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SOMERSET AND DORSET CERAMICS AT SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FERRYLAND, NEWFOUNDLAND

By

© Blair Temple

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

One of the more problematic ceramic wares excavated at seventeenth-century Ferryland is that called "South Somerset". Problems associated with identification of this ceramic type are addressed here. The "South Somerset" collection has been reexamined, identifying four separate ware types from Somerset and Dorset: South Somerset-type, West Somerset-type, East Somerset-type, and Verwood-type. The frequencies of occurrence for these ceramic wares provide more evidence and information on the use on the functional and social use of particular ceramic. Using archaeological evidence from St. John's and Renews as comparisons, the occurrence and frequency of these ceramic wares at Ferryland provides insight into the trade of ceramics to seventeenth-century to Ferryland and Newfoundland. The roles particular ports played in the trade and fishery, whether sack ships or fishing ships shipped material culture such as ceramics, and possible changes in trade patterns throughout the century are all issues that have been examined using the Somerset and Dorset ceramic collections from seventeenth-century Ferryland.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 - Introduction

On August the 4th, 1621, Edward Wynne and twelve other colonists landed at Ferryland, Newfoundland (Figure 1.1 and Plate 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3), and began work on Sir George Calvert's first colonial venture in the New World (Wynne, 1621/8/26: 253). With this arrival, the harbour would be tied to England as never before. For over a century, migratory fishermen from various ports and countries in Europe fished from Ferryland and other Newfoundland harbours. They would arrive in the spring, catch fish all summer, and leave again in the fall to take their catch the European markets (Cell, 1969: 3-33). However, settlers who choose to spend their winters in Newfoundland would require goods to help them survive the long cold Newfoundland winter. Early each spring from 1621 onward, ships from England would arrive at Ferryland and the several other small settlements along the English shore of Newfoundland with essential supplies. Supplies on board would include foodstuffs, ranging from beef to butter, mustard seed to wheat. Also part of the cargoes – either as specific goods or simply as storage containers used to carry another primary good – would be pottery.

This thesis will examine one type of pottery found at the seventeenth-century archaeological site at Ferryland. The pottery type known as "South Somerset" has often been ambiguously identified, and the characteristics that define it are problematic and need clarification (Allan, 1984a: 98-100; 2000: 124). South Somerset pottery has been recognized at Ferryland for nearly twenty years now, first identified in the early mid



Figure 1.1 Map of the Avalon Peninsula, showing the English Shore and its settlements before 1700 (Pope, 2003: 123).

1980s (Pope, 1986: 103-105). In some respects, the identification "South Somerset" had become a catch-all term for pink-orange fired ceramics that looked English in origin, but could not identified as one of the more common wares, such as North Devon. Continued excavations, and further research on the ceramic collection at Ferryland resulted in the suspicion that the South Somerset collection at Ferryland may be been more problematic than originally thought. Not only were materials being called South Somerset that were clearly some other ware or type, but new ceramic wares were being recognized in the Ferryland collection that before would have been identified as South Somerset. Thus, reexamination of the complete collection was necessary.

The following chapter will introduce the research questions and main goals of this thesis, and will outline the methodology to be used to conduct the research and answer the questions.

<u>1.2 – Research Questions and Goals</u>

This thesis will answer the following five main questions concerning the "South Somerset" ceramic collection from the seventeenth-century archaeological site at Ferryland:

- (1) What Somerset and Dorset ceramic wares are present in the "South Somerset" collection in Ferryland? Are there any specific attributes of each ware that can be used to help in their identification?
- (2) What vessel forms predominate among the various wares in the "South Somerset" collection? Are particular vessel forms more common in specific wares? Are

particular vessel forms more common in specific areas of the Ferryland archaeological site?

- (3) How do the proportions of "South Somerset" wares in seventeenth-century Ferryland vary over time?
- (4) What were the trade patterns between the West Country and Newfoundland during the seventeenth-century that would result in Somerset and Dorset ceramics reaching Ferryland?
- (5) How do the ware frequencies (and vessel form) compare with St. John's and Renews? Does this reflect different trade patterns along the Avalon? Are there any apparent differences in frequencies that can be attributed to social standing or wealth?

1.3 - Methodology

Research was conducted on several museum collections containing ceramics from Somerset and Dorset. It was realized that the "South Somerset" collection from Ferryland contained not only South Somerset pottery (i.e. that produced primarily at Donyatt), but ceramics produced in east Dorset as well. It was also understood that material from other Somerset kilns could possibly be present. To add to the identification problem, the presence of redwares from the New England (and possibly the Chesapeake) area of the continental American colonies (present-day United States) is suspected as well¹. Ceramic collections were examined in the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, the Somerset

¹ The New England redwares were not examined as part of this thesis. However, due to the problematic nature of these ceramics (i.e. their confusion with Somerset ceramics), they will be discussed briefly in Appendix A at the end of this thesis.

County Museum in Taunton, the Royal Albert Museum in Exeter, and the Verwood and District Pottery Trust office in Blandford Forum. A sample collection of Ferryland ceramics was taken to England to compare with these collections in order to ensure a proper identification.

Study of the materials from the different Somerset kilns provide a clear sense of how complex West Country ceramic typology can be. The collection in Bristol contains much material from Nether Stowey, in the west Somerset area, as well as other Somerset specimens and ceramic products from around the Bristol and northern Somerset area. The ceramic collections in Exeter contain one of the finest and largest collections of South Somerset pottery in all England. The Somerset County Museum in Taunton contains the kiln waste materials from most of the post-medieval ceramic producers in Somerset. A number of samples from both Ferryland and St. John's appear to be from the Verwood and district potteries. These were compared with that of kiln wasters from excavations of kilns in the east Dorset area (examples housed at the Verwood and District Pottery Trust office in Blandford, Dorset) to establish a correct identification. This comparative research was essential to the research.

Upon return, a tentative type collection was established to help in the identification, and analysis of the Ferryland collection was begun. The "South Somerset" collection was examined to determine, first and foremost, whether it was in fact "South Somerset", or South Somerset-type (as it will be referred to henceforth). This was the main goal – identifying other Somerset material, Nether Stowey for example, was not a

priority as the materials are far too complex to attempt individual identification at this date. This will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

The Ferryland archaeological site is broken up into separate excavation locations known as "Areas". This thesis will focus on those areas with definite seventeenth-century components. This will include the two structures at Area B (Carter, 1997a and b; Nixon, 1999a and b), the complex storehouse at Area C (Gaulton, 1997a and b), the dwelling at Area D (Crompton, 2000a and b, and 2001), and two domestic middens at Area F. The excavation of Area E produced materials suggesting an eighteenth-century structure, and thus will not be discussed here (Leskovec, forthcoming). Other areas, such as Area A, G and H will not be examined. One important aspect of the loci worth noting is the stratigraphy. Two of the loci had the ceramic assemblages completely studied and thus studying the stratigraphy to determine what events to use was not an issue (i.e. Area D, and the dwelling at Area B). However, while other areas had previously been studied, the ceramic collection had received no special attention. Therefore, deciding which events to use was an issue. It was decided that of those areas in which this was the case -i.e. the ceramics had not been specifically examined - the example set by Wicks (1999) in his masters thesis on bottle glass would be appropriate. He did not focus on all the events from each area, but rather examined the glass from the occupation layers primarily. This avoided using events that may possibly be disturbed, and occupation layers - by their very nature - best represent the activities conducted within the structure or area.

Research was conducted on the primary documents from the seventeenth-century as well. In particular, the ship censuses from 1675 to 1684 (CO 1 series) were carefully examined in order to determine the shipping links of the period. Of these, the shipping records for Ferryland and the main comparative sites (St. John's and Renews) were examined, in order to compare shipping within the different areas of the English Shore. These documents were analyzed to determine the type of ships traveling to the respective harbours (i.e. cargo ship or fishing ship), and to determine the homeport of each of these ships. Other pieces of information such as the type of cargo, or which ports the ship possibly called at is also of importance. The ceramic evidence and the documentation combined will provide a fuller picture of trade to Ferryland.

The other aspect of the trade discussion will be to examine links that Ferryland had with England during the earlier parts of the century, before 1675, when no ship censuses are available. Using the information derived from the study of late seventeenthcentury shipping and English ceramics at Ferryland, a better idea of trade during the early part of the century will be achieved. Information such as the role certain ports played in the provisioning the settlement, and which type of sailing vessels carried the provisions, will be useful for this pre-Restoration period for which little is known.

1.3 - Conclusions

This thesis will provide insight into the Somerset and Dorset ceramic collections on English sites in Newfoundland. This in turn will help better explain the transport of all English ceramics to the different harbours of the English Shore during the seventeenth century. The integration of specific ceramic evidence with historic documentation is possible, even in the absence of probate inventories and ship cargo lists. This thesis also shows the complexities of ceramic research on New World English archaeological sites.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF FERRYLAND

<u>2.1 – Introduction</u>

The following will provide a brief introduction to the history of Ferryland, providing a context for which this study. A brief introduction to the history of excavation at Ferryland will also be provided, with a discussion of the relevant areas and events considered in this analysis.

2.2-Historical Background

The use of Ferryland (Plate 2.1 and 2.2) by European fishermen began long before the seventeenth century. During the very early sixteenth-century, migratory fishermen from France and the Iberian Peninsula sailed across the Atlantic in order to exploit the northern cod stocks. These fishermen participated in the "dry" migratory fishery, involving the light salting of cod, which was then placed on cobble beaches or wooden flakes to dry in the sun (Faulkner, 1985: 59-60; Innis, 1954; Cell, 1982). These fishermen would sail to Newfoundland in the early spring, stay on the shore during the summer, and return to Europe to sell their catch in the fall.

This type of fishery differs from that which the French developed during the mid sixteenth-century. After 1550 or so, the bank fishery became a common practice for some French fishermen. The fishing ships stayed offshore for most of the summer, coming onshore only rarely, in order to get fresh water or fire wood. Fish was caught and heavily salted, then stored in barrels in the ship's hold. This "wet" fishery was the common practice for many French fishing vessels during much of the later sixteenth-century (Janzen, 1999:129-130).

English involvement in the Newfoundland cod fishery did not become significant until the later half of the sixteenth century (Innis, 1954: 30-31; Youings, 1986: 36-37; Janzen 1999). The English had seriously crippled the Spanish fleet during the Armada, resulting in a great loss of Spanish fishing vessels that would normally have sailed to Newfoundland. This not only allowed the English the opportunity to fish off Newfoundland without the heavy presence of the Spanish, but the English then had a market to sell this surplus fish to as well. Previous to this, the English had been involved in the cod fishery around Iceland and Ireland, which had amply supplied their needs (Janzen, 1999: 133; Childs, 1995; Kowaleski, 2000). English involvement in the Newfoundland fishery grew from the 1560s onward.

In August of 1621, Edward Wynne and twelve other settlers landed at Ferryland and began construction of a colony on behalf of Sir George Calvert. Wynne and the settlers began to build the storehouse, a kitchen/cookhouse, and the mansion house. Wynne frequently corresponded with George Calvert concerning the progress of the colony, and often discussed other aspects such as the natural environment. The quality of the land was often mentioned, with Wynne noting that "Wheate, Barly and Rye" were growing wild in the area (1621/8/20: 255). Wynne also noted the quantity and quality of vegetables that could be grown at the site:

We have also a plentifull Kitchin-Garden of many things, and so ranke, that I have not seene the like in England. Our Beanes are exceeding good: our Pease shal goe without compare; for they are in some places as high as a man of an extraordinary stature: Raddish as big as mine arme: Lettice, Cale or Cabbedge, Turneps, Carrets, and all the rest is of like goodnesse. (1622/8/17: 201).

Wynne often discussed the settlement and its qualities with great fondness, and generally in a positive light.

Calvert himself – who was made Lord Baltimore in 1624 (Anon. 1670: 250) – longed to visit his colony, and during the summer of 1627 he finally made the voyage. He would return to England that same year, but would again sail to Newfoundland in 1628, this time with his wife. Edward Wynne was no longer the governor at Ferryland, having been replaced by Sir Arthur Aston in 1625 (Lahey, 1998: 24). Calvert found the Ferryland winter far to severe however and on the 19th of August 1629, he wrote to Charles I stating:

That from the middest of October, to the middest of May there is a sadd face of wynter vpon all this land, both sea and land so frozen for the greatest part of the year as they are not penetrable, no plant or vegetable thing appearing out of the earth vntill it be about the beginning of May nor fish in the sea besides the ayre so intolerable cold as it is hardly to be endured (Calvert, 1629/8/19: 295-296).

Newfoundland proved too much for Calvert, indicating that it was in fact the weather that drove him away, not his "nagging wife" as has been suggested (Matthews, 1968: 117). He soon left Ferryland with plans to "remove [him] self with some 40. Persons to [his] Maiesties dominion of Virginia" (Calvert, 1629/8/19: 296). Calvert would eventually die back in England, with his son Cecil eventually taking over the Chesapeake grant (Krugler, 2001: 13-14).

In 1637, Charles I granted Sir David Kirke administrative control of the colony; he arrived at Ferryland in 1638, kicked the current governor out of the Mansion House, and claimed it for himself. The Kirke occupation of Ferryland appears to have been a period of economic stability and success (Pope, 1992a; 1998: 64). Kirke taxed foreign ships leaving Ferryland with cod – interesting considering that the Navigation Act of 1651 was over a decade away – and he charged the planters a fee for keeping tippling houses in the their homes. Kirke's role in the transport of tobacco and alcohol into Newfoundland has been well studied, and shows that Kirke likely did not want to curb the consumption of tobacco or drink (Pope, 1989a, and 1992a). Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, conflict between the Calverts and the Kirkes would develop and continue, with George Calvert's son, Cecil, fighting Kirke for control of the colony (Pope, 1998). The two families sued and counter-sued each other throughout the 1640s, and these tensions may be partially responsible for the demise of Kirke.

Kirke's stay at Ferryland would end in 1651 when he was recalled back to England to account for his financial success, as well as his political allegiance during the English Civil War of the 1640s. He would eventually die in prison in 1654, "at the suit of Lord Baltimore" (Tuck, 1996: 22). Some of his family members remained in Ferryland, such as his wife Lady Kirke as well as a number of his sons, but Kirke himself did not return to Newfoundland, as has been suggested in the past (Cell, 1969: 123).

After Kirke was removed in 1651, the English government sent John Treworgie and a group of men to Ferryland, where they "siezed boats, stages and...other things there, in Sr David Kirke's possession" (Anon., 1654/24/4). Treworgie, a New Englander, would run the settlement as a governor of sorts on behalf of the Interregnum government. Treworgie himself was removed in 1660 with the end of the Interregnum. The economic successes once enjoyed by the settlement (during Kirke's tenure in particular) had begun to slow considerably by 1660. A series of bad fishing seasons plagued the settlement between the late 1650s and 1675 (Pope, 1995a: 14). On September 4th, 1673, four Dutch ships headed by Nicolas Boas sailed into Ferryland harbour and sacked the settlement. Captain Dudley Lovelace from New York was on board one of the ships, and wrote an account of the attack, and the subsequent looting of the settlement. He states that while the Dutch did a great deal of damage, they did not destroy the settlement. The inhabitants had to pay the Dutch ships a "composition" of six hogs and one bullock in return for materials, etc. not destroyed (Lovelace, 1675/29/3).

The settlement was again attacked in 1696, this time by the French, and this time much more severely. In the fall of that year, Jacques-Francois de Mombeton de Brouillan sailed from Plasiance (now Placentia) to Ferryland and destroyed the settlement (Prichard, 1999: 168). Many of the settlers were taken captive and held prisoner in Plasiance, while others were sent to Appledore, England. Shortly after the attack, d'Iberville arrived in Ferryland with the same intentions as de Brouillan, only to discover that the settlement had already been destroyed (Williams, 1987). D'Iberville would continue the attacks through the English Avalon, destroying almost every settlement along the way. Some of the settlers that left Ferryland did return the next year, but it appears that the community moved to a different location in the harbour (Tuck, 1996: 23).

<u>2.3 – Social Structure at Ferryland</u>

Very much intertwined with the history of Ferryland, and consequently the material culture to be found during archaeological investigations, is the issue of stratification and class. Pope (1992a; 257-317; cf. also1986: 55-64) sets forth a proposed class system for seventeenth-century Ferryland, based on that devised by Laslett for Stuart England (1971: 23-54). This has important ramification for the interpretation of the artifacts found during excavations.

At the top of the social ladder in seventeenth-century Newfoundland were the gentry, persons who typically had some degree of political power coupled with high wealth and land holdings. Sir George Calvert and Sir David Kirke for example, would both be classified as gentry, as could the most powerful fishing ship captains and the clergy.

Below the gentry would be the middle class, which included craftsmen and planters. These people were neither overly wealthy nor especially poor, but the living they did make and the financial success they did gain would have been done so by using their trade (if a tradesman/craftsman) or employing others the help procure their catch (if a fisherman) to make their living. Many of the middling sort planters that lived permanently at Ferryland during the seventeenth century would fall under this classification.

The lowest position on the social scale in seventeenth-century Newfoundland would have been the servant, fishing ship crew and other hired labor. Indentured servants who signed on with planters and their families to work for a period, would have been the primary and most abundant of this group to be "permanent". The fishers on the various ships would usually return back to England or the markets in the fall when the fishing season was over.

This social stratification in Newfoundland lasted until around 1660, when it became slightly more complex. The distinction between gentry and planter (middle class) became less noticeable, and was typically a division between large planters with large fishing operations, and small planters who may have become involved in the bye-boat fishery.

2.4 - History of Excavation

While excavation at Ferryland has been intensive for less than two decades, archaeological interest in the area goes back almost a century. In the 1930s an entomologist from Baltimore, Maryland, named Dr. Brooks, conducted some minor test excavations around the pool. In the late 1950s, J. R. Harper conducted test excavations around the Pool area, uncovering evidence of seventeenth-century occupations. Memorial University conducted more tests in 1968, and again seventeenth-century materials were uncovered including a slate drain. During the early 1970s, Memorial University's Robert Barakat did some limited testing in the same area as the previous work, and on Bois Island at the eighteenth-century military batteries (Tuck, 1996:24).

During the 1980s extensive archaeological work would take place in Ferryland. Dr. James A. Tuck from Memorial University of Newfoundland, would lead the excavations up until 1986, when it became apparent that the site was in fact the seventeenth-century site known as the Colony of Avalon, and that a site of this complexity and richness would require much more substantial funding. This would become a reality in 1991 when the Canada-Newfoundland Tourism and Historic Resources Cooperation Agreement was signed, which partly allowed for the full-scale excavation of the archaeological site in Ferryland (Tuck, 1996: 24-25). Excavations have continued from 1991 up to the present.

<u>2.4.1 – Excavated Areas</u>

In total, eight separate excavation locals – or "Areas" – have been excavated at Ferryland, uncovering a number of seventeenth-century structures and features (Figure 2.1). These will be described briefly below. For in-depth discussions of the respective areas at Ferryland, see Carter, et al., 1998; Tuck, 1993 and 1996; Tuck, et al., 1999.

<u>Area A</u>

In the fall of 1984, attempts were made to find possible fortifications that would have been used in the defense of the settlement. Located on the western portion of the site, this would have been used to repel any advance from the mainland. While seventeenth-century artifacts were uncovered, no fortifications were found.

<u>Area B</u>

First excavated in 1984, this may be the location of the 1959 excavation by J. R. Harper (Tuck, 1996: 27). Area B proved to be very complex, with many features and occupations being found, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The first inhabitants of the area were the Beothuk Indians, whose material remains were found, including charcoal, a hearth, and numerous stone points (Gaulton, 2001; Tuck 1996: 27-



Figure 2.1 Map of the Pool Ferryland. Shows the different "Areas" excavated within the site (modified from Tuck, 1993: 298).

28). Also excavated in those same contemporaneous layers were the remains of the seasonal, or migratory, fishermen that occupied the shores for much of the sixteenth century (Tuck, et al, 1999: 147-148). The primary pottery types found – Merida-type, for example, as well as other material that appears to be Iberian or French in origin – suggests a non-English European migratory fishery, possibly early to mid sixteenth century.

Above this occupation was another likely sixteenth-century layer. This however contained North Devon ceramics, and a cobble "pavement" used to dry fish on (Tuck, 1996: 29). No tobacco pipes were found in this layer however, indicating that while likely
English, it probably dated before 1580, when tobacco pipe production begins. This would date this migratory occupation to roughly the third quarter of the sixteenth century, as the English had little involvement in the Newfoundland fishery before that (Janzen, 1999; Cell, 1969: 22-33).

Two separate seventeenth-century occupations/structures were uncovered at Area B as well. The earliest structure – a smithy – dates to the early to mid seventeenth century. It was probably the original smithy completed by Edward Wynne in 1622, and fell into disuse sometime around the middle of the century (Carter, 1997a and b; Pope, 1986). The other structure was a dwelling, and dates to the later part of the seventeenthcentury (Nixon, 1999a and b). Both of these structures will be explained more fully in Chapter 4 when the Somerset and Dorset ceramics from each are examined.

<u>Area C</u>

Excavations at Area C began in 1986, and again during 1992-1996 (Tuck, et al., 1999: 149). A large stone structure was uncovered, and appears to have been constructed during the first years of the colony and settlement. It was destroyed by the Dutch during the attack of 1673, but rebuilt soon after. It was again destroyed in 1696, this time by the French. It was a multi-function structure, changing slightly over the years, but it served primarily as a warehouse/storehouse and a later as a cowhouse, complete with drains and a stone privy (Gaulton, 1997a and b). The building and related features will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

<u>Area D</u>

The excavation of this Area began in the 1980s, and uncovered a nineteenthcentury house. In 1993, excavations continued, and the remains of a seventeenth-century dwelling were uncovered. Tobacco pipe evidence suggests that this house was constructed sometime around after 1673 (Crompton: 2000a: 17). The presence of two William III coins (1694-1702) associated with a burn layer suggest that the structure was destroyed during the French attach of 1696 (Crompton, 2000a: 16-17; Tuck, 1996: 37). This structure and its contents will be explained more fully in Chapter 4.

<u>Area E</u>

Excavations at Area E began in 1993, and uncovered what may possibly be an early to mid eighteenth-century tavern or dwelling, as well as a possible late seventeenth-century defensive feature. Excavation of the eighteenth-century structure continued again during the 2001 season. The eighteenth-century structure is now being analyzed by Barb Lescovec, an MA student at Memorial University. It consisted of two fireplaces – one at each end – and a series of sporadic posts between each, presumably along what would have been walls (Lescovec, pers. comm., 2002; Tuck, 1996: 39). Bottle glass quantities found at the site suggested that the structure was used as a tavern, or at least a dwelling that served as a tippling house (Wicks, 1999: 87-93).

The seventeenth-century features include a mound of earth and a retaining wall, and could be the fortifications built by Capt. William Holman in 1694 (Tuck, 1996: 39). The other seventeenth-century feature consists of the remains of a structure built with layers of sod on its south wall. And though not exposed by excavation, something substantial would have been constructed on the north wall as well to avoid erosion from the above hillside (Tuck, 1996: 39-40). The ceramics from Area E will not be examined, as most of the material recovered dates to the eighteenth century, and thus falls out of the chronological period being studied.

<u>Area F</u>

This portion of the Ferryland site is very complex, with many different features and structures, all from varying parts of the seventeenth century. The early excavations of the area focused on the early mansion house. Continued excavation uncovered the defenses constructed by the first settlers, a cobble-lined pit of unknown function, and an indication that the dwelling believed to be the mansion house of George Calvert, was actually the home of Kirke (Tuck and Gaulton, 2001: 97-104). Excavations in 2001 and 2002 uncovered a wood-lined well, and a brewhouse with two North Devon ovens at the back corners (Tuck, pers. comm., 2002). Unfortunately, much of the structure believed to have belonged to the Kirkes, as well as the likely site of the Calvert Mansion House, lie under the road leading to the Ferryland Lighthouse (Tuck and Gaulton, 2001: 104). The ceramics from this Area were examined, but only from certain portions; the reason for this will be explained in the relevant section of Chapter 4.

<u>Area G</u>

Excavations of Area G began in 1996, and continue right up to the present (Carter, et. al., 1998: 49). Located to the west of Area C, the primary structure and feature of Area G is a seawall, constructed of single-face stone, and possibly connects with the

seawall found at Area C. The west portion of the sea wall curves inward, producing a quay of sorts. This Area was not examined as part of this study.

<u>Area H</u>

This Area was excavated during the 1999 field season, and is located to the west of the Colony of Avalon Interpretive Center. The remains of a nineteenth-century stone foundation were uncovered, as well as an eighteenth-century cobble pavement. Evidence of a second and third quarter seventeenth-century presence was found, as indicated by the tobacco pipe bowls that were uncovered (Gaulton, pers. comm., 2002). Area H will not be examined as part of this study.

2.5 - Conclusions

The many facets of Ferryland's history are important to this ceramic study. This thesis does not deal with a specific building, structure or period in the settlement's history – it deals with the entire century. Therefore, the different occurrences at the settlement – wars abroad, local attacks, local relations – all effect the history of the settlement, and of importance to this thesis, the trade and shipping to the colony. Consequently, these aspects affect the ceramics to be found.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF "SOUTH SOMERSET" AND EAST DORSET CERAMICS

<u>3.1 – Introduction</u>

The following chapter will provide a history of the "South Somerset" ceramic ware production, and a discussion of ceramics at the Ferryland site that are of Somerset or Dorset origin. The first section of this chapter discusses the use and history of the term "South Somerset" in post-medieval and historical archaeology. The second section will contain a discussion of the different ceramic kilns and regions that produced the Somerset and Dorset ceramics found in Ferryland. The medieval and post-medieval history of the ceramic industry in each county will be examined briefly. This will provide an introduction for a discussion of the kilns that produced materials found in Ferryland.

<u>3.2 – The Term "South Somerset" and its Usage</u>

Terminology is of utmost importance when discussing ceramics in archaeology; therefore, a discussion of "South Somerset" as a ceramic ware identifier will be provided. The ceramic material termed "South Somerset" has been recognized in Newfoundland for nearly two decades. Pope (1986) identified a number of "South Somerset" vessels from excavations at Area B in Ferryland. This material was attributed to Donyatt, Somerset primarily, with the knowledge that other kilns in the area may have produced similar ceramic material. At the time, the ceramic material from that part of the West Country in England was not well understood. The extensive literature on Donyatt ceramics for example had not yet been published (see Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988).

The term "South Somerset" is still widely used today in both England and North America, though most researchers note that the term may encompass the products from several kilns. John Allan in his valuable publication on ceramics from Exeter (1984a) uses the term, indicating that the primary producer of the material is Donyatt, noting that a number of kilns are known to have existed during the same period and were very close geographically to Donyatt (cf. Pope, 1986). He argues for example, that the east Devon kiln of Honiton, while only known from documentary sources as a pottery producer, could well have produced very similar products indistinguishable from that of Donyatt (Allan, 1984a: 98, 133). Attempts have been made in the past to distinguish the Honiton ceramic material from the other South Somerset pottery, but this may be premature due to the lack of kiln wasters from Honiton (Field, 1977; Allan, 1984a: 99-100). Allan also notes the fact that a number of other kilns in Somerset - such as Wrangway and Nether Stowey are known to have produced very similar ceramic products, and thus these materials are too difficult to distinguish with any certainty (1984a: 98; 2000: 124). Other British archaeologists and ceramic specialists share this attribution problem as well, as seen in the large quantities of supposed Nether Stowey material in Bristol (Good, 1987: 38). Until scientific analysis allows ware types to be isolated individually, it is best to call typical products of the general region South Somerset-type, a usage to be followed here (Allan, 2000: 124; Coleman-Smith, 1996: 21).

"South Somerset" ceramics have also been identified in various locations in North America for many years. Important work by Taft Kiser on the Donyatt collection from the seventeenth-century Chesapeake will prove very valuable to the understanding of this ware type and its distribution on other New World archaeological sites. (Kiser, 2001; cf. Hurry, 2001: 48). These materials have generally been identified in the same way as in England: as having been produced at Donyatt primarily, but also having been produced at other kilns in the area. Given the nature of trade between North America and England, archaeological sites may contain ceramic materials from a number of different areas of England, which may be difficult to distinguish from one another.

<u>3.3 – Kiln History</u>

Understanding the history of a particular ceramic kiln will provide a fuller understanding of the materials from that kiln. Knowing the materials used to heat the kiln (i.e. coal, wood, etc.) helps to better understand the characteristics of the fabric and glaze, and understanding the firing techniques and kiln construction greatly helps our understanding of the final ceramic product (Dawson and Kent, 1999; Allan, 2000: 123; Rackham, 1988). The interaction that a particular kiln had with nearby kilns will affect factors such as decoration, form design, and trade and distribution. Knowledge of these aspects is essential to a proper understanding of the ceramic material.

The following is a history of the ceramic wares that fall under the term "South Somerset", or South Somerset-type, as identified in seventeenth-century archaeological sites in Newfoundland. This will include the kilns that are typically known to produce the ceramic material vaguely termed "South Somerset", but will also include the other kilns producing the material often confused with South Somerset-type (i.e. other Somerset and Dorset ceramics). Thus, by providing a brief history of these ceramic kilns, their association, or lack of association, (in terms of decorative influences and form similarities) will be highlighted.

<u>3.3.1 – Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Industry in Somerset</u>

The pottery industry in county Somerset had begun long before the seventeenth century, and the initial settlement of Ferryland. Throughout the Middle Ages, the county was scattered with pottery kilns – the evidence for their existence varies from the excavation or discovery of kiln wasters, to reference in documentary sources. In fact, documentary evidence alone has provided evidence for no less than thirteen late medieval and post-medieval pottery production sites (Figure 3.1). In southern Somerset, Donyatt and Chard are recorded; in west Somerset, Bridgewater, Milverton and Nether Stowey; in North Somerset, Long Ashton, Pill, and Wrington; and in East Somerset, Batcombe, Butleigh, Evercreech, Glastonbury, and Ilchester (Le Patourel, 1968: 125). Many of these areas had pottery production during earlier periods as well. This indicates that the pottery industry in Somerset had been important and quite extensive geographically since the medieval period.

Many of the sites known from documentary sources remained in production until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some into the nineteenth century. Nether Stowey and Donyatt continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth century respectively.



Figure 3.1 Map of Somerset, showing primary medieval and post-medieval ceramic kilns, as well as the principle towns and ports mentioned in the text.

Bridgewater also continued into the nineteenth century, the period of its most prolific production (Allan, 2000: 123). Wiveliscombe, Crowcombe, and Dinnington all had kilns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Dunster and Blue Anchor had kilns producing pottery during the eighteenth century (Allan, 2000: 123). The kiln at Dunster, Somerset for example (Plate 3.1), was in production from the mid eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century, and structurally remains the oldest standing kiln in Britain (Dawson, pers. comm., 2001). The pottery industry in Somerset was one of the most extensive in the West Country.

<u>3.3.1.1 – Donyatt, South Somerset</u>

Donyatt is located in south Somerset, near the Dorset and Devon border, approximately twelve miles south of the town of Taunton (Coleman-Smith, 1999: 269-270). It is generally assumed to be the primary and largest producer of South Somersettype ceramics, with other nearby centres producing similar wares (Allan, 1999: 280). Ceramic production at Donyatt had been underway by the fourteenth century, and continued until the early twentieth century. A number of these kiln sites have been identified within the village of Donyatt. Not all of these kilns produced material during the occupation of Ferryland and therefore will not be discussed. The main kiln sites at Donyatt that produced pottery during the seventeenth century are Site 2, dating from 1600 to 1650, and Site 13, dating from 1650 to 1750 (Coleman-Smith, 1999: 271-275; and, 2002). Donyatt pottery excavated on seventeenth-century sites in Newfoundland may have been produced at one of these two kiln sites, though other kilns were probably in operation at that same time. While both kilns produced the same basic types of vessel forms, the frequency of individual forms produced changes slightly throughout time. The early eighteenth-century kilns (Site 4 and Site 13) are so similar that it would be very difficult to distinguish their products (Coleman-Smith, 2002: 134).

The Donyatt potteries produced a type of pottery known as *sgraffito*. This decoration technique was common to other potteries in the West Country, such as those in other Somerset areas, and in the North Devon area. It involved scratching through a thick white slip, exposing the ceramic body beneath (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 388; Erickson and Hunter, 2001: 98-101). Numerous sgraffito techniques were employed,

from spirals, to straight vertical lines from rim to base. Sgraffito-decorated South Somerset-type ceramics appear ca.1600 in Exeter (cf. Allan, 1984a: 135). While rare before that, sgraffito decoration had been used on Donyatt material since the middle ages (cf. Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 130-131 & 157-158). Possible South Somerset sgraffito first appears at Ferryland around 1640.

Other decorative techniques were used besides true sgraffito. Other incised decorative techniques had also been employed by the Donyatt potters since the middle ages (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 387-388). No Ferryland examples are known with this decoration. Other techniques such as slip and encrusted decoration were also used. Simple incising is often found on early Donyatt vessels. Slip decoration basically involved painting a slip band – often white and often thin – onto the body of the ceramic vessel (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 387). Encrusted decoration involved the application of small quartz chips to the outer body of a vessel (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 387). It was typically done in a simple pattern, rather than just covering the entire vessel.

The primary fabric types found in these two kilns are known as (Donyatt Pottery Type fabrics 7 and 8 (hereafter called DPT 7 and DPT 8) (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988; Coleman-Smith, 2002: 134). DPT 7 (Plate 3.2) is classified as having a fabric that is " fairly hard to hard sandy...with smooth surfaces". The fabric can sometimes be rather soft as well (Radford and Hallam, 1953: 81). The inclusions are very fine bits of quartz, generally not visible to the eye, frequent red brown iron oxide [hematite] inclusions and sporadic fossil limestone. While DPT 8 is very similar to DPT 7, it has a "slightly gritty

to smooth sandy texture", as well as the other common attributes of Donyatt pottery found in DPT 7, such as iron oxide and very tiny quartz (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 104). It is not found at the early seventeenth-century Donyatt kilns (Site 1), but may possibly be found on very late seventeenth-century examples

Another fabric that needs a brief discussion is Donyatt gritty ware. This fabric type is identified by Allan as having a "rough fabric with rounded brown stone inclusions, chert fragments, quartz sand and iron oxide lumps" (1984a: 149). This fabric is problematic because it is very similar to the Coarse Sandy fabric found in local Exeter products, which often are found in similar type vessel forms (Allan, 1984a: 136). They can be distinguished from one another with experience however. Additionally, some specimens of both Donyatt gritty and Coarse Sandy types look similar to some west Somerset products. Some possible examples have been identified at Ferryland, and where possible these were distinguished from the Exeter Coarse Sandy vessels. Those examples that are not Exeter Coarse Sandy may be generally the same as DPT 8.

The South Somerset-type ceramics usually have a thin lead glaze, and occur with a wide range of glaze colours, such as amber or orange, with brown, manganese, and even an off white found on some vessels (Plate 3.3). When copper is splashed or brushed as part of the decoration, a green can occur as well.

<u>3.3.1.2 – Nether Stowey, west Somerset</u>

Nether Stowey is located in west Somerset, approximately sixteen kilometers north of Taunton. It is the best known and probably the most prolific of the west Somerset potteries during the post-medieval period. This material is the most common coarse earthenware found in Bristol on late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sites (Good and Russett, 1987: 39). This material has seen little publication, with the exception of one publication on the kiln site, and find spots such as Bristol and Taunton (Barton, 1964; Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1970; Good, 1987;Pearson, 1984).

The fabric is variable in colour, ranging from buff to dark orange, and tends to turn gray where the fabric is thick. It is generally coarse and is often harder than South Somerset products, a characteristic that sometimes helps in distinguishing it. Excavations at Bristol have identified two separate fabrics of possible west Somerset pottery (one of which is possibly Nether Stowey): Fabric #5 and Fabric #12 (Good, 1987: 35). Both contain fine grains of sand (sometimes larger) and occasionally have hematite inclusions and clay pellets. Fabric #12 is possibly a hard-fired variation of Fabric #5 (Good, 1987: 35; Good and Russett, 1987: 39). The glaze is often thick and sometimes flakes easily where applied to a slip (Good, pers. comm, 2001). The glaze colour can vary as well, ranging from yellow to green, to brown. This range of colour is very similar to the products of Donyatt, and thus can lead to problems with identification. Common vessel forms include dishes, bowls, storage jars, milk pans, and chafing dishes (Good and Russett, 1987: 40; cf. Good, 1987).

Like the Donyatt and other South Somerset-type industries, the potteries of west Somerset produced sgraffito-decorated wares. The decoration shares many attributes with that produced at Donyatt, but with a few notable differences. Decorations such as the spiral or straight lines are common at both the west Somerset centres and at Donyatt. Another common decoration on Nether Stowey ceramics is the used of a "S" shaped design, or wavy line, on the interior rim of the vessel, which is also common on North Devon sgraffito vessels (compare Good, 1987: 46-48, with Outlaw, 2002: 21, Fig. 5, 7). This may indicate a possible relationship between the west Somerset potteries and those in the North Devon town of Bideford and Barnstaple. This not surprising given the close trade ties between Bristol, the primary coastal market for Nether Stowey ceramics, the other Bristol Channel ports and harbours, and the North Devon ports of Bideford and Barnstaple (cf. Hussey, 2000). This decoration tradition may have been adopted by one industry from the other. It is also interesting that this decorative style is most common on the earliest example of sgraffito decorated vessel for each ware. The west Somerset kilns – such as the Nether Stowey – may have had just as strong a relation with the North Devon industry as they did with the South Somerset ceramic industry.

<u>3.1.1.3 – Wanstrow, East Somerset</u>

Wanstrow is located in east Somerset, approximately 50 km northeast of Taunton, very close to the Wiltshire/Somerset border. Wanstrow was one of the larger pottery producers in the east Somerset area during the early post-medieval period (Russet, 1989: 240). Kilns in this area were producing pottery from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century (Good and Russett, 1987: 39). They also produced slipwares very similar to those produced at the Donyatt and Nether Stowey kilns. The east Somerset ceramic industries, particularly that at Wanstrow, do not seem to have had an important sgraffito tradition however. There is very little published information on the ceramics produced in the west Somerset area during the post-medieval period. With further research, possible relationships with the west Dorset industries might be explored.

The fabric of east-Somerset-type ceramics generally has a coarse matrix of a dull orange to a reddish orange, often with a gray core, occasionally reduced throughout to a light to mid gray. Inclusions include hematite, clay pellets, and fine sand. Glaze colour varies from green to orange, but black is sometimes found (Good, 1987: 35; Good and Russett, 1987: 38). Its similarity to South Somerset-type makes the two difficult to distinguish. Vessel forms include bowls, jars, pipkins, chamber pots, jugs and cups.

<u>3.3.1.4 – Dating Somerset Ceramics</u>

Excavations in urban areas produce the best evidence for dating Somerset ceramic material. Dating ceramic wasters from kiln sites can be difficult and problematic, as limited artifactual evidence (particularly clay tobacco pipes) result in unreliable dates (Allan, 2000: 124). However, excavations at a number of sites in Exeter have produced a very detailed sequence of South Somerset pottery which spans the seventeenth century (Allan, 1984a). Contexts dating to ca. 1600, ca.1600-50, ca. 1640-70, ca. 1670-1700, and ca. 1690-1720 provide an exceptional view of the changes in vessel form and decoration exhibited on South Somerset pottery throughout the seventeenth century. No fuller picture of the South Somerset pottery industry is to be found in southwest England. Within Somerset, excavations at Taunton have produced a large quantity of ceramic material as well (Pearson 1984).

Dating the other Somerset ceramic wares can prove difficult. The products were often not produced on the same scale as that from the Donyatt kilns, and thus fewer sites produced samples large enough to study. One of the best-published collections of west Somerset material comes from excavations at Narrow Quay, in Bristol (Good, 1987).

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While the bulk of this collection dates to ca.1600 (slightly earlier than the Colony of Avalon), it will still provide a good comparison for Ferryland's early contexts. Bristol also provides a very good sample of Wanstrow pottery. Again, the bulk of the published material is late sixteenth century; it is however an invaluable reference as the pottery from the Wanstrow area in east Somerset is not well understood. While excavations in Taunton have also provided a good picture of dating (admittedly with gaps), the towns assemblages samples are important because they provides one of the best pictures of local consumption of any place in Somerset (Pearson, 1984).

<u>3.3.2 – Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery Industries in Dorset County</u>

Dorset's pottery industry dates back to the middle ages, though it was apparently not as extensive as that of Somerset (Figure 3.2). Documentary evidence records the presence of kilns at Damerham and Alderholt (east Dorset) and archaeological research has located a kiln in Hermitage (west Dorset), all of which were in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Spoerry, 1988, 1990). A number of sites have been identified as possible pottery production centres based on their names, such as "Crockers farm" in West Compton, and "Crock Hole" in Broadwey (Spoerry, 1988: 29, 33); these however should not be taken as definite. With the exception of the few securely identified sites, the medieval pottery industry in Dorset in poorly understood. Excavations in various parts coastal Dorset have uncovered many different medieval pottery types that appear to be local, but are difficult to attribute to a specific source (Jarvis, 1983; Horsey, 1992; Watkins, 1994). There is no doubt that there was an active pottery industry in Dorset during the medieval period, but its extent is simply not well understood.



Figure 3.2 Map of Dorset, showing primary medieval and post-medieval ceramic kilns, as well as principle towns and ports mentioned in the text.

More is known about the post-medieval pottery industry in Dorset than the medieval pottery industry. Interestingly, the number of production sites did not grow much in the post-medieval period. As will be seen, the Verwood and district potteries may have been responsible for most of the ceramics produced in Dorset during the post-medieval period, particularly the seventeenth century. Other parts of the county did have post-medieval pottery industries, but these were small and are not well studied. For example, Poole had a post-medieval ceramic industry, but those local products have only been cautiously identified (Horsey, 1992: 63-64). Pottery was discovered in the late fall of 2001 in west Dorset, near Sherborne as well. Initial examination reveals that the material resembles the potteries of Donyatt, and other Somerset producers, more than that of the Verwood potteries in east Dorset (Copland-Griffiths, pers. comm., 2002). This

indicates that west Dorset material may be confused with South Somerset ceramics. For example, excavations in Sherborne have identified numerous Donyatt vessels, which may in fact be local products (Laidlaw, 1999: 58).

<u>3.3.2.1 – Verwood and District Potteries</u>

Documentary evidence indicates that potters were working in the village of Alderholt from the early fourteenth-century, as indicated by a reference in the Cranborne Manor Accounts from 1337 digging clay for pottery (Algar, et al., 1987: 20). With this exception, there are few references, either historical or archaeological, to any other pottery manufacture in the Verwood district any earlier than 1600. Excavations at Wimborne, in southeast Dorset, produced medieval pottery which may possibly be early Verwood-type (Graham, 1984; Spoerry, 1994: 46; Woodward, 1983). Beginning in the seventeenth century, a number of kilns began production of very similar ceramic products, such as those at Alderholt, Horton, and possibly Holt and Edmondsham (Algar, et al., 1987: 21; Copland-Griffiths 1989 and 1998). The most prolific period of pottery production occurred during the eighteenth century, with kilns producing pottery in Alderholt, Hambridge, Edmondsham, Horton, Holt, and Verwood (Algar, et. al., 1987: 21). The number of kilns declined greatly with the growth of mass-produced pottery during the mid eighteenth century, and by the early nineteenth century, the production of pottery in the Verwood area was in severe decline (Algar, et al., 1987: 36). The last of the Verwood potteries closed in 1952 (Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 82).

The most well known and best understood of the seventeenth-century kilns are those at Horton (see Figure 3.2). There is documentary evidence of potters working there in 1616, and possibly as early as the late sixteenth century (Algar, et al., 1987: 26). In 1976, excavations were undertaken at a kiln site in Horton, which produced a wide range of Verwood-type vessel forms dating to the mid-seventeenth century (Copland-Griffiths, 1989). Excavations took place again in 1990, producing another collection of kiln waste (Copland-Griffiths and Butterworth, 1992). This is still the only excavated kiln which produced Verwood-type pottery during the seventeenth century.

The excavations at Horton have provided a very good look at Verwood-type ceramics from the seventeenth century, and consequently are likely to be found on sites in Newfoundland. Admittedly, the Horton kiln is but one of several working at that time, but in the absence of other published material, Horton can be taken as a good example of Verwood-type ceramics for the seventeenth century. The vessel forms identified from the excavations at the kiln site in Horton included bowls, dishes and milk pans (pancheons), and chamber pot-type forms (commode liners). The kiln also produced a butter pot form, somewhat similar to that produced at the North Devon kilns (Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 77-78, #51-53; Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 137-141). Forms such as chafing dishes, mugs, jugs, costrels, and pipkins were produced as well (Copland-Griffiths, 1989; Copland-Griffiths and Butterworth, 1992).

As discussed earlier, the products of the Verwood and district kilns have commonly been confused with that of the South Somerset and other Somerset kilns. The material can be distinguished however by careful examination of the glaze, vessel form, and particularly the fabric colour and texture. While Verwood pottery was produced at a number of different kilns in the east Dorset area, the fabrics tend to be generally similar regardless of the actual kiln site. My examination of kiln wasters and complete vessels in England suggests that examples dating to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century exhibit similar fabrics. The fabric usually ranges from gray to orange-pink (or pink) in colour (Plate 3.4). Often both colours are present; but there seems to be no specific order (i.e. the gray fabric can occur on either the interior or the exterior). Some vessels are entirely pink while some vessels are predominantly gray. The fabric tends towards gray where the vessel is thick, such as in the rim. Inclusions include frequent hematite and quartz. The hematite can range in size from very small to large (some reaching almost 1mm), and tends to be dark gray where the fabric is gray. The hematite tends to be well rounded as well, but not well sorted. The quartz inclusions range in colour from white to a light pink, are sub-angular and very well sorted, and are generally not visible to the naked eye. The texture of the clay matrix is typically gritty with a sandy feel, which helps to distinguish it from South Somerset-type products. Those without this gritty texture have a much harder feel; in many examples it can feel like stoneware. Glaze colour – often thinly applied - can vary greatly, ranging from a yellow to amber, to orange, to apple green (giving it the appearance of some pottery from the Saintonge in France). In fact, thirteen different shades have been identified (Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 82-84). A mottled brown ceramic - original called Wiltshire Brown ware - has just recently been identified as having been actually produced at the Verwood and district kilns, not Wiltshire as previously believed (Percy, 2001). Iron in the clay can sometimes cause staining under the glaze in the form of red-brown streaks. This is particularly noticeable on lighter glazed vessels, and is a distinguishing mark of ceramics produced at the Horton kilns.

These distinctive features allow one to distinguish the east Dorset ceramics from those produced in Somerset.

Verwood-type materials can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from Border Ware products. They both used the same clay beds: the Reading Bed (Copland-Griffiths, 1998: 14; Pearce, 1992: 3-4; Spoerry, 1988). Some of the vessel forms are similar as well. There may be a relationship between these two industries, one much like that shared by South Somerset producers and those in North Devon. The Verwood-type potteries are also similar in many ways to the Midlands Yellow and Black wares (Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 84; Brears, 1971: 31-39). A similar range of forms occurs, suggesting possible influences on each other.

Dating Verwood-type ceramics, and dating sites using the Verwood-type material found can be difficult. While the industry did go into decline during eighteenth and nineteenth century due to the industrialization of pottery in Staffordshire, pottery production still remained important and served an ample local market. Many nineteenthand twentieth-century vessels still can be found in Dorset today. Much of what is known about the Verwood and District pottery is thus from nineteenth- and twentieth-century pottery found in museums and held by collectors. The absence of a large seventeenthcentury collection, from a very well dated and sequenced archaeological site, such as the South Somerset collection in Exeter, could make for difficulties when dating seventeenthcentury material on sites here in Newfoundland. As Allan points out, referring to the Donyatt material, dating pottery forms base on kiln excavations can prove difficult if not slightly misleading (2000: 124). For example, a style of bowl believed to have been produced primarily during nineteenth-century, was found during excavation of a mid eighteenth-century English fort in Placentia, Newfoundland (cf. Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 145; Temple, 2003). It is clear that some vessel forms may have a longer and earlier production ranger than previously thought. As dating tools, private collections are problematic, since their contexts are not as secure as archaeological sites.

3.4 - Conclusions

The problematic nature of the "South Somerset" collection at Ferryland is in many ways related to the fact that Donyatt pottery is part of a broader West Country tradition. The different regions of Somerset all produced distinctive pottery, with different histories and different markets. The pottery kilns and its products are also very similar in many other ways. Unfortunately, those aspects that make them similar – fabric, decoration – make for difficulties in identifications and attribution.

The Verwood-type material exhibits a somewhat different picture. While all the Somerset and Dorset potteries were in essence, *country potteries*, there are some definite differences. Connections among the Somerset kilns and even with North Devon did not apparently extend the east Dorset region. The Verwood-type industry did not have a sgraffito decoration tradition for one thing, and its products appear to have been much more utilitarian in nature. The Verwood-type pottery industry is likely more related to that in south Wiltshire and in Hampshire, possibly even to the Border Ware industries.

Both Somerset and Dorset produced different but similar pottery whose distinction on an archaeological site in the New World can explain a great deal about the settlement, its people, and its trade. The similarities have led to the need for more research – the differences have allowed for this research to be done.

CHAPTER 4

SOMERSET AND DORSET CERAMICS AT FERRYLAND

<u>4.1 – Introduction</u>

The following discusses the Somerset and Dorset ceramic vessels from specific areas at Ferryland. As discussed in Chapter 2, not all areas were examined. The areas that were used in this study were chosen because they best represent the Ferryland collection and the variety of activities undertaken at the settlement, so highlighting any possible functional distinction in the ceramic collection itself. Each area will be discussed, including its history, function, etc. A discussion of the Somerset and Dorset vessels identified within that area will follow. Brief examinations of the possible function of each ceramic type within the site will be discussed (examined in detail in Chapter 5), as well as other information derived from the presence of each ceramic within the site.

4.1.1- CeramicTypologies

Throughout the course of this chapter and the entire thesis, reference will be made to two main ceramic typologies. One is that used by Richard Coleman-smith and Terry Pearson in distinguishing the particular vessel forms and rim types found on Donyatt ceramics (see Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988; Coleman-Smith, 2002). The other is a general form typology used by John Allan to distinguish South Somerset vessel forms found during excavation in Exeter (Allan, 1984a: 151). The typology used by Coleman-Smith and Pearson involves assigning a particular vessel form (or group of similar forms) a form number. For example, jars have been given the number "14" as its form number; within this type group, particular rim shapes, styles, etc., have been given a secondary number (Figure 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3).



Figure 4.1 Early seventeenth-century type series of Donyatt pottery. Shows most common styles of forms such as jugs, dishes, and bottles Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 86).







Figure 4.3 Late seventeenth-century/early eighteenth-century type series of Donyatt pottery. Shows the main styles of forms such as dishes, chafing dishes, and chamber pots (Coleman-Smith, 2002: 137).

Therefore one Donyatt jar style could be called 14/12 for example, and it could be traced to the primary publication on that ceramic type (see Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 247 for this example).

Allan's typology for seventeenth-century South Somerset is more general, and is better for comparison to general vessel forms (Allan, 1984a: 151). Each major vessel form is given a number, and if there are more that one major styles within that form, then it is given a lowercase letter designation. For example, there are five main styles of cups/mugs, identified as 8A, B, C, D, and E (Figure 4.4).

When referring to the particular vessels identified, the POTS system will be used to determine and identify individual vessel forms (Beaudry, et. al., 1983). This typology is an attempt to make consistent the terminology for different vessel forms, allowing for more careful comparative work. Researchers in England sometimes use different terms for particular forms. A pan may be called a pancheon for example. If comparative examples from England have this or a similar type of name, that name will be given, but it will be secondary to the POTS term. All vessel forms will therefore follow the POTS criteria, with few exceptions, as noted.

4.2 – Area B: Dwelling

Area B contains several structures and occupations, one of which is a late seventeenth-century dwelling. Analysis by Nixon has determined it to be the home of a planter of middling sort (1999a and b). The timber framed house was built on a stone foundation, and evidence from the tobacco pipe bowls, suggests an occupation date of ca.1660-1696 (Nixon, 1999a: 150-154, 197). A large variety of artifacts were excavated,



Figure 4.4 Type series of seventeenth-century South Somerset pottery from Exeter. 1-bowl; 2-bowls; 3-dishes; 4-chafing dishes; 5-jugs; 6-chamber pots; 7-tripod pipkins; 8-cups; 9-cisterns; 10-candlesticks; 11-lids; 12-pots; 13-porringers; 14-ointment pots (Allan, 1984a: 151).

including 188 ceramic vessels. A fuller discussion of the ceramic collection and its implications for the site can be found in Nixon (1999a). Of these ceramics, over 40 percent were North Devon products; a smaller portion of the collection is from the Somerset and Dorset area (Nixon, 1999a: 97). The collection of Somerset and Dorset pottery from the dwelling at Area B is not large but it does contain some very interesting pieces. The majority of the vessels are south Somerset in origin (i.e. South Somersettype), but the Verwood and district pottery products are represented as well. No other Somerset or Dorset products were identified, even tentatively.

<u>4.2.1 – South Somerset-type</u>

A re-examination of the "South Somerset" collection from the Area B dwelling concluded there are 7 South Somerset-type vessels (Table 4.1). A number of different vessel forms are present – bowls and cups are the most common, but a porringer and possibly a pan is present as well. A small number of vessels originally identified by Nixon as "South Somerset" were re-identified as some other ware type; when this did occur, the problems of attribution associated with Somerset ceramics are very obvious.

The most common South Somerset-type vessels form at the Area B dwelling are bowls, of which there are three is total. There are represented primarily by body sherds, two of which being represented by one sherd each, but still appear to be bowls. Vessel #81 is represented by base fragments primarily, and one body sherd. The exact shape and form of this bowl cannot be determined, as there is simply too little of the vessel remaining. Vessel #82 appears to be South Somerset-type (or at least some other Somerset ware). The fabric is much redder and slightly more micaceous compared to typical South Somerset-type products, and because the vessel consists of one sherd, it is hard to determine whether the material is anything other than a Somerset product. Equally difficult to determine is the vessel form. It was originally identified as a bowl (Nixon, 1999a: 236). It is a relatively thick walled vessel – in comparison to cups, etc., and other service forms – and thus may be a bowl. Vessel #83 appears to be South Somerset-type as well. It is a slightly problematic sherd to identify as it is a small rim sherd. The fabric is grayer that usual for South Somerset-type vessels, but this may be from reduction or oxidation in the kiln environment. The glaze and fabric colour(s) are similar to Verwood-type products, but the texture and matrix of the fabric – moderately hard, and smooth – are more typical to those from the Somerset (particularly south Somerset) production centres. The form is similar to that of Allan's 1D (1984a: 151) more specifically, #2265, #2355, and #2356 (Allan, 1984a: 190 – 196). Vessel #84 has also been identified as a bowl, and is represented by a single base sherd. The sherd come from the centre of the base and has no body portions, thus determining the form is impossible. Is appears to be South Somerset-type however.

The problems of attribution with these ceramics are quite clear when the other vessels previously identified as "South Somerset" are examined. Three vessels originally identified as "South Somerset" bowls are, after careful examination of the fabric, very likely not South Somerset-type. (One of these will be discussed in the Verwood-type section). Vessel #79 is very close in characteristics to South Somerset pottery. It has an orange-red fabric, and hematite inclusions. However, the fabric appears to be much more micaceous than South Somerset usually is. It may be some type of Iberian ware, possibly

Ware Types	Area B Dwelling	Area B Smithy	Area C Storehouse	Area D Dwelling	Area F 1620s Midden	Area F 1640-90s Midden	Total
South Somerset	7	2	9	14	4	4	40
East Somerset	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
West Somerset	-	-	3	1	-	-	4
Verwood-type	1	1	2	1	1	2	8
Somerset (?)	1		-	-	-	3	4
South	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Somerset?							
Verwood?	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table 4.1Numbers of Somerset and Dorset vessels within each individual Area.

related to the Merida-type ceramic industry. Vessel #80 was also identified as South Somerset-type, but after close examination, appears to not be South Somerset. Its dark red fabric is somewhat similar to South Somerset-type materials, especially with the presence of what looks like hematite. But much like Vessel #79, the vessel in question is far too micaceous. This much mica in the clay matrix is not common in any Somerset ceramic product. Both of these vessels are represented by large body sherds. While conclusively identifying these vessels as bowls proved difficult, they have no characteristics to suggest otherwise.

Cups are the second most common vessel form. In total there are three South Somerset-type cups in the ceramic collection. Vessel # 90 contains a nearly complete profile, including a large base fragment and a large portion of the rim, with handle. Its form is peculiar; the shape of the body and rim are more indicative of porringers from the Donyatt and other southern Somerset kilns, and the horizontal handle is also more like that of a porringer as opposed to a cup (Allan, 1984a: 151, Fig. 65). Vessel #92 is represented by a number of body sherds – no base or rim sherds are present. However, the thin body walls of the sherd indicate a smaller vessel form, such as one used in the service of beverages. The identification of the vessel as a cup is therefore acceptable. Vessel #93 (Plate 4.1) is the lone sgraffito decorated vessel in the Area B South Somerset collection (Nixon, 1999a). It consists primarily of rim sherds, one of which has "...RE..." on the exterior below the rim. Another rim sherd has some type of unidentifiable sgraffito decoration as well. It appears to be Allan's Type 8E (see Allan, 1984a: 188, #2216 for example), and has a rim diameter of ca.12cm. One other cup was identified as "South Somerset" in the collection, but it is difficult to conclusively call it South Somerset-type. It has many characteristics that are similar to South Somerset ceramics, but it has the appearance of Saintonge products as well. Its base is typical of South Somerset-type or Donyatt bases (Allan, 1984a: 183, #2188), but South Somerset cups (or similar type forms) generally do not have rims like that of Vessel #94. Some Saintonge products have similar bases, but again the rim form is unique (Barton, 1981: 12, #16). The glaze is a very pale green, more like that of Saintonge products rather than Donyatt-type materials. The fabric is also very pale – almost a light buff to cream colour. It is not the characteristic orange colour of South Somerset products. It also has mica, albeit in small amounts, which is consistent with Saintonge as well. Another vessel, Vessel #91, seem too not be South Somerset-type, but a North Devon product instead, once more indicating the similarity between the two ceramic wares, especially on small specimens. Close examination shows the scatter and size of quartz inclusions commonly found in North Devon Smooth ceramics.

The collection also contained two South Somerset-type porringers, one of which may be a Verwood-type product, and will thus be discussed below. Vessel #89 has been identified as a porringer, which seems correct based on the shape and size of the sherds (Nixon, 1999a: 103 & 237). However, the rim sherd has a small lip on the exterior, a trait uncommon on Donyatt-type porringers. The rim sherd matches that of a small bowl more closely (Allan, 1984a: 188, #2217). However, with little remaining of the vessel except for a small body sherd and a rim sherd, determining the vessel to be a bowl as opposed to a porringer is difficult.

Two other vessels originally identified as South Somerset, after close examination appear to be from a different source. Vessel #86 is a milk pan with a rim diameter of ca. 40cm (Nixon, 1999a: 237). It has an orange fabric, much like that of most Somerset ceramics, but the type and frequency of inclusions is atypical of Somerset products. The vessel has a large quantity of mica in its fabric, a mineral not completely absent from these ceramics, but definitely not present to this degree. While other inclusions such as hematite are present – and typical of most Somerset wares – the high abundance of mica is indicative of some other production centre. The only English areas that produce pottery as micaceous as this are those in Cornwall – but this vessel is definitely not Cornish (Allan, pers. comm., 2001). The nature of the fabric suggests a French or Iberian origin. The other vessel of interest is Vessel #87. It is a lug handle from a pan-type vessel, such as Donyatt 12/39 (Nixon, 1999a: 237). The fabric of this vessel is not however that of typical Donyatt products. It has a much more grainy texture that usual. This vessel may be Exeter Coarse Sandy ceramic. The type of handle is not like that of most Coarse Sandy forms (i.e. horizontal as opposed to vertical), but the fabric is similar to the Exeter products (Allan, 1984a: 149). The possibility exists however that it may be a type of gritty ware produced at the Donyatt kilns. Allan notes that similar products were produces in both Devon and Somerset, and that these specific materials have very similar fabrics (1984a: 136).

4.2.2 – Verwood-type

One Verwood-type vessel (Vessel #88) was identified in the ceramic collection from the dwelling at Area B (and possibly a second vessel). Vessel #88 has been identified as a porringer, and is represented by a small number of body sherds and one base sherd (Nixon, 1999a: 237). It was originally identified as South Somerset, but on close examination, the fabric exhibits the gritty/sandy texture of Verwood-type ceramics more so than that of Donyatt or other Somerset kilns. The glaze is also more characteristic of Verwood-type products rather than South Somerset type. It has no handle or attachment areas remaining. Vessel # 85 (Plate 4.2) is large portion of the body of a bowl (or possibly a jar or pot?), and has a mottled light green glaze. It is very much like typical South Somerset-type ceramics, but the fabric appears too gritty for Donyatt products. It *may* possibly a Verwood-type ceramic. This is tentative however as the condition of the sherds impede close examination of the fabric.

4.2.3 – Discussion

The frequency of Somerset and Dorset wares within the Area B dwelling is typical of late seventeenth-century contexts at Ferryland. The ceramic collection in general is typical as well – primarily North Devon products with a mix of other English wares and a variety of European wares. Another aspect of the ceramic collection that became apparent is the problem associated with the identification of South Somerset. The confusions with other ceramic products indicates how difficult the identification of Somerset ceramic material can be. The vessel forms are what would be expected in a dwelling – they are all domestic in function. The structure will be interpreted in Chapter 5.
4.3 – Area B – The Smithy

On July 28th, 1622, Edward Wynne noted in a correspondence to George Calvert that "the forge hath been finished this five weeks" (Wynne, 1621/7/28: 196). The smithy would have been used primarily for the repair of iron, and possibly other metal, goods and tools used by the early settlers. An extensive dating analysis was conducted by Carter using primarily tobacco pipe stem fragments and bowls, but also wine bottles, ceramics, etc. (1997a: 44-61). Wicks examined the wine bottles from the forge at Area B more carefully; his focus was not specifically on dating, but also on form and function of bottle use (1999: 60). Based on tobacco pipe bowls Carter concluded that the smithy was constructed during the initial settlement of the early 1620's, and thus was likely that mentioned by Wynne in his letter to Calvert. Pipe bowls from the destruction layer suggest that the smithy ceased sometime during the middle of the century (Carter, 1997b: 88; Pope, 1986).

Excavations of the smithy at Area B uncovered a number of different events and stratum. However, only those layers representing occupation will be examined, as determining date is not the issue here. Event 163 is the oldest event within the smithy at area B, and contains only a small number of artifacts (and no Somerset or Dorset ceramics). This event essentially consists of the few artifacts incorporated into the stonework during construction. The main occupation layer is Event 154 (also called Stratum 3b). Feature 31 is associated with Event 154. This feature consists of a thick layer of small iron fragments and slag (Carter, 1997b: 83). The other layer to be used in this study is Stratum 2C. This layer is relatively small and is seen as representing the

abandonment of the smithy (Carter, 1997a: 52). The ceramic collection from the smithy was not overly large, but there are some interesting specimens. The bulk of the collection was North Devon ceramics, with a number of other wares present in relatively small quantities specifically from that structure. Few Somerset or Dorset ceramics were present; and only Event 154 and Stratum 2C produced these Somerset and Dorset materials.

<u>4.3.1 – South Somerset-type</u>

In total, just two South Somerset-type vessels are present from the smithy at Area B. This is not an unexpected find, given the small size of the ceramic collection as a whole. The first vessel (Pope Vessel # 73) is a small bowl or saucer. Identification of the fabric proved inconclusive, however the form is similar to those in the Allan Type Series # 3E, F, and G (Allan, 1984a: 151). The other vessel is a bowl (Pope Vessel #94), with a slightly sandy, brown pink fabric, and an amber glaze.

<u>4.3.2 – Verwood-type</u>

There is one Verwood-type vessel in the Area B smithy collection; because it is represented by a single small sherd its vessel form is unidentifiable. It has a yellow glaze with many streaks under the glaze from the iron oxide in the fabric, a common trait of the kiln at Horton in particular (Copland-Griffiths, pers. comm., 2001). Its fabric is mainly pink throughout, with a thin gray layer on the exterior.

4.3.3 - Discussion

The collection of Somerset and Dorset ceramics from the smithy at Area B is small and not very telling. It is interesting that the two identifiable South Somerset-type vessels are service vessels, an issue that will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Initial sherd counts of the ceramic collection from the forge specifically indicates that South Somerset constitutes just 5 percent of the collection (Carter, 1997a: 209), much smaller than that found in the early or mid seventeenth-century collections examined here below. <u>4.4 – Area C – The Storehouse</u>

The excavation of Area C unearthed the remains of a massive stone structure, which had served a number of different but interrelated purposes. From its construction in the early 1620s until its destruction in 1696, its served primarily as a storehouse for the settlement and a loading quay for the various ships that used the harbour. Over time different portions were added, each with different uses. One of these was a cowhouse constructed after the Dutch attack of 1673. Cows were kept here, and dairy activity carried out (Gaulton. 1997a: 67). Other parts of the structure include a complex stone seawall and a privy (Gaulton, 1997b: 15-18).

The events examined from Area C were chosen for two reasons. First, they are the primary occupation layers, and thus best represent the periods when the structure was in use. Second, these events provide a good range of dates in which the structure was used. The events examined date to the seventeenth century only, from the initial construction, to the destruction by the French in 1696. The events examined are: 1A, 6, 9, 13, 16, 33, 44, 45, and 47. Events 6 and 44 relate to the first construction and occupation of the structure. In 1673, the Dutch attacked and severely damaged much of the Ferryland settlement. (Events 1A, 9, 13, and 16 relate to the 1673 destruction of Area C). Events 33, 45, and 47 represent the post-1673 occupation, and second destruction in 1696 (Gaulton,

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1997a: 239). The amount of material culture in these layers varies and some have very little Somerset or Dorset ceramic material.

<u>4.4.1 – Somerset Somerset-type</u>

The most common Somerset ceramic is South Somerset-type, present in nine vessels. The vessels are represented often by very fragmentary pieces, thus making ware and vessel form identification very difficult. Interestingly, the most common form of South Somerset-type at Area C is cups. Three of the vessels are cups, or other beverage consumption forms. Vessel #4 is a brown glazed sherd with a pink orange fabric. It has the slight remains of an incrusted decoration on its exterior. This type of decoration was common for Donyatt potters during the post-medieval period (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 388). It involved applying quartz grains to a wet glaze on the outer body of a vessel, and appears to have been primarily a south English tradition during the seventeenth century. It is very common in the Border Ware industry as well (Pearce, 1992; 1999). Vessel #6 is similar that of Allan type 8E (Allan, 1984a: 151). This type of cup often had some type of decoration, either sgraffito or slip decoration, but only the rim remains of the vessel in question and any decoration is not evident, apart from being slipped with a yellow glaze and some green (copper) splashing. Vessel #8 is likely a cup, but is fragmentary so hard to determine. It is glazed orange on the interior and exterior and has remnants of green copper splashing on the interior.

The next most common forms are pots and bowls, with two vessels each. Vessel #1 is likely a storage pot; it has a yellow glaze with no slip. Vessel #2 appears to be a pot of some type – it has a green-orange glaze on the interior and exterior, and has horizontal

lines on the exterior. Vessel #7 appears to be a bowl, with a dark green glaze and no slip. The fabric is primarily orange, but is gray on the vessel's exterior. Vessel #9 is also a possible bowl, maybe similar to Allan-type 2A (Allan 1984a: 151). It has a green glaze on the interior and exterior, and may be a fragment of Donyatt-gritty ware (Allan, 1984a: 136 and 149).

The two remaining South Somerset-type vessels are a pan and one unidentified form. The pan, Vessel #5 (Plate 4.3), is interesting in that it may be a vessel produced in one of the east Devon kilns that produced South Somerset-type pottery. Its rim form is not uncommon at the Donyatt kilns, as Vessel #5 is similar in rim form to 12/36, 12/37, and 12/38 (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 236-237). However, the fabric is slightly different from that commonly produced at the Donyatt kilns. It has an orange glaze on the interior and an orange grainy fabric. Excavations at Stockland in east Devon produced very similar vessel forms and fabric, which Allan suggests may not be Donyatt products, but instead may be local (Allan and Jarvis, 1974: 172-173). Similar material and vessel form found in Exeter (Allan, 1984a: 174, #2001). Vessel #3 is an unidentified form with little in the way of attributes, due to its fragmentary nature.

<u>4.4.2 – East and West Somerset-type</u>

A number of other Somerset materials were present in the Area C assemblage as well. One possible East Somerset-type vessel was present. Vessel #10, possibly a bowl, has a green glaze on the interior and exterior and has an orange gritty fabric. Another possible Somerset (?) vessel, Vessel #11, may be a pot or a bowl. It has a green glaze on the interior, and an orange-brown "skin", or slip-like cover on the exterior.

Three possible West Somerset-type vessels were present at Area C. Vessel #12 (Plate 4.4) is pan, has an orange glaze on the interior, and an orange fabric with a gray core. The fabric matches that of some West Somerset-type material found at Bristol (Fabric #12 - Good, 1987: 35). It has a red fabric with a gray core in places; it has an orange glaze on the interior, and the exterior has a dark red purple "skin" all over. The rim form is not common to west Somerset ceramics, but the fabric is a very good match. The same can be said for Vessel #13. This vessel is a West Somerset-type pot (similar to that found in Good, 1987: 69, #227, #228) – represented by a large base fragment – with a brown-orange glaze and a red fabric with gray core. It also has a dark red brown "skin" on its exterior, much like Vessel #12. Vessel #14 is also from the west Somerset area. It is a handle fragment from a jug possibly or a similar form. It has a dark red fabric with a gray core. The glaze is dark green and would have covered the entire handle. The fabric is again similar to that produce in the west Somerset region, and the form of the handle with the top portion pinched in - was a common trait of the Nether Stowey potters (Good, pers. comm., 2001).

4.4.3 – Verwood-type

The only Dorset ceramics identified in the Area C assemblage are Verwood-type. Two vessels were identified, one represented by just one sherd, and the other with several large sherds. Vessel #15 is from an unidentified vessel form, and has a green blotchy glaze with some minor iron oxide streaks. The fabric is typical for Verwood-type, with the gray on the exterior and pink on the interior. There is slightly more quartz than typical for Verwood-type material. Vessel #16 (Plate 4.5) is a large bowl, and is represented by many fragments, and several large rim and base fragments as well (Horsey, 1992: 84 and 89, # 270 and #366). While the form is that of a bowl by POTS standards, its function to the producers was actually a bread bin, or bushel (Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 130-137). The bread bins and bushels specifically were produced from the early eighteenth-century onward, but similar forms were made during the seventeenth-century, and may simply were not referred to a bread bins/bushels. Some of these vessels may actually qualify as short pots as opposed to bowls, but the Area C vessel is definitely a bowl form. It has a green glaze, with some minor iron oxide streaking under the glaze. It has a primarily gray fabric, but a pink interior through much of the vessel.

4.4.4 - Discussion

The ceramic collection as a whole appears to support the interpretation of Area C as a storehouse with use later as cow house. The Somerset and Dorset materials do not however completely correspond with these functions. While there are dairying forms present, and forms that could possibly have been used for that activity, most of the forms are of a more domestic nature. As shown, cups are the most common, and are generally associated with domestic or drinking activity (Pope, 1989a). However, while cups are the most common single form, most of the vessels are storage containers of some type and could have easily been functional in a dairying area.

What becomes clear is that neither the Somerset nor Dorset ceramics had any specific use at Area C. They are found in a very general range of forms and appear to have not been related to the dairying activity specifically as other ceramic wares were. Not always involved specifically with the intended functions of the structure be it dairy

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activities or storage, the ceramics were simply for general use and inadvertently were deposited in Area C. One of the more common vessel forms at Area C within all ware types is the milk pan, generally used to cure milk for butter or cheese. This form is present in only one vessel from the Somerset and Dorset collection.

<u>4.5 – Area D Dwelling</u>

Area D was completely excavated in 1994 after a survey and partial excavation the previous summer determined the potential of the area (Tuck, 1996; Tuck, et al., 1999). Research by Crompton, would determine the site to be that of a dwelling, dating roughly to the last quarter of the seventeenth century (2000a: 17; also 2000b, and 2001). The dwelling appears to have belonged to a planter of middling sort, based on the nature of the artifacts. A very large ceramic collection was excavated, totaling over 300 vessels (Crompton, 2001: 76).

The dwelling provides an interesting look at society in late seventeenth-century Newfoundland. By studying the census reports from the period and analyzing the artifact assemblage, it has been determined that the servants of the household likely lived with the family. Lesser planters may not have had the economic ability to house their servants in separate quarters, and thus they may have lived under the same roof (Crompton, 2000b). Distribution of the artifacts, particularly the ceramics, also provided information on the use of the house.

As previously stated, the ceramic collection from the dwelling at Area D was quite large. In total, 311 vessels were excavated (Crompton, 2001: 76). The bulk of these were North Devon wares, constituting 141 vessels, or 45 percent of the assemblage.

English ceramics counted for 61 percent of the total assemblage (n=190), with the rest being made up by a variety of French, Iberian, Italian, and German wares. Of the 190 English vessels, 16 were originally identified as being from Somerset (South Somerset) or Dorset (Verwood).

The excavations at Area D produced one of the more interesting collections of Somerset and Dorset pottery at the Ferryland site. Materials from "South Somerset", and Verwood all present in its ceramic collection, as well as possible examples from east and west Somerset. While the number of vessels from either Somerset or Dorset are not overly large, its presence in of great interest. (Further examination of the ceramic collection can be found in Crompton, 2001). When particular vessels from the Area D collection are being examined, Crompton's (2001) vessel number will be given (e.g. C181).

<u>4.5.1 – South Somerset-type</u>

Having re-examined the ceramic collection, there are 14 South Somerset-type vessel in total within the Area D ceramic collection, and one vessel that remains uncertain. South Somerset-type ceramics are thus the third most frequent English earthenware in the Area D collection after North Devon wares (n=152) and Bristol-Staffordshire ware (n=15). This is not surprising, given the trade that Ferryland had with England at the time. The South Somerset-type collection constitutes about 4 percent of the entire ceramic assemblage.

Most of the collection is of food storage or preparation forms, either in the form of pots or large bowls (Crompton, 2001: 76). The most common vessel form is bowls,

with nine present (Plate 4.6). Four of these are of similar form (C156, C159, C161, and C164), matching Type 1D in Allan's South Somerset Type Series (1984a: 151). These are represented by rim sherds primarily, and are typically burnt. This has resulted in the ware being identified by the rim forms, as opposed to fabric analysis.

The second most prevalent South Somerset-type form is pots, of which there are three. One vessel in particular -C181 – is of interest because of its form. It appears to be a tall pot, a form not known to have been produced at the Donyatt kilns (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988). It is represented by most of the base and partial body sherds. The base and body are thick, indicating a pot or similar form, as opposed to a mug or similar type vessel. It is this that led to the identification of the vessel as Verwood-type originally, as the kiln at Horton did produce tall pot type vessels (Crompton, 2001a: 394; cf. Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 77, # 51). Two other South Somerset-type pots were identified as well (C154, C155): while they a represented by small rim sherds, they both appear to be of a very similar form. They are similar to Donyatt types 14/5, 14/13, and especially 14/15 (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 247, 249). Three pots originally identified as South Somerset are very likely North Devon Smooth tall pot rims (C151, C152, and C153). This misidentification shows that similarities between these two wares can occur.

There is one cup in the collection, and another somewhat suspect. One vessel, C167, with base, rim and handle sherds, is unquestionably a cup. C166 is in many ways a good match for Donyatt products, particularly in vessel form. It matches well with some South Somerset cup forms (Allan, 1984a: 151, no.8C). Its fabric however, is not quite

like that of Donyatt fabrics. It has similar inclusions – hematite (or some type of iron oxide?) for example – but its colour is lighter than usual. South Somerset pottery is typically orange to pink in colour, not buff like Vessel C166. Also the form, while matching well with some South Somerset vessels from Exeter, appears to be a better match with forms produced by the Border Ware industry (for examples, Pearce, 1992: 64-65, especially Nos. 269, 273, and 279). This vessel does not appear to be South Somerset-type material however. One South Somerset-type porringer was identified as well (C 165). Few fragments remain, but the shape of the rim fragment and the handle suggest a form like that of a porringer, rather than a beverage service vessel (Crompton, 2001: 389).

The frequency of vessel forms for South Somerset-type from Area B is fairly equal: the majority of the vessels are either bowls or cups, and they occur in somewhat similar numbers with no form being present in extreme numbers (Nixon, 1999a: 97).

<u>4.5.2 – West Somerset-type</u>

One large vessel (Plate 4.7 and 4.8), originally unidentified, has tentatively been identified as West Somerset-type (C257). It is a large jug with a handle, and a thick rim. The fabric is reddish orange, with a gray core throughout much of the vessel (particularly the base and rim). The glaze, where present, is a light brown colour with darker streaks underneath, likely due to the iron oxide (?) inclusions in the fabric. These streaks under the glaze are sometimes characteristic of Nether Stowey ceramics; the vessel form – particularly the rim – is uncommon in Nether Stowey pottery however (Good, pers. comm., 2001; cf. Barton, 1964; Good, 1987; Good and Russett, 1987).

<u>4.5.3 – East Somerset-type</u>

One vessel in the collection (C254), which originally had been described as of unidentifiable origin, may in fact be a product of the Wanstrow area in east Somerset. While this identification is admittedly tentative, there are similarities between this specimen and the products of the Wanstrow area kilns. This ceramic type is in general not very well understood, which can lead to problems in its identification; further complicating the matter, the sherds are badly burnt. The few fragments of the vessel that do remain lead Crompton to identify it as a mug (2001: 423). The fabric description resembles that of published Wanstrow examples. Good for example, describes the fabric matrix as coarse, while the Ferryland specimens have a "sandy" texture (Good, 1987: 35; Crompton, 2001: 423).

<u>4.5.4 – Verwood-type</u>

There is one definite example of Verwood-type pottery in the Area D collection – a storage pot (C182). Another vessel had been identified as a Verwood tall-pot (C181), but despite its extremely close similarities to Verwood products, it is in fact a Somerset vessel, very likely South Somerset-type, discussed above (Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 77, no.51). No other Verwood-type vessels were recognized in the Area D collection.

4.5.5 - Discussion

No other Somerset or Dorset materials were identified in the Area D ceramic collection. Given the known trade links with England, most of the Somerset ceramics in Ferryland will likely be South Somerset-type. A couple of other Somerset kilns also have materials present in minor quantities. It must also be kept in mind that given the complexities of the study of Somerset ceramics, distinguishing between those at Donyatt and other kilns is extremely difficult. The relative scarcity of Dorset ceramics is to be expected as well. Ferryland's trade with Dorset was limited during the late seventeenth century, and thus Verwood ceramics would not have easily reached the settlement.

The function of the pottery within the dwelling is difficult to determine, due to the small quantity of vessels. That being said, the South Somerset ceramics appear in a limited number of vessel forms, which may have implications for function. This may partially be desired on behalf of the dwelling owners, or to do with the production of the materials at the actual kiln site. Nothing can be said about function based on the Nether Stowey and Verwood vessels – with only one vessel each, they are useful only as part of the larger ceramic collection. It seems that the Somerset and Dorset ceramics from Area-D held no special status or particular social function. They simply formed part of a household, or domestic/utilitarian, collection. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5. 4.6 – Area F – Seventeenth-Century Domestic Middens

The study of the Somerset and Dorset ceramics from Area F was performed in a different way than in any other area at Ferryland. Area F is slightly different from other areas in that there are a number of different features and structures found that are relatively independent of each other. The area contains a defensive ditch, the Mansion House, a well, a brewhouse/bakehouse, among other features (Tuck and Gaulton: 2001: 97-104). These contexts at Area F date to varying periods of settlement. Area F is one of the largest areas excavated and consequently produced an extremely large collection of material culture. Given the size of the collection, a complete examination of all Somerset

and Dorset material could not be completed. Therefore, two key events were selected for examination. These events also were chosen for their value to the analysis of trade¹. Both Event 347 and Event 287 are deposits found within the defensive ditch, and are believed to be domestic in origin. They date to the early portion of the settlement (1620s), and the mid to late seventeenth century (ca.1640s-1690s) respectively, and provide good ceramic collections to compare and use as trade studies. The collection of Somerset and Dorset pottery from Area F is small compared to other areas at Ferryland, but this is likely the result of the smaller sample size. As noted, the two layers examined from Area F come from different periods of the seventeenth century, and will be examined separately in chronological order.

<u>4.6.1 – South Somerset-type Ceramics (Event 347 – ca.1620s)</u>

From the early context examine at Area F (ca. 1620s; Event 347), four South Somerset vessels were identified. Vessel #1 is a base portion of a pot. It an orange to gray fabric, with a yellow deteriorated glaze on the bottom of the base. Vessel #2 is also a pot (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 248-249, no.14/16). It has a series of horizontal slip lines on the exterior below the rim. It has an orange fabric, with a brown-orange mottled glaze. Vessel #3 is a good example of the difficulty of distinguishing some Donyatt products from Exeter Coarse Sandy products. It is the rim of a bowl, with a dark orange gritty fabric, and an orange glaze. Similar examples from Exeter do not confirm the ware type however. It is somewhat similar to #2052, which is Coarse Sandy (Allan, 1984a:

¹ In this case, all the coarse earthenwares in both collections – not just the Somerset and Dorset material – was examined and counted. This gave a brief but relatively accurate MVC of the other CEW's in the collections. This will be used later when pre-Restoration trade at Ferryland will be examined.

176). It is also similar to #2348 and #2356, which are South Somerset-type, but date much later (Allan, 1984a: 196). It was finally decided to be South Somerset-type. Vessel #4 is a small rim fragment from a possible bowl. It has an orange fabric with a green deteriorated glaze.

<u>4.6.2 – East Somerset-type</u>

One vessel was identified from Event 347 at Area F as possibly being from the east Somerset region. Vessel #5 has an orange fabric, with a gray core in places. The fabric on the exterior is lighter in colour, almost buff. The glaze is green, but ranges from light to dark throughout. In places the glaze is so thinly applied it almost appears to be not present at all. It may be a pot, but because all the fragments are body sherds, it is difficult to determine. The fabric is not typical of South Somerset-type, and may be from an East Somerset kiln such as Wanstrow.

4.6.3 – Verwood-type

One Verwood-type vessel was identified in Event 347. Vessel #6 is likely that of a bowl or pan (Barton, et al., 1992: 74-75, no. 130). It has an orange-pink fabric, with a gray core, and a green glaze on the rim and on the interior. A vessel, also very likely a pan, with a very similar rim form was found during examination of material from mid- to late seventeenth-century contexts in Cupids as well (for Cupids, see Gilbert, 2000). This type of rim form is very characteristic of Verwood-type pans and large bowls during the seventeenth century.

<u>4.6.4 – South Somerset-type (Event 287 – ca.1640s-1690s)</u>

In total there were four South Somerset-type vessels identified from Event 287 in Area F. Vessel #7 is a handle fragment from a cup or similar form. The fragment has incised lines running the entire length of the handle from top to bottom on the exterior. This is unusual, and no matches could be found among the published Donyatt vessels (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 162-174), or in examples from Exeter (Allan, 1984a). It has a light orange fabric, and no glaze. Vessel #8 is also a cup or similar type form. Vessel #9 and #10 are both South Somerset-type, but due to their fragmentary nature, their form is unidentifiable and very little can be said.

4.6.5 – East or West Somerset-type

One possible east or west Somerset vessel was identified. Vessel #9 has a buffpink fabric interior and a dark gray exterior. Its ware type is difficult to determine, but its fabric is similar to products found at Bristol and examined by the author. It is possibly from one of the more northeastern kilns in east or north Somerset, or the Malvern area (Good, 1987; Vince, 1977). Its form is also unidentifiable.

4.6.6 – Other Somerset (?) Materials

A number of vessels were identified in the Event 287 collection that may be from Somerset but is difficult to determine for certain. Vessel #14 is likely some type of shallow pot, with thumb impressed decoration below the rim (Allan, 1984a: 188, #2208). It has a gray-orange fabric, with an orange-brown glaze. Vessel #15 (Plate 4.9) is a very interesting vessel because it is one of the few Somerset sgraffito vessels in the entire Ferryland collection. It is a bowl or dish and has a "spiral-style single line" sgraffito decoration, very common in Exeter for example between 1640 and 1670 (Allan, 1984a:134 & 151). It has a brown-orange glaze over a white slip, and a light orange fabric with a dark gray core. The ware type is difficult to determine – it may be an example of Donyatt-gritty, or it may be an example of Nether Stowey-type from west Somerset. Its decoration is much more like that of South Somerset-type vessels as opposed to other Somerset products (Allan, 1984a: 187-188, #s 2197-2207; cf. Good and Russett, 1987). Regardless of its exact source, the vessel is certainly Somerset in origin, if not based on the fabric, but by the distinctive sgraffito decoration.

4.6.7 – Verwood-type

Two Verwood-type vessels were identified, with two more possible Verwoodtype vessels identified as well, in the Event 287 collection from Area F. Vessel #10 is a large pot, with a hard gray fabric, and a green deteriorated glaze on the interior. Vessel #11 is a cup, with a buff and pink fabric, and a green glaze with brown iron oxide streaks. As said, two vessels were identified that *may* be Verwood-type. Vessel #12 is from an unidentifiable form, but with a hard gray fabric, and a green glaze on the interior – common Verwood-type traits. Vessel #13 is also an unidentifiable form, with a sandy orange fabric, and a green deteriorated glaze.

4.6.8 – Discussion

The Somerset and Dorset ceramic forms excavated from Events 287 and 347 in Area F have a very domestic look. No single specific vessel form is more prevalent than any other, at least not in any numbers to suggest a specific usage or function. A range of forms occurs, such as cups, pots, bowls and dishes. With few exceptions, the makeup of this collection is the same as the Somerset and Dorset collection from any of the other areas, or structures, at Ferryland, regardless of date. This should not be of great surprise however, as both Event 287 and Event 347 are believed to be domestic middens, and thus should have a similar makeup of vessel forms as the collection from Area D for example. This says a great deal about the function of Somerset and Dorset as a whole at the site, and consequently, tells much about the pottery trade and transport to Ferryland in general. The issue of function of these ceramics will be discussed more in Chapter 5. 4.7 - Conclusions

The collections of Somerset and Dorset ceramics exhibit some change in frequency over time and occur in a variety of vessel forms. Interestingly, there is little change in vessel form among the structures regardless of date. This can provide important and telling information concerning the function of the various ceramics found within the site, given that the range of forms often do not follow what would be expected within a particular activity area. The role these ceramics played in the everyday activities conducted by the settlers can be examined as well. These issues will be examine more fully in Chapter 5, and referred to sporadically in Chapter 6 and 7.

Again, it has become clear just how problematic the identification of these ceramic wares really is. Some materials that had originally been identified as "South Somerset", actually turned out to be a different ceramic product. Because of this, when analysis was being conducted, simply searching out those vessels/sherds identified as "South Somerset" simply was not adequate. This undoubtedly would have left out material that actually was South Somerset-type for example, but was identified as something completely unrelated – such as North Devon. Consequently, the entire ceramic collections from the contexts examined had to be searched so that material would not be missed. Fortunately, not just South Somerset-type was identified. Verwood-type for example, was conclusively identified in every structure/locus examined. Other ceramic wares such as West Somerset-type and East Somerset-type were tentatively identified. And while these should be viewed, in most cases, as tentative, they none the less suggest that other Somerset wares – beside South Somerset-type – were in fact reaching the settlements of Newfoundland during the seventeenth century. These cautious identifications will become more solid as research into these and similar ceramics advances.

CHAPTER 5

SOMERSET AND DORSET CERAMICS

<u>5.1 – Introduction</u>

The following chapter will examine an important aspect of pottery research – the value of ceramics within a social and household setting. Somerset and Dorset ceramics as indicators of status and wealth will be considered, as well as the role and place of these particular ware types within the household during the seventeenth century.

5.2 – The Social Place of Somerset and Dorset Ceramics

Ceramics are not simply inert objects that serve merely as serving and cooking vessels. Like any other form of material culture they convey messages. While most ceramics were not held in high value like pewter or silver, many did have a special place within the social circle and were held in high regard by the owner (Martin, 1989). Tinglazed ceramics for example served as social markers because of their higher cost and decoration (Stoddart, 2000). Another ceramic type, known as Terra Sigillata, is also a status marker. Produced in Portugal, has been found at Ferryland in the 1640s contexts and are believed to be from the Kirke occupation (Gaulton and Mathias, 1999; Tuck and Gaulton, 2002). This ceramic is especially telling because of its rarity: Ferryland is the only known site in North America to have these materials. Sought after by the Spanish and Portuguese elite, this ceramic ware is rare on English sites and European sites, with the exception of Iberian Peninsula and the Low Countries (Baart, 1992: 274). Ceramics such as these conveyed a certain sense of esteem, and the presence of materials such as this said much about the person who owned and exhibited them (Richards, 1999). Not only did they mark ones status to and among his/her peers, it conveyed the character of the owner as well (Sweeny, 1994: 6).

One aspect of Somerset ceramics that to date has been poorly examined is their value as wealth and economic status indicators. Many of the products from various production centres must have had a role beyond that of a simple storage or cooking vessel. Donyatt in particular is a good example of this. Many of the production centres in Somerset produced sgraffito decorated vessels, which involved incising through a dried slip to expose the clay underneath (cf. Gaimster, 1997). Many sites in England where Somerset materials are present have such sgraffito vessels, sometimes in very high quantities. In Exeter for example, seventeenth-century contexts include large numbers of sgraffito decorated South Somerset. In fact, within the mid to late seventeenth-century contexts at Exeter, roughly half of the South Somerset pottery is sgraffito decorated (Allan, 1984a: 134-135). This is remarkably different from that at Ferryland, and this contrast will be discussed below.

The significance of sgraffito-decorated ceramics has previously been examined only briefly (Allan, 1984a and 2000; Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988; Grigsby, 1993; Outlaw, 2002). The sgraffito-decorated Donyatt material is thought by some to be of less significance than that of tin-glazed ceramics and stonewares and not likely to have been viewed as a luxury item (Appadurai, 1986: 38-40; Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 404). While this may be true, the time and skill required to make these intricate

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decorations and motifs must have made the vessels more expensive and sought after than regular earthenware vessels.

The origins of the decoration type/style also suggest that it had a high status connotation. Tin-glazed wares are seen as status markers and symbols partially because they had originally been produced to emulate Chinese porcelain (Stoddart, 2000: 23-28). The rarity and subsequent cost of these delicate Oriental ceramics gave cause and need for a less expensive imitation. The same is somewhat true for West Country sgraffito decorated ceramics. The influence of continental decoration on North Devon sgraffito is well known (Grant, 1983: 58-60; Outlaw, 2002: 20-21). Sgraffito wares from Beauvais in France, and from the Low Countries, influenced the West Country potters (Hurst, et. al., 1986: 108-116 & 150-153). The actual design motifs found on these continental vessels were especially influential (Grant, 1983: 59).

Donyatt sgraffito is no exception. It is not a pottery tradition devoid of outside influence. While much of the Donyatt sgraffito has a unique look and design – there is a great deal of influence from outside sources (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 391). The same continental influences can easily be seen on many designs. For example, Donyatt Type 8/43 and 8/44 have tulips on the inner base of the vessels, a motif common on North Devon sgraffito, and believed to be derived from similar decoration on Dutch ceramics (Grant, 1983: 59-60; Hurst, et. al., 1986: 158-159). Another sgraffito motif common on West Country pottery and of continental origin is the cockerel. Influenced by the design of wares such as North Holland Slipware, this motif became very popular among both North Devon and South Somerset potters during the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 197-198, 8/120 & 8/121; Hurst, et. al., 1986: 162-163). The possibility exists that these products may have emulated the continental wares in a way. It was probably not a strictly financial decision, such as tinglazed wares being cheaper than porcelain, rather personal taste more so than cost. People simply enjoyed the designs on many of the European ceramics and sought to replicate them.

Excavations at Ferryland have produced very limited amounts of sgraffito decorated Somerset ceramics. It is also interesting that there are only small amounts of North Devon sgraffito decorated materials at some areas of the site, even though that particular ware is generally the most prevalent of all ceramics at the archaeological site. At the Area B dwelling for example, only 6 percent of the North Devon vessels are sgraffito decorated (Nixon, 1999a: 218-235). The fact that the material is almost nonexistent says much about Somerset sgraffito as status indicators and about the use of material culture to mark status.

As previously mentioned, excavations at Exeter have produced large numbers of sgraffito decorated South Somerset vessels from the seventeenth-century (Allan, 1984a). Attempts have been made to determine the status implications of these types of ceramics within different classes of households throughout the post-medieval period. For the early post-medieval period, the evidence in inconclusive. However, the later seventeenth-century contexts have provided more insight into the subject. South Somerset dishes, and other more elaborate forms are largely absent from the wealthier sites of the city, while the decorated South Somerset wares are more common at the sites falling in lower wealth

groups (Allan, 1984a: 104). This suggests that poorer groups may have been larger consumers of decorated and similar vessels such as South Somerset sgraffito wares. This is interesting because earthenware is often more common in higher wealth households (Horn, 1994: 307-326; Weatherill, 1996: 168-189). Decorated local wares had a market within less wealthy groups, as opposed to foreign ceramics, which the wealthier groups tended to prefer (Allan, 1984a: 101-104).

The role and function of sgraffito decorated vessels at Ferryland is difficult to determine however. One problem with the analysis of the Ferryland collection is that the best assemblages are from two dwellings of roughly the same social status and wealth (compare Crompton, 2000a, 2000b and 2001; Nixon, 1999a and 1999b). The ideal situation would such that a number of dwellings covering different social classes are examined to given the best comparison. Ceramic collections from different social statuses were examined here; these however are from different time periods, and thus are not the best comparisons. This issue would be best addressed in the future by studying all the English sgraffito (North Devon and Somerset) together.

As discussed earlier, there are very few Somerset sgraffito vessels within the collection from Ferryland. One possibility for the low frequencies may be availability. Allan notes the high frequency of foreign wares in richer households (1984a: 102-103). Due to the nature of the triangular trade with Newfoundland and southern England's trade with Europe, these types of ceramics were more readily available to persons in Exeter than in Newfoundland (Davis, 1962; Stephens, 1956). The availability of local

sgraffito ceramics in many West Country towns made imported ceramic wares even more exotic and prized due to their rarity. This is an important factor and issue.

This relationship is interesting when the assemblage at Ferryland is considered. As previously mentioned, availability in England of any type of ceramic would have been slightly different from that in Newfoundland during the seventeenth-century. It may be that if one wanted a ceramic vessel other than those for everyday use, then one would get the best that he/she could possibly afford. Realistically, whether a piece of pottery was local, decorated, or imported, they still had to reach Newfoundland via the Atlantic Ocean. It is possible therefore, that if buyers requested fancy ceramics, they would not have asked for West Country sgraffito decorated vessels, and would have instead looked for even "better" ceramics. Appadurai (1986: 40) points out the likely relationship between " loci of production, and those of consumption", and the demand for an object. Regardless of cost, decoration or type, the availability of many ceramics in Newfoundland would be similar among wares.

Related to the issue of availability, is the material wealth of settlers in Newfoundland compared to their contemporary counterparts in England. Horn raised this issue when examining the standard of living of colonists in the Chesapeake area during to last half of the seventeenth-century (1988: 74). Persons displayed their status differently in the New World than back in the Old World, and the material possessions of people in the same social status differed depending on where they live. Horn notes that in the Chesapeake area during the seventeenth-century, only the very well off had the same quantity and quality of material goods as their counterparts back in England (1994: 321328). All other wealth groups were much better off, in material terms, in England than in the Chesapeake. While the same may or may not be true for Newfoundland, this example does show the effect that availability would have had on the material possessions of a person and his/her household.

Research on east Dorset potteries is growing, but the social aspects of these ceramics remain relatively unexamined. The products of the Verwood and district potteries were strictly utilitarian vessels used for daily purposes. Also, they did not produce sgraffito-decorated materials, and decoration of any type was rare, with the exception of occasional incised and inscribed vessels (Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 36-37 and 58-59). It seems probable that the ceramic products from the Verwood and district kilns would have held no greater position or social value to the owner than the many other coarse earthenware utilitarian wares from southern England during the later seventeenth century.

5.3 – Somerset and Dorset Pottery: within the Household

Another important aspect of pottery research is the role and position of vessels within the household. A recent summery of pottery studies in Somerset has pointed out the lack of understanding of this area of research (Allan, 2000: 126). Little is known of the position of Somerset materials in the household setting. With changing attitudes with regards to privacy, etc. during the early modern period and the resulting architectural changes, the layout and structure of houses also changed (Johnson, 1996: 79-87). With this came new furniture and consequently places to store and more importantly display ones goods; the place of ceramics within these new changes would undoubtedly have

been affected (Allan, 2003: 144; Johnson, 1996: 171-174). Studies in Old World architecture, as well examination of probate inventories will be essential for the appreciation of South Somerset pottery within the household setting (Allan, 2000: 126).

With regards to the Dorset ceramics (Verwood and District potteries) present at Ferryland, little can be said about these products beyond a discussion of their function. As stated above, Verwood ceramics are very seldom decorated, almost never sgraffito decorated, and thus their function rarely extended beyond general household usage. There is at present little evidence to suggest that Verwood-type ceramics would have had any special place within the household setting during the seventeenth-century. They did occur in elaborate forms such as puzzle jugs, and there is some evidence to suggest that Verwood-type products with a brown/manganese glaze may have been slightly more valued (Percy, 2001: 26). The fancy forms such as multi-handled mugs, fuddling cups, and puzzle jugs, were commonly glazed with this colour (Draper and Copland-Griffiths, 2002: 52; Percy, 2001: 23-34). These brown/manganese glazed vessels have not yet been identified at Ferryland, and are rare in seventeenth-century Newfoundland in general. It is interesting to note that early eighteenth-century contexts excavated at Renews, Newfoundland, have produced Verwood-type material, most of which is the brown glazed ware. These exceptions aside, the function of Verwood-type vessels was almost exclusively utilitarian. The potteries continued - well into the nineteenth century and right up until the demise of the industry in 1952 – to produce "country pottery" (McGarva, 2000).

5.4 – Utilitarian Function of Somerset and Dorset Pottery

One of the initial questions concerning the Somerset and Dorset ceramics in Ferryland was to determine if they fulfilled specific roles at the site, and if this differed depending on the nature and function of the structure they were associated with. This turned out not to be the case. Particularly with the most common ware – South Somersettype – the range of vessel forms was generally the same regardless of site activity or date. This says much about the role of Somerset and Dorset pottery at Ferryland.

One would expect that the domestic contexts at Ferryland, regardless of date, would provide the greatest range of vessel forms. At the two late seventeenth-century dwellings combined (at Area B and Area D), South Somerset-type is most common in bowls and cups, accounting for 16 of the 21 South Somerset-type vessels combined (Table 5.1). Pots, porringers, and pans are also present in small numbers. The same types are present in the early and mid seventeenth-century domestic middens as well, and in similar proportions. In the 1620's layers, pots and bowls occur in the same number (two each), and in the 1640s-1690s context, cups (n=2) are slightly more common that bowls (n=1).

The South Somerset-type vessel forms found in the non-domestic structures are interesting (Table 5.1). Of the eight identifiable vessels (one vessel has an unidentifiable form) found at Area C, three are cups, two are pots, and two are bowls are most common. There is also one pan in the collection. Considering the specific function of the structure

Form	Area B Smithy	Area B Dwelling	Area C Storehouse	Area D Dwelling	Area F 1620s midden	Area F 1640s-90s midden	Total
Bowl	1	2	2	9	2	1	17
Cup	-	3	3	2	-	2	10
Pot	-	-	2	3	2	-	7
Pan	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Porringer	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Saucer	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table 5.1South Somerset-type vessel forms from the study Areas at Ferryland. Only includes
vessels where form could be determined.

– particularly the later cow-byre or cowhouse – one might expect a slightly different collection. Admittedly, a number of different vessel forms could be used in the dairy process, and not just pans (Moorhouse, 1987: 171-173). The collection of South Somerset-type ceramics has a very domestic look in general, and with the exception of the pan, the collection does not resemble what would be expected at a structure where part of the function and activity was dairy related. At the Area B smithy, where it has been suggested that it also served as a "cook-room" of sorts, a slightly domestic appearance could be expected (Pope, 1986 and 1989a). Also, a structure where ceramics are typically not part of the *equipment* used for its intended function (blacksmithing and iron working) may have a fairly general ceramic collection. While the number of vessels is small (n=2), they none the less follow the domestic, everyday use idea.

The other Somerset ceramics are more difficult to discuss due to their low rates of occurrence. Of the possible east Somerset ceramics, a small range of forms was found. One mug was found in the Area D dwelling, and one pot was found in the 1620s context. At Area C, one bowl and one pot were identified. The possible west Somerset ceramics indicate the same general picture. Only one west Somerset-type vessel was identified in any of the domestic contexts – a jug was found at Area D. Interestingly, three possible west Somerset-type vessels were identified at Area C. A pan, pot, and a jug were each identified. With the exception of the pan, the other two are typical of everyday activity and would be common in domestic assemblages.

The Verwood-type ceramics are not common at any time in the Ferryland settlement, or in any one particular place, although all contexts investigated did contain

Verwood-type ceramics (Table 5.2). Forms fall under the same general domestic, everyday heading. Both late seventeenth-century dwellings contained a Verwood-type vessel each. Area B had a porringer, and Area D had a pot. The 1620s context contained one pan, and the 1640s contexts contained a pot and a cup. This small but ever-present Verwood-type collection may say something about that ceramics trade as well (to be examined in Chapter 6 and 7). The Verwood-type collection displays the same general, everyday domestic look, much like the South Somerset-type collection, and the other Somerset ceramics as well.

With few exceptions, both the Somerset and Dorset ceramics were domestic/utilitarian in vessel form. Structures in which specialized activities took place, such as Area C, have Somerset and Dorset ceramic collections similar to the dwellings and domestic middens. This is not the case with other ceramic types. North Devon for example is found primarily in milk pan form at Area C, and is found in pot form (especially the tall pot) in both late seventeenth-century dwellings (Crompton, 2001: 76-77; Nixon, 1999a: 97). Another possible French/Iberian ceramic ware, though not common, occurs primarily in milk pan form, regardless of the structure. No particular form held priority in either Somerset or Dorset ware.

The rate of production for the many forms at Donyatt changes little throughout the seventeenth century (Table 5.3). While the form shapes and style changes slightly, with different potters working, the quantity of each different form being produced does not. Excavations of the many post-medieval pottery kilns at Donyatt have shed light on

Form	Area B Smithy	Area B Dwelling	Area C Storehouse	Area D Dwelling	Area F 1620s midden	Area F 1640-90s Midden	Total
Porringer	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Bowl	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Pot	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Pan	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Cup	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Table 5.2Verwood-type vessel forms from the study Areas at Ferryland. Vessels with an
unidentifiable form are not included.

Form No.	Vessel Form	1600-1650	1650-1750	
1	Cooking pot	No	No	
2	Costrel	No	No	
3	Aquamanile	No	No	
4	Jug	Yes	Yes	
5	Cistern	Yes	Yes	
6	Ointment Pot	Yes	Yes	
7	Cup and Porringer	Yes	Yes	
8	Dish	Yes	Yes	
9	Chafing Dish	Yes	Yes	
10	Mortar	No	No	
11	Bucket Pot	Yes	Yes	
12	Pancheon and Pan	Yes	Yes	
13	Warmer	Yes	Yes	
14	Jar	Yes	Yes	
15	Flower Pot	No	Yes	
16	Cresset Lamp and Candlestick	Yes	Yes	
17	Pipkin	Yes	Yes	
18	Flower Holder	No	No	
19	Colander	Possible	Yes	
20	Lid	Yes	Yes	
21	Bacon Roaster	Possible	Yes	
22	Money Box	No	No	
23	Posset Box	Possible	Yes	
24	Flower Vase	Possible	Possible	
25	Fuddling Cup	Possible	Yes	
26	Puzzle Jug	Possible	Possible	
27	Chamber Pot	Yes	Yes	
28	Bed Pan and Urinal	No	No	
29	Smoothing Iron	No	Yes	
30	Punch Kettle	No	No	
31	Bread Oven	No	No	
32	Misc. Items	Possible	Yes	
33	Roof Tile	Yes	Yes	
34	Floor Tile	Yes	Yes	

Table 5.3Vessel forms produced at the Donyatt kiln from 1600-1650 and 1650-1750.

Source: Coleman-Smith, 2002; Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988

the production of South Somerset pottery¹ (Coleman-Smith, 2002; Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988). Both the 1600-1650 and the 1650-1750 kilns produced large quantities of cups, mugs, and porringer forms, and bowls and dishes. This does not conflict with the Ferryland evidence, as the two most common forms excavated are cups and bowls. However, pans and pancheons were also a very common product of the kilns, yet only two South Somerset-type pans were identified in Ferryland. Also, one of the main products of the Donyatt industry for centuries was the jug (cf. Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988: 98-101), yet none were conclusively identified at Ferryland. The occurrence of South Somerset-type at Ferryland clearly does not entirely reflect the rate of production. Unfortunately, little can be said for the smaller Somerset production centres, such as the west and east Somerset kilns as the kiln sites them selves have not been closely studied and published.

The same type of situation is clear for the Verwood-type material. Excavations at the kiln in Horton – one of the more prolific producers of seventeenth-century Verwoodtype pottery, have produced the same types of information as the Donyatt reports (Copland-Griffiths, 1989; Copland-Griffiths and Butterworth, 1992). Dishes, bowls, pans and commode liners are the most abundant (respectively) at Horton (Copland-Griffiths, 1989: 72-78, and 82). No one form is more prevalent that any other in the Ferryland

¹ There are quantitative problems associated with the interpretation and use of kiln evidence. Materials excavated from kilns do not immediately reflect the rate of production for that kiln. Certain vessel forms are larger and thicker, and thus will react to temperature changes differently. Some forms were more delicate and would have been handled more carefully during the preparation and the actual firing, thus heightening its chances for survival and consequently lowering the chances that wasters will be present. The number of vessels found in wasters does not automatically reflect the number of vessels produced and sent to market (Peterson and Peterson, 2002: 162-163).

collection. However, in the absence of careful quantitative analysis from excavations in England, little else can be said.

<u>5.5 – Conclusions and Discussion</u>

The very limited evidence of any social value to the Somerset or Dorset ceramics at Ferryland shows the value of those wares in the minds of the settlers. While items such as sgraffito-decorated South Somerset-type vessels were likely held in fairly high regard in West Country England by certain lower-middle classes, the same was not the case at Ferryland during the seventeenth century (Allan, 1984a: 104). Because they may have been no easier to acquire than tin-glaze or Italian wares, their relative value may have been diminished. Also, the constant presence of North Devon sgraffito may have been ample for those wanting decorative material. The Verwood-type material was primarily a utilitarian ware. It appears that the inhabitants of Ferryland attached little social or status value to any of the Somerset or Dorset ceramics at any time.

The type and range of Somerset and Dorset vessel forms found within each area, says a great deal about the role and nature of the ceramics at Ferryland. Regardless of site function, the range of forms is generally the same, for both the Somerset and Dorset wares. Even at Area C in the cow-house, where one of the primary vessel forms is the milk pan, neither the Somerset nor Dorset wares follow this norm. Instead, general domestic forms are found. It shows that the ceramics like South Somerset-type may not have been especially sought after, when compared to Tin Glazed earthenwares, a Terra Sigilatta bowl, or North Devon milk pans, for example. Occurrences of South Somersettype wares at Ferryland may very often be the result of chance trade, as opposed to specific orders. Their presence in generalized vessel forms in areas where a specific activity took place shows that they were not seen as part of the *equipment* associated with that activity. In general the South Somerset-type material does not often follow the activity conducted within a structure.

Admittedly, any number of things could have affected the above occurrences. Issues such as kin-ties relationships can result in close trade and commercial networks and consequently particular types of material culture from particular places may occur more regularly (Grassby, 2001). Gender relations may have affected the ceramic use on a site (Yentsch, 1991a and b). This may be an issue in the ceramic collection at Ferryland. There were very likely kin-ties between the settlers and certain merchants in England, and women are definitely present in the settlements (Pope, 1992a: 306-317; Handcock, 1989: 31-32). However, the effect that these possible issues had on the ceramic assemblages as a whole is not entirely known, and given the low frequency of Somerset or Dorset ceramics at Ferryland, these issues may not be relevant. Kin ties were likely with the North Devon region, especially during the later seventeenth century. With the exception of strictly demographic studies, not enough is known about the lives of average woman at Ferryland during the seventeenth century to permit ceramic/gender analysis as Yentsch has done. The Somerset and Dorset wares apparently held little value in terms of status, and their presence was unaffected by gender or kin-tie relations, but were rather strictly functional vessels, used to hold liquid, store provisions, and prepare food regardless of where in the settlement.
CHAPTER 6

EARLY AND MID SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOMERSET AND DORSET <u>CERAMIC TRADE TO FERRYLAND</u>

6.1 - Introduction

The following chapter will examine the transport, trade and movement of Somerset and Dorset ceramics from England to Ferryland during the early and mid seventeenth century. Using the ceramic assemblages from two Ferryland contexts, both dating to the seventeenth century, an examination of trade links between England and Ferryland during the pre-Restoration¹ period will be provided. A brief discussion into trade mechanics during the seventeenth century will be provided as well. The Somerset and Dorset collections will form the basis of this research with a brief examination of other ware frequencies when necessary.

6.2 – Mechanics of Trade

Given the geographical location and isolation of Newfoundland, the transport of goods and provisions was of absolute importance to its settlers during the seventeenth century. The many ships that sailed each year from the ports of southern England to the various harbours of Newfoundland in search of cod were the lifelines of the island (Figure 6.1). From the early days of the European migratory fishery, fishing ships made the voyage every spring. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, when settlements began to arise on the Avalon Peninsula, these fishing ships carried invaluable

¹ The Restoration refers to the "restoration" of the monarch, after the Interregnum government (1651-1660) and Oliver Cromwell. This date was chosen as a focus point or turning point here because of the possible change in shipping that occurs around that same time here in Newfoundland (see below).



Figure 6.1 Map of the West Country, showing principle ports involved in the Newfoundland fishery. supplies for the settlers. Pope notes that it was the fishing ships that were almost solely responsible for trade during the early years of settlement on the island (1986: 65). The type of sailing vessel that would eventually become of great importance in Newfoundland trade – the sack ship – had not been introduced yet. Essentially, the fishing ship was the only type of ship that made the trip to Newfoundland during the early years of settlement. Therefore, the inhabitants of the few settled harbours relied solely on these transporters for survival.

<u>6.2.1 – The Sack Ship</u>

Sack ships are vessels that sailed to Newfoundland in the summer, as opposed to the spring, to buy fish from planters or bye-boat fishermen, instead of catching their own. The term "sack" derives from the Portuguese word *vino de sacca*, roughly meaning export wine (Davis, 1962; Duncan, 1972: 38-39). While the English would eventually

come to dominate the sack ship industry, they were latecomers in the business. The Dutch had dominated the industry since the late sixteenth century, sending ships to buy fish, rather than catch it (Pope, 2001: 33). It was not until the early 1640s that the English became heavily involved, with few before the 1630s (Davis, 1962: 236; Pope, 2001: 36-37).

Sack ships loaded fish that they purchased from resident planters, or from *bye-boat* fishermen. (The later came to Newfoundland as passengers on fishing ships, and fished from their own small boats, which they typically left behind every winter.) The sack ships would then return to England, continental Europe, or the Americas with their cargo of fish; the sacks typically sailed to Europe as opposed the England (Pope, 2001: 44-45). Sometimes sack ships did catch small amounts of fish however. Pope has pointed out the presence of "sack-like" ships, which had one or two small boat with them, indicating that limited fishing was conducted (1992a).

The very nature of the sack ship industry allowed them to become major traders, and they quickly became major transporters of goods and provisions. Sack ships were typically smaller than fishing ships, usually between 20-80 tons for sack ships, 50-130 tons for fishing ships (Pope, 1992a: 120-123). They also had to carry less equipment – i.e. fishing nets, boats, etc. The fishing ships had some room in their holds as well – they would need room for the fish on the return voyage – but sack had ample room on the voyage to Newfoundland for goods to trade and sell. In 1677, William Poole noted that 70 percent of all sack ships sailing to Newfoundland that year carried goods (Pope,

1992a: 124). Sack ships were very much involved in the survival of the inhabitants of Newfoundland during the seventeenth-century.

To what degree the sacks were involved in the provisioning the settlements is not fully known. They carried goods, but what were these goods? We have evidence that these ships carried wine, oil, and similar bulk goods, but what about other provisions for the settlers? One of the questions addressed in this research is whether sack ships provisioned and victualed the settlements of Newfoundland during the seventeenth century. Some information may be gained from the ship census of 1698, to be discussed briefly below.

<u>6.2.2 – The Practice of Portage</u>

One mode of transportation for goods that should be briefly mentioned is *portage*. Portage is the right of sailors to carry goods to a particular location (e.g. Newfoundland) to sell or trade, generally in lieu of wages (Pope, 1995b: 20). This practice was common in the Newfoundland trade until the eighteenth century.

While this practice of portage is very likely not responsible for the transport of many ceramics to Ferryland, it is still an important part of the exchange of goods to Newfoundland from England and Europe during the seventeenth century. The average sailor would not have wanted to be burdened with potentially heavy pottery, when much lighter and smaller items of greater value could be carried. Goods such as wine and tobacco may have been the more common items of portage by the sailors. However, some ceramics may have sometimes been involved – sailors may have purchased fine ceramics

on trips elsewhere as souvenirs, and brought them as portage items (Stoddart, 2000: 107-108).

<u>6.3 – Methodology</u>

In order to assess the trade links held between Ferryland and England at a particular time, the complete ceramic assemblage from a specific context from that period had to be examined. It was decided that the best indicator of trade would come from as general a ceramic assemblage as possible – it was felt that domestic collections would provide the best selection. The two events examined (287 and 347) come from the Area F and are both associated with what are believed to be domestic deposits. Event 347 dates to the early period of settlement at Ferryland, likely to the 1620s, and thus provides a good early seventeenth-century assemblage. Event 287 spans much of the last half on the seventeenth century, but its initial deposition began during the 1640s. Consequently, many of the ceramics recovered from that event do date to pre-Restoration settlement.

The two contexts will be examined together. The best approach is to view the ceramic from each particular event as a sample, and to combine them to examine pre-Restoration (i.e. pre 1660) trade in general. The collections examined were too small to use individually. From time to time, reference to other Ferryland assemblages will be made as well.

6.4 – Shipping and Trade to Newfoundland in the Early Seventeenth-century

There is unfortunately a relative lack of information on shipping and trade to Ferryland during the early seventeenth century. We must start with general information on English involvement in Newfoundland. Before 1610 with the settlement at Cupers Cove (modern day Cupids), fishing ships generally did not carry any provisions beyond that required by the crew. Some general ideas can be devised concerning which English ports sent ships, and how many, to Newfoundland. Involvement at specific harbours is less understood. Also, many of the ships that traveled to the island each year spent no time in settled harbours, instead engaged in the migratory fishery in the unsettled harbours and coves of the English Shore. Assessing trade and ship origins to particular Newfoundland harbours is thus difficult. (Those seeking a more in-depth discussion and analysis of the early and mid seventeenth-century cod fishery in Newfoundland should see: Cell, 1969; Matthews, 1968; Pope, 1992a).

Some ideas can be achieved however, concerning the fishery in general in Newfoundland during the time. Right from the very beginning, the English fishery in Newfoundland was dominated by the West Country (Matthews, 1968; Stephens, 1956). Ships from Dartmouth, Plymouth, Poole, Bideford, Exeter, and Bristol to name a few engaged in the yearly trip and industry, and other ports such as Portsmouth, were involved in the distribution of the fish (Table 6.1 and 6.2). Bristol for example, became involved very early in Newfoundland and were big proponents of settlement in a number of different harbours such as Bristol's Hope and Heart's Content (see Cell, 1969: 67; 76-77). While many of these settlements would amount to little, and even Cupids became less than what the merchants had originally hoped for, Bristol still remained involved in the Newfoundland fishery.

6.5 – Pre-Restoration Ceramic Trade to Ferryland

The general range of ceramic wares found in the 1620s and 1640s-1690s

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Year	Plymouth	Dartmouth	Bristol	Exeter	Southampton	Poole	Weymouth	Barnstaple	Portsmouth
1610	32								
1611						6	5		
1612			8	13			5	18	
1613		15		15	9				
1614					4				
1615		15	6				7	11	
1616					4	4			
1617	24		2					10	A
1618		24						16	
1619					8	10			
1620	66		11			9		18	
1621				10					2
1622						5			
1623				11					
1624		28	4						
1625			10	10		12			
1626							1		
1627	21								0
1628		18	0			0		1	1
1629									0
1630	13					5			

Table 6.1Number of ships returning to English ports from Newfoundland with Fish, 1610-1630.Note: no entry indicates no record in the Port Book, not zero ships for that year.

Source: Cell, 1969: 163.

Table 6.2

Number of ships returning to English ports from Newfoundland with Fish, 1631-1666. Note: no entry indicates no record in the Port Book, not zero ships for that year.

Year	Plymouth	Dartmouth	Bristol	Exeter	Southampton	Poole	Weymouth	Barnstaple	Portsmouth
1631								13	
1632	37								
1633	27	46						14	
1634	14	27					4		
1635							4		
1636				2			3	6	
1637		20			3	1	1		1
1638	22	25	3	2	3	2			1
1639						4	3		
1640								9	
1641		27							
1642									
1643	6								
1644	0				2				
1645									
1646									
1647		11		1				7	
1648									1
1649					1				
1650-			No p	ort books	survive	for this p	eriod.		
1659		T	1	r	1	T	1	.	r
1660						1		3	0
1661						6		8	1
1662				5					
1663				2				4	
1664						8	3	7	
1665									
1666	0	1	I	2					

Source: Cell, 1969: 140.

Wara	16	20s	1640-90s		
ware	# vessels	%	# vessels	%	
South Somerset-type	4	15	4	5	
West Somerset-type	-	-	-	-	
East Somerset-type	1	5	-	-	
Somerset (?)	-	-	3	5	
Verwood-type	1	5	2	5	
Exeter Coarse Sandy	1	5	3	5	
North Devon	9	30	15+	25	
Border Ware	5	15	3	5	
Totnes-type	3	10	5	10	
Cornish (?)	-	-	2	5	
Merida-type	2	5	3+	5	
Spanish Heavy	1	5	1	2	
Iberian redware (?)	-	-	1	2	
Saintonge	-	-	4	5	
Beauvais	-	-	1	2	
U/I French (?)	-	-	1	2	
North Italian Marbled	-	-	1	2	
Rhenish Brown	-	-	1	2	
New England Redware (?)	-	-	1	2	
Other U/I vessels	3	10	4	5	
Total	30	105%	55	94%	

Table 6.3Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) for Events 287 and 347, the 1620s and 1640-90s contexts
from Area F.

<u>Note:</u> The "+" symbol indicates that, based on the high quantity of sherds, more vessels are likely present aside from those counted. For similar usage see, Allan and Barber, 1992.

assemblages are similar in some ways, different in others. The North Devon products are most common in both, there is little change in the Somerset or Dorset wares, and the frequencies Merida-type is relatively the same within both contexts. One major difference is the high number of Border Ware vessel in the 1620s context; the significance of this will be briefly discussed later. Another interesting presence is the two possible Cornish vessels in the 1640-90s layer.

As stated above, one of the collections examined is meant to represent the early years of the settlement and dates roughly to the 1620s (Table 6.3). The 1620s in Ferryland is a period for which there is much documentary information, primarily in the form of letters and correspondences sent between people in Ferryland and England. Some of these letters contain valuable information that has been useful to archaeologists working at Ferryland (see Tuck, 1996). However, there is little reference to specific shipping. The minor references that are included may be informative though when the ceramic collection is examined.

A number of ports may have been involved in the fishery at Ferryland before and during Calvert's time. In 1613 for example, Henry Crout found fishing ships from Dartmouth and Plymouth while he visited Ferryland (1613: 81). A number of depositions taken at Totnes in 1667 against Sir David Kirke, of former fishers of Ferryland, make reference to the presence of a number of ships during the early century also. One Thomas Cruse was at Ferryland in a ship from Topsham sometime before 1617, John Cull fished from a Dartmouth ship from 1612 on, and Thomas Pitcher had fished at Ferryland from a Dartmouth ship since 1617 (Cruse, et al., 1667/27/11). This notes the variety of ports involved in the Newfoundland and Ferryland fishery during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

<u>6.5.1 – Early Seventeenth-Century Somerset Ceramic Trade</u>

The ceramic collection from the early period sample contains nearly 50 percent southern English ceramics (or ceramic that would have been transported from southern English ports). This compares with 10-15 percent maximum in the later part of the seventeenth-century. Clearly something takes place to have this enormous effect on trade and shipping. With regards to the South Somerset-type wares, a similar situation occurs. In post-Restoration assemblages at Ferryland (i.e. the dwellings at Area B and Area D), South Somerset-type constitutes less that 5 percent of the entire collection. In the prerestoration contexts they constitute nearly 15 percent during the early, and still nearly 10 percent of the mid to late seventeenth-century ceramic assemblage. The issue is where did the material come from.

The distribution area of South Somerset-type (or Donyatt) was generally the same during the early seventeenth century as it was during the late seventeenth century. The quantity of the ceramic material at these ports does change slightly however. Plymouth, Exeter, and Lyme Regis, to name a few, were the primary locations of the ceramic ware during the first half of the seventeenth century (Allan, 1983; Allan, 1984a; Allan and Barber, 1992). The analysis is somewhat different for this earlier portion of the century however – with the absence of shipping censuses, we can not exclude ports because of their known lack of involvement (as will be seen in Chapter 7). That information is simply not available to us to make this assumption. The ports must be examined individually to determine their involvement in the Newfoundland fishery, and consequently their possible involvement in the Ferryland fishery, and thus the likelihood that they transported South Somerset-type ceramics.

The involvement of Bristol in the Newfoundland fishery during the early years of the seventeenth century is well known, as they were very much involved in the organization of some of the earliest attempts at settlement on the island. However, Bristol's exact involvement at Ferryland is unknown. When one looks at the ceramic collection at Bristol from that time, answers do being to emerge. Excavations of early seventeenth century contexts at Narrow Quay in Bristol have produced a wide variety of English wares, and provides a good indication of the ceramics found in the city at the time. South Somerset-type is one of the least common English wares at the time (Good, 1987). Materials from the west Somerset area, possibly around Nether Stowey, and also from the east Somerset area constitute nearly 55 percent of the entire ceramic assemblage at Bristol (Good, 1987: 36-40). Also present are more northern wares such as south Gloucestershire and Malvern ceramic products. If Bristol were involved even moderately in the fishery at Ferryland, and brought ceramics as provisions, then these other wares would be more common. While the attribution and identification problems discussed numerous times before would make the identification of any of these wares difficult, significant occurrences at Ferryland would be noticed.

There is little evidence to suggest that the harbour of Ferryland was any more common a destination to Bristol ships in the mid seventeenth century, than before. It seems likely that the civil war may have hampered Bristol's shipping industry and trade to Newfoundland as well (Matthews, 1968: 144). Material culture from Bristol, such as tobacco pipes are found at Ferryland in mid seventeenth-century contexts, but these could have been traded from the North Devon ports of Bideford or Barnstaple, as will be discussed in Chapter 7 (Gaulton, 1999; Grant and Jemmett, 1985; Pope, 1989b). The presence of the possible west and east Somerset wares in Ferryland changes little, indicating that no growth in the Bristol-Ferryland connections took place. It would seem that at no point were Bristol merchants and ship owners heavily involved at Ferryland.

One port that was much more involved in the Newfoundland fishery before the Restoration than after, was Lyme Regis. While Lyme's involvement in general may have been small and never as large as that of nearby ports such as Poole or even Weymouth, the ports involvement in the English coastal transport of Donyatt ceramics makes it a necessary study (Murphy, 1998: 5).

Lyme Regis's involvement in Newfoundland may date to the late sixteenthcentury migratory fishery, and definitely to the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1607, the *Ellyna* from Lyme Regis was fishing in Newfoundland, and in 1622 the *Pacierico* was bound for Malaga with Newfoundland fish (Murphy, 1998: 5-6). Lyme Regis and its trade was seriously hurt by the Civil war: between 1647 and 1677, no ships sailed to Newfoundland (Matthews, 1968: 162). The port town seems to have recovered slightly during that time because it again lost ships during the war with Spain in the 1650s (Matthews, 1968: 146), indicating that it may have attempted a recovery, but apparently with little success. With the exception of very sporadic voyages, Lyme Regis played no role after the Civil war of the 1640s (Matthews, 1968: 182; Murphy, 1998: 6). If our understanding and knowledge of Lyme Regis's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery during this early period is lacking, it is even more so for Ferryland specifically. Little is known of typical ceramic assemblage at Lyme Regis during the early to mid seventeenth century, except for the assumption that Donyatt ceramics products would be very common (Allan, 1983). Regardless, it can safely be assumed that Lyme Regis had very little involvement with Ferryland during the pre-Restoration fishery, and consequently was likely not responsible for the transport of any ceramics.

Southampton, unlike Lyme Regis, did have a noticeable involvement in the early Newfoundland fishery. The port town became involved with the migratory fishery during the late sixteenth century, and their involvement in the early seventeenth-century fishery is well known also (Platt, 1973: 221). This can be seen in their opposition to London merchants organizing a company in 1635 for example, and with their role in the Western Charter of 1634 (Innis, 1954: 66-67). While Lyme Regis was involved in both these events as well, Southampton would seem to have had a greater presence on the island and in the fishery in general (Cell, 1969: 5). Southampton did have the occasional ship in Ferryland during the early seventeenth-century. In 1629, the *Saint Claude Regis* from Southampton fished from the harbour and delivered provisions to the settlers (Southampton Customer, 1629/9/4). The items – such as peas, and oatmeal – might have been shipped in ceramic storage vessels. With the exception of this ship however, little is known of Southampton's link to Ferryland during the pre-Restoration years.

Southampton's ceramic assemblage from the seventeenth-century – and also during the medieval period – have a large percentage of imported wares (Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975; Brown, 1997). While English wares such as South Somerset-type were present, they were not abundant, as at Plymouth or Exeter. It seems unlikely that the South Somerset-type could have come from Southampton in any quantity without numerous imported wares as well. Admittedly, by the mid seventeenth century the amount and type of imports into Southampton had changed slightly – more local wares, fewer Low Countries and French, and slightly more Spanish material. However, the early seventeenth-century material would be just as likely to reflect the mid sixteenth-century collections, which has French, Low Countries, Spanish, and Italian wares (Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975: 23-30). Collectively, this is approximately 30-35 percent of the entire "average" assemblage – and very different from early seventeenth-century assemblages at Ferryland.

Southampton's involvement in Newfoundland and Ferryland is unknown for the mid seventeenth-century. It would seem that the Civil war seriously hampered the port to the point that it was seen as "decayed" (Matthews, 1968: 162). Cell suggests that the port's trade had begun to decline as early as the late sixteenth-century (1969: 101). Had Southampton been involved at any point before the Restoration, certain ceramics generally found on site that trade with south-central English ports would be found. It would seem likely that at no point during the early or mid seventeenth century did Southampton have any noticeable amount of contact and trade with Ferryland.

What has become apparent is that while many different ports and towns may have South Somerset-type ceramics in their seventeenth-century assemblages, many of these ports did not have the involvement with the Newfoundland fishery to account for significant exports. On the other hand, there are other ports that had throughout the entire century, enormous contact and trade with Newfoundland, Dartmouth for example was very much involved in early Ferryland (Allan and Pope, 1990; Russell, 1950: 63-65 and 71-72; Stephens, 1956). Dartmouth however has little to no South Somerset-type in its collection, its pottery being supplied by local producers in the Bridgetown Pomeroy and Totnes area (Allan and Pope, 1990: 51-53). The two ports involved in the Newfoundland fishery that had two of the largest percentages of South Somerset-type during the first half of the seventeenth century were Plymouth and Exeter. The distinction between these two ports, their involvement with nearby sub-ports, and their ceramic assemblages during the late seventeenth-century will be discussed fully in Chapter 7. These two ports will now be examined in detail with regards to their involvement in the pre-Restoration Newfoundland fishery. Their specific involvement in the fishery at Ferryland will be determined (if any), and consequently their role in the transport of South Somerset-type ceramics.

Exeter's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery is an old one, going back to the earliest days of the English fishery (Cell, 1969: 132; MacCaffrey, 1975: 167). Exeter's involvement in the early seventeenth century was admittedly not large, likely smaller that that of Dartmouth, Plymouth and Barnstaple (Stephens, 1956: 91-92). This bodes poorly for the Exeter case in the transport of South Somerset-type pottery to seventeenth-century Ferryland. However, the complete ceramic assemblage from the early seventeenth-century context examined at Ferryland (Chapter 4), indicates that some degree of contact did likely occur. At least one example of Exeter Coarse Sandy is present, a ceramic type common in Exeter up to ca.1650 (Allan, 1984a: 135-136). This ceramic type has a fairly small distribution, found in few places other than Exeter. It has not been found in Exmouth for example, a town located just fourteen kilometers south of Exeter down the Exe River (Allan, 1980: 107-108). This would suggest that the presence of this ware in Ferryland at such an early stage of settlement, could mean that some Exeter trade did take place (or at least through a sub-port or member port such as Topsham). Given the high presence of South Somerset-type in Exeter's early seventeenth-century contexts, it is possible that Exeter *may* have played a role in the movement of ceramics – South Somerset-type specifically – to Newfoundland and Ferryland.

Plymouth is also a port town with a long history and involvement in the Newfoundland fishery. Also involved from the early stages of the English migratory fishery in Newfoundland, Plymouth is of interest because it has more known trade contact with Ferryland during the early seventeenth century. In fact, some of the earliest references to the initial settlement at Ferryland involve Plymouth. In the summer of 1621, when Edward Wynne and the other settlers arrived at Ferryland, they did so by way of a Plymouth ship (Wynne, 1621/26/8: 253). Admittedly, numerous migratory ships from many other English ports were using Ferryland to catch cod – Wynne notes being helped on their arrival at Ferryland by the masters of ships from Barnstaple, Weymouth, and Dartmouth (Wynne, 1621/26/8: 257). There is little doubt concerning the involvement of Plymouth during the early years of the colony however. One Henry Zeny, master of a ship from Milbrooke (near Plymouth) brought letters back to Calvert from Wynne in Ferryland in 1621 requesting to be "furnished with all necessary Tooles and provision of Victuals the next year" (Wynne, 1621/26/8: 257-258). It was also from Plymouth that Captain Daniel Powell arrived in 1621 with a supply of men, noting Ferryland to be the "coldest Harbour in the Land" (1622/28/7: 198 and 200). As well, Abraham Jennings, a merchant in Plymouth, was very helpful to Calvert in supporting the colonization of Ferryland (Appleby, 1996: 34). The connection with Plymouth during the early stages of settlement is obvious, even if based on the documentation alone.

The *typical* ceramic assemblage at Plymouth during the first quarter of the seventeenth century looks very much like that of Ferryland during that same time. Very high quantities of Iberian wares are found for example, particularly Merida-type, found at both Plymouth and Ferryland (Allan and Barber, 1992; Crompton, 2001; Nixon, 1999a; Pope, 1986). Especially telling are the oddities in both collections. Early seventeenthcentury contexts at Plymouth have a surprisingly high quantity of Border Ware. This ware was produced at a number of kilns along the Surrey-Hampshire border, and would have been traded out of London primarily (Pearce, 1992; 1999). Excavations at the Kitto Institute in Plymouth, dating ca.1625-1630, uncovered much of this ware, in roughly the same quantity as North Devon (Allan and Barber, 1992: 234-235). This is because of increased trade of ceramics from London to the south coast of Devon during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (Allan, 1984b: 81). Early contexts at Ferryland also have surprising high quantities of Border Ware in their contexts. This ware is not common at many of the other English ports that sailed to Newfoundland: Exeter for example has very little Border ware in its seventeenth-century contexts (Allan, 1984a:

126-128). This ware is generally viewed as being traded out of London, but this likely is not the case with Ferryland. London's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery is not in question, however its role in provisioning the island and its shipment of material culture in general is in question. During the early years of the seventeenth century and thus the early years of many of the attempted settlements, London was primarily involved the organization of those settlements (Cupids for one). Their activities in the actual fishery were limited when compared to the West Country ports, and thus would unlikely have sent ships. During the Kirke period of Ferryland, when he and his business partners had a great deal of contact with London, few materials from the port city are found at Ferryland (Pope, 1996). Tobacco pipes for example, which Kirke was shipping to Ferryland along with alcohol and tobacco, did not come from London as one would expect given his ties (Pope, 1989b: 14). The same can be said for the later seventeenth century: at St. John's for example when London sack ships were very common during that time, little material culture typically shipped from the port city is found (Pope, 1999; Temple, 1999). This pattern apparently continued into the later portion of the century, when exports from London to Newfoundland are compared to that of New England, the Chesapeake, or even the Hudson Bay (Zahedieh, 1998: 414-418). London was also involved in the sack industry primarily, which as has been discussed may not have shipped many provisions to Newfoundland (Pope, 1996).

What becomes clear is that while Topsham and/or Exeter may have had more involvement with Ferryland during the early years when compared to the later seventeenth century, it still was not overly large. Ceramic types that would have been shipped almost exclusively out of Exeter or Topsham are present, yet the ports do not have the documentary and historical connection with the early settlement that Plymouth had. The other ports such as Bristol, Southampton, or Lyme Regis, simply did not have the involvement to account for any noticeable quantity of ceramics, within the archaeological record. Based on the ceramic information, coupled with the documentation it appears that both Topsham and Plymouth were involved. However, Plymouth appears to have been more involved in the transport of South Somerset-type pottery to Ferryland than any of the other ports discussed above.

<u>6.5.2 – Early Seventeenth-Century Verwood-type Trade</u>

The transport of Verwood-type ceramics to Ferryland during the early seventeenth century is more difficult to explain. Their quantities are not high and thus, this is not a major issue. The port of Poole is one of the primary coastal loci for Verwood-type pottery in southern England, but other ports received the ware as well. These include Southampton, Portsmouth and the Channel Islands (Barton, 1977; Fox and Barton, 1986; Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975). Some of these have already been examined with regards to their South Somerset-type assemblages and consequent Newfoundland trade, usually with the same result. Southampton and the Channel Islands both appear to have not traded any of the South Somerset-type material to Ferryland during the early years of the settlement's history, and thus there is no reason to think they transported the few Verwood-type vessels either. Portsmouth was examined in Chapter 6 with regards to the Verwood-type ceramics found in late seventeenth-century contexts at Ferryland, concluding that the port have little involvement in the fishery at all (see Table 6.1 and

6.2). The same could be said for the earlier part of the century as well. Portsmouth had no noticeable contact or interests in the Newfoundland fishery. Poole however, is a different matter.

Poole's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery would not reach its peek until the eighteenth century (Davies, 1979; 1994; Handcock, 1984). However the extent of Poole's involvement in the Newfoundland during the early seventeenth century is not as well known. It is true that Poole was involved in the fishery and its administration, for in 1635 the port was one of those opposed to the formation of a company by London merchants (Innis, 1954: 66). The Newfoundland fishery was so important to Poole and its economy that in 1619 the mayor of Poole said that the fishery in Newfoundland (and one other trade) constituted all of the port's shipping (Cell, 1969: 102). This importance was relatively new however: despite the port's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery in the sixteenth century, the fishery was not a major trade until the early seventeenth century (Tittler, 1985: 99). The loss of ships to privateers and pirates during the war with France during the 1620s cause great problems, another indication of the fisheries' importance in Poole (Cell, 1969: 107). (The effects that this war and the later civil war had on Poole were severe, and it was likely hard on the Poole's recovery). The extent to which Poole was involved specifically at Ferryland is unknown however. Based on the material culture evidence, it seems to not have been involved much. Except for the few Verwoodtype vessels excavated, there is little else to indicate any kind of presence. However, given the very limited distribution of the ceramic ware at that time, the presence of just the one vessel in the examined strata at Ferryland likely indicates some Poole contact.

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6.6 - Mid Seventeenth-Century Somerset and Dorset Ceramic Trade to Ferryland

Much like the early parts of the seventeenth century, and the early years of the Ferryland colony, knowledge of the trade links to Ferryland during the mid seventeenth century are relatively obscure. Past research on tobacco pipes and Totnes-type ceramics has suggested that a shift in trade links occurred at some point during the middle of the century, resulting in the changing of focal point for English ports in Newfoundland (Pope, 1989b and 1992b for example). Examination of a *typical* ceramic collection from mid seventeenth-century Ferryland and then compared to that from the late seventeenthcentury should provide interesting information regarding this hypothesis.

The entire ceramic assemblage from Event 287 Area F may be helpful, because while it does contain deposits dating right up to the destruction of the settlement in 1696, its initial deposition began in the 1640s. This collection obviously can not be seen as a typical collection for that period and for stratum from that period due to the long date range. (Also of interest are the comparisons and differences between this collection and that examined from the early seventeenth century). The slight differences in the frequencies of Somerset and Dorset ceramics are miniscule at first glance, but are actually very telling.

Trying to determine the differences (if any) in the involvement of various ports during the mid seventeenth century compared to the early decades is difficult. With the absence of documentation like that available during the years 1675 to 1684, analysis is touchy at best. However, based on known history regarding the previous involvement, the know role of those ports years later during the late seventeenth century some safe conclusions can be reached and made.

The English civil war of the 1640s had a tremendous effect on the inland, coastal, and overseas trade, often very negative (Braddick, 1998; Davis, 1962; Willan, 1967: 9-10; Wroughton, 1999: 151-161). Its effects on the various English colonies and settlements in North America are evident as well, be it political or economic (Hunter, 2001: 41; Loftfield, 2001: 211-212). Its effect on Newfoundland was fairly evident as well (Cell, 1969:117-119; Taylor, 2001: 174-175). This period of Ferryland's history is one of relative financial success: the Kirke tenure at Ferryland was dynamic, and this coupled with the external events such as the war, produce ceramic assemblages of interest.

Many of the ports that fished from Newfoundland harbours were crippled during the civil war. Some ports such as Weymouth were severely damaged, though they did often recover later in the century (Defoe, 1724-26: 212; Matthews, 1968: 145). Other ports that had traditionally been heavily involved in the fishery were also damaged, such as Bideford and Barnstaple (Matthews, 1968: 144). The limited involvement of ports such as Fowey in the Newfoundland fishery could be partially blamed on their actions during the civil war, but it would appear that lack of proper capital was the major cause, as was the case of Falmouth (Whetter, 1970: 30). Ports such as Poole, Plymouth, Bristol, and Lyme Regis, all involved in the Newfoundland fishery, were involved in the civil war as well (Appleby, 1996: 28; Matthews, 1968: 144). It is this period in which trade and contact with the New England area becomes large, not because of Kirke's contacts with New England, but rather because of the disruption caused by the civil war in England (Pope, 1992a: 186-197). (See Appendix A).

Not only did this domestic war cause strife for traders, but the following war with Spain from 1657-1659 also had a serious impact. Plymouth, Dartmouth, Lyme Regis, Poole and "all other western towns" lost almost 1200 ships combined. Not only were the ships from various ports involved, but sailors from the North Devon ports and from others like Poole and Weymouth were pressed into action, likely having an adverse affect on shipping and trade (Matthews, 1968: 146-147). This is also a period of renewed interest by the Dutch (Matthews, 1968: 146).

The ceramic assemblage at Ferryland during the mid seventeenth-century is not that much different from the early seventeenth-century assemblage. In particular, there is little change is the Somerset and Dorset frequencies. The Border Ware frequency drops, but this may be the result of either a drop in the quantity of this ware being transported to Plymouth, or by the possible decline in London provisioning the Newfoundland settlements.

The frequency of South Somerset-type material in the mid century event (Event 287) is roughly the same as in the early seventeenth-century contexts, but is more than found in typical late seventeenth-century contexts at Ferryland. What is of interest is the frequency of Verwood-type material in all pre-Restoration (Ferryland assemblages dating before 1660). In late century assemblages (such as the dwellings at Area B and Area D), Verwood-type is rare, with usually only one or two vessels present. However, in the pre-Restoration contexts, Verwood-type occurs more frequently. Within Event 287 for

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example, there are 2 Verwood-type vessels (and two more possible) out of just 56 vessels in total (Figure 6.3).

<u>6.7 – Pre/Post-Restoration Trade Shift</u>

Past research on trade and certain forms of material culture at Ferryland has indicated a possible shift in trade ties with England, sometime around 1650 to 1660 (Pope, 1989b; 1992a and b). Evidence has shown that before 1660 there was a higher presence of south Devon shipping and consequently material culture. This was not taken for granted during the present research – avoiding the assumption that South Somersettype came from south England ports just because the ships were more present – and it was hoped that this research would be able to re-examine this point.

The evidence gained from the examination of both the Somerset and Dorset ceramics substantiates the hypothesis. On the most minimal level, the very presence of some of these wares indicates some degree of trade from southern England. During the early years of settlement, there appears to have been a strong presence of south Devon material culture. Documentation of the settlement at that time also indicates contact with Plymouth and Dartmouth, as well as London (Pope, 1992a: 150-152). Both Event 347 and Event 287 have approximately 30 percent North Devon products, compared to nearly 50 percent in the later seventeenth-century collections. Somerset, Dorset and Exeter Coarse Sandy products combined constitute between 25 and 30 percent of the assemblages from the early and mid seventeenth-century contexts examined. Also the Totnes-type frequencies point to this shift as well – they constitute approximately 10

percent of pre-Restoration assemblages, yet in the later seventeenth-century, they constitute only 2 percent (compare Table 6.3 with Table 7.8).

Exactly when and why this shift occurred is not known for certain. There is evidence to suggest that it did take place before 1660 however, as the tobacco pipe evidence shows that the dominance of the North Devon ports had begun by the 1660s (Pope, 1989b). This is difficult to notice in the Somerset or Dorset ceramic collections, due mainly to their small size, but also because tightly-dated specific mid seventeenthcentury contexts are difficult to identify at Ferryland (Tuck, pers. comm., 2003). Regardless of this problem, the South Somerset-type frequencies indicate a shift in trade dominance sometime around the middle of the century.

6.8 - Conclusions

The frequencies of various Somerset and Dorset wares at Ferryland have an immediately recognisable pattern during the first half of the century compared to the latter half. The most abundant of the wares is South Somerset-type, which is noticeably more frequent than it would be in the later part of the seventeenth century. There appears to be little difference regarding the occurrence of the other Somerset material over time, but this may be the result of problematic identification and low rates of occurrence. The infrequent, but ever present Verwood-type material tends to occur in similar frequencies regardless of when in seventeenth century. While not overly abundant in any period or locus, it is none the less present. This indicates that a sporadic connection with Poole ships may have occurred occasionally, and no more common in one particular period than in any other. It would appear that the South Somerset-type ceramic material might also have arrived via Plymouth during both the early and mid seventeenth century. The likelihood of other English ports being involved on a small level is possible, based on the presence of ceramic material such as Exeter Coarse Sandy, indicating contact with Exeter or Topsham ships. The exact degree to which these ports were involved is difficult to determine; based on the different forms of evidence however, it would appear that Plymouth transported most of the South Somerset-type to Ferryland before 1660, with other ports such as Topsham playing a minor role. Also interesting is that Topsham's limited involvement at Ferryland declines further after 1660. The other ceramic materials from Somerset that have been tentatively identified at Ferryland likely came to the settlement via Bristol, much like during the later portions of the seventeenth century. Both the West Somerset-type and East Somerset-types likely came from Bristol – however both these ceramic types occur rarely at Ferryland, and consequently the settlement's contact with Bristol appears to have been slight and rare.

The evidence supplied by the Somerset and Dorset ceramics at Ferryland throughout the century also support the notion that trade connections changed during the middle of the seventeenth century. South Somerset-type is more abundant during the first half of the seventeenth century, suggesting stronger trade links that would account for their presence.

CHAPTER 7

LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOMERSET AND DORSET CERAMIC TRADE TO FERRYLAND

<u>7.1 – Introduction</u>

The following chapter will examine the trade and transport of Somerset and Dorset ceramics to Ferryland during the late seventeenth century. The ceramic collections from the dwellings at Area B and Area D have been re-examined, and combined with the information derived from the contemporary documentation, a much more complete view of England ceramic trade to Ferryland can be achieved (Crompton, 2000a and b; 2001; Nixon, 1999a and b). This research is aided by the presence of two separate assemblages with the same general date. The presence of two assemblages with similar ceramics allows for internal analysis, thereby allowing for a more accurate picture of the *original* household collection.

7.2 – The Origin of Goods

One key aspect of the Newfoundland and English trade that is as important as the point of origin, concerns the goods on board. Questions such as what ships brought, and what different cargo fishing ships took compared to sack ships, are of importance because the ceramics discussed here formed part of those cargoes. Understanding the relationship between the goods and the origin of the ship is thus important.

The Newfoundland trade was essentially triangular, with Newfoundland fish being shipped to Europe and the Mediterranean in English ships, goods brought to England from these markets, and then a small percentage of the material making its way back to Newfoundland the following year. The bulk of the material involved in this trade would be Iberian or Mediterranean in origin. It is not particularly the routes taken that make this a triangular trade, but rather the flow of goods (Pope, 1996: 1).

These trade flows raise the question of where the goods on ships actually came from. Shipping censuses generally contain a great variety of information, one of the entries being the ship's "home port". It could be assumed that the materials on that particular ship would have come from the area from where the ship originated (i.e. the homeport). However, the ship census from 1698 includes an interesting heading, one not included on any of the others from the period: where the ship was *loaded*. Essentially, the ship's homeport was not necessarily where the ship was loaded. Of the eight fishing ships and eight sack ships in Ferryland that year, twelve of them loaded somewhere else beside their homeport. This was common since the early seventeenth century, when for example, Dutch sack ships would often call at English ports such as Plymouth, Southampton and Dartmouth, and sometimes take on cargoes (Pope, 1996: 3-4). English sack ships would have been no exception. For example, of the five ships from in Ferryland in 1698, three loaded at various ports in Ireland. None of the six sack ships from London actually loaded at London - the sack ships were loaded at Southampton, the Isle of May at Cape Verde, Cadiz in Spain, Glasgow, and Oporto in Portugal. The lone fishing ship from London loaded at Lisbon, Portugal. This indicates that goods from a number of different origins could reach Newfoundland on a single ship.

The type of materials found on ships can be important as well. The 1698 ship census for Ferryland records 16 ships (eight fishing and eight sack) in the harbour that

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year (Table 7.1). These ships had cargoes containing everything from "necessaries", "Provisions", salt, wine, and "Kings Stores"¹. A sack ship from Boston sailed to Ferryland that year with a cargo of rum and sugar. The nature of ceramics within a cargo could be different depending on the actual contents of a ship's cargo. Whether a piece of pottery was a part of the cargo as "pottery" depended on the actual vessel form. It is likely that forms such as dishes and cups for example, would have been shipped to Newfoundland as actual dishes and cups. Essentially, transported to do a role specific to their form and function – i.e. to serve food and beverage. However, other ceramics may not have been shipped specifically as pieces of pottery. Many vessel forms, particularly storage vessels, would have simply been brought to Newfoundland, incidentally, as containers to hold a primary good, e.g. butter. For example, butter from Ireland might have been shipped to Newfoundland in North Devon tall pots (cf. Mannion, 2000). The role or function of many ceramics in cargo is therefore difficult to track, with different ports involved themselves with the Newfoundland fishery in different ways.

Understanding where the ships loaded their goods can be a somewhat complex question as well. Ships typically loaded at the homeport. For example, ships from Topsham would be filled with materials common in Topsham, Exeter, Exmouth, and other nearby towns and ports. Sacks from London would sail with goods from London. This allows for a much better idea of the types of materials that would have reached Newfoundland and also the frequency and proportions of these materials as well.

¹ "Kings Stores" refer to materials transported to Newfoundland for use by the navy (or the army if was present). This could include practically anything such rope, cloth, or food; essentially, anything used or required by the military at the time.

Ship name	Homeport	Where Loaded	Fishing or Sack	Cargo
Ruby (Caplin Bay)	Bideford	Youghal	Fishing?	Necessaries
Eagle (Caplin Bay)	Bideford	St. Martin's	Sack-like	Salt, Wine
Barnstaple Merchant	Barnstaple	Dublin	Fishing	Provisions,
(Caplin Bay)				Necessaries
Bideford Merchant	Bideford	Bideford	Fishing	Necessaries
Levant	Bideford	Dublin	Fishing?	Provisions
Adventure	Bideford	Gravesend (?)	Fishing	Salt
Fidelity	Bideford	Waterford	Fishing	Provisions
Newfoundland	Plymouth	Plymouth	Fishing	Provisions
Bull Frigate	London	Lisbon	Fishing?	Salt
Ann	Barnstaple	Topsham	Sack-like	Provisions
Mary Ketch	Topsham	Plymouth	Sack	King's stores
Mary and Betty	London	Oporto	Sack	Salt
Pearle	Plymouth	Isle of May	Fishing	Salt
		(Cape Verde)		
Saphire	Bideford	Bideford	Fishing	Necessaries
William and Thomas	London	Glasgow	Sack-like	Necessaries
Ketch	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	_		
Returne	Boston	Boston	Sack	Rum, Sugar
Love	London	Isle of May	Sack-like?	Salt
Elizebeth	London	Cadiz	Sack-like	Salt, Wine
Lonny	London	Southampton	Sack	In ballast?

Table 7.1Ships in Ferryland and Caplin Bay in 1698. Indicates homeport, where the ship was
loaded, and the cargo it brought to Newfoundland.

Source: Norris, 1698/13/11

However the possibility of materials from other ports getting on the ship must be kept in kind as well, as the 1698 ship census demonstrates. As previously discussed, the ship census for that year contains information not only on homeport and type of cargo, but also where the ship was loaded. Of the eight fishing and eight sack ships that year in Ferryland, half loaded elsewhere besides the homeport, most in either Ireland, continental Europe (mainly Spain and Portugal), or Cape Verde off the coast of Africa. Some English ships did load at other English ports, which would have affected their cargo and any particular ceramic wares on board. For example, a ship from London that loaded at Southampton – as was the case with one of the sacks in 1698 – would have a different cargo than if all its goods and cargo had come straight from London.

Unfortunately, the 1698 census is the only one that records all this information. None of the ship census from 1675 to 1684 indicate location of lading, and most do not indicate the cargo on board during the trip to Newfoundland. Therefore, tracking the origins of cargoes is next to impossible, except to guess that they were often from the home port of the ship in question.

7.3 - Comparisons

Because much of the trade discussion within this chapter will periodically make reference to other sites and their seventeenth-century ceramic collections, namely St. John's and Renews, a brief discussion of the two sites and their ceramic collections will be presented here to provide some context.

7.3.1 - St. John's

The ceramic collection found during excavations at St. John's is very different from that of Ferryland (Table 7.2). While both demonstrate the importance of the Iberian trade, the occurrence and origin of English ceramics is very different. St. John's had trade links primarily with southwest Devon – this is very apparent in the ceramic assemblage and tobacco pipe collection from the site. The most common English ceramic on the site is Totnes-type, produced at Berry Pomeroy in southwest Devon along the Dart River (Allan and Pope, 1990: 51-54). This ware constitutes the vast majority of English wares from the site (Pope, 1999; Temple, 1999; Walsh, 2001).

Other non-Somerset and Dorset English ware are present in smaller quantities. Border Ware, produced on the county Hampshire and Surrey border, occurs on the site in small frequencies. North Devon pottery, dominant on sites on the Southern Avalon, are rare in St. John's. This is interesting, and is definitely the result of the very specific trade between St. John's and particular West Country ports. Another ceramic type that may be present in the collection is Cornish pottery, possibly from Lostwithel in Cornwall, is represented by one sherd excavated as well. A number of non-English ceramics were also excavated, the most common of which was Merida-type ware, produced primarily in Portugal. This material actually occurs in higher frequencies than Totnes-type ceramics. Spanish Heavy earthenware is also present is a few definitive examples. Also excavated were several tin-glazed earthenware vessels as well, many of which were Iberian in origin (Temple, 1999: 18-21).

Ware Name	19	98	2000 ²		
ware Name	No.	%	No	%	
Totnes-type	5	20%	4	10%	
North Devon	3	10%	2	5%	
South Somerset	2	5%	2	5%	
Lostwithiel (?)	1	4%	-	-	
Buckley-type	-	-	1	1%	
Border Ware	1	4%	-	-	
Bristol/Staffordshire Slipware	-	-	3	5%	
Merida-type	7	25%	4	10%	
Spanish Heavy	1	4%	2	5%	
Saintonge	-	-	1	1%	
New England Redware (?)	-	-	2	5%	
English Brown	-	-	4	10%	
Westerwald	-	-	8	20%	
Rhenish Brown	1	4%	1	1%	
Tin-Glaze Earthenware	4	15%	10	25%	
Unknown	3	10%	-	-	
Total	28	101%	44	103%	

Table 7.2Number of vessels per ceramic ware from St. John's Waterfront (CjAe-08) in the 1998
and 2000 excavations.

Sources: The 1998 information is based on Temple, 1999; the 2000 material is based on Walsh, 2001. In both cases, the collections were reexamined and assessed by the present author. Numbers and information has been modified slightly to reflect new finds and identifications. All percentages rounded to nearest 1% or 5 percentage points.

 $^{^2}$ Does not include several English White salt-glaze and English Gray White slip-dipped refined stoneware vessels.

Analysis of the ceramic collection from the St. John's collection has provided some valuable insights into English trade on the Avalon during the later seventeenth century. Excavations of 1665-1695 contexts produced a Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) for coarse earthenwares and coarse stonewares of 28, and excavations of a late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century context produced 44 vessels (Pope, 1999; Temple, 1999; Walsh, 2001). As discussed above, this collection, while small and fragmentary, is of great interest for its implications in trade analysis in seventeenthcentury English Newfoundland. (It should be noted here that this ceramic count does not include any Tin-Glazed vessel from the site, as these are difficult to identify to source when fragmentary).

Within the collection of English ceramics, two South Somerset vessels were identified. It might have been expected that South Somerset would be present in higher frequencies, due to St. John's connection with the southern parts of the West Country. This can however be easily explained in two independent, but partially related ways. The major link that St. John's had during the late seventeenth century, particularly the 1670s, was with Dartmouth (Table 7.3 and 7.4). Between 1669 and 1684, Dartmouth sent 45 percent of the fishing ships (Fig. 7.3) and between 1675 and 1684 sent 18 percent of the sack ships (Fig 7.4), behind only Topsham (19 percent) and London (22 percent). The major coarse earthenware associated with Dartmouth is Totnes-type, produced at Berry Pomeroy (Allan and Pope, 1990). One could assume that if port X sends more ships than port Y, then the ceramic type most common in port X will be shipped more frequently.

Homeport	1669	1675	1676	1677	1680	1681	1682	1684	Total	Mean
Dartmouth	10	14	13	10	9	7	5	2	70	8.8
Plymouth	2	3	1	-	7	1	1	-	15	1.9
London	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	>1
Teignmouth	2	3	3	6	6	8	8	5	41	5.1
Topsham	1	5	1	2	2	2	5	2	20	2.5
Barbados	-	-	2	_	-	-	-	-	2	>1
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	>1
Total	16	26	20	18	25	19	20	9	153	

Table 7.3Number of fishing ships in the harbour of St. John's from 1669 to 1684 (Excluding 1670
74, 78-79. & 83).

Sources: Yonge, 1658-1708: 119; Matthews, 1968: 213ff; Robinson, 1680/9/16; Jones, 1682/10/11; Wheeler, 1684/10/27b.

Table 7.4	Number of Sack Ships in the harbour of St. John's from 1675 to 1684 (excluding 1676,
	78-80, and 83).

Homeport	1675	1677	1681	1682	1684	Total	Mean No.
Dartmouth	7	4	3	6	5	25	5
Plymouth	-	1	2	6	3	12	2.4
London	11	2	7	4	2	26	5.2
Teignmouth	1	-	-	4	-	5	1
Topsham	5	2	4	12	7	30	6
Bideford	-	1	-	-	-	1	>1
Torbay(?)	-	1	-	-	1	2	>1
Bristol	1	-	-	-	1	2	>1
Waymouth	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Guernsey	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Barbados	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Waterford	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
New London	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Boston	-	4	-	-	-	4	>1
New England	-	4	-	-	-	4	>1
New York	-	1	-	-	1	2	>1
Unknown ³	3	3	6	1	7	20	5
Total	28	23	22	34	31	138	

Sources: Berry, 1675/9/12; Poole, 1677/9/10b; Story, 1681/9/1; Jones, 1682/10/11; Wheler, 1684/10/27a.

³ Includes instances where no homeport is given, or the document is difficult to decipher.
This is generally the case, but another aspect of the shipping is relevant her as well. Dartmouth was a port involved in the Newfoundland fishery that was very much involved in the provisioning of the harbours (Allan, 2000: 126 and 1999: 283-284). This would have heightened the chances of Totnes-type ceramic reaching harbours such as St. John's.

Another important aspect of the trade of ceramics to Newfoundland is the individual role of fishing ships and sack ships, and the issue of which type provisioned and victualed the island's harbours during the seventeenth-century. During the early 1680s, the dominance of Dartmouth in St. John's began to decline slightly in both the sack and fishing ship industry. The sack ships began to come more frequently from Topsham, while the fishing ships began to come more frequently from Teignmouth. The argument here is that the fishing ships were responsible for the bulk of everyday goods being shipped to the harbours. One would expect the ships from the port of Teignmouth to be more prominent in provisioning St. John's, and consequently ceramics common in that port would be more present. There would be more South Somerset-type in the St. John's assemblage if Teignmouth was a major trader. It appears that regardless of how common Teignmouth ships were, Dartmouth was the primary provisioner of the settlers at St. John's, based on the lack of material culture from Teignmouth, and the regular occurrence of material from Dartmouth.

Three North Devon vessels were identified in the seventeenth-century assemblage. The presence of these materials is to be expected on most any English site from the seventeenth century in Newfoundland, due to the enormous distribution of North Devon wares. These produces are found – in varying degrees – throughout most of

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southwest England, Wales, Ireland, and numerous other places (cf. Grant, 1983: 85-100). This material, in small frequencies such as those in St. John's contexts, cannot be seen as a strong trade indicator with North Devon ports. The presence of North Devon can be attributed to St. John's contact with Plymouth for example. North Devon is one of the major coarse earthenwares found within post-medieval contexts at Plymouth (Coleman-Smith, 1979; Broady, 1979), and the North Devon ceramic material may have arrived via Plymouth ships. Between 1669 and 1984, roughly 10 percent of the fishing ships in St. John's were from Plymouth (Table 7.3).

<u>7.3.2 – Renews</u>

The ceramic collection from Renews, while relatively small compared to that of Ferryland, is of great interest (Table 7.5). In total 50 vessels were excavated from the late seventeenth-century contexts. The bulk of these ceramics are North Devon products, 41 vessels in total (82 percent of the assemblage). This high frequency is relevant when the roles of fishing and sack ships in the Newfoundland trade. The remaining ten ceramic vessels is made up of a number of different English and continental wares.

There are two South Somerset vessels in the collection (4 percent) – making it the second most frequent English ceramic from the Renews site. There are also two Tin Glazed vessels, one Iberian, and one either English or Dutch (Mills, 200: 76-77). Five other wares are present with just one vessel: Merida-type, Low Countries Yellow and Green, Spanish Heavy, Totnes and Border Ware. Thus, only four different English wares are present in the Renews collection.

Ware	No. of Vessels	Percentage of Assemblage
North Devon	41	82%
South Somerset-type	2	4%
Tin Glazed earthenware	2	4%
Merida	1	2%
Low Country Yellow and Green	1	2%
Totnes	1	2%
Border ware	1	2%
Coarse Iberian	1	2%
Total	50	100%

Table 7.5Renews ceramic assemblage - number of vessels per ware, and percentage of each in
assemblage.

Source: modified from Mills, 2000: 76-77.

This ceramic collection is worth examining from the standpoint of trade. The value of North Devon ceramics as trade indicators in Newfoundland is limited, due to their wide distribution in England (see Grant, 1983: 77-100). However, the collection of ceramics at Renews does provide an example of North Devon ceramics as indicators of trade links with England given the massive predominance of this ware. The ship censuses show that Renews had a great deal of contact with the North Devon ports of Bideford and Barnstaple in the form of fishing ships, but it was Plymouth that dominated the sack ship fishery in the harbour (Table 7.6 and 7.7). Seventeenth-century ceramic assemblages from Plymouth have a variety of ceramic wares, but of the English wares, North Devon does not make up the bulk of the material (Allan and Barber, 1992; Coleman-Smith, 1979). However the North Devon frequencies within the entire collection at Plymouth are not considerable enough to allow for an 80 percent frequency of that ceramic ware at Renews. Essentially if the sacks from Plymouth were responsible for much of the trade into Renews, then one should expect, not necessarily a larger ceramic assemblage, but a higher frequencies of many of the other wares. This is not the case, thus other areas must be discussed.

As mentioned above, while North Devon ceramic are typically not good markers of trade, Renews appears to be an exception. As opposed to the sack ships industry in Renews, dominated by Plymouth, the fishing ship industry in Renews was dominated by North Devon shipping. It could be that the fishing ships visiting the harbour of Renews every year were primarily responsible for the transport of good and supplies, particularly

Homeport	1663	1675	1676	1677	1681	1684	Total	Mean #
Barnstaple	2	-	-	-	-	1	3	<1
Bideford	-	4	7	1	1	-	13	2.2
Plymouth	2	1	1	3	1	1	9	1.5
Dartmouth	1	-	1	-	2	-	4	<1
Jersey	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	<1
Total	5	6	9	4	4	2	30	

Table 7.6Number of Fishing Ships in Renews from 1663-1681 (excluding 1664-74, and 78-80).

Source: Yonge, 1658-1708: 55; Matthews, 1968: 213ff; Wyborn, 1676/12/7b; Wheler, 1684/10/27b.

Table 7.7Number of Sack Ships in Renews 1675-1684 (excluding 1678-80, and 82-83).

Homeport	1675	1676	1677	1681	1684	Total	Mean #
Plymouth	-	2	2	2	1	7	1.4
Barnstaple	-	-	-	-	1	1	<1
Bideford	1	-	-	-	-	1	<1
London	-	-	-	2	-	2	<1
Falmouth	-	-	1	-	-	1	<1
Total	1	2	3	4	2	12	

Sources: Berry, 1675/9/12; Wyborn, 1676/12/7a; Poole, 1677/9/10a; Story, 1681/9/1; Wheler, 1684/10/27a.

the ships from Bideford and Barnstaple. It seems plausible that only ships from ports near the kiln sites could transport that particular ware in such a high quantity. It can therefore be concluded that it was the fishing ships which traded most of the goods to Renews during the late seventeenth-century.

There is evidence of kin ties between Renews and the North Devon area, and that it had an effect on trade. James Yonge, a surgeon who visited Newfoundland during the 1660s, discussed Renews briefly in his diary and said that "the Barnstaple men prefer it above any" (Yonge, 1658-1708: 56). This is further suggestion to a very strong connection with the ports of the North Devon area.

The limited South Somerset pottery at the site my have come from slightly different sources. This may indicate an additional source of trade into Renews, aside from the aforementioned North Devon connection. South Somerset pottery is almost non-existent at Bideford and Barnstaple, with the vast bulk of the coarse earthenwares being made up of local North Devon products (Allan, 1984a; Lovatt, 1989:131-134). The apparent primary trade link that Renews had during the period with North Devon ports does not seem likely to account for the South Somerset pottery, so some other link must have existed as well. Of all the English ports that traded with Newfoundland, Exeter and its outposts have the highest proportions of South Somerset pottery (Allan, 1984a and 2000). However, there appears to be no connection between ports along the Exe River, e.g. Topsham, and Renews. The closest port geographically to Exeter or Topsham mentioned in the shipping census between 1675 and 1684 is Dartmouth (Table 7.6 and 7.7). Though Plymouth has been ruled out as the *main* ceramic transporter to Renews, its

presence was none the less important in trade. Between 1675 and 1684, Plymouth sent 7 fishing ships and 7 sack ships to Renews. This is a noticeable presence, and while the sacks may have played a limited role in the trade, Plymouth could be responsible for some of the material present at the site, particularly the South Somerset-type. The ceramic evidence from Renews confirms that fishing ships contributed the most to the provisioning of Newfoundland harbours.

7.4 - English Ports and Newfoundland Harbours

Throughout the seventeenth century, particular ports in England seem to dominate specific harbours in Newfoundland. The different parts of the Avalon Peninsula were regionalized with respect to fishing and sack ship connection to England (Figure 7.1). English ports closest to Newfoundland tend to fish and trade with the harbours closest to England (Pope, 2003). The North Devon portion of the West Country had connections primarily with the Southern Avalon - the coast between Cape Broyle to Trepassey. South Devon ports had connections with the area south of Cape Broyle up to Cape St. Francis. This would include the harbours of St. John's, Torbay, and Bay Bulls. Conception Bay had very different trade relations compared to that of the southern Avalon and the St. John's area. This portion of the Avalon Peninsula was frequented predominantly by Dartmouth ships, but also by ships from Dorset, the Channel Islands, and the port of Bristol. Westward into Trinity Bay, the situation changes again. The primary trade connections are still with Dorset and the Channel Islands; however, Bristol plays a far less significant role. The scattered settlements of Bonavista Bay had a somewhat similar connection with the England as well, with ships from several different ports visiting the



Figure 7.1 Map of the Avalon Peninsula, showing the primary trading areas of the English Shore during the seventeenth century (Matthews, 1988: 190).

harbour periodically. Particular portions of the English Shore were frequented by ships from particular parts of England.

An examination of the trade links that Ferryland had with England during the late seventeenth-century follows, with a discussion of how these might account for the presence of the various Somerset and Dorset ceramic wares. This will be based almost entirely on contemporary documentation, primarily ship censuses. Unfortunately, the wealth of information available to many researchers in the Port Books in England is of little use here. Many of the ships traveling to Newfoundland are not recorded in the Port Books, because the fish coming back and the provisions going out were not dutiable materials (Grant, 1992: 122).

<u>7.5 – Ceramic Trade to Ferryland</u>

We are fortunate to have two very well analyzed dwellings at Ferryland, both dating to the later seventeenth century (Table 7.8). Aside from the fact that their dates coincide with the shipping censuses, there is another benefit for analysis: both these structures are dwellings. Because a dwelling is not a functionally specific structure like a smithy, brewhouse, etc., the vessel forms found within will not be too specific and the range of ceramics should be wide.

Analysis of a dwelling can often be most representative of the settlement as a whole, more than any other type of structure (Allison, 1999: 5-6). This is especially so when it does *not* belong to a member of the gentry, or some other type of exclusive demographic. These dwellings belonged to planters of the middling sort, and in one case the servants actually lived with the homeowners. In general, the ceramic collections from

Ware	Area B		Area D	
ware	No.	%	No.	%
North Devon	79	42	152	46
South Somerset-type	7	4	12	3
West Somerset-type	-	-	1	<1
East Somerset-type	-	-	1	<1
Somerset (?)	1	<1		
Totnes-type	3	2	7	2
Border ware	1	<1	6	2
Bristol/Staffordshire Slipware	5	3	15	5
Midlands Purple	1	<1	-	-
Verwood-type	2	1	1	<1
Exeter(?) Coarse Sandy	1	<1	5	2
English CEW Total	100	53	200	61
Merida-type	16	9	31	9
Spanish Heavy/Coarse Iberian	2	1	2	1
Montelupo	1	<1	2	1
Saintonge	2	1	11	3
North Holland Slipware	-	-	1	<1
Low Countries Green and Yellow	-	-	1	<1
North Italian Slipwares	5	3	2	1
Continental CEW Total	26	14	50	15
Tin-Glazed	25	13	34	11
Various Stonewares	28	15	30	8
Unidentifiable	9	5	15	6
Other & Unknown Total	62	33	79	24
Totals	188	100%	329	100%

Table 7.8Ceramic wares from Area B and Area D dwellings are Ferryland, both dating to the later
seventeenth-century. Includes number of vessels and percentages of each ware.

Source: Modified from Nixon, 1999a, and Crompton, 2001.

these two dwellings well represent the typical ceramic collection for the settlement, and consequently, trade relations with England.

The primary aspect of a particular ceramic type that determines its value as a trade-link indicator is its area of distribution. Essentially, ceramics that are very widely distributed from its production centre could conceivably have reached Newfoundland from a number of different ports in England, and thus are not always good indicators of trade. Ceramics from the North Devon region are good examples, as they are found in high numbers in many English towns and ports – ports that may have shipped goods to Newfoundland. Likewise, if a ceramic type has a very small distribution area, the port from which it sailed can be determined much easier. Totnes-type is a good example, found only along the Dart River, and thus indicates connection with Dartmouth (Allan and Pope, 1990).

Many different factors can affect the presence of a particular type of pottery on an archaeological site. To fully understand these effects, we must understand the various ways in which pottery could possibly reach a site (Orton et. al, 1993: 26). The previous section on the mechanics of trade provided a context in which these pots may have possibly moved. The remainder will include not only an examination of the possible sources (coastal/port) for the various ceramics identified, but will also consider other ceramic wares and their distribution.

7.5.1 – South Somerset-type Trade

For a ceramic type to be present at Newfoundland however, it must have been common or at least moderately frequent at a port or trade origin. For a ceramic vessel to

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be retrieved archaeologically, its type would likely have been shipped more than once. Likewise, for that material to have found its way onto a ship in England, it generally would be found in at least moderate numbers at that particular port.

While English find-spots of South Somerset-type, or Donyatt, ceramics are widespread, distribution of even moderate sized collections is fairly confined (Coleman-Smith and Pearson, 1988). Identified samples have been published from many inland sites in England. Taunton contains one of the largest collections, due to its location close to the production centres, and consequently its market potential (Pearson, 1984). Other finds are from Cheddar, Stockland and Tiverton, to name but a few (Allan and Jarvis, 1974; Barton and Oswald, 1987; Field, 1977).

South Somerset-type ceramics are found in a number of southern English ports through the seventeenth-century: Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Southampton, and Lyme Regis are some of the primary and best-published locations (Allan, 1983,1984a & 2000; Allan and Barber, 1992; Barton, 1964; Broady, 1979; Coleman-Smith, 1979; Good, 1987; Good & Russett, 1987; Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975). Southampton will be examined later in this chapter when Verwood-type pottery is discussed. The coastal and inland trade of these ceramics has already been discussed, accounting for their presence in the above ports. Lyme Regis and Bristol are unlikely to have shipped the material to Ferryland during the later seventeenth century, because their connection to Ferryland during that period was small or nonexistent (Table 7.9). Between 1675 and 1684, no ships from Lyme Regis are recorded. Indeed, their presence in Newfoundland in general is limited. Bristol sent only 2 ships to Ferryland in the years indicated above, both in 1675 and both are sack ships. It is interesting however that there are many specimens of Bristol made tobacco pipes in later seventeenth-century contexts at Ferryland (Gaulton, 1999; Pope, 1989b). These pipes were traded and shipped in very high quantities to many other ports in the Bristol Channel area, Bideford and Barnstaple being two major recipients of these products (Hussey, 2000: 93-95; Grant and Jemmett, 1985). It is highly possible that this type of material culture could have reached Newfoundland via other English ports such as the North Devon ports of Bideford and Barnstaple. The ports of Bristol and Lyme Regis seem unlikely to have contributed to the ceramic collection at Ferryland in any recognizable way. While material culture manufactured in the Bristol region is present at Ferryland, it is present in limited quantities, and could easily have been re-distributed to Newfoundland. (The exception may be west Somerset ceramics, which will be examined below). The South Somerset-type material must have been shipped to Ferryland through some port other than Bristol or Lyme Regis.

The other two English ports that have high quantities of South Somerset-type ceramics in their collections are Plymouth and Exeter. Unlike Bristol and Lyme Regis, both ports did have contacts and relations with Ferryland during the late seventeenth century. However, their relationships with Ferryland varied and differed in ways that may possibly have had a definite effect on the ceramic collection to be found. These ports are candidates as well because they contain two of the largest coastal assemblages of South Somerset-type pottery in southern England.

During the years recorded between 1675-1684, 5 ships from Topsham went to Ferryland (Table 7.10). Topsham likely served as a port and source of ships for

Homeport	1675	1676	1677	1681	1684	Total	Mean #
Bideford	4	7	3	-	-	14	2.8
Barnstaple	1	2	3	6	-	12	2.4
Plymouth	3	1	1	2	2	9	1.8
London	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Dartmouth	-	-	1	-	1	2	>1
Undetermined	2	-	-	-	-	2	>1
Total	10	10	8	9	3	40	

Table 7.9Number of Fishing Ships in the harbour of Ferryland from 1675 to 1698 (excluding 1678
80, 1682-83).

Source: Berry 1675/9/12; Wyborn 1676/12/7b; Poole 1677/9/10a; Story 1681/9/1; Wheler 1684/10/27b.

Table 7.10Number of Sack Ships in the Harbour of Ferryland 1675 to 1698 (excluding 1678-80,
1682-83).

Homeport	1675	1676	1677	1681	1684	Total	Mean #
Bideford	2	3	-	-		5	1
Barnstaple	2	-	1	-	1	4	>1
Plymouth	2	1	-	-	1	4	>1
Bristol	2	-	-	-	-	2	>1
Topsham	-	1	1	2	1	5	1
London	-	-	1	-	-	1	>1
Falmouth	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Kinsale	-	1	-	-	-	1	>1
Plimouth ⁴	-	1	-	-	-	1	>1
Total	8	7	3	3	3	24	

Source: Berry 1675/9/12; Wyborn 1676/12/7a; Poole 1677/9/10b; Story 1681/9/1; Wheler 1684/10/27a.

⁴ It is unknown if "Plimouth" refers to Plymouth in England, or in New England.

merchants from Exeter, a town that was greatly involved in provisioning the American colonies, and thus possibly Newfoundland (Allan, 1999: 283-284; 2000: 126). Topsham was part of the port of Exeter, and since the canal to Exeter was not passable to larger ships, Topsham was important to shipping and trade (Bradbeer, 1968: 23; Clarke, 1960: 49-51; Grant, 1987: 57). All of the Topsham ships recorded in Ferryland were sack ships. The previous discussion of sack ships concluded that these ships might not have contributed greatly to the movement of English ceramics to Newfoundland settlements during the seventeenth-century. Excavations at St. John's have provided a good comparative sample to further this claim. Between 1675 and 1684, Topsham sent 30 sack ships to St. John's (Table 7.4), their presence becoming especially common starting in the early 1680s. This constitutes more sack ships from Topsham than from any other port, with London sending 26 and Dartmouth sending 25. The late seventeenth-century ceramic collection at St. John's indicates the cosmopolitan nature of the harbour, even though the collection is fairly small (Temple, 1999). The English ceramics from the collection show a strong predominance of southern English pottery, particularly Totnestype, which was shipped almost exclusively out of Dartmouth (Allan and Pope, 1990: 53). One would expect a ceramic type such as South Somerset-type, common on southern English sites, to be fairly common and frequent in St. John's, especially given Topsham's strong presence in St. John's at the time. This is not the case however: South Somersettype ceramics constitute just over 5 percent of the assemblage. It would seem that while Topsham was very much involved in the Newfoundland fishery, it played very little role in the transport of ceramics in particular and perhaps of goods and provisions to the

island. Admittedly, this information is based on material culture and shipping at St. John's, not Ferryland, but this comparative evidence is revealing. It shows that a very large fleet of ships from Topsham may not have contributed to the export of material culture, or at least ceramics. Topsham's involvement in the sack ship industry is consistent with the conclusion that sack ships played very little role in the transport of ceramics to Newfoundland.

Plymouth's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery is also well known and documented. Starting in the late sixteenth century, the Newfoundland fishery was one of the primary trades of many Plymouth merchants (Gill, 1979: 7-9). This would end before the early eighteenth century, and though an attempt was made in 1813 to revive the Newfoundland fishery at Plymouth, it had little success (Walling, 1950: 198). However, post-Restoration trade from Plymouth was healthy, and is reflected in the shipping records for Newfoundland. In the years recorded between 1675 and 1684, Plymouth sent 13 ships to Ferryland, 4 being sack ships and 9 were fishing ships (Table 7.8 and 7.9). In 1675 for example, Plymouth sent 19 ships to Newfoundland, topped only by Dartmouth and Bideford, with 33 and 25 ships each respectively (Berry, 1675/9/12). As discussed, the sack ships are believed here to have played very little role in the transport of everyday material culture to Newfoundland. But Plymouth did send 9 fishing ships. While this is relatively small compared to the 26 sent by the North Devon ports during that time, it still constitutes a high frequency of shipping to Ferryland.

The ceramic collections from Plymouth have notable similarities to those from Ferryland. The high frequency of Merida-type ware at both places is striking. At Exeter, Merida and Iberian ceramics in general are not nearly as common (Allan, 1984a: 109-111). High quantities of North Devon material, some South Somerset-type, similar types and frequencies of Iberian ceramics make the Plymouth and Ferryland assemblages very similar. This is not to say that Plymouth is responsible for the transport of most of the ceramic at Ferryland - the huge numbers of North Devon ceramics likely came on the many North Devon ships trading to Ferryland. What is possible is that Plymouth also contributed to the ceramic assemblage at Ferryland during the late seventeenth century. The frequency of South Somerset-type ceramics at Ferryland during the late seventeenth century is small compared to North Devon, but at 10 percent it is the second most common English coarse earthenware. Plymouth may be the source. Excavations at Renews of a late seventeenth-century dwelling produced a small but informative late seventeenth-century ceramic assemblage (Mills, 2000). Of the 50 ceramic vessels counted, 42 were North Devon. This shows a very strong dominance of North Devon fishing in the harbour, possibly even more pronounced than at Ferryland. Plymouth did have a healthy presence in Renews with seven fishing ships recorded between 1675 and 1684 (Table 7.6 and 7.7). In 1663, shortly after the Interregnum ended, two fishing ships from Plymouth (out of five in total) were recorded (Yonge, 1658-1708: 55). South Somerset-type in occurs at slightly less than 5 percent in Renews. Given the lack of Topsham or Exeter ships in Renews at the time, Plymouth seems a more promising source. This provides added evidence that Ferryland's South Somerset-type pottery arrived from Plymouth as opposed to Topsham.

As has been shown, while South Somerset-type is fairly well distributed throughout southern England, its rate of occurrence in Ferryland is relatively weak, and it possibly had a single source. Given Ferryland's often specific trade links, a trait common with many Newfoundland ports during the seventeenth century, it seems likely that a ceramic such as South Somerset-type had a primary port of origin from which it came to Newfoundland from.

7.5.2 – West Somerset-type Trade

Certain English ports had very little contact with Ferryland during the late seventeenth-century. This does not imply complete absence however. During the examination of the ceramic collections from Areas B and D, some specimens were identified as possibly being from the west Somerset region. The primary pottery kiln in the area was at Nether Stowey. (For a fuller discussion of this ceramic type, see Chapter 3). This ceramic type had a very different distribution area than South Somerset-type pottery. Thus its appearance may be the result of an entirely different set of trade routes and sources. The Nether Stowey kiln, with close access to the Bristol Channel, could take full advantage of coastal trade and transport, unlike the South Somerset-type kilns.

West Somerset ceramics (likely of different types) are common in Bristol during much of the seventeenth century. While production of this ceramic type slows later in the century, the pottery still makes up a large portion of Bristol's coarse earthenware collections (Good and Russett, 1987). The pottery has been identified in few other coastal ports and harbours in England. The production centre of Nether Stowey was well suited for both inland trade directly to the coast, or to the nearby river town of Bridgwater. We know only a little about how west Somerset pottery was shipped. In 1699 for example, the small port of Bridgwater shipped 200 pieces (one load) of earthenware to Bristol (Hussey, 2000: 94). Just which type of pottery was being shipped is not certain however, although it would seem likely to have been West Somerset-type pottery.

Regardless of where West Somerset-type material was shipped from, it likely reached Newfoundland via Bristol. The other nearby ports such as Bideford and Barnstaple had their own pottery industry, which makes up the bulk of ceramics found in these ports (Lovatt, 1989; Markuson, 1980: 83-88). They had no need for other wares, as the local material was in ample supply.

As noted above, Bristol ships are not completely absent from Ferryland: in 1675 for example, two sack ships are recorded in the harbour. The role of sack ships has been discussed, with the conclusion that they played little role in ceramic shipping; but it is possible that exceptions did occur. The amount of shipping from Dartmouth is about the same as Bristol, yet Totnes-type ceramics – commonly seen as Dartmouth shipped – are more common than West Somerset-type products in Ferryland. It may be that due to Bristol's primary involvement elsewhere in Newfoundland, the sporadic ship that did fish from Ferryland carried few materials for the settlers.

<u>7.5.3 – East Somerset-type Trade</u>

Another pottery type identified in the late seventeenth-century contexts is what may be an example of East Somerset-type ceramic. While present as only one vessel, it none the less deserves attention. This pottery type is difficult to distinguish from South Somerset-type and other Somerset material. However, the example discussed here is similar to specimens examine by the author in Bristol and identified as East Somersettype.

East Somerset material is found on a number of sites in southern England during the seventeenth century. Excavations at Taunton, Somerset, produced many examples of this and similar products (cf. Pearson, 1984). One of the largest collections on a coastal site is that at Bristol (Good, 1987; Good and Russett, 1987). East Somerset, specifically those produced at Wanstrow, constitute approximately 20 percent of ca.1600 collections at Bristol, and approximately 12-15 percent of third quarter seventeenth-century contexts (Good, 1987: 37-40). The exact method and means by which these products reached somewhere such as Bristol is not exactly know, given the lack of large water-ways in the Wanstrow area, it would likely have been land carriage, maybe to Bath, and then by river to Bristol (Willan, 1964: 32). Bristol is the only port involved with Newfoundland that has this ceramic in its collections, and is thus the likely source.

The limited presence of this ceramic material at Ferryland shows Bristol's limited involvement in the fishery in the harbour. It seems unlikely that the ceramic would be found in any great numbers (or at all for that matter) on any south coast site in England. It is located to far inland, and may not have been as prolific a producer as the Donyatt kilns for example. Bristol would become very involved in the Newfoundland ceramic trade again in the eighteenth-century, and transatlantic shipping in general (Black, 2001: 52). In 1731 for example, Bristol shipped 4000 pieces of earthenware to Newfoundland, more than Bideford, Dartmouth, Exon (Exeter?) or Poole (Head, 1976: 104-106). It appears that Bristol's rise during the eighteenth-century was probably the result partly of the growing pottery industry in the Staffordshire area, as well as its own growing industry.

One interesting ware occurring in late seventeenth-century Ferryland, with significance for the relation to Bristol, is Bristol/Staffordshire slipware. While not abundant in Ferryland, they are roughly as prevalent as South Somerset-type pottery in the two dwellings excavated. How did this come to be so? The lack of contact Bristol had with Ferryland, and the consequent lack of other material culture traded (other than Bristol/Staffordshire Slipware), causes some confusion. It could be that these slipwares arrived later in the dwellings use (i.e. not long before it was destroyed in 1696), but shipping censuses from 1698 to 1700 and again in 1708 show no noticeable rise in the presence of fishing or sack ships from Bristol (Table 7.11). They are found at Plymouth during the late seventeenth century, but not in high quantities (Coleman-Smith, 1979). Bristol/Staffordshire slipware is also found in both Bideford and Barnstaple, but again in very small numbers (Lovatt, 1989; Markuson, 1980: 83-88). They also occur at Exeter, but not until the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Allan, 1984a: 128-129). It is difficult to fully account for this ware's presence, and to determine the relationship between Ferryland and Bristol after 1660.

<u>7.5.4 – Verwood-type Trade</u>

The best published and understood of the post-medieval ceramic industries in Dorset is that found in the eastern portion of the county. Known as Verwood and district pottery, it is present at late seventeenth-century Ferryland. While it may be relatively rare - when compared to South Somerset-type for example – its presence is none the less informative.

Verwood-type pottery had a very limited distribution during the seventeenthcentury. It appears to have traveled no further west than Dorchester – towns such as Abbotsbury, located near the coast 10 to 15 kilometers west of Dorcherster and Weymouth, shows no Verwood-type until the late eighteenth century (Draper, 1986: 119-121). Very few coastal sites have Verwood-type pottery in their collections during the seventeenth century. The primary ports are Poole, Southampton, the Channel Islands, and Portsmouth (Cunliffe and Garrett, 1994; Fox and Barton, 1986; Horsey, 1992; Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975; Watkins, 1994). That Verwood-type material occurs at Ferryland is striking because none of the ports named above are reported as trading there during the late seventeenth century (see Table 7.8 and 7.9). Poole assemblages contain the largest proportion of seventeenth-century Verwood-type material on the south coast of England, and the port can be seen as the best candidate form shipping to Ferryland on that fact alone. But given the lack of involvement of any of the four ports named above, each needs examination.

The port of Portsmouth is located on the southwest coast of Hampshire, just 10 to 15 kilometers east of Southampton. Verwood-type ceramics are present in Portsmouth, in fact during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it is the dominant coarse earthenware (Fox and Barton, 1986: 83). However, Portsmouth was not involved in the Newfoundland fishery much or at any time during the seventeenth century (or the sixteenth or eighteenth century either for that matter). Based on this alone, Portsmouth

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Home Port	1698	1699	1700	1701	1708	Total	Mean #
Bideford	5	6	4	3	5	23	4.4
Barnstaple	-	3	3	-	2	8	1.6
London	1	5	1	1	2	10	2
Plymouth	2	2	2	2	-	8	1.6
Topsham	-	3	1	-	4	8	1.6
Bristol	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Dartmouth	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Waterford	-	-	1	2	-	3	>1
New England	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Barbados	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Boston	-	-	-	2	-	2	>1
Carolina	-	-	-	1	-	1	>1
Ilfracombe	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Salem	-	-	-	-	1	1	>1
Total	8	19	12	14	16	69	

Table 7.11Home port of fishing ships (and sack ships?) in Ferryland, 1698 to 1708 (excluding
1702-1707).

Sources: Norris, 1698/11/13; Leake, 1699/9/17; Fairbourne, 1700/9/11; Graydon, 1701/9/20; Mitchell, 1708/12/2.

can be safely ruled out as the source of the Verwood-type ceramics at Ferryland during the seventeenth century. Southampton, unlike Portsmouth, was involved in the Newfoundland fishery. The bulk of its activity however was directed at the Conception, Trinity, and Bonavista Bay area on the English Shore. Between 1675 and 1684, no ships from Southampton were recorded as having been at Ferryland. Their involvement in the Newfoundland fishery in general was small at that time. In 1675, for example, no ships from Southampton were recorded in any south Avalon harbour or in St. John's (Table 7.12), and only seven in total made the trip to Newfoundland that year (Berry, 1675/9/12). It would seem that Southampton played a relatively small role in the Newfoundland fishery during the late seventeenth century. It is interesting that during the second quarter of the eighteenth century however, very high quantities of Southampton tobacco pipes were shipped to Newfoundland, indicating that Southampton was still involved with the fishery, and possibly on a larger scale than before (Arnold, 1977: 320-323). This is speculation obviously, and if involvement did grow during the early to mid eighteenth century, it was likely short lived. Regardless of its later involvement, the likelihood of Southampton shipping any ceramic (or any type of provision) to Ferryland is minor.

Verwood-type pottery is also present on the Channel Islands. Both the islands of Jersey and Guernsey have a long maritime history, often involving Newfoundland and Labrador (Appleby, 1986; Ommer, 1991). The involvement of the Channel Islands was much like that of Southampton during the late seventeenth century: sporadic and focused on one area in particular. Most of the Jersey and Guernsey's fishing was conducted in the

Homeport	Number of Ships	Sack	Sack- Like	Sack to England	Fishing & Market	Fishing & England	Mean Tons
Dartmouth	33	8	8	0	5	12	83
Bideford	25	1	2	2	20	0	74
Plymouth	19	8	2	2	4	3	95
Topsham	15	8	2	0	2	3	54
London	13	12	1	0	0	0	110
Barnstaple	6	2	0	0	4	0	85
Bristol	4	4	0	0	0	0	43
Teignmouth	2	0	0	1	1	0	30
Falmouth	1	1	0	0	0	0	120
Guernsey	1	0	0	0	1	0	50
Yarmouth	1	1	0	0	0	0	120
Total	120	45	15	5	37	18	80

Table 7.12Number and type of ships in the South Avalon and St. John's, as well as their homeports,
in1675.

Source: Pope, 1992a: 127.

Trinity and Bonavista Bay areas (Ommer, 1986: 246-248). However, ships from time to time used harbours on south Avalon or St. John's. In 1675, a fishing ship from Jersey fished from Renews (see Table 6.6). As well, in 1684 a sack ship from Guernsey took fish at St. John's (see Table 6.4). Despite this, no ships are recorded in Ferryland during the late seventeenth-century, and the Channel Islands are not a likely factor in the movement of Verwood-type pottery to Ferryland.

Poole's seventeenth-century Verwood-type collection is possibly the largest of any port town in England. Material produced at the Horton kiln for example, was transported in large numbers to Poole (Copland-Griffith, 1989). Poole's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery in well known, however, like many south central English ports, its interaction with Ferryland, and the South Avalon in general, was limited. In fact, very little Poole area material culture at all has been found in late seventeenthcentury contexts there, either ceramics or tobacco pipes. Once again, the evidence is slight and inclusive.

Determining the coastal source of the Verwood-type ceramics at Ferryland during the late seventeenth century has been difficult. The ware is common in a number of English ports – however, these ports seldom fished or took fish at Ferryland. What may be the deciding factor is the simple fact that Poole has the largest collection of Verwoodtype ceramics of the towns examined. And while Verwood-type is not very common in Ferryland at any time, Poole is most likely responsible for its limited transport.

7.6 - Conclusion

What becomes clear is that the ship census should be taken as *indicators* of trade and shipping frequencies, not necessarily as exact numbers. The ship censuses show the rates of trade, indicating which ports were involved relative to each other. Just because a port in not mentioned as having a ship in Ferryland between 1675 and 1684, does not automatically mean that at no point during the late seventeenth-century did trade between that port and Ferryland occur. There are ceramic types at Ferryland that can not be explained fully by the ship censuses; consequently, voyages must have taken place that are not reflected in the censuses. Either they occurred during years in which no census was recorded, or they occurred before or after the 1675 to 1684 period or they were unrecorded.

Regardless of the problems, the shipping censuses do contain a wealth of information. Based on the combination of ceramic evidence and the census material, many conclusions and arguments can be made. It would seem that the South Somersettype came primarily via Plymouth ships, as opposed to Topsham ship for example. The sporadic occurrence of East and West Somerset-types provide evidence of a minor presence of Bristol ships at some point. The same can be said for the Verwood-type ceramics, and the possible ships from Poole. As well, based on this and comparative evidence, it would appear that sack ships played a much lesser role in transporting ceramics to Ferryland than the fishing ships.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

<u>8.1 – Introduction</u>

This final chapter will conclude discussion of the Somerset and Dorset ceramic assemblages from Ferryland. The value of such research not only in Ferryland, but also on a broader scale will be defended, with thoughts on possible future research

8.2 – Research Conclusions

Duncan Brown, in his article on the medieval ceramics in Southampton and their social significance, notes that there are essentially three primary questions to be asked regarding ceramics: How old is it? What was it used for? Where did it come from? (1997: 95). It is from these questions that the other research questions often arise. The question and issue of date was not examined here in any great detail. The quantity of the ceramics examined was simply not high enough to warrant chronological analysis, either to date individual contexts, or to use the Ferryland assemblages to help date the ceramic wares found at the site. The quantities are far too small, even with the South Somerset-type material. Continued excavations at Ferryland may change this situation. The use of pottery and its provenience were the two primary questions examined here.

8.2.1 – Pottery Function

The question of function was discussed in Chapter 5 in order to determine how individual wares functioned within each structure or locus, and also within the site as a whole. In the end, no differentiation of function could be seen. Regardless of where the sample came from, and regardless of that structures function, the same range of forms were generally found. It would appear that all the wares – South Somerset-type, West Somerset-type, East Somerset-type, and Verwood-type – had a domestic and utilitarian functions. Little else can be said about the West or East Somerset-types due to small quantities, however, the South Somerset-type and Verwood-type ceramics were common enough to interpret further.

Related to this issue of function, is the question of social status and the value of ceramics as status markers. The absence of wares may be as telling as their presence at Ferryland. Sgraffito decorated ceramics are sometimes seen as status markers for certain social circles in England, namely less wealthy persons; one could expect to find the same in Ferryland. This however does not appear to be the case: the numbers South Somerset-type sgraffito vessels were in fact very small, regardless of where on the site, or whatever the possible wealth/status of the occupants. Even among North Devon ceramics – the ware that is most frequent at Ferryland –sgraffito decoration is relatively rare at the settlement. It may be possible that the distance from England and thus the source of the pottery, effects the issues of rarity, availability, and cost. Consequently, the role of particular ceramic wares as indicators status and luxury may differ.

<u>8.2.2 – Pottery Trade</u>

The other priority of this thesis was to examine and determine the trade links between Ferryland and England throughout the century, based on the Somerset and Dorset ceramic evidence. It would appear that while many different ports could have shipped the South Somerset-type pottery to Ferryland, Plymouth seems the most likely source, particularly during the later portion of the seventeenth-century. During the earlier and mid part of the century, the export of South Somerset-type was slightly less specific to a single port. While Plymouth likely transported much of the material, Topsham – based on the other ceramic evidence – may also have been involved. It would appear that the West and East Somerset-types identified came from Bristol, and that the Verwoodtype arrived from Poole. While these material are not common, as are references to those ports being involved in the fishery at Ferryland, the presence of these ceramics suggests that some small degree of contact occurred.

The frequencies of Somerset and Dorset ceramics in Ferryland assemblages change somewhat throughout the century. This information complements the idea that a shift in trade took place sometime around the middle of the century. Suggestions have been made in previous research on Ferryland that a shift in trade links took place at Ferryland (and possibly much of the English shore) sometime around the 1650s or 1660s (Pope, 1989b; 1992b). The various wares examined here do suggest that this did take place. Some of the wares do not exhibit much change in frequency, and thus provide little evidence for or against this argument. This is the case with the Dorset ceramics, and the east and west Somerset material as well. This may be because the suggested trade shift simply did not involve those ports primarily involved in transporting these ceramic wares. The South Somerset-type ceramics however – due to their distribution – would be sensitive to this type of change. The period in which the south Devon connections were strongest is believed to have been the first half of the century; and this is the period with the highest frequencies of South Somerset-type in Ferryland assemblages. This evidence

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supports the possibility of a mid-century shift in trade, in which the dominance of the trade at Ferryland changed from south to north Devon.

It has also become clear from this research that sack ships were likely not involved in the transport of consumer goods, such as ceramics to the settlements. Topsham for example, primarily sent sack ships to Newfoundland during the later seventeenth century, yet ceramics that would have been shipped from Topsham are rare in harbours frequented by Topsham sacks (e.g. St. John's). This coupled with the fact that they showed up much later in the spring/summer than the fishing ships suggests that most sacks did not generally bring consumer goods to the settlements other than bulk goods such as wine or oil.

<u>8.3 – Research Value and Importance</u>

The primary value of this type of research is that it helps determine the provenance of material culture – in this case, Somerset and Dorset ceramics. Understanding trade links will also help better understanding of the economy of settlement in general. This gives archaeologists insight into the relationship between particular English ports and individual Newfoundland settlements. Just because a port sent many ships to a particular harbour does not necessarily mean that their ships brought numerous provisions to that settlement.

While the nature of the ceramics studied does not always allow for precise identification, many advances have been made. As has been pointed out, the Somerset ceramic industry(s) may have been one of the most dynamic in the entire southwest of England. Regardless of the problems raised, some clarity was achieved concerning the identification of South Somerset-type. At the very least, certain characteristics can generally be seen as not typical of South Somerset-type ceramics. We do know what is *not* South Somerset-type.

A somewhat similar situation can be said with regards to the other Somerset ceramic types. Previous to this research, Newfoundland researchers had little to no understanding of the other ceramic products from Somerset produced in the west and east of the county. Attribution of these ceramic wares to specific areas of production is difficult (Good, 1987: 38; see also Allan, 1984a: 98). These "non South Somerset" ceramics are relatively rare at Ferryland – likely as a consequence of weak trade ties more that anything else. They are however still present, and given the presence of Bristol links in other Newfoundland regions – namely in Conception and Trinity Bay – continuation of this type of research has important ramifications for seventeenth-century historical archaeology throughout Newfoundland.

Aside from the obvious value of this research to the study of pottery, material culture and its movement to colonial sites, another value may possibly exist. It has a potential theoretical use as well. In discussing trade, this research project looked at the settlement as a whole, rather than taking a focus on a single house or social rank. The objects of study and trade were utilitarian ceramics. These materials were therefore not used exclusively by the elite, but primarily by everyday people – servants, middling-sort planters, ordinary fisher folk. This is not to say that the *subaltern* can be seen in these types of studies (Hall: 1999, 193-194). Nor does it claim to find the "individual", often sought after by contextual or post-processual archaeologists (Hodder, 1991). Trade is

often a communal activity and fairly broad, thus encompassing many people from many different social stratra, and often reflecting the lives of everyday people. Wealthy persons, and homeowners usually buy the pottery, but the servants use and break it. This is where trade and consumption cross in an interesting way – what is found archaeologically is often just as representative of the usage of that material as much as its acquisition when trade is being studied.

Pope makes an interesting point concerning archaeologists and the public's fascination (often subconsciously) with individual people and particular places, such as "Leif's camp, Frobisher's mine, Guy's colony, Champlain's tomb, or Baltimore's Mansion House" (1997: 132). Trade studies such as this conducted here can better help, due to their broader focus, to explain the lives of everyday people, even the illiterate persons often lost in historical and archaeological research. In the case of Ferryland, one of the assemblages examined came from dwelling where entire families and their servants lived under one roof (Crompton, 2000b). Information was also derived from the ceramic assemblage from a smithy and a cow byre, areas where specific but everyday activities took place. Trade is sometimes best studied in a communal perspective, and seen as reflective of the settlement as a whole.

8.4 – Future Research

There are many directions for future research on ceramic provenance and its interpretation in Newfoundland. This is not just the case for the seventeenth-century, and also not just for the English history. All issues examined here should be expanded on using different ceramic wares. The most pressing is obviously the issue regarding identification of the various Somerset ceramics. The initial plan of specific identifications to individual kiln sites was quickly abandoned after initiating research in England, and with the cautious, but kind, warnings from ceramic experts familiar with the material (Allan, pers. comm., 2001; Coleman-Smith, pers. comm., 2001). As Allan suggests and warns concerning Donyatt, South Somerset, or sometimes Somerset pottery in general, "our identification of pottery sources should be cautious; most attributions should be made to the South Somerset industry rather than to specific kiln sites" (2000: 124). Recent ICP-AES (Inductively Coupled Plasma-Atomic Emission Spectrometry) tests on believed Donyatt ceramics from excavations at Cleeve Abbey, in north-west Somerset, showed that many were actually products of west Somerset kilns (Allan, 2001: 46). If this problem occurs where the materials are relatively well understood in southwest England, then how problematic must our identification of wares be in Newfoundland? Continued research into these ceramic types – both visual, stylistic and scientific – is needed as has been done in England. We who study English pottery in Newfoundland are as "dependant on the work of British archaeologists as the early occupants of the English Shore once were on British potters" (Allan and Pope, 1990: 56-57). This is very true, and with the advance of post-medieval pottery studies in England (and Europe in general) those here must follow.

One ceramic type examined here that has great potential for further study is that produced at the Verwood and district potteries. This pottery type has until this current research, been poorly understood. Brief examination of numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collections by the present author from various archaeological sites across the island has shown that this material is far more common that previously recognized. The Newfoundland distribution of this ware will be researched by the present author more fully in the future.

The ambiguous and problematic nature of the ceramics discussed here, has highlighted the need to investigate many more ceramic types in Newfoundland. A prime example is New England redware. It became increasingly clear that if New England redwares were present in the Ferryland collection (and they very likely are) then the ceramic type with which they most often get confused is South Somerset-type. How much of the previously identified South Somerset is actually New England/Chesapeake in origin? How much of the newly identified South Somerset-type is from these areas? One hopes that the answer to both is not much (especially the second). Based on the settlement's constant contact with New England before 1640 onward, it is safe to assume that these American ceramics are present at Ferryland. Analysis of various materials from New England and the Chesapeake is required to begin to rectify such problems.

With this research now completed, a fuller understanding and study of ceramic trade *throughout* the English Shore in seventeenth-century Newfoundland can be attempted. The type of information that can be derived for the combination of documentation and ceramic evidence is now known, and hopefully this will be attempted in other seventeenth-century Newfoundland harbours. John Demos stated very nicely that, the *"petite histoire* of particular households and villages yields to the *grande histoire* of colonies, kingdoms, empires" (1994: 214). This is an interesting claim considering the topic discussed here. Ferryland is not a single, independent settlement. It is part of a

broader and larger England Shore, to which people from different but similar origins arrived. When studying the trade of material culture to seventeenth-century Newfoundland, a comparative context is needed. The distinctions between the material cultural assemblages from different harbours are sometimes the most telling pieces of evidence. Archaeologists and historians in Newfoundland have a wealth of documentation, not available to many in the rest of British America in the form of ship census. This information should be used *carefully* to its full advantage in helping determine the trade of material culture to the harbours of seventeenth-century English Shore.
<u>APPENDIX A</u>

NEW ENGLAND REDWARES

<u>A.1 – Introduction</u>

One type of ceramic that is not related in any direct way to the Somerset and Dorset ceramic industries, yet needs to be discussed are redwares from New England. These materials have recently been tentatively identified in the Ferryland collection. Based on their physical characteristics and appearance, they were earlier identified as "South Somerset". These materials were not discussed in the main text; however, their similarities to Somerset materials and the ensuing confusion, do warrant their inclusion within the thesis. First, a brief discussion of New England redwares in general will be provided, followed by discussion of seventeenth-century trade between Ferryland (and comparison sites) and New England. A discussion of New England redwares in Newfoundland will conclude the Appendix..

<u>A.2 – The Pottery</u>

There were numerous potteries working in New England during the seventeenthcentury. It has been estimated that there were over three hundred working in the region before 1880 (Watkins, 1959: 1). Ceramics produced during the early part of the century are unlikely to have reached Newfoundland in quantity, but materials from the later seventeenth-century industry are much more likely to have been brought here.

As previously stated, the presence of New England Redwares in Newfoundland sites in not absolutely confirmed, but assumed. Until research is conducted on the New England redwares, and kiln (or related) samples examined, identification of New England redwares within the Ferryland collection will remain questionable. The ceramics themselves are redwares. The fabric is typically red or some shade of orange, with a variety of different glazes, depending on the production center.

A.3 – Newfoundland and New England Trade and Contact

There was noted contact between Newfoundland and New England during the early seventeenth-century. Some of the connection between the two was sometimes one of competitive comparison. In 1622, Richard Whitbourne noted the quality of harbours in Lord Falkland's Colony which "noe part of Virginea, New England or Nova Scotia hath better" (1622/24/12: 224). New England was viewed by its observers as far more attractive than Newfoundland: not only was the fishing season earlier and made better by less harsh weather, but the fish were reported as bigger. In 1602, John Brereton arrived in New England as a crewmember of Sir Walter Raleigh and immediately noted the quality of the fishery in the area as being equal to that of Newfoundland (Harrington, 1994: 193). But while trade to and forth was slightly limited during the early seventeenth century, contact was common. Ships sailing from New England to England would often call at some harbour in Newfoundland for water and other supplies. Ships on their way to New England would also stop at Newfoundland. Ships fishing in the Maine region would sometimes stop at various Newfoundland harbours to complete their catch before heading to their destination (Pope, 1992a: 187). The economic similarities between the two regions – the fishery – resulted in much contact and interaction.

Contact between Newfoundland and New England would begin to grow in the late 1630s and 1640s, when Sir David Kirke arrived in Ferryland. Matthews (1968: 156) sees this general period as the one in which the New England-Newfoundland trade began, though Pope (1992a: 188n) notes that Matthews' claim is not accompanied by any evidence. Sir David Kirke and his company became very much involved in a great deal of shipping between Newfoundland, England, and New England during the 1630s and 1640s (Pope, 1992a: 188-192). Prowse suggests that the trade between New England and Newfoundland grew greater during the 1650s (1895: 163-166). The presence of John Treworgy in the 1650s was seen as a reason for heightened trade during the period. However, there is little to indicate this, as the trade had already been well established between the New England area and Newfoundland (Pope, 1992a: 193). The New Englanders-Newfoundland trade did not begin with Kirke or grow with the presence of Treworgy, but rather developed because of the Civil war in England. Boston merchants for example traded with Ferryland during the 1640s, but this was not completely the result of Kirke, but rather a result of the hostilities back in England during the period (Head, 1976: 111). While emigration to New England slowed considerably during this period, the slowing of fishing ships from England to Newfoundland provide an ideal opportunity for New England merchants (Hunter, 2001: 41).

By the 1660s the trade with New England had been very important to Newfoundland for a couple decades. Ships made the trip carrying a variety of goods and materials such as provisions, lumber and ship timber, barrels, tar, and rum (Lounsbury, 1930: 608-609). During the 1670s and 1680s when shipping censuses are present for the island, a much better picture of trade and connection can be seen. It is during this period that we get the best picture of New England trade and fishing in Newfoundland. Sack ships from the New England area as well as other parts of the Americans are recorded in several Newfoundland harbours during the late seventeenth century. Occurrences were periodic, with St. John's having the most business with American ships. In 1677 alone, 9 of the 23 (ca. 40 percent) sack ships in the harbour were from New England. Boston alone sent four, with one from New York and four other identified as being from New England. Again in 1684, St. John's saw two sacks from the New England area in its harbour: one from New York and one from New London. Ferryland saw less of New England sack or fishing ships. In 1676, one ship is recorded as being from "Plimouth", but this may be "Plymouth" in England. In 1698, one sack ship from Boston was in Ferryland, and this trend continued throughout the early eighteenth century.

<u>A.4 – New England Redwares in Newfoundland</u>

The presence of New England redwares in seventeenth-century Newfoundland can be safely assumed; however few pieces have been conclusively identified. Some sherds from the 2000 excavations in St. John's (Waterfront site, CjAe-08) have been tentatively identified as New England redwares by Mary Beaudry (Walsh, 2001). A number of pieces from Ferryland excavations are believed to be from New England, but as of yet, few have been positively identified.

One of the primary aims would be to determine the likelihood of New England redwares being present at particular periods. Essentially, the above discussion of trade and contact between New England and Newfoundland will help determine when their appearance can be expected. New England redwares would be rare or non-existent in Newfoundland in early seventeenth-century contexts. It can be assumed that noticeable quantities of redwares would not occur until the 1640s when the trade really becomes important. It would seem that there should be little change in the frequency of New England redwares during the 1640s and 1650s. By the 1660s, the trade with New England had grown immensely and it is by point that higher frequencies of redware from the New England area can be expected. Contact between New England and Newfoundland grew again in the eighteenth-century. Cargo lists from 1677 in St. John's indicates that ships from "America" imported minor amounts of goods into the harbour, mainly small percentages of bread and flour (Head, 1976: 101). However, by 1741-42, the Americans were responsible for the bulk of goods being imported into the harbour of St. John's. The Americans brought over one third of the rum into the harbour, nearly half of the bread, and the entirety of bacon. The American ships also had at this point become very involved in shipping lumber to Newfoundland - American ships were responsible for all 94 000 ft of lumber shipped into St. John's harbour that year (Head, 1976: 102).

It can therefore be assumed that while mid seventeenth-century contexts at Ferryland would have New England redwares, the later portion of the century would have higher frequencies. The presence of these wares must not be overestimated however. Many harbours with relatively small fishing operations during the later seventeenthcentury had limited or no contact with New England ships and may have no New England ceramics at all in their assemblages at all (e.g. Cupids, Salvage, etc.). Even sites that do contain redwares from the New England area, will have them in small quantities, likely no more that a couple of recognizable vessels.

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PLATES



Plate 1.1 Ferryland, Newfoundland. Photo shows excavated stone foundation from the seventeenth-century storehouse/cow byer complex (Area C).



Plate 1.2 Ferryland, Newfoundland. Photo shows location of a late seventeenthcentury planters dwelling (Area D).



Plate 1.3 Ferryland, Newfoundland. Photo shows portion of Area C, with the community of Ferryland in the background.



Plate 2.1 Map of Ferryland, 1693 (inset in Fitzhugh, 1693).



Plate 2.2 Map of Ferryland and Caplin Bay in the 1660s, by James Yonge (Yonge, 1658-1708: 81).



Plate 3.1 Pottery kiln in Dunster, north-west Somerset. (Photo by B. Temple).



Plate 3.2 Close-up of fabric from seventeenth-century examples of South Somersettype pottery. Both examples are from excavations in Exeter, Devon.



Plate 3.3 Various glaze colours found on South Somerset-type pottery. All examples are from excavations in Exeter, Devon.


Plate 3.4 Close-up of fabric from seventeenth-century examples of Verwood-type pottery. Example is a kiln waster from Horton, Dorset.



Plate 4.1 South Somerset-type sgraffito mug. Area B dwelling, Vessel #93.



Plate 4.2 Possible Verwood-type pot or bowl. Area B dwelling, Vessel #85.



Plate 4.3 South Somerset-type (south east Devon ?) pan. Area C, Vessel #5.



Plate 4.4 West Somerset-type pan. Area C, Vessel #12.



Plate 4.5 Verwood-type bowl. Area C, Vessel #16.



Plate 4.6 South Somerset-type bowl. Area D, Vessel #C157.



Plate 4.7 West Somerset-type jug. Area D, Vessel# C257.



Plate 4.8 West Somerset-type jug, (rim fragment). Area D, Vessel C257.



Plate 4.9 Somerset sgraffito bowl. Area F, Ev 287, Vessel #15.







