8-1973

The World of Women: Portland, Oregon, 1860-1880

Mary C. Wright
Portland State University

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<https://doi.org/10.15760/etd.1989>

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Mary C. Wright for the Master of Arts
in History presented August 20, 1973.

Title: The World of Women: Portland, Oregon, 1860-1880.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Michael M. Passi, Chairman

Jim F. Heath

David A. Horowitz

The primary objective of this study is to find, statistically, how the women of Portland lived out their lives. By exploring the role of ethnicity, work and family, and the inter-relationships of these variables, upon their life choices, it is hoped a picture of women will result that can be used as a base for further interpretations on the community of women and the role they play in society.

The study is based on data gathered from the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Federal Manuscript Census Schedules for the city of Portland and East Portland and utilizes a sample of 8,012 women, aged fifteen years or older, comprising the entire adult female population of the city during the census years of 1860, 1870 and 1880. The information coded

for each woman includes age, marital status, ethnicity, occupation, whether or not she was head of a household, the number of children present in the home, her husband's ethnicity and a rough categorization of his occupation, the type of family structure and residence. The data was then interpreted using a simple cross-variable program.

The introduction sets the theoretical framework for the study and places it in the historiography of women and the family. Chapter I is a brief survey of the community of Portland and the development of its various institutions to use as a backdrop for the general statistical picture of women developed in Chapter II. The differences apparent in the various ethnic groups and changes over the three census periods for marital status, and intermarriage tendencies are investigated in Chapter III and Chapter IV deals with family structure. Chapter V covers general work trends for women, cites several of the larger occupational cohorts and compares Portland's female labor force to several other urban areas for 1880.

Appendix A is an explanation of the methodology employed and some of the problems encountered in the study. Appendix B is the entire collection of charts extrapolated from the data by the program used. It should be noted that all of the data was not utilized in this study, and even more information can be gotten from the data by the use of a more sophisticated program. The author hopes to rework the data at a later date for a more in-depth study.

THE WORLD OF WOMEN: PORTLAND, OREGON,

1860-1880

by

Mary C. Wright

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
in
HISTORY

Portland State University
1973

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

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August 20, 1973

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

A study such as this is built on more than the author's work and, while it may be inappropriate to do so for a masters thesis, I would like to extend my thanks to those who helped the project on its way.

Michael M. Passi, thesis advisor and chairman of my graduate committee, first interested me in ethnicity and the history of the family and thus provided initial impetus to the thesis. His telling criticisms and aid throughout the compilation of the data and the actual writing of the essay influenced and bettered the end product to such a degree that mere acknowledgment seems rather weak.

The Oregon Historical Society awarded me a research grant to assist in the more mechanical, and expensive, portions of the coding process. Without this vital aid the study would never have been completed. The entire set of computer cards and information compiled for the study are on file at the Oregon Historical Society and may be used by anyone interested.

Lee J. Haggerty, Portland State Sociology Department, wrote my program, offered many helpful criticisms of my methodology and generally guided me through the mazes of computer technology so unfamiliar to a historian. Jim F. Heath proofread and edited the rough draft of the thesis, helping its style and organization immeasurably. Charles R. White, Portland State Department of Political Science, and David Stubbs each helped in emergency situations which threatened to block

completion of the thesis and both have my sincere thanks.

Special thanks go to Pam Murphy, who punched my computer cards, and to Barbara Madigan, who typed my thesis, and to my family and friends who put up with me and helped me finish.

Mary C. Wright

August, 1973

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The family is a basic institution or unit in all human societies. It provides the mechanism for the perpetuation of the species, caring for the physical and emotional needs of its members, and for the socialization of individuals into the larger context of society. The important, fundamental and universal nature of the family brings forth a vital question for the American historian. Why has the profession for so long ignored the family as a component of historical inquiry?

There is, of course, the basic problem of the lack of large amounts of usable, traditional resources. Diaries, journals, visitors accounts, contemporary comment, literature and the various forms of family records have been tapped with varying degrees of success. The product has, for the most part, been biased toward the upper classes and has given the writer almost free rein to interpret the historical family as he wishes.

Sources have not been the only major obstacle to the writing of American family history; orientation is another. The family is, perhaps, too common and mundane a phenomenon. Historians have, in the past, expounded more exotic forms of reality. Politics, economics and diplomacy are favorite persuasions and have been studied and revised and reinterpreted.

As early as 1940, Caroline Ware called for the history of the inarticulate, the common people, history viewed "from the bottom up."¹

But her call went virtually unheeded until recently. Current American problems sparked interest in aspects of the past that had heretofore been ignored. The old orientations have lost relevance during the past decade and have, as Philip Greven put it, made for "the emergence of a generation" of historians.²

The new social historians seek, according to Tamara Hareven, ". . . an integration of neglected experiences into the broader field of American social history, and for an incorporation of forgotten dimensions that are not necessarily restricted to certain groups or classes."³ The family has thus become one of the major areas of interest.

Philip Greven states the philosophy of the new social historians dealing with the family:

Our works reflect the belief that historians must seek to explore the basic structure and character of society through close, detailed examinations of the experiences of individuals, families, and groups in particular communities and localities. We share the assumption that historians must use the techniques and questions of other disciplines, including historical demography, sociology, and psychology, whenever they are pertinent to an analysis and an understanding of the past. We share a common conviction that social historians in the past have made too many unfounded assumptions about basic elements of experience and behaviour. In seeking more reliable answers . . . we have become aware of the value and importance of quantifiable data.⁴

New perspectives are being sought. Historians are becoming familiarized with sociology, anthropology and psychology and their various theories. Social science methods, notably quantification, are being learned. For the historian yet another level of problems exist. A definition of the field has to be constructed. John Demos states that the family history done so far ". . . has not been enough to stake out a definite area of study, with its own boundaries, internal

structure, and guiding themes and questions. There is as yet no sense of the major outlines of the story, and little agreement even about research procedures, source materials, and terminology."⁵

There is, of course, lack of definition even for the study of the current American family, let alone the historical one. Problems of definition and direction for the historian are compounded by the legacy of the older histories of the American family, and by the lack of a historical perspective within the sociology profession itself. Edward N. Saveth, in a recent survey of the heritage of American family historiography,⁶ rightfully categorizes it as biography and geneology, nostalgic, highly subjective and generalized, grounded in rhetoric, unhampered by any of the burdens of proof or supportive data, written with economic and upperclass bias and utilizing, indeed proliferating with, "grand theory." Nearly the only thing that the older attempts at history of the American family have contributed to the new efforts is the knowledge of what not to do.⁷

To go beyond the method of description, illustration or grand theory as history requires the use of new tools. Whatever problems are inherent in the use of statistics and quantitative methods, their degree of precision and reliability are a definite move forward. Unfortunately, the historian, unlike the sociologist using these methods, has only fragmentary and limited resources. Yet surprising amounts of historical data can be rung from what is available. Church, township and later government records of births, deaths, and marriages, tax rolls, court and divorce proceedings, bank accounts, wills, mortgages and land title transferals all offer possibilities for statistical historical work.

Federal and, in some cases, state, censuses become an invaluable resource.

Unfortunately, this type of research is tedious and requires a great deal of time, perserverence, and money to get results. Limited scale then is axiomatic. Small communities, portions of cities, or rural counties are, of necessity, the most probable areas for research. This, in turn, makes comparative studies possible. It seems probable that while there will be continuity over time for the family structure, different ethnic groups, regions and the degree of urbanization or industrialization will all affect the results. There can be no grand theory of the American family historically. Through time and place, differences and change are possible, but judgments and generalizations about the American family will have to wait until more studies have been completed.

This paper is an attempt at one such study of the American family. The small Western city of Portland, Oregon was chosen as the site, and the time limited to the years 1860 to 1880. Quantitative methods were employed to define the structure of the family and other variables and elements of importance. There is, however, one major difference between the orientation of this study and others undertaken, such as those by Demos and Greven: this study attempts to look at the historical family from a woman's perspective.

Women's History

An examination of the standard histories of the United States and of the history text-books in use in our schools raises the pertinent question whether women have ever made any contribution to American national progress that was worthy of record. If the

silence of the historians is to mean anything, it would appear that one-half of our population have been negligible factors in our country's history . . .⁸

Arthur Schlesinger
New Viewpoints in American History
 1928

The state of affairs has not changed much in the forty-five years since Schlesinger wrote these lines. The recent resurgence of the Woman's Movement in the United States has raised the consciousness of the historical profession. The old historical works of the Woman's Rights and the Suffrage Movements have been reissued. Memoirs and writings of the old leaders, political tracts and new works are being printed. Book sales are soaring. Women's Studies, as an academic interest, if not department, has appeared on most American university campuses. Lip service is being paid to the movement and attempts made to place women in the perspectives of the various historical fields. Another "minority" is receiving vindication for past neglect.

The problems of doing history "from the bottom up", however, are at their worst when attempts are made to write women's history. Here truly, are the inarticulate masses. Still, there are many possibilities for study, some as yet unexplored. Upper and middle-class women left some diaries and letters. In the nineteenth century, there were vast numbers of popular newspapers and magazines for women and the popular health movement, as well as, the various, sundry and multitudinous barrage of women's organizations, ranging from sewing circles and literary societies to the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other reform organizations. Women left their mark on, and records of, the various movements from abolition and prohibition to the labor movement

and socialism, these aside, of course, from their own movement for rights and suffrage. Some of these aspects of women's history have been dealt with, but not to the extent appropriate for such a major field of historical inquiry. The opportunities for research and for a major contribution to historical knowledge are immense. The whole range of women's organizations and experiences need to be known. And, the framework within which women lived out their lives, especially so. Is not the knowledge of this basic component of American society essential to the understanding of an era?

The late nineteenth century was the height of the Victorian Age, and the roles of women were restricted, both in conceptualization and realization. It was, as Barbara Welter termed it, within "the cult of true womanhood" that American women existed.⁹ Piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity were the prime virtues of woman, be she mother, sister, daughter or wife. Happiness and power within the family were the rewards for the true woman. The home was her proper sphere, the church her special domain, to raise children and care for her husband her prime purpose.

Despite the growing number of women working outside the home and increasing activity in the reform movements of the nineteenth century, for the overwhelming majority of American women, their home was their life. Barred from active participation in the running of society, the intensity, creativity, intelligence and love of these women was focused on, and was restricted to, the family.

If the family and the home were the province and special domain of nineteenth century American women, how can the family be studied

historically without their perspective? The formal patterns of family relations (inheritance being the prime example) are worth studying, to be sure. Yet woman's relation to her husband, children and, possibly, work, are even more so.

And, while it can be persuasively argued that it is nearly impossible to interpret the actual situation of family life in terms of the quality of relationships, an attempt at the statistical reconstruction of the family and woman's relation to it, in terms of her age, ethnicity, occupation, children, and husband, cannot be scorned. To gather facts, even those so mundane as these, is essential, and perhaps, even revolutionary, for the interpretation of the role of women and the family in nineteenth century America. The facts are, at the least, the beginnings of the statistical framework needed before the historical reality of the world women inhabited can be realized.

Intent and Purpose

The intent of this essay is to answer some very basic questions about the adult women of Portland. Did they work? At what occupations? When did they marry? Whom did they marry? How many children did they have? What role did their ethnicity play in these areas? (see Appendix A for a description of methodology and special problems)

The primary resource tapped to answer these questions was the Federal Manuscript Census Schedules for the years 1860, 1870, and 1880. There are certain problems in the use of data from the census tracts. The enumerator was to record for each person found at an address their name, sex, race, age, marital status, ethnic origin, whether

they could read and write, whether they had been ill during the year, the worth of their personal and real property (1860 and 1870 only), the number of months they had been unemployed (1870 only) and the ethnic (or state) origin of their parents (1880 only).

A wealth of information, if it only had been recorded complete. Unfortunately, the enumerators were careless in their coding and biases often interfered with their duty. Blacks and Chinese were often subject to snide remarks in the margins (such as the questioning of occupations or marital status). Women, as represented in the census, constitute a special problem. The enumerator often ignored, or did not think to ask, a woman's occupation, or even her name.

The census, then, was subject to human frailties. And while it cannot present us with an accurate picture of reality, it is still a better source than none, and at least gives some scope of the situation. Virginia McLaughlin's pioneering study of Italians in Buffalo, New York around the turn of the century employed the manuscript census, and served, in many respects, as a model for this study. She explains:

Manuscript censuses are employed here because they permit reconstruction of certain aspects of family life, notably household . . . I have no illusions that conclusive judgements concerning familial behavior and attitudes can be inferred solely on the basis of statistics concerning household organization at one point in time. While remaining aware that the quality of family life escapes statistical measurement, therefore, we can use census data supported by other sources to at least hint at a possible range of human experience within the city.¹⁰

In using the census in the study of women, yet another problem is found. Women are virtually impossible to trace over a period of three decades or almost any period of time because their names change when they marry, or remarry. (Even though, in light of the work done

by Stephen Thernstrom and others, we cannot even assume we would find them still in the city, even if their names did not change.) Therefore, this study is a block comparison of the results for each census year and represents no continuum. Each year must be viewed as a whole. Any differences between them have to be taken as new phenomenon and not the changing attitudes or habits of the same women.

This paper, of necessity, was limited by time, space and resources. Therefore, only a cursory survey of other supportive data was made (see Chapter II). The contribution of statistics derived from the census, set in the scene of the community of Portland, and interpreted to a limited degree will have to suffice at this point. The data available in Appendix B can be used, supported and attacked in numerous ways. The raw data is on file at the Oregon Historical Society, and it is the author's hope to rework the data at some future date. The results here, although based primarily on the census, at the least, present some sort of framework for possible interpretations, and the statistical backdrop for a picture of the women of Portland.

There are, however, a number of other possible uses for the resultant data, and another intent of the paper is to shed some light on several important areas. The first desire, and perhaps causal influence for the paper, was to find to what extent the family in Portland during this time period was nuclear (that is, consisting only of mother, father and children). Peter Laslett (The World We Have Lost) found for sixteenth century rural England that nuclear families were the primary form of family structure, with the important exception of

the gentry, who had large extended households.* John Demos (A Little Commonwealth) found the nuclear family to be the prevailing form in the seventeenth century colony of Plymouth. Virginia McLaughlin found the same to be true for the Italians of Buffalo, although a significant minority took the form of extended family households. Herbert Gutman documented the same tendencies for Paterson, New Jersey in 1880 and for the Italians and Jews of New York City in 1905. How was Portland to fit into this continuum of nuclear family patterns?

To find the number of women working and their various occupations was another major objective of the study. Women were supposedly "scarce" in the West and so, it has been theorized, were more independent, more respected and more vital to the working of society. This proposition is put forward to explain, in part, the success of the suffrage movement in the Western states. If women were "in demand," did this effect work patterns? Portland was, throughout this period, essentially pre-industrial and so offers an opportunity to investigate women's occupation patterns in the setting of a pre-industrial city.

The trends of intermarriage between the different ethnic groups (including native Americans) in Portland and comparison to other areas has some relevance to the working of democracy, assimilation and Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis.

A fourth major interest of this endeavor was to find the cultural differences of the various ethnic groups in relation to the age of women at marriage, the number of children, the incidence of employment

*I am using extended family to mean a household consisting of a nuclear family with kin and/or non-relatives present.

outside the home and the structure of the family.

These expectations and intentions are not meant to give the impression that the author expects this study to be the definitive work on four important areas of historical inquiry, as well as that, of the role of women. Its scope and methodology were not constructed for this. A much more sophisticated methodology and more research would be essential if testing any one of these theories were the purpose of the study. However, it would seem foolhardy to completely disregard the possible use of the results in view of their relation to the various theories. Some light will be shed on these areas, although its importance should not be overemphasized. The findings only show a possible tendency for supporting, verifying or detracting from any other historical hypothesis. This essay, in and of itself, is an entity, and was meant to be a holistic, statistical view of woman's role in the world of family and work. No "grand theory" of women in society will be presented, for the facts will speak for themselves and the direction of reality will be evident.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹Caroline Ware, ed., The Cultural Approach to History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), introduction.

²Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. vii.

³Tamara K. Hareven, ed., Anonymous Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. vii.

⁴Greven, Four Generations, p. viii.

⁵John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. viii.

⁶Edward N. Saveth, "The Problem of American Family History," American Quarterly, XXI (Summer, 1969), p. 311-329.

⁷Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) being the noted exception, with Arthur W. Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family From Colonial Times to Present (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1945) still usable, with reservations.

⁸Arthur M. Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 175.

⁹Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," American Quarterly, XVIII (Summer, 1966), p. 151-174.

¹⁰Virginia Yans McLaughlin, "Working Class Immigrant Families: First Generation Italians in Buffalo, New York" (Paper presented at the Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1971), p. 3.

CHAPTER II
THE COMMUNITY OF PORTLAND, OREGON
1860-1880

Portland, Oregon in 1860 was only a few years away from its beginnings as a stump filled clearing in the wilderness. Yet, by 1880 it had developed into the leading commercial, transportation, banking and urban center of the Pacific Northwest. The wants and needs of Portland's 17,577 citizens by 1880 were administered by the usual collection of social institutions. Stability, permanence and established respectability set Portland outside the more common Western urban experience of "boom."

In order to understand women in Portland during this era, it is essential to provide as a backdrop the cultural and commercial community. Therefore, a brief survey of commercial, industrial development and the rise of various institutions such as newspapers, churches, schools and clubs is useful. The study of such aspects of urban development denotes, of course, only the formalistic networks formed, and not those of neighborhood or personal groupings, but the lack of historical records makes such limitations unavoidable. The essential components for the development of a sense of community can be found in the rise of social institutions which served as a visible nucleus around which Portland's life evolved.

Women (apparently) had little to do with the official, prestigious and powerful processes that ran the community. It seems unlikely,

however, that cultural development could have evolved without women playing a role, at least, in the lower or supportive ranks. Unfortunately, there is little documented evidence of their participation. The few women's organizations and reform movements apparent in Portland during the era will help indicate the areas of activity of Portland's women outside the home.

The picture can be further focused by a broad statistical reconstruction of the community of adult women, as undertaken in Chapter II. The periphery can be established within which women in Portland lived their lives.

Commercial Development

Portland, situated as it was with the rich Willamette Valley farming areas to its back and linked to the Pacific Ocean via the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, grew in importance as a trade, clearing house and port city. Regular and permanent steamship lines, connecting Portland with San Francisco and tapping the inland Oregon and Washington communities, were in existence as early as 1855.¹ Trade with the early California, and later Idaho, gold fields provided a strong stimulus to Portland's business community. Augmented by government spending to fight the various Indian wars, Portland was firmly established by 1860.²

The growth of manufacturing to serve the local market and further development as a trade center marked the 1860's. Wheat began to be shipped directly to Europe and Portland's importance as an international port grew.³ Wholesale merchants and jobbers began to supply miners and

ranchers in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.⁴ Conservative, and sound, banking practices gave Portland regional dominance as a financial center.⁵ But relative isolation, the lack of a transcontinental railroad, the insuing high costs and a major fire sweeping twenty-two blocks of downtown Portland in 1873 all handicapped significant growth during that decade.⁶

The railroad, which was to prove vital in Portland's development, was the center of a complex and raging, controversy from 1863 almost to the completion of the transcontinental line in 1883. The railroad, the United States Corps of Engineers dredging of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, and the rapid population growth all stimulated trade and manufacturing by 1880.⁷ The city's business life was marked by its conservative business leaders who sought the stability of local markets, investing and banking, to the detriment of expansion and significant growth of manufacturing.⁸

TABLE I

MANUFACTURING IN MULTNOMAH COUNTY*

Year	Number of Firms	Capitalization	Employees	Value of Produce
1860	50	\$ 300,000	167	\$ 460,000
1870	307	\$ 1,574,000	1,142	\$ 2,699,000
1880	162	\$ 1,958,000	1,050	\$ 2,867,000

*Adapted from data presented in Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890: A Social and Economic History, Paul G. Merriam, unpub. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1971, p. 301.

As a small, self-contained, stable, urban center, Portland offered few occupations to women in the business sphere. Without factories, working class women had little importance for the business community, except as consumers. There were a small number of female proprietors serving the city by 1880, but such opportunities were limited. Most women, who were employed, found work in the services, such as domestics, teachers, nurses and clerks.

Newspapers

Newspapers, as virtually the only communication system in the nineteenth century, played an important role in the community. They connected an isolated city, such as Portland, to national and international events. By printing local news, they served as a focus and initiator of community pride, politics and action. Portland, as was perhaps typical of the era, had a flourishing newspaper trade. Numerous dailies and weeklies commenced publication, most only to die a quick death. The survivors offered the city a continuum and stability in its news source.

From 1859-1870 eleven dailies began publication, and although only The Oregonian (1850-present) lasted throughout the period, two others survived more than five years (Democratic Standard, 1854-1859, Oregon Herald, 1866-1873).⁹ The telegraph connection to San Francisco, completed in 1864, provided Portland with a wider range of outside news. By the 1870's Portland's growing and more affluent population could apparently support a larger and more diversified newspaper business.¹⁰ Dailies during this period included the Daily Bulletin (1870-1875),

The Commercial Reporter (later renamed the Bulletin, 1872-1882), the Standard (1876-1886), and the Evening Telegram (1877-1931), although the 1880's saw only one new daily, the Northwest News (1883-1888).¹¹

The Oregonian and the Evening Telegram proved to be the most important dailies during the 1870-1880 period, and reflected the political persuasion of the city (both were Republican). The use of local reporting staffs began to be common practice by 1880 and so the city, as it grew in size, could keep contact with the tempo and direction of community activities and interests.¹²

Weekly papers also gave depth and diversity to the news scene and showed the important special interests of the community. Church presses emerged to occupy a vital position early in Portland's development. The Pacific Christian Advocate (Methodist) moved to Portland in 1859 and published throughout the period. The Catholic Sentinel (1870-present), the Oregon Churchman (Episcopal, 1871) and the Pacific Baptist (1877)¹³ represented other denominations as major religious newspapers.

Other special interest advocates also prospered in Portland. The North Pacific Rural Spirit (1879) had a state-wide circulation and appealed to farming interests. The Weekly Pacific Express (1875) advocated the Knights of Labor and the Union Labor Party. The New Northwest (1871-1887), edited by regional suffrage leader Abigail Scott Duniway, advanced woman suffrage. Prohibitionist papers grew in importance after 1880 (Fire and Hammer, 1883, the Women's Christian Temperance Union paper Prohibition Star, 1886), but were represented in the 1870's only by the Temperance Star (1874).¹⁴

Portland foreign language press, emerging in the 1870's, was dominated by the Germans. The Oregon Deutsche Zeitung (1868-1884) had a state-wide readership and the Staats Zeitung (1877-1890) was important in the Portland community.¹⁵

What was the relationship of women to the press? They obviously provided readership to the various publications. In light of the important role filled by women in the church, the religious presses were undoubtedly widely read by women. The temperance newspapers, especially the W.C.T.U. paper, served a special interest group dominated by women. The New Northwest advocated woman's rights and suffrage and provided national news on the movement and other items pertinent to woman's emancipation. These papers appealed to, even if they were not specifically written for, Portland's women.

Women, however, did not work on the newspapers in any great numbers. None were listed in the census as writers or reporters, this apparently being a male occupation not yet invaded by women. However, Mrs. Duniway's paper and the Temperance Star were both edited by women and seemed not to have suffered professionally or stylistically. Women were used to some degree by 1880 in the printing departments.

Women read, and, to a limited degree, worked on the Portland presses, but unfortunately received less than comprehensive coverage of events or activities, and reaped condescending or derogatory editorial comment on various causes (specifically prohibition and suffrage). The press, again excluding the New Northwest and the Temperance Star, was a conservative force in the community and reinforced societal restraints on the scope and depth of women's activities.

The Schools

One of the first signs of encroaching civilization in the frontier village was the school house. The growth and diversity of education facilities marks the complexity of an urban environment. The various issues that were raised over the school system's purpose and programs serve as an indicator of the community's differing beliefs or ideologies and can set a tone for interpretation of the community. This is especially true for Portland's earlier years.

When a school district was first drawn up in 1855, Portland was divided, with the wealthier and more populated area as district #1 and the poorer area as district #2. When the two were consolidated at district #2's request, the school board was dominated by the wealthy city fathers from the former district #1. This upper class leadership was constant on the school board throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁶

The public school system grew with the city. In 1858 the first school building was erected and a second was added in 1866. By 1880 Portland had five buildings and a public high school.¹⁷ Education issues were plentiful in the 1860-1870's. After a public meeting decrying the attendance of black children in the public schools, they were excluded until 1871. The issue of taxation was central to debates raging during the late 1860's, prompted by those who sent their children to private schools, but still had to support the public schools through taxation.¹⁸

The 1870's marked the professionalization, bureaucratization and standardization of Portland's public schools. The school board, in keeping with the philosophy of the times, stressed rigid and mechanical

patterns for education. In 1872 a superintendent of schools was hired (Samuel W. King) who instituted many new programs, the most stringent being the semiannual exam for promotion to the next grade. Controversy raged, as most students failed and subsequently had their names published. The public was outraged and Mr. King was forced to resign in 1877.¹⁹ Although he served as a symbol for the bureaucratization of the schools, the issue continued after he left. At the annual public school meeting in 1880 the issue was debated and an investigation of the "new" system was ordered. The report exonerated the schools.

Private, or parochial, schools were not the center of any major controversies and served an important function for the community, while the public school system was built up. In 1851 the Methodist's Portland Academy and Female Seminary opened and provided Portland with its only high school for many years. When the public high school opened, it eventually forced the closure of the Academy in 1878.²⁰

St. Mary's Academy (Catholic, 1859) functioned as both a boarding and day school and consistently enrolled at least 100 students. St. Joseph's Parochial Day School (1861) also helped fill the need for education facilities during Portland's early years. Congregation Beth Israel opened a school the same year, teaching the standard academic courses, as well as, Hebrew.²¹ Another need of the community was served when the National College of Business and Commerce opened in 1866.²² Portland got a permanent medical school when the Oregon Medical College was established in 1877.

A boarding and day school (St. Helen's Hall), providing a "proper" education for "proper" young ladies, reopened in 1869. A companion

school, the Episcopal Church's Bishop Scott School, opened in 1870 and provided a comparable program for young men. Both schools drew as their clientel Portland's upper class youths.²³

As evidence of the growing strength of Portland's German community, the non-sectarian Independent German school was formed in 1870 and was run by an organization to promote German culture and language. The German Evangelical Reformed Church opened the Anglo-German and International Academy, which stressed vocational and academic subjects.²⁴

Night courses for adult education were not instituted until 1884 when the YMCA opened classes. The Portland Womans League followed suit two years later and offered night classes for working women. Both programs were made part of the public school system in 1889.²⁵

Portland developed, early in its growth, a diverse group of educational institutions which fairly comprehensively covered the needs of the community. By the 1860's it was considered proper for young women to become educated in some degree, and so Portland's women attended these schools. Teaching school was one of the few occupations considered acceptable for middle class women. In 1860 there were only six women teachers, but that number climbed to twenty-six in 1870 and reached ninety-seven in 1880. Nuns, who taught in the several Catholic schools, were not included in this category so the number of women actually teaching was greater. Miss Ella C. Sabin served as a principal for one of Portland's schools throughout the 1870's and became the first woman superintendent in 1889. Otherwise, men filled the more prestigious, and better paying, posts in the school system and served on the school board. Women, as was fitting of her role as

a responsible mother, did take part in the community school meetings.

The Church

Religious organizations are one of the major perpetuators of cultural identity. The establishment of churches, especially in new urban areas, is one of the dynamics of development. Portland fostered a wide range of churches and denominations.

By 1860 Portland was the home of established churches for the Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Jews. The number of institutions more than doubled by 1870. Lutherans, Unitarians and Spiritualists each organized a house of worship. A second Portland congregation was formed by the Roman Catholics, Jews, Methodists and Congregationalists. Counting the Chinese joss house, there were fifteen religious organizations by 1870.²⁶

Portland's diversifying population was reflected in the different "ethnic" churches that began to be formed by 1870. Blacks organized the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1873. German community formed a number of churches, including the German Lutheran Church (1868), the First German Evangelical Reformed Church (1874), the First German Evangelical Church (1878) and the German Methodist Episcopal Church (1880). The growing Scandinavian population formed the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Episcopal Church (1882), the Swedish Lutheran Immanuel Church (1883), and the First Scandinavian Baptist Church (1884).²⁷ Portland also had a larger percentage of Catholics and Jews than Oregon as a whole, mirroring its greater immigrant population.²⁸

There were twenty-four churches serving Portland's citizens by 1880, and that number had increased to thirty-two by 1885. Religious institutions were a vital and growing component of city development.

Most of the earlier congregations had relocated further from the city center by 1890 and had built bigger buildings to accommodate the increasing population. Portland had a church for every 1008 citizens, with an average church membership of 365 by 1890. The city's church buildings also accounted for fifty-four percent of the value of church property in the state.²⁹

The church was one area, outside the home, that nineteenth century women could participate in with societal approval. Women were the driving force and strength of the church. An example of how instrumental women were in Portland's church community was the formation of the Unitarian Church in the 1870's.³⁰ Six women met twice a week for three years to pray for a minister and the formation of a Unitarian Church in Portland. The Methodist Church was founded on, and its missionary and reform organizations supported by, the money raising activities of its woman's guild.³¹ Such devotion was not unusual, for the church filled more than a spiritual role for women, although its religiousity should not be underrated. Still, women poured talent, energy, recreation, and organization into church life.

A special aspect of the church community was the reform, social or benevolent work undertaken. Inter-denominational Protestant organizations, such as the YMCA and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were highly successful. The Catholic Church also organized a temperance league, the Knights of Columbus and St. Vincent de Paul

hospital. Other hospitals were formed by the Methodists (the Portland Hospital and Mariners' Home, 1887) and the Episcopalians (Good Samaritan Hospital, 1875).³²

The Chinese population was the object of a rather intensive missionary effort by several of Portland's churches. The First Baptist Church hired a Chinese missionary and opened a mission school in 1874. When the Chinese began applying for admission to the mother church they were admitted, but had a separate chapel. The Methodists opened a mission in 1880 and again in 1886. The Presbyterians had a Chinese mission and school, and a "home" to save Chinese women from prostitution.³³

Middle class women, at least, were involved in the church's guilds and benevolent and relief societies. From the degree of activity in the church, it is apparent that women felt it acceptable in this area, at least, to be involved outside the home.

Clubs and Other Social Organizations³⁴

Portland was rife with numerous social clubs, organized, as was typical of the day, into elaborate hierarchies, orders and lodges. The Masonic Lodges were most prominent in the city, although the Odd-fellows were also well represented. The Sons of Pythian, the Grand Army of the Republic and Working Men Clubs filled out the picture.

Temperance organizations made an early debut in Portland, with the Sons of Temperance (1856), followed by the International Order of Good Templars and the Father Matthew's Total Abstinence Society. Portland's elite gathered together in such groups as the Multnomah Library Association, the Arlington Club, the Willamette Rowing Club

and the Multnomah Athletic Association.

Portland's ethnic population formed associations primarily for mutual aid, recreation and the perpetuation of old world customs and culture. The Irish formed the first ethnic society in the mid-1860's (Hiberian Benevolent Society). The German community founded a German Benevolent Society, the Verein Eintracht and the Independent German School Association. The relatively small group of British immigrants formed a benevolent society, as did Portland's Jews.

These organizations are of little concern to this study, except as an indication of the complexity of Portland's social life. What is of interest, however, are the various women's organizations. It is unknown whether the list presented in the city directories each year (and used for this brief survey) is even complete. But the tendencies for women's organizations can be at least hinted at with such a cursory outline.

Women's clubs were often affiliated with a religious organization. In the 1870's there was the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society and the Ladies guilds for the Episcopal and Trinity Churches, as well as the informal groupings mentioned in the section on churches above. Charity or reform organizations were also prevalent. The Ladies Relief Society ran "the Home" for destitute women and children throughout the 1870's. A society to support the Good Samaritan Hospital and Orphanage was formed in 1878. Women also began organizing into temperance societies in the early 1870's. Prominent among them was the Portland's Women's Temperance Prayer League, which waged an active campaign against "demon rum," but the WCTU and a State Temperance Union also claimed

many members.

A women's literary society so common in other parts of the country during this period, was not found in Portland, although the Alpha Literary Society admitted several women. Similarly, the National Federation of Woman's Clubs, one of the first nation-wide, powerful woman's groups, did not have a Portland chapter organized til the mid-1880's.

By 1880 a new type of woman's organization began to appear. Women began to organize lodges in affiliation to the men's lodge societies. Both the Oddfellows and the Good Templars listed a woman's lodge in 1880 (the Rebekah Lodge and the Lily Lodge respectively).

Whether the growth of women's clubs in the later portion of this study's time period was an indication of Portland's increasing maturity, or whether it was an indication of the rising activity of women, generally presumed for the late nineteenth century, cannot be discerned here. It seems likely however, that as Portland matured, middle class women, at least, were more likely to seek activity outside the home. Working class women, as dictated by their economic situation, had little time for outside activity.

Temperance Activity

Evidence of the potential women had for organization and activity can be found in the temperance movement in Portland in the mid-1870's. As part of a national movement then sweeping the country, Portland women formed a prayer league in 1874. The city already had numerous temperance lodges and societies, but the tempo of activity increased

sharply with the league's formation.

First the women circulated abstinence pledges and managed to gather 2,117 as evidence of their activity and the community's support. They were backed by most of the community's ministers and churches. This support declined as their tactics became more militant.³⁵

The women sent out circulars to the saloons, arguing against the evils of liquor and asking for the closure of the drinking establishments. They next visited the owners, and, when this failed to dissuade them, took to singing and praying at the saloon's doors. Tactics grew more aggressive as they entered the saloons and spoke to patrons.³⁶ Soon they began to be arrested upon the saloon owners complaints. After several arrests, one group was tried, found guilty and sentenced to a day in jail.³⁷

By this time, some of their more conservative support deserted them. This type of activity, too militant for some, did cool, but another approach to the problem was tried.³⁸ In the city election in the spring of 1874 the temperance women came out in support of sympathetic candidates, and petitioned the city council to examine liquor licensing and regulations as to its traffic. Some of the suggestions, such as a high liquor license fee, were implemented, and can be taken as a token of the influence of the temperance women and the various temperance groups.³⁹

Portland, it can be seen, developed a varied and complex group of social institutions by the year 1880. Business, commerce and manufacturing gave the city an aura of prosperity and stability.

Newspapers, schools, churches and clubs showed the development of a sense of community. And, women participated in the cultural and organizational life of the city. The women of Portland influenced, at least informally, city government and the school system. They were represented in the city's newspapers by the New Northwest. Women were a driving force in the city's religious institutions and the temperance movements. Women organized societies and clubs. And as Portland grew, women played an increasingly important role in the business and commercial sector of the city.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹Paul Gilman Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890: A Social and Economic History (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1971), p. 200, 201.

²Ibid., p. 185, 188.~

³Ibid., p. 231.

⁴Ibid., p. 221; Arthur L. Throckmorton, Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier (Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society, 1961), p. 253.

⁵Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 247-248, 310-311.

⁶Ibid., p. 250, 252.

⁷Ibid., p. 270.

⁸Ibid., p. 306.

⁹Harvey W. Scott, ed., History of Portland (Syracuse, New York: D. Mason and Co., Publisherd, 1890), p. 416-417.

¹⁰Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 90.

¹¹Scott, History of Portland, p. 420.

¹²Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 95.

¹³Scott, History of Portland, p. 425.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 422-424; George S. Turnbull, History of Oregon Newspapers (Portland, Oregon: Binfords and Mort, 1939), p. 164-166.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁶Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 98-99.

¹⁷Howard W. Corning and Alfred Powers, eds., History of Education in Portland (Portland, Oregon: WPA Adult Education Project, 1937), p. 25-26, 31-33.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 36; Charles N. Reynolds, "Portland Public Schools, 1845-1871," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXXIII (December, 1932), p. 345.

¹⁹David Tyack, "Bureaucracy and the Common School: the Example of Portland, Oregon, 1851-1913," American Quarterly, XIX (Fall, 1967), p. 483-5.

²⁰Reynolds, "Portland Public Schools," p. 339.

²¹Corning and Powers, History of Education in Portland, p. 90-93.

²²Ibid., p. 9-10.

²³Ibid., p. 117, 121-125.

²⁴Ibid., p. 10-11, 171.

²⁵Ibid., p. 132, 170.

²⁶Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 121.

²⁷Ibid., p. 123,

²⁸Ibid., p. 124.

²⁹Ibid., p. 124.

³⁰Arnold Crompton, Unitarianism on the Pacific Coast (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 50-51.

³¹Mary Osborn Douthit, ed., Souvenir of Western Women (Portland, Oregon: Presses of Anderson and Duniway, Co., 1905), p. 99, 109, 119; William W. Youngson, ed., Swinging Portals (Portland, Oregon: Kilham Print Co., 1948), p. 157.

³²Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 126.

³³Albert W. Wardin, Jr., Baptists in Oregon (Portland, Oregon: Judson Baptist College, 1969), p. 159; First Presbyterian Church, A Pioneer Church: The First Seventy-five Years of the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon (Portland, Oregon: Berncliff Printers, 1929), p. 14.

³⁴"Official" organizations and clubs were usually listed in the city directory. However, in several of the years covered by this study, the directory did not list women's organizations that were in existence (as found from other sources). Therefore, the listing in the directories cannot be considered complete.

³⁵Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 131.

³⁶Frances Fuller Victor, Women's War With Whiskey; or, Cru-
sading in Portland (Portland, Oregon: Geo. H. Himes Steam, Book
and Job Printer, 1874), p. 8-11.

³⁷Ibid., p. 20-24.

³⁸Merriam, Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890, p. 133.

³⁹Ibid., p. 134.

CHAPTER III

THE WOMEN OF PORTLAND

Portland's commercial and cultural growth, as developed above, must be put in the perspective of the women of the community. A brief statistical assessment can therefore aid in the interpretation of Portland's development.

Exactly how large a segment of the population were women? Portland's population in 1860 was 2,874, of which 631 were adult women (aged fifteen years or older). By 1870 women totaled 2,251 of Portland's 8,293, and by 1880 had reached 5,147 of 17,577. Women, as a percentage of Portland's citizenry, grew from less than one-fourth in 1860, to a little less than one-third in 1880. Women were a considerable portion of the city's population and certainly too significant a minority to completely ignore in any historical treatment of Portland.

Native born Americans comprised the larger portions of both the total population and the women's population, although the foreign born population was sizable. There were 403 native women in Portland in 1860. That number more than tripled by 1870 and more than doubled again by 1880. In 1870 there were 1,389 native women or 61.5 percent of the adult female population. By 1880 they had reached 3,369 or 65.2 percent.

TABLE II
WOMEN AND PORTLAND'S POPULATION*

	1860	1870	1880
total native-born	2,146	5,722	11,265
native-born women	403	1,389	3,369
total foreign-born	728	2,571	6,312
foreign-born women	228	862	1,778
total population	2,874	8,293	17,577
all adult women	631	2,251	5,147

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

The largest single group of immigrant women in both 1860 and 1870 was the Irish, totaling 101 and 295 respectively. And, although that number rose to 419 in 1880, as a percentage of the total adult female population, the Irish declined from 13 percent in 1870 to 8 percent in 1880. The Germans, on the other hand, rose markedly over the three censuses. While numbering only 44 in 1860, they grew four-fold by 1870 (188 or 8.2 percent) and more than doubled again by 1880 to 508 or 9.6 percent. The British remained steady at around 5 percent of the female population and the Canadians ranged between 3 and 4 percent. Chinese women at 1 percent were a small, but consistent, minority. As Scandinavian immigration increased, women rose to a 2 percent minority by 1880. (See chart on page 34 for a complete breakdown of the adult female population by ethnic group.)

TABLE III
PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE POPULATION
BY ETHNIC GROUP*

Ethnic Group	1860	1870	1880
Native	403	1,389 (61.5%)	3,369 (65.2%)
Canadian	18	85 (3.5%)	213 (3.9%)
German	44	188 (8.2%)	508 (9.6%)
Scandinavian	4	10 (.4%)	144 (2.0%)
Chinese	6	35 (1.4%)	66 (1.2%)
British	26	127 (5.4%)	271 (5.1%)
Irish	101	295 (13.1%)	419 (8.0%)
French	9	28 (1.0%)	74 (1.3%)
Indian (Am.)	5	11 (.3%)	0 (-----)
Black	6	38 (1.5%)	42 (.7%)
Other	9	45 (1.8%)	70 (1.2%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

The age distribution for Portland's adult women was remarkably stable throughout the period, and no single cohort dominated, although 50 percent were always under 30 years of age (1860=57.5%, 1870=51.4%, 1880=53.0%). The women of Portland, then, were primarily young.

While married women predominated, as would be expected, in each year, their percentage of the whole declined steadily from 72 percent in 1860, to 64.9 percent in 1870, to 59.9 percent in 1880. Single women increased, percentage-wise, from 22 percent in 1860, to 28.4 in 1870, to 29.6 percent in 1880. Widows reached 8.4 percent of the adult women in 1880, an increase from 3.0 percent in 1860 and 3.6 percent in

1870. Divorced women did not appear in the census until 1880, when they comprised 1.3 percent of the adult female population. The age of the community seems to be the cause of the general increase in widows and young women, as the first settlers grew old and their children grew up.

TABLE IV

THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE POPULATION*

Age in years	1860	1870	1880
15-19	99 (16.5%)	383 (17.0%)	898 (17.3%)
20-24	129 (20.0%)	383 (16.9%)	927 (17.9%)
25-29	131 (21.0%)	397 (17.5%)	772 (17.8%)
30-34	115 (18.0%)	321 (14.2%)	687 (13.2%)
35-39	60 (9.0%)	301 (13.3%)	549 (10.4%)
40-44	39 (5.5%)	198 (8.7%)	440 (8.4%)
45-49	21 (3.5%)	106 (4.6%)	340 (6.5%)
50-54	19 (3.0%)	70 (3.0%)	216 (4.0%)
55-59	6 (1.0%)	42 (1.8%)	135 (2.5%)
60 plus	12 (2.0%)	50 (2.0%)	183 (3.4%)
TOTAL	631 (99.5%)	2,251 (99.0%)	5,147 (99.4%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE V

MARITAL STATUS OF PORTLAND'S ADULT WOMEN*

Marital Status	1860	1870	1880
Single	128 (22.0%)	663 (28.4%)	1,530 (29.6%)
Married	462 (72.0%)	1,418 (64.9%)	3,095 (59.9%)
Widowed	25 (3.0%)	89 (3.6%)	436 (8.4%)
Divorced	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	72 (1.3%)
Other	16 (2.0%)	81 (3.1%)	13 (.8%)
TOTAL	631 (99.0%)	2,251 (100%)	5,147 (100%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

It follows, within the context of nineteenth century America, that if most women were married, then few worked outside the home. While this proves true for Portland, the percentage of the female population whose occupation was listed in the census as housewife declined from 74 percent (1860) to 65.8 percent (1870) to 57 percent (1880). This decline was offset, however, by the rise in the number of young women in school (4.5 percent in 1880, but none in 1860) and those gainfully employed or working outside the home (which rose from only 11 percent in 1860, to 19.5 percent in 1870, to almost one-fourth of the female population or 23.5 percent in 1880). Those "at home," but not employed was from 10 to 15 percent throughout the period.

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONS OF PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE POPULATION*

Occupation	1860	1870	1880
Housewife	475 (74.0%)	1,488 (65.7%)	2,950 (57.0%)
In School	0 (-----)	92 (3.9%)	236 (4.5%)
"At Home"	91 (15.0%)	249 (10.9%)	784 (15.0%)
Employed	65 (11.0%)	422 (19.5%)	1,177 (23.5%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>631 (100%)</u>	<u>2,251 (100%)</u>	<u>5,147 (100%)</u>

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Although a majority of women were married and housewives, the number with no children present in the home was amazingly high.** In

**Actual birth rate statistics were not studied. Rather, the number of children present in the home (and therefore still very much a part of the everyday life), were computed which serves as a rough gauge of child birth.

1860, 41 percent of the adult women had no children and that percentage climbed to 46.2 percent in 1870 and 50.9 percent in 1880. When those women with two children or less are combined with the childless women, the cohort reaches a full 73.5 percent in 1860. That proportion remained stable in 1870 at 73.3 percent, but climbed in 1880 to 77.1 percent. This can be explained to some degree by the relative youth of the Portland's women. However, it seems significant how few children were present in an era of (supposedly) large families.

What other family patterns were prevalent? Most families were simple conjugal (that is, father, mother and children), although the percentage declined from 1860 to 1880. (1860=49.5%, 1870=42.3%, 1880=38.2%). This pattern possibly occurred as Portland's population increased, space became more in demand, and families made room for boarders or kin in their homes. By compiling all the families with any variation of the extended family structure (that is, any with boarders, kin, wards, or any combination thereof), together, there were 21 percent in 1860, 31.3 percent in 1870 and 35.1 percent in 1880. (For a breakdown of the family structure of only married women see Chapter V.) Single women totaled 29.5 percent of the adult female population in 1860, 26.4 percent in 1870 and 26.7 percent in 1880.

TABLE VII
CHILDREN (STILL PRESENT IN THE HOMES OF)
PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE POPULATION*

Number of Children	1860	1870	1880
none	256 (41.0%)	1,044 (46.2%)	2,625 (50.9%)
one	102 (16.0%)	325 (14.2%)	762 (14.6%)
two	107 (16.5%)	292 (12.9%)	598 (11.6%)
three	68 (11.0%)	208 (9.2%)	411 (8.0%)
four	46 (6.6%)	157 (6.9%)	340 (6.6%)
five	25 (4.0%)	111 (4.9%)	203 (3.9%)
six	16 (2.3%)	64 (2.7%)	121 (2.2%)
seven	2 (.3%)	23 (1.0%)	51 (1.0%)
eight	7 (1.0%)	17 (.8%)	15 (.3%)
nine	2 (.3%)	7 (.3%)	16 (.3%)
ten, plus	0 (-----)	3 (.1%)	5 (.1%)
TOTAL	631 (99.0%)	2,241 (99.2%)	5,147 (99.5%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE VIII
FAMILY (HOUSEHOLD) STRUCTURE FOR
PORTLAND'S ADULT WOMEN*

Family Structure	1860	1870	1880
Conjugal	307 (49.5%)	964 (42.3%)	1,986 (38.2%)
Extended	136 (21.0%)	608 (31.3%)	1,836 (35.1%)
Not Applicable	188 (29.5%)	679 (26.4%)	1,325 (26.7%)
TOTAL	631 (100%)	2,251 (100%)	5,147 (100%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

To complement the statistics on family or household structure, the type of residence utilized by each women was computed. As would be expected, most lived in single residence dwellings. This ranged from 71 percent in 1860, to 65.4 percent in 1870, to 54 percent in 1880. The decline in single unit dwellings can be attributed to the substantial increase in the number of women living with families (that is, young, single women still living with parents, and widows living with their married children). Those who boarded out remained at a fairly constant percent, ranging from 18 to 20 percent. The growth of boarding schools, hospitals and convents increased the number of women cited in the "other" cohort in the chart below.

TABLE IX
FORM OF RESIDENCE FOR PORTLAND'S
ADULT FEMALE POPULATION*

Type of Residence	1860	1870	1880
Single Unit	456 (71.0%)	1,483 (65.4%)	2,787 (54.0%)
Board Out	119 (19.0%)	408 (17.9%)	1,078 (20.7%)
Live W/Family	45 (7.0%)	301 (13.2%)	1,106 (21.3%)
"Other"	11 (2.0%)	59 (2.6%)	176 (3.2%)
TOTAL	631 (99.0%)	2,251 (99.1%)	5,147 (99.2%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

What exactly do these statistics mean? A more complete, and hopefully more sophisticated analysis will be undertaken in the following chapters. The crude data can, however, present a rough picture of the totality of the women's community in Portland. The norm

obviously, was to be native born, relatively young, and to be married, to be a housewife, with few children, living in a conjugal family unit, in a single family dwelling. Of course, in each of these areas there were sizable and significant aberrations. There were increasing numbers of working women and immigrants. Extended families became more common. Divorced women appeared for the first time in 1880. Yet, the relative continuum of "the norm" leads to the conclusion that, in Portland during this time period, the status of women was comparatively static. And, although the beginnings of possible changes can be discerned, the time period is perhaps too early, and Portland too young and underdeveloped industrially to support any major break with the "accepted" lifestyle for women. Portland women then contributed to the development of Portland's community primarily but not exclusively in their roles as wives and mothers.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Marriage was undoubtedly the central ingredient in the life of a nineteenth century woman. And, while such personal choices are based on emotions, the acceptance of the institution by the majority of women says much about their self-conception and attitude toward life. However, differences in marital patterns among Portland's major ethnic groups and changes over time for the community in general, show the gradations and variations in the marriage theme.

The native born American adult female population in Portland during these years was, by far, the dominant group. As such, to a large degree, they set the norm of behavior for women against which the other ethnic groups can be contrasted. While most native women were married, the percentage declined from a high of 76 percent in 1860 to only 56 percent in 1880. Single women comprised 34.7 percent of the native group in 1880, the highest of any ethnic grouping. The percentage of widowed women while rising over the period, remained fairly small, reaching only 7.3 percent in 1880.

Canadian women closely followed the American marital pattern in 1880, but showed a much higher percentage of single women in the two previous periods. This was due primarily to the large number of Canadian nuns who settled in Portland in the late 1850's.

TABLE X

MARITAL PATTERNS FOR NATIVE WOMEN, 1860-1880*

Status	1860	1870	1880
Single	65 (16.0%)	425 (30.6%)	1,170 (34.7%)
Married	308 (76.0%)	856 (61.6%)	1,890 (56.0%)
Widowed	19 (4.0%)	57 (4.1%)	246 (7.3%)
Divorced	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	55 (1.6%)
Unknown	11 (2.0%)	50 (3.6%)	8 (.2%)
TOTAL	403 (98.0%)	1,388 (99.9%)	3,369 (99.8%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Although the Scandinavian population did not reach significant numbers until 1880, they then showed a propensity to follow the American norm: large numbers of single women (34.2%), a small proportion of widows (4.3%) and a slight majority of married women (59.6%).

TABLE XI

MARITAL PATTERNS FOR GERMAN WOMEN, 1860-1880*

Status	1860	1870	1880
Single	4 (9.0%)	35 (18.6%)	86 (16.9%)
Married	40 (90.0%)	140 (74.8%)	371 (73.0%)
Widowed	0 (-----)	6 (3.1%)	45 (8.8%)
Divorced	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	5 (.9%)
Unknown	0 (-----)	7 (3.7%)	1 (.1%)
TOTAL	44 (99.0%)	188 (99.8%)	508 (99.7%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

The German, British and Irish groups had the most conservative marital patterns, in that order. The German population had the highest incidence of marriage in both 1860 (90.0%) and 1870 (74.8%), although in 1880 their 73 percent was surpassed by the Chinese (78.7%). The British and the Irish had a decreasing proportion of single women over the three census periods. Indeed, only 12 percent of the British women in 1880 were single. Approximately 70 percent of both ethnic groups in 1870 and 1880 were married. And, along with the black community, the British and the Irish had the highest percentage of widows (approximately 15 percent).

TABLE XII

MARITAL PATTERNS FOR IRISH WOMEN, 1860-1880*

Status	1860	1870	1880
Single	27 (26.0%)	68 (22.9%)	67 (15.9%)
Married	70 (69.0%)	205 (69.2%)	286 (68.2%)
Widowed	2 (1.0%)	16 (5.4%)	64 (15.2%)
Divorced	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	2 (.4%)
"Other"	2 (1.0%)	7 (2.3%)	0 (-----)
TOTAL	81 (97.0%)	286 (99.8%)	419 (99.7%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

The Chinese community presents an interesting pattern of changing marital status. Chinese women were, in 1870, almost totally single (85.7%), and, in 1880, almost totally married (78.7%). The Chinese in Portland were the object of a rather intense vice cleanup campaign in the 1870's, as well as, a concerted missionary effort by

various churches in the city. Coupled with the extreme sex ratio, this would seem to explain the major shift.

The black community was decidedly small in Portland throughout the period, but showed a fairly stable tendency to follow patterns established by the white native population. There were proportionately more single black women in 1870 than whites (39.4% as to 30.6%). But, in 1880 this shifted, with a smaller percentage of black single women than white (26.1% to 34.7%), although the black community had both a higher percentage of widows (16.6% to 7.3%) and a higher percentage of divorcees (2.3% to 1.6%). The smallness of the black community, coupled with the limited opportunity for marriage outside their own group, may explain this slight variance.

TABLE XIII

THE PHENOMENON OF DIVORCE; PORTLAND, OREGON IN 1880*

Ethnic Group	Number Divorced	Percentage of Group	Percentage of Divorced
Native American	55	(1.6%)	(76.3%)
Canadian	4	(1.8%)	(5.5%)
German	5	(.9%)	(6.9%)
Scandinavian	0	(-----)	(-----)
Chinese	0	(-----)	(-----)
British	1	(.3%)	(1.3%)
Irish	2	(.4%)	(2.7%)
French	3	(4.0%)	(4.1%)
Am. Indian	0	(-----)	(-----)
Black	1	(2.3%)	(1.3%)
Other	1	(1.4%)	(1.3%)
TOTAL	72		(99.4%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Divorce, as a phenomenon, was not present in Portland until 1880, or at least was not recorded in the census until that date. As would be expected, the majority of divorced women (76.3%) were native born Americans, with only a scattering throughout the other ethnic groups. Proportionately, the French had the highest rate of divorce (4%), although this represented only three women. Only one black woman was divorced, which put the figure at 2.3 percent for that community. The German, British and Irish all had less than 1 percent divorced, which fits into their conservative marital pattern generally.

TABLE XIV

AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR MARRIED WOMEN, 1860-1880*

Age in Years	1860	1870	1880
15-19	33 (33.0%)	55 (14.3%)	85 (9.4%)
20-24	93 (72.0%)	236 (61.6%)	492 (53.0%)
25-29	107 (81.0%)	302 (76.0%)	596 (77.2%)
30-34	96 (83.0%)	264 (82.2%)	570 (82.9%)
35-39	54 (90.0%)	241 (80.0%)	463 (84.3%)
40-44	36 (92.0%)	147 (74.2%)	342 (77.7%)
45-49	17 (80.0%)	77 (72.6%)	261 (76.7%)
50-54	17 (89.0%)	44 (62.8%)	148 (68.5%)
55-59	4 (66.0%)	32 (76.1%)	81 (60.0%)
60 plus	5 (41.0%)	20 (40.0%)	57 (31.1%)
TOTAL	462 (	1,418	3,095

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Individual ages in the year of marriage cannot be deduced from the data used in this study; rather marriage license records would have to be consulted. However, the aggregate ages of married women can give a rough picture of the age women generally became married, and do show tendencies and changes over the three census period. In 1860, 51.6 percent of the married women were under thirty. A shift occurred by 1870, in that only 41.6 percent were under thirty. While this was due, in part, to the growing maturity of the community, the fact that the trend is again repeated in 1880 by a further 4 percent decrease seems to indicate that women were marrying at an older age.

Indeed, when the percentage of married women in each age cohort is analyzed it is obvious that marriage was being postponed until a later age. Those under 19 years of age who were married decreased 24 percent between 1860 and 1880. The 20 to 24 age group dropped 19 percent and those 25 to 29 decreased 4 percent.

The only group not to show a decrease was the 30 to 34 age cohort. Women in all other age groups, however, were less likely to be married in 1880 than they were in 1860, usually representing a decrease of from 5 to 25 percent.

Increased educational and employment opportunities would seem to have played a role. The age of the community and its increased safety as a "settled" area also seemed to have taken the pressure of youthful marriages from women. While this could be interpreted as the decline in "demand" for wives, it also seems just as reasonable to assume that once the frontier "crises" situation was passed, marital relationships could return to a more normal pattern. The sex ratio cannot be the

only explanation for high marital rates, for Portland was still heavily enough weighted toward males in 1880 to make women "scarce." However, the urban community could then provide services, that in the 1860 frontier setting only a wife could fulfill.

TABLE XV

CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOUSEHOLDS OF MARRIED WOMEN*

Number of Children	1860	1870	1880
none	114 (24.0%)	325 (22.9%)	851 (27.4%)
one	91 (19.0%)	279 (19.6%)	652 (21.0%)
two	101 (21.0%)	260 (18.3%)	520 (16.8%)
three	63 (13.0%)	194 (13.6%)	368 (11.8%)
four	43 (9.0%)	153 (10.7%)	315 (10.1%)
five	23 (4.0%)	103 (7.2%)	188 (6.0%)
six	16 (3.0%)	60 (4.2%)	118 (3.8%)
seven	2 (.4%)	20 (1.4%)	48 (1.5%)
eight	7 (1.0%)	16 (1.1%)	15 (.4%)
nine	2 (.4%)	6 (.4%)	15 (.4%)
ten, plus	0 (-----)	2 (.1%)	5 (.1%)
TOTAL	462 (94.8%)	1,418 (99.5%)	3,095 (100.3%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Children as well as marriage defined the role patterns for the nineteenth century woman. Motherhood was almost deified and children came to represent woman's contribution to the betterment and the building of society. The census schedules, of course, list only the children present in the household and, as such, give a limited and distorted picture of childbirth tendencies. But the implications of the number

of children present, how early in a woman's life they appear, how late they stay in the home, show, in essence, the child rearing practices of the community.

In an era of supposedly large families, Portland's women had relatively few children in the home. Nearly one-quarter of all married women, in all three censuses, had no children present in the home. And approximately one-half of all married women had only three children or fewer. Family planning and birth control were apparently being used to some degree, perhaps in response to the pressures of urban space and economic considerations.

The Germans, British, Irish and Canadians (in that order) consistently had more households with four or more children present than did the Americans. A possible tendency for children to marry later, to reside in the home of their parents after adolescence, or the ideological opposition to family limitation and general conservatism of the Catholic Church must be considered in the analysis of these differences. The Chinese community had very few children and the Scandinavian, native, and black populations tended to have small households. Cultural and ethnic backgrounds did make a difference in the size of households.

The number of children in the home varied significantly according to the age of the woman. The young woman and the older woman had a much higher percentage of the no-child, or small households than did the middle-aged woman. In 1880, those over 60 showed a decrease in childless households, perhaps due to offspring remaining at home to care for a widowed parent, more likely to occur because of the age of

the community. The 25 to 29 and the 30 to 35 age groups had an increase of one and two child households and a general decrease in households with more than two children, suggesting either an older age at marriage or a postponement of children.

These aspects of marriage are, of course, based on personal choice, and analysis of trends reflect the importance of age and ethnicity on those choices. Whom women chose to marry is perhaps the most totally personal decision involved in marriage and is profoundly affected by things the historian cannot measure, such as physical and personality attributes. Still, when considered in aggregate, intermarriage (that is marriage between persons of different nativity), or lack of it, indicates the amount of social contact and interaction between groups. Community attitudes and norms are reflected, for if marriage to a person from a particular group is considered deviant behavior, few will avail themselves of that otherwise open option.

Merle Curti, in his study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin (The Making of an American Community), used the rate of intermarriage between the native born Americans and the various ethnic groups present in the community as one index of democracy and acculturation. His findings prove most useful for comparison with the phenomenon in Portland.

Curti found only a 10 percent rate of intermarriage in 1860, although by 1880 it had risen to 29 percent.¹ He notes that foreign men were more apt to marry native Americans than were foreign women, and cites woman's "traditional" role and "lack of freedom" as an explanation of this.²

TABLE XVI

INTERMARRIAGE IN PORTLAND, OREGON*
1860

Wife's Nativity	Native	Husband's Nativity					Total Wives	
		Cana- dian	Ger- man	Scandi- navian	Brit- ish	Irish		
Native	273	6	6	1	12	9	1	308
Canadian	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	8
German	1	0	37	0	0	1	1	40
Scandinavian	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
British	1	0	0	3	14	2	1	21
Irish	14	2	2	1	3	49	0	71
Other	1	0	2	0	0	0	10	13
Total Husbands	293	11	49	6	30	61	13	463

TABLE XVII

1870

Wife's Nativity	Native	Husband's Nativity					Total Wives	
		Can- dian	Ger- man	Scandi- navian	Brit- ish	Irish		Other
Native	711	28	37	8	42	24	7	857
Canadian	14	14	2	1	4	3	0	38
German	10	1	124	1	0	0	4	140
Scandinavian	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	5
British	27	2	4	2	47	8	0	90
Irish	27	1	7	3	14	149	3	204
Other	14	1	12	1	0	1	55	84
Total Husbands	805	48	186	18	107	185	69	1,418

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE XVIII
INTERMARRIAGE IN PORTLAND*
1880

Wife's Nativity	Husband's Nativity						Other	Total Wives
	Native	Can- dian	Ger- man	Scandi- navian	Brit- ish	Irish		
Native	1,359	55	123	20	106	49	178	1,890
Canadian	49	47	4	0	17	7	5	129
German	23	1	311	4	3	1	28	371
Scandinavian	5	0	3	60	0	0	0	68
British	36	8	11	3	113	14	11	196
Irish	29	9	13	4	11	200	20	286
Other	7	1	16	1	6	1	123	155
Total Husbands	1,508	121	481	92	256	272	365	3,095

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE XIX
INTERMARRIAGE IN BOSTON, 1863-1865*

Wife's Nativity	Husband's Nativity					Other & Unknown	Total
	Native- born	Can- dian	German (Scand)	British	Irish		
Native-born	3,133	165	95	124	254	61	3,832
Canadian	257	164	15	59	78	20	593
German (includes Scandinavian)	14	0	247	2	2	21	286
British	114	17	11	78	42	14	276
Irish	233	114	78	126	1,997	48	2,596
Other (includes unknown)	23	4	13	3	5	154	202
Total	3,774	464	459	392	2,378	318	7,785

*Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 259.

TABLE XX

INTERMARRIAGE IN TREMPLEAU COUNTY, WISCONSIN*
1860

Wife's Nativity	Husband's Nativity							Total Wives
	Native	Can- dian	Ger- man	Scandi- navian	Brit- ish	Irish	Other	
Native	269	6	1	3	13	4	0	296
Canadian	2	6	0	1	2	1	0	12
German	2	0	33	0	0	0	0	35
Scandinavian	0	0	0	36	0	0	0	36
British	3	2	0	0	58	0	1	64
Irish	0	0	0	1	0	32	0	33
Other	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Total Husbands	276	14	35	41	74	37	2	479

TABLE XXI

1880

Wife's Nativity	Husband's Nativity							Total Wives
	Native	Can- dian	Ger- man	Scandi- navian	Brit- ish	Irish	Other	
Native	709	35	19	58	62	19	40	942
Canadian	30	23	1	1	7	2	1	65
German	14	0	387	2	2	0	0	405
Scandinavian	221	2	3	1,117	0	1	0	1,344
British	33	1	1	1	63	3	1	103
Irish	8	2	0	0	3	80	0	93
Other	10	2	26	12	2	2	0	54
Total Husbands	1,025	65	437	1,191	139	107	42	3,006

*Merle Curti, The Marking of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 104.

TABLE XXII

INTERMARRIAGES IN LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS
FOR MARRIAGES OCCURRING IN
1865, 1875 and 1882*

	Wife's	Husband's Nativity				Total
	Nativity	Native	Canadian	NW Europe	Irish	
1865	Native	139	4	10	8	161
	Canadian	6	7	2	2	17
	NW Europe	4	2	47	5	58
	Irish	6	3	6	97	112
	1865 Total	155	16	65	112	348
1875	Native	147	9	28	12	196
	Canadian	9	19	1	1	30
	NW Europe	11	1	49	12	73
	Irish	6	3	13	74	96
	1875 Total	173	32	91	99	395
1882	Native	195	8	19	19	241
	Canadian	25	30	2	1	58
	NW Europe	19	3	89	7	118
	Irish	21	1	6	62	90
	1882 Total	260	42	116	89	507

*Donald B. Cole, Immigrant City, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina, 1963), p. 219.

The Boston intermarriage rate³ for the years 1863 to 1865 was 25.9 percent (2,012 cases of intermarriage in a total of 7,785). Lawrence, Massachusetts⁴ had a generally increasing rate of intermarriage over a three decade period, rising from 16.6 percent in 1865

(58 cases in 348) to 26.8 percent (106 cases in 395) in 1875 and then decreasing slightly in 1882 to 25.8 percent (131 cases in 507).

Figures for Portland indicate a similar pattern, with the percentage of intermarriage increasing over the three census years. In 1860 there was a 15.9 percent rate of intermarriage (74 cases of intermarriage between persons of different national origin). By 1870 that figure had risen to 316 cases or 22.3 percent, and by 1880 had reached 28.4 percent (882 cases).

The difference between the intermarriage tendencies of native men and women in Boston was slight, being only 18.2 and 17.0 percent respectively. And, in Lawrence, native women were in 1865 and 1875 more likely to engage in intermarriage than were native men, although in 1882 this was reversed with a 25.0 percent rate for native men and only a 14.9 percent rate for native women. However, Portland intermarriages, like those in Trempealeau County, were more likely to be between native women and foreign men than between native men and foreign women.⁵ This tendency was due, perhaps, to the greater number of immigrant men, which not only made foreign women more "in demand" within their own groups, but which forced foreign men to seek, as "second choice" wives, American women. Although, where foreign women were more likely to be employed, as in the mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, or where perhaps, they were more numerous, this detriment could be overcome.

It should be emphasized, however, that most people sought, and found, a marriage partner within their own ethnic group.⁶ If the data on Portland and the other areas was further refined as to the number

of marriages between the foreign stock portions of the native population and foreign born, the figures on intermarriage would probably be substantially reduced.

Nevertheless, the fact that urban communities such as Portland, Boston and Lawrence had basically the same rate of intermarriage as the predominantly agricultural frontier area of Trempealeau County seems to challenge Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis; intermarriage, if considered an index of the workings of democracy and acculturation, occurred no more often on the frontier than it did in urban areas. And if we consider the rate of intermarriage in these areas as above "normal," his implied pessimism that democracy was a product only of a rural frontier can be challenged as well.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 104. Mr. Curti's calculations on the percentage of intermarriage appear to be wrong. The figure should read 20.9 percent, rather than 29 percent, if his figures of 630 intermarriages of 3006 total marriages are used.

²Curti, Making of an American Community, p. 104-106.

³Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants; A Study in Acculturation (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 259.

⁴Donal B. Cole, Immigrant City; Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 219.

⁵Figures for Portland in all three census periods confirm Mr. Curti's statement ("Even after a score of years the foreign born woman was less likely to marry an 'American' than was her brother." p. 104). However, Mr. Curti's own figures for 1880 contradict this statement (see in particular the number of Norwegian women married to American males). Only 233 foreign born males married American women, while 316 foreign born females married American men. Curti's 1860 data does, however, support his assertion.

⁶The only groups, in all areas considered here, not to show this pattern were the Canadian and British women in 1863-1865 Boston, who each married more American men than men from their own ethnic group.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The formalistic structure of the family, as represented in the census by household construction, can tell us much about the role definitions for women and what type of values were placed on family life. Most Portlanders, from all ethnic groups, in all three census periods, apparently set value on the nuclear family, for approximately 60 percent of all families were simple conjugal households.¹

The largest group with a structure other than the nuclear family, was the family that took in boarders, the so-called augmented household. Although the proportion varied from group to group and over time, about one-quarter of all families had persons living in their homes who were not relatives. In comparison, only a small percentage (2.4% in 1860, 2.5% in 1870) had kin members or extended family living with them. The proportion increased fairly significantly in 1880, however, to 8.4 percent. Those families who opened their home to both kin and boarders also comprised a very small percent of the population, ranging between 2 and 4 percent. There oft-times were children present in the home that had a different surname, being either wards or children from a previous marriage. This aberration decreased over the period, from 5 percent in 1860 to only 1 percent in 1880. Generally speaking, then, Portland families were constructed in the simple mother, father and children form, although the addition of boarders and/or kin occurred often enough not to be considered "deviant."

TABLE XXIII
PORTLAND FAMILY STRUCTURE, 1860-1880*

	1860	1870	1880
Nuclear	300 (62.4%)	975 (63.0%)	1,981 (59.8%)
w/Boarders	131 (26.4%)	458 (29.6%)	874 (26.4%)
w/kin	12 (2.4%)	39 (2.5%)	278 (8.4%)
other children	25 (5.0%)	43 (2.7%)	34 (1.0%)
w/kin and boarders	18 (3.6%)	34 (2.1%)	138 (4.1%)
TOTAL	486 (99.8%)	1,547 (99.9%)	3,310 (99.7%)

Source: Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860, 1870, 1880.

There were, however, striking differences among the ethnic groups as to the proportion of nuclear families, those with kin or those with boarders, and often changes within the group over time.

Discounting those groups which comprised less than 1% of the total number of families present in 1860 the German community had the lowest proportion of nuclear families and the highest proportion of families with boarders. The Irish, on the other hand, had the highest percent of nuclear families and those with kin. The British had the lowest percentage of boarders, but the highest proportion with boarders and extended families. The native born population came in neither first nor last in any category, but was consistently "average."

The above pattern was followed fairly consistently for all groups in 1870. The only change among the groups discussed was that the British surpassed the Irish in percent of both nuclear family and family with kin present.

TABLE XXIV

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE
PORTLAND, OREGON, 1860*

Ethnic Group	Nuclear (%)	Family Structure				Boarders (%)	Children (%)	Boarders (%) and kin	Total (%)
		Boarders (%)	Kin (%)	Children (%)	Boarders (%)				
Native	204 (61.4%)	88 (26.5%)	8 (2.4%)	20 (6.0%)	12 (3.6%)				332 (99.9%)
Canadian	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				8 (100.%)
German	21 (52.5%)	17 (42.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (-----)	1 (2.5%)				40 (100.%)
Scandinavian	3 (100.%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				3 (100.%)
Chinese	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				0 (-----)
British	13 (61.9%)	4 (19.0%)	0 (-----)	2 (9.5%)	2 (9.5%)				21 (99.9%)
Irish	51 (68.9%)	17 (22.9%)	2 (2.6%)	3 (3.9%)	1 (1.3%)				74 (99.6%)
French	3 (42.8%)	1 (14.2%)	1 (14.2%)	0 (-----)	2 (28.5%)				7 (99.7%)
Am. Indian	2 (100.%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				2 (100.%)
Black	2 (66.6%)	1 (33.3%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				3 (100.%)
Other	5 (100.%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)				5 (100.%)
TOTAL	309=(62.4%)	131=(26.4%)	12=(2.4%)	25=(5.0%)	18=(3.6%)				495=(99.8%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860.

As the population increased, several other ethnic groups reached numbers large enough to be considered significant in the analysis. The French group, while very small, followed the German community in its low nuclear, high boarders pattern. The Canadian, the "other" and the black groups tended to be fairly close to the native American averages, although the range often varied several percentage points in either direction.

By 1880 significant shifts became apparent for several of the ethnic groups, several more groups were considered (the Scandinavians and the Chinese), and some general changes were registered for the population as a whole. The percentage of nuclear families and those with boarders both dropped slightly in 1880. Families that had kin present jumped 6 percent and those with boarders and extended family rose 2 percent.

The Chinese community, comprised for the first time primarily of families, showed a marked propensity to take in boarders and, therefore, had one of the lowest percentages of nuclear families. The Scandinavian group followed the native American pattern, but had a higher percentage of families with boarders and a lower proportion of those with extended family. High numbers of households with boarders and few with extended family seems to be a pattern for fairly recent immigrant groups. The German community, in exception to the general trend, had an increase of 10 percent in the nuclear family category. Although in keeping with the drop in families with boarders apparent in 1880, the Germans dropped about 20 percent, as opposed to the general decrease of 2 percent. As the German population in Portland grew

TABLE XXV

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE
PORTLAND, OREGON, 1870*

Ethnic Group	Nuclear (%)	Boarders (%)	Family Structure			Children (%)	Boarders (%) and kin	Total (%)
			Boarders (%)	Kin (%)	Children (%)			
Native	579 (62.3%)	261 (29.1%)	26 (2.8%)	33 (3.5%)	30 (3.2%)	929 (100.9%)		
Canadian	29 (69.0%)	11 (26.1%)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	0 (-----)	42 (99.7%)		
German	76 (50.0%)	72 (47.3%)	2 (1.3%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (1.3%)	152 (99.8%)		
Scandinavian	4 (66.6%)	2 (33.3%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	6 (99.9%)		
Chinese	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	5 (100.%)		
British	71 (72.4%)	21 (21.4%)	5 (5.0%)	1 (1.0%)	0 (-----)	98 (99.8%)		
Irish	160 (70.8%)	59 (25.8%)	4 (1.7%)	3 (1.3%)	1 (.4%)	227 (100.%)		
French	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.3%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	19 (99.9%)		
Am. Indian	5 (71.4%)	0 (-----)	1 (14.2%)	1 (14.2%)	0 (-----)	7 (99.8%)		
Black	15 (57.6%)	8 (30.7%)	0 (-----)	2 (7.6%)	1 (3.8%)	26 (99.7%)		
Other	25 (65.7%)	11 (28.9%)	0 (-----)	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.6%)	38 (99.8%)		
TOTAL	975=(61.7%)	458=(29.6%)	39=(2.5%)	43=(2.8%)	34=(2.2%)	1,547=(99.9%)		

Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

about threefold, this trend seems peculiar. The group was, perhaps, becoming large enough that more families could step out of their role as "aid in housing" for more recent immigrants. And, it seems likely that economic advancement of the German community in general, or the better financial standing of the more recent immigrants were also factors.

In 1880 the native born American group had, at 9.7 percent, the highest portion of extended families (except for the French with 11.7%), and the highest with boarders and extended families at 5.1 percent (except for the blacks who were less than 1 percent of the population). Why this should be so seems linked to the relative inaccessibility of Portland to major transportation systems. Immigrants from the old country would not only have a harder time getting to Portland because of the distance and expense, but would find only limited opportunities for, at least, industrial employment.

The fact that the extended family category jumped for all groups in 1880 seems to be explained by the growing maturity of the population, making it possible that some of the older settlers would be living with married children. That Portland had been established for over twenty years and was proven more than a "boom" town would also make it more likely that relatives would undertake the migration.

While it is obvious that the nuclear family was the norm and dominant structure, a fairly sizable portion of families took in boarders. This tendency is due, undoubtedly, to the shortage of housing usually found in relatively recent urban centers, compounded by the major fire of 1873 which set back building accumulation. The 1880 census was

TABLE XXVI
ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE
PORTLAND, OREGON, 1880*

Ethnic Group	Nuclear (%)	Family Structure				Boarders (%) and kin	Total (%)
		Boarders (%)	Kin (%)	Children (%)	Boarders (%)		
Native	1,185 (59.0%)	504 (25.1%)	195 (9.7%)	19 (.9%)	102 (5.1%)	2,007 (99.8%)	
Canadian	84 (61.3%)	37 (27.0%)	10 (7.3%)	2 (1.4%)	4 (2.8%)	137 (99.8%)	
German	243 (60.8%)	113 (28.4%)	25 (6.3%)	8 (2.0%)	9 (2.0%)	398 (97.5%)	
Scandinavian	42 (59.1%)	23 (32.4%)	5 (7.0%)	0 (-----)	1 (1.4%)	71 (98.9%)	
Chinese	27 (55.3%)	20 (44.3%)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	47 (99.6%)	
British	134 (61.3%)	55 (25.3%)	19 (8.7%)	0 (-----)	8 (3.6%)	217 (98.9%)	
Irish	200 (63.9%)	86 (27.4%)	13 (4.1%)	5 (1.5%)	9 (2.8%)	313 (98.7%)	
French	26 (50.9%)	18 (35.3%)	6 (11.7%)	0 (-----)	1 (1.9%)	51 (99.8%)	
Am. Indian	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	
Black	13 (54.2%)	8 (33.3%)	1 (4.1%)	0 (-----)	2 (8.3%)	24 (99.9%)	
Other	27 (60.0%)	10 (22.2%)	4 (8.8%)	0 (-----)	2 (4.4%)	45 (96.4%)	

TOTAL 1,981=(59.8%) 874=(26.4%) 274=(8.4%) 34=(1.0%) 138=(4.1%) 3,310=(99.7%)

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

gathered in July and August, which also probably affected results. A larger transient population would be present in summer months due to the increased employment opportunities in shipping, lumbering, fishing and local agriculture. Transient males were, of course, those most likely to be boarders. This study's coding techniques also possibly raised the figures for boarders. Relatives, if they were the wife's kin, could not be coded as such because name differences made these distinctions invisible, and although the 1880 census was supposed to list each person's relationship to the head of the household, this was not always done. Servants were also listed as boarders, because in many cases it was impossible to tell whether they were "live-in" servants, or merely boarding with a family and working "out." For the banker's family, of course, it was likely the domestic was a live-in servant, but for an Irish or native carpenter's family, such certainty was not possible.

Speculation as to the further meaning of this data on family structure in Portland can be better channeled when some sort of comparative trends are analyzed.² Virginia McLaughlin's data for the Italians in Buffalo, New York (1905) and Herbert Gutman's recently published data for New York City Jews and Italians (1905) and, especially, his study of four major ethnic groups in Paterson, New Jersey (1880) fulfill that need.³

Gutman's 1880 data for four major ethnic groups in Paterson, New Jersey brings to light some significant variations in family structure from that of Portland. Portland's families tended to be less often nuclear, to have fewer extended families and to more often take in boarders.

TABLE XXVII

COMPARATIVE DATA ON FAMILY STRUCTURE:
 PORTLAND, OREGON^a AND
 PATERSON, NEW JERSEY^b,
 1880

	Native		British		German		Irish	
	Pater- son	Port- land	Pater- son	Port- land	Pater- son	Port- land	Pater- son	Port- land
Number of households	1030	2007	1519	217	727	398	2300	313
Nuclear	65.7%	59.9%	73.9%	61.3%	78.1%	62.8%	73.1%	65.4%
Extended	18.7	14.8	13.5	12.3	10.3	8.3	13.6	6.9
Augmented	19.0	30.2	14.6	28.9	13.1	30.4	15.3	30.2
TOTAL % ^c	103.4	104.9	102.0	102.5	101.5	101.5	102.1	102.5

^a Data gathered from the Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

^b Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, June, 1973, p. 562.

^c Households with both extended family and boarders were counted twice making totals over 100%.

Both the native and British groups in Paterson had about 5 percent more nuclear families than did Portland. The difference for the Irish was 10 percent and for the German group, almost 20 percent. The Portland groups had more augmented households, which made the difference, offset slightly by the fact that the Paterson group had, by a small margin, more extended families.

It appears that the relative difficulty, cost, and distance to be overcome in getting to Portland vastly affected its "pull" for immigrants and native Americans, thereby cutting down the utilization of kin ties in Portland. That the British had the smallest difference is perhaps explained by the direct shipping connection to London, established in the late 1870's for Oregon wheat. Several German

commercial establishments had offices in Portland, which would also help explain the small margin for this group as well. Both the German and British immigrant tended to be in a better financial situation, which probably affected the tendency to move further West. The "individualism" of the West could also have affected the inclination of either the parents to live with married offspring or young marrieds to reside with parents.⁴

The vast difference in augmented households seems to be caused by the previously mentioned reasons of the possible housing shortage, increased transient population due to the season, and the special "inaccuracy" problems in dealing with census materials. These would offset the figures somewhat, but further reasons for the difference seem probable. Paterson, like most nineteenth century cities, had grown rapidly only a short time before Gutman's study and was decidedly not an old, concentrated, urban area. In contrast Portland's relative isolation and newness, its frontier conditions, and its length of established stability made a difference.

Enough major differences result from comparisons without using data taken from eras twenty-five years apart. Nevertheless, McLaughlin's and Gutman's 1905 data seems important enough, and quantified material on the family is scarce enough, that the risk of methodological weakness is worth taking. To compound the transgression, the whole of Portland's 1880 data will be compared, in block, with the specific ethnic groups (the Jews of New York City and the Italians for New York City and Buffalo, New York). No attempt will be made, however, to find "reasons" for the differences; they will simply be noted.

TABLE XXVIII

COMPARATIVE DATA ON FAMILY STRUCTURE:
 PORTLAND, OREGON, 1880 AND
 NEW YORK JEWS AND ITALIANS,
 1905

	Italians, 1905 Buffalo, NY ^a	Jews, 1905 N.Y.C. ^b	Italians, 1905 N.Y.C. ^c	Total Pop., Portland, 1880 ^d
Number of Households	2388	3743	3207	3310
Nuclear	74.0%	48.6%	59.9%	60.8%
Extended	12.0	11.8	23.2	12.5
Augmented	14.0	43.1	21.1	30.5
TOTAL % ^e	100.0%	103.5%	104.2%	103.8%

^a Virginia McLaughlin, "Working Class Immigrant Families, First Generation Italians in Buffalo, New York," unpub. paper, p. 10-11.

^b Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, June, 1973, p. 588.

^c Ibid., p. 588.

^d Data gathered from the Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

^e Households with both extended family and boarders were counted twice making totals over 100%.

Buffalo Italians had the highest proportion of nuclear households and New York City Jews the lowest. Portland's population, New York City Jews and Buffalo's Italians had almost exactly the same percentage of extended families. New York City Jews had the highest number of augmented households, surpassing Portland's figures by some 13 percent, who in turn were about 10 percent higher than New York City Italians.

What is apparent from this data is that the dominant family structure for America generally was the nuclear household. Important variations do appear, however, for different groups, different areas and different times. Enough families deviated from the nuclear family

norm, however, to question seriously the belief that autonomous families in the late nineteenth century stood, alone, "against the city."⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹Family structure data here considered is, unfortunately, based on the ethnicity of the wife, rather than the head of the household, as it is in all other studies of family structure. This error was not recognized until the study was "going to press." The "correct" data can be extracted from the data on file at the Oregon Historical Society. See Appendix A for a further discussion of this problem.

²Richard Sennett, Families Against the City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970) included single member "families" in his computation of family structure. This methodological error made his other figures on family structure "off" and not very helpful for comparison. (see below)

Family Structure in 1880 Union Park, Chicago*

	Number	Foreign	Native
single member	1,087	11.1%	8.3%
Extended	1,186	11.4%	9.5%
Nuclear	9,731	87.5%	82.2%
TOTAL	12,004	100. %	100. %

³McLaughlin, "Working Class Immigrant Families,"; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, 78 (June, 1973), p. 531-588.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN AND WORK

The late nineteenth century has commonly been recognized as the period when American industrialization accelerated and moved into a distinctly "modern" pattern. The meaning of work, the demands and pay of employment, changed as a predominantly agricultural society moved into industrialism. Women had, of course, played a major role in the early textile mills and in the 1890's dominated several industries such as garments and tobacco, and had become important as part of the labor force generally.

But an analysis, as undertaken here, of the different occupations women entered and the affect of marriage, age and ethnicity on employment must be projected against this obvious reality; although the proportion rose over the three census period, most women in Portland did not work outside the home. The two largest cohorts of adult women were housewives, by far the dominant group, and those "at home," who were not employed for wages, but were not housewives. By adding those women who were students and those in the "other" category (hospitalized, insane, traveling or occupation unknown), this non-employed group made up the vast majority of adult women in Portland.

What is apparent in Portland during the period of this study is that industrialization was not yet developed enough to offer women employment opportunities. Portland simply had no need for a large factory labor force, an area where women had found employment

in other urban centers. Commerce and shipping, which were strong in Portland, were not open to women and the day when women entered the white-collar world as office and sales workers were still ahead. Women in Portland therefore worked in areas typically their own: domestic service, teaching, nursing, prostitution, the sewing trades and running boarding houses.

The major variable affecting the possibility of a woman working was her marital status. In 1860 only four married women worked, in 1870 a mere 32 and by 1880 there were 196. Married women who worked were clustered in several occupations, the largest of which was seamstress work. In 1880 2.2 percent of the married women were seamstresses or milliners. Boarding house keepers and professional women each totaled slightly less than 1 percent, with domestics, teachers, proprietors and semi- and unskilled workers each were approximately .5 percent. This pattern seems to indicate some married women worked in family enterprises, a few worked in middle class, "respectable" occupations and the rest entered low paid, unskilled employment.

Approximately two-thirds of all widows in 1880 did not seek employment, but rather were found to be still filling the housewife role or were "at home," presumably living with married offspring. Nearly 10 percent were found to be employed as seamstresses and as boarding house keepers. Domestics and professionals comprised about 5 percent each, unskilled workers were 2.5 percent and prostitutes, proprietors and teachers each comprised about 1 percent.

TABLE XXIX

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS IN 1880
FOR PORTLAND'S ADULT WOMEN*

Occupation	Marital Status (% of column)					Total
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Other	
Housewife	0 (-----)	2,778 (89.7%)	153 (35.0%)	15 (20.8%)	1 (7.6%)	2,947
Domestic	328 (21.4%)	16 (.5%)	19 (4.3%)	4 (5.5%)	2 (15.3%)	369
Prostitute	37 (2.4%)	5 (.1%)	6 (1.3%)	9 (12.5%)	0 (-----)	58
In School	234 (15.2%)	2 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	236
At Home	575 (37.4%)	72 (2.3%)	127 (29.1%)	12 (16.6%)	1 (7.6%)	787
Teacher	71 (4.6%)	18 (.5%)	4 (.9%)	4 (5.5%)	0 (-----)	97
Seamstress	123 (8.0%)	69 (2.2%)	41 (9.4%)	12 (16.6%)	2 (15.3%)	247
Board House	4 (.2%)	23 (.7%)	40 (9.1%)	6 (8.3%)	1 (7.6%)	74
Professional	50 (3.2%)	25 (.8%)	19 (4.3%)	4 (5.5%)	1 (7.6%)	99
Proprietor	12 (.7%)	13 (.4%)	5 (1.1%)	1 (1.3%)	0 (-----)	31
Clerical	7 (.4%)	7 (.2%)	0 (-----)	2 (2.7%)	0 (-----)	16
Skilled	19 (1.2%)	3 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	0 (-----)	22
Semi & Unskilled	23 (1.5%)	17 (.5%)	12 (2.7%)	1 (1.3%)	0 (-----)	53
"Other"	47 (3.0%)	47 (1.5%)	10 (2.2%)	2 (2.7%)	5 (38.4%)	111

TOTAL 1,530 (99.2%) 3,095 (99.4%) 436 (99.3%) 72 (99.3%) 13 (99.4%) 5,147

*Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880

Several changes were apparent for widowed women from 1870. More were employed, the primary gainers being seamstresses and boarding house keepers. Domestics as a proportion of widows decreased by 5 percent. Portland's increased size probably offered the widowed woman expanded horizons as to employment possibilities. But again, these occupations were characterized primarily by instability, uncertainty, low pay and the fact that they required few skills a normal married woman did not have contact with.

Unfortunately, prostitution was one of the major occupations of divorced women, perhaps lending credence to the belief, then current, that divorced women were somehow unrespectable. Seamstresses and boarding house keepers were also prominent occupations. Divorced women had the highest proportion of any marital group of clerical workers, proprietors, professionals, seamstresses, and teachers.

It should be noted that half of all widows and divorcees were without children present in the home, a factor undoubtedly affecting the number who sought employment. However, only one-third of the divorced women did not work as opposed to two-thirds of the widows. This was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that divorcees did not receive an "inheritance" as did widows and so were forced to rely on their own employment for subsistence.

While single women comprised the majority of working women, large numbers of single women were not employed at all. Nearly 40 percent of single women simply stayed at home, apparently awaiting marriage. Another 15 percent were in school. Domestics were almost totally single women and this occupation was entered by approximately 20

percent of the total single adult female population. The only other major occupation was as seamstresses. Teachers, professionals (primarily nuns) and prostitutes embraced minorities of single women (4.6%, 3.2% and 2.4% respectively). Skilled workers appeared for the first time in 1880 and single women filled these few occupations almost totally.

Paid employment, it can be discerned from these breakdowns, was not a major consideration for most women in Portland during this era, throwing further importance back on woman's role in, and relation to, the family.

Age distribution for the various occupations complements the variable of marital status in attempts to define the working woman. Generally, the working woman was young, predominantly under 30 years old. But by 1880, the distribution for most occupations touched all age groups, although it was still heavily weighted toward the younger woman. Domestic servants were in 1880 increasingly clustered in the youngest categories (43.6% were under twenty). Almost three-fourths of the seamstresses and teachers were under thirty years of age in 1880. All skilled workers were under twenty-five. Proprietors and professionals were more evenly distributed and, where concentrated, were more heavily represented in the middle aged than any other occupational group.

It was apparent in the analysis of marital patterns that certain ethnic groups had a propensity for conservative marital patterns. The influence of cultural backgrounds, religious ideology and ethnicity also profoundly affected work patterns.

TABLE XXX

OCCUPATIONAL TENDENCIES OF PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE
POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1870*

Occupation	Native	Canada	German	Ethnic Group							French	Indian	Black	Other	Total
				Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish								
Housewife	909	42	143	6	4	88	213	20	6	20	37	1,488			
Domestic	81	8	19	3	0	11	48	3	1	14	2	190			
Prostitute	13	0	1	0	24	2	6	0	1	0	0	47			
In School	84	2	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	92			
At Home	196	9	13	0	0	17	7	2	1	2	2	249			
Teacher	25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26			
Seamstress	24	1	4	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	36			
Board House	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4			
Professional	15	20	3	0	1	4	10	1	0	0	1	55			
Proprietor	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4			
Clerical	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3			
Skilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Semi & Unskilled	3	0	1	0	6	0	2	0	2	0	0	14			
"Other"	35	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	2	43			
TOTAL	1,388	85	188	10	35	127	296	28	11	38	45	2,251			

Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

The native born Americans, while they had one of the smallest proportions of housewives, in 1880, had the largest percentages of those "at home," teachers, skilled and clerical workers and the second largest proportion of seamstresses and those "in school." The only change over 1870 was the increase of those "at home" and in all occupations generally, offsetting the sharp decrease in the number of housewives.

The Canadians, due to the large number of nuns, had the largest proportion of professional women. They also had more "at home" and in school than did most of the other ethnic groups.

The Scandinavians had in 1880 the largest percentage of domestics, replacing the blacks who had the highest in 1870. The black community had, in 1880, the highest proportion of women in school (7.1%). The Chinese had in 1870, by far, the largest proportion of prostitutes (68.5%), but had none in 1880. The French, however, had a 13.5 percentage in this category. The Chinese did have the highest percentage in the unskilled laborers (laundry workers) in 1870 and in the seamstress category (27.2%) in 1880. The British had the smallest proportion of working women in 1880, with the German and native Americans following fairly closely. In 1880 the French had the highest proportion of proprietors and the Irish had the highest percentage of boarding house keepers.

A more careful consideration of the most important occupational categories follows, but this brief survey brings into focus, not only the differences between ethnic groups and female employment tendencies and patterns, but also the changes apparent within the group itself

TABLE XXXI

OCCUPATIONAL TENDENCIES OF PORTLAND'S ADULT FEMALE
POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1880*

Ethnic Group

Occupation	Native	Canada	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French	Indian	Black	Other	Total
Housewife	1,768	130	366	68	41	195	285	36	0	18	43	2,950
Domestic	193	14	54	29	2	10	53	5	0	7	2	369
Prostitute	43	2	1	0	0	1	1	9	0	0	0	58
In School	212	7	4	1	0	5	2	0	0	3	2	236
At Home	640	19	39	5	1	27	23	10	0	5	15	784 ³⁹⁷⁰
Teacher	87	2	2	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	0	97
Seamstress	185	10	9	4	18	10	9	2	0	0	0	247
Board House	40	2	6	1	1	7	13	3	0	0	1	74
Professional	46	25	13	3	0	3	5	0	0	3	1	99
Proprietor	15	1	2	2	0	2	2	6	0	1	0	31
Clerical	14	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	16
Skilled	20	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	22
Semi & Unskilled	19	1	7	0	2	1	16	1	0	4	2	53
"Other"	87	0	3	1	1	5	8	2	0	0	4	111

TOTAL 3,369 213 508 114 66 271 419 74 - 42 70 5,147

Source: Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880

over time. As the city grew and areas of possible employment opened up, certain groups were better suited to take advantage of opportunities or were more inclined to do so because of their attitudes. The cultural backgrounds of their ethnic groups deeply affected these choices, while the urban environment and the economic situation of the times formed the options open.

Outside of the housewife and "at home" categories, domestics made up the largest occupational cohort, and, if only "paid" employment is considered, more women were domestic servants than any other occupation. Domestics almost exclusively were single and almost invariably young. In 1880, 76.9 percent were under thirty years of age, representing a definite increase over 1870 when only 65.7 percent were under thirty (34.2% were under twenty, as opposed to 43.6% in 1880).

The Irish were almost the only domestics in Portland in 1860, but by 1870 native Americans had twice as many in this category as the Irish. By 1880 the Germans had as many as the Irish and the Scandinavians had a good portion, but again, the native Americans made up the vast majority (193 domestics of a total of 369 were native born).

Familiar skills and a chance to work for a number of years before marriage seem to have offset the low pay inherent in this occupation enough to draw significant numbers into it. Although few domestics were found in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin by Merle Curti's study,¹ this appears to be an aberration of the national trend. Oscar Handlin, in his study Boston's Immigrants, found 3,107 domestics in 1850 Boston, of which 2,227 were Irish.² An analysis of the federal census shows

in both 1870 and 1880 approximately 900,000 women worked nationally as domestics, cooks, housekeepers and in other "public housekeeping" occupations. By 1880 that number rose to 1.3 million.³ Far more women worked in the homes of others, as servants, than in any other occupation.

Sewing was a vital source of income for many women and the number employed in this way nationally made it the second most important occupation for the late nineteenth century woman.⁴ Portland again reflected this national trend, for dress making, millinery and other seamstress variations comprised the second largest cohort of employed women. The demands of an urban area are clearly needed before any large numbers of women can find employment in this area. Only two seamstresses were present in Portland in 1860, but increased to 36 in 1870 and to 247 in 1880. The age of these women was slightly older than for most other occupations, only 63.1 percent were under 30 in 1880. Although the Chinese in 1880 had the highest proportion of seamstress of any ethnic group, the native born dominated with almost 75 percent the industry.

Teaching school was one of the few white collar, middle class, "respectable," occupations open to women⁵ and as such, presents an interesting study of American attitudes. Native born women were, almost exclusively, the only ones employed as teachers. They were predominantly young (in 1880, 71% were under 30). They were usually single, although in 1880 a portion were married (18.5%), differing significantly from national tendencies (in 1890 only one teacher

nationally of twenty-five was married⁶). There were also 4 divorcees and 4 widows teaching school in Portland in 1880.

Catholic nuns, some of which taught school in the several parochial schools in Portland, were not included in this occupational category. They did, however, swell the ranks of the professional category, making, in 1880, that cohort reach almost 100. Other professional women filled such "genteel" occupations as "authoress" and artist, although nurses, also categorized (perhaps mistakenly) as professionals, were much more numerous. Portland also had several woman physicians in 1880.

A much smaller group, but fairly significant for future directions, were the skilled women workers, present only in 1880. These 22 women were all under 25 years of age and were over 90 percent native born. Such occupations as printers, book binders and telegraph operators were included. National figures indicate very few women in these groupings, although the numbers rose significantly from 1870 to 1890.⁷

A number of women in Portland in 1880 were proprietors,⁸ although they made up less than 1 percent of the adult female population. In contrast to the skilled worker, half of these women were foreign born and nearly half were married. Their age was also more evenly distributed with the middle ranges being more heavily represented than the young. These women were often involved in a family business. National figures⁹ indicate that women were becoming more and more likely to establish and run their own businesses, which seems a consequence of loosening societal attitudes against women working and advancing economic rights of women under the law.

Although school was not actually an occupation, it certainly was an activity of increasing numbers of Portland women during this era. Several important assertions can be made in regard to this student category. All women students were of course young and unmarried. The increase in the number of female students, however, suggests not only growth of higher education institutions in Portland, but also the availability of those facilities to women, who 30 or 50 years before would not have had access to them. Higher education was, secondly, apparently acceptable only for native born American women, for in 1880 when 212 native women were listed as students, no other ethnic group had more than 7. Although, undoubtedly a portion of these native born students had foreign born parents, it is significant that only 21 foreign born women were going to any form of a higher educational institution. American women had "the edge" not only in this category, but in most of the better occupations, bringing to light not only questions about the equality of economic opportunities but also the democratic tendencies of the city.

The 1880 Federal Census Compendium broke down male and female occupation according to age and a general categorization of areas of employment for 50 cities, which provides data for comparison with Portland's employment patterns. Two Eastern cities (Lawrence, Massachusetts and Paterson, New Jersey) were selected from the list because they had a fairly small female labor force and because they had been used for comparison in previous portions of this study. The only Western cities (Denver, Colorado and San Francisco, California) cited in the Compendium listing, were also used for comparisons.

TABLE XXXII

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN, AGES 16-59,¹⁰
IN SEVERAL AMERICAN CITIES, 1880

	All Occu- pations	Agriculture	Professional & Personal	Trade & Transport.	Manufacturing Mechanical
Denver, Col.	1,619	3	1,085	74	457
Lawrence, Mass.	6,907	1	800	131	5,975
Paterson, N.J.	4,455	2	893	145	3,415
San Francisco, Calif.	13,376	25	7,873	453	5,025

The only major difference in employment for women, aged 16-59, between Portland and the Eastern cities, was that the vast majority in Paterson and Lawrence found occupations in manufacturing. San Francisco, as an established, large urban area, followed this pattern closely. In Denver and in Portland, however, women were more likely to be found in the professional and personal service occupations. But, even Denver had more women in manufacturing than did Portland, even when Portland's seamstresses are categorized as manufacturing employees (some were, of course, but to say all were is a definite stretch of reality).

It is obvious that where women could get employment in manufacturing they preferred it to domestic service, despite its long hours, hazardous working conditions and low pay. That only industrialized urban areas could offer these employment opportunities should not detract from this preference. Woman's supposed loyalty to, and preference for, her "natural" sphere, the home, was quickly forsaken for industrial employment. This is not, of course, to say that women

preferred industrial employment to their own homes, but rather to working in the homes of other women, as a servant. It is probable that as Portland matured and developed industrially women would move out of the domestic and service occupation and into trade and manufacturing. Between 1860 and 1880, however, Portland had not reached that stage, so women entered the only occupations open to them, and in increasing numbers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹Curti, Making of an American Community, p. 256-257.

²Handlin, Boston's Immigrants, p. 61, 253.

³Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 17; Janet M. Hooks, United States Department of Labor, Woman's Occupations Through Seven Decades (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 139.

⁴Ibid., p. 113.

⁵Ibid., p. 158.

⁶Smuts, Women and Work, p. 19.

⁷Hooks, Woman's Occupations Through Seven Decades, p. 79, 121.

⁸This study did not, unfortunately, include hotel and saloon keepers in the proprietor category, as did the national figures.

⁹Hooks, Woman's Occupations Through Seven Decades, p. 182-186.

¹⁰United States Office of the Census, Compendium of the Tenth Census, Part II (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 1390, 1392, 1394, 1398.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD OF WOMEN

The history of American women has yet to be written with anything approaching completeness. Women have left few historical records, but the statistical picture of the observable realities of their lives, as this study has tried to develop, can give some definition to the world of women, or, at least, can serve as a base for the further study of women's culture.

The new methodology of historians is particularly suited for the study of women. The psychology of women is needed to understand the person, her thoughts and perceptions and feelings behind the historical facts. The sociology of women is needed to understand how the institutions and processes of society shaped the choices of her personal life. The study of art, music, literature and the anthropological concept of culture can refine that understanding. Historians need to go beyond the documented events of American life in the nineteenth century to get into the "heads" of the people that shaped the culture and society of the times. History, and especially women's history, must be the creative use of intuition, perception and empathy.

What this study has provided is the rough framework within which Portland's women worked out their choices and lived out their lives. Marriage and family were the center, obviously. Despite the Victorian deification of family life, and the current realization and abhorance of the chains inherent in that kind of closed system for women, it

should be recognized that women's perceptions of their options were not so limited as we may suspect. It is apparent that many women did not marry and most married at an older age than is currently the case. While 59.9 percent of Portland's adult women were married in 1880, the 1960 figures for women over 14 years of age were 65.9 percent nationally and 68.9 percent in Oregon. Single women comprised, at 29.6 percent, a larger portion of the female population in 1880 than they did in 1960, when figures were 19.1 percent nationally and 16.2 percent in Oregon.

Economic considerations undoubtedly figure heavily in this turn of affairs, for industrialization has made it easier to support a family. "Birth control techniques, at least the more sophisticated ones in use today, allow women to marry without the fear of having children." These considerations have lowered the age of marriage.

The nineteenth century woman entered the labor market, not so much to augment the family income, which is often the case presently, but because she did not want to "settle down," marry and have children at an early age. And, if at the age of 25 or 30 she was not married, society still provided a place for her and her male counterpart. If this was not the case, there would have been fewer single persons in the older age groups. The world of work, in other words, was chosen by some women as an alternative to the role of wife and mother.

The importance of ethnic cultural heritage is apparent throughout this study. A woman's nativity affected her major life decisions. The fact that ethnicity has not died out in America is testimony to its strength and importance. As children are socialized according

to parental and community standards, the family becomes the primary instrument of cultural transferral.

The family, as transmitter of culture, as an economic unit, as an institution most women chose to enter, and an area where they did (and do) hold power, must be studied historically. Without an understanding of this basic and vital area, studies of political and economic structures are worthless. It seems that through the study of the family, and some of the broader aspects of society, such as religion and social classes, knowledge and understanding of, and empathy for, the culture of women will result. And, the understanding of women historically is essential, indeed tantamount, to the understanding of Western society and the nature of humankind generally.

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APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

This appendix is the culmination of a year of blundering about the mysterious world of quantitative methods and computers. The information, I knew, was in the Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, but to get it to the form presented in this study took many steps, which I will recount here both in hopes of saving others from the many mistakes and backtracking I endured, and to acquaint the reader with my methodology to serve as a basis for criticism.

First, I found, in detail, what was recorded in the census and then thought extensively on the questions I had to ask of this data. I constructed "flow charts" of how to get from that question backwards to the data. When the information I needed became apparent, I made a coding schematic, so that the census material, recorded in English, could be transposed into Fortran, a computer language. Each column or set of columns was concerned with a certain variable, such as ethnicity, and each number or numbers in that column represented a component of the variable, such as the ethnic group, Irish. (See below for the coding schematic used in the study.)

Once the tedious work of coding the data was complete, the information was punched on computer cards using the same schematic. The program was constructed (based on the flow charts previously mentioned) telling the computer, an IBM 1130, where the information was located on the card and how it was to be condensed and interpreted.

The computer print-outs were then de-coded back into English and I was ready to analyze the data.

The first several steps mentioned are the most important in terms of the success of the venture, for they serve as the blue print for the study and the foundation upon which the programing itself must rest. Luckily for this study, some of the errors made in these steps can be corrected by the program, but only after extensive and complicated juggling.

Being a historian and wishing to be able to trace everything back to a real person, each card was numbered consecutively to match the names recorded with the data on the original coding sheets. Other uses can be made of these, with possibilities for tracing over the three census period just one.

Not realizing the ultimate size of the adult female population in Portland and drastically underestimating its rate of growth, I rejected the idea of sampling. For current studies, sampling is valuable, but when historical phenomenon is the interest, it seems necessary to strive for a more "holistic" view, especially in areas such as women's history where so little is known. However, the population that resulted was almost too large to work with in any great depth or detail. A much smaller study is recommended, especially to anyone unfamiliar with quantification.

Some problems in dealing with the census materials arose that have undoubtedly affected the results of the study. The census is, of course, inaccurate and must be approached with caution. Ages, occupations, marital status and relationship to the head of the

household were often simply not recorded, and women were especially prone to this kind of oversight.

The husband's (or where appropriate, the father's) occupation was recorded. The categories used by Stephen Thernstrom in his study Poverty and Progress were employed. I became dissatisfied with his condensed categories, but at a point where the benefits gained from going back, devising my own classifications and recoding, simply did not outweigh the time factor. The non-manual classification bothered me, for bank presidents and bookkeepers were lumped together, though they certainly were not in the same socio-economic class. Livery stable owners had to be classified as unskilled, manual laborers, because Thernstrom did not have a category for petty proprietor. The male occupation variable, with some reworking, could still, perhaps, be usable. My misgivings, however, kept me from using the data, which I had originally hoped would shed some light on the question of social classes.

As noted in Chapter V, the data on family structure was computed using the wife's ethnicity as the base. This error weakens the study's possibilities for comparison, as all other work done in the area of family structure use husband's or the head of the household's ethnicity. I was completely taken aback when the error was pointed out to me, for although I knew everyone else used the male orientation, for my study on women that format never occurred to me. And, in view of the findings of sociologists, I wonder if perhaps it is even more meaningful to compare family structure based on both male and female ethnicity.

It is known that kin contact and ties for the current American family are predominantly with the wife's relatives. Was this true in the nineteenth century? The question of inheritance, such as Greven studied for Andover, Massachusetts, show the presence, to some degree, of patriarchies. Social structural questions such as utilization of kin ties may bring to light historical matriarchial tendencies.

CODING SCHEMATIC

<u>Column</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Data</u>
1	Census Year	6...1860 7...1870 8...1880
2-3	Age	Actual, in years, 15 and over
4	Marital Status	1...single 2...married 3...widowed 4...divorced 5...unknown
5-6	Occupation	1...housewife 2...domestic, housekeeper 3...prostitute 4...in school 5...at home 6...teacher 7...nurse 8...clerk 9...laundry 10...cook 11...seamstress, furrier, glove maker 12...actress, elocutionist 13...merchant, capitalist 14...laborer, cigar maker, factory worker 15...boarding house keeper 16...nun 17...saloon keeper 18...hotel keeper 19...book agent 20..."doubtful" 21...artist 22...traveling 23...keeper of a house 24...hair dresser or weaver 25...resauranteer, confectioner 26...physician 27...authoress, editor 28...waitress 29...fish dealer 30...druggist

<u>Column</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Data</u>	97
		31...book binder	
		32...milliner, carpet weaver, straw hat dyer	
		33...cigar stand	
		34...carpenter	
		35...printer, telegraph operator, photographers assistant	
		98...insane, hospitalized	
		99...unknown	
7-8	Ethnicity (woman's)	1...native-born	
		2...Canadian	
		3...German	
		4...Scandinavian	
		5...Chinese	
		6...British, Scot, Welsh	
		7...Irish	
		8...French	
		9...American Indian	
		10...not used	
		11...Other	
		12...Black	
		99...Unknown	
9	Head of Household	1...yes	
		2...no	
10-11	Number of Children	acutal number	
		99...none	
12-13	Ethnicity (husband's)	1...native-born	
		2...Canadian	
		3...German	
		4...Scandinavian	
		5...Chinese	
		6...British, Scot, Welsh	
		7...Irish	
		8...French	
		9...American Indian	
		10...not used	
		11...Other	
		12...Black	
		98...not applicable	
		99...unknown	
14	Male Occupation	1...non-manual	
		2...skilled	
		3...semi-skilled	
		4...unskilled	
		5...unknown, not applicable	
		6...farmer	

<u>Column</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Data</u>
15	Residence	1...own home (1860, 1870 only) 2...rent (1860, 1870 only) 3...board 4...not used 5...live with family 6...institutions 7...single unit
17-18	Family Structure	1...conjugal (nuclear) 2...with boarders 3...with extended family 4...not used 5...not applicable 6...wards, children not recog- nizably conjugal 23...boarders and extended family 26...boarders and children not conjugal 36...extended family and children not conjugal
19-22	Name reference	consecutive numbering to match name listed with data on code sheets

End

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS

<u>Condensed Category</u>	<u>Occupations Included</u>
Housewife	Housewife.
Domestic	Domestic, housekeeper.
Prostitute	Prostitute, "doubtful," keeper of a "house."
In school	In school.
At home	At home.
Teacher	Teacher.
Seamstress	Seamstress, furrier, glove maker, milliner, carpet weaver, straw hat dyer.
Boarding house	Boarding house keeper.
Professional	Nurse, nun, actress, elocutionist, hotel keeper, book agent, artist, physician, editor, authoress, druggist.
Proprietor	Merchant, capitalist, hair dresser and weaver, confectioner, restaurantier, fish dealer, cigar stand.
Clerical	Clerical, sales person.
Skilled	Book binder, printer, telegraph operator, photographer's assistant, carpenter.
Semi and unskilled	Laundry, cook, laborer, cigar maker, factory worker, saloon keeper, waitress.
Other	Traveling, insane, hospitalized, unknown.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL DATA DEALING WITH AGE,
ETHNICITY AND VARIOUS CORRELATES FOR
PORTLAND WOMEN, 1860-1880

AGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1860*

Age in Yrs. Native	Can- dian	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French	(Am.) Indian	Black	Other	Total	
15 - 19	75	1	3	0	4	3	6	0	3	2	2	99
20 - 24	76	7	10	0	2	3	29	2	0	0	0	129
25 - 29	72	7	14	1	0	2	29	1	1	1	3	131
30 - 34	64	3	9	3	0	4	25	3	1	1	2	115
35 - 39	41	0	6	0	0	5	5	3	0	0	0	60
40 - 44	28	0	1	0	0	5	4	0	0	1	0	39
45 - 49	15	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	21
50 - 54	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
55 - 59	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
60 plus	10	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	12

TOTAL 403 18 44 4 6 26 101 9 5 6 9 631

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860.

AGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1870*

Age in Yrs.	Native	Can- dian	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French (Am.)	Indian	Black	Other	Total
15 - 19	324	10	13	1	7	5	3	6	3	6	5	383
20 - 24	253	15	24	4	17	26	26	6	3	3	6	383
25 - 29	244	18	34	1	5	19	60	4	4	2	6	397
30 - 34	164	12	38	3	3	15	64	1	0	10	11	321
35 - 39	150	15	30	1	1	16	68	5	0	9	6	301
40 - 44	95	4	28	0	2	23	37	3	0	2	4	198
45 - 49	59	3	10	0	0	10	15	1	1	3	4	106
50 - 54	43	4	3	0	0	6	11	2	0	1	0	70
55 - 59	29	0	1	0	0	5	6	0	0	0	1	42
60 plus	28	4	7	0	0	2	5	0	0	2	2	50
TOTAL	1,389	85	188	10	35	127	295	28	11	38	45	2,251

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

AGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1880*

Age in Yrs.	Native	Can- dian	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French (Am.)	Indian	Black	Other	Total
15 - 19	749	29	42	14	3	15	11	8	0	7	19	898
20 - 24	725	35	65	23	13	23	26	8	0	3	6	927
25 - 29	506	25	72	23	29	31	61	10	0	8	7	772
30 - 34	388	27	83	25	12	53	76	11	0	3	9	687
35 - 39	316	37	64	7	2	41	59	10	0	5	8	549
40 - 44	229	25	66	12	4	25	62	7	0	3	7	440
45 - 49	170	20	42	4	2	28	57	6	0	4	7	340
50 - 54	103	5	36	2	0	24	35	3	0	5	3	216
55 - 59	68	4	22	3	1	15	12	7	0	1	2	135
60 plus	115	6	16	1	0	16	20	4	0	3	2	183

TOTAL 3,369 213 508 114 66 271 419 74 0 42 70 5,146
 *Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon
 1880.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1860*

NATIVITY	House- wife	Domestic	Prosti- tute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seamstress	Board. House	Profes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskill.	Unknown	Other	Total
Native	319	3	5	0	67	4	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	403
Canadian	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
German	40	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	44
Scandinavian	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Chinese	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	6
British	20	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	26
Irish	72	15	1	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	101
French	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
(Am.) Indian	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Black	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Other	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
Total	475	21	8	0	91	6	2	0	17	0	0	0	10	1	1	631

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1870*

NATIVITY	House- wife	Domestic	Prostitute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seam- stress	Boarding House	Protes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskill.	Unknown	Other	Total
Native	909	81	13	84	196	25	24	2	15	1	0	0	3	35	1388	
Canadian	42	8	0	2	9	1	1	1	20	1	0	0	0	0	85	
German	143	19	1	0	13	0	4	0	3	1	2	0	1	1	188	
Scandinavian	6	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	
Chinese	4	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	35	
British	88	11	2	1	17	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	3	127	
Irish	213	48	6	2	7	0	6	1	10	0	0	0	2	1	296	
French	20	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	28	
(Am.) Indian	6	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	11	
Black	20	14	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	38	
Other	37	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	45	
Total	1488	190	47	92	249	26	36	4	55	4	3	0	14	43	2251	

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East, Portland, Oregon, 1870.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1880*

NATIVITY	House- wife	Domestic	Prostitute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seam- stress	Boarding House	Protes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskill.	Unknown	Total
Native	1768	193	43	212	640	87	185	40	46	15	14	20	19	87	3369
Canadian	130	14	2	7	19	2	10	2	25	1	0	0	1	0	213
German	366	54	1	4	39	2	9	6	13	2	1	1	7	3	508
Scandinavian	68	29	0	1	5	0	4	1	3	2	0	0	0	1	114
Chinese	41	2	0	0	1	0	18	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	66
British	195	10	1	5	27	4	10	7	3	2	1	0	1	5	271
Irish	285	53	1	2	23	1	9	13	5	2	0	1	16	8	419
French	36	5	9	0	10	0	2	3	0	6	0	0	1	2	74
(Am.) Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black	18	7	0	3	5	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	4	0	42
Other	43	2	0	2	15	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	4	70
Total	2950	369	58	236	784	97	247	74	99	31	16	22	53	111	5146

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATION, 1860*

AGE in YRS.	House- wife	Domestic	Prostitute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seam- stress	Board. House	Profes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskill.	Unknown	Other	Total
15 - 19	34	6	2	0	48	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	99
20 - 24	93	8	2	0	16	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	4	0	0	129
25 - 29	108	3	4	0	8	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	131
30 - 34	101	4	0	0	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	115
35 - 39	56	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
40 - 44	37	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
45 - 49	16	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	21
50 - 54	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
55 - 59	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
60 plus	8	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Total	475	21	8	0	91	6	2	0	17	0	0	0	10	1	1	631

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860.

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1870*

Age in Yrs.	House- wife	Domestic	Prostitute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seam- stress	Board. House	Profes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskilled.	Unknown	Other	Total
15 - 19	66	65	10	85	125	5	8	0	10	1	1	0	3	4		383
20 - 24	239	31	23	5	57	6	9	0	4	0	1	0	3	5		383
25 - 29	312	29	9	1	16	9	3	1	9	1	0	0	5	2		397
30 - 34	263	19	2	1	11	3	6	0	8	0	0	0	1	7		321
35 - 39	246	16	2	0	8	2	4	1	14	1	1	0	0	6		301
40 - 44	160	15	1	0	5	1	3	0	3	1	0	0	2	7		198
45 - 49	83	8	0	0	2	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	4		106
50 - 54	61	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3		70
55 - 59	34	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1		42
60 plus	24	2	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		50
Total	1488	190	47	92	249	26	36	4	55	4	3	0	14	43		2251

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1880*

Age in Yrs.	House- wife	Domestic	Prostitute	In School	At Home	Teacher	Seam- stress	Board. House	Profes- sional	Prop- rietor	Clerical	Skilled	Semi & Unskill.	Unknown	Other	Total
15 - 19	75	161	12	226	331	13	46	0	10	2	1	7	5	9		898
20 - 24	436	98	21	7	197	37	65	3	13	6	7	15	4	18		927
25 - 29	555	40	12	12	61	19	45	6	10	4	2	0	6	10		772
30 - 34	538	21	6	1	24	7	32	12	11	6	2	0	10	17		687
35 - 39	440	10	5	0	18	6	23	8	10	3	2	0	8	16		549
40 - 44	337	10	2	0	14	9	20	12	9	3	2	0	11	11		440
45 - 49	252	14	0	0	12	6	8	16	18	3	0	0	4	7		340
50 - 54	146	8	0	0	24	0	3	9	9	2	0	0	3	12		216
55 - 59	95	5	0	0	19	0	2	4	4	1	0	0	1	4		135
60 plus	76	2	0	0	84	0	3	4	5	1	0	0	1	7		183
Total	2950	369	58	236	784	97	247	74	99	31	16	22	53	111		5147

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS GROUPS, 1860*

	Native	Canadi- an	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French	(Am.) Indian	Black	Other	Total
Single	65	10	4	1	5	5	27	3	3	2	3	128
Married	308	8	40	2	0	21	70	6	2	3	2	462
Widowed	19	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	25
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	11	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	16
TOTAL	403	18	44	4	6	26	101	9	5	6	9	631

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon 1860.

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS GROUPS, 1870*

	Native	Canadian	German	Scandinavian	Chinese	British	Irish	French	(Am.) Indian	Black	Other	Total
Single	425	40	35	5	30	30	68	8	3	15	4	663
Married	856	38	140	5	4	90	205	18	4	22	36	1,418
Widowed	57	5	6	0	0	4	16	1	0	0	0	89
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	50	2	7	0	1	3	7	1	4	1	5	81
TOTAL	1,388	85	188	10	35	127	296	28	11	38	45	2,251

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon 1870.

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS GROUPS, 1880*

	Native	Can- dian	German	Scandi- navian	Chinese	British	Irish	French	(Am.) Indian	Black	Other	Total
Single	1,170	72	86	39	12	33	67	21	0	11	19	1,530
Married	1,890	129	371	68	52	196	286	38	0	23	42	3,095
Widowed	246	8	45	5	2	40	64	12	0	7	7	436
Divorced	55	4	5	0	0	1	2	3	0	1	1	72
Unknown	8	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	13
TOTAL	3,369	213	508	114	66	271	419	74	0	42	70	5,146

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

AGE DISTRIBUTION AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1860*

Age in Yrs.	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
15 - 19	84	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	99
20 - 24	59	29	25	11	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	129
25 - 29	38	21	33	21	14	2	2	0	0	0	0	131
30 - 34	29	14	29	18	13	7	4	0	1	0	0	115
35 - 39	12	7	8	8	5	10	5	0	3	2	0	60
40 - 44	6	6	6	5	5	3	4	2	2	0	0	39
45 - 49	9	4	0	2	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	21
50 - 54	8	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
55 - 59	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
60 plus	8	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12

TOTAL 256 102 107 68 46 25 16 2 7 2 0 0 631
 * Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1860.

AGE DISTRIBUTION AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1870*

Age in Yrs.	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
15 - 19	356	21	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	383
20 - 24	213	86	59	18	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	383
25 - 29	157	57	67	52	47	12	5	0	0	0	0	397
30 - 34	86	43	51	53	37	24	16	8	3	0	0	321
35 - 39	77	39	43	35	40	32	23	6	5	1	0	300
40 - 44	47	27	32	25	16	23	12	6	5	4	1	198
45 - 49	36	16	14	11	5	11	7	2	3	0	1	106
50 - 54	21	15	12	9	3	7	0	1	0	2	0	70
55 - 59	16	13	4	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	42
60 plus	35	9	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50

TOTAL 1,044 326 292 208 157 111 63 23 17 7 3 2,251
 * Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

AGE DISTRIBUTION AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1880*

Age in Yrs.	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
15 - 19	873	23	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	898
20 - 24	629	169	93	30	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	927
25 - 29	314	152	141	83	53	19	7	1	0	0	2	772
30 - 34	193	111	121	94	88	44	25	9	1	1	0	687
35 - 39	139	72	70	71	76	58	34	20	5	4	0	549
40 - 44	120	58	68	47	45	39	37	12	6	6	2	440
45 - 49	102	60	42	41	47	24	11	7	2	3	1	340
50 - 54	82	37	36	23	18	12	4	2	1	1	0	216
55 - 59	62	32	13	15	4	7	2	0	0	0	0	135
60 plus	111	48	12	7	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	183

TOTAL 2,625 762 598 411 340 203 121 51 15 16 5 5,147

*Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.

ETHNICITY AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1860*

Nativity	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
Native	141	70	68	53	32	16	13	1	7	2	0	403
Canadian	11	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
German	13	6	14	4	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	44
Scandinavian	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Chinese	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
British	9	3	4	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	26
Irish	57	14	12	8	5	2	2	1	0	0	0	101
French	4	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
(Am.) Indian	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Black	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Other	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9

TOTAL 256 102 107 68 46 25 16 2 7 2 0 631
 * Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon 1860.

ETHNICITY AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1870*

Nativity	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
Native	660	218	181	118	91	59	36	12	8	3	2	1,388
Canadian	49	7	12	7	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	85
German	67	27	29	19	15	16	9	2	1	2	1	188
Scandinavian	6	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Chinese	32	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
British	50	16	17	14	15	7	3	3	0	2	0	127
Irish	117	38	35	41	27	17	10	5	5	0	0	295
French	14	4	3	3	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	28
(Am.) Indian	5	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
Black	29	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38
Other	15	8	6	2	5	5	2	1	1	0	0	45

TOTAL 1,044 325 292 208 157 111 63 23 17 7 3 2,250
 * Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1870.

ETHNICITY AND THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN THE HOME, 1880*

Nativity	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten +	Total
Native	1,847	509	370	240	209	98	55	28	4	7	3	3,370
Canadian	106	31	17	16	12	15	8	4	2	1	1	213
German	191	67	74	63	41	39	23	6	2	2	0	508
Scandinavian	59	19	16	10	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	114
Chinese	48	11	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66
British	96	45	36	32	26	12	15	4	2	3	0	271
Irish	180	55	63	31	35	38	13	7	4	3	0	419
French	41	7	7	11	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	74
(Am.) Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black	25	8	5	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	42
Other	32	10	5	6	6	6	3	1	0	0	1	70

TOTAL 2,625 762 598 411 340 203 121 51 15 16 5 5,147
 * Federal Manuscript Census Schedules, Multnomah County, City of Portland and East Portland, Oregon, 1880.