Pêcheurs, Pâturages, et Petit Jardins:
A NINETEENTH-CENTURY Gardien HOMESTEAD IN
THE PETIT NORD, NEWFOUNDLAND

JENNIFER K. JONES

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A Nineteenth-Century *Gardien* Homestead in the Petit Nord, Newfoundland

By

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Abstract

Gardiens were anglophone settlers hired by the French fishermen in Newfoundland's Petit Nord to protect their supplies and fishing structures overwinter, and as such guard their interests in a valuable resource base. Excavations at Genille (EgAw-07) focused on the nineteenth-century homestead of an Irish Catholic *gardien*, Patrick Kearney, as well as the shared use of the surrounding landscape by both the Irish-Newfoundland settlers and the French fishermen. This study has three objectives: to examine the interactions between French fishermen and *gardiens* by looking at how negotiations of power and social relations between the two groups are manifest in the material culture and historical documents; to determine changes in landscape use over time during the transition of Genille from seasonal resource base to permanent settlement; and finally to determine the archaeological signature for an anglophone settler house in the Petit Nord.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Project Overview

In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, France and Britain agreed that French fishing vessels could utilize the Newfoundland coast north of Cape Bonavista through to Pointe Riche, but that they must vacate their fishing stations for the winter. To prevent the plundering of their fishing stages by local First Nations and British populations, and to secure their stakes in a valuable resource base, the French began hiring *gardiens* in the late eighteenth century to protect their fishing rooms and related outbuildings. These settlers, some of whom were of Irish Catholic descent, were most often the first settlers in small communities along the Petit Nord and are the ancestors of many people in local communities along the French Shore today (Pope, 2008; Casey, 1971). The French fished in the area until 1904 when France and Britain signed the Anglo-French Convention, or *entente cordiale,* by which France traded its fishing interests on the shore of Newfoundland for concessions elsewhere (Hiller, 1996; Janzen, 2007).

The *gardiens* form a bridge between northern Newfoundland as a fishing station for the French and the current outport communities. This thesis is an archaeological study of the lives of Newfoundland *gardiens*, their interactions with their French masters, and their means of subsistence. Specifically, I will be studying the *gardiens* in the Petit Nord, a region defined as the shore from Cape St. John north to Quirpon used by migratory French fishermen, most often from Brittany, from around 1504 to 1904, as well as anglophone settlers from the late eighteenth century through to contemporary times, many of whom founded current outport communities (Hiller, 1996; Pope, 2008). This study focuses on the settlement at EgAw-07, Genille in Croque Harbour, inhabited by the Kearney family (Figure 1.1). By learning how the *gardiens* lived on a daily basis and interacted with the land and sea, I hope to provide a glimpse of early outport life and the importance of the maritime landscape to early anglophone settlers. The study of

Figure 1.1 - EgAw-07 Fisherman's Cove or "Kearney's Cove" (Marco Chiaramonte for Archaeology of the Petit Nord, 2005

the *gardiens* along the French Shore also provides insight into the relations between two predominantly Catholic, but socio-politically distinct, groups. The Irish were colonial subjects within the British Empire, while the French were the traditional rivals of the English. Patrick Kearney, the *gardien* at Genille, was Irish Catholic, or of Irish Catholic descent.

There are three primary objectives for this study. The first, and primary, objective is to examine the interactions between the French fishermen and Irish-Newfoundland settlers working as *gardiens* by looking at how negotiations of power and social relations between the two groups are manifest in the material culture and historical documents. These interactions are reflected in the material culture, and can be examined by determining the supplies given to *gardiens* for their work and their reliance on merchants from St. John's for supplies. These interactions can be gleaned from studies of the landscape, as the proximity of the *gardiens* can reflect how the French valued their assistance. A central location granted to them would indicate more cooperative and well-meaning interactions than if the anglophone settlers were forced to locate themselves in marginal areas of the landscape, away from the resources provided by the ocean. Historical documents and oral histories of life for *gardiens*, the Kearneys as well as others, also provide a means of adding narrative to the archaeological interpretations and the opinions and views of those working and living in the area. The second main objective of this study is to determine the shifts in landscape use over time during the transition from seasonal resource base to permanent settlement. This links to my first objective, as examining how the Irish-Newfoundland settlers began to occupy the land is directly related to how they were at first making use of a shared landscape with the French fishermen who had rights to the marine resources there. My final objective is to determine the archaeological signature for an anglophone settler house in the Petit Nord.

To these ends we excavated the homestead of the first *gardien* at Genille in

Croque Harbour, sixteen kilometers north of Conche along the east coast of the Great Northern Peninsula in Newfoundland. Historic and oral evidence indicates that Patrick Kearney was the first *gardien* at Genille, and his residence was located in what is today locally called Kearney's Cove. His direct descendents now live in the nearby town of Croque, which corresponds to the archaeological site EgAw-04, having moved across Croque Harbour with residents from other villages in the 1960s during the Newfoundland resettlement program (Figure 1.2). This program was meant to centralize inhabitants from scattered outport villages and provide access to schools and create roadways across the province. Folklore-based research studying the *gardiens* there and other early settler of Irish descent has been conducted in the nearby towns of Conche and Crouse. Conche has been heavily studied by folklorists and linguists for its Irish identity, culture, and language (Casey, 1971, 1986). Research at EgAw-07 (Genille) acts as a case study to begin archaeological inquiry into the lives and experiences of the *gardiens*.

Figure 1.2 - Croque Harbour (Marco Chiaramonte for Archaeology of the Petit Nord, 2005)

Chapter 2: Background

2.1 Introduction

I will situate the Kearney homestead within various relevant historical contexts. The Kearneys were Irish Catholic settlers, living in a place possessed by the British, but at the same time working for the French fishermen who had seasonal fishing rights. To try to understand their situation and life in Croque, there are several necessary contexts to examine. The first is a brief look at the French fishery in the Petit Nord. Next, to consider the place of the Irish-Newfoundland settlers in the broader colonial context of the British Empire I will discuss British perceptions of the Irish Catholic in the pre-Famine era. Finally things can be narrowed down with the examination of Irish settlement in Newfoundland, the settlement of the Petit Nord and daily life for *gardien* families, and historical accounts of interactions between the French fishermen and the *gardiens*. The various contextual aspects of the *gardiens* provides a broad context within which to centre the following chapters, which will focus on daily life, means of subsistence, and relationships between the French fishermen and the *gardiens*.

2.2 French Presence in the Petit Nord

The Petit Nord is defined as the northeastern coast of Newfoundland, on the Great Northern Peninsula, extending from Point Riche east to Cape St. John. The cod fishery in Newfoundland started in the early sixteenth century. Portugese crews were the earliest catching and processing on the southern coasts, and eventually Breton, Norman, Basque, and English fishermen were involved. The Petit Nord was fished by predominantly Breton crews, although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occasional crews of fishermen from Normandy and French Basque country also fished the area. In the eighteenth century the seasonal fishermen in the Petit Nord were primarily Breton though there was the occasional ship from Granville in Normandy; by the nineteenth century the seasonal fishermen on the Petit Nord were nearly all from Brittany (Pope, 2008).

The seasonal fishermen would leave France in May, arrive in Newfoundland in June and fish until September when they would head back to France. Aside from fishermen, there were also the Master, a captain, a surgeon, a chaplain, fishing apprentices, and cabin boys. The ship was often owned by a businessman, called the "bourgeois", outfitted by a victualler, and guided by the captain. The captain was not necessarily in charge of directing the ship; often a navigator managed the voyage while the captain was mostly in charge of the crew once the ship landed. These roles changed and merged over time (de la Morandière, 1967).

The Newfoundland fishery was important to the French navy as a means of bringing in fresh recruits to train; a farm worker could work three or four seasons in Newfoundland and be ready to serve the French navy. The Newfoundland fishery was less dangerous than work in the West Indies and it was thought to make stronger seamen who were healthy reproducers and was also a ready means of employment for local labourers (de la Morandière, 1967). The Treaty Shore was of great importance to the French government as a site for training naval officers and sailors; French fishermen were considered part of the naval reserve. Fishing ships could transport more men than merchant vessels, and traveling and working in Newfoundland was less dangerous than going to the tropics; the climate in Newfoundland still ensured that the sailors were hardy and fit for survival under adverse conditions (Hiller, 1996). Newfoundland also acted as a nursery within which British sailors were trained during times of peace (Head, 1976).

The fishing conducted on the shores of Newfoundland is referred to as the sedentary fishery, alternatively the dry fishery. A large ship with crew and all of the materials necessary to sustain them for several months would arrive in the harbour and set anchor or be moored to the rocks. All necessary supplies would be unloaded, including the ship's sails, hence the term sedentary fishery, as the ship they had arrived in would remain stationary for months (de la Morandière, 1967).

Fishing was conducted in shallops, small boats crewed by three men, often an experienced man leading the crew and two apprentices. Fish were caught by jigging. These crews would leave at dawn and return in the afternoon to process the fish; they were unloaded onto a stage, a large covered wooden wharf which extended out into the water far enough so that the shallops could land safely even when the tide was out. Inside the stage the fish were processed, the heads removed, the entrails and backbone removed, and they were then covered with salt and laid to dry. Fish were dried on *galets*, large cobble beaches which were either natural or constructed by the fishermen. They were also dried on flakes, wooden structures traditionally used by English fishermen which maximized the use of available space. Other structures which may appear in a French fishing room include cook rooms, cabins for higher ranking officials, crosses, and bread ovens (de la Morandière, 1967; Pope, 2008).

Pope (2008) discusses the importance of fishing rooms and the maritime cultural landscape to the French fishermen. Although the Newfoundland coast is vast, a very small portion of the area is suitable for the situation of fishing rooms. Several features are necessary for a suitable fishing room, including a place to moor the ship, land boats, and build stages and flakes, as well as proximity to productive fishing grounds, wood to build stages and flakes, fresh water for the fishermen, and a supply of bait species. Due to the rare occurrence of these natural features in the same space, and the investment involved in establishing a fishing room, the ability to return to the same place was extremely desirable. Hiring a caretaker, or *gardien,* to watch the site over the winter was a means of protecting this investment. Since the *gardien* was often the first settler in the communities along the Petit Nord, the settler populations grew within the framework of the French migratory fishery (Pope, 2008).

2.3 Britain and Pre-Famine Ireland

The British colonization of Ireland is part of the context for the interactions

between merchant, planter, and servant classes in Newfoundland since British attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the Irish Catholic persisted, even as they crossed the Atlantic. Bannister notes that during the eighteenth century merchants and established planters were predominantly Protestant, while the Irish Catholics were most often members of the servant class (2003:11).

The 1960s and 1970s produced a series of subaltern studies analyzing English perceptions of, and policies affecting, Ireland before and during the Famine-era. Lebow states that the Irish had faced Cromwellian attempts at genocide in the seventeenth century, and by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Irish were deprived of political rights, were made subservient to English interests, and forced from their land by English colonizers as estates were seized and peasants evicted from the land (1977). Irish Catholic poverty was seen as the fault of the Irish, as the English conceived of the Irish as superstitious, slovenly, covetous, lethargic, and ignorant over-imbibers, more akin to animal than human as they seemed to exist in good cheer amidst poverty and squalor (Lebow, 1977).

This one-sided portrayal of relations between the English and Irish is one of the hazards inherent in the broad generalizations which plagued some cultural historians in the 1970s, as the search for trends and patterns can overshadow the intricacies of specific events in time and space. With few exceptions, most studies of English-Irish relations tend towards oversimplification. Within these studies British rule is analyzed over centuries in search of major trends, and this process creates an image of fixed, unchanging British belief in inherent Irish inferiority. Lengel suggests instead that the British did not exist as a homogenous group oppressing the Irish (2002). The liberal element in Britain had more sympathetic views towards poverty among the Irish Catholic; these different stances made Ireland a divisive issue in British politics. British perceptions of Irish identity were fluidly constructed and varied to meet the social,

political, and economic needs of the colonial government. These perceptions of the Irish were constructed as "other" from themselves and reinforced in popular literature, government documents, and travel accounts, but Irish identity was not necessarily constructed by the British through direct opposition (Lengel, 2002). Considering agency, as well as the negotiation and renegotiation of power and identity in colonial situations, aids in countering the oversimplified portrayal of colonial encounters as individual actors approach their situations through unique means. Irish Catholics were not just passively victimized in this colonial situation. Resistance and uprisings punctuated the British possession of Ireland, as well as the British administration of Newfoundland.

2.4 Irish Settlement of Newfoundland

The eighteenth century was a period of rapid growth for the year-round settled population in Newfoundland. At the start of the eighteenth century, the over-winter population accounted for only 15-30 percent of the total summer population, while at the end of the century it accounted for 90 percent of the summer population. This was not a steady increase but rather a cyclical process within different regions following times of war and peace. The summer population consisted more of residents at times of peace than times of war as migratory activities slowed during these periods. Irish ports of trade with Newfoundland were limited to the southern shores, with Waterford identified as the primary port (Head, 1976; Mannion, 1974). The Irish-Newfoundland population was also mostly from southern Ireland; Head determined this through the analysis of the places of origin for common Irish-Newfoundland surnames, church records in Waterford, and Newfoundland court records citing place of birth (1976). While Waterford and Cork were the major ports from which the Irish emigrated, they were also coming from further inland; Tipperary is a common place of origin for Irish-Newfoundlanders (Head, 1976).

Before the 1720s and 1730s, there were few Irish settlers in Newfoundland. In the 1740s, larger numbers of Irish began immigrating, though not in as large numbers as

suspected by the colonial officials who were watching their increase in population with great suspicion, particularly during periods of war with Catholic nations (Head, 1976). A series of coincidences led to likely Irish population expansion in the 1740s including the war in England, resulting in conflict with Spain and unrest with France, depriving the fishery of English labourers as they were the training base for the English navy which at the time was not organized as a formal navy but rather made up from members of the merchant marine. This crippled commerce in times of military unrest. There was famine and depression in Ireland from 1726 to 1729 and then frosts destroyed crops in the winters of 1739 to 1741 and drought followed. Food was expensive and unemployment high. This created a ready labour supply just as the United States began to produce record levels of food which could be purchased to feed a Newfoundland population (Head, 1976).

Unrest between the British Empire and the Catholic nations of France and Spain led to additional problems for the Irish Catholic in Newfoundland. In 1755, Governor Dorrill enacted a penal code against Roman Catholics, forbidding the celebration of mass and the raising of the Irish flag; either action would result in a fine, arrest, and the burning of the perpetrator's home and related buildings. The building within which the mass was held was specifically targeted for destruction (Bannister, 2003:10, 216-217; Prowse, 1895:293).

After the Seven Years' War, Governor Dorrill's penal code was not enforced, with the exception of similar restrictions enacted by Governor Palliser from 1763-1768, and it is questionable how seriously these penal codes were heeded. By 1779, limited toleration was granted to Roman Catholics and in 1784 all restrictions were removed. Governor Dorrill's penal code reflected not the regular regulations in Newfoundland but rather an extreme exception resulting from consistent fears of social unrest and worries that the Irish Catholic population would join French forces during an attack (Bannister, 2003:

215-218). Head mentions that Britain was regularly at war with Spain and France during the eighteenth century and finds British administrators' suspicion of Catholic populations unsurprising (1976:89). Constant fear of social rebellion and uprisings by the Irish and invasions by the French generated anxieties within the Protestant elite, but for the most part sectarian conflicts only arose after major incidences. The unease of the governing elite begat tangible results, but aside from isolated incidences, most Irish Catholic citizens were loyal and not politically active (Bannister, 2003:221). Asymmetrical power relations and prejudice still existed, but they were the products of a complex history and inciting events; these follow the general trends identified by Linda Colley (2003) as characteristic of the rise of the British nation state.

Historical geographer Michael Staveley found that most historic discussions of Irish immigration to Newfoundland tend to over-estimate the size of the Irish Catholic population in relation to the English population (1978). The attention paid to the number of Irish immigrants reflects British concerns that they were possibly dissident, so their immigration was watched carefully, and often with alarm (Staveley, 1978).

Head found that estimates of the Irish population ranged up to three-quarters of the population, even while they were the minority (1976). These exaggerated estimates may also relate to the high concentration of Irish immigrants in time and space, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Through studying regional settlement patterns, Staveley noticed that Irish populations dominated only in the Avalon Peninsula and that English populations outweighed the Irish throughout the rest of the island (1978).

The precise heritage of many of the *gardiens* is not known. Thus far the majority of the texts reviewed state that the settlers in Conche, Crouse, and Croque during the early nineteenth century were Irish Catholic, while some of the other surrounding communities are identified as English Protestant (Casey, 1971; Joy, 1970; Pope, 2008;

Rompkey, 2003). It is likely that some of the *gardiens* were English, or were not Irish by birth but first or second-generation Newfoundlanders of Irish Catholic descent who moved north from Conception Bay. Most of the historic sources I have reviewed tend to divide the settled population in Newfoundland into Protestant English or Irish Catholic groups. Although they would have been numerous, native-born Newfoundlanders are infrequently mentioned, even into the early-twentieth century. When colonial documents refer to a majority of the Newfoundland population as Irish Catholic, it is fairly safe to assume that even if they were born in Newfoundland, they were being classified as Irish Catholic alongside the Irish-born individuals. Ethnicity was dictated by ancestry, not necessarily place of birth. By 1874, of forty-one recorded settlers in Croque all but one was born in Newfoundland, though the single non-Newfoundland born inhabitant had migrated from Ireland (Newfoundland and Labrador Census, 1874).

2.5 Anglophone Settlement of the Petit Nord

Most publications referring to the settlement history of Newfoundland tend to focus on the southern, more populated regions, often overlooking the more northerly hinterlands. The first *gardien* hired along the Petit Nord settled there in the 1790s with the remainder established by 1840, although the earliest may not have actually been *gardiens* but early settlers later hired by the French (Casey, 1971; Joy, 1970). The earliest settlement occurring in the 1790s corresponds with the end of the ban on settlement along the French Shore which was enacted from 1713 to 1783, as well as the near absence of the French from the region due to the revolutionary wars (Pope, 2003). The French fishery fully resumed on the French Shore following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.

Other anglophone settlers did not come to the region until around 1850 to 1870. Some were employed by one of the *gardiens*, occasionally marrying a *gardien*'s daughter and building their own house (Casey, 1971; Joy, 1970). In Conche and Crouse the French

captains at the fishing rooms changed every five years or so, and since the different captains had varying impressions of what constituted the ideal *gardien,* as often as every few years a new family may have been brought north (Casey, 1971). This reflects the changes in French fishing room allocation after 1815; previous to this date fishermen would claim their sites yearly, but with the new guidelines fishing rooms were designated for five-year periods (Pope, 2008).

Through fishing salmon, herring, and possibly cod, as well as hunting seal and other animals, the settlers worked on a credit system known as truck. Truck is a semi-barter relationship between planters and merchants in which the merchants advance the settlers supplies on credit with the expectation of exclusive rights to the season's furs and fish to pay off the accrued debts. The relationship is defined as semi-barter as only goods are exchanged, but the accounts are recorded in terms of monetary value. This system created an asymmetrical relationship in favour of the creditor, who set the prices for both the merchandise sold to the planters and the price of the fish and furs they purchased. The merchants making the sales to the planters were also involved as debtors themselves in a chain of credit relationships; they often held accounts with suppliers, who were in turn often indebted to financing firms in Britain (Hiller, 1990; Price, 1990; Thornton, 1990). Rompkey (2003) states that settlers often remained indebted to the merchants since they were paid so little for their goods. Interestingly, Thornton noticed that in the ledgers for merchant Joseph Bird, a merchant based in Forteau Bay, Labrador, who often dealt with planters along the French Shore, the names of almost all the planters in the Petit Nord except for the *gardiens* appear (1990:145). Perhaps this reflects the selection of different merchants by some of the *gardiens,* or possibly their lesser reliance on the truck system and merchant credit due to the payment in goods they received from the French for their services as caretakers. The relative level of dependence on the French captains or St. John's merchants for supplies will be discussed below, in Chapter 6.

2.6 *Gardiens* and the French Fishery

The historic and folkloric evidence indicates that a congenial relationship existed between the *gardiens* and their French employers; at the very least the separate parties were tolerant of one another. As more anglophone settlers arrived in the Petit Nord, the French became concerned that the settlers would encroach on their fishing grounds but still managed to maintain their space; settlers, except for the designated *gardiens,* were banned from the most productive fishing rooms (Rompkey, 2003). The occasional dispute arose over fishing rights, but government records indicate that they were resolved relatively peaceably. The vast majority of grievances arose due to conflicting perceptions of rights to shared resources and the related land (Casey, 1971; Mannion, 1978; Rompkey, 2003). At times, the settlers of Irish descent fished illegally at night, selling fish and furs to St. John's traders as a means of obtaining supplies beyond those provided by the French (Casey, 1971).

The *gardiens* were mainly reliant on the French captain's supplies; without these goods they existed in poverty, so the number of *gardiens* hired depended on the captain's resources. Some French captains prided themselves on having several *gardiens*. Once a captain decided that a *gardien* was a worthy employee he was supplied not only with tools for guarding the French stations but also with provisions including butter, flour, salted lard, biscuits, wine, cider, spirits, nets, and lines (Rompkey, 2003). Constant Carpon, a commercial surgeon who participated in the French fishery in Newfoundland from 1826 to 1865, wrote *Voyage a Terre-Neuve* in 1847 (in Rompkey, 2004). Carpon remarked that the wealth of provisions provided by the French captains reduced the industriousness of the *gardiens* and that they became naturally lazy once they had enough to eat and drink. According to Carpon, when a *gardien* built a cabin, the frame was erected but it was never fully covered until the destruction of the dwelling necessitated the completion of the job (Rompkey, 2003, 2004). Rompkey (2004) notes that Carpon

is known for his exaggeration; as a surgeon he may have been accustomed to luxuries beyond those provided by wooden structures, and his perception of complete or suitable dwellings would have been biased. He also would have been somewhat unfamiliar with the concentrated nature of seasonal work. Carpon's perception of the *gardiens* as lazy was likely influenced by his encountering them after they received fresh supplies following a long winter's labours.

The relationship between the French captains and the settlers was characterized by observers as mutually beneficial, tolerant, and proprietary on the side of the French captains (Rompkey, 2003). The space shared by the French and Irish *gardiens* provides some interesting narratives. Due to their prolonged interaction with the French several of the *gardiens* were bilingual (Casey, 1971). Some of the *gardiens* were very friendly with their employers, and social relationships often formed between the captains and the settlers. Some French captains dined regularly with the *gardiens* and shared in their family life; some apparently formed attachments with the settlers' wives and daughters. The French also brought a clergyman with them when they arrived in the spring; the *gardiens* and their families were quite excited when they arrived and a large backlog of ceremonies including marriages, baptisms, and confessions were conducted as soon as possible. While there was a French vessel in the harbour the settlers could also attend mass, and the women appeared in fine clothing and crinolines (Rompkey, 2003). These goods were rare in St. John's; the French captains regularly brought patterns and apparel as gifts for the women (Rompkey, 2003). In his voyages, Constant Carpon described a French captain visiting a young Irish woman and her two young children, both of whom called him "Papa". He was criticizing Europeans for their promiscuity, but the development of romantic relationships between fishermen and settlers living in close proximity for several months seems probable (Rompkey, 2006).

The French also shared their physicians with the *gardiens* during the four months

of the year they were present; the remaining eight months they relied on homemade concoctions (Joy, 1970). Evans (1977) notes that the Irish had a strong knowledge of local fauna and flora through generations of observation and experimentation; many homeopathic remedies relied on the tenets of sympathetic magic. The nearest hospital was opened in 1892 and was still 112 kilometers away, so if anyone were ill enough to require the services of the hospital it is most likely the voyage would have killed him (Joy, 1970). In the winter, the only method of travel was by dog team since there was no road in or out of these coastal towns even in 1970, although they are accessible now. In the summer, passage by boat was the primary method of transport. For periods of the autumn and fall when the waters were too rough for a boat but the snow not consistent enough to use a dog team, travel was impossible (Joy, 1970).

The addition of personal narrative by means of historical journals and memoirs to the conceptualization of daily life in the Petit Nord provides important insight into daily life. Louis Koenig, a French naval captain, describes Patrice, later identified as Patrick Kearney, running to meet the captain of the French fishing vessel *Clorinde* at the moment of its arrival at the start of the fishing season. Kearney is described as Irish, with stringy hair and prominent teeth, living surrounded by his children and grandchildren. The presence of his family was not perceived as hindering the completion of his tasks, as the entire family is described by Koenig as extremely loyal to the fishermen. Kearney was apparently eager to negotiate his wages and obtain a milk cow for his daughter-in-law, who had recently given birth and wanted the cow to assist with feeding her child. Koenig also describes the Kearney homestead, which was located among several abandoned fishing cabins in Genille, near the entrance to Croque Harbour. Patrick Kearney and family lived in a sturdy wooden cabin which Koenig notes had all of the implements necessary for a comfortable existence, including a large American stove at the back for heating the room, cooking, and baking. The settlers were apparently fiercely religious and

would preserve their dead on ice in the winter and with salt in the summer until a priest arrived to perform the proper sacraments (Rompkey, 2004).

Julien Thoulet, a French biologist, also wrote memoirs of his 1868-1869 travels in *A Voyage to Newfoundland*, where he also visited the Kearney homestead in Genille. Thoulet describes the Kearney homestead with much less detail, referring to a cluster of four or five cabins in Genille where Patrick Kearney was busy drying capelin. Thoulet's travel journal discusses mainly the vegetation and wildlife he encountered. Most importantly, however, Thoulet photographed the settlement at Genille in 1869 (Thoulet, 2005).

2.7 The Kearney Family in Newfoundland

Archival resources provide a valuable means of tracing historical figures and events, such as the arrival of Patrick Kearney in Newfoundland, the marriage of Patrick Kearney, and the birth of children and other family members. Archival data also provides additional information about events and interactions within the community.

French archival data has already been collected by Dr. Ronald Rompkey, and a variety of genealogical studies of Newfoundland and Atlantic Canadian family names have scoured a large chunk of the relevant archival data (Punch, 2008; Rompkey 2003, 2004, 2006; Seary, 1977). As this thesis is primarily concerned with archaeological data, discussion and analysis is focused on integrating existing data as opposed to searching for new sources. The Roman Catholic parish records at the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archives were searched for information relating to the Kearney family, families in Croque, and other known *gardien* families, such as the McGraths in Grandois and the Casey family in Conche. Records for individuals living on the Great Northern Peninsula moved, as closer parishes became available to residents.

The earliest Roman Catholic records available for Newfoundland are from St. John's, and after that from the King's Cove parish. Birth and baptism records dating from

1806 were studied for St. John's, while those from 1815 to 1856 in King's Cove were examined. After 1842 the parish records for individuals on the Northern Peninsula were maintained in Tilting. The relevant available baptism records examined from Tilting date from 1842 to 1874, and the marriage records examined date from 1842 to 1904. The Conche parish records are available for 1880 to the present, and those dating from 1880-1928 were examined. These sources were not included in Seary's *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland* although nearly every other imaginable source was included in his studies (1997).

Punch's study of Irish immigration to Atlantic Canada located two Patrick Kearneys (2008). Both were released from military service in the 99th (Prince of Wales) regiment and relocated to St. John's on July 24th, 1818. Both were also labourers, aged 29, from County Clare. This would, unfortunately, indicate that they were born in 1789 (Punch, 2008). When Koenig arrived in Croque in 1868 he was greeted by Patrick Kearney; if this were the same man he would be nearly 100 years of age. Seary's study did not turn up the name Patrick Kearney, although there was a Matthew Kerney in Harbour Grace in 1775, a Michael Kearney in St. John's in 1777, a John Kearney in Bay Bulls in 1803, and a John Kerney living in Quidi Vidi in 1836, to list a few (1977). It is not entirely certain that Patrick Kearney was born in Ireland, or if he was instead of Irish descent and a first or second-generation Newfoundlander. Some of the individuals located by Seary sharing the Kearney surname could be predecessors. That said, however, at least one of the 41 residents from Croque Harbour in 1874 was born in Ireland.

2.8 Modern Land Use in Genille

Following the resettlement of the residents of Kearney's Cove to Croque in the 1950s, the land was mostly used seasonally for resource access. A large house which belonged to Patrick Kearney, the grandson of the original *gardien*, is said to have stood at Kearney's Cove until the 1980s when it was dismantled by a family member to build

a hunting cabin in the woods. The land was purchased by the Hall-Suzuki family in 2007 and is now the site of their home and a large-scale organic vegetable garden.

Chapter 3: Method and Theory

3.1 Introduction

To address the research questions outlined in Chapter One, I chose to examine the homestead of the Kearney family including related outbuildings and any other features reflecting use of the landscape by both the Irish-Newfoundlanders and French. I decided to situate my research within a variety of theoretical frameworks: household archaeology, landscape archaeology, and colonial archaeology. These are ultimately framed within historical archaeology. Historical archaeology, the use of documentary and archaeological evidence, creates new dimensions of interpretation afforded by neither textual information nor material culture alone (Deagan, 1996). This allows a broad scale of analysis ranging from international relations to the life of a single person, and often the interpretation of several scales of narrative brings richer meaning and insight to research questions (Johnson, 1999). My research questions require the analysis of the situation from various scales, so the addition of text-based data is intrinsic. I also interviewed two people who lived at Genille before the resettlement to integrate oral histories and local knowledge to my interpretations of the site.

The choice of theories ultimately affected the methods I used to address my research questions; at the same time the methods available and ultimately my findings to some degree have influenced my choice of theories. Theory and method are intrinsically linked and it is often difficult to tease out where one begins and the other ends.

3.2 Household Archaeology

Domestic spaces are a more useful means of analyzing spatial patterning than public spaces as functionally distinct activity areas are more readily identified (Kent, 1990). While this is true, the integration of outdoor spaces is vital as they are still a part of lived space; space incorporates both structured and unstructured spaces since both reflect human activity (Robin and Rothschild, 2002). Domestic spaces and their

associated external spaces are prominent arenas within which social relations are acted out, especially along the lines of class and gender (Rotman and Nassaney, 1997). Essentially studying the *gardien* homestead and outbuildings incorporates both household and landscape studies, as these theoretical bodies together provide a multiscalar approach and means to resolve similar problems, though most literature attempts to distinguish between and divide them (Robin & Rothschild, 2002; Rotman & Nassandey, 1997). Spaces either on the landscape or within the household are both cultural constructs.

3.3 Landscape Archaeology

While French use of the landscape at Genille falls outside the realm of homestead studies, use of the landscape would have provided a context in which the Irish-Newfoundlanders and French negotiated and renegotiated power relations, as they dictated the boundaries within which each group acted out their daily lives. Excavations, shovel tests, and the mapping of features were used to provide the basis for spatial analysis of EgAw-07. Spatial analysis allows study along several avenues, including the social construction of space, the social experience of space, gendered spaces, class spaces, and the politics of space (Robin and Rothschild, 2002).

In archaeology, three different uses of the term *landscape* have emerged. The first refers to the landscape as the measurable physical world, the second as a representation of the world, such as in paintings, and the third as the experience of the world and interaction of people with a place (Bruno and Wilson, 2002). The final is most relevant to current critical archaeology as landscapes become meaningful places which are socially constructed and involve physical and mental experiences. Lippard notes that "every landscape is a hermeneutic narrative"; every landscape contains a story which can be interpreted. Interactions are played out on and within the landscape, and these relations are inscribed on the landscape both physically and in the memories and identities of those interacting with the landscape (1997:33). These interactions can be purposeful, such

as marking or defining territory, as well as unconscious through the enactment of daily activities (Bruno and Wilson, 2002). The landscape is not blank, generic territory but rather a place where different actors play out their lives resisting and responding to the actions of others.

Whitridge classifies the landscape as a "spatial imaginary" where perceived and socially constructed place overlaps with the physical world (2004). One's perception of the landscape affects what one visualizes as included in it. Maps are not neutral representations of space but rather reflections of the social background of the maker (Whitridge, 2004). The creation of maps holds much power in this respect, as information omitted from a map can have dire consequences for different individuals; through maps entire groups can become marginalized and invisible to others.

3.4 Colonial Archaeology

Colonialism can take many different forms. The concept of colonialism implies a relationship of dominance and submission between colonizer and the colonized, with the asymmetrical power relations manipulated and arranged in favour of the colonizer. Lyons and Papadopoulos state that the relationship is rarely this straightforward: within any colonial situation there are a variety of colonial systems operating on different scales. While the policies of the dominant group often govern exchanges between the colonizer and the colonized, there are often smaller scale shifts in social practice and identity which are negotiated and renegotiated through time (Dominguez, 2002; Lyons and Papadopoulos, 2002; Van Dommelen, 2002). One must therefore consider agency as well as the negotiation and renegotiation of power and identity in colonial situations.

Rompkey uses several categories of colonial discourse to illustrate the presence of French colonial discourse in the Petit Nord (2006). The multiplicity of French names for communities in the Petit Nord gives the impression of French colonization, although no French settlements were established in the Petit Nord and none was permitted in

Newfoundland after 1713. In 1815, following the Napoleonic wars, the first French chronicles exhibiting interest in daily life in Newfoundland appeared. Though France could establish no physical colonies in Newfoundland at this time, the literature generated by French fisherman, travelers, and dignitaries reflects a colonial process. Since they were not authorized to physically exercise authority, their presence and rights could only be asserted in writing. Popular journalism, accounts of voyage and exploration, and officers' memoirs, all literary forms liberated from mainstream literary conventions, illustrate a series of rhetorical elements which manifest certain levels of colonial authority. Some of these elements include the acts of naming the territory and classifying the inhabitants in a hierarchical manner through the use of stereotypes (Rompkey, 2006). Stereotypes and ambivalence play an important role in identity formation within a colonial setting; understanding this role is an important step in appreciating the nuances and shifts through time that affect perceptions of cultural identity (VanDommelen, 2002).

3.5 Excavation and Survey Methods

In the summer of 2007 I spent five weeks in the field with my assistant, Rod Jones, conducting archaeological investigations at EgAw-07 "Genille". My academic supervisor Dr. Peter Pope and his crew surveyed EgAw-07 as part of their broader survey of the Petit Nord region in 2004. Preliminary survey of EgAw-07 had shown a landscape covered with a wide variety of structural niches, cellars, galets, walls, and stone dumps (Pope, 2007).

Further survey of EgAw-07 for this study found nearly fifty landscape features in various forms. Genille was inhabited until the late 1950s, when the inhabitants relocated across Croque Harbour to today's Croque, as part of the Newfoundland resettlement program following confederation in 1949.While many of the visible features at EgAw-07 relate to the twentieth-century habitation of the site, all features observed were recorded. This involved measurement and drawing of the feature, a description of its place within

the landscape, a photograph, and its inclusion in a sketch-map of the site. Due to the unavailability of a total station to map the site, all maps of landscape features are rough sketch maps and, while not perfectly to scale, do give an impression of the arrangement of features across space. Several panoramic photographs were taken from above the site to give a clearer sense of layout and scale.

The site was shovel tested to determine the use of visible landscape features and assist in deciding on areas to excavate further. Testing was not done randomly but instead based on visible physical traits or historically recorded activity areas. Random testing does assist with finding features and deposits outside those anticipated by the researcher, but given the minimal amount of time in the field and the abundance of visible features the method selected was deemed most sensible (Fladmark, 1978). Shovel tests were mapped on a standardized form developed by Dr. Peter Pope to easily track test findings and prevent the repetition or confusion of event numbers. Each test was given a unique identifying number and each deposit or feature below the sod layer (Event 100) was also given a unique number in increasing order from the number assigned to the test pit. Each event was described on the test form, along with any additional observations. Artefacts recovered from test pits were assigned to the number relating to the test pit itself as opposed to the distinct events within as artefact provenience within a certain event is difficult to ascertain when shovel testing.

We planned to focus excavations on the Kearney house and relied on a photo taken of Genille and Patrick Kearney in 1868, by Julien Thoulet. Once the structural niche relating to the house shown in the photograph was located at Area G Feature 101, we established a site datum and baseline. Initially we had planned to use a total station to electronically establish the grid for excavation and plot the features found on the remainder of the site. The total station we had obtained was faulty, as was a further one we attempted to use to take feature measurements at the end of the field season. Instead

we relied on a transit to establish the depth above or below the datum for points along the baseline. The datum was placed on a large rock near Feature 101, the structural niche relating to the Kearney house. We established the north to south grid parallel to the western side of said feature. The rock chosen is around 1 m long and quite deep within the ground, and a spot marking the exact point of the datum was cut into the rock to assist in locating it in the future. Points were marked and measured every 1 m along the baseline, extending 5 m each north, south, east, and west. Grid north is actually closer to true northeast.

We excavated a total of eleven 1x1 m units at EgAw-07. Ten were directly within the structural niche of the Kearney house, Feature 101, while the other was opened several meters south to explore unusual findings from a test pit. Excavations were conducted following the Harris Matrix method. Essentially, this involved excavating by event, the attention to interfaces as events themselves, and assigning discreet numbers to events which do not physically connect to eliminate the possible harm in assuming the existence of continual events (Harris, 1989). All sediment recovered was screened using ¼" mesh. Artefacts were generally bagged by lot, the combination of event and unit. Specific provenience was recorded for artefacts which could be easily dated or identified, such as coins, pipes, and ceramics with maker's marks.

The sod layer for the entire site was designated Event 100. Event numbers were assigned as encountered, and features and test pits were assigned event numbers within this system as their presence or creation can be seen as an event in itself. Tests, events, and features totaled 102, numbered from 100 to 202.

In the field, stable artefacts composed of stone, ceramics, or glass were mechanically cleaned with a soft brush and water. Metal and organic artefacts were kept in water; textiles and leather were secured to foam-covered boards and stored in the freezer. In the lab, those artefacts which required conservation were treated upon return

from the field. Artefacts were assigned individual provenience numbers and entered into the database. Those which could be mended or matched were noted. Once the provenience for each artefact was entered into the database, artefacts within the same event were examined across units to see if any cross-mended or matched. This assists in determining a more realistic count of the minimum number of different artefact types as unit designations are essentially arbitrary and unrelated to lived space. Unit placement is a construct of the archaeologist.

Aside from archaeological survey and excavations, two residents of Croque who had previously lived at Kearney's Cove were interviewed. Given time constraints, the data gathered was mostly from informal interviews and the interviewees showing us where they recalled past structures and features at the settlement.

Chapter 4: Landscape and Features

4.1 Introduction

Before the arrival of the Kearney family, and even afterwards until around 1904, Genille was used by migratory French fishermen. Patrick Kearney arrived at some point in the early-to-mid nineteenth century and the site was inhabited by the Kearney family until the early 1960s, when it was abandoned due to the Newfoundland resettlement program. Most of the structures, with the exception of one house, were either floated across the harbor to modern day Croque or disassembled and rebuilt there. According to local informants, one house remained there until the 1980s when it was taken apart for wood for use in the construction of a cabin, and the remaining materials burnt. All visible landscape features, including the more recent ones, were surveyed and recorded; they number near fifty.

The features recorded represent a variety of different periods and uses by both the Irish-Newfoundlanders and the French. Some of the French features located include galets, a fire and associated stove or oven, and niches possibly relating to small cabins or cook-rooms. A variety of structural niches, cellars, and structural remains were located relating to the Irish-Newfoundland use of the landscape. In his study of the Irish-Newfoundland settlement of Tilting, Mellin recorded a variety of landscape features and structures which each family group required (Table 4.1). Many of the structural niche features on EgAw-07 did not have their function explored due to time constraints; the structures at Tilting may provide a means of preliminary identification for features at EgAw-07 through their situation on the landscape (Mellin, 2003).

**Table 4.1 – Outbuildings and Landscape Features Associated With a Homestead –
Tilting, NL**
Based on Mellin (2003:43, 136)

• Cabbage houses	• Outhouses
• Carpentry shops	• Pig pound
• Cellar	• Potato garden
• Clotheslines	• Stable
• Flakes	• Stage
• Grub store (for bulk food)	• Twine store
• Hay meadow	• Well
• Hen house	• Wood shed
• Milk house	

The site consists of roughly six acres of cleared land (Plates 5.1 and 5.2). There is a lower terrace nearest the beach and a gradual slope to a large flat cleared upper terrace extending (grid) east with woods and ponds further inland. A large ravine with a stream cuts through the center of the terraces perpendicular to the beach, with a smaller stream running along the upper southern terrace. Steep stone hills abut the northern and southern edges, and the tops of these contain a series of ponds which are surrounded by bogs. Genille Point is located to the northwest of the site and provides a means of topographic identification.

To assist with survey, the site was broken into eight distinct areas by geographic features (Figure 4.1). The areas are designated as follows: Area A is the beach; Area B is the lower terrace north of the ravine; Area C is the slope between upper and lower terraces north of the ravine; Area D is the upper terrace north of the ravine; Area E is the lower terrace south of the ravine; Area F is the upper terrace south of the ravine; Area
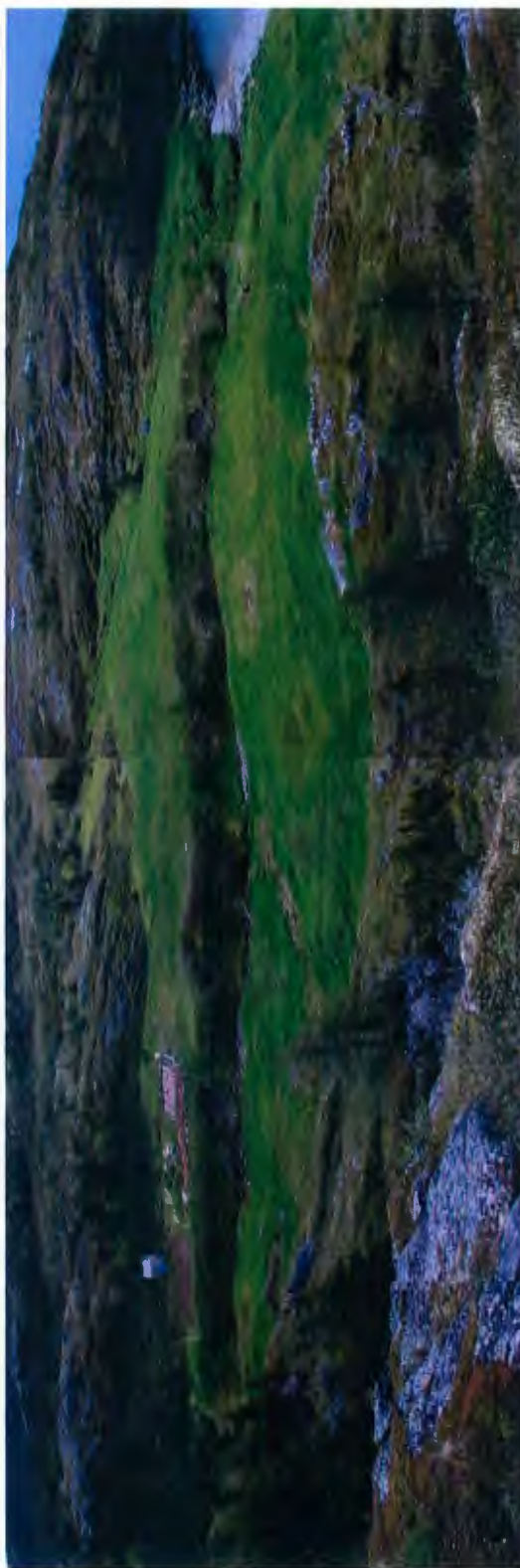
Plate 4.1 - EgAw-07 Genille, site overview, to south

Plate 4.2 - EgAw-07 Genille, site overview to southwest.
Structures to the left are not part of the archaeological site but an organic garden under construction.

Legend
- - - - - - - - - Area Border
Beach
Creek
Galet
Feature
Possible Feature
Boulder

N

Rock Outcrop

Area H - Banks of Ravine (North & South)

Area F - Upper Terrace (South)

Area D - Upper Terrace (North)

Rock Outcrop

Area C - Slope between Upper and Lower terraces (North)

Area G - Niche between Areas C & H

Area E - Lower Terrace (South)

Rock Outcrop

Area B - Lower Terrace (North)

Area A - Beach

Ocean
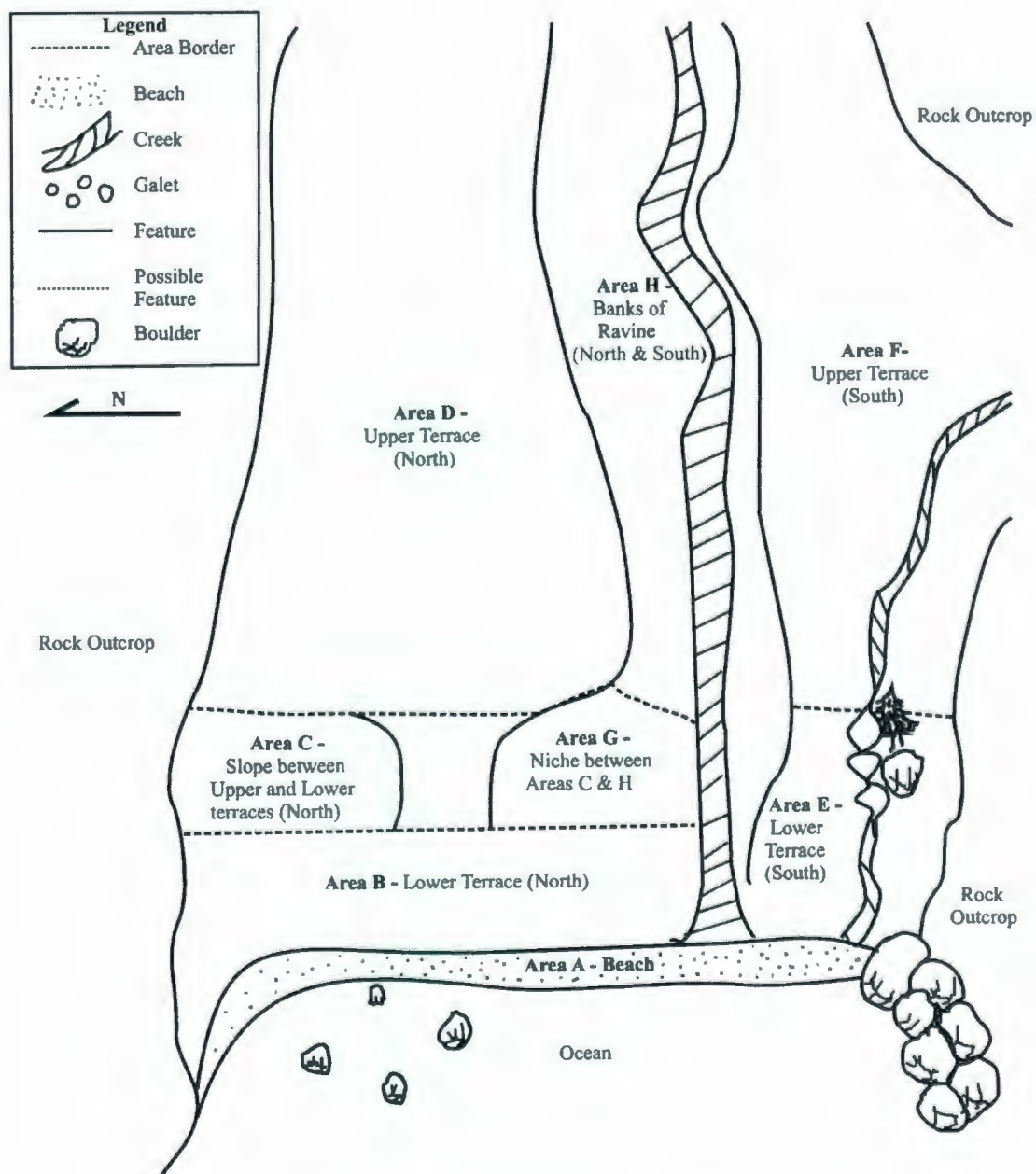
Figure 4.1 - Division of EgAw-07 into areas

G is a niche in both the slope of the ravine as well as Area C; Area H is the banks of the ravine and stream within. This chapter will discuss the landscape features by area, concluding with Area G as it was the centre of full excavations, as opposed to surface survey and shovel tests. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of landscape use on the site.

4.2 Area A

The cove at Genille is u-shaped, with the beach in the center and deposits of boulders and large rocks extending along the north and south sides below the large stone hills which enclose the cove (Plate 4.3). The beach itself consists mostly of water-rolled pebbles. The primary features remaining in Area A are graffiti, with "Kearney's Cove", the local name for Genille, and a series of initials and "82" painted in white on the rocks on the north end of the harbor. The rocks on the south side of the harbor have what appear to be initials carved into them.

A local informant who lived at Genille in the 1950s remarked that there was at one time a government-constructed wharf on the north side of the cove extending nearly out of the cove. The north side of the cove is fairly shallow and has several large rocks scattered underwater which make landing a boat safely problematic; a wharf would facilitate landing as boats could dock further from shore. The south side of the cove is deeper with fewer exposed rocks, and there is a spot to land and tie-off boats safely.

For survey purposes the beach was divided into two test areas by Dr. Pope in his 2004 explorations of Genille (Pope, 2007). The artefacts recovered on the smaller portion of beach south of the ravine and stream are from Test 1; those recovered from the north side are from Test 2.

4.3 Area B

Area B is the lower terrace north of the ravine which runs through the site (Plate 4.4, Figure 4.2). There are three visible structural niches, Features 8, 192, and 193,

Plate 4.3 - Area A, to north.

Plate 4.4 - Area B, to south
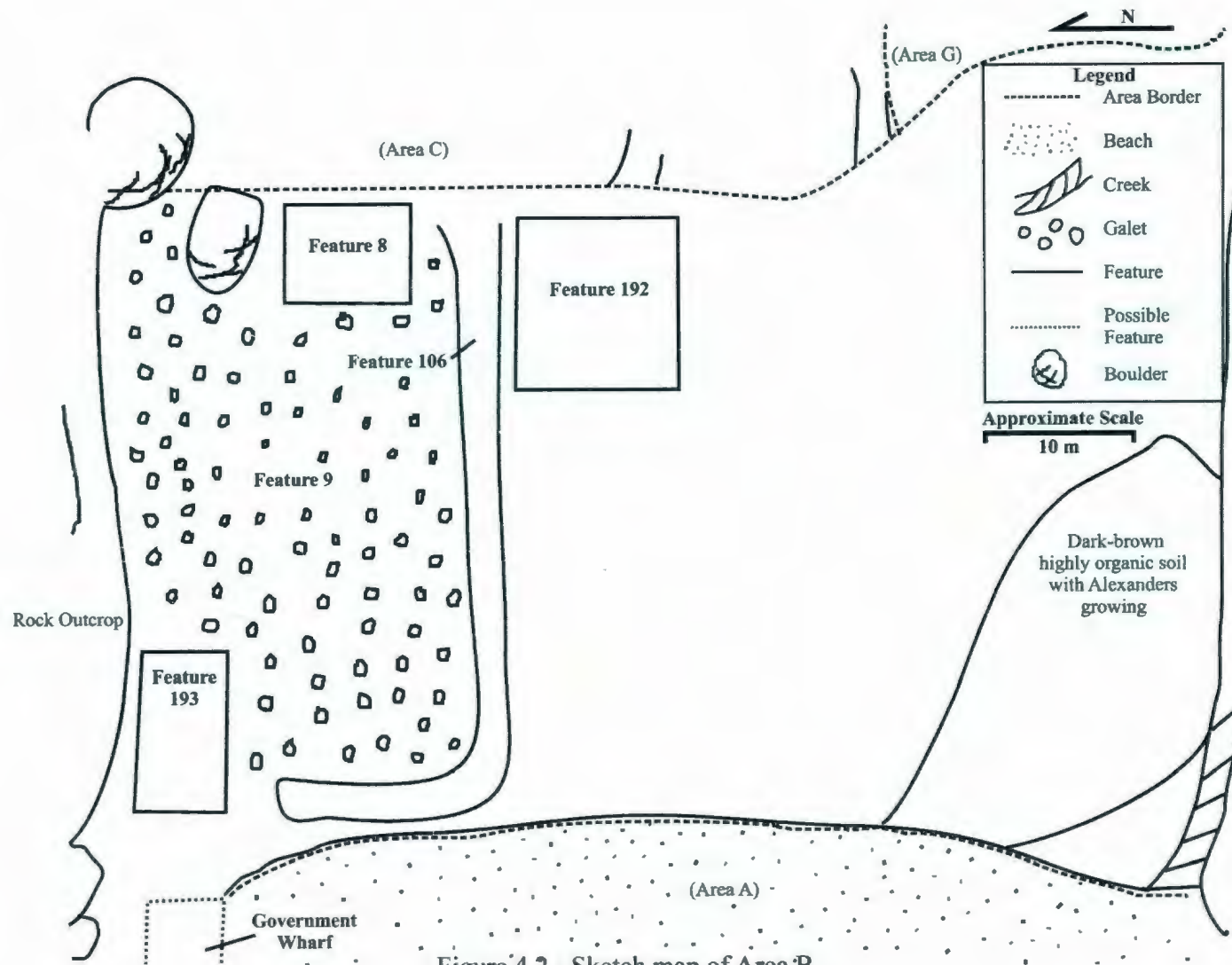
Figure 4.2 - Sketch map of Area B

within Area B. Feature 8 is a rectangular niche measuring 5 x 6 m identified by Pope as a possible house relating to the nineteenth-century Irish-Newfoundland occupation of the site; tests conducted by his field crew produced refined earthenware, glass, and nails (2007). It is located about 10 m south of the northeast corner of Area B, tucked into the base of the hill to the upper terrace beside a large boulder. The local informants could not recall a structure there in the 1950s, so whatever was there previously was no longer in use when they lived in Genille.

Feature 192 is a structural niche which measures approximately 8 x 8 m in size and is located about 5 m south of Feature 8. It was identified by one informant as her place of residence in Genille, owned by one of her extended family members. Feature 193 was identified as a shop established in Genille by a merchant (unnamed). All that currently remains is a rectangular niche measuring approximately 5 x 8 m located in the northeast corner of Area B, with the rock outcrop directly to the north and the ocean to the west.

Aside from structural niches, Area B contains an extensive galet likely used by French fishermen for drying cod. It appears that at one point the galet, Feature 10, covered most of Area B; flat semi-angular rocks are abundant immediately below the grass to the north of Feature 106 (Pope, 2007). Feature 106 is an L-shaped wall of rocks bordering Feature 10, running perpendicular to the shore between Features 8 and 192, then extending north towards Feature 193 along the edge of the beach. Area B south of Feature 106 has few stones and those stones used to construct Feature 106 are identical to those in Feature 10; Feature 106 may be the result of Irish-Newfoundland settlers clearing away the French galet for other uses.

Test pits were placed along the southern edge of Area B a few meters away from the ravine and creek where the fishing stages and flakes would likely have been located. No artefacts or structural evidence were recovered, but the soil is dark and organic with

fish vertebrae scattered throughout. Large leafy plants (Alexanders) grew there in place of the grass found over the rest of the site, indicating some sort of difference in the soil. This in itself may be an indication that the stages were located here. One informant noted that the stages and flakes were often damaged by shifting ice from the harbour as it melted and moved with the ocean; he cited this as one reason the Kearney family accepted the offer to move from Genille to Croque. It is possible, then, that remains from these activities would have been washed or worn away by the ice or creek. Test pits were also placed within Feature 10, the French galet, but no artefacts were recovered.

4.4 Area C

Area C is the slope from the lower terrace of Area B to the upper terrace of Area D on the north side of the ravine (Plate 4.5, Figure 4.3). There are few features within this area. Feature 104 is a large uniform ramp cut into the bank of the slope, with mounds of soil piled on either side. Shovel testing recovered no material culture but did confirm that it was constructed purely through the movement of soil; there were no other structural elements. With the resettlement of the population in Genille to Croque, several of the houses were launched across the harbour and remain there today. Many of the houses which were moved were located in Area D on the upper terrace, so this feature was likely the means by which the houses were brought down to the sea. It is likely, though, that since both Areas B and D were covered with galets there was some sort of platform or cut into the bank pre-dating the *gardien* habitation of Genille and the later movement of the village to Croque. The original structure may have been widened to facilitate a move of this scale.

Another reason Feature 104 likely predates the resettlement of the Kearney family is the presence of Feature 103. Feature 103 is a cut along the southern bank of Feature 104 and represents a path coming from Feature 101, the Kearney house, heading towards the ramp and the upper terrace. The picture of Genille in 1868 by Julien Thoulet shows

Plate 4.5 - Area C, to northeast

(Area D)

Feature103
(Path)

Feature 104
(Ramp)

(Area G)

Legend
- - - - - - - Area Border
Beach
Creek
Galet
Feature
Possible
Feature

N

(Area B)

Approximate Scale
5m
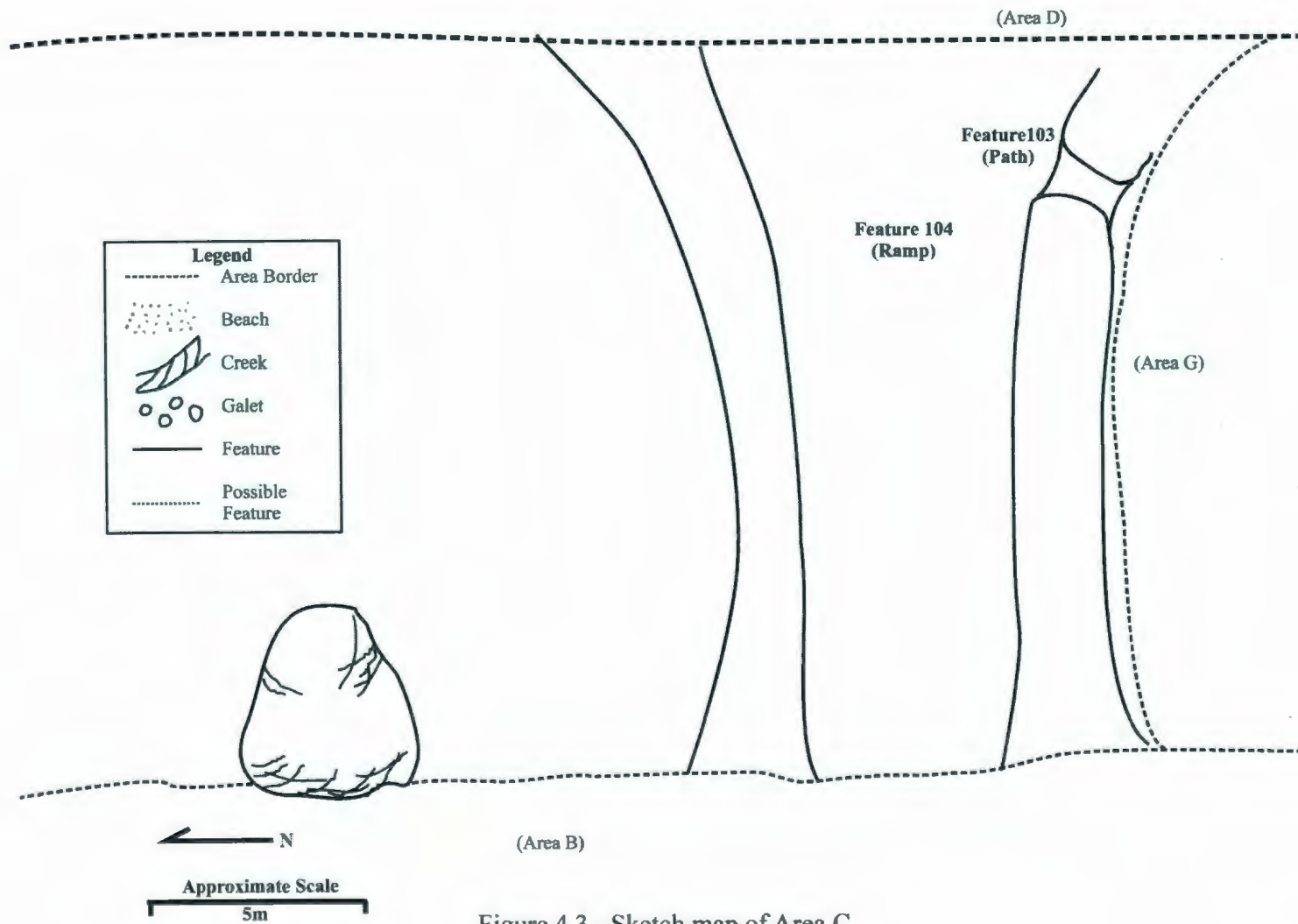
Figure 4.3 - Sketch map of Area C

this path, as well as a fencing system integrated with such a path. All of the features surveyed in Area C are essentially means of movement through the steep terrain present in this area.

4.5 Area D

Area D is the upper terrace on the north side of the ravine (Plates 4.6 and 4.7, Figure 4.4). It contains several structural niches, and some were identified by the informants as the past location of houses. Feature 191 is a scattering of sub-angular stones and a continuation of the galets in Area B, as this would provide further workspace for the drying of fish. The full extent of the galet is difficult to determine, but appears to run about 50 m east from the western edge of Area D as far east as a small surface drainage which runs near the eastern edges of Features 189 and 163. The drainage is not large enough to be classified as a creek or stream, but it appears as an indentation and narrow winding path across the terrace. Feature 187 was identified as a garden, a function reinforced by the presence of rows of parallel soil undulations as in historically attested "lazy beds" for potatoes. Feature 188, a rock wall, borders the northern and eastern edges of Feature 187. It appears to be a result of clearing part of Feature 191 to create a garden. The western and southern edges of Feature 187 border Areas G and H respectively, and rock dumps appear below both these edges (Feature 105, Area H and Event 111, Area G).

Survey of Area D resulted in the identification of seven structural niches. These are Features 163, 175, 179, 180, 185, 186, and 189. Feature 163 is a rectangular niche measuring about 10 x 10 m, located about 2m from the eastern edge of Feature 188 (Plate 8). This was identified by both informants as the house of Patrick Kearney, grandson to the *gardien* of the same name. This building stood until the 1980s when it was disassembled by an unidentified community member to build a cabin in the woods. The best cod jigging was located where the boat was aligned with the peak in the roof of the "old house" as it is referred to locally. The relatively recent removal of the structure at

Plate 4.6 - Overview, Area D below ravine, Area F above ravine, to southeast.

Plate 4.7 - Overview, Area D below ravine, Area F above ravine, to southwest.
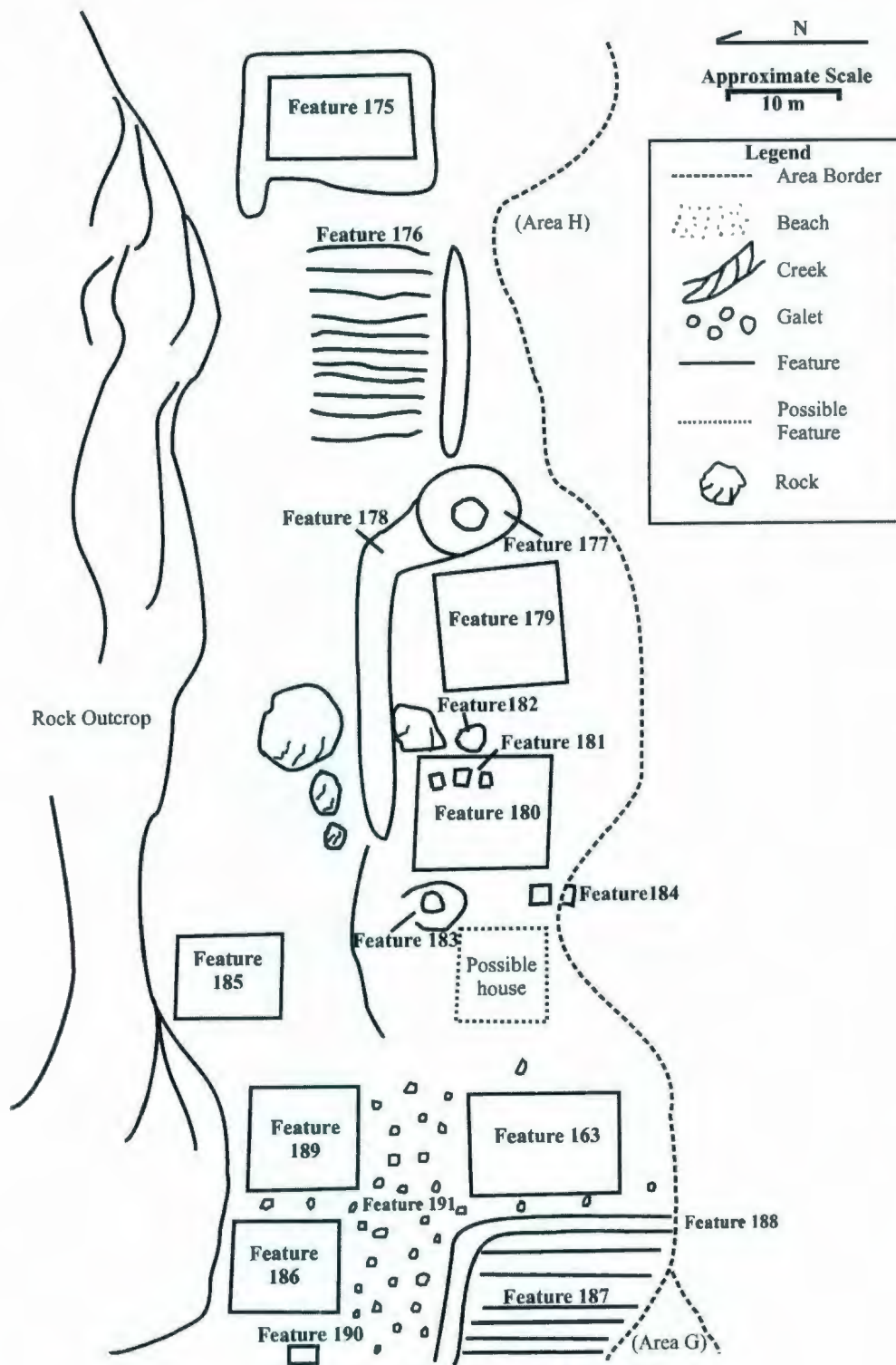
Figure 4.4 - Sketch map of Area D

Feature 163 is visible as there is a variety of surface scatter of burnt building materials and some household items (Plate 4.8).

Feature 186 is a rectangular niche measuring about 8 x 8 m, located in the northwest corner of Area D, nestled into the rock outcrop near the beginning of the slope heading down to the lower terrace. This feature was identified as the summer house of Timothy Kearney, a member of the family who obtained official ownership of the land in 1919 as part of a land grant. Feature 185 was the winter house of Timothy Kearney. It is also located along the rock outcrop on the north edge of Area D, but it is located several meters east where the edge of the rock outcrop dips suddenly further north; a structure here would be protected from winds coming off of the harbour, as well as wind from the north. Feature 189 is a rectangular niche about measuring 8 x 10 m, located along the rock outcrop directly between Features 185 and 186.

Feature 180 is a structural niche measuring about 12 x 10 m, located along the southern edge of Area D around 15 meters north of Feature 163. This was identified as the childhood home of one of the informants. It is associated with Feature 181 chimney fall and Feature 182, a concrete cylinder with a brick platform on top, likely the base for a fireplace (Plates 4.9 and 4.10). The concrete base appears to have been poured in a large metal tube and the bricks used have frogs, depressions on the bottom, and keys, projections on the top; these provide keys for mortar in wall construction (Gurcke, 1987). Feature 178, a rock wall, borders the north wall of the structural niche and extends several meters east where it also borders the northern edge of Feature 179, another structural niche. Feature 178 extends a total of around 30m and is constructed of large boulders, rocks, and even bricks in some places. Where Features 185, 186, and 189 are sheltered from winds by the rock outcrop to the north of the site, the construction of a rock wall along the north edge of Features 179 and 180 would have provided a means to protect them from winds coming from the northeast.

Plate 4.8 - Debris scatter at the surface of Feature 163, Area D

Plate 4.9 - Feature 181, chimney fall, Area D, to northwest

Feature 175, a structural niche, is located at the far eastern edge of the cleared area of the site. It measures about 8 x 10 m and has raised earthen borders. The earthen border along the northern wall continues about 4 m west of the rectangle. Based on the parallel soil undulations Feature 176 was identified as a garden. It extends west about 19 m from the western edge of Feature 175 and has a raised earth border on its southern edge. It extends north nearly to the rock outcrop and the southern end is about 3m from the start of the ravine.

Feature 177 is a cellar located immediately southwest of Feature 176. It is an oval-shaped raised soil mound measuring about 4 x 5 m. There is a visible depression about 1 m deep in the centre of the mound, though the size of the below-surface storage and building materials used were not determined as the opening was obscured by vegetation. Feature 178, the rock wall, begins from the northwest corner of this feature.

There are several other subterranean structures present in Area D. Feature 183 is a circular mound with a central depression and pit containing wooden and concrete structural elements (Plate 4.11). It measures about 3 x 3 m and is located near the northwest corner of Feature 180. Photographs taken within Feature 183 show concrete walls and wooden support posts with nails placed around head height, possibly to hang lanterns or other personal items. A variety of large mammal long bones are visible below the opening. When Parks Canada archaeologist Genevieve Duguay visited the site she noted that it may indicate the use of this feature as a privy, as a common folkloric concept is the inclusion of large elements within the privy to move about and help the organic materials settle (Duguay, pers. comm., 2007).

Feature 184 is a cellar located about 10 m south of Feature 183. It is a square opening measuring about 80 x 80 cm, cut into the ground, forming a large pit with concrete and wooden structural elements (Plate 4.12). The subterranean walls of the structure are concrete, and the structural support posts are made of wood. This feature is

Plate 4.10 - Feature 182, fireplace base, Area D, to north
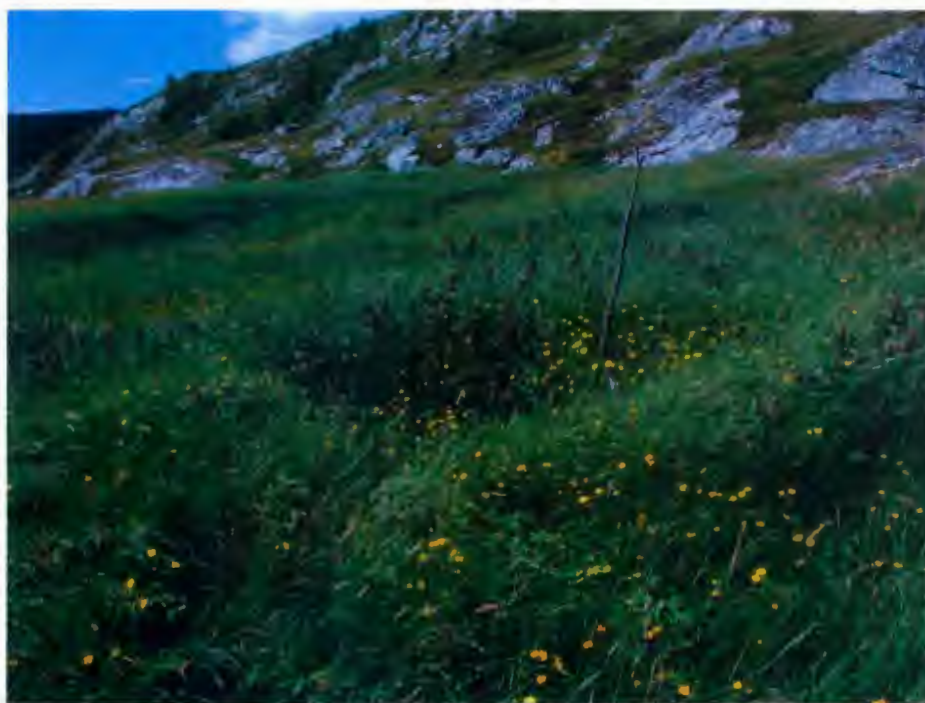
Plate 4.11 - Feature 183, subterranean structure, privy, Area D, to northwest

currently eroding out of the northern bank of the ravine. The interior is about 2 m wide and 2 m deep, but it is uncertain how far it extends into the terrace.

The final feature in Area D is Feature 190 (Plate 4.13). This is a concrete and brick structure measuring about 1.5 x 1.8 m. It currently stands about 0.5 m above ground but has collapsed in on itself, so the original height is uncertain. It appears to have been a cellar as the base of the structure is not visible through the rubble, though it is well below-ground.

4.6 Area E

Area E is defined as the lower terrace south of the ravine, including the rocks where boats land and the grassy patch immediately south (Plate 4.14, Figure 4.5). The slope gradually inclines from the beach east up to Area F, and a lone pine tree provides the eastern boundary between the two areas. A stream runs through Area E from the tree down around the northern side of a grass-covered boulder. Below the large boulder is a flat platform which appeared a likely candidate for a structure relating to fishing; in the photograph by Julien Thoulet the posts for fishing flakes or stages were sunk in the immediate area. Patrick Kearney appears to be standing where the stream runs around the boulder, and fence posts with a clothesline strung between them are visible in the vicinity. Test pits were placed in this area, though no material culture was recovered. The water table is quite high below the boulder, and the soil is mostly sand. No fence posts or wooden structural remains were visible in the area.

The only feature located in Area E is Feature 155, a series of three pools created in the stream by damming it with large numbers of small and large rocks. Feature 155 is located at the southeastern corner of Area E, as it is constructed in the stream where it runs in a small waterfall over a large boulder beside the tree (Plate 4.15 and 4.16). Trowel scrapings along the northern and eastern banks of the stream above Feature 155 produced bricks, wrought nails, and fragments of French coarse earthenware. This may have been

Plate 4.12 - Feature 184, subterranean structure, cellar, Area D, to south

Plate 4.13 - Feature 184, subterranean structure, cellar, Area D, to south

Plate 4.14 - Area E, to east
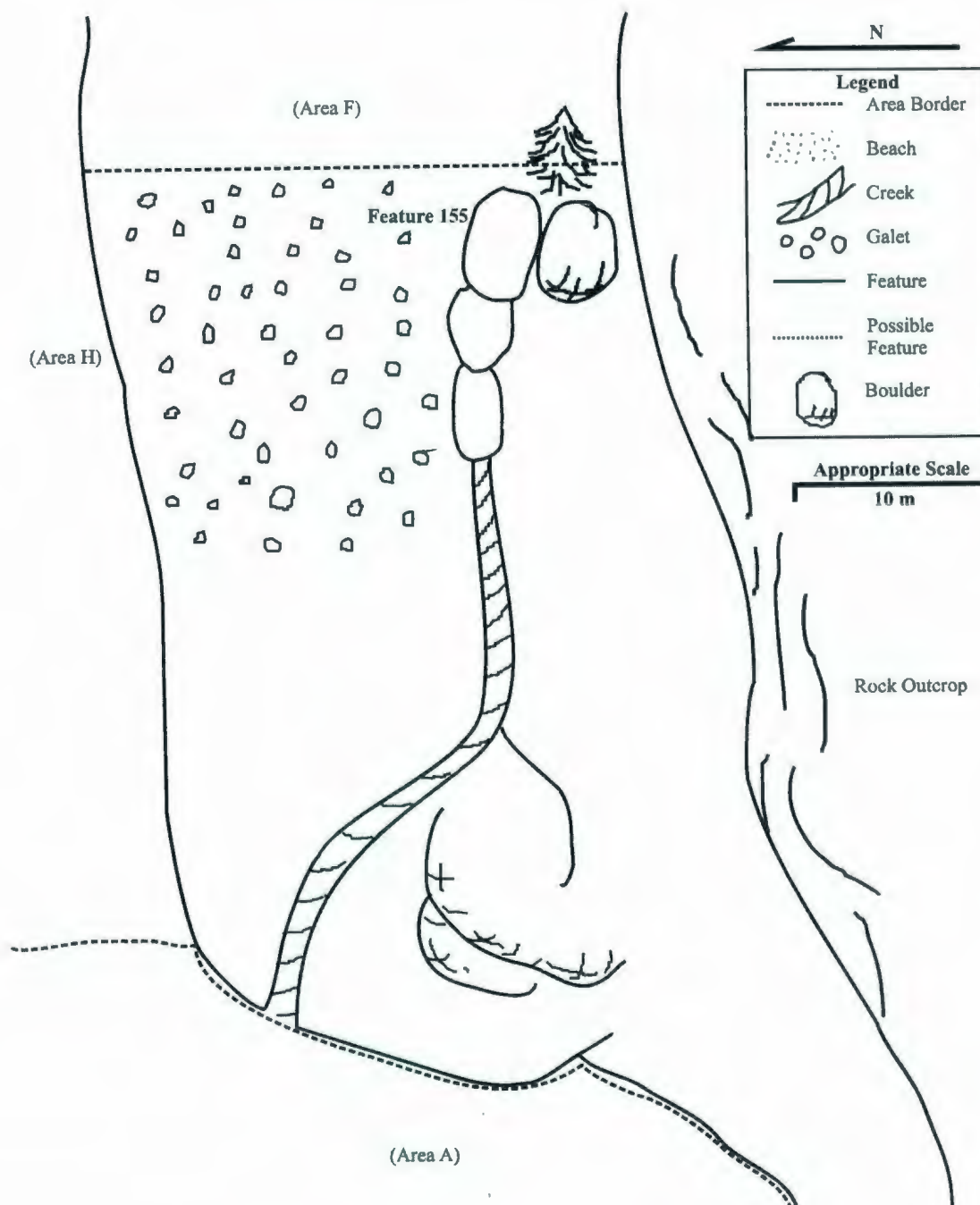
Figure 4.5 - Sketch map of Area E

Plate 4.15 - Feature 155, stream with three pools, Area E, to east

Plate 4.16 - Feature 155, close-up of dam at first pool, Area E

the site of a French cookroom at some point, as its location away from but near the active work areas and proximity to water supply would have been ideal.

4.7 Area F

Area F is defined as the upper terrace south of the ravine (Plates 4.6 and 4.7, Figure 4.6). The western border is the lone tree adjacent to Feature 155. The northern border is the ravine and the eastern border is the end of the cleared area of the site, as is the southern border. A modern garden is in construction along the southeast corner of the site. One informant mentioned that three houses were occupied in Area F when she inhabited the site. One house was owned by a member of the Kearney family, but the other two were owned by brothers and members of the Bromley family. She couldn't recall the exact locations of the houses.

Feature 170 is an L-shaped structural niche and likely house. The longest walls each measure about 8 m in length and extend south and east from the northwest corner. There are two immediately associated features which indicate that Feature 170 was a house. Feature 168 is a set of concrete stairs, with two steps and the letters "KNIN" on the lower step which appear to have been hand-drawn into the wet cement (Plate 4.17). The western edge of Feature 168 aligns along the northernmost side of the western edge of Feature 170. This possibly indicates the location of the entrance to Feature 170 at the eastern side of the house facing the ocean. Feature 169 is also related to Feature 170, and it is a long rectangular block of concrete, possibly part of a foundation (Plate 4.18).

Feature 171 is a cellar located about 10 m northwest of Feature 170 (Plate 4.19). The opening is irregular and measures about 2 x 1 m. The original opening looks like it was much smaller, but the structure has begun collapsing in on itself. This may have caused problems previously, as a large post is planted beside the opening, marking its presence. The cellar is constructed of concrete and wood and is about 2 m deep. The size of the below-ground aspect of the structure is unknown.
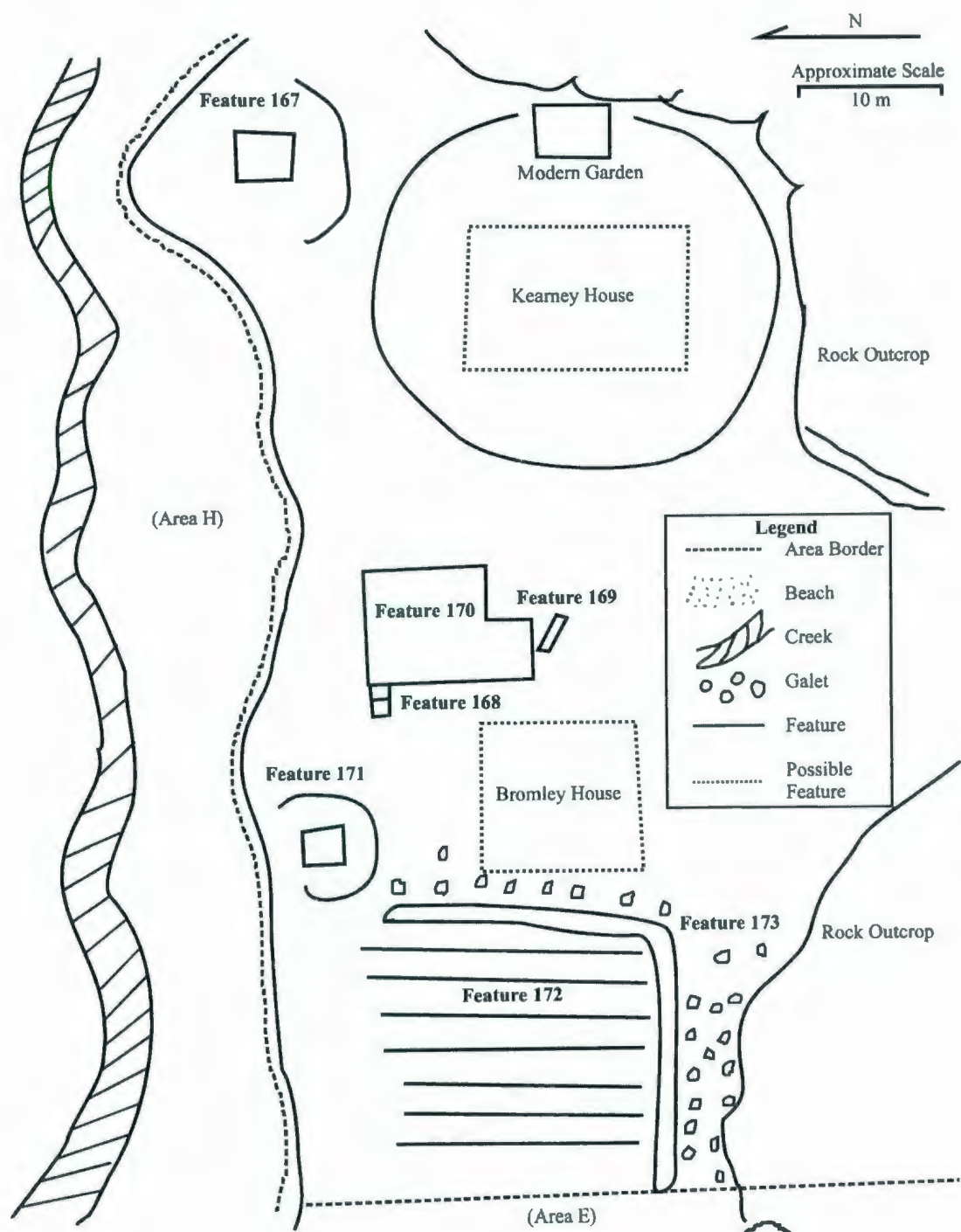
Figure 4.6 - Sketch map of Area F

Plate 4.17 - Feature 168, concrete steps from Feature 170 (house), Area F, to east

Plate 4.18 - Feature 169, concrete foundation piece from Feature 170 (house), Area F, to north

Feature 172 is a series of parallel soil undulations indicative of a garden. It measures about 16 x 18 m and is located immediately southeast of Feature 171 and extends west to the western edge of Area F. The southern and eastern edges are bordered by Feature 173, an L-shaped rock wall (Plate 4.20). Feature 173 is constructed of rocks similar to those from the galets on the site, Features 10 and 191. A galet was likely on the site of Feature 172, but was then cleared for gardening by the Irish-Newfoundland settlers, resulting in the creation of Feature 173. The southern wall of Feature 173 is a few meters from the stream; the terrain between Feature 173 and the stream is rocky.

Only two structural niches were located in Area F of three houses present in the 1950s. There appears to be a structural niche in the area of the modern garden being built at the eastern edge of Area F. Feature 167, a large cellar, is located just north of the active gardens of the Hall-Suzuki family along the edge of the ravine (Plates 4.21 and 4.22). The mound itself measures about 6 m across at its plateau and rises about 1.5 m above the ground. There is a depression in the centre within which there is an opening measuring about 1 x 1 m. Lumber supports form the ceiling of the structure, while a broken concrete slab is located just below the opening. Old lumber pieces are scattered to the north of the opening. The depth and extent of this subterranean structure is unknown, but the grassy mound itself extends down into the ravine to the creek and Area H. Most of the other cellars or subterranean structures are immediately associated with structural niches or houses; Feature 167 may have been associated with the possible structure in the Hall-Suzuki garden. They have reported finding ceramics and clay tobacco pipes while gardening. The third house described by the past inhabitants of Genille may have no visible remains on the landscape; with their near non-existent foundations and fragile construction, traditional Newfoundland houses leave few visible traces on the landscape (Mellin, 2003; Mannion, 1974).

There is an interesting piece of folklore pertaining to Area F. There are local tales

Plate 4.19 - Feature 171, cellar, Area F, to east

Plate 4.20 - Feature 173, rock wall, to east

Plate 4.21 - Feature 167, cellar opening, Area F, to north

Plate 4.22 - Feature 167, cellar, Area F, panorama to south

of human remains being excavated accidentally when Patrick Kearney's grandson of the same name was clearing land about 50 meters east of Area F. They assumed that since the remains obviously did not belong to anybody in their family they may in fact be the bodies of French fishermen who died while working at Genille. This is the only folklore relating to the French fishermen's presence in Genille that was recounted to me by anyone in the community, but it was recounted by two separate sources.

4.8 Area H

Area H is the ravine which cuts through the site perpendicular to the beach, including the banks of the creek as well as the creek itself (Plate 4.23, Figure 4.7). The only feature on the south side of the ravine is Feature 174, which is a deposit of galet rocks dumped over the banks of the ravine (Plate 4.24). It is located immediately below Feature 172, the garden from which the rocks likely originated when they were part of a galet. The clearing of the galet to make way for a garden is most likely the depositional event resulting in Feature 174.

Another rock dump present in Area H is Feature 105 (Plate 4.25). This is a rather deep rock dump located on the north side of the ravine immediately beneath Feature 187, another garden. Feature 105 is likely the result of clearing part of Feature 191, the galet in Area D, in order to use the land for gardening. Feature 105 is also likely the site of the midden relating to the occupation of Feature 101, the house of *gardien* Patrick Kearney. It is only a few meters from the rear of Feature 101; most houses falling within the realm of Newfoundland traditional architecture, even for immigrant settlers, often had a door at the back of the house with access to the kitchen (Mannion, 1974; Mellin, 2003). I attempted to test Feature 105 and recovered some material culture contemporary with the occupational layer at Feature 101. The rock layer was quite deep and accessing the deposit below was difficult; I moved aside some rocks to see if there was any material immediately underneath. The land owners were concerned about the visible erosion along

Plate 4.23 - Area H, to east

N

Legend

- - - - - Area Border

Creek Bed

Creek

o °o O Rock Dump

Feature

Possible
Feature

Midden

Approximate Scale
10 m

Feature 184

(Area F)

(Area D)

Feature 150

Feature 174

(Area E)

Feature 105

(Area C)   (Area G)

Figure 4.7 - Sketch map of Area H
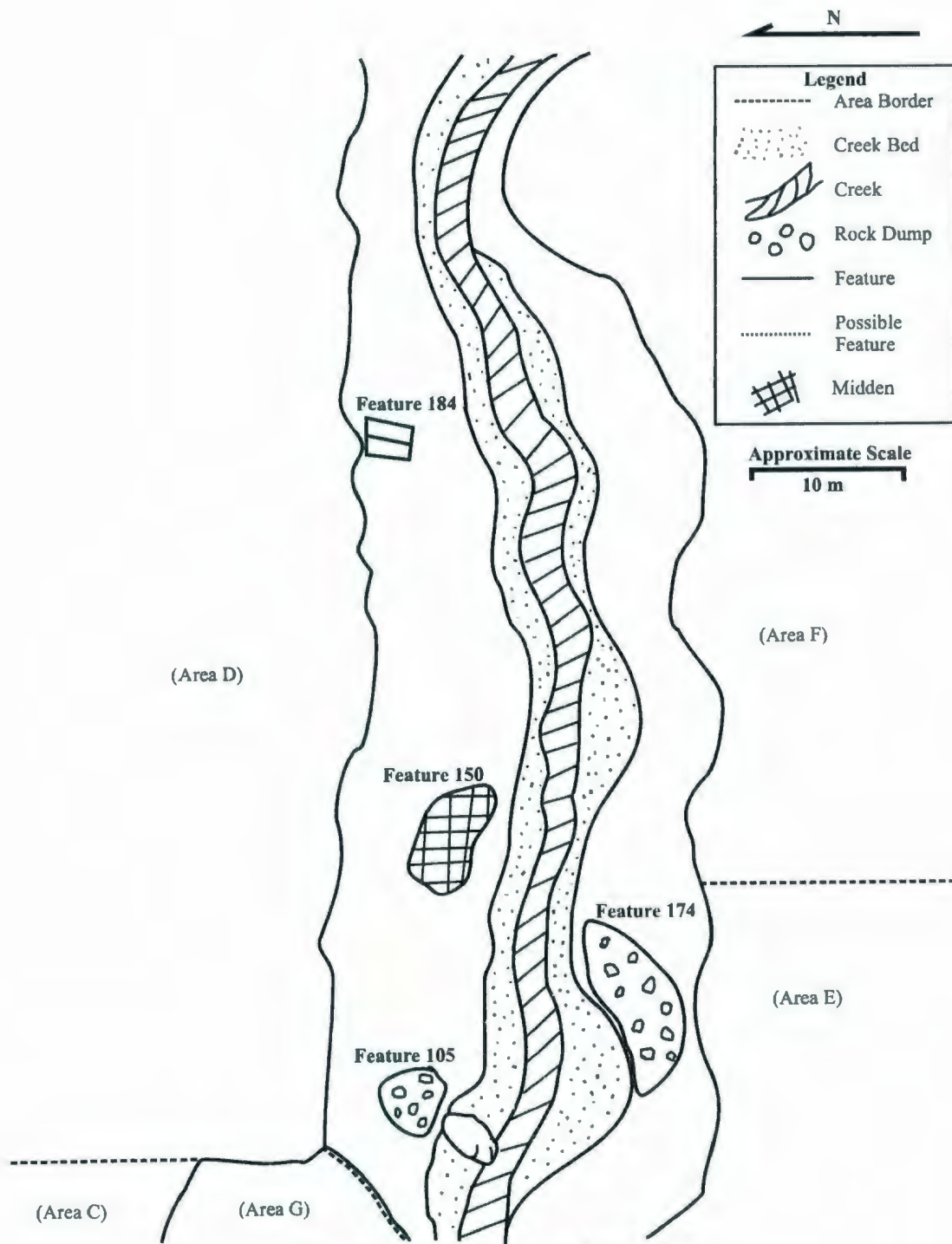
Plate 4.24 - Feature 174, rock dump, Area H, to east

Plate 4.25 - Feature 105, rock dump, Area H, to northeast

the bank and requested that we not excavate along the banks of the ravine; we respected their wishes and did no testing beyond shifting some of the rock dump and surface survey.

Another midden present in Area H is Feature 150, located on the north side of the ravine immediately below Feature 163 (Plate 4.26). The soil here was black and organic and filled with large pieces of broken bottles and ceramics. I collected a wide range of materials here dating from the nineteenth to early or mid-twentieth centuries including bottle glass, porcelain, coarse stoneware, and white refined earthenware. Further east along the ravine is Feature 184, whose opening is in Area D. The body of this cellar is eroding out of the bank into the ravine.

Feature 201 is the base of an oak barrel, sunk within the creek along its northern bank (Plate 4.27). It is located about 3 m south of W4S9, which is located in Area G. This barrel was identified as the source of fresh spring water used by the inhabitants of Kearney's Cove when they lived there in their childhood; other local contacts confirmed this in casual conversation. Pope (2007) noted that in July of 2004 there was nearly no water in the creek. The presence of a freshwater spring would have corrected for the slow of water coming from the ponds and lakes in the surrounding area which feed the creek.

4.9 Area G

Area G is a small niche formed in corner of the slopes of Areas H and C, both on the north side of the ravine bank and the slope to the upper terrace (Plate 4.28, Figure 4.8). Area G is the site of excavations at EgAw-07, as well as the location of the site datum. A variety of features were located in Area G, mostly relating to the construction and occupation of Feature 101, the niche on the hillside where the Kearney family house depicted in Thoulet's 1868 photograph stood. This niche matches the house in the photograph for several reasons: the landscape features match those in the photograph, the niche matches the approximate size of the house shown, and the dateable artefacts
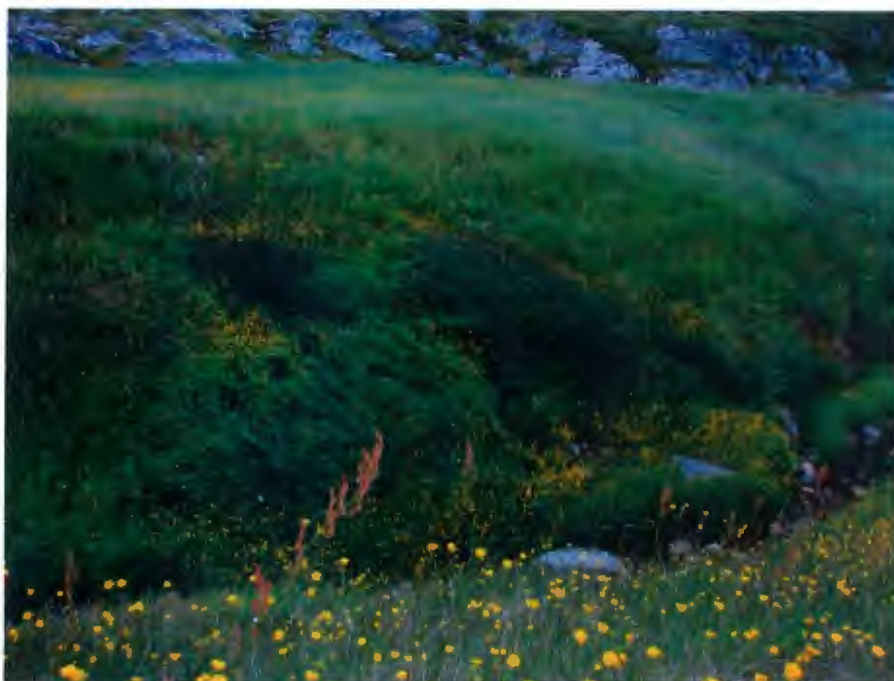
Plate 4.26 - Feature 150, midden, Area H, to north.
Midden deposit identifiable by dark-green nettles growing in nutrient rich soil.

Plate 4.27 - Feature 201, wooden barrel indicating location of fresh water spring,
Area H, to north

Plate 4.28 - Area G, overview of excavated areas, to north
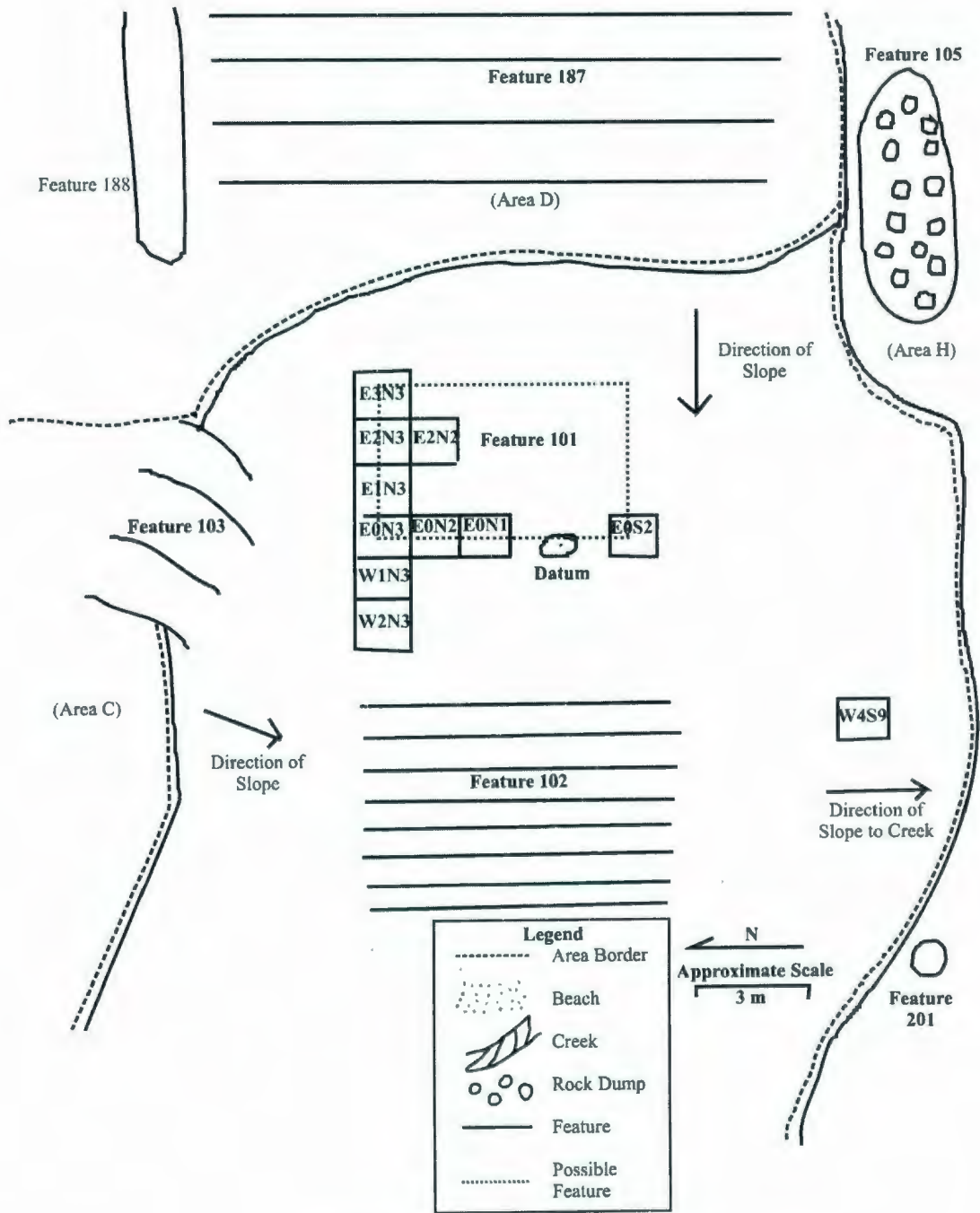
Figure 4.8 - Sketch Map of Area G

recovered match the known occupation of this structure.

Feature 102 is a lazy-bed potato garden located 3 m west of Feature 101 and measures 7 x 6 m; it was identified by the presence of parallel soil undulations. The edges of the garden parallel the edges of Feature 101 though it is a few meters away; this garden was likely used by members of the Kearney family inhabiting the house at Feature 101, though possibly not for the entire habitation period. In the Thoulet photograph the front of the house appears gravelly and well trod. It seems like a high-traffic area, though the garden is obscured by the flakes and stages in the photograph. The piling of dirt and compost for lazy gardens would correct for the rough soil. Test 132 was dug in Feature 102; a series of other tests in this feature were unproductive. Test 132 contained Events 133 and 134: Event 133 is a dark brown clay loam and Event 134 is a dump of large stones and bricks which prevented further excavation.

An older French feature was also located further to the south; productive test pits led to the excavation of W4S9 which contains structural remains and French material culture. A total of twelve productive test pits were dug in Area G. Tests 135, 138, 142, and 145 were placed within Feature 101 while Tests 151 and 153 were dug immediately east of Feature 101. Tests 112, 116, 119, 121, and 158 were placed along the upper ridge of the bank to avoid contributing to erosion.

4.9.1 W4S9

Test 112 contained seven fish hooks and deposits mottled with brick fragments and charcoal. The remaining tests on the edge of the river bank were meant to locate a plausible site to place an excavation unit, and eventually W4S9 was placed with Test 158 on its western wall (Plate 4.29). Five events were recorded in W4S9, Events 100, 159, 160, 165, and 166 (Figure 4.9). In W4S9, Event 100, the sod layer and accompanying dark brown clay loam throughout the site, extended a bit deeper than usual. Although there was no distinguishable difference in the matrix, this event incorporates both the sod

W3S8

W3S9

N

Scale
10cm

Legend

Event 100 - Sod and grass layer, dark-brown loam with roots throughout

Event 159 - Mottled medium-brown and beige silty clay loam with
charcoal and disintegrated brick fragments

Event 160 - Dark-brown sandy loam and charcoal with gravel

Event 165 - Grey gravel and coarse sand

Event 166 - Medium red-brown loam

Charcoal lens

Rock
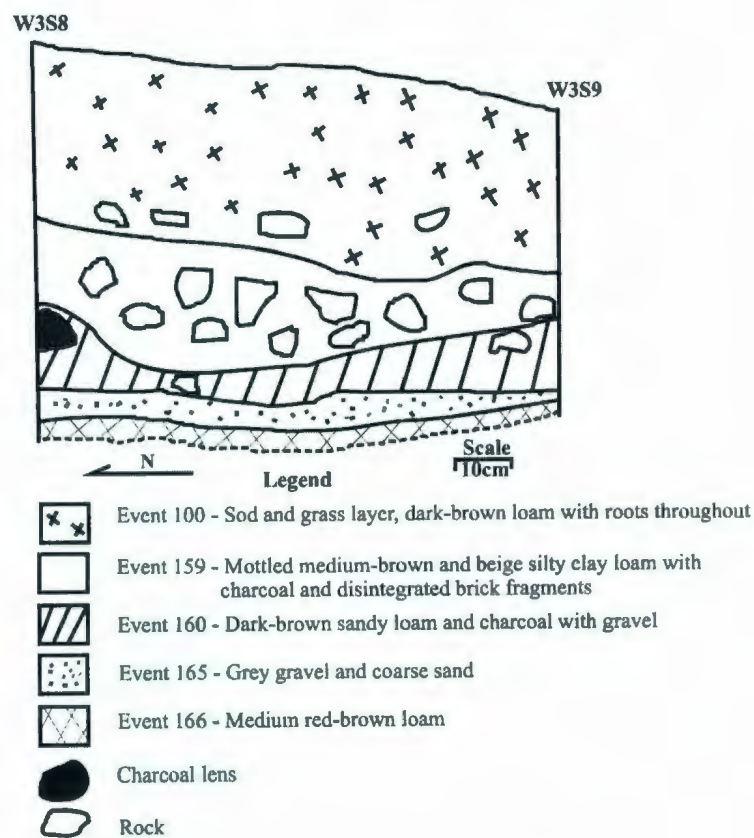
Figure 4.9 - W4S9 Soil Profile, East Wall

layer as well as an outdoor layer relating to the habitation of Feature 101. Many of the artefacts recovered from 100.W4S9 match those from the occupation layers in Feature 101. The near identical nature of the matrices for the two apparently discreet events is likely due to 100.W4S9 being a deposit that is contemporaneous with the occupation of Feature 100.

Event 159 is a mottled medium-brown and beige silty clay loam with charcoal and brick fragments throughout. The majority of the deposit consists of sub-angular rocks and red and yellow bricks. The bricks are generally of such poor quality or fired at such a low temperature few were recovered as they were trowelled through with the same ease as raw clay. Because they are under fired, soft bricks are generally used for structural areas which are meant to be unexposed. Place bricks are of even lower grade and are even less structurally sound; these are meant for temporary jobs (Gurcke, 1987). There seems to have been a brick structure to the north or northeast of W4S9, as Event 159 is thickest along the northern and eastern walls and nearly non-existent in the southern and western walls. Tests 112 and 132 contain brick and rock layers with bricks similar to those in Event 159. Test 112 was dug 1.5 m east of W4S9, while Test 132 was dug about 5 m to the north. Test 121 was dug 3 m east of W4S9 and contained no brick layer, indicating that the brick structure was likely relatively near and not terribly large, as the brick was distributed in a limited area.

Event 160 is dark-brown sandy loam and charcoal layer with some gravel. The deposit contained lead casting waste and large amounts of burnt faunal material. At the bottom of Event 160 is a large flat rock; this would have been useful as the site for a cooking fire or for heating lead to make cod jiggers. French ceramic vessels, fish bones, and lead casting waste were found in Events 160 and 165. The sterile layer, Event 166, is padded and made flush with the smooth surface of the rock with the addition of a gravel and coarse sand layer littered with seashells, Event 165. This may have been added from

a deposit nearer the beach to prevent the fire from spreading or tainting the food with the taste of burnt soil.

Area G is central in the French galet system at Genille, although its geographic location makes it still somewhat removed from activity areas. The proximity to work areas and fresh water would have made this an ideal site for a French cook room, cook fires, or even ovens. The deposits at W4S9 show that there was at the very least a utilitarian fire and some sort of brick structure. The bricks were of low quality material, but perhaps it was planned as a temporary structure or something the builder realized would require yearly maintenance. It was clearly in use before the *gardiens* began using the area to live as the artefacts in the deposit above the brick collapse are contemporaneous with their habitation. Though difficult to discern with just the one unit excavated, it would be interesting to see if future excavations revealed the extent of French use of Area G. Was the area abandoned well before the *gardiens* arrived in Genille, or was it abandoned and the French cooking complex moved to make room in a prime location for the newcomers? Either of these scenarios would make interesting statements about the relationship between the Kearney family and the French fishermen with a long-established history of use on the site.

4.9.2 Feature 101

Feature 101 is the central focus of investigations at EgAw-07. A total of 10 units were opened within the bounds of this structural niche with the intent of locating the house shown in the Thoulet photograph. The exploration of the household context on the site was of primary interest, and with the large number of visible features on the landscape and the limited field season it seemed best to work with a known structure. The units excavated were opened in the following order: E3N3, E2N3, E1N3, E2N2, E0N3, W1N3, W2N3, E0N2, E0N1, and E0S2. Due to the nature of the Harris Matrix excavation, events connecting across units will be initially discussed together as

essentially units are arbitrary designations assigned by the archaeologist, while events themselves represent a depositional event. Differences between units and artefact distribution will be discussed in more detail later.

Event 100, the sod layer consisting of dark brown clay loam with roots throughout, was excavated as the top deposit for each unit. Artefacts within Event 100 are mostly from the twentieth century, including bottle glass, nails, a toy gun, rubber boots, and modern garbage such as a Doritos bag. Event 111, large sub-angular stones with dark brown loam between, was the next event designated in Feature 101. It was located in E3N3, E2N3, E1N3, and E2N2 and post-dates the occupation of the Kearney house. Artefacts recovered include a variety of whiteware and porcelain sherds, as well as bottle glass. The deposit has a *terminus post quem* of 1921, as one of the porcelain sherds has maker's marks indicating it was made in Japan. Before 1921 trade vessels from Japan were said to have been "Made in Nippon" (Miller, 2000). The stones from Event 111 match those from Feature 191, the French galets. Feature 101 is directly west of Feature 187, the garden in Area D. Feature 105, the rock dump, and Feature 188, the rock wall, border Feature 187 on the north, east, and south sides. Event 111 is the western zone the galet stones were deposited. This indicates that the house in Feature 101 was abandoned before Feature 187 was created. Event 126 is another layer located above, and in some places beside, the occupation layer. Event 126 is a compact medium red-brown clay with few pebbles. The clay content was so high the deposit would dry and crack with exposure to sunlight. Event 126 is found in E0N3, W1N3, and E0N2.

Event 125 is a medium-brown clay loam with gravel and pebbles throughout (Figures 4.10 and 4.11). There are small lenses with more or less clay, gravels, pebbles, or faunal materials throughout this event; due to the small nature of the individual deposits it was impossible to determine where one began and the next ended. Event 125 is one of the occupational layers for Feature 101. The Thoulet photograph shows that the house was

Legend

- Event 100 - Sod and grass, dark-brown loam with roots throughout
- Event 125 - Medium-brown clay loam with gravel and pebbles throughout
- Event 126 - Compact medium-brown clay
- Event 127 - Medium-brown coarse sand with gravel and pebbles
- Event 128 - Medium-brown firm clay loam with some gravel and pebbles
- Event 129 - Compact medium-brown clay flecked with charcoal
- Event 148 - Yellow-beige sand with some pebbles
- Event 156 - Gravel and pebbles with some medium-brown sandy loam
- Event 111 - Large sub-angular stones with dark-brown loam between

Nail

Rock

Brick

E4N3 (-116cm DBD)

E3N3

E2N3

E1N3 (-50cm DBD)

E1N3 (-50cm DBD)

E0N3

W1N3

W2N3 (10cm DBD)

E

Scale

10cm

Figure 4.10 - Soil Profile, South Wall, Excavations in Feature 101

E0N3 (-32cm DBD)

E0N2

E0N1 (2cm DBD)

Scale

10cm

N

Legend

Event 100 - Sod and grass, dark-brown loam
with roots throughout

Event 126 - Compact medium-brown clay

Event 127 - Medium-brown coarse sand
with gravel and pebbles

Event 128 - Medium-brown firm clay loam
with some gravel and pebbles

Charcoal   Rock

Nail   Brick
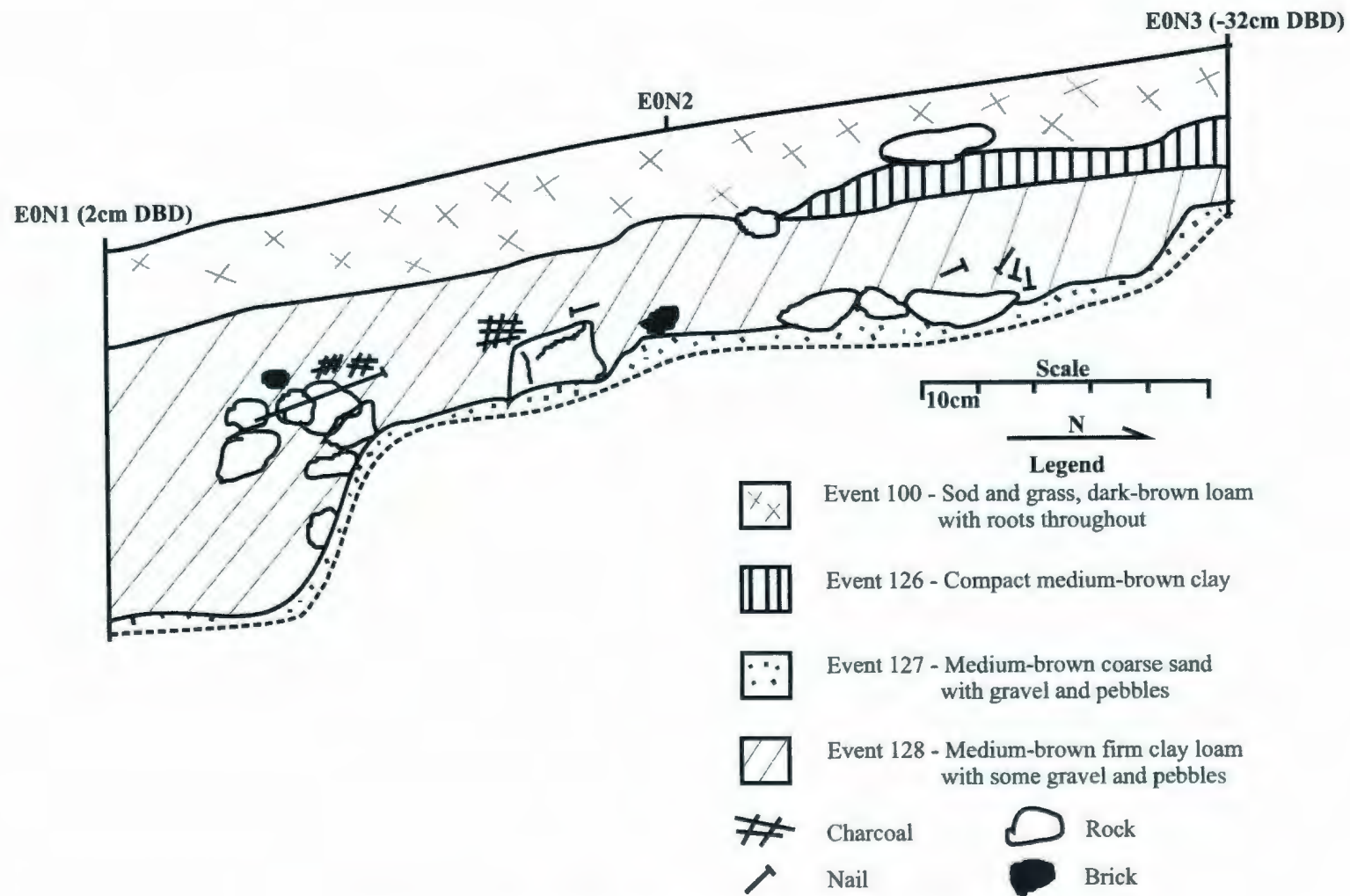
Figure 4.11 - Soil profile, West Wall, Excavations in Feature 101

73

built on a platform supported by wooden posts, so the artefacts found in Event 125 are those which would have fallen through the cracks in the wood plank floors. This makes dating artefacts with relative provenience difficult, as the depositional rate would not be even across the feature but instead based on small independent events, such as dropping a dish or sweeping the floor. Relative depth in this event means little as accumulation depends on the frequency things are used and lost within the household. Spatial analysis within the household is also difficult to determine as these items are not falling *in situ*, but may be swept across the floor or shatter and scatter across several meters. Most artefacts may be outside of their primary contexts.

Artefacts recovered from Event 125 are mostly domestic objects, relating to food preparation and consumption or personal adornment and hygiene. Below Event 125 is Event 127, medium-brown coarse sand with gravel and pebbles throughout. Event 127 was excavated for several centimeters in E3N3 until Event 148, yellow-beige sand with rounded stones, was reached. Both layers contained no cultural materials, and in most other units excavations were terminated at Event 127.

Event 128 also contains items relating to household occupation. Event 128 is a firm clay loam with some gravel and pebbles. It is found in E0N3, E0N2, E0N1, W1N3, and E2N3. It appears adjacent to Event 125 and contains a lot of the same material culture; it may relate to the clearing of debris and fixing the support posts under the house. Feature 131 is a rectangular form cut into Event 127, which Event 125 fills. Event 128 also forms the western end of Feature 131 in E0N3; the rectangular shape of Feature 131 is likely due to its being cut into the bank of Area G to make room for the platform upon which the house was built. The house was built on a slope, so the northern and eastern edges were cut into the bank and the platform was propped up there; stilts were used to support the downslope western and southern sides to create an even base on which to construct the house. Event 128 is therefore outside of the platform

construct, as it extends into W1N3 and W2N3 which seem to be outside of the house. In E0N3 the raised house floor may have extended a few centimeters beyond the sill as the depositional nature of Event 128 is like that of Event 125.

A series of features located within Feature 101 provide insight into the construction of the Kearney house (Figure 4.12). Feature 157 is a circular purple organic deposit in 128.E0N2, likely a post mould (Plate 4.30). Feature 195 is a similar circular organic deposit located in 128.E0N1. Immediately above Feature 195 is Feature 194, a ring of large rocks with wood fragments between them. Feature 194 was likely the post supports for Feature 195, but when the house was dismantled only a small amount of the post was left behind, as were the supporting rocks. The last post mould located is Feature 200, from 198.E0S2. It appears to be from a different type of wood as it is a yellow-beige circular deposit surrounded by stones, as opposed to a deep purple though this could be due to differential preservation. The three post moulds are located near the perimeters of the structure and Features 157 and 195 are in line with each other and the edge of the structure. All the supports are on the south side of the house away from Feature 131, the rectangular cut into Event 127, the sterile deposit. The bank slopes downward to the south, so the platform may just have been rested in Feature 131 to support the northern end of the house and the remainder supported only as needed where the hill slopes downwards. A line of rocks in E0N3 between Event 125 and Event 128 is likely reinforcement for the positioning of the platform.

Event 198 is located in E0S2 just below Event 100. Event 198 is a medium-brown clay loam with gravel and pebbles throughout, as well as some sub-angular stones. It is nearly identical to Event 125, including the mottled nature of the deposit, except the artefacts recovered were larger and more intact. There was also a small lens of mussel and whelk shells in the northwest corner. Feature 200, a post mould, is located in the southeastern quadrant of E0S2, so this area was still likely below the house (Plate 4.31).

The Thoulet picture shows that in 1868 the base of the house extended to cover the posts, except on the south end of the structure, where the slats do not end at the ground but rather extend at different lengths below the platform, showing the stilts and area underneath the house. Items could feasibly roll under this part of the house if broken outside. Below Event 198 is Event 199, a medium-brown coarse sandy loam with gravel and pebbles, very much like Event 127 in the rest of the excavation area in Feature 101.

Feature 197 is a brick and stone-lined pit or wall in 128.E0N1 (Plate 4.32). There are nearly no artefacts within Event 128 below the start of Feature 197, with the exception of some nails, a couple sherds of refined earthenware, and brick pieces. It is in a central location to be a cache pit for the house in Feature 101, however with the house being raised on posts any debris falling through the cracks would fall into the pit and disturb the contents. As well, the household occupation layer covers this feature. It is possible that it may relate to French use of Area G for cooking and utilitarian purposes, or it may possibly be from an earlier structure constructed by the *gardiens*; there is no definite evidence that Feature 101 is the first or only house they constructed in Area G. The construction of this feature will be further discussed in Chapter 6.
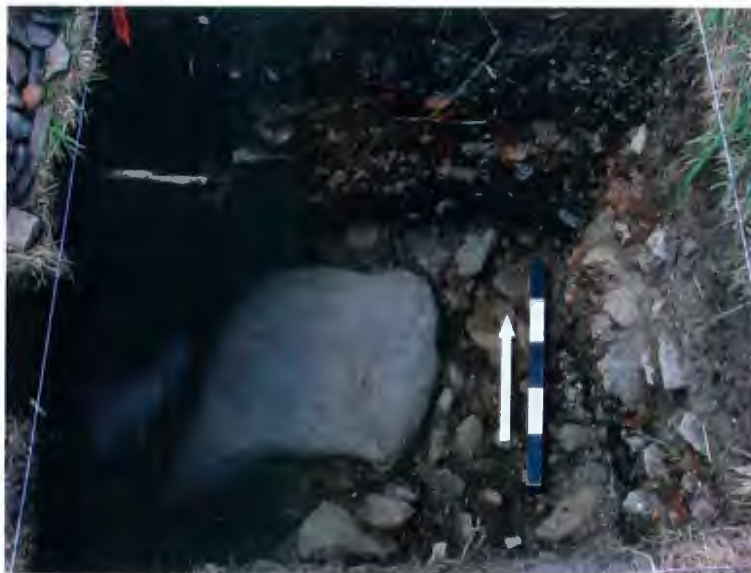
Plate 4.29 - W4S9 Event 166, to north

Plate 4.30 - E0N2, Event 128 with Feature 157 post mold (marked with an arrow), to north

Figure 4.12 - Floor Plan Event 127, Feature 101

Grid North

Legend

◯ Rock   ◼ Iron object

◼ Red brick   ✗ Charcoal

◼ Yellow brick   ⬚ Event130- Firm clay

▨ Wood   ⊤ Nail

------ Sudden change in surface elevation (following slope)

Direction of Slope

Direction of Slope

Scale

20cm

Datum
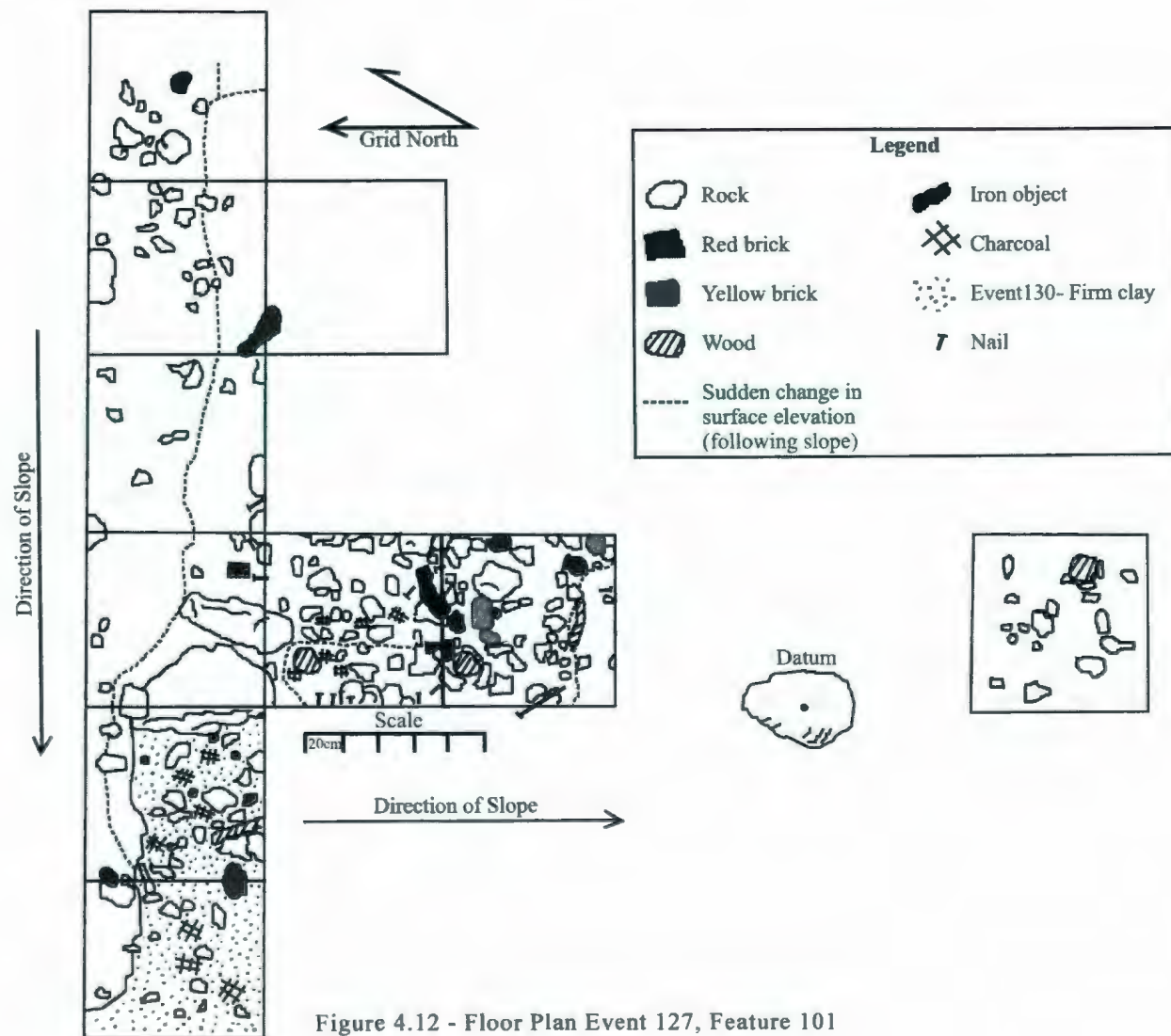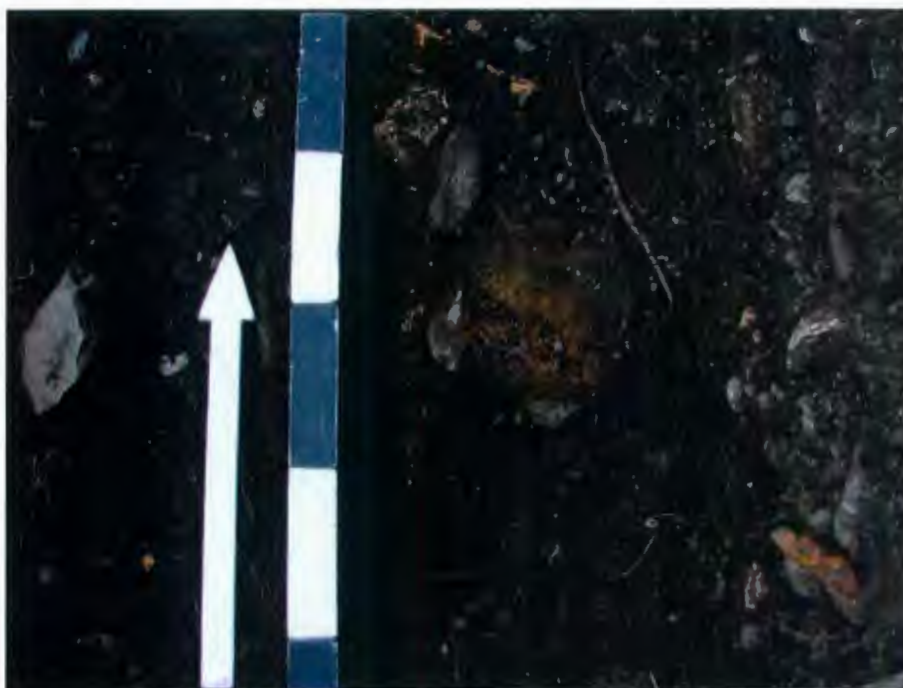
Plate 4.31 - E0S2 Event 198, Feature 200 post mold, to north

Plate 4.32 - E0N1 Feature 197, stone and brick-lined pit, to north

Chapter 5: Material Culture

5.1 Introduction

A wide variety of artefact types were collected at EgAw-07 from survey, shovel tests, and excavations. All artefacts were assigned individual accession numbers based on Dr. Peter Pope's methods, so the database for EgAw-07 could later be integrated and compared with other sites investigated as part of his larger Archaeology of the Petit Nord project. The accession number assigned is a series beginning with the Borden designation for the site, the number for the event or test the artefact was found in, the letter designation indicating function or material, and finally the discrete number assigned to each artefact from the site. As an example, a nail recovered in Event 125 which was the 200th artefact entered in the database would be labeled "EgAw07.125N200". In the interest of conserving space, artefacts discussed will be lacking their Borden designation as they are all from the same site; the aforementioned artefact would instead be referenced as "125N200". Including the event with the independent artefact number will save repetition as a basic provenience for the artefact is essentially being given.

With such a wide variety of artefact types found at EgAw-07, this chapter has been divided into sections based on function: architectural remains, personal effects, subsistence and resource procurement items, household items, and ceramics. To further refine the discussion of the material culture this chapter will deal mostly with the material culture relating to Feature 101, as this thesis aims to outline household supply and date the *gardien* presence on the site and provide insight into their daily lives as employees of the French. The material culture relevant to test pits and surface survey was discussed in Chapter 4, and as these artefacts were recovered with temporally vague proveniences they may skew the discussion of the life within the Kearney homestead. The artefacts recovered from test pits and survey are most useful in relation to their place on the landscape and what they say about individual features, not lives of the *gardiens* in the

nineteenth century.

5.2 Food Preparation, Service, and Consumption

5.2.1 Ceramics

Ceramics are one of the most studied artefacts of any historical assemblage. Ceramic fragments from a variety of wares make up a large portion of the archaeological assemblage from EgAw-07, and with a wide variety of methods to study ceramics they are a good means from which to gain information for the interpretation of a site. Within the occupational layers of Feature 101 alone, 1053 ceramic sherds were collected, representing a minimum of 300 vessels (Table 5.1). The minimum number of vessels was obtained through the examination of sherds within distinct events, looking for differences and similarities in the following characteristics: fabric, colour, pattern, vessel form, and sherd thickness. Matching styles or vessel types were assumed to be part of the same vessel for the minimum vessel counts, and in many cases there was only one sherd of a specific colour or decorative style. Rim diameters were recorded using rim diameter charts where the sherd was large enough to provide an accurate measurement (Sinopoli, 1991). Since vessels were not examined or cross-mended between events, the minimum number of vessels (MNV) as a fraction of all sherds is high when compared to other archaeological sites.

As mentioned above, the discussion of ceramics will centre on those recovered from the occupational layers of Feature 101, incorporating findings from Events 125, 126, 128, 156 and 198. While the focus, particularly for analysis, will be on the occupation layers of Feature 101, other ceramic types found at EgAw-07 will be discussed to provide a more complete overview of the artefact assemblage at Genille.

5.2.1.1 White Refined Earthenware

White refined earthenwares account for the largest grouping of ceramic wares in the collection from EgAw-07: of 300 identified vessels 190 are white refined earthenware

Table 5.1 Ceramic Wares Excavated in Area G

		Event 100	Event 111	Event 125	Event 126	Event 128	Event 156	Event 160	Event 165	Event 198
Whiteware	Plain	5	4	19 [121]	0	8 [18]	0	0	0	4
	Molded Relief Design	0	0	0	0	6 [9]	0	0	0	0
	Underglaze Lines	0	0	5 [6]	1 [2]	4 [5]	1	0	0	0
	Sponge Decoration	1	1	7 [23]	1	8 [24]	2 [3]	0	0	2 [43]
	Dark Blue Transfer Print	1	1	12 [51]	0	5 [7]	1	0	0	3 [16]
	Flow Blue Transfer Print	0	0	5 [8]	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Light Blue Transfer Print	0	0	4 [28]	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Green Transfer Print	0	0	3 [3]	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Purple Transfer Print	0	0	1 [22]	0	5 [38]	0	0	0	0
	Brown Transfer Print	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Black Transfer Print	0	0	0	0	3 [6]	0	0	0	0
	Hand Painted	0	2	5 [8]	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Gold Gilt	1	0	6 [10]	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Majolica	0	0	0	0	1 [10]	0	0	0	1
	Whiteware Totals	**8 [8]**	**8 [8]**	**68 [281]**	**3 [4]**	**42 [119]**	**4 [5]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**10 [64]**
Ironstone	Plain	5	2	18 [39]	0	7 [14]	3	0	0	10 [13]
	Molded Relief Design	5	0	12 [15]	0	4	0	0	0	1
	Other	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ironstone Totals	**10 [10]**	**3 [3]**	**32 [57]**	**0 [0]**	**11 [18]**	**3 [3]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**11 [14]**
Porcelain	Plain	0	2	18 [23]	0	5 [7]	0	0	0	1
	Hand Painted	1	1 [2]	3	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Gold Gilt	0	1 [4]	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Porcelain Totals	**1 [1]**	**4 [8]**	**24 [29]**	**1 [1]**	**7 [9]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**1 [1]**
Non-White REW	Rockingham	3 [5]	0	5 [84]	3	5 [28]	0	0	0	2 [24]
	Sunderland	0	0	0	0	3 [11]	0	0	0	2 [22]
	Lustreware	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Jackfield	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Black-Glazed Red Earthenware	1	2	4 [26]	1	0	1	0	0	1 [6]
	Non-White REW Totals	**5 [7]**	**2 [2]**	**9 [110]**	**4 [4]**	**10 [41]**	**1 [1]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**6 [53]**
CEW	Faience	0	0	3 [27]	0	2 [7]	0	1 [6]	2 [4]	1
	North Italian Style	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 [28]
	Other	0	2	1	1	5 [6]	0	2	0	0
	CEW Totals	**0 [0]**	**2 [2]**	**5 [29]**	**1 [1]**	**7 [13]**	**0 [0]**	**3 [8]**	**2 [4]**	**2 [29]**
CSW	Normandy	0	0	5	0	5	0	2	0	1
	Canadian Grey	2	0	7 [9]	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Albany Slip	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Bristol Glaze	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
	English Brown Saltglaze	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	1
	CSW Totals	**2 [2]**	**0 [0]**	**22 [24]**	**1 [1]**	**9 [9]**	**1 [1]**	**2 [2]**	**0 [0]**	**3 [3]**

(see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). This category includes whiteware and ironstone. A total of 133 whiteware vessels and 57 ironstone vessels comprise 70 percent and 30 percent of the white refined earthenware assemblage, respectively.

5.2.1.1.a Whiteware

By 1790 the British dominated the refined earthenware trade, displacing tin-glazed earthenwares, stonewares, and Asian wares, as the British wares were attractive, cheap, and somewhat more difficult to break. In 1797, one traveler noted that wherever in Europe he went, he was served on British refined earthenwares, even in Paris (Miller, 1980:2).

Creamware was first produced in the 1760s and has a uniform cream-coloured fabric and glaze and at first featured a variety of decorative techniques. The popularity of creamware began to diminish into the 1790s, although it was still made into the nineteenth century. It most often appears undecorated or with simple decoration and the most common forms included utilitarian items such as chamber pots, kitchen bowls, and bed pans (Miller, 1980). Pearlware was introduced in the 1780s and at first used the same fabric as creamware but had cobalt added to the glaze as a means of mimicking Chinese porcelains. Whiteware, as archaeologists refer to it, with a white fabric and clear glaze, appeared around 1820 (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:81; Miller, 1980, 1991).

The distinctions between creamware, pearlware, and whiteware are ultimately arbitrary to some degree as these distinctions did not exist with the pottery manufacturers; since the wares each varied over time and evolved into other ware types, with the exception of earlier examples it is difficult as an archaeologist to distinguish between them with absolute certainty. Artefact preservation and deposition can also affect the identification of these wares; white ceramic fabric and glaze can be stained by rusting iron artefacts or burning. Most importantly, these distinct whitewares were not marketed based on their fabric or glaze, but rather by decoration.

Figure 5.1 - Minimum Number of Vessels by Ware

Figure 5.2 - Number of Sherds as Percent of Ceramic Assemblage
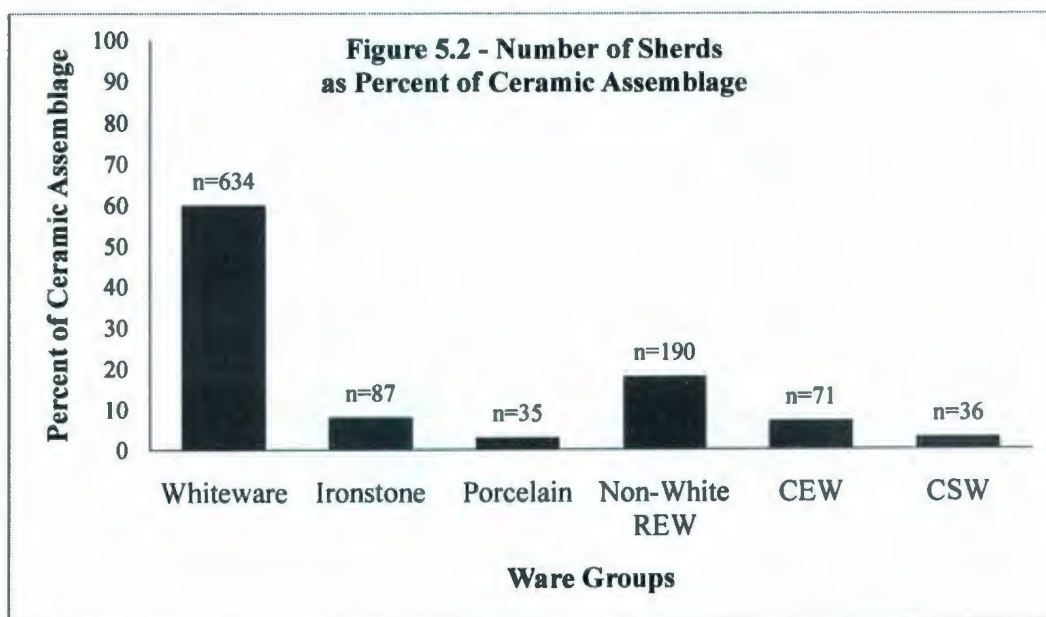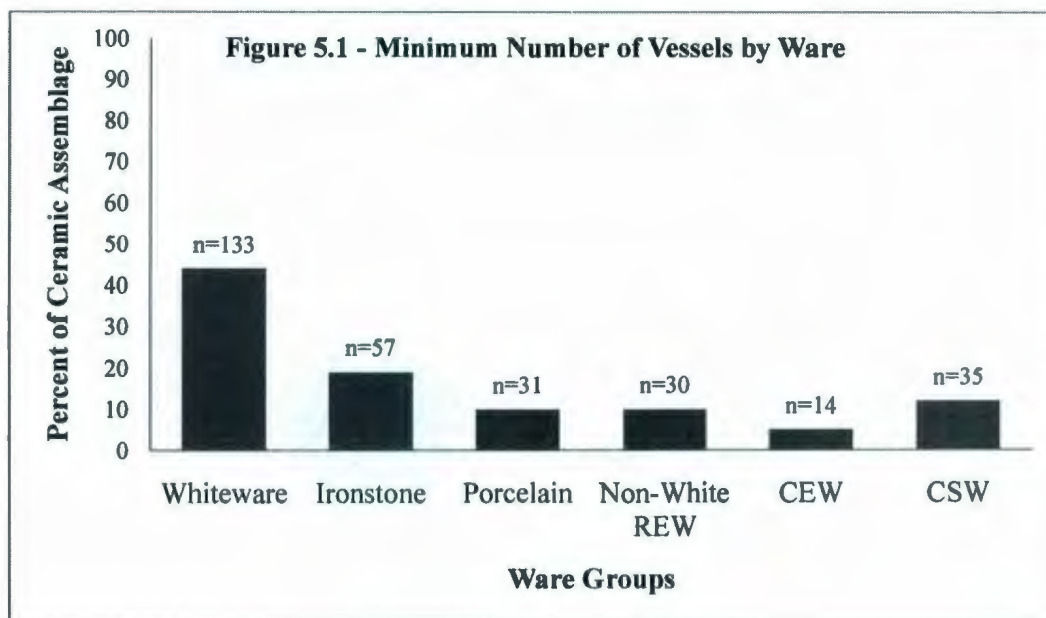
Most of the sherds from Feature 101 were very small and often the fronts and backs of decorated sherds had delaminated, possibly creating the appearance of additional undecorated vessels where they may not have been any. Some whiteware decoration methods also do not cover the entire vessel, and plain sherds may also just be undecorated parts of decorated vessels. A total of 306 undiagnostic whiteware sherds were collected, and from these 33 vessel forms were identified. Miller (1980) notes that after around 1830 undecorated whiteware vessels were produced only for utilitarian purposes and not table wares or teawares; some of the simple decorative forms cost little more than undecorated wares. Most of the vessel forms with no decoration related to tableware or teaware, so these were likely parts of decorated vessels. Discussion of whitewares will focus on the decorated wares identified. The forms for sherds of unidentified decoration will be included in the later discussion of vessel forms.

Whiteware ceramics were marketed according to decoration, with the exception of porcelain and ironstone. Miller created an index to determine the relative value and economic expenditure on different refined earthenware decoration types to create a means of comparative assessment when studying socioeconomics on an archaeological site through the ceramic assemblage (1980, 1991). He ranked ceramic decorations into four levels according to how they were marketed and similarity in price. While this can be an insightful exercise for ceramic assemblages, it works only on assemblages that span less than twenty years. Using the CC index on assemblages that extend over twenty years is essentially time wasted (Miller, 1991:4). That said, using Miller's breakdown of decorative types and their corresponding relative economic value should provide additional insight into the socioeconomics of the ceramic assemblage in Feature 101.

Undecorated ceramics are generally the least expensive, and it is through the price of these ceramics that Miller created the comparative scale. The price of undecorated refined earthenware varied little over time, while the popularity and price of

different decorative techniques fluctuated wildly with supply and demand. Undecorated ceramics are referred to by merchants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as CC, originally referring to cream coloured wares but over time incorporating undecorated pearlwares and whitewares. The CC index, as Miller dubbed it, creates a scale of expenditure by dividing the cost of purchasing twelve CC vessels of a certain form with the cost of purchasing twelve vessels of the same form but with a specific decorative technique (Miller, 1980, 1991). These different design methods are grouped into four levels, but are ultimately divided into specific decorative styles for analysis, so each decorative group will be discussed briefly.

Underglazed lined

Underglazed lined whitewares have one or two simple blue or brown lines which follow parallel to the rim of the vessel. A machine would rotate the vessel and trail paint along the edge of the rim, creating the bands; while this method sounds as if it would be less expensive than edge-decorated ceramics such as shell-edged, it was actually more costly (Miller, 1980:28). Underglaze lined whiteware represents 9 percent of the whiteware assemblage.

Sponge-stamped

Sponge-stamped wares were produced from 1845 to 1930 and have designs applied to them by stamping whiteware vessels with cut sponges dipped in colour; hand-painted lines along the rim are also common (Plate 5.1). This allowed the replication of pieces for a specific pattern set still at a relatively minimal cost; sponge-decorated ceramics cost barely more than undecorated ceramics. Sponged wares were most often produced in Scotland and often marketed as "country wares" found popular in rural areas (Collard, 1984:3; Majewski and O'Brien, 1987:161; Miller, 1980:28). Sponge-stamped wares account for 21 percent of the whiteware assemblage in Feature 101.

Hand-painted

Hand-painted wares are relatively inexpensive, though it should be noted that incredibly intricate hand-painted wares are among the most expensive ceramics available through the nineteenth century as they required great skill and time to create. The painters employed in the production of hand-painted ceramics required enough skill to match items within sets. There was no price distinction between painted wares whether single or multiple colours were used (Miller, 1991). Six hand-painted whiteware vessels were found in Feature 101, and these have simple floral motifs. Hand-painted vessels comprise 6 percent of the whiteware assemblage.

Transfer-printed wares

Transfer-printed wares use a technology which allows manufacturers to achieve an exact match between pieces in a set (Plates 5.2 to 5.4). Transfer printing allowed for the production of elaborate designs on vessels similar to those found on the expensive, elaborate hand-painted ceramics, but at a fraction of the price. Within the realm of standard ceramics these were the most expensive available until the second half of the nineteenth century. Near 1850 there was a shift in ceramic tastes; undecorated ironstone appeared and was purchased in large volume at the same cost as other transfer printed wares. The popularity of transfer-printed wares decreased around the same time (Miller, 1980:32).

Underglazed blue transfer-printed vessels date earliest, as the blue dyes remained in place when the glaze was fired; dark-blue transfer-printed whitewares appeared in 1785. Black transfer printed wares were produced from 1795 to 1859, green transfer-printed wares date between 1820 and 1860, and purple and brown transfer printed wares were introduced in 1828. Flow-blue transfer-printed vessels date from around 1835 to 1900, but they do not appear in Canada until 1844, and after 1850 these were significantly more expensive than other transfer-printed items (Burke, 1991:40; Collard, 1984:118; Majewski and O'Brien, 1987:143-145; Miller et al., 2000). Transfer-printed wares make

Plate 5.1 - Sponge-stamped whiteware
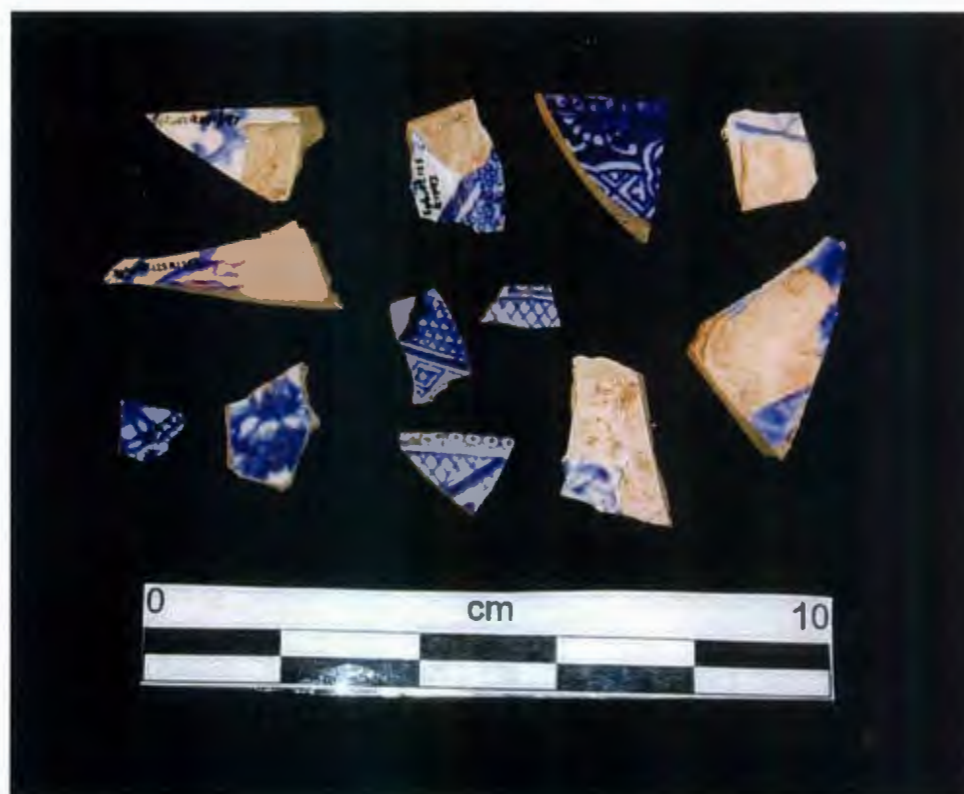
Plate 5.2 - Blue transfer-printed whitewares

Plate 5.3 - Purple transfer-printed whiteware bowls and teacup

Plate 5.4 - Light-blue transfer-printed plate

up 43 percent of the whiteware assemblage. Dark-blue transfer-printed vessels appear most frequently and account for 19 percent of the whiteware assemblage, and 43 percent of all the transfer-printed vessels.

Thousands of designs in a range of colours were available for transfer-printed ceramics, and while some patterns were produced for many years by different potteries, most designs were limited to a short production period by one potter (Samford, 1997). The transfer-printed sherds from EgAw-07 were too small to successfully identify patterns, or even general pattern themes so this method of analysis is un-applicable for ceramic analysis at this site.

Gold Gilt

Gold-gilt whiteware vessels generally date after 1860. In the 1830s a relatively inexpensive method of gilding with liquid gold was developed, leading to the decoration of whiteware vessels with single or multiple lines around the rim in a variety of vessel forms (Majewski and O'Brien, 1987:160; Miller, 1991). Six gold-gilded whiteware vessels were recovered, comprising 6 percent of the whiteware collection.

Majolica

Majolica, specifically referring to what is called Victorian majolica to distinguish it from earlier wares, is a refined white earthenware decorated with accumulated layers of semi-translucent brightly coloured glazes meant to resemble British Whieldon type wares such as "clouded" or "tortoiseshell", as well as earlier Italian maiolica. Majolica pieces are generally both functional and ornamental, and were often marketed as novelty items. Majolica was produced from 1850 to 1900, reaching peak popularity between 1870 and 1880; it is relatively rare on archaeological sites (Burke, 1991:66; Collard, 1984:153). Two hollowware majolica vessels, 198R2509 and 128R2813, were recovered in Feature 101. Both have red interior glazes and green exterior glazes; 128R2813 has molded geometric forms along the base (Plate 5.5).

Plate 5.5 - Majolica ware, interior and exterior sherds

5.2.1.1.b Ironstone

Ironstone is a form of semi-vitreous white refined earthenware that emerged in 1813 (Plate 5.6). Undecorated ironstone, or that with relief decoration, was introduced to North America in the 1830s. These wares were produced mostly for the export market in North America as a means of undercutting the popular white French porcelains readily available at the time (Godden, 1999:162). While Miller's CC Index ranks undecorated or relief decorated ironstone equal to or more valuable than transfer printed and other decorated whitewares, these forms of ironstone are ubiquitous to frontier and farm settlements in the nineteenth century. Ironstone vessels were often marketed as ideal for "country trade". Ironstone was attractive to settlers in remote areas as it is a more durable ware, and the limited decoration more easily allows for the construction of sets over time (Burke, 1991:62; Collard, 1967:125-130; Malinewski & O'Brien, 1987:121, 182).

Of the 87 ironstone vessels excavated in Feature 101, seventeen have molded relief decoration, mostly wheat pattern. Robert Cochrane and Company produced a version of the "Ceres" pattern, a popular wheat pattern ware. The Ceres pattern was first patented in 1858, and from that time at least twenty-three potteries have produced it (Sussman, 1989:7). A total of forty-two potteries produced some variation of wheat patterned ironstone, and of these thirty-eight were from Staffordshire, England, two were from Scotland, and one was from France. Wheat-patterned ironstones were most popular during the 1850s and 1860s, although new variations of wheat pattern wares were developed until the 1880s (Majewski and O'Brien, 1987:155; Sussman, 1985).

The maker's marks for refined earthenwares in Feature 101 are nearly all ironstone. Sherd 128R608 has "ROBERT COCHRANE.../ST. ROLLOX/ GLAS.../ GREAT BRITAIN" printed on its base (Plate 5.7). Robert Cochrane and Sons produced ironstone in Glasgow from 1846 to 1891, and this maker's mark dates from 1855 to 1891 as the company opened the factory in St. Rollox in 1855 until production ended

Plate 5.6 - Ironstone vessels: transfer printed, undecorated, hand-painted and relied decorated

Plate 5.7 - Ironstone vessel with maker's mark "ROBERT COCHR[ANE & SONS] ",
British royal coat of arms integrated

(Godden, 1999:216). Sherd 128R3248 has "…COCH…/GLAS…" printed on its base, and it matches the maker's mark of Cochrane & Fleming, the firm which succeeded Robert Cochrane and Sons and produced ironstone vessels from 1896 to 1920 (Godden, 1999:217). Two sherds with maker's marks from Event 125 have only the word "IRONSTONE" printed on them. In Event 198 two ironstone vessels have portions of the British royal coat of arms, a decorative addition to maker's marks which originates in 1800, although changes to the shield design in 1837 are found in the maker's marks from sherds 198R1584 and 198R2449. Sherd 198R2419 has "…LAND" at the bottom of the maker's mark, likely indicating production in England. Stating the country of production on ceramics began around 1880; after 1891 due to changes in the American Tariff Act marking the country of origin was necessary on all goods for international trade.

5.2.1.2 Non-white Refined Earthenwares

The vast majority of coarse non-white refined earthenwares recovered at EgAw-07 have lustrous black or dark brown glazes. Several possible varieties are represented: Jackfield ware, Sunderland ware, black-glazed red earthenware, Rockingham ware, and Lustre ware (Plate 5.8).

5.2.1.2a Jackfield

Jackfield ware has a strong, fine, deep-red fabric and lustrous black glaze. One sherd of Jackfield from 100.W4S9 has oil gilded decoration in what appears to be a leaf and floral motif which is common in decorated Jackfield pieces. Jackfield was produced from approximately 1745 to 1790 (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001; Noël Hume, 1969).

5.2.1.2b Sunderland Ware

Sunderland ware has a red to brown fabric but is relatively porous though well-fired. It contains fine quartz inclusions in the fabric and small yellow inclusions in the glaze. The glaze for Sunderland ware is ferrous, so it ranges more into a dark brown and there are examples of white motifs painted on the glaze, though imperfections often turn

these designs yellow over time (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001). Vessel 198R2525 is a teapot or globular bowl with a deep brown glaze, a reddish-buff fabric, and yellow flowers painted over the glaze.

5.2.1.2c Red Fabric, Black Glazed Ware

A third form of non-white refined earthenware is described by Brassard and Leclerc (2001:86) is referred to as red fabric, black glazed wares. The body of these wares is variable and durable with a range of inclusions and a brilliant black glaze with decoration moulded into the vessel or painted on the glaze. These wares were produced in England and the United States for all of the nineteenth century.

5.2.1.2d Rockingham Ware

Rockingham ware is often called "brown ware", as the vessels produced in Britain have a beige-coloured fabric with red inclusions. This name is misleading, however, as while it was produced originally in Britain it was also recreated in the United States and Canada, and as a result there are variably coloured fabrics depending on regional supply. The production process generally stayed the same, though the types and colours of clay used varied. Rockingham ware produced in Canada generally has a red fabric, with the exception of those produced in Cap Rouge, Quebec, which uses more yellow clay, ultimately ending up with a more yellow-coloured fabric. Rockingham ware was first produced in 1830 though was most popular from the second half of the nineteenth century until around 1930. The glaze for Rockingham ware is brown, shiny, and opaque; banding at times appears in the glaze due to the use of manganese-oxide. Designs were at times molded into the sides of vessels, and specific motifs were popular at different times. Vessel 128R615 is a Rockingham teapot moulded to the shape of a pineapple or acorn, a form popular around the 1850s (Plate 5.9) (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:83).

Plate 5.8 - Non-white refined earthenware vessels
(clockwise from top left: Jackfield, Sunderland, Rockingham, and Lustre wares)

Plate 5.9 - Rockingham ware teapot lid, vegetation motif c.1850 (Gidden, 1999)

5.2.1.2e Lustreware

Lustreware was produced from 1805 to 1880. Lustreware is characterized by a brown fabric and glaze with a metallic sheen meant to replicate silver; it is referred to as the "poor man's silver" (Godden, 1999:27). Vessel 128R616 is a Lustreware teapot with fluting molded into the spout and gold gilding along the edge.

One interesting aspect all six of these ware types share is that the most common forms are service vessels, mostly teapots, coffee pots, and pitchers. Most teapots recovered from Feature 101 are made of black or brown-glazed refined earthenwares.

5.2.1.3 Coarse Earthenware

5.2.1.3a Tin Glazed Earthenware (Faience)

A variety of different tin-glazed earthenwares were recovered at EgAw-07, all of them French. French faience is most broadly divided into two groups: *faience brune* and *faience blanche* (see Emery, 2004; Walthall, 1991; Waselkov and Walthall, 2002, for in-depth faience typologies). Faience with a yellow exterior lead glaze, as well as faience with a blue exterior lead glaze, were also recovered (Plate 5.10).

A total of 41 sherds of faience were recovered at EgAw-07. Of these ten were from W4S9 alone, and the remainder were recovered from Feature 101. The fabric for *faience brune* is often softer than *faience blanche* and ranges from salmon to brick red or pink in colour and can withstand higher temperatures, while the fabric from *faience blanche* is harder and lighter in colour, usually ranging from buff to salmon tones. *Faience blanche* is coated with a tin enamel on both surfaces, as opposed to just the interior. The brown lead glaze on the exterior of *faience brune* ranges in colour from a medium to dark brown, and obtains its distinct colouring from manganese oxide and dust from bricks (Blanchette, 1981; Emery, 2004; Walthall, 1991; Waselkov and Walthall, 2002).

In Feature 101, the base for a *faience brune* bowl, 128T613, was recovered,

as was a second unidentified vessel. Two unidentified *faience blanche* vessels were also found in Feature 101. In 165.W4S9, four unidentified *faience blanche* vessels were excavated, one of which has thin light-blue and thick-dark blue annular bands immediately below the rim. Part of a *faience brune* bowl was also recovered in 160. W4S9.

In Feature 101 additional varieties of French faience were recovered. Portions of two jars with a deep blue lead glaze on the exterior and white tin-glazed interior were recovered, and the fabric is a buff colour similar to that found in white faience. The white tin glaze does not pour over into the blue lead glaze to create a marbling affect; the border between the two glazes is well defined, and a narrow band occurs on the lip of the vessels where each colour fades into the other.

There were also examples of a faience variety with a yellow lead glaze on the exterior and undecorated white tin-glazed interior. Two vessels of this ware were recovered, and both appear to be a either basin or cooking pan. Vessel 125T2205 has an impressed line below the rim, and a series of suns or circles in moulded relief. Vessel 198T2409 has a similar design pattern, but the sherd is significantly thicker and has a slightly different slope, indicating that these are two vessel forms of the same ware. A vessel of what appears to be the same ware type was recovered at Place Royale in Quebec, although that vessel was an ointment or condiment pot from an eighteenth-century context (LaPointe, 1998:67).

5.2.1.3b North Italian Style

Three North Italian Style coarse earthenware vessels were excavated in Feature 101: two hollowware vessels and one pot. This ware is identifiable by a light red-brown, homogenous, sandy fabric and red-brown glaze through which dark-brown or manganese bands run (Plate 5.11). North Italian Style coarse earthenware originates in northern Italy (as the name indicates) but was also produced in Provence, France, during the
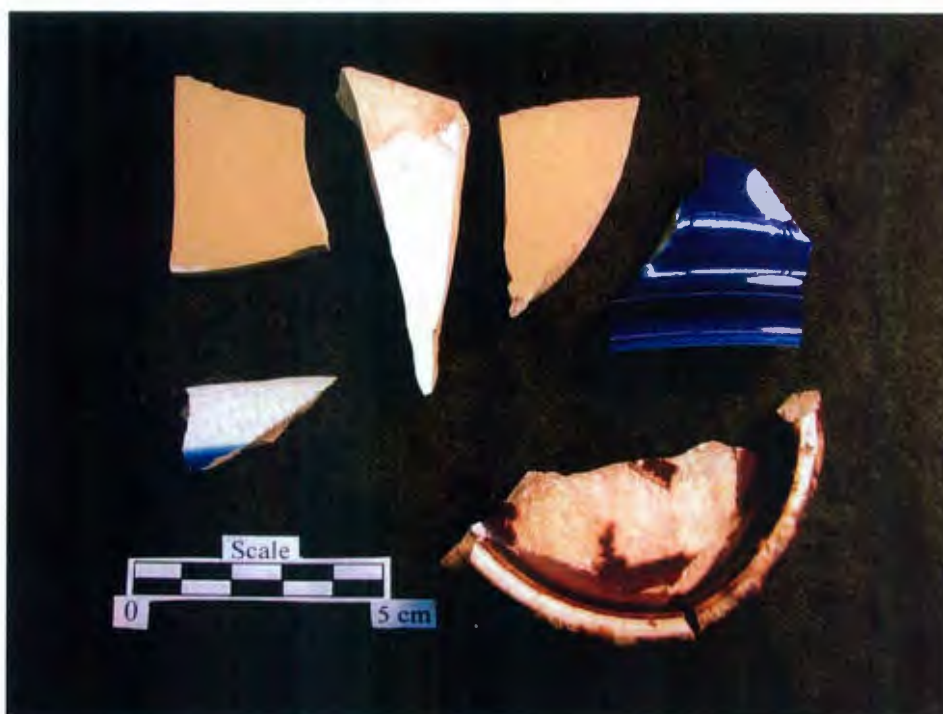
Plate 5.10 - Yellow, blue, brown and white tin-glazed faiences

Plate 5.11 - North Italian style coarse earthenware

mid-eighteenth century as it proved extremely popular in southern France, encouraging French potters to mimic the ware (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:22).

5.2.1.4 Coarse Stoneware

Stonewares are defined as ceramics which have been fired at 1200-1350 degrees Celsius, hardening the body through partial vitrification and rendering them impermeable to liquids (Sinopoli, 1991). A minimum of 35 stoneware vessels were recovered in Feature 101, and some wares found at EgAw-07 include Normandy stoneware, Canadian Grey stoneware, Bristol glazed ware, Albany slipped ware, English White salt-glazed and English Brown salt-glazed stoneware (Plate 5.12).

5.2.1.4a Normandy

Normandy coarse stonewares have been recovered from sites in Quebec dating from the seventeenth century through to the start of the eighteenth century, although their use extended into the nineteenth century in the Petit Nord (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001; Chrestien and Dufournier, 1995). The two most common Normandy stonewares in the Petit Nord are Bessin-Contentin and Domfront; these are most easily identified by their fine fabric, paste colours, and inclusions. The surface colour of Bessin-Contentin and Domfront vessels varies, including such diverse but generally dark shades as slate grey, deep green-beige, various browns, and brick red. The surface colouring for Domfront stoneware exhibits some lighter shades than Bessin-Contentin. The colour variations present on the surface of the Normandy stoneware vessels are due not to the use of a slip, but rather as the result of a chemical reaction during firing which also gives the surface of the stonewares a brilliance, or sheen (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001). Bessin and Contentin, are regions in France from which this ceramic type originated. It has a fine, wine-red coloured paste with white inclusions, but the range of colours varies and can also include brick-reds, deep chocolate browns, and a nearly purple dark-brown. Domfront stoneware is also named for the region from which it originates, but in place of the darker, richer
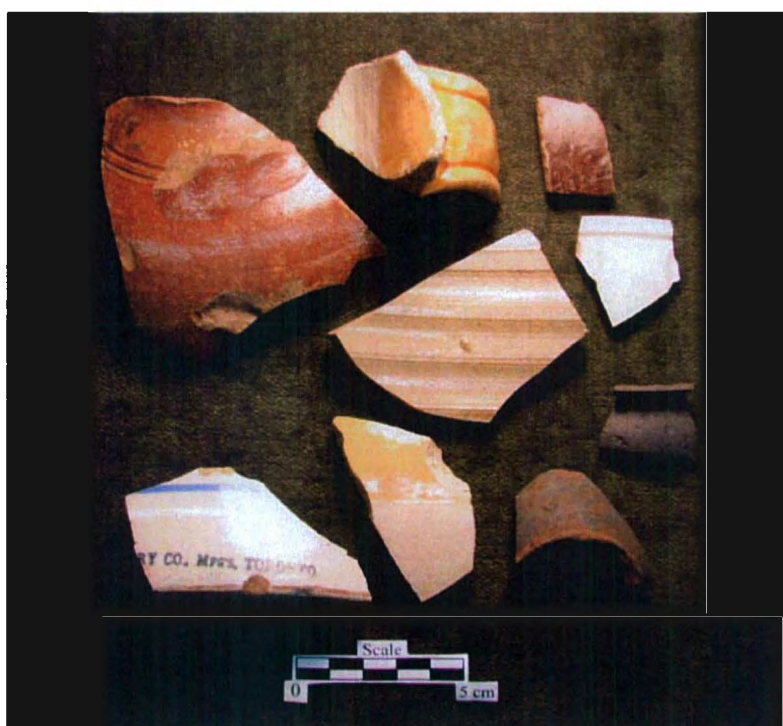
Plate 5.12 - Coarse stonewares, Feature 101

fabric colours has a fine beige-brown to beige coloured fabric, which displays white inclusions, much like Bessin-Contentin (Chrestien and Dufournier, 1995).

Jars and salting tubs are the dominant forms of Normandy stoneware on the Atlantic coast, with preserve pots, ointment pots, and medicine bottles being the next most common varieties.

Normandy coarse stoneware jugs and pots are found throughout the archaeological assemblage at EgAw-07. A total of 55 sherds were collected, 18 of which were recovered in beach survey. In Feature 101, four sherds of Bessin-Contentin and seven sherds of Domfront were excavated. These represent a total of ten individual vessels, and the identifiable forms were all storage containers, ointment or condiment pots and a pot or jar.

5.2.1.4b Canadian Grey

Canadian grey stoneware is identified by its grey exterior glaze, buff fabric and light blue and white lines which run parallel to the base or shoulder. The interior glaze is often dark-brown or black, but it can also be grey as well. A total of ten sherds of Canadian grey stoneware were recovered in Feature 101 within Event 125, and all were from storage vessels such as pots, jars, and jugs. Sherd 125S610 has part of the maker's mark, "...RY CO. MFG'S, TORONTO" near the base. This vessel was likely distributed by the Toronto Pottery Company, who did not make pottery themselves but rather distributed it. They were a branch of the Robinson Clay Products Company of Akron, Ohio, which operated from 1899 to 1924; the distinct grey banded pots were made in Ohio, but production of these ended in 1914 (Wicks, 2002:7). This sherd has a grey interior, while every other sherd had a dark brown interior. It is possible that similar looking pots were being made elsewhere by other manufacturers.

5.2.1.4c Bristol Glaze

Four vessels were identified as Bristol glazed ware, identified by a cream-coloured

fabric and clear glaze on the body, with the upper portion at times dipped in a honey-yellow coloured slip. Sherd 156S3278 has a portion of a maker's mark impressed on its shoulder, which appears as "J.C. HAY.../BR..." enclosed by a rectangle. A possible match for the source is Hayward and Company, merchants of spirits and wine who were established in St. John's in 1884 and operated until 1915. Hayward was also a ship owner in the fisheries. The "BR..." starting the word on the second line of the maker's mark, may indicate that this pot was made in, or contain goods from, Bristol or Britain (Wicks, 2002:6).

5.2.1.4d Albany Slip

Two of the vessels in Feature 101 are Albany slip stoneware, which was produced in Canada and the United States from ca.1840 to around 1925. Albany slip stonewares are identified by their deep-brown high-gloss glazes (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:122).

5.2.1.4e English White Salt-glaze

White salt-glazed stoneware was developed in England around 1720 and heavily affected the business of tin-glazed earthenware manufacturers until 1790 when the production of white salt-glazed stoneware ended with the advent and popularity of creamware (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:132; Noël Hume, 1969:118). One sherd of white salt-glazed stoneware was recovered from EgAw-07, from Test 121 in Area G a few meters from W4S9, the location of a past French cookroom or oven of sorts. The vessel has a fine, hard white fabric with the textured glaze typical of saltglazes and is covered in a molded-relief design with a stylized flower and vines.

White-bodied stonewares with clear glazes were produced beyond 1790, and two vessels were identified in Feature 101. One is a marmalade jar with molded fluting on the exterior, and it appears identical to one recovered from Signal Hill in the 1960s (Jelks, 1973:69). The second vessel is the base for a toiletry item and will be discussed with similar items in a later section.

5.2.1.4f English Brown Salt-glaze

One sherd of English Brown salt-glazed stoneware was recovered. Vessel 128S611 is a pot with handles and two incised lines running parallel to the rim of the vessel along the shoulder. Rilling is visible on the interior and exterior of the pot. The surface is a uniform brown with the orange-peel texture diagnostic to salt-glazes (Brassard and Leclerc, 2001:107; Noël Hume, 1969:101).

5.2.1.5 Porcelain

Porcelain is identified by its fully vitrified, often transparent fabric with clear glaze. British porcelain was produced from 1768 into the present, so the presence of porcelain is not helpful in dating the site. One of the reasons cited for the promotion of molded ironstone vessels in North America in 1830 is as a means for British potteries to directly compete with inexpensive French porcelains (Godden, 1999:162). None of the porcelain recovered in Feature 101 had a maker's mark to identify country of origin; the only sherd with a maker's mark in EgAw-07 was from Event 111 with a mark indicating it was made in Japan. The use of "Japan" instead of "Nippon" provides a *terminus post quem* of 1921 (Miller et al., 2000).

Of the 31 porcelain vessels identified in Feature 101, 20 were plain or had molded decoration. Seven were hand-painted and four had gold gilt decoration (Plate 5.7). Saucer 126R598 has molded edges, gold gilt around the rim, and a gold bird perched on a branch painted in gold. Even with the availability of inexpensive porcelains, it is still worth noting that the value of porcelains remained high relative to white earthenwares through the end of the 19th century (Miller, 1991).

5.2.1.6 Ceramic Discussion

Aside from examining the wares present, one important aspect of ceramic analysis is the consideration of vessel form. As mentioned, the ceramics recovered from Feature 101 were extremely fragmentary: these are items that would have mostly fallen through
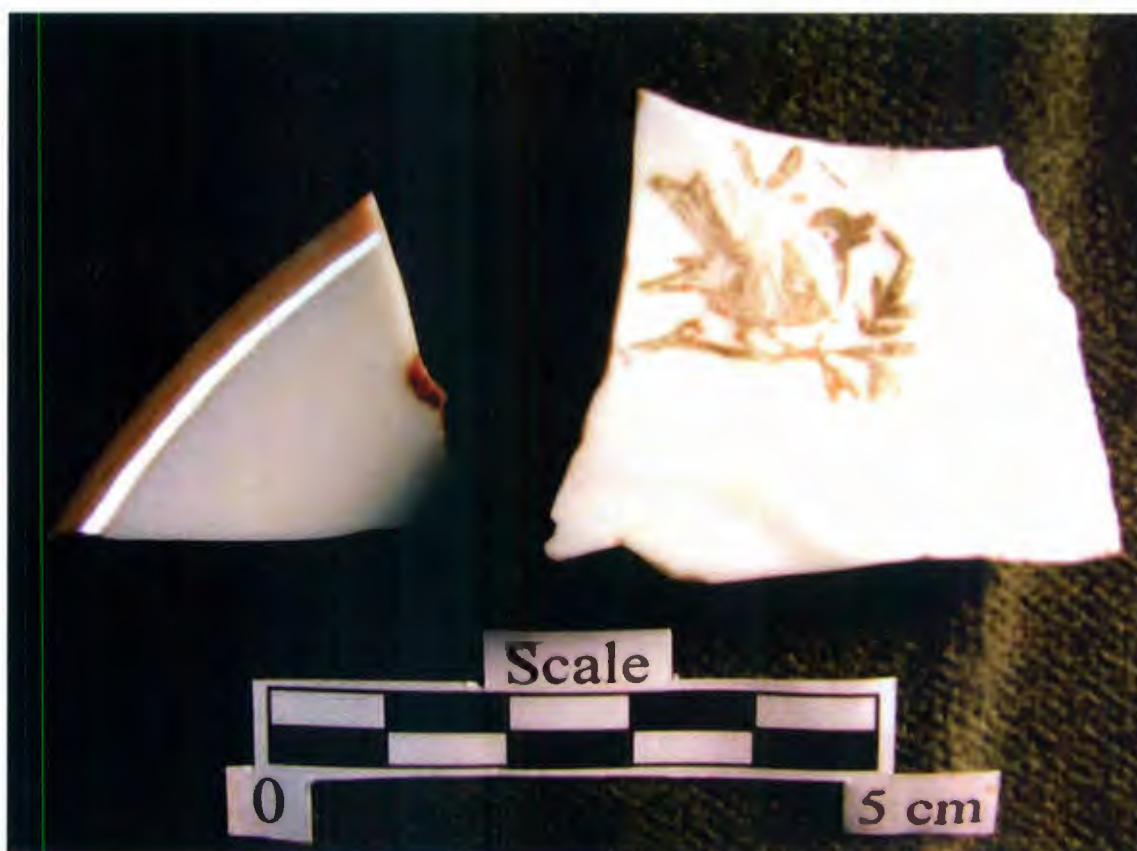
Plate 5.13 - Gold-gilt porcelain vessels

the cracks between boards in a house. The mean size of a ceramic sherd excavated from Feature 101 is 2.1x1.4cm; the vessel forms ultimately identified for analysis are therefore relatively vague. For analysis in this section, I have placed the vessel forms in very broad functional categories used in the POTS typology, based on seventeenth and eighteenth-century New England assemblages, but also modified them with known refined earthenware forms as most of the ceramics recovered were from the nineteenth century (Beaudry, Long, Miller, Neiman and Stone, 1983:29; Miller, 1981, 1990). The use of broader categories increases the accuracy of form distinctions. It is also important to note that the placement of forms within these categories is based on suggested or common use; I am not trying to imply that these forms are limited to the listed functions. Table 5.2 provides of breakdown of how different vessel forms were divided into functional groupings. Hollowware and flatware vessel forms were determinable based on the shape of rim or very distinct body sherds and relate to food service or consumption. Beverage containers were given a distinct functional grouping, including teawares, teapots, and pitchers. Teawares includes both teacups and saucers as they would have been considered part of the same object; these were relatively distinct in the assemblage due to the abundance of handles, and flatware vessels with rim diameters below 6". Teapots were easy to distinguish as they include diagnostic parts such as an elongated pouring spout, perforated pieces which would have strained tea leaves out of the tea before it entered the spout during pouring, and a lid with a small fine hole for steam to escape. Some of these features are diagnostic to coffeepots as well, so perhaps they should more generally be considered hot beverage service vessels.

Table 5.2 – Grouping of Vessel Form Categories

Flat wares
- Plate
- Platter
- Dish
- Deep plate

Hollow wares
- Shallow bowl/porringer
- Small bowl
- Bowl
- Pedestal bowl
- Basin
- Pan

Beverage Containers
- Teaware
- Mug
- Hot beverage vessel (tea or coffee pots)
- Pitcher

Storage Vessels
- Pot
- Jar
- Ewer
- Jug
- Large jug
- Bottle

Table 5.3 lists the different ware types and corresponding vessel forms, with minimum vessel numbers and total sherd count represented in brackets. Using this chart, the various ware groups were graphed based on the functional groups the different vessels fell within (Figures 5.3 to 5.7). All of the ceramic wares were then grouped together to examine the distribution of forms across wares (Figure 5.8).

		Food Service & Prep		Beverage Service			Storage Vessels				Un-ID
		Hollowware	Flatware	Teaware	Teapot	Pitcher	Jug	Pot	Jar	Bottle	Unknown
Whiteware	Plain	3 [13]	10 [19]	11 [18]	0	2	0	0	0	1	6 [253]
	Relief Design	3 [5]	4 [7]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Underglaze Lines	2	5 [7]	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Sponge Decoration	3 [42]	5 [20]	3 [5]	0	0	0	0	0	0	9 [24]
	Dark Blue Transfer Print	4 [6]	4 [50]	2 [3]	0	0	0	0	0	0	8 [9]
	Flow Blue Transfer Print	2 [3]	0	1 [2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Light Blue Transfer Print	0	2 [25]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 [3]
	Green Transfer Print	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Purple Transfer Print	2 [17]	1 [9]	2 [26]	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 [8]
	Brown Transfer Print	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Black Transfer Print	1 [2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 [2]	0	1 [2]
	Hand Painted	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2 [4]	0	2 [3]
	Gold Gilt	0	3	2 [6]	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Majolica	2 [11]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Whiteware Totals	**23 [102]**	**36 [142]**	**26 [65]**	**0 [0]**	**3 [3]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**4 [7]**	**1 [1]**	**37 [314]**
Ironstone	Plain	6	10 [14]	6 [8]	0	0	0	1	1	0	14 [33]
	Relief Design	5 [7]	6 [7]	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Other	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ironstone Totals	**13 [15]**	**16 [21]**	**10 [12]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**1 [1]**	**2 [2]**	**0 [0]**	**15 [36]**
Porcelain	Plain	3 [7]	3	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	7 [14]
	Hand Painted	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Gold Gilt	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Porcelain Totals	**7 [11]**	**4 [4]**	**7 [7]**	**2 [2]**	**1 [1]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**1 [1]**	**0 [0]**	**9 [16]**
Non-White REW	Rockingham	3 [9]	0	0	5 [72]	0	0	2 [33]	0	0	3 [6]
	Sunderland	2 [8]	0	0	1 [20]	0	0	0	0	0	2 [5]
	Lustreware	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Jackfield	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Black-Glazed Red REW	0	0	0	3 [22]	0	0	0	0	0	4 [12]
	Non-White REW Totals	**5 [17]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**11 [116]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**2 [33]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**12 [24]**
CEW	Faience	4 [22]	0	0	0	0	0	2 [13]	0	0	0
	North Italian Style	2	0	0	0	0	0	1 [28]	0	0	0
	Other	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 [2]	0	0	3
	CEW Totals	**7 [25]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**4 [43]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**3 [3]**
CSW	Normandy	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	3
	Canadian Grey	0	0	0	0	0	4	4 [5]	0	0	0
	Albany Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Bristol Glaze	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1
	English Brown Saltglaze	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	CSW Totals	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**0 [0]**	**13 [13]**	**15 [16]**	**3 [3]**	**1 [1]**	**7 [7]**

Table 5.3 - Ware Types and Vessel Forms, Occupation Layers of Feature 101

Figure 5.3 - Whiteware Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Whiteware

Figure 5.4 - Ironstone Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Ironstone

Figure 5.5 - Porcelain Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Porcelain

Figure 5.6 - Non-White REW Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Non-White REW

Figure 5.7 - Coarse Earthenware Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Coarse Earthenware

Figure 5.8 - Vessel Forms as Proportion of All Ceramics, Feature 101

From these graphs, several patterns emerge. Whiteware and ironstone vessels are fairly evenly represented among hollow wares, flat wares, and teawares, but there are few teapots or storage vessels. The two whiteware pitchers recovered may have been used for beverage service, or may in fact have been part of a chamber set. Porcelain is represented in every form, but appears most often as hollow ware or teaware. Non-white refined earthenwares are most often hot beverage service vessels or hollow ware vessels.

Identified coarse earthenware vessels were either hollowware vessels or storage vessels. The majority of coarse earthenware vessels were tin-glazed faience, including two small ointment or condiment jars of blue faience. The rim forms of these vessels match Diderot and D'Alembert's *pots à confitures*, meant for the conservation of foodstuffs. Of the four hollowware faience vessels, two were large yellow faience basins which would be described as *saladiers* or *bassins* (Emery, 2004:65-77; Blanchette, 1981:60). *Saladiers*, essentially large bowls, are not described as being involved in food preparation such as faience cooking pots or saucepans, so these vessels may have been used to serve liquid-based meals (Emery, 2004:65).

All of the coarse stoneware vessels recovered were for storage. Jars and salting tubs are the dominant forms of Normandy stoneware on the Atlantic Coast, with preserve pots, ointment pots, and medicine bottles being the next most common varieties. The importance of storage containers is especially notable for migratory fishermen, such as the French fishermen in the Petit Nord, as they would be relying on preserved supplies as a key form of sustenance; butter and salt meat are staples in French seamen's diets (Chrestien and Dufournier, 1995). Ceramic vessels, particularly coarse stoneware vessels and glazed coarse earthenwares, were used as commercial shipping containers for things such as raisins, oil, pickles, honey, soap, butter, and conserves even in the eighteenth century (Jones, 1993). This use is linked with the consumption of standardized, pre-packaged goods which would have been especially enticing to military and naval

personnel (Jones, 1993).

Looking at ceramic functions across all wares, flat wares and hollow wares each account for 26 percent of the total identified ceramic forms. Examining the ratio between hollowware and flatware on a site is a means of examining folk foodways and differences between racial and ethnic groups. Liquid-based diets translate archaeologically in a predominance of hollowware vessels, while segmented dining practices translate archaeologically in a predominance of flatware vessels. Liquid-based diets are characterized by consumption of items such as stews, pottages, and single-pot produced meals. Segmented dining practices appeared in the eighteenth century and are characterized by the portioning of meals by food items, often with a meat-based main dish and side-dishes such as vegetables or breads (Groover, 2003:238; Spencer-Wood, 1987).

The equal divide between flat ware and hollow ware vessels indicates that the food being consumed and prepared in Feature 101 was part of a diet which was both liquid-based and segmented. There are a few possible reasons for this. Traditional Irish peasant farmer foodways consist of stews, soups, and pottages boiled in a single pot hung over the fire (Evans, 1977). Given the seasonal nature of resource access on the Great Northern Peninsula, the varied availability of fresh food might influence the type of foods being prepared.

One interesting trend at Genille is the proliferation of hot-beverage related vessels. Thirteen teapots were found in Feature 101, eleven of various non-white refined earthenwares and two of porcelain. Teapots often functioned as liquid storage vessels in Labrador, as jars and bottles were difficult to obtain; purchasing liquor often necessitated the purchase of a new teapot (Burke, 1991:105). An image from the *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1871 depicting the cod fishery in Newfoundland shows a man drinking straight from the spout of a teapot (Burke, 1991:106). The porcelain teapots are much higher

status items when compared to Rockingham, Sunderland, and Lustreware vessels: they are at opposite ends of the economic spectrum. Rockingham ceramics, throughout North America, appear in a wide variety of socioeconomic contexts, and are not necessarily limited to lower socio-economic contexts. The Rockingham teapot, outside of Newfoundland and Labrador, is strongly associated with working-class women (Claney, 2004:20).

Another useful analytical aspect of historical ceramics is determination of dating. Figure 5.9 highlights the dates of use and production for a variety of ceramics found within the occupation layers of Feature 101. Most of the ceramic types found in the occupation layers of Feature 101 were in production by 1790, and many of these types were no longer produced by 1930 (with the exception of those produced to current times). The densest clustering of bars on the graph representing periods of ceramic production and use provide a narrower timespan ranging from 1830 to about 1910, though a timespan of 1790 to 1930 encapsulates the greatest range of wares from the occupational layers of Feature 101.

5.2.2 Bottles and Glassware

A total of 291 glass sherds from bottles were recovered in Feature 101 (Plate 5.14). These sherds were sorted by event and inspected for different attributes such as glass colour, thickness, bottle shape, and decoration to determine the minimum number of bottles present. The sherds were first divided into basic colour groupings, and the sherds recovered were colourless, light turquoise, light purple, brown, amber-brown, light yellow, blue, and a variety of shades of green. A minimum of 38 individual bottles were excavated in Feature 101. Much like the ceramics, the minimum number of bottles was determined by looking within each event and not cross-mending or matching between events. The bottles identified were then grouped into defined historical forms, the distinctions created based on function. There are a wide variety of bottle forms from the
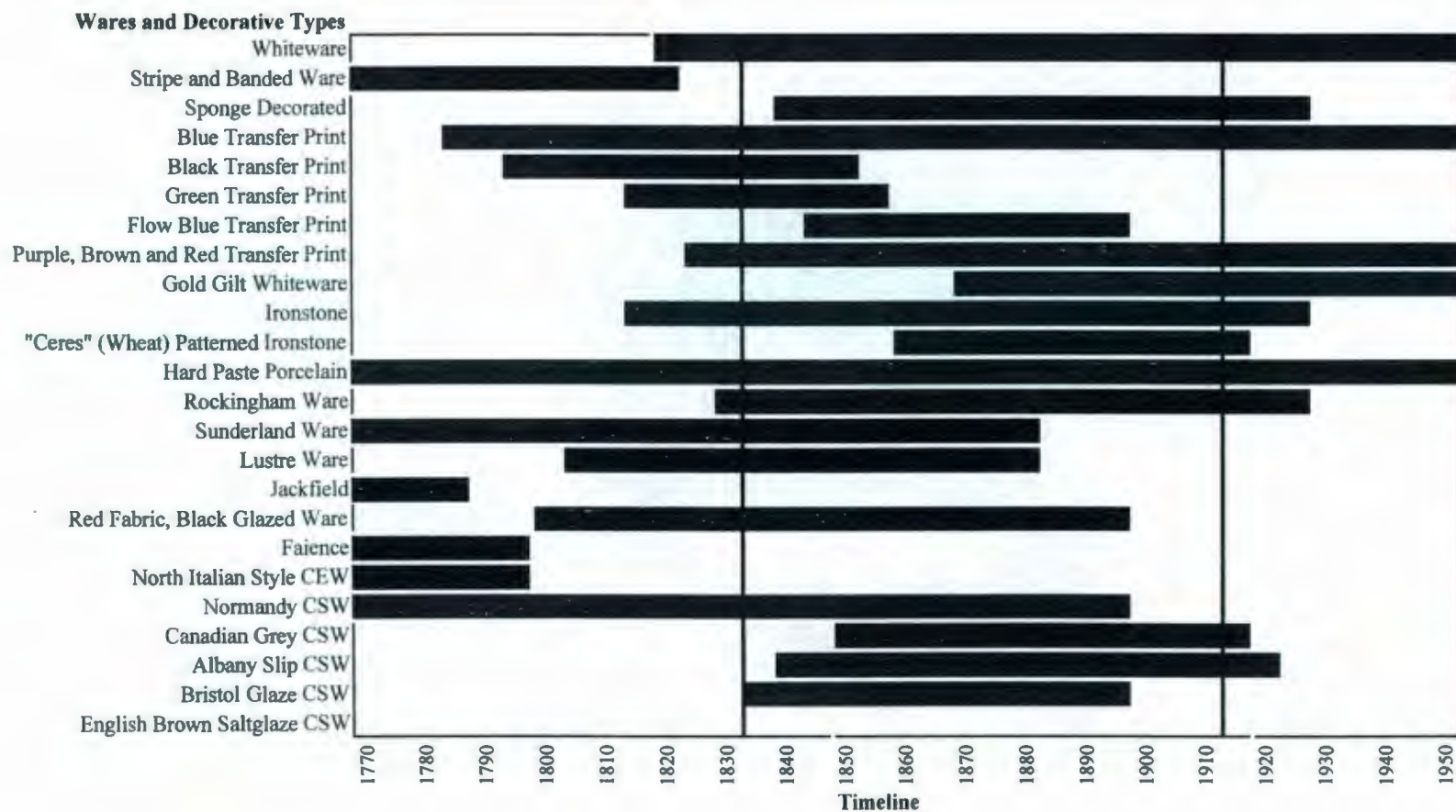
Figure 5.9 - Feature 101 Time Range Based on Ceramic Ware and Decoration Production Periods

Plate 5.14 - Diagnostic glass bottle and jar forms, Feature 101

nineteenth century, and there is some overlap where the same bottle form will have a few different functions. As well, not all bottles were used according to their original form; bottles were often reused as they were much more valuable in the past. Each glass bottle cost what would translate today to approximately four-dollars (Lindsey, 2008).

The majority of the bottle forms recovered relate to the consumption of wine, as 12 of 38 bottles recovered match this functional group. These bottles have thick green glass, roughly cylindrical bodies, defined shoulders, necks which are long relative to the body, and a string-rim on the lip (Jones and Sullivan, 1989:73). Liquor and medicine bottle forms overlap, although in many cases medicine consisted mostly of liquor anyways (Lindsey, 2008). A total of eight medicine bottles were recovered, most of which were dark blue vials. There was only one liquor bottle recovered, though there were five bottles which could have contained either medicine or liquor. These were mostly flasks, and Lindsey shows that flasks were often used by druggists, as well as for liquor (2008). Jones and Sullivan classify flasks as liquor bottles (1989:72). Two bottles were made of brown and amber-brown glass, and these likely contained beer or liquor.

As well as alcohol and medicine bottles, there are also four food-storage bottles. Three are glass jars with decorative ribs on the interior, and one was a sauce or condiment bottle. There were also the remains of six undiagnostic cylindrical bottles of either clear or light turquoise glass; this type of bottle was found in almost all functional groups outlined by Lindsey (2008).

The morphology of bottles can assist with dating. Body construction is helpful, but most of the sherds from Feature 101 were too small to properly identify seams and tooling marks. The lips and bases were used instead to date the bottles. Three of the wine bottles had laid-on rings on the lip; these bottles have a sheared lip around which a string of glass is trailed. Wicks states that this finish is common on bottles produced from 1840 to 1870, while others note that this style originated in France in the eighteenth century

and is still common today (2003:6; Jones and Sullivan, 1989:79; Lindsey, 2008).

Another bottle finish present is the prescription lip, and two of these were found. As indicated, these were used for medicine bottles and date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones and Sullivan, 1989:81; Wicks, 2003:8). Two bottles also have short tapered lips, which are also common on medicine bottles and date between 1830 and 1880 (Wicks, 2003:8). The one definite liquor bottle has a tapered lip with collar, a form most often used for whiskey bottles in the second half of the nineteenth century (Wicks, 2003:8). The last finish recovered is the club sauce bottle, which has a small ledge inside the bore within which a cork-lined glass stopper would rest. This finish is found in Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce, as well as Elliman's Royal Embrocation bottles, and this finish dates to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones and Sullivan, 1989:79; Wicks, 2003:7).

One very small rubber bottle stopper, 128X914, was found. It would have fit in a bottle with a neck diameter of at most 5mm, so likely from a vial or small medicinal bottle. The first rubber bottle corks were created in 1871 (Miller et al., 2000).

5.2.3 Cutlery

Two forks, one spoon, one scoop, and two utensil handles were recovered in Feature 101 (Plate 5.15). Fork 128X262 is a composite fork with an iron head and tang and wooden handle. It has two straight tines and a straight shoulder; the handle is elliptical. Fork 128X264 is also a composite fork with a wooden handle, but instead of iron the head and tang are made of iron plated with another metal. It has three tines and a bolster on its shoulder to prevent the hand from slipping off the handle while eating (Woodhead, 1977a:12). It has a curved shoulder with a ridge. Given the size and the even-length of the tines these were both table forks (Woodhead, 1977a:18).

Spoon 128X263 is made of iron and has a small, shallow, ovate bowl and a downturned fiddle pattern handle. Fiddle pattern is the predominant tableware pattern

Plate 5.15 - Cutlery, Feature 101

from the start of the nineteenth century and through the Victorian era (Woodhead, 1977b:10). The form of 128X263 indicates it was most likely used as a tea or dessert spoon. Scoop 125X219 is made of iron although it may at one time have been plated, and only the shallow, ovate bowl remains. Woodhead (1977b:15) defines scoops as the most variable form of spoon-based kitchen object, and a scoop with a large, shallow bowl with a nearly pointed end would be suitable for cutting out soft foodstuffs. It would be impractical for liquids, and a fork would be more suitable for distributing solid foodstuffs.

The two utensil handles are undiagnostic and could represent a knife, fork, or spoon. Handle 128X287 is part of a composite utensil, with a plated ferrous tang and a bone handle affixed by three fine posts. Handle 125X220 is from a stamped ferrous utensil with a rounded handle with a beaded edge.

5.2.4 Miscellaneous Food-Related Items

Fragments from five cast-iron vessels were found in Feature 101. Artefact 125H385 is part of the rim from a cooking pot. Another, 128H585, has straight walls and a spout along the rim. The three remaining vessels have no diagnostic features, and may be parts of skillets or other cast iron cooking vessel forms.

The remains of nine tin cans were found in Feature 101. The first commercial goods canned in metal containers appeared in 1837. Of the nine cans, one has a crimped top, indicating production after 1898, as this is when the first crimped-top "sanitary cans" were produced (Miller et al., 2000).

5.3 Architectural

5.3.1 Nails and Screws

Iron nails recovered at EgAw-07 were sampled and counted (Plate 5.16). Those counted and returned to the ground were broken into five classification groups: wrought, cut, wire-drawn, roofing tacks, and unknown. More refined details relating to

manufacturing technique were difficult to determine due to the corrosion of the nails and concretions formed around them. Generally the rough shape of the shaft and head were visible and these were used as guidelines to determine which of the above five groups each nail would fit within. Wrought nails are those which are square in cross-section and have evidence of hand-working. Cut nails were identified by their uniform nature and triangular side-profile. Wire-drawn nails are circular in cross-section, and roofing tacks have large, round, flat heads and relatively short square shafts. Unidentified nails were too broken or corroded to classify. Nail types from each lot were kept as samples, and a wide variety of different nails ranging in function from fine finishing nails and iron spikes were present at EgAw-07. The examination of nails at EgAw-07 will focus primarily on those recovered in the contexts relating to the occupation and abandonment of Feature 101, or those from Events 111, 125, 128, 156, and 198. A total of 3053 nails were excavated in Feature 101 (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 – Number of Nails, by Lot

	E3N3	E2N3	E1N3	E0N3	W1N3	W2N3	E2N2	E0N2	E0N1	E0S2	Total/Event
100	3	5	13	9	4	2	4	5		60	105
111	14	14					4				32
125	64	123	90	143		6	150				576
126				1				9			10
128				80	313	137		653	978		2161
129											0
130											0
156								34			34
198										150	150
Total/Unit	81	142	103	233	317	145	158	701	978	210	**3068**

A total of 1124 wrought nails were recovered from EgAw-07. There are two types of wrought nail, those hand-forged and those formed by drawing a stock-bar through a slit (Wells, 1998). Both have shafts which are either square or at times rectangular in cross-section, but all four sides of a hand-forged nail taper to a point at the tip, while nails made from slit stock taper on two sides. The shaft of a slit stock nail is often the same as

the original nail rod before it was modified, only the head and tip are altered. Wells notes that the production of wrought nails pre-dates the fifteenth century, but that they were also produced in the United States well into the nineteenth century (1998). As such their presence is not helpful for specific dating, but generally does suggest a period at least within the early nineteenth century, if not earlier (Wells, 1998:81-83).

Cut nails were first produced in the late eighteenth century. They are often identified by the presence of certain burrs from manufacturing or the direction of the grain on the nail, although with different manufacturing techniques the grain usually either runs across the shaft or along it. Cut nails are either hand or machine-headed; again, most of these distinctions are difficult to determine on corroded nails or those with large concretion buildups (Wells, 1998:83-86). A total of 774 cut nails were recovered on EgAw-07.

Wire-drawn nails, or iron wire nails, were not produced in the United States until 1875, when small nails called "French points" were made with machines imported from France. The first major manufacturer producing wire nails in the United States began in 1880 (Wells, 1998:86). Steel and iron wire nails are difficult to distinguish between without paying close attention to the grain of the metal; the production process alters the original appearance of the grain anyways, so one often has to resort to the use of powerful microscopes or other more advanced techniques. Steel wire nails were available in the United States from the late 1870s onwards and were produced in large quantities in the 1880s and 1890s (Wells, 1998:86-87). Whether the wire nails at EgAw-07 were steel or iron is not a major point of concern to this research; their date of production provides some helpful information about the structure of Feature 101. Within the occupation layers of Feature 101, 786 wire nails were recovered. As well there were 46 roofing tacks and 285 unidentified nail fragments.

Aside from iron or steel nails, those made of copper alloys and white metals were

recovered. There are three copper alloy nails from EgAw-07, and these may be associated with ship maintenance or decorative finishes for furniture. Two nails are made of white metal, though the exact metal composition has not been determined. Nail 125M275 has the maker's mark "VM" with a circle around it impressed into the head, which is round and flat. There are two copper alloy screws from EgAw-07. Artefacts 128M481 and 145M351 are both flathead screws. There are five iron screws from EgAw-07 and one bolt.

5.3.2 Hardware

Various pieces of hardware relating to the construction and maintenance of Feature 101, as well as other structures, were recovered. Object 128H761 is a cover for a door-lock or chest and has a keyhole and two small holes for pins to fasten it into wood. A similar lock cover was found in Test 164 (Plate 5.17).

Aside from lock covers, a variety of unidentified iron fragments relating to construction or bracing of structures were recovered in Feature 101. One of these is 125H309, a flat iron plate with an attachment for a dowel and two holes for nails or screws on one side and a series of studs on the back to help secure it to wood. There is also a series of iron plates with holes for fasteners, bundles of wire, small chain links, and possibly a piece of a wood-burning stove. Furniture embellishment, hardware, and handles were also encountered (Plate 5.18).

5.3.3 Bricks

Within Feature 101 a total of 25 bricks were excavated. There are a wide variety of bricks present, ranging in colour from yellow to deep red with grog, sand, shell, and organic temper, ranging in hardness from soft through over-fired and brittle (Plate 5.19). Bricks with an assortment of different colours, sizes, and hardness can be produced from the same firing, based on the location of each unfired brick within the kiln (Gurcke, 1987; Noël Hume, 1969). Temper provides the easiest way of determining the presence of

Plate 5.16 - Sample of iron nails, tacks, and spikes, Feature 101

Plate 5.17 - Iron lock covers recovered in Event 128 and Test 164

Plate 5.18 - Iron hardware, Feature 101,
possibly buckle or embellishment and drawer handle

Plate 5.19 - Bricks, Feature 101

different types of bricks. The most common temper found in nineteenth-century bricks is sand, chalk and grog (Gurcke, 1987:13). The bricks found in Feature 101 had a variety of inclusions, the most common being sand and grog, but organic and shell temper were also present in some. Bricks with organic temper are easily distinguished as the organic matter burns out during firing, leaving a negative space where the temper was.

Due to the wide variation in bricks resulting from each firing, bricks were often graded on shape and hardness. The different categories for nineteenth-century British bricks are as follows: place, soft, stock, shippers, and malms (Gurcke, 1987). Place bricks are under-fired and weak, suitable for use only in temporary jobs. Soft bricks are also under-fired and are used for unexposed structural areas; these are often salmon or pale-orange in colour. Stock bricks are defined in several ways, but they are generally higher quality, well-fired bricks associated with the facing or front of buildings. The term also refers to yellow bricks and those made locally. Shippers are bricks which are of higher quality than stock bricks, and are high-fired but not perfect in form. Malm bricks are particular in that special attention is paid in the production of these bricks throughout the entire process. One very distinct form of malm brick is those made in London. These have a yellow body with large crimson-coloured inclusions and pock marks from organic matter being burnt out. The clay from yellow bricks is tempered with lime carbonate, chalk, or ash, resulting in the lighter colour. The ash in London bricks is referred to as "breeze", a mixture of coal and ash recovered from rubbish bins by paupers. The holes from the organics being burnt out are often the result of paper and garbage scraps missed by collectors and being inadvertently included in the bricks. On occasion clay pipe stems and even finger nail pieces have been found in London malm bricks (Gurcke, 1987).

Of the bricks in Feature 101, eight are soft bricks, thirteen are stock bricks, four are shippers, and one is a malm brick. There is a clear division between the soft bricks and the others, as the soft bricks tend to have shell and organic temper, while the stock

and shipper bricks tend to have grog and sand temper. Regardless of the differences between bricks from individual firings, the Kearneys were obviously obtaining bricks from different sources for different functions.

Most of the bricks found in Feature 101 are fragmentary so give little information about the production process. Strike marks from clearing excess clay off the brick mould are useful in determining if the brick was made by hand or machine-manufacture. Hand-built bricks are trimmed with a stick which produces small parallel grooves in the surface of the clay where harder pieces of clay were caught on the stick; blade-trimmed bricks have small gouges, and these gouges are patterned depending on the direction in which the blade was moving, providing an indication of the type of machine used to produce the brick (Gurcke, 1987). Unfortunately all of the brick fragments recovered from Feature 101 had very little exterior surface to examine, and strike marks occur on only one of six sides of a brick.

One element of the production process observable on some of the bricks from Feature 101 is the type of lubricant used to allow bricks to slide out of the mould. Water produces ripples or water marks along the sides and edges of the brick, sand lining creates a rough texture of five of the six surfaces of the brick and results in a darker red on the outsides, and oil creates extremely smooth surfaces (Gurcke, 1987). All bricks with exterior portions remaining had a layer of sand, indicating that they were prepared in a sand-lined mould.

Outside Feature 101, two fire or sanitary bricks were located in Tests 119 and 121. Both bricks are large, light-grey and well-fired with remnants of green glaze on the top and bottom. One has two holes on the top with traces of iron within each. Gurcke (1987) describes fire bricks as being light in colour and larger than standard bricks. Sanitary bricks have at least one enameled or glazed surface, and sometimes this is a self-glaze created when the bricks are fired at high temperatures. These are used in restrooms,

showers, kitchens, or any area that remains wet for extended periods of time. These bricks were located downhill from Feature 101, so it is possible that these related to the wood burning stove or earlier hearth, which would have been disassembled when the remainder of the house was upon abandonment.

In 159.W4S9 the majority of the deposit consisted of bricks and small rocks. This is likely collapse from a nearby structure relating to French use of Area G, possibly a cook room or oven. These bricks were so under-fired that they could not be removed from the matrix intact; they had fully disintegrated and actually formed the deposit itself for the most part. These were are very similar to the place bricks as defined by Gurcke (1987). Although his typology was developed for nineteenth-century British bricks, the bricks in 159.W4S9 are of such poor quality that they were likely meant only for structures of a temporary nature. Pope notes that the structures built onshore by the French were meant to be temporary in nature as they often had to be rebuilt or maintained annually (2008). This would be particularly true when the *gardiens* were not around to protect and maintain said structures, leaving them at the mercy of nature and local settlers.

5.3.4 Glass

A total of 350 window sherd pieces were excavated in Feature 101, with a total weight of 772g (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). The window glass ranges in thickness from 2 to 4 mm. The differences in thickness do not necessarily represent different glass sheets as the process by which window panes were manufactured would have resulted in uneven thicknesses within each sheet. Large glass bubbles were blown by pipes and cut at both end to create a "muff", then laid out on an iron sheet and placed in a furnace to flatten and form. This created a large glass disc from which window panes were cut; this general method, with a few variations, was used through the eighteenth century and into the start of the nineteenth century (Noël Hume, 1969:234-5). In 1832 this method was altered by Lucan Chance of England, with the assistance of workers from France, and the muffs

were made larger and placed on glass sheets and cut cold with a diamond, resulting in much higher quality sheets (Noël Hume, 1969:234-5).

Table 5.5 – Window Glass, Number of Sherds per Lot

	E3N3	E2N3	E1N3	E0N3	W1N3	W2N3	E2N2	E0N2	E0N1	E0S2	Total/Event
100											0
111	1	6									7
125	17	18	22	22			39				118
126				2	1			3			6
128				2	43	3		50	111		209
129											0
130											0
156								5			5
198										17	17
Total/Unit	18	24	22	26	44	3	39	58	111	17	**362**

Table 5.6 – Window Glass, Weight (grams) by Lot

	E3N3	E2N3	E1N3	E0N3	W1N3	W2N3	E2N2	E0N2	E0N1	E0S2	Total/Event
100											0
111	2	11									13
125	38	45	39	37			95				254
126				4	2			7			13
128				6	70	10		110	275		471
129											0
130											0
156								10			10
198										34	34
Total/Unit	40	56	39	47	72	10	95	127	275	34	**795**

To determine concentrations of window glass in Feature 101, as opposed to relying on the sherd count, the glass was weighed by lot. This corrects for differences in sherd size resulting from differential breakage. The largest concentration of window glass was located in 128.E0N1 which had 275g, over a third of all the window glass in Feature 101. The next largest concentration was in 128.E0N2 which had 110g, and the third was in 125.E2N2 which had 95g.

5.4 Personal Effects

5.4.1 Adornment

5.4.1.1 Buttons

Forty-four buttons were excavated within Feature 101 (Plate 5.20). Of these 21 were small, four-holed buttons made of opaque white glass. Small white buttons would be most likely found on more delicate or less commonly visible clothing items, such as undergarments and shirts. As an exception one white glass button had a moulded design on the front and blue painted decoration, indicating that it may have served a more decorative function and been found on a prominent visible clothing item. Two decorative opaque black glass buttons were found, and they had flat decorated faces and convex backs with inlaid metal where the eyelets were likely soldered. Button 125X2747 has a flower carved into the front of it, while button 128X698 has a series of ridges with raised diamonds between them.

Trouser buttons are often large, plain four-holed disc buttons. Bone trouser buttons have been in use since the seventeenth century, and plain white-metal trouser buttons became common after the War of 1812 for both civilians and soldiers (Olsen, 1963). A total of two four-holed bone buttons and three four-holed plain white-metal trouser buttons were recovered, as well as a four-holed wooden button. Two-holed buttons made of bone, shell, wood, Bakelite, copper alloy and white-metal were also found, but these may have been for jackets or other clothing items requiring less reinforcement.

Several of the white-metal and copper alloy buttons found had maker's marks impressed on them, a practice that became common after 1820. Olsen (1963:552) found that many of these buttons had words advertising their level of quality, noting that they were "Treble Gilt" or "Extra Quality". Button 128X304 is a disc button made of copper alloy with gold gilting on it and the phrase "BEST SOLID EYELET" impressed on

the rim. Wording such as this on the button was a means of enticing the purchaser and advertising the product's quality (Olsen, 1963). One white-metal disc button had the words "…HABILLEMENT…" and small stars embossed on it, though the remainder of the words are worn away. A third button has cross-hatching impressed on it.

Not all of the buttons found were disc-shaped: five instead had convex bodies and eyelets soldered to the back. This style of button has been common from 1830 to the present (Olsen, 1963). Three of these buttons are naval buttons and have decorative motifs with an anchor and rope. This motif is referred to as the "fouled rope", and on British naval buttons was present after 1747 on buttons belonging to the Royal Marines, an amphibious unit (Scheppler, 2003). This motif is also present on French and Spanish naval buttons, so two of the naval buttons have no definite affiliation. One, however, has the words "ROYAL MARINES LIGHT INFANTRY" embossed on it. This button was produced between 1855 and 1862; the British Royal Marines Light Infantry was formed in 1855 but the name changed slightly in 1862 to the Royal Marine Light Infantry as the "s" in "Marines" was dropped (Scheppler, 2003). Buttons with a large anchor and fouled line with a stippling effect in the background were found at Signal Hill in St. John's (Jelks, 1973:84). The description of this type of button, defined as "Design 24", matches button 198M302 from Feature 101.

One of the convex buttons with a soldered eyelet at the back, 125X342, has textile covering the button's casing. There is a second textile-covered button, 125X305, but it is rough cast with a hole drilled in the shank to fasten it to clothing instead of a soldered eyelet. This form of button was most common from 1710 to 1765, though with the date range established for Feature 101 it is possible that this form was produced into the nineteenth century or that this button was cultivated or second-hand (Noël Hume, 1969).

5.4.1.2 Textiles

A total of 17 textile samples were recovered from Feature 101, representing a

total of 23 different textile pieces. All but one textile piece is made of wool or a wool/ cotton blend; one black piece of rope made from an early synthetic was recovered. The vast majority of the textiles are brown in colour, as the original colours have leached out or were stained by their time within the earth. One of the two textile pieces in 128X244 has deep Prussian-blue bands. Of the 23 textile pieces 4 were cotton and wool blends, indicating that they likely date with the Industrial Revolution and the increased production and use of cotton (Mathias, pers. comm., 2007).

A variety of weave-types are present in the textiles from Feature 101, though due to decomposition this data was not available for all the textile samples. The three types identified are tabby, satin, and twill weave and range from coarse to fine fabrics. Two textile pieces were knit using a stocking stitch as opposed to woven, and these were either from a sock or a knit cap. The only other identifiable object from the textile samples was the collar from a shirt, which is of a fine wool fabric of an unidentified weave.

5.4.1.3 Footwear

Nine pieces of leather from boots or shoes were recovered in Feature 101. The only leather specimens excavated at EgAw-07 were from footwear. The footwear in use at EgAw-07 had thick leather soles and raised heels reinforced with fine iron nails. The majority would have been laced, as several pieces of leather have copper-alloy grommets punched into them, and two pieces of leather have copper-alloy hooks at the top of the laces.

Four iron heel-taps, which resemble small horseshoes, were recovered from Event 128 in Feature 101. These flat iron discs were attached to the heels of boots, often for military or naval officials to make noise when walking. Nearly identical heel taps were recovered from Signal Hill, a British naval context (Jelks, 1973:81).

5.4.1.4 Jewellery

Five glass beads were found at EgAw-07 (Plate 5.21). There were three drawn-

Plate 5.20 - Selection of buttons, Feature 101

Plate 5.21 - Glass beads, Feature 101

glass beads, one with a clear dark orange oval-shaped body, one small turquoise bead with a short circular body, and a long nearly-opaque frosted yellow cylindrical bead. There was one small, faceted clear-turquoise bead which was roughly circular in shape. The final bead is moulded or carved, and it is turquoise and a rounded-diamond shape in cross-section as it has four panels on which a rope-twisting design is present. The glass is crizzled, and would previously have been a bright, lustrous blue.

Aside from the beads, part of a copper alloy heart-shaped pendant, possibly part of a locket, was recovered in 125.E3N3 (Plate 5.22). The place where the pendant snapped off of the chain or string it was held with is visible on the artefact. The pendant is not cast, but instead seems to have been made through manipulating and working a copper-alloy sheet. A small sun with short radiating rays is impressed into the centre of the pendant.

5.4.1.5 Comb

Part of a single tortoiseshell hair comb was recovered at EgAw-07, in Feature 101 at 125.E3N3 (Plate 5.23). The body is short, and it has a series of long narrow teeth. This comb would have been more suitable for decorative purposes and holding back the hair as opposed to brushing or detangling it.

5.4.2 Toiletries

A variety of items relating to personal hygiene and grooming were found in Feature 101. The lid from a John Gosnell and Co. Cherry Toothpaste container, 125R601, is made of ironstone or white stoneware and depicts the head of a woman in green, yellow, and black transfer print with a gold gilt line surrounding the image. This version of the toothpaste pot dates between 1853 and 1870 as Cherry Toothpaste was first produced in 1853, and this version of the lid is noted by the company to predate 1870 (Gosnell, 2008). The base for an ironstone or white stoneware pot which would match the Cherry toothpaste lid was also excavated, but the glaze has a faint blue tint to it whereas

Plate 5.22 - Brass pendant, Event 125

Plate 5.23 - Tortoiseshell comb, Event 125

the toothpaste vessel has a clear glaze. This vessel was likely also for a related toiletry item.

Some of the ceramics discussed earlier have ware forms that could pertain to either food or toiletry storage items. The blue faience condiment pots found in Feature 101 are described as conserve pots by Diderot and D'Alembert (1969, in Emery, 2004:68) but also match depictions of rouge pots excavated in New Orleans (Emery, 2004:78). As well, small Normandy pots could hold preserves or toiletry items; two of the Normandy vessels excavated are referred to as ointment pots in the literature (Chrestien and Dufournier, 1995).

5.4.3 Toys and Gaming Pieces

The visibility of children on an archaeological site is often overlooked, and while historical archaeologists, particularly those dealing with sites dating in the second half of the nineteenth century, are faced with items manufactured specifically for consumption by children, there is little discussion of the social significance of these artefacts and what their presence indicates with regards to the values parents are trying to instill in their children (Wilkie, 2000:100). The only toy recovered on Feature 101 is object 125X1717, an undecorated, unglazed earthenware marble, although these were also used as bottle stoppers. Similar marbles were recovered from Signal Hill in St. John's (Jelks, 1973:76). As a gaming piece, the use of marbles may not have been limited to children. A modified gaming piece recovered from Feature 101 was created by grinding a sherd of Rockingham earthenware into a circular disc. Similar gaming pieces have been found in a variety of contexts, including slaves' quarters on a Cuban coffee plantation (Majewski and O'Brien, 1987:183; Singleton, 2001).

Portions of a white refined earthenware figurine of a woman in long flowing skitrts were located within Feature 101. It has a clear glaze and very little decoration: one piece (128R2951) has metallic red hand-painting detail on the skirt, while another piece

(198R606) has hand-painted black shoes and a gold gilt stripe circling the base. Artefact 125R2630 is portion of an unpainted ceramic face which is glazed on the interior, unlike the pieces from the previously described refined earthenware figurine. This may have been from a second figurine, or possibly part of a small doll.

Toys were also recovered outside the occupation deposits in Feature 101. Specimen 010R3012 is the spout from a porcelain or opaque white glass miniature teapot. Remnants of an iron toy gun, 100H229, were recovered immediately below the surface of Feature 101, post-dating its abandonment (Plate 5.24).

5.4.4 Tobacco Pipes

Pipes are usually a large portion of the archaeological assemblage from historical sites, but there were relatively few at EgAw-07. Forty-five clay tobacco pipe fragments were excavated in Feature 101 (Plate 5.25). Of these fragments fourteen pieces had at least a portion of the bowl, the remaining fragments being stem pieces. All bowl fragments had evidence of burning or charring, so none was lost or discarded before use. Since pieces of the stem are discarded as the pipe is smoked, the number of shank/bowl junctures is often used to determine the minimum number of objects (Bradley, 2000:126). Based on this method, there were a minimum of five pipes. Of all the bowls only four were decorated, though two of these were more indications of maker than decoration. None of the decorations was located in pipe books (see Davey, 1979; Bradley, 2000; Jelks, 1973; Walker, 1977). Pipe 128P734 has a series of laurel leaves along the seam down the centre of the bowl, both front and back, and an emblem or crest on the side of the bowl. The other decorated bowl fragment has a series of horizontal ribs running along the bowl. Pipe 128P594 has an embossed "U" on each side of the heel, one right side up and the other upside down. Pipe 128.734 has an "L" on the proximal side of the bowl with a U-shaped wreath of laurel leaves around it; there should be another initial beside the "L" but the bowl is broken there. Pipes with "TD" on them, a variation of which has a

Plate 5.24 - Assorted personal effects
(clockwise from bottom-left: four pieces from ceramic figurines, earthenware
marble, spout from a toy-teapot, gaming piece made from a broken Rockingham vessel)

Plate 5.25 - Clay tobacco pipes, Feature 101

laurel wreath around it, were popular in the nineteenth century, and imitations with other initials were often found in the same style (Jelks, 1973:74).

Of the pipe stems, seven had markings. Three of the seven stems had a rope-pattern, a common design element in pipes from Glasgow. This rope border would surround the maker's mark, usually impressed in block letters (Gallagher, 1987). Traces of the maker's names are visible on two of these stems but unfortunately one is illegible and the other has only the letters "...UID..." and a matching maker's name was not found.

The maker's name McDougall appears on three of the stems, and Glasgow appears on the opposite side of the stem for two of these. Glasgow appears by itself on another stem fragment. McDougall pipes were established by Duncan McDougall in 1846, and although the company changed ownership several times McDougall pipes were produced until 1968 (Gallagher, 1987). The use of Glasgow, as opposed to Scotland, as the place of manufacture indicates that these pipes were made before 1891. McDougall pipes catered specifically to particular Scottish regions and the Irish market, as there was a large Irish population in Glasgow, many of whom were employed in the pipe-making industry. McDougall pipes were most popular in Scotland and Ireland, although they were also shipped to the United States, Canada, and West Africa (Bradley, 2000:117; Gallagher, 1987:70). All identifiable clay tobacco pipes from Feature 101 are from Glasgow.

One pipe fragment, 125P1862, is the vulcanite stem of a two-unit composite tobacco pipe with a 1/2 bent stem and a military tenon (Bradley, 2000:106). Vulcanite is a hard rubber that was used for the mouthpiece of composite pipes from the 1860s through to the 1950s, although it was not a common item until around 1875. The tenon of a composite pipe is the portion of the stem that fits into the bowl; a military tenon has a tapered form which is pushed into place (Bradley, 2000:124). In the nineteenth

century the advent of composite pipes enacted a change in smoking habits as pipes were no longer considered as inexpensive and disposable. The use of composite pipes usually leaves almost no trace archaeologically, as pipes are curated and reused much longer than their clay counterparts (Bradley, 2000:130).

5.4.5 Coins

Two coins were recovered in Feature 101 (Plates 5.26 and 5.27). The first is a French coin with the profile of Napoleon Bonaparte III and the text "Napoleon III Empereur 1855" on the face and the screaming eagle image with "Empereur Française Cinque Centente" on the reverse. Newfoundland did not have its own decimal coinage until 1865, though it was not until 1877 that the government decreed that all accounts were to be kept in dollars and cents (Rowe, 1991). Prior to 1865 most coins used by settlers were British, while coins from fishermen and traders from other countries were also in circulation (Rowe, 1991). The second coin is a penny with the profile of Queen Victoria on the face and Brittania holding a spear on the reverse, with a date of 1871. This coin was minted in Newfoundland as indicated by the profile of Queen Victoria facing to the left as opposed to the right, which is the general rule for coinage minted in Britain (Rowe, 1991).

5.5 Subsistence and Resource Procurement

5.5.1 Hunting

One musket ball measuring 17mm in diameter was recovered from Feature 101, as was one small beige piece of flint, possibly part of a gun flint as the stone is not local. The only other related gun item is percussion caps which abounded in the archaeological assemblage, generally unfired (Plate 5.28). The first patent for a percussion cap was taken out in the United States in 1822, although the necessary technological changes to guns did not arise until the 1840s. Percussion caps consist of a cylinder made of a folded piece of copper-alloy packed with gunpowder; the percussion cap represents the first safe

Plate 5.26 - Napoleon III and Queen Victoria coins, obverse

Plate 5.27 - Napoleon III and Queen Victoria coins, reverse

means of using detonating powder with firearms. The percussion cap was mounted on a
nipple which was screwed into the breech and struck with a hollow hammer. The spark
from the powder ignited the gun (Noël Hume, 1969:215). As well, a Dominion brand
shotgun cartridge was found in Event 100, but it dates to the modern era.

5.5.2 Fishing

A total of 33 fish hooks were recovered at EgAw-07. Of these nine were from test
pits, and most specifically seven were from Test 112 alone, a couple meters from where
W4S9 was eventually opened. The other fish hooks were recovered from the context of
Feature 101. Four styles of fish hook were found at EgAw-07: the largest is the wrought
cod hook with cylindrical shaft and spatulate proximal end, the next is the D-shaped
fish hook which has a body shaped like the letter D and a spatulate proximal end, the
smaller trout hook which is finer and wire drawn and has an eyelet at the proximal end,
and finally an even smaller hook with an eyelet at the proximal end which may have been
used for bait fish such as herring or capelin (Plate 5.29).

In an 1859 interview conducted by a member of the French navy with James
Hope in Croque, Hope noted that he and the other Anglophone settlers in Croque fish
for salmon, cod and herring (Pêcheries de Terre-Neuve, 1859). This range of species is
reflected in the range of fish hooks found on the site. The only other fishing item found
on the site is a cod jigger, EgAw07.125M351, a lead instrument used in jigging cod with
a hand-line. It is roughly cylindrical and shaped like a stylized fish with a comic face
pointing downwards where the hook attaches. Hook EgAw07.125H377 was attached to
EgAw07.125M351 in situ, although they unfortunately broke apart once removed from
the ground.

5.5.3 Logging/Woodworking

The remains of a minimum of three saws were found at EgAw-07 (Plate 5.30).
Artefact 125H424 consists of five pieces of a long iron saw matched together. The

Plate 5.28 - Musket ball and percussion caps, Feature 101

Plate 5.29 - Fish hooks and a lead dabber

original object would have been a long saw with a long narrow blade fastened at each end to a wooden handle by small nails or screws. The teeth are deep and heavy, so this saw would have been more appropriate for felling trees than woodwork. Saw 111H202 is similar in style to 125H424 and likely served the same purpose.

The third saw, 125H334 has a broader blade with finer, narrower teeth. This blade is fragmentary so the handle attachment is unknown, but with the broad blade and fine teeth it is likely a handle was attached on one end. The teeth for this saw are more suitable for sawing through planks or log pieces.

5.5.4 Farming Implements

The remains of three hafted tools were found at EgAw-07, two of iron and one of copper alloy (Plate 5.30). The actual diagnostic working ends were missing on all but one, 127H406 which had a hole on the hafting portion for a screw or nail to secure the shaft of the instrument, as well as a short iron projection from which the head of the implement had broken off of at some point. The remaining portion of the tool indicates it may have been a shovel or hoe.

Object 128M379 is a piece of folded copper alloy with part of a disintegrating wooden shaft within, and EgAw07.128H588 is a folded iron band within which a wooden shaft would easily fit. Spades and hoes do not always have metal fittings, and many tools used traditionally by Irish farmers in Canada and Ireland were often made of wood with metal securing the working ends (Noël Hume, 1969:274-276; Mannion, 1974). The aforementioned artefacts may not be broken metal artefacts; the working ends may have been made of wood which could have just broken away with use or decomposed.

5.6 Household Items

5.6.1 Lighting

There are a variety of artefacts in EgAw-07 which are used for either fire starting or artificially lighting the surrounding environment (Plate 5.31).

Plate 5.30 - Saw fragments and iron tool haft, Feature 101

Plate 5.31 - Portions of a gas lamp
(from left: thumbscrew to adjust burner, glass chimney fragments, and burner deflector)

Fire steels, alternately known as "strike-a-lights" are commonly found in seventeenth-century through early nineteenth-century contexts. These are small hand-forged steel pieces, often oval or u-shaped, which were struck to create a spark and light tinder to start a fire (Woodhead, 1984a). The shape allowed the fire steel to be held easily while the flat, wide striking surface was hit. One fire-steel was found in EgAw-07. Artefact 100H488 was recovered from W4S9 Event 100. As noted, Event 100 for W4S9 contained mostly artefacts contemporaneous to the occupation layer for Feature 101. While it appeared at first to be a chain-link, EgAw07.100H488 has distinct flat, broad striking surfaces along its length.

By 1855 striking matches were used nearly universally by both the rich and poor (Woodhead, 1984a). Match holders in the nineteenth century were often small tin or copper alloy boxes. Two types of match containers were recovered by Parks Canada. The first is a tinplate commercial matchbox for Vespa matches with a hinged lid dating to the 1840s, recovered from Fort St. James, British Columbia. It measures 7.3 cm long and 3.9 cm wide. The other match box is also from Fort St. James but is a personal match holder of copper alloy with a ferrous hinge. The lid is decorated with machine impressed floral designs and the box is taller and narrower than the first example; it measures 3.8 cm wide and 7 cm high. This taller form appeared in the late nineteenth century with the advent of matches specifically for smokers, as they were smaller than those used in the household (Woodhead, 1984a). Artefact EgAw07.128M537 is a copper-alloy rectangular container with rounded corners. There are traces of rust as well, indicating that it had iron portions, possibly the hinge. It is 9.4 cm long and 5.9cm wide; the height is uncertain as it is fragmentary. The walls of the artefact collapsed outwards, so the length of the base of the container is closer to 7 cm. Due to the long base of the body, this container would have held household matches.

Artefact EgAw07.128M543 is another square container with rounded corners but

it is instead made of tin or tinplate. The seam of the container at the base is folded in on itself with no evidence of solder. It measures 8.8 cm long and 7.2 cm wide. This piece is also fragmentary so the height is not identifiable. This was also likely a matchbox for household matches.

Aside from square tin containers, several cylindrical tin containers were recovered from EgAw-07. Most often these are tin cans, but spout lamps closely resemble tin cans in their construction. The tall cylindrical portion is a fuel reservoir, while a projecting spout protects and contains the wick, which was often made of twisted threads or cloth (Woodhead, 1984b). The tin fragments from EgAw-07 are small and there are no definite diagnostic features, but it is highly possible that spout lamps were in use on the site. Tinplate is a material which deteriorates rapidly once placed in an archaeological context; most spout lamps are unidentified or unidentifiable (Woodhead, 1984b). The one spout lamp contained in the National Reference Collection has a base diameter of 7.3 to 7.5 cm, and a total height of about 12.4 cm.

Vertical wick lamps were first patented in 1850, though in the 1850s they were too expensive for general use as they are fueled by kerosene or paraffin oils, both of which were costly at the time. With the expansion of the fuel industry in the 1860s the cost of kerosene fell and by 1864 the vertical wick lamp was the most common means of lighting, regardless of location or socio-economic status (Sullivan, 1984a). The liquid fuel lamp is a precursor to the vertical wick lamp and contained many of the same elements though the burner was different. The standardized shape for burner attachments, however, meant that older liquid fuel lamps were easily converted to kerosene fuel. There are a variety of uses for these lamps; the most common is as a lantern, but variations in form allowed some to be used for heating or vapor production. Liquid fuel lamps were popular through the eighteenth century and well into the mid-nineteenth century; until the availability of kerosene lamps most people relied on pan lamps and candles (Woodhead,

1984c). Kerosene lamps were available in St. John's from 1860 (Sullivan, 1984b).

Vertical wick lamps rely on fuel in a liquid form which is contained in a reservoir at the base, referred to as the font. A burner is attached to the font, and a glass casing covers the burner and its elements. The chimney is a glass casing which protects and contains the flame. The shape of the chimney also assists in feeding air to the flame, allowing it to burn brighter. The chimney is mounted on the body of the lamp by means of a series of prongs. The first lamp chimney was patented in England in 1784 by Argand, and variations in style over time provide a rough means of dating the chimney. Restricted necks, flaring upper rims, and decoration on the rim did not appear in Canada until around 1885. Coloured chimneys appeared in the 1840s, though they are found rarely on historical sites in Canada (Sullivan, 1984b; Woodhead, 1984c).

The burner consists of a collar, deflector, wick, and thumbscrew. The collar is a metal ring which attached the burner to the font of the lamp. Collar sizes were standardized in the 1820s, so when the shift to kerosene oil occurred in the 1860s many whale oil, vegetable oil, and refined lard lamps were easily converted to kerosene. Like the chimney, the deflector also assists in brightening the flame of a lamp by deflecting air towards the flames; the deflectors have a slit, called a "blaze hole" with the wick within and from which the flame emerges. In North America, the wicks for most lamps were made of flat woven cotton strips or asbestos; these lamps had rectangular wick tubes. The thumbscrew is a knob used to mechanically adjust the height of the wick within the burner (Sullivan, 1984a, 1984b; Woodhead, 1984c).

A wide variety of glass chimney pieces were recovered from EgAw-07, as were a brass deflector and a thumbscrew with a date and patent. Glass chimney pieces are often misidentified in archaeological contexts as part of tumblers, stemware, and occasionally bottles. The shape of the body and the decorative rims are diagnostic features of chimneys, although unfortunately rims were not decorated until the late nineteenth

century, and even then not all rims were decorated (Sullivan, 1984b). The thumbscrew has "Adlams Patent, May 18 1863" impressed into it. The dates present on lamp elements are not necessarily useful for providing exact dates of manufacture; the patent dates often reflect only that aspect of the lamp or burner, not the object itself. It does still provide a *terminus post quem*.

5.6.2 Miscellaneous household items

Several pieces of glass with one heavily patterned side resembling parallel pieces of rope were recovered in several contexts at EgAw-07. Two were recovered from within Feature 101, one from the north side of the beach, and two from Test 164. At first these appeared to be decorative window panes, but examination of antique washboards showed that this patterning is diagnostic to the working surface of washboards. These were essentially simple wooden frames inset with glass panes.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will ultimately attempt to tie together some of the evidence presented in the previous chapters to answer the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1. This thesis has three main objectives. The first is an examination of the interactions between the French fishermen and Irish-Newfoundland settlers at EgAw-07 through the material culture, historical records, and evidence of use of the shared landscape. The second is to determine the diagnostic elements that would help distinguish between structures relating to the French migratory fishery and anglophone settler housing when conducting archaeological survey in the Petit Nord. The final objective is the exploration of changes to the landscape in the Petit Nord with the shift from migratory fishery to permanent settlement in the early nineteenth century. To begin this, I have selected three archaeological collections to act as points of reference for the material culture assemblage at EgAw-07. I will then outline the temporal nature of the occupational layers of Feature 101, discuss the material culture as it relates to interactions between the French and Irish-Newfoundlanders, examine the historical evidence briefly, and propose likely changes in landscape use over time that reflect both interactions between the settlers and seasonal fishermen, as well as shifting resource use and access to fishing rooms in the Petit Nord.

6.2 Relevant Collections and Sites for Comparison

It is difficult to find sites for direct comparison; at this point EgAw-07 is the first definitive Irish settlement excavated in Newfoundland, as well as the first *gardien* settlement excavated. It is likely that there are other Irish sites though they just have not been identified as such yet. The sites selected for comparison have been chosen for the variety of contexts they provide for examination. Burke examines English seasonal fishermen and their settlement on Saddle Island in the Strait of Belle Isle; they are near the Petit Nord though on a different shore (1991). Excavations at Signal Hill in St. John's

provide a view of a nineteenth-century British military context and should provide a good point of comparison for materials available from Newfoundland in the nineteenth century (Jelks, 1973). Pope's survey of the Petit Nord provides a point of comparison for other assemblages and ceramics available in the same region, particularly those identified as French fishing rooms which later became anglophone settlements (2007).

6.2.1 EkBc-01 Saddle Island, Red Bay, Labrador

Burke analyzed the ceramics from a seasonal fishing residences on Saddle Island dating between 1837 and 1884 (1991). Saddle Island is located in the Strait of Belle Isle, a portion of the French Shore where the French held seasonal fishing rights, although the Labrador portion is on the side of the shore opposite the Petit Nord. Saddle Island was occupied year round by at least 1852, and as such is another anglophone settlement on the French Shore of comparable antiquity, rendering it invaluable as a point of comparison. The settlers on Saddle Island were English, also providing a point of reference for comparing reflections of ethnicity with the Irish-Newfoundland settlers at Genille. Thornton notes that the ledgers held by merchants in the Strait of Belle Isle include residents in both Labrador and the Petit Nord (1990:145). There were merchants from various regions, including St. John's, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, providing supplies to the inhabitants of Red Bay (Burke, 1991).

6.2.2 Signal Hill National Historic Park, St. John's

The site of Signal Hill National Historic Park was excavated by Parks Canada in the 1965 and 1966, although there have been more recent excavations since. Most of the deposits identified there represent British colonial material dating between ca.1800 and 1860. During this period Signal Hill's three batteries were maintained at the top of the hill. Its location overlooking St. John's harbour and Fort William, as well as a panoramic view of the surrounding Atlantic Ocean, made it key in protecting St. John's from invasion (Jelks, 1973).

Although some of the material is a bit earlier than that present at Genille, the items at Signal Hill would have been obtained directly in St. John's, where most of the merchants that provisioned settlers along the French Shore were situated. By examining the material culture recovered at Signal Hill and seeing which items were not present at either site may present additional insight into the supplies the settlers were receiving from the French. The items present at Signal Hill act as a control for items in the possession of St. John's merchants.

6.2.3 Archaeological Survey of the Petit Nord

The ceramics recovered from archaeological survey of the Petit Nord by Dr. Peter Pope and assistants reflect material culture from the French migratory fisheries at the start of the sixteenth century until 1904. It also includes material culture from the anglophone settlers who began arriving in the region in the later eighteenth century with the French absence from the region during the revolutionary wars (Pope, 2003). The survey encompassed 21 sites on a portion of the Petit Nord between Croque and Englee; Figure 22 presents the ceramic wares encountered. Most of these were recovered from beach contexts or shovel tests near the shore; these areas of the landscape were intensively used by French fishermen for around 400 years (Pope, 2007). Information from this survey will be used only as a means of highlighting and discussing the ceramic wares used in the region.

6.3 Settlement of Genille

There are a few different lines of evidence to draw from to determine the date of occupation for Feature 101. The ceramic assemblage from Feature 101 provides an estimated occupation from 1830 to 1910. The vast majority of the material culture dates to the nineteenth century, specifically towards the middle or end of the century. Table 6.1 lists some of the more narrowly defined production dates obtained from items with maker's marks spanning from 1855 to 1924. Historical documents assist in narrowing the

Table 6.1 – Artefacts With Closely Defined Dates and Maker's Marks, Feature 101

Artefact	Description	Date
128C233	Coin, "NAPOLEON III/EMPEREUR" bust facing left, "CINQ CENTIMES/EMPIRE FRANCAIS" with screaming eagle	1855
198M302	Button, "ROYAL MARINES LIGHT INFANTRY", fouled rope and anchor motif with crown	1855-1862
125M3388	Copper alloy knob for lamp burner, "ADLAMS PATENT MAY 18 1863"	1863
125R601	"[CHERRY T]OOTHPA[STE]/[FOR BEAUTIFYIN]G AND PR[ESERVING THE TEET]H AND GUMS" John Gosnell and Co., London. Green and bronze transfer print REW toothpaste container lid	1853-1870
125M234	Copper alloy ship's buckle, "THOMAS WALKER IW PATENT/PATENT NO.4974"	c.1870
198C302	Coin, "VICTORIA DG BRIT REG" with bust facing left, "ONE PENNY" with Britannia figure and spear opposite	187[1]
128R608	"ROBERT COCH[RANE & SONS]/ ST.ROLLOX/ GLAS[GOW]/ GREAT BRITA[IN]", ironstone plate	1855-1896
156S3278	"J.C.HAY[WARD & CO.]/BR…", St. John's, NL Merchant, Bristol glaze stoneware jug	1884-1915
128R3248	"COCH[RANE & FLEMING]/ GLAS[GOW]", ironstone vessel	1896-1920
125S610	Canadian grey stoneware jug, "[TORONTO POTTE]RY CO. MFG'S, TORONTO"	1899-1924

occupation period.

As is discussed in the next section, the baptism, marriage, and death records for the Kearney family are absent from the parishes of King's Cove, Harbour Grace, and Tilting, until the Conche Roman Catholic parish was established in 1880. Michael Anthony Kearney was born in Croque in 1855 to Patrick Kearney and Mary Pyne. His baptism was recorded in the Conche registry in 1910, two years following his death in 1908. The baptism is attributed to a French priest, so the records of births, marriages and deaths for the Kearney family may survive in France. The death record of Mary Pyne from 1913 provides a bit more background, however, as it confirms that she took Kearney as a married name. At her time of death she was 97 or 98, indicating that she was likely born in 1815. Mary Pyne was born in Northeast Crouse, a settlement close to Conche, not far from Genille.

Most settlers on the Strait of Belle Isle, on both the Labrador and Newfoundland sides, moved there from Conception Bay (Thornton, 1978). The women married in this area were often descended from families that had moved up there, as single women generally did not move north until after 1850. The Newfoundland side of the Strait of Belle Isle encompasses part of the Petit Nord. Women born in the north tended to marry earlier than those who moved up with families; the average age of marriage was 20.5 (Thornton, 1978). Since Mary Pyne was born in Crouse in 1815, she likely then married around 1835. When Michael Anthony Kearney was born in 1855, she was 40 and likely nearing the end of child-bearing; Patrick Kearney is reputed to have had several sons who worked with him as *gardiens*, so there would have been others, though their birth records were not located. Females born on the Strait of Belle Isle tended to marry workers hired by their families that had migrated north to work in the fisheries. They then often moved with their husbands to start a new settlement and from there hired their own workforce (Thornton, 1978).

Given this general framework, Mary Pyne and Patrick Kearney likely moved into Genille around 1835. The ceramic evidence from the occupational layers of Feature 101 support this date, but the maker's marks recovered date to a slightly later period. Interestingly, two of the items with maker's marks relate to the presence of a member of the marines within the household. Button 198M302 is from the Royal Marines Light Infantry and dates between 1855 and 1862. Artefact 125M234 is piece of a ship's log. As well, two additional buttons with the distinct fouled anchor motif were recovered in Feature 101; these three naval or marine buttons account for 7 percent of all buttons found and 30 percent of the metal buttons. Four heel-taps were also excavated from Feature 101. At first they were thought to be horse or pony shoes, but they are missing the features diagnostic to horseshoes, such as toe clips or calkins (Noël Hume, 1969:237). They match the heel taps excavated from Signal Hill; the combination of these artefacts signifies some sort of naval presence (Jelks, 1973:81).

6.4 Interactions between French and Irish – The Material Culture

The use of Normandy stoneware for commodity storage has some interesting implications for life in the Petit Nord. Anglo-Irish settlers often traded the French fishermen bait or fresh produce for fish, but they also traded them for goods too difficult or expensive to obtain through British or St. John's merchants (Janzen, 2007). The *gardiens* were provided with foodstuffs such as flour, salted lard, biscuits, wine, cider, and spirits in return for their services (Rompkey, 2003). If the French were relying heavily on Normandy stoneware to store and transport commodities in this period, the Normandy stoneware vessels in the household occupation layer at EgAw-07 would have contained supplies provided to the Kearney family by the French. As all of the stoneware vessels in Feature 101 were storage forms, their source provides some insight as to whether stored goods were obtained from the French fishermen or merchant traders from St. John's. Of the 35 stoneware vessels excavated, 11 were Normandy stonewares,

representing 31 percent of the stoneware assemblage in the house. By comparison, the nineteenth-century ceramic assemblage from the Anglo-Newfoundlander occupation at Saddle Island contains no Normandy stoneware; there are however Albany Slip, Bristol Glaze, and English Brown Salt-glazed stoneware vessels.

The representation of French stoneware in the occupational layers of Feature 101 suggests that as much as a third of the supplies the *gardiens* received were coming from the French fishermen, although the French may have been using supplies from outside France, of course. Some of the supplies the *gardiens* were given would have been in wooden casks, and some of the storage vessels present at EgAw-07 were not made of stoneware. The remains of wooden casks were not recovered, and both porcelain and refined earthenwares are produced in France as well as Britain and North America. Looking at the relative amounts of distinctly identifiable French stoneware is a means of isolating one factor in the provision of supplies to the *gardiens*.

While the presence of Normandy stoneware in Feature 101 is significant, as these wares were absent from nearby Saddle Island, only 50 km away, the amount recovered is minimal when compared to the ceramic assemblage from the broad survey of the Petit Nord conducted by Pope in 2004. The ceramic assemblage from the Petit Nord is dominated by Normandy stoneware: Normandy stoneware which accounts for 36 percent of the ceramics from the surveyed sites, while Normandy stoneware accounts for only 11 of 300 vessels in Feature 101, totaling only 4 percent of the entire ceramic assemblage (Table 6.2).

As mentioned earlier, *gardien* families did not appear in the ledgers of Labrador-based merchant Joseph Bird (Thornton, 1990). The amount of goods provided to the *gardiens* by the French may have allowed the settlers to stay outside the constraints of the truck system other Newfoundland settlers faced, at least until the end of the French fishery in Newfoundland. Sanger notes that British settlers living along the French Shore

Wares	Sherds	% Ware Category	% Total Assemblage
Coarse Stonewares			
Bessin-Contentin	505	60	25
Domfront	180	21	9
Normandy	48	6	2
Beauvais (or Loire)	8	1	0
North American Beige	5	1	0
Canadian Grey	55	7	3
American Brown	2	0	0
English Brown Saltglazed	9	1	0
English White-slip Saltglazed	1	0	0
Unidentified Coarse Stonewares	27	3	1
Total Stonewares	**840**	**100**	**40**
Tin-Glazed Earthenwares			
Faience	90	84	4
Unidentified Tin-Glazed Earthenwares	17	16	1
Total Tin-Glazed Earthenwares	**107**	**100**	**5**
Refined Earthenwares			
Whiteware	195	41	10
Creamware	80	17	4
Pearlware	72	15	4
Yellow Ware	14	3	1
Transfer Print Purple	1	0	0
Transfer Print Black	3	1	0
Transfer Print Blue	7	1	0
Transfer Print Red	1	0	0
Transfer Print Green	1	0	0
Pearlware Blue Shell-Edged	2	0	0
Pearlware Sponge Decoration	6	1	0
Pearlware Painted	4	1	0
Handpainted Polychrome Whiteware	6	1	0
Creamware Sponged	1	1	0
Monochrome Underglaze	7	1	0
Unidentified Refined Earthenwares	78	16	4
Total Refined Earthenwares	**478**	**99**	**23**
Coarse Earthenwares			
1: Yellow & Green on Grey Beige	6	1	0
2: Brown on Terra Cotta	56	11	3
3: Yellow on Pink-Beige	11	2	1
4: Olive on Terra Cotta	15	3	1
5: Green on Grey	14	3	1
6: Coarse Brown	24	5	1
7: Olive on Grey-Pink	46	9	2
8: Yellow Slipware on White	2	0	0
9: Green on Coarse Grey-Beige	57	11	3
10: Brown on Fine Terra Cotta	42	8	2
11: Glazed Fine Beige	24	5	1
12: Brown on Coarse Pink-Grey	7	1	0
13: Landieul-like	17	3	1
Saint Jean la Poterie-like	12	2	1
South Somerset	1	0	0
Pabu Guingamp	4	1	0
Saintonge	6	1	0
North Italian Marbled Slipware	12	2	1
Unidentified Coarse Earthenwares	173	33	9
Total Coarse Earthenwares	**529**	**101**	**27**
Other			
Ironstone	6	11	0
Modern	50	90	2
Total Other	**56**	**101**	**2**
Total	**2010**		**97**

Table 6.2 - Wares from the Archaeology of the Petit Nord Survey
*Percent total 101 due to rounding

enjoyed a relatively high quality of life, turning to agricultural pursuits alongside fishing and sealing for additional income (1990:145). *Gardiens* specifically were given rights to fish where other settlers were not allowed, and there is documented historical evidence of the Kearney family maintaining cattle and tending gardens (Rompkey, 2004).

The material culture within the household provides evidence that the Kearney family was exploiting resources outside the fisheries. Aside from a variety of fish species sought indicated by the wide range of hook styles, there is evidence of hunting through gun use, either for food or trade, woodworking and tree removal indicated by varying forms of saws, and farming as evidenced by the remnants of various metal hafted tools, likely from traditional Irish and Newfoundland wooden-ended farming tools with wooden hafts.

The tin-glazed earthenwares at EgAw-07 were also likely provided by the French fishermen, as with the introduction of British refined earthenwares the production of British delftware and French faience had decreased. Faience still played an important role, however, in French foodways through later periods (Blanchette, 1981). Four sherds of tin-glazed earthenware, or faience, from an undiagnostic hollowware vessel were found at Saddle Island; of a total 388 vessels identified from an assemblage of 7,283 sherds this is a very small portion of the relative assemblage (Burke, 1991:1, 29, 72). Tin-glazed earthenwares from the occupational layers of Feature 101 account for 6 vessels of a minimum of 300 vessels, making up 2 percent of ceramic assemblage.

Even some of the refined white earthenware in Feature 101 is French in origin. Miller states that refined earthenwares from nineteenth-century sites are almost always British, but his experience is with sites in the United States (Miller, 1980:2). A surprising quantity of French refined white earthenwares have been recovered at EfAx-09 Dos de Cheval, another French fishing station located not far south of Genille (Pope, pers. comm., 2009). Artefact 128R607 is a base piece from a flatware vessel with the maker's

mark "Choisy-le-Roi" (Plate 6.1). This was a town about 12km upstream from Paris which blossomed into an industrial production centre in around 1790. Potters at Choisy-le-Roi produced most of the ceramics used by metro Parisiens until the end of the nineteenth century, as well as crystal and glasswares (Granger, 1923). This sherd has no decoration on it, as it is a portion of a flatware base so it is difficult to determine what portion of the whiteware assemblage may be French in origin. As a food consumption or service vessel, this item is functionally outside the realm of basic supplies such as preserved foods, flour, liquor and tools the *gardiens* were reputedly receiving.

Some supplies which were also obviously French in origin were found at Genille. One of the white metal buttons has the word "HABILLEMENT" embossed on it. Tales of French fishing captains bringing gifts of clothing, textiles, and patterns to the *gardiens* may be reflected in this button, as objects for adornment are also outside of what one would consider supplies necessary for minding French fishing stations. One of the two coins recovered dates to 1855 and has Napoleon III on it, also indicating a French origin. In 1865 Newfoundland began to mint its own coins. Prior to that period most coins used in Newfoundland were British in origin, although coins from other countries were commonly in circulation, most notably among fishermen (Rowe, 1991).

Archival evidence from the Roman Catholic parish records in Tilting and Conche shows some interesting trends. There are two instances of children born in Croque being sponsored by a French man and a female Newfoundland settler. The first was Martin Lewis, son of James Hope and Margaret Piercil, who was baptized on July 26, 1852. His godparents were Mary Carney and Captain Blanslot. Throughout the Tilting parish records only the name "Carney" appears, even with direct reference to Croque; this is a popular alternate spelling for the name Kearney. That said, however, the name "Carney" or "Kearney" only appeared for witnesses to marriages or godparents to children born in the area. The second child with a French godfather was Diana, the "illegitimate" child

Plate 6.1 - Whiteware vessel with maker's mark "CHOISY LE ROI"

of William Randle and Catherine Brumley, baptized July 11, 1853. Her godparents were Franswau Auges and her birth mother Catherine Brumley. The phonetic pronunciation of "Franswau" easily translates to "Francois"; the family name Auges is clearly French in origin. The Bromley family had two houses in Area F; it is possible that they were hired helpers working for the Kearney family.

Another example of French and Irish interaction appearing in the parish records is the absence of birth, marriage, or death records for members of the Kearney family until the nearby Conche parish was opened in 1880. Members of the Kearney family appear in the Tilting parish records only as godparents and sponsors, never as the person being wed or born. Marriages and births within the Kearney family may be recorded in a French parish, based on the re-registry of the birth of Michael Anthony Kearney in Croque to Patrick Kearney and Mary Pyne and baptized by Father Deloupy. The record dates to 1910 or 1911, and the date of baptism is July 20, 1856 and date of birth is October 21, 1855. Michael Anthony Kearney died in 1908, so his baptism was back-dated two or three years following his death. On November 2, 1915 another Michael Anthony Kearney is born in Croque to Frank Kearney and Catherine McGrath, possibly in memory of the departed family member.

The names of several other known *gardien* families in the region do appear in the church registries the Kearney family is absent from: records of the Hope, Casey, and McGrath families are relatively abundant. Mary Pyne was reportedly born in Northeast Crouse, the Pyne family are also nearly absent from the King's Cove, Harbour Grace, and Tilting Roman Catholic church records. Seary (1977:377) describes Pyne as an Irish surname rare in Newfoundland and encountered only in St. John's, based on his examination of Newfoundland family names from a variety of historical records. The marriages of two of Mary Pyne's relatives, Elizabeth and Ellen Pyne, were recorded in the Tilting marriage ledger in 1848 and 1850 respectively and witnessed by other

members of the Pyne family, including John, Anne, and Timothy Pyne. Timothy Pyne died in 1905 at the age of 73, and the record indicates he was born in Cap Rouge Harbour (Crouse); he would have been born in 1832.

If the marriage of Patrick Kearney and Mary Pyne follows the demographic trends outlined by Casey and Thornton, Patrick Kearney likely moved north to Northeast Crouse to work as a labourer for the Pyne family and ended up marrying Mary Pyne (Casey, 1971; Thornton, 1978). The lack of church records for the Kearney family seems to indicate a more intimate relationship with the French fishermen, as they seem to have relied on the services of a French priest to marry their family members, baptize their young, and bury their dead. The same lack of records exists for the Pyne family, and a reasonable explanation for this would be that the Kearney family developed its relationship to the French fishermen through marriage into the Pyne family, who were likely an earlier *gardien* family in Cap Rouge Harbour that were also seen in a favourable light by the French fishing captains. Currently, the model by which *gardiens* were hired is rather vague; new families were supposedly selected by French captains to move north as often as every few years based on their personal perception of what an ideal *gardien* should be (Casey, 1971). Pope notes that after 1815 fishing rooms were designated for five-year periods as opposed to the previous method of yearly selection (2008). It seems more sensible that *gardiens* were selected from the existing population of anglophone settlers that was expanding through the marriage of daughters to new labourers being brought into the area. This would allow for a more intimate knowledge of the employee being selected. If a French captain had to change fishing rooms and there was no *gardien* in the new room, if he had established a good relationship with the settlers in his last fishing room it may seem more realistic to select people he already knew were reliable. This could likely be the daughter of a trusted employee and her husband, who would already have been made familiar with the work required of *gardiens*.

6.5 Supplies from St. John's

While the *gardiens* at Genille were receiving some supplies from the French, the items they were obtaining from merchants were very similar to those possessed by English settlers across the Strait of Belle Isle at Saddle Island. Burke describes two unidentified hollowware majolica vessels recovered at Saddle Island, which have green interiors with yellow-green exteriors that had molded lines and possibly foliage (1991:65). Majolica is rarely recovered from archaeological sites, but two hollowware majolica vessels were found at Genille, with red interiors and green exteriors with linear designs along the base of one of the vessels. A ware that is generally rare archaeologically appearing on two sites which are in close proximity may indicate they were coming from the same source.

Another similarity between the assemblages at Saddle Island and Genille is the presence of sponge-stamped whitewares. The sponged wares from the two sites are not identical but the patterns are very similar, with dark geometric-based forms being preferred. Burke notes that sponge-stamped vessels account for 12.3 percent of the Saddle Island fine earthenwares, which he notes is very high relative to other nineteenth-century assemblages; since these were marketed as country wares, they were decidedly most popular in rural areas (1991:36; Collard, 1984:123). Sponge-stamped wares account for only 2 percent of the whiteware assemblage at Signal Hill (Burke, 1991:36; Jelks, 1973:101-123). Sponge-stamped wares account for 21 percent of the whiteware assemblage at Genille, an even higher proportion. As mentioned, sponge-stamped wares are Scottish in origin; even English manufacturers who produced these wares hired Scottish artisans to train their workers (Burke, 1991:38). Most of the whiteware maker's marks found at Genille are Scottish in origin, with the exception of one sherd from France and one from England. Of the twelve maker's marks Burke sources, including ironstone, ten are from Staffordshire, one is from Glasgow, and one is stamped Montreal (1991:89).

Goods produced in Scotland were often sold in Irish and North American markets. In the nineteenth century a large portion of the population of Glasgow consisted of Irish immigrants. In Glasgow in 1841, of the total population of 117,191 there were 20,334 Irish citizens (Gallagher, 1987). With future excavation of additional Irish settlements in Newfoundland and sourcing of goods from Scottish merchants in St. John's, it would be interesting to see if a preponderance of Scottish artefacts may act as an indicator of Irish, as opposed to English, settlements and reflect choice based on ethnicity. Some Scottish goods are common on nineteenth and early-twentieth century archaeological sites regardless of the inhabitants' ethnicity (Orr, 2005).

One indicator of socioeconomic status accessible by ceramic assemblages is the presence of matching ceramic set; families of higher socioeconomic status are able to collect larger, more complete matching sets as opposed to families of more modest means who have a more diverse variety of ceramics (De Cunzo, 1987:288-291). Burke identified 16 ceramic sets at Saddle Island and a total of 30 decorative styles represented in the 388 vessels he analyzed; these sets represent 22.6 percent of the assemblage (1991:96). This assemblage was created by several families over time using the site as seasonal fishing quarters as opposed to a permanent settlement. At Genille six ceramic sets were identified (see Table 6.3). Undecorated vessels of whiteware, ironstone, and porcelain were not matched into sets as they have no definitive diagnostic features that would indicate they were part of the same set. There are a minimum of 218 white refined earthenware vessels and of these 34 (or 15.6 percent) are from matching sets. If the undecorated vessels are assumed to be part of matching sets, then 46 percent of the total assemblage is comprised of unmatched vessels. At Saddle Island, 48.5 percent of the total assemblage is comprised of unmatched vessels (Burke, 1991:98).

Table 6.3 – Identified Ceramic Sets

Set 1	Purple transfer print, paisley pattern	1 cup, 1 saucer, 2 bowls, 1 plate
Set 2	Wheat pattern relief-decorated ironstone	1 cup, 2 saucers, 2 bowls, 3 plates, 1 basin
Set 3	Blue transfer print, flowers	1 bowl, 1 deep plate, 1 plate
Set 4	Light-blue transfer print, flowers, vines and geometric designs	1 deep plate, 1 plate, 2 unidentified vessels
Set 5	Dark-green sponge-stamped, diamond and geometric design pattern	3 cups, 1 saucer, 2 deep plates
Set 6	Hard-paste porcelain	2 cups, 2 saucers, 1 bowl, 1 teapot, 1 pitcher

The ceramics at Genille which make up the matching sets are of moderate expense, with the exception of the sponge-stamped set. Of the remaining five sets, three are transfer-printed and one is wheat-patterned ironstone, which Miller ranks just below porcelain and gold-gilded ceramics in the late nineteenth century (1991). A nearly full porcelain tea set was also recovered; aside from these vessels, remnants from a second porcelain teapot were also found in Feature 101. The large number of unmatched vessels indicates that matching ceramics were either outside the economic means of the Kearney family, the distinct patterns made it difficult to piece together full sets from merchants as they lived in a rural setting, or that matching ceramics were not of primary concern. Burke noted that the ceramic assemblage at Saddle Island indicates a quality of life somewhat higher than would be expected of seasonal fishermen in rural Labrador, indicating that they were possibly living beyond their means through manipulating the truck system (1991). The ceramic assemblage at Genille is composed of similar items, in terms of both wares and form, but with the additional supplies they received from the

French fishermen for their work it is likely that they may not have had the same level of debt burden.

6.6 The Kearney House

One of my research questions addresses the guidelines for distinguishing a *gardien* household from a French cook room or other outbuilding. One way to address this is through a comparison of architectural styles from Newfoundland and Ireland with the structural remains from Feature 101. The Kearney house was built on a stilted sill with part of the frame cut into the bank. Evans notes that in nineteenth-century Ireland most peasant farmers lived in byre-dwellings, small scale versions of western European long houses (1977). These buildings, which average about 4 x 6.5m in dimension, consisted of a single room with no division between the living spaces for animals and humans (Evans, 1977). It was considered lucky to have cows within the house, and much of the Irish peasantry's folklore relates to cows for magical as well as practical purposes.

The architectural details of the Kearney house, determined from both the Thoulet photograph and excavations, match the "second [generation] house" as described by Mannion, the "first generation house" as described by Mills, and the traditional nineteenth-century landless labourer or tenant farmer house in Northern Ireland (Gailey, 1984; Mannion, 1974:147; Mills, 1978)[1].

So-called "second [generation] houses" were constructed in Newfoundland within the Avalon Peninsula to the north of St. John's, often in the 1830s and 1840s. These were often rectangular in shape with gabled roofs and studded walls. The studs used were finished on all sides, or hewn into planks. The studs were placed tightly together and packed with moss which was then covered with bark to reduce drafts. With these the

1   The terms "First generation house" or "Second house" are used here to describe different vernacular architecture styles in Newfoundland as outlined by the respective authors. "Second" generation houses did not follow "First" generation houses; this has been disproven and is part of a debate well outside the focus of this thesis. These descriptions are being used only to provide insight into the construction of the Kearney house.

hearth and chimney are located in the centre of the house, creating a divide between the kitchen/living-room and parlour/"front" room (Mannion, 1974). They measured about 8 x 13m, though some were as small as 5 x 8m.

Supposedly "first generation houses", as described by Mills, were constructed by primarily English settlers in Trinity Bay (1978). The houses were small, single-storey structures with lofts and gabled roofs. These were constructed from 1835 to 1910, and they averaged about 6.6 x 6.1m in size. There were two to three windows at the front of the house, three windows being most common for older examples. The floor space within was divided into a kitchen and a bedroom, though the "bedroom" sometimes functioned instead mostly as a parlour. Children often slept in the loft, which could be reached by a ladder or small set of stairs in the corner of the kitchen. The fireplaces in so-called "first generation houses" were most often constructed of local stones, and their placement within the house is variable. They were significantly smaller than the fireplaces and hearths found in the Irish houses on the Avalon Peninsula (Mannion; 1974; Mills, 1978). The walls were often constructed of vertical boards built on a sill, most often on the interior but also on the exterior, though this was done in Trinity Bay after c.1870.

Tilting is an Irish-Newfoundlander settlement on Fogo Island on the North Coast of Newfoundland. One traditional form of older house there is the hall-and-parlour house, the term "hall" pertaining to the kitchen and the "parlour" to the living room, often just called "the room" (Mellin, 2003:75). The main entrance is on the gable-end side of the house, and the kitchen space is usually larger than the parlour. The houses are framed with wall studs set into foundation sill pieces which rested on wooden posts, or shores. Windows are placed at the front of the house and the ceilings are low. Hall-and-parlour houses are usually described with second floors containing bedrooms, but there is an older antecedent to this style of house mentioned which is smaller and was constructed in the nineteenth century. No examples of this older form exist in Tilting currently; Mellin

notes that while there are similarities in house types in Ireland and Tilting, there are no direct relationships like those Mannion found between Ireland and the Avalon Peninsula (Mellin, 2003; Mannion, 1974).

Traditional houses in Northern Ireland share many characteristics with the Kearney house. The primary difference is choice of building material, as the rural houses of nineteenth-century Northern Ireland are constructed of stone, earth, turf, brick, or sod. The shape and layout is similar, however. Nearly all houses in nineteenth-century Ireland, regardless of size, were only one room deep from the front to back. In 1835 an inquiry of the poor in Ireland recorded the average house sizes and dwelling types in rural Northern Ireland. The average poorer farmer's house was 9.8 x 4.9 m in size and consisted of two rooms. The dwellings of cottiers and the landless poor were most often one to two room cabins ranging in length from 4.9 to 9.1 m long and 3.0 to 4.6 m wide (Gailey, 1984). The majority of these cabins were one room structures, though there was often a divide created in the middle of the structure to separate the kitchen from the parlour. This divide was achieved either by the fireplace or hearth being located in the centre of the room, or by placing the dresser or other large furniture in the middle of the room. Lofts were occasionally found in houses in Northern Ireland, and these were mostly located near the hearth, extending from one of the side walls. The floor was most often earthen, but in the nineteenth century wooden floors were occasionally being built. A floor-joist, or frame, was constructed within the house and planks laid upon it and fastened into place. It was considered lucky to place a horse skull within the floor; the heavy casing of the horse's skull also helped with the acoustics during singing, dancing, and other musical performances (Gailey, 1984).

Based on the archaeological evidence, the Kearney house measured approximately 6m wide and 3.5 m deep and so falls within the range of peasant farming houses in Northern Ireland. The houses studied were located in Northern Ireland while

most Irish settlers in Newfoundland are from southern Ireland, but Gailey notes that similar elements are common in other areas of Ireland (1984). As well, Mannion notes that vernacular Newfoundland architecture contains elements found in common in both south country English and Irish elements; it is difficult to trace a truly "Irish" shaped house in Newfoundland tradition as the peasant class in both countries shared similar housing styles (1974).

Koenig described the Kearney cabin, as he referred to it, in 1886 and notes that it contained an American iron stove for heating, located near the back of the house (in Rompkey, 2004). Mills found that in Trinity Bay the iron stove replaced open fireplaces after 1865; the Kearney's may have had a stone chimney and fireplace and changed to a cast iron stove later in the 19th century (1978). Most of the house was left unexcavated and a hearthstone or stove was not recovered in the areas explored archaeologically. Two glazed fireplace bricks, one with the remains of iron fixtures, were located in Tests 119 and 121 respectively down-slope from Feature 101; perhaps these are from the deconstruction of the old Kearney house and movement of the stove to another structure.

The Thoulet photograph shows that the exterior walls of the Kearney house were studded, as vertical slats of wood were overlapped and laid into the sill, a base frame structure; this feature is present in both the so-called "second [generation] houses" and "first generation houses" (Mannion, 1974; Mills, 1978). Mellin noted that the structures in Tilting seem ephemeral; the foundations leave nearly no trace as they are raised on posts with fragile, light wooden bases (2003). The posts would occasionally have to be adjusted and fixed due to settlement or decay. In the case of the Kearney house, at least part of the southern and western portions of the sill were raised on posts. The floor of the Kearney house would have been constructed on this sill; there is no evidence of a packed dirt floor, and the terrain in Area G is too uneven to support a structure with an earth floor without it having been fully cut into the bank. Farmers and peasants in nineteenth-century

Ireland most often had earthen or clay floors beaten or packed down; often a dance was held to assist in working in a new floor (Ayres, 2003; Gailey, 1984). Wooden floors in Tilting, as well as Britain, were often covered with painted broadcloths or oil cloths and painted with decorations along the edges where the cloth did not cover (Ayres, 2003; Mellin, 2003). Interior walls in Tilting are treated. Linen strips are applied to the joints in the walls, and then layers of newspaper are applied with a paste made of flour and water. This layer is covered with wallpaper (Mellin, 2003).

The lack of division in the Kearney house most resembles the older style described in Northern Ireland. The house consisted of only one room, while the styles in Tilting have a second floor and, those in the Avalon Peninsula have bedrooms behind the kitchen. Gailey (1984) mentions the use of furniture and the hearth to create a partition in the centre of the room. The beds were and are often located around the kitchen and parlour (Pocius, 1991; Mellin, 2003). Mellin mentions a small bed present in Tilting kitchens for short naps, while Pocius noted a similar phenomenon in Calvert (Mellin, 2003; Pocius, 1991). In Northern Ireland beds in the kitchen corner by the hearth were often reserved for the most senior couple in Irish households, and this bed could be turned into a bench by day and partitioned by a curtain, wooden or fabric, at night. Other beds were often located around the parlour on benches or small beds possibly hidden from view in the daytime by use of curtains (Gailey, 1984). Lofts were often used to house children in Newfoundland houses (Mannion, 1974; Mills, 1978).

Other furniture often present in Irish and Newfoundland houses is the table. In Newfoundland it is often located below one of the windows across from the hearth, sometimes even acting as a shutter for the window at night (Ayres, 2003; Mannion, 1974; Mills, 1990). In Northern Ireland they are also often located out of the way of daily activity in the kitchen, most often on the wall across from the hearth (Gailey, 1984). At times, the table was even mounted on a hinge so it could be raised to make additional

room in the house (Gailey, 1984; Mills, 1978). The table in Irish and Newfoundland houses is not the centre of social activity as it is in Central Europe; the hearth or fireplace, and by extension the kitchen, instead serves this central role (Ayles, 2003; Gailey, 1984; Mannion, 1974; Mills, 1978). The dresser is another Irish peasant furniture form common in Newfoundland, and the lower portion contains a cupboard, with a series of shelves located above this. The lower portion often contained pots and pans, as well as sometimes egg-laying geese (Gailey, 1984). The upper portion contains and displays the dishes on shelves, while the bowls are stacked in pyramid-shapes on the flat surface just above the cupboard (Ayles, 2003; Gailey, 1984; Mannion, 1974). The dresser is usually facing towards the kitchen. Benches and chairs were often set along the walls, leaving the main areas open for socializing and activities such as dancing (Gailey, 1984; Mannion, 1974).

The artefacts recovered from Feature 101 strongly indicate a domestic context. Textual evidence confirms that it was likely was the primary residence of the Kearney family. In 1886 Louis Koenig noted that the Kearney home was located among several abandoned fishing cabins, but was a sturdy cabin with all the necessities required for a comfortable existence (in Rompkey, 2004). He mentioned that there was a stove at the back for heating the room; this may indicate that the structure was along the lines of a more traditional Irish byre dwelling, with a single room and possibly a loft for sleeping, as opposed to the more traditional hall and parlour houses in Newfoundland, themselves fairly direct adaptations of houses from Ireland and the West Country (Mannion, 1974).

The presence of valuable goods in the Kearney household indicates a shift in socio-economic status for Patrick Kearney as the origin of this architectural tradition is more closely tied to landless Irish peasants while the material culture indicates a more comfortable lifestyle. Historical accounts of Irish peasant households describe simple, inexpensive earthenware for ceramics and few items asserting middling status (Ayres, 2003; Evans, 1977). While the French would have had some choice in selecting the

gardien for their fishing rooms, as British subjects the Kearney's would have been secure in their land holdings and protected by the Royal Navy once established. The Kearney house illustrates the transition of Patrick Kearney from landless labourer or farmer to someone with land, some material goods asserting pretentions to a higher status and eventually servants or hired hands of his own.

6.7 Landscape Use at EgAw-07, Kearney's Cove, Fishermen's Cove, Genille

According to Bender (1990) the landscape is a palimpsest, with past uses written onto the landscape and rarely perfectly erased. Kearney's Cove was abandoned in the 1960s but it still contains evidence of past use by the Kearney family as well as the French. When the French fished at this site, it was referred to as Genille. The local name for the site is Kearney's Cove, although for the family who recently purchased the land and on government topographical map the area is referred to as Fishermen's Cove. To archaeologists it is designated as EgAw-07, within the Borden system. Landscapes have fluid identities depending on the perceptions of those experiencing and interacting with them. Actions and interactions are played out and identities of both the land and its inhabitants are constantly negotiated and renegotiated within these spaces. The various names ascribed to this space over time by different individuals and groups reflect that.

Plate 6.2 illustrates some of the approximately 50 visible features surveyed and recorded at EgAw-07. Most of these structures and visible niches relate to the habitation of Kearney's Cove into the 1960s. The most visible remaining French features are the galets, of which portions remain in Areas B, D and F. Features 187 and 172, gardens, were both constructed by clearing the French galets; this clearing would have post-dated the end of French use of the site, but other gardens further inland may have been used earlier. The Kearney family also had a small garden, Feature 102, directly in front of their house. Historic fishing flakes in Croque Harbour, as well as in the foreground of the photo of Genille taken by Julian Thoulet in 1868, indicate that the Irish-Newfoundland

Legend

▨	French feature
▧	Irish-Newfoundland feature
▱	Structural niche
◯	Subterranean structure
∣∣∣∣	Garden
∕∕	Rock wall
⁚⁚	Rock deposit

Plate 6.2 - Currently visible landscape features, to south

settlers at Genille likely relied on flakes to dry their fish as opposed to galets (Thoulet, 2005).

Plate 6.3 is a re-creation of the French galets based on the above-mentioned movement of stones by the Irish-Newfoundland settlers. Feature 104 in Area C, is a long platform cut into the incline between the Area B and Area D to lessen the steepness of the incline uphill to the upper terrace. Evidence on the landscape indicates that this platform existed at least when the Kearney family was in Area G, and with the uphill galet it would have been a useful means for the French fishermen to cart fish to the upper terrace galets to dry, as the incline is fairly steep. Feature 103 is a path worn into the south wall of Feature 104, leading from Area G up to Area D.

Previous to the Kearney house being in Area G, there is evidence from W4S9 that a French stove or oven was built of rocks and bricks near the niche the house later occupied. This is a central location still out of the way of the work areas, near the ocean and fishing flakes as well as a water source, Feature 201, a spring which emerges from a spot in the creek marked by part of a wooden barrel just below W4S9. The artefacts in the deposit immediately above the brick collapse are contemporaneous with those recovered in the household occupation layer, so French use of this area ended before or around the time the Kearney family built their house.

Plate 6.4 shows the combination landscape with the French galets and work areas and the Kearney house and garden, Feature 102. This is at least one interpretation of their shared use of the land; the entire galet area may not still have been in use, but it had not been cleared for gardens yet. The gardiens are in a location central to the French work, but also out of the way. They are still near the sea for resource procurement, and the location of the niche the house is in protects it from some of the stronger winds. Another French structure located at Feature 155 in Area F, is marked by the presence of French coarse earthenware sherds, bricks, and nails eroding from the banks. This is

Legend

 French feature

 Irish-Newfoundland feature

 Structural niche

 Subterranean structure

|||| Garden

// Rock wall

⋰⋰ Rock deposit

Plate 6.3 - French landscape features, to south

Legend

▨	French feature
▨	Irish-Newfoundland feature
▱	Structural niche
◯	Subterranean structure
❘❘❘❘	Garden
⫽	Rock wall
⸫	Rock deposit

Plate 6.4 - Landscape features at time of *gardien* occupation, to south

located at the point where a small stream running along Area F and E into the ocean has been culturally modified to form three small pools. It is possible the French cook room previously in Area G was moved here when the Kearney family began occupying the site. Figure 6.1 is detail from a French map of Croque Harbour in 1847, showing Genille. Of the buildings depicted, the stages are visible on the shore near where the creek from Area H emerges. The Kearney household appears, as does what may be the possible French cook room at Feature 155, the furthest to the southeast of all those depicted. The outbuildings related to animal husbandry and food storage for the Kearney family during this period were not located. It is possible that secondary buildings were in fact relegated to spots on the site further inland.
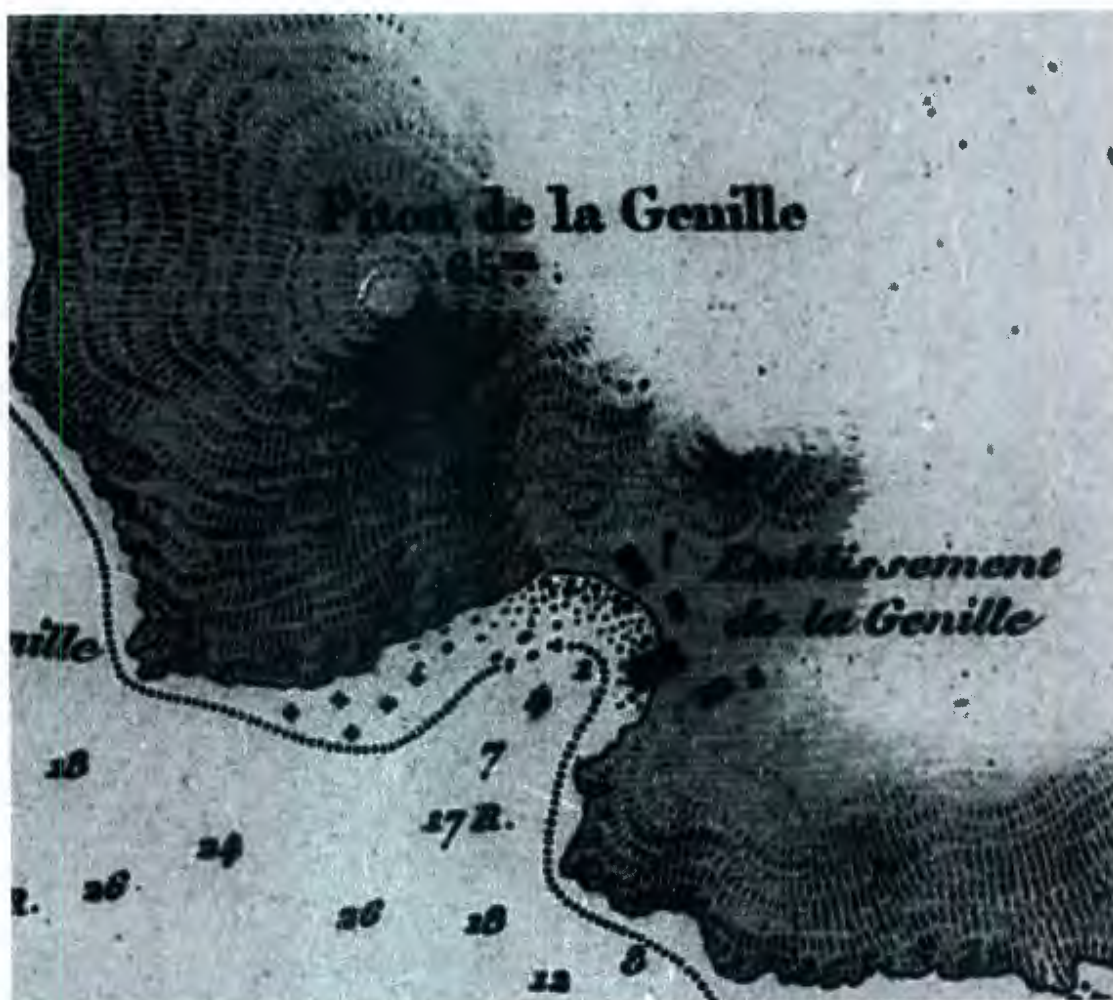
Figure 6.1 - Detail from map of Croque Harbour showing Genille, 1846
M. Jehenne, *Plan de Havre du Croc, situé a la côte orientale de Terre Neuve*,
Au Dépôt-général de la Marine (1847)
Archaeology of the Petit Nord Map Database

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Research Conclusions

The excavations and survey undertaken at EgAw-07 Genille in the summer of 2007 generated an assemblage of artefacts that provides objective data about human occupation on the site, from the early use by French fishermen through its existence as a minor outport to the current use of the land as an organic vegetable garden. The archaeological data from EgAw-07, as well as relevant historical documents, have provided answers to my three research objectives. The first objective was to examine the interactions between the French fishermen and *gardiens* by looking at how negotiations of power and social relations between the two groups are manifest in the material culture and historical documents. The material culture reinforces the findings of previous historical studies which describe the relationship between the *gardiens* and French fishermen as mutually beneficial (Rompkey, 2003, 2004, 2006). Worthy employees kept the structures and property of the French fishermen safe while the wage afforded to the *gardiens* allowed them a more secure and affluent lifestyle than their neighbours. Individuals not in the employ of the French were ultimately more reliant on merchant credit for their subsistence year to year.

The second objective of this study was to determine changes in landscape use over time during the transition of Genille from seasonal resource base to permanent settlement. Over fifty visible landscape features were recorded at EgAw-07 to provide an in-depth sense of land use over time. These were spotted through pedestrian surface survey. Additional shovel testing and examination of the site would likely uncover more features and provide more exact dates. The landscapes of French fishing rooms were fluid and the structure of the landscape shifted to accommodate Irish-Newfoundland settlers, while still permitting efficient resource extraction. The settlers were provided a central place on the landscape, while still out of the way of French production activities. With the

end of the French shore-based fishing industry in the early twentieth century, we see the gradual removal of most traces of their presence on the landscape, as galets were moved to make room for houses and the gardens necessary for survival over the harsh northern winter. This would have been particularly important as they were no longer receiving the supplies from the French which had supplemented their existence.

The final objective of this study was to determine the archaeological signature of an Anglo-Irish settler house in the Petit Nord. Due to the ephemeral nature of early settler houses some of these may be difficult to locate on the landscape; without the use of a historical photograph it is unlikely that I would ever have located the remains of *gardien* Patrick Kearney's house. The material culture recovered from an Anglo-Irish settler house contains large amounts of white refined earthenware and other ceramics mostly from non-French sources, such as Britain or North America. The presence of domestic items, especially those relating to women and children, also help differentiate between the Anglo-Irish settler house and other structures such as a cabin belonging to a French officer or a cookroom.

7.2 Future Studies

One of the most general conclusions to arise from this project is the need for further research along a variety of lines. A larger number of nineteenth-century contexts for comparison would facilitate wider insights as would the identification and excavation of other Irish-Newfoundland settlements. It would be interesting to further excavate at Genille and try to locate and date more exactly the remnants of the French cook rooms near W4S9 or up in Area E near Feature 155, as well as try to locate the other structures from the early Kearney homestead. The houses of Irish-Newfoundland settlers are distiguishable from French cookrooms mostly by the material culture within. While the archaeological assemblage from a *gardien* house contains a certain amount of French material culture, it is still mostly comprised of materials from Scotland, England, and

Canada. Houses built on posts leave very little physical evidence, so without a historic photograph to guide excavations it may be difficult to locate these. A brief underwater survey of the harbor at Genille would be interesting to locate evidence of pilings from the old stages, artefact scatters indicative of where the large French sailing vessels anchored while in the harbour. The associated material culture would be interesting to add additional dimensions to the maritime landscape of Genille, incorporating the importance of both the sea and the land to those living and working at Genille.

In terms of interactions between the French fishermen and Irish settlers, the material culture and landscape use confirm historic descriptions of their being both mutually beneficial and generally congenial (Mannion, 1978; Rompkey, 2003; Thornton, 1978). The excavation of other *gardien* households could provide useful insight into the lives of other *gardiens* in the Petit Nord, particularly the families whose names are listed in the local Roman Catholic parish records. It would be interesting to see if the Kearney and Pyne families were somehow distinguished from the other *gardiens* and if this may be reflected at all in the material culture provided to them by the French fishermen. A more distinctly stratified deposit in another location could provide useful information about changes in supply and the procurement of goods from either French or Newfoundland-based merchants. It would also be interesting to examine a household deposit with distinct deposits dating beyond the end of the French migratory fishery. If the French fishery is described as beneficial to settlers in the historical documents, while local history recalls mostly the difficulties encountered living in this harsh region, the end of the French fishery in the Petit Nord may be a key factor in a socio-economic transformation, as the *gardiens* began to face the demands of the truck system, so familiar to other Newfoundland fishing families elsewhere on the coast, who had not traditionally benefited from access to French resources.

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Personal Communication

Genevieve Duguay, Archaeologist, Parks Canada

Dr. Cathy Mathias, Conservator, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dr. Peter Pope, Research Professor, Memorial University of Newfoundland

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