EXPLORING AN ANGLOPHONE PRESENCE AT THE FRENCH FISHING ROOM, CHAMP PAYA, AT DOS DE CHEVAL (EfAx-09) IN CAP ROUGE HARBOUR, NEWFOUNDLAND

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Exploring an Anglophone Presence at the French Fishing Room, Champ Paya, at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) in Cap Rouge Harbour, Newfoundland

by

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"If you get the feeling that historical archaeologists end up chasing a lot of loose ends, then you have the general picture."

Peter E. Pope, *Historical Archaeology and the Maritime Cultural Landscape of the Atlantic Fishery*, 2009.

Abstract

Recent archaeological work in Cap Rouge Harbour, northern Newfoundland, has uncovered evidence of Anglo occupation at the historic fishing room, Champ Paya. Through an examination of the recovered British ceramic assemblage, this study seeks to understand the nature of this Anglo occupation at what was a predominantly French site. Ceramic analysis, coupled with the relevant historical documents, suggests that between about 1790 and 1820—when the French fishermen were fighting in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and so not present in Newfoundland waters—middle class Anglo-Newfoundlander families were carrying out a regional migration from the English Shore to the Petit Nord to prosecute a fishery in these newly vacant harbours.

Acknowledgements

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I dedicate this work to my mother, Barbara. Though she saw me begin this project, she did not live to see its completion. Her loving memory was the inspiration to finish.

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CEW:	Coarse earthenware
CSW:	Coarse stoneware
FMNH:	Florida museum of natural history
GIS:	Geographic information system
ICP-MS:	Inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry
MACL:	Maryland archaeological conservation lab
MNV:	Minimum number of vessels
MUN:	Memorial university of Newfoundland
POTS:	Potomac typological system
REW:	Refined earthenware
SI:	International system of units

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Project Overview

Until 2004, very little archaeological research on the salt-cod fishery had been conducted for the Petit Nord region of Newfoundland—that is, the Atlantic side of the island's Great Northern Peninsula (Figure 1.1). 2004, however, marked the beginning of research which lead to the SSHRC-funded project, *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, directed by Dr. Peter Pope of Memorial University of Newfoundland. The main goal of this project was to identify, assess, record and conserve vestiges of the French migratory fishing industry on the Petit Nord (Pope 2007: 5).

Of the fishing room sites identified during field survey, one was of particular interest, yielding high archaeological potential. This was the site of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), known locally as Long Point, located on the southern side of the mouth of Cap Rouge Harbour (Figure 1.2). In 1640, this site was documented as a Breton fishing room called Champ Paya. In effect, Dos de Cheval is the archaeological site and Champ Paya was the fishing room. Dos de Cheval was recognized as an ideal site for full-scale excavation, as it was a documented fishing room at an accessible site, rich in material culture, and the area was never disturbed by later settlement (St. John 2011: 20). Although predominantly occupied by Breton crews for its nearly 400-year history, archaeological excavation at the former fishing room uncovered a fair amount of British material culture. This site, and this "Anglo" presence, will be the foci of this study. The use of the term Anglo will be discussed presently.

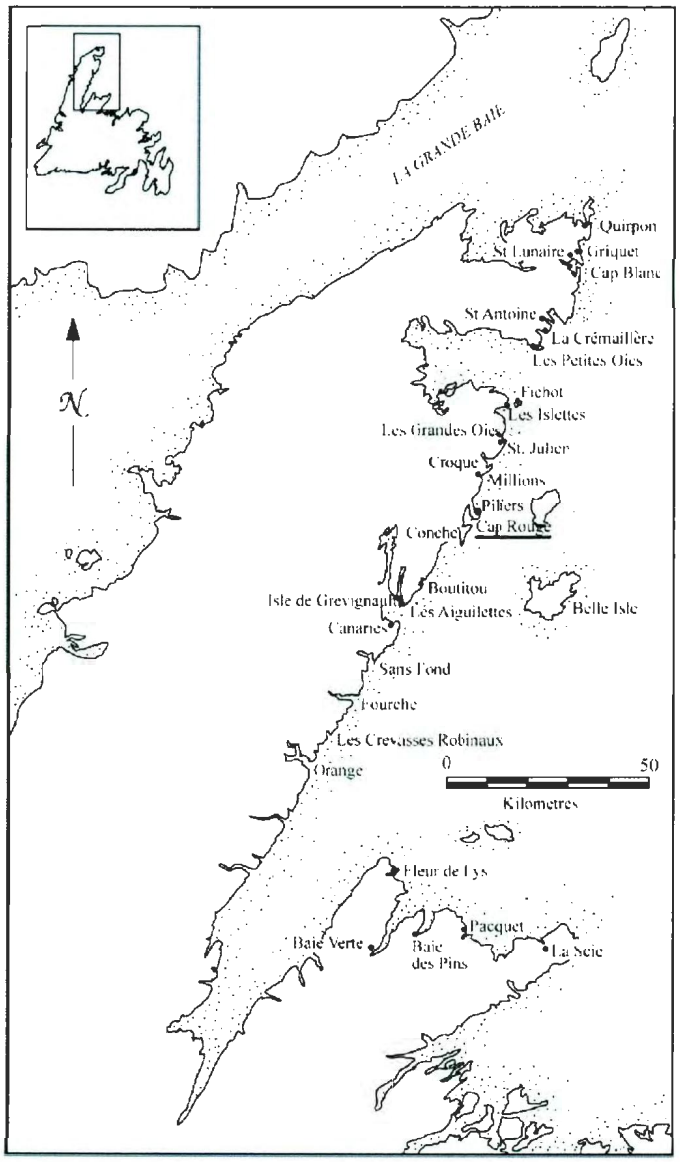

Figure 1. 1 Fishing stations on the Petit Nord. Cap Rouge Harbour is underlined. (Ed Estaugh for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Officially from 1713, but unofficially from much earlier, the Petit Nord constituted a central part of the French Shore in Newfoundland. By at least the mid-sixteenth century, French (specifically Breton) migratory fishing crews dominated the fishery in the Petit Nord region (Pope 2007: 6). Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the boundaries of the French and English fishing zones in Newfoundland changed several times. The Petit Nord, however, remained particularly stable and was consistently part of the French Shore (St. John 2011: 2). The English Shore encompassed the Avalon Peninsula on the east of the island, and stretched along the northeast coast (Pope 2009a: 125). It is interesting, then, to find evidence of occupation by Anglo fishermen so far from their traditional fishing grounds, and situated in one of the oldest persistent French landscapes in Canada (Pope 2006b: 1). The main goal of the present research is to achieve an understanding of the nature of this Anglo occupation at Champ Paya.

There are several terms that require clarification here. Primarily, I want to define how I will refer to the Anglophone fishermen who occupied Champ Paya. The term *English* is too specific, as this eliminates the possibility of Scotsmen, Welshmen or Irishmen being part of these crews, and it is known that there were waves of immigration from these countries (Mannion 1977: 6; Ommer 1977: 215). Even *British* is too specific as it suggests permanent residents of Britain engaged in a seasonal migratory fishery, eliminating the possibility that the British material is attributed Anglo-Newfoundlanders occupying Champ Paya. Conversely, *Anglo-Newfoundlander* is too specific, suggesting

that there were no migratory British fishers at this site.[1] However, for the bulk of this thesis, for the sake of simplicity and to avoid potential ambiguity, I will employ the term, *Anglo*. This term allows for the aforementioned possibilities without being vague, until further proof of a more specific identity arises. However, *British* or *English* are used throughout the paper when referring to such things as negotiations of treaties, territorial rights in Newfoundland, etc.—matters that were orchestrated and negotiated at a national level, and that refer to a larger demographic, not merely the occupation at Champ Paya.

1.2 Research Aims

In order to address the overall research aim, and to learn something of the nature of the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya, three specific research questions were formulated. These are:

1) What are the spatial and temporal distributions of British ceramic material from Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09)?

This study will define the temporal and spatial margins of the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya. This is achieved by classifying the British ceramic material by ware type, decoration and vessel form to ascertain a rough occupation period based on known manufacture dates for ceramic types; and by examining the distribution of British material

[1] Admittedly in Chapter 5 I will argue my belief that these fishermen using British material culture were, in fact, resident Newfoundlanders

Figure 1. 2 Archaeological sites in Cap Rouge Harbour. EfAx-09 (Dos de Cheval) is indicated. (Marco Chiaramonte for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

culture at the site through GIS mapping to ascertain what area(s) of the site the Anglo fishermen were using and how.

2) How does the Anglo assemblage compare to French ceramic material from the same site?

The second objective is to compare the British ceramic assemblage to the French ceramic assemblage as analyzed by Amy St John (2011). The information gleaned from the first research objective, coupled with a formal and functional analysis of the ceramic vessesls, will facilitate an understanding of use of space, volume of occupation, foodways, provisioning, socioeconomic status, and gender make-up of the Anglo fishing crew and how this differed from or resembled the French fishermen. This comparison will facilitate an understanding of the differential use of space and organization of the fishery by these two groups.

3) What nature of relationship, if any, existed between the French and Anglo fishing crews who occupied Champ Paya?

The third objective is to assess what the previous objectives can tell us of the relationship that may have existed between the French and the Anglo fishing crews at this site. Competition within the fishery was often strong, and to understand the nature of the Anglo occupation of Champ Paya it is necessary to discern if the two groups that used the same space had any interaction and what that interaction would have been. This will be achieved through consultation with the historical literature, an analysis of archaeological contexts and consideration of the information gathered through the previous research objectives.

Chapter 2: The Context, Historical and Archaeological

In this chapter I provide the relevant historical and archaeological backdrop for my study by describing the development of a fishing industry in Newfoundland, summarizing the French and British rights to the island, and addressing a gap in the historical literature. I also summarize previous archaeological work that is pertinent to my study, carving out a niche in which my research is situated.

2.1 The Newfoundland Fisheries

The European dry salt fish trade is centuries old, beginning long before the exploitation of Newfoundland cod stocks. By 1100, continental Europe was importing large quantities of wind-dried fish from Norway, and from Iceland by 1350. As European demand grew, Icelandic supply could not keep up. By 1400 the English were prosecuting their own migratory fishery off Iceland, producing both salt-dried and unsalted-dry fish (Pope 2004:11). By the end of the fifteenth century, the British were fishing in local waters, such as the English Channel and off the coast of Ireland, working from seasonal shore camps (Pope 2004:12). In 1497, John Cabot's voyage of discovery for King Henry VII explored and made known a "new found land" to his contemporaries. This land would become the focus of the fishing industry in the centuries to come (Pope 2003:490; 2004:13). The prospect of pristine territory and maritime resources across the ocean led to the development of an old industry in a new landscape. A range of European nations had

varying degrees of success and involvement in the fishery. Of particular importance to this thesis are the French (especially the Bretons and Normans) and British—i.e. English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish crews (Cadigan 2009: 29; Pope 2004:11 – 12, 19; 2009c: 37).

In 1502, the first recorded cargo of dried salted cod was brought from North America to Europe on the *Gabriel* of Bristol, England. As early as 1504, Breton fishermen were present in Atlantic Canada. By 1510, this was beginning to be a regular seasonal occupation for European crews of many ports, crossing the Atlantic ocean in the spring to catch and dry fish which they would then sell in European markets. From about 1530 to 1800, this was an important part of the European economy (Pope 2004:15; 2009a:125). The British were well established in the Newfoundland fishery by the end of the sixteenth century, but the French maintained a fishery roughly double the size of the British fishery through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pope 2004:19).

Initially the fishery was strictly an inshore industry, prosecuted from small boats. The catch was processed from a shore station, where the crews also lived during the season. By the second half of the sixteenth century the French had developed an offshore fishery at the Grand Banks, lessening competition inshore. The British did not develop a transatlantic Grand Banks fishery until after 1713 (Pope 2004:19, 22) The offshore fishery was carried out from large ships, many days' sail off shore. This industry produced a heavily salted, wet-cured (or green-cured) product (Pope 2004:14). This study focuses on the inshore fishery and the fishing rooms used in that fishery.

The inshore fishery was based from a shore station, called a fishing room. Crews would sail from Europe in early spring, arriving in Newfoundland harbours after a journey that took a month or more. Upon arrival, it could take up to a month to establish

the fishing station, building or repairing the stage, boats, flakes for drying fish etc. A similar task awaited crews at the end of the season, when all had to be dismantled. This was done so that crews arriving the next year would not have an advantage, as fishing crews were not guaranteed to acquire the same shore space year after year. Such was the case in the early years of the fishery, before fishing rooms were allotted in five-year increments, and before fisherfolk began to settle, establishing more permanent structures (Pocius 1992; Pope 2004: 22; Pope in press a).

The inshore fishery was prosecuted from small boats. Fishermen journeyed out from the station, rowing about a half mile off shore, and often making the trip out and back several times in a day (Pope 2004: 24). Each boat was crewed by three people, a boatmaster (who was an able man, or skilled); a mid-shipman or mate; and a foreshipman (a young, unskilled stripling). This crew would jig for cod, and when their boat was full, would row back in to the fishing room to offload their catch (Pope 2004: 22, 24).

The stage has been called the heart of the fishing room. As a combination wharf/processing plant, it was the most important structure on site, and, in the early years, where the crew not only worked, but also ate and slept (Pocius 1992; Pope 2004: 26). As the industry grew, more outbuildings and shelters were present at such sites (Mélissa Burns pers. comm.). When boats filled with cod returned to the shore, the catch was offloaded at the head of the stage, or *chaffaud*. This structure was built so that its head stuck out into the water so that the boats could moor alongside to offload the cod. It extended back onto the shore, providing a workspace to process the catch (Figure 2.1) (Pocius 1992).

Figure 2. 1 Artist's interpretation of Champ Paya in the 19th century, showing several fishing room features: A) galets, B) flakes, C) cabins and cookrooms, and D) the stage. (Cynthia Collisimo-Robbins for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Once on the stage, the cod was placed on a table to be headed, gutted and split open, removing the backbone. Once split, the fish were rinsed in salt water, and then laid open and piled between layers of salt in the stage. After a length of time, the salted fish were rinsed in salt water and were ready to dry. The British lay the fish on built wooden structures called flakes, often with pine boughs over them so air could circulate and dry the bottoms of the fish as well. The French laid the fish on cobbled beaches called *galets*, but also adopted the use of flakes (Pocius 1992; Pope 2004: 28).

The temperate climate of Newfoundland was ideal for drying salted cod. Too much direct sunlight and heat could actually cause the fish to get sunburnt and ruin the product. The process had to be moderate. Rain was also damaging to drying fish. On rainy days, the fish would have to be flipped over, skin sides up, to repel the rain. Occasionally, shore workers would gather up the fish and stack it in piles like a haystack and cover it to protect it from the dismal weather (Pocius 1992). During the gutting and splitting stage of the process, the fish livers were kept and set aside for rendering into cod liver oil or "train oil", a valuable by-product of the industry. The livers were put in a barrel or a large vat and left to render in the sun. The oil was filtered through a mesh of evergreen boughs (Pope 2004:26; Pope pers. comm.)

Fishing crews were an efficient combination of skilled and unskilled labour. For example, young, unskilled boys could drag barrows of fish from the splitting table to the salting bin, while the man who salted the fish was skilled, and knew the correct amount of salt to produce salable salt fish. "In other words, although every man did not have to be fully skilled, every crew did" (Pope 2004:25).

The fishing season generally lasted until early September, when crews would sail back across the Atlantic Ocean to sell their season's catch. As the years and decades passed, some fishers started to settle in Newfoundland. In these cases, they themselves wouldn't sail across the Atlantic; this task fell to by-boat keepers and sack ships. By-boat keepers were migratory fishing masters, who hired crews each spring to travel across the Atlantic to fish. They owned boats, but left them in Newfoundland year round to be watched over by resident Newfoundlanders in the winter. Sack ships were vessels hired out by resident fishers to ship cargoes of dried cod to Europe to sell on the markets there. Much of the product headed to markets in Iberia and the Mediterranean (Pope 2004: 21, 29, 41 – 42).

2.2 The French Shore vs. The English Shore

The French and the British were just two of several nationalities involved in the transatlantic fishing industry. In this section I examine the dichotomy between these groups, and how the Newfoundland fishery changed over the course of the centuries.

2.2.1 Treaties and Diplomatic History

Early on, an unwritten custom developed by which crews from particular ports in Europe began to identify with certain parts of Newfoundland and would "return again and again, in a seasonal rhythm, to particular coasts in the New World" (Pope 2009a: 123). Though the crews would not necessarily acquire the exact same shore station year after year, nor even a fishing station in the same harbour, crews tended to return to the same

general region. Generally, the French prosecuted their fishery on Newfoundland's western coast, on the Great Northern Peninsula, and, in the early period, on the south coast; the coastline from Trepassey to Bonavista Bay, after about 1620, became—more or less—exclusively English shore (Figure 2.2) (2009a: 130). These patterns were eventually codified in the eighteenth century.

King William's War broke out in 1689, and the violence of this and Queen Anne's War between England and France disrupted the migratory fishery, lasting—with some interruption—until 1713. The fighting was ended with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht (Handcock 1989: 36, 73; Hiller 2000: 7; Neary 1980: 96). By this treaty, France lost its territorial claims to Newfoundland and its settlements around Plaisance on the south coast. French crews were forbidden to over-winter on the island or establish any permanent structures on the coast, and they acknowledged British sovereignty of the island. They did, however, retain the right to prosecute a migratory, seasonal fishery off the coast between Pointe Riche in the west and Cape Bonavista on the northeast coast—the Treaty Shore or French Shore (Figure 2.3). Maintaining access to the north and west coasts provided the French a safeguard of their sailing route up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec (Hiller 1993: 7; 2000: 7; Janzen 2007: 45; Thompson 1961: 8). France also retained its settlements in Cape Breton (Hiller 1993: 7).

Violence interrupted the fishery again in 1756, with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. During this period of warfare, France lost most of its territorial empire in North America (Janzen 2007: 45). The war ended with the signing of the Peace of Paris in 1763, the result of long and difficult negotiations. France relinquished its claims to Cape Breton but re-established possession of St. Pierre and Miquelon, as well as maintaining

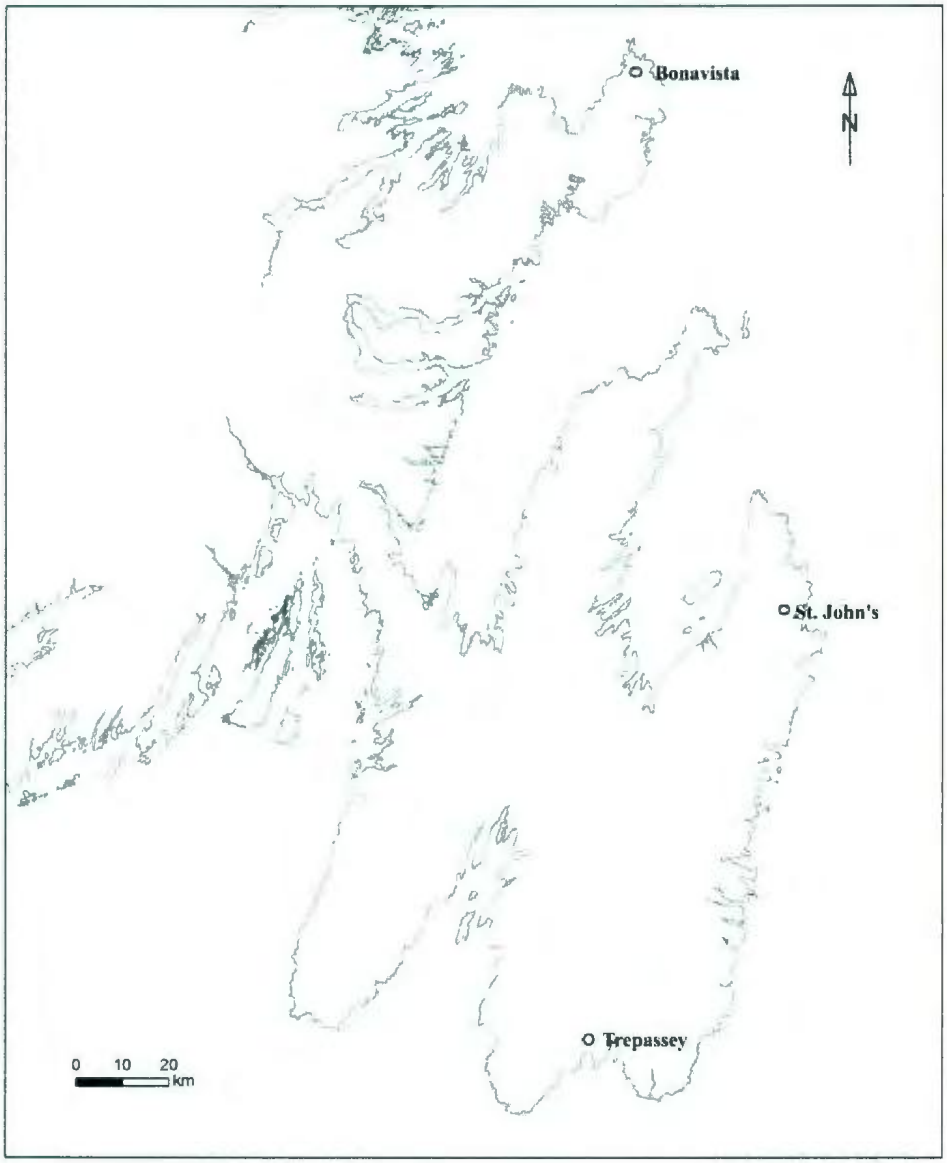

Figure 2. 2 The English Shore of Newfoundland, between Trepassey and Bonavista. (Bryn Tapper for The Archaeology of Historic Carbonear).

French rights to seasonal migratory fishing off the French Shore of Newfoundland (Hiller 1993: 7 – 9; 2000: 7 – 8; Janzen 2007: 46; Neary 1980: 96). There were some differences in the interpretation of the agreements of 1763. In the mid-eighteenth century, both the British migratory fishery and the Anglo-Newfoundlander resident population in Newfoundland expanded, so that the British frontier in Newfoundland began to shift northward,beyond Bonavista Bay (Janzen 2007: 45). Because of their recent loss of much New World territory, the French government was determined to preserve what little it retained. By the Peace of Paris of 1763, the French understood that this agreement granted exclusive rights to the fishing grounds of the Treaty Shore for them. Their understanding was that no Anglo fishermen (resident or migratory) could fish off the coast, nor erect any type of settlement on the shore there. Consequently, they loudly protested the intrusion of Anglo fishing crews on French fishing grounds. British rebuttal was that the treaty stated nothing about exclusive rights and thus concurrent fisheries were legitimate (Hiller 1993: 9; Janzen 2007: 46).

The concurrent vs. exclusive fishery debate carried on in the decades following the Peace of Paris and was still not resolved by the time the French joined the colonists in the American Revolutionary War against England, from 1776 to 1783. James Hiller suggests that Anglo-French negotiations were in part responsible for the settlement that ended the American Revolution (2000: 9). As the French emerged from the Revolution on the side of the victors, they were in a much better bargaining position than they had been in 1763. With this opening for re-negotiation, "the nature of French fishing rights and the desire to re-define the territorial limits of the French Shore were on the table" (Janzen 2007: 46).

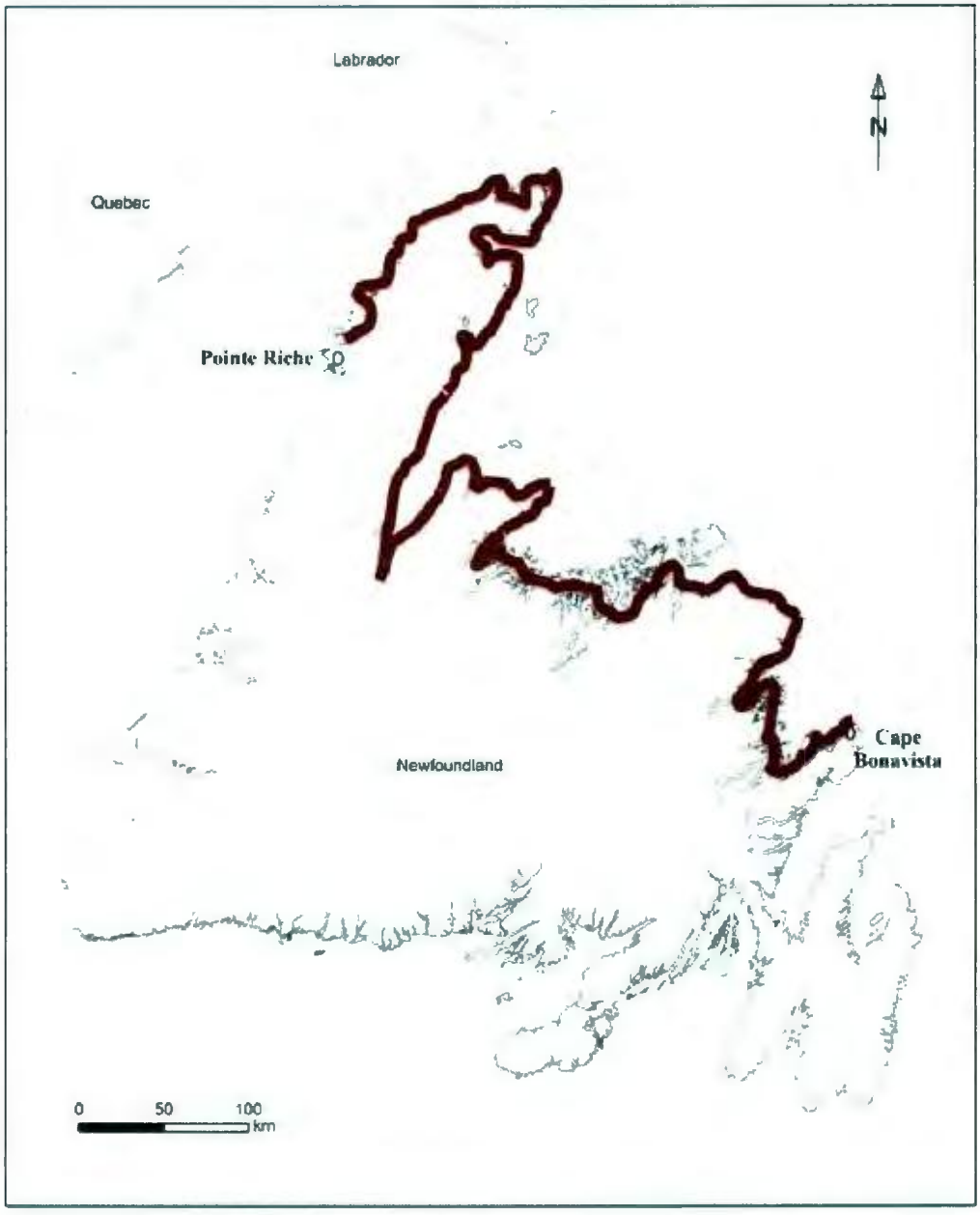

Figure 2. 3 The boundaries of the French Shore, from 1713 to 1783, between Pointe Riche and Cape Bonavista. (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

The Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1783, shifted the boundaries of the French Shore to span from Cape Ray on the southwest coast to Cape St. John on the northeast (Figure 2.4). Negotiations were, again, arduous and involved, but in the end France was given essentially what it wanted. Concessions of the treaty provided "that the French coastal fishery would be uninterrupted, and that any 'fixed settlements' created by British subjects on the Treaty Shore would be removed—in effect, an exclusive fishery in all but name" (Hiller 1993: 10).

Just a decade after the Treaty of Versailles was signed, France and England entered into over twenty years of almost uninterrupted warfare—the French Revolutionary war (1792 – 1799) and the Napoleonic wars (1800 – 1801, 1803 – 1815) (Janzen 2007: 46). Throughout these years, the migratory fishers were all but absent in the New World; they were recalled to their home countries to fight as naval seamen. This period of war once more called into question the rights and territories of the French and British in Newfoundland, but with the peace treaties signed in 1814 and 1815, French fishing privileges on the Treaty Shore were renewed once more (Hiller 1993: 14; Ryan 1994: 35). It was at this time, also, that French fishers began allocating fishing rooms for five-year periods, by drawing lots. This replaced the previous and highly competitive first-come-first-served Admiral system. The new five-year system resulted in more investment in permanent structures at French fishing rooms (Pope 2009a: 137).

During the years of the wars and in those years that followed, the Anglo presence in Newfoundland steadily grew. The island was recognized as an official English colony in 1824 and resentment towards the French was widespread (Hiller 1993: 10; Janzen

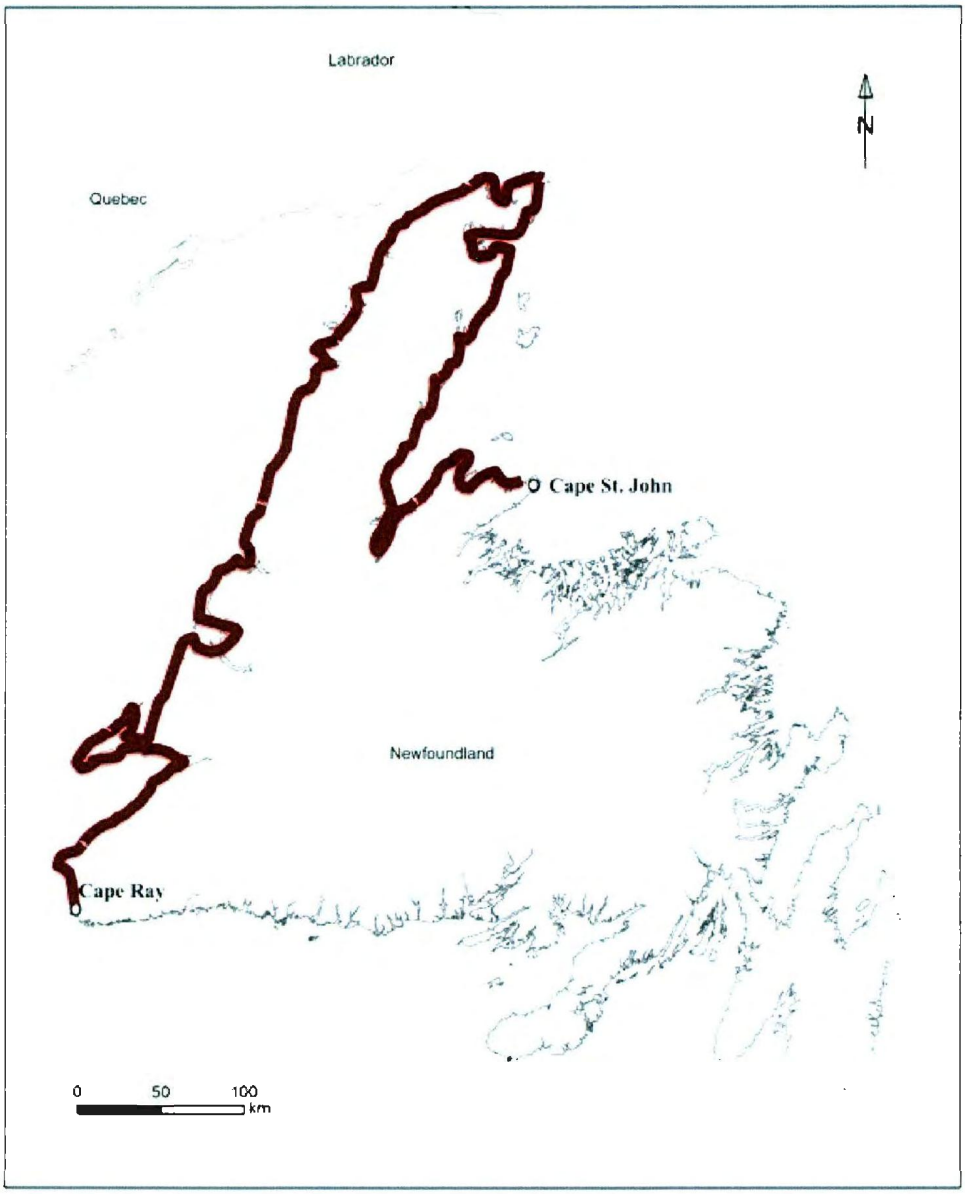

Figure 2. 4 The boundaries of the French Shore from 1783 to 1904, between Cape Ray and Cape St. John. (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

2007: 46). By this time, there were many ill feelings harboured towards the French, and their presence on the island through the later nineteenth century was considered obsolete (Hiller 1993: 10). However, it wasn't until the signing of the Entente Cordiale in 1904 that these territorial debates finally ceased and the French completely relinquished their rights in Newfoundland (Hiller 1993: 12; Janzen 2007: 49).

2.2.2 Occupation, Settlement and Movements of People

The earliest documented European settlements in Newfoundland were British proprietary colonies. In 1610, the English merchant, John Guy and 39 colonists left Bristol and established a colony at Cupids, in Conception Bay (Cadigan 2009:41; Handcock 1989: 33; Pope 2004: 50). By 1615, Guy had left Cupids and settled at Bristol's Hope in Harbour Grace. Other early proprietors include Vaughan, Calvert, Cary and Payne who colonized Renews, Ferryland, Fermeuse and St. John's respectively (Figure 2.5) (Pope 2004: 51). Many of these early colonial attempts have been called failures, because they were unable to provide returns sufficient to satisfy shareholders (Cell 1969: 96). But this supposed failure of official colonization has been dismissed as myth, and did not negate Newfoundland settlement; Europeans stayed, and these colonies were ancestral to subsequent permanent settlement and thus not failures at all (Pope 2004: 3 – 4).

From the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, there was a strong seasonal and temporary movement of people from Great Britain and Ireland to Newfoundland, and an almost equally long period of immigration, with a peak from 1780 – 1830 (Mannion 1977: 5). However, for more than two centuries, in terms of number

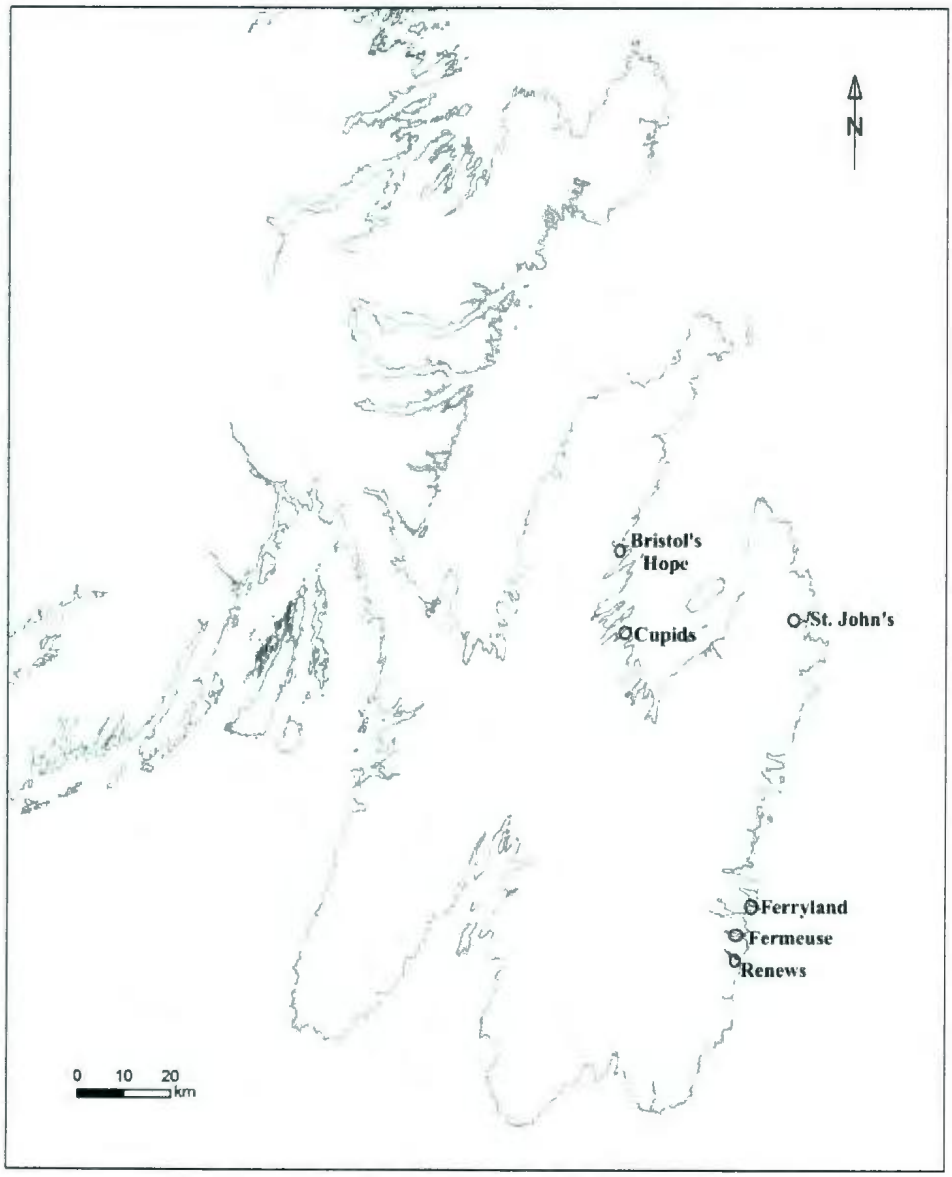

Figure 2. 5 Some of the early English colonies on the Avalon Peninsula. (Bryn Tapper for The Archaeology of Historic Carbonear).

of people, immigration was but a footnote compared to the migratory fishery. By 1700, there were only roughly 2000 residents of Newfoundland in about 30 settlements between Trepassey and Bonavista (Pope, pers. comm.). By the middle of the eighteenth century, this northern border was expanding towards Notre Dame Bay. After 1713, when the French lost Plaisance, the resident population of Newfoundland was an exclusively Anglo resident population, as the French were barred from further Newfoundland settlement (Mannion 1977: 5 – 6).

Even before the official designation of the French Treaty Shore of Newfoundland in 1713, the French were prosecuting a seasonal, migratory fishery off the coast of the Petit Nord—that is, the Atlantic Coast of the Great Northern Peninsula. The Breton fishers dominated the fishing industry there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Pope 2007:6). Between 1662 and 1713, the French maintained a resident fishery based out of their settlement at Plaisance, but this was lost by the Treaty of Utrecht. The French continued their seasonal, migratory industry on the French Shore until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Newfoundland's resident population spread along the coast, as mercantile and commercial organization, centered on a maritime economy, dictated settlement (Thornton 1977: 153). By 1800, the permanent population was still largely confined to the Avalon Peninsula and the northeast coast to Notre Dame Bay, but was expanding. Even as settlement proceeded away from the Avalon Peninsula, the population there continued to grow (Mannion 1977: 1; Thornton 1977: 153). It became the commercial and demographic centre, and "the main source for the flow of people, institutions and

commercial support to these newly settled bays" (Thornton 1977: 153). Many people migrated north from the Avalon Peninsula to fish cod, but permanent settlement didn't move north until sealing, salmon fishing, boatbuilding and fur trapping could be exploited to supplement the economy and support year-round residency (Handcock 1989: 77; Mannion 1977: 4)

By 1775, about 12,000 Anglo individuals over-wintered in Newfoundland. This would have included permanent settlers and descendants of earlier settlers (Anglo-Newfoundlanders), as well as temporary and seasonal British immigrants. During and after the French Revolutionary (1792 – 1799) and the Napoleonic wars (1800 – 1801, 1803 – 1815) there was a noted shift to a settled fishery and the resident population of Newfoundland grew. The nineteenth century saw an increased rate of immigration and a corresponding collapse of the British migratory fishery (Mannion 1977: 5 – 6). "Thus Newfoundland, which had always been a fishery based around an island, had finally become a colony based on a fishery" (Ryan 1998: 51).

2.2.3 Anglo Fishermen in French Territory

The diplomatic histories of Newfoundland focus on treaties and legal decisions which dictated settlement and coastal use. Social histories and historical geographies describe the movement of people, use of the island's resources and the changing spatial relationships of early Newfoundland history (Head 1976: xii). A few other sources acknowledge a fact that both these bodies of literature seem to obscure. The British in Newfoundland, both migratory and resident, were present in northern Newfoundland

while that region was French territory, by treaty rights. This aspect of Newfoundland history provides the context for my research.

Not only were Anglo fishers expanding into the southern limits of the French Shore, in Notre Dame Bay, but British and Anglo-Newfoundlander crews were known to be using the shores of northern Newfoundland during the French absences in the winter season, and while the French presence was much decreased during wartime (Cadigan 2009: 85; Head 1976: 76 – 77). While more common during in the later eighteenth century and during wartime, the Anglo presence on the Petit Nord started before the Seven Years' War. However, it was rare in this period for Anglo crews to venture north of Twillingate (Head 1976: 176).

French historian Charles de la Morandière has suggested that in the first half of the eighteenth century, while the French were wintering in Europe, Anglo fishing crews would occupy harbours on the Petit Nord, withdrawing in the spring when the French returned (1962: 854). After the Seven Years' War however, de la Morandière suggests, these Anglo fishermen were present in greater number and were less inclined to leave the French Shore in the springtime, and so stayed and fished in competition with the French migratory crews. Additionally, the Anglo crews reportedly burned boats and structures belonging to the French, and destroyed fishing equipment, to discourage the French fishery in Newfoundland. They forced the French to leave Newfoundland waters at the beginning of September, to ensure no Frenchman broke the treaty agreement and tried to overwinter or extend his fishing season (de la Morandière 1962: 853 – 854). While it may be true that some number of Anglo-Newfoundlanders or British individuals actively sought out the French on the Treaty Shore to expel them from Newfoundland waters and

discourage their fishery, this Anglo presence on the French Shore in the late winter and spring time could also be attributed to the seal hunt (Candow 1989; Ryan 1994).

By the first half of the 18th century, a sealing industry had sprung up in northeastern Newfoundland, carried out by Anglo-Newfoundlanders (Candow 1989: 23). Initially the sealing industry was land-based, and crews would use nets to capture seals in channels of water (Candow 1989: 23, 26). This land-based method of seal hunting took place in winter, through November and December (Candow 1989: 31). As the eighteenth century progressed, a boat-based seal hunt emerged, and crews would venture out into the bays in shallops to shoot seals (Candow 1989: 27). This vessel-based hunt took place in the spring months, around March and April, as seal populations were migrating back to the Arctic after breeding (Candow 1989: 27; Ryan 1994: 48). Settlers on the English Shore would send schooners and shallops to the French Shore while these harbours and bays were vacated by the French to fish, and also to hunt seals. In 1804, Governor Gower said:

> these North Shore vessels are, in general, the same that in the months of March and April are employed in the Seal fishery; after their return from service they are again fitted out, and proceed to the harbours on that part of the north-east coast of the Island that lies to the northward of Cape St. John [quoted in Ryan 1994: 45].

So, while de la Morandière suggests that the Anglo presence in the winter and spring on the Petit Nord was out of animosity towards the French, this could be a reflection of some

bias on his part as a native of France. It seems possible that, at least in part, these Anglo groups were pursuing seal hunting to supplement their summer fishery, and sealing coud only be carried out by those who remained in Newfoundland in the winter and spring seasons (Ryan 1994: 51).

The second half of the eighteenth century into the beginning of the nineteenth century was a turbulent time between French and Anglo crews in Newfoundland, and a time during which there there was much incursion of French territory by Anglo crews. By the end of the Seven Years' War, approximately 800 Anglo fishermen employing 100 fishing boats were fishing on the northern coast between Fleur de Lys and White Bay. When the French returned to the shore, Governor Palliser enforced the limits of Anglo encroachment on the French fishing grounds. The Anglo crews returned soon after, during the American Revolution (Head 1976: 177).

The eighteenth-century Anglo presence on the Petit Nord was made up of both British migratory fishers or temporary occupants, and resident Anglo-Newfoundlanders. By the end of the century, the British migratory fishery was essentially over. For example, in 1761, George Milner and Mathew Glover, fishermen of Poole, England, had established themselves at St. Julien's (Head 1976:176). In 1766, an unnamed English merchant constructed a house for himself in Croque, just south of St. Julien's (Head 1976: 177). Other Anglo fishermen on the French Shore were resident Newfoundlanders, supplementing their own fishery with sealing and fishing in the waters off the northern coast, executing a local, seasonal migration. Sean Cadigan suggests that these Newfoundlanders were often residents of Conception Bay, and that expansion into the

French Shore allowed these fishers to employ more capital and labour than other fishermen were able to (1995: 18).

In 1766, English biologist and naturalist, Joseph Banks, traveled to Newfoundland aboard the *HMS Niger*. While Banks' aims were to collect and record plant and animal life (and most of his diary entries reflect this) he observes and makes mention of both French and Anglo fishers on the north east coast. In Englee Harbour, roughly 30 km south of Cape Rouge Harbour, Banks recounted,

> the Vessels we saw were moord head & stern there were about 6 English Vessels fishing there & near twice that number of french the French indeed have almost the Sole Possession of the Fishery in this Part of the Island Many Harbours here (St Julians for instance) not having so much as one Englishman in them they seem to Value & Encourage the trade more than we do sending out indefinitely Larger ships & Employing more hands in the Trade [Lysaght 1971: 127].

There is an interesting point to make here. In 1761, two Englishmen were reportedly present at St. Julien's (Head 1976: 176). Here, Banks, writing five years after Milner and Glover of Poole were recorded at St Julien's, suggests that there was not so much as a single Englishman in this harbour (Lysaght 1971:127). In the meantime, the Seven Years' War between France and England had ended, and the Anglo presence on the French Shore appears to have decreased. When the war ended, the navy seamen returned to their endeavours in the migratory fishery, and a French presence returned to the French Shore.

This also illustrates the ebb-and-flow situation that may have existed on the French Shore. These Anglo fishermen were not absent one day then permanently settled on the Treaty Shore the next.

Shortly after leaving Englee Harbour, the *Niger* sailed for Conche. Banks describes the harbour at Conche as poor, exposed to both the open sea and to the wind. He remarks that "only one Englishman & 3 or 4 french were fishing here and the Englishman complained grievously of the french hindering him from taking bait by denying him his Proper turn" (Lysaght 1971: 128). While the French outnumbered the Anglo fishers, the mere fact of their presence in this early period during the time of French rights in this region is of interest and import to this study.

As the eighteenth century drew on, the Newfoundland resident fishery grew and the British migratory fishery greatly declined, essentially terminating by the turn of the century. Thus, the Anglo presence on the Petit Nord was more and more a reflection of regional migration by Anglo-Newfoundlanders than the trans-Atlantic movements of British fishermen. Just as the Seven Years' War had interrupted the French fishery mid-century, so the French Revolutionary War and Napoleonic Wars disrupted the French industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, creating opportunity for Newfoundland's resident Anglo population. The northeast coast fishery became a new enterprise (Cadigan 1995: 39). Settler populations who prosecuted a year-round fishery there began to expand their operations and employ labourers to accompany them on fishing expeditions to the north shore to increase their production. For example, Michael Kain, an English settler in Newfoundland, established a fishing room at Goose Cove on the French Shore in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century (Cadigan 1995: 40).

In 1886, the French scientist, Julien Thoulet, visited Newfoundland. Aboard the French naval vessel, *Clorinde*, Thoulet sailed "up and down the west coast of Newfoundland and around the Northern Peninsula, entering many of its bays, coves, and harbours" (Thoulet 2005: xxii). During this voyage, Thoulet kept a detailed diary of his travels, much as Joseph Banks had done more than a century earlier. From this account, we gain another glimpse of a recorded Anglo presence on the Petit Nord. Upon entrance to Croque harbour, Thoulet noted the cemetery and commented,

> sailors belonging to the French station and to the English station who die in this area are buried here...sailors and officers alike, French and English, Catholics and Protestants, a certain Villeret de Joyeuse between a French quartermaster and an English novice, sleep side by side in absolute equality [Thoulet 2005: 83].

In Jacques Cartier Bay, on the Great Northern Peninsula, Thoulet noted that the amount of fish caught in the harbour was no longer sufficient because the cod had moved out to sea, to the banks; the English, he explained, "are destroying the coast with their traps—long, narrow mesh nets which let nothing escape" (Thoulet 2005: 93). He further described how the Anglo fishermen set sail from St. John's as soon as the sea ice cleared, arriving at the north shore fishing grounds and taking all they could get, large or small fish, while the French were restricted to keeping only the larger fish. Finally, Thoulet noted that the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were just waiting for the day that the French finally left the Treaty Shore so they could be the sole masters of the fishery and of the

island: "Frenchmen will have forgotten about the island, and perhaps new treaties will come along. Whatever happens, the cod will become English; the English want nothing more" (Thoulet 2005: 93).

In the period after the Seven Years' War, as Anglo fishers increasingly occupied the French Shore to prosecute a seasonal fishery, there was also a shift towards permanent Anglo settlement in the region. Home to some of the richest fishing grounds on the east coast of North America, the Strait of Belle Isle was long exploited by trans-Atlantic European fishers. By the eighteenth century, migratory French fishers were prosecuting a regular migratory fishery in the Strait. Though Labrador was ceded to England by the Peace of Paris in 1763, France maintained a fishery on the Newfoundland side of the Strait. The Strait of Belle Isle was the object of much political dispute between the French and British throughout its early history (Thornton 1977: 155 – 157). By 1770, the first permanent settlers—both Anglo Newfoundlanders and British subjects—infiltrated the Strait of Belle Isle region and prosecuted a resident fishery on both the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts here (Thornton 1977: 166).

This is relevant in two ways. Thornton's (1977) study shows that simply because the treaties declared one region or another as French or British territory does not mean that any particular region was used or inhabited solely by whomever had legal rights to it. We can perhaps infer that similar settlement was occurring on the Petit Nord, just on the other side of the Great Northern Peninsula from the Strait of Belle Isle. In fact, the town of Conche on the Petit Nord, near Champ Paya, was settled with a resident Anglo-Newfoundlander population by about 1820. Champ Paya was, itself, never used for a resident fishery, but we know that there was Anglo settlement at nearby Crouse, and that

Champ Paya was used seasonally by Anglo fishing crews (Pope pers.comm.). Thornton herself concedes that very little is yet known of the process of populating the whole of the island of Newfoundland, beyond the traditional English Shore (1977: 152). The very fact that Thornton's work appears in a collection titled *The Peopling of Newfoundland,* but that no chapter in that book deals with the Petit Nord, is revealing. A thorough history has not been written.

There is no doubt of Anglo presence on the Petit Nord but exact details are not yet available. This study, then, addresses this problem, as I seek to explore and explain the Anglo presence at Champ Paya, ca. 1790 to 1820. My research is aimed at illuminating some of the truth of Anglo presence on the Petit Nord, while it was still considered French territory.

2.3 Archaeological Context

Until 2004, little archaeological work on the fishery had been conducted on the Petit Nord. Thus, Dr. Peter Pope from Memorial University of Newfoundland proposed *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, a project whose goal was to identify remains of the French migratory fishery along the coast of the Petit Nord, between Conche and Grandois, from 1504 – 1904 (Pope 2007). A brief summary of the field seasons and previous research are given below to provide the context of my own project.

2.3.1 2004 Field Season

During the first season of the project, the crew surveyed and identified many harbours on the Petit Nord with fishing room sites, the most promising of which was Dos de Cheval (Borden code, EfAx-09), the site of the historic fishing room, Champ Paya. This was the focus of all subsequent intensive excavation. Survey work and shovel-testing carried out in 2004 at EfAx-09 resulted in the identification of several features at the site, and the division of the site into distinct areas. Crews indentified two possible bread oven mounds, a cook room, anthropogenic ramps, several *galets* and beaches, and a rock alignment. Five distinct areas of the site were designated, Areas A through F, which have been used in all future work at the site (Figure 2.6) (Pope 2007). In addition to EfAx-09, the survey crew identified and recorded twenty other French fishing rooms in Conche Harbour, Crouse Harbour, Croque Harbour and around Grandois-St. Julien (Pope 2007).

2.3.2 2006 Field Season

This was the first year of full-scale excavation at EfAx-09. Much of the excavation was carried out in Area C, identified as the most productive area on the site where the fishing crews would have been working. Area C is now a build up of cultural material over the original cobble beach, but in the earliest years of occupation, the fishermen would have been on the natural beach surface. In the centuries since then, cultural layers have built up that are now being eroded by the waves and tides at the shoreline (Pope 2006b). The archaeology team uncovered a post mould likely related to the fishing stage, some stone-paved footpaths, a seventeenth-century human burial, and a

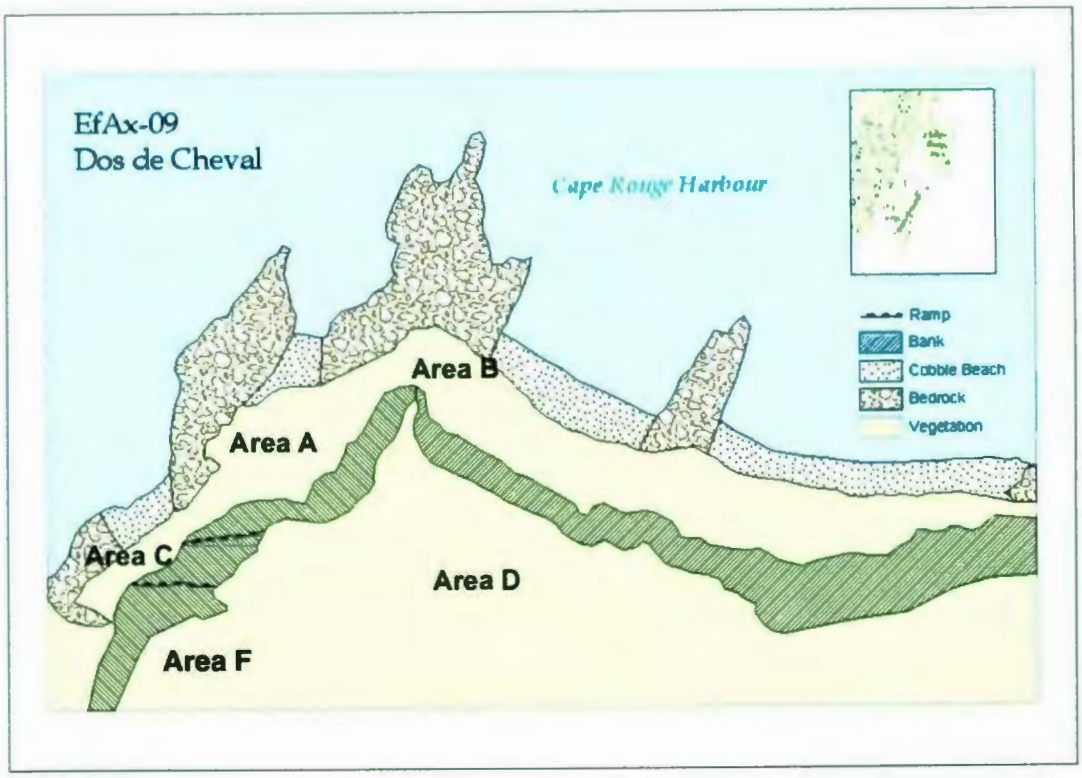

Figure 2. 6 Map of Dos de Cheval, showing the main areas of the site. Area E is not shown as it falls outside of the limits of this map. (Marco Chiaramonte for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

rough pavement floor of a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century cook room in Area A. They also identified a retaining wall near one of the ramps (likely used to buttress the constructed ramp), and a standing cross in Area D with a possible grave marker nearby (Pope 2006b).

Survey work in 2006 resulted in the identification and recording of three further French fishing rooms on the Petit Nord, and a chance to revisit two previously recorded sites (Pope 2006b).

2.3.3 2007 Field Season

Excavation was once more concentrated in Area C. Some of the field crew excavated a large trench, 13m long east to west, and up to 4m wide in places. Work here uncovered an eighteenth-century stone and log boat ramp, and the burnt remains of a cabin (possibly the Captain's Table) dating to the first half of the eighteenth century, predating the boat ramp. In Area A, a nineteenth-century bread oven was excavated (originally noted in 2004). Further work in the north part of Area A, on a large promontory, uncovered the ruined plinth of a cross, next to the datum point used in our research program. The field survey located three additional fishing rooms (Pope et al. 2007).

Though not part of EfAx-09, excavation and survey in 2007 were carried out at EgAw-07 (Genille/Kearney's Cove), the homestead of an Irish *guardien*, as research for a Master's thesis by Jen Jones (2009) (Pope et al. 2007).

2.3.4 2008 Field Season

Excavation in Area C continued around the area of the large trench from 2007. The work here revealed evidence of a small smithy, ca. late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, in a niche near the hillside on the east edge of Area C; a dry masonry hearth associated with the burnt cabin found in 2007; and the remains of another cabin that postdates the burned structure. Work in the area believed to be where the stage stood revealed ballast in the water nearby, concentrations of cod bones and iron spikes, and pockets of evergreen needles which suggest the production of cod liver oil (an activity that was carried out near the stage)—all confirmation that this was the location of the fishing stage. Excavation at the south limit of Area C, near what the team called the "Bookend" boulder, revealed several non-contemporaneous campfires or hearths, suggesting continued used from ca. 1700. This field season saw the recognition of a new site area, Area F, up the slope overlooking Area C. Work here revealed the remains of a large nineteenth-century dormitory (Pope et al. 2008).

Seven fishing room sites were located and recorded as a result of this season's field survey (Pope et al. 2008).

2.3.5 2009 Field Season

Excavation this season was focused around the area of the fishing stage, in Area C. While working in this area the crew uncovered a large post mould and rock deposits that would have stabilized the post; concentrations of cod remains indicating fish processing in the area; and discovered circular compression scars on the bedrock near the water indicating where stage posts sat. Additionally, excavation in Area C helped solidify

the idea that early occupation at Champ Paya would have been directly on beach cobble. Over the decades and centuries, there has been an anthropogenic buildup of cultural soil about 75cm thick. Excavation of datable artifacts demonstrated that mixing of strata and material was part of the nature of life at the seasonal, migratory fishing room. Work at the south of Area C, just on the west side of the large "Bookend" boulder and near the stage area, revealed traces of a structure. Close by, the crew noticed a large iron bar wedged into the boulder itself, evidence of quarrying and likely where the fishermen were harvesting their stone for building. Just south of the actual fishing room site, the crew identified a freshwater brook, probably the source of drinking water for the fishermen who used this site (Pope 2009b).

In survey, 20 additional fishing room sites were identified in the 2009 season, bringing the project total to about 50 (Pope 2009b).

2.3.6 2011 Field Season

This was the fifth and final year of full-scale excavation at Dos de Cheval. The crew continued work on the structure near the stage, uncovered in 2009, identifying it as a cabin with multiple occupation floors. Further work in the stage area and testing on the beach surface was aimed at finding traces of the sixteenth-century occupation of the site, but the results were inconclusive. Work in the northern part of Area C, near Area A, revealed a sloped pavement surface, likely another boat repair ramp. Below that, but in the same area, the crew found a rough floor of a structure. Finally, several units were dug in the two Area C ramps, and the crew discovered that these features were partially man-made, and that construction dated to some time after 1765, most likely towards the end of

the eighteenth century (Burns and Lock 2012). No survey work was carried out in the 2011 season.

2.3.7 Previous Master's Research

Dos de Cheval has been identified as the location of the French migratory fishing room, Champ Paya. Excavation has uncovered many of the features associated with this site and its history, and has provided a base for several Master's theses.

Geneviève Godbout (2008) examined the bread oven at the site, and explained how bread was an important socio-economic marker for the French, and an expression of identity. This feature, dating to the nineteenth century, shows how in the later period more time and effort were invested in creating the living and working space on the site, This was coincidental with the allotment of fishing rooms for 5-year terms and the growth of the industry.

In the same year, Mélissa Burns (2008) studied the significance of crosses and calvaries in the French (Breton) tradition, excavating the plinth of a cross on the Area A promontory, and examining the standing cross in Arca D at EfAx-09. Her research concluded that these monuments were symbols of Breton identity and Catholicism, and also cultural and territorial markers. Their presence on a seasonal site suggests their level of importance, especially as they are the only known structures on the site that were not essential for working and living there.

Stéphane Noël (2010) focused his research on the food ways of French fishermen. He concluded that French crews were likely bringing live pigs to Newfoundland from France and slaughtering them on site for consumption as a supplement to the usual salted

pork. He also posited that the burned cabin in Area C, near the boat ramp, was once the location of the Captain's Table. Here, the Captain would have entertained other elite members of the crew, such as the surgeon or chaplain. Faunal remains of local wild game, which only the elite would have had the time or resources to hunt, and higher status material, such as glass stemware, support this idea, at least for one occupation of this structure.

Amy St. John (2011) completed a functional analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Area C at Dos de Cheval, in an attempt to understand more of the organization of the French migratory fishing industry in Newfoundland. Her work illustrated the vernacular nature of the French migratory fishery, traced trade and provisioning patterns from European ports to Newfoundland harbours, and showed changes in vessel forms over time, in a growing and changing industry.

Kara Wolfe (2013) examined culture contact between various Aboriginal and European groups in southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland, including at EfAx-09. Using ethnohistorical and archaeological methods, she explored the interactions and trade between these groups, specifically focusing on the movement of ceramics and iron nails, to better understand Inuit decision-making processes and the effects of contact.

In her forthcoming doctorate, Mélissa Burns will look at the taskscape of the French fishing room, to gain an understanding of how Champ Paya, specifically, and French migratory fishing rooms in general changed over time, from a small-scale working and living area to a more complex industry (Mélissa Burns, pers. comm.).

Through five seasons of excavation, though the majority of features and artifacts that were uncovered and recovered are of French origin and use, a distinct British

component is evident. The present study addresses this small but crucial facet in the history of this fishing room in particular and the French Shore as a whole.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter outlines the various field, lab and research methods employed for this study. This will help give a sense of the process of the work, from initiation to completion.

3.1 Literature Review

A literature review was the first step of the research process, but the reading and re-reading of material continued throughout the entire project. The historical literature confirmed that archaeological work at Dos de Cheval had identified a knowledge gap in the writing of Newfoundland history: there is little published on the British presence on the Petit Nord during the time of the French fishery there. In reviewing the literature on ceramic classification and typology, I identified which classificatory system would work best with my corpus of material, helping me bring order and understanding of form and function to the assemblage and employ appropriate terminology in this study. Finally, the literature on specific ceramic types helped me ascertain a chronology and provenance for the different ware types and objects in my study. This body of information also provided me with an appropriate vocabulary and a system of organization for the material culture considered here.

3.2 Field Methods

Part of this project consisted of archaeological fieldwork, carried out over six weeks in the summer of 2011. Because my research falls within the larger project, *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, the 2011 field season was designed to address wider project goals. Simultaneously, it provided me with valuable contextual information and experience for my own work. In addition, any British material recovered from this 2011 season was added to the existing assemblage, and contributed to my research. Work conducted during the 2011 field season was carried out by Mélissa Burns, Hilary Hatcher (Lock), Kaitlin Foley, Natalie Byrne, Sara Gardiner and Douglas MacKay.

We used a total station to shoot in excavation units on the already-established $1m^2$ site grid, from the site datum. This grid is not aligned with magnetic north, but deviates roughly 43 degrees east of this (Pope 2006:30). The grid points were numbered using an alphanumeric system (for example W36S104, which is the point 36m west and 104m south of the datum) and excavation units were referred to by their southwest grid point. Archaeological events (layers or levels) were designated by changes in stratigraphy, either cultural or natural. Events and features were numbered sequentially, as had been the practice in previous years, starting with the number 1500 for the 2011 season. Event numbers were reused from previous years if excavation uncovered an event that was the same as an event from another season, and they were touching each other in the horizontal plane. The provenience for artifacts is called the lot, a combination of the event number and excavation unit separated by a period (for example 1501.W28S100 is a possible lot designation).

Initial washing and labeling of artifacts took place during the field season, on days when we were rained out or on weekends, but the majority of this processing work was done in the MUN archaeology laboratory post-season.

3.3 Lab Methods

Most of this project was completed in the laboratory. This study covers all known British ceramics recovered from the 2006 through 2011 field seasons at EfAx-09. Material from the 2004 survey and test pits was eliminated because of the lack of detailed provenience and archaeological context. Survey material from 2006 through 2009 was eliminated, as this study focuses on the Dos de Cheval site. Ceramics are the central focus because they are both plentiful and are valuable markers of time, place and function (Barker and Majewski 2006: 205). All material recovered from archaeological excavation was washed, dried, and labeled with an individual catalogue number, then entered in a computer database. All material and the database computer are currently (2013) stored in archaeology laboratories at MUN.

3.3.1 Ceramic Typology

Ceramic typology has developed in archaeology to create order within assemblages that allows for coherent analysis, interpretation and communication. Every object contains myriad attributes by which it can be recognized; we must choose which features are significant and distinct for that type of object. In order to understand the world around us and to communicate our understandings to others, we impose order and

categories on our surroundings. This is evident in all aspects of life, from biological taxonomy to music genres or the naming of objects in everyday life. In archaeology, classification is a crucial step of artifact processing because everything else that follows hinges upon this initial sorting of material (Adams and Adams 1991: 40; Beaudry et al. 1983: 19).

Beaudry et al. suggest that the reality of human-imposed classification is as true of the archaeologist as it is of the people the archaeologist studies—the people who used and made these materials. The goal in archaeological ceramic studies is to organize the material in such a way that the cultural dynamics behind them—their use, their manufacture, their distribution—are more accessible (1983: 18 – 19). These imposed categories or *types* can be said to represent cultural phenomena, and type designations impart to the analyst complexities of social and cultural systems in which the makers and users of these objects were embedded (Read 2007: 84). Therefore, we strive to match our imposed types to those types employed by the people who used these objects.

There is no one true or best typology; multiple typological systems do, and must, co-exist. Each system of organization is best suited to a specific corpus of material, or for a specific set of research questions. For example, organization of material based on stylistic or technological attributes is best suited for discerning place and time of manufacture. However, if we as archaeologists are as interested in past behaviors as we claim to be, something must be said of vessel *function.* Beaudry et al. assert that far too often "categories are employed which, despite frequent assertions of an interest in past behaviour, poorly reflect functional variation" (1983: 18). We must go beyond the chronology and apply formal categories to the material we study to learn something of the

vessels' purpose or value. This technique of taking analysis further to understand the function of vessels, and understand the vessels in terms of the people who used and made them, led to the development of the Potomac Typological System, aptly shortened to POTS (Beaudry et al. 1983).

POTS has several central tenets, some of which resemble other typological systems. Types should be based on vessel function, because what they do defines what they are. Types should be clearly defined and consistent; a standard point of reference is necessary in order to facilitate communication and comparison. Types must be named, explicitly described and illustrated, such that vessels in a collection or assemblage can be assigned to types within the system based on observed attributes (Beaudry et al. 1983: 20, 28).

The naming of objects becomes central to the POTS method, because names or titles carry with them ample meaning. Beaudry et al. advocate strongly for the use of historical documents to ascertain proper names for vessel types (1983: 21). Use of such records as probate inventories provided the names for vessels as they were employed at the same time as the actual objects were in use; distinctions of form and size, as well as type names were derived from the documents rather than decided upon arbitrarily, or based on our modern parlance. For example, a 1770 edition of *The Complete Appraiser* states that "plates run from 7 ¾ in to 9 ¾ in. Dishes range from 10 ¾ in all the way up to 28 in" (Beaudry et al. 1983: 26). Most of the ceramics from EfAx-09 were classified by type within the POTS typology.

This typology was selected as appropriate for this study as it was constructed for colonial British ceramics in the Chesapeake, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The material from EfAx-09 is also British. The POTS system was designed for material roughly a century older than the material in this study, but for the most part the ceramic wares of the type found at EfAx-09 maintained their general forms. Where forms in my assemblage were not present in the POTS typology, I have supplemented with types from other sources. For example, teapots are not present in POTS, because tea drinking (and thus the accoutrements of tea drinking) became much more popular only in the eighteenth century, as trade brought this product to Britain (Barker and Majewski 2006: 214; Emmerson 1992: 4 – 10; Yentsch 1990: 29). Literature on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ceramics frequently mentions teapots and so I was able to identify the form from such sources (Barker and Halfpenny 1990; Barker and Majewski 2006; Miller 2005; Sussman 1997).

While types are ideally well-defined categories, this does not preclude the existence of variety within a single type (Read 2007:89). Adams and Adams, following the work of Emile Durkheim, liken this to human societies; they are collectives of individuals, more than just the sum of their components. These collectives sometimes behave in ways that don't necessarily reflect all members, although all members show the necessary qualities of membership for that group (1991:34). So, for example, one plate may measure 25 cm in diameter with scalloped edges and a painted design, and another plate maybe have a plain rim, measure 23 cm in diameter and have a footring, but both are still plates. This shows variety within a type (i.e., plate) but not such vast difference as to merit different type designation; the function of both items is the same.

3.3.2 Processing the Assemblage

This study will consider vessels, not merely sherds, because the people archaeologists study—in this case, fishermen in northern Newfoundland—used and interacted with complete objects, not the tiny pieces these objects have become (Beaudry et al. 1983: 20). Sorting the ceramic material was necessary to aid in mending and matching sherds to recreate vessels. Much of my lab work follows closely the work of Amy St. John, whose MA thesis examines the French ceramic assemblage from Dos de Cheval (2011).

My first sorting was based on material, separating the assemblage into stoneware, earthenware and porcelain. Only a little British stoneware or porcelain was recovered from the site. Earthenware was further divided into coarse and refined earthenware. I then sorted each material group by ware type (eg: for the REW, I divided it into groups of creamware, pearlware, whiteware etc). I sorted based on material first to visually assist in the mending process.

Sorting by ware type is a straightforward, but sometimes difficult, procedure when you have only a small body sherd to refer to. I found this especially true for the white-bodied REW, because creamware, pearlware and whiteware were transitional wares; they evolved from one another, over time. Additionally, they were made by over 100 different potteries in Staffordshire, England, each potter making a ware in a slightly different way, so subtle differences between ware types can be hard to define (MACL 2002). A more lengthy discussion of the ceramic assemblage and ware types can be found in Chapter 4.

Individual ware types were divided by archaeological event and by excavation unit within event. In this way, mends and matches were more easily made between proximal sherds. Here I use mending to describe instances when I was able to glue corresponding pieces back together, while matching refers to my designation of a sherd belonging to a certain vessel, based on glaze, paste, design, thickness etc., without it actually affixing to the vessel. Mends and matches were made both within unit and event definitions, and across these spatial divisions, sometimes across the span of several meters. The seasonal, migratory nature of the site's use combined with the site's geography (cobble, pebble and stone beach, with very little soil or sod) resulted in the mixing of events and material (things slip between the cracks); hence, the mending of sherds across vertical and horizontal distances.

Additionally, some sherds (even sherds recovered from the same event) in the assemblage seem to have undergone different post-depositional processes. For example, two sherds that mend may appear very different to the eye. One may be bright and glossy while the other has its glaze worn off, or the body is discolored etc. (Figure 3.1). This could be due to any number of factors, such as proximity to something corrosive, or disturbance and post-secondary deposition relocating one part of the same vessel and subjecting it to different conditions, such as heat or water. If the two pieces didn't actually fit together, sometimes it would be hard to ever imagine they were of the same vessel. I kept this detail in mind when making matches, knowing that surficial appearances can be deceiving.

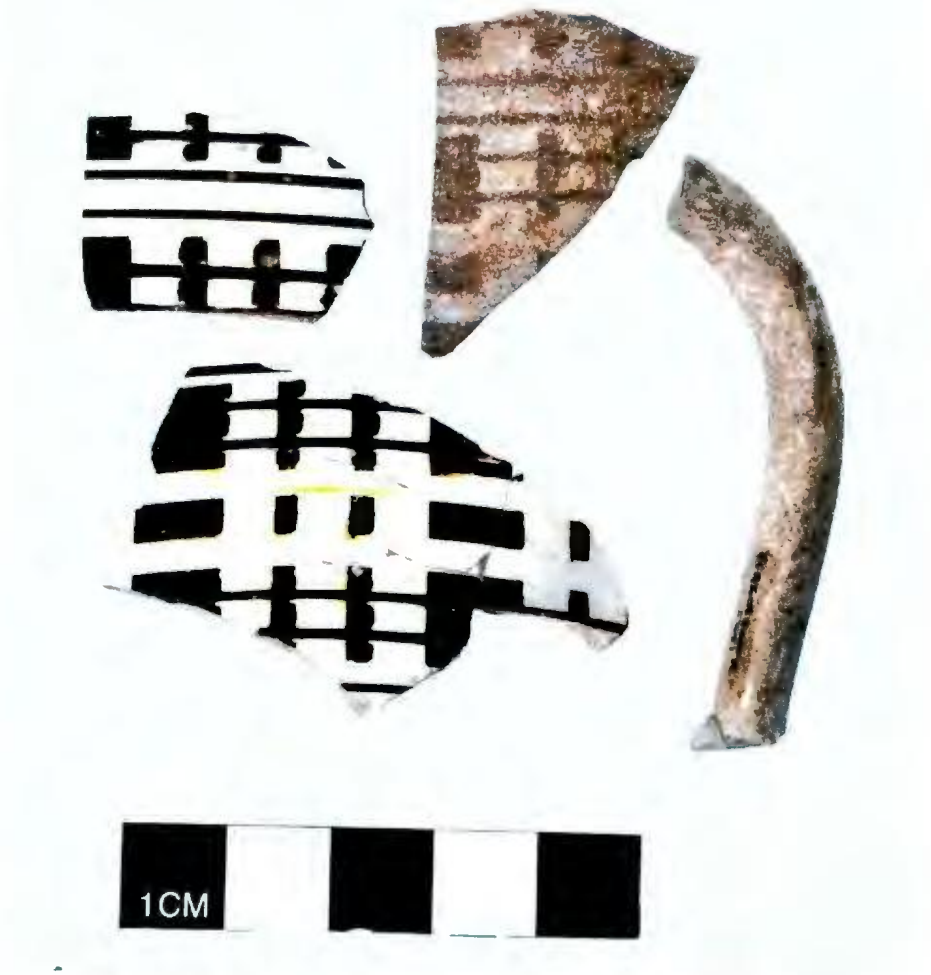

Figure 3. 1 Hatcher Vessel 12, a factory-made slipware creamware mug with engine-turned checkered decoration (ca. 1770 – 1900). This object shows how differential wear of individual sherds can affect the ease with which pieces are identified as the same vessel. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

The mending process resulted in the partial reconstruction of 231 vessels, but there were a large number of body sherds remaining that were not grouped.[2] This is due, in part, to two factors. 1) Time available was limited. If the vessel was reconstructed to a point that it could be identified, it would serve its purpose in this study. In some cases, a vessel had been identified merely by a unique rim or base sherd, but that alone would often give enough information to at least infer function. 2) Regardless of how much time was spent making mends and matches, not every single sherd could be matched to a vessel.

It is important to note also that inevitably some body sherds may have been incorrectly grouped as vessels. Therefore, the assemblage is comprised of more vessels than the groupings illustrate. As I am considering whole vessels and minimum number of vessels, these issues were not detrimental. I considered it optimal to provide a lower limit rather than over-emphasize the assemblage's volume and, possibly, significance. A vessel is designated by one or more diagnostic pieces with accompanying sherds. To achieve a MNV count, I matched bases and rims and handles where plausible, otherwise the minimum count would not, in fact, be a minimum. Additionally, while diagnostic pieces were, for the most part, rims, bases and handles, where I had body sherds with very distinct features (thickness, paste, design etc.) which matched no other possible vessel, that was used as a diagnostic piece and included in the minimum vessel count.

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[2] While 231 vessels were reconstructed, in other cases throughout this study I use the figure 230 because one vessel was positively identified as being of French manufacture, not British.

Each of these vessels was placed in an individual container, and given a Hatcher Vessel # (Appendix A). These numbers have no significance for provenience, but are arbitrary designations used as a means of reference. Though all individual sherds had previously been entered in the catalogue, data modifications were required to show that these specimens had been grouped into objects. All vessels were entered in the EfAx-09 computer database, being given an object number (synonymous with the catalogue number of the most diagnostic/largest piece of the vessel). This object piece was sometimes a base, sometimes a handle or a rim, or other times the largest specimen or the only specimen in the object. I tried to make consistent decisions, choosing the single piece that best represented the entire vessel. All sherds associated with the object were identified as constituent specimens, using their original catalogue specimen numbers. Hatcher Vessel #s were recorded in the remarks section of the database for each object, linking the actual objects and object numbers to the Hatcher designations.

The body sherds that were not included in the Hatcher Vessels were not ignored. I organized them by type and then by event, and bagged them accordingly. Though beyond the scope of this study, it could be interesting to compare density of material across the site and frequencies of ware types. Although such information can be useful, one must keep in mind differential breakage of material, the lack of analytical utility as regards vessel function, and the distribution of excavation units (i.e., is there more material coming from this event simply because there were more excavation units in this area that contained this event?).

The reconstructed vessels were identified using the Potomac Typological System—supplemented where necessary—then individually photographed, and some

vessel profiles were drawn. Finally, the assemblage as a whole was analyzed and interpreted, the results of which can be found in Chapter 5.

3.3.3 Temporal Phases and Matrix Numbers

In my analysis, I will adopt the terminology of *phases* developed by Mélissa Burns (in draft) for the EfAx-09 site. Through synthesized interpretation of the excavated contexts, the materials there in, and relevant historical events, Burns was able to group archaeological events at the site into broad temporal phases. These phases are excellent points of reference and provide a systematic way to talk about and facilitate an understanding of how Champ Paya was used through time. Because of their utility and in order to promote a standardized use of terminology in discussions of EfAx-09, I have borrowed Burns' phase concept, which is as follows:

Phase 0: Pre-1630s

Phase 1: 1630 – 1713

Phase 2: 1713 – 1750

Phase 3: 1750 – 1780

Phase 4: 1780 – 1820

Phase 5: 1805 – 1845

Phase 6: 1845 – 1904

Phase 7: Post-1904

It should be noted that Phase 4 and Phase 5 have an overlap of fifteen years. This is due to the way in which the date ranges were derived, based on known production date ranges for artifacts—most especially the date of the beginning of production to give a *terminus post quem* (that is the date after which something must have happened)—as well as archaeological contexts and historical events. In dealing with different lines of evidence to generate these phase date ranges, it was not always possible to divide events with the precision of having no overlap.

These phases will become prominent in my analysis, found in Chapter 5. However, it is worth mentioning that several objects in the assemblage are from events that could not be refined to a single phase. There are only a handful of such examples, but I have simply designated them as Phase x.y. For example, Hatcher Vessel 54, a pearlware plate, was recovered from event 909. This event could represent either a Phase 5 or a Phase 6 occupation, so it is designated as Phase 5.6. When calculating percentages of the assemblage based on phase, these cases are counted in both phases, slightly skewing the numbers, though due to the infrequency of instances, not by much. The same can be said for maps; when displaying artifact distribution maps by phase, those objects from events that span two phases are shown on both maps to account for the possibility it could be in either phase So, if one were to count the individual objects on these maps or add the percentages of ceramics by phase, the numbers would be slightly off.

In her interpretation of archaeological events and designation of phases, Burns (in draft) also interprets the use of space at Dos de Cheval, creating a Harris matrix for the site including all features and activity areas. My analysis will borrow from these interpretations, generously shared, in order to better understand how the Anglo fishermen

used the space at Champ Paya. The features and spaces of activity have been given matrix identification numbers, in addition to their archaeological event number. In fact, some of the features in the matrix are groupings of multiple archaeological event and feature numbers. For example, matrix #3 is working space/open space, and incorporates events 1001, 1003 and 1280 (Burns, in draft). In my analysis, I have adopted this nomenclature, and refer to certain features and spaces by their matrix identification number rather than archaeological event number.

3.3.4 Miller CC Index Values

In order to perform a socioeconomic analysis of the ceramic assemblage, I employed Miller's CC Index Values (1980; 1991). Miller (1991) compiled information from English potters' documents, including price fixing lists, catalogues and invoices for 36 years between 1787 and 1880, taking into account differential discount rates and dropping prices, to generate a set of index values for a range of ceramic ware and decorative types in this period. This set of indices "can be used to study the expenditures made on cups, plates, and bowls from archaeological assemblages from the first half of the nineteenth century" (Miller 1980: 1). In brief, undecorated creamware (CC) was given an index of 1, and based on the relative prices of decorated types, an index value was given for a range of vessel forms and sizes.

To use this index system: 1) conduct a count of minimum number of vessels in the assemblage; 2) divide the assemblage into formal categories; 3) group further by decorative type; 4) use the index to select a year closest to the time of occupation/use; 5) assign the corresponding index values to the vessel types in the assemblage. For purposes

of comparison between sites and assemblages, average CC index values can be calculated. To do this, multiply the index value for each vessel type by the number of vessels of that type, then add up all of the products of each vessel type and divide by the total number of values. This results in the average CC index value for the whole assemblage, and a quick means of general comparison with other assemblages. Further assessment can be done within assemblages by comparing average index values for different vessel types (Miller 1980; 1991).

This method is applicable only to refined white earthenware, porcelain, yellowware and ironstone. Any coarse earthenware, stoneware or non-white REW (like Jackfield-type) in the assemblage were not used in this analysis. Also, this is a time-sensitive technique, and so any material found in contexts dating before 1787 or after 1880 (that is, Phases 1, 2, 3 and 7) was not included. When selecting which year to use for the material, I took the mean value of those years that were available within each phase. For objects in contexts that span two different phases I took the mean of the phase means.

Material from the disturbed area was disregarded for the most part. While these contexts have been placed within Phase 6, this reflects the time of disturbance, not necessarily the use or initial deposition of the material. However, in some cases, sherds from the disturbed area matched or mended with sherds from undisturbed contexts, and so these undisturbed contexts could be used as proxies. In such cases, the undisturbed context was taken to represent the initial deposition, and so the date range for that context was adopted for the vessel. Only sherds that actually mended together or matched with the same pattern, curve, thickness paste, etc. beyond a reasonable doubt were used as

proxies. Where there was uncertainty, the vessel was discounted. Some objects in which the diagnostic piece came from the disturbed area had more than one matching or mending specimen from an undisturbed event. In such cases, I used the latest date of those available. As it is more likely that things shuffle downwards rather than upwards, it makes sense that the original context for this material would likely be in the youngest deposit in which it is found.

3.4 Historical Theoretical Method

I have approached this study and its objectives from a historical standpoint. I have asked three very basic historical questions and, throughout this study, have engaged with the historical literature and with the artifactual material to glean answers to these questions. The material culture unearthed by archaeologists is one line of evidence, but this is often not enough to say anything significant on its own. Material culture, when thoroughly analyzed, can offer a lot of information but it is not the only source of cultural information. Consultation with documentary resources is essential to flesh out research because the two lines of evidence are complementary (Beaudry et al 1983; Deetz 1996). Archaeology is often capable of answering certain questions but is also a good tool for asking questions of history. Archaeological excavation brings to light material that was not known to exist before, and can ask questions of historical records that were not previously considered. As Cary Carson put it, "from time to time [artifacts] put historians on the scent of something they have not already sniffed out in recorded sources.

Occasionally they even dot i's and cross t's that could not have been dotted and crossed any other way" (1978: 42). This theory has guided my work.

3.5 Nomenclature

In Chapter 1 it was already discussed how the terms Anglo, British and English will be employed throughout the study. Another important distinction to make for this project is that between the historic name for the fishing room in this study, and the modern toponym and archaeological site number of this site. Champ Paya is taken as the historical name used by fishermen for the fishing room that once existed on this site. Dos de Cheval, also known by the Borden code, EfAx-09, are modern identifiers for the archaeological site, which is situated at the site of historic Champ Paya. Thus, when talking about the historical context and past events at this area, Champ Paya will be used, for purposes of continuity and accuracy. The description of archaeological research and work carried out here will refer to Dos de Cheval or EfAx-09 (Pope 2007; Pope pers. comm.).

Chapter 4: The Assemblage

This chapter summarizes the assemblage of British ceramics recovered from EfAx-09, defining and describing the various ware types, decorative styles and vessel forms.

4.1 Ceramic Wares

Ceramic finds at archaeological sites are not only abundant, but are also good diagnostic artifacts as they reflect specific places and times of origin, changing as trends and technology developed. Ceramics can be divided into earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, based on firing temperature and type of clay used (Miller 1980: 1; Rice 1987: 5 – 6). Some time after the introduction of creamware, ca. 1780, ware type nomenclature ceased to be used by potters and merchants. Instead, after creamware, which they called CC for 'cream-coloured' ware, types were denoted by decoration (Miller 1984: 3). For the purpose of this study ware types have been designated, using terms common among historical archaeologists, as they are good chronological markers. Distinctions in decorative motifs can further our understanding of ceramics, so these too are outlined below, in section 5.2.

An important note to make here is that the terminology employed to describe ware types and some of the decorative methods are not necessarily the terminology that was used at the time these vessels were in use. This may seem to go against the argument laid out in Chapter 3, advocating for the most accurate naming of things by using the

contemporary terminology. *Pearlware* or *whiteware* did not exist as terms in the times when those wares were being produced and used (Miller 1980: 2 – 3; Noël Hume 1969: 128). However, in the archaeology community, terms like pearlware or whiteware are so commonly used that to try to revert to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century referents for these types would only lead to confusion, thus I have elected to use the terms most well known and widely used in the field.

Another note on terminology must be made here. There are several ware types that take their names from individual potters or from towns or cities that produced that particular ware type, such as Jackfield ware, for the town in Shropshire, or Whieldon ware, named after the potter, Thomas Whieldon. Caution should be used with names like these, as they can be misleading. Many potters and many towns produced ceramics of similar, often indistinguishable, types and so to restrict that type to just the one potter or one town that perhaps pioneered it is erroneous. Thus, I have either adopted another known term for these wares (eg. Whieldon ware is also known as clouded ware or tortoiseshell ware) or I have added the qualifier, 'type', to the term (eg. Jackfield-type ware) (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 23 – 24; MACL 2002).

4.1.1 Coarse Earthenware (CEW)

Earthenware is a porous-bodied class of ceramics, fired at a temperature of roughly 800 – 1200°C. As the body does not fuse during firing, due both to the lower firing temperature and low proportions of silica in the clay, these wares are often glazed, at least on one surface, to allow for holding liquids. Earthenware can be divided into coarse and refined categories. Coarse earthenwares have more inclusions and are usually

of thicker body than the thinner, tight-grained refined earthenware (MACL 2002; Rice 1987: 5).

Bristol-Staffordshire-Type Slipware

Bristol-Staffordshire-type slipware is characterized by a fairly thin, typically buff-colored body, light and dark colored slips, and clear lead glaze, giving the light slip a yellow appearance (Figure 4.1). It was developed in the mid-seventeenth century, and was widely produced through the eighteenth century, eventually declining by the nineteenth century (MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999). During the eighteenth century the most common designs were combed iron and manganese oxides under clear glaze; trailed and dotted dark brown or black slip on a light-slipped background (or the reverse, light on dark); and "joggling", which was the swirling of light and dark slips (Barker 1993: 6; Davis et al. 1987: 19; Noël Hume 1969: 105). Though the Staffordshire industry popularized and specialized in these slipwares, pottery factories in centers outside of Staffordshire proper began to produce this type of ware, such as at Bristol, Yorkshire and Donyatt. These imitations are almost impossible to distinguish (Davis et al. 1987; MACL 2002).

There are ten vessels of this ware type in the EfAx-09 assemblage. Nine are of the cup/drinking pot form, with a single caudle cup.

American Redware

Also called New England coarse earthenware, Philadelphia slipware or slip-trailed redware, this is coarse earthenware manufactured in North America from ca. 1750 – 1820. American redware was produced in several Anglo-American colonies, initially by

Figure 4. 1 The varieties of British coarse earthenware recovered from Dos de Cheval: A) Hatcher Vessels 122, 124 and 125 are all Bristol-Staffordshire-type slipware cups/drinking pots with slip-trailed design (ca.1650 – 1800); B) Hatcher Vessel 127 is an example of an American redware chamber pot with slip-trailed loops, lines and dots (ca. 1750 – 1820); C) Hatcher Vessel 226 is a Manganese mottled mug (ca. 1680 – 1750). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

German potters who emigrated to North America in the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969: 99).

This ware has a thick red to orange body, white slip-trailed decoration—often in simple loop, line or swirl patterns—and is lead glazed on the interior surface. Forms of this ware type are primarily large and utilitarian, including chamber pots, large bowls, jugs and pitchers (FMNH 1995; Richardson and Powell 1999).

One example was recovered from excavation at EfAx-09, the partial rim of a chamber pot.

Manganese Mottled

The body of this ceramic ware is typically buff-coloured, although it can range to pale hues of pink, brown, yellow and gray. The fabric is generally smooth, but occasionally has small stone or clay inclusions. The ware type takes its name from the streaking or speckling caused by manganese or iron oxide mottled with the yellowish lead glaze. Additional decoration often includes stamps with royal monograms, such as AR or GR for Queen Anne or George I respectively, or lathe-turned grooves on drinking vessels (MACL 2002; Williams 2003: 120 – 121).

The predominant forms of this ware type are drinking vessels, like cups, mugs and tankards, but can include jugs, jars, bowls, chamber pots and dishes. Manganese mottled ware peaked in popularity at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century. It was produced in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Bristol, Derby, Ironbridge, and Buckley, Wales, from about 1680 until 1750, though it has recently been suggested it was actually produced until about 1780 (MACL 2002; Williams 2003: 120 – 121).

Three vessels of this ware type have been recovered from EfAx-09. Two of these are mugs while the third seems to be part of a pitcher.

4.1.2 Refined Earthenware (REW)

This class of earthenware is fired at a higher temperature (ca. 1100 – 1200° C) than coarse earthenware, and is only slightly porous. Refined earthenwares are generally thin bodied and hard, with few inclusions and tight-grained fabric (FMNH 1995).

The most common types of REW are white-bodied, though there are some with red or yellow bodies as well (eg. Jackfield-type or yellowware). Those with colored bodies are more easily identifiable; those with white or off-white bodies can pose certain challenges, namely creamware, pearlware and whiteware. These wares evolved over time, changing the glaze or decorative motif as tastes and styles changed, while maintaining the same white-coloured clay body. Also, there were more than 100 potters in Staffordshire alone producing these wares simultaneously, using just slightly different recipes and techniques, and so variation within a ware type occurred (MACL 2002).

If one has only a body sherd of white REW, it can be extremely difficult to discern between creamware, whiteware and pearlware. Often the only definitive way to differentiate between the three is to look at areas where the glaze may pool, like the footring. In creamware, there will be a yellow or light green tint; pearlware ought to have blue pooling because of the cobalt added to the glaze; whiteware typically has no color pooling, but occasionally displays a faint grey or light blue cast (MACL 2002). As George Miller remarked:

> If an assemblage of ceramics from the first half of the nineteenth century is placed before six archaeologists and they are asked for counts of creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and stone china wares, the results will probably be six different enumerations [1991: 2].

This sentiment is pertinent here. Most white-bodied REW sherds in this study were easily identifiable, but there were a few that were especially challenging and it should be kept in mind that there may be some inconsistencies.

Creamware

Also called cream-coloured earthenware, creamware is a thin, hard-bodied but slightly porous refined earthenware. It is characterized by its off-white fabric and slightly yellow or greenish surface color, a result of lead glazing (Figure 4.2). The majority of creamware is plain or undecorated, but often with moulded edges. It is, however, sometimes decorated with hand-painted motifs, transfer-printing, or factory-made slip decoration. Creamware is found in all tableware and teaware forms (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 70 – 71; MACL 2002).

This cream-bodied earthenware had been developed by about 1740, by Enoch Booth, and was experimented with throughout the 1750s, but the typical, clear lead-glazed creamware was not perfected until about 1762, by Josiah Wedgwood (MACL 2002). Creamware production lasted until about 1820, and was eventually phased out by pearlware and whiteware (Richardson and Powell 1999).

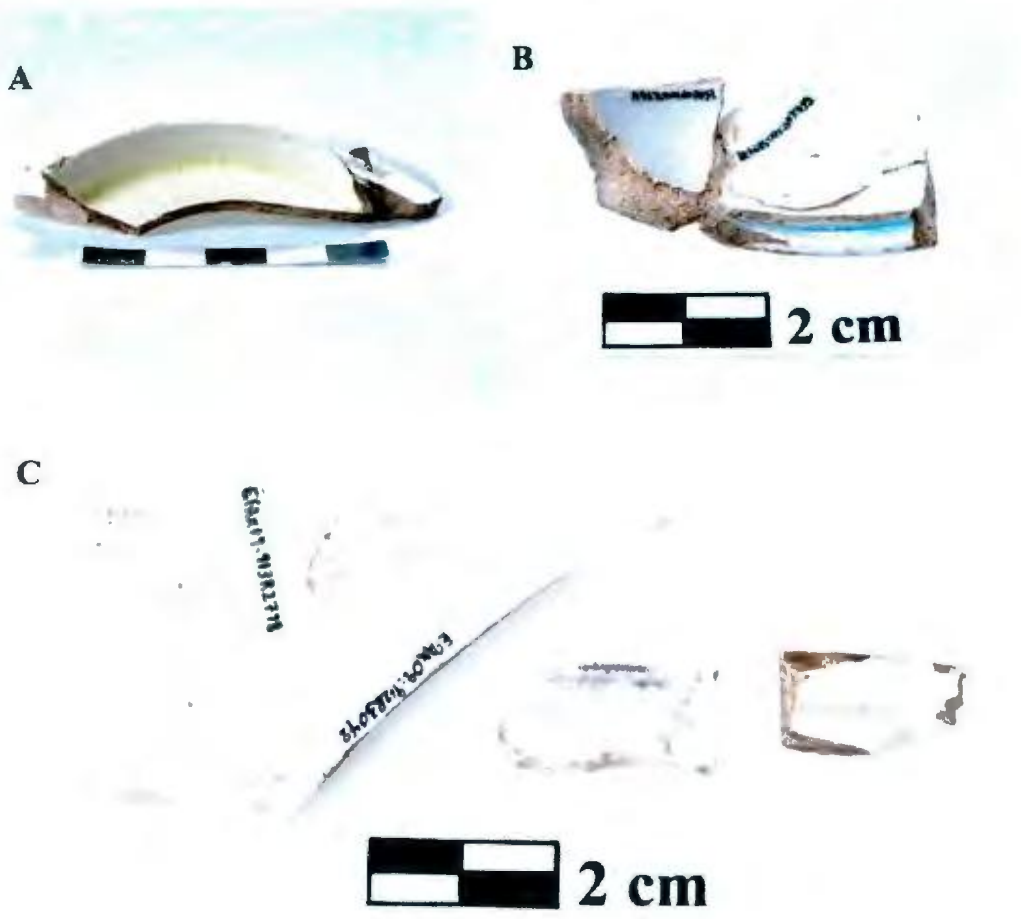

Figure 4. 2 Examples of the distinguishing features of creamware, pearlware and whiteware. A) Hatcher Vessel 69 is an undecorated creamware small bowl with characteristic greenish pooling in the footring (ca. 1762 – 1820); B) Hatcher Vessel 79 is a pearlware mug with a typical blue tint in the crevice, decorated on the exterior in hand-painted polychrome floral/foliage design (ca. 1795 – 1830); C) Hatcher Vessel 100 is an undecorated whiteware plate which shows very little coloration, though perhaps has a faint greyish cast (ca. 1820 – present). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

This new cream-bodied refined earthenware was arguably the most important ceramic development of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969: 123). The introduction of creamware showed technological developments in the ceramic industry such as lathe-turning, the use of new materials like white-firing clays, plaster moulds, and more care in preparation of the clay to allow for a more refined fabric (Barker 1999: 228; Miller 1984: 2). All of these innovations allowed for the production of a product that fulfilled the consumer desire for white teawares and tablewares at a cost much lower than imported Chinese porcelain (Barker 1999: 228). Creamware first appeared at the tables of the wealthy but by the late eighteenth century this ware was being mass produced and its use was widespread (Yentsch 1990: 30).

While Staffordshire was the main producer and exporter of creamware (and other contemporary ceramics), this popular ceramic type was being widely manufactured in pottery centres throughout Great Britain (Ewins 1997:1; MACL 2002). The popularity of creamware demanded mass production, and the eighteenth century saw the standardization of forms, widespread use of moulds, and the creation of trade and transport networks of rivers and roads to move raw materials and finished products (Barker 1999: 227 – 228 Barker and Majewski 2006: 214).

There are 77 creamware vessels represented in the EfAx-09 assemblage. These include plates, saucers, cup/drinking pots, mugs and small bowls.

Tortoiseshell Ware

This ware is commonly also known as clouded ware or Whieldon-type ware, after the potter Thomas Whieldon who is credited with its development. However, though

Whieldon introduced this ware, many other potters in Britain produced this ceramic type. Tortoiseshell ware is essentially an early branch of the newly developed creamware. It is comprised of the same white to off-white body and yellowish lead glaze; it is distinguished, however, by ornamentation (Figure 4.3) (Noël Hume 1969: 123 – 124). Tortoiseshell ware takes its name from the mottling of coloured, metallic oxide-rich slips on the biscuit fired creamware body, underneath the lead glaze. During glost firing (firing the glaze) the colours run and blend, creating the characteristic tortoise shell look (Barker and Halfpenny1990: 35 – 36). The colours of metallic oxides include purple, green, brown, yellow, blue and grey (Noël Hume 1969: 123). In addition to the mottled decoration, vessels of tortoiseshell ware were often adorned with sprig-moulded decoration or had decoratively moulded edges (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 36; FMNH 1995). The first known reference to tortoiseshell ware dates to 1749. This ceramic type remained popular during the 1750s and 1760s, and was still being produced into the 1770s (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 35 – 36).

The EfAx-09 assemblage contains 4 examples of tortoiseshell ware. All of these are cups/drinking pots. None of these display any decorative moulding.

Pearlware

Pearlware, also referred to as pearl white or china glaze, is a thin, hard-bodied refined earthenware, with white to off-white fabric. The glaze has a faint bluish tint caused by the addition of cobalt to offset the yellow tint of the lead glaze (Davis et al. 1987: 15). Where the glaze pools, such as at the footring, there is a characteristic bluish cast. This is often the only way to distinguish pearlware from other white-bodied REW (MACL 2002). Aside from this addition of cobalt to the glaze, the manufacturing

Figure 4. 3 Hatcher Vessel 104, an example of a tortoiseshell ware cup/drinking pot (ca. 1749 – 1770s). The mottling of metallic oxides prepared as a slip creates a speckled or marbled look that resembles a tortoise's shell, hence the name of the ware type. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

technology and materials used in the production of pearlware were the same as that in creamware (Sussman 1977: 105). Unlike creamware, however, the majority of pearlware is decorated, with only a small percentage of plain vessels. In fact, it is thought that many of the sherds of undecorated pearlware that are recovered are simply undecorated pieces of decorated vessels (FMNH 1995; Miller 1980: 16). Common pearlware decorations include hand-painted designs, transfer-printing, factory-made slipware, shell-edging, and sponged decoration. These styles are explained further in section 5.2.

This white-bodied REW, essentially a successor to creamware, was first introduced in 1779 by the esteemed potter, Josiah Wedgwood, though he called it pearl white at the time. It is a tribute to Wedgwood's proficiency as a business man that he made and marketed this product, as he himself hated it. But, he correctly assessed that the public was ready for a change, that they were tired of cream-coloured wares, and that there was a demand for whiter teawares and tablewares (Sussman 1977: 105). However, Wedgwood did not patent his new development, and soon pearlware was being made by many potters and potteries in England (Sussman 1977: 105). Though one did not instantaneously replace the other, as pearlware production and consumption was on the rise, that of creamware began to fade and eventually ceased. Pearlware was produced from ca. 1780 to 1840, but by about 1820 it had begun to dwindle in popularity. It was eventually superseded by whiteware (Noël Hume 1969: 130).

We have recovered 93 examples of pearlware vessels from EfAx-09. These objects include cups/drinking pots, a jug, mugs, plates, saucers, small bowls, a teapot and a dish.

Whiteware

Quite similar to pearlware and creamware, whiteware was made from white-firing clay, with additions in varying degrees of ground silicon, feldspar and sometimes kaolin. Whiteware has a hard, thinly potted body, with white to off-white fabric. It was first produced to imitate bone-china, which is white. To achieve this look, potters either cut back on the amount of cobalt added to the glaze, or added small amounts of cobalt to the body, which looked much whiter than pearlware through the clear glaze (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 17). Where the glaze pools there is sometimes a faint light grey or pale blue cast because of the added cobalt, though much more faint than in pearlware (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 5).

Whiteware production began between 1820 and 1830, as blue-tinted pearlware fell out of vogue. Although, to say whiteware simply replaced pearlware is false; these transitional wares continually changed and evolved one into the other over time (Miller 1980). This type of ceramic ware is still in manufacture today. Whiteware can occur in undecorated and decorated forms, with decorative styles including hand-painted, transfer printed, sponged, shell-edged, and factory-made slipware decoration (FMNH 1995; MACL 2002). Whiteware was produced by potters in Staffordshire and other centers throughout England, as well as in other parts of Europe and North America (Barker and Majewski 2006: 215).

There have been 8 examples of whiteware found at EfAx-09. Forms include cups/drinking pots, plates and a mug.

Unidentified White REW

This is not a singular ware type in its own right. This category is a catchall for those vessels—either of whiteware, pearlware or creamware—which have endured post-

depositional wear, and which no longer have any glaze on their bodies. This makes it very difficult to identify a ware type, as the aforementioned types of white REW were made with the same type of white-firing clay, distinguished from one another by glaze (MACL 2002).

In the EfAx-09 assemblage, 15 vessels fall into this category, including teapot, plate, mug, cup/drinking pot, and small bowl forms.

Jackfield-Type

Otherwise known as blackware, this is thin and hard bodied earthenware with a fabric ranging in colour from dark purple to red to grey, and even yellowish. Jackfield-type wares are covered in a glossy, black lead glaze (Figure 4.4). Vessels are sometimes ornamented with sprig-moulded decoration or slipped designs, and sometimes Jackfield-type ware is decorated with enameling or oil-gilding (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 34; MACL 2002). Jackfield-type ware was developed in the 1740s, reaching its peak of popularity in the 1750s and 1760s. Production lasted until about 1790, although debased versions continued to be made in small amounts into the nineteenth century (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 34; MACL 2002). This ware type was historically associated with the town of Jackfield, in Shropshire, England. However, as with many ceramic types, this was commonly produced by many potters in Staffordshire, hence the name Jackfield-*type* (FMNH 1995). Jackfield-type ceramics are typically tea and coffee ware forms, and pitchers (Noël Hume 1969: 123).

The EfAx-09 assemblage contains 10 examples of Jackfield-type vessels. Vessel forms present are teapots and saucers. Several of the objects appear to be of the later,

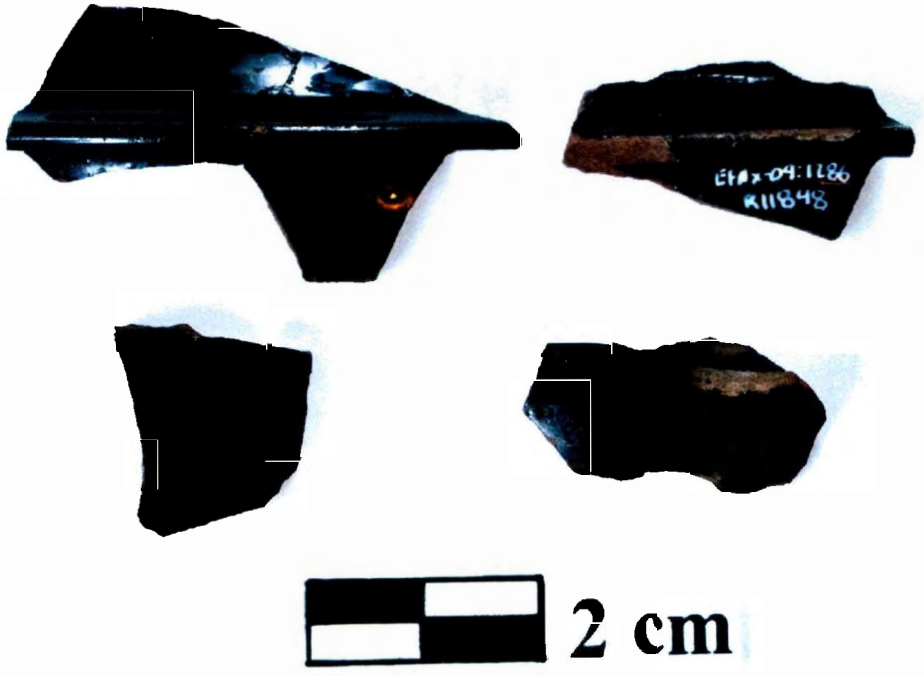

Figure 4. 4 Hatcher Vessel 72, an undecorated Jackfield-type teapot (ca. 1740s – 1790s). This example displays characteristic tight-grained reddish-grey fabric with a shiny black glaze. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

debased version mentioned by David Barker and Pat Halfpenny with thicker bodies, lighter glaze, and an uncharacteristic yellowish or light coloured fabric (1990: 34).

4.1.3 Coarse Stoneware (CSW)

Stonewares are hard-bodied ceramics, fired at high temperatures (1200 – 1350°C). This high firing temperature, and the addition of silica to the clay, causes partial fusion of the fabric, creating a non-porous body that is essentially impermeable to liquids. Because of their vitreous nature, stonewares do not require glazing, though they often are glazed. (Davis et al. 1987: 26; MACL 2002; Rice 1987: 5 – 6).

Derbyshire Stoneware

Derbyshire stoneware is composed of a smooth, vitrified body, usually grayish in colour, with a brown to caramel-coloured exterior that has been salt-glazed. The interior is often light brown to buff-coloured. Slight mottling of colour may occur on the exterior of the vessel, due to irregular reaction of the clay body during the firing process (Figure 4.5) (Richardson and Powell 1999). This type of stoneware was produced in Derbyshire, England, from ca. 1800 – 1875, or even later. Primarily, this ware was used for bottles, jars and jugs (Richardson and Powell 1999).

There are two examples of Derbyshire stoneware recovered from EfAx-09. One is part of a bottle, the other part of a pot.

North American Stoneware

North American stoneware was manufactured in North America. It was made in the eastern United States from about the second quarter of the nineteenth century until ca. 1900, or later. In Canada, production started later, about 1840, and continued until ca.

Figure 4. 5 Hatcher Vessel 116 (top) is a Derbyshire stoneware pot (ca. 1800 – 1875), and Hatcher Vessel 94 (bottom) is a North American stoneware pot (ca. 1825 – 1900). The North American stoneware sherd is waterworn. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord)

1900 (Richardson and Powell 1999). This type of stoneware is typically thick bodied and made of grey fabric, finished with a salt-glaze. Many of the vessels of this ware type are decorated on the exterior surface with cobalt or manganese, either stenciled or applied freehand, in the manner of German Westerwald stoneware. Some vessels were ornamented with a dark brown slip, called Albany slip, on their interior surfaces. This coarse ware was used in mainly large utilitarian forms, such as butter pots, pitchers and other storage containers (Noël Hume 1969:101; Richardson and Powell 1999).

Only one sherd of this type has been recovered from EfAx-09. Though it is not of the classic blue and gray design, this specimen has been identified as North American stoneware (Burns, pers. comm.; Pope, pers. comm.; St. John, pers. comm.) It has a light-grey body and seems to have a yellowish slip on the exterior. This water-worn sherd is part of a pot.

4.1.4 Refined Stoneware (RSW)

Similar to coarse stoneware, fine stoneware is also a vitreous, high-fired ceramic type with a non-porous body. Refined stoneware is more thinly potted, finer-grained and contains fewer inclusions than its coarse counterpart (MACL 2002; Rice 1987: 5; Richardson and Powell 1999).

Red Stoneware

Also known as red porcelain, dry-bodied stoneware or Elers-type ware, this is a refined stoneware, with a thin, hard, fine-grained red body (FMNH 1995; MACL 2002; Noel Hume 1969: 120; Richardson and Powell 1999). Red stoneware was originally

produced by the Chinese, and was exported to Europe as early as the 1660s. However, by the 1670s, imitations were being produced by many potters in England, as well as in areas of Germany and the Netherlands. This ware type fell out of popularity by 1700, but came back into production in the mid-eighteenth century, and continued to be made into the nineteenth century (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 44; MACL 2002). Teawares were the most common form of this ware type, and vessels were often decorated with sprig-moulded ornaments. Engine-turned decoration became more popular throughout the 1760s (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 44). The majority of vessels of this ware-type were dry-bodied (not glazed), hence the name dry-bodied stoneware, though some were lead-glazed (Noël Hume 1969: 120 – 121; Richardson and Powell 1999).

The only example from the EfAx-09 assemblage is both lead-glazed, and sprig-moulded with a linear beaded pattern (Figure 4.6). This sherd is part of a teapot.

4.1.5 Porcelain

Porcelain is a tight-grained, hard-bodied, vitrified class of ceramics. Porcelain is often composed of kaolin clay, with various additions, including ground feldspar, salt, sand, bone or soapstone, and is fired at temperatures between 1250 – 1500°C (MACL 2002: Rice 1987: 5).

English Porcelain

English porcelain was made as a direct imitation of the more expensive Chinese imported product. The English version has a thin, dense, relatively soft body, and is not as tight-grained as its Chinese counterpart, although later English porcelain, or bone china, is slightly harder. Its white body is coated in a clear, semi-gloss glaze that usually does

Figure 4. 6 The only example of red stoneware in the EfAx-09 assemblage. This object, Hatcher Vessel 186, is decorated with sprig-moulding in a beaded pattern (ca. 1750s – 1800s). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

not fuse to the body during firing, and so appears as a thin white line on top of the fabric in cross-section (Figure 4.7) (FMNH 1995; MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999). The first successful production of porcelain in England reportedly occurred in 1742, although Barker and Halfpenny remark that the true ingredients and technology for creating hard, high quality porcelain were not readily available to, nor fully understood by, early experimenters of porcelain in England (1990: 83). However, porcelain continued to be manufactured in England—in Bow, Worcester, Liverpool and Caughley—throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, until about 1795 or 1800 (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 137; Richardson and Powell 1999).

Porcelain vessel forms are predominantly teawares and tablewares. English porcelain was often decorated in underglaze blue painted patterns, in imitation of the Chinese style, but other decorative styles include overglaze enameling and transfer printing (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 137). Similar to pearlware, porcelain was rarely ever undecorated (Miller 1980: 4). While some wares, such as creamware, were initially expensive and then became mass-produced and thus affordable to a wide market, porcelains were always considered high status wares with a small market (Miller 1984:2).

Only three porcelain vessels have been recovered from the excavations at EfAx-09, all of which are examples of cups/drinking pots. Two of these are decorated, both with hand-painted floral designs. The third example appears to be undecorated.

Figure 4. 7 Hatcher Vessels 146, 147 and 148, all cups/drinking pots, are the only recovered examples of English Porcelain from Dos de Cheval (ca. 1742 – 1800). Hatcher Vessels 146 and 148 are decorated with hand-painted designs. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

4.1.6 Unknowns

Two specimens in the assemblage have eluded identification, despite consultation with the literature, peers and professors. This does not mean, however, they can be excluded from the study. For while they pose certain difficulties, they may very well be of British origin. For that matter, they may very well not be, but this cannot merely be assumed.

Object 19088 (Hatcher Vessel 206)

The first of these unknowns appears to be a semi-vitrified or vitrified ceramic, with whitish paste, and a glaze with a bluish grey tint (Figure 4.8). The body is thinly potted with no visible inclusions, and there is no decoration evident. It appears to be a base sherd of a mug—though with a profile unlike any other in the assemblage—with no pooling of color in the footring. The specimen is waterworn, which makes the task of identification particularly difficult. It is possible that it is a sherd of some variation of porcelain, or it may be an example of ironstone. However, side-by-side comparison with this sherd and identified examples of porcelain and ironstone suggest it is likely neither of these types.

Object 9113 (Hatcher Vessel 134)

This unidentified sherd has a yellow, slightly chalky, earthenware fabric, covered on the interior and exterior with a yellow glaze. There is some manner of decoration on the exterior surface, possibly some hand-painted motif, but it is difficult to identify as it is a small body sherd, A preliminary search of online databases and type collections

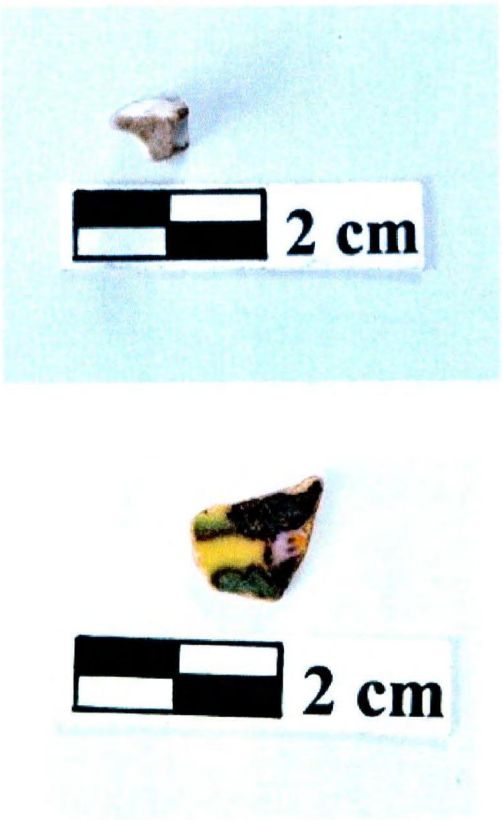

Figure 4. 8 Hatcher Vessel 206 (top) is an undecorated mug of unknown ware. Hatcher Vessel 134 (bottom) is a cup/drinking pot of unknown ware that seems to be hand-painted with a floral design. These are the only two objects in the assemblage that have eluded identification. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

provided no matches (FMNH 1995; MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999). It was suggested that this was possibly a piece of tin-glazed earthenware, based on the thickness of the glaze, the chalky body and the manner in which the glaze just rests atop the fabric but is not fused to it (Barry Gaulton, pers. comm.). However, this specimen does not resemble any of the tin-glazed earthenware in the rest of the EfAx-09 assemblage, neither French nor British, and some brief research on the British delft industry did not result in a match either (Betts et al. 2008). So while it does appear to be some form of tin-glazed earthenware, the origins and exact identification of this piece remain unknown.

4.2 Decorative Types

While ware types can provide rough chronological information, after about 1790, it was decorative types that were the primary mode of classification for ceramics (Miller 1980: 3). Using this decoration-based classification system in archaeology has the advantage of integrating archaeological data with historical data, and also facilitating consistency in identification. Additionally, classification based on decorative types reflects something of the socio-economic classes of the people who bought and used these ceramic objects (Miller 1980: 15). This section will describe the various decorative techniques and styles applied to the ceramic ware types described above.

Hand Painted

This decorative type includes both enameling and painted decoration, the former being applied over the glaze, the latter under the glaze. Enameling on REW vessels was popular from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, falling of out style in the first

quarter of the nineteenth century. Enameled patterns were fired at a lower temperature than that of glaze firing, and so the images produced through this technique were very crisp because the colours did not bleed into the glaze (Figure 4.9). Due to this lower firing temperature, a wider range of colours were available for enameling than for underglaze painting, as not all mineral colours can withstand the heat needed to fire glaze. The main drawback of enameling was its susceptibility to wear (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 7).

Underglaze painted REW was being produced by the 1770s, continuing to be made through the nineteenth century. The colour was applied directly to the clay body, under the glaze. The result was a slightly blurry image, because the glaze was mildly acidic, and the colours would run with the glaze during firing (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 7). The earliest painted designs were predominantly blue chinoiserie motifs, directly imitating and competing with imported Chinese porcelain. These Chinese-inspired painted designs declined with the advent of transfer-printing. Additionally, there was a shortage of cobalt during the Napoleonic Wars as a result of blockades cutting off supplies, which added to the diminishing quantities of blue painted wares. However, they were produced in some volume until about 1810 (MACL 2002; Miller 1991:8)

Around 1795, the colour palette of painted decoration expanded to include orange brown, yellow and green, made from oxides of antimony, iron, manganese and copper. These new polychrome painted designs included some chinoiserie or Chinese-inspired images, as well as some geometric patterns, but floral and foliage motifs were the most common. Polychrome painted designs were produced until about 1830 (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 8). Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, cobalt became widely available again and blue painted wares became common once more. Through the

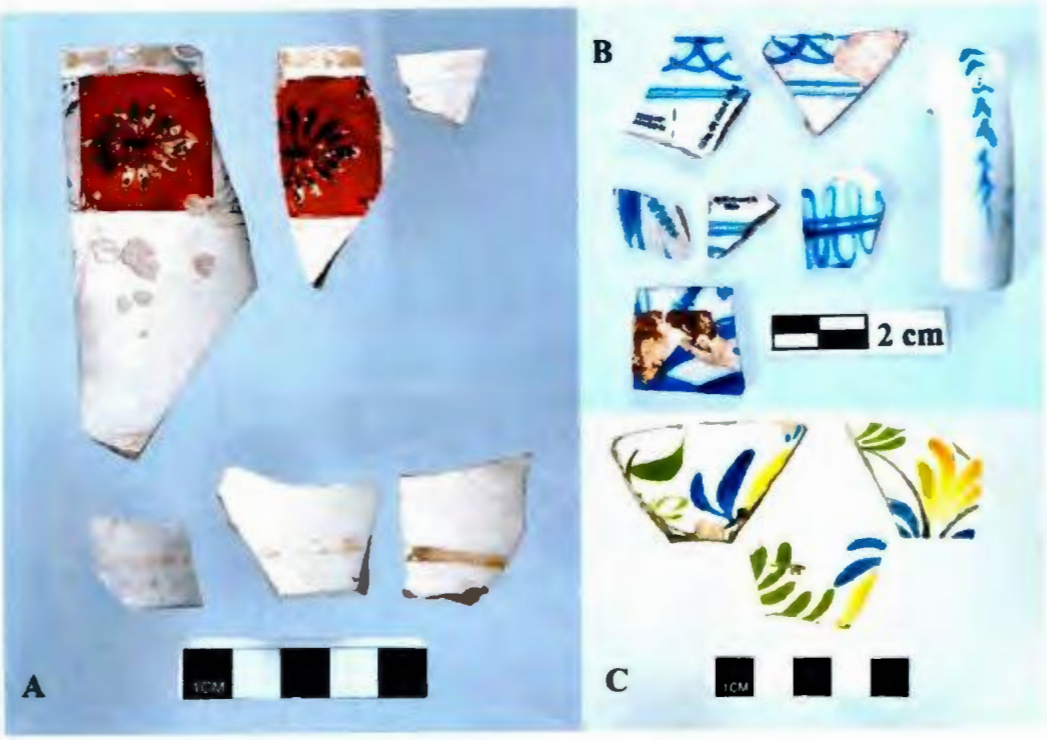

Figure 4. 9 A) Hatcher Vessel 160, a creamware mug with floral and geometric design, is the only enameled vessel in the assemblage (ca. 1775 – 1825); B) Hatcher Vessel 39, a pearlware cup/drinking pot, is hand-painted in cobalt blue with fine brush strokes (ca. 1775 – 1810); C) Hatcher Vessel 11 is a pearlware small bowl painted in a polychrome floral motif (ca. 1795 – 1830). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

1820s, tea and tablewares with blue floral decoration were very popular. The distinguishing mark of painted designs from this period was large brush strokes. There is little evidence that chinoiserie painted patterns were being produced at this time (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 8). The innovative addition of borax to the glazes around 1830 facilitated the use of new colours in underglaze painting. Reds, pinks, black, and lighter shades of blue and green constituted the new colour palette. These are referred to as the chrome colours, as they were all derivatives of chrome oxide. Designs in the chrome colour group were usually large floral and foliage motifs (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 8).

Painting ceramics by hand was a time consuming and skilled process, especially for such patterns as the early Chinese landscapes, which would require detailed, delicate strokes. For this reason, painted wares were some of the more expensive decorated wares available through the nineteenth century (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 4; 1991: 6).

Transfer-Printed

Transfer-printing was one of the great innovations in British ceramics, essentially revolutionizing the Staffordshire ceramics industry (Miller 1980: 4). It provided a means of quickly producing intricate, uniform designs and exact matching sets of wares. This technique was used as early as the 1750s when it was applied over the glaze. Underglaze printing began in the 1760s, but was not applied to refined earthenware bodies in Britain until ca. 1780 (Miller 1991: 9; Samford 2000: 57). Transfer-printed decoration required the transfer of an image or design from an engraved copper plate to the ceramic vessel. This was done by heating the engraved plate, inking it, covering the image with damp tissue paper and running it through the press. The tissue paper was pressed, inked side

down, onto the clay body, to transfer the image. The vessel was then fired, glazed and fired again (Samford 2000: 58). While blue was the most popular colour of printed decoration, other colours like black, brown, red, green and purple were used (Figure 4.10). The different colours were created with different metallic oxides (MACL 2002; Samford 2000: 58)

Until the first decade of the nineteenth century, nearly all of the transfer print patterns were derived from designs on imported Chinese porcelain. (Coysh 1972: 7). This stemmed from a desire for, and fascination with, oriental things that predated transfer-printing. These types of printed wares are called "Chinese" or "chinoiserie" (Samford 2000: 62 – 63). "Chinese" refers to direct imitations of those designs on Chinese porcelain vessels. Often these were complex landscapes with oriental elements like boats, buildings or figures in Chinese attire, with a geometric border. "Blue Willow" became the most common and enduring of these Chinese-style prints (Figure 4.11). Introduced ca. 1790, the blue willow pattern included several key elements: a bridge, a pagoda, three human figures, a boat and two birds. There were many variations on this theme, but the combination of these main components, usually with a geometric border, characterized the motif (MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999). Chinoiserie is defined as European interpretations of oriental design, rather than exact replication of Chinese style. This includes Chinese motifs that contain figures in Western-style dress, Western architectural styles, or geometric or floral designs inspired by the Orient. These Chinese and Chinese-derived styles remained popular from the 1790s to the 1830s (MACL 2002; Samford 2000: 63).

Figure 4. 10 Examples of different transfer-print designs and colours. Hatcher Vessel 106 (top left), is a creamware mug with a floral design in black transfer-print (ca. 1780s – 1860s); Hatcher Vessel 107 (top right) is a pearlware cup/drinking pot with brown floral/linear transfer-printing (ca. 1820s – 1860s) and; Hatcher Vessel 30 is a pearlware saucer decorated in blue transfer-print with a floral motif and geometric border (ca. 1780s – 1860s). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, western landscape prints became popular, British views emerging around 1810, with American views becoming popular sometime during the War of 1812. These landscape prints contained elements like homesteads, churches, landmarks, government buildings, cities etc. Around the same time, pastoral scenes were common, focusing on farmsteads, animals and people working. By the 1830s, these scenes were being replaced by Romantic views, which in turn were superceded by classical and gothic styles. Floral motifs were popular throughout the nineteenth century (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 9; Samford 2000: 64 – 66).

In the late eighteenth century, transfer printed vessels were about six times as costly as an undecorated vessel of the same type, dropping to about two times as expensive by the mid-nineteenth century. Transfer printing allowed for potters to produce the intricate designs they saw on Chinese porcelain on a large scale and in a more cost-effective way, and make a more affordable product for the consumer desirous of Oriental-inspired ceramics. While relatively expensive, transfer-printed REW vessels were much cheaper than porcelain (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 4).

Moulded Edge

Moulded edges are predominantly found on plates and other flatware vessel forms, although entire vessels, especially teapots, were cast in relief in a vast array of shapes and designs (MACL 2002). Moulded edges were not considered decoration in the same way that, say, transfer printing or hand painted designs were. For example, the majority of creamware vessels were considered plain, though often with moulded or slip cast decoration, and these remained among the cheapest ceramic types available through

Figure 4. 11 Exterior (top) and interior (bottom) views of Hatcher Vessels 35 and 16, matching pearlware small bowls transfer-printed with the Blue Willow pattern (ca. 1790 – 1830). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

the nineteenth century (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 3). It seems, then, that moulded edge decoration was tied into the shape of the vessel shape instead of being considered additional applied decoration.

The moulding process, which allowed vessels to be cast in elaborate relief, could be done in several ways: 1) thin slabs of clay could be pressed into or against specially made moulds to create the desired shape and pattern, a method that was introduced in the late 1730s, or 2) liquid clay could be cast by pouring it into plaster moulds and letting it set, a technique that was practiced by the mid-1740s (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 115).

The popular moulded edge motifs of British-made plates endured an evolution of style. The earliest rim styles, "dot, diaper and basket" and "barley", were produced by the 1740s. These styles were composed of raised ridges around the scalloped or undulating edges of the rim, with a textured pattern, or three alternating patterns in the case of dot, diaper and basket, around the marly—that is, the flat part bordering the rim of a plate. The "barley" motif also consisted of raised ridges running from the rim inwards, dividing the marly into several panels (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 115 – 116). Later, the "bead and reel" design flourished, which was comprised of a raised beaded pattern confined to plates' edges, which were also scalloped (Noël Hume 1969: 117). "Queen's shape"—so called because in 1762 a set of this style was presented to Queen Charlotte by Josiah Wedgwood—resembled the "barley" pattern with the raised ridges around the rim and extending across the marly, but without the relief-moulded 'barley' texture. Not long afterward, the "Royal" pattern was created—the same as "Queen's shape", but without

the ridges on the marly (Figure 4.12) (Noël Hume 1969:125). By 1765, a new design was produced. This "feather-edged" pattern constituted a rim decorated in relief-moulded fronds (Noël Hume 1969: 125; Richardson and Powell 1999).

While technically a moulded edge design, shell edged wares have not been included in this section, but are being considered as a decorative style in their own right because they were so pervasive. See Noël Hume (1969: 116) for illustrations of the evolution of the above rim styles.

Shell-Edge

Taking its name from the resemblance it bears to a seashell, this decorative type is also referred to simply as edged ware. While it is technically a moulded edge decoration, shell-edge pattern is considered here in its own category because it was so prevalent, becoming the most commonly found decorative motif on tablewares from ca. 1790 – 1860 (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 4). Also, shell-edging required the additional step of applying color, which the aforementioned moulded-edge wares lacked, ranking it in a decorative class above moulded wares, though it was among the cheapest wares available in coloured decoration. Like moulded-edges, shell-edging was predominantly found on flatware vessel forms (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 3).

The shell-edge pattern first appeared on creamware, introduced to the Staffordshire pottery industry by Josiah Wedgwood in the 1770s. This style was widely produced by 1783, being the most popular decoration for pearlware flatware forms, and later also commonly occurring on whiteware forms. Vessels with this decoration were press-moulded or cast, similar to other moulded edge wares, then further ornamented with painting around the rim (Figure 4.13) (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 126, 131). Early

Figure 4. 12 Hatcher Vessel 136, a creamware plate with a moulded edge (upper edge of the object) in the Royal Pattern(ca. 1762 – 1800s). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Figure 4. 13 Hatcher Vessels 46, 55, 50, 54 and 45 (from left to right, top to bottom), showing some of the many variations of blue shell-edging on pearlware plates (ca. 1770 – 1860). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

shell-edging, produced from about 1775 – 1810, had asymmetrical scalloped edging and impressed curved lines sweeping in from the rim. Between 1800 and 1830, symmetrical scalloping was more common, and the impressed lines were either straight or curved. Later iterations of shell-edging saw the elimination of the scalloped edge.

Eventually, between about 1860 and 1890, the impressed lines disappeared too, and the ridging effect was created by brush strokes alone (MACL 2002). Early examples of shell-edging usually display expert brushwork, drawing paint inwards from the edge to create a feathery look. Later, when the demand for this product was high and vessels were being mass-produced, it became common the merely swipe a brush loaded with color around the rim to produce a stripe, depending on the impressed edges to create an effect (Miller 1980: 4; Noël Hume 1969: 131).

Shell-edged wares occurred most frequently with blue painted edges, followed closely by green, and less commonly available in red, purple, brown and even black (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 126, 131). By 1840, green edging was a rarity while blue remained popular until the 1860s. Though this decorative style was produced until the 1890s, it was not very common after the 1860s (Miller 1980: 10; 1991: 6)

Metallic Oxides

This decorative technique is characteristic of manganese mottled and tortoisehell wares. This mottled decoration comes not from the blending of coloured glazes, as has been erroneously thought, but from the mottling of metallic oxides that have been prepared as slips. These slips are painted or sponged onto the clay body, which is then covered in glaze, and during the firing process the colours flow to produce the distinctive clouded look (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 35 – 36; MACL 2002). Depending on the

specific metal, metallic oxides can produce a range of colours including purple, brown, yellow, green, grey and blue. For example, the manganese and iron oxides used in manganese mottled ware produced dark brown and purplish streaks (Richardson and Powell 1999; Williams 2003: 120).

One anomaly in the EfAx-09 assemblage does not fall under either tortoiseshell or manganese ware types, but it is decorated with metallic oxides. This is a creamware vessel with scattered, blurry spots of yellow and green metallic oxide decoration (Figure 4.14).

Slip-Decorated

Slip-decorated wares are characterized by the application of slip to the body of a vessel, typically under the glaze. Slip is a smooth, liquid mixture of clay and water, which has been sieved to remove any large particles (Barker 1993: 37). It should be noted that slip decoration has a long history and broad application, and focus here will be on a few specific decorative slip techniques. There is another class of slipware known as factory-made slipware, which is considered in its own category below.

Slipware became popular in the sixteenth century in Europe, was being produced in Britain by the late sixteenth century, and manufacture was underway in Staffordshire by the 1640s (Barker 1993: 8, 14). There are several main techniques or styles of slip decoration. In the most common type, slip-trailing, the slip was put in a container with a small quill that allowed for controlled application of the slip in decorative patterns, like swirls, lines, dots etc. These containers could even have multiple compartments, holding different coloured slips, to create a more elaborate design (Barker 1993: 3 – 5). Slip-trailed

Figure 4. 14 Hatcher Vessel 180, a creamware small bowl decorated with blotches of metallic oxides (ca. 1762 – 1820). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

designs could be applied directly to the clay body, or could be applied in a contrasting colour over a basecoat of another slip.

Popular among Bristol-Staffordshire-type slipwares was the use of metallic oxides with slip, akin to the procedure for decorating tortoiseshell ware described above. In the "combed" or "feathered" motif, vessels were covered in a base coat of slip, and then trailed in lines of a darker, iron oxide-rich slip. While still wet, a pointed tool was drawn through the slipped lines to create a pattern of peaks and dips (Barker 1993: 6; MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 107) Additionally, instead of combing the different slips together, sometimes the vessel was twisted or shaken while the slips were still wet, allowing them to swirl together, in a style call "joggling". Other times, these oxide-rich slips were trailed and dotted over a base coat of white slip, or vice versa, in the manner described above (MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999). While slip was often applied in decorative patterns, in some cases it was simply applied as a solid, all-over or partial coat by dipping the vessel into a slip mixture or brushing or sponging it onto the ceramic body (MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999)

Factory-made Slipware

Historically known as dipped or dipt, this type of decoration has been referred to also as annular, banded or mocha ware by many archaeologists. These terms, however, have specific meanings and are erroneously applied to the entire class of decoration (MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 131 – 132; Sussman 1997: 1). Factory-made slipware is an unrestricted term, and sets this class of decoration apart from the aforementioned slip-decorated wares. Factory-made slipware decoration was applied only to refined

earthenwares, and employed a different mode of application than the earlier slipware (Sussman 1997: 1).

The advent of the horizontal, engine-turned lathe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was central to this decorative type, lending itself to the ability to create uniform, precise, smooth slip decoration (Sussman 1997: 4). The essential technological developments here were an engine-driven machine, an axis that moved horizontally in sync with the rotation, and a series of cams that would allow for the movement of the vessel towards or away from a cutting tool, or slip-applicator (Sussman 1997: 26). Factory-made slipware was produced from ca. 1770 through the nineteenth century (MACL 2002). The most simple style of this decorative type is dipped, or all-over slip covering. This entailed the dipping of a vessel in slip to coat the whole body, or the application of slip by a brush or a container with a quill while the vessel was turning on the lathe. Using a cutting or scraping tool, slip could be removed to create smooth edges to the colour-blocked area of the vessel. Banding is another simple, yet fundamental, decorative method of factory-made slip-ware, and it, as well as dipped decoration, was used in conjunction with many of the other factory-made slipware elements. Horizontal bands of colour were applied to a vessel as it turned on the lathe, and these could be trailed with a slip bottle or brushed on (MACL 2002; Sussman 1997: 6 – 7).

One of the earlier styles of factory-made slipware was "marbleized". In this style, several different colours of slip were applied to the vessel's body, and were allowed to run together and swirl, creating a marbled effect. This design was often coupled with additional decoration, like banding. It was popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (FMNH 1995; MACL 2002; Noël Hume 1969: 132). Engine-turned

decoration involved incising grooves into the vessel body. The precision with which a cutting-tool could incise a clay body on a horizontal lathe meant that potters could carve intricate geometric designs onto vessels, including checkers, chevrons, dots, flutes, zig-zags, lines or dashes (Figure 4.15) (MACL 2002; Sussman 1997: 26). Vessels could be engine turned after being dipped, cutting the slip away in patterns to reveal the clay body beneath. Alternatively, these patterns could be cut directly into the clay body, and slip would be applied to fill in the grooves. The vessel would be turned again to take the slip off the vessel surface, leaving just the inlaid slip (Sussman 1997: 33). Vessels of factory-made slipware decoration frequently displayed additional ornamenting at the rim. Rilling is an example of this rim decoration, consisting of a band of narrowly turned grooves. This band was usually coloured with a tinted glaze or coloured slip, typically green (Sussman 1997: 42).

Factory-made slipware decoration has been applied to creamware, pearlware, whiteware and yellowware bodies. The method of turning on a lathe leant itself to decoration on hollowares, mugs, jugs and bowls being by far the most popular forms with this type of decoration (Sussman 1997: 51). The slips used in factory-made slipware decoration occurred in a veritable rainbow of colours, earlier vessels usually in bright earthy tones, and later examples in duller blues and greys. Alongside shell-edge decoration, this category represents the cheapest decoration on refined earthenwares through the nineteenth century (MACL 2002; Miller 1980: 4; Sussman 1997: 1).

Sponge-Decorated

As the name suggests, this was a mode of decoration that entailed applying color to the ceramic body, most often under the glaze, with a sponge. Sponged decoration was

Figure 4. 15 Hatcher Vessel 112, a factory-made slipware pearlware mug with engine-turned checkered design (ca. 1770s – 1900). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

used first in Britain on seventeenth-century delftwares. It was rarely applied to creamware, but by the 1770s it began to appear on pearlware, and was most commonly found on whiteware vessels (MACL 2002, Miller 1991: 6). Sponge-decoration developed over time as techniques changed. The earliest style, sometimes referred to as spatter, could be applied in two ways: 1) the colour was powdered on to the ceramic body, so not actually requiring a sponge or 2) colors were applied with a sponge, dabbed closely to the effect of minimal open white space (Figure 4.16) (MACL 2002; Miller 1991: 6). Often, this spattered sponge method was paired with painted decoration, and sponge decorated vessels without additional embellishment were rare before ca. 1820. This technique was popular from about 1820 to 1860, peaking in the 1830s (MACL 2002).

Open-sponge is a technique almost counter to spatter decoration, creating large open areas of white between colour. It was applied using a sponge, but was not as densely dabbed as spatter ware. This technique was used between 1860 and 1935 (MACL 2002). Early on, sponge decoration was mostly associated with tea wares, but sometime in the 1840s it became more common on table and toilet wares. Sponge-decoration was available in a range of colours, including blue, purple, pink, black, red, yellow and green, and was one of the least expensive decorated wares available (MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999).

Sprig Moulded

Sprig-moulding entailed the moulding or stamping of clay ornaments in moulds of plaster, fired clay or even brass. While typically white, sometimes the clay was dyed with powdered cobalt before being moulded, or was painted afterwards. The sprigged

Figure 4. 16 Hatcher Vessel 14 is a pearlware mug decorated in blue with the spatter style of sponge technique (ca. 1820s – 1860s). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

decoration was then applied to the body of the vessel using clay slip as an adhesive which, when fired, permanently affixed the moulded clay design (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 36; MACL 2002). Moulded decorations occurred in many motifs, ranging from cherubs and chariots, to classical human figures, floral designs and animals. The first appearance of this technique on British ceramics was in the late seventeenth century, on dry-bodied fine stoneware such as black basalts and red stoneware, as well as salt-glazed stoneware. Since then, spig-moulded designs have been used on refined red earthenware, tortoiseshell, jasperware, Jackfield-type, porcelain, factory-made slipware, creamware and pearlware (Barker and Halfpenny 1990; Barry Gaulton, pers. comm.; MACL 2002; Richardson and Powell 1999)

Oil-Gilded

Oil-gilding was perfected and commonly used by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a technique initially applied to porcelain, but later also to wares such as Jackfield-type ware and white REW. Early gilding involved the grinding of gold into a fine powder that was then suspended in a medium such as honey or oil, then painted on a vessel overtop of the glaze. After firing, the gold gilding was burnished to make it shine. In the nineteenth century, the gilding technique was refined such that the powdered gold was dissolved in acid or mixed with chemicals, resulting in a gilt decoration that was lustrous after firing without requiring burnishing. This nineteenth-century gilding method, called "liquid bright gold" was introduced to the Staffordshire pottery by about 1870. Though oil-gilding was cheaper later in its use, it was a relatively expensive decorative practice (Miller 1991: 10). On early wares, such as Jackfield-type, it was used only rarely,

but became more popular in the nineteenth century on commonly used REW bodies (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 34; Miller 1991: 10).

Similar to over-glaze enameled decoration, archaeological examples of oil-gilded specimens are susceptible to more wear in the ground, as the decoration is not protected by the glaze, but rather on top of it (Figure 4.17). These types of decoration can become unstable in the soil, and often cling to the dirt more than to the ceramic bodies they were originally applied to, such that sometimes "the fugitive designs can only be seen when a sherd is held in the light at an angle" (MACL 2002).[3]

4.3 Vessel Forms

While ware types and decorative types are relatively widely known and agreed upon, the designation of vessel forms poses particular difficulties. Anne Yentsch highlights this plight of the historical archaeologist, saying, "there is no agreed-upon or consistently applied terminology that is used for the description of vessel forms", and "the need for a consistent scheme for classifying vessel shapes...remains critical" (1990: 30).

The following definitions of vessel form types are predominantly based on the Potomac Typological System (POTS) developed by Beaudry et al. (1983).[4] However, in some cases, additions to the typology were made to include forms that do not exist within

[3] A good example of a faded oil-gilded decoration on Jackfield-type can be seen in Emmerson, 1992: 58, in addition to Hatcher Vessel 200 seen in Figure 4.17.

[4] The illustrations of these types can be found in Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-37

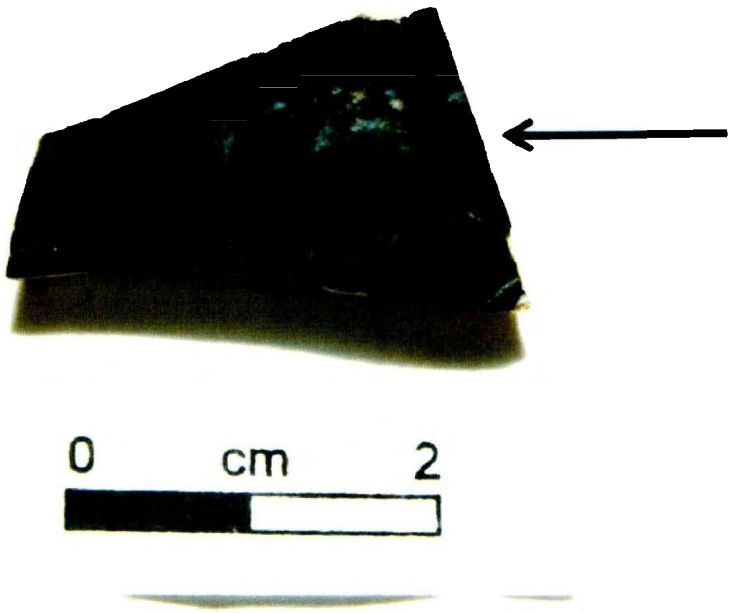

Figure 4. 17 Hatcher Vessel 200, a Jackfield-type saucer with very worn oil-gilded decoration, indicated by the arrow (ca. 1740s – 1790s). Barry Gaulton suggests that this decoration as I see it is nothing more than an imperfection of the glaze, but we have agreed to disagree on the identification. (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

POTS, and some adjustments were necessary to modify extant definitions to better suit the EfAx-09 assemblage. Illustrations for these types accompany the definitions.

4.3.1 Solid Food Consumption/Service Vessel Forms

Dish

This form may also be referred to as a platter. It is a serving vessel with a diameter or length of 25 cm or greater, with or without a footring. Dishes were often oval shaped, but could also be round in plan (Beaudry et al. 1983: 27, 33; Miller 1980: 27; 1991: 11).

Plate

Known historically sometimes as table plate, supper plate, or soup plate. A plate is a flatware vessel ranging from 18 to 25 cm in diameter, with or without a footring. Plates were most frequently round in plan (Beaudry et al. 1983: 27, 33; Miller 1980: 27; 1991: 11).

4.3.2 Semi-Solid Food Consumption/Service Vessel Forms

Caudle Cup

This is a cylindrical, two-handled vessel with a cover or lid. A caudle cup was used for making and consuming hot liquids or semi-solids, though most commonly fermented gruel mixed with wine or ale, and often spiced or sweetened (Beaudry et al. 1983: 32; Brooks 2004: 30; Yentsch 1990: 40).

Small Bowl

Sometimes this form is just called bowl or punch bowl, though it is referred to here as small bowl to distinguish between this form and earthenware bowls for use in the

kitchen, and so as not to restrict its use strictly to consumption of punch. A small bowl is a hemispherical, hollowware vessel with a footring, wider than it is tall, with a capacity as small as .25 l or as large as 6 or 7 l. Larger iterations were used for making or serving punch. Smaller vessels were used for consuming semi-solid foods and for drinking beverages (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29, 33; Brooks 2004: 26, 38; Miller 1980: 12; Yentsch 1990: 40).

4.3.3 Beverage Service Vessel Forms

Pitcher

Pitchers are handled beverage-serving vessels with bulbous bodies, and necks that taper in from the body and flare out to a wide pouring lip (Beaudry et al. 1983: 31; MACL 2002).

Teapot

A teapot is a handled vessel with a spout and cover, for brewing and serving tea. Their bodies are often bulbous, but can be cylindrical, hexagonal or other shapes, usually roughly as tall as they are wide (Figures 4.18 and 4.19) (Barker and Halfpenny 1990; Merriam-Webster 2013; Miller 2005:129 – 130).

4.3.4 Beverage Consumption Vessel Forms

Cup/Drinking Pot

Generally small drinking vessels, cups/drinking pots typically have bulbous or convex-sided bodies. They vary in style from single- to multi-handled, to unhandled forms, and range in capacity from less than .25 l to 2 l. This definition is a synthesis of

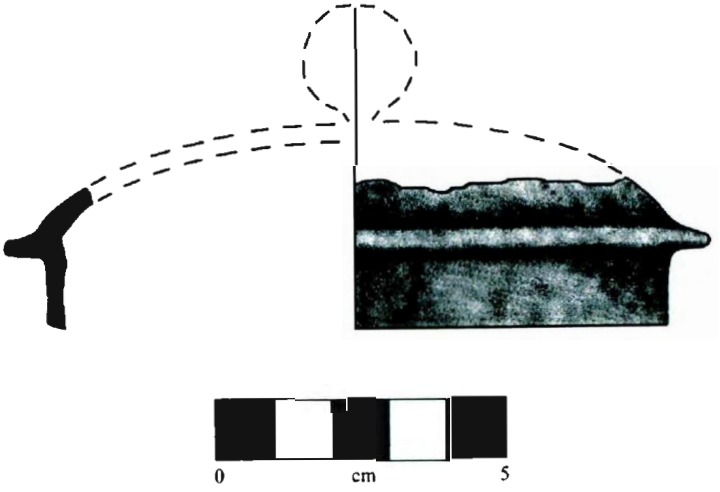

Figure 4. 18 Teapot lid form, based on Hatcher Vessel 72. (Hilary Hatcher).

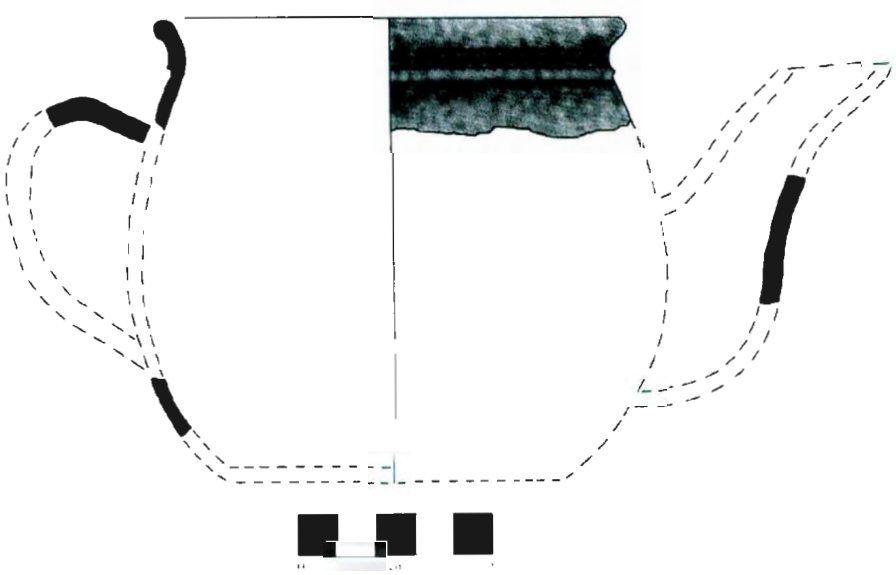

Figure 4. 19 The form of a teapot, based on Hatcher Vessels 129, 71, 231 and 199. (Hilary Hatcher).

Beaudry et al.'s drinking pot form and cup form, as they overlap in form and function, though differ in size (1983). This category would include what may also be called teas, teacups, or teabowls (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29 – 30; Ewins 1997: 24, 131; MACL 2002). Cup/drinking pot is akin to St. John's French forms, *pot à posset* and *tasse*, used for the French ceramic assemblage from EfAx-09 (2011: 122, 132 – 133).

Jug

This is a bulbous-bodied, handled vessel with a cylindrical neck, with or without a spout. Jugs were used for serving liquids, and ranged in size from small individual drinking vessels to larger serving forms (Beaudry et al. 1983: 30; MACL 2002).

Mug

A mug is a handled drinking vessel with a straight-sided body, taller than it is wide. Mugs range in capacity from roughly .1 to 2 l (Beaudry et al. 1983: 30; MACL 2002).

Saucer

This is a small vessel, of a similar form to a plate or sometimes akin to a very shallow bowl. Round in plan, measuring less than 18 cm in diameter, saucers occur both with and without footrings (Figure 4.20). Initially used for serving condiments or sauces (hence *sauce*-r), or as a small plate (Beaudry et al. 1983: 34; Brooks 2004: 28). Sometime in the eighteenth century, this vessel took on a new use and meaning, likely in addition to, rather than instead of, its original definition. This new use was much the same as our modern understanding of saucer, as in *cup-and-saucer*. As tea and teawares became more common, the saucer began to be used for supporting teacups and teabowls, seen as a necessary component for the drinking of tea. In fact, in the early eighteenth century, the

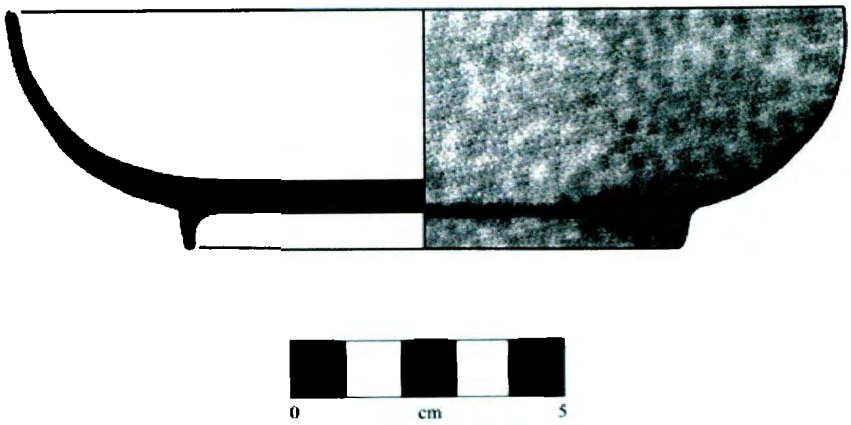

Figure 4. 20 A saucer form, based on Hatcher Vessel 26. (Hilary Hatcher).

saucers themselves were used as vessels for drinking tea, not merely to hold the cup, though this practice lost favor by the century's end (Brooks 2004: 28; Mankowitz 1966:148; Miller 2005: 125 – 126).

4.3.5 Food and Beverage Storage Vessel Forms

Bottle

Bottles are bulbous-bodied storage and serving vessels with narrow, cylindrical necks, with or without a handle (Beaudry et al. 1983: 31; MACL 2002).

Pot

A pot is a large storage vessel, cylindrical or somewhat convex-sided, and taller than it is wide. Pots are also referred to as *butter pot* as they were sometimes used for storing butter, lard etc (Beaudry et al. 1983: 36; MACL 2002).

4.3.6 Health and Hygiene Vessel Forms

Chamber Pot

This is a sturdy, handled vessel with convex sides and a flat, flared rim, used as a repository for human bodily waste (Beaudry et al. 1983: 37; MACL 2002).

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter will provide an analysis of the British ceramic material recovered from EfAx-09, in the context of the available historic documentation, to investigate the nature of the Anglo occupation at the fishing room, Champ Paya. The chapter is divided into sections based on the three research questions that were posed in the introductory chapter. The analysis poses further questions whose answers are considered and added to the overall research objective.

What are the spatial and temporal distributions of British ceramic material from Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09)?

5.1 Temporal Distribution

The assemblage is made up predominantly of white refined earthenware, including creamware (34%) and pearlware (43%), though earlier wares such as manganese mottled, Jackfield-type and Bristol Staffordshire type slipware are present. Mug, cup/drinking pot, plate and small bowl forms predominate (Table 5.1). While creamware was initially produced ca. 1765, it was not immediately available or affordable to the masses until the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Yentsch 1990: 30). Pearlware was an even later development, with production beginning around 1780, but peaking in the early nineteenth century (Noël Hume 1969: 130). Bristol-Staffordshire-

type slipware was produced from the mid-seventeenth century, Jackfield-type was being produced by about 1745, and manganese mottled ware was produced as early as the 1680s. Though all three of these ware types have earlier initial production dates than the bulk of the assemblage, they were all produced into the last quarter of the eighteenth century, sometimes as late as the early nineteenth century (Barker 1993: 3; Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 34; MACL 2002; Williams 2003: 120 – 121). Dates of historical production therefore place the assemblage of British-made ceramics from EfAx-09 in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

This is interesting because we know historically of an Anglo fishery at the fishing rooms of northern Newfoundland while the French presence in North American waters declined during times of war and in the winter months during the eighteenth century (Cadigan 2009: 85; Head 1976: 176 – 177). This decline in French fishing crews was more common in the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. The Anglo presence on the Petit Nord during the mid-eighteenth century, however, was already notable:

> It is well known that during the celebrated Seven Years' War [1756 – 1763]...the French virtually abandoned Newfoundland; they were chased from the North American seas by British cruisers...and English fishermen occupied all the deserted French establishments as far north as Quirpon [Prowse 2002: 281].

	Bottle	Caudle-Cup	C. Pot	Cup	Dish	Jug	Mug	Pitcher	Plate	Pot	Saucer	Small Bowl	Teapot	Total	Percent
American Redware			1											1	0.4%
Bristol-Staffordshire Type		1		9										10	4%
Creamware				12			27		20		6	12		77	33%
Derbyshire CSW	1									1				2	0.9%
English Porcelain				3										3	1%
Jackfield Type											2		8	10	4%
Manganese Mottled							2	1						3	1%
North American Stoneware										1				1	0.4%
Pearlware				23	1	1	7		17		14	29	1	93	40%
Red Stoneware													1	1	0.4%
Tortoiseshell Ware				4										4	2%
Unidentified White REW				5			2		5			2	1	15	7%
Unknown				1			1							2	0.9%
Whiteware				3			1		4					8	4%
Total	1	1	1	60	1	1	40	1	46	2	22	43	11	230	99%
Percent	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	26%	0.4%	0.4%	17%	0.4%	20%	0.9%	10%	19%	5%	100%	

Table 5. 1 Minimum vessel counts of all Anglo ceramics from EfAx-09 by form and ware type. C. Pot stands for chamber pot. Cup includes drinking pot forms. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

It would seem that Champ Paya was one fishing room excluded from this mid-eighteenth-century occupation. Though some earlier ware types are present, excavation at EfAx-09 failed to recover any wares which would be expected of Anglo-occupied sites from this time, such as white salt-glazed stoneware, delftware or Westerwald stoneware (Pope, pers. comm.). This indicates that a mid-eighteenth-century occupation of Champ Paya by Anglo fishing crews is unlikely. Prowse stated that English fishermen occupied all the deserted French establishments, not simply all French fishing rooms. This suggests that while the French presence in Newfoundland decreased during the Seven Years' War, there were still those who carried on the trans-Atlantic industry. Perhaps Champ Paya was one of the fishing rooms that continued to be used by the French during the Seven Years' War, and was therefore not occupied by Anglo crews at this time. Prowse further states that in 1764, seventeen English vessels were fishing on the shore north of Fleur de Lys, and names Griquet, Conche and Englee, among others, as known locations of British occupation (2002: 196). Cap Rouge harbour is absent from the list, suggesting it may have remained under French occupation. Interestingly, however, the approximate date range for the British ceramic assemblage from Dos de Cheval coincides with another period of warfare, and hence another instance of French absence in Newfoundland: the French Revolutionary war from 1792 – 1799, and the Napoleonic wars from 1800 – 1801, and 1803 – 1815 (Hiller 1993: 10; Janzen 2007: 46).

Given that a tradition of British and Anglo-Newfoundland use of French Shore fishing rooms was already in place, it was likely not long after the start of this period of

warfare that Anglo fishing crews began using Cap Rouge harbour and subsequently Champ Paya. And, while fighting in Europe ended in 1815, it likely took a few years for the French fishing industry to rebound and regain strength in Newfoundland. It seems, then, that the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya fits roughly within the period 1790 to 1820. For just as there was no recovered delftware, white salt-glazed stoneware or Westerwald to indicate an earlier occupation, only small amounts of whiteware were found—with its production starting about 1820—and no ironstone, which became prominent in the 1840s (MACL 2002). It would seem, then, that the archaeology corroborates the historical narrative in which the French re-claimed and once again occupied Champ Paya after the years of Anglo occupation sometime around 1820. But who were these Anglo fishermen?

While Prowse (2002) uses the term "English fisherman", evidence from this study suggests that those who occupied Champ Paya were actually Anglo-Newfoundlanders prosecuting a local, seasonal, migratory fishery. While some of the mid-eighteenth-century occupations of French fishing rooms were likely by trans-Atlantic British crews, as the eighteenth century drew on, the Newfoundland resident fishery grew and the British migratory fishery declined. Therefore, in the later years of the eighteenth century and through the nineteenth century, the Anglo presence in northern Newfoundland was increasingly due to a regional migration by Anglo-Newfoundlanders rather than the trans-Atlantic movements of British fishing crews. Such an opportunity to increase operations and production could not be ignored and so the north shore of Newfoundland and southern coast of Labrador became a new seasonal frontier for resident Newfoundland fishermen (Barbour 1973; Burke 1991; Cadigan 1995; Hussey 1981).

The Dos de Cheval assemblage is comprised primarily of late eighteenth-century and early to mid-nineteenth-century ceramic material, and for the most part, this material was recovered from archaeological events in Phases 4 through 6, corresponding to the dates 1780 through 1904. However, there are several objects recovered from contexts in phases that pre- and post-date either the Anglo-occupation here, or the manufacture of certain ceramic types. For example, a pearlware plate was recovered from an event within Phase 3, which dates ca. 1750 – 1780. Pearlware was first produced in 1779 peaking in popularity in the early nineteenth century, and so is out of context in an event from Phase 3. This is likely an example of infiltration out of context. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, the soil at the site is composed primarily of beach cobbles and pebbles. This composition, in addition to the annual movement at the site involved in constructing and deconstructing buildings and prosecuting a shore-based fishery, lends itself to a certain amount of material slipping between the cracks and getting mixed downward through the strata.

A single object of Bristol-Staffordshire-type slipware was recovered from an event within Phase 1, and several objects of this type were recovered from Phase 3 contexts. While the mid-seventeenth- to late eighteenth-century production dates for this ware type fit with these phases, both Phase 1 and Phase 3 pre-date the Anglo occupation of Champ Paya. This raises an interesting question, one which St. John (2011) briefly touched on and which will be explored in a later section of this chapter: were the French fishermen at Champ Paya using British-made ceramics? The answer to this question will also potentially help explain the bulk of British-made material recovered from Phase 6 contexts, post-dating the Anglo-occupation. While 69% of the assemblage comes from

contexts in Phases 4 and 5, which coincide with the Anglo-Newfoundlander occupation, an additional 25% comes from Phase 6 contexts, dating to a period after which these Newfoundlanders would have abandoned their use of Champ Paya, and during which the French would have once again used the space.

Three objects in the assemblage were recovered from Phase 7 contexts, dating to post-1904 and after the fishing room was abandoned completely. These finds, two of which are pearlware and one English porcelain, were all recovered from the present sod surface. One explanation is that these were deposited late in the fishing room's history, and after the site was abandoned there was no further anthropogenic build-up to bury the finds. Additionally, they could have been washed down from the upper terrace during a period of heavy rain or in the spring thaw, being re-deposited on the top surface of the lower terrace. They could also have been re-deposited during a storm, in which waves ate away at the receding lower terrace, churning up deposited material, washing it up and re-depositing it on the grass surface.

Four of the vessels in the assemblage have not been assigned to a phase because of missing provenience information. Two of these, a creamware saucer and an unidentified white REW plate, are surface finds from the cobble beach in Area C. One vessel is a surface find from the cobble beach in Area E, a pot of North American Stoneware. A pearlware cup/drinking pot was recovered from excavation unit W36S103 in Area C, but it is not known in which event, and therefore phase, this vessel was found.

5.2 Spatial Distribution

The spatial distribution of material will complement and augment the examination of temporal distribution above. With the exception of a few anomalies, the vast majority of the EfAx-09 British ceramic assemblage was found in contexts from Phases 4, 5 and 6. The following sections will examine the distribution of material by phase, and seek to explain how the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were using the site.

5.2.1 Phase 4 (1780 – 1820)

Phase 4, spanning the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, was a period of growth and expansion at Champ Paya (Burns, pers. comm.). During the earlier phases at the site, the majority of activity and structures were confined to Area C. A census taken in 1680 suggests about 35 – 40 French seasonal occupants were using Champ Paya (Pope 2009c: 49). However, by the end of the eighteenth century and through the nineteenth century, the fishery was carried out at a much larger scale, with sizeable crews producing more salted-fish. The census of 1832 identified many of the same shore stations as the census in 1680 but this later survey offered much higher estimates of seasonal population. For example, the nineteenth-century census suggests about 130 fishermen were at Champ Paya, nearly triple the 1680 estimate (Burns, pers. comm.; Pope 2009c: 44). This is reflected in the archaeology: while Area C remained central, structures and activity areas expanded into Area A, B, D and F to accommodate the growing industry.

This phase, spanning the period between 1780 and 1820, essentially encompasses the entire Anglo occupation of Champ Paya, with about a decade of French occupation

from 1780 – 1790 (although there are 15 years of overlap with Phase 5, spanning 1805 – 1845). Ceramic material recovered from Phase 4 contexts comprises 20% of the assemblage, and shows a relatively even distribution across Area C. No British ceramic material was recovered outside of Area C from Phase 4 (Figure 5.1).

The majority of the material recovered from Phase 4 contexts is creamware and pearlware, with two Jackfield-type objects—a saucer and a teapot—and a single Bristol-Staffordshire-type cup/drinking pot. This cup/drinking pot was found just northeast of the landward end of the stage, in a working area used to prepare fishing lines (#13 in Figure 5.2) (Burns, in draft). The Jackfield-type saucer was recovered from a context associated with shelter #23 at the south extent of Area C. The teapot was found in an area of open space with domestic debris (#99). One object of unknown ware type, a mug, was recovered from a working space where fishing lines were prepared (Burns, in draft). This object is comprised of only a single, water-worn sherd. It vaguely resembles ironstone, but the contextual date range suggests this is not so.

White REW makes up the rest of the Phase 4 material. Of the objects, 22 are creamware, 15 are pearlware, 1 tortoiseshell ware, while 3 are unidentified white REW. There is very equal distribution of creamware and pearlware vessels across Area C in Phase 4 contexts. Ten objects of white REW are associated with cabin features present at the site during Phase 4 (#s 46, 15 & 66), while an additional six vessels were found in close proximity to cabin features, and could be associated with the domestic scatter of said features. Of the remaining 22 white REW vessels from Phase 4, 12 were found in various working contexts, such as fishing line preparation areas or barrel-working space (#s 67, 68, 13 & 14); 2 come from the stage area (#16); 1 object was recovered from the

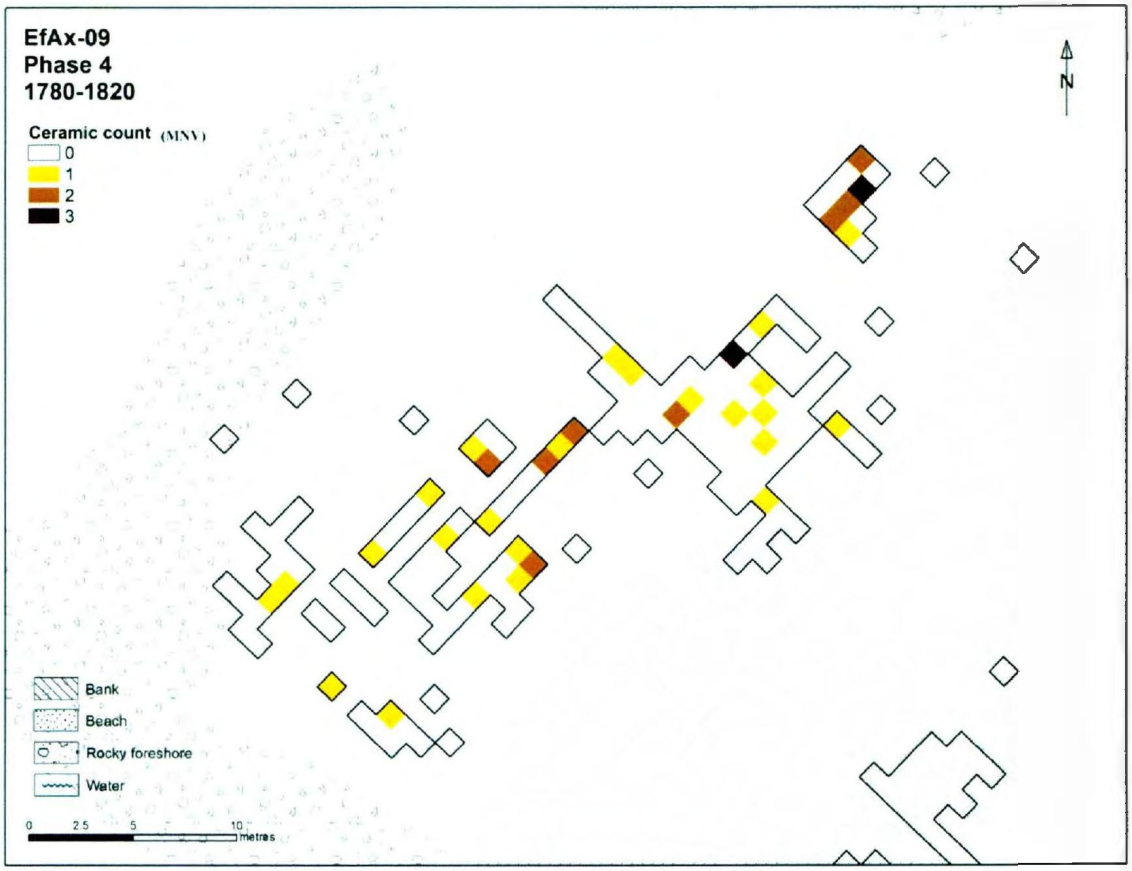

Figure 5. 1 Distribution of all ceramic types in Phase 4 at EfAx-09, indicating minimum number of vessels (MNV). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

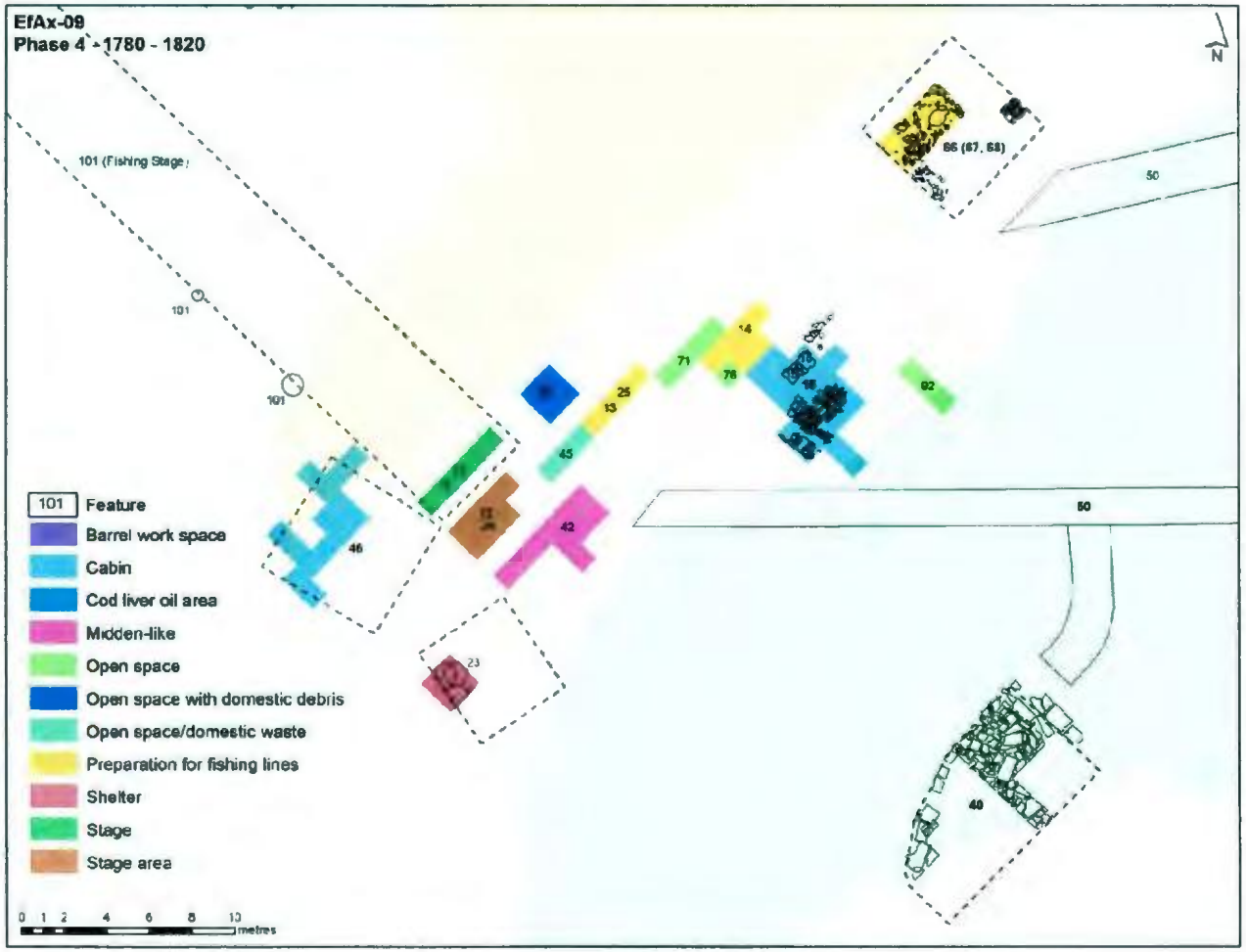

Figure 5. 2 Features and use of space in Area C during Phase 4 at EfAx-09. Numbers correspond to the Harris Matrix numbers of the matrix for EfAx-09, as designated by Burns (in draft). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

cod-liver processing area (#24); 5 were found in a midden-like area (#42); 3 come from areas of open space with domestic debris (#s 99 & 45); and 2 objects come from an area of spatial reorganization following a cabin fire that happened near the end of Phase 3 (Burns, in draft).

Comparable to the distribution of ware types, the distribution of different vessel forms in Phase 4 is fairly even across the site. The assemblage is comprised of eleven cups/drinking pots, eleven mugs, ten saucers, seven plates, six small bowls, and a single teapot. There is a small preference to beverage consumption vessels as compared to solid food consumption vessels. While the rest of the vessel forms represent individual consumption, the teapot is a communal or shared vessel form, capable of serving multiple individuals. In this light, it makes sense that there are fewer teapots than other forms.

5.2.2 Phase 5 (1805 – 1845)

The first fifteen years of Phase 5, which overlap with the last fifteen years of Phase 4, represent about half of the duration of Anglo-Newfoundlander occupation of Champ Paya. This overlap must be kept in mind in an analysis of the Phase 5 material, as some of the material from Phase 4 contexts would have been contemporaneous with material from some Phase 5 contexts. Additionally, it was mentioned previously in Chapter 3 that some contexts were unable to be narrowed to a single phase, and so span two. Artifacts from such contexts are considered in both phases; there are five such cases for the Phase 4 to 5 span, and nine spanning phases 5 and 6. Like Phase 4, Phase 5 was a period of both French and Anglo use of the site, although unlike Phase 4, Phase 5 began

during the period of Anglo-Newfoundlander occupation, and ended at a point after which the French fishing rights on the Treaty Shore had been renewed (Hiller 1993: 10).

Ceramic distribution in Phase 5 is slightly more clustered than the even spread of material in Phase 4, with concentrations of material to the southwest of the stage, in central Area C, at the northern edge of Area C, and much further northeast, in Area A (Figure 5.3). Especially high object counts are found in central Area C, some excavation units boasting ten and eleven vessels. Phase 5 material represents 120 vessels, about 52% of the assemblage.

The cluster of material from the area southwest of the stage area is all associated with cabin #46, a feature persisting from Phase 4 (Figures 5.4 and 5.5) (Burns, in draft). Finds here include an American redware chamber pot and a red stoneware teapot, each the only examples of these ware types recovered at EfAx-09. Also, this is the only recovered chamber pot associated with the Anglo occupation period. A Derbyshire CSW bottle was also found in association with this cabin, one of only two vessels of this type from the site and the only example of this form linked to Anglo-Newfoundlander use here. Two small bowls of unidentified white REW, a creamware cup/drinking pot and a Bristol-Staffordshire-type cup/drinking pot are the other finds from this context.

The bulk of the material from Phase 5 was recovered in central Area C. Of this, only two vessels—a cup/drinking pot and a plate, both pearlware—were found associated with the demolition of the Phase 4 cabin, #15. The rest of the objects from central Area C were recovered from areas of working space and open space with domestic debris throughout (#s 9, 11 and 78) (Burns, in draft). Finds here consist of 40 pearlware vessels; 19 creamware vessels; 3 Jackfield-type teapots; 1 cup/drinking pot of English porcelain; 1

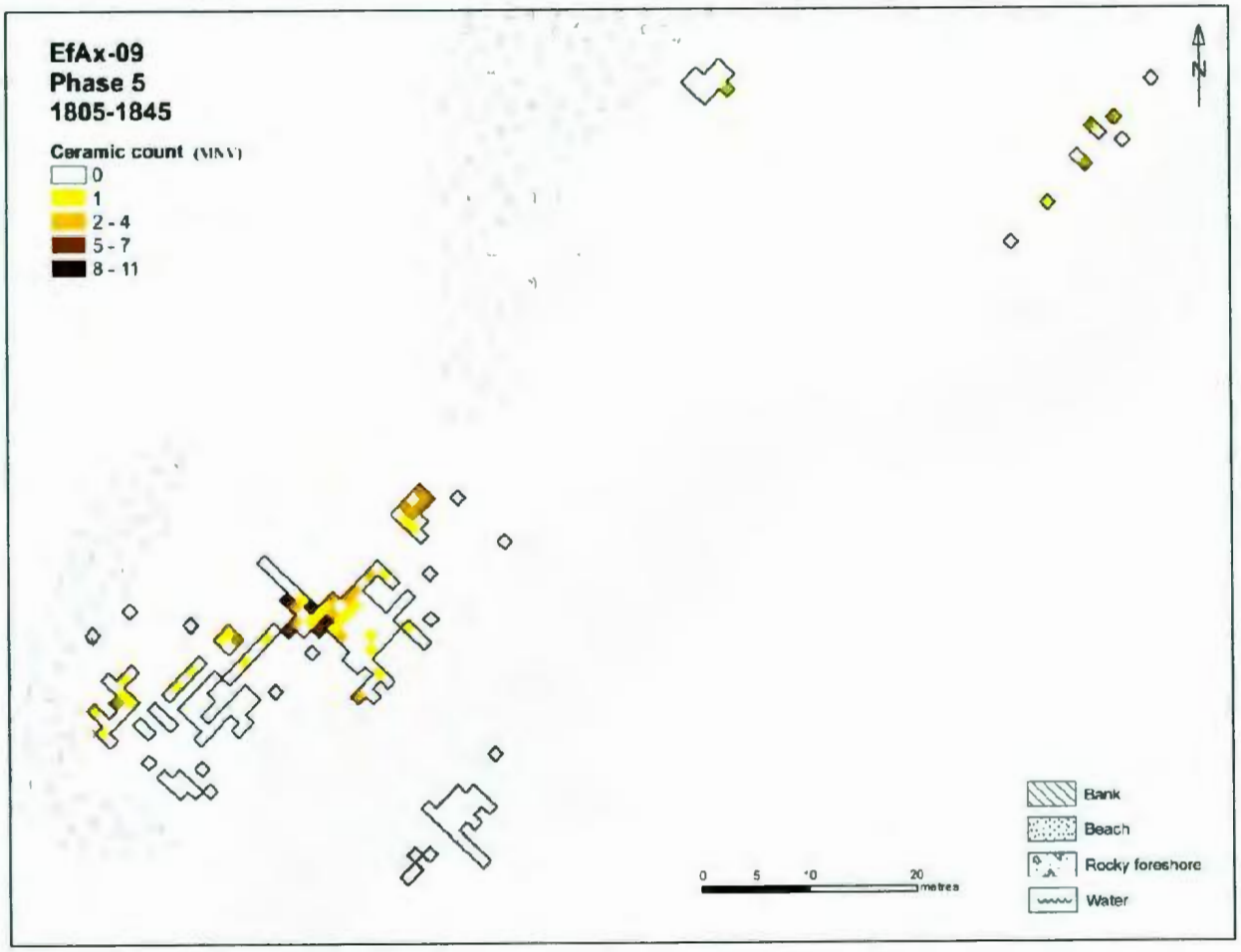

Figure 5. 3 Ceramic distribution for material in Phase 5 contexts at EfAx-09 indicating minimum number of vessels (MNV). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

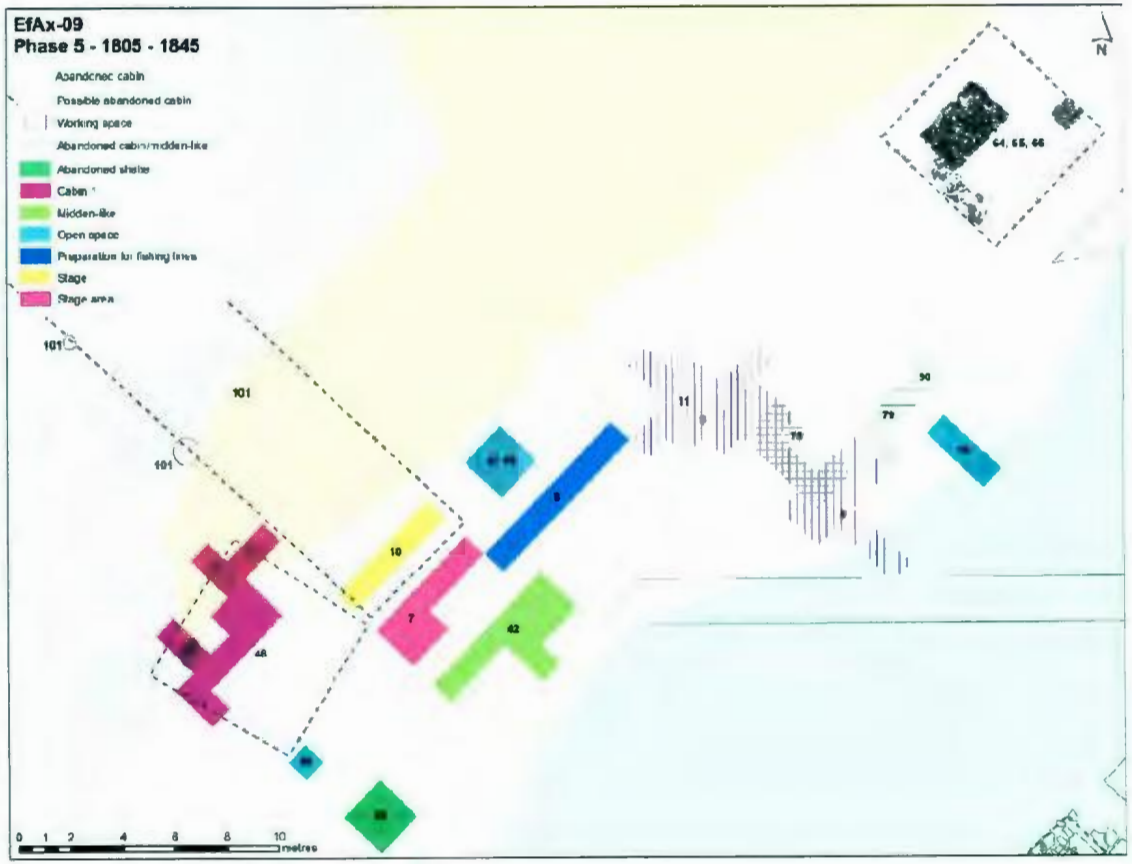

Figure 5. 4 Features and spatial use in Area C during Phase 5 at EfAx-09. Numbers correspond to the Harris Matrix numbers of the matrix for EfAx-09, as designated by Burns (in draft). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

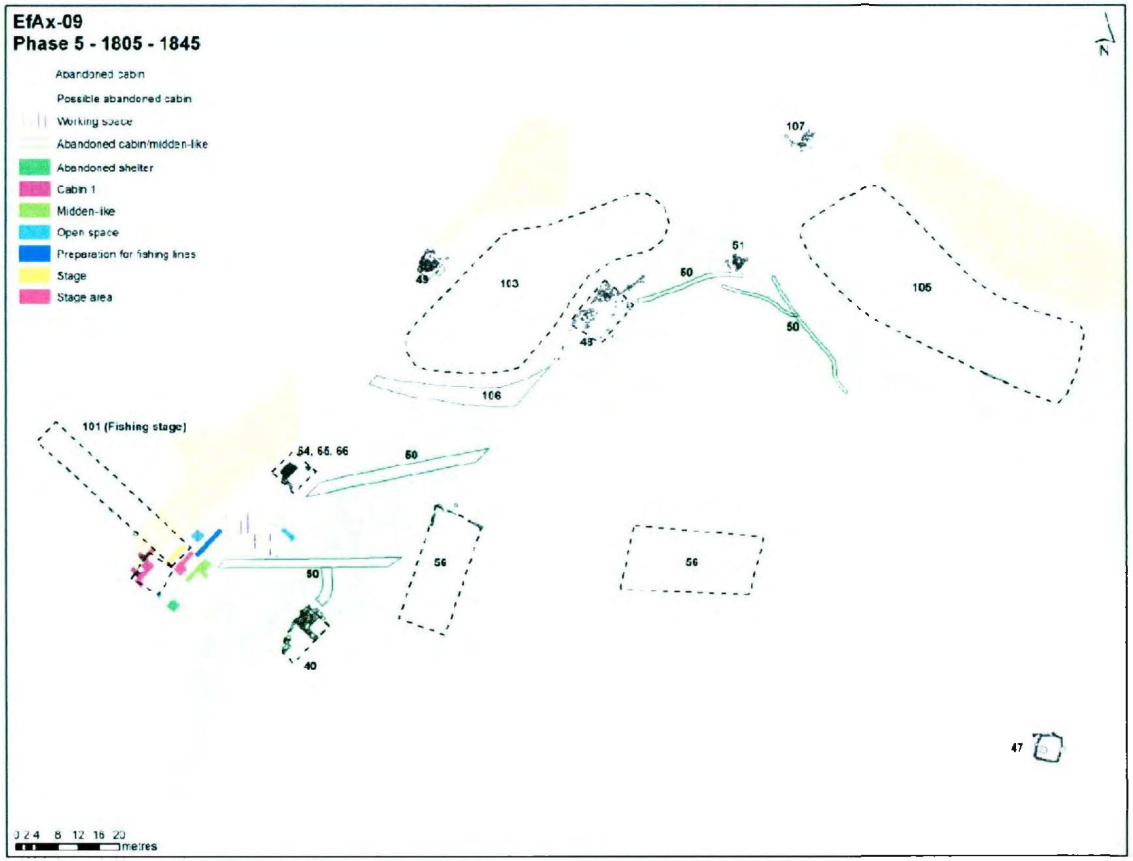

Figure 5. 5 Features and spatial use across the whole site during Phase 5 at EfAx-09. Numbers correspond to the Harris Matrix numbers of the matrix for EfAx-09, as designated by Burns (in draft). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

cup/drinking pot of Bristol-Staffordshire-type; 1 tortoiseshell ware cup/drinking pot; and 1 unidentified white REW mug.

Excavation in the northern edge of Area C recovered fifteen objects from Phase 5. Of these, four were found in contexts spanning Phases 4 and 5, associated with cabin #66, and have been discussed in the previous section. The remaining eleven vessels were found in association with the abandon and demolition of this cabin (context # 65), and include objects of Jackfield-type, manganese mottled, creamware, pearlware and unidentified white REW.

In Area A, nine ceramic vessels were recovered from contexts associated with a cookroom, #48. These are the nine objects that come from contexts in Phase 5 and/or 6, mentioned above. Finds include a Bristol-Staffordshire caudle-cup, a Jackfield-type teapot and a plate of unidentified white REW, in addition to four plates and two cup/drinking pots of pearlware and whiteware.

The remainder of the Phase 5 finds are more scattered: a single pearlware cup/drinking pot associated with the Breton bread oven, #49; a plate and a cup/drinking pot, both unidentified white REW, from the stage, #101; a mug and a plate of creamware, and a saucer and a plate of pearlware from an area of possible cabin demolition, #98; a creamware plate and a Jackfield-type teapot from working space where fishing lines were prepared, #8; a manganese mottled pitcher and a creamware plate from an anthropogenic ramp, #50, located almost due south of central Area C; and a Jackfield-type saucer from an area of open space (#60), which is the only example of decorated Jackfield-type in the

assemblage. It appears to have a painted blue floral design on the interior, while the exterior displays heavily worn oil gilded design.

Comparable to Phase 4, spatial distribution of vessel forms from Phase 5 seems fairly even and without obvious pattern. Proportions of vessel forms are as follows: 28 cups/drinking pots; 26 plates; 24 small bowls; 18 mugs; 10 saucers; 8 teapots; 1 caudle-cup; 1 bottle; 1 chamber pot; 1 jug; 1 pitcher. Ratios of beverage consumption vessels and food consumption vessels are more equal in Phase 5 than in Phase 4. Serving and storage vessels are found in a higher proportion in Phase 5.

5.2.3 Phase 6 (1845 – 1904)

This phase corresponds to what should be a period of solely French occupation at Champ Paya, ending with the signing of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904, by which French claims in Newfoundland were terminated (Hiller 1993: 11). It is likely that French fishermen had abandoned this site by the late 1800s, before the turn of the century, though 1904 marks the official date when they lost rights across Newfoundland (Burns, pers. comm.). By this period the French had returned to Champ Paya and the period of Anglo occupation was over.

Phase 6 finds of British-made ceramics account for 67 vessels and nearly 30% of the assemblage. While the material from Phase 5 was more clustered than that from Phase 4, the material retrieved from Phase 6 events exhibits still more concentrated grouping in central Area C. Material was also recovered from Areas A and D (Figure 5.6).

The highest concentration of material, 31 vessels, comes from an area of disturbance (#39), with an additional 11 vessels recovered from the working space/open

space (#3), immediately adjacent (Burns, in draft) (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). Vessels recovered from the disturbed area are almost all creamware and pearlware, with the exception of a Derbyshire CSW pot, a cup/drinking pot of unknown ware, teapot and a mug of unidentified white REW and a tortoiseshell ware cup/drinking pot. Creamware and pearlware from this context represent twelve and fourteen vessels respectively. The eleven vessels from the surrounding area are all creamware and pearlware, but for a single cup/drinking pot of Bristol-Staffordshire-type.

In Area A, eleven vessels were found in association with the cookroom, #48 (Burns, in draft). Of these, nine are from contexts in Phase 5 and/or 6 and, as such, have been discussed above. The additional two vessels are a mug and a cup/drinking pot, both of whiteware.

Other finds from Phase 6 were distributed as follows: four vessels—a saucer and a small bowl of pearlware, a creamware mug and a Jackfield teapot—were recovered from the northern edge of Area C, within the context of the abandonment of a boat working space and coincidental open space (#63); a whiteware cup/drinking pot was found in the vicinity of the stage (#4); a mug and small bowl, both creamware, were found in an area of midden-like/open space (#96); a creamware cup/drinking pot was found in working space with domestic debris, #6; a whiteware plate was found in Area D, in association with the standing calvary, #47 (Burns, in draft).

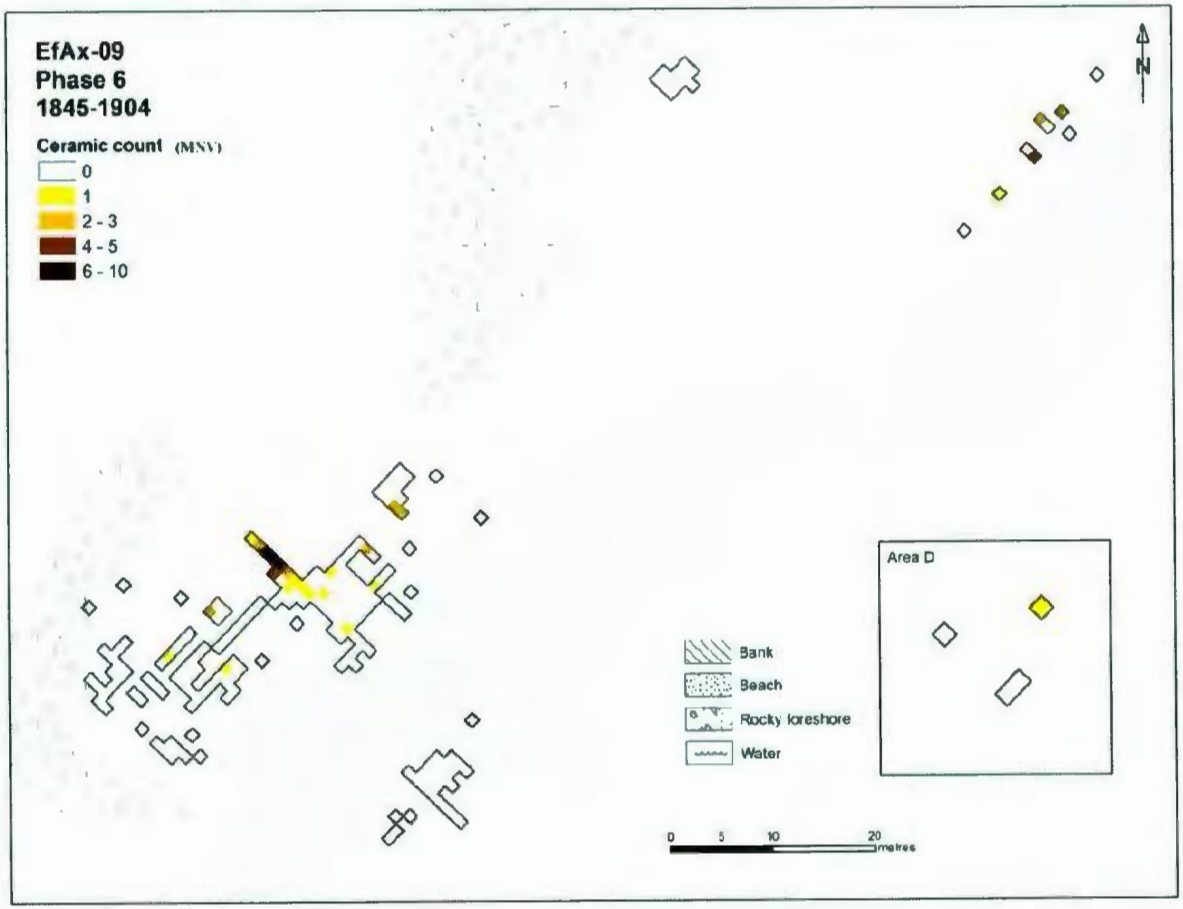

Figure 5. 6 Distribution of Phase 6 ceramic material at EfAx-09 showing count of minimum number of vessels (MNV). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

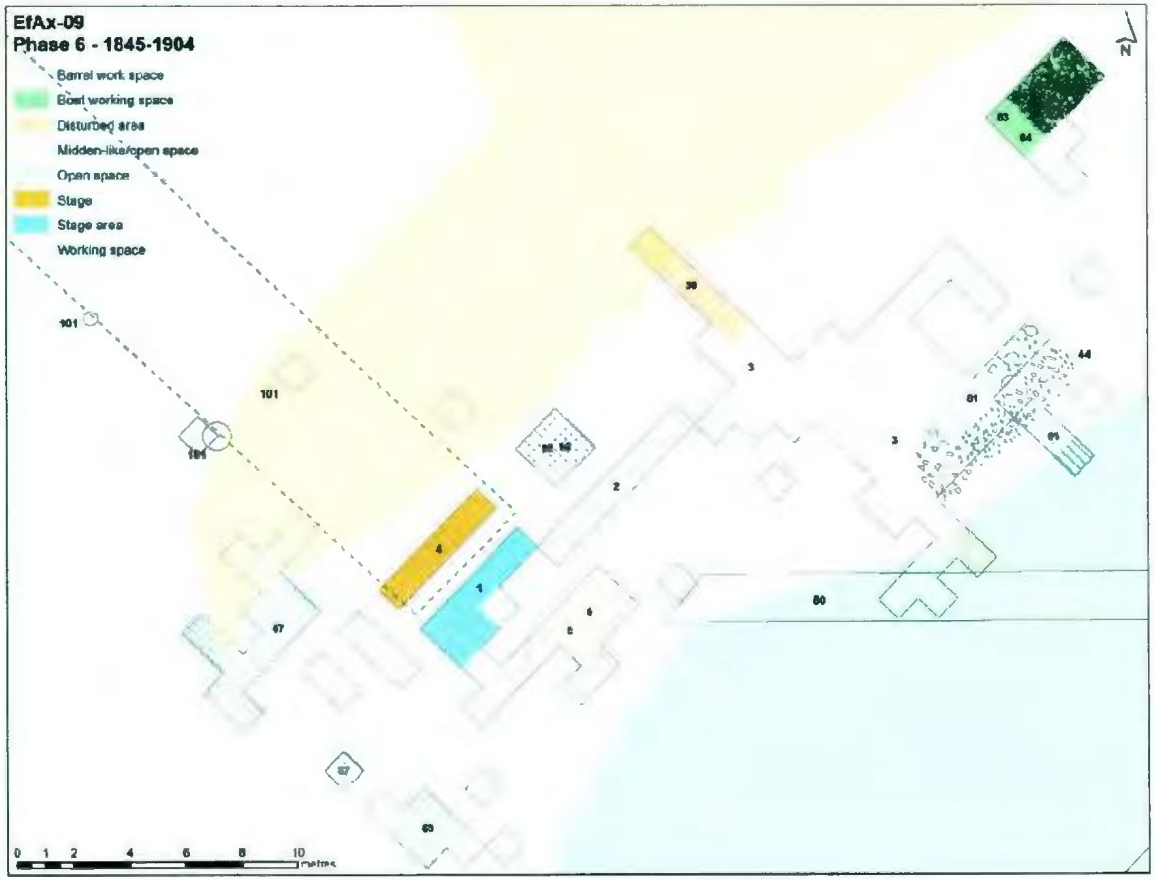

Figure 5. 7 Features and spatial use in Area C during Phase 6 at EfAx-09. Numbers correspond to the Harris Matrix numbers of the matrix for EfAx-09, as designated by Burns (in draft). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

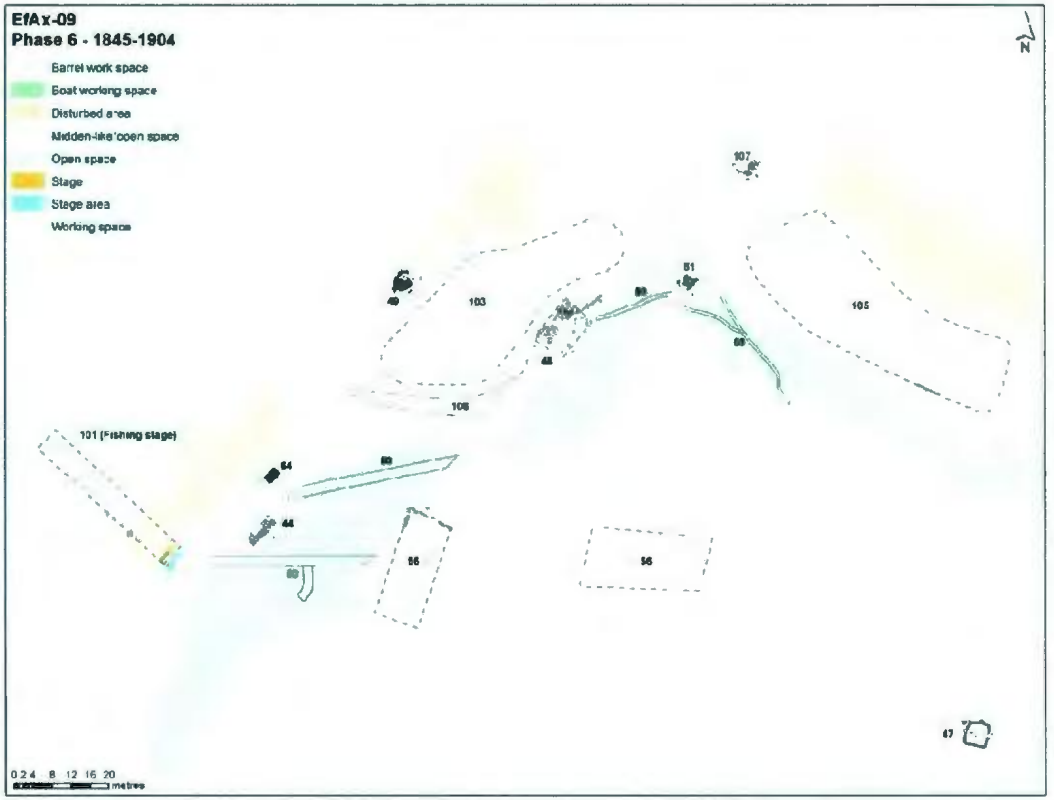

Figure 5. 8 Features and spatial use across the site during Phase 6 at EfAx-09. Numbers correspond to the Harris Matrix numbers of the matrix for EfAx-09, as designated by Burns (in draft). (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

Once again, the spatial distribution of vessel forms shows no real patterning. Counts of Phase 6 vessel forms are as follows: 19 cups/drinking pots; 15 plates; 14 small bowls; 12 mugs; 3 teapots; 2 saucers; ; 1 pot; and 1 caudle cup. Proportions of beverage consumption forms and food consumption vessels are relatively equal, much as they were in Phase 5. Storage and serving vessels represent about 6% of Phase 6 forms, falling midway between Phase 4 and Phase 5 proportions.

5.3 Anglo-Newfoundlander Use of Space

Based on the spatial and temporal distribution of ceramic finds described above, we can begin to understand details of the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya, and how these fishermen used the space.

When the Anglo fishermen arrived in Cap Rouge Harbour around 1790, certain infrastructure and buildings would have been present at Champ Paya from the previous French occupation. While by treaty agreement French fishermen were barred from over-wintering and settlement in Newfoundland, in later years, crews built more permanent features (St. John 2011: 6). The late eighteenth century was a time of growth and industrialization in the fishery, and migratory crews began to invest more in the construction of fishing rooms. This was especially true after 1815, after which time fishing rooms were assigned by the drawing of lots for five-year periods (Pope 2009a: 137).

It is likely that upon arrival at Champ Paya, these Anglo-Newfoundlanders would have been thrilled to see extant structures, and would have used the same working and domestic space already established by the French, saving themselves time, energy and resources. This notion is supported archaeologically.

The most obvious example is the stage. This was the focal point of the whole fishing room, and was present at Champ Paya from the earliest occupation. Granted, there were many iterations of the stage as this was rebuilt every year or two at a migratory fishing site, but it was always built in the same place at this site—the only good landing spot for a boat (Burns, pers. comm.; Pope 2009b: 1). Historically we know the Anglo-Newfoundlanders seasonally migrated to the French Shore for the purpose of fishing; logically we can assume that they were using the same stage area to process their catch as the French were; archaeologically, we find British made ceramics in the stage area dating to the period of Anglo occupation at Champ Paya. While primarily a work-related structure, in earlier periods the stage was also used for some domestic activity (St. John 2011: 186). Though the Anglo occupation does not represent a particularly early period in the site's history, it could be that a hot beverage was consumed in the work-space from time to time. Another explanation for ceramic material being recovered in association with the stage could be that the area under and around the stage was already a waste-deposit area, as fish offal from the processing was dumped there (Pocius 1992). It could be that some broken objects and other waste were simply tossed under and around the stage too, a place out of the way of high traffic and work activity.

Not surprisingly, much of the ceramic material was recovered from domestic contexts, where most food preparation, storage and consumption would have taken place.

British-made ceramics were found in association with five cabin-type structures at EfAx-09: cabins #46, 15 & 66, shelter #23, and cookroom #48. Cabin #46 was present on the site from some time in Phase 3, consisting of multiple occupation floors, falling out of use some time in late Phase 5 or early Phase 6 (Burns, in draft). The shelter was associated with a cluster of several small, non-contemporaneous hearth features, exhibiting continued use from possibly as early as 1700 and through Phase 4, being abandoned by Phase 5 (Burns, in draft; Pope et al 2008: 5). The cookroom in Area A was present at Champ Paya from Phase 4 through Phase 6. All three structures show signs of use by French crews, and while there is no distinct Anglo layer seen archaeologically, Anglo material was recovered from contexts that coincide with times of Newfoundlander occupation, testifying to Anglo domestic activity in these areas.

Cabins #66 and 15 both appeared on the site in Phase 4, disappearing in, or by, Phase 5, and exhibiting use by Anglo-Newfoundlanders in this short period. Keeping in mind the fifteen year overlap between Phases 4 and 5, and the probability that the Newfoundlanders used already existing structures, these cabins likely appeared some time before 1790 and disappeared only after the French returned and reorganized the space to accommodate their growing fishing industry. For instance, overlying the ruin of both structures was workspace (Burns, in draft). This coincides with the appearance of a large dormitory (#40) in Area F around the end of Phase 4, re-enforcing the idea of growing industry and work-related core pushing domestic and leisure activity to the periphery of the site. Interestingly, there was no Anglo material recovered from within the context of the dormitory, suggesting that the abandon of the cabins, the institution of the working

space and the erection of the dormitory all post-date the Anglo-Newfoundlander period of use.

A surprisingly high number of ceramic finds come from contexts related to work, such as fishing line preparation and barrel working, and from various open-space contexts across the site. In her study of the French ceramic assemblage from Area C at EfAx-09, Amy St. John suggested that sometimes industrial and domestic activities could be integrated, though admittedly to a higher degree before the nineteenth century. On finding a vessel in direct association with a boat ramp, she commented, "perhaps the fishermen, or more likely an officer, were sipping posset while working on shore" (2011: 178).

While it is possible that the Anglo fishermen carried out a similar practice of having a drink or a bite to eat on the job, 86 or more vessels is a lot of vessels to explain in this manner. Another rationalization could be that material got shuffled around in the reorganization of space. For example, as mentioned above, after cabin #15 was abandoned, that central section of Area C became working space. It could be that after the cabin was dismantled or fell, crews attempted to clean up the rubble and level out the surface to make a flat workspace, and some of the remnant material from the cabin occupation was assimilated into this space. Pope suggests that the continued mixing of strata was just part of life at a muddy fishing room (2009b: 1). Additionally, it should be kept in mind how far fragments of a vessel can scatter when broken; to find a piece of a cup among the barrel working space—just metres from where a cabin may have stood, or from a bit of open space where a crew member may have been standing around having a drink—may not be as unreasonable as it sounds.

It appears that the Anglo-Newfoundlanders used the space at Champ Paya much the same as the French used it, which makes sense, especially given that much of the infrastructure was already in place when the Newfoundlanders arrived. The main difference is the length of time for which the two groups used the fishing room and the size of the fishery occupation. The family-based fishery of the Anglo-Newfoundlanders likely involved fewer people than the large French industry, as was evidenced by the French expansion of the working space in Phase 5, and the consequent erection of a large dormitory in Area F to accommodate a large crew.

5.4 Disturbed Contexts and French REW

Of particular interest is the material recovered from Phase 6 contexts, for two reasons. 1) Much of the assemblage from this phase was found within the heavily disturbed area, which is curious. 2) Historically, one would assume the Anglo-Newfoundlander presence had ended by this point, yet almost 30% of the assemblage comes from Phase 6 contexts. How do we explain these two phenomena?

The disturbance in Area C spanned excavation units W42S103 to W38S103, extending into W38S104. This was not just a small amount of infiltration, but a complete mixing of strata, almost inverting the order of things: a seventeenth-century mulberry pipe was found in one of the upper events, and creamware was recovered from the bottom event, dug into the natural beach (Burns, pers. comm.). The occurrence of much REW throughout the disturbed events suggests a post-1800 date for the disturbance. This can be refined when we consider that much of the disturbed material mends with material found

in undisturbed events from Phases 5 and 6 (Appendix B). The disturbance must post-date the time of the final deposit, and therefore likely happened sometime in Phase 6, in the mid-nineteenth century. But why?

There are several possible explanations. A current resident of Conche recalls that when he was young, in the 1960s, he and other children were sent to scavenge lead from known fishing room sites in the area so they could melt it down into new cod jiggers (Burns, in draft). While this would disrupt archaeological deposits, this type of activity likely would not result in a dug-up area of such a size. It could be that the fishing crew at Champ Paya at the time had an excess of salt at the end of their fishing season, and instead of shipping it back to Europe with them, they buried it in the ground to be recovered and used upon their return the next year. This could be the site of such a burial (Burns, in draft). Alternatively, the re-organization of space is inherent at a migratory fishing site, as structures were built and abandoned and the uses of spaces shifted. While the erection of posts for a building or the re-leveling of space for new construction would not cause such an episode of disturbance, the construction of a retaining wall might. At the very bottom of the disturbed events, a rough alignment of several stones and rocks (event 1203) was noted, dug into the natural beach. At the time of excavation, this was tentatively identified as a retaining wall. It makes sense that to build a retaining wall, one would dig deep, into the natural surface, to create a steady and supportive base, and such a large area may needed to have been opened up in order to maneuver the stones into place (Burns, in draft).

Of the 67 vessels from Phase 6, 31come from this disturbed area. While this seems like a high percentage, it must be remembered that because it is disturbed, much of

it was likely originally associated with Phase 4 and 5 contexts. If we recall the distributions of ceramics in these earlier phases, especially in Phase 5, there were concentrations of material near the disturbed area, and so high vessel counts from this central activity area can be expected. Also, the disturbance spans a fairly large area and so the finds may not be as concentrated as they seem.

So what of the rest of the assemblage recovered from Phase 6? How does one explain British-made material turning up in post-Anglo occupation contexts? There are three vessels in particular that can potentially help answer these questions. One of these, Hatcher Vessel 41, is a sponge-decorated whiteware plate, found in association with the standing cross in Area D (Figure 5.9). This particular type of sponging, known as open-sponge, did not become common until the mid-nineteenth century, after the period of Anglo occupation (MACL 2002). An explanation for the occurrence of this particular vessel can be found in Burns' (2008) Master's research on crosses and calvaries as symbols of French presence in Newfoundland. During an interview with a resident of the nearby community of Conche, it came up that it was not uncommon for people to hike out to Dos de Cheval and picnic there: "My oldest informant told me that when she was young she used to go every Sunday afternoon with her family to picnic at the religious monument. She mentions that it was a common tradition for many families from Conche and Crouse" (Burns 2008: 97). So, it could be that this plate in particular, and perhaps others of this more recent ware-type, are the result of a broken plate during a local family's picnic, not regionally migrating Anglo-Newfoundland fishers.

Another vessel suggests another explanation. Hatcher Vessel 103, is a whiteware plate, decorated in scenic black transfer print with a French maker's mark that reads

Figure 5. 9 Hatcher Vessel 189, a whiteware plate with blue open-sponged decoration (ca. 1860 – 1935). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

"OPAQU...UEMINES" below a crowned shield (Figure 5.10). This corresponds to the mark from a pottery in Lorraine, France, east of Paris. It reads, "*Opaques de Sarreguemines*", and the crowned shield is the arms of Lorraine. This mark can be found in many variations, and dates ca. 1850 to 1950 (Sarreguemines 2006). Hatcher Vessel 103 was found in association with the Area A cookroom, as was the rest of the whiteware. It would seem, then, that the French may be responsible for the whiteware at the site, explaining the presence of this later (ca. 1830 onwards) ware after the Newfoundlanders were thought to have left.

The other significant vessel in puzzling out this Phase 6 ceramic material is Hatcher Vessel 179, actually recovered from a Phase 5 context. This is a pearlware cup/drinking pot found in the context of the Breton bread oven in Area A (#49). Though seemingly a British made vessel, it was found associated with a feature built by the French "during the second decade of the nineteenth century or later" (Godbout 2008: 96). This corresponds to a period after the French reclaimed use of this fishing room, sometime after 1815, negating any Anglo use of the structure. Therefore, this pearlware is attributable to the French fishermen. Furthermore, "unlike the English white wares, French coarse earthenware (CEW) was not exported, and its presence in the [first occupation layer] assemblage suggests this occupation is linked to French fishing crews" (Godbout 2008: 96).

While commonly we assume that REW is representative of a British presence, the French were known to import creamware and pearlware from England in large amounts in the eighteenth century (Miller 1984: 2 – 3). In fact, the European continent was the largest importer of British ceramics until about 1835, when it was surpassed by North

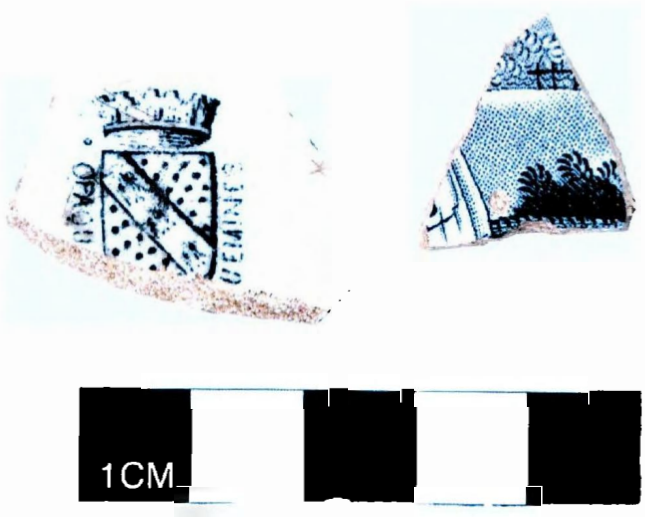

Figure 5. 10 Hatcher Vessel 103, a French black transfer-printed whiteware plate, marked with the arms of Lorraine (ca. 1850 – 1950). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

America (Barker and Majewski 2006: 223). Additionally, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the French had developed their own refined earthenware industry in northern France, producing creamware and pearlware and, as was shown above, whiteware (Maire 2008; Sussman 1997: Appendix C; Williams-Wood 1981: 222). At this time, white refined earthenwares were widely produced and relatively standardized in their material, moulds, technology etc., making it particularly hard to discern the origin of a particular vessel (Barker and Majewski 2006: 215). The situation gets even more complex when you consider that as early as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, English potters were moving to France, being hired by potteries there to produce ceramics of similar type and quality as they made in their home country (Burns, pers. comm.; Maire 2008; Williams-Wood 1981:222). It is indeed possible, then—likely even—that REW from Phase 6 can be explained as made and used by the French, or British-made but used by the French; either way, the emphasis is on the fact that the French were using REW, a fact that is overlooked too often.

Several vessels recovered from EfAx-09 provide good examples of the type of similarity between French and British REW, and highlight the difficulty in discerning provenance for such objects. Hatcher Vessels 202 and 13 are creamware saucers with a banded and floral/foliage decoration on the interior surfaces (Figures 5.11 and 5.12). This motif is comparable both to a design produced by Josiah Wedgwood in Staffordshire (see Mankowitz 1966, Plate VI, #164) and also to a decoration on a vessel made in Creil, France (see Maire 2008:324), so how can we tell if this is a French or a British vessel? Additionally, consider Hatcher Vessel 43, a plate with a transfer-printed scenic view

Figure 5. 11 Hatcher Vessel 202, a hand-painted creamware saucer with a polychrome floral and banding design that resembles both French and English decorative motifs. (ca. 1795 – 1830 if British). (Hilary Hatcher).

Figure 5. 12 Hatcher Vessel 13, a hand-painted pearlware saucer with polychrome floral and banding design that resembles both French and English decorative motifs. (ca. 1795 – 1830 if British). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

(Figure 5.13). In the nineteenth century, British views and American views—images of homesteads, cities, the countryside, churches and landmarks etc.—were very popular, and widely produced in British potteries (Samford 2000:64 – 65). However, a similar taste developed in France, and designs depicting French views were in vogue. There is no way to tell from this small portion of the print on Hatcher Vessel 43 if this is a French, American or British scene, nor indeed where this vessel was produced. Without French words or recognized French designs, in a lot of cases scientific ICP-MS (inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry) testing would have to be done to determine their place of origin (Burns, pers. comm.; Maire 2008). It's highly probable that some of the REW, beyond that with the French maker's mark, is of French manufacture, and more still was likely used by the French, even if it was British-made. However, determining which exact vessels these are is beyond the scope of the current study. Suffice it to say that certainly some of those vessels being counted in the British ceramic assemblage were, in fact, associated with the French at Champ Paya.

How does the Anglo assemblage compare to French material from the same site?

5.5 British and French Ceramic Assemblages: A Comparison

This section will examine and compare the British ceramics assemblage with the French assemblage from Dos de Cheval in an attempt to discern what similarities or

Figure 5. 13 Hatcher Vessel 43, a pearlware saucer bearing a blue transfer-printed image of a building and the surrounding landscape. This could equally be a British, American or French view (ca. 1790s – 1860s). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

differences exist within the assemblages, and what these might say about the different groups of fishermen who used the site.

5.5.1 Vessel Counts (based on MNI)

From 5 seasons of excavation between 2006 and 2011, 627 identified French vessels and 230 vessels of potential British manufacture have been recovered. While there is more French material, which makes intuitive sense for a predominantly French site, the proportion by which the French material exceeds the British is not significant. When you consider that Breton and Norman fishermen were using this harbour and this particular fishing room from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, 627 vessels over 300 years does not seem like much when compared to 230 vessels from about one tenth the length of occupation.

As has been shown above, much of the assemblage recovered from Phase 6 contexts is likely due to French use and production of REW. This could be true for some of the REW from earlier phases as well, given the significant export of British ceramics to continental Europe and French production of REW by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Additionally, St. John has suggested that the French at Champ Paya were using Bristol-Staffordshire-type vessels, admitting that,

> the presence of these vessels on the site is somewhat surprising. However, they were so widely exported that it would not have been difficult for the French fishermen to acquire them. Their context and the date ranges associated with

> these ceramic types indicate that they reflect an eighteenth-century French occupation, and not the later English one [2011: 159].

If, for argument's sake, we assume that all Phase 6 material and all Bristol-Staffordshire-type vessels can be attributed to the French fishermen, that already reduces the count of 230 to 156 possible British vessels, and increases the French vessel count to 701. Assuming some of the Phase 4 and Phase 5 ceramics could also be credited to the French occupants would only increase this disparity. So, how much British material can reasonably be expected to turn up at a French site as a result of French occupation? The Fortress of Louisbourg, NS, and the *seigneurie* at Pabos, QC, provide two good case studies to help and points of comparison for the Dos de Cheval assemblage.

The Fortress of Louisbourg was a significant entity for France in the first half of the eighteenth century, becoming the essential centre of the Cape Breton colony by 1717 (MacLeod 2010: 3). It was here that French fishermen retreated after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 expelled them from Plaisance, Newfoundland, allowing France to maintain power in the North Atlantic cod fishery (Currie 2011: 5, 7). While much of the settlement was within the fortified town walls, the fishermen lived in communities in the faubourg—essentially the suburbs—outside the walls (Parks 1990). Many fishermen lived at Louisbourg year round and had to supplement their fishery with other work in the off-season; some owned inns or taverns or dabbled in trade, on the side. In addition to the year-round occupants, each year seasonal migratory workers were hired to help in the fishery (Currie 2011: 3; Parks 1990).

In 1990, archaeological work at Louisbourg exposed the remains of one such fishers' community, at the North Shore area of the site (Parks 1990). A summertime population of about 500 people has been estimated for this community in the late 1730s (Currie 2011: 3). Excavation in this area revealed the remains of two properties. Several buildings were identified, exhibiting two occupations: one before the New England siege of 1745, and another after the French reclaimed Louisbourg in 1749 but before the British siege of 1758 (Parks 1990).

From the excavation on the North Shore, 106 ceramic vessels were recovered. Of these, 29 vessels—that is, about 27% of the assemblage—Mare of Anglo manufacture (Burns, pers. comm.). Certainly, one has to remember that there were two periods of Anglo supremacy at Louisbourg, though archaeologically it seems as though the fishermen's cabins were burned down during the siege of 1745, and not actually occupied by the New Englanders nor the later British (Parks 1990).

The fishing village, or *seigneurie*, of Pabos encompassed the whole Baie du Grand Pabos on the Gaspé peninsula, stretching from Port Daniel south of the bay to Grande Riviére north of the bay, and including Ile Beau Séjour at the centre of the bay (Nadon 2004: VII; Niellon 2010: 27). The seigneur and his family lived in their manor house on Ile Beau Séjour; the fishermen at Pabos lived on the mainland around the bay. This area was settled by 1730, and abandoned by 1760, at the end of the French Regime (Balkwill 1990: 1; Nadon 2004: VII). A population estimate of about 30 people has been suggested for the earliest period of occupation (Niellon 2010: 28). Unlike both Louisbourg and Champ Paya, there was no interruption of the French presence by Anglo occupants.

Archaeological excavations were carried out at Pabos in 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1987. These efforts were focused on Ile Beau Séjour, and at la Pointe de Pabos Mills, south of la Baie du Grand Pabos (Balkwill 1990: 1). Four buildings were exposed at Pabos Mills; three of these were houses of fishermen and their families, while the fourth was likely a store or some sort of community hall. On the island, remains of the eighteenth-century manor house of the seigneur were uncovered (Niellon 2010: 29).

Of the 78 ceramic vessels recovered from the seigneur's residence, 6 were of British manufacture—that is, 8%. Both ceramic finds in general, and British made vessels specifically, were more numerous from la Pointe de Pabos Mills than Ile Beau Séjour. Twenty-five of the 185 vessels—or 14%—found at the fishermen's residences were British. This equates to 12% British ceramics for the Pabos assemblage as a whole (Nadon 2004: 103 – 104).

The archaeological assemblages from Louisbourg and Pabos bear witness to the fact that a fair amount of British-made ceramic material can be expected at sites of French occupation, regardless of intermittent Anglo occupation. It seems that something in the range of 10 – 20% British ceramic material could reasonably be expected at North American French occupations. In fact, Françoise Niellon suggests that the diversity seen in the Pabos assemblage is characteristic of the cod fishery (2010: 34). Resident fishers, such as those at Pabos and Louisbourg would have sold their catch to migratory fishing captains, who in turn would sell the fish at ports in Europe. Part of the returns for the cargo in Europe would have been local ceramics from the ports of trade, which subsequently made their way back to New France. Additionally, English ceramics

imported to France, and local French wares, made up another part of these shipments to North America (Niellon 2010: 34 – 35).

For those French fishermen at Champ Paya, they would have simply cut out the middleman, carrying their own catch back to European ports for sale, and being provisioned in Europe, but with similar mixes of wares from the Mediterranean, France and Britain. If this is the case, is it possible that all the British-made ceramic vessels were used by the French? How do we know that the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were really at Champ Paya at all? As with the French maker's mark—an irrefutable mark of French presence and French-made REW—there is one very strong symbol of Anglo presence at Champ Paya: a commemorative Nelson jug/mug is a sure sign of Anglo occupation (Figure 5.14). This vessel features a transfer printed bust of Admiral Lord Nelson framed by the words he famously uttered on the eve of the Battle of Trafalgar, urging his men on to victory over French forces: "England expects every man to do his duty". It is highly unlikely that the French would use or possess such a blatant symbol of British pride (Pope, pers. comm.).

5.5.2 Vessel Forms and Foodways

Much like the French ceramic assemblage, the British ceramic assemblage is "large but not particularly varied" (St. John 2011: 148). In fact, the most striking characteristic of the Anglo assemblage is its composition almost entirely of food/beverage consumption and service vessels. There are only a small number of storage and transport vessels and no evidence of vessels related to food preparation (Table 5.2). High importance seems to have been placed on beverage consumption, this functional group

Figure 5. 14 A strong symbol of British pride, Hatcher Vessel 151 is a commemorative vessel bearing the image of Admiral Lord Nelson below the words, "England expects every man to do his duty". This is a creamware mug, transfer-printed in black (post-1805). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

making up more than 50% of the whole assemblage. Solid and semi-solid food consumption vessels are equally well represented, each about 20% of the assemblage.

Though both French and British ceramic assemblages are similar in their lack of variety, that seems to be where parallel ends. In sheer quantity, the variety of different forms in the French assemblage is more than double the meager thirteen vessel forms among the Anglo ceramic vessels. The French assemblage has a strong inclination (46%) towards vessel forms for storage, transport and conservation, "resulting from the need to continually transport summer supplies" (St. John 2011: 151, 155). Granted, the Anglo-Newfoundlander migration from the English Shore of Newfoundland is not equivalent to the trans-Atlantic voyage of the French but supplies for the fishing season would still need to have been shipped to and stored at the site all the same. Yet, there is very little evidence of this in the assemblage. A similar scenario exists in the area of cooking. Vessels related to cooking and food preparation account for 14% of the French ceramic assemblage. No ceramic cooking or food preparation vessels are present in the British assemblage. St. John suggested, "if a migratory fishery site has a ceramic signature it would be primarily composed of storage vessels" (2011: 160 – 161). Though a shorter migration, the Anglo-Newfoundlander fishery at Champ Paya was also migratory. This ceramic signature of predominantly storage vessels, however, does not hold true for the Anglo ceramic assemblage.

This lack of ceramic storage vessels is perhaps indicative of a heavy reliance on non-ceramic vessels by the Anglo-Newfoundlanders. Such containers as barrels or casks played a significant role in the transport and storage of food and drink on ships (St. John

Vessel Function	Minimum Number of Vessels	Percent
Beverage Consumption	123	54%
Beverage Service	12	5%
Food/Beverage Storage or Transport	3	1%
Health/Hygiene	1	.5%
Semi-Solid Food Consumption and Service	44	19%
Solid Food Consumption and Service	47	20%

Table 5. 2 Minimum number of vessels counts and percentages of all Anglo ceramics from EfAx-09, based on functional categories.

2011: 151). Certainly ample remains of barrels have been recovered from Dos de Cheval. It must be remembered, however, that barrels were also used in the fishery and their presence at the site is probably largely attributed to that. Additionally, it is important to consider all manner of glass vessels and containers, which would account for some percentage of food/drink storage or transportation. Unfortunately, an analysis of these glass vessels is beyond the scope of the current study.[5] Iron pots and pans were widely used in food preparation at this time, eventually being replaced by copper vessels because iron tended to crack and break (Brooks 2004: 23). Such vessels were certainly available in Newfoundland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, imported from England (Royal Gazette 1812). Fragments of several iron and copper pots or cauldrons were recovered from EfAx-09, though only one possibly associated with the Anglo occupation (Figure 5.15). The small amount of metal utensils is not surprising as such material would not be broken and discarded as easily as would ceramic material, and would likely have been salvaged or mended if it did break.

Although there is little evidence for the preparation or storage of food and drink by the Anglo-Newfoundlanders, they must have been eating and drinking at Champ Paya. The 59% representation by beverage consumption and service vessels suggests an importance of drink for these fishermen. Common drinks in British tradition at this time included ale, beer, spiced wine and cider, which were sometimes mixed with milk or gruel. These types of drinks were not consumed simply for their alcoholic content, but

[5] See Jones-Doyle, in draft, for more details on glass artifacts from EfAx-09.

Figure 5. 15 Object #11599, fragments of a copper cauldron found in association with Phase 4 shelter #23. This object is possibly associated with the Anglo fishermen. (Hilary Hatcher).

were consumed throughout the day as they were rich in nutrients (Yentsch 1990: 41). By this period, the consumption of tea was also widespread and not only available to the social elite (Barker and Majewski 2006: 214; Yentsch 1990: 42 – 43). Given the strong tradition of tea-drinking, and considering the sometimes harsh weather conditions these fishermen would have endured in northern Newfoundland, it is likely that the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were also consuming such hot drinks as tea to warm up. The recovery of twelve teapots of British ceramic types at EfAx-09 supports this.

British folk food tradition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was conservative and simple, consisting of a lot of one-pot type meals (Yentsch 1990: 29). Dietary staples included beef, pork and other meats, poultry, root vegetables, legumes and greens, fats like butter and oil, eggs, cheese, bread, and alcohol (Glass 1971; Ellis 2000). The diet of the Anglo-Newfoundlanders at Champ Paya was probably similar. Goods such as those listed above were readily available in the main port of St. John's. For example, the following is an advertisement, taken out by local merchants, in the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertizer* in 1810, touting the latest shipment:

TRIMINGHAMS & CO

Foot of Church Hill,

Most respectfully informs the public,

that they have lately received

part of their SPRING SUPPLIES,

from *Europe* – consisting of,

Pork, Beef, Butter,

English & Scotch Stout Porter in hhds

And bottles

Ale, do. do.

Cheese

Soap and Candles

Anchors &c. &c. &c.

With a variety of SHOP GOODS, which they

are SELLING on very reasonable TERMS.

T&Co.

Are in daily expectation of their supplies

Of RUM, SUGAR, and MOLASSES from the *West Indies*.

St. John's, 26th April, 1810 [Royal Gazette 1810b].

We also know these types of foodstuffs were used in the fishery. Among the items listed as necessary for fitting out a boat for one fishing season in Newfoundland were four barrels [477 l] of salt pork; two barrels [238 l] of salt beef; three gallons [11 l] of oil; one firkin [42 l] of butter; two bushels [70 l] of peas; eleven gallons [42 l] of molasses and two gallons [8 l] of rum (Innis 1940: 181).[6]

[6] SI equivalents, in square brackets, are taken from Ross 1983.

Solid food consumption vessels account for 20% of the ceramic assemblage, with semi-solid food consumption vessels at 19%. For Anglo-Newfoundlander fishermen at this time, "main meals, not surprisingly, revolved around fish and potatoes, but salt pork, salt beef, figgy duff and pease pudding, thick soups and dumplings were common. Game-meat or birds were a coveted extra" (Porter 1985:133). In addition to this main meal or meals, there were "mug-ups" throughout the day, which "consisted of tea, bread and butter, and 'relish'—left over fish or home-made jam" (Porter 1985: 133). This is somewhat comparable to the diet of the French at Champ Paya. Communal meals for the crews "consisted of a high percentage of salted and dried food and the cooking methods were simple, including baking, frying, roasting and cooking in liquids (boiling simmering, stewing)" (St. John 2011: 148). Like the Anglo-Newfoundlanders, the French may have occasionally supplemented this diet with wild game or seabirds, though it has been suggested that only the higher class officers would have had the leisure time or the weapons to pursue hunting (Noël 2010; St. John 2011: 149).

5.5.3 Supply and Provisioning

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the English county of Staffordshire had begun to gain a dominant role in the world ceramic industry (Figure 5.16) (Miller 1984: 2). In the eighteenth century, London, Bristol and Liverpool were key ports for exporting Staffordshire ceramics, but the opening of the Trent and Mersey canal in 1777 linked many potteries with Liverpool, which soon overshadowed London and Bristol as the main port (Ewins 1997: 8 – 9). Liverpool was, in fact, called "the great shipping port for America" (Ewins 1997: 11). However, though the canal allowed many pottery centres

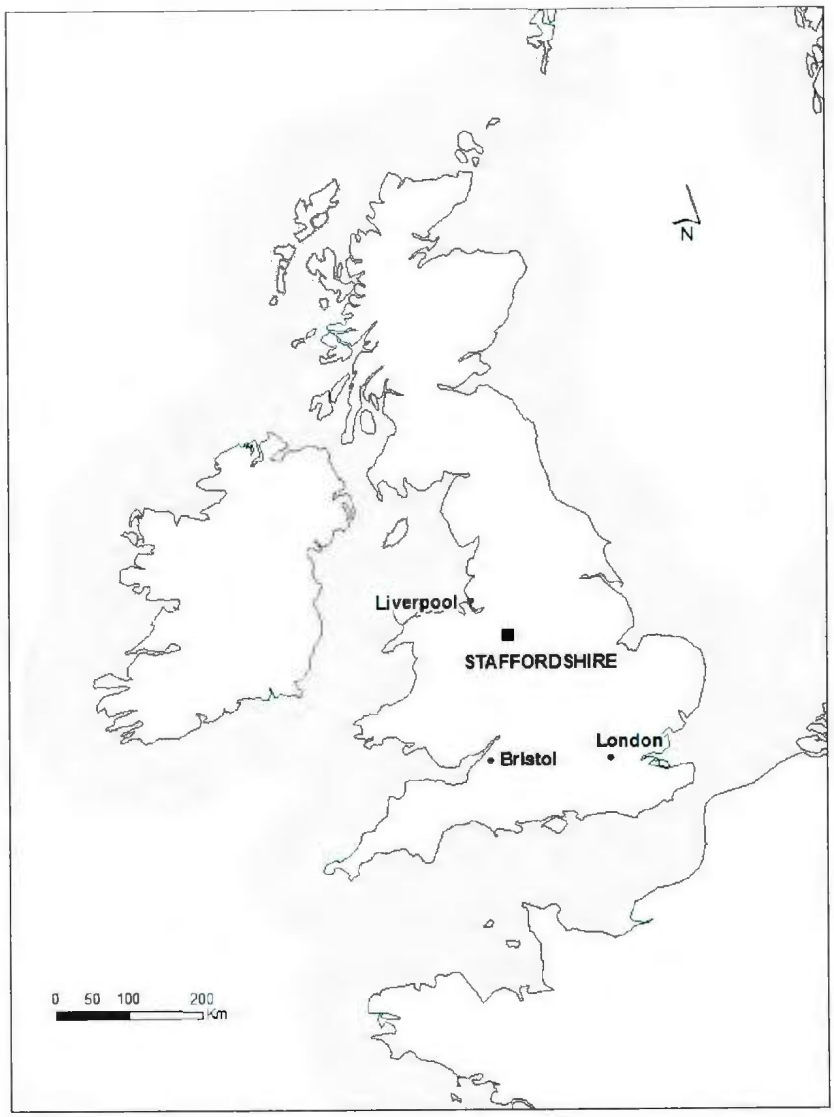

Figure 5. 16 Map of England, showing the main production centers of London, Bristol, and Staffordshire, and the main port of Liverpool. (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

to access Liverpool's port, because of Staffordshire's close proximity, it was able to capitalize on Liverpool to a greater extent than other potteries. It could thus offer goods at a more affordable price than others (Ewins 1997: 11). By the mid-seventeenth century Staffordshire was expanding production of ceramics of high quality, and by the eighteenth century, these wares defined ceramic trade and consumption both on home markets and around the world (Barker and Majewski 2006: 214). Products from Staffordshire always accounted for a high percentage of British ceramic exports, though other, smaller pottery centers still contributed (Barker and Majewski 2006: 223; Ewins 1997: 5).

For a long time, Europe was the largest market for British export ceramics; the American market for such things was small through the eighteenth century. However, in the early nineteenth century, Britain lost access to continental markets due to high tariffs and the Napoleonic Wars (Wall 1994: 256). These tariffs were set up in order to protect European countries and their own, smaller-scale potteries from industrialized Staffordshire (Miller 1984: 3). In fact, as a result of the British orders in council of 1807 and 1809, a blockade was set up to prevent British imports reaching "Napoleon's Europe", and so Britain turned its sights on North America, which by the 1830s had surpassed Europe as the predominant importer of these wares (Ewins 1997: 5, 14). Many of the biggest North American markets were in the United States, including New York City, Boston and New Orleans. Canada also received regular shipments at ports in Halifax, Montréal, Quebec City, and, significantly, St. John's, Newfoundland. (Barker and Majewski 2006: 224).

The movement of goods was not simply linear, from Britain to Newfoundland. In fact, even from the seventeenth century the commercial ties of Newfoundland were growing in extent and complexity, as the island became a central node in the international network of the North Atlantic (Pope 2004: 80). Cod caught and dried in Newfoundland was shipped to Europe, to ports in Iberia and the Mediterranean; goods like oil, fruit and wine were acquired in these continental regions and brought back to Britain (Figure 5.17). Eventually, freights of British goods and some of these European products returned to Newfoundland (Pope 2004: 91). To the dismay of English West Country merchants, as early as the mid-seventeenth century, New England merchants were trading to Newfoundland, creating even wider commercial ties for the island, that continued to flourish (Pope 2003: 497; 2004: 123, 159; Reeves 1967: 143 – 144). By the late eighteenth century, the Atlantic coast of North America, from Cape Cod to Newfoundland, was economically linked to New England (Figure 5.18) (Pope 2004: 150). Newfoundland found itself conveniently situated directly on the sailing route to Europe from New England, and so became a natural stopping point along the way. In exchange for cod, fishing gear, and various European goods, Newfoundland received tobacco, flour, lumber and a host of other provisions from their American neighbours, including some ceramic wares (Pope 2004: 151, 155, 380 – 381). In the seventeenth century, Newfoundland also traded to the Caribbean, though infrequently. The eighteenth century saw a growth of this West Indies market for Newfoundland salted-cod. In return for their product, Newfoundlanders received shipments of Caribbean rum, sugar and molasses (Pope 2004: 96, 380 – 381).

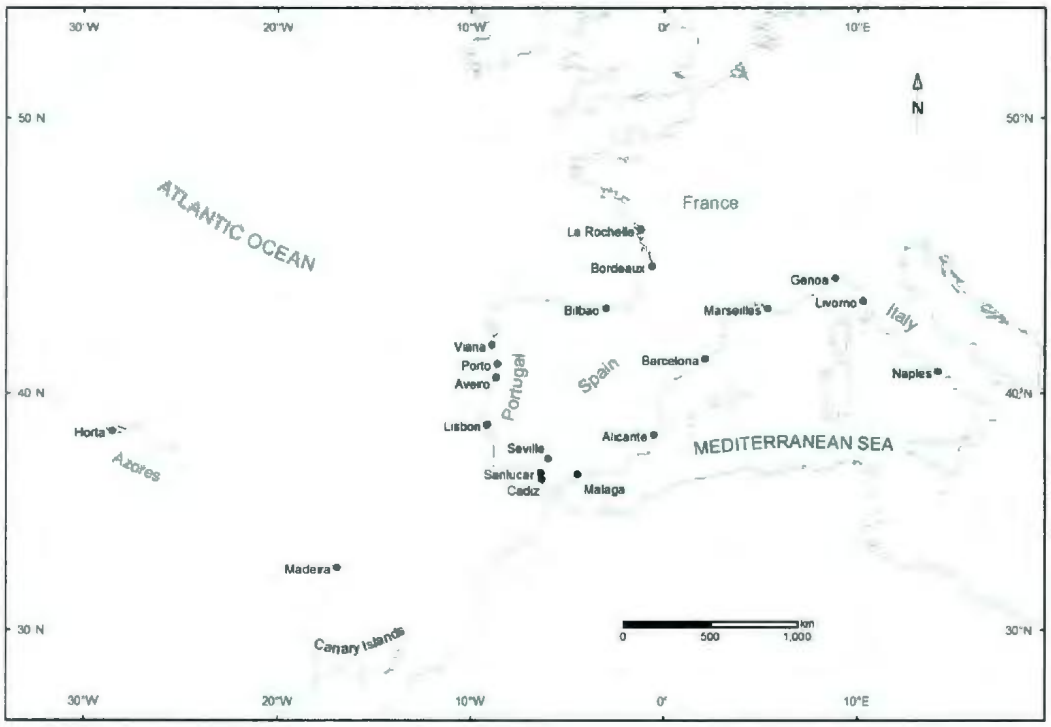

Figure 5. 17 Salted, dried cod was shipped east across the Atlantic Ocean from Newfoundland, and traded and sold in the Mediterranean and Iberia. (Bryn Tapper for The Archaeology of Historic Carbonear).

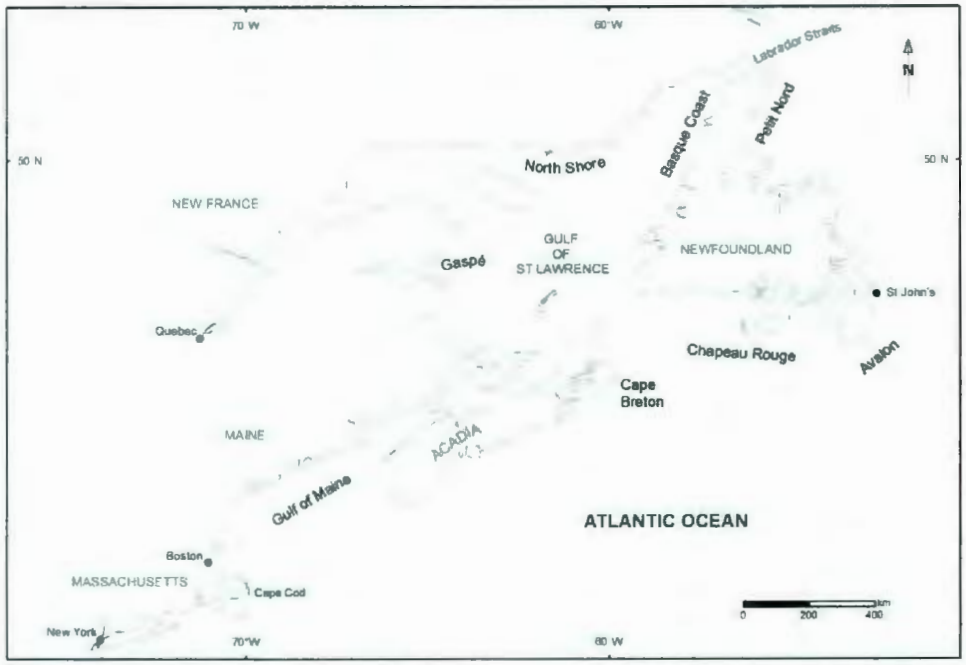

Figure 5. 18 Trade networks and economic connections linked the eastern coast of North America, from New England to Newfoundland. (Bryn Tapper for The Archaeology of Historic Carbonear).

The Anglo ceramic assemblage from EfAx-09 certainly reflects the importation of Staffordshire—or Staffordshire type—ceramics. Almost 86% of the assemblage is composed of the white REW that this region was famous for. Due to the success of the Staffordshire potteries, factories in other ports in England, Europe and even North America began to produce imitations of Staffordshire ceramics, so the assemblage could be made up of Staffordshire ceramics, or Staffordshire imitations, but most likely some combination of the two (Barker and Majewski 2006: 215). St. John's imported directly from Staffordshire but imports also came from other regions in Britain and cargos arrived in other ports in bays around the northeast coast of Newfoundland (Pope 2004: 146 – 147, 158). This could account for types such as Derbyshire CSW, manganese mottled, Jackfield-type and Bristol-Staffordshire slipware turning up in the cupboards of Anglo-Newfoundlanders, and consequently at Champ Paya. Also, the commercial ties between New England and Newfoundland can account for the American Redware and the North American Stoneware recovered from EfAx-09. Whether the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were migrating from St. John's or Conception Bay, or from some other area of the English Shore of Newfoundland, they would have access to a range of goods, including British and American ceramics.

The French migratory fishery was a vernacular industry, with ships, crews and provisions from local, geographically bounded areas of France (St. John 2011: 148, 171). The types of wares recovered from Dos de Cheval point to a close link with ports in northern France. While almost half of the entire French assemblage is made up of Normandy CSW, 19% of the ceramics are Ligurian ware, from northern Italy—or a

French imitation—and smaller proportions of wares from southern France and from Brittany (St. John 2011: 160 – 170).

It is interesting that while the fish caught by Anglo-Newfoundlanders was also sold at markets in the Mediterranean, Italian wares only turn up in the French assemblage. This is likely due to two things. First, one has to remember that the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were resident fishers and many would not have taken their own product across the Atlantic to European markets, putting a degree of separation between them and the potential goods and supplies that could be acquired on the European continent. The French fishermen made the trek back across the Atlantic to these ports in Iberia and the Mediterranean, even southern France, and brought regional ceramics back to their home ports (St. John 2011: 174). Secondly, and more importantly, Britain was leading the world's ceramics industry at this time, and would likely have placed priority on exporting British-made ceramics to the colonies rather than other European wares. The French, though they had a well-established ceramic industry, obviously felt the need, or simply the desire, to augment their domestic wares with European ceramic vessels.

The Anglo-Newfoundlander fishery at Champ Paya was likely a family-based industry, as by the late eighteenth century the English migratory fishery began its final decline and family members cooperated to carry out the fishery rather than pay for hired hands to be brought from Britain to help process the catch (Cadigan 2009: 92; Head 1976: 218; Pocius 1992; Porter 1985: 110). There would have been a certain amount of supplies to be acquired by fishermen at the beginning of a season—ropes, salt, hooks, foodstuffs etc.—but ceramics were probably already available in their own cupboards. Especially if the fishery was based around a family group, or even an extended family group, rather

than buy a whole new set of dishes for the season they would just bring what they used at home. In her autobiography, Greta Hussey recalls the summers she and her family spent at a migratory fishing station in Labrador in the early 1900s. Though permanent residents of Port du Grave in Conception Bay, the Hussey family packed up their belongings each summer to undertake a local migratory fishery. Specifically, Hussey recalls her mother packing up the "Labrador Box" with all the necessities for the four month season: "pots, pans, dishes, cooking gear, and most of the rough grub we lived on, such as salt beef, dried peas, dried beans, hard bread, sugar, butter and salt pork" (Hussey 1981: 5).

Not only does Hussey's recollection of her summers in Labrador affirm the above conclusions about the type of diet these Anglo-Newfoundlander fishermen would have had, she confirms the notion that much of the provisioning for the family fishery was done within the household, from the cupboards of the fishermen themselves. This is in stark contrast to the large industrial scale French migratory fishery financed by European merchants, in which the fishing master or captain was responsible for most of the supplies and provisions used during the season. With a few exceptions, these goods were probably not the personal possessions of the fishermen, but supplies purchased for the sole purpose of outfitting a ship for a season in the fishing industry (St. John 2011: 172).

The fishery was a cyclical industry in terms of sales and provisioning, for in order to carry out a fishery you need provisions, and often times provisions were acquired in exchange for salt-cod or oil, a bi-product of the fishery. For example, the following advert was run in the Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertizer:

JUST IMPORTED

In the Brig. MARS, from PLYMOUTH

And for Sale, by

WILLIAM B. THOMAS

Bread,

Pork,

Butter,

Best English Moulded and Dipt Candles,

Brandy in Pipes,

And sundry other articles -

For which Fish or Oil will be taken in

Payment.

St. John's, 29 March, 1810 [Royal Gazette 1810a].

Large industrial French outfits likely ran on a similar system, or a credit system by which goods were provided in exchange for the promise of payment after the lucrative fishing season, but the actual crew members were likely not involved in these transactions; they were just the hired labour. In the case of the Newfoundlanders, the fishermen and their families would be dealing directly with the merchants and shop keeps, actively participating in what they bought, and trading their own product for supplies for their family business and for their livelihoods. And since what they bought for themselves was likely what they took with them to Champ Paya, we can potentially

glean something of consumer choice from them. This may be less clear in the French assemblage. While certainly some of the ceramics were personal effects of the crew—or more likely of the officers—much of the supplies would have been sorted out by the fishing master preparing for the season (St. John 2011: 159).

Regardless of where the crews were supplied or how the Newfoundlanders were provisioned in comparison to the French, one fact remains true for both groups: these fisherman only had access to those goods they brought with them (St. John 2011: 152). There were no shops in Cap Rouge harbour where goods could be locally acquired. So whether it was brought to Champ Paya all the way from France, or from a relatively short distance away in another bay of Newfoundland, all they had available to them were those things they brought for the season. Provisioning was an important consideration at all levels of the fishery.

5.5.4 Socio-economic Status and Gender

Between about 1400 and 1800, a series of little changes culminated in a greater shift in British social organization within the middle class of society. By the late seventeenth century, the effects of these changes were observable in the divergence of men and women, public and private, and communal and individual space and possessions (Johnson 1996: 172, 177). The distinctions between public and private domains became more sharply defined and, consequently, gender roles became associated with these domains. Men and masculinity were associated with the public sphere, while the private sphere became correlated with women and femininity (Johnson 1996: 160 – 172). Previously among the middle class, whole families spent much of the day together at

home, often working together. Men, women and children had worked the land together, in seasonal, cooperative, task-oriented labour (Klein 1991: 79; Wall 1994: 261).

Middle class families in North America experienced this phenomenon later than did those in Britain. The years between 1780 and 1850 were the time for change in the structure of the American family (Klein 1991: 78). Interestingly, families in rural areas, like those of farmers, experienced and engaged in this social change much more slowly than did urban families: "women in farm households did not participate in the 'domestic revolution' that was taking place in the urban households due to the organization of labor on the farm" (Klein 1991: 86). This is reminiscent of the family organization of the resident Newfoundland fishery in the same period. Can we infer that these Anglo-Newfoundlanders were also middling class families, like their American farmer counterparts?

George Miller's widely applied CC Index Value schema provides a simple way to determine relative socioeconomic status of groups using ceramic assemblages (1980; 1991). In brief, using potter's price lists, Miller generated a set of index values for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ceramic ware types. Plain creamware (CC or cream-coloured) was given an index of 1, and based on relative prices of different decorated types, an index value was given for various vessel forms. The higher the index value, the more expensive the vessel; the higher the average index value for the whole assemblage, generally the higher socioeconomic status that can be assumed (Miller 1980; 1991). An overall CC index value of 1.69 was calculated for the Dos de Cheval

assemblage (Appendix C).[7] While there are many decorated vessels in the assemblage, it is important to remember that the relative prices of ceramics dropped overtime, the cost of decorated wares getting increasingly closer to the price of undecorated, cream-colored refined earthenware (Klein 1991: 87; Miller 1991: 2 – 3). So an assemblage from the early nineteenth century with quite a lot of decorative vessels can, in fact, have a relatively low CC index value.

A mean CC index value of 1.69 can be interpreted as representative of the lower-middle, or the middle class (Manson and Snyder 1996: 10 – 15). In fact, the assemblage from Dos de Cheval is very similar to that from the military site of Fort Beausejour, in New Brunswick. The ceramics recovered from Fort Beausejour include plain, painted and printed white refined earthenwares, consumer choices that fall solidly within the middle class (Sussman 2000: 52). It would appear that these Anglo-Newfoundlander fishermen were not of the labouring poor, nor the social elite, but rather of what Matthew Johnson calls the "middling sort", like their southern agricultural foils (1996: 155). If a value of 1.00 is the lowest you can go in terms of REW (coarse earthenware would have been less expensive and are not considered within the CC index), then a value slightly higher than this may represent a bit of discretionary income, and the ability and desire to buy not just

[7] Miller suggests that "generating average CC index values for lumped assemblages representing over 20 years of occupation seems to be a meaningless exercise" (1990: 4). However, my CC index calculations for the EfAx-09 assemblage do not conform exactly to Miller's intended usage. I have calculated a single average value for the Anglo occupation period—about 30 years—because it is a difficult task to break that period down into smaller units of time. This is due in part to the mixing of cultural and archaeological contexts at the site, and the seasonal nature of the Anglo occupation.

bottom of the line ceramics. The presence of porcelain teacups also testifies to the fact that these Anglo-Newfoundlanders were not impoverished. But the fact that there are only three porcelain vessels among a host of cheaper, white REW vessels is pretty telling that they were also not wealthy.

The French fishermen working at Champ Paya may have been from different social backgrounds than were the Anglo-Newfoundlanders. The assemblage of French ceramics is largely utilitarian, composed of a large number of coarse wares, "simply because of the nature of the site as a place where the relatively high status fishing master was vastly outnumbered by ordinary fishermen" (St. John 2011: 14). French migratory crews were typically composed of captain, pilot, surgeon, chaplain, masters, sailors, novices and apprentices. Of these, captain, masters, surgeons and chaplains were considered to be officers of higher status (Noël 2010: 5). Status in the fishery, however, was not solely based on personal income or title. Certainly income levels were different between crew and officers, but rank was earned through experience, and the status followed. Additionally, while social and economic statuses are linked, they are not necessarily synonymous (Noël 2010: 148 – 149). At the French migratory fishing room, "stratification was based on acquired social status and not necessarily on economic level" (Noel 2010: 149).

The French fishery seemed to incorporate a whole range of socioeconomic strata. The French assemblage boasts some higher status white faience, and such things as fine stemware associated with a likely officers' cabin/cookroom, but is, for the most part, utilitarian in nature. The Anglo fishery was organized differently, as by this period it was probably run by an extended family unit with a few hired hands. Members of the same

household would be of the same socioeconomic status, so that even though some members of the family would have been in more of a managerial role while others were doing the manual labour of fishing and processing the catch, the goods and provisions afforded by the whole family unit were cohesive, and fell within the middle class.

While the family-based organization helps explain the middle-class assemblage, it raises another question: if the fishery was carried out by entire families, were there women present during the Anglo occupation of Champ Paya? The presence of women at the site would highlight a major difference between the French and Anglo use of the site, as the French migratory fishery was an exclusively male endeavour (Pope in press b). Even those British fishers who prosecuted a trans-Atlantic migratory fishery were all men (Porter 1985: 109). But the development of a resident fishery opened the way for change in this respect.

Historically it would make perfect sense that women would have been among those Anglo-Newfoundlanders who migrated to Cap Rouge Harbour to fish. In the Newfoundland fishery, the "heyday of family production began in the late eighteenth century" (Porter 1985:110). Not only were women a necessity for permanent settlement and population growth, they also began to replace a lot of previously hired servants being brought seasonally from Britain to help in the fishery. During busy times in the resident fishery, women had always pitched in to help manage the workload, but this occasional assistance became a regular role, and a way to save money and reorganize the industry into a family trade (Porter 1985: 110). Women in fishing families were not involved in the actual fishing—only men worked on the boats—but they assumed charge of shore operations, overseeing and participating in the processing of the catch, even dealing with

hiring and firing labourers (Porter 1985: 115; Ryan 1994: 45). In addition to this, these women also had the responsibilities of feeding, clothing, cleaning and caring for themselves and the men and children of the household. This sexual division of labour remained within the fishery into the twentieth century (Pocius 1992; Porter 1985: 111 – 112).

Not only were women involved in the resident fishery in Newfoundland, but, in fact, in 1804, Governor Gower described the Anglo-Newfoundlander family fishery that existed on the French Shore and women's roles therein:

> The chief part of this fishery is carried on from Conception Bay, where the Planters are more independent than in the other districts. From thence, whole families remove in the spring of the year to the coast before mentioned [the Petit Nord], and carry on their fishery in the same manner as in their own Harbours, the men going out in the boats to catch the fish, while the women and children employ themselves on shore to split and cure it. The activity of these industrious people is so great, that their women, even in advanced pregnancy, rather than stay at home, take midwives with them on this expedition [quoted in Ryan 1994:45].

So we know with certainty that women participated in this regional migratory fishery. Whether this was the case for the Anglo-Newfoundlander fisherfolk at Champ Paya, then, becomes the question. If one of the big differences between the French and Anglo fishers may be the presence and absence of women at the fishing room, is this visible in the

ceramic assemblages from Dos de Cheval? As mentioned above, the French ceramics are primarily utilitarian vessels, with some tablewares. Many of the objects are undecorated or simply and inexpensively slip-decorated, while a smaller proportion of vessels, such as some of the white faience, is quite ornately painted (St. John 2011). The British-made ceramics are almost entirely fine earthenware tablewares and about 55% are decorated (Figure 5.19). Some sherds that are not decorated are likely just undecorated portions of a decorated vessel, so 55% probably understates the rate of decoration.

It has been suggested that increased decoration and such activities as afternoon tea—and hence teapots—could signify femininity (Wall 1994: 273). In one study of changing middle-class women's roles in late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century New York City, elaboration of vessels, with more decoration and more types of decoration were noted over time as the home and domestic domain were more tightly connected with women (Klein 1991: 79). Other researchers, however, suggest that such generalizations about the correlation between females and ornate objects, and the association of certain commodities with the realm of femininity are not reliable:

> There has been important research on the gender associations of particular eighteenth-century objects and commodities, but china and tea have received disproportionate attention to date…But commodities believed to have had a feminine quality, such as tea, china, novels, silks, printed cottons, and haberdashery, were not necessarily the preserve of women, although their widespread use by men did not dislodge their feminine associations. Indeed, a

Figure 5. 19 Some examples of the range and level of decoration on the vessels in the EfAx-09 assemblage. Clockwise from the top left: Hatcher Vessel 10 is a pearlware small bowl decorated with hand-painted polychrome floral design and banding (ca. 1795 – 1830); Hatcher Vessel 6 is a pearlware small bowl with a Chinese-style house hand-painted in polychrome colours (ca. 1795 – 1830); Hatcher Vessel 38 is a pearlware small bowl decorated with blue transfer-printing in a floral motif (ca. 1780s – 1860s); Hatcher Vessel 1 is a pearlware small bowl hand-painted in polychrome geometric design and banding (ca. 1795 – 1830). (Patty Wells for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

> certain feminine allure may have added to their deliciousness for male consumers [Styles and Vickery 2006: 12]

So while there may be a tendency or inclination to associate decorative wares with women, "domestic possessions did not have to be expensive or stereotypically feminine to be the objects of female expertise, knowledge and emotional investment" (Styles and Vickery 2006: 13).

The ceramic assemblage from Fort Beausejour, New Brunswick, dating from about 1760 – 1830, provides a good comparison for vessels from Dos de Cheval. The Fort Beausejour assemblage is comprised of fine white earthenwares—and, earlier, white salt-glazed stoneware—decorated in a range of painted and printed designs, such as shell-edging, chinoiserie, blue willow, and polychrome designs, with some undecorated vessels in the mix (Sussman 2000). This is comparable to British ceramics from EfAx-09. However, there is one difference: there were no women present at the military establishment, while it is possible that women were present at Champ Paya when it was occupied by Anglo fishers.

It seems that while historically possible—probable, even—that there were women partaking in the Anglo-Newfoundland fishery at Champ Paya, an examination of the ceramic assemblage alone makes it difficult to support this notion. Certainly there are more fine wares and decorated vessels in the Anglo assemblage than the French assemblage—but ornamentation alone cannot prove the presence of women. Since the relative prices of decorated wares decreased over time, better representation of decorated

vessels could be due to their availability and affordability rather than a feminine preference for pretty things. An examination of the small finds and personal possessions from Dos de Cheval would likely enhance our understanding of the gender make-up of the Anglo fishery but such a study is not within the limits of this project.[8] While the ceramic assemblage may not provide the necessary evidence, I would argue that women were counted among the Anglo-Newfoundlander crew at Champ Paya: women were known to be actively involved in the resident fishery, and, "by the beginning of the nineteenth century, new settlements were established not by new immigrants from England, but by *families* moving to a 'summer station' on a less frequented stretch of the coast—as far as the Northern Peninsula, and later Labrador" (Porter 1985: 110, emphasis added).

What nature of relationship, if any, existed between the French and Anglo fishing crews who occupied Champ Paya?

5.6 Anglo-French Relations at Champ Paya

For the better part of 400 years, French migratory fishing crews seasonally occupied the fishing room, Champ Paya. Archaeological finds and history evince that this French fishery was interrupted for about 30 years, between 1790 and 1820, by locally migrating Anglo-Newfoundlanders. Was there ever any contact or interaction between the opposing groups who used this site?

[8] See Jones-Doyle (in draft) for more information about the personal effects of individuals at Champ Paya.

Archaeologically, at EfAx-09, there is no distinct layer of Anglo material sandwiched between French occupation layers. Many of the excavated contexts contained both French and Anglo material culture. This could be due in part to the mixing of strata, the result of the movement and shifting of space inherent at a migratory fishing site. Additionally, it could be partially related to the long time it takes to build up anthropogenic strata. It may take decades to build up an archaeological event even 5 or 10cm thick, so that the French and Anglo material, though temporally separate, appears in the same context (Burns, pers. comm.). It could also be that French and Anglo crews were in Cap Rouge Harbour concurrently or at least within a very short time of each other. In fact, the excavation of a habitation at the site, cabin #46, revealed multiple occupation floors, one of which was associated with both French- and British-made material culture. This could represent occupation by both groups during different seasons but very close in time, perhaps within a season of one another, or within a few years at most (Burns and Lock, 2012). This could also indicate solely a French occupation, because as was demonstrated above, about 10 – 20% British material can be expected at French-occupied site in North America. The British ceramics recovered from this structure do not necessarily correspond to the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya.

However, this idea of a swift sequence of occupation by French and Anglo crews, though tentative, is historically supported. The fishery was a lucrative industry, and the British and Anglo-Newfoundlanders were no strangers to venturing into French territory to expand their fishing grounds. Indeed, in 1764, 17 Anglo ships carrying 749 men were fishing in multiple harbours on the French Shore, north of Fleur-de-Lys. Cap Rouge was not listed among these, but Conche, just to the south, harboured three of these English

ships (Innis 1940: 196). Given that already by the mid-eighteenth century Anglo crews were present on the northern peninsula, it likely did not take long for them to move in on Cap Rouge Harbour and Champ Paya when the French fishermen left to fight in the French Revolutionary (1792 – 1799) and the Napoleonic wars (1800 – 1801, 1803 – 1815). Moreover, a fishing report for the French Shore in 1802 documented 6 ships from Granville, France, boasting 298 men, fishing in Cap Rouge Harbour (Innis 1940: 217; Prowse 2000: 576). Evidently, though the French fishery declined when many of its workers were called into naval duty, some percentage of the industry was maintained at least during brief periods of peace. The 1802 report does not specify which rooms in Cap Rouge Harbour were being occupied by these 298 fishermen, but Champ Paya was likely one of them as it ranked in the top three fishing room sites in the harbour. Or, if the French were not using Champ Paya in 1802, it is possible that is because some Anglo-Newfoundlander family arrived in the harbour earlier and claimed it for their own that season. Either way, it appears as though the site was used by these groups in quick succession.

Though in competition with one another, Anglo and French crews were known to fish in the same harbours as one another. Each crew would have its own fishing room, but crews might be stationed in close proximity to one another. Often there was tension between the opposing crews. In fact, de la Morandière suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century, Anglo crews were traveling to the French Shore, chasing French fishermen from the harbours to ensure they did not over-winter on the island. He further suggests that in some cases these Anglo fisherfolk would burn and destroy fishing infrastructure to discourage the French form returning the next year (1962: 854). As was

already discussed in Chapter 2, it could be that these Anglo crews were simply traveling into French territory to hunt seals, and their presence was misinterpreted. The possibility of violence, however, cannot be ruled out.

In 1706, a violent exchange was recorded in Conche Harbour, on the other side of the Conche Peninsula, south of Crouse and EfAx-09 (Figure 5.20). In his history of Newfoundland, Prowse recounts the story of Captain John Underdown's altercation on the Petit Nord:

> [he] received information that about three leagues further north, in a place called La Conche or Conche Harbour, there were two ships of thirty-two and thirty-six guns, both of St. Malos…the Captain proceeded to that place with the *Falkland* and the *Nonsuch*…when they arrived at Conche Harbour, they found the ships ready for sailing. After exchanging several broadsides, the French set their ships on fire and went over to Carouge [Crouse] where there were other French ships. From here they escaped [Prowse 2000: 247 – 248].

Animosity such as this lasted in the area for almost the next 200 years. By the early nineteenth century, the first Anglo settlers came to Conche. In 1857, there were 101 residents in Conche, and 28 Anglo settlers in Crouse, yet technically this whole region was still part of French Shore, and French migratory fishers were there each season (Casey 1971: 33 – 34; Joy 1970: 12). Reports through the mid-nineteenth century in this region are riddled with tension and enmity, with one side or the other meddling with the

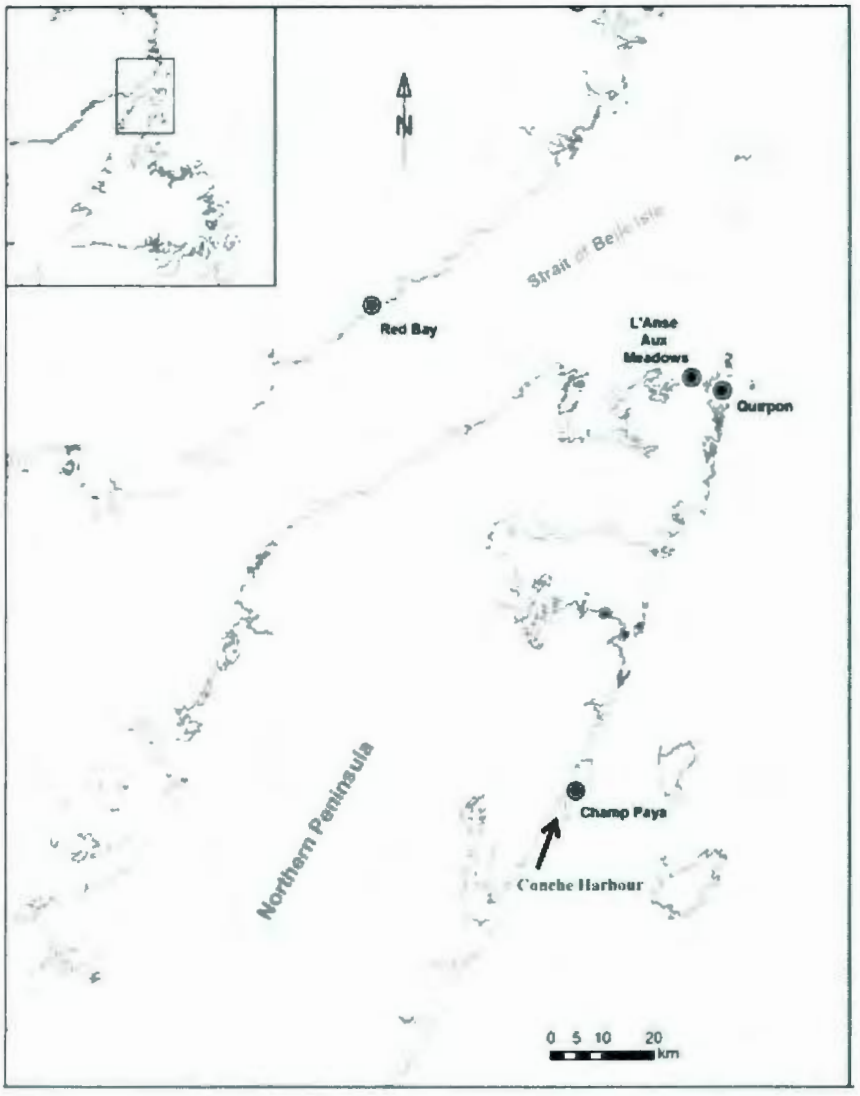

Figure 5. 20 Conche Harbour is located on the opposite side of the Conche Peninsula from Champ Paya and Cap Rouge Harbour. (Bryn Tapper for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

fishing gear of the other party, preventing their competitors from expanding their fishing infrastructure, or interrupting their operations. In two extreme recorded cases, flared tensions lead to altercations ending in death (Casey 1971: 39 – 44). In an 1865 interview, one Captain Hamilton said of Conche, "This is the only place I have visited where a really ill-feeling exists between the English and the French" (Casey 1971: 36).

Unlike Conche, and some areas of Crouse, Champ Paya was never settled. It was always a seasonal, migratory site (Pope in press b). All the same, it was being used by Anglo-Newfoundlander crews, possibly while French fishers were in the vicinity. Is it possible that some similar altercations as those in Conche were taking place at Champ Paya in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century? Archaeological excavation unearthed many musket balls, lead shots and gunflints recovered from seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century contexts at the site. Certainly, the firearms these finds represent were being used to hunt species for bait to use in the fishery, and also to hunt game and seabirds for consumption. Additionally, it could be that the fishermen felt susceptible to conflict with Inuit groups, as complaints of disturbances by indigenous groups were reported in the area in the eighteenth century, and so used these firearms for protection (Innis 1940: 216; Pope 2009c: 50; Wolfe 2013). It is also possible that there was fear of attack not by Inuit forces, but by rival fishing crews. It would not be surprising to learn that the French at Champ Paya were anxious about conflict with the British and Anglo-Newfoundlanders, or vice-versa, given the known history of discord between them. Likely, the firearms carried by these fishermen (or women) served all the above purposes: to hunt, to acquire bait, and—in some capacity—to defend.

In addition to lead shot and gunflints, there is evidence of two buildings having been burnt at EfAx-09. The first of these is cabin #35 in Phase 3, possibly the cabin/cookroom of a high-status officer or the captain, present at Champ Paya from the early to mid-eighteenth century (Burns, in draft; Noël 2010). It appears to have burned down by about 1750. The other, cabin #46, was present on the site from the mid-eighteenth century until about the mid nineteenth century (Burns, in draft). Excavation of this feature revealed that this cabin had multiple occupation floors (Burns and Lock 2012). During one of its iterations, this cabin burnt down. The fire happened likely sometime in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is entirely possible that these fires were accidental, caused by something as simple as a lamp tipping over or a cook-fire out of control. Alternatively, Beothucks used to burn fishing rooms and scavenge the unattended sites when Europeans left them for the winter, and these burnt cabins could be evidence of this sort of activity (Cadigan 2009). It is even possible that the French themselves burnt the two cabins, in the times before they hired *guadiens*, to prevent other crews from reaping the benefits of their work, as they were not certain to return to the same harbour the next year. Another interesting possibility is that these cabins were the victims of Anglo-fishermen destroying French fishing rooms on the French Shore, as de la Morandière described (1962:853 – 854). Determining the actual causes of these fires at this point is impossible, but it is certainly a possibility that this destruction came about as a result of poor French-Anglo relations.

Physical conflict aside, it seems that even the underlying attitudes between French and Anglo parties were resentful or dismissive. Though by treaty between France and Great Britain, the French were granted full fishing rights in Newfoundland within the

French Shore boundaries, Anglo-Newfoundlander crews did not seem to have any qualms about overriding those agreements made in London or Paris. Though the fishers at Champ Paya were only there seasonally, there were Anglo-Newfoundlanders who felt entitled to fishing rooms on the French Shore, as this newspaper advertisement illustrates:

FOR SALE OR HIRE,

THREE Fishing ROOMS situated

in Fish Road, on the French Shore,

together with casks, Barrows and

other Utensils for carrying on the Fishery.

ALSO FOR SALE,

About 20 hogshead SALT – for particulars apply

To MICHAEL WALSH, Publican

St. John's, August 1815 [Royal Gazette 1815].

Some individual in St. John's claimed ownership and management of fishing rooms that lay legally within French territory. This ad is not specifically about Champ Paya, and it may be advertising fishing rooms somewhere distant from Cap Rouge Harbour, but it speaks volumes about the general attitude many Anglo-Newfoundlanders had towards the French, and their presence on the island. Especially after Newfoundland was recognized as an official English colony in 1824, resentment towards the French was wide-spread (Hiller 1993: 10; Janzen 2007: 46). "In this changed environment," Hiller observes, the French privileges "seemed increasingly unreasonable and anachronistic" (1993: 10).

Among all the historical accounts of ill-feelings between the French and Anglo fishermen, however, exist a few stories that suggest not every interaction between these populations was bad. For example, though the first settlers came to Conche in the early nineteenth century, it wasn't until about 1860 that a school and chapel were established, and the nearest hospital in St. Anthonys did not open until 1892 (Joy 1970: 24). In times before this, these residents were without medical or religious administration. Despite the inter-ethnic friction, French priests and doctors who were part of the migratory crews would administer to the Anglo residents of the area when they were present during the fishing season (Joy 1970: 16). After about 1870, the relationships between the French and Anglo fishers are supposed to have slightly improved. Perhaps the decades of exposure to one another bred a degree of tolerance. It was even reported that some of the settlers attempted to learn the French language to facilitate communication (Joy 1970: 17). In reality, however, the situation was not fully resolved until 1904, when by the *Entente Cordiale* France surrendered all fishing rights on the island of Newfoundland (Hiller 1993: 11; Janzen 2007: 49, 52).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Research Conclusions

This study has examined the British ceramic assemblage from the archaeological site Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09). This was the location of the historic French fishing room, Champ Paya, in Cap Rouge Harbour, northern Newfoundland. The goal of this research has been to gain a better understanding of the nature of Anglophone occupation of this site by examining the spatial and temporal distribution of the assemblage, comparing it to the French ceramic assemblage from the same site, and examining what possible relationship may have existed between the French and Anglo crews who once occupied this fishing room.

Transatlantic migratory French crews, particularly from Brittany, prosecuted a shore-based fishery in the harbours of the Petit Nord from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century. While this region was a consistent and stable part of the French Shore in Newfoundland, by the eighteenth century, Anglo fishing crews were venturing into French territory, including the Petit Nord. By the end of the eighteenth century, the British migratory fishery had collapsed, succeeded by the resident Anglo-Newfoundlander fishery, and so the Anglo presence on the French Shore was increasingly due to fishers resident in Newfoundland and less to transatlantic British crews. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars at the end of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century, migratory French fishermen fought as naval seamen for their

country and were mostly absent from the New World. This opened the door for Anglo-Newfoundlanders to make short-distance seasonal migrations from the traditional English Shore to harbours on the French Shore of Newfoundland to carry out a fishery in less crowded waters. Thus, it has been argued that the Anglo fishers at Champ Paya were not British crews, but Anglo-Newfoundlanders.

Five field seasons of archaeological excavation at Dos de Cheval, between 2006 and 2011, yielded a significant assemblage of British ceramic material, comprising a minimum of 231 vessels. Based on the archaeological context of the material, the relevant historical documents, and the vessels themselves, it appears as though these Anglo-Newfoundland fishermen were present at Champ Paya for roughly 30 years, from about 1790 to 1820. After ca. 1820, French crews returned to the site. Complications arise in this timeline, however, because it turns out that some of the refined earthenware is of French manufacture, and even more of the British made ceramics were likely used by the French fishermen at this site. Though it was beyond the scope of this project to discern which refined earthenware vessels were of French manufacture, or which were of British manufacture but were used by the French fishermen, research at other French fishing sites in Canada has lead me to believe that something in the range of 10 – 20% British ceramic material could reasonably be expected at sites of French occupation in North America.

Though the transatlantic migratory fishery—both French and British—was always a male dominated industry, the resident fishery became a family-based trade by the late eighteenth century, and so involved men, as well as women and children. Therefore, these Anglo-Newfoundland fisher*men* at Champ Paya may not, in fact, have been all men. They were likely family groups working together to conduct an industry and generate a

livelihood. This highlights a significant difference between the Anglo and French occupations of Champ Paya, as the French crews were transatlantic migratory male crews. Though history tells us of this family-based industry, it has been difficult, and beyond the scope of this project, to see gender in the ceramic assemblage. However, using George Miller's CC Index to analyse the assemblage, it appears the Anglo-Newfoundlanders were of the middling class and probably got many of their supplies and provisions for the fishing season from their own cupboards. These cupboards, in turn, were stocked with ceramics imported to Newfoundland from Staffordshire, and other pottery centres in Great Britain. The ceramic assemblage, coupled with the historical record, additionally suggest that the Anglo-Newfoundlander diet likely consisted of cured, salted and dried foods, supplemented, no doubt, by healthy amounts of cod.

Both the Anglo and the French occupations at Champ Paya were work-oriented, the *raison d'être* being to produce salted cod and make a living, and so use of space was similar by both groups. The Anglo-Newfoundlander resident fishery, however, was a smaller-scale operation run by family groups, and not a trans-Atlantic industry of large crews numbering in the hundreds. While the Anglo-Newfoundlanders and the Breton fishermen would not have occupied Champ Paya simultaneously, it is likely they used the site in fairly rapid succession, probably within a season of one another. The occurrence of both French and British material culture in the same occupation floor of a building could suggest that the two groups even used some of the same structures at the site such as the fishing stage, and several cabins or cookrooms. However, given that one can expect 10 – 20% British material culture at French-occupied sites in North America, this reading is tentative. Based on historical accounts and, perhaps, the occurrence of gunflints and lead

shot at the site, there is reason to believe that tension existed between these groups that may have led to conflict or violence. The multi-use nature of firearms at the site, however, makes this a very cautious interpretation.

Overall, the *nature* of the Anglo occupation at Champ Paya can be said to have been seasonal, family-based, and work-oriented, though it was perhaps controversial, and a sore point among French fishermen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This situation is significant because it highlights an aspect of Newfoundland history that is not well documented. The historical literature mentions an Anglo presence in French Newfoundland, especially in the mid-eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, yet the details of this presence are sparse. While there is much more that can still be learned of this seasonal short-range migration by Anglo-Newfoundlanders, this research, as part of *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, provides a baseline by which we can better understand the Anglo occupation of the French Shore. We can begin to see who these Anglo fishers were and how and why they were using French Shore space and harbours. Additionally, this study acts as a reminder that the legal rule is not always the sound reality. Archaeological research and historical literature act as complementary lines of evidence. Much of the history of Newfoundland's French Shore concerns itself with what treaties gave rights to whom and where, while archaeological research has reminded us what people actually do is not always congruent with diplomatic agreements.

6.2 Further Work

It came to light in the course of this study that further work is necessary on the topic of French refined earthenware. Aside from the single vessel that bears a French maker's mark and a few highly-decorated sherds, it is very difficult to discern which refined earthenware vessels in the EfAx-09 assemblage are attributable to the French fishermen and which to the Anglo-Newfoundlanders. It was beyond the scope of this study to delve into French refined earthenware manufacture but, certainly, further research in this area would help refine interpretations of the EfAx-09 assemblage. This type of research may involve a closer investigation of particular decorative types and vessel forms used in Britain and France. If one nationality showed a preference for particular forms or styles, this may help distinguish which vessels were made there, or possibly which vessels were made elsewhere but imported. Additionally, further study could involve ICP-MS testing to assist in discerning country of origin based on the ceramic fabric. Such work would require a comparative collection, to confirm or deny matches.

Though ceramics are useful windows to the past, ceramic study could be complemented by study of other British material culture from the site, such as glass artifacts or tobacco pipes. Ceramics were only one of many things that Anglo-Newfoundlanders used and interacted with in the span of a day or a whole season. A more complete understanding of the Anglo occupation of Champ Paya would be facilitated by the study of other Anglo material culture in conjunction with the ceramics. Some such

information can be found in Jones-Doyle (in draft), in which she discusses tobacco pipes, glass artifacts and personal effects of both French and Anglo fishers at Champ Paya.

Finally, the archaeological excavation and analysis of other French fishing rooms on the Petit Nord would provide a good point of comparison for Dos de Cheval. Such a study could help discern if the occupation at Champ Paya was typical of Anglo presence in French Newfoundland or if this occupation is, in some way, atypical.

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Appendix A: The Hatcher Vessels

(HV stands for Hatcher Vessel. #s 208 and 232 do not exist)

HV#	Object #	Lot	Phase	Form	Function	Ware Type	Decoration
1	8799	1071.W40S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
2	6080	1009.W32S103	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
3	13374	1306.W34S97	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
4	11809	1284.W36S106	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
5	2966	0824.W34S91	4.5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
6	5514	1005.W38S104	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
7	6081	1009.W32S103	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
8	8977	1067.W41S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
9	5482	1005.W37S104	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
10	9584	1005.W34S104	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
11	7940	1005.W34S102	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
12	18459	1501.W40S111	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	factory-made slipware
13	14524	1404.W40S118	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
14	8216	1067.W40S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	sponge decorated
15	8446	1077.W40S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
16	12535	1306.W34S100	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
17	8504	1059.W39S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
18	8549	1051.W39S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
19	8107	1079.W39S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
20	5607	1005.W37S104	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
21	13296	1304.W34S97	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge
22	7736	1005.W38S104	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
23	15983	1267.W38S115	4	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
24	4347	1001.W37S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
25	7706	1005.W38S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
26	5518	1005.W38S104	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
27	8631	1059.W39S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted?
28	8750	1059.W38S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
29	9065	1059.W40S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
30	12922	1284.W36S106	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
31	6418	1009.W36S103	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
32	8222	0099.W36S103	n/a	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
33	9430	1003.W29S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
34	12929	1286.W36S106	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
35	5497	1005.W34S103	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	transfer printed
36	4540	1005.W35S103	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	transfer printed
37	4594	1005.W37S103	5	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	none
38	12622	1304.W34S99	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	transfer printed
39	7965	1005.W35S102	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
40	6276	1001.W38S104	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
41	7283	1103.E105S22	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Whiteware	none
42	1693	0816.W33S101	5	saucer?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
43	18609	1503.W40S110	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
44	4163	1001.W34S103	6	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
45	6275	1001.W38S104	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
46	8562	1067.W41S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
47	5998	1009.W34S102	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
48	12617	1306.W34S100	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
49	11676	1282.W36S105	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
50	7380	1009.W34S103	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
51	4434	1005.W34S103	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
52	4819	1005.W34S103	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
53	12315	1310.W34S99	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
54	2822	0909.W13S18	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
55	13299	1304.W34S99	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
56	8168	1077.W40S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	green shell edge
57	6602	1013.W32S103	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	green shell edge
58	12419	1271.W38S115	3	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
59	8660	1059.W36S103	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
60	4692	0332.Test33	n/a	plate	solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none

HV#	Object #	Lot	Phase	Form	Function	Ware Type	Decoration
61	3152	0931.W14S20	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none
62	14666	1403.W40S115	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none
63	8687	1059.W39S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
64	5929	1001.W36S104	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
65	6234	1001.W33S102	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
66	8106	1079.W39S103	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Creamware	factory-made slipware?
67	9967	1009.W30S101	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
68	8898	1071.W40S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
69	6419	1009.W36S103	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
70	6416	1009.W36S103	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
71	3877	0935.W12S28	5.6	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
72	11848	1286.W36S106	5	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
73	17887	1425.W37S107	3.4	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
74	4360	1001 W37S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
75	8710	1059.W38S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	transfer printed
76	18542	1503.W39S110	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	none
77	4455	1005.W34S103	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
78	7625	1005.W34S104	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
79	4429	1005.W34S103	5	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
80	5142	0864.W32S99	4	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
81	6442	1009.W36S103	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
82	7583	1005.W34S104	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
83	10383	1220.W28S98	4.5	saucer?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
84	1267	0802.W33S96	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	factory-made slipware
85	14940	1411.W34S114	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	hand painted
86	8602	1059.W38S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
87	7598	1005.W34S104	5	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware?	hand painted
88	5748	1005 W38S104	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
89	8736	1059.W38S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
90	6622	1013.W33S103	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
91	7723	1005.W38S104	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
92	7370	1009.W33S102	5	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
93	7717	1005.W38S104	5	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
94	2914	0671.Test 67	n/a	pot?	food and beverage storage	N. American Stoneware	slip-decorated
95	6130	1001.W35S103	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
96	17001	1411.W34S113	4	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
97	7700	1005.W38S104	5	saucer?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
98	1562	0811.W34S91	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
99	7724	1005.W38S104	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
100	2798	0913.W12S23	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Whiteware	none
101	3975	0909.W13S18	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Whiteware	none
102	19786	1541.W35S89	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	factory-made slipware
103	2129	0909.W13S18	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Whiteware	transfer printed
104	6952	1009.W35S101	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Tortoiseshell Ware	metallic oxide
105	17740	1422.W37S109	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
106	6487	1009.W36S103	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	transfer printed
107	2764	0927.W14S20	5.6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
108	7385	1009.W34S103	5	teapot	beverage serving	Pearlware	hand painted
109	6483	1009.W36S103	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
110	15360	1413.W42S122	4	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
111	12316	1310.W34S99	4	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
112	9099	1059.W38S104	6	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	factory-made slipware
113	15167	1411.W35S116	4	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	factory-made slipware
114	7640	1005.W34S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	undetermined
115	7639	1005.W34S104	5	jug	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
116	8906	1071.W41S103	6	pot?	food and beverage storage	Derbyshire CSW	none
117	2675	0931.W14S20	5.6	caudle cup	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
118	17550	1419.W43S121	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
119	15269	1412.W35S113	3	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
120	6713	1009.W34S103	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated

HV#	Object #	Lot	Phase	Form	Function	Ware Type	Decoration
121	4363	1001.W37S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
122	1242	0802.W33S96	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
123	7337	1083.W37S103	1	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
124	3502	0826.W33S100	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
125	13181	1346.W34S97	3	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Bristol-Staffordshire-type	slip-decorated
126	7915	0800.W39S103	7	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	blue shell edge
127	15570	1426.W43S122	5	chamber pot	health/hygiene	American Redware	slip-decorated
128	19511	1555.W27S106	5	pitcher?	beverage serving	Manganese mottled?	metallic oxide
129	1531	0811.W33S91	6	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
130	12996	1304.W34S100	5	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
131	8881	1071.W40S103	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Tortoiseshell Ware	metallic oxide
132	10493	1027.W30S101	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Tortoiseshell Ware	metallic oxide
133	12804	1269.W38S117	3	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Tortoiseshell Ware	metallic oxide
134	9113	1059.W38S104	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Unknown	hand painted?
135	8926	1067.W42S103	6	teapot?	beverage serving	UnID white REW	factory-made slipware
136	1258	0802.W33S96	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge
137	6908	1009.W36S103	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
138	17681	1421.W37S113	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
139	6751	1011.W34S103	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
140	7601	1005.W34S104	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge?
141	6256	1001.W38S104	6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
142	12267	1282.W36S105	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
143	6839	1011.W34S102	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
144	12436	1215.W28S103	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge
145	17886	1425.W37S107	3.4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge
146	11755	1284.W36S106	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	English Porcelain	hand painted
147	3577	0900.W12S23	7	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	English Porcelain	none
148	4425	1005.W34S103	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	English Porcelain	hand painted
149	8919	1059.W39S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
150	15660	1413.W42S123	4	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
151	5903	1009.W35S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	transfer printed
152	8703	1059.W38S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
153	6421	1009.W36S103	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	factory-made slipware?
154	17739	1422.W37S108	4	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
155	15122	1411.W35S113	4	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
156	6753	1011.W34S103	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
157	1523	0811.W34S91	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
158	8803	1071.W40S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
159	12305	1308.W34S99	4	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
160	5511	1005.W38S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	enameled
161	8508	1051.W38S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
162	13232	1308.W34S97	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
163	17742	1422.W37S109	4	mug?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
164	7327	1045.W38S103	4	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
165	5494	1005.W37S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
166	7027	1031.W37S103	4	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
167	12341	1302.W34S100	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware?	none
168	6426	1009.W36S103	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
169	9360	1204.W30S98	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
170	15154	1411.W34S113	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	slip-decorated
171	6953	1009.W35S101	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
172	17514	1409.W35S114	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
173	18417	1501.W40S111	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	factory-made slipware
174	8426	1077.W40S103	6	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
175	17406	1403.W40S117	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
176	17412	1404.W40S114	4	mug?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
177	15441	1418.W37S108	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
178	17563	1419.W43S122	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
179	5727	1066.W41S41	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware?	none
180	10909	1027.W32S101	4	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	metallic oxide

HV#	Object #	Lot	Phase	Form	Function	Ware Type	Decoration
181	4658	1005.W36S103	5	mug?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
182	7726	1005.W38S104	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
183	8213	1067.W40S103	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
184	8701	1059.W38S103	6	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
185	13377	1306.W34S97	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	factory-made slipware
186	17559	1419.W42S121	5	teapot	beverage serving	Red stoneware	sprig molded
187	11831	1284.W36S106	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware?	none
188	7878	0800.W38S104	7	dish	solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware?	none
189	2794	0913.W12S23	5.6	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Whiteware	sponge decorated
190	14600	1401.W40S117	6	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Whiteware	none
191	5195	0908.W13S18	6	mug?	beverage consumption	Whiteware	none
192	2838	0913.W12S23	6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Whiteware	none
193	3163	0916.W12S23	5.6	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Whiteware	none
194	10598	1009.W29S102	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
195	19522	1555.W27S106	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
196	1322	0803.W33S96	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
197	19726	1541.W35S89	5	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
198	11231	1009.W27S103	5	teapot?	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
199	15435	1418.W37S111	5	teapot	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
200	18348	1437.W37S124	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Jackfield-type	oil gilded
201	11340	1264.W34S123	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Jackfield-type	none
202	19130	1504.W39S111	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	hand painted
203	18998	1541.W35S90	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none
204	19911	1541.W35S88	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	moulded edge
205	19601	1552.W35S90	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
206	19088	1546.W35S89	4	mug?	beverage consumption	Unknown	none
207	19456	1528.W35S89	6	saucer?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
209	19711	1541.W35S88	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
210	18655	1503.W40S111	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
211	19564	1540.W35S91	4.5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
212	19756	1540.W36S88	4.5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Pearlware	hand painted
213	19757	1540.W36S88	4.5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
214	20821	1503.W39S110	5	mug	beverage consumption	Creamware?	none
215	19986	1547.W35S89	4	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	hand painted
216	4430	1005.W34S103	5	small bowl	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Pearlware	transfer printed
217	18977	1541.W35S88	5	plate	solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none
218	19621	1552.W35S90	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	transfer printed
219	20052	1547.W35S91	4	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
220	19011	1541.W36S90	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware?	none
221	19005	1541.W36S90	5	mug	beverage consumption	Manganese mottled?	metallic oxide
222	18814	1413.W44S124	5	bottle?	food and beverage storage	Derbyshire CSW	none
223	18917	1426.W44S120	5	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	factory-made slipware?
224	18714	1504.W39S111	4	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
225	19982	1547.W35S89	4	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	Creamware	none
226	19489	1541.W35S88	5	mug	beverage consumption	Manganese mottled	metallic oxide
227	19811	1541.W35S89	5	cup/drinking pot	beverage consumption	Creamware	none
228	3919	0862.W31S100	4	saucer	beverage consumption	Pearlware	none
229	19055	1541.W35S90	5	cup/drinking pot?	beverage consumption	UnID white REW	none
230	18934	1419.W42S125	5	small bowl?	semi-solid food consumption or serving	UnID white REW	none
231	18573	1504.W40S111	4	teapot?	beverage serving	Jackfield-type	none
233	19492	0335.Test 33	n/a	saucer	beverage consumption	Creamware	none

Appendix B: Hatcher Vessel 1, Object #8799

(demonstrating the spatial distribution of pieces of the same vessel)

Specimen #	Lot (Event.Unit)
4574	1005.W35S103
4651	1005.W36S103
4662	1005.W36S103
5656	1005.W37S104
7714	1005.W38S104
7720	1005.W38S104
11481	1009.W29S104
10160	1009.W29S104
10107	1009.W29S104
10108	1009.W29S104
10061	1009.W29S104
6923	1009.W35S102
6097	1047.W38S103
6094	1047.W38S103
8873	1059.W38S103
8669	1059.W39S103
8205	1067.W40S103
8190	1067.W40S103
8209	1067.W40S103
8193	1067.W40S103
8210	1067.W40S103
8189	1067.W40S103
8204	1067.W40S103
8191	1067.W40S103
8206	1067.W40S103
8202	1067.W40S103
8207	1067.W40S103
8203	1067.W40S103
17084	1067.W41S103
8975	1067.W41S103
8799	1071.W40S103
8801	1071.W40S103
8821	1071.W40S103
8829	1071.W40S103
8403	1077.W40S103
8109	1079.W39S103
13462	1302.W34S97
13645	1306.W34S100

Appendix C: Miller CC Index Value Calculations

	Phase 4	Phase 4.5	Phase 5	Phase 5.6	Phase 6	Total
Count of object types						
Plates						
CC	5	0	9	0	3	**17**
Shell Edge	2	0	9	1	1	**13**
Sponged	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
Total	**7**	**0**	**18**	**2**	**4**	**31**
Cups						
CC	2	0	6	0	2	**10**
Painted	0	1	5	0	1	**7**
Printed	0	0	4	1	2	**7**
Dipt	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
English Porcelain	0	0	2	0	0	**2**
Total	**2**	**1**	**17**	**1**	**6**	**27**
Bowls						
CC	2	0	3	0	3	**8**
Dipt	1	0	2	0	2	**5**
Painted	2	1	14	0	1	**18**
Printed	0	1	4	0	0	**5**
Total	**5**	**2**	**23**	**0**	**6**	**36**

	Phase 4	Phase 4.5	Phase 5	Phase 5.6	Phase 6
CC Index Values					
Plates					
CC	1	1	1	1	1
Shell Edge	1.4	1.37	1.34	1.24	1.13
Sponged	0	0	0	1.2	0
Cups					
CC	1.56	1.6	1.64	1.59	1.53
Painted	2.17	2.11	2.05	1.87	1.68
Printed	3.95	3.72	3.48	3.44	3.39
Dipt	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17
English Porcelain	0	0	4.2	0	0
Bowls					
CC	1	1	1	1	1
Dipt	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.17	1.14
Painted	2.34	1.99	1.63	1.53	1.43
Printed	3.42	3.12	2.82	2.56	2.3

	Phase 4	Phase 4.5	Phase 5	Phase 5.6	Phase 6	Total
Index Values x Number of Objects of Each Type						
Plates						
CC	5	0	9	0	3	**17**
Shell Edge	2.8	0	12.06	1.24	1.13	**17.23**
Sponged	0	0	0	1.2	0	**1.2**
Total	**7.8**	**0**	**21.06**	**2.44**	**4.13**	**35.43**
Cups						
CC	3.12	0	9.84	0	3.06	**16.02**
Painted	0	2.11	10.25	0	1.68	**14.04**
Printed	0	0	13.92	3.44	6.78	**24.14**
Dipt	0	0	0	0	2.17	**2.17**
English Porcelain	0	0	8.4	0	0	**8.4**
Total	**3.12**	**2.11**	**42.41**	**3.44**	**13.69**	**64.77**

	Phase 4	Phase 4.5	Phase 5	Phase 5.6	Phase 6	Total
Average CC Index Value						
Plates	1.11	0	1.17	1.22	1.03	**1.14**
Cups	1.56	2.11	2.49	3.44	2.28	**2.4**
Bowls	1.61	2.56	1.72	0	1.12	**1.65**
Average	**1.36**	**2.41**	**1.79**	**1.96**	**1.53**	
Total Assemblage Average CC Index Value						**1.69**