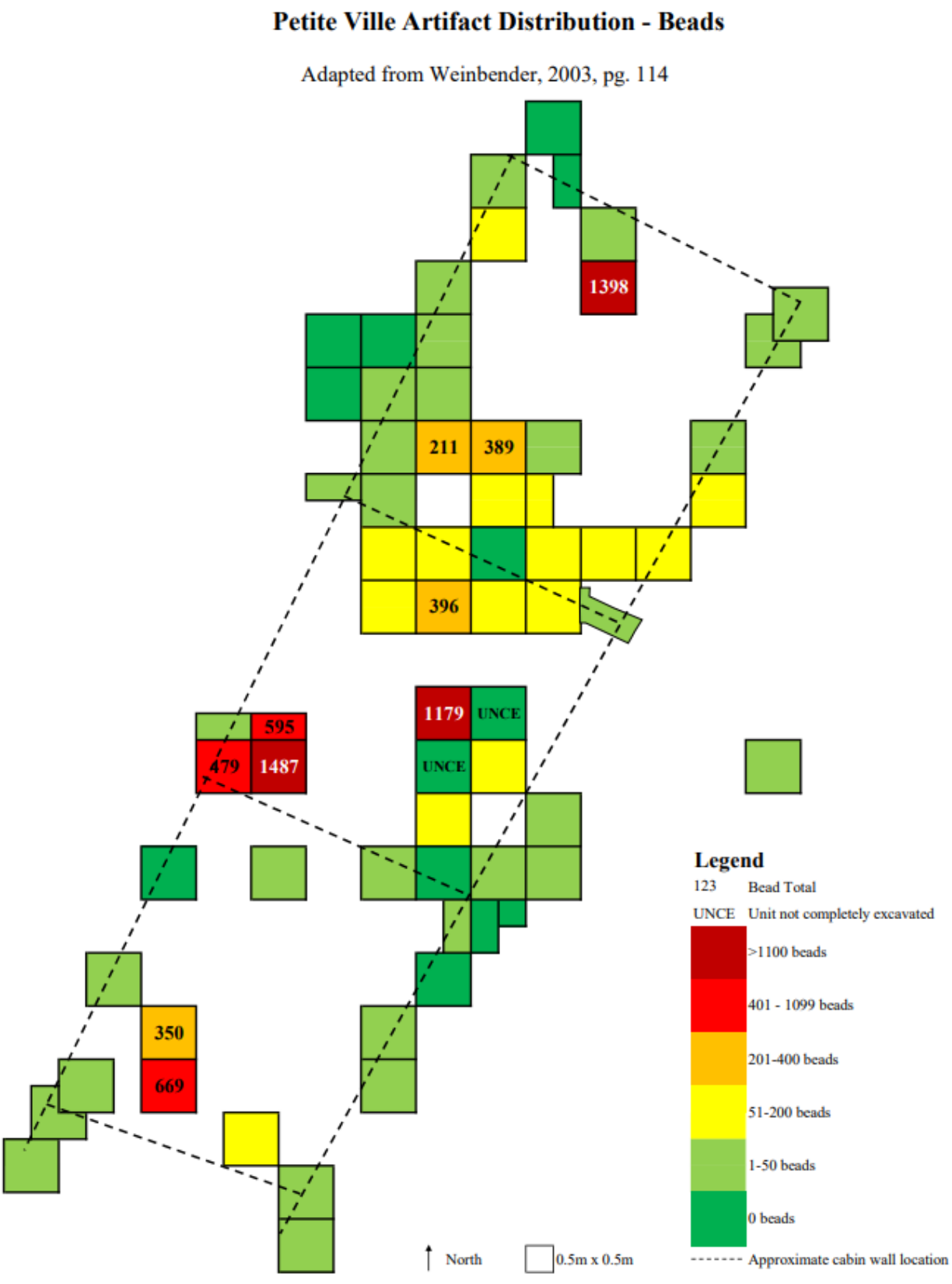

Figure 5.4: Spatial distribution of beads at Petite Ville. Source: Weinbender 2003:114.

Weinbender identified six areas of high bead concentrations. Of these, she noted that two were associated with storage or refuse pits and that the features may have acted as "traps" for stray beads (Weinbender 2003:115). Surprisingly, the highest concentration of beads was not associated with a pit feature. Weinbender recovered 2,561 beads from three excavation units along the western wall of the structure (Figure 5.4). Weinbender proposes that this area was the site of repeated beadworking sessions (Weinbender 2003:116). During beadworking, the women would have discarded malformed beads and accidental spills may have occurred. Repeated beadworking sessions would have resulted in a localized accumulation of beads over time. My personal experience with beadworking has shown that I tend to find loose beads in the areas in which I bead most often. I therefore agree with Weinbender's assessment of the activities taking place in this area of the cabin.

The spatial distribution mapping of Chimney Coulee revealed two "hot spots" in excavation units 4 and 6 (Figure 5.5). These hot spots were not associated with any identifiable features, but Supernant identified a hearth feature in three of the quadrants of EU 9. The fourth quadrant of this excavation unit does show an elevated concentration of beads. This, in conjunction with the nearby hot spots in EU 4 and EU 6 may be indicative of beadworking activities taking place close to the warmth of the fire. I would require further excavations to confirm this hypothesis. Also of note in this mapping is the previously mentioned lack of beads in EU 8. This excavation unit partially transected a pit feature with the centre of the pit being positioned in the far East quadrant. The relative lack of beads in this feature compared to the pit features at Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville suggests a different purpose for this pit. As the pit appears to be positioned outside of the cabin, it is more likely that it was used as a source of mud

for cabin construction as opposed to the cellar features that were identified at Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville.

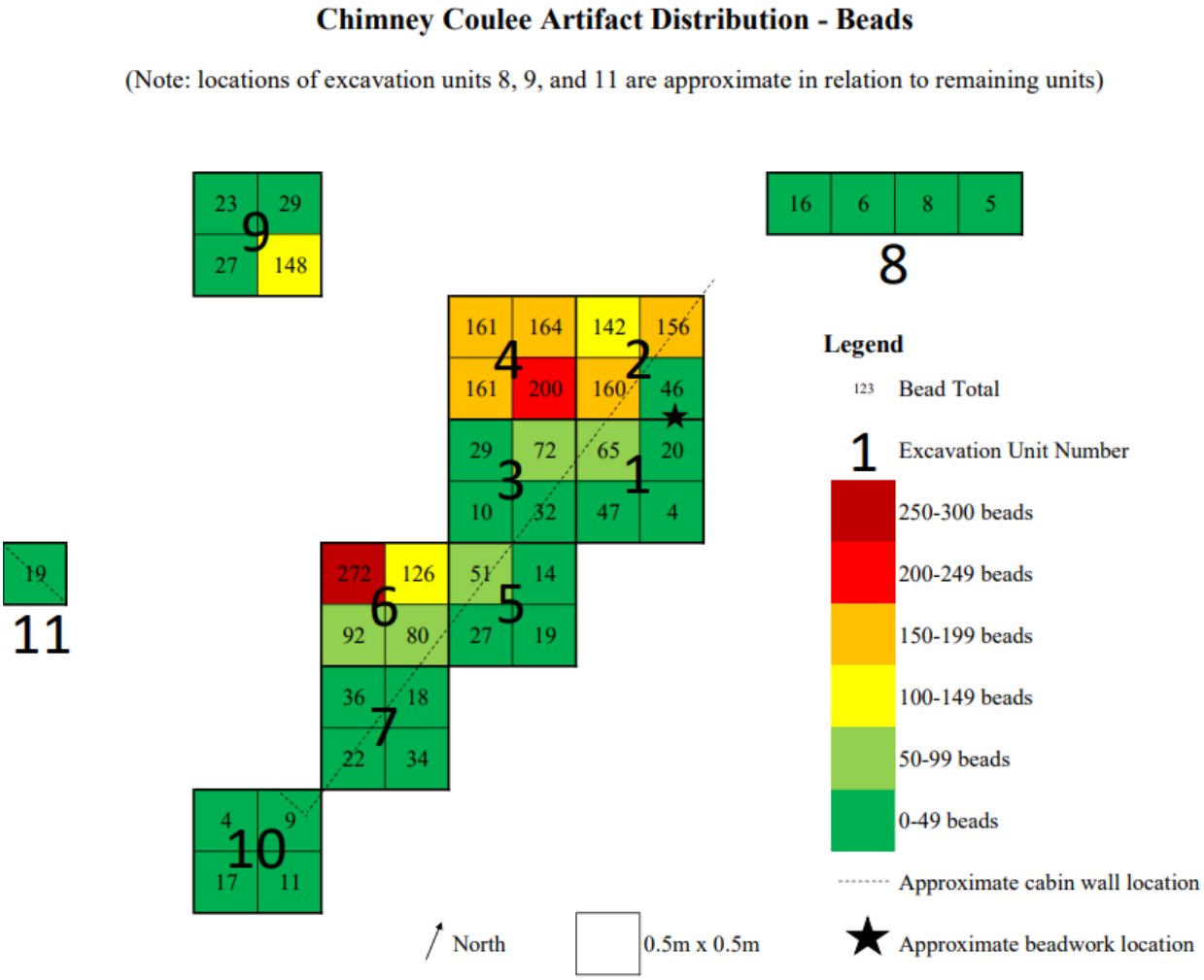

Figure 5.5: Spatial distribution of beads at Chimney Coulee. Source: Coons et al. 2021.

The spatial distribution of beads at each site exhibits some general patterns. The first pattern is that pit features located within the cabin walls seem to serve as collection points for beads while those outside the walls do not. It is also important to note that Chimney Coulee and Petite Ville also show areas of bead concentration that are outside of the pit features. These could be areas where repeated beadworking sessions took place and could therefore be indicative of women's use of space and the location of lighting levels sufficient for beadwork. Finally, the

spatial distribution also shows how important screening techniques are at Métis. If the Buffalo Lake excavations in 1975 and 1976 had made use of the fine mesh screening throughout the excavation and not just for the pit features, it is possible that Doll could have identified other areas of bead concentration. These considerations are important for future excavations at Métis sites.

5.1.3 Beads: Physical Attribute Summary

In this sub-section I will discuss the physical attributes of the beads found at each site. As the archaeologists involved with each excavation used different approaches to this analysis, the cross-site comparison was more difficult than expected. For example, I was unable to locate a detailed bead analysis for the 1986 Petite Ville excavation. Furthermore, the Covid-19 pandemic and laboratory access restrictions meant that I was not able to complete a full analysis of the Chimney Coulee or 2014 Buffalo Lake beads. Table 5.3 below explains the extent and methods of analysis for each assemblage.

I identified a further complication when attempting to compare the colours of beads found at each site. Since the Munsell colour system was used for both Buffalo Lake excavations, comparisons could be easily made. The 1986 Petite Ville excavation summary only used primary colour designations while the later excavations in 1998-2000 used Munsell and Pantone colour systems but then grouped them into colour categories such as “light blue” and “medium green” (Weinbender 2003:169-170). This decision was related primarily to Weinbender’s difficulty in accessing the Pantone and Munsell resources required to complete her colour analysis of the beads (Weinbender 2003:169-170). To facilitate comparisons, I also converted the Munsell codes into colour categories. It is important to note that the colour I described as “medium blue”, or “pink” may be described as “dark blue” or “purple” by another person. To address this, I have

provided a list of Munsell colour codes and their associated colour categories in Appendix A.

Site and Excavation Years	Attributes Analysed	Standard Used for Analysis	
		Bead Colour	Bead Type and Size
Buffalo Lake (1975/76)	Colour, size, type, diaphaneity for 3,218 beads.	Munsell (Version not noted)	Conn (1969)
Buffalo Lake (2014)	Colour. Size, type, and diaphaneity for outliers only.	Munsell (2012)	Karklins (1985)
Petite Ville (1986)	Colour	General colour description (e.g., pink, or white)	None
Petite Ville (1998-2000)	Type and size. Colour and diaphaneity for the top ten most common colours.	Pantone – with some reference to Munsell (1976)	Karklins (1985)
Chimney Coulee (2013, 2017-2019)	Size, type, and diaphaneity for outliers only.	None	Karklins (1985)

Table 5.3: Bead analysis methodologies from the three study sites. Sources: Burley 1986; Doll et al. 1988:113; Weinbender 2003:87, 88, 169.

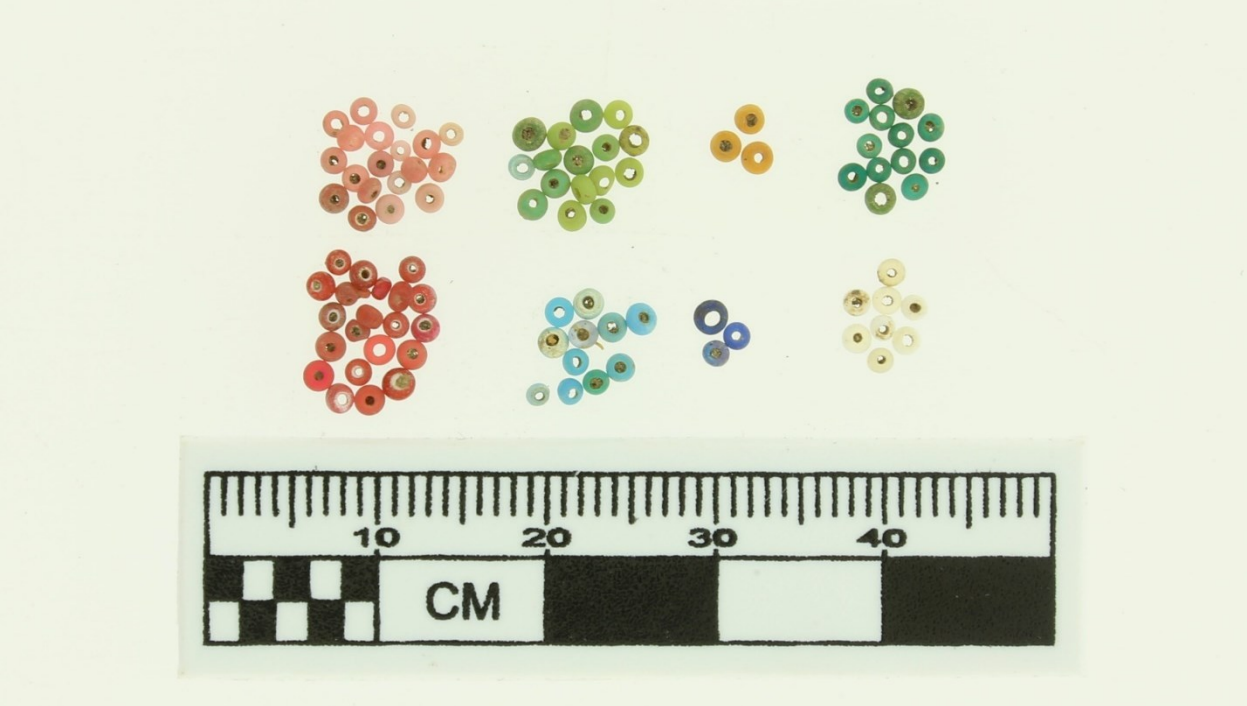

Figure 5.6: Sample of bead colours recovered from Chimney Coulee. Photograph courtesy of Taylor Brosda.

In Table 5.4, the reader can see that a wide variety of bead colours were available to the beadworkers at each site. During my visits with the ethnographic collections at the Royal Alberta Museum, I noted the wide variety of colours used in each beadwork pattern. Given the diversity of bead colours found at Buffalo Lake, Chimney Coulee, and Petite Ville, it is easy to surmise that the women of these sites were also engaging in the brightly coloured beadwork for which the Métis are known for.

Colour Ranking	Buffalo Lake (1975/76)	Buffalo Lake (2014)	Petite Ville (1986)	Petite Ville (1998-2000)
1	Yellow (n=1212)	Green, Dark (n=31)	Unidentified (n=26)	White (n=1763)
2	Red (n=796)	Blue, Medium (n=25)	Blue (n=16)	Blue, Medium (n=1482)
3	Brown (n=427)	Pink (n=22)	Red (n=10)	Red/White (n=1111)
4	Blue, Medium (n=299)	Black (n=14)	Green (n=8)	Pink (n=790)
5	Blue, Light (n=116)	Red (n=11)	White (n=5)	Green, Dark (n=782)
6	Pink (n=86)	Yellow (n=10)	Pink (n=4)	Green, Medium (n=758)
7	White (n=63)	Tan (n=9)	N/A	Red (n=744)
8	Green, Medium (n=54)	Green, Light (n=9)	N/A	Blue, Light (n=483)
9	Red /White (n=25)	Blue, Light (n=8)	N/A	Yellow (n=390)
10	Green, Dark (n=23)	Red/White (n=8)	N/A	Blue, Dark (n=383)

Table 5.4: Top ten bead colours per site. Sources: Burley 1986; Coons et al. 2021; Doll et al. 1988:366-368; and Weinbender 2003:89.

Site and Excavation Years	# Of Seed Beads (< 2 mm)	Total # of Beads Analyzed	Seed Beads as a % of Beads Analyzed
Buffalo Lake (1975/76)	3,041	3,218	94.49%
Buffalo Lake (2014)	181	182	99.45%
Petite Ville (1986)	70 (<1.5 mm)	79	88.60%
Petite Ville (1998-2000)	7,819	9,513	82.19%
Chimney Coulee (2013, 2017-2019)	No data	No data	No data

Table 5.5: Comparison of seed beads to other sizes of beads per site. Sources: Burley et al., 1992:57; Coons et al., 2021; Doll et al., 1988:366-368; and Weinbender, 2003:88.

At each site, the tiny beads commonly referred to as "seed beads" represented the highest percentages of bead types. Doll categorized these beads as "drawn tubular beads" and Weinbender further categorized them into the bead types listed by Karklins in 1985 (Doll et al. 1988:113, Weinbender 2003:88). Although the Chimney Coulee bead analysis was not complete at time of writing, the assemblage appeared to be following the same pattern as the other sites. When I visited with the beadwork in the Royal Alberta Museum, I noted that seed beads were the most common sizes of beads used. Indeed, when I work on my own beadwork today, it is the seed bead that I use. As the most common bead type used by the beadworkers, it is easy to understand how so many loose beads are deposited in the archaeological record. I also consider that the prevalence of seed beads could simply be related to the fact that their small size makes them more difficult to recover after being dropped. This contrasts with larger beads which may not enter the archaeological record simply because they are easier to retrieve. Fortunately, some of these larger beads are not recovered until archaeologists begin their work. This allowed me to see the wider variety of beads available to the Métis. I considered these beads to be "outliers" and the next sub-section will discuss some of these in greater detail.

5.1.4 Beads: Outlier Summary

The beads that I describe as "outliers" do more than offer a reprieve from the monotony

of analyzing seed beads in the lab. They can also give insights to the additional types of adornment used by Métis women. Although Métis women could incorporate these outliers into their beadwork, they could also use them for jewelry and decorative arts within the home. In this subsection, I will provide a description of the outlier beads found at each site.

Doll's excavations of Cabin 3 at Buffalo Lake resulted in six additional types of beads that did not fall in the category of drawn tubular beads. I have summarized the descriptions of these beads in the table below. Supernant's subsequent excavations outside of Cabin 3 only resulted in one bead that did not meet the description of a drawn tubular bead. This bead matched the green pressed glass beads recovered by Doll (Figure 5.7).

Burley did not report any beads outside of the drawn tubular beads during his excavations at Petite Ville. The only variation in beads that he noted was that nine of the seventy-nine beads were larger than 1.5 mm (Burley 1992:57). During the more extensive excavations conducted by Kennedy's field schools at Petite Ville, it is unsurprising that she recovered a wider variety of beads. Weinbender categorized these beads by their Karklins type in her thesis. In Table 5.6 below, I have also referenced the bead typology used by Doll for ease of comparison.

As noted, I could not complete the Chimney Coulee bead analysis at the time of writing due to Covid-19 considerations. Despite this, there were four beads that I did have the chance to visit with that I considered to be outliers when compared with the rest of the bead assemblage. One was a black, undecorated wound bead that had been split in half along the length of the hole. The next two were complete undecorated wound beads; one blue and one black. The final bead appeared to be a one-piece metal bead. Interestingly, it appeared to have been modified to have an additional hole drilled in the side and may have therefore not have been intended as a bead. As the analysis of this assemblage continues, it is my hope that more time can be spent with

these beads.

Bead Type	Number Recovered	Description	Size (Diameter x length)
Facetted Wound Beads	Five (5)	Glass beads with hand ground facets. Four are medium sky-blue and one is dark blue.	9.43 mm x 13.89 mm (average)
Pressed Glass Beads	Five (5)	Four squarish, transparent green with facets. One rounder transparent yellow with facets.	7.4 mm x 7.23 mm 6.6 mm x 5.8 mm
Undecorated Wound Beads	Three (3)	Two translucent yellow and one translucent bead with a dark patina	7.10 mm x 3.96 mm 6.81 mm x 4.00 mm 8.8 mm x 6.4 mm
Metal Beads	Two (2)	Brass beads. One two-piece crimped bead and the other a one-piece	8.4 mm x 7.6 mm
Inlaid Wound Beads	One (1)	Blue spots of glass inlaid into an opaque green.	12.6 mm x 12.2 mm
Miscellaneous	One (1)	Melted opaque sample with iridescent coppery-green patina that could be one melted bead or several fused together.	5.97 mm x 3.85 mm x 2.44 mm

Table 5.6: Bead types from Cabin 3 at Buffalo Lake. Source: Doll et al. 1988:113-114.

Bead Type	Number Recovered	Description	Size (diameter)
Undecorated Wound Beads (Karklins type WIb and WIc)	Twenty-four (24)	One classified as having an oval shape, the remainder were classified as round. Most common colours are black, blue, and green.	4.0 – 6.0 mm (n=6) 6.0 - 10.0 mm (n=14) >10.0 mm (n=4)
Pressed Glass Beads (Karklins type MPIIa)	Twelve (12)	Round, faceted beads. Most common colours are yellow and medium green with one dark blue.	4.0 – 6.0 mm (n=1) 6.0 – 10.0 mm (n=11)
Metal Beads	One (1)	Material not noted	2.0 – 4.0 mm
Bone Beads	One (1)	Possibly a bird bone	< 2.0 mm

Table 5.7: Bead types from Kennedy's excavations at Petite Ville. Source: Weinbender, 2003:87-89.

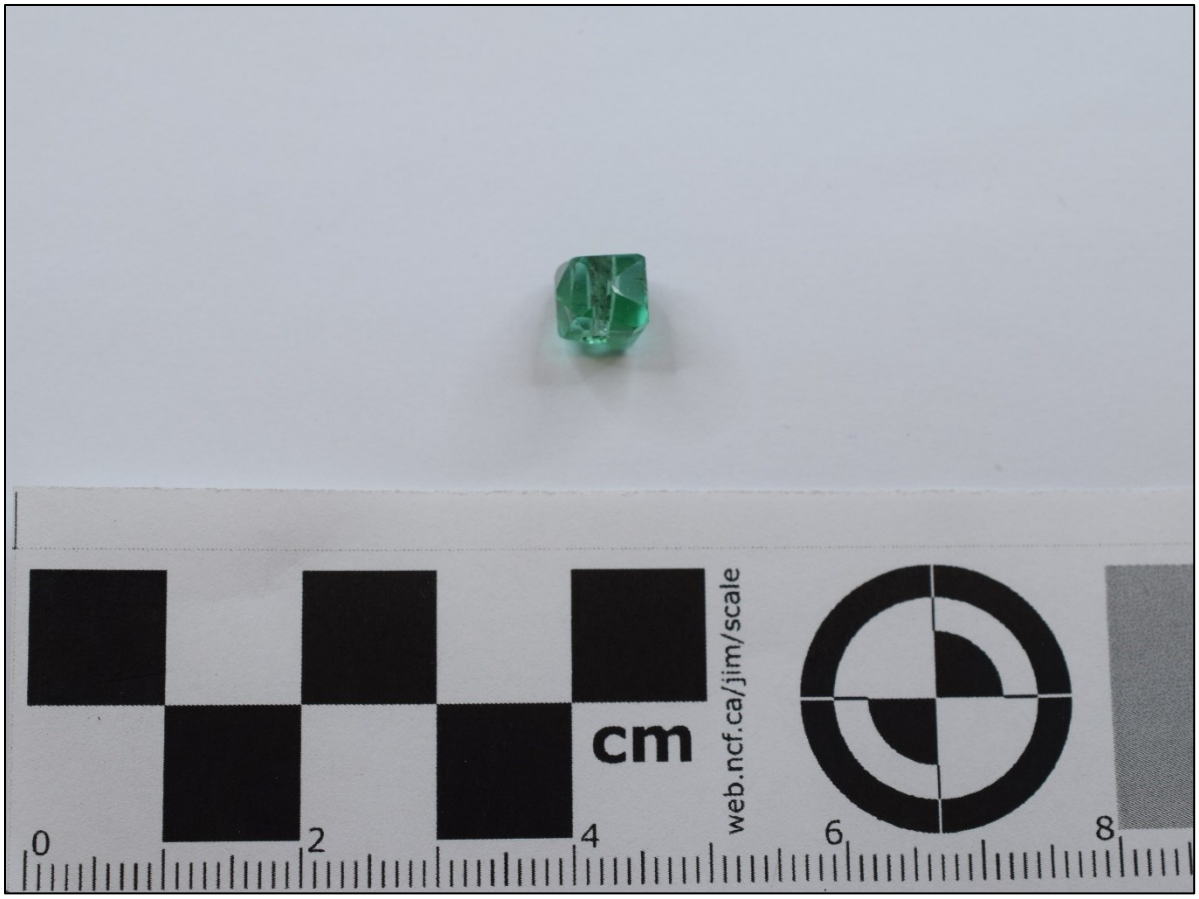

Figure 5.7: Pressed glass bead from the 2014 excavations at Buffalo Lake.

From the data presented above, I can see that the Métis women at these sites had access to a wide variety of beads in a range of colours. Additionally, I can see that their lost and discarded beads tended to concentrate in certain areas. In the next chapter, I will discuss the stories that the beads can tell me about the lives of Métis women in greater detail. The next section of this chapter will focus on another belonging of the ancestors that has been associated with women: ceramics.

5.2 Ceramics: The Most Fragile Belongings

When one considers the highly mobile lifestyle of the *hivernants*, the prevalence of such a fragile belonging may seem surprising. Indeed, it is this fragility that leads to the inclusion of

ceramics in the archaeological record. While I will discuss the reasons behind the Métis tendency to bring ceramics with them on their annual hunting trips in further detail in the next chapter, this section will look at the attributes of the ceramics found at each site. Following the same outline as the previous bead section, I will start with a numerical count of the ceramics at each site, followed by maps showing the spatial distribution of ceramics at each site and concluding with a discussion of the physical attributes of the ceramics, including patterns and manufacturers.

5.2.1 Ceramics: Numerical Summary

The following table presents the total number of ceramics recovered during each excavation and shows the ceramic total as a percentage of all belongings recovered. Since the beads represent such high numbers of belongings at each site, I have also provided the percentage of ceramics when compared to just the non-bead artifacts.

Per Table 5.8, the highest percentages of ceramics compared to non-bead belongings are at Supernant's Chimney Coulee excavations and Doll's Buffalo Lake excavations. The high numbers at Chimney Coulee may be attributed to Supernant's use of window screen for screening which would have resulted in much smaller sherds being recovered. Since Doll primarily used a one-quarter inch screen, this explanation does not account for the high numbers of ceramics that he recovered (Doll 1988:80). Additionally, Kennedy's excavations at Petite Ville used window screen and did not recover the same percentages of ceramics as Supernant and Doll (Weinbender 2003:48). These numbers make me consider whether the individuals living at Buffalo Lake's Cabin 3 were simply clumsier with their ceramics than those living at Petite Ville. The excavation with the lowest percentage of recovered ceramics is Supernant's 2014 excavation at Buffalo Lake. I expected this pattern as this excavation took place outside the

cabin wall and not within the interior domestic space where one would expect ceramics to be most used.

An issue with this type of count is that it does not consider the size of the ceramic fragments recovered. While some recovered ceramic sherds were similar in size to the beads, others were large enough to identify patterns, makers, and the type of object that the sherd came from. Factors impacting the size of the sherds include the hardness of the surface onto which the user dropped the object, previous damage to the object, and whether the sherd was broken further as it was walked upon. Unlike beads, which typically represented a single, complete belonging, the ceramic sherds represented an unknown quantity of complete belongings. I therefore recognize that a large sample of sherds could be representative of a single object, or multiple objects. To help address this, the types of ceramics and the patterns represented within the assemblage will provide a better idea of the extent of ceramic use at each site. I will discuss these attributes further in subsection 5.2.3.

Site and Excavation Years	Total Number of Ceramics Recovered	Total Number of Belongings Recovered	Ceramics as a % of All Belongings Recovered
Buffalo Lake (1975/76)	183	12,415 (653)	1.47% (28.02%)
Buffalo Lake (2014)	6	442 (260)	1.36% (2.31%)
Buffalo Lake Total	*189*	*12,857 (913)*	*1.47% (20.70%)*
Petite Ville (1986)	11	193 (121)	5.97% (9.09%)
Petite Ville (1998-2000)	183	14,033 (4,520)	1.30% (4.05%)
Petite Ville Total	*194*	*14,226 (4,641)*	*1.36% (4.18%)*
Chimney Coulee (2013, 2017-2019)	442	4,807 (2,218)	9.19% (19.93%)
All Sites Total	**825**	**31,890 (7,772)**	**2.58% (10.62%)**
All Sites Average %	--	--	**4.01% (14.94%)**

Table 5.8: Recovered ceramic totals from the three study sites. Numbers in brackets represent totals and averages with beads removed from the count. Sources: Burley et al. 1986; Coons et al. 2021; Doll 1975, 1976; and Weinbender 2003:89.

Although I did not identify ceramics in the same vast numbers that were seen with the beads, they are a ubiquitous belonging found at all three sites. This is despite their fragile nature and the highly mobile lifestyle of the Métis *hivernants*. These belongings, when found alongside the beads, can therefore serve as another diagnostic artifact when determining whether a site is associated with the Métis. In the next section, I will continue my discussion with the ceramics on the topic of their spatial distribution at each site.

5.2.2 Ceramics: Spatial Distribution Summary

As with the beads, I hoped to gain an understanding of how women used their space by looking at the spatial distribution of ceramics. The Métis women would have used their ceramic belongings for the preparation and serving of food, and for the entertainment of guests. As I was hoping to identify patterns that could indicate where these activities took place, I mapped the ceramic totals for each site and adjusted the level of detail due to the differences in excavation unit layout at each site. I did not map the 1986 Petite Ville excavations as three ceramics came from unidentified shovel tests and the remaining five were associated with two units identified as refuse pits (Burley 1992:52, 56).

The spatial distribution of ceramics during the two Buffalo Lake excavations seem to follow the same pattern as the distribution of beads. Doll's excavations show a strong correlation between recovered belongings and the features, with Feature 2 having the highest concentration again. Of note is the increased association of ceramics with Feature 1 when compared to the association of beads with this same feature. Doll identified this feature as a fireplace (Doll et al. 1988:82). This increased association may be related to the excavation techniques being more conducive to recovering larger pieces of ceramic than small beads but may also be representative of the use of this area for preparing food as opposed to being used as a beadworking space.

Like the bead distribution, the spatial distribution of ceramics at Supernant's 2014 Buffalo Lake excavations showed that they were more prevalent in the western-most excavation units (Figure 5.9). As previously stated, these excavation units were the ones positioned closest to a potential door. It is therefore possible that the ceramics recovered from this excavation may represent those broken pieces that were swept outside the door or dropped as a broken object was taken outside to a refuse pit.

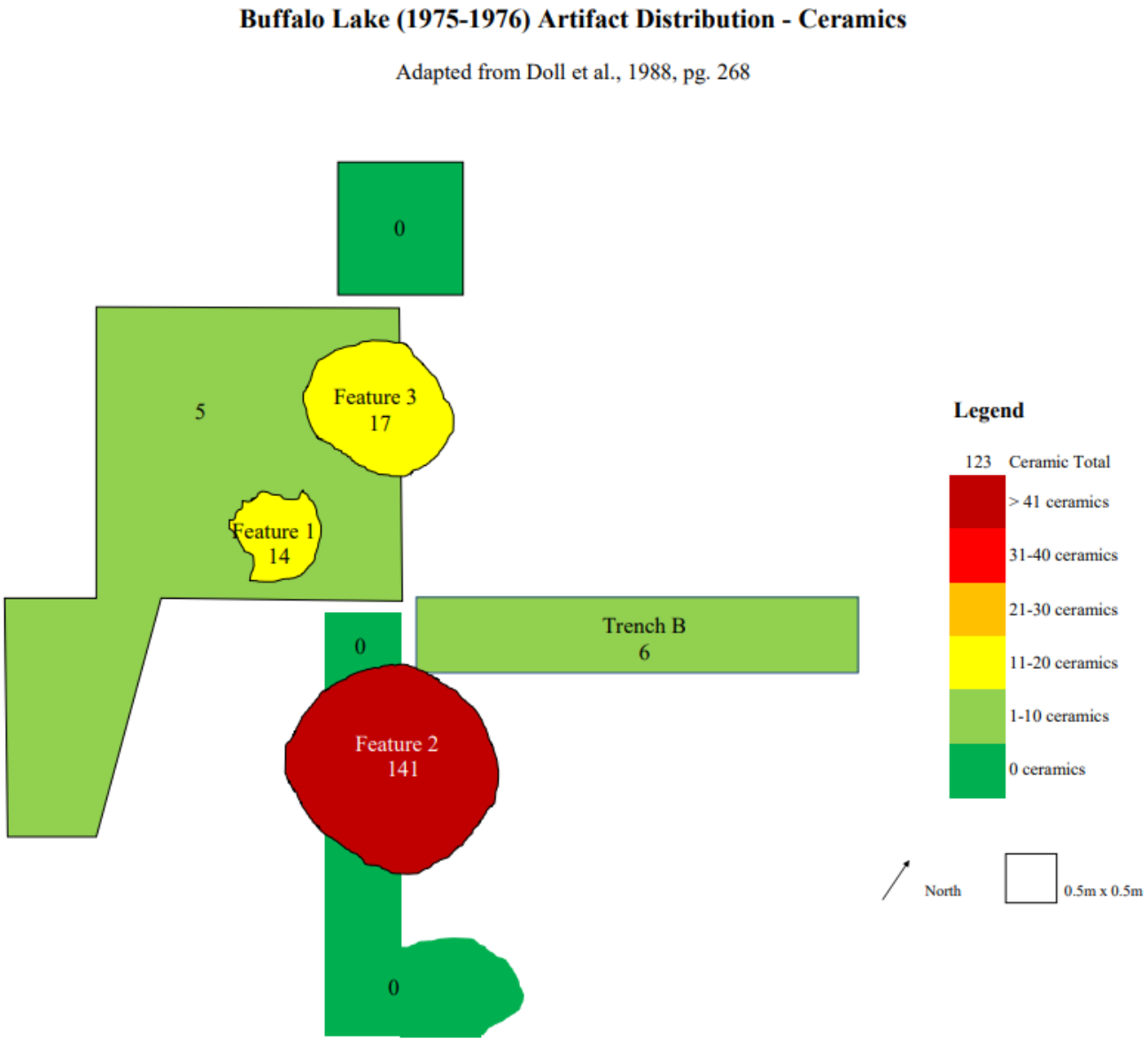

Figure 5.8: Spatial distribution of ceramics at Buffalo Lake (1975-1976). Source: Doll 1975, 1976.

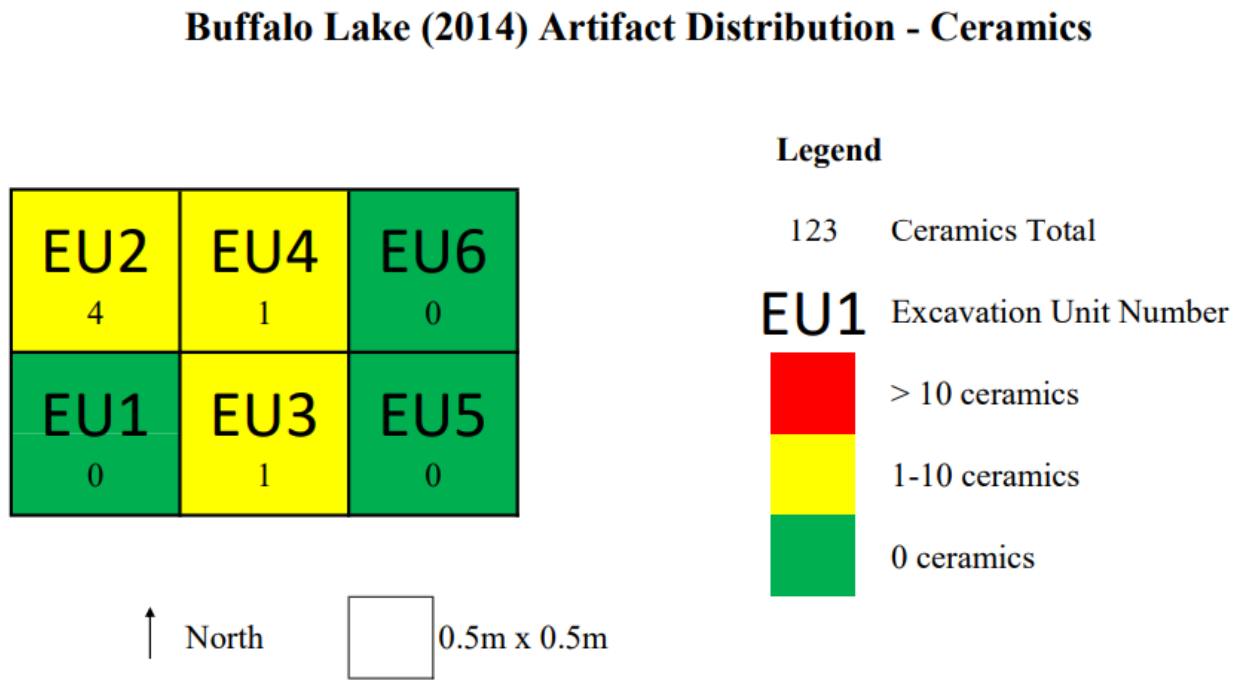

Figure 5.9: Spatial distribution of ceramics at Buffalo Lake (2014). Source: Coons et al. 2021.

Kennedy's excavations at Petite Ville identified two areas of high concentrations of ceramics as seen in Figure 5.10. The northernmost concentration was associated with the same pit feature that she recovered a concentration of beads from. Weinbender determined that this distribution was neither helpful in determining the internal organization of the structure nor the identification of activity areas (Weinbender 2003:118). I was also hopeful that a pattern could be helpful in determining activity areas but agreed with Weinbender that the areas of concentration were not particularly diagnostic. Weinbender took her spatial analysis one step further and examined the distribution of specific ceramic patterns within the cabin (Weinbender 2003:119). Part of her motivation for doing so was to determine if she could identify distinct rooms within the structure. The arrangement of supporting floor beams within the structure had already indicated the possibility of internal walls of unknown arrangement (Weinbender 2003:72). She

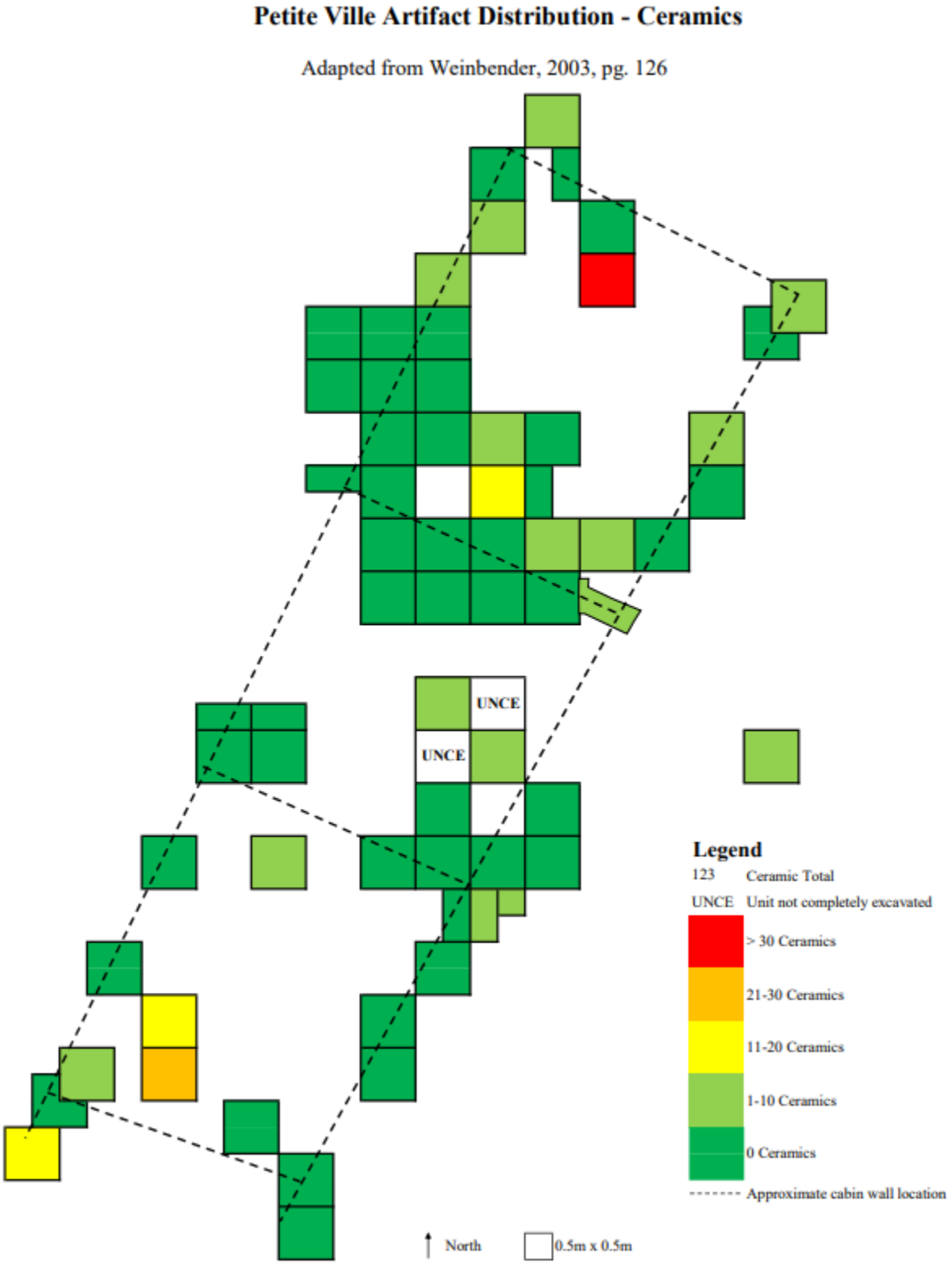

Figure 5.10: Spatial distribution of ceramics at Petite Ville. Source: Weinbender 2003:126.

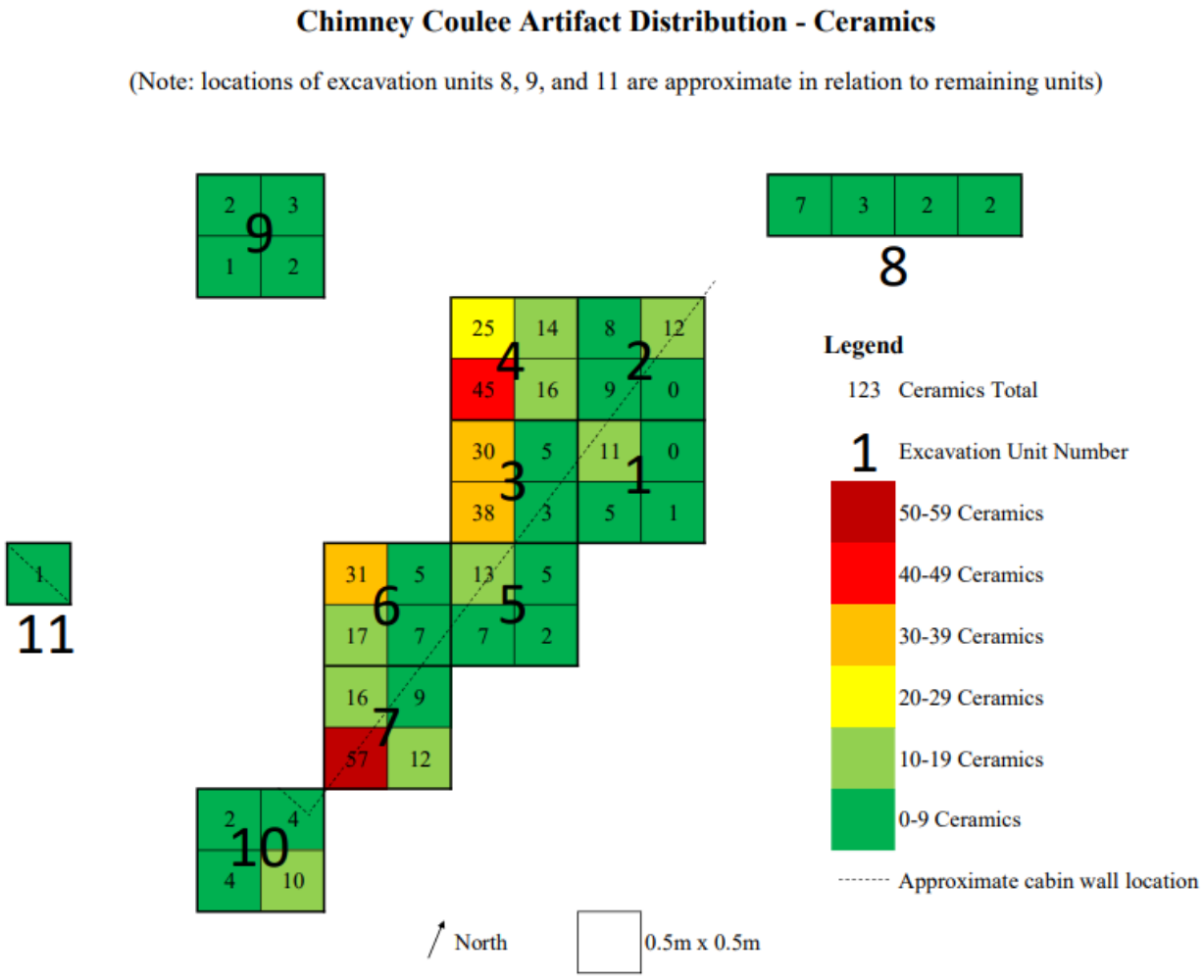

Figure 5.11: Spatial distribution of ceramics at Chimney Coulee. Source: Coons et al. 2021.

did find that in at least one case, the sherds from a single vessel were spread throughout an area that was thought to be two rooms (Weinbender 2003:120). This finding indicated that the area was either a single room instead of two, or that interior doorways were present.

The spatial distribution mapping of Chimney Coulee revealed two "hot spots" in EU 4 and EU 7 (Figure 5.11). As with the bead distribution, these hot spots were not associated with any identifiable features. Unlike the hearth feature at Buffalo Lake, the hearth in EU 9 does not appear to be associated with any elevated presence of ceramics. Keeping in alignment with the

bead distribution, EU 8 also demonstrates a relative lack of ceramics. This further supports the idea that this excavation unit is outside the cabin walls and was not used as a refuse pit.

Of the forty-five ceramic fragments recovered from the southwest quadrant of EU 4, sixteen were recovered during the screening process. Due to their size, they may have been missed had window screen not been used. An additional twelve fragments were associated with each other and were the result of the pattern laminating from the sherd in situ. Had the lamination not occurred, these twelve fragments would have represented a single sherd of the "Flower Vase" pattern. Considering these fragments as a single sherd would have also brought the total number of fragments down to thirty-four which means that this quadrant would no longer be an outlier compared to the neighbouring quadrants. Overall, two identifiable patterns (Flower Vase and Shamrock), two unidentifiable patterns, and two different plain ceramics (white glaze and yellow stoneware) were recovered from this quadrant.

The highest concentration of ceramics was recovered from the southwest quadrant of EU 7. Of these fifty-seven fragments, forty were recovered during the screening process. As with the small fragments recovered from EU 4, it is unlikely they would have been recovered without the use of window screen. Given the presence of the wall feature in this excavation unit and the proximity to the interior corner, these small fragments may have accumulated during sweeping of the cabin floor. Due to the small size of these fragments, there was only one positively identified pattern (Honeysuckle) and one tentatively identified pattern (Shamrock). The remaining sherds represented unidentified flow blue patterns, unidentified blue on white transferware patterns, and plain white glaze.

While the spatial distribution of ceramics does show some general patterns such as accumulation in pit features, these patterns are not enough to define workspaces. Although I do

find this to be disappointing, I also do not find it surprising. Everyone who has dropped a ceramic or glass object has witnessed the broken sherds scatter across the room. Compound this with people inadvertently kicking the sherds throughout the room and the movement of sherds through sweeping, and I can understand why the ceramics may not accumulate in defined workspaces. The greater value in visiting with the ceramics may lie in learning the story about where they originated and for what the Métis used them. The next section will focus on the physical attributes of the ceramics with a focus on the patterns and manufacturers.

5.2.3 Ceramics: Physical Attribute Summary

In this sub-section I will discuss the physical attributes of the ceramics found at each site. As noted, this will focus on the patterns found on the ceramics which will help to inform the origins of the pieces. Where possible, I will also discuss the potential forms of the ceramics (i.e., bowl, cup, plate). Unless needed to determine the origins of the ceramics, I have omitted any discussion related to an in-depth analysis of the make-up of each ceramic. Although this is a physical attribute of the ceramics and is a key factor in understanding the manufacturing processes used, it has little value in understanding the global connections of the Métis and the ways in which they used the ceramics.

In Table 5.9, I have listed the identifiable ceramic patterns for each site. Additionally, I have provided their manufacturers, and their manufacturing date ranges. It is important to note that excavations at each site also resulted in several sherds that were either too small for identification or did not include any identifiable markings. Since I omitted these sherds from the above summary, any discussion regarding the minimum number of ceramic belongings or the origin of the ceramics refers to the identifiable ceramics only.

Ceramic Pattern/ Description	Date Range	Buffalo Lake	Petite Ville	Chimney Coulee
Spode/Copeland, Staffordshire, England				
B700	ca. 1837-post 1847	No	Yes	No
B772	ca. 1839-post 1882	Yes	Yes	No
British Flowers	ca. 1829-1974	No	No	Yes
Continental Views/Louis Quatorze	ca.1845-post 1882/1844-??	No	Yes	Yes
Elcho	ca. 1863-??	No	No	Yes
Flower Vase	ca. 1828-20th century	No	Yes	Yes
Honeysuckle	ca.1855-post 1882	No	No	Yes
Ivy	ca. 1845-post 1865	Yes	Yes	No
Pagoda	ca. 1838-post 1872	Yes	Yes	No
Pagoda/ Macaw*	ca. 1838-post 1872	No	Yes	Yes
Pergola	ca. 1844-post 1872	No	Yes	No
Rose & Sprigs/Sevres*	ca. 1847-??/dates unknown	No	Yes	No
Ruins/Melrose*	ca. 1840-20th century	Yes	No	No
Thistle	ca. 1869-20th century	No	No	Yes
Shamrock	ca. 1861-1910	No	No	Yes
Violet	ca. 1867-20th century	Yes	No	No
W & E Corn, Staffordshire, England				
White earthenware	1864-1891	No	No	Yes
Thomas Furnival and Company/Thomas Furnival and Sons Patterns, Staffordshire, England				
White earthenware	1844-46 or 1871-90	Yes	No	No

Table 5.9: Ceramic patterns identified at each site. * Denotes presence of sherds that could be one of two ceramic patterns Sources: Burley et al. 1992:57; Coons et al. 2021; Doll et al. 1988:92-96; Gibson 2010:66-67; Sussman 1979; and Weinbender 2003:90.

The manufacturing dates for the identifiable ceramics align with the occupation dates of each site and I did not note any anomalous dates. Of the two possible dates and company names associated with the Thomas Furnival earthenware (Doll et al. 1988:92), I deemed the Thomas Furnival and Sons dates of 1871-90 to be more likely given the occupation dates of the Buffalo Lake site. As with the earliest manufacturing dates of all the ceramics, there is the possibility that the Métis may have curated older items that were passed down by family members.

Figure 5.12: Sample ceramics recovered from Chimney Coulee. Pattern names top row, left to right: Shamrock and Flower Vase. Bottom row left to right: British Flowers and Elcho. Photograph courtesy of Taylor Brosda.

I expected that the Métis would have acquired most of their ceramics from the HBC. The primary reason for this expectation was that during the 1870s, the HBC still controlled trade in Rupert's Land. Since all three sites were in Rupert's Land, it made sense that the HBC would be the trading partner of choice for the Métis due to the proximity of the HBC trading posts. This expectation appears to have been validated based on the high proportions of identifiable ceramics originating with the Spode/Copeland company located in Staffordshire, England. In 1835, the HBC contracted with the Spode/Copeland company as the provider of ceramics, specifically transfer-printed white earthenware ceramics (Sussman 1979:9). The variety of Spode/Copeland ceramics found at each site does appear to be reflective of the Métis' continuing relationships with the HBC as a trading partner.

From the identifiable ceramics, there are two examples that did not come from the

Spode/Copeland factory. These were the Thomas Furnival example from Buffalo Lake and the W & E Corn example from Chimney Coulee (see Figure 2.1). Like Spode/Copeland, Thomas Furnival and W & E Corn had manufacturing locations in Staffordshire, England. Thomas Furnival manufactured their products for "the United States and Canadian markets" (Godden 1999:245). Similarly, W & E Corn manufactured ceramics for the "United States and other foreign markets" (Godden 1999:220). The term "other foreign markets" could include Canada and could therefore mean that the Métis were acquiring ceramics from distributors in Eastern Canada or independent merchants moving through Rupert's Land, either directly or through second-hand trade. Alternatively, the presence of Thomas Furnival and W & E Corn could be indicative of Métis contact with American traders, again, either directly or through second-hand trade.

The consideration that the Métis were trading either directly with American trading posts or with non-Métis who had contact with Americans has implications for the relationships and lifeways of the *hivernants*. Specifically, it implies relationships with trading companies and independent traders other than those established with the HBC. It also suggests movements across the Canadian/American border and relationships with the landscapes and people south of the invisible lines established by colonialism. Michel Hogue presents a detailed overview of these relationships and the implications of the border on the lives of the Métis in his book *Métis and the Medicine Line* (2015).

Figure 5.13 NWMP trail marker at Chimney Coulee. Photograph by author.

Direct trade is a very likely possibility when considering Chimney Coulee in particular. Straight line distance from this site to the United States border is only 64 km and the American trading post Fort Benton is only 235 km away. It is also interesting to note that Chimney Coulee is located on the NWMP trail that connected nearby NWMP Fort Walsh to the NWMP outpost at Wood Mountain (Figure 5.13). Fort Walsh is in turn connected to Fort Benton via a trail known as the Fort Benton or Old Forts Trail (Tourism Saskatchewan, n.d.).

Although Buffalo Lake is further away from American trading posts than Chimney Coulee (390 km straight line distance to the border and 540 km to Fort Benton) there is still evidence that the Métis at this community had contact with the United States. Given the distances involved, a third party may have served as the connection to the American trading networks. Evidence in the written record comes via the memoirs of NWMP officer Samuel

Steele. In his memoirs, he describes a visit to Buffalo Lake as being precipitated by the reports of illicit whisky traders from the Belly River region area of Montana being in the Buffalo Lake area (Steele 1914:86). Further evidence of trade with the United States is inferred by Doll's recovery of an 1857 United States half dime coin (Doll et al. 1988:102).

Unfortunately, the ceramic sherds at Chimney Coulee were not complete enough to provide an identification of the type of ceramic objects that the Métis had used at this site. Many sherds had patterns on both sides, which suggested that they were from hollowware such as bowls or cups. Further analysis of the Chimney Coulee sherds will need to take place for vessel identifications to be made. At Petite Ville, Weinbender was able to partially reconstruct one vessel which appeared to be a large teacup (Weinbender 2003:91). Doll experienced greater success in the identification of vessel functions at Buffalo Lake and he was able to positively identify cups, bowls, and dinner plates, as well as additional vessels that may have been small bowls or saucers. (Doll et al. 1988: 92-96).

The data presented above demonstrates that despite the fragile nature of ceramics, the Métis used a wide variety of them at every site. Unfortunately, the distribution of the ceramics at each site is not conclusive enough to provide me with data regarding the Métis patterns of ceramic use within their cabins. In the next chapter, I will discuss the stories that the ceramics can tell about the relationships of Métis women. In the meantime, I will continue this chapter with a focus on belongings associated with personal adornment.

5.3 Personal Adornment and Religious Iconography: The Most Intimate Belongings

Of all the belongings recovered from archaeological sites, I considered those used for personal adornment and for religious practices to be the most intimate. While the belongings used for personal adornment reflected how the individual wanted to be seen by the people in

their physical life, the belongings associated with religion highlighted the relationships within their spiritual life. Although there is the possibility that these belongings could be shared, they were often only used by one person. Earrings, brooches, and other pieces of jewellery are examples of some of the belongings that Métis women would have used for their own personal adornment. Likewise, rosaries and saint's medallions were some of the religious items that the Métis would have used as expressions of their Catholic faith.

As excavations recovered so few of these belongings at each site, I did not conduct numerical or spatial analyses. I will therefore use this section of my thesis to discuss the individual personal adornment items found at each site. This discussion will start with the belongings found during Doll's and Supernant's excavations at Buffalo Lake. I will follow this with an overview of the belongings that Kennedy recovered from Petite Ville and will conclude with the belongings from Chimney Coulee. This discussion will consist of a description of the belongings found at each site while a more in-depth discussion will take place in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

5.3.1 Personal Adornment and Religious Iconography: Buffalo Lake

During Doll's excavations of Cabin 3 at Buffalo Lake, he recovered four belongings falling into the personal adornment or religious iconography category. Supernant's subsequent excavations in 2014 did not recover any belongings in this category. Of the four belongings, two were associated with religion, one was identified as an earring or pendant, and the final belonging was identified as either an ornament or a piece of costume jewellery (Doll et al. 1988:114, 116).

Figure 5.14: Earring/pendant from Buffalo Lake. Photograph courtesy Royal Alberta Museum.

I was able to visit directly with the item identified as a pendant or earring during a trip to the Royal Alberta Museum in Edmonton. As Doll described it, the belonging is a "flat stamped circle with a pin projecting from the edge into the open centre" (Doll et al. 1988:114). The photograph of this belonging that Doll provided in his report shows a bead-like object on the pin (Doll et al. 1988:289). This was no longer part of the pendant during my visit with it as seen in Figure 5.14. Doll acknowledged that the bead was scarlet in colour and had disintegrated some time between the taking of photographs and the writing of his report (Doll et al. 1988:114).

I did not have the opportunity to visit with the second belonging that Doll identified and

described it as a "globular black glass object wrapped around an iron wire core" (Doll et al. 1988:114). His assessment was that it was either an ornament or a piece of costume jewellery. If it was a piece of jewellery like an earring, it does appear to be of a dangle or drop earring style and therefore of similar style to the other earrings from the three sites. This belonging could also be part of a necklace pendant or even a household ornament.

The two belongings associated with religion are an incomplete rosary and religious medal. Like the above belonging, I did not have the opportunity to directly interact with these belongings. Since the rosary was on display in the galleries of the Royal Alberta Museum during my visit, I was at least able to see the rosary in its reconstructed state. The rosary consisted of thirty-seven barrel shaped, blue, glass beads (Doll et al. 1988:116). Doll described the decoration on these beads as "encircling ribs" (Doll et al. 1988:116). These beads were distinct from all other beads recovered from the site. The second belonging is a religious medal. Unfortunately, Doll reported that it was too rusted to identify the exact type of medal (Doll et al. 1988:116).

5.3.2 Personal Adornment and Religious Iconography: Petite Ville

Both Burley's and Kennedy's excavations of Petite Ville recovered belongings associated with personal adornment and religious iconography. As I expected, due to the scope of her excavations, Kennedy's excavations recovered a greater variety of belongings in this category. Burley's 1986 excavations recovered two pieces of rolled copper that he identified as "tinkling cones or janglers" (Burley et al. 1992:57). Although more commonly associated with First Nations ornamentation, the Métis may have used these for trade, or they may represent a visit from First Nations kin. Burley did not recover any other belongings associated with this category.

As noted, Kennedy's work at Petite Ville recovered several additional belongings

associated with this category. Personal adornment items included an earring with a black glass hoop suspended from a hook (Weinbender 2003:86). Another belonging was identified as a brass finger ring while two fragments of a faceted red loop were identified as another potential earring (Weinbender 2003:86-87). In Weinbender's thesis, she identifies a metal brooch as one of the most interesting finds in this category. The brooch has a greenish blue design that was made with frittered enamelling (Weinbender 2003:87). Like Burley, Kennedy also recovered two tinkling cones. These cones were not made of the copper material that Burley reported. Instead, my visits with these materials revealed that Kennedy's tinkling cones were made from a ferrous material.

With regards to religious iconography, the Petite Ville field school excavations recovered two fragments of a rosary. In total, these fragments consisted of eighteen white glass beads and a heart shaped centrepiece joined with "barbell" links (Weinbender 2003:79). Apart from the bead colour, the Petite Ville rosary was similar to the Buffalo Lake rosary. Both rosaries have heart shaped centrepieces and the barrel shaped beads with "encircling ribs" as described by Doll (Doll et al. 1988:116). While Doll did not describe the Buffalo Lake rosary centrepiece in detail, Weinbender's analysis of the Petite Ville centerpiece determined that it is a variation on the "miraculous medal". The Miraculous Medals were issued by the Roman Catholic church in 1832 after the French Nun Sister Catherine Labouré received visions of the Virgin Mary instructing her to have the medals struck (Venbrux 2016:90). The visions of Mary promised grace to the faithful who wore the medal and they gained in popularity throughout the world (Venbrux 2016:91). By the time of Sister Catherine's death in 1876, more than a billion miraculous medals were in circulation around the world, including in the *hivernant* settlements of the Métis (Venbrux 2016:91).

The final items from Petite Ville that related to personal adornment and religious

iconography are two sets of belongings that appear to be related to jewellery manufacture. The first set of belongings consists of nine fine wire chain links: some with, and some without beads. These may have formed part of a necklace that was broken and then discarded. The second set of belongings consists of a collection of straight pins that had been bent and shaped into shapes such as barbells, circles, and loops (Weinbender 2003:117). The highest concentrations of these modified pins were found in the same area as the chain links and the rosary fragments. Based on this association, Weinbender proposed that activities related to jewellery making were taking place in this area (Weinbender 2003:117). Given the proximity of the rosary fragments, this may also represent an attempt to repair the damaged belonging.

5.3.3 Personal Belongings and Religious Iconography: Chimney Coulee

The excavations at Chimney Coulee recovered the fewest number of belongings from this category. Only two pieces of jewellery and one belonging related to religion were recovered. The first piece of jewellery that was found was originally recovered as three pieces: a twisted piece of wire, a flat disc, and a hollow hemispherical bead (Figure 5.15). The disc and wire were recovered in close association with each other and given three successive catalogue numbers. It was this close association which allowed the object to be identified as an earring and reassembled. Helpful in the identification was the fact that the wire closely resembled a modern earring that I have in my own jewellery collection.

The next piece of personal adornment was a decorative object that may have been part of a brooch, pendant, or other belonging (Figure 5.16). This belonging appears to be made of vulcanized rubber, gutta percha or a similar material. These materials were commonly used for jewellery during the Victorian era as a replacement for jet (Brown 1991:292). The design consists of a grape and leaf design with a flat back. In Victorian era symbology this design was

associated with Christ and could be found on mourning jewellery and grave markers (Allen and Dark 2010:236). Although this belonging is broken, it has the appearance of the upper portion of a cross and could therefore have additional associations with religious iconography.

Figure 5.15: Reassembled earring from Chimney Coulee. Photograph by author.

The final belonging recovered from Chimney Coulee was related to religious iconography and consisted of a highly corroded centrepiece from a rosary (Figure 5.17). Similar in shape and size to the rosary centrepieces recovered from Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville, this belonging confirmed a connection to the Roman Catholic church and the Métis community at Chimney Coulee. Unfortunately, the level of corrosion did not allow for the identification of any markings such as those identified on the rosary centre piece at Petite Ville. Also, no rosary beads were recovered with which to compare to the rosary beads from Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville.

Figure 5.16 Decorative belonging from Chimney Coulee. Photograph courtesy of Taylor Brosda

Figure 5.17 Rosary centrepiece from Chimney Coulee. Photograph courtesy of Taylor Brosda.

As demonstrated by the presence of items related to personal adornment at each site, the Métis appear to have taken pride in their appearance. When I consider that the Métis also used beads and beadwork to further enhance one's personal appearance, it is evident that this was an area of importance for the Métis. Unlike the beads which were worn by both genders, the dainty earrings and other pieces of jewellery discussed in this section were likely only worn by women and are therefore of importance in understanding how women presented themselves to their family and neighbours. The presence of belongings related to religion at all of the three study sites helps to reveal the importance of faith to the Métis. In the next section, I will discuss the remaining artifacts at each site that women would have used to make their cabins into homes for their families.

5.4 Domestic Belongings: Making a Cabin into a Home

Beads, ceramics, jewellery, and religious items are just a sampling of the belongings found in the archaeological record of a Métis cabin. There are numerous other belongings that the Métis women and their families would have used to make their cabins into comfortable and welcoming homes. In this section, I will summarize the different belongings recovered from each site that were primarily associated with women. This will include a comparison of the numbers of items associated with women versus those primarily associated with men. The discussion of my visits with these belongings will be in Chapter 6.

To determine the primary gender association, I examined each category of belongings and asked myself if the use of these belongings would fall into the traditional role of men or women. I created these categories based on my own grouping together of belongings identified within the catalogues. Although I followed the classification system used by the Society for Historical Archaeology where possible, some categories were either too broad or too narrow for

my purposes. It is my hope that future research into the archaeology of the Métis will result in a classification system that is informed by the Métis cultural worldview. I have provided a summary of these associations and my reasoning in Table 5.10.

I do acknowledge that gender roles are flexible and that neither men nor women are restricted from performing the traditional role of the opposite gender. For example, there is nothing to prevent a man from sewing a button on shirt or to prevent a woman from shooting small game for dinner. Given the influence of the Roman Catholic church in Métis life, it is likely that Métis families tended to organize themselves into gender roles that would have been acceptable to the church. This same church influence would have dissuaded any people who did not fit into the gender binary from freely expressing their gender preferences. Based on the importance of religion to the Métis, I acknowledge the possibility that people who did not fit within a gender binary were present within *hivernant* communities but that the influence of the church means that these people would have been hidden from the historical and archaeological record.

I did not assign the following categories a primary gender association: metal, lithics and other materials without an identified function, samples for laboratory analysis, and faunal remains. Since the intended function associated with unidentifiable objects could not be ascertained, it was reasonable to omit them from my count. Samples taken for laboratory analysis and faunal remains are beyond the scope of my thesis research. I do acknowledge that any future flora and faunal analysis will aid in the understanding of the types of food and medicines that Métis women and their families had access to. Absences from the belonging category indicate that excavations did not recover these types of artifacts (e.g., no obvious children's toys were recovered).

For some items, such as buttons and fabric, I considered the primary gender association to be aligned with the gender which was most likely to be involved in incorporating the belonging into the final usable item. For example, while men wore clothing with buttons, it was the women who were more likely to use the buttons to make the clothing in the first place. Likewise, while the women lived in the cabin, it was more likely the men who used the nails and windowpanes to build the structure. For other belongings, I considered who was more likely to use the object as part of their traditional gender role. For men, this included objects associated with animal husbandry and hunting. Whereas for women, this included objects associated with cooking, sewing, and hide processing.

One category was not very straight forward. This was the category for tobacco consumption and included objects such as pipes and tobacco shredders. My hesitation around this category was prompted by Métis stories which stated that some Métis women were known to smoke pipes (Hourie and Blackwell 2006:74). Furthermore, artwork dating to the 1820s depicted women smoking pipes (see Figure 5.18). This activity is also associated with men based on observations recorded by Scottish fur trader Alexander Ross. In Ross's book he describes the members of a Métis bison brigade thusly: "The men are great tobacco-smokers, the women as great tea-drinkers" (Ross 1856:193). Since Ross clearly comments on the smoking habits of men as being "great" but states that the equivalent activity for women was tea-drinking, I extrapolated that women's consumption of tobacco was either done out of sight of Ross or was of a level that was not worth mentioning. However, based on the artwork and the stories told by the Métis themselves, I made the decision to privilege these sources over Ross' observations and link tobacco consumption with both genders.

	Primary Gender Association		
Belonging Category	**Women**	**Men**	**Reasoning**
Animal Husbandry		X	Men cared for livestock/horses
Beads	X		Women were beadworkers
Buttons & Other Clothing Fasteners	X		Women made and repaired clothing
Ceramics	X		Women prepared and served meals
Cloth/Fabric	X		Women made and repaired clothing
Currency		X	Men traded for goods
Food preparation/storage	X		Women prepared and served meals
Glass – Food/Medicine	X		Women prepared and served meals Women were responsible for the health of the family
Glass – Window		X	Men built cabins and other structures
Guns/Ammunition/Projectile Points		X	Men hunted for bison and other game
Hand Tools		X	Men built cabins and other structures
Jewellery	X		All identified jewellery was associated with women
Leather – Boot/shoes (non-moccasin)	X	X	Both men and women wore boots/shoes
Lighting	X	X	Both men and women required lighting
Nails & other wood fasteners		X	Men built cabins and other structures
Personal Grooming (Mirrors/Combs)	X	X	Both men and women took care of their grooming needs
Pins/Needles	X		Women made and repaired clothing
Religious Belongings	X	X	Both men and women were religious
Scrapers	X		Women processed animal hides
Tobacco Consumption	X	X	Both men and women smoked
Watch parts		X	Men carried pocket watches
Writing (Slates, Pens, Pencils)	X	X	Both men and women were literate

Table 5.10: Primary gender association for each category of belongings.

Figure 5.18: ***A halfcast (Métis) and his two wives.*** **Peter Rindisbacher. Circa 1825-1826.** Library and Archives Canada, accession number 1973-84 PIC

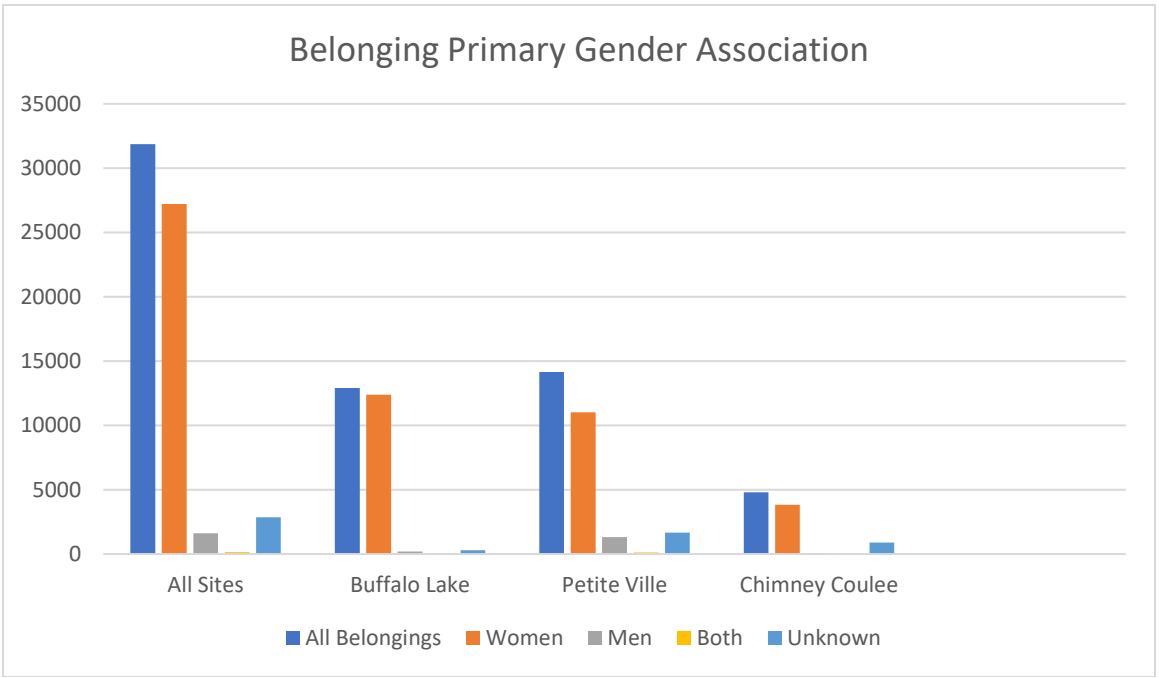

Table 5.11: Primary gender association for all belongings.

When I graphed the primary gender associations for each of the belongings, it became noticeably clear that belongings associated with women form most of the assemblages at each site. (See Table 5.11.) Since all the excavations were centred on the domestic living spaces of the Métis, it was not surprising to see this pattern. As domestic settings would have been the domain of the women, belongings associated with women and their work was expected. I did consider that the high bead counts at each site could be skewing the results in favour of belongings associated with women. I therefore chose to graph the primary gender associations again with the bead totals omitted.

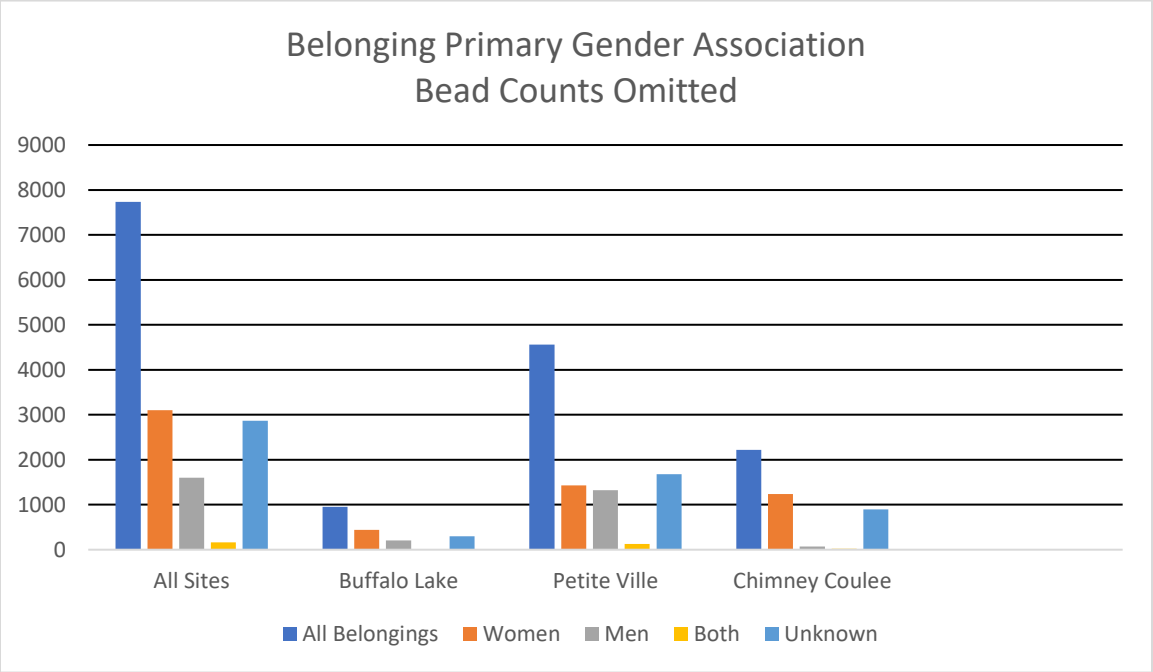

Table 5.12: Primary gender association for belongings with bead counts omitted.

In Table 5.12, the graph shows that the omission of beads from the belonging counts diminishes the amount of disparity between belongings associated with women and those associated primarily with men. Despite this, belongings associated with women still form a considerable proportion of belongings at each site. In this graph, the proportion of belongings with unidentified gender affiliation also becomes stronger. Since most of these unidentified

belongings were small pieces of metal, it is unlikely that their purpose and primary gender associations will be determined during future research.

As a last step in my visits with the belongings from each site, I considered what might be missing from the assemblages of belongings at each site. archaeological record. To me, the most notable absence was anything related to small children and babies. (Although one could certainly see how a cabin full of rambunctious children could contribute to the amount of broken glass and ceramics at each site!) I can attribute part of this absence to the ways in which Métis women cared for their children. For example, moss bags and breastfeeding would reduce the need for diaper pins (safety pins) or bottle feeding. Objects like toys may have been highly curated by the children themselves and therefore may not have entered the archaeological record.

Despite the paucity of belongings associated with small children, there are two tantalizing clues regarding the lives of children at Petite Ville and Chimney Coulee. The first is the presence of a broken writing slate at Petite Ville. Children often used these to practice their writing and arithmetic and their presence could indicate that school aged children lived in the Petite Ville cabin. The second is a small indent in the chinking samples from Chimney Coulee. The chinking was mudding that the Métis applied between the logs of the cabin walls to seal out the winter winds. It is possible that children helped their family with this part of the cabin building process. Further analysis of the chinking samples will be helpful in determining if these small indentations are from a child's finger, or merely from a small pebble in the mud.

My visits with the belongings of the Métis ancestors were both emotional and enlightening. The analysis I have discussed during this chapter provides an overview of the attributes of the belongings themselves. However, to tell the full story of the belongings, I must return to the metaphor of the sash from earlier chapters. My visits with the sites, the belongings,

and the recorded stories of the past are now ready for me to weave them together to tell the story of the three sites and the women who lived there with their families. In the next chapter, I will complete the weaving of my Métis sash of history.

CHAPTER 6: Telling the Stories Told to me by the Belongings of the Ancestors

In Métis poet Marilyn Dumont's poem *What's Left*, she describes the material culture left behind by the Métis after the battle of Batoche: shell casings, plate sherds, and a bottle stop (Dumont 2015:54). These are the types of belongings that are found at Buffalo Lake, Chimney Coulee, and Petite Ville. Although their stories are not as violent or as dramatic as the story told at Batoche, the belongings from these sites still have their own tales to tell. Stories that are related to the women and their families who lived at these overwintering communities. This chapter will discuss the results of my visits with the belongings of the ancestors who once lived at these sites.

As I did with the previous chapters, I will be breaking down my analysis into the following four major subgroups: beads, ceramics, personal adornment, and other domestic belongings found at the sites. When I conducted my analysis of these belongings, I approached them with *keeoukaywin* in mind. I was in the lab to visit with the belongings and to hear their stories. As I visited, I regarded the stories shared with me by the belongings as a thread in the weaving of the Métis sash of history. Together with the oral and written histories of the Métis, the thread of archaeology will make this metaphorical sash stronger and more complete. It is also my hope that I have fulfilled my relational obligations under *wâhkôhtowin* by telling the stories of the ancestors and their belongings accurately throughout this chapter.

6.1 Beads: The Tiniest Belongings with the Biggest Stories

As illustrated in the previous chapter, beads are one of the most commonly found artifacts at Métis sites. They are also one of the artifacts that are most clearly associated with Métis women. The results of my visits with the beads will contribute to my understanding of how the women of the 1870s *hivernant* sites used beads to express a Métis identity. The

relationships that are highlighted in the acquisition of beads, teaching of beadwork, and wearing of beaded garments are all representative of the threads of Métis life. In this section, I will focus on two stories that the archaeology of the beads can tell us: the story of daily life, and the story of *wâhkôhtowin.*

6.1.1 The Story of Daily Life as told by Beads

One of the first things that the presence of beads indicates is the availability of time for Métis women to devote to activities not related to subsistence activities. Although the crafting of items of items such as moccasins and gloves would have been a necessary activity to keep the family warm, the delicate beadwork patterns were time-consuming and not necessary for the function of the garment. During the summer and fall seasons, the harvest of plants for food and medicine, combined with the need to process meat immediately after the hunt to prevent spoilage, would have limited the time that Métis women had to spend on beadwork. In contrast, during the winter months, the cold temperatures would reduce the need for the immediate processing of fresh meat and hides. As shortened hours of daylight and cold temperatures would have reduced the amount of time spent outdoors, the Métis women and their families would have spent winter evenings in their warm cabins; a perfect time to produce the elaborate floral designs that Métis women were (and are) so well known for (Farrell Racette, 2004:271, Spicer 26:2021).

These floral designs required access to a variety of colours and my visits with the beads certainly demonstrated to me that the women at these sites used a wide array. Even grouping the colours into categories such as “light green” or “medium blue” to determine the ten most popular colours at each site revealed a diversity of colours and frequencies. These differences in frequencies may be reflective of the personal taste of the beadworker in each cabin. For example, the beadworker at Petite Ville may have chosen to incorporate a lot of white and medium blue

into her designs, while the beadworker in Cabin 3 at Buffalo Lake preferred yellows and reds in her designs (see Table 5.4). I must also consider that these differences may also simply reflect the colours of beads available at the HBC post during the last trading visit.

Since the *hivernant* sites were occupied primarily during the winter months, the daylight hours would be short. Beadwork is an activity that would require the presence of an adequate lighting source. While I can attest from personal experience that beading by the light of a fire is possible, it is not the most optimal beading situation. This is one way in which I can look "beyond the beads" and see what other stories the beads can tell about daily life in a Métis cabin. In this case, the presence of beads at the sites can tell me that the Métis cabins were lit with sources other than the fires used for cooking and heating. Other artifacts found at each site help to strengthen this thread of evidence and tell me even more about daily life within the cabin. Remnants of window glass found at Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville, as well as parts of an oil lamp at Petite Ville give me the strongest evidence for alternative lighting sources (Doll et al. 1988:99, Weinbender 2003:143, Burley et al. 1992:56).

The window glass at Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville means that the women of these cabins could bead during the day without having to use a supplementary source of light. Due to the short winter days, they would only be able to use this as a light source for approximately eight hours before having to light a lamp or a candle. Although not particularly useful as a light source in the evenings, the window glass does tell a story about the relative affluence of the Métis family who called these cabins home. As Doll points out, window glass was expensive during this time (Doll et al. 1988:99). As an alternative, hide parchment was routinely used for windows (Callihoo 1953:21; D'Artigue 1882:125). This use of window glass not only tells the story of a Métis family affluent enough to afford the expensive glass, but also with the means to transport

such a fragile belonging

The lamp parts recovered from Petite Ville provide information regarding another source of light within the Métis cabins. Burley identifies these parts as specifically coming from an oil lamp (Burley et al. 1992:56). Kerosene oil lamps were readily available in Canada during the 1860s and can be used as a time marker (Woodhead et al. 1984:38). The major drawback to the use of an oil lamp for the Métis would be the availability of oil; however, animal oil was a viable and available alternative. Despite the evidence of lamp parts and glass windows, lighting sources relying on animal oil, tallow or grease were those most likely used by the average Métis beadworker.

Although the term "pan lamp" or "grease lamp" is typically used, the chronicles of Marie Rose Delorme Smith refer to the use of a "bitch lamp" (Carpenter 1988:12). This type of lamp involves the use of a tightly twisted rag which is soaked in grease and then set in a bowl containing additional grease (Carpenter 1988:143). Amongst the belongings recovered from both Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville, there are several examples of small scraps of fabric (Doll et al. 1988:336-337, Weinbender 2003:77-78). Although inconclusive, I hypothesize that these scraps could be the remains of twisted rags that were destined for use as lamp wicks. A final source of light that Métis women could have used for beadworking are candles. Recorded stories from Métis women indicate that they would have likely made the candles themselves, however, as they were likely made from animal tallow, it would be very unlikely for candles to be identified in the archaeological record (Callihoo 1953:22, Woodhead et al. 1984:7).

Positioning themselves in an area of the cabin with the best available lighting for beadworking, the women would have sat down to create their designs on clothing and other objects. As lost or discarded beads would have accumulated where the beadworker did most of

her work, I can use the bead distribution analysis from the previous chapter to approximate where this was in each cabin, particularly at Chimney Coulee and Petite Ville where "hot spots" are identified at each site. These spots are where the beadworkers were most likely to practice their craft.

The story that the beads tell about the daily life in a *hivernant* cabin is one of winter seasons when Métis women could afford the time to sit and create their floral beadwork. The diversity of colours speaks to their ability to create detailed and intricate designs. With their work illuminated by lamps or candles, they would have sat in their favourite beading spot and enjoyed the company of their family and neighbours. It is in this company with others that I come to the second story that the beads can tell; the story of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin* within the *hivernant* communities.

6.1.2 Beadwork as a Reflection of *Wâhkôhtowin*

The detailed beadwork of the Métis women is not something that can easily be learned on one's own. It is a skill that is passed down from grandmothers, mothers, and aunties. For the Métis women of the past, it also required relationships with men to acquire the materials to create the beadwork. Through the various relationships involved in creating a piece of beadwork, I can see reflections of *wâhkôhtowin* and the reciprocal obligations within those relationships. In this section, I will discuss the stories that beadwork can tell about the relationships of Métis women with the other people in their lives.

The use of decorative arts to embellish clothing and other items would not have been unknown to the Indigenous foremothers of the Métis. Indeed, prior to the arrival of the European traders, women would have used porcupine quills, seeds, and other natural materials to fashion beads (Farrell Racette 2008:77). The introduction of glass trade beads would have allowed

women to continue to create their intricate designs without the need to spend time making beads from natural materials. Although the European foremothers may not have practiced beadwork with the natural materials and geometric designs of the Métis' Indigenous kin, embellishment with complicated embroidered floral designs would have been familiar to them. Métis women who attended schools run by the Grey Nuns were taught how to embroider based on French floral patterns (Brasser 1985:225). The reinterpretation of these embroidery patterns into beadwork is therefore not surprising.

It is important to note that Métis beadwork is not simply the floral patterns of their European kin recreated in the beadwork techniques of their Indigenous kin. Instead, Métis beadwork is a complicated and unique style all its own despite its influences from the styles of other kin. Thus, the Métis beadworkers of the 1870s can be said to be practicing *wâhkôhtowin* and continuing the relationships with their Indigenous and European ancestors as they carried on decorative traditions of the past while still incorporating designs that were unique to the Métis.

To start beading, a beadworker would first need to acquire the materials she needed: fabric or leather to bead upon, needles, threads, and the beads themselves. As the primary hunters and traders in the family, it would be up to the men to acquire these materials for the women in their lives (Farrell Racette 2008:70). The volume of beads recovered from each site is only a fraction of the beads that the men would have brought home to their wives. Many thousands more would have been incorporated into the clothing and decorative objects; belongings which the men would have benefitted from and worn with pride. Thus, the beads of the archaeological record tell the story of a mutually beneficial relationship between the women and the men with the work of each benefiting the other. One can also imagine that this would have set up an amicable rivalry among the women with efforts being made to have the best

dressed husband in the *hivernant* settlement.

The beads tell a story of relationships with other women in the community beyond just the amicable rivalry. A Métis woman beading with only her immediate family surrounding her would have experienced a productive way to pass the time. That same woman beading with her friends and neighbours would have also helped to establish and maintain social relationships within the community. The importance of this has been emphasized to me throughout the community gatherings hosted by the Indigenous Issues Committee at the University of Alberta. The invitation to these gatherings emphasized that beading was encouraged. Although beading was not a mandatory part of these gatherings, the beadwork gave us a common starting point to establish new relationships and grow our academic community. Beading together gave us a chance to practice *keeoukaywin* within our community, just as it would within the *hivernant* community. If entire cabins could be excavated, it would not be surprising if the bead distribution analysis were to show multiple "hot spots" to indicate where several women sat and worked on their beading while conversing with each other.

As I note in my introduction to this section, beadwork is difficult to learn on one's own. Métis women were most likely to learn beadwork from the women in their own families. Beadwork therefore tells the story of passing down skills from one generation to the next. Beading techniques and even beadwork patterns would have been taught to the next generation. During a beadworking session that Métis knowledge keeper Krista Leddy hosted for a workshop I attended, she recalled learning how to bead by first helping the elders thread their needles (Leddy, Personal Communication 2020). Based on this description, you can easily imagine the Métis elders of the *hivernant* communities passing their needles to the children to thread with the help of their small fingers and young eyes.

In addition to beading techniques, patterns and designs would have also been passed down to the next generation. Although I have been unable find a pattern like the beadwork found at Chimney Coulee within museum ethnographic collections, it still tells a story of a relationship. The design depicts a budding pink flower, perhaps a wild rose, a thistle, or other pink flower. This design therefore tells the story of the Métis relationship with the natural world, a critical component of *wâhkôhtowin*. This flower would have been known to the woman who chose to represent it through her beads. The relationship between her and the flower could have been as a food source, a medicine, or even as a source of beauty to brighten up her day. Regardless of the exact nature of the relationship between the beadworker and her flower, its survival and recovery during excavations help to tell the story of *wâhkôhtowin*.

The beads from my study sites help to tell the stories of what daily life was like in the Métis cabins. They also help to tell the stories about the relationships that the beadworkers had with the men, children, and other women of their community. The patterns created by the beadworks can also tell the stories about the connections with the women of the past and the relationships with the plants of the surrounding landscapes. The importance of these relationships is still reflected in value that the Métis of today place on the beadworkers within the community. These relationships are all reflective of the importance of *wâhkôhtowin* in the lives of Métis women. In the next section, I will continue to engage in *keeoukaywin* by telling the stories that I learned from my visits with the ceramic belongings.

Figure 6.1: **The Chimney Coulee beadwork.** Note the sage, tobacco, and bag of tea offered as part of the reciprocal obligations of *wâhkôhtowin.* These medicines were provided by Krista Leddy, a Métis artist and knowledge holder. Photograph by Kisha Supernant.

6.2 Ceramics: Fragile Belongings with Long-lasting Stories

The presence of a variety of ceramics at every Métis *hivernant* site is a curious thread in my Métis sash of history. These fragile belongings seem incongruous when considering the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the *hivernants.* Despite this, they are found at all three of the subject sites. In this section, I will relay the story told to me by these artifacts during my visits with them. Like the beads, I will discuss the stories that ceramics can tell me about daily life for Métis women and their families, as well as the implications on relationships within the *hivernant* community.

6.2.1 The Story of Daily Life as told by Ceramics

Preparing, serving, and eating meals is a necessary part of everyday life for all

households. It is our cultural differences that dictate the type of food, how it is prepared, and how it is served. Based on the archaeological evidence, I can say that for the Métis, part of the serving of meals and the taking of tea involved the use of transfer-printed ceramics. The archaeological and historical evidence does not allow me to guess the frequency with which Métis women may have used their ceramics. They may have been reserved for guests or special meals. Alternatively, they may have been used at every meal. Additional evidence from Buffalo Lake does demonstrate that sturdier vessels such as tin cups were available to and used by the Métis (Doll et al. 1988:101). Whatever the frequency of actual use of ceramics, they were used often enough to be broken on a regular basis and thereby enter the archaeological record.

The sherds of ceramics from each site represent a wide variety of designs, forms, and quality. This variety reflects the assortment of ceramics available to the Métis families from the various traders within the region. As most identifiable ceramics were from the Spode/Copland company, it is likely that these purchases were made primarily from the HBC since this manufacturer was the primary supplier to the HBC starting in 1835 (Sussman 1979:9). The presence of ceramics such as the potential W & E Corn vessel from Chimney Coulee and the Thomas Furnival patterns from Buffalo Lake may also be indicative of purchases made with independent traders in Red River or with traders at Fort Benton in the United States (Doll et al. 1988:103). The presence of ceramics from outside the HBC trading network is indicative that the Métis were either trading directly with traders outside of this network or had contact with those who did.

Since there is a variety of patterns at each site, this is also indicative that the Métis purchased individual pieces from whatever stock was available at the trading post on a piece-by-piece basis. This contrasts with a purchasing strategy of buying a complete set of ceramics in the

same pattern as one might do as part of a wedding gift. While plain glazed ceramics may have fulfilled a utilitarian purpose; the fanciful transfer-ware prints would have added a touch of beauty to their function. In some homes, storage consisted of open boxes nailed to the wall or cupboards with a piece of cloth over them (Mackinnon 2012:32, Callihoo 1953:22). Taking advantage of the open cupboards used to store belongings when not in use, the transfer-ware prints could have been clearly visible to all who occupied and visited the cabin.

Figure 6.2: Interior of a Métis log cabin as seen along the journey of the North-West Mounted Police on the March West (1874). Esquis by Henri Julien for L'Opinion Publique. Note the open cabinet in the corner near the chimney. Image courtesy of the Glenbow Archives. Accession Number NA-47-10.

From this evidence I can tell the story of Métis daily life from the context of ceramics. Based on their ubiquitous presence, they were an important part of Métis material culture. Purchased on a piece-by-piece basis as the Métis traveled across the Canadian and American

Plains, the resultant collection would have been proudly displayed within the Métis home. Although they could be used more frequently by the family, the decorated ceramics would have allowed the Métis women to serve meals and tea to their visitors in style. In the next section, I will expand on this last point and discuss the implications that ceramics would have had on the way in which they entertained their visitors and engaged in *keeoukaywin*.

6.2.2 Ceramics as a Reflection of *Keeoukaywin*

As Alexander Ross recorded in 1856, the Métis women were known to be prolific tea drinkers (Ross 1856:193). This observation is supported by the archaeological record and the presence of cups, saucers, and the discarded lead foil that tea was shipped in. This observation also has implications for the relationships that Métis had with their family and neighbours. Through the emulation of a European tradition, Métis women would have demonstrated hospitality and their social status (Burley 1989:104). I therefore cannot overlook the role that tea would have played in the facilitation of building of relationships through *keeoukaywin.*

Doll and Weinbender indicated that cups and saucers were among the most common vessel types at Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville respectively (Doll et al. 1988:102, Weinbender 2003:91). While the detailed analysis of the Chimney Coulee assemblage was still taking place during the writing of this thesis, the preliminary analysis is supportive of this pattern. It is important to note that the number of cups and saucers present in the archaeological record does not necessarily mean that these items were the most common ceramic items in the Métis cupboard. It simply means that they were the most frequently broken ceramic belongings. Despite this, cups, saucers, and the lead foil from tea are present at every Métis site and I can therefore infer that tea drinking forms part of the story of daily life at these sites.

In discussing the role that ceramics played in the *hivernant* lifestyle, David Burley

questioned why such a highly mobile group of people would employ such a fragile belonging in lieu of more durable alternatives (Burley 1989:97). To answer this question, he first looked at the initial reasons for the Métis to be interested in the acquisition of ceramics. His explanation for this was related to the Red River origins of many Métis women and how the most desirable women were expected to be "quite English in her manner" (Burley 1989:102, Van Kirk 1980:195). This expectation would have included the taking of tea in the English fashion with the associated protocols, including the proper accoutrements of cups and saucers. Thus, part of the reason for the use of ceramics by the Métis is related to the expression of social status and behavioural etiquette.

Burley then looked beyond ceramics as a competitive display and considered them as a belonging type that had gained a social meaning that was shared by all Métis (Burley 1989:103). Since ceramic use in Red River had become such an important part of life, it also became an important part of Métis life outside of Red River. Ceramics therefore became linked to “social sharing, information exchange, and structured interaction” (Burley 1989:105). Burley finally associates the presence of ceramics as part of the role of Métis women in maintaining social relationships within the *hivernant* community (Burley 1989:105).

Burley’s analysis and the persistence of ceramics at *hivernant* sites can also be explained further through the lens of *keeoukaywin:* “the visiting way”. Although ceramic teacups are not a necessity for the act of *keeoukaywin* to take place, they do help to reinforce the hostess’ affiliation with the Métis community per Burley’s assessment above. The presence of these ceramics implies that the act of visiting over tea was occurring. This visiting would have served to create and fortify the connections within the *hivernant* community and even the hunting brigade itself (Gaudet 2019:53). As this visiting takes place within the home, and therefore

within the domain of women, the role of ceramics and tea takes on special significance when considering the representation of Métis women in the archaeological record.

For Métis women, visiting over a cup of tea is not merely an idle act of gossip. Instead, it is an act of creation and sustainment. Relationships are created and maintained during every visit. This would be particularly important when integrating newcomers into the community. As Brenda Macdougall and Nicole St-Onge have illustrated through genealogical analysis, many prominent bison hunting brigades had related women and their kin at their cores (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013). Despite this kinship connection, it is easy to envision situations in which conflict could arise and threaten the cohesion of the community. By engaging in *keeoukaywin*, Métis women could resolve disputes and renew relationships before issues could become a threat to the brigade (Gaudet 2019:48). Thus, *keeoukaywin* combined with the kinship connections that women brought with them to the hunting brigades help to demonstrate the key role that women played in the "creation, formation, leadership, and maintenance" of the *hivernant* community (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013:26).

From the broken sherds of ceramics in the archaeological record, I can hear many stories. Some of these stories tell how Métis women were connected to a global trading system that brought fine goods from England to the *hivernant* cabins. Other stories tell about the markers of Métis identity and the importance of belongings to signal one's social standing within a group. Still others infer the importance of *keeoukaywin* and the role of women in ensuring the cohesion of the hunting brigade through visiting and hospitality. For the next set of stories, I will now turn to the belongings related to personal adornment and religious iconography.

6.3 Personal Adornment and Religious Iconography: The Stories Told by One's Appearance

The way in which people present themselves to the world is one of the universal

experiences of being human. To others within a community, personal adornment can signal belonging and status. On a more intimate level, the way people adorn themselves can be an external expression of self-perception. Items related to personal adornment can be gendered and this holds true with the Métis. In the case of the belongings recovered from each of the study sites, the majority were associated with women. While the belongings related to religion could be used and worn by either gender, they do have a strong association with women since Métis women were said to be responsible for the spiritual needs of the family (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:59). In this section, I will expand on this by relating some of the stories that these belongings can share.

6.3.1 Personal Adornment, Religious Belongings, and Daily Life

The wearing of jewellery during a bison hunting trip, even an extended trip, may seem ostentatious to some. However, there are many reasons why Métis women may have taken their jewellery with them to the *hivernant* camps. One reason may have been simply for safety. It may have been safer to take the jewellery with them rather than to leave it behind in Red River or other summer homes. It is also likely that the *hivernant* community was simply seen as an extension of Métis life when not part of the hunting brigade.

This life would have included weekly church services, weddings, and other special events. With regards to *hivernant* life, New Year's Day and wedding dances would have been notable events during the long winter and would have been celebrated with singing, dancing, and feasts (Barkwell 2006a:146, 151). NWMP officer Samuel Steele recorded his observations of a wedding celebration in Buffalo Lake that he witnessed in 1876. Steele's observations include descriptions of the feasting, dancing, music, and general festive atmosphere during this time (Steele 1914:86). Sadly, Steele did not record his observations of what the women wore during

these celebrations, but he did describe a wedding in Red River where he stated the couples were "well-dressed" and the women wore "muslin gowns" (Steele 1914:42). Based on these brief descriptions, one can imagine that every woman attending a special event in the *hivernant* settlement would have worn her best jewellery and dressed her family in her most elaborate beadwork.

The jewellery recovered included one earring from each site, and belongings identified as "possible" earrings from Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville (Doll et al. 1988:114, Weinbender 2006:87). A brooch and finger ring were also recovered from Petite Ville (Weinbender 2006:87). Brooches are commonly observed in contemporary photos with women often wearing them at the neck of their blouses (see Figure 4.1). The example brooch from Petite Ville was missing the clasp on its back, which may have resulted in its loss or intentional discard.

All the earrings identified at each site were of the "dangling" type. No "stud" style earrings were recovered. This may tell the story of the fashion senses of the day or the availability of styles. Apart from one of the earrings from Petite Ville (Weinbender 2006:93), the earrings recovered were all damaged in some way. This could be indicative that dangling earrings were more prone to damage and therefore discarded more often than other styles of earrings. When reading Steele's accounts of the jigging and other dances, one can easily imagine how an earring could become damaged or lost during the unruly fun of a Métis cabin party (Steele 1914:42). Although it is important to note that the damage may have occurred after the belongings were lost and entered the archaeological record.

To assist the Métis woman and her family in preparing to look their best, the archaeological record provides evidence of combs and mirrors. Several sherds of mirrored glass were identified in Cabin 3 at Buffalo Lake while an additional potential mirror sherd was

recovered from Petite Ville (Doll et al. 1988:98, Weinbender 2006:104). This indicates that the Métis had some way to check their appearance before leaving the cabin. Additionally, comb teeth made of vulcanized rubber are also commonly found at each of the three sites (Doll et al. 1988:102, 152, Weinbender 2006:78, Coons et.al 2021). The presence of a bone louse comb (Figure 6.3) recovered from Chimney Coulee speaks to the additional need to use combs beyond the fixing of personal appearance (Coons et al. 2021).

Figure 6.3: **Louse comb recovered from Chimney Coulee.** Photograph by author.

At Petite Ville, an interesting story related to personal adornment is hinted at with the recovery of pieces of fine wire and straight pins that had been bent into various shapes with some also having beads threaded onto them (Weinbender 2006:116). Weinbender proposed that these wire shapes were used for jewellery making, although jewellery repair is also an explanation (Weinbender 2006:117). The recovery of two fragments of a rosary may be evidence of the type

of objects that the Métis wire-bender was trying to repair. This rosary also brings me to the various belongings related to religion that were recovered from each site.

Excavations at all three sites recovered belongings related to religion. The rosary fragment recovered from Chimney Coulee consisted of a badly corroded centre piece as seen in Figure 5.17. This heart shaped centre piece was also found on the rosaries from Buffalo Lake and Chimney Coulee. Although associated rosary beads were not recovered from Chimney Coulee, the rosary beads from Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake were identical except for their colour (Weinbender 2006:80). With the wide variety of centre pieces and bead shapes found on rosaries, these belongings may be telling a story of a common origin. With the close relationship between the Métis, the Oblate Priests, and the Grey Nuns, it is likely that all three of the rosaries came from either the Oblates or the Grey Nuns. Given the presence of an Oblate mission being established at Buffalo Lake in 1868 and one at Petite Ville in 1872, the Oblates are the likely source of the rosaries (Weinbender 2006:23, 86,173).

The rosaries also tell the story of the importance of religion for the Métis. As the protectors of the family's spiritual life, it would have been particularly important for Métis women to ensure that the members of her household, particularly the children, were brought up in a manner that would have been acceptable to the Catholic Church (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:59). This would have included praying the rosary on a regular basis. Although the rosary was not worn as a piece of personal adornment, there are accounts such as those from traveller and writer Henry Martin Robinson who observed that the Métis would hang the rosary over the bed (Robinson 1879:46). This action thereby communicated to all who visited the cabin that a good Catholic family lived there.

Rosaries were not typically worn as an item of personal adornment; this contrasts with

the saint's medallions which were meant to be worn. At Buffalo Lake, Doll and his team recovered an example of a religious medallion (Doll et al. 1988:116). Although the saint represented by the Buffalo Lake religious medallion is not identifiable, the Petite Ville rosary centre piece was likely an example of the "Miraculous Medal" and therefore represented Mary, mother of Jesus. Although the Buffalo Lake medallion was too worn to identify the exact saint it was associated with, and Mary is significant to all Catholics, there are a few saints who hold special importance to the Métis. The first is Saint Joseph of Nazareth who is the patron saint of the Métis. Since Louis Riel chose Saint Joseph as the patron saint in 1884, this particular saint may not have had any special importance to the Métis of the 1870s when compared to other saints.

Another is Saint Anne, the patron saint of "unmarried women, housewives, women in labor or who want to be pregnant," and "grandmothers" (The Catholic Archdiocese of Edmonton 2021). Highly regarded as the grandmother of Jesus, her patronages would have held special importance to Métis women. Saint Anne's importance is also reflected in the annual Métis pilgrimage to Lac Ste Anne, also the site of a Métis settlement. This pilgrimage was started in 1889 by the Oblate mission. For the Métis, this pilgrimage is not only a way to honour Saint Anne on her feast day but has also been a way to renew relationships with friends and family when the extinction of the wild bison herds meant that Métis families no longer come together to participate in the bison hunt. Today, this pilgrimage remains an important aspect of Métis life.

The jewellery, combs, and mirrors found at each of the sites tells a story of women who wanted to look their best. The annual winter hunting trip was an extension of their lives at Red River and other settlements such as Lac Ste Anne. It is therefore understandable that Métis women would have wanted to put forth their best appearances just as they would have back at

the settlement, especially at occasions such as weddings and New Year's Day celebrations. As part of their outward expressions of their identity, religious items such as rosaries and saint's medallions were also employed. In addition to displaying their jewellery and religious affiliations, the women were also signalling their belonging and relationships within the Métis community. In the next section I will look at these relationships in more detail.

6.3.2 Personal Adornment, Religious Belongings, and Relationships

Although objects related to personal adornment are, by their very nature, intimate belongings, they can still tell stories of the relationships within a community. In this section, I will present some of the ways in which these belongings can help tell the stories of the relationships of Métis women with their community and with the church.

All the earrings found at the three sites would have required the woman who wore them to have pierced ears. This recalls the story of the very first relationship that a Métis woman would have had: the relationship with her mother. When Jock Carpenter relayed stories of her grandmother Marie Rose Delorme Smith, one of her descriptions related to personal adornment was as follows:

> When Marie Rose was born Mother Delorme pierced her ear lobes, and put small gold rings through the holes, a common practice of the Métis (Carpenter 1988:29).

Thus, a Métis woman's first piece of jewellery could have come in the form of a small pair of earrings from her parents. The quality of these earrings would reflect the affluence of her parents and the availability of fine goods from the local traders. In terms of her relationships, these earrings would signify her belonging to the Métis community and her future role as a woman. In other words, the piercing of the baby girl's ears would be a signal of her gender to the rest of her community long before she left the security of her mother's cradleboard.

Beyond this first pair of earrings, the Métis woman could expect that any future gifts of

jewellery would primarily come from her husband. As the men were the traders of the family, it would have been up to them to barter at the trading posts for items of personal adornment for their wives. The willingness of the men to do this would not only rely on his ability as a trader, but also on his relationship with his wife. I also consider that some men may have viewed the appearance of their wives as a reflection of his own worth and position within the community and he may have provided his wife with jewellery regardless of the status of his relationship with her.

While the floral beadwork patterns of Métis women would have been influenced by their relationship with the natural world around them, their jewellery and other items of personal adornment would have been influenced by others that may have been oceans away from the *hivernant* community. With the notable exception of the apparent jewellery manufacturing/repair that took place at Petite Ville, many of the clothing and jewellery fashions of the Métis would have originated in Eastern Canada and Europe. Although fashion trends may have arrived on the plains several seasons after their debut in the streets of London or Montreal, they did eventually arrive via the traders and travellers who made their way into the west. Examples of this may be clearly seen in photographs such as Figure 4.1. Except for the lack of hoops and crinolines, the Victorian era fashions worn by Edward McKay's daughters in this photograph would not have been out of place in larger cities throughout Canada and Europe (Farrell Racette 2004:116). Métis women were therefore part of a global relationship between women, designers, and the elite who made trends popular enough to be transmitted around the world.

While jewellery and other items of personal adornment are signifiers of the relationships that Métis women had with members of their own community, the belongings related to religion are reflective of a much broader type of relationship. This not only included their relationships

with the clergy and their fellowship with the rest of the congregation, but also included the spiritual relationships that they had with the Holy Trinity and the numerous Catholic saints. Métis women would have learned how to pray the rosary from the clergy and the faithful within their own family. As women, it was their responsibility to ensure that the others in their family had their spiritual needs met and were educated properly in the ways of their faith (Hourie and Carrière-Acco 2006:59). Helping others in her family establish a relationship with the spiritual world was therefore a vital role fulfilled by women.

The possibility of the rosary from Petite Ville being an example of a Miraculous Medal also highlights a relationship between Métis women and other faithful Catholics around the world. Originally issued in 1832, billions of Miraculous Medals have been issued since (Venbrux 2016:89). Originating from the rue de Bac chapel in Paris, France, the site of a miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary, the Miraculous Medal has been described as an "inverse pilgrimage" (Venbrux 2016:89). In this variation on pilgrimage, the blessed object travels to the faithful rather than the faithful travelling to the shrine. The Miraculous Medals are therefore valued for not only their ability to connect the faithful with heaven through the intercession of Mary, but also connects them with the pilgrimage site itself (Venbrux 2016:89). The popularity of this medal and its presence in the *hivernant* community is even more interesting when one considers that it was not the patriarchy of the church that conceived of the distribution of the medal, but it was the women of the church who advocated for the striking of the medal and ensured its popularity worldwide (Venbrux 2016:91). The presence of this medal is therefore the direct result of the agency of other Catholic women and therefore ties the Métis women, and their families, to Catholic women around the world.

The stories of Métis women as told by their belongings related to personal adornment and

religion reflect their personal relationships with their families and with the members of the *hivernant* community, including the clergy. These stories also tell of their relationships on a global level as well as on the spiritual plane. Linked to others around the world by faith and fashion, Métis women found their lives influenced by women that they would never meet. They also guided their own families in their relationships with the spiritual world while maintaining their own relationships.

In the next section, I will move on from the belongings that fall outside of the three primary categories of beads, ceramics, and personal adornment. These remaining belongings are the small things left behind that can tell big stories about the daily domestic life in a *hivernant* cabin during the 1870s.

6.3 The Stories Told by What Was Left Behind

In this concluding section, I will focus on the stories told by the belongings that do not fall into the three preceding categories. These stories are related to the domestic life within the cabins at each of the three sites. In keeping with my focus on Métis women and their relationships, I will focus on the belongings that I coded as being primarily associated with women or with both genders in the previous chapter. In contrast to the earlier sections, I will not discuss the stories of the belongings in separate sub-sections related to daily life and relationships. Instead, I will discuss the implications of the stories in individual sub-sections divided by the belonging type. These final three sub-sections are related to: domestic glassware, writing and education, and lithics.

6.4.1 Feeding and Nursing the Family: The Stories Told by Sherds of Glass

As with the ceramics, glass objects are fragile when compared with other more robust belongings. When these materials enter the archaeological record, it is often in the form of small

sherds that resist identification and keep their stories to themselves. Despite this, there were glass artifacts at each site that did tell their story. As the cabin is a domestic space, the glass belongings recovered from these areas tell stories that are related to ways in which the Métis women fed their families and maintained their health.

The most immediately identifiable glass objects were the two stoppers from bottles of Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce. One stopper was recovered from Burley's excavations at Petite Ville while the second was recovered during Supernant's excavations at Chimney Coulee (Burley 1992:56). As a British condiment, this product would have linked the Métis to a global supply chain that included manufacturing in Worchester, England, and in New York, USA (Lunn 1981:1-2). It is important to note that Métis connections to the New York manufacturing facility would have only been possible if the Métis were trading with American posts such as Fort Benton (Lunn 1981:10).

Those familiar with Worcestershire sauce will recognize its versatility in adding flavour to drinks, meats, and stews. The presence of these belongings therefore tells the story of women who worked to provide their families with meals that were more than just the simple fulfillment of caloric needs. They also endeavoured to incorporate flavour and diversity in the menu. Cookbooks published by today's Métis communities often recommend the use of Worcestershire sauce in marinades for wild meats or as an ingredient in soups (Métis Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization 2008:12, McMurray Métis Local 1935 n.d:37). The inclusion of Worcestershire sauce in these recipes tells a story of continuity in the kitchens of Métis women as they passed down cooking skills from one generation to the next.

Figure 6.4: **Lea and Perrins bottle stopper shown immediately after being recovered from Excavation Unit 8 at Chimney Coulee.** Photograph by author.

In contrast to Petite Ville and Chimney Coulee where the most readily identifiable glass belongings were related to food preparation, the glass with the most positive identification from Buffalo Lake was related to the health of the Métis family and came in the form of a bottle of pain reliever. Both Marie Rose Delorme Smith and Victoria Callihoo identify the maintenance of the health of the family as a responsibility of the women (Carpenter 1977:35-36, Callihoo 1960:24). Although many traditional medicines would have been passed down from generations of First Nations kin who had intimate knowledge of the medicinal properties of local plants, the Métis women would have also been open to treatments developed by Europeans and the

incoming settlers. The presence of these bottles suggests a story of women who were willing to supplement their ancestral medicinal knowledge with modern medicines as they became available.

Many of the medicine bottles recovered from Buffalo Lake were generic druggist's bottles that gave no indication of their contents or medicinal use. One notable exception to this was eleven glass sherds from a bottle of "Perry Davis Vegetable Pain Killer" (Doll et al. 1988:97). As indicated by its name, the primary function for this medicine was as a pain killer. This was accomplished through a mixture which included myrrh, capsicum, camphor, alcohol, and opium (Doll et al. 1988:97). Although some of the ingredients may have had questionable benefit and may have resulted in addiction issues, the presence of alcohol and opium would likely have eased the patient's pain for a time.

Learning how to cook and care for the health of her family would have required a Métis woman to undertake an extensive practical education with the women of her family. For many Métis women, this was not the only formal education she would have had. In the next sub-section, I will look more closely at some of the belongings related to education and literacy and relate the story that these belongings tell.

6.4.2 Writing Their Own Stories: The Story of Métis Education and Literacy

In the years immediately following the 1885 Northwest Resistance and during the scrip commissions, many Métis did not have the opportunity to obtain a consistent, formal education. Living on road allowances and facing discrimination in settler communities, the Métis often found themselves relocating to find more favourable opportunities for their families. This situation would have been disruptive at best to the education of their children. Without title to their lands, some were denied access to the local schools (Saunders 2013:350). This situation led

some families to enter their children into the residential and day school systems along with their Indigenous kin (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015:4). In this system, they may have learned the bare minimum needed to gain menial employment in a settler community, but it was a system designed to strip them of any Indigenous traits and assimilate them fully into settler society. The separation of children from their families also resulted in the loss of languages and practical skills that would have traditionally been taught to them at home.

In contrast to the inconsistent and harmful educations experienced by many Métis youth after the Northwest Resistance, the Métis of the 1870s were able to educate their children in formal and culturally appropriate ways. The children of the *hivernant* communities would have learned important skills related to the winter bison hunt. For the girls, they would have been taught skills related to the processing of bison hides, the preparation of pemmican, and making meals for the family. Lessons on caring for the health of the family, as well as instruction on how to make clothing would have also been an important part of a young woman's education (MacKinnon 2018:211). Finally, the passing down of skills related to beadwork and other decorative arts would have been a way for Métis girls to spend time in the company of other women in the community.

The presence of slates, fountain pen parts, and pencil lead from Petite Ville provides evidence of the more formal education that Métis children would have received (Weinbender 2003:120). The children would have used the reusable slates to practice their writing and arithmetic. The pencils and fountain pens may have been reserved for the use of adults writing as paper would have been a scarce commodity on the plains and therefore kept aside for important and vital correspondence. Henry Martin Robinson's account of the fur trade provides more insight into who in the Métis household would have received formal education and where they

would have received it from:

> It may be that the daughter of the house — and there always is a daughter — has come under the influence of a convent for a season, and can read; perhaps write (Robinson 1879:46).

Robinson does not speak of Métis sons spending time at the convent, but this does not necessarily mean that a formal education was not part of the upbringing of sons. Indeed, it does not even mean that all daughters had to go to the convent for their education. While some daughters like Marie Rose Delorme Smith were sent to convents for a formal education from the Grey Nuns, other sons and daughters would have had the opportunity to learn from the clergy within the *hivernant* community itself (MacKinnon 2018:211). In Petite Ville, Father Moulin lived among the Métis in 1870 and was joined in 1871 by Father Andre (Giraud 1986:396). At Buffalo Lake, Doll cites the Oblate records which report Father Dupin meeting the spiritual and educational needs of the community in 1873 (Doll et al. 1988:32). Likewise, Burley notes that Father DeCorby and Father Lestanc were in the region of Chimney Coulee (Burley et al. 1992:87). In the absence of a priest, it is possible that the women of the *hivernant* community could have taken on the role of teaching the children to read and write.

The slates and writing materials clearly tell a story of a community that was literate and able to pass these skills on to their children. Along with this formal education, I also acknowledge the importance of the passing down of cultural skills that would have ensured the survival of the family and the continuance of the Métis culture. The passing of these skills would have included those that were unique to the Métis culture, as well as those common to European and First Nations kin. In the final sub-section of this chapter, I will look at one tradition that is commonly associated with the First Nation kin of the Métis: the skill of working with lithics.

6.4.3 The Perseverance of the Ancestor's Traditions: The Stories Told by Lithics

Lithic belongings are found at all three of the sites that I studied but the reasons for this are disputed. One thought is that the Métis were not responsible for the lithic tools. Instead, activities such as the digging of cellars and mudding pits resulted in the mixing of earlier occupations into the assemblages left by the Métis (Burley et al. 1992:112). The other thought is that the Métis were making and using their own lithic tools, either as an expedient measure or on a preferential basis (Doll et al. 1988:218-219). Consideration of each of these hypotheses tells a different story for the daily life and relationships of Métis women in the 1870s.

The lithics identified at each site include projectile points, scrapers, and debitage (Doll et al. 1988:116-117, Weinbender 2003:103, Coons et al. 2021). The projectile points have a strong association with men as they would have been used during the hunt. Conversely, the scrapers would have had a stronger association with women since they would have been used for the processing of hides. Since my focus is on the stories of the women, the discussion that follows will be concentrated on the lithics identified as scrapers.

If the lithics were exclusively made by the First Nations and were only brought into context with the Métis occupation through the digging of cellar pits and other features, they tell a story of repeated occupation at each site. Given that each site had characteristics that made them attractive to the Métis, it is reasonable to infer that these same sites would have been attractive to earlier First Nations occupations. Access to fresh water, trees for firewood and shelter, and viewsheds for the hunters would have been desirable attributes for both the Métis and the First Nations. Repeated occupations also speak to *wâhkôhtowin*. The reciprocal relationship that the Métis and First Nations had with the land would have helped them to recognize that these sites were good places to build their homes, whether that home was a cabin or a teepee. I must

consider that this same spirit of *wâhkôhtowin* and the engagement of *keeoukaywin* between Métis and First Nations kin would have informed the Métis of these sites in the first place.

The archaeological evidence for lithic materials being intrusive into the Métis assemblage is strongest at Petite Ville. At this site, the concentration of lithic materials was strongest in two areas. In the first area, the field school had excavated through two levels identified as precontact in which the belongings were recovered from. The other area was the chimney area. This area contained a large amount of clay that the Métis had excavated from mudding pits and therefore contained belongings that the Métis had disturbed and transferred (Weinbender 2003:128). This contrasts with Chimney Coulee where there was little evidence for intrusive belongings and the lithics with identifiable forms were recovered from beneath the levels associated with the Métis occupation.

I also considered the possibility that the Métis were making their own lithic tools. This may have been done when suitable European style tools was not available or practical. The evidence for Métis tool production is strongest at Buffalo Lake's Cabin 3. During Doll's excavations he recovered three fragments of projectile points and associated debitage from the same material (Doll et al. 1988:118). He also recovered three end-scrapers (Doll et al. 1988:117). Doll determined that since the concentrations of lithics were associated with the depression features and not distributed around the site, they were evidence of in-situ lithic tool manufacture (Doll et al. 1988:118). He also described this as evidence for a "proto-historic" occupation where belongings associated with European and First Nations material culture existed together in a mixed assemblage.

Supernant's excavations outside of Cabin 3 provide even more compelling evidence for the Métis use and manufacture of lithics. These excavations went down to glacial till with no

apparent occupation levels other than the Métis (Supernant, Personal Communication 2021). The lithic belongings recovered during these excavations included “end-scrapers” and “thumbnail scrapers” which may have had specific uses during the processing of hides (Figure 6.5). During an email exchange with fellow IPIA scholar and lithicist Dale Fisher, he indicated that one of the scrapers also had associated debitage from the same material. This suggests that the lithic tools were being made on site (Fisher, Personal Communication 2020).

Figure 6.5: **Thumbnail scraper recovered from Buffalo Lake.** Photograph courtesy of Taylor Brosda.

Burley has asserted that the lack of any historical mention of the Métis using lithics is evidence for the Métis not being users of this technology (Burley et al. 1992:112). When considering this line of reasoning as proof that an activity did or did not happen, it is important to realize that there are many aspects about the lives of Métis women that are not part of the

historical record. As noted in earlier chapters, this is the result of the biases of the male writers at the time who were recording their observations for a primarily male audience. Not only are details related to the life stages of women omitted from the historical record, but there are very few references to the daily mundane tasks that were performed by women. I therefore cannot state that Métis women did not use lithic scrapers to process hides based on the evidence of the historical record alone. I therefore feel that the question of whether the Métis, particularly Métis women, were making and using stone tools must be examined further in future studies.

If the Métis were making their own lithic tools, they would tell a story of the persistence of skills passed down from First Nations kin. In this story, I must also consider that it was the women themselves making tools, especially those associated with hide preparation such as the scrapers. This is not because I consider the women to be more connected to the skills passed down from First Nations kin versus their European kin, but instead I consider the practicality of making lithic tools. It would be impractical for women to wait for a tool to be made or resharpened while men were away hunting or trading. The making of scraping tools would therefore be a pragmatic skill for women to learn and pass down to their children.

Regardless of who made the lithic tools at each site, they still tell a story of a connection to the First Nations kin. Whether this connection is through the shared connections to the landscape or through the passing down of skills, lithics are a physical reminder of *wâhkôhtowin* and *keeoukaywin.* They also tell a story of change and transition within the material culture of the Métis. The transitions brought about by the availability of new belongings were not the only changes faced by the Métis. The Métis *hivernant* communities of the 1870s stood on the cusp of a series of massive changes that would transform their lives forever. The extinction of the bison herds, the arrival of settlers, and the impact of the 1885 Resistance were on the horizon but the

persistence of their stories lives on to this day.

6.5 Conclusion: The End of the Story is the Start of a New One

The stories told to me by the belongings from each site help to form new threads in the Métis sash of history. The stories of Métis *hivernant* life in the 1870s are just one part of the continuing Métis story. These stories not only inform of the daily lives of Métis women and their families in the *hivernant* community, but they also help to illustrate the relationships that they had with each other, the landscape, and their First Nations kin. It is my hope that I have relayed the stories told to me by the belongings of the ancestors with the respect due to them by the expectations of *wâhkôhtowin.* It is also my hope that I and other Métis archaeologists can continue to help tell the story of the Métis ancestors through the application of archaeology in future research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

My goal with this thesis was to re-examine the assemblages from three Métis *hivernant* sites from a feminist and Indigenous point of view to further my understanding of the women at these sites. Specifically, I sought to answer the question of what the archaeological record could contribute to my knowledge about daily life and relationships of Métis women in the 1870s. The works of David Burley, Maurice Doll, Kimberly Weinbender, Aaron Coons, their co-authors, and team members had previously shed light on the community structures and activities associated with these sites. This thesis owes a considerable amount to their work. However, their contributions did not tell a detailed story of the daily lives and relationships of the Métis women who, alongside their families, made these sites their homes.

When approaching the belongings of the Métis ancestors, I kept three important concepts in mind. These were the Cree/Métis concepts of *keeoukaywin* and *wâhkôhtowin,* and my own metaphor of the Métis sash. Through *keeoukaywin* I engaged with the belongings with an attitude of visiting and listening for the stories they held. This in turn kept me cognizant of *wâhkôhtowin* and the reciprocal relationships that the Métis women of the past had with their family, their community, the landscape, and their spirituality. This constant awareness of *wâhkôhtowin* engaged me in the fulfillment of my own relational responsibilities to the Métis of the past, present, and future. The metaphor of the sash reminded me that the stories told by the archaeological record are only a few threads woven into my Métis sash of history, but they serve to strengthen and compliment the existing threads of the written and oral histories of the Métis.

Although I aimed to go "beyond the beads" with this thesis, I could not neglect the stories told by the beads. In fact, based on the volume of belongings, the story of the beads was the biggest one told by the assemblages. This resulted in the necessity of removing the beads from

the totals when analysing the ceramics and other domestic belongings to ensure they were not masking any patterns or stories. In the story told by the beads, the women of Métis *hivernant* sites were not only able to find the time and the space to engage in beadwork, but they were also able to build relationships with the other members of their community. Furthermore, their representation of floral motifs within their beadwork helps to illustrate their connection with the landscapes and plant life surrounding them.

Moving beyond the beads, I found that the ceramics, items of personal adornment, religious iconography, and other domestic goods had their own stories to tell. The ceramics tell their stories of a global supply chain that connected the Métis to the markets of Europe. They also tell stories of status display within the Métis communities. Most importantly though, they tell the stories of *keeoukaywin* and *wâhkôhtowin* themselves. The act of visiting over a cup of tea not only reinforced expectations of a woman's behaviour, but also established and maintained relationships within the *hivernant* community.

Items related to personal adornment tell the intimate story of how Métis women wanted to be perceived by the other members of their community. Although they were in hunting camps, looking their best was an important part of celebrations on the prairies. These small items also told the stories of relationships between a girl and her parents, as well as a woman and her husband. Relationships of a more spiritual manner were also highlighted in the presence of rosaries and saint's medallions. These belongings also told the story of the connection to the church and a worldwide community of believers in the Roman Catholic faith and the power of the saints.

Finally, the stories told by the remaining belongings tell the story of a domestic space. Although shared with men, children, and elders, the cabins at each of these sites were

undoubtedly the domain of the women of the family. It was within the now vanished log walls of the cabins that the Métis women of the 1870s raised their families. The stories told by these domestic belongings tell of meals cooked, illnesses treated, and lessons learned. There is also a tantalizing thread of a story associated with the lithics which shows a deep connection to the past and a continuation of the stories that would have been familiar to First Nations kin.

The stories told to me by the belongings and the resultant threads that they formed help contribute to my understanding of how Métis lifeways differed from those of their First Nations kin during the 1870s. In turn, these threads highlight areas that will be useful for the EMITA project as it continues to seek ways in which the material culture of the past can be indicative of Métis identity. Although my focus was on the women of these sites, their relationships with the men within their communities was brought into focus several times. This illustrated the importance of the entire family working together to ensure the success of the community, just as each of the team members of the EMITA work together to ensure the success of the project and bring benefits to the Métis.

On a more personal note, my research helped me to connect to the stories of my grandmother and the women who came before her. Standing at each of the sites and walking the paths that the *hivernants* walked, I felt a tangible connection to my ancestors. I experienced *keeoukaywin* with the ancestors every time I was at a site or visited with their belongings. From a family history perspective, the strongest moment came when I visited with the ethnographic collections at various museums. One of these collections was held by the Sundre and District Museum, the same one that had my grandmother's gauntlets on display. For the first time, I was able to remove the gauntlets from their glass display case and hold them in my own hands. I learned that the leather had been handstitched, and the raspberry-like designs on the back of the

hands were slightly raised. I learned that the linings were machine stitched, and my grandmother's name had been written in ink inside the cuffs. As I held back tears, I finally had the tangible connection to my Grandma Rose that I had craved all my life.

Figure 7.1: **Gauntlets made by Rose Dumont Piche.** Access facilitated by the Sundre and District Museum. Photograph by author.

My experience with my grandmother's gauntlets reinforced the importance of visiting with the belongings of the *hivernants* and listening to the stories they could tell. By approaching my research with *keeoukaywin* and *wâhkôhtowin* in mind, it is my hope that I have helped to contribute, even a tiny bit, to the decolonization of archaeology. Through the application of Indigenous epistemologies, I feel that I have demonstrated how these concepts can be incorporated into academic research. As an added benefit, by keeping the Métis community in

mind as I conducted my research, I have gained a deeper understanding of my own relationship with the Métis community and have strived to ensure that my work remains accessible to non-academic members of my community while upholding the rigour required of academia.

For future research I see a continued opportunity in the investigation of the Métis use of lithics. Although not supported by the written record, the likelihood of women's use of lithics going unnoticed by male authors is a tantalizing possibility. Additional future research opportunities may exist in the refinement of the diagnostic tools used to identify the presence of Métis at archaeological sites. This area of research may even include investigations into the potential presence of Métis communities in areas such as Southern Alberta. It is my hope that I will be able to participate in this future research into the lives of the Métis ancestors and it is with equal expectation that I hope the research I present within this thesis will be of value to both my academic community and my Métis relations.

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APPENDIX 1: Munsell Colour Classification

Colour	Munsell		
Black	N 1.0		
	N 3.25		
Blue, Light	2.5B 8/4	7.5B 7/4	7.5B 9/2
	5B 8/4	7.5B 7/6	10B 7/8
	5B 8/6	7.5B 8/4	10B 8/6
Blue, Medium	2.5B 5/5	5PB 6/10	7.5B 6/8
	5B 4/6	7.5B 5/6	7.5B 6/10
	5B 6/8	7.5B 5/8	7.5B 7/8
	5B 7/8	7.5B 5/10	10B 4/10
	5PB 6/8	7.5B 6/6	10B 6/10
Blue, Dark	5PB 5/10	7.5PB 2/6	7.5PB 5/10
	5PB 5/12	7.5PB 3/12	10B 4/8
	7.5PB 2/10	7.5PB 4/10	
Brown	2.5Y 2/2	10R 4/8	10YR 4/6
	5Y 4/4	10RP 3/1	10YR 6/6
	7.5YR 4/4	10RP 4/2	
Gray	10BG 5/1		
	10G 5/1		
	10YR 7/1		
Light Green	2.5G 7/10	5BG 8/2	5GY 8.5/10
	2.5G 6/4	5G 6/6	10G 6/6
	2.5G 7/8	5G 8/6	10G 9/2
Medium Green	2.5G 6/10	5G 6/4	10G 5/10
	2.5G 6/4	7.5G 5/6	10GY 6/8
	5BG 8/4	7.5GY 5/4	10Y 5/6
	5G 5/4	7.5GY 6/6	
	5G 6/10	10G 4/6	
Dark Green	2.5BG 3/8	7.5G 3/8	10G 5/8
	2.5BG 4/4	7.5GY 4/3	10GY 4/6
	2.5G 3/6	7.5GY 4/6	10GY 4/8
	5BG 3/6	7.5GY 5/6	10Y 3/2
	5BG 4/8	10G 4/10	
	5GY 5/4	10G 4/5	

(Table continues on next page.)

Munsell Colour Classification (Continued)

Colour	Munsell		
Pink	2.5R 5/8	5R 5/12	7.5R 8/4
	2.5R 7/6	5R 5/6	7.5RP 8/4
	2.5RP 6/6	5RP 7/4	7.5RP 8/6
	2.5RP 6/8	7.5R 6/10	10RP 7/6
	2.5RP 8/4	7.5R 7/4	10RP 7/8
	5R 4/6	7.5R 8/2	10RP 8/4
Purple	2.5P 5/4	10PB 3/10	
	2.5RP 7/4	10PB 5/8	
	5RP 6/2	10RP 4/6	
Red	2.5R 3/10	5R 4/8	7.5R 4/12
	2.5R 3/4	5R 7/4	7.5R 4/4
	2.5R 4/10	7.5R 3/10	7.5R 5/14
	5R 3/10	7.5R 3/8	
	5R 3/6	7.5R 4/10	
Tan	2.5Y 4/6	2.5YR 5/10	10YR 6/10
	2.5Y 6/8	10YR 5/6	10YR 7/8
	2.5Y 7/4	10YR 5/8	
White	N 9.0		
	N 9.5		
Yellow	2.5Y 7/8	5Y 7/8	5Y 8/12
	2.5Y 8.5/8	5Y 8/8	5Y 9/6
	2.5Y 9/6	5Y 8/10	5YR 8/8

Sources: Doll et al. 1988:366-368 and Weinbender 2003:171.