# Maritime Consumption on Newfoundland's Petit Nord: Material Expressions of Identity on the Champ Paya Fishing Station, 1504-1904

by © Annique Jones-Doyle

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# Abstract

Excavations at the Champ Paya fishing station (EfAx-09) on Newfoundland's Historical French Shore have revealed many insights about the seasonal cod fishery in the New World. Maps of the area, made by French naval chart-maker Georges Cloué (1850s) indicated that there had been a number of fishing stages in Crouse Harbour, and Champ Paya has proven to be a rich source of early maritime material culture.

The personal consumer goods recovered from the site have not, as yet, been thoroughly documented and analyzed. I will explore the ways in which the material culture may have helped to reinforce aspects of social identity and power for Champ Paya's seasonal occupants by analysing the small finds collected from the site in the context of the fishing room as a socially stratified consumption site.

Historical, cartographic and archaeological evidence indicates that the Champ Paya fishing station, located on Newfoundland's historical French Shore, was utilized since 1504. Excavations at Champ Paya (EfAx-09) have revealed many insights about the seasonal cod fishery in the New World and the daily lives of those involved in it.

Utilizing the early maritime material culture recovered from the site, in particular the personal consumer goods, this thesis explores the interpretative value of 'small finds' and their importance in reinforcing social identity and status hierarchy among the seasonal residents at Champ Paya.

# Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking my supervisors Peter Pope and Barry Gaulton for their encouragement, humour, guidance, and patience during this process. I know that Peter would have been pleased with the final result – I wish that he could have seen it. He will be missed. Thank you to Barry for taking over the role of supervisor and for helping see this thesis through to completion.

Thank you to my graduate cohort for making graduate school so much fun and to the professors in the Archeology Department for opening my eyes to new ways of thinking about the world. Gratitude and thanks are due to Melissa Burns for her meticulous work on the site's Harris Matrix and corresponding artefact identification; Bryn Tapper for map production and photography; Peter Pope and Amy St. John for their guidance in using the electronic catalogue; Amanda Crompton, Christina Robinson and Marc Storey for their organisational and writing advice; Patty Wells for her artefact photography assistance; Jameson Jones-Doyle for help with photoshop and for providing fresh eyes during final draft editing; Maria Lear for guidance in accessing the collection, and Donna Teasdale for artefact conservation.

Additionally, I would like to thank Paul Berry at the Bank of Canada Museum in Ottawa for his expertise in identifying the numismatics in this assemblage, Eric Fernberg at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa for his assistance with the military buttons in the assemblage, Joan Simmonds and the French Shore Historical Society in Conche, Newfoundland for their enthusiasm and support of *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, and

for providing funding for community involvement in the excavation process as well as the use of the French Shore Interpretation Centre as a field laboratory, and Library and Archives Canada.

I owe my brother Jameson a huge debt of gratitude for sitting with me during the final edits and helping to make sense of the formatting/computer voodoo. I am very thankful to my friends and family — in Canada and abroad — for their support and humour throughout the research and writing process, and to Chris Kelly, Monbil Fung, and Mike Wilson for their kindness and enthusiasm when things seemed bleak. Without all of you, this would never have been possible.

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Appendices

# Chapter 1: Introduction

This research is part of a larger project *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, under the direction of Memorial University's Dr. Peter Pope. The project seeks to document the French presence in Newfoundland, especially in the region of the Great Northern Peninsula which has been perhaps most affected by the French migratory fishery. The area of interest for this thesis is the Champ Paya fishing room at the archaeological site of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), located on Long Pointe in Crouse Harbour, on Newfoundland's French Shore. Previous research at the site has included analyses of religious cultural landscapes (Burns 2008), bread ovens (Godbout 2008), zooarchaeology (Noël 2010), French ceramics (St. John 2011) and English ceramics (Hatcher 2013).

This thesis is focused primarily on the analysis and interpretation of the personal goods from the site in order to paint a more robust picture of life for the fishermen and sailors who lived and worked at the Champ Paya fishing room. With this goal in mind, several categories of goods will be analyzed including glass, smoking pipes, articles of apparel, devotional items, and coins.

As such, my thesis has two primary objectives. The first is to identify, date, and provide context for the personal goods recovered from five years of excavation at Champ Paya, where possible. It is important to remember that the Champ Paya was not home for the seasonal French fishing crews, but a work space where they were in effect camping for the duration of their stay. As such, leisure activities should be obvious based on the saturation of certain areas with broken smoking pipes or, perhaps, ceramic and glass

vessels for consumption of alcohol. The second objective of this research is to provide insight into personal and community identities at the Champ Paya fishing room as a gendered, masculine site, and demonstrate how the consumption of goods may have been a physical manifestation of the status and roles of the fishermen and sailors within this maritime community. This site is special because, as an all-male site, gender is extremely clear and provides an opportunity to explore masculine identity. Peter Pope states that "16th-century transatlantic fishers were fishermen, as were migratory crews throughout the 17th, 18th and even 19th centuries […] the migratory salt cod fishery created archaeological sites along our coasts which are gendered: they are the material expression of the fisher-men living, for months at a time, without women" (Pope 2015:1).

A great deal has been written about the cod fishery in Newfoundland: Charles de la Morandiére's *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (1957) is widely considered to be one of the foremost sources on the subject. Dr. Peter E. Pope's publications on the subject of consumption on maritime fishing stations have also contributed to the expansion of knowledge and interpretation of the French transatlantic seasonal dry-salt cod fishery (Pope 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2013). For all intents and purposes, however, Newfoundland's French Shore or *Petit Nord* (Figure 1) has only recently begun to be explored, documented and analysed archaeologically.

The Champ Paya fishing room (EfAx-09) is located on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula between the communities of Conche and Crouse. The site was excavated and documented under the direction and supervision of Dr. Peter E. Pope. The year 2004 marked the 100th anniversary of the Entente Cordial of 1904 and the end of the

French Shore fishery in Newfoundland. In 2001 heritage activists in Conche and Croque requested surveys of the area in order to provide interpretive data which would help commemorate the French cod fishery in this region, as well as a way for residents to preserve and present the region's rich history. The seasonal dry salt cod fishery has played a key role in the development of the local economy, and the Breton fishermen who traditionally fished in the Cap Rouge area have left their cultural and historical mark on a geographical area which to this day still uses the French names given to many of the outport communities. Maps by Captain Letourneur (1821) and Georges Cloué (c. 1852), as well as photographs by Paul-Émile Miot (c. 1858), indicate that a number of fishing stages had been present in the area (Figures 2-4). Initial archaeological surveys and testing proved that the Champ Paya site indeed boasted a significant deposit of material culture connected to the French cod fishery. Subsequent excavations from 2006-2009 yielded over 20,000 artefacts, and additional excavations in 2011 by Mélissa Burns and Hilary Hatcher added to this expansive material culture assemblage.

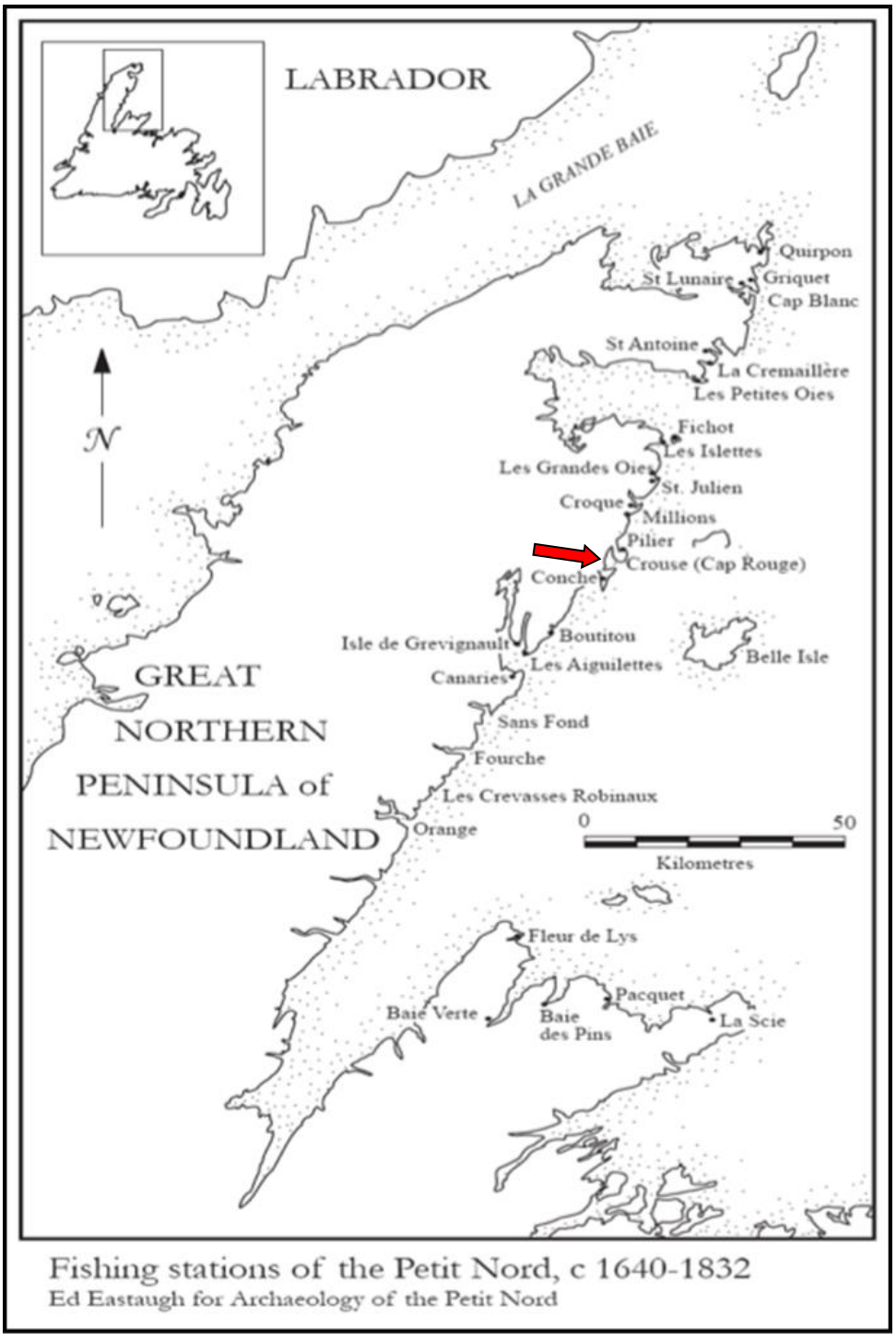


**Figure 1. Fishing stations of the Petit Nord. The arrow indicates the location of the EfAx-09 site. Source: Ed Eastaugh for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord**

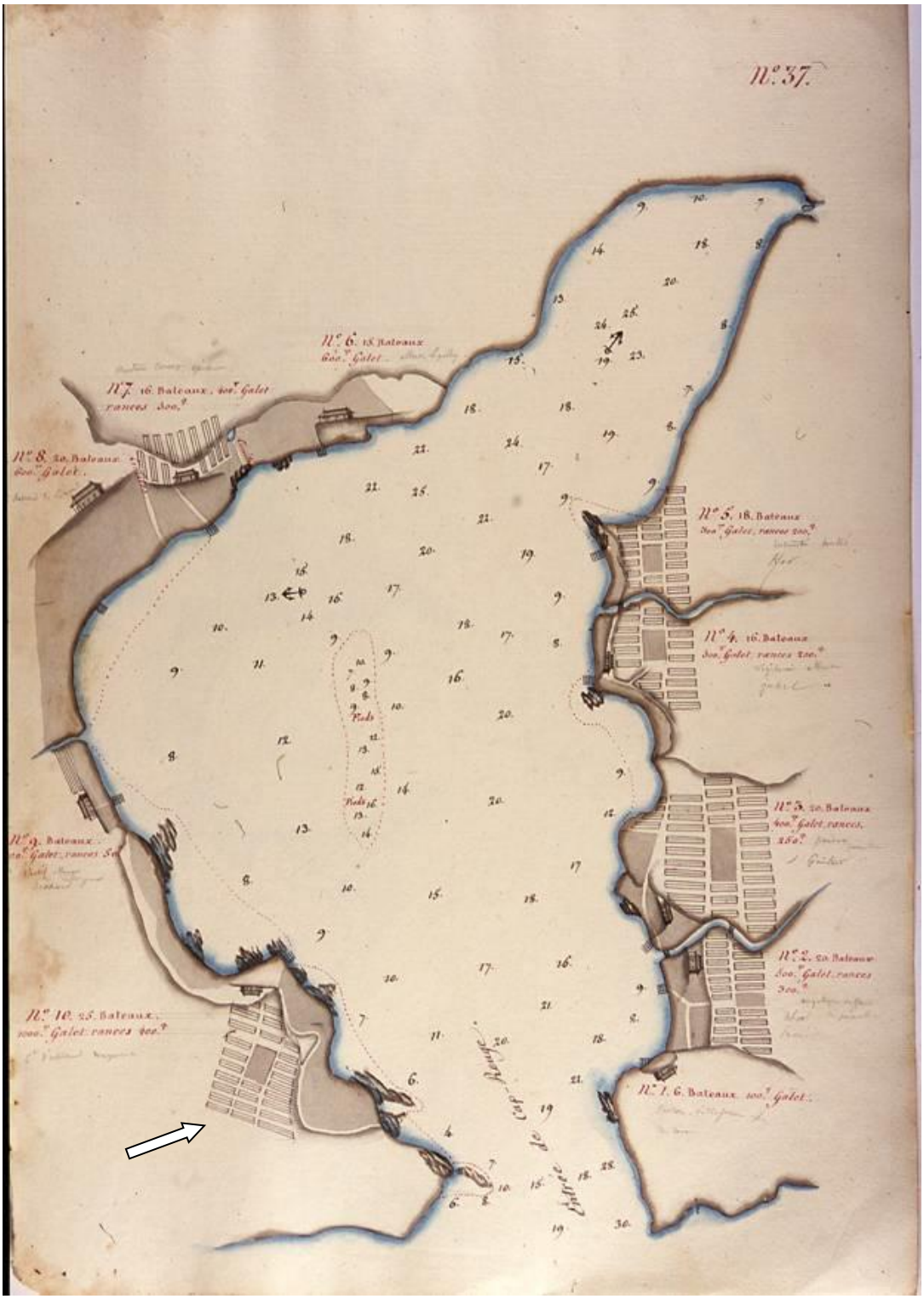


**Figure 2. Captain Letourneur's 1821 map of Cap Rouge Harbour, with arrow indicating the location of the Champ Paya fishing room. Source: Archives departementales de Ille-et-Villaine, Rennes.**

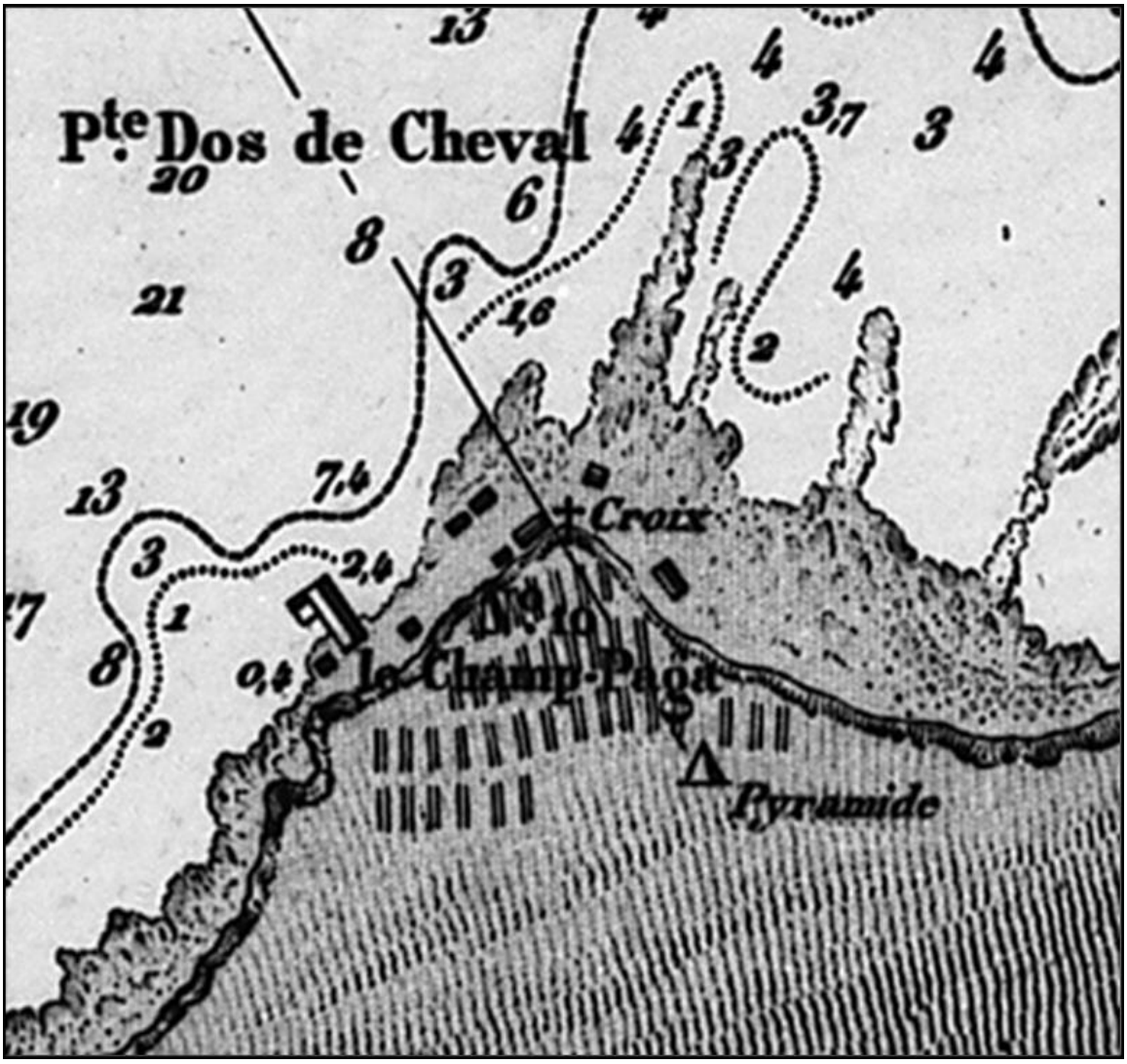


**Figure 3. Detail from Captain Georges Cloué's 1858 map titled "Plan du havre de Cap Rouge" showing the layout of the Champ Paya fishing room (EfAx-09). Note the location of the stage and several small cabins, as well as flakes for drying fish. Source: France, Depot des cartes et plans de la marine, Paris, 1864, in Memorial University, CNS microfiche 193.**

**Figure 4. Back view of the Croque harbour bay taken from a hill 1857-1859 by Paul-Émile Miot. Source: Library and Archives Canada PA-202298.**

**Figure 5. The EfAx-09 site, seen from the water. Courtesy of Peter Pope, *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord.***

The landscape of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) has been divided into six notable areas (Figures 5-6). Area A was a galet for drying processed fish which faced the Northwest, and is located west of the datum. Area B is a large cobble galet which faces north. Area C is composed of the beach and the galet at the boat collar, and is located southwest of Area A. It once boasted numerous structures, including the fishing stage, various cookrooms and shelters, a boat ramp used for maintenance and repairs, and the "Captain's Table" cabin/cookroom. Area D is an upper terrace located west of the datum, east of Area C and south of Area A. Area E (not shown) is a beach located south of a large boulder known as the Bookend boulder (Feature 22) and found at the south end of Area C. Area F (not shown) is comprised of a niche in the rock and a corresponding stone pavement.

My analysis will focus primarily on Area C, believed to be the location of the stage, where the vast majority of work and rest took place on the site, and where the majority of artefacts were recovered. It is worth briefly outlining the different areas of the site and how each helped make up the Champ Paya fishing station as a complete proto-industrial – as well as domestic – site.

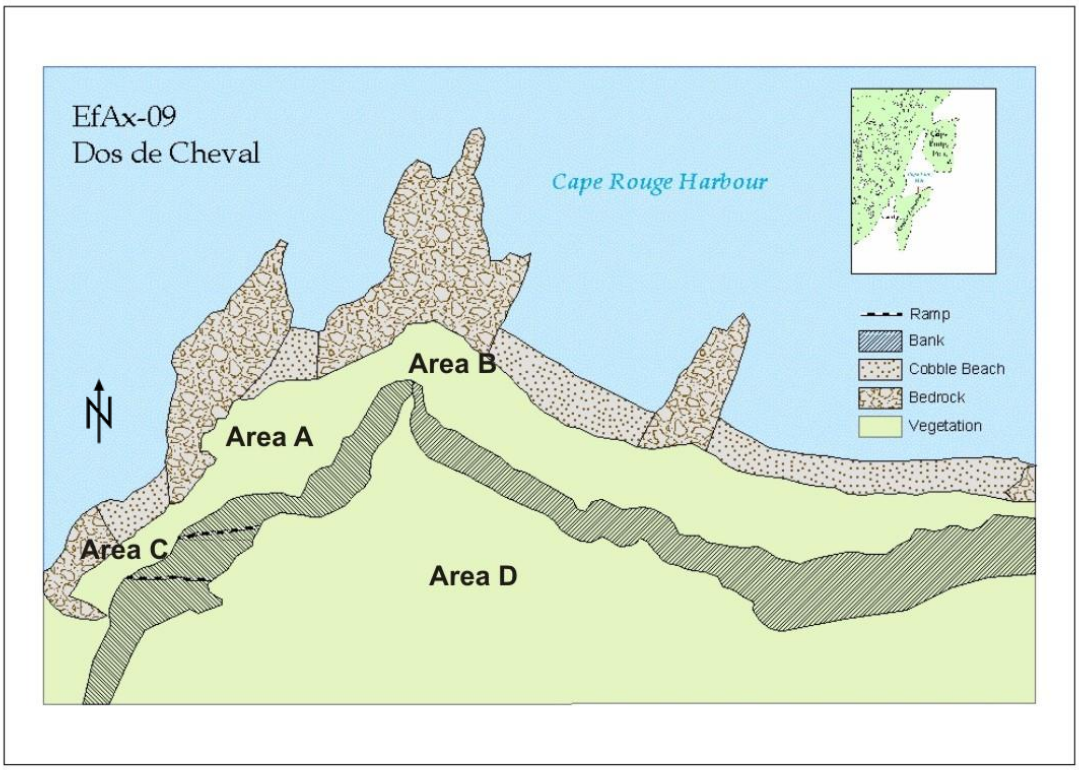


**Figure 6. Plan of Dos de Cheval, with main areas shown. Area C is of specific importance as many of the artefacts described in this thesis were recovered here (Source: Marco Chiaramonte for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).**

# Chapter 2: Historical Background and Contexts

## *2.1 Historical Background of Newfoundland Fisheries*

The French migratory, shore-based cod fishery in Newfoundland was one of the most important transatlantic industries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Innis 1954; Pope 2006, 2008). Indeed, the presence of French and Basque fishermen has been documented on the eastern shore of Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula – known as the *Petit Nord* or French Shore – for 400 years. It was a vernacular industry, meaning that it was "not centrally directed but a congeries of competing production units" (Pope 2008:123). As Pope explains, each expedition was organised "as much by custom as by co-ordinated planning" as European merchants would bring ships, crews and supplies together from various ports, with individual choices and preferences governing the selection of supplies and provisions and were influenced by "the collective experiences of geographically-bounded local communities" (Pope 2008:123). Breton and Norman sailors travelled from various ports in France and, once in the bays of Newfoundland's French Shore, fished seasonally from open boats in the traditional manner using hook and line. At the end of each day they returned to shore to salt and dry their catch which preserved it for the voyage by ship back to Europe (de la Morandière 2005). The time spent on land throughout the fishing season necessitated the construction of shore facilities, called "stations" or "fishing rooms" (Pocius 1992; Pope 2008).

The sheer volume of fish being caught and processed, combined with the vastness of the fishing grounds off the coast of the New World, revolutionized the fishery from what it had been in Medieval times. Michel Mollat, in *Histoires des Pêches Maritimes en*

*France*, states that the inshore fishery modified the structures upon which the Medieval fisheries rested in terms of the number of armed ships, the quantity of fish caught and the financial means used to orchestrate a fishery of this magnitude (Mollat 1987:133). After the Medieval period, cod replaced herring and hake as the most consumed fish in the French kingdom, and the process of acquiring this highly-sought-after commodity resulted in a need for a more rationalised method of production, as well as an increased level of specialisation on the part of the taskforce (Mollat 1987:133). Financing for these huge voyages began to fall to a smaller percentage of the population who had the capital to invest in a growing proto-industry and, as Mollat goes on to point out, slowly but surely the transatlantic seasonal cod fishery laid the foundations for industrialisation through a concentration of capital, more pronounced division of labour and a swiftly expanding market (Mollat 1987:133). Indeed, this was a transitional period between the Medieval, artisanal and feudal fisheries that were based on long-standing traditional methods and the more specialised and capitalist modern industrial fisheries (Mollat 1987:133-134).

Provisions for a ship bound for Newfoundland were similar for all fishing expeditions. These provisions can be divided into three categories: victuals for the crew, salt, and fishing equipment (Brière 1990:13). While Brière does not provide a detailed list of what equipment was provided, archaeological evidence recovered from the Champ Paya site indicates that they included items such as hooks, lines, sinkers, lead weights, knives, gaffes, lead and cod jigger moulds, guns and ammunition, and ballast, barrels and nails used for the construction and maintenance of the stage, cabins and store rooms.

Brière notes that the victuals provided were the same for all commercial ships of the era, with biscuit, lard, and dried legumes forming the dietary staples for the crew (Brière 1990:13). Crew members were additionally supplied with rations of wine and cider and the quantities they received were directly correlated with the status of the crew member. Provisioning an inshore fishery, as opposed to an offshore fishery where the fishermen never set foot on land, was considerably easier for the ship owners as the land-based crews would have access to fresh water and various indigenous edibles while on dry land (Brière 1990:32). Brière also mentions that the crews would be able to hunt for small game as well as grow some seasonal vegetables during the summer months, however it would appear that the privilege of hunting was reserved only for the Captain/Master and ship's pilot, and the spoils were presumably only shared with the higher-ranking officers. Faunal analysis of the food bone found on the site indicates most of the local species were recovered from the relatively high status area surrounding the Captain's Table or officers' cookroom (Noël 2010).

### *2.2 Fishing Crews*

Besides their respective provisioning needs, one of the major differences between the shore-based and the off-shore wet cure fishery was the size of the crews. A typical crew size for the shore-based dry fishery was on average three times larger than other commercial vessels of the same size and capacity: between 30 and 160 men, the record being 190 men on the "Baron de Binder" in 1787. Brière notes that only a third of the crew on board a fishing ship bound for Newfoundland would be responsible for the ship's navigation, and that the others – including very young boys called *mousses* and

adolescent novice sailors – would be destined for fishing-related tasks that required little to no previous experience once on dry land (Brière 1990: 34).

The second major difference between the dry fishery and the off-shore wet cod fishery was that a portion of the *mousses* and nearly all of the adolescent novices on board an inshore fishing vessel did not belong to what Brière calls the "maritime population of the provisioning ports" (Brière 1990:35). They came instead from towns and villages in the rural regions of France's interior, usually located within a 50-kilometer radius from the port closest to them (Brière 1990:35). Often born of peasants, these young boys and men frequently had never set foot on a boat before they sailed for the shores of the Petit Nord to learn their trade as *marin-pescheur* – some seeking adventure and status, while the majority did so due to family obligation (Brière 1990:35).

A typical crew was made up of a captain, pilot, boatswain, officers, fishermen, novices, *mousses*, and sometimes a surgeon and a priest (Brière 1990:35-36). As of 1717, all ships bound for Newfoundland were supposed to bring two surgeons with them, though this rule was often overlooked because surgeons who were prepared to make the transatlantic voyage were difficult to come by, and many surgeons travelled from far away or had to be picked up in a different port-of-call (Brière 1990:36). The same problem occurred with priests, who rarely volunteered to make the long trip to Newfoundland.

There was a last group of individuals who made up the crew which Brière calls "les clandestins" or "trouvés" – literally meaning *found men*. More than half of the Newfoundland-bound vessels leaving from St. Malo in the mid- to late eighteenth century

set sail with at least one, if not several, stowaways – usually children or young adolescents (Brière 1990:37). Once discovered, they were often kept by the captains, who could then force them to work without pay. Truth be told, stowaways were very useful on fishing sites: ex-captain Plevile de Pelley is quoted as saying "il n'y a jamais trop de monde [...], il manque au contraire toujours un homme, comme dit le proverbe" which translates to "there are never too many people, in fact there is always one man missing" (Brière 1990:37). Brière concludes that the certainty of being returned to their port of origin, of being fed for eight months, of gaining practical work experience and occasionally earning a small sum of money was enough motivation for these boys to stowaway aboard ships bound for Newfoundland (Brière 1990:37). This is important to consider because in some cases the number of men and boys working on the Petit Nord may be under-reported.

### *2.3 The Fishing Station*

The continuous seasonal ebb and flow of transatlantic fishermen to the same harbours from the 1500s to the early 1900s altered and transformed the physical and cultural landscapes of these maritime regions to meet the needs of the cod fishery (Pope 2008). Upon arrival in Newfoundland, the "first-come, first-served" nautical custom of shore allocation encouraged migratory fishing crews from various European regions to return to the same harbours year after year (Brière 1990, Pope 2008:123). It was illegal for French fishing crews to destroy their stages and shelters before returning to France at the end of the season (Brière 1990:46). Instances of stage and cabin destruction during the off-season notwithstanding, coming to a known, previously-built fishing room in need

of relatively minor repairs would have been preferable to the hard labour required to build new structures from scratch. Building a new fishing room required felling trees for the construction of cabins, galets and the stage, and could take up to a month depending on the size of the crew and cut significantly into valuable fishing time during an already short season (Brière 1990:46). Additionally, Brière notes that *chaloupes*, the open fishing boats used by fishers in their daily voyages, were never brought back to France, as the space on board the ships was needed to store the season's catch on the return voyage (Brière 1990:33, 47). The boats were instead left in Newfoundland at the end of the fishing season, often sunk in ponds, to be recovered the following year (Brière 1990:33, 47; Pope 2014 pers. comm.).

The crew would also have to clean up the areas where the season's catch was to be dried, often involving the cleaning of the cobbled beach galets or constructing pine branch flakes which would keep the fish from spoiling on the ground and provide the proper aeration needed to dry the product (Brière 1990:46-47). Once the site was clean, all the provisions from the ship were unloaded and brought on land. This included the crew, salt stores, fishing equipment, *chaloupes*, and victuals (Brière 1990:46). The stage, or *chauffaud* as it was called on the French Shore, was transformed into a rudimentary hangar: it was covered with *plan* (spruce rind) or sail cloth from the now anchored fishing ship, and the interior space was outfitted with salt and tables for processing the catch (Brière 1990:46). This was the most important area of a fishing room, and it was where the land-based portion of the crew spent the majority of their time. Smaller structures were erected in order to temporarily house and shelter the captain and crew

from the elements, as well as store all of the food, ammunition, fishing tackle and other provisions brought from France. Plans from the period indicate that the Champ Paya had several such cabins, and excavations have additionally yielded a brick and rock bread oven, a timber-and-flagstone boat ramp, and the rock pedestal for a large standing cross which overlooked the site (Burns 2008; Godbout 2008; Hatcher 2013; Noël 2010; Pope 2003a, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2015; St. John 2011).

# Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first will address the landscape of the Champ Paya (EfAx-09) in terms of survey and excavation, and discuss the larger project, *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord* under the direction of Peter Pope. The second section will discuss the processing, cataloguing and identification of the artefacts recovered during the five years of excavation.

## *3.1 Survey and Excavation*

The location of test pits at the Champ Paya were originally determined by consulting historic maps of the fishing station, prepared by 19th-century naval cartographers such as Captain Letourneur and Georges Cloué. These maps allowed site supervisor Peter Pope and his team to deduce where the site's most prominent and important structures would theoretically have been located in the nineteenth century. By testing these areas they hoped to uncover vestiges of the main stage area, as well as the remains of a number of cabins, cookhouses, bread ovens, ramps and standing crosses which made up the site over the course of French occupation.

In 2004 an arbitrary grid of test pits, at five meter intervals, transected what is now Area C (or the stage area) of Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09), once the French fishing room Champ Paya. These test pits proved rich with cultural material including ceramics, glass, pipe stems, buttons, fishing equipment and faunal material such as cod bones, furthering the initial assumption that the area would be well worth further investigation

and excavation. Memorial University student archaeologists and local residents of the communities of Conche and Crouse returned in 2006 to begin more intensive excavation.

The site was excavated in 1x1m square units separated by 10cm baulks. Stratigraphy was recorded using the event system, and each distinct strata were identified by changes in the soil color as well as differences in cultural material. The excavation units were recorded using a total station set up over a previously determined datum. Material culture and features were excavated in a checkerboard pattern and artifacts piece-plotted by their depth below surface, individually for diagnostic fragments and as lots for non-diagnostic remains. These excavation and recording methods were kept consistent year to year in order to maintain continuity over the course of the project. Because the events from previous years could not be correlated until a Harris matrix was created, new event numbers were assigned each field season. As such, the recorded events are more numerous (running into the thousands, for example) but in actuality represent a much smaller number of distinct occupations and activity areas. The project ran under the direction of Peter Pope, with the assistance of doctoral candidate Mélissa Burns, until 2009 and an additional season of excavation was independently organised and supervised in 2011 by Mélissa Burns. I assisted with excavation and laboratory tasks during the 2009 season.

### *3.2 Artefact Processing and Identification*

The cultural material recovered over six seasons of excavation was cleaned manually using water and a soft brush during the respective field seasons in the field lab,

located on the ground floor of the French Shore Historical Society's Interpretation Centre in Conche, Newfoundland. Non-ferrous and non-biological artefacts, once dry, were then labelled with the Borden and catalogue numbers, after which they were packaged for transportation back to Memorial University in St. John's. All ecofacts recovered were brought back to Memorial for processing in the lab, as was the iron, which was brought back wet, in sealed bags with their artefact tags. Once processed, all of the material was entered in an Access database designed by Dr. Pope.

This thesis focuses on five categories of personal goods: container glass, marked/decorated clay smoking pipes, apparel, coins and tokens, and devotional items. While the majority of the artefacts came from the 2006-2009 field seasons, a few were included from the 2004 survey. A minimum number of individual specimens (MNIS) was then tabulated for each category. Due to small sample size, all of the material culture associated with the categories of apparel, coins and devotional artefacts were pulled from the main collection. However, in the case of glass and pipes, only the diagnostic artefacts (including marked and decorated pipes and glass base and finish fragments) were selected for analysis. In the case of the glass, pieces were cross-mended between events in order to get a better idea of MNIS.

To sort and separate the artefacts, I created five databases which allowed me to record detailed descriptions of the attributes of each object. The databases follow the same system and layout as the master EfAx-09 database, with extra columns to highlight category-specific artefact details such as pipe stem bore diameter, or glass colour.

Melissa Burns completed a Harris matrix which has been instrumental in helping to date the stratigraphy of the site, as well as determine Phases of occupation at the Champ Paya.

Burns' Harris matrix revealed eight temporal Phases in the site's occupation:

- **Phase 0** represents the pre-1630s and is made up of the sterile beach layer.
- **Phase 1** dates from 1630 to 1713; there are fewer artefacts associated with this layer of occupation than in the later Phases.
- **Phase 2** corresponds with the time period between 1713 and 1750 and is the occupation level for a cabin in Area C referred to as the 'Captain's Table', due to several high-status artefacts found in close proximity. This structure burned down before the second half of the eighteenth century. Phase 2 also contains remnants associated with the production of cod liver oil near the earliest evidence of the stage structure.
- **Phase 3** dates from 1750-1780 and has yielded the greatest number of artefacts, as there was more activity on the Champ Paya from this period forward. This Phase is also associated with additional cabins or shelters, the large stage and cod liver oil processing area, a stone ramp for fixing boats, open spaces containing middens and for the preparation of fishing lines, and the post-fire cleanup of the Captain's Table.
- **Phase 4** spans between 1780 and 1820 and yielded large quantities of material culture, as well as additional cabins and shelters. By this time the Champ Paya was a bustling proto-industrial site, and we see a more pronounced organisation of space. This Phase of occupation yielded a flagstone floor nearly devoid of

artefacts and which we referred to as the "Dormitory", shelters by the Bookend rock feature, and additional cabins and cookrooms for feeding workers.

- **Phase 5** spans from 1805 to 1845, and during which we see more evidence of the occupation and/or demolition of at least four cabin structures, as well as man-made earthen ramps for hauling boats. There is a continued abundance of material culture from this period, as many goods were mass produced and easily affordable; as such we see more examples of conspicuous consumption.
- **Phase 6** represents 1845 to 1904 and is the last Phase of occupation on the site prior to the official end of the transatlantic seasonal French cod fishery in 1904. Related deposits include middens and open working spaces as well as the remains of cabins, and several galets for drying and curing salt fish.
- **Phase 7** represents the post-1904 occupation.

The provenience of the artifacts examined for this thesis is represented in a series of GIS maps produced by Bryn Tapper (PhD candidate, MUN), in order to illustrate the spatial distribution of the various categories of artefacts, and to indicate, if and where possible, patterns of deposition, and activity areas, particularly those relating to leisure. As stated previously, the artefacts in this thesis were recovered mostly from Area C, which was where the stage was located. Area C was once overlooked by a large standing cross, the foundations of which are situated up on a hill from the shoreline, and is flanked on one side by a natural rock outcrop referred to by Peter Pope as the "Bookend". The Bookend was used by the Champ Paya fishing crews as a shelter from the wind and, later in the site's occupation, had small sheds or cabins built against it, represented

archaeologically by a series of small hearths. Other noteworthy features in Area C include the Captain's Table, a cabin containing a dry-masonry hearth feature and some of the more high-status artefacts recovered over the course of the excavation, a stone and log boat ramp for repairs and maintenance of the fishing *chaloupes*.

### *3.3 Artefact Identification*

**Apparel:** Artefacts of apparel were cleaned manually in the field lab and then transported back to Memorial for further conservation by Donna Teasdale, especially in the case of ferrous buttons and buckles which were in some cases heavily corroded and needed extensive treatment. Once stable, the artefacts were separated, analysed and identified, where possible, based on material of manufacture, and then based on their function within the context of the garments themselves. Buttons which were part of military costume were further studied and dated based on the contexts of the regiments which would have worn them. Finally, the archaeological context and location of all the buttons were examined as reflections of social status and leisure at Champ Paya.

**Glass Tableware:** The diagnostic glass from Champ Paya was highly fragmented, so the first step towards identification was to match and mend shards – where possible – in order to determine bottle shape and style. Shards were examined and analysed using the Parks Canada Glass Glossary (1989), which helped to identify containers based on diagnostic bottle lips, bases and vessel shapes. Diagnostic shards, once loosely identified, were then compared with complete examples from bottle collectors' guides using information posted on the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) website.

Additionally, contemporaneous Canadian collections were consulted for similar examples of glassware. Finally, period still-life paintings by French artist Chardin were used to show complete vessels as they would have appeared while in use.

**Clay Smoking Pipes**: Diagnostic pipes were separated by decoration into categories such as floral, faunal, text, etc. They were then compared where possible to examples found in sources such as Walker (1963), Oswald (1969) and others, in order to find matches and corresponding dates. Few of the pipe stems were cross-mended. Only decorated/marked pipes were analyzed, as a Harris Matrix had not yet been created at the time of this project's inception and the diagnostic pipes were instrumental in the dating of the Champ Paya's stratigraphy. It is useful to keep in mind that because the site was reorganized and restructured every fishing season, the majority of objects found were broken. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that both individual preference and commercial availability of certain decorative pipes styles likely played a part in the aesthetic variations of the pipes found on site.

**Numismatics:** Ten coins were found at Champ Paya over the course of four field seasons. They were cleaned manually in the field lab in Conche and then brought back to Memorial University, where they were conserved and catalogued. Once stable, they were brought by the researcher to the Bank of Canada's Currency Museum in Ottawa, Ontario in February of 2011 for identification by Paul Berry, Chief Curator of the collection. The coins were weighed and measured by Mr. Berry using digital calipers and a digital scale,

and identified where possible. A reworked stoneware disc, previously the base of a ceramic vessel, is also included in this section as it may have been reused as a gaming token, given the apparent care put into the chipping away of the rough broken edges in order to make a smoother disc.

**Religious:** The devotional artefacts recovered were identified through online research for the devotional medal of Father Francis Gaschon, and by sources directly related to the individual artefacts, such as Michel Boy's 1986 book "*François Gaschon: prêtre missionnaire (1732 - 1815)* which was instrumental in the dating and context surrounding the Gaschon devotional medal recovered on site. The European origin of these artefacts was further explored by researching the Catholic counter-reformation in France and what that would have meant for the crews working and living seasonally at Champ Paya.

# Chapter 4: Apparel and Appearance

## *4.1 Introduction*

Clothing fasteners can be highly informative artefacts for archaeologists because they not only directly reflect the kinds of clothing worn by the individuals who populated a site, but also represent the largest category of artefacts related to personal adornment (White 2007:50, 76). They boast a broad range of sizes, forms, and materials of manufacture, and were available at all price levels, with variation often denoting the wearer's personal status or wealth (White 2005:31, 57). Buttons were worn primarily by men, and were a popular embellishment for men's clothing – used for both functional and decorative purposes from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries (White 2007:57, 76).

Carolyn White's *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment 1680-1820: A Guide to Identification and Interpretation* was the primary source used for the analysis of the apparel recovered from the Champ Paya fishing room. White's classification of buttons builds upon previously published typologies – notably Stanley South's – by expanding and streamlining the date ranges proposed by South (1964). While South's typology provides a good guide for identifying buttons based on manufacturing techniques, materials and design, White explains that the dates of the button types are misleading since they refer directly to the site-specific contexts within which South recovered them, resulting in archaeologists applying narrow manufacturing dates to buttons that were made and worn over far broader periods of time (White 2007:50).

The buttons recovered from Champ Paya have been analysed by material, or in specific cases by their association with naval units and secondary use. . Hence the discussion is organised into the following sections: Organic, Metal, Ceramic, Composite, Military, and Re-Use. Sleeve buttons have been grouped together with metal buttons based on their material of manufacture, whereas re-use is its own category due to the unusual material and method of manufacture of these buttons.

### *4.2 Organic Buttons*

The button assemblage for Champ Paya includes organic buttons made of bone or wood. Bone was generally used to make two different button forms: button molds and sew-through buttons (White 2007:69). Button molds for stamped metal-covered buttons were made from circular disks cut from cow shin bones using a rotating tool. The tool had three projecting points: the center point on the tool made the hole in the center of the button, while the outer two points cut the edge as the tool rotated (White 2007:69). The sides of the button molds were often bevelled in order to allow the metal cover to be crimped over the mold.

#### *4.2.1 Single-hole Button Molds*

Eight bone button molds which match this description were recovered from Champ Paya. All required a single hold to receive the wire shank, as is typical of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century composite buttons (Kenyon 1980:6, White 2007:69). Seven of the eight molds are small (Figure 7), while one (1559X19487) is larger. The larger example was recovered from an area used for fishing line preparation

(based on the recovery of a fishhook from this event) used during Phase 4 (1780-1820). Artefacts 1011X6694 and 1072X5336 were also recovered from a Phase 4 fishing line preparation context. Artefacts 1554X19504 and 1504X18418 were recovered from Phase 4 in open spaces in Area C, and 1005X5831 was recovered from an open working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845). Artefact 1408X14596 was recovered from an area used for barrel work in Area C during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845). Artefact 862X1833 matches an example in South which dates to 1726-1865 (South 1964 Type 15).

### *4.2.2 Sew-through Buttons*

Sew-through bone buttons usually contain two, three, four or five holes. The Champ Paya assemblage has four such buttons, three of which are complete. Five-hole buttons, such as artefacts 1072X5336 and 1072X5703 (associated with Feature 22), were commonly used on men's shirts and underwear in the eighteenth century. They might also be part of composite metal and bone buttons: stamped metal-covered button molds had four or five holes used to make the catgut shank (White 2007:69). It is likely that most of the examples from this assemblage are from the nineteenth century.


**Figure 7. A selection of nineteenth-century single-hole button molds from EfAx-09. Vesicles from the bone are clearly visible. From left to right: 1011X6694, 1072X5336, 1504X18418, 1005X5831. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 8. A 4-holed sew-through button EfAx-09:1205X13621 has an indentation in the center, made by the cutting tool at its time of manufacture. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Artefact 1205X13621 is a complete button with four holes and a slight indentation in the center from the cutting tool, raised edges, and has the remnants of an unknown substance on its surface – possibly an oil or wax (Figure 8). The number of button holes on the incomplete example (1004X5714) cannot be determined, as it has only 2 partial button holes visible, but stylistically it matches the other complete ones from the assemblage and is similar to an example in South dating 1800-1865 (South 1964 Type 20).

### *4.2.3 Turret Shank Buttons*

A third type of sew-through button was recovered from the Dos de Cheval site. They have a turret shank, which is made at the same time as the button itself with a hole bored through it, thus allowing it to be attached to the garment. The complete button has a mushroom-like appearance. There are six such wood buttons matching this description in the assemblage. Artefact 1005X5832 was recovered in an open working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845). Artefact 1411X14943 was recovered from a Phase 5 midden and has a gauge on the shank from when the maker was boring the hole as well as a waxy substance on it. Artefact 1411X14831 has no vesicle holes typically found in bone suggesting that it might be made of wood; it was also recovered from a midden-like area in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845) (Figures 9-10). Artefact 1001X16513, recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) open working space, is very smooth and has wood-like striations on its surface; however, the shank looks synthetic. Artefact 1204X13782 is conical rather than round, and was found in a Phase 6


**Figure 9. Two examples of wooden turret shank buttons. Left, 1141X14831; Right 1411X14943 (obverse view). Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 10. The reverse of Figure 9, with turret shanks visible. Note the gauges made when the hole was drilled through the shank. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

midden (Figure 11). Finally, artefact 1078X5343 is a complete button with turret shank that closely resembles an example in South dating 1726-1776 (South 1964, Type 14). Based on their larger size, these types of buttons would have likely been attached to outerwear such as a coat or sweater.

### *4.3 Metal Buttons*

Button shanks are one of the primary ways to identify metal buttons. The shanks are projections at the back by which buttons are sewn to garments, and their strength and durability is directly related to the button's effectiveness as a fastener. As a consequence, button shanks change fairly rapidly over time as button makers attempted to improve the shank (White 2007:63). The form of the shank can also serve as a guide to dating copper alloy buttons (Table 1).

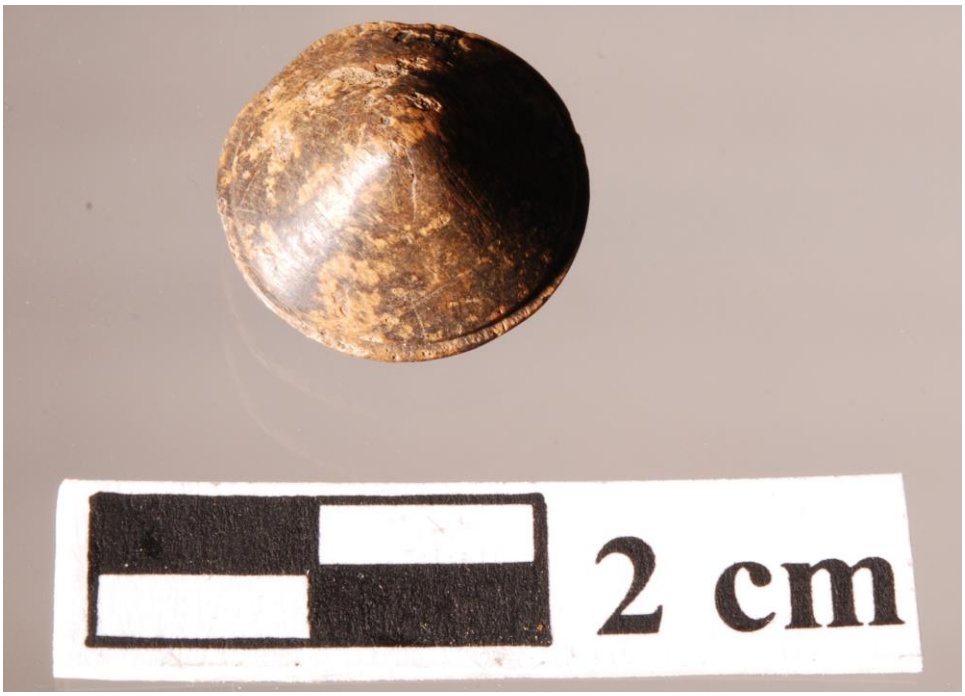


**Figure 11. Conical turret shank button EfAx-09:1204X13782 was recovered from a midden in use between 1845 and 1904. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 12. A complete, flat, round metal button EfAx-09:1211M9157 with a complete cone shank on the reverse. Note the hand-etched decoration on the obverse. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

| Shank Type | Button Material | Shank Material | Date Range | References | Button Type and Descriptions | Image |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alpha | Copper Alloy; occasionally Iron | Copper Alloy; occasionally Iron | 1770s-~1800 | Hinks 1988:60; Hughes and Lester 1981:221 | 1-piece, flat disc buttons. Shank is shaped like the Greek letter Alpha. Similar to Omega shanks, but without the typical Omega feet. |  |
| Cone w/ Wire Eye | Tombac or Copper Alloy | Iron or Copper Alloy | 18th to early 19th century | Hughes and Lester 1981:221 | 1-piece, flat disc buttons. Cone shank with embedded wire eye. The cone shank is cast and often lathe-finished. |  |
| Drilled Eye | Pewter, Copper Alloy, or Tombac | Pewter, Copper Alloy, or Tin Alloy | 18th to mid-19th century | Hughes and Lester 1981:221 | 1-piece, flat disc buttons. The drilled, peg-shaped shank is cast with the rest of the button. |  |
| Omega | Copper Alloy | Copper Alloy; occasionally Iron | after ~1800 | Hinks 1988: 60; Hughes and Lester 1981:221 | 1-piece buttons. Shank is shaped like the Greek letter Omega and soldered onto the back of flat disc buttons. Similar to Alpha shanks, but Omega shanks have feet. |  |

**Table 1: Table of relevant button shank types and characteristics. Source: DAACS Cataloging Manual: Buttons; Aultman and Grillo 2012: 8-9; https://www.daacs.org/wp-content/uploads/buttons.pdf, accessed March 30, 2018. Image modified from original by Jameson Jones-Doyle.**

### *4.3.1 Wedge Shanks*

In the first half of the eighteenth century (1700-1765), copper alloy buttons had a wedge-shaped shank that was cast with the body of the button; the eye was drilled after the button was cast (White 2007:51, 63-64). There are 3 examples of this type of shank in the Dos de Cheval assemblage: artefact 1009M10662 is a complete button recovered from a Phase 5 (1805-1845) open work space with domestic waste, and 1418M14814 was recovered from a fishing line preparation area also in use during Phase 5. The last button (1008M5018) was found in Area B and probably dates to the mid-nineteenth century (South 1964, Type 31).

During the second half of the eighteenth century, two different kinds of shanks were featured: the first was the cone shank, and the second was a simple wire shank brazed or soldered to the button back in two different shapes, alpha and omega (White 2007:51)**.**

### *4.3.2 Cone shanks*

Cone-shaped shanks were manufactured using a loop of wire inserted into a cone of metal that was molded as part of the button. A second type of wire shank was set into a daub of metal on the back of the button. This type of shank is found on buttons that were spun to smooth the reverse surface. These shanks were used between the years 1760 and 1785 (White 2007:64). There are twelve examples of cone shanks in the Dos de Cheval assemblage.

Artefact 1412M16494 was recovered from Phase 1-3 (sterile beach - up to 1780) in a midden-like area containing mixed domestic debris used over much of the site's occupation. It is a complete round button with some corrosion around the eye. Artefact 1045M5001 is a cast copper alloy button with some corrosion and chipped edges. It was recovered from a midden in use during Phase 3 (1750-1780). Artefact 1220M11601 was recovered from an open area in use during Phase 4 (1780-1820) and has an intact cast cone shank, although the wire which would have made the eye is missing. Artefact 1252M11603 was also recovered from Phase 4 (1780-1820) from the context of a shelter by the Bookend (Feature 22). It is half of an undecorated cast button with cone shank attached but wire eye missing, and visible concentric circles on the back from spinning during its manufacture. Artefact 1420M14560 is a round flat button with a spun back and no visible markings. It has some remnant of tin on the reverse and was recovered from an area with domestic waste in use during Phase 4 occupation (1780-1820). Artefact 830M2423 was recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) area used for barrel work/cooperage and is a complete button with the wire eye missing from the cone shank. Artefact 1001M5004 and 1003M11600 are complete buttons recovered from a Phase 6 open work space. Artefact 862M1824 is a complete button with conical shank and a large intact wire eye. The reverse has faint spinning marks, no visible mold seam, and the front face has a stamped sunburst motif with a pointellated circle inside it. Artefact 1211M9157 is a complete flat round button with a cone shank and the holes where a wire eye would have been inserted (Figure 12). The reverse has marks made from spinning during the button's manufacture, and the front of the button has what looks like a hand-

etched circular decoration with peaks and scallops making a somewhat floral design on the face. Artefact 806M1429 is a cast button with concentric lines on the back from spinning. The shank is missing but it was likely manufactured as a cone shank. Artefact 1082M5015 is a complete undecorated button with shank attached and a spun back.

### *4.3.3 Alpha Shanks*

The alpha shank has a brazed wire loop in which the ends meet at the base of the shank. This shank type was common through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (White 2007:64, 68-69). Some buttons, which are missing their shank, have been categorised as alpha shanks based on the distinctive mark where the wire loop ends would have met, which is smaller than other ferrous button shank examples, classified here as cone or omega shanks. There are sixteen examples of alpha shank buttons in this assemblage.

Artefact 1269M11602 was recovered from an area associated with the production of cod liver oil in Area C (Phase 3) between 1750 and 1780. It is concave and was common in the second half of the 18$^{th}$century (White 2007:64). Artefact 1265M11605 was recovered from the stage area (either under or at the end of the structure) during its Phase 4 (1780-1820) use, and has an intact alpha shank attached. The metal backing has a starburst motif stamped on it, and the obverse has part of the original organic button attached (Figure 13). Artefact 1421M16002 was also recovered in a Phase 4 context associated with domestic waste. It is a complete button with shank attached and the remnants of gold gilding on the obverse. Gilding was the most common surface treatment for metal buttons at this time and the backs of the buttons were often stamped with words

that describe the kinds of gilding applied to the button (White 2007:65). In this case, the reverse is stamped with the off-center words "PLATED*PLATED*PLATED" around the shank. Plated buttons were worn in the eighteenth century by men of all levels of affluence. Silver-plated buttons are known from the first half of the eighteenth century when Sheffield plating came into practice, which involved fusing a thin sheet of silver to the copper base. Buttons were also plated with tin – the surfaces of tin-plated buttons are grey in archaeological examples (White 2007:65). Artefact 1421M16002 would have likely been part of an officer's uniform based on the golden, rather than silver, gilding (Olsen 1963). Artefact 1306M11597 is a complete button with missing eye and "PLATED" stamped on the reverse and traces of a silver surface treatment (Figure 14). Artefact 1263X14086 is a small, complete dome-shaped button with intact shank and some chipping around the edges and light corrosion on the surface. It was recovered from Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845) on or at the end of the stage. Artefact 1403M16003 is slightly concave and missing its shank, however it is similar to other examples in the collection and was most likely an alpha shank. It was also recovered in the occupation level associated with the stage during Phase 5.


**Figure 13. A stamped metal alpha shank button EfAx-09:1265M11605 was recovered from the Phase 4 (1780-1820) occupation of the fishing stage. Note the starburst decoration on the reverse. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 14. An alpha shank metal button. EfAx-09:1306M11597 with "PLATED" stamped on the reverse. The obverse has traces of decorative silver gilding. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Five buttons were recovered from Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904). Artefact 1204M9186 was recovered from a midden-like open space in Area C. The back has a concentric circle around the edge and a complete loop or eye attached to the back. It is very similar to Olsen's Type I (1890-present) and South's Type 16. Artefact 1408M14540 was recovered from an area of the site used for barrel work/cooperage. It is a complete example, flat with an oval eye, and the reverse has "Paris A.B" stamped on the back. The words are surrounded by a laurel leaf design, which is in turn surrounded by a pointillated circle motif. There appears to have been a matching pointillated circle surrounding the eye, but it has mostly faded away. Names appeared on the backs of buttons around 1800, and were common by 1820 (McGuinn 2006). Artefact 1001M5008 was recovered from a Phase 6 open working space, and is a complete button with the shank missing although it probably had an alpha shank attached based on stylistic similarities. The back mark is stamped with the words "DOUBLE GILT" and there are traces of gold gilding remaining on the obverse of the button. It matches South's Type 18 (1800-1865) and was likely part of an officer's uniform. Artefact 1001M5016 was also recovered from the same area/event and is undecorated and has a faint ring around the obverse edge. Artefact 1204M9210 is an incomplete button with no visible markings or designs and traces of yellow gilding and red hematite on the reverse surrounding the area where the eye would have been attached. It is slightly dome-shaped and would have had an alpha shank attached. It was recovered from a midden-like open space in use during Phase 6 (1845-1904). Artefact 1001M5014 was also recovered from a Phase 6 midden-

like open space, and consists of a complete round button with traces of gold gilding on the obverse. It has a broken shank and the back is stamped with "W_ _D".

Artefact 800M17142 is a complete round convex button with a concave centre. The concave center has an incised floral motif with feathered petals and some faint yellow gilding visible in the middle. It was recovered from Phase 7 (post-1904) on the surface and has an intact alpha shank but no stylistic matches could be found. Artefact 800M11595, also recovered from Phase 7, is heavily corroded with chipped edges and a missing shank (although it is stylistically similar to other intact alpha shanks in the assemblage). Artefact 826M1825 is a complete button with stars stamped into the reverse. It may have been gilded at one time, based on some orange surface discoloration, and has an intact alpha shank. Artefact 1058M5007 is heavily corroded and similar to Olsen's type G, although the shank is missing.

### *4.3.4 Omega Shanks*

The omega shank had a loop shank in which the ends of the loop were bent and flattened against the back of the button and was in use from the late eighteenth century to about 1850 (White 2007:64). There are three examples of omega shank buttons in the assemblage. Artefact 1408M16004 is a small white metal round button with an omega shank intact. It was recovered from an area of the site used as a cooperage during Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904). Artefact 99M5018 is a complete button with intact omega shank and some dark green surface corrosion, suggesting copper content. Artefact 1304M11593 is a flat round complete button with intact omega shank. It is silvery in colour with some green corrosion, suggesting copper.

### *4.4 Composite and Ceramic Buttons*

Metal button-making became a major industry in England in the eighteenth century, contrasting with the artisanal production of thread-covered buttons of the seventeenth century. The industry was centered in Birmingham, England, and Matthew Boulton ran the largest and most well-known manufactory (White 2007:50). Textile-covered buttons and stamped metal-covered buttons are two types that are widespread throughout the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries (White 2007:65). Stamped metal-covered buttons were made up of two distinct parts: the stamped-metal cover and the button mold. The most common manufacturing materials were silver, silver-plated copper, gilt copper, or brass (White 2007:67-68). Some of the metal buttons were stamped with patterns, but plain metal faces are also common (White 2007:68). There are three examples of composite buttons in this assemblage; however there were likely more, as organic button molds have been discussed previously in the organic button section.

Artefact 1061X5003 is a round button with an exposed button mold partially covered with a gold gilt metal face. The button mold seems to be made of wood, and is conical with a circle bored into the center. Holes were drilled around the center circle and although there was probably only supposed to be four holes – which should have been equidistant from one another – there are five instead, where one hole was drilled twice (Figures 15-16).

The holes are also not evenly spaced. The material used to create the shank has been lost or disintegrated, but it is possible that it was catgut which would make this an early eighteenth century example of a composite button (White 2007:68).

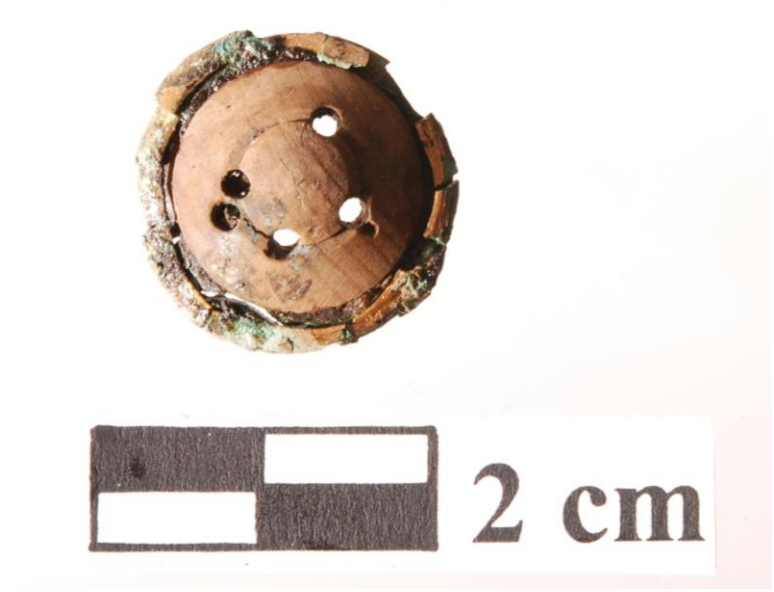


**Figure 15. The obverse of a round, domed, wooden button mold partially covered with the remnants of gold gilt (artefact EfAx-09:1061X5003). This was recovered from the Captain's Table area. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 16. The reverse of Figure 16 showing a missing shank, which may have been catgut and has disintegrated. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

The button was recovered from the context of the Captain's Table in use during Phase 2 (1713-1750) and likely belonged to a higher status member of the crew based on the precious nature of the materials (gold) used in its manufacture. Artefact 1286M11604 was recovered from a Phase 5 (1805-1845) open space containing domestic waste. The button has broken in two pieces – the metal covering separated from the wooden backing – and the eye is missing. There are no holes for catgut thread, which might indicate that it is a later button (White 2007:68). Finally, artefact 1417C14566 is a small disc of thin, brittle metal with light powdery green corrosion. The surface is cracking and delaminating, and overall the artefact is in very poor condition. It was originally catalogued as a coin, but is most likely the stamped and crimped metal surface covering of a composite button. It was recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) area used for barrel work.

### *4.4.1 Prosser Ceramic Buttons*

The first patent for the Prosser manufacturing process was issued on June 17, 1840 in London to Mr. Richard Prosser (Sprague 2002:113). Sometimes called *chinas, small chinas*, or *milk glass* buttons, they are usually diminutive in size and look a great deal like glass, although analysis reveals that they are in fact ceramic (Kenyon 1980). Prosser buttons were made by mixing fine clay with quartz or ceramic wasters and a small amount of water, and then pressing the concoction into a cast iron mold. Once removed from the mold, the buttons were fired in a muffle furnace until they were transformed into a highly fired ceramic button similar to porcelain (Sprague 2002:111-112). Three examples of opaque white ceramic buttons were recovered from the Champ

Paya site. Artefact 800X4145 was recovered from the post-1904 top surface (Phase 7) and looks identical to 920G2575 (Figure 17). Artefact 1072X5344 is a slightly smaller version and was recovered from the context of a shelter by the Bookend boulder (Feature 22).

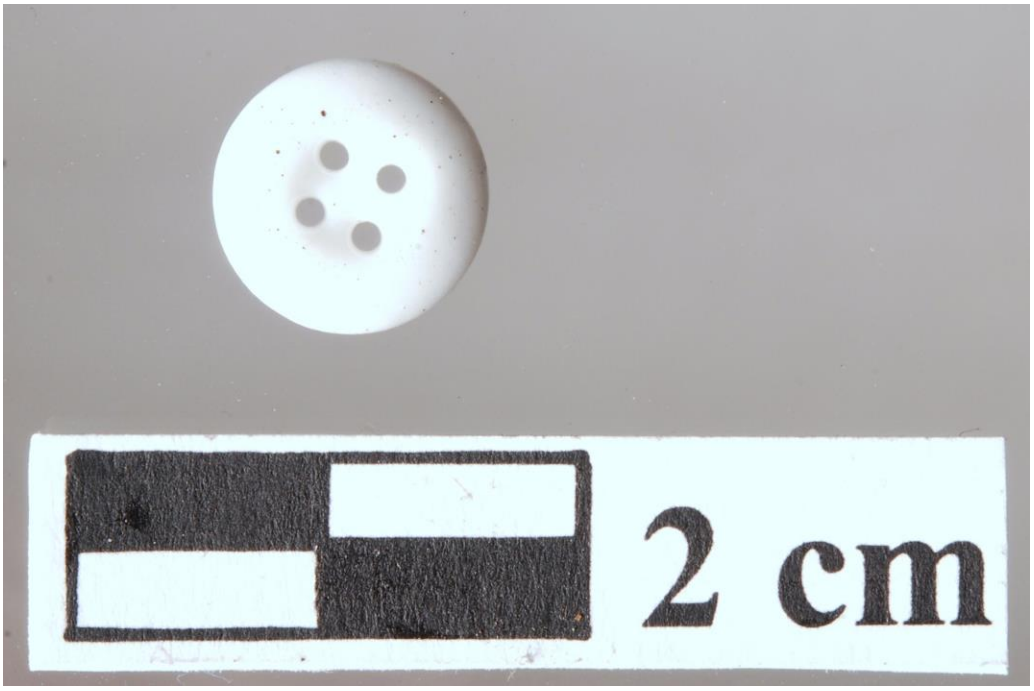


**Figure 17. Prosser-style ceramic button EfAx-09:800X4145, recovered from the post-1904 surface. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

### *4.4.2 Military and Regimental*

There are five regimental buttons in the Dos de Cheval collection. Artefacts 1408M16197 and 1001M5013 are both complete copper alloy buttons with *Equipages de Ligne* moulded on the outer edge and an anchor and rope decoration in the centre (Figure 18). Artefact 1408M16197 has chipped edges, a u-shaped eye, and is 22mm in diameter. The button would have been attached to the front of a naval uniform jacket based on the large size of the button, and was recovered from an area used for barrel work in use during Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904). According to Eric Fernberg, Collections Manager for Dress and Insignia at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, Canada, these buttons would have adorned French colonial navy uniforms from the early part of 1824 through the 1840s (Fernberg 2011, pers. comm.). Artefact 1001M5013 is a smaller "daughter" button probably attached to a coat sleeve and has an identical *Equipages de Ligne* and anchor moulded design on the obverse, and a loop shank on the reverse. It was recovered from a Phase 6 open work space.

Artefact 1411M16001 is a small complete molded copper alloy button with the letters "DE HA" on it, which would have originally read *Equipage de Haut Bord*, and an anchor motif as seen on the other regimental buttons from this assemblage. It was recovered from a Phase 5 (1805-1845) midden. Artefact 1205M9086 also has *Equipage de Haut Bord* surrounding an anchor with two crossed cannons beneath it (Figure 19). It is flat with a broken loop eye, and was part of a French colonial navy uniform in the late nineteenth century.

Artefact 1409X15540 is a complete, round, slightly domed button with an anchor and the words *Equipage de la Flotte* molded on the obverse. The X-shaped eye still has what looks like wool thread attached, and the entire button was attached to dry, brittle leather when recovered (Figure 20). The reverse has the words "NOAT***N.ROBERT" stamped on it. The button dates from 1856-1914 and was recovered from a Phase 6 working space with domestic debris. A nineteenth-century example from the Musée Nationale de la Marine shows what the *Equipage de la Flotte* uniform jacket would have looked like (Figure 21).


**Figure 18. Equipages de Lignes button EfAx-09: 1408M16197 which would have been attached to a coat, based on the large size of the button. Recovered from an area used for barrel work in use during Phase 6 (1845-1094). Images courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 19. Equipage de Haut Bord button EfAx-09:1205M9086 with two crossed cannons over an anchor. Images courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 20. Complete Equipage de la Flotte button EfAx-09: 1409X15540 has an X-shaped eye which still has what looks like wool thread attached, and the entire button is attached to leather. The reverse has the words "NOAT***N.ROBERT" stamped on it and likely dates from 1856-1914. It was recovered from a Phase 6 working space with domestic debris. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

**Figure 21. Equipages de la Flottes sailor's uniform jacket, circa 1858-1873. Source : Musée nationale de la Marine. S. Dondain.**


**Figure 22. Complete metal regimental button EfAx-09: 1408M14505, the obverse of which has the number "12" stamped onto it and likely belonged to the uniform of the 12th cuirassier regiment, which was active from 1668-1815 and then again between 1854-1928, 1940-42, 2009-present. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Artefact 1411M16000 is a complete round button with an X-shaped eye on the reverse. The face has a centrally molded "2" framed by a decorative scroll with a dot above the letter, enclosed in a circle. It may be part of the *Equipage de Haut Bord* naval uniform based on the fact that a decree from October 15th 1806 stated that five regiments were charged with defence, the second of which was from Brest (though no examples were found with which to compare it). Alternatively, it might relate to the Deuxième Regiment de Cuirassiers de la Garde Impériale which merged with the first regiment Cuirassiers de la Garde Impériale in 1865. The button was recovered from a midden-like area in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845).

Artefact 1408M14505 is a complete flat button, heavily corroded with chipped edges and a U-shaped eye (Figure 22). The obverse has the number “12” on it, surrounded by a decorative scroll similar to that of the "2" uniform button. It was recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) area used for barrel work.

### *4.4.3 Sleeve Buttons:*

Sleeve buttons are composed of two small buttons which are attached by links. The button was inserted in a slit in each side of the cuff, and the tension between the two buttons held the cuff closed (White 2007:61). Only one example of sleeve buttons has been recovered from Champ Paya: artefact 862X2378 is a small undecorated sleeve button still linked with U-shaped links. Around 1760, round or oval sleeve buttons replaced the earlier octagonal-shaped models which had been popular in the early eighteenth century, although White notes that round sleeve buttons are known to have

existed from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries (White 2007:61). Moreover, flattened U-shaped shanks were used from the late seventeenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century (White 2007:61). As such, the sleeve buttons from Champ Paya likely date to the first half of the 18th century (Figures 23-24).

### *4.4.4 Instances of re-use*

There is one particularly good example of objects from Champ Paya being reused as buttons. The artefact in question, 1009C10663, is a thin metal disc with two holes bored into it, probably by hand. Based on its size and weight, it probably started out as one of the devalued underweight *Liard* coins discussed in section 7.1 of this thesis, but was later repurposed as a button. It was recovered from an open working space in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845). The other possibility is that this coin was repurposed as a toy called a whizzer or buzzer. These toys consisted of flat discs (sometimes with serrated edges) that had two holes drilled through them through which one would pass a string. As Deagan explains, the string ends were twisted and then quickly pulled apart making the disc spin and creating a whizzing noise (Deagan 2002:302).

The majority of the buttons recovered from the Champ Paya are simple and undecorated. They were utilitarian in that they were used to fasten the sailors' clothes, and were lost in the usual ways, through wear and tear of the garments. The only buttons which had a more decorative function were those which adorned military-issued uniforms: these were more numerous on the garments themselves, and the gilding served

to indicate social rank within the military community. Officers who enjoyed a higher standard of living on site might have dressed in such a manner as to reinforce to the other workers on site that they had higher social and professional status within the fishing community.


**Figure 23. Undecorated shirt sleeve cufflink EfAx-09:862X2378. Made of copper alloy, they are likely an early 18th-century example. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 24. Reverse of Figure 23. Note the sleeve buttons are still attached with U-shaped links. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

*4.5 Buckles*

Buckles were first used beginning in the seventeenth century to fasten many articles of clothing including shoes, breeches, hats, collars and gloves (White 2007:31). Shoe buckles replaced ribbon ties and shoe roses in the 1660s, and were the prevailing form of fastener through the late eighteenth century, when they went out of fashion and were replaced by buttons and laces (White 2007:31-32). Buckles were crafted from a wide variety of metals, and their design has varied greatly over time. White notes that the incredible range of variations based on materials, patterns, decorations, sizes and shapes make the classification of buckles difficult (White 2007:32). She also notes that distinguishing between buckles made for women, men and children can be difficult despite the fact that this categorization would have existed at the time when these objects were purchased and used (White 2007:32). The fact that the Champ Paya fishing room was occupied exclusively by men effectively helps to assign a male gender to the buckles in this collection.

Buckles worn between 1680 and 1820 were made of two basic parts: the frame – or ring – and the chape, and are most often recovered separately (White 2007:33). The buckle frame refers to the part of the buckle which is visible on the surface of the shoe or garment when the buckle is worn, and typically exhibits pinholes on two sides, used to hold the chape. (White 2007:33). The chape refers to the portion of the buckle that attaches to the shoe, and is divided into three main parts: the roll, the pin and the tongue (Figure 25). The roll refers to "a shouldered open hoop that hinges on the pin and lies within the buckle frame" and sometimes has "two short spikes that point inward and

allow it to adhere to the latchet [a cloth or leather strap which holds the shoe on the foot]" (White 2007:34). The pin, or bridge, attaches to the underside of the frame and holds the roll and tongue. The tongue, as described by White, relates visually to a "pitchfork with two elongated spikes […] hinges on the pin and points away from the roll" (White 2007:34). Buckle chape designs changed over time and can be used to identify the kind of buckle worn by a site's inhabitants (White 2007:42) (Figure 25).

Only one possible frame, artefact 99M5006, has been recovered from the Champ Paya. It resembles White's example of a sub-circular buckle and is made of copper alloy with decorative notches or grooves on either side of a centered knop or nipple-like protrusion. White states that while some of the trends in shoe buckle form and design are datable, other "simple motifs and methods of decoration were used throughout the eighteenth century" (White 2007:40). However, the distinct lack of aforementioned pinholes which would have attached it to the buckle chape throws the possible identification of this artefact as a buckle frame into question.

Three buckle chapes were recovered during the course of excavation. The first, 1083M500, is a copper alloy anchor chape recovered from Phase 1 (1630-1713) in an open space with domestic waste. The anchor chape replaced the stud chape which was used until about 1720 and had a fluke on one end and a single tongue on the other end, which was used to secure over the latchet (White 2007:42). The flukes were inserted into a slit in under the latchet. This type of chape could not be used to secure large shoe buckles and was replaced by the loop chape form in the 1720s (White 2007:42).

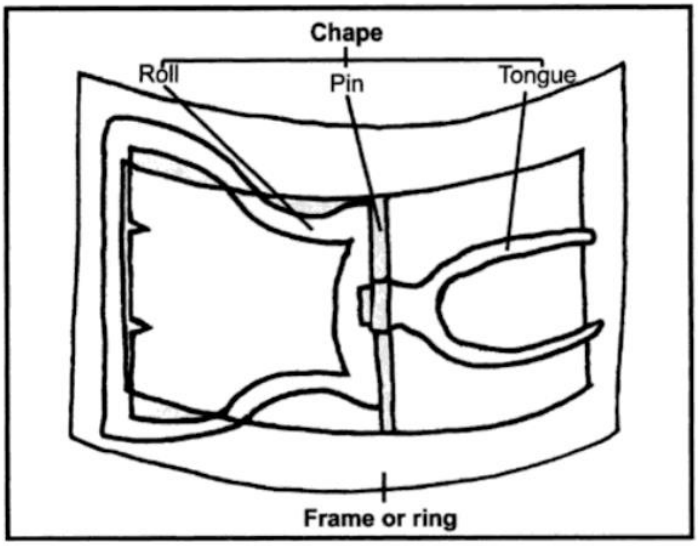


**Figure 25. Illustration by Carolyn White (2007: 33) of the components of a buckle.**


**Figure 26. Complete example of a double spiked loop chape EfAx-09: 1009M13608 was recovered from an open working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845). Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Two loop chapes were recovered from the site, both of which are illustrated in White (2007:43). The loop chape had a rounded roll on one end with a single tongue inside the roll, the tongue being used to secure under the latchet. Artefact 1412M14939 is a small single-spiked buckle which has broken in two. This chape was recovered from a midden in use during Phases 0-3 (pre-1630-1780) though this artefact likely dates from after 1720.

Loop chapes with a single tongue were replaced by a chape with two spikes and a fork-shaped tongue. Buckle chapes with two spikes and a fork-shaped tongue were used between 1720 and 1770. The chapes usually were made of cast-copper alloy, though steel examples from this period are also known (White 2007:43). Artefact 1009M13608 is a complete example of a double spiked loop chape and was recovered from an open working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845) (Figure 26).

Because buckles can loosely be separated in terms of quality, it becomes possible to view them as markers of class and status by using material of manufacture as a reflection of social status: "to generalize, buckles made with the most expensive materials and the most elaborate decoration were worn by wealthy people, and the least expensive and plainest buckles were worn by the poor" (White 2007:33). However, White points out that the presence of a fancy buckle does not automatically indicate that a wealthy person was present, since used clothes were frequently resold, while conversely, plain buckles do not automatically indicate that the owner was poor, since a wealthy man might own a variety of clothing (White 2007:33).

*4.6 Discussion*

Documentary evidence indicates that buckles and buttons were key items of personal adornment and were marketed in newspapers as desirable and fashionable goods available in a broad range of sizes, forms and materials (White 2007:47). They were worn by almost everyone across gender, class, age, and racial/ethnic lines, and were valued within all of these groups; White notes that the variations found in this decorative and functional object allowed the clothing fasteners to signify the position of a person within a socially constructed group, through the form, material, size and decoration (White 2007:50).

The clothing fasteners from Champ Paya are, for the most part, very simple and would have been purely functional for the fishermen who wore the garments they were sewn to. Some might have been handmade back in France, while others were mass-produced in order to make them inexpensive and plentiful. It is doubtful they were given much thought until they were lost or broken. While their monetary worth was probably negligible, the loss of an important button was probably – as it remains today – a nuisance for the fishermen, and the practice of fashioning new buttons from other materials such as wood and coins was likely a common practice whilst away from France.

Gilded military buttons would have been decorative as well as functional, and they would have contributed to social display on site. There would be no mistaking the authority and rank of naval officers in uniform, and every man working on the fishing room would have been aware of the meanings behind the gold or silver coloured buttons

and consequently the roles of the men wearing the uniform. In this respect, messages about one's place within the community of fishermen were wordlessly transmitted through articles of personal adornment such as buttons.

# Chapter 5: Glass Containers

## *5.1 Introduction*

Fishing vessels bound for Newfoundland often had sizable crews, which meant that bulk quantities of food and drink needed to be stored in order to feed the men for the duration of their stay on a fishing room. Dry biscuits, flour, dried legumes, brined cuts of pork and beef, vegetables and fruit, water and ale could be kept in barrels; other products would be bottled for transport in the ship's hold, including wine and liquor, oils, vinegars, sauces and other condiments, and medicine. As they do today, bottle forms varied as greatly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and overlap sometimes occurs where the same bottle might have served multiple purposes. Bottles were also frequently reused, since they were more costly to manufacture in the past, and therefore more valuable (Jones 2009:114-118; Lindsay 2008).

This chapter will examine the diagnostic glass recovered from the Champ Paya fishing room during the 2006-2009 field seasons. Most of the artefacts were recovered from Area C – where the fishing stage and cod liver oil processing was located – although some shards were found on other areas of the site. It is important to note that all of the glass containers from the site are broken. While some attempt has been made to mend or match the bottle fragments based on colour and style, this was often not possible. The minimum number of individual bottles in this analysis is 162. The main goal of this chapter is to identify the different categories of containers on the site based on diagnostic shards. Finally, I will discuss whether the types of bottles found and their location point to particular social structure and hierarchies within the crew.

*5.2 Historical Background*

Glass-making dates back at least 3000 years and has been traced to Egyptian times. The Romans, who dominated Continental Europe and England from the first century B.C. also knew how to make glass; however as the Roman Empire began its decline in the fifth century A.D., glass-making faded away until the 1500s, when it experienced a revival in Europe – particularly in Belgium and France (MacPhee 2008:2). Due to in large part to widespread religious wars in the 1560s, many glass-makers were forced to immigrate to England, where they settled in the south of the country in areas of forest which provided the large quantities of wood necessary to fuel the furnaces and provide the ash needed for the production of glass (McPhee 2008:2).

By 1615, wood supplies had dramatically diminished, and King James I passed a law banning the use of wood for bottle and glass-making, and from this point forward, coal was used in the glass manufacturing process. The forest glass works gradually closed, and glassmakers relocated to coal-producing areas of England. By the 1650s, the modern bottle-making industry had begun and England became the most important bottle-making country in Europe (McPhee 2008:2).

In France, there were two container glass industries during the eighteenth century (Alyluia 1981:13). The earlier tradition of glass manufacture, which dated back to around the mid-seventeenth century, remained centered on wood fuel, the result of which was fragile thin-walled containers of common blue-green glass. The containers of this type, made in small glasshouses in the forested regions of France were blown in copper or wooden dip moulds, and came in many shapes and sizes according to what they might

contain: liquors, foods or cosmetics (Alyluia 1981:13). Combinations of cylindrical, tapering and square bodies with short, wide, tall or narrow necks were common. The small forest glassworks, called *petites verreries*, also produced clear glass tableware. Production of blue-green bottles continued in forest regions of France until at least 1789 (Alyluia 1981:13).

The depletion of France's forests eventually led to government restrictions, similar to those implemented in England by King James I , which were set in place to discourage and curtail the use of wood fuel in the glass industry between 1723 and 1725 (Alyluia 1981:13). These restrictions helped foster the emerging coal-fuelled glass industry in France. The coal-fuelled glassworks of the period produced stronger, dark green glass bottles. Assigning manufacture dates to thin-walled, highly seed-bubbled, blue-green containers produced in the *petites verreries* is difficult, because they were produced from 1640-1789 and changed little even when production declined after 1720 (Alyluia 1981:14).

## *5.3 Analysis*

### *5.3.1 Liquor/Wine Bottles*

Of the 163 diagnostic glass shards recovered from the site, 42 represent parts of wine/liquor bottles, most of which are various shades of green. Due to their fragmentary nature, it was difficult to determine the exact form and shape of these bottles when they were complete. Based on particular stylistic qualities, however, they are most likely parts of the ubiquitous dark green French flowerpot-style bottles – a name directly referring to

the shape of the vessel's body, which is wider at the top and tapers down towards the base (similar to the terracotta flowerpots commonly used today). Eighteenth-century Parisian artist Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin's still-life painting *Still Life with Plums* shows what a complete example of this style of bottle would have looked like (Figure 28). This style of bottle was the main type exported to the colonies between 1730 and the British Conquest of 1763, and which, due to slow decomposition rates of the glass itself, often show a distinctive golden patination on the surface (Lapointe 1998:109).

Only two shards were associated with the earliest Phases of Champ Paya's occupation: artefact 1275B12949 is a very thick base shard recovered from the context of the main stage in Area C during Phase 1 (1630-1713) of the site's use, and artefact 1049B7525 is a yellowish green fragment which might have once been part of a bottle shoulder, and has heavy iridescence on the surface. It was found in the context of a fire in the Captain's Table cabin during Phase 2 occupation (1713-1750).

Four glass fragments were associated with Phase 3 (1750-1780). Artefact 1269B12466 (Figure 27) is a bottle mouth with a string rim which mends with shoulder fragment 1275B12950, and was probably part of a French flowerpot-style bottle. A string rim refers to a bead or string of glass that is trailed around the sheared lip of a bottle. In the 1600s the string rim was designed so that the cork could be tied in place and was later improved in the 1700s (McPhee 14-15). String rims continue to be found on bottles produced between 1840 and 1870 and they also appear on later bottles such as large carboys and demijohns (Wicks 2003:6). The mouth and shoulder bottle fragments from Champ Paya were recovered from the context of the cod liver oil processing area of the

site, at the end of the stage. Artefact 1271B12951 is a base fragment which has a shallow, concave basal profile and a pontil scar from the removal of the blowpipe, and was also recovered from the context of the cod liver oil processing area. Artefact 1423B17815, a base fragment with some iridescence present, was found in the context of a working space in Area C.

Artefact 1267B11203 is associated with the cod liver oil production area in use during Phase 4; 1420B17774 was recovered from an area with lots of domestic waste during Phase 4 (1780-1820), and finally 1422B17729 was found in an area used for fishing line preparation and is associated with Phase 4. Artefacts 1437B18353 and 18354 mend and were recovered from the remains/abandonment of a shelter by the Bookend rock feature in use during Phases 4 and 5 of the site's occupation.

Artefact 1005B9021 is heavily patinated and might be a shoulder fragment; it was found in the context of an open working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 (1802-1845). Artefact 1009B6862 is a very thin bottle mouth fragment with V-shaped tooling around the string rim, and 1009B6724 is a base shard with a pontil scar on the bottom; both were recovered from the context of an open work space with domestic waste. Artefact 1208B10023 is a light green bottle finish with a V-tooled lip, and 1208B 16085 is a partial olive green base shard; both were found in a midden-like context in use during Phase 5. Artefact 1212B10599 is a base found in the context of a cabin demolition and is colourless.

**Figure 27. Bottle mouth with a laid-on string rim EfAx-09:1269B12466 which mends with shoulder fragment EfAx-09:1275B12950, and makes up the mouth and neck of a French flowerpot-style bottle Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

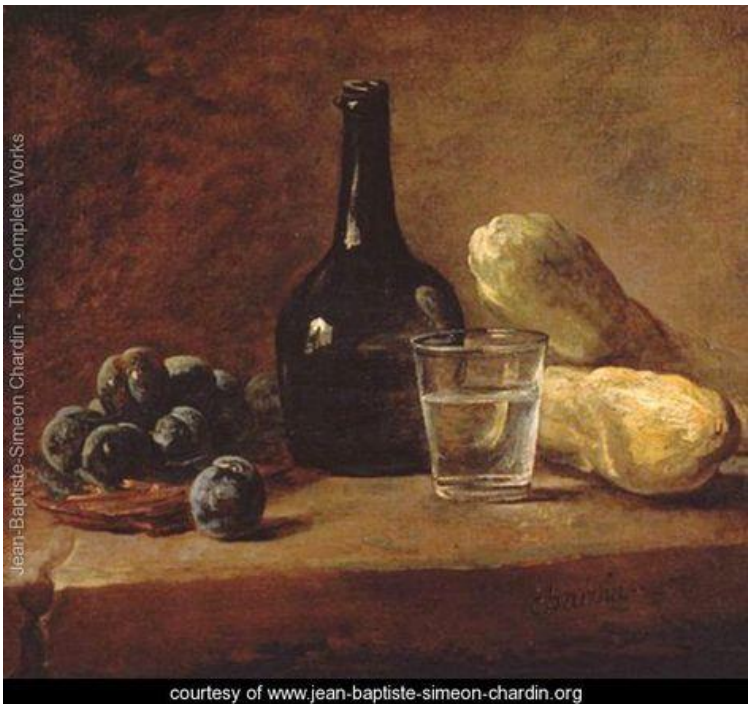


**Figure 28. Still Life with Plums by eighteenth-century painter Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin's shows what a complete example of this style of bottle would have looked like. Also note the tumbler, of which we have several broken examples in our collection.**

In Phase 6 of the site's occupation – roughly from 1845 to 1904 – five glass shards were recovered. Artefact 811B1527 is an olive green glass bottle finish recovered from an open area which was abandoned; it has a broken lip with an un-tooled, applied string rim (Figures 29). Artefacts 1001B6244 and 1003B10865 are a shoulder and a neck fragment respectively, both of light green glass. Both were recovered from an open working space where socialization might have occurred, based on a relatively high percentage (30 per cent) of pipe stems recovered from the associated stratigraphic events. Artefact 1417B15392 is a very dark green, water-worn finish recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) barrel work area, and artefact 800B7911 is a water-worn base shard recovered from the Phase 7 (post-1904) surface. An additional 21 diagnostic bottle fragments included in the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) were recovered from early test pitting in 2004. While they did not have a context associated with them within the Harris Matrix, and were unable to be identified beyond the reasonable assumption that they were once wine bottles, it is probable that most if not all of the wine bottles recovered were of French manufacture, based on the fact that the majority of glass used in Canada came first from France and then Britain, and the Champ Paya site is primarily French (Jones & Sullivan 1989:4).

**Figure 29. Olive green glass bottle finish EfAx-09: 811B1527 was recovered from an abandoned open area. Note the un-tooled string rim. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

### *5.3.2 Case Bottles*

Case gin bottles date to at least as early as 1625 to 1650 and are of European origin (Hume 1991, Lindsay 2010). Dark green case bottles would have been easy to pack as well as to transport overseas, which may have added to their commercial value as containers, however their countries of manufacture are difficult to pin down (Sullivan 1979:33, 56). Considerable variations in case bottle shape have occurred over time; bottle necks and finishes in particular appear to have undergone some stylistic evolution, which may have created different types of containers. For example, one style appears to have retained a pewter collar and cap, while another was designed to be sealed with a cork, perhaps as a commercial container (Sullivan 1979:57). For the purpose of this analysis, the shards in this assemblage have been grouped by colour for the purpose of mending and matching in order to establish MNI.

#### *Green:*

Five green case bottle shards were recovered from the Champ Paya site, and may represent between two and five individual green case bottles.

A string-rim with a flat top and cracked-off and polished lip (1269B11111) was located in a cod liver oil processing area in use during Phase 3 (1750-1780). The bore is uneven and slightly constricted, and it has a crudely applied, un-tooled string rim. It closely resembles an example of the finish on a "case gin large dip mould 13 inches" from Polak's "Antique Trader Bottles" collector's guide, which is of Dutch manufacture and is dated to 1770-1810 (Polak 2009:106). Van den Bossche shows a similar bottle in his bottle resource manual, stating that his example was probably produced in North

Germany for a Dutch market and dates to 1750-1770 (Van den Bossche 2001:131 #3). An olive green angular body fragment (1220B10306) has a pocked exterior surface consistent with dip-moulding and was recovered from an area of open space near where a cabin was located and used during Phases 4 and 5 (1780-1845). Artefact 824B2936 was recovered from the area where a cabin once stood which was also in use during Phases 4 and 5 (1780-1845). It is a square olive green "gin"-style case bottle base which is heavily patinated with a golden iridescence. It has a 4-point resting surface with slightly arched sides and smooth, slightly raised basal surface (Figure 30). It seems to match a lip (1312B13285) of the same colour, which displays identical patination (Figure 31). The lip is flanged, which was a popular stylistic element in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and which remained in use as late as 1900 (Alyluia 1979:12). A third shard (1175B11281) exhibits similar patinisation and colour, and may be from the same bottle, although the shard was recovered from Area F, the location of a nineteenth-century dormitory.

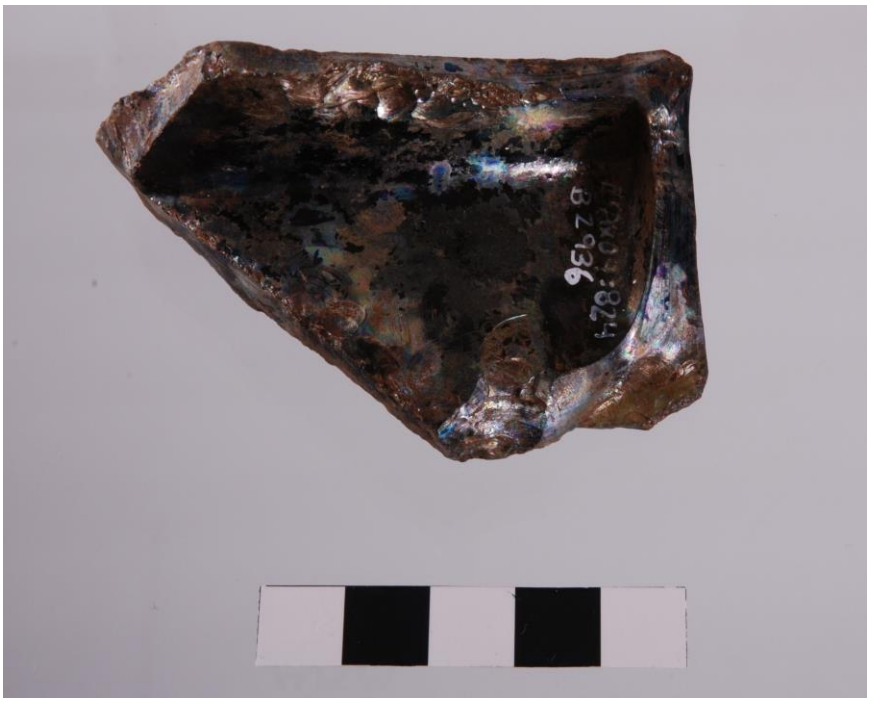

**Figure 30. Square "gin"-style case bottle base EfAx-09:824B2936. It is heavily patinated with a golden iridescence and matches bottle mouth EfAx-09:1312B13285. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

**Figure 31. Case bottle mouth with flanged lip EfAx-09:1312B13285. The flanged lip was a popular stylistic element in case bottles manufactured during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

*Blue-green:*

Artefact 828B2928 is represented by a small, complete square base measuring 38mm wide (Figure 32). The glass has a deep turquoise shade, and the base is quite thick. It looks very similar in colour to a maraschino cherry bottle which Van den Bossche dates to between 1820 and 1850, although no comparative examples have been found to confirm this speculation (Van den Bossche 2001:223). More likely, it may be a flacon-style bottle containing powdered medicinal products that were desirable in small quantities (Sullivan 1979:21). Because square-bodied bottles fit snugly into compartments, such containers often appear in cases and chests, particularly those used for travelling. An English drug catalogue of the late 19th century shows square bottles in medicine chests, toilet cases, seidlitz and soda cases, and sample cases, although the bottles illustrated have small mouths and decorative stoppers (Sullivan 1979:21). Larger flacon-style case bottles, resembling those recovered from the contemporaneous *Machault* shipwreck and the Fortress of Louisbourg, are similar and may have contained liquids such as oils, vinegars, foreign wines, syrups, liquors such as eau-de-vie, toilet water, as well as solids: anchovies, capers, lemons, pickles, alcohol-soaked fruit, marinated oysters, mustard, olives or peppers (Scoville 1968:111; Sullivan 1979:33; Lapointe 1998:110).

**Figure 32. A small flacon-style bottle base Efax-09:828B2928. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

### *5.3.3 Flask*

Artefact 1052G5308 is a colourless glass body fragment which has been included in the diagnostic glass assemblage due to its hand-painted, cold-enamelled peasant-style designs. It is likely a spirit flask made in Germany in the 19$^{th}$century and mends with 1052G5309 (Jones & Sullivan 1989:57; Van den Bossche 2001:276-279).

### *5.3.4 Apothecary Bottles*

For the most part, pharmaceutical glass bottles are attributed to English manufacturers and can be dated in historical contexts as early as the mid-16$^{th}$ century (Noel Hume 1969:72; Sullivan 1979:20). While generally difficult to date, a lack of crizzling, impurities or bubbles can suggest that the date of manufacture for some bottles would have been after 1676 when the formula for producing lead glass was perfected (Sullivan 1979:20). The pharmaceutical glass recovered from Champ Paya is represented by nine diagnostic base or finish shards, all bases or finishes and an MNI of 7. Most bottles appear to be cylindrical and very delicate, and are made of pale blue-green or clear glass. In the eighteenth century, common blue-green bottles were produced in small wood-fired glassworks: their distinctive colouration is due to the impurities in the primary ingredients (sand, ash, etc.) used to produce the glass itself. These diminutive bottles frequently contained personal hygiene products and medicine (Lapointe 1998:59).

Artefact 1427B18021 is a colourless mouth fragment which has become slightly opaque due to degradation. It has a rainbow surface iridescence and a rough, cracked-off lip, and was recovered from an area designated as working space during the Phase 3

occupation (1750-1780). Artefact 1001B4082 and 4083 was mended to make a complete bottle mouth. It is light blue seed glass (containing small bubbles in the fabric) with no signs of deliberate tooling, although there are concentric rings likely formed when the bottle was being turned. The mouth flares slightly in a style consistent with prescription bottle lips (Lindsay 2010). It closely matches a base of the same colour with identical seed bubbles found nearby (1003B11232) which has a conical basal profile, glass-tipped pontil scar with iron deposits remaining from the pontil rod, and a rounded foot (Figure 33). They were recovered from an open work area in use during the Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904).

Artefacts 471B652, 804B1381 and 825B3959 are all light blue-green base fragments with small diameters. Artefact 825B3958 has a sheared lip which is smooth and melts together with the applied string rim. It is worn and appears stylistically similar to 1045B7246, which is a light green mouth fragment with small seed bubbles. Artefact 1318B13295 is a light blue-green mouth fragment with a sheared and fire polished lip. All of the bottle fragments in this group indicate diminutive bottle size based on small mouth bore sizes and base diameters.

Finally, a small copper wire ring was excavated from the Champ Paya (Figure 34). This may have been part of a composite stopper known as a cork ring, discussed by Jones & Sullivan in the *Parks Canada Glass Glossary* (1981:149). These types of closures would have sealed medicine bottles, and the wire ring would have been used to remove the cork stopper from the vessel. Sullivan also mentions copper wire used in

**Figure 33. Artefacts EfAx-09:1001B4082 and 1001B4083 mend to form an apothecary bottle mouth which matches base Efax-09: 1003B11232. Note the pontil scar. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

**Figure 34. A copper ring, likely part of a composite stopper known as a cork ring, was used to seal medicine bottles. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

bottle closures which would substantiate the possibility that this artefact was part of a stopper, given the slight verdigris on the wire's surface (Sullivan 1986:60).

### *5.3.5 Stemware*

Seven stemware fragments were recovered from the site. Artefact 1049G7546 is a pale green stem fragment from a Venetian-style wine glass which has seed bubble inclusions recovered from the Captain's Table in use during the Phase 2 occupation (1713-1750). It has a collar, neck, shoulder and inverted baluster, a broken foot/base, and is a fine example of the *verre fougère* glassware type. The name referred to glass-works in the forested regions of Europe, which used fern ash in the composition of their raw materials. It was once believed that wine tasted better when drunk from *verre fougère* rather than from clear glasses.[1]

Artefact 1229G10537 is a very thin colourless bowl fragment, while 1229G11292 is a light green base shard which has a folded foot in the Venetian style. Venetian-style wine glasses look similar in colour and style to the fougère stemware, and were manufactured in several European countries, notably in France (Lapointe 1998:178). Both artefacts were recovered from an area designated as a reorganisation of space in use during Phase 3 (1750-1780). Artefact 1263G11291 is a stem fragment found in an area and deposit associated with the stage during Phase 5 (1805-1845). It has part of the bowl, collar and an angular bladed knop, which is a decorative bulge on the stem of a wine

[1] http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/qc/saintlouisforts/natcul/arch1a/arch1-glos.aspx

glass. After about 1720, large heavy baluster glasses were replaced with thinner, more delicate stems with smaller knops, known as light balusters or balustroids.[2]

Artefact 1959G8769 was recovered from a disturbed area dated to Phase 6 (1845-1904) and consists of a colourless rim fragment from the bowl of a wine glass. The surface has some rainbow iridescence and has a charming copper wheel-engraved bird on a branch; the cross hatching-style of the engraved decoration matches 1077G7299 and 1009G6519, and is very similar to 1001G6519. Finally, artefact 99G8275 is a colourless stem fragment with part of the bowl, collar, and a knop.

### *5.3.6 Tumblers*

The tumbler is the most frequently occurring table glass form found on archaeological sites in Canada (Jones & Sullivan 1989:54, 143). Excavations at the Dos de Cheval site have recovered the remains of fifteen tumbler bases, and three more possible tumbler shards.

Artefact 1063G8375, located in the context of the Captain's Table occupation, and 1039G6689, located in an open work space (Phases 3 and 4), are base shards similar in both style and colour, which in this case is a transparent pale yellowish hue potentially caused by degradation over time. Artefact 1011G6833, recovered from a Phase 4 (1780-1820) area used for preparing fishing lines, is a small base fragment which may have belonged to a diminutive tumbler-like drinking vessel. It would have originally been

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[2] http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/ceramics/pages/subsubcategory.asp?subsubcat_id=776&subsubcat_name=1680+-1740%3A+Baluster+stems&cat_id=870

colourless, but has become badly decomposed with a pinkish brown crizzling. Artefacts 1027G10372, recovered from the respective contexts of a cabin occupation in Phase 4 (1780-1820), 1208G9820 from a midden (Phase 5 1805-1845), base sherd 1203G17136, and a mended base consisting of three pieces (1031G7012, 7013, 7014) also exhibit similar brownish pink crizzling (Figure 35). Called bohemian-style tumblers, they were made with the addition of manganese which was supposed to whiten the common glass used in the manufacturing process; however it had a tendency to develop a pinkish crizzling over time (Lapointe 1998:180). Eighteenth-century French doctor and chemist Paul Bosc d'Antic blamed this flaw on the inferior quality of English glass, stating: "Les Anglois ne doivent point se flatter… Leur crystal n'est pas d'une belle couleur; il tire sur le jaune ou sur le brun, pour peu que la couleau rouge de la manganese domine. Il est si mal cuit, qu'il ressue le sel, se crassit, se rouille promptement" (Bosc d'Antic in McNally 1977:41). This roughly translates to "the English should not flatter themselves… their crystal isn't an attractive colour; it has a yellow or brown hue and the red from the manganese dominates. It is so badly cooked that it crizzles and rusts promptly". McNally goes on to state that English glassware would not have exhibited these tendencies after the mid-18th century, although without chemical analysis of the glass it is not possible to determine country of origin for the tumblers in this assemblage (1977:41).

**Figure 35. Complete tumbler base shard with a pinkish hue EfAx-09:1203G17136, and to the right, a badly crizzled base shard EfAx-09:1031G7012. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

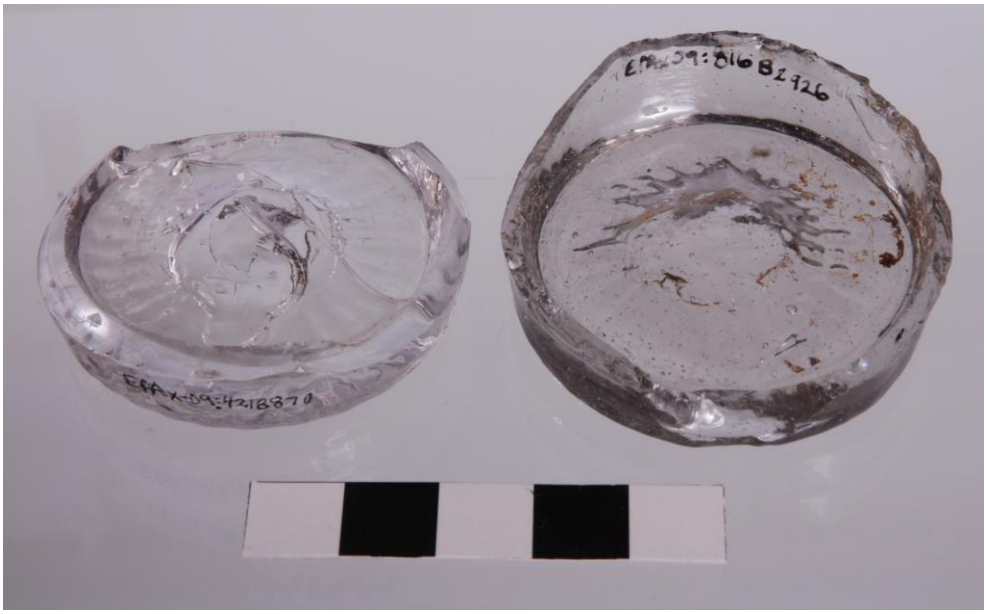

**Figure 36. Complete tumbler base shards EfAx-09: 421B870 and EfAx-09:816B2926 have die-impressed sunburst patterns and small pontil disc scars typical of those manufactured in central and western France in the middle of the eighteenth century. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Artefact 1409G15107 was recovered from a working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 6 (1845-1904) and is a tumbler base with ribbed sides and a mitred star on the bottom of the base. Artefact 1079G7311 also has decorative ribbing, this time on the interior walls, with a smooth exterior, flat resting point, and a rounded shallow concave basal profile. It is difficult to determine whether this was originally a tumbler or a condiment jar due to the specimen being incomplete. Artefacts 421B870 and 816B2926 are complete tumbler base shards with a die-impressed sunburst pattern and small pontil disc scars typical of those manufactured in central and western France in the middle of the eighteenth century (Figure 36) (Charleston 1952:18; McNally 1977:37; Jones and Sullivan 1981:66).

### *5.4 Lighting*

The most widely used lamp at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the peg lamp, used to burn various types of oil while still making use of previously acquired candlestick holders (Flaherty 1976:7). The bowls which held the combustible fluid were made out of tin, silver or blown or pressed glass with a peg at the bottom. The bowl was inserted into the candlestick holder with the peg fitting snugly in the place where the candle would have gone (Flaherty 1976:7). They did not hold very much fluid and gave off poor light. The glass assemblage from Champ Paya has four such pegs (the bowls are missing) and what might be the broken remains of a delicate lamp chimney or bowl (Figure 37).

Artefact 1420G14564 is a pale pink glass finish, possibly from an oil lamp, and was recovered from an area of domestic waste dating to Phase 4 (1780-1820). The lip is smooth and fire polished with a thick string rim. Seven delicate glass oil lamp chimney fragments were recovered together from a Phase 3 (1750-1780) context of spatial reorganization.

Artefact 1406G14503 is a light yellow-grey peg from a glass peg lamp which would have been colourless and was found in a context associated with the stage in Area C during the Phase 3 occupation (1750-1780). Artefact 1013X6601 is a light blue-grey glass peg which was recovered from the Phase 4 occupation and Phase 5 demolition or abandonment of a cabin. Objects 1001X6303, a light blue green glass peg, and 1003X11247, a greyish glass peg, were recovered from a Phase 6 (1845-1904) open working space which may have also served as a social space based on the fact that 30 and 50 per cent of the respective artefact assemblages are made up of pipe stem fragments. All of the glass pegs recovered fit into the remains of a pewter candlestick holder (800M10659) which is almost stylistically identical – both in shape and material – to an example from the Maison Estebe (1755-1810) at Place-Royale (Figure 38). The example from Place-Royale was manufactured according to a technique which emerged at the end of the seventeenth century, where the stem and bowl were manufactured as one piece, and the base molded separately. The method was used for a century before candlesticks manufactured in one piece became common (Lapointe 1998:32).

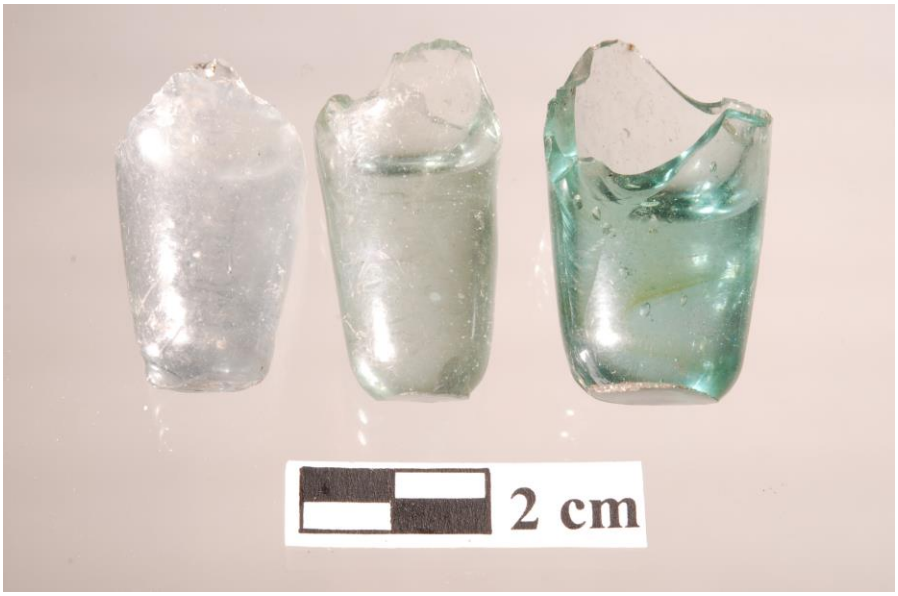


**Figure 37. A selection of peg lamp bases from Dos-de-Cheval EfAx-09. These bulbous lamps, when complete, would have held oil and a wick, the pegs of which fit snugly into metal candlestick holders, making them an easily transportable source of light on site. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 38: Pewter candlestick holder EfAx-09:800M10659 with glass peg lamp inside. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

As previously mentioned, a great deal of the glass from Champ Paya cannot be identified, as all of the glass is highly fragmented. Some of the objects in this assemblage have decorative ribs and moulded patterns; however with such small vessel fragments it is not possible to reconstruct the containers or identify their functions as serving dishes, condiment jars, or other.

### *5.5 Discussion:*

Due to the small number of bottles recovered at the Champ Paya fishing room, it is possible that those recovered were the personal possessions of the officers. Certain artefacts, such as tumblers, were mass produced and are therefore found in many contemporaneous sites such as the *Machault* shipwreck of 1744 which had nearly identical tumblers. This suggests that in the mid-18$^{th}$ century the French were acquiring their supplies and provisions from the same general areas of Europe, and that supplies for these transatlantic voyages were standardized to a certain degree. Although wine would have been a common beverage consumed by all of the site's occupants, it would have been shipped in large barrels and transferred at mealtimes into jugs and glasses. Wine bottles therefore might have been used as decanters for table service in the Officer's Mess instead of the earthenware and stoneware jugs reserved for the crew (Sullivan 1986:60). This would explain the abundance of ceramic bottle sherds on the site, in comparison with the relatively few diagnostic glass artefacts at Dos-de-Cheval.

In the case of the Machault assemblage, Sullivan speculates that the bottles recovered may have been personal possessions belonging to a select number of crew members: "It would not be unusual for ship's officers to provide their own beverages or

at least to supplement those provided for them. The possibility that any of the soldiers or crew aboard the Machault owned these bottles is rejected not because the containers indicate social status, but because the men had insufficient private space to store many personal possessions" (Sullivan 1979:49). This would have been equally true on the Dos-de-Cheval site, as the fishermen on the trans-Atlantic voyage would have lived in communal areas and would have only had limited space to store their personal possessions on board ship and therefore had few items while living and working at Champ Paya. Most medicines – such as those presumably contained in the case and pharmaceutical bottles – would have been kept where the Captain and surgeon lived, in the cabin known as the Captain's Table. A faunal analysis of the site, conducted by Stephane Noël, yielded a large assemblage of wild game remains which suggests that the officers supplemented their diet by hunting game in the area in the same way that they supplemented their provisions by bringing their own beverages and toiletries (Noël 2010). The material culture associated with their privileged status is scattered all around where the Captain's Table cabin once stood, and the relative permanence of a dry masonry stone hearth in the cabin suggests that this building, or ones like it, were built and used through much the site's occupation.

# Chapter 6: Tobacco pipes and Consumption

## *6.1 Introduction*

Clay tobacco pipes are one of the most common artefacts recovered from historic sites. Relatively inexpensive and considered a disposable commodity, pipes could be acquired easily and smoking became a common leisure activity by the masses in the seventeenth century (Bradley 2000:104). Furthermore, the fragility of this consumer commodity meant that pipes had a relatively short lifespan, so they were often discarded soon after initial use. To archaeologists, clay tobacco pipes are invaluable as dating tools, and pipe assemblages can be used to discern trade patterns, site use patterns, and social and economic standing (Bradley 2000; Cessford 2001; Clausnitzer 2011:84-85).

Pipe bowls underwent rapid morphological change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which has allowed archaeologists to develop typologies which help establish date ranges for when a particular bowl form was manufactured. Maker's marks can assist in more accurate dating – sometimes reducing the date range for that artefact from a couple of decades to a couple of years – if the mark can be attributed to a specific maker.

A total of 1719 pipe fragments were recovered over the course of five years of excavation at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09). The artefacts recovered during the course of field work were cleaned in the field lab in Conche, given catalogue numbers, and entered into a database. Of the 1719 artefacts, 259 were removed from the assemblage for further study and were selected based on the presence of distinguishing marks, decorations or names in order to more accurately date the specimens and link them to particular makers

and geographical regions where possible. The pipe fragments with decorations or distinguishing marks were divided into three main categories: names, initials, and symbols/decorations. The number of bowl/shank junctures is frequently used in order to determine the minimum number of pipes (Bradley 2000:126, Jones 2009:137). Based on such a count of bowls and heels, the minimum number of clay tobacco pipes at EfAx-09 is 133.

### *6.2 Historical Background*

While no one knows for certain who created the first European clay tobacco pipe, scholars agree that it was adopted from the local American First Nations' peoples in the mid-1550s (Ayto 1979; Gately 2001; Walker 1977). Ayto (1979) states that the craft of making clay tobacco pipes began in England shortly after the introduction of tobacco to Europe – and England in particular – around 1558. The earliest description of an English clay tobacco pipe was in 1573 by William Harrison in his seminal work *Great Chronologie*, where he describes the pipe as being "an Instrument formed like a ladell", which was probably based on Native American forms which were used for medicinal purposes as well as religious rites (Ayto 1979:4). Ayto notes that by 1580, bowl shapes had already undergone stylistic changes which helped to better contain the tobacco; these pipes "adopt[ed] a rather ingenious barrel shape and a forward incline" (1979:4).

The habit of smoking tobacco was most likely introduced into the Netherlands by migrant English workers and soldiers; indeed, the oldest documented use of tobacco in Holland dates from 1580 (Duco 1981:371). From around 1600 the entire western part of Holland knew about tobacco and smoking, and the first factories which sprang up to meet

the demand for pipes and tobacco consumption were small cottage industries which only survived for a short period (Duco 1981:372). The first pipe makers are mentioned in 1607 in Amsterdam, and in the following years the industry grew so that by 1610 pioneer pipemakers began to work in Leiden and the first pipemaker in Gouda – the second most important pipe-making centre – was mentioned in 1620 (Duco 1981:372). French students at the University of Leiden in The Netherlands were smoking in the 1590s, and that "as early as 1564 French settlers in Florida were apparently smoking the clay bowl and cane stem pipes of the natives there" (Walker 1977:285). By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pipes from Holland were popular based on their fine quality and delicate designs; indeed Duhamel du Monceau wrote in 1771 that although "workers in Rouen pretended that they could make pipes as well as those from Holland, by and large their products were no where near as pretty" (Savard and Drouin 1990:32). The observation that Dutch pipes were commonly exported to French North America is supported by finds from the excavations of Canadian and American sites with French occupation, which indicate that the French used Dutch – particularly Gouda – as well as English pipes, although French pipes from Rouen, Strasbourg, and the Languedoc and Provence regions make an appearance as well (Walker 1977:285-6).

With regards to the tobacco industry in France, both Leo and Walker indicate that Dunkirk, "a prosperous free port involved in the tobacco-industry […] was the earliest French pipemaking center, the first workshops appearing in the first half of the C17; however no makers' names are mentioned" (Walker 1977:289). By 1620, tobacco was being cultivated in Artois, France and around 1630-40 it was also being grown in St-

Omer, another of the earliest French pipemaking centers (Walker 1977:285). Pipemaking in France seems to be widespread by the end of the seventeenth century, but it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that a real French pipemaking industry arose, no doubt because snuff remained the only fashionable way of taking tobacco in France until the nineteenth century (Jean-Leo in Walker 1977:285, Scott 1981:4). Walker points out that "indirect evidence that pipemaking in France was not known on any large scale before ca. 1700 comes from export figures noted […] for the port of London for the period Michaelmas (September 29) to Christmas 1698, which show that of nearly 45,000 gross pipes exported, 41,000 went to France" (Walker 1977:291). French pipe-making reached its pinnacle in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in St. Omer (the brand marks Dumeril and Fiolet) and in Givet (Gambier). Pipes from this period were finely made, well-polished and sometimes delicately decorated (Savard and Drouin 1990:32). The production of effigy pipes representing popular figurative characters is also typical of this period in France (Savard and Drouin 1990:32).

In England, the method of consuming tobacco by means of a clay pipe, rather than as snuff, was first described in 1573 by William Harrison as a medicinal remedy to cure against "rewmes and some other diseases ingenderd in the longues and inward partes" (Harrison in Oswald 1975:3). By the early 1600s clay smoking pipes were fashionable and commonplace, with a booming pipe making industry to match the growing mass consumption of tobacco (Noel Hume 1969:296; Oswald 1975:5). Over time the price of tobacco began to steadily decline; by 1650, it was one fifth the price it had been in 1600 (Scott 1981:8). With this declining price, the shape of the pipe bowls changed too, with

the bowls becoming bigger as the price of tobacco dropped. Decorations also changed depending on what was fashionable at the time, and it is because of these recognisable stylistic evolutions that typologies based on bowl size and shape, maker's marks, and decoration have been made possible (Bradley 2000, St. John 2008). Because of its size, London was always the largest English clay-pipe making centre; however for the majority of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Bristol was the second largest clay pipe manufacturing centre, specializing in the colonial export trade which boomed from around 1650 to 1775 (Walker in Davey 1983:3). Around 1750, Liverpool also became prolific as a centre for pipe manufacture and export, and many Liverpool pipes found their way to Canada (Gaulton 2009: 34; Walker in Davey 1983:3). The Bristol industry, experienced a revival in the early 1800s, and peaked in the mid-nineteenth century before collapsing in the 1860s (Walker in Davey 1983:3).

The English pipe making industry mostly competed with The Netherlands and both countries' products were heavily influenced by the other in terms of overall form and aesthetic and material quality. Dutch pipes were generally finer in terms of the quality of the clay than their English counterparts, and the marks impressed upon them are more detailed. French pipemakers also competed with England and The Netherlands in terms of pipe quality and design, although they entered the competitive market much later. This was likely due to the promotion and popularization of inoffensive-smelling snuff, the use of which was refined by the French court in 1650 in an effort to promote beauty and culture, as it was noted that fine perfume, clothing and art lost their considerable charms when surrounded by the reek of tobacco smoke (Scott 1981:4).

### *6.3 Analysis: Maker's marks*

#### *6.3.1 People and Places*

This section will examine the pipes with makers' names, initials and decorations. It is broken down by country of origin, and then by initials and decorations in alphabetical order. A considerable number of trade marks for tobacco pipes were registered, however it is worth noting that the details on the goods varied, and frequently the types of tobacco pipes were not specified (Hammond 1985:112).

**France**

***Dieppe:*** A total of four Dieppe pipes were recovered from various temporal Phases of the site. The first (1411P15161) was recovered from midden-like areas in use between 1805 and 1845, the second (1077P8340) from a disturbed context in use from 1845-1904, the third (1083P8183) from an open space littered with domestic waste that has been dated to Phase 1 occupation (1630-1713), and finally one whose context is unknown (1160P10495). Pipes were being manufactured in Dieppe as early as the seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century there were at least three major manufacturers working in the area, including a Mr. Bretel (Jean-Leo 1971:13, 25; Walker 1977:290). According to Walker, Bretel's workers were brought from The Netherlands and his best products were exported, particularly to America, while his lesser wares were sold primarily to sailors and soldiers (1977:290). By the time of the French Revolution in 1795, there were over a hundred workshops in Dieppe offering competitively priced pipes, but by 1810 the industry had severely declined, and by 1838 there was only one workshop left which closed a few years later (Jean-Leo 1971:13). The Dieppe pipes are

likely late eighteenth-century examples, and were probably purchased because of the competitive prices being offered to customers.

***D. Leguerne Morlaix:*** One example of a D. Leguerne Morlaix pipe (1003P10910) has been recovered from the site, and was found in what would have been an open work space used during Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904). As stated by Jean-Leo (1971), these pipes date to the mid-nineteenth century, which fits nicely with the dates for the context in which it was found (1971:27).

***Fiolet St-Omer:*** Hammond notes that because the details given for each pipe trade mark include the length of time that any particular device or mark had been in use, we therefore know the exact years in which these makers established their well-known marks, which is not only useful in the dating of the pipes themselves, but also in giving more precise details concerning the actual makers (Hammond in Davey 1985:112). Three pipe fragments (1003P11060, 1003P9537, 1009P10097) from Fiolet-St.Omer were found in open working space contexts from the fifth (1805-1845) and sixth (1845-1904) occupational phases of the site. Walker notes that Fiolet was the most famous Saint-Omer pipemaking firm and that the firm's pipes were widely available throughout France, particularly in Paris, Bordeaux, and Brittany (1977:286-7). The Fiolet firm manufactured pipes between 1765 and 1921, however Louis Maximilien Fiolet began using the registered trade mark 'L. Fiolet a St-Omer' only in 1833 (Rd. No. 4998) (Hammond in Davey 1985:112; Jean-Leo 1971:30).

***Gambier a Paris:*** Two pipe stems (1212P10649, 1212P10377) mended together to show the words "G*ambier a Paris M*M Déposé"* were excavated from the context of

an abandoned/demolished cabin in Phase 5 of the site occupation (1805-1845). Hammond notes that the Gambier firms began adding the word "*Déposé*", meaning "registered", in 1862 (Hammond 1985:112). Interestingly, Gambier did not manufacture pipes in Paris, but the firm did have offices and an important shop there, which closed in 1908 (Jean-Leo 1970:35; Walker 1977:292). The "Paris" marking on Gambier pipes may have been pure snobbery: Jean-Leo notes that when the Gambier firm took over that of Noel of Lyon (c. 1890), pipes marked "Noel Lyon" were for the home market and those marked "Noel Paris" were reserved for export (Walker 1977:292). According to Walker, Gambier pipes became so wildly popular in the nineteenth century that the word "Gambier" became a direct synonym for a clay pipe, noting that "Rimbaud, writing in 1871, described himself thinking antagonistic thoughts about the world with a beer tankard in his hand and a Gambier between his teeth" (Walker 1977:293). It is not surprising, then, that such a popular consumer product would be found at Dos-de-Cheval.

**United Kingdom**

***Brown, R:*** Two fragments with "R. Brown" impressed into the stems were found in Phase 4 (1780-1820) of the sites occupation: one in a context associated with a shelter by the Bookend (1260P11346), and the other in a midden-like context which spans both Phase 4 and Phase 5 occupations (1411P14856) (Figure 39). It is worth mentioning at this time that eight pipe bowl fragments were recovered with the initials "RB" on the heels, and they are probably by the same maker. They will be discussed in the following section on initials.


**Figure 39. Artefact 1411P14856 showing the impressed maker's mark "R Brown". Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**

**Guernsey:** Three Guernsey pipes were recovered during excavations. Artefacts 1012P7766 and 1012P7767 were located in the same unit in Area B. The first has a faint "UE" on it, and the second has what looks like an "R", followed by "NSEY". It is probable that they were part of the same pipe. The last stem (1007P6693) has what appears to be "HAP" on one side, and "RNS" with what might have been the vertical part of the letter "E" after. It was also found in Phase 5 occupation (1805 - 1845) in Area C. Both Ayto and Oswald note that in 1852 a pipemaker named W. S. Chaple was working in Guernsey, and it is probable that all Guernsey pipes found at Champ Paya were made by Chapelet (Ayto 1979:14; Oswald 1975:206).

***London:*** A partial bowl and heel (1029P8181) with LON/DON impressed on the bottom of the heel was recovered from Phase 3 occupation (1750-1780), and has been dated to 1720-1780 (Savard & Drouin 1990:156,163). Though badly worn, the left side of the heel depicts a lion or serpent, and the right side a crown or castle.

***Morgan:*** One stem fragment (1009P6065) with "MORGAN" on it was recovered from a open/midden-like space containing domestic waste in the Phase 5 occupation (1820-1845) of the site (Figure 41). It was likely manufactured by either R. Morgan or W. Morgan, both of Liverpool, who were working in the early nineteenth century (Walker 1982:69).

***Stephens, John:*** Five pipes with "John Stephens" were excavated from Area C. Two of the five stems were recovered from open work spaces with domestic debris: 1009P6853 was from Phase 5 (1805-1845) and 12083P8251 from Phase 1 (1630-1713). Artefact 1271P11939 was recovered from an area where cod liver oil was processed

during Phase 3 occupation (1750-1780), and 1412P14942 was recovered from a sterile beach context in a midden. The last pipe stem has no phase associated with it. The maker is John Stephens from Newport who was actively manufacturing between 1708 and 1751 (Oswald 1975:173).

***Stephens, Rick:*** One pipe stem (1412P15307) (Figure 40) was recovered from a midden in use during Phases 0-3 (sterile beach-1780) of the site's occupation. It has "RICK/STEP/HENS" impressed on it. There was an R. Stephens working between 1700 and 1720 in the Portsmouth Fareham area of England (Oswald 1975:173).


**Figure 40. Artefact 1412P15307 showing the incised maker's mark "RICK STEP/HENS". Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**


**Figure 41. A selection of Dutch, French and English pipe stems. From left to right: Artefact 1427P14802 has dentate as well as V rouletting with an oval and X pattern above and below it. Artefact 1063P8184 is decorated with four fleur-de-lys in a diamond pattern bisected with oblique hachure rouletting. Artefact 1003P11060 shows the incuse stamped maker's mark "L. Fiolet St. Omer". Artefact 1009P6065 is an English pipe stem fragment with the manufacturers stamp "MORGAN" on the stem. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

**Dutch**

***Verzil in Gouda****:* Two Verzil pipes were recovered from Area C. The first stem (1073P8179) has rouletting with "ER" and part of what could be a "Z". Below the rouletting the partial word "OUDA" is impressed. It was recovered from the Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904) in a disturbed context. The second stem (823P1807) has "ERZI" and "GOUD", with rouletted dots in between the partial words, and would have read "F.VERZIL IN GOUDA" when it was complete. There is no Phase associated with this artefact. The pipes are likely from the late eighteenth to nineteenth century when pipemaker Franz Verzijl exported a large amount of his wares to France (Anon, 2013).

### *6.3.2 Initials*

The use of initials as marks was an informal affair in England, as opposed to the strict registration and control exercised in Gouda, where marks would be bought, sold and inherited (Walker 1966:86). Therefore, as Walker notes, it is often difficult to attribute initials to a specific maker, especially if their initials were particularly common. Additionally, the fragmentary nature of the Dos-de-Cheval assemblage makes it difficult to match the partial bowls and their cartouches to similar examples in existing typologies. It was common for pipemakers to copy popular pipe designs, so country of origin for many fragments is impossible to deduce.

***A:*** One partial bowl fragment (1003P10155) with an "A", surrounded by a scalloped cartouche, was recovered from Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904) in an area identified as working/open space. A second example (1212P10302) was recovered from

Phase 5 (1805-1845) and is associated with the demolition or abandonment of a cabin. The latter has a six-rayed sunburst above the letter.

***AC:*** One pipe bowl (1318P13821) contains the maker's mark “A” on the left side and “C” on the right side of the heel, respectively. It resembles pipes dated to 1800-1830 (Savard & Drouin 1990:216).

***AD:*** This pipe bowl fragment (1027P13284) (Figure 42) recovered from Phase 4 (1780-1820) has part of a cartouche with the incuse initials "A.D" stamped on it, decorated with a debased floral motif above the initials, and a line below them decorated with a scalloped border. The lines are less distinctive than those of 10302 and 10155 – the sunburst in this case is more floral and organic, though it has a similar cartouche and sunburst. The complete AD example is more delicate than those with only “A” visible. No comparable examples could be found to match it to a known maker.


**Figure 42. Artefact 1027P13284 showing the stamped maker's mark "AD" in a cartouche. Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**

***Backwards "S":*** A partial bowl with heel (1271P11058) was recovered from Phase 3 (1750-1780) of the site in an area used for the processing of cod liver oil. It has what could be a backwards "S", probably a Dutch symbol for "*slegde*", meaning ordinary (Walker 1963:62). The mark on the right hand side was too worn and faded for identification. It matches an example in Duco dating to the mid-eighteenth century (1987:28-48 #140).

***Crowned "IS/TS":*** An almost complete bowl (1273P12875) (Figure 43) was recovered from Phase 1 occupation (1630-1713) in Area C associated with the stage. The left side of the heel bears a crown above a 'T' or 'I', and the right side bears a crown over an 'S'. It closely resembles an example in Oswald's typology (type 20) which demonstrates a slightly flared bowl whose lip is parallel to the stem, although it has a smaller heel (Oswald 1975:40). It has been dated to 1720-1730, and corresponds with the early eighteenth- century occurrence of pipes with crowned letters on either side of the heel (Walker 1971:70).

***Crowned TK****:* Artefact 1411P15129 is a partial bowl and shank depicting what seems to be a crowned 'T' on the left side of the heel, and a crowned 'K' on the right.

***DCP:*** One pipe heel (1411P15164) with the letters 'D' and 'P' depicted in relief, with the letter C missing and a shield of Gouda – introduced after 1740 – with an 'S' above the shield meaning "*slegde*" or ordinary. A matching mark with the dates 1680-1720 was found in Savard and Drouin 1990:120-121(e), although our example was recovered from a midden-like area in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845).


**Figure 43. Partially complete 18th-century pipe bowl with crowned 'T' and 'S' on either side of the heel (not shown). Artefact 1273P12875. Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**

***GD:*** A pipe bowl with spur (1003P9435)(Figure 44) was recovered from an open working space in use during Phase 6 (1845-1904), and bears an incuse cartouche with the initials “GD”. It is a close match to an example dated to 1840-1880 (White & Davey 2004:395-396, #9).

***RB:*** There are ten pipe fragments with the initials “RB” on the heels. Artefacts 869P3832, 1406P14918, 1411P15168, 1412P15276 match, so they are from the same maker/mold. Artefacts 1229P10517, 1420P17645 and 1269P12877 are also similar and are possibly from the same mold and maker. Finally 1005P7657 and 1081P8182 are similar as well. Artefact 1005P7657 was found in an open working space with domestic waste which was used in Phase 5 (1805-1845). Pipe 1081P8182 was recovered from a disturbed area in Phase 6 (1845-1904). Artefact 1229P10517 was recovered from a Phase 3 area when its spatial purpose was reorganised. Artefacts 1267P11112 and 1269P12877 were recovered from areas used for cod liver oil processing in Phases 3 and 4 respectively (1750-1820). Artefact 1406P14918 was recovered from the context of the main stage during Phase 3 of the occupation (1750-1780). Artefacts 1411P15168 and 1412P15276 were both recovered from midden-like deposits, however the former artefact was recovered from the Phase 5 occupation, (1805-1845), whereas the latter is dated to Phases 0-3 (sterile beach-1780). Artefact 1420P17645 is dated to circa 1762, and was recovered from an area of domestic waste from the Phase 4 occupation (1780-1820). It is probable that these pipes were produced by English pipemaker Roger Browne, as he produced pipes in Hampshire County between 1753 and 1775.


**Figure 44. Mid-19th century 'GD' pipe bowl with spur. Artefact 1003P9435. Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**

***TC:*** A pipe bowl and shank fragment bearing the initials "TC" was recovered from the Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845), in an open working space scattered with domestic waste. It matches an example from Oswald dated to 1780-1820 (Oswald 1975:38). However, the mold line is sliced, suggesting a date of 1800-1820 (Burns 2012b:3).

***TD:*** Eight examples of 'TD' pipes were recovered from Area C. The first, 99P8167, is a complete bowl and heel, with an incuse cartouche stamped on the bowl facing the smoker. Above the initials is a decorative floral vine motif, and the cartouche would have been confined in a circle, however part of the circle and the letter 'D' is missing. At one time there would have been a second floral motif beneath the initials but it has either been worn away, or else was not well impressed into the clay during the pipe's manufacture. The mark is also slightly off-center, pointing to one o'clock. It compares well with Quebec City material of 1780-1840 (Savard and Drouin 1990:201 #57d). Bowl fragment 800P7930 was recovered from the surface (post-1904) but also matches the example in Savard and Drouin, with a date of 1780-1840. The fragment has a worn "TD" cartouche on the back of the bowl, with a flower motif and a scalloped circle surrounding the initials and decorative designs. Artefact 1005P7663 is a bowl and shank junction, recovered from an open working space with domestic waste used during the Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845), and has "T" in relief on the left side of the heel (from the smoker's point of view) and a "D" on the right. Artefact 1222P10361 is also a bowl-shank junction from Phases 4 and 5 (1780-1845) in an open area of the site near a rock niche, and bears a "T" within a partial stamped cartouche. Artefact 1267P17339 is a bowl

fragment with the initials "TD" on it, and was recovered from a cod liver oil processing area in use during Phase 4 (1780-1820). Artefact 1402P14634 is a bowl fragment with a very large incuse "TD": each letter is circled and bears a different font from the other examples. It is likely a nineteenth-century example and was recovered from Phase 6 (1845-1904) in the context of the stage. Artefact 1409P14826 was also recovered from the sixth phase of occupation, though this one from a working space with domestic debris. It matches an example in Walker which dates to 1840-1880 (Walker 1977:1533 #29). Artefact 1003P9591 is a nearly complete bowl, recovered from Phase 6 in an area designated as an open working space. It matches pipe type 27 in Oswald's typology and is described as being of a style with thinner stems, wide mouths and walls and bases declining in size (Oswald 1975:40). These kinds of pipes are found mainly in North America in the nineteenth century, as the common export types duplicate in shape the basic spurred types but without the spur (Oswald 1975:40). It is poorly burnished and has 'TD' in a cartouche stamped into the bowl, facing the smoker (Burns 2012b:2)

The use of TD initials on pipes goes back over 200 years, and finding information on the original makers of TD pipes is difficult because after a time, the initials themselves became a mark used by many pipemakers to denote a specific type of pipe (Walker 1966:86). Indeed, in 1900 no fewer than 37 different types of "TD pipe" were listed in the catalogues of Scottish pipemaking firms in Glasgow (Walker 1966:88).

***W:*** There are two pipes with the letter 'W' on them. The first stem fragment, 1183P10872 was found in Area F and has an incuse W, followed by a second indiscernible letter. It looks as though the owner might have scratched the letters in

himself, in order to distinguish it as his. The second is a bowl and shank junction, which shows a 'W'; on the right side of the heel, the two V's intersecting to make an 'X'. Neither pipe has an associated context.

### *6.3.3 Symbols and decorations*

This section will examine the decorative symbols on pipes found at Champ Paya. Decorated pipe bowls became popular in the last half of the eighteenth century, and there were a great variety of styles (Kenyon 1988:2). In the same way that TD pipes were copied, so too were pipes with popular moulded decorations: "if a design proved popular by one pipe manufacturer it was not uncommon for a rival company to copy it" (Kenyon 1988:2). Additionally, the moulded design has some advantages over their smoother counterparts, in that the scrolls, ribs, flutes, dots and other bumps allowed the smoker a better grip – especially whilst smoking outdoors. Additionally, the designs provided a better buffer against the heat of the pipe, making them a cooler smoke (Kenyon 1988:2).

***Baroque:*** Three pipe stem fragments are decorated in a Dutch Baroque style. The first (861P2667) is a decorated stem with very finely mold-imparted swirls and curlicues in relief. The second (1151P17288) also has dots and circles with organic curlicues. The third and final stem (1403P14710) has similar organic designs and was found in Phase 5 (1805-1845) in a context associated with the fishing stage. They have been identified as Dutch based on the clear, delicate quality of the designs, and closely resemble examples in Duco (1987:90).

***Dots*:** There are seven examples of pipes adorned with dots. Artefact 800P9121 was found on the surface in Phase 7 (post-1904) and is a partial bowl fragment with fine relief fluting at the base of the bowl near the heel, which ends only to become an organic vine-like motif. The bottom of the heel has something illegible stamped into it, and the left side of the heel has a raised dot. Artefact 1001P4121 is a bowl fragment which was recovered from an open working space in use roughly between 1845 and 1904 (Phase 6) and has worn dots and matches an example of the pipemaker Job Clerc (#16) in Jean-Leo (1971). Artefacts 1003P9389, 1009P9436 and 1419P17547 were matched and mended to produce a bowl and stem fragment with dots and lines which make a geometric pattern: a line divides a row of smaller dots from larger ones lined up above it. Two out of the three fragments were found in the later occupations of the site's use, so the pipe is likely a nineteenth-century example. Artefact 1005P5750 is a bowl fragment recovered from Phase 5 (1805-1845) in an open working area with domestic refuse, but the pipe itself has been identified to 1640-1690 and has a Mulberry-like motif of raised dots. Artefact 1260P17307 was recovered from Phase 4 (1780-1820) from the context of a shelter by the Bookend feature. It is a half-size bulbous pipe bowl with large dots where the stem join would have been, and resembles an example in Duco (1987:38 #65) although due to the fragmentary nature of the artefact, no exact matches can be made. Artefact 1403P14664 is a pipe bowl fragment recovered from Phase 5 (1805-1845) at the stage. The left side of the heel has a star above a dot in relief, and the right side of the heel contains two dots, one above the other. This matches an example from Yorkshire dating to 1750-1800 (White and Davey 2004:395). Finally, artefact 1421P17683 was recovered

from a context which was rich with domestic waste, and was in use between 1780 and 1820 (Phase 4). The right side of the heel has three dots: two next to each other and one directly below the first, and the base of the heel has either an "R" or a "P" stamped into it, with a circle around it.

Decorative dots, knobs and flutes offered the smoker a better grip on their pipe: assuming that the fishermen's hands were heavily calloused from the rigours of their work, a textured bowl might have been easier to handle – especially during wet, cold or windy weather.

***Effigy:*** One pipe bowl fragment (1027P10499) of an effigy pipe was recovered from the context of a cabin used during Phase 4 (1780-1820). It shows part of a face in relief clearly depicting a stylised eye with a detailed eyebrow (individual hairs can be seen when the artefact is examined using a microscope), as well as hair poking out from under a hat (Figure 45). The hat has what appear to be flowers or stars on it, and matches an example from Kenyon (1983: 9) of a 'Turks Head' pipe common in North American contexts during the 19$^{th}$ century. Kenyon states that this is not a surprising theme: as early as 1658 a Dutch tobacco store used a statuette of a Turk in order to advertise its wares, and by the nineteenth century is was a familiar motif found on tobacco wrappings (1983:9).


**Figure 45. Partial Turk's Head effigy pipe bowl EfAx-09:1027P10499, depicts a stylised eye with a detailed eyebrow and hair poking out from under a hat. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

***Fauna and Flora:*** In the interest of brevity, fauna and flora have been grouped together as one category, since many faunal scenes also have floral elements such as vines or leaves. There are three examples of faunal decorations in the assemblage. The first (1208P10031) was found in Area C in Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845) in a midden-like space, and seems to show a partial stag's head. The stem has the beginnings of a maker's name on it: a "W", followed by what could be a "C" or an "O". The second artefact (921P3872) was recovered from Area A, and has small leaves or ears where the stem starts, and might be another example of a stag in the woods. The third artefact (1208P17400) was recovered from a midden-like open space in Area C, used between 1805 and 1845 (Phase 5) and has what looks like part of a bird on it. It is possible that the faunal pipes discussed here were once part of intact Masonic-motif pipes, as many of the same faunal elements (such as birds and stags) can be found on the Masonic examples discussed in a later section.

There are 20 pipe fragments in the assemblage with floral motifs, excluding the fleur-de-lys designs which will be discussed under a subsequent heading. Artefact 1009P10603 was recovered from a working/open space with domestic waste used in Phase 5 (1805-1845), and has a clover stamped into the bottom of the heel. It is similar to examples made in Danens, however a perfect match cannot be made due to a lack of additional examples (Duco 1987:54). Artefact 809P2884 is a bowl fragment with very delicate leaves and roses moulded into the bowl. No matches could be found, but it is probably a nineteenth-century example. A second pipe bowl was decorated with finely moulded roses and thistles. There are twelve pipe fragments which have leaves running

up the front of the bowls. All were found in Area C, mostly within Phases 5 and 6 of the site's occupation (1805-1904) in contexts associated with working spaces/open spaces with domestic waste and barrel work, although one was found in a heavily disturbed context (1079P8141), and one in a midden-like area (1412P15801) in use between Phases 0-3 (sterile beach - 1780). The practice of disguising mould seams with leaves and other organic decorations is probably the single most common form of decoration on nineteenth-century pipes (Davey 1985:188). Some of these pipes also have moulded flutes and ribs. Artefact 1012P5349 is decorated with moulded oak and vine leaves and was found in Area B, and artefact 1066P5331 was recovered from Area A and had finely moulded acorns and oak leaves on the bowl fragment. No matches could be found for either, but they are likely English. One last bowl fragment was recovered with leaves similar to a sumac or oak, recovered from an unknown context in Area C (1203P7790). Artefact 1077P8389 is a bowl and shank junction which has strange marks moulded into it, as though it is supposed to mimic wood. It was recovered from Area C in a disturbed context which was in use roughly between 1845 and 1904. Without a diagnostic maker's mark, it is difficult to ascertain where these pipes would have been made, as popular designs and motifs were oftentimes copied by pipemakers.

***Figurative:*** Artefact 805P2897 is a mid-nineteenth-century partial pipe bowl with a pointed spur. While the majority of the bowl, and therefore the design, is missing, the bowl has rope and fin-like decorations which exactly match a pipe described and depicted by Davey in an image called "Breton woman spinning and Breton smoking his pipe"

(Davey 1980:95 figure 14/plate 23). The only difference is that Davey's example lacks a spur.

***Fleur-de-lys:*** There are three stem fragments decorated with a fleur-de-lys motif. The first artefact (1063P8184) has fleur-de-lys arranged within a diamond pattern bisected by oblique hachure rouletting, and has been dated to the mid-to-late seventeenth century (Duco 1987:40; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 176; Gaulton 2006:344-45). It was found within the context of the Captain's Table. The second (1063P8186) was recovered from an open space with domestic waste, in use between 1630 and 1713, and the third (1203P7840) is roughly dated to the early to mid-17$^{th}$ century.

***Flutes and ribs:*** There are 33 pipe fragments with moulded ribs or flutes. The majority were found in Phases 5 and 6 of the site's occupation (1805-1904) in the context of working/open spaces with domestic debris and midden-like open spaces, and are probably from the second half of the nineteenth century.

***Hand with Quill:*** Artefact 1061P8089 (Figure 46) was recovered from the Captain's Table in the Phase 2 occupation (1713-1750). It depicts a very finely executed maker's mark impressed into the pipe's heel. The detail is very fine, and it is most likely Dutch, as the Dutch were renowned for the skill with which they created small-scale detailed marks (Duco 1982:67).


**Figure 46. Dutch pipe bowl fragment with very fine molded detail on the heel. Artefact 1061P8089. Image courtesy of Bryn Tapper.**

**Hearts:** There are seven pipe fragments with moulded hearts on the stem near to the bowl-stem junction. Most of the examples have hearts with hollow centres, and all were recovered from Area C. Three of the seven were found in the later occupations of the site; 800P4044 was found on the surface of Phase 7 (post-1904) and has hearts in relief on either side of the heel. Artefact 1001P4113 was recovered from an open working area in use between 1845 and 1904, and artefact 1418P14559 was recovered from an area used for fishing line preparation in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845). Hearts are often found on Dutch pipes from the eighteenth century (Duco 1982:71).

**Masonic:** There are seven pipe bowl fragments with Masonic motifs. The first (1059P8692) has a stag's head in front of the bowl's seam, and matches some of the other faunal decorated pipes in the assemblage. It was recovered from a disturbed context in use between 1845 and 1904. Artefact 1284P11780 also has a stag motif and is similar to other examples in this assemblage, although the stag is smaller, suggesting that the various examples unearthed from the Champ Paya are from different moulds/makers. Artefact 1059P8758 is also from a disturbed area in use between 1845 and 1904; however the pipe itself dates from the end of the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century (1780-1840) (Savard & Drouin 1990:214). It has a mason's compass in relief, a set of mason's dividers, a rose, and other organic elements such as leaves (Figure 47). It closely resembles an example published by Davey, as the mason's rule is upside down, and was probably manufactured in Rainford in the Northwest of England (Davey 1985: 211). It likely dates from the nineteenth century.

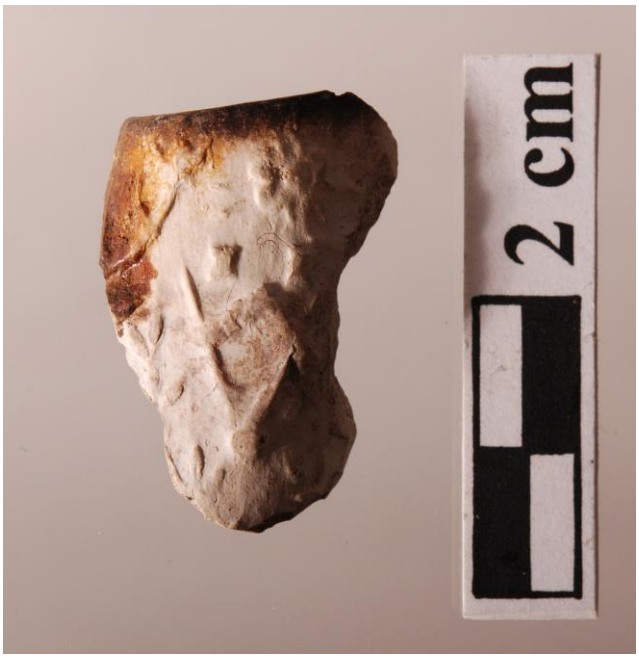


**Figure 47. A masonic-themed pipe bowl fragment, recovered from a disturbed area in use between 1845 and 1904, although the pipe itself is dated to the end of the eighteenth century (1780-1840). Note the mason's compass and dividers in relief and organic elements such as a rose and leaves. Artefact EfAx-09:1059P8758. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Artefact 1284P11779 also depicts a mason's rule and compass, with an upside down "G" which matches an example in Kenyon and probably dates to the nineteenth century (Kenyon 1983). Artefact 1204P9618 was recovered from an open, midden-like space in use during the Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904), as depicts an ibis-like bird. It dates to the nineteenth century, as an exact match is found in Kenyon's "19th century Notes" (1983). Artefact 1284P11761 has a stylised daisy design in relief which matches the flowers on 1059P8758.

***Mulberry:*** There are five examples of Mulberry pipes in the assemblage from the Champ Paya. One (1005P5682) was recovered from a working space with domestic waste in use during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845), although the artefact has been dated to the mid- late eighteenth century (Oswald 1975:98-99). Artefacts 1047P6076 and 1067P8218 were both recovered from disturbed contexts in use during Phase 6 (1845-1904), although both have been identified and dated to the mid to late part of the seventeenth century. The former is a bowl/stem fragment with stylised berries in relief. Artefacts 1273P13294 and 1273P12876 were recovered from Phase 1 occupation (1630-1713) in contexts associated with the stage, and have been dated to the mid to late seventeenth century. The latter is a complete bowl with stylised mulberry deigns in relief and a rouletted rim (Figure 48). It is likely from the Midlands/East Anglia region of England and dates to roughly 1660-1690 as it stylistically matching examples in two sources (Fox & Barton 1986:186, Muldoon 1979:255). Clearly some early pipes were redeposited in later strata on the site, confirming that the site was continually reused and rebuilt.


**Figure 48. A complete pipe bowl with mulberry designs and rouletted rim recovered from Phase 1 occupation in contexts associated with the stage. It is likely from the Midlands/East Anglia region of England and has been dated to the mid to late seventeenth century. Artefact EfAx-09:1273P12876. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

***Numbers:*** Only one example of a pipe with numbers was recovered from the site. It consists of an undecorated partial bowl with attached heel (1001P6238) and was recovered from an open working space in use between 1845 and 1904. The pipe has maker's marks on either side of the heel: the left side exhibiting a "7", and the right displaying an "O" with two raised dots beneath it. The bottom of the heel has what looks like the number "17" stamped into it. These marks date anywhere between 1727 and 1843 (Duco 1982). The use of numbers was a characteristic of Dutch pipemakers (Walker 1963:71).

***Rouletting/ Stamped Crosshatching:*** There are nineteen examples of pipes with rouletting and/or crosshatching in the assemblage – not counting pipes which had other prominent features (such as mulberry designs) and were therefore classified within other categories.

Rouletted lines, used primarily as a decorative motif on pipe stems, are known to occur in England during the second half of the seventeenth century, although similar – if not identical – decoration was used by the Dutch (Walker 1963:82). Walker notes that later Dutch pipes often contain maker's names followed by the words "in Gouda", or simply "Gouda" which shows place of manufacture, though pipes from Dunkirk also bore these decorative elements (1963:82). Pipes with rouletting are often found at French colonial sites as the Gouda pipe makers' guild and other Dutch manufacturers were actively exporting their goods to France and the French colonies (Walker 1983:28). However, in many cases is it difficult to attribute the fragments of rouletted pipes to

specific countries, as the aesthetics of popular designs were widely replicated, and the recovered pipes are often fragmentary.

Of the nineteen examples recovered, two are bowl fragments exhibiting rouletting around the rim: 869P3044 is associated with Feature 873, a Christian burial, while the other, artefact 1001P4120, was found in an open working space in use during Phase 6 occupation (1845-1904). Artefact 805P3002 has bands of impressed rouletted dots consistent with Dutch pipe manufacture, although as mentioned earlier, it is difficult to ascertain with any certainly whether this is in fact Dutch. Two pipe stem fragments have the remains of the marks of the Dutch Gouda Guild on them: 1005P7958 has rouletting and "OUDA" stamped on the stem and was recovered from an open working space used in Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845), and 1207P10486 has rouletting with "N  OU" visible under a microscope. Artefacts 1007P6847 and 1306P12619 have diagonal barber pole-type rouletting similar to examples found in Duco (1987:86 #43). The former was found in an open work space in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845), while the latter has no context. Four pipe stems with rouletting (1033P8179, 1246P12924, 1246P13916, 1412P14518) were recovered from contexts associated with the Captain's Table occupation/destruction in Phase 2 (1713-1750), as was a pipe stem (1049P7521) with rouletting and faint diamond patterned stamping which closely resembles an example in Duco (1987:87 #461). Finally, five pipe stems had oval rouletting stamped on them: object 1208P9815 was recovered from a midden in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845); 1412P15260 was found in a midden in use during Phase 0-3 (sterile beach-1780) and has a V-type pattern in addition to the oval rouletting pattern; 1269P12905 was found in Phase 3 (1750-1780) in

a cod liver oil processing area; 1340P13185 has no associated context, and 1427P14802 has dentate and V rouletting, as well as and oval and X stamped motif. Finally, 1063P8165 has an X-type pattern on it, similar to an example in Duco, and is likely of Dutch origin (1987:84). It was recovered from the context of the Captain's Table occupation which dates to Phase 2 (1713-1750) at Champ Paya.

***Shields:*** Two pipe stem heels/spurs bear a shield motif. The coat of arms of the city of Gouda was put on certain Gouda pipes only after 1739-40, so pipes with these marks cannot be earlier than this date (Helbers and Goedewaagen 1942:18, 42; Walker 1971:62). Gouda pipes came in three qualities known as *porceleyne, fijne*, and *slegte* (porcelain [actually a high polish], fine and ordinary) and in November of 1739 permission was given to differentiate the *porcelain* class by adding the Gouda arms to the bowl in order to prevent merchants from mixing up their merchandise (Helbers and Goedewaagen 1942:18). However, this caused a rapid drop in the sale of *fine* pipes, because buyers thought they were *ordinary* pipes. By March 1740, permission was given by the Gouda Guild to mark *fine* and *ordinary* pipes with a Gouda coat of arms surmounted by the letter S [slegte] on both sides of the heel (Helbers and Goedewaagen 1942:18; Walker 1971:62).

Artefact 1009P6505 was recovered from an open working space in use during Phase 5 (1805-1845), and has a maker's mark on either side of the heel, one of which is worn, while the other looks like a shield. Artefact 1027P10367 is an oval pipe bowl recovered from a cabin used during Phase 4 (1780-1820), however this example matches one in Savard and Drouin who dates this artefact between 1740 and 1760 (1990:148-9).

These dates suggest that the use of the cabin might actually have begun earlier than previously thought.

***Wheels:*** Three pipe bowl fragments were recovered which bear stylised wheels impressed upon their heels. The first (1063P8180) was recovered from the context of the Captain's Table, in use during Phase 2 (1713-1750); the second (1269P13509) was found in an area used for processing cod liver oil during Phase 3 (1750-1780), and the last (1404P14747) was found near the stage during Phase 4 (1780-1820) of the site's use. All three were recovered in proximity to one another.

### *6.4 Lead Tobacco Seal*

One lead tobacco seal (1412M15541) (Figure 49) was recovered from Dos de Cheval. It is round with a triangular stamp which reads "CARLIER DESBOV TABAC" on the obverse, and "BUREAU GEN DU DINAN" on the reverse (Figures 44-45). It is 19mm in diameter and 3mm thick, and was recovered from a midden in use continually during Phases 1, 2 and 3 (1630-1780) based on a wide range of dates from associated ceramic and pipe fragments. Pierre Carlier governed the general tobacco farm from 1726 to 1732, as well as the Indies Trading Company's farm between 1730 and 1738 (Anon 2010). In 1732, Nicolas Desboves took over the governorship of the general farm from Carlier, and the two agreed to have both of their names listed during the years when Carlier's lease overlapped with Desboves (Yanok 2005: 42). This seal would have therefore been issued between 1732 and 1738, which corresponds well with previous dating of the context in which it was recovered. Lead seals of this sort were used in order

to show that taxes and duty had been paid on this merchandise (Yanok 2005: 43). Additionally, these types of trade seals could indicate production region as well as manufacturer.


**Figure 49. Lead tobacco seal reading CARLIERS DESBOVES TABAC recovered from a midden in use between 1630 and 1780. The seal would have been issued between 1732 and 1738, when Pierre Carlier and Nicolas Deboves had joint custody of the Indies Trading Company tobacco farm. EfAx-09:1412M15541. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 50. The reverse of Figure 49 reading "BUREAU GEN[ERALE] DE DINAN" indicating the region of France which would have imposed duty on consumer products being exported. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**

*6.5 Discussion*

In addition to providing invaluable information for dating the site's stratigraphy, stylistic differences in particular groups of artefacts such as clay smoking pipes show us how products were altered over time to meet the changing finances and aesthetic desires of their consumers. From increasing bowl size as a direct result of lower tobacco prices, to creating more fanciful decorations on both bowl and stem, the pipes in this collection hint at personal aesthetic preferences and ideologies of their owners. Examination of maker's marks and certain complete bowls indicates that there were more English pipes found on the site than Dutch or French, especially during Phases 5 and 6 of the site's occupation (1805-1904). These Phases also hold the highest concentration of pipes on the site, which we can attribute to the fact that smoking was a commonplace activity.

Pipes manufactured in the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century have more decorative variation than early examples. As a result, the clay pipes from this assemblage provide insight into more subtle aspects of fishermen's consumption patterns and aesthetic tastes, as well as indicating a connection between smoking and stratigraphic events which could be loosely considered leisure areas. It is probable that there was very little of what we would today categorize as *leisure time* on the site, although large concentrations of broken pipes in certain events and areas suggest that groups of fishermen might have gathered in particular locations around Area C to smoke and talk while they worked: in particular the open working spaces and areas associated with the Captain's Table (Burns 2011 pers. comm). The abundance of pipe fragments from this site suggests that most fishermen used tobacco products and that even the youngest crewmembers likely partook. The fact

that tobacco and smoking paraphernalia were inexpensive and abundant suggests that they were not status symbols. However, smoking was a social activity and decorated pipes would have been shared and perhaps admired.

# Chapter 7: Coins and Tokens

## *7.1 Introduction*

Coins begin their career as currency in the form of smooth metal discs, called blanks, which are inserted between two dies and struck in order to impress the words and shapes onto the coins (Berry 2011 pers. comm). Different mints had different sized dies, which often created slight discrepancies in the sizes of finished products (Berry 2011 pers. comm).

As one might imagine, wars in Europe directly affected the quantity of currency available in a particular country. In France, the Fronde Revolt, which took place between 1648 and 1652 caused a serious shortage of small denominations which was eventually addressed and rectified under the rule of Louis XIV (Gadoury 2000:95; Speilvogel 1999:328, 330). However, no one in France was prepared for the staggering discrepancies in the *liards* minted under the same king between 1654 and 1658.

According to Victor Gadoury, the creation of *liards* was sanctioned by decree and edict on July 1st, 1654 (cited in Gadoury 2000:95; Speilvogel 1999: 328). The commission for striking this new currency was given to Isaac Blandin, who was authorised to sub-contract the work at his discretion to eight workshops which were unaffiliated with the larger, already established mints located in city centers such as La Rochelle (Gadoury 2000:95). The six-year-long project would involve the production of new *liards* using approximately 50 percent new copper and 50 percent old coins which were no longer in circulation and could be melted into new currency (Gadoury 2000:95). However, the main French mints, such as those located in Poitiers and La Rochelle,

refused to allow what they deemed "inferior coinage" to be produced in proximity to their established mints. Consequently, Blandin and his subcontractors were forced to establish their workshops in the outskirts of the city (Gadoury 2000:95).

As it turned out, the mints' suspicions that the eight workshops were 'unscrupulous" were confirmed when the French market was suddenly flooded by mass-produced, substantially under-weight *liards*. Despite incomplete data, it is estimated that more than 515 million sub-standard *liards* were thus produced (Gadoury 2000:95). While public outcry erupted in certain parts of France – notably in Nimes, Sologne and Pont de l'Arche – against this new shoddy coinage, Blandin's sub-contractors again attempted to relocate their headquarters and dispensaries, even though they continued to use the official mint marks of the larger mints in towns closest to them. Offended by the evidence of these currency abuses, Louis XIV decreed that production of the inferior *liards* officially cease on August 8, 1658 – two years before the contract was originally scheduled to end. The value of the *liard* was subsequently reduced from three *deniers* to only one *denier* (Gadoury 2000:95). Gadoury states that the now virtually worthless, under-weight *liards* were soon melted down for military efforts, or restruck into currency between the years of 1692-1701.

According to Paul Berry, curator of the National Currency Museum in Ottawa, Canada, eight of the ten coins recovered from the Champ Paya site are probably *liards* based on their size, and one is probably a *double tournois* (Berry 2011 pers. comm). The other coin recovered is a well preserved *centime* minted in 1853.

### *7.2 Analysis*

The majority of coins recovered are heavily worn due to decomposition as a result of exposure to the elements, as well as the soft nature of the copper from which they were manufactured. It is equally probable that their heavy wear is a result of extended circulation and trade prior to being lost or discarded. Of the ten coins recovered, two were found in Phase 3 (1750-1780) in the same area of the site thought to be a midden. Two coins were recovered from Phase 4 (1780-1820), both of which were probably *liards* based on their size. One was found in an area containing domestic waste, and the other in the place where a shelter would have stood near the Book End. Two coins were recovered from the Phase 5 (1805-1845) occupation, along with the reworked ceramic disc: both were identified as *liards*, the first of which was recovered from a midden and the second from a work space which contained considerable domestic waste. The latter had two holes drilled into it, and was perhaps recycled into a button[3]. One coin was recovered from the Phase 6 (1845-1904) of occupation in what has been identified as an open, midden-like space. The coin is probably a *liard*, again based on its size. There are three coins from contexts which are not datable: two *liards* and the 1853 *centime*.

#### *7.2.1 Liards*

Three of the eight recovered coins bear inscriptions which allow us to positively identify them as *liards*. The first liard (816C1823) is well-formed with a diameter of 22.6mm, a thickness of 1mm and a weight of 2.19g. The obverse bears the number

[3] This coin is on loan and is therefore not available for photography and inclusion in this thesis.

"_65_" which would date its manufacture to between 1654 and 1659, and the reverse bears no legible inscriptions. Like most coins, this example may have been in circulation for a significant time after its initial production before being lost at the Champ Paya, which would account for the heavy wear that it suffered. The *liards* struck by Blandin's sub-contractors between 1654 and 1658 were of a sub-standard weight: Gadoury notes that the standard weight for a *liard* was supposed to be 4.079 grams (2000:95). Based on the partial date and diameter of this coin, this is probably an example of the sub-standard *liards* produced by Blandin's workshops in the mid to late 1650s.

The second *liard* (1420C14587) still has legible words which read "LIAR DE FRANCE" on the reverse (Figure 51). It measures 22.4mm in diameter, is 0.8mm thick and weighs 2.83 grams, which again falls into the sub-standard weight and diameter category attributed to Blandin's coins. It was recovered from an area of the site which contained a considerable amount of domestic waste in use during Phase 4 (1780-1820). The coin was struck off-center, and may have been lost and then swept into this area during site cleanup, or may have simply been discarded.

The third *liard* (1412C14565), like the others, has seen a fair amount of circulation, based on the extensive wear of the lettering, which would have occurred quickly due to the softness of the metal (Berry 2011 pers. comm). The obverse shows the words "DE FRANCE" as well as the mint mark "D" surrounded by three fleur-de-lys, which corresponds with the mint in Lyon (Figure 52). The coin is obscured by a stone inclusion on the reverse but the words "ROY DE FRANC_" can be discerned. This *liard* was recovered from a midden-like area used during Phase 3 (1750-1780).

**Figure 51. French *liard* coin, EfAx-09:1420C14587 (Images courtesy of Paul Berry)**

**Figure 52. French *liard* coin, Efax-09:1412C14565 (Images Courtesy of Paul Berry)**

### *7.2.2 Double Tournois*

A heavily worn *double tournois* (1412C14668) was recovered from a midden-like area in use during Phase 3 occupation (1750-1780) (Figure 53). While it has no visible markings, it measures 19.6mm in diameter, is 0.7mm thick and weighs 1.59g which is fairly close to the measurements of a *double tournois* (Berry 2011 pers. comm). Because it is severely worn, it may have been in circulation for a considerable amount of time before it was lost or discarded (Berry 2011 pers. comm).

### *7.2.3 The Centime*

The *centime* (802C1303) is the most recently struck and – not surprisingly – the best preserved of the coins recovered from the Champ Paya fishing room. Made of bronze, the obverse depicts a screaming eagle with the words "EMPIRE FRANCAIS UN CENTIME" and a "B" mint mark which indicates that it was struck in Rouen. The reverse shows a bust surrounded by the words "NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR 1853.". The images were originally engraved by Jean-Jacques Barre, according to the Numista numismatic website (Numista 2014). The coin has a diameter of 15mm and weighs one gram. Sources indicate that 887, 335 of these *centimes* were minted in Rouen in 1853 and at the time was valued at a penny.

### *7.2.4 Reworked Ceramic Disc*

One piece of reworked Normandy stoneware (1403S14694) (Figure 54) has been recovered from the site. Originally part of a cup or small storage vessel, its base was reworked possibly to make a circular gaming piece, particularly since the two sides of the

disc are different colours. It was recovered from the stage area of the site during Phase 5 occupation (1805-1845).

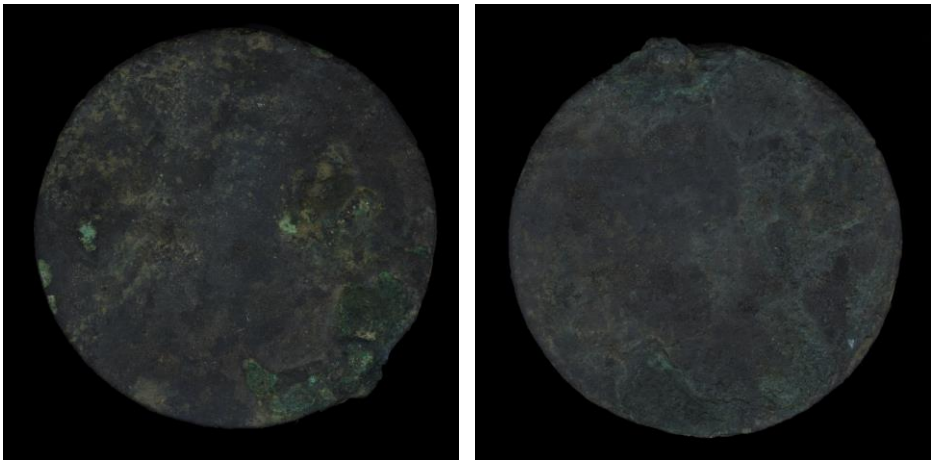

**Figure 53. French *Double tournois*, EfAx-09:1412C14668 (Images courtesy of Paul Berry)**


**Figure 54. Reworked Normandy stoneware vessel base sherd which may have been used as a gaming piece based on the carefully chipped edges. Artefact 1403S14694. Images courtesy of Bryn Tapper**

### *7.3 Discussion*

Most of the coins recovered from Champ Paya were found in middens or areas of the site associated with work and domestic waste. The *liards* make up the largest percentage of coins recovered and were found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contexts, although they may have been struck in the seventeenth century. According to Paul Berry, this is not unusual because many seventeenth-century French *liards* are found in an eighteenth-century context (Berry 2011, pers. comm). Because all of the *liards* recovered are of sub-standard weight and size, it appears likely that they were struck in Blandin's workshops, and that their loss on the Dos de Cheval site prevented them from being melted and re-struck. All of the coins recovered were small denominations, suggesting that they might have been used for gambling, or that they were used to purchase additional items (alcohol, tobacco) available from the ship's stores beyond what was already provided for daily rationing (Berry 2011, pers. comm). The fact that the *liards* were devalued to the point of being worthless soon after being struck makes their recovery from the site's middens hardly surprising, as does the apparent recycling of underweight *liards* into everyday items such as buttons.

# Chapter 8: Religious and Devotional Items

## *8.1 Introduction*

The religious and devotional artefacts recovered from the Champ Paya can inform us about the religious beliefs of the fishermen and about their collective identity as Roman Catholics during periods of religious, political and social upheaval. Although the artefacts will be dated based on their style and provenance, as well as the stratigraphic context in which they were recovered, spatial distribution will also help establish whether the location of these finds indicates secular versus profane space within the fishing room.

## *8.2 Historical background:*

When exploring the art and iconography associated with devotional artefacts, it can be useful to look back on the historical events which influenced their creation (Burns 2008:108, Rinehart 1990:50). Attacks by Protestant reformers on the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century led to drastic changes in religious practice, including the abolition of habitual practices viewed as superstitious or pagan, such as indulgences, pilgrimages, and the worship of relics and saints (Burns 2008:108; Spielvogel 1999:297). In spite of the spread of Lutheranism and Calvinism across Europe in the mid-sixteenth century, and in addition to the creation of a national church as a result of England's separation from Rome, the Roman Catholic Church gained vitality and purpose in what is often called the Counter-Reformation (Spielvogel 1999:297). The Counter-Reformation had three main pillars: the development of the Jesuit order, the reformation and revival of the papacy, and the Council of Trent (Spielvogel 1999:297). The latter, made up of

Catholic clergy and theologians, met intermittently between 1545 and 1563 in order to reaffirm and redefine the symbolism and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. The result was a clear body of doctrine which created a unified church, profoundly affecting Roman Catholic art and architecture (Burns 2008:108, Spielvogel 1999:301). The Baroque period in art was in part influenced by religious warfare that surged across Europe as a direct result of the Protestant and Roman Catholic reformations (Mayor 1945:101).

The 1630s and 1640s – around the time Champ Paya is first mentioned as a fishing room – corresponds with a period of Catholic reform in Brittany following a boom in Renaissance-inspired cathedral and church building in France (Burns 2008:51). Burns notes that this new reform attempted to purge the religion of superstitious elements, making it "a faith interiorised and intellectualised, austere and morally exigent" (Burns 2008:51). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries however, the Bretons continued to practice a Roman Catholic faith which remained strongly entrenched in superstitious beliefs, tradition and piety (Burns 2008:51).

### *8.3 Analysis*

A total of four artefacts were recovered and conserved: two rosary beads, one chapelet crucifix, and a devotional medal.

#### *8.3.1 Rosary beads*

Two beads were recovered during excavations, both of which were probably part of a chapelet or rosary (Figure 55). Artefact 123D478 is a small brown donut-shaped

carved wooden bead which was 2mm thick, 7mm long and 6mm wide, with a bore size of about 3mm. It was found in a predominantly French context with a fairly wide date range of 1630-1775, based on datable pipes and ceramics. Melissa Burns (2012 pers. comm.) has suggested that the space may have been a midden associated with both the fishing stage, which would have been used as early as 1630, and also with a shelter which appears to have been in use by both French and English fishermen from circa 1765 until the site was abandoned. The second bead (1412D14850) is a small brown donut-shaped carved wooden bead which is 2mm thick, 5mm in diameter and has a bore size of about 2mm. It was also found in a predominantly French context, in the area where the fishing stage would have been located. The deposit was dated by Burns to circa 1750-1800.

Neither bead is decorated. They are probably not from the same rosary, given the stylistic and raw material differences between the two beads. Both are slightly worn, however it is difficult to infer whether this was from active ritualistic use or simply a product of long deposition.

### *8.3.2 Chapelet Crucifix*

A small metal crucifix, artefact 1085M4776, is made of copper alloy with a small broken loop which would have attached it to rest of the chapelet (Figure 56). Most commonly used in France, the word chapelet refers to the string of beads used to facilitate the counting of prayers associated with one full chapelet of the rosary devotion (Cross 1983:267). The crucifix was recovered in Area C, the main work area of the early Breton fishing room, near Feature 1021, a boat ramp constructed from large tabular stones and

logs (dated 1730-1780). In her thesis *Symbols of the French Presence in Newfoundland: Breton Crosses and calvaries – 1680 to Today*, Melissa Burns states that because the bottom section of the crucifix is longer than the other three, it is categorised as a Latin cross (Burns 2008:107-108; Hulme 1976:78). Additionally, the crucifix is rendered in the Baroque style. The obverse of the cross depicts a crucified Jesus, and the reverse shows some of the instruments of the Passion. The instruments of the Passion were the weapons used to kill Jesus or to betray him before his sentence (Burns 2008:52). These instruments include the crown of thorns, rooster, sponge, spear, ladder, hand, lantern, sun, nails and hammer (Burns 2008:52; Simmard 1995:43-44). Burns cites Peter Anson's argument that Breton fishermen would always carry a rosary in their pocket or around their neck as a reminder of their faith (Anson 1974:10; Burns 2008:111).

It is useful to note that very few Breton fishermen would have been literate, and that religious art and iconography would have subsequently held a didactic role: images of the cross, the crucifixion of Jesus, the instruments of the Passion, and the sacred hearts of Mary and Jesus would have been easily recognized and therefore aided in the dissemination of Christian theology and the rituals that made up the observance of Catholic faith. The iconography of the instruments of the Passion would have been well-known to the Breton fishermen, and assisted the owner of the crucifix in their


**Figure 55. Wooden rosary beads EfAx-09:123D478 and EfAx-09:1412D14850. Image courtesy of Patty Wells.**


**Figure 56. Copper alloy crucifix depicting a crucified Jesus on the obverse and the instruments of the Passion on the reverse. Artefact EfAx-09:1085M4776. Images courtesy of Patty Wells.**

contemplations of Christ's suffering on earth prior to his death, in addition to serving as a reminder of the heavenly reward that their own earthly suffering would provide. Assuming that life at sea as well as on a fishing room could be harsh, it comes as no surprise that such an artefact would have been carried around by fishermen seeking divine solace far from home.

### *8.3.3 Francois Gaschon Medal*

The final devotional item recovered from the site, a Francois Gaschon medal, (99M11596), is made of copper alloy, measures 2mm thick, 30mm long and 20mm wide and is oval shaped and edged with a corded decorative border (Figure 57). The obverse depicts the right-facing profile of Father Francois Gaschon holding a cross with the words "PERE FOIS [Francois] GASCHON ANCIN [Ancien] MISS RE [Missionaire]". The medal's reverse side shows two flaming hearts under a crown. The left heart is encircled by thorns and has "INS" written on it; the other is pierced by a sword or dagger, and has the abbreviation "MAR". These are surrounded by the words "SACRES COEUR DE JESUS ET DE MARIE" which translates to The Sacred Heart(s) of Jesus and Mary. Symbolically, the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus represents Jesus' love of humanity, with the thorns representing the sins of sacrilege, contempt and ingratitude piercing his heart. The Sacred Heart of Mary is pierced by a sword symbolising Mary's sorrow and agony at Calvary while witnessing her son's crucifixion. The Sacred Heart devotion became popular with Catholics in France beginning in the 1670s when it was given to

Sister Margaret Mary Alacoque through a divine vision of Jesus (Patricia Zanton, 2012 pers. comm.).

The medal was recovered from Feature 1233, the dry masonry stone hearth associated with the Captain's Table (in use from 1707-1765), however the medal was recorded in the field notes as having fallen from the profile during excavation, and was probably from Event 1003 instead. Burns notes in her Harris matrix that Event 1003 was a predominantly French context, and states that it was potentially a working space where socialising took place, based on the fact that 50 percent of the assemblage is made up of pipe stems (Burns 2012, pers. comm.). Event 1003 has been dated to post-1830.


**Figure 57. The Francois Gaschon devotional medal: EfAx-09:99M11596. Father Gaschon is depicted on the obverse and the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, crowned, is shown on the reverse. Images courtesy of Patty Wells.**

Francois Gaschon (b. 1732 d. 1815) was a missionary priest from Notre-Dame de l'Hermitage in Ambert, Puy-de-Dome, France. During his life he was well-respected for his virtuous behaviour, but became especially famous for his purported ability to cure and heal the ill and infirm by interceding with God on their behalf (Figure 58). Additionally, it was claimed that he had the ability to give life to stillborn children so that they could be baptized. In *Francois Gaschon: Pretre Missionaire (1732-1815)* Michel Boy writes that in 1792 Father Gaschon – at this point a missionary-turned-refractory priest during the Revolution – had found refuge in the chateau de Lyonne. While staying there, a chambermaid gave birth to a still-born child and called for Father Gaschon to come to her child-bed and deliver the sacraments. He ordered that the dead child be brought to the chateau's chapel for baptism, at which point "life returned to the little body". After being baptised, the child lived for a further 48 hours before re-dying. This miraculous event "set the stage", if you will, for Gaschon's post-mortem reputation (Boy 1986:52).

Upon Gaschon's death at the Hermitage in 1815, he gained a sort of cult following, due both to his heroic virtues as well as his miraculous healings. Still-born children were brought to his tomb in the hopes that they would come back to life – if only for a moment – in order to be baptised (Boy 1986:91). In fact, between 1816-1819, 54 individual cases of miraculous healing were accredited to Father Gaschon's divine intervention: 60 percent of which were reported in the towns and villages within a 55 km radius surrounding Ambert, where Francois Gaschon's renown was the strongest (Boy 1986: 96-98). Gaschon's divine exploits were disseminated and perpetuated via the publication of a pamphlet of propaganda called "La Vie du Bienheureux Pere Francois

Gaschon", which was first printed in 1817, and re-issued with very few edits until the last known copies were made in 1838 (Boy 1986:97-98). In addition to including various prayers to Gaschon for divine intervention, the pamphlet listed and described his miraculous healings up until 1822; these pamphlets were then sold by colporters and peddlers and subsequently reached believers far outside Ambert and its surroundings (Boy 1986:98-99, 102). It is possible that this was how the owner of the Gaschon Medal learned about him.

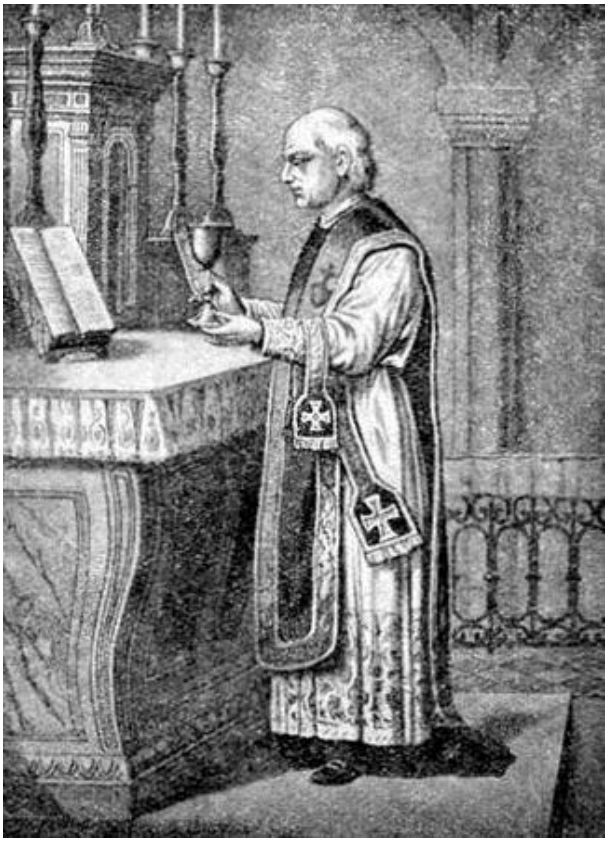

**Figure 58. Father Francois Gaschon, devotional print. Image from http://imagessaintes.canalblog.com/archives/2011/05/06/21069284.html**

Pilgrimages to Gaschon's tomb regained popularity by the 1860s following a second wave of healings and miracles occurring in Ambert and surrounding area between the years of 1855-1870 which were directly attributed to Father Gaschon's divine intervention – many of which again involved still-born children briefly returning to life in order to be baptised. The devout asked for anything from general benediction and protection to help with finding employment. This revival coincided with renovations to the chapel in which Father Gaschon's remains were kept between 1865 and 1870 (Boy 1986:121, 124-125). Boy states that "c'est alors, en 1866, exactement, que Mere Eleonore eut l'idee de faire fabriquer de petits bustes du Pere Gaschon qui venaient s'ajouter aux images et chapelets que les pelerins pouvaient acquerir en souvenir de leur pieuse demarche." (Boy 1986:125). I have translated this as follows: "it was in 1866 exactly that Mother Superior Eleonore had the idea to have small busts of Father Gaschon made, which could be acquired by pilgrims and attached to their rosaries as souvenirs of their sacred pilgrimage". These small busts of Father Gaschon, which could be attached to chapelets and were sold to pilgrims, sound exactly like the example recovered from the Champ Paya. Boy's account dates their manufacture to 1866, which corresponds with the dating of the context in which the Gaschon medal was found.

### *8.4 Discussion*

The Breton fishermen living and working on the Champ Paya were part of a larger community than the stratified company which made up a fishing crew. Indeed, their individual and collective identities were further moulded by the fact that they were

part of a global Roman Catholic community. Although fishing fleets were supposed to carry religious *aumoniers*, it could be very difficult to find priests who were willing to make the long voyage to the New World, and so small religious artefacts such as chapelet rosaries and Saint medals helped the fishermen to pray in the absence of conspicuous religious leaders (de la Morandiere 2005: 24). The beads, crucifix and medal were mostly recovered from areas of the site where the men were working, suggesting that there were lost and that prayer was practiced in a vernacular manner. A large calvary cross, discussed by Melissa Burns (2008), also stood on the site, further reminding fishermen that God was always with/watching them, and that they were not alone. This would have been comforting considering that the fishermen were often in danger at sea; both from the weather and water, but also from Inuit war parties in the period before 1763 (Pope 2015).

Breton fishermen were no doubt additionally mindful that their prized catch would feed Catholic Europe during the 150 days per year when meat was not consumed, as religious stricture was rigidly observed by all. Whilst fish was readily available to the populations who lived by the sea, such was not the case for those living inland. The discovery of the Newfoundland cod stocks had a huge impact on the diet of the populations of interior France and of southern Europe, as they would now be able to avail of a healthy, inexpensive and tasty source of non-perishable nourishment (from what would have seemed like a boundless source) while observing their religious conventions (de la Morandiere 2005:26-27; Hebert 1997:5).

Finally, due to the considerable geographical distance between Newfoundland and Europe, the fishermen could practice their Catholic faith in relative peace for six or so

months of the year, temporarily free from the religious strife and upheaval of trying historical times – such as the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation – concurrently taking place in their homeland.

# Chapter 9: Conclusion

The material culture recovered from the Champ Paya fishing room provides rich insight into the various types of consumer goods used by fishermen occupying the site from 1504 to 1904. In addition to providing information for dating the site's stratigraphy, stylistic differences in particular groups of artefacts show us how products evolved over time to meet the constantly changing finances and aesthetic desires of their consumers. The distribution of personal goods at Champ Paya highlight more ephemeral aspects of the site: areas of crew socialisation in the case of the clay pipe assemblage, potential leisure activities such as gambling in the case of the devalued French *liards* and other small denomination currency, and the unity of a Catholic community far from home, illustrated by the religious and devotional artefacts recovered. Moreover, social activities such as drinking and smoking acted as a catalyst for the development of relationships, trust, and camaraderie amongst unrelated men. Gendered social practices like these were helpful for creating a fraternity of fisherman in the early modern migratory fisheries. The sacred and profane rituals performed with the help of these objects, both publicly and privately, and by all members of the crew, transforms this industrial setting into something more complex.

If religion and leisure activities served to unify members of the seasonal fishing crews, other personal goods sought to divide them along the lines of social status and official rank. This is particularly obvious when looking at the glass and apparel assemblages. In both cases, most of the higher quality personal goods were recovered

from the area of the Captain's Table, where senior members of the crew would meet, eat and relax. The presence and recovery of items such as gold gilt buttons and delicate glass tableware indicate that those of elevated social status were afforded a more refined seasonal experience at the Champ Paya, in so much as they had preferential access to elite personal goods and, in the captain's case, a certain measure of domestic privacy that the rest of the crew would not have enjoyed. Indeed, it could be argued that the Captain's Table is the only area of the site which would have been designated as private space, as the rest of the crew would have worked, eaten and slept in communal spaces.

Social status and hierarchy has been discussed by Stephane Noel in his master's thesis, which focused on a faunal analysis and discussion of the foodways of the fishermen working at Dos-de-Cheval (Noel 2010). Noel explores how hierarchical status of crew members was based, not on personal income or inherited titles, but instead on experience and respect. Whilst fishermen were usually recruited from the lowest socio-economic levels of Breton society – namely rural and urban labourers, the lowest-ranking members of society, and small holders, the second-to-lowest ranking class – they were integrated into a different social hierarchy once they joined a ship's crew (Noel 2010:147-148). Income levels of crew members differed, based on their level of experience, and the social hierarchies on board a fishing vessel were well-established and highly structured. This is unsurprising, as experience gained from navigating the rough ocean waters between France and Newfoundland was considered invaluable for sailors recruited into the French navy, a correspondingly controlled and enforced social order.

With this in mind, it is easy to see how social status directly affected the conspicuous consumption of specific members of the fishing crews working and living seasonally at Champ Paya. The concept of *luxury*, defined as "goods that are special, in limited supply, difficult to procure, or expensive for other reasons", is influenced by, and embedded in, the social, cultural and geographic contexts of the consumers in question (Ervynck *et al* 2003 and Bourdieu 1979 in Noel 2010:149). In the case of the Champ Paya fishing room, the construction of the Captain's Table cabin served not only as a private, personal leisure area for the captain, but also as an area of conspicuous consumption, based on an established and recognised social hierarchy. It was here that the captain socialised, entertained, and treated other contextually high-status officials within the crew to small luxuries represented not only in shelter from the elements and privacy from the other members of the crew, but also in dietary variety. The recovery and analysis of high-status items, such as Venetian glass tableware, tumblers, and wine and spirit bottles, also supports the desire for a more refined, socially stratified dining experience by privileged crew members, which would have included the captain himself, the master of the *grave* (charged with overseeing the salting and drying of the cod), the ship's pilot, and the surgeon (Denys 1672: 171). Senior sailors in line for promotion to the rank of officer may have also been invited to dine at the captain's table (Noel 2010:154).

Despite these small luxuries afforded to certain crew members, it is safe to infer that life, for most if not all fishermen, was harsh: long work hours, intensive physical labour, illness and injury, frequent weather changes, and rough seas on the journeys to and from Newfoundland would have been considerable cause for stress. There were

quotas to meet in terms of catching, processing and preserving an invaluable perishable product which would later be resold and widely distributed to foreign and domestic markets alike in exchange for other important commodities. The personal goods recovered from the Champ Paya fishing station show not only the development of significant consumer trends and manufacturing processes of material culture over time, but also allude to more personal practices within the wider context of seasonal labourers consuming and producing in a new world.

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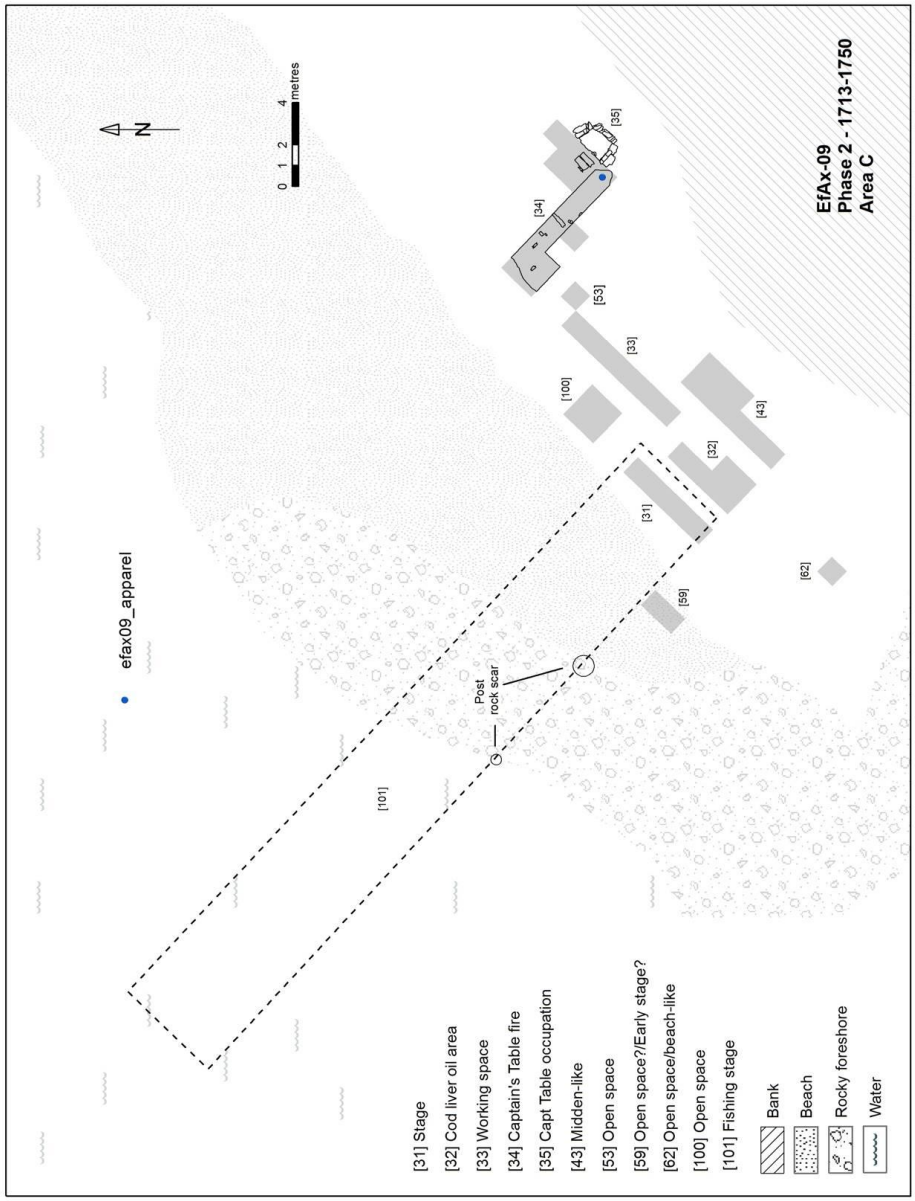
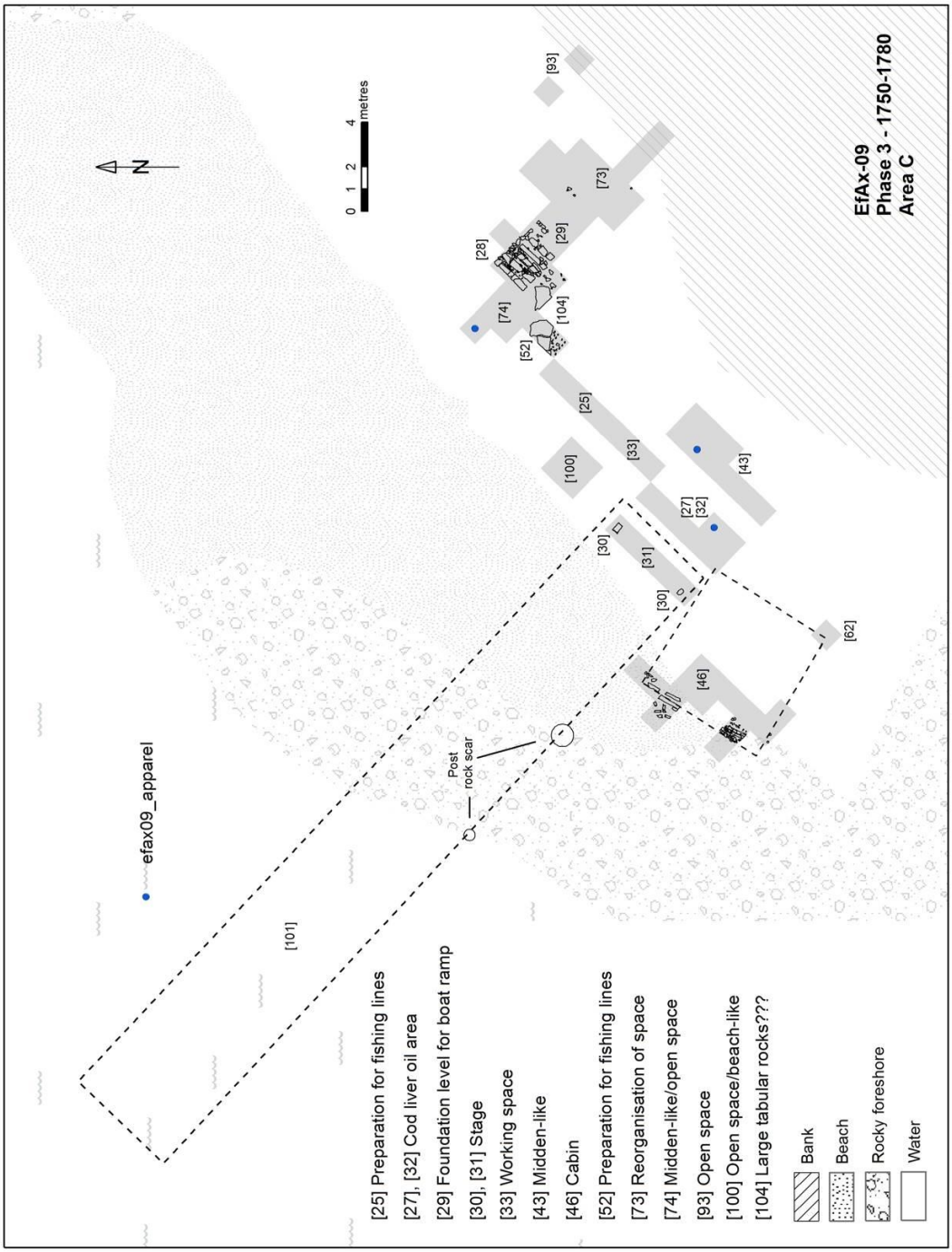
# Appendices

*Note: Map 1 - 5: Area C spatial distribution of Apparel artefacts by Phase (Phases 2 through 6; Phase 1 is omitted due to a lack of diagnostic artefacts).*

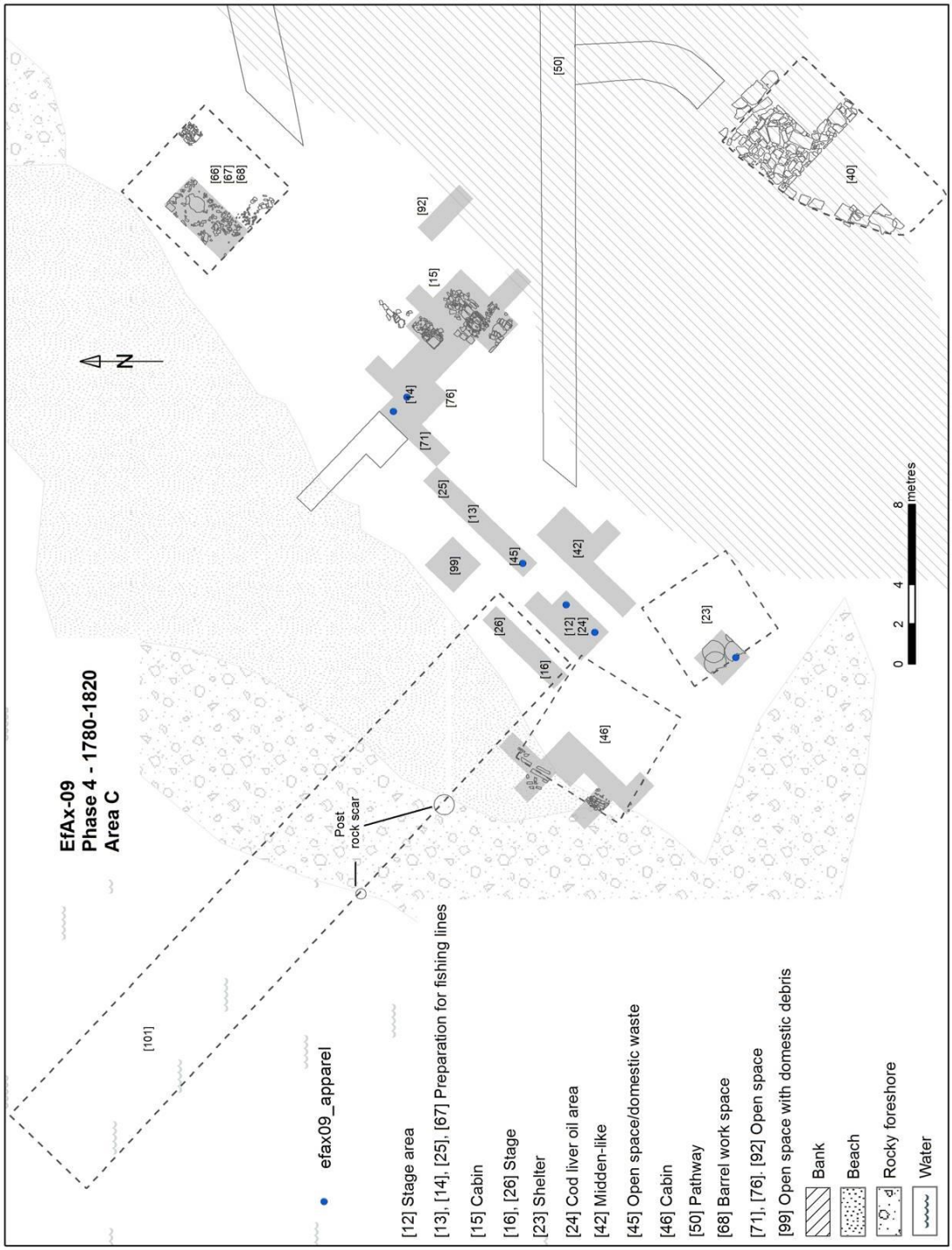
**Appendix A – Area C spatial distribution of artefacts by Phase**
Map 1 – Apparel: Phase 2 (1713 - 1750) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Apparel artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



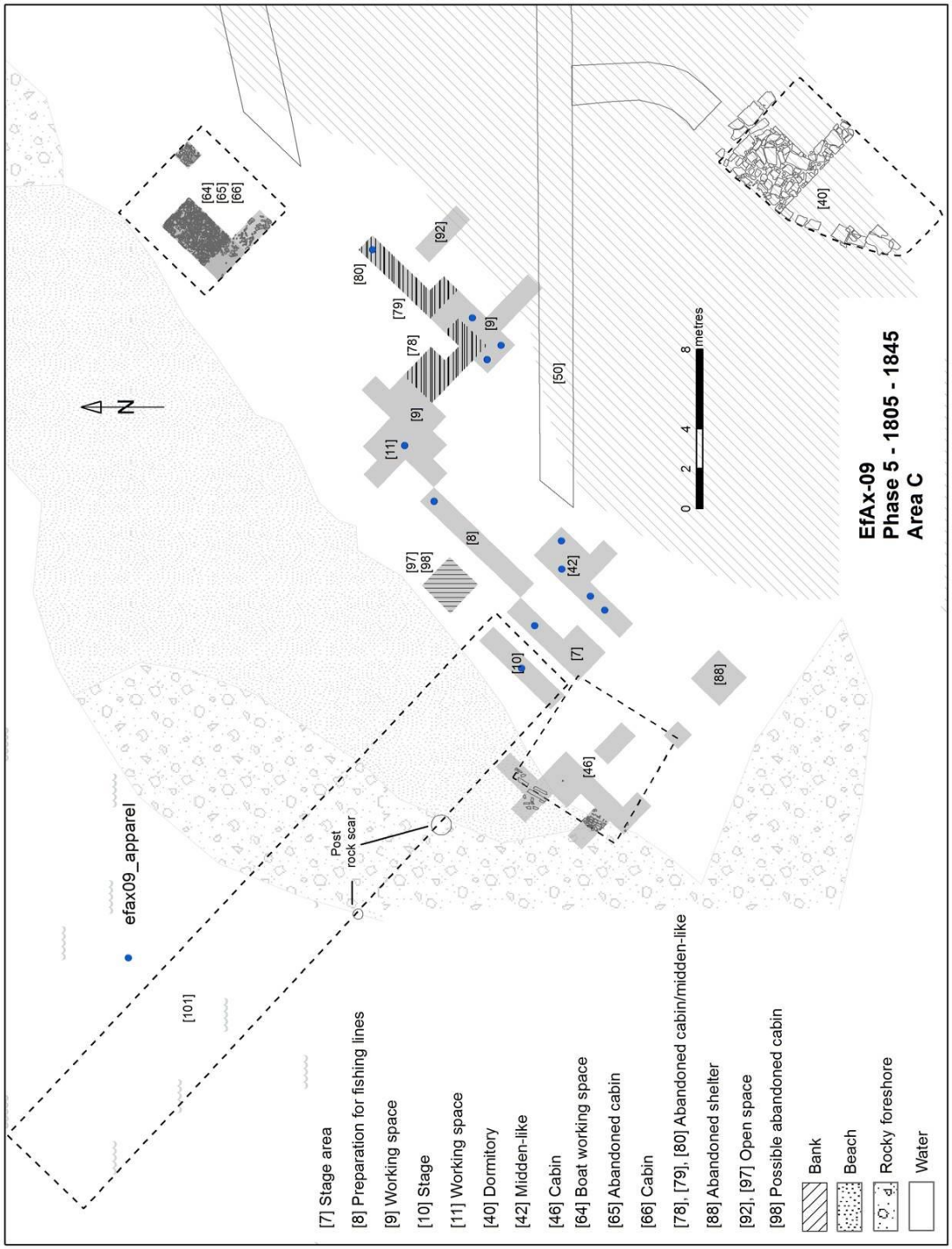
Map 2 – Apparel: Phase 3 (1750 - 1780) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Apparel artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



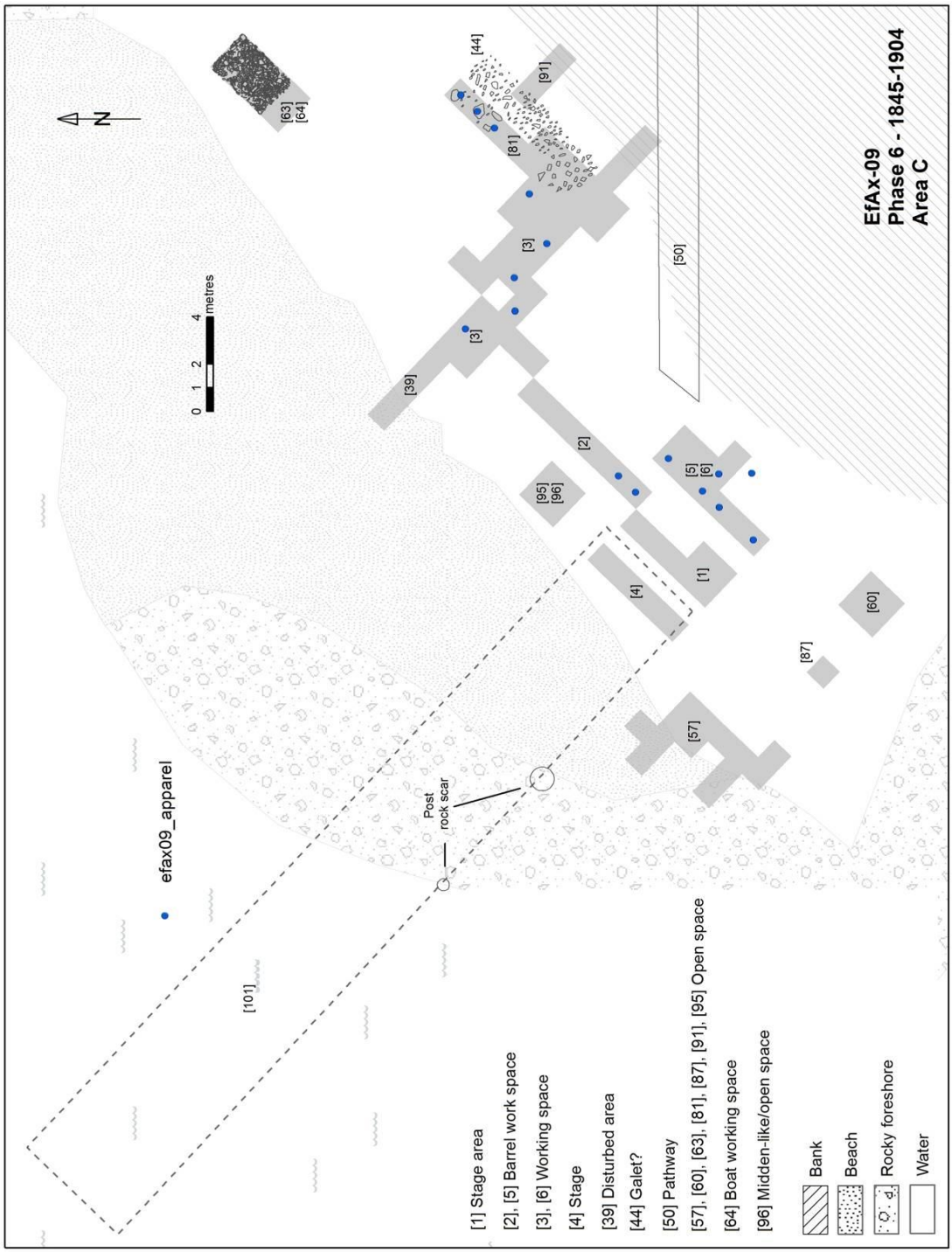
Map 3 – Apparel: Phase 4 (1780 - 1820) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Apparel artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



Map 4 – Apparel: Phase 5 (1805 - 1845) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Apparel artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).

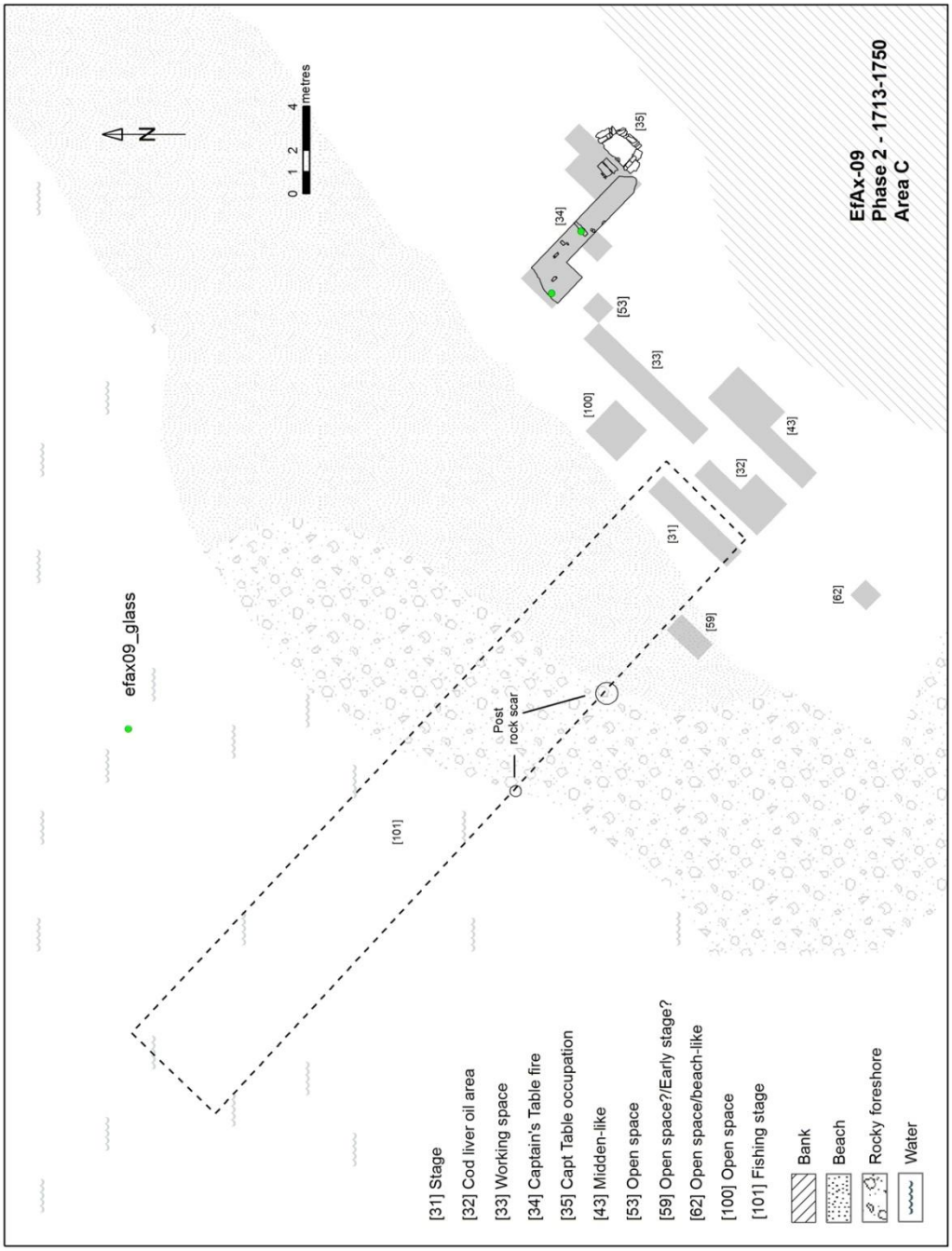


Map 5 – Apparel: Phase 6 (1845 - 1904) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Apparel artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).

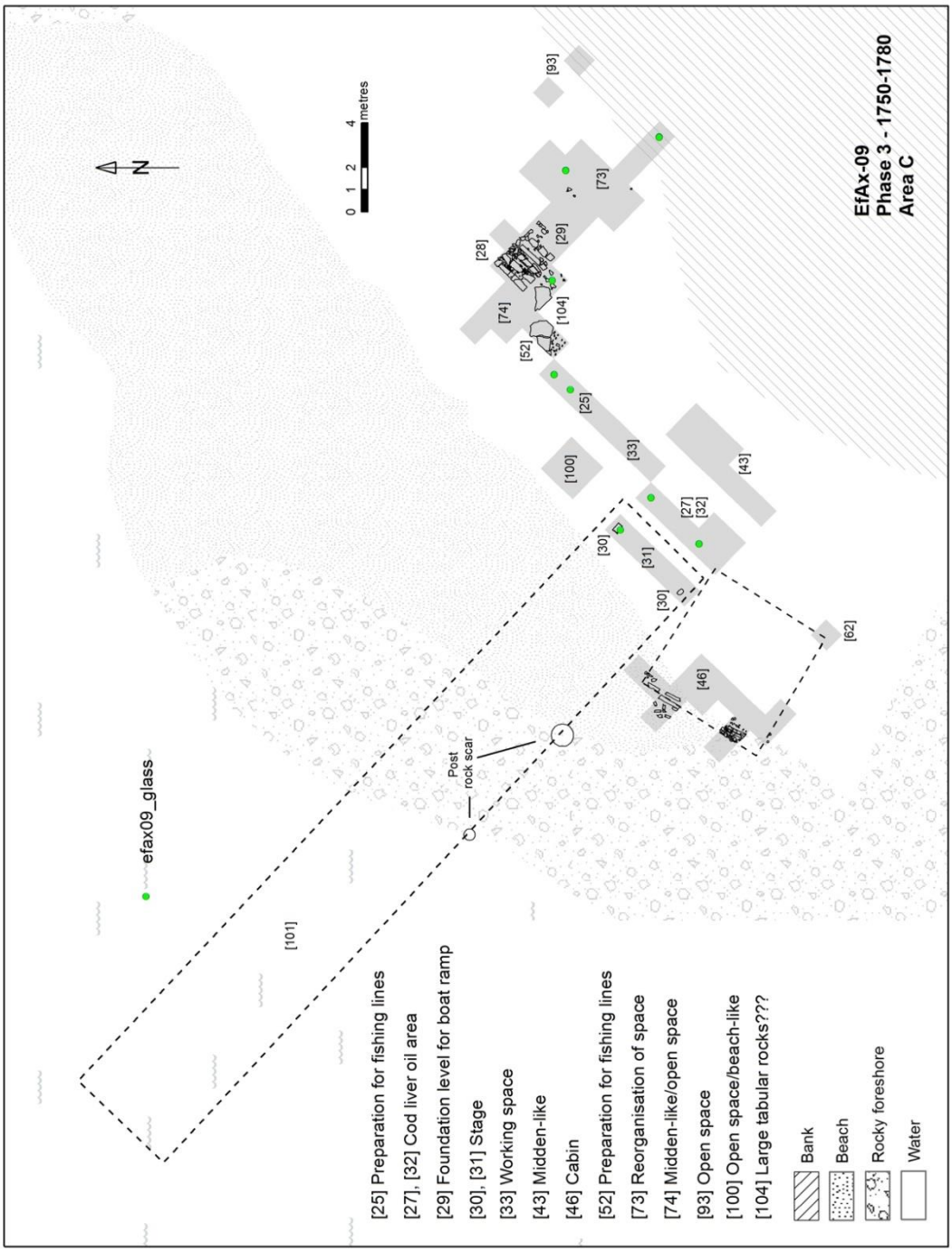


*Note: Maps 7 - 11: Area C spatial distribution of Glass artefacts by Phase (Phases 2 through 6; Phase 1 is omitted due to a lack of diagnostic artefacts).*

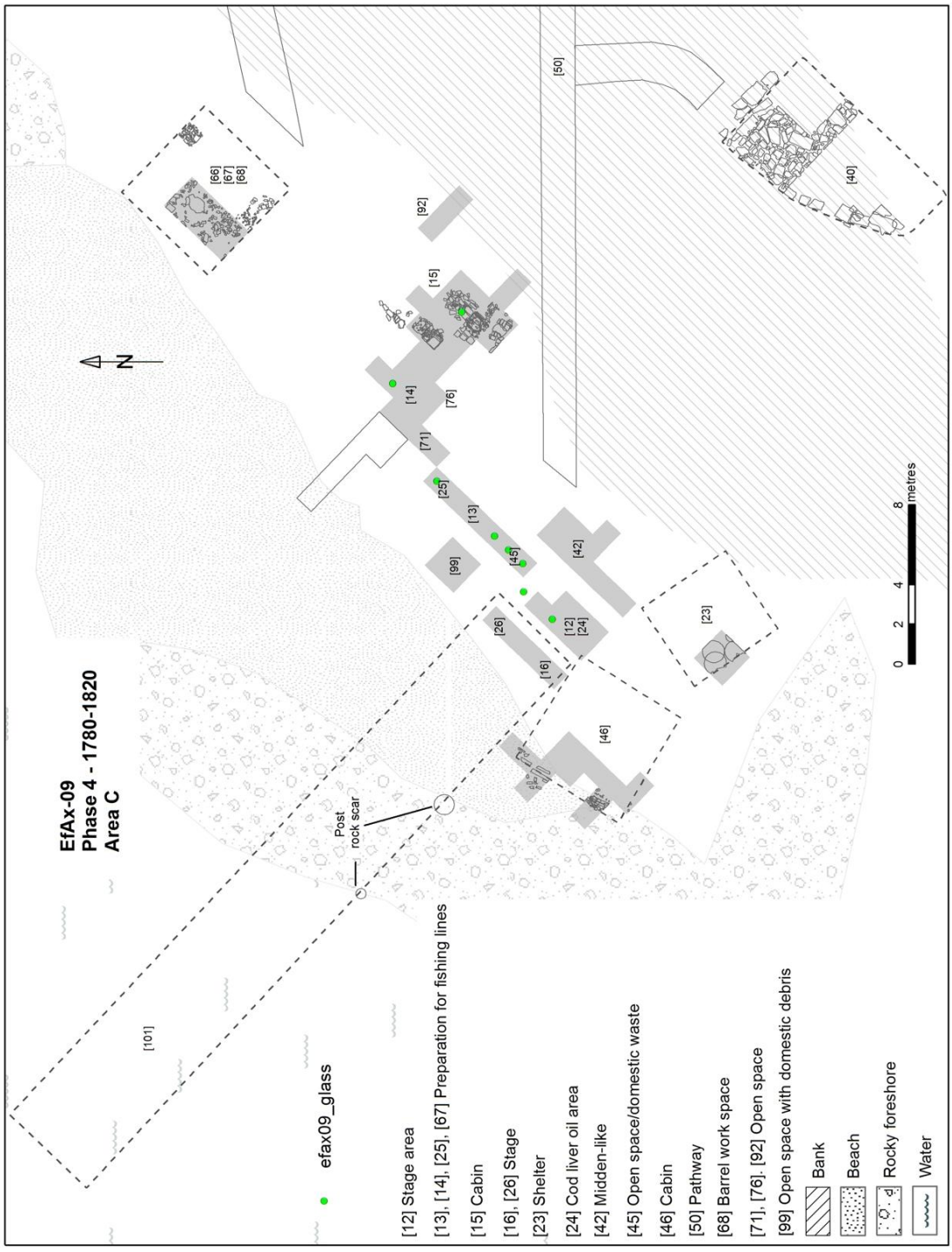
Map 7 – Glass: Phase 2 (1713 - 1750) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Glass artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



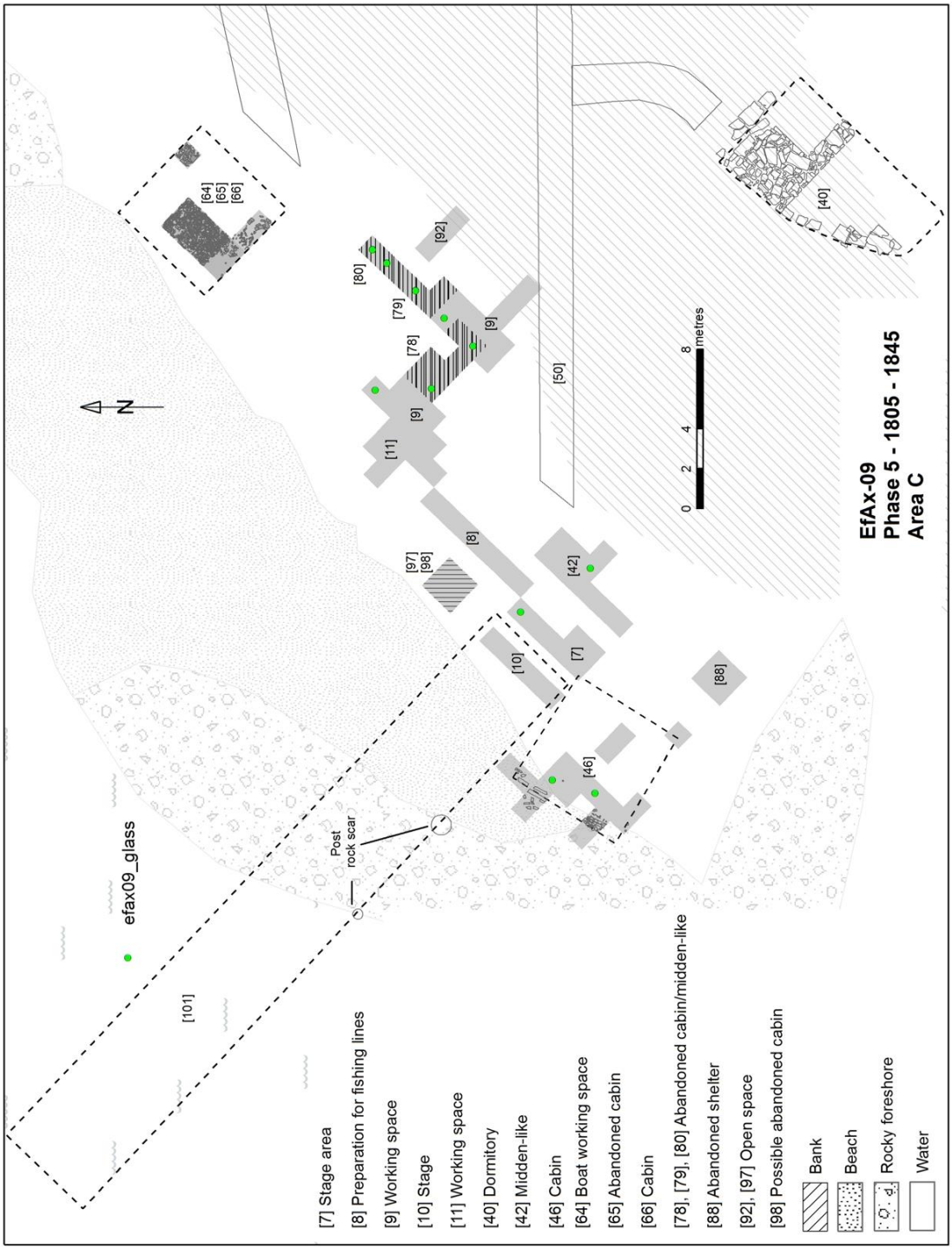
Map 8 – Glass: Phase 3 (1750 - 1780) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Glass artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



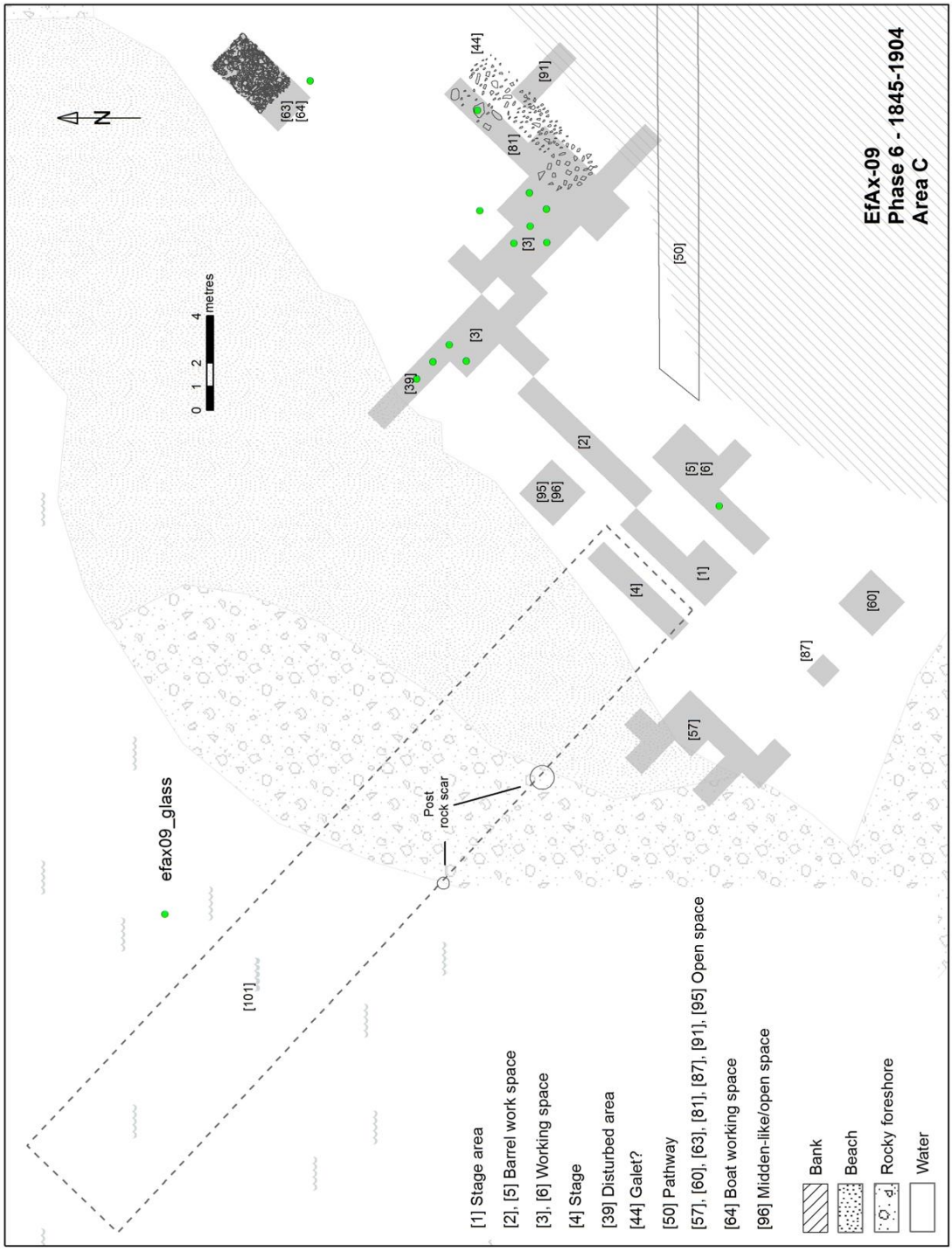
Map 9 – Glass: Phase 4 (1780 - 1820) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Glass artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for *An Archeology of The Petit Nord*).



Map 10 – Glass: Phase 5 (1805 - 1845) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Glass artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).

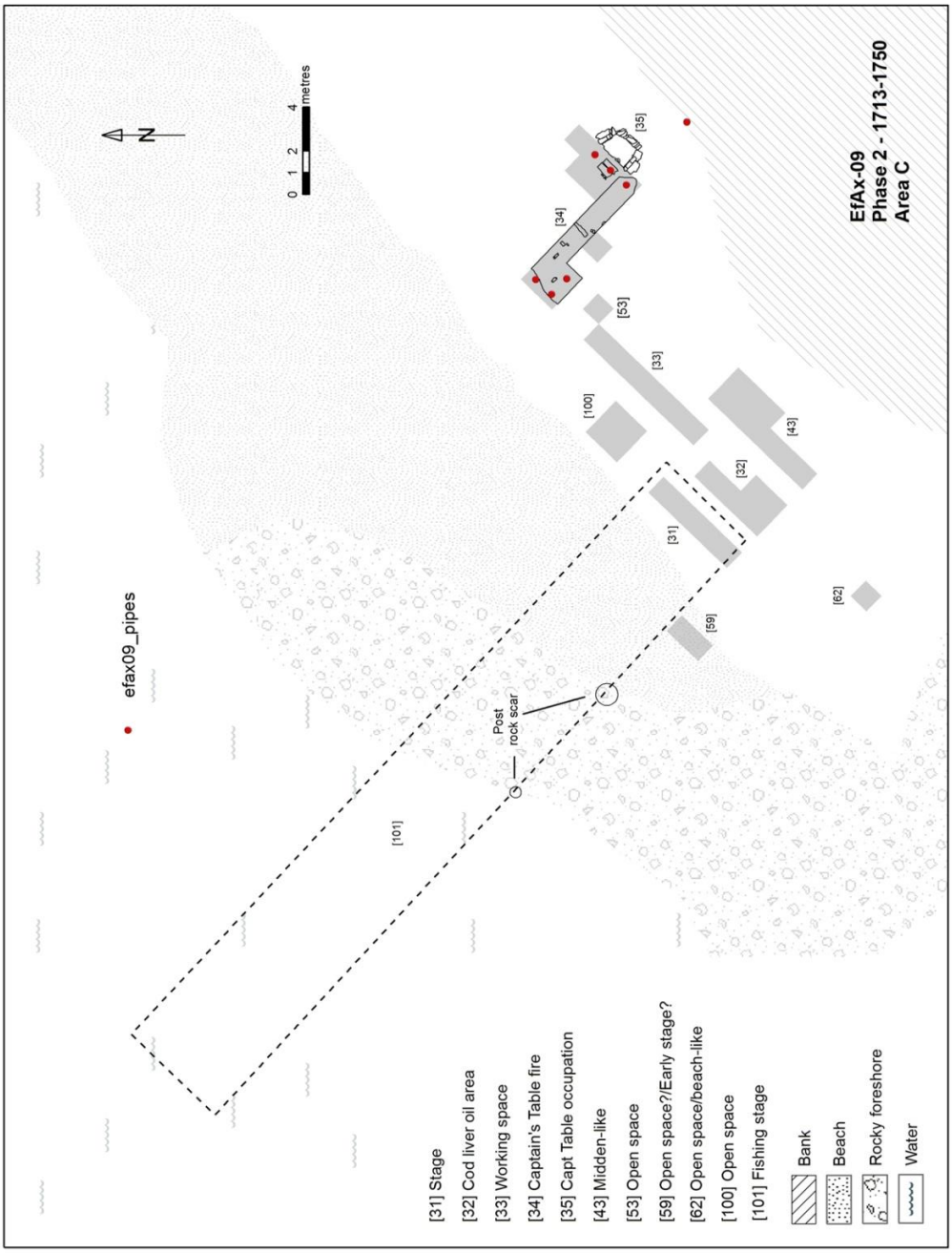


Map 11 – Glass: Phase 6 (1845 - 1904) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Glass artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).

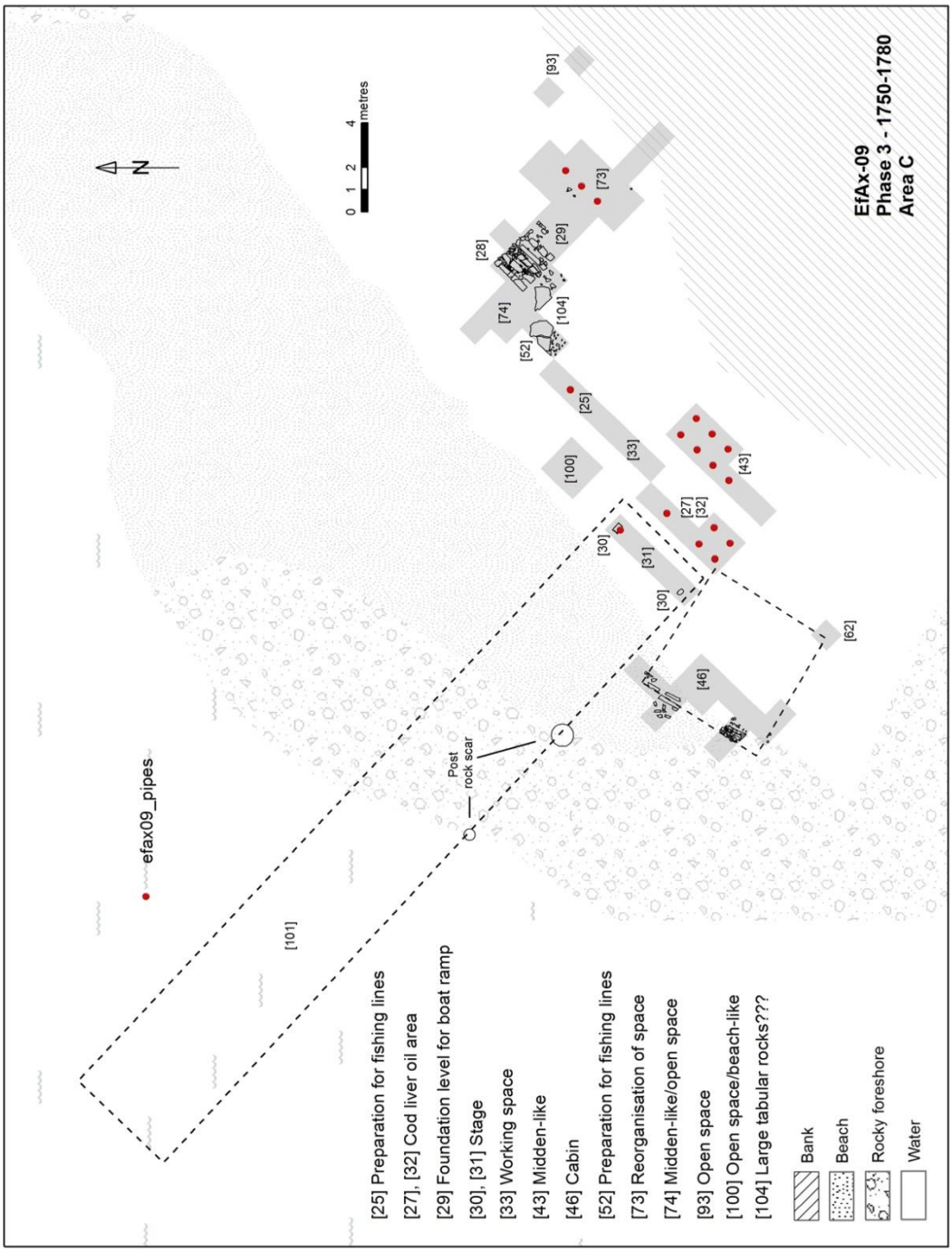


*Note: Maps 13 - 17: Area C spatial distribution of Pipe artefacts by Phase (Phases 2 through 6; Phase 1 is omitted due to a lack of diagnostic artefacts).*

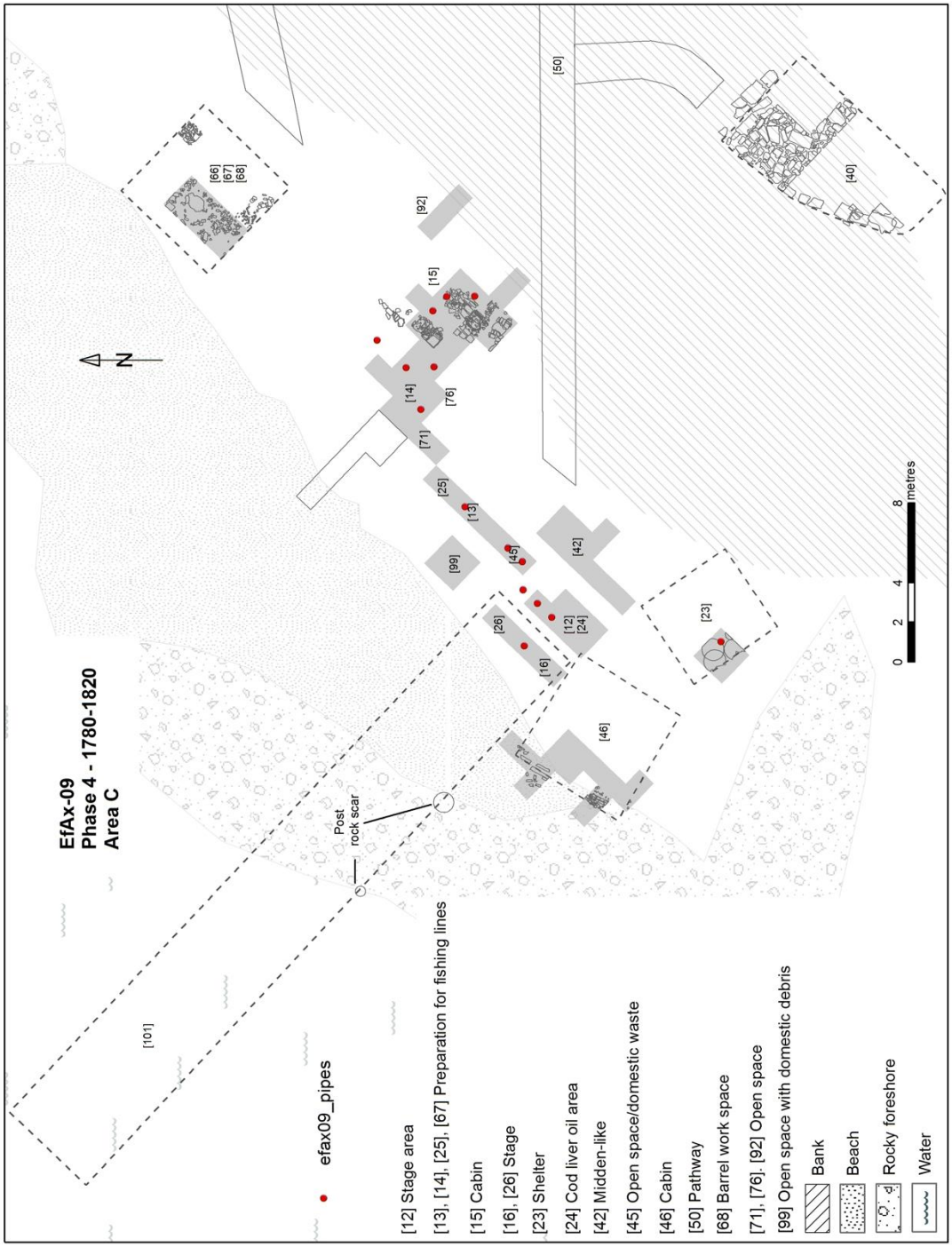
Map 13 – Pipes: Phase 2 (1713 - 1750) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Pipe artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



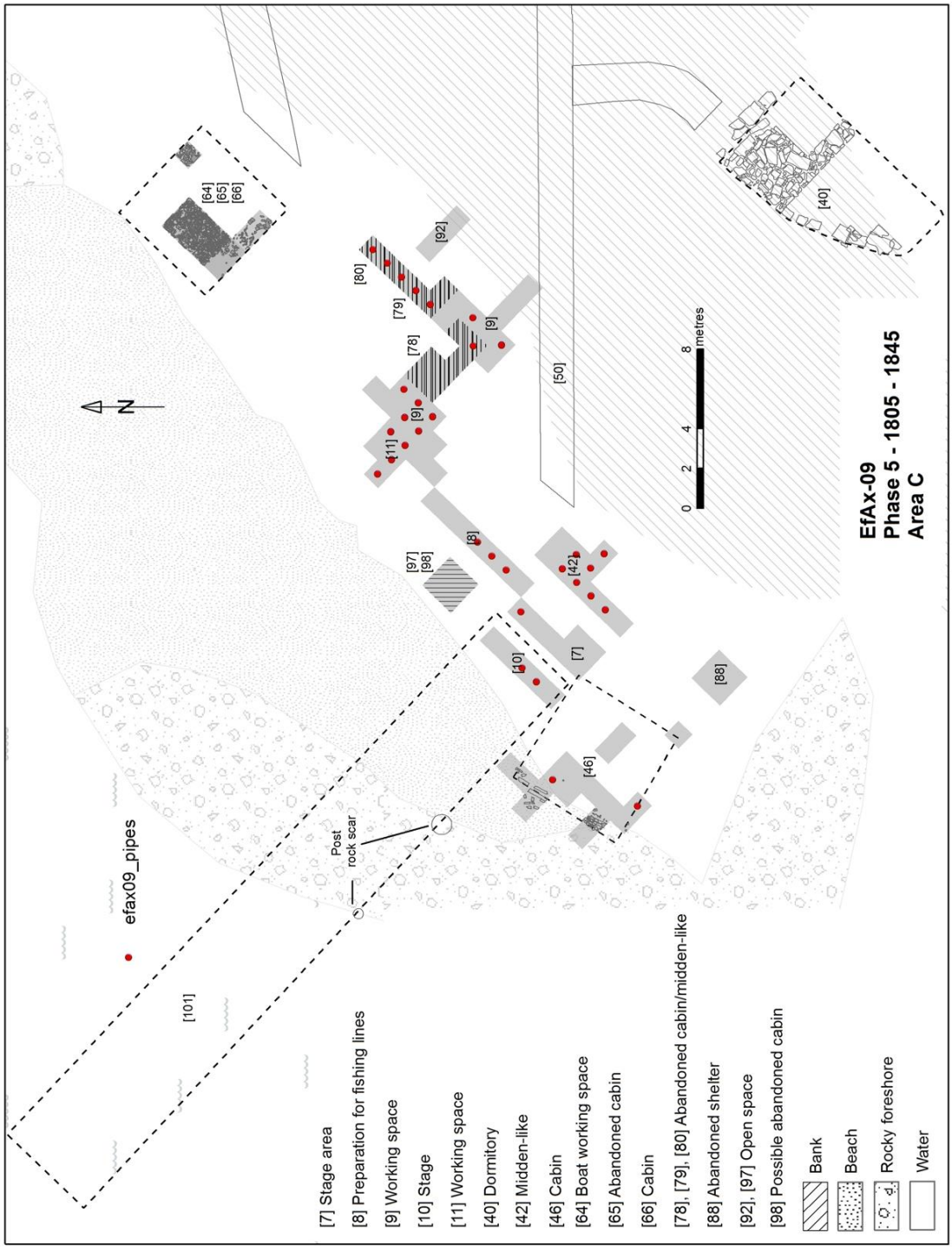
Map 14 – Pipes: Phase 3 (1750 - 1780) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Pipe artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



Map 15 – Pipes: Phase 4 (1780 - 1820) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Pipe artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for *An Archeology of The Petit Nord*).



Map 16 – Pipes: Phase 5 (1805 - 1845) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Pipe artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn apper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).

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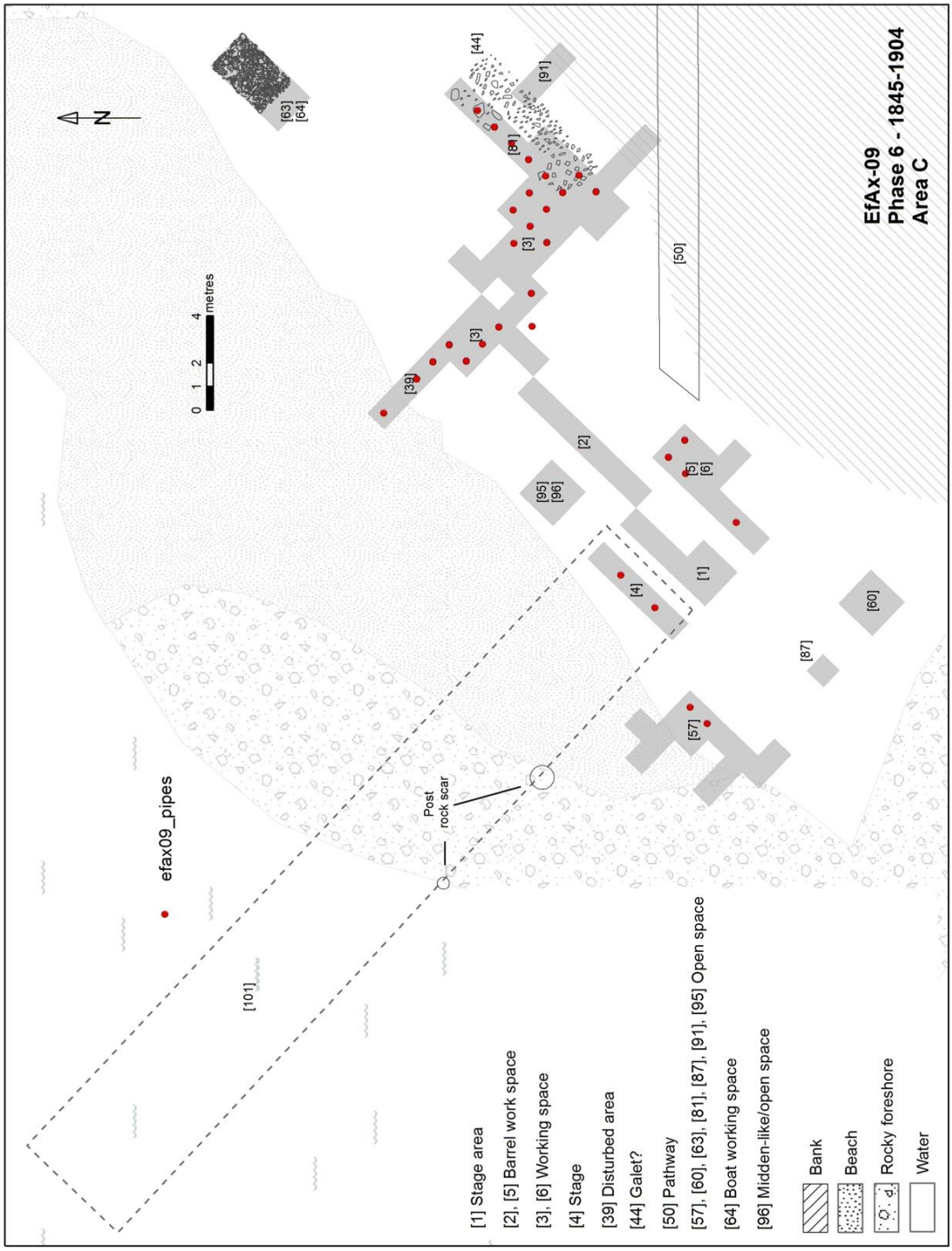
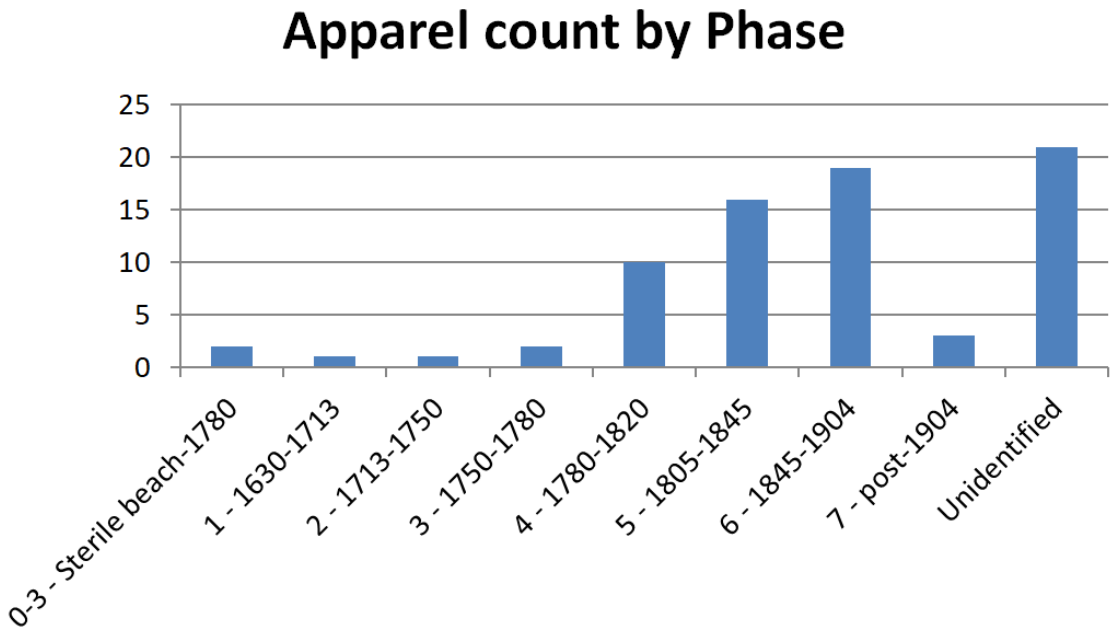
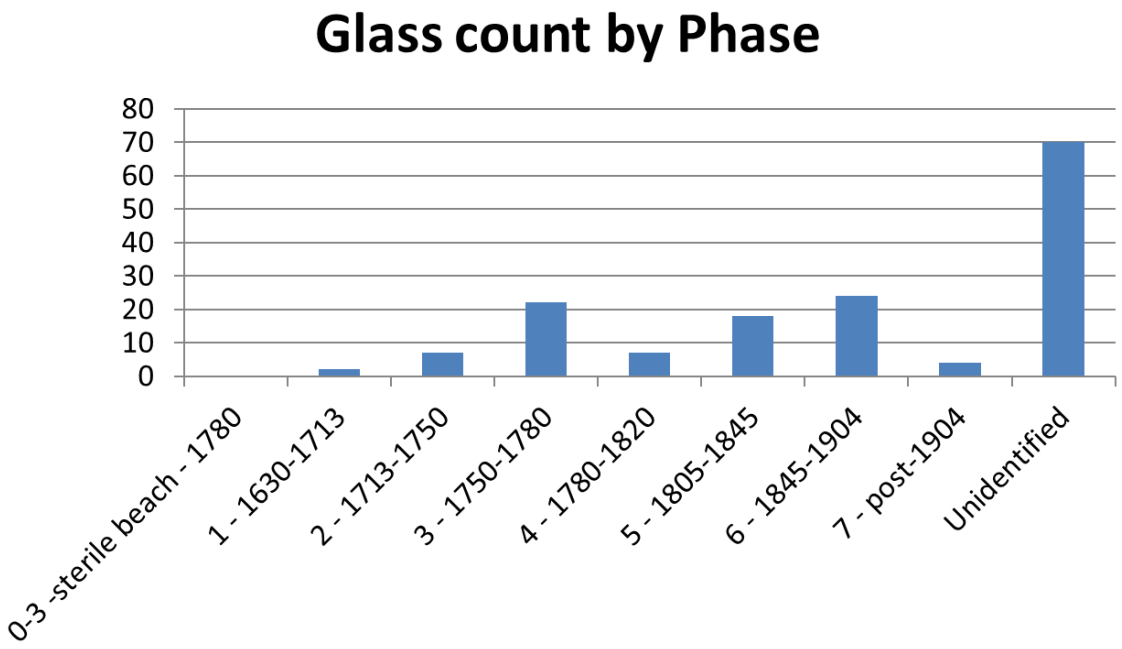
Map 17 – Pipes: Phase 6 (1845 - 1904) occupation of EfAx-09 Champ Paya. Pipe artefact distribution within Area C with relevant features (Source: Bryn Tapper, for An Archeology of The Petit Nord).



**Appendix B – Graphs of Area C spatial distribution of artefacts by Phase**
Graph showing apparel count by Phase



Graph showing glass count by Phase



Graph showing pipe count by Phase