

AN INTERPRETATION OF FRENCH CERAMICS FROM A MIGRATORY FISHING
STATION, DOS DE CHEVAL, NEWFOUNDLAND (EfAx-09)

by
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Abstract

Excavations at Dos de Cheval (EfAx-09) on Newfoundland's Petit Nord present the opportunity to study a complex and extensive ceramic assemblage from a French migratory fishing station. The 17th- to 19th-century ceramic assemblage includes Normandy stoneware, brown and white faïence, Ligurian-style coarse earthenwares and several varieties of French coarse earthenwares, including some obscure Breton products. A morpho-functional vessel typology provides a framework through which to interpret these ceramics and a functional analysis of ceramics reveals social and economic contexts of the fishery on several scales. Ceramic trends aid in the understanding of features on the site, and use of space on the site as a whole. The non-sedentary nature of life on the Petit Nord is reflected in the archaeological dominance of vernacularly produced provisioning containers, primarily Normandy stoneware. At the largest scale, provisioning links, trade links and links between vernacular industries in Newfoundland and France are examined.

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List of Abbreviations

BC: Bessin-Cotentin CSW

Cat: Catalogue

CEW: Coarse earthenware

CSW: Coarse stoneware

CRAHM: Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques anciennes et médiévales

DF: Domfront CSW

Dia: Diameter

ICP-MS: Inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry

MNV: Minimum number of vessels

Obj: Object

POTS: The Potomac Typological System

REW: Refined earthenware

TGEW: Tin-glazed earthenware

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The French Fishery in Newfoundland:

The salt-cod fishery was a major aspect of France's early presence in North America. The French migratory fishery was an important North Atlantic industry for the greater part of 400 years. This introduction is not intended to provide a definitive history of the French fishery in Newfoundland, but to offer enough background so that the ceramics related to this maritime industry can be understood. Readers are referred to more comprehensive histories, both recent and historical, for a more detailed account (Brière 1997; Cochrane 2007; Denys 1672; de la Morandière 1962; Duhamel de Monceau 1769; Pope 2008a; Pope 2008b; Pope 2009). The history of the North Atlantic was dominated by the migratory salt-cod fishery (Innis 1954). However, in both history and archaeology, it is retrospectively often overshadowed by the narratives of more sedentary industries.

Fishing stations were occupied seasonally by the French from the early 16th century until the beginning of the 20th century (Cochrane 2007). In the 17th century the fishery remained a key factor in the economies of New France, even if its role was less obvious than that of more sedentary industries. In the 18th and 19th centuries, France's migratory salt cod fishery outlived New France itself by over a century (Pope 2008b:54). The fishery was not a minor aspect of French presence in North America, despite being seasonal. In 1763 France chose to protect its interests in Newfoundland and the Antilles at the cost of Québec and what remained of Acadia (Pope 2008b:38). The fishing industry was important enough to sacrifice the colonies to protect the economic gains it provided

and its important role as a place to train rural men and boys in naval techniques (Pope 2008b:39).

A rivalry has always existed between the French and English in the Newfoundland fishery (de la Morandière 1962; Prowse 1895). At times this rivalry defined which coastal zones were utilized by each ethnic group fishing in Newfoundland. D.W. Prowse writes that "Their fishermen, the Normans and Bretons, were amongst the first to carry on the great Transatlantic trade in Newfoundland" (1895:49). Breton fishers came to Atlantic Canada in the first decade of the 16th century, in 1508. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht confined the Basque, Breton and Norman fishers to an area known as the French shore, on the northern coasts of Newfoundland. By 1763, with the conquest of Canada, the Bretons and Granvillians were contained to the Atlantic coast of the Great Northern Peninsula, an area known historically as the Petit Nord (Figure 1.1). The French shore was later modified in 1783 to include the entire west coast of the island. Treaties changed the borders of the fishing zones several times from the 16th to 19th centuries but the Petit Nord was remarkably stable and was always included as part of the French fishing zone. Activity on the Petit Nord began early and only dwindled in 1904, when France relinquished its rights to a seasonal fishery, having agreed to the *entente cordiale* (Pope 2008b:39-40, 54, Pope 2009:126-127).

The Bretons were among the first and last to exploit the Petit Nord. Their expertise in this area becomes evident when, early on, Bretons were hired as pilots by both Basque and English vessels. Documentary evidence indicates that the early fishery on the Petit Nord was predominantly a Breton enterprise, operating out of ports such as

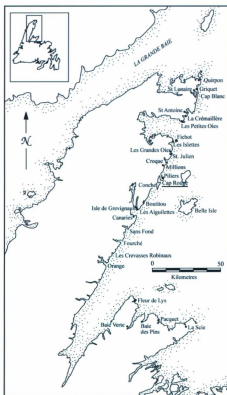


Figure 1.1. Fishing stations of the Petit Nord, c. 1640-1832. Cap Rouge is underlined. (Ed Eastaugh for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*).

Saint-Brieuc, which was a key player in the Breton migratory fishery until the 18th century (Figure 1.2). Bretons dominated the Petit Nord and its shore based migratory fishery in the 17th and 18th centuries, with some Normans from Granville also visiting this area. The Normans were a leading presence in the offshore fishery and were major financiers of the shore based fishery, victualing vessels manned by Breton or Basque crews (Pope 2009: 126, 127, 130). The northern Breton port of Saint Malo dominated France's transatlantic fishing in the 16th and early 17th century, with the aid and mercantile support of Granville in Normandy (Pope 2008a:44). In the 18th and 19th centuries financing by Norman merchants, particularly those from Granville, became increasingly important (Pope 2008b:40). There was a period during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars between 1790 and about 1815 when the French were not present on the Petit Nord, but by 1820 they had returned (Pope 2008b:41).

The salt cod fishery of interest here is the shore based or *dry* fishery. The fishers involved in the *green* or wet fishery, did not land and fished based out of their ships and brought back a more heavily salted, wet product to Northern Europe (Innis 1954). The dry or shore-based fishery became more important after 1550 (Innis 1954). The Bretons were among the first and last to exploit the shore based fishery beginning in the 16th century. Generally the Bretons and Basques exploited the inshore fishery while the Normans fished off the grand banks. The Normans did exploit the dry salt-cod industry in the 16th century, but concentrated on the wet after about 1550, with the exception of the port of Granville, which persisted with the shore based fishery (Pope 2008b:39).

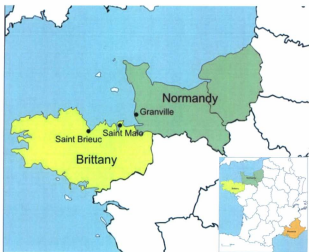


Figure 1.2. Brittany and Normandy, France, with key ports involved in the fishery.

Fishing crews landed on Newfoundland's shores and set up fishing rooms: places to process and dry their catch, typically located in inner bays, sheltered from the open sea (Pope 2008b:46). The fishing room was composed of cobble beaches, and a temporary infrastructure put together for each summer's fishing (Pope 2008b:45). When the fishermen came to their fishing room they set up temporary cookrooms, cabins, and a stage or *chaufaud* or *échafaud*: a wharf-like structure where boats were landed and fish were processed (Figure 1.3) (Pocius 1992, Pope 2009:133). Crews cleared cobble beaches to dry fish known as *galets*, and constructed wooden drying racks known as flakes, which the Bretons used in addition to *galets* by the mid 17th century (Pope 2009:134).

The shore-based fishery cannot be understood only as production sites that are part of the greater industry, but must also be seen as temporary habitation sites where the crews lived for months close to where they worked. Thus in the later phases of the fishery, crews set up some more permanent features such as bread ovens (Godbout 2008; Pope 2009:135). French fishers also erected large crosses or *calvaires* that served both spiritual purposes and as landmarks (Burns 2009). The use of more permanent structures at a fishing room was surely influenced by the change in the way fishing rooms were allocated. After about 1815 rooms were allocated based on drawing lots for a five year period. Before this was a more competitive race to get the best fishing rooms each year, with no guarantees of return to the same room next year (Pope 2009:137).

The dry salt fishery created some of the oldest European landscapes in Canada and several historical documents describe the process. Nicolas Denys, a 17th-century



Figure 1.3. A fishing station used by French fishermen on the Petit Nord (Planche 114 Duhamel du Monceau 1769).

Acadian entrepreneur wrote a detailed account of the cod fishery and its methods (Denys 1672). Duhamel du Monceau devoted volumes to the fishery, including many detailed illustrations from the Petit Nord itself (Duhamel du Monceau 1769). There are several 18th- and 19th-century memoirs that relate to the Petit Nord and in the 1850s Paul-Émil Miot created a rich photographic record of the fishery (Wilkshire 2005). An official fisheries census began in the later 17th century (Pope 2009:133). There are some scattered charts and maps of the fishery on the Petit Nord from the 17th century. By the 19th century almost all the fishing rooms were charted (Pope 2008a:45). These historical sources both inform and complement the archaeological record of fishing rooms.

During the period from the 16th to 19th century, fishing ships from France would arrive in the late spring to the northern shores of Newfoundland in order to catch and dry cod, which would be taken back to Europe in the autumn to be sold. Thus the study of French fishery sites in Newfoundland requires us to think about connections with Normandy, Brittany and the Basque country, where whole regional economies depended on these crews. The local economies depended not only on the wages of the fishermen, but the provisioning of the fishery with salt, canvas and rope, bread and beans, butter and salt meat, and wine and cider (Pope 2008b:53-54). The seasonal journey was completed with the sale of dry cod, most commonly to markets in southern Europe, particularly in the Mediterranean or the Iberian Peninsula, where the dry cod was well suited to the warm climate (Pope 2009:144). In this way, from 1500-1800, the fishery played an important role both in France's local economies and in Europe's international economy (Pope 2008a:37).

Fishing sites were major centres for exploitation of a natural resource by France, and the work place and home to French fishermen for a significant portion of their year (Brière 1997; Pope 2009). The unique living situation offers an opportunity to study how the French fishers interacted with their landscape and the industry that shaped their activities. The migratory salt-cod industry is often forgotten, but it was arguably more important in early European expansion and exploitation of Canada than other more often studied, but less economically and politically significant, industries.

1.2 The French Fishery as a Vernacular Industry:

The fishing industry can be called a vernacular industry meaning it was a part of regional economies and reflected the seasonal rhythms of those economies (Pope 2004:30). The industry was constrained by the seasons and followed an annual cycle (Pope 2004:428). It was not centrally conducted, but was made up of several competing production units, and was organized as much by custom as by coordinated planning. The ships, crews and supplies that made up each unit could be from different ports in France but each factor was from a geographically bounded area. Ports were often interdependent for capital, equipment, victuals, salt and labour (Pope 2009:123-125). Thus the links back to France were complex, and often strongly connected to particular regions. In the case of the Petit Nord these connections are often, if not always, to the regions of Brittany and Normandy in northern France.

Over time the fishery became slightly more organized and expanded into previously unused areas, though it was never industrial in the sense of a modern, directed

industry (Pope 2004:30). The coasts of Newfoundland in the 1500s were a new place for an old industry. The salt-cod fishery in northern Europe was already 300 years old and the practice of long distance seasonal voyages was already in place when the French started fishing in Newfoundland (Pope 2008a:37). In this way the fishery was both rooted in medieval practices of onshore fishery and vernacular industries such as ceramic production, while becoming more industrially organized and modern over time, especially in the late 18th and 19th centuries. These trends can be observed in the historical sources, in the archaeological features of a fishing site that show increasing organization and also in the material culture uncovered there.

1.3 An Archaeology of the Petit Nord: The maritime cultural landscape of the French, seasonal, shore-based, salt-cod fishery in northern Newfoundland, 1510-1904:

The French migratory fishery on Newfoundland's northern shore has only recently become an area of archaeological interest. Archaeological research in the area of the Petit Nord began with the 1504 to 2004 celebrations of the 500th anniversary of French presence in Newfoundland, and the resulting interest in the historic French migratory fishery (Pope 2007). In 2004 a crew from Memorial University surveyed the area between Conche and Grandois (Les Grandes Oies) along the French shore, or the Petit Nord. The 2004 survey consisted of beach-combing, excavation of test pits, mapping features and photographing standing remains at 21 sites. Seventeen of these showed French materials, typically Normandy stoneware jars and pots, coarse earthenware pots, some from Brittany, and small brown faience pans (Pope 2007). Besides these initial 21 sites, several more

fishing harbours were surveyed in subsequent years. The study of the material culture related to these sites is also in its infancy. This is in part because the migratory fishery is particularly difficult to locate in the archaeological record, as it leaves less obvious traces than a year round settlement (Faulkner 1985).

The Archaeology of the Petit Nord Project under the direction of Dr. Peter E. Pope was designed to investigate the Petit Nord on several scales, ranging from the features that make up each fishing room, to the groups of fishing rooms in each harbour, to the choice of harbours by fishers along the entire coast of the Petit Nord. At the narrowest scale we find the key site of the study: the archaeological site of Dos de Cheval or Borden number EFAX-09; documented from 1640 as the fishing room Champs Paya. Excavations at Dos de Cheval provide an example of the features at a typical fishing room (Pope 2008a:40).

On the larger scale, the landscape of the Petit Nord coast made up of several harbours is being reconstructed through historic maps and fishing censuses, surface survey of beaches, and strategically placed test pits, along with field photography (Pope 2008a). The activities of the French in the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries on the Petit Nord are not very well documented. Documentation from the 16th and early 17th century is rare; although it becomes more comprehensive from 1660 onwards (Pope 2008a:42). Hence archaeology becomes a key factor in recreating the past.

Through the work of Dr. Pope and Memorial University graduate students, the Petit Nord is beginning to be understood as a maritime cultural landscape. Fishing establishments are increasingly interpreted as landmarks within wider landscapes and, at

the same time, as landscapes in their own right (Pope 2009). We find reminders of the features built by the fishermen both on the present day landscape and in excavations that indicate the features that would have made up a fishing room. The archaeology of the Petit Nord has parallels in other fishing zones, including Cape Breton, the Gaspé and the Québec North Shore (Pope 2008b:38). The archaeology of the French migratory fishery on Newfoundland's Petit Nord, complements the necessarily intermittent history of this complex industry, spanning centuries of Canadian history (Pope 2008b).

1.4 Filling the Gaps in History: Ceramic Analysis.

Ceramic analysis has the potential to reveal many facets of a fishery site that are not recorded in historical documents. Ceramics act as sensitive temporal markers, because of their evolution in response to consumer preference. They also have the potential to inform the archaeologist on topics including: cultural change and colonisation, the identities of groups and individuals, the social and economic status of consumers, the emergence of changing practices relating to food and drink, trade patterns, and technological change and industrialization (Barker and Majewski 2006). My intent with this project was to identify, through functional analysis, what the ceramics of the site of Dos de Cheval can reveal about the organization of the French fishery on the shores of Newfoundland. The answers to these questions will provide a greater understanding of the consumption patterns and life ways of the French fishermen in an industry that is crucial to understanding Newfoundland, Canadian, and French history. Although not often mentioned in any great detail in documentation relating to the fishery, ceramics are important archaeologically for an understanding of the migratory salt-cod fishery.

This research consists of interpreting the function of the ceramics excavated from Dos de Cheval and the creation of a ceramic typology based on function for this ceramic assemblage. By making sound functional interpretations of the ceramics, shifts in the array of ceramic forms as related to cultural shifts can be understood. A ceramic typology based on function allows for the ceramics to be linked to behavioral and cultural forces operating at the site. Delineation of functional variation in ceramics also allows for the testing of hypotheses related to the functional use of space on this French fishery site, since specific ceramic assemblages aid in the interpretation of site features.

The foodways of the fishermen should become more visible, through the ceramic assemblage. The concept of foodways, first developed by anthropologist Audrey Richards in the 1930s, emphasizes the importance of food in the organization of communities and the understanding of cultures (Blanchette 1981). Considering the conceptualization, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation and consumption of food, assists in the understanding of ceramic function as it relates to these various stages (Blanchette 1981). Preference for particular forms reveals not only food customs but also standards of living.

The ceramics at Dos de Cheval reflect both medieval traditions and modern trends in the migratory fishery. The period from c.1450-1650 saw an increasing diversification in ceramics that transformed them from a largely functional product of the medieval period to a product with diverse utilitarian and social purposes (Gaimster 1999). The range of ceramic forms increased as ceramics moved from the kitchen and cellar to the table, where they become status symbols (Gaimster 1999). The period from c.1650-1850 saw the

decline of regional coarse earthenwares of a medieval tradition and the rise of several more modern ceramic types (Barker 1999). The migratory fishery spans much of this period of revolution in the ceramic industries of Europe. Both hangovers from the predominantly utilitarian medieval ceramics and more modern ceramics with more diverse functions are found on the fishery sites. The assemblage is inclined towards the utilitarian, simply because of the nature of the site as a place where the relatively high status fishing master was vastly outnumbered by ordinary fishermen. Yet there are some vessels that reflect a more modern, socially nuanced, attitude towards ceramics. Changes in ceramic assemblages over time indicate and reflect changing trends in the fishery as a whole. Increased consumption and such changes in the types of ceramics employed may suggest changes in the organization of the fishery.

Throughout the historical period some European coarse utilitarian earthenwares and stonewares were widely marketed, even if the vast majority were produced for local consumption (Barker and Majewski 2006; de Boüard and Bertaux 1978:24). In France, small family-run workshops produced ovens, clay, firewood and pots in a seasonal rhythm, for restricted markets in a largely rural economy and were linked economically with other vernacular industries, including the migratory fishery of Newfoundland (de Boüard and Bertaux 1978:41; Pope 2008b:53). The historical migratory fisheries of Newfoundland have unmistakable links with many industries in both the countryside and the ports of France, including canvas and ropes, butter and salt meat, beans and flour, cider and wine and pottery industries. Due to their abundance in the archaeological record it is through ceramics that these links can be best understood (Pope 2008b:51). The interdependence of

the vernacular fishing and ceramic industries can be studied through functional variability of ceramic forms. Vessels that might have been produced specifically for the fishery, both depending on it and driving it, emerge in the collection. Ceramics, especially those produced at an artisanal scale can be utilized to recreate provisioning, crewing and trade links that may be absent from the somewhat scanty documentary evidence (Pope and Batt 2008). The trade links between Newfoundland and France are almost always complicated, since a port was rarely self sufficient (Pope 2008a:44). Through ceramic analysis some of the complex transatlantic links of the migratory fishery in Newfoundland can be recreated.

As much as possible, I have used a multidisciplinary approach that interprets and classifies ceramics according to their function in order to relate them to their social context (Alexandre-Bidon 2005; Beaudry et al. 1983). Through analysis of consumption on a site that must be predominantly understood as a production site of cod, the social and economic context of production, as well as the working life of the French fishermen can be better understood. Ceramics from Dos de Cheval have the potential to contribute to archaeological research on the French migratory fishery on Newfoundland's Petit Nord, which in turn provides an alternative history of early European involvement in Canada.

Chapter 2: Archaeological Background

2.1 The Archaeological Site of Dos de Cheval

The fishing stations of Newfoundland's Petit Nord are among the oldest European landscapes in Canada. However, such sites have rarely been systematically investigated and seldom published. Elsewhere in French Canada most research has concentrated on the development of permanent or resident fisheries (Pope 2008b:38). Naturally, given this scant archaeological attention, the ceramics of this type of site are little understood. Excavations at the site of Dos de Cheval (Efax-09) have provided the opportunity to study a complex and extensive artifact assemblage from a French migratory fishing site. The ceramic collection from this site and, in particular assemblages from the production area of the site, have great interpretive potential, and are the focus of this research.

Dos de Cheval is located on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland within the historical Petit Nord. Dos de Cheval, located close to the harbour mouth, is one of several sites in Cap Rouge Harbour, at Crouse (Figure 2.1). Crouse had eight or nine fishing rooms in three or four clusters that were used for the French migratory fishery (Pope 2008b). The use of Cap Rouge harbour is documented as early as 1541 when Jacques Cartier passed through and found four ships including Breton along with Norman and Basque crews in Crouse (Pope 2008a:38). The archaeological site of Dos de Cheval itself is listed in French surveys as early as 1640 as Champs Paya (Pope 2007). With its central location, broad cobble *gafer* for drying fish, protected landing, view of the open

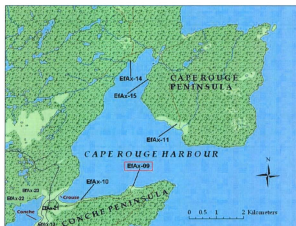


Figure 2.1. Archaeological sites in Cap Rouge Harbour, Newfoundland. Dos de Cheval, EtAx-09, is highlighted (Marco Chiaramonte for an Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

sea and proximity to cod, it is likely that Dos de Cheval would have been one of the sites in use in 1541 (Pope 2008b:48).

The material culture at the site ranges from mid 17th century at the earliest, and suggests the site was in use more or less continually until almost 1904, when the French fishery in Newfoundland ended. Though much of the collection remains to be closely examined, the ceramics, a preliminary study of the pipes, and an overview of the glass, nails, small finds and other artifacts at the site indicate a mid-late 17th- through 19th-century seasonal occupation (St. John 2008). The earliest of the tobacco pipes include fleur-de-lys decorated stems, and Tudor rose marked bowls most likely of Dutch 17th-century origin (although possibly French), and bowls bearing an English mulberry motif dating to the mid to late 17th century (Duco 1981, Duco 1982, Oswald 1975-90, St. John 2008). However, most pipes, as with the other classes of artifacts, date to the 18th or 19th century. The material culture at the site includes a wide array of ceramics, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Other material culture includes the classes typical of historical sites. Excavations have unearthed window glass, wine and pharmaceutical bottles, as well as glass tumblers and some stemware. We uncovered many nails, primarily wrought, which are indicative of wooden structures, and a few textiles, such as pieces of canvas (that may have been used as roofing on temporary structures) and small scraps of rope. Personal items include a small crucifix, many buttons including French naval buttons; a pendant dedicated to *Sacrés coeurs de Jésus et de Marie* and *Père François Gaschon*, and various clothing or shoe buckles. Firearm related artifacts including gunflints and musket balls are fairly abundant. Fishing implements include

hooks, cod dabbers, jiggers, and various lead weights for lines, nets and sounding. These are a constant reminder of the primary function of the site.

Excavations suggest intensified use of the site in the 18th and 19th centuries, with expansion of the area used on the site and intensification of use of older areas. This is likely due, at least in part, to the shift around 1815 to a lottery system which allowed crews to use the same fishing room for five years (Pope 2008b:50). Crews would be more willing to invest time into building permanent structures if their return for more than one season was guaranteed. The 19th-century deposits are interrupted by an Anglo-Newfoundland occupation of the site from 1790 to 1820. While this English period is an important component of the site, the focus here will be limited to the lesser-known French wares instead of the more widely studied 19th-century English material.

The chronology of the site can be somewhat puzzling at times because of the seasonal, temporary use of the site. Every spring crews would return and construct the necessities of a fishing room; digging holes, levelling ground, and erecting temporary structures. At the end of the season these structures would often be torn down or burned. This results in a mixing of strata which became increasingly evident as ceramics were mended and sherds from different strata as much as 50 cm apart in depth and 15 m apart horizontally mended together. However, Dos de Cheval has the great benefit of being undisturbed by later settlements. This means that functional mixing is not an issue; the site was continually used by crews engaged in the same industry over its period of use, and then left virtually untouched (Pope 2008b:44).

The site was first investigated in this undisturbed condition in 2004. Of the sites surveyed in 2004, Dos de Cheval was one of the most promising (Figure 2.2). A large crucifix or *calvaire* still overlooks the site, and in survey a number of features were visible on the present day landscape including at least one bread oven mound and the stone footings of several buildings; likely cookrooms and cabins (Pope 2007). This great potential of Dos de Cheval, as a documented fishing room on an undisturbed, reasonably accessible site, with an abundance of material culture, set the stage for a multiyear excavation project.

2.2 Excavations at Dos de Cheval

2006

In the 2006 season, Peter Pope directed excavations at Dos de Cheval concentrated in three Areas: Area A, where standing remains of 19th-century structures are still evident; Area C, which is the best place to land a boat in the site; and Area D, the upper terrace, overlooked by a large cross, a typical feature of Breton fishing rooms (Pope 2006). The waterfront Area C was the most productive. In Area C, units were placed at a variety of locations in order to determine the most productive cultural deposits within Area C (Figure 2.3). Excavations indicated that the entire second beach terrace here is anthropogenic, built up over hundreds of years of occupation by European fishermen (Pope 2006). Material culture found in this area was abundant and varied. One of the most surprising finds was the burial of a fisherman right in the centre of the production area of the site (Pope 2006). The 2006 excavations at Dos de Cheval determined the most

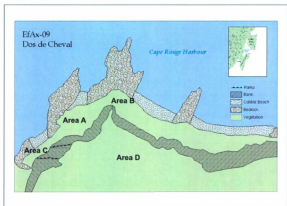


Figure 2.2. Plan of Dos de Cheval, with main areas shown. Ceramic material studied here is from Area C (Marco Chiaramonte for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*).

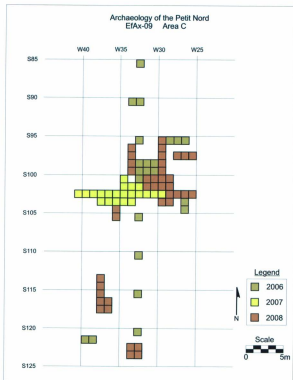


Figure 2.3. Grid of Area C showing the units excavated in 2006, 2007, 2008 (Courtesy H. Brown).

heavily used and productive areas of the site and raised many questions about how these deposits were built up and how these spaces were used over time.

2007

In the 2007 season Peter Pope directed excavations at several areas of the site. At Area C, excavations were overseen by Memorial University master's student Harley Brown and consisted of a trench perpendicular to the shoreline, to clarify the extent and succession of cultural deposition in this highly productive area of the site. The trench cut across the Area C terrace east to west from close to the lower edge of the raised ancient fossil beach of Area D, down to the edge of the present day beach. The trench extended 13 m, and was widened up to 4 m in places to expose some of the several architectural features identified, including a burnt structure and a slipway (Pope et al. 2007). The higher, more recent events are full of 19th-century material, including pipe stems, REW, thousands of wrought iron nails, fish hooks, cod dabbers, and buttons, among other things. In early 19th-century events we found the most obvious evidence for Anglo-Newfoundland presence on the site during the Napoleonic war period as sherds of a small creamware jug bearing Admiral Lord Nelson's bust and slogan "England expects every man to do his duty" emerged (Figure 2.4) (Pope et al. 2007). Underlying events yielded Normandy CSW, brown faïence, and Ligurian-style CEW.

At other areas of the site, excavations were concentrated on features still visible on the landscape or those marked on charts of the fishing room. At Area A, Memorial University master's student Mélissa Burns investigated the areas around the standing oak



Figure 2.4. A creamware vessel with black transfer-print depicting Admiral Lord Nelson reading: "England Expects every Man to do his Duty /ADMIRAL LORD NELSON/ Born Sept. 29 1758—Died Oct. 21 1805/ Aged 67" cat. # 5903.

cross that was repaired by the French Navy in 1936. She also excavated at the area where Georges Cloué's 1858 chart shows a cross at the promontory at the edge of the second beach terrace with a commanding view of the site. Here she found the remains of an earlier cross and a probable collapsed plinth, in the form of tabular rocks, wood knots and nails (Burns 2008; Pope et al 2007). A third Memorial master's student, Geneviève Godbout, investigated potential bread ovens at the site, eventually identifying a collapsed early 19th-century bread oven (Godbout 2008; Pope et al. 2007).

2008

Further excavations under the direction of Dr. Peter Pope with Memorial master's students Stéphane Noël and Amy St. John, in 2008, focused on Area C, in and around a niche in the hillside, near the waterfront where a fishing stage may have been located, and next to a large boulder that marks the southern limit of Area C (Pope et al. 2008). The 2008 excavations once again proved that Area C was heavily used in the 18th and 19th centuries, and revealed several new archaeological features. Material culture was similar to that of previous years: upper events indicating heavy use in the 19th century and lower events yielding an abundance of 18th-century material. Features uncovered in Area C in 2008 include a stone hearth associated with possibly two overlapping burnt structures (one of which is probably the same as that discovered in 2007); a possible smithy; possible remains of a fishing stage, and clusters of small hearths (Pope et al. 2008).

Excavation in other areas of the site in 2008 took place in Area F, directed by Mélissa Burns, where she uncovered a well made, level, rock pavement with edges made

up of the natural bedrock along with tabular rocks. The structure is an impressive 5 x 10 m, probably had a simple construction, and was most likely composed of large timbers supporting posts and plate for a simple roof and walls, made of sails from the French ships (Pope et al. 2008). The material culture indicates this structure is of a late 18th to early 19th century date. The artifacts, as well as its large size indicate it was probably used as a dormitory or possibly cookroom. This feature, as well as the bread oven of 2007 raise questions about the change in the taskscape of the fishery, with earlier 18th-century structures being built in the heart of the activity and processing zone of the site and later 19th-century structures being located in more peripheral locations (Pope et al. 2008).

2.3 The Range of Features at Area C

The most productive area of the site thus far and the focus of ceramic analysis, known as Area C, is the area located nearest to the processing centre of the site and is the location of both residential and industrial archaeological features¹. Area C consists of an anthropogenic terrace with up to a metre of built-up deposits and an abundance of material culture and architectural features, reflecting its role as the hub of several hundred years of fishing activity. As previously noted, Area C has been extensively excavated over the course of the 2006, 2007 and 2008 seasons and has produced a large collection of ceramics.

One of the most surprising finds on the site was the remains of a fisherman. He was an adult male, about 175 cm tall, probably middle-aged based on his worn teeth, with

¹ See Appendix 1 for a list of Events (stratigraphic layers) associated with each Feature.

possible evidence of a violent death, in the form of a 5 cm diameter hole in his forehead (Pope 2008a:51). Based on material culture found in associated strata, he was probably buried before 1700 (Pope 2006). He was interred in a shallow grave, Feature 873, cut into the original beach, on his back, hands clasped in front of him, facing almost exactly magnetic east (Pope 2006). The discovery of a burial in this production zone, located between the SW grid point of W32S100 and NE grid point of W31S98, not far underneath cabins, industrial features and working areas raises questions about use of space on the site. Why did a fishing crew bury someone in the working area of the site, underfoot in the most traveled area? Why not uphill in an area that was not as heavily used- one which would eventually be used for burials around the large standing cross? The more industrial features above the interred body indicate he was probably quickly forgotten. Either way the burial at Dos de Cheval is a grim reminder of the harsh and sometimes dangerous conditions of the early fishery.

A slipway, Feature 1021, composed of alternating tabular rocks and logs was uncovered in the 2007 excavations in Area C (Figure 2.5). It was about 2 m wide and was located within the grid points W35S103-W32S101. The rocks were arranged on the hillside at a consistent 1 in 5 slope, over about 5 m (Pope et al. 2007). It is likely that it was used for the repair of wooden boats that were used by the crews on their daily fishing expeditions. This hypothesis is strengthened by nearby finds of wrought iron boat hardware, including gudgeons and pintles, used for mounting rudders (Pope 2008b:45). Eighteenth-century pipe bowls and faience found in association suggests French use of this feature before the wars of the 1790s and early 1800s (Pope et al. 2007).



Figure 2.5. Feature 1021, a slipway composed of alternating tabular rocks and logs. (An Archaeology of the Petit Nord)

A possible smithy deposit, composed of burnt material, nails, iron waste, black greasy charcoal and several bricks was partially excavated in 2008. The deposit is located in the northern edge of W27S103, within Feature 834, a niche in the hillside, which may have provided some shelter from the prevailing wind. The depth of the deposit and the material culture found above it indicate a probable late 17th- or 18th-century date (Pope et al 2008). The presence of boat hardware suggests what this smithy might have been used for. Further excavation of this deposit was limited by a massive tabular rock, located near the present surface that overlies much of the deposit.

In 2007, the first of a few possible cabins or cookrooms was uncovered in Area C. Underlying the boat ramp Feature 1021, is Event 1049 that represents the remains of a burned structure: Feature 1201 which was composed of burnt timbers and posts (Pope et al. 2007). Feature 1021 is encompassed within W36S104 and W32S102. Under the burn event was a coarse stone and rock fill, used to level the surface. Scraps of canvas, possibly from a sail cloth roof, and window glass were associated with the burnt structure. It is quite possibly a cabin used by officers or higher-status crew, based on rich midden deposits (Events 1059 and 1063) just downhill of the structure. Material culture suggests an 18th-century date for this structure, though earlier 18th century than the slipway (Pope et al. 2007). Since this earlier 18th-century feature sits almost upon the natural beach, it became clear that most of the built up terrace of Area C, at least from W34 downwards toward the beach, was accumulated after 1700 (Pope et al. 2007).

In 2008 we uncovered Feature 1233, a dry masonry hearth structure of tabular rocks, in a U shape, facing the beach found between grid points W30S103 and W28S100

(Figure 2.6). The walls of the feature rest around Feature 1237, a massive tabular rock pavement located between W30S102-W29S100. The structure itself is nicely finished on the interior but rough and irregular on the exterior, suggesting that perhaps it was originally dug into the cobble beach and then backfilled on the exterior with cobble and rock (Pope et al. 2008). The north and south wings of the hearth were roughly rebuilt at some point after its initial use, indicating that it had at least two working lives. The rebuilt extensions to the west of the core hearth are Feature 1328, located in W31S101-W29S99 and Feature 1326 located in W31S103-W29S101. These extensions rest on a rocky fill rather than the natural beach as the hearth does, are not as well laid and are of a later date than Feature 1233. Deposits within the hearth walls were full of jumbled angular rock in orange and grey ashy soil and contained more than 1000 nails, many heavily corroded from heating. The nails could represent the burning and collapse of a wooden structure, or perhaps the burning of discarded materials (Pope et al. 2008). There were few dateable artifacts found in context with the hearth; however the fact that it lies directly on the natural beach and under 19th-century events suggests an 18th-century date (Pope et al. 2008).

Areas opened in front of the hearth revealed greasy charcoal layers contemporaneous with the hearth, appearing as two separate deposits (Pope et al. 2008). Mapping these burn events, with burn events of greasy black charcoal found in 2006 and 2007, all together as burned Feature 1248 (including Feature 1201) we might estimate the extent of the two wooden structures (possibly overlapping) at around 6 x 6 m (Pope et al. 2008). Based on their size and the large 2 m wide hearth at their eastern end, these burnt



Figure 2.6. Feature 1233, a dry masonry hearth structure of tabular rocks (An Archaeology of the Petit Nord).

structures were probably either cookrooms or cabins. They were likely used by high status persons based on the presence of hunted game in the associated faunal assemblage and the rich midden deposits below found in 2007 (Noël 2008). From previous years and 2008 excavations it was clear the structure(s) extended about 6 m east to west (keeping in mind these could be two overlapping structures), but the north-south dimensions were unknown. The east west limit is from about half way through W37 to W31. New units were placed to the north and the south of the known burnt area, but to the north no burn event was discovered and to the south two large tabular rocks prevented further excavation; so the north-south dimension of Feature 1248 is still unknown. However, the dimensions suggest a roughly square footprint, like fishing room structures represented through photographs and illustrations on the historical Petit Nord (Pope et al. 2008). The entire structure(s) is probably contained between about W37S104 and W30S93, although some burned debris might have been cleared away making determining distinct edges difficult. It seems plausible that this feature represents an earlier structure associated with Feature 1233 which was burnt, then a second burnt structure that may have been associated with the extensions on the original hearth.

Two large tabular rocks that prevented excavation between W36S106-W35S104 are somewhat typical of Area C. Over the course of excavations at Area C over three years, many undefined large tabular rocks or stone or rock pavement and fill like features have been uncovered. These large rocks and others like them on the site could be part of a pathway, footings of a structure, or may be lined up with the location where the stage came up out of the water (Pope et al. 2008). These two particular rocks were surrounded

by a pebbled surface littered with cod bones, mussel shells and 19th-century material that possibly represents a 19th-century working surface that extends throughout much of the central area of Area C (Pope et al. 2008).

In 2008, we also opened a 1 x 5 m trench, with its southwest corner at W38S118, in hopes of locating evidence of the fishing stage, the heart of the fish-processing activities on the site. The location of this exploratory trench was based on an interpretation of historical maps of the site and landscape features which include the easiest landing place at the site, the angle of the Feature 23 ramp, which leads from the Area C waterfront to the Area D upper terrace, and some anomalous rocks observed underwater, which might represent the remains of stage ballast (Pope et al. 2008). Fishing stages leave, at best, only ephemeral traces but decomposing organic material and large iron spikes uncovered by our excavation support our impression that this was where French crews normally erected their stage. Pockets of burnt needles and burnt ceramics, earthenware and stoneware, indicate that hearths have been built in or near this area and that it was certainly part of the bustling activities of the Dos de Cheval waterfront (Pope et al. 2008). The stage area trench proved to be one of the most productive for material culture on the site, including many large rim and base sherds of ceramic.

The final feature in Area C is located in four units against the north face of what we called *the Bookend*: a massive exposed bedrock protuberance, which marks the southern limit of Area C. The feature is located between grid points W34S124 and W32S122. Here we exposed a cluster of small hearths, indicated by roughly circular patches of burned reddish soil or by deposits of ash. These were generally in deposits

with plentiful charcoal and were located at different depths. Associated artifacts suggest that this area may have been used by crews not only for relaxing in their off hours, but also for work incidental to the fishery but needed for survival, including flint-knapping. These hearth features have some time depth, for they are not contemporaneous but reflect continual activity from about 1700 onwards. Artifact dates suggest that the natural cobble beach was still open here, as late as 1650. This confirms the impression from excavation elsewhere in Area C that the anthropogenic development of a beach terrace was not under way, to any significant degree much before 1650 (Pope et al 2008).

Vessel reconstruction and functional interpretations are based on the excavated ceramics collected from Area C in the 2006, 2007 and 2008 field seasons at Dos de Cheval. Some of these ceramics will relate to the various features in this production zone, not only providing rough dates for the features, but further informing the understanding of their use.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction: Vessel and Ware Analysis

The primary focus of the data analysis will be the lesser-understood French material from the site, in late 17th-through 18th- and 19th-century deposits. The 19th-century deposits are interrupted by a Newfoundland English occupation of the site from around 1790 to 1820 (Pope 2007). The English material will contribute to my research, but more innovative research can be conducted with the French material. French ceramics found on the site include Normandy stoneware and brown faïence, both of which are relatively well understood (Blanchette 1981, Chrestien and Duformier 1995). Also present on the site are several varieties of coarse earthenwares, including Breton and non-Breton materials. The non-Breton materials are generally green-glazed ceramics from western France. The analysis of the little-understood Breton ceramics is an original contribution to research on French ceramics (Pope and Batt 2008). Recent excavations at the Breton kiln site of Pabu-Guingamp have recovered an early modern earthenware exhibiting a coarse pink-grey fabric with fine mica, quartz inclusions, and red grog or limonite (Pope and Batt 2008). Microphotographic and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) analysis suggests that ceramic groups from the Petit Nord fishing stations closely resemble these wares and several other northern Breton wares. This range of different ceramic wares will complement an analysis of vessel forms present on the site.

In order to study ceramic function, I have used a typology based on functional variations. In order to create a typology, I considered not only the archaeological sample,

but also previous French typologies, historic catalogues and documents, museum collections and post-medieval French archaeology. Established research on the ceramics of western France acted as a guide in the creation of types for the ceramic assemblage of Dos de Cheval (Hugonot 2002). Some ceramics from northern France also have existing classificatory systems (Flambard- Héricher 2002). Although there is not yet much published work on the ceramics from Brittany that appear in this collection, recent studies of ceramics from surrounding areas will provide a starting point for creating functional categories, by applying the definitions used in these published sources to the excavated assemblage. Aside from the above sources I have relied most heavily on the typological classification system created by Fabienne Ravoire (2006), discussed in further detail below.

Documentary information and archaeological assemblages taken together provide a more complete picture than either could alone. To apply strictly formal classificatory methods to historical material and ignore the historical data would be ignoring the way in which the culture being studied thought about and used the vessels unearthed in excavation. The use of historical data allows for the identification of ceramics as the makers and consumers named, classified and used these wares (Deetz 1996). There are many sources that can be drawn upon to reconstruct ceramic function. Early 19th-century illustrated catalogues of ceramics for sale in Bessin Cotentin also informed the functional classification of the ceramics at Dos de Cheval.

Accounts of the fishing industry itself, including Nicolas Deny's of 1671 and Duhamel du Monceau's a century later, memoirs of 18th- and 19th-century visitors to the

Petit Nord, plans of fishing rooms, and 19th-century photographs of the fishing industry might all be used to examine ceramic function and particularly ceramic function as it is related to the function of areas within a site (Pope 2009). Ceramics themselves are rarely, if ever, mentioned, but eating habits and list of provisions found in some of these accounts of the fishery aid in the interpretation of ceramic function. Various other artifact classes have also been incorporated from the site as complementary evidence, including pipe bowls, for dating, and glass bottles, to aid in the understanding of foodways.

I will be working with ceramic vessels, not sherds, so will be using counts of vessels or minimum number of vessels to conduct my analysis. Although not a quantitative study of ceramics, issues relating to sampling of ceramics and quantification of vessels were important to the study of vessel form and the creation of a typology. Fragments must be translated into whole vessels in order to study functional variability in ceramics on a site. Some body sherds can be diagnostic, in that they can indicate a hollow or flat vessel but I calculated the minimum number of vessels based on counts of rim sherds, bases or handles (Rice 1987:292). Rim, body and base diameters were calculated with a diameter template (Rice 1987:223). The disadvantage of these techniques is that they generally ignore some body sherds, and small fragments of rim sherds are not useable for accurate diameter measurements. Differential preservation and deposition of both vessel shape and ceramic ware as it relates to vessel shape cannot be controlled, and will be considered as a sampling problem in relation to vessel function.

While the primary direction of my research is towards the functional understanding of vessels, ware analysis will be incorporated as an important source for

functional interpretations. The understanding of what functional possibilities exist for a particular ware will enhance the interpretive potential of the ceramic sherds found. Wares with limited functional variations will enable functional interpretations to be partially based on ware type. In this way ware analysis has become built into the research. My aim is to mesh ware and functional analysis in a way that allows each specific vessel and each type of vessel, from Dos de Cheval to be understood both within their ware types and across ware types and as a part of the collection as a whole.

The representation of types is one of the most important aspects of this research. Type representation through words, pictures, diagrams or a combination of these, in order to ensure consistency of use of type, is the last step in the initial creation of a type (Adams and Adams 1991:56). The creation and description of types emerged out of natural groupings within the assemblage and then exact definitions were applied to further describe functional types. The representation of functional ceramic types is not only reported through naming and description, but includes the archaeological drawing of vessels (Adams and Adams 1991). In lab analysis, vessels were reconstructed wherever possible in order to aid in representation of vessel forms. Photographic representations of vessels were also incorporated into the analysis and description of the ceramic vessel forms. Illustration techniques, unlike photographs, enable attention to be focused on certain aspects of the vessels, in this case, form and function (Shepard 1956:252). Illustration was completed in profile by linking characteristic points (Shepard 1956:253). Measurements of all ceramic vessels, where possible, were made to enable ratios and size of vessels to be understood.

Several studies have recognized the value of a functional typology for historic ceramics. Beaudry et al. in their study of early Chesapeake ceramics, link gradations in vessel form to terms used in inventories and other documents, in order to explore functional variability within and between assemblages (1983). They argue that people, both the archaeologist and the groups studied, impose categories upon objects to facilitate communication (Beaudry et al. 1983:17). The Chesapeake study, which incorporates historical documents, attempts to reach the connotations and referents of the past which are associated with vessel type and function. In historical archaeology a sort of folk typology can be created by defining types in the ways they are described in historical documents. The Chesapeake study and others like it influenced the way in which I thought.

The research addressing ceramic function through archaeologically-recovered material culture can help us to understand aspects of the lives of the fishermen that might not have been recorded. The documentary record and archaeological record complement each other (Deetz 1996). Danièle Alexandre-Bidon's book: *Une Archéologie du goût: céramique et consommation* outlines a way of thinking about medieval ceramics that can be applied to my ceramic research (2005). Like Beaudry et al. Alexandre-Bidon advocates the interpretation and classification of ceramics according to their function in order to relate them to their social context (1983; 2005). Alexandre-Bidon furthers this by presenting a theoretical and methodological way in which ceramic form and function can be studied. In order to make functional interpretations Alexandre-Bidon employs an interdisciplinary approach, using archaeological ceramics, texts and images to arrive at the

patterns of consumption and taste of the culture being studied (2005). This interdisciplinary approach stressing ceramics' use in their original social context guided my research. I hope to have conducted functional analysis in the spirit of this work, allowing the vessel forms to be interpreted in the context of their use by the fishermen of Dos de Cheval.

3.2 Fabienne Ravoire's Classification System

Fabienne Ravoire's approach to typological classification is morpho-functional. It takes into account quantitative data (proportions of ceramics) and qualitative data (forms) and correlates these with the function of the ceramics where it is known or supposed (Ravoire 2006). Conceived as an adaptable tool, this melding of form and function in a typology is an approach that has greatly influenced the present study and has been adapted to the ceramics of Dos de Cheval. The present study has utilized a slightly pared down version of Ravoire's classification system, since not all of her forms are present in the Dos de Cheval assemblage. I am creating my own typology for the ceramics at the site; using her existing system with modifications, placing the Dos de Cheval ceramics into existing groups, as well as creating new groups as necessary and creating new variants within the existing groups.

Ravoire worked with collections from the end of the late medieval and the early modern era from sites in Paris and the nearby Ile-de-France region. The origins of the ceramics that make up the 1813 vessels and objects in Ravoire's classification system are Paris, Ile de France and also the Beauvaisis. Other sources are present: Normandy and

Mayenne for vessels used for transport and conservation of butter; Italy, the Lyonnais and Spain for table wares and falence. It is therefore relevant to the Dos de Cheval collection, as many of the forms originate in northern France. Given the general absence of descriptive nomenclature for the ceramics of these areas, Ravoire created a typology that is both hierarchical and open enough to meet the needs of the typo-chronological framework of the ceramics produced (2006).

The goal of this kind of typology is to standardize the existing descriptive systems. The goal is not to create a universal classification, but a classification uniquely adapted to her corpus. However, the typology is reproducible and the statistical thresholds are defined, which allow its use by other researchers working on a comparable corpus. Mine is a comparable corpus and I have therefore adopted not only Ravoire's method but also some of her forms.

In many archaeological publications pottery is presented not in an elaborate typology but as a catalogue of forms (generally presented by production area). Ceramicists do not often draw up typologies, but limit their approach to a classification of forms according to an inexplicit functional classification (Ravoire 2006). In contrast to these sorts of studies, the classification adopted here will not depend on chronological classification or frequency of vessels, which are debatable criteria. The classification proposed here organizes the morpho-functional characteristics of vessels in a hierarchical and non-systematic manner (Ravoire 2006). In short, Ravoire's system of classification

that I have adopted meets the requirement for classifying all the vessels in the collection; the system is easy to use and is reproducible (2006)².

3.2.1 Morphological criteria

I have adopted Ravoire's descriptive vocabulary, which was originally presented by J. Nicourt (1986), adapted from that of A. Shepard (1956). This vocabulary is not exhaustive, but outlines the terms that will be important to the assemblage at hand. Before examining the ceramics of Dos de Cheval it is necessary to pin down the terminology which will be used in this work.

The vessels are composed of different segments based on changes in direction in the profile on points of external or internal vertical tangency. All the vessels are thus composed of three unequal parts: the base, the body and the rim. The base determines the position of the vessel on a horizontal plane. The body is the middle part of the vessel which determines the capacity and contents of the vessel. The rim conditions the accessibility of the form, and is composed of the opening (neck and/or rim) (Ravoire 2006). Definitions of each part of the vessel and the qualifiers designed in Ravoire's 2006 study were utilized here.

The rim is the higher part of the neck, or the body if there is no neck. It can be the prolongation of the neck or the body and not distinguished in the profile. Conversely, the

² A morpho-functional system would actually work even better on a collection with more complete vessels than the Dos de Cheval collection.

rim can have a different direction than the neck or the body and can be clearly distinguished. Variations in the shape of rim profile are almost numberless. The rim is an aspect of both style and function (pouring, lifting, retaining liquids) (Shepard 1958).

The various types of rims are:

1. Vertical- rectilinear
2. Vertical- rectilinear external face / concave internal face
3. Oblique internal- rectilinear external face / concave internal face
4. Oblique external – rectilinear external face / concave internal face
5. Oblique external- concave external face / concave internal face
6. Horizontal or wing shaped rim (these are found primarily on plates and platters)

The lip is the extremity of the rim limiting the opening. To define lip types Ravoire noted the steepness and shape of its extremity. The inclination of the lip is calculated using the angle formed by the deviation of the axis of the lip compared to the vertical axis of the vessel. Five classes of lip inclination are defined:

1. Vertical (close to 10°)
2. Everted (10° to 80°)
3. Horizontal (90°)
4. Pending (100° to 180°)
5. Returning (280° to 350°)

Nine lip shapes are defined:

1. Thinned
2. Rounded

3. Flattened internal oblique
4. Flattened external oblique
5. Flat horizontal
6. Flattened thickened internal oblique
7. Flattened thickened external oblique
8. Flattened thickened horizontal
9. Thickened rounded

The neck of the vessel is the intermediate portion between the rim and body. It can be marked by a sharp discontinuity in the profile (a break in the angular direction). However, the neck is not always clearly differentiated and may be confused with a particularly developed rim. It is thus necessary to properly distinguish a neck by calculating the following ratio:

$$\text{Height of the upper part of the vessel} / \text{Total height} = \text{Neck.}$$

Arbitrarily, Ravoire decided that the neck had to be greater than 1/5th of the total height of the vessel to be counted as a distinguishable feature (2006).

The body is the middle part of the vessel that functions as the container. The body can be described by its profile and its proportionality. The possible body profiles are:

1. Tapered straight walled
2. Tapered convex walled
3. Convex curved walled
4. Convex walled / rectilinear (an overall convex body with flat walls that change direction, often at wide angles)

To further describe the body two dimensional relations are used to specify the proportions of the body. The first of these is:

Total height of the vessel / Maximum diameter of the body.

When the resulting value is less than 1.5 the vessel body is classified as wide, and if the value equals greater than 1.5 the body is narrow.

The second relation to specify body proportion is:

Height of the upper part of the body / Height of the lower part of the body.

Three classes were distinguished. When the resulting value is greater than 2/3 the body is low, when the resulting value is less than 1/3 the body is high and when the value is between 1/3 and 2/3 the body is medium.

There is a problem with the use of these dimensional relations in many archaeological collections where total height or body proportions are not clear from fragmentary vessels. However, I am not defining types from fragmentary remains, only determining which existing type fragmentary remains most closely match. Types in this study are based on the most complete examples in the collection and comparative examples in other French collections. Once we have assessed the possible range of forms on the site and how these fit into these dimensional relations, then we match fragmentary remains to these types as best as we can.

Though Ravoire does not use the term shoulder, where I have referred to shoulder I take Anna O. Shepard's definition. The shoulder is the point of maximum diameter (a point of tangency) on a restricted form (Shepard 1956:241). The shoulder is the

transitional zone where the body ends and the neck begins, on a vessel with a neck. Shoulders typically include the widest portion of the vessel.

The base is the lower part of the vessel. The base can be pronounced or a gradual change in the profile of the lower body. For classification of bases, Ravoire notes only that their profile may be:

1. Continuous, meaning there is no change of inflection of the profile of the body.
2. Present and not overflowing, meaning there is no extra clay at the bottom edge of the base.
3. Present and overflowing, meaning it has surplus clay around the bottom exterior edge of the base.

The bottom of the base is the part upon which the container rests. In the *Dos de Cheval* collection, all containers, except for those fitted with feet, have a fairly flat base. The presence of a foot serves to elevate the container, usually so it can be used in heat. Feet can be singular or multiple (generally three on tripod vessels).

Ravoire defines several types of handles or means of gripping. However, in the *Dos de Cheval* assemblage they are mostly loop handles which are described and classified according to the location of the superior attachment point and their morphology. The superior attachment can be attached to the rim, to the neck or to the shoulder. The morphology of the handle can fall into six classes:

1. Flat vertical curved handle, folded
2. Vertical oval handle, sometimes with a depression on the top

3. Vertical oval handle with appendage
4. Composite vertical handle (a post to which a vertical handle is added on)
5. Lateral horizontal handle, folded
6. Horizontal basket handle, round

3.2.2 Dimensional criteria

In order to specify the dimensions of the vessels, Ravoire used the five most stable ones: the height of the vessel, the rim diameter, the internal diameter of the neck, the body diameter and the base diameter. In effect, the potter fully controls the actions he/she performs on a horizontal plane, but has less control over the vertical plane as these dimensions require more movement on the potter's part to stretch the clay vertically.

3.2.3 Functional Criteria

The two basic functional types are containers and objects. Most of both Ravoire's collection and the Dos de Cheval collection are containers. Containers are solid and composed of a bottom and sides delimiting a hollow volume. Unlike containers, objects are differentiated by a special function. Examples of objects include lids and some oil lamps. It is not possible to describe with the same finesse rare functional types as is possible with common forms. Therefore my description of functional types that appear frequently in the collection will be more complete than those for which we only have a few examples. Where we have only two or three examples of a vessel form, I have not narrowed the classification as much as I have in those vessel forms that we have many examples. It does not make sense to narrow the categories for *jatte* for example if we only

have only two fragmentary examples. If many more of these types of vessels are added in the future to the collection, then they can be subdivided with greater refinement. It is for the types that we have many of, such as the *sinoit*, that I have narrowed the classifications to a far greater level of detail, since description can be based on a better sample.

Ravoire has adopted a functional classification of containers and objects studied in terms of domestic activities to which they seem most directly related. This approach relies, in part, on observations made directly from the object. In the search for traces of use, like the surface of a blackened pot, function may be implied. Similarly, the shape of the object and how it has been made sometimes provides elements allowing us to understand its function. Many forms changed little until the first decades of the 20th century, allowing for interesting comparisons, although one must be cautious in this matter (Ravoire 2006). The use of literary and iconographic descriptions is not without its problems (Alexandre-Bidon 2006). These materials, although useful, also contain pitfalls; while texts mention the names of pots they often ignore the form, and illustrated sources do not always depict clearly the object's actual use.

Names for vessel types were taken primarily from Ravoire's typology and supplemented where necessary from other French sources (2006). Where no French name could be assigned, types were given English names. I primarily used the French terms throughout this work in an attempt to create a more emic typology. English translations are given but are not always perfect (Table 3.1).

Vessel Name Translations for the Dos de Cheval Vessel Typology

A1- <i>Pichet</i> : pitcher or ewer	G1- <i>Oule</i> : pot
A2- <i>Cruchon</i> : jug or pitcher	J1- <i>Albarelle</i> : Allbarello or ointment pot
B1- <i>Bouteille</i> : bottle	M1- <i>Écuelle</i> : porringer
C1- <i>Sinot</i> : butter pot or handled pot or salted food jar	M3- <i>Poëlon</i> : frying pan
C2- <i>Tasse</i> : cup	M4- <i>Jatte</i> : large pan
C3- Grease pot	N1- <i>Coupe</i> : bowl
D1- <i>Flacon</i> : small bottle	N2- <i>Plat</i> : dish or platter
D2- <i>Petit sinot</i> : small storage pot or ointment pot	N3- <i>Assiette</i> : plate
D3- <i>Mahon</i> : cylindrical pot	N4- <i>Soucoupe</i> : saucer
F1- <i>Coquemar</i> : cook pot or cooking jug	N5- <i>Coupelle</i> : bowl or tea bowl
F2- <i>Pot tripode</i> : pipkin or tripod pot	X1- <i>Gourde</i> : flask
F3- <i>Pot de chambre</i> : chamber pot	X2- <i>Convercle</i> : lid
F4- <i>Pot à posset</i> : posset pot	

Table 3.1. Vessel name French to English equivalents for functional series found at Dos de Cheval.

All recipients and objects of Ravoire's corpus were split into ten different functional groups. The creation of these groups was based on various publications, including work on medieval pottery (J. Nicourt), analysis of domestic civilian objects, and work on function by Alexandre-Bidon (2005). Not all of Ravoire's categories appear at Dos de Cheval, so a revised system was used (Table 3.2).

3.2.4 Morpho-dimensional Classification

In order to create ceramic types, dimensional relationships and proportions were taken into account. Morphological criteria have also been selected to develop a hierarchical classification system that has several levels, starting from the basic morphological elements to the less restrictive criteria (Figure 3.1). Six levels of morphological distinctions were distinguished.

Classes: A distinction founded on the calculation of two typometric features: the index of flattening and the index of opening.

Groups: A morphological distinction based on the presence or absence of a neck and the presence or absence of a means of gripping (handle, haft etc).

Forms: A distinction based on the intersection of classes and groups of morphological dimensions previously defined.

Functional series: A distinction founded on the functional definition of the above forms.

Types: A morphological distinction that varies according to a hierarchical classification of criteria for each functional series.

Functional Categories at Dos de Cheval

1-Containers and objects for the preparation of food.

-Oule -Terrine -Jatte

2-Containers and objects for cooking food (liquids and solids)

-Coquemar -Pot tripode -Poëlon -Couvercle -Pot with hook

3-Containers for service and eating of food

-Écuelle -Coupe -Plat -Assiette -Soucoupe -Pot à posset -Coupelle

5-Containers and objects for the conservation, transport, service, and drinking of liquids

-Pichet -Cruchon -Tasse -Bouteille -Gourde -Flacon -Coupelle

6-Containers for the transport and conservation of food

-Sinot -Mahon -Petit sinot -grease pot

7-Containers related to health and hygiene

-Albarelle -Pot de chambre

Table 3.2. Functional categories at Dos de Cheval.

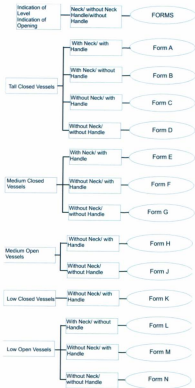


Figure 3.1. Hierarchical dendrogram for obtaining forms (adapted from Ravoire 2006:115)

Variations: If any, variations are able to be distinguished in order to facilitate the hierarchical classification of different units within each type.

The containers are grouped into classes according to their general morphology. Vessels with a closed body versus vessels with an open body were distinguished from each other and high vessels, medium vessels and low vessels were distinguished. These distinctions are based on the two following equations:

Index of Flattening: Total Height / Diameter Opening: this typometric index can distinguish tall, medium and low forms.

Low: less than or equal to $1/3$

Medium: greater than $1/3$ less than 1

High: greater than or equal to 1

Index of Opening: Diameter at the tightening of the neck / Maximum diameter of the body. This index serves to distinguish closed forms from open forms. Every vessel with an index of less than one is classed as closed, and all vessels with an index of greater than one are classed as open vessels³

In total there are five dimensional classes:

Class 1: tall closed

³ Ravoire's system defines closed vessels as those with index values of less than 0.9 and open vessels with index values greater than one. This did not account for values between 0.9 and one, so less than or greater than one was used here. My categories for *tasse* and *pot à posset* were affected by this. My *tasses* had opening index values of around 0.92 and the *pots à posset* had values between 0.91-0.93.

Class 2: medium closed

Class 3: medium open

Class 4: low closed

Class 5: low open

Groups: The presence or absence of a neck, and the presence or absence of a handle, are criteria that heavily influence the use of a form. Ravoire distinguished four groups of vessels:

Group 1: with a neck with a handle

Group 2: with a neck without a handle

Group 3: without a neck and with a handle

Group 4: without neck and without handle

Forms: The intersection of five classes and four dimensional morphological groups allows the distinction of thirteen generic forms.

Functional Series: In so far as each rim, body and base of the vessel exhibit a certain morphological variability endless possibilities exist for different functional series. Within a generic form (for example tall closed vessels without a neck and with a handle) there are as many functional series as there are real possibilities to combine existing morphological variations. The functional series created after bringing together forms allow us to propose an interpretation of ceramics from a sociological and functional perspective (Ravoire 2006).

Ravorie, following G. Demians d'Archimbaud uses the concept of type as a form that is intentionally repeated (1981). It can have variations that are weak and have little

meaning due to the irregularities in throwing of pots; however, the variations can also represent changes over time or changes that are leading to the creation of a new form (Demians d'Archimbaud in Ravoire 2006: 116-117). For most containers, the type is established in part by the neck or the morphology of the rim. The type can sometimes be determined from the morphology of the body, and sometimes from the base or the handle.

At a finer level of detail, Ravoire uses the term variant to define a range of small morphological variations generally affecting the lip of the vessels. Variants within types can indicate changes within chronology or the idiosyncrasies of different potters. In general, the variant is given by the morphology of the lip or the edge of the rim, but as with type, it can also be the connection between the neck and the body, the handle, the body or the base that determines the variant (Ravoire 2006).

An alpha-numeric system, depending on the degree of complexity of the morphology of the vessel, has been adopted. These allow for an ease of use and memorization. A name is also given to each functional series to allow it to enter into archaeological discourse (Ravoire 2006). At Dos de Cheval my designations are the same down to level of Form (A, B, C...) but I have reproduced and adapted the system to the collection, using different numbers for functional series, since the functional series in Ravoire's collection and the Dos de Cheval collection are not all the same (Table 3.3).

Both Ravoire's existing classification system and the morpho-dimensional classification from measurements are important here. Where the Dos de Cheval vessels appeared to match Ravoire's existing functional series I fit them in. In a fragmentary collection measurements like total height or maximum diameter do not often have

Dos de Cheval Vessel Typology

Tall closed vessels

-with neck and with a handle- **Form A.** A1- *Pichet*, A2- *Cruchon*

-with neck and without a handle- **Form B.** B1- *Bouteille*

-without neck and with a handle- **Form C.** C1-*Sinot*, C2-*Tasse*, C3- Grease pot

-without neck and without a handle- **Form D.** D1-*Flacon*, D2-*Petit sinot*, D3- *Mahon*

Medium closed vessels

-without neck and with a handle-**Form F.** F1-*Coquemar*, F2- *Pot tripode*, F3-*Pot de chambre*, F4-*Pot à posset*, F5-*Pot with hook*

-without neck and without a handle-**Form G.** G1-*Oule*

Medium open vessels

-without neck and without a handle-**Form J.** J1-*Albarelle*

Low open vessels

-without neck and with a handle-**Form M.** M1-*Écuelle*, M2-*Terrine*, M3-*Poëlon*, M4-*Jatte*

-without neck and without a handle-**Form N.** N1-*Coupe*, N2-*Plat*, N3-*Assiette*, N4-*Soucoupe*, N5-*Coupelle*

Objects

-objects for the preparation, eating, conservation, and consuming of food and drink-

Object X. X1-*Gourde*, X2-*Couvercle*

Table 3.3. The vessel typology for the Dos de Cheval, Area C, assemblage. Groups, Forms and Functional series are represented.

practical value but measurements like rim diameter were useful in determining which functional series a vessel might fit into. Where the vessels did not fit into the existing functional series I added new functional series, based initially on personal observations of similarities in vessels and then found out what group, class and form they fit into based on the most complete examples using the relations of morpho-dimensional measurements outlined above (the index of opening, index of flattening, etc.). The measurements and equations outlined above were used to place *tasse*, Grease pot, *petit sinot*, *mahon*, *pot à posset*, *assiette*, and *soucoupe* into their respective class, group and form in the typology. Basically I fit things into Ravoire's scheme where applicable, and used her measurements to define new functional series where needed.

Thus in the system, the first letter denotes the forms that have been obtained after a hierarchical classification of five classes and four recognized groups (Figure 3.1). The first digit designates the number of the functional series; the second digit indicates the type; and the third digit indicates the variant. For example, C161 corresponds with form C (tall closed vessels without neck and with handle), the functional series 1 (*sinot*) of type 6, variant 1. Another example, F12 corresponds with Form F (medium closed vessels without a neck and with a handle), functional series 1 (*coquemar*), of type 2 (there are no variants within this type).

3.3 Lab Analysis

This study covers all the ceramics excluding REW from excavation in Area C from 2006 to 2008. The beach survey material has been excluded in part because of the

bulk of the Area C collection and the bulk of the beach survey material. This beach material, although interesting in terms of vessel forms, is not related to any particular context on the site, but merely the site as a whole. Because I felt that a close analysis of the excavated material would add more to the understanding of the site as a whole I have excluded the Area C beach material, except for exceptional pieces, in this study. Since the 2006, 2007, 2008 excavation in Area C are the focus of this thesis, ceramics from 2004 test pits were incorporated only as much as they add to the interpretation of the formally excavated material. When examining the 2004 material; if I found a key piece of one of my already established vessels, it was added to that vessel. It is difficult to associate either the beach survey material, or the 2004 test pit material with a particular archaeological event or feature, so it has been examined but generally excluded.

This study considers vessels, not sherds. Thus, when there were small sherds that simply did not match a rim, base, shoulder or diagnostic sherd, I did not examine them closely since they give little information about function. Counts of sherds can be useful for determining dates of events and relative frequencies for ceramic wares (although differential breakage and other factors must be considered). However, they are rarely useful for determining the function of these ceramics. Each vessel in the collection is interesting individually, but the intent here is to give a representation of the vessels that are present on the site as a whole, not to scrutinize each particular vessel.

We carried out the following steps in ceramic analysis to extract vessels and their function out of the excavated material.

1. All ceramics (and other materials) were assigned catalogue numbers so that the ceramics could be removed from their respective artifact bags and mended or matched.
2. All ceramics of each ware type from each temporal event were laid out in a scaled down grid illustrating spatially the squares they were excavated from. In short each group of ceramics, say CSW, were laid out by their temporal dimension, say Event 1009, and in their spatial dimension (W30S102 was laid out next to W30S103, which was laid out to W30S104 etc.).
3. Matches and mends were made across space for each temporal event.
4. Each of these vessels (composed of a rim, base, handle, or diagnostic body sherds and the accompanying body sherds) was gathered in a clear box, mended where possible and assigned a St. John vessel number. Note that this method means that it is likely that there are body sherds occasionally that are incorrectly lumped with a rim or base that they do not actually belong with. However, because I am looking at vessels this is fairly insignificant to my study. It means there are actually more vessels in the collection than I have grouped, but I am looking at MNV so it is not a problem. The St. John Vessel numbers are arbitrary reference aids, they were assigned in the order the vessel pieces were grouped together, not by form or ware.
5. Steps 1 to 3 were repeated until all wares in all events were examined.
6. All vessels from each ware type were examined together.

7. All vessels were then entered into the Petit Nord EFAx-09 data base; each St. John vessel being entered as an *object* and each individual sherd or fragment being entered as a *specimen*. The object number refers to the number that the vessel was catalogued under. Therefore at the end of the process, each rim, base, handle or diagnostic sherd and its corresponding sherds can be referred to as St. John Vessel ## or as object #####.
8. The best example of each vessel type, or sometimes a few specimens of each type, were illustrated and all St. John vessels were photographed.

All photographs, unless otherwise specified, are credited to Amy St. John.

Original ceramic profile illustrations by Amy St. John, along with a selection of ceramic vessels were sent to artist and potter Talva Jacobson. She created the more polished illustrations used here for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*. Many of these illustrations are based on the original drawings and measurements, along with the analysis of the ceramics themselves.

Most problematic of the ware types was the Ligurian-style wares. I suspect that my counts of Ligurian-style vessels are an underrepresentation of the actual number of vessels present. The fabric varies little and the forms vary little, and I think that each vessel lumped together could possibly equal several similar vessels. More so than other fabrics I think the limitations of MNV counts must be kept in mind, since there are probably rims and bases, bases and shoulders, and maybe even rims and rims that have been matched together that may not go together but were matched because their profiles,

fabric and glaze were not different enough to confidently say that they are more than one vessel. Certain events, such as 1009, probably have more Ligurian-style wares than are accounted for.

3.4 Terminology

For clarity's sake, terms referring to the processes I used to recreate and describe vessels will be defined.

Sherds that *mend* versus sherds that *match*

By *mend* I mean two sherds that can be physically glued together. By *match* I mean two sherds that are probably from the same vessel, based on similarities in fabric colour and composition, thickness, vessel form characteristics, and the sherds' relative proximity to each other in the archaeological record. However, since in some cases mends were made across a great depth, as much as 40 cm and several strata, and across great horizontal distances, as much as about 15 m in some cases, if the match looked good based on fabric and vessel shape, the proximity was given less weight in determining matches. This is simply a result of the seasonal use of the site by fishermen and the chronological mixing that comes with a constantly shifting, modified and rebuilt landscape of the fishing room.

Colours

The description of colour is particularly problematic. It is not only subject to light but it can be significantly distorted through photography or digital representations. By

clearly defining terms and the syntax of my colour descriptions I hope to eliminate most of the ambiguity in colour terminology as well as enable the reader to visualize the colour being described and compare this colour to those that might be in his or her own collection without the need to consult another work or an outside source.

Parks Canada and many other archaeologists have used Munsell colour charts with success to describe ceramics colour. The most comprehensible of these publications are those that use Munsell in conjunction with a written description of the colour. I have not used the Munsell colour chart, as many others have not (Pope 1986, Barton 1981) because this description of colour is incomprehensible to the reader without a Munsell chart readily available, and the wares in this collection vary considerably in fabric and glaze colour depending on inconsistencies in original firing, use in heat (as is often the case for cookpots) and post-depositional factors (Pope 1986). This can be seen clearly in some cases where sherds of one vessel that have been mended show a great variation in colour depending on their life histories since their original firing. Hence, in the case of describing such wares, some vagueness in colour terminology is somewhat appropriate to capturing the variation within both the ware as a whole and in some cases even within a particular vessel (Pope 1986).

I have adopted, with some changes to adapt to the present collection, the clearly laid out colour definitions and colour description syntax used by Peter Pope in his analysis of ceramics from 17th-century Ferryland, Newfoundland (1986). While some colours are used without need of an explanation (grey, pink etc.) there are some colours for which I have used Pope's definitions and are as follows:

"Off-white": slightly grey white.

"Cream": slightly yellow white.

"Buff": slightly brown white.

"Beige": light brown (brownier than buff).

"Brick Red": reddish orange brown, "terra cotta". I have used "terra cotta" as my preferred term for this colour.

"Salmon": deep pinkish orange.

"Chocolate": a deep brown, the colour of dark chocolate.

I have added the following terms (particularly for the description of Normandy CSW):

"Wine Red": a deep red or burgundy.

"Caramel": dark beige. The colour of caramel candies or ice cream topping (lighter than brown).

Furthermore, I am adopting the following colour syntax from Peter Pope's analysis (1986):

1. Where two colours are concatenated the first modifies the second, which should be considered dominant. Thus "yellow-green" is greener than "green-yellow".
2. Where colours are separated by a slash "/" each of the colours occur.
"Yellow/green" indicates that both yellow and green are present, severally.
3. In descriptions of fabrics with layers of differing colours the outermost colour is designated first. Thus an "orange/grey" fabric is orange on the exterior.
Expanding on this for fabrics with three layers of differing colour the same rule

applies, working from the exterior of the vessel, to the interior of the fabric (only visible on broken sherds), to the interior of the vessel.

Coarse Earthenware Description and *coarse* versus *fine*

The coarse earthenware has been broken into groups by the colour, structure and nature of their fabric. Within these broad groupings there are groupings with distinct glaze characteristics, which have been further grouped (e.g. leopard skin ware). The initial sorting by fabric characteristics allows for those variations within what might be one potting centre to be grouped together. As Barton states: "The combination of the fabric, texture and content and its colour, both inside and outside the sherd, together with the colour of the glaze provide the most essential clues to the identification of otherwise undecorated sherds" (1981). Until the 18th-century wares of northern France and northern Italy have been further published, more kiln sites have been dug, and more scientific analysis has been conducted, what may seem to be a vague grouping of wares or cautious use of terms such as Ligurian-style or Landieul-like reflects limited understanding that we have, at this time.

Besides being divided by colour, the coarse earthenwares were divided on the basis of whether they are coarse or fine. By which I mean not the distinction between "coarse earthenware" and "refined earthenware", but *coarse* as having a coarsely-grained texture and *fine* as having a finely-grained texture (Pope 1986). At the most basic level, I have used the differentiation between coarse and refined stoneware to be divided along the lines of those that have visible rilling or throw lines and those that do not. However,

refined stonewares were not found in the excavated assemblage, only in beach survey, so it is not a definition that is crucial here.

Chapter 4: Ceramic Ware Types

4.1 Refined Earthenware (REW)

There are many REW vessels found in many contexts on the site, both French and English. The REW was eliminated from this study, after an initial examination of the collection, simply because of the amount of vessels present. The REW is fairly typical of late 18th- and 19th-century sites in North America. The assemblage includes creamware, pearlware and whiteware although creamware and pearlware dominate our REW collection. Many of the vessels have decoration including hand-painted, banded, shell-edge and transfer-print designs. Forms are varied but generally include bowls, cups, saucers, small jugs, and plates. There are a number of vessels in some events with shared patterns, especially certain pearlware transfer-printed blue patterns that indicate that sets of tea wares were being used at the site.

The REW would have been used by both the French and Anglo-Newfoundland occupants on the site. Some vessels are obvious indicators of a non-French presence, such as the black transfer-print creamware vessel with Admiral Lord Nelson depicted on it (Figure 2.4). There is also an interesting possible French REW component to the collection. This includes some more crudely decorated vessels that do not appear similar to any English examples (Peter E. Pope pers. comm.) (Figure 4.1). From the late 18th-century the French were producing REW to copy and compete with English products. This is an interesting aspect of the REW collection because most French sites in North America do not carry over into the 19th century.



a.



b.



c.



d.

Figure 4.1. REW from Area C. a) English pearlware and creamware b) possible French painted hand painted pearlware c) possible French hand painted pearlware d) possible French transfer-print and painted creamware

4.2 Ligurian-style CEW⁴

There is evidence for a significant quantity of Mediterranean products on colonial French sites in North America. These include Spanish oil jars as well as productions from Provence in great numbers. The Provence vessels include table vessels of l'Huveaune, jars of Biot, marmites of Vallauris, and those that appear at Dos de Cheval, the black spotted vessels of the gulf of Genoa (Albisola) (Amouric and Vallauri 2007). I have referred to this CEW throughout as *Ligurian-style CEW*. This is what it has consistently been classified as on the site and to avoid confusion I have left it as such. It can also be referred to as North Italian CEW, CEW of Albisola, *terre brune*, or very confusingly *faïence brune* (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:23).

Ligurian-style ceramics were made on the potter's wheel and also with moulds or presses to achieve a ribbed surface (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22). The ceramics have a fine light to medium red or terra cotta colour paste and are decorated with wide black or dark brown manganese bands applied under a plumbiferous glaze that appears transparent brown due to the presence of iron oxide. The bands can take the form of parallel, concentric or intersecting lines. The colour ranges between quite light and quite dark brown and the ceramics are often referred to as coffee coloured. The vessels are glazed on the interior and exterior, although decoration generally only appears on the visible surfaces (the interior of plates) (Figure 4.2). Other, relatively rare examples have designs on the glaze, of which only traces remain (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22). Henri Amouric

⁴ See also Appendix 2 Ligurian-style CEW Forms.



Figure 4.2. Ligurian-style vessels, from Area C, EFAX-09.

raises the question of whether the colour is an indication of chronology; however answering this question is beyond the scope of the present research (1999:124).

The vessel forms within Ligurian-style CEW includes *assiettes*, *plats* (circular and rectangular), *écuelles*, *jattes*, *saladières*, *soupières*, *terrines*, covered *terrines*, *coupes*, beer mugs, vessels relating to coffee including coffee pots and *tasses*, and also casseroles, *poêlons* and other forms related to food preparation, service and consumption (Amouric 1999:121; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22). These north Italian types were originally produced in the region of Liguria around the city of Genoa in Italy near southern France. In the 18th century the products of Liguria enjoyed great commercial success, firmly occupying the niche for low-end wares on an international market. With their informal decor they could be created quickly but they were well thrown; sometimes with moulded decor elements such as the handles. They were decisively elegant and yet were sold at a particularly low price (Amouric 1999: 119).

The Ligurian-style CEW are a fire resistant brown earthenwares of a coffee colour. This peculiar colouration of manganese glazes becomes a universal fashion at the end of the 17th century and continues later with the adoption of the ritual of drinking coffee. These brown-glazed wares were in competition with French *faïence*, though they never rivalled it in quality. Ligurian CEW had a low price and, because of this, was sometimes taxed (Amouric 1999). As early as the first quarter of the 18th century, this great popularity throughout the south of France and the competition between French and Italian products lead French potters to create replicas in the workshops in Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nevers and Lyon- trying to compete with the cheap, attractive Italian products

(Amouric 1999:122; Amouric and Vallauri 2007:228; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22).

The Italian productions of Ligurian-style CEW are indistinguishable from the productions of Provence. In North America they are sometimes given a synthetic name of *the style of Italy* (Amouric and Vallauri 2007). Some of the examples we find at Dos de Cheval could well originate in southern France as imitations of the Ligurian wares.

Ligurian-style wares are an important component of the collections of coarse earthenware on French sites in the North Atlantic, such as the Fortress of Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour (Barton 1981; 1977). They are very common in the south of France and their quantity in the Louisbourg collection indicates that they were common enough to be sent from French ports, possibly Marseilles in some quantity (Barton 1981). This north Italian type was also found on the wreck of the Mauchault and was thought to be part of the crew's effects (Barton 1977; Barton 1981:47). Similar examples are found at the Intendant's palace in Québec city, imported from Albisola in northern Italy (Moussette 2007:164). However, the best examples of these vessels are from shipwrecks and terrestrial sites in the Mediterranean, such as the wreck of Grand-Congloué 4, and the Port of Pomègues (Amouric 1999:123-124).

The market in southern France was flooded from around the 1760s to 1780s and onwards into the early 19th century with Ligurian-style wares (Amouric 1999). In Québec contexts these ceramics are given a date of the second half of the 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:122). However, since the fishermen at Dos de Cheval were likely visiting the south of France seasonally it is logical that the same rules of supply do not

apply on this migratory site, and that the ceramics could possibly date to earlier in the 18th century, perhaps even the second quarter of the 18th century, after imitations begin.

The Ligurian potters had *une attitude très moderne*; by the second half of the 18th century they had organized an immense network that covered all of southern France (Amouric 1999). However, in 1820 a 100 percent taxation on the potteries of Albisola and the production of English industrial refined wares put an end to its popularity. It was a thriving industry in its heyday, and the potteries of Liguria dominated the market for low priced vessels throughout the 18th century (Amouric 1999).

4.3 Brown Faïence⁵

Faïence or French tin glazed ceramics are typical of 18th-century French sites in North America (Blanchette 1981). Most of the faïence at Dos de Cheval is brown faïence. Brown faïence has a terra cotta coloured fabric with a white tin glaze on the interior and a manganese brown lead glaze on the exterior. The brown faïence at Dos de Cheval varies in form, including at least one *écuelle* and several *tasses* or hollowares, but a large percentage is large *plats* (Figure 4.3).

Typically the historical archaeologist working on sites in North America thinks of tin-glazed ceramics as an indicator of high status. Brown faïence was, however, not a status symbol in the same way as something like Italian majolica. It was a ceramic of the

⁵ See also Appendix 3, Brown faïence Forms.



Figure 4.3. Brown faience *tasse*, *plat* and *coupe* from Area C, EFAx-09. cat. # 2482, 13392 and 5512.

people, widely used because the brown manganese lead glaze allowed it to be placed near or in heat and kept warm (Blanchette 1981). The abundance of faïence at Dos de Cheval where it must have been used mostly by fishermen indicates that faïence is not a strong status indicator.

Based on identification of rim decoration, a large percentage of the brown faïence at Dos de Cheval is in the Rouen-style. Of the brown faïence vessels, 28 percent have Rouen-style decoration (Figure 4.4). Rouen also produced plain vessels without decoration so it is probable that much of the undecorated brown faïence was from this region as well. Rouen, the historic capital of Normandy, was a major producer of brown faïence starting in the 1740s and its decorative style was popular and often imitated (Waselkov and Walthall 2002:65).

4.4 White Faïence⁶

White faïence is a tin-glazed earthenware produced in France, found on 17th- and 18th-century French sites throughout North America (Waselkov & Walthall 2002:62). It has a smooth coarse earthenware fabric and the vessels were individually turned and decorated. White faïence has a white tin glaze on both the exterior and interior of the vessel. White faïence vessels are used more for serving than cooking or heating. The white tin glaze tends to delaminate more than the brown glaze on brown faïence and the fabric of the white faïence tends to be a buff colour rather than the terra cotta colour of the brown faïence of Rouen. French white faïence comes in a wide range of vessel forms,

⁶ See also Appendix 4, White Faïence Forms.



Figure 4.4. Brown faience *plats* with Rouen-style rim decoration. cat # 9052, 10397 and 13389.

including table wares, storage vessels and vessels relating to hygiene (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:60). There are all of these groups represented at Dos de Cheval, though not in great numbers (Figure 4.5).

The majority of the faïence on the site, both white and brown, is decorated in the *grand feu* palette, that consists of heat resistant pigments (cobalt blue, antimony orange-yellow, copper green, iron red and manganese purple) that were applied to the glaze before firing. The more subtle and diverse *petit feu* palette began to replace the *grand feu* in the 1760s. The *petit feu* palette is rarely found in North America, because it only became popular after the loss of French colonies (Waselkov & Walthall 2002:64). However, the migratory fishery outlasted the colonies, and Newfoundland fishery sites were occupied well past the 1760s, so it is possible that *petit feu* palette is found on migratory sites.

The white faïence vessels are fragmentary for the most part and not many have recognizable decoration that allows them to be traced to a production centre. Rouen was a leading centre for faïence production beginning in the 1640s and continuing throughout the next century producing Normandy Plain, Normandy Blue on White, St. Cloud Polychrome, and Seine Polychrome styles alongside brown faïence (Waselkov & Walthall 2002: 64). It seems probable that some of the white faïence from Dos de Cheval was produced in Normandy, due to the proximity of the production centres to Breton and Norman ports. French faïence found at Louisbourg is for the most part very plain. The majority of the pieces are simplified Rouen, Moustiers or Nevers styles, made by



Figure 4.5. White faïence *pot à chambre*, possible *tasse* and *plat*. cat # 8220, 7300 and 6728.

producers which probably would be very difficult to trace today. (Dunton 1971:15-17).

The Dos de Cheval collection is similar.

Just as the Rouen decorative styles can be identified on the brown faïence, so can several pieces of faïence that are in the style of the south of France in the Provence region. These pieces certainly stand out in the collection because of the yellow-orange colouring of the decoration. Moustiers, a city close to Marseille, produced popular yellow on white faïence after about 1730 (Waselkov & Walthall 2002:70). Provence blue on white-style decoration is also found at Dos de Cheval (Walthall 2007:113) (Figure 4.6). The proximity of Marseille to the production center of Moustiers makes it likely that these ceramics were not traveling through France inland, but were being picked up when the fishermen were offloading cod. These Provence-style vessels allow for trade links to be recreated between the area around Marseille, the ports of Brittany and Normandy and then Newfoundland, since this is probably the journey these wares made. Ongoing debate about where these decorative styles are definitively from indicates that they also might be from Nevers but Provence cannot be ruled out as a source (L'Anglais 2008). Kiln site testing has begun but, as with other French ceramics of this period, conclusions about faïence origins remain tentative (Bernier 2003; L'Anglais 2008).



Figure 4.6. White faience *assiettes* with Provence-style decoration in yellow and blue cat.
2759 and 9074.

4.5 Coarse Earthenware (CEW)⁷

The coarse earthenware on the site has been grouped based on colour and texture. Within the CEW there are those that have many large visible inclusions which are referred to here as *coarse* and those that although unrefined have a finer texture to their fabric, here referred to as *fine* coarse earthenware. In this way the CEW in the collection has been broken down into: fine beige, cream or buff wares, coarse beige cream or buff wares, coarse white to grey wares, fine terra cotta wares, coarse terra cotta wares, coarse pink-grey wares, and fine pink wares (Figure 4.7). CEW on the Petit Nord has been previously studied by Sarah Newstead in a seminar paper, and her categories (Petit Nord CEW type #) have been considered in the CEW analysis⁸.

The Breton wares are the most interesting of the French CEW in the collection, simply because they are the least well known and published. I am not trying to write a definitive work on the green-glazed CEW of southwestern France, or even to fully understand the origins of those ceramics originating in northern France in areas such as Beauvaisis. However, the Breton-type wares, which contribute close to half the CEW collection, offer the opportunity to study a class of earthenware that are originating at certain kiln sites in Northern Brittany, including Pabu-Guingamp, Lamballe, and Laval that are not yet fully understood. These Breton wares from Dos de Cheval contribute to the understanding of Breton CEW in all of Newfoundland and even North America (Pope and Batt 2008; Monette 2010).

⁷ See also Appendix 6, CEW forms

⁸ See Appendix 5, Newstead's 2006 CEW Classifications of the Petit Nord Ceramics.

CEW Ware Types

Colour	Fine	Coarse
Beige/Cream/Buff	Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware Fine beige with green glaze Fine beige with yellow glaze Fine pink-beige to pink-white with leopard skin glaze Fine beige unidentified	Coarse pink-beige Landicul-like = CEW type 13
White/Off white/Grey		Coarse beige-grey with yellow glaze = CEW type 1 Coarse white
Terra cotta	Ligurian-style = CEW types 2 and 10 Fine terra cotta unidentified	Coarse terra cotta with olive green glaze Coarse terra cotta with white slip and yellow glaze Coarse terra cotta unglazed = probable Breton
Pink-grey		Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze = CEW type 9 Coarse pink-grey / brown = Pabu Guingamp = CEW type 6 Pink-grey with brown glaze = CEW type 12 Coarse red-grey
Pink	Grey-pink with green glaze = Saintonge-like = CEW type 7 Pink slipware with sgraffito	

Figure 4.7. CEW chart illustrating how the collection was divided based on texture and colour.

The non-Breton wares, I have referred to as French wares. They include examples from western France, and northern French wares. There is some quite refined material in forms such as *écuelles*, and also rougher material in the form of *coquemars* and *pots tripode* in this French green-glazed ware.

The representation of green-glazed French wares, typical of 18th-century French sites such as Louisbourg, is relatively low at Dos de Cheval (Barton 1981). The green-glazed French wares, often (sometimes incorrectly) grouped under the category of Saintonge are a relative minority at Dos de Cheval, making this a distinctive northern French collection of Breton and Norman origin. There are Saintonge or possible Beauvaisis sherds scattered throughout the collection but none matched the vessels studied in detail here. As an example, in Event 1267 square W41S103 there was a sherd with a grey-beige fabric with yellow glaze that did not match any of the diagnostic sherds in the collection. However, since I am concentrating on functional analysis, these potentially interesting sherds are not included in my present analysis.

Within the CEW collection are a few English vessels. There are some Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware vessels. All of these have the same form: pots à posset. Most have typical fabric and glaze. One vessel has similar fabric but is quite different than the classic type in its decoration and may possibly be either an imitation of the type, or possibly a late version of the Staffordshire slipware-type.

4.5.1 French, Non-Breton Coarse Earthenware

Leopard-skin CEW

These vessels have a fine pink-beige to pink-white fabric with yellow lead glaze sprinkled with iron-rich powder which gives them a speckled or streaky black pattern, then clear glazed over top (Figure 4.8 a) (Barton 1981:12). Barton classes them as Saintonge slipwares and it is likely they are from this area (1981: 10). They are found at other North American French sites, and known vessel forms include *coupes*, *jarres* and *écuelles*. They probably have an 18th-century date (Barton 1981).

Fine beige with yellow glaze

These vessels have a homogenous and fine fabric with few fine inclusions. The colour of the fabric varies from beige to beige-white. They have a lead glaze that varies from yellow to pale yellow with some green patches (Figure 4.8 b). They fall roughly into the Petit Nord CEW type 11 (Newstead 2006). The fabric and the yellow glaze are similar on some examples to the style of Beauvais, though they could be of a southwestern France origin as well (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33). The Beauvais ceramics originate in the north of France, whose best known production center is Martincamp. These types of wares were also manufactured in the Pas-de-Calais, Seine-Maritime and Oise departments. These objects, of the Beauvais style, are probably of a late 17th- through 18th-century date. The known vessel types for ceramics in the style of Beauvais include *plats*, *assiettes*, various sizes of bowls, *poêlons* and *écuelles* (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33).

Fine beige with green glaze

This fine grey-beige fabric with bright green lead glaze likely either falls into the style of Beauvais or the style of Saintonge, but could not be confidently grouped with either (Figure 4.8 b)

Fine grey-pink to beige-pink with green glaze

This fabric is similar to Petit Nord CEW type 7 (Newstead 2006) or a Saintonge-type or southwestern French type of ware. The fabric is a hard grey-pink to beige-pink and the lead glaze ranges from olive to green (Figure 4.8 c). They are probably best described as green-glazed CEW of France. They fall into this category outlined by Brassard and Leclerc as such, with fabric ranging from white to white-pink and a lead glaze coloured green by a copper oxide, pale or dark, and sometimes brownish green (2001). They are usually glazed on the interior but also sometimes the exterior. They can date anywhere from the 16th to 18th century, so are found in many contexts at Dos de Cheval and other North American French sites (Barton 1977:48 Type 1; Barton 1981:16 Type L2; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:28-29). These green-glazed French wares possibly originated in the region of the Rhone Alps, the Saintonge region or the north of France (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:28-29). There were also green-glazed white-bodied CEW produced near Rouen (Ickowicz 1988:67). These French green-glazed wares were available in a wide variety of forms including those for food preparation, storage and service including *pichets*, *cruches*, *écuelles*, *coupes*, *poêlons*, *jarres*, *jattes*, *terrines*, *plats*,

assiettes, colanders, plate warmers, pots, ointment pots and other forms (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:28).

True Saintonge CEW was the principal type of vessel produced at La Chappelle-des-Pots in the 18th century. It was a large group in the Mauchault wreck indicating that it was important around 1760. (Barton 1981:16). Saintonge wares were widely exported, possibly as early as the 13th century, and up into the 17th century in England (Hurst 1974). The wares are thought to have been shipped downstream to La Rochelle and Port Bertaud (Barton 1981). The Saintonge green-glazed white fabric CEW has a creamy buff to pale pink colour but is generally a white chalky colour, and the texture is chalky and smooth. There are no deliberate inclusions but sometimes it will have small red ochrous pebbles or occasionally an admixture of red clay (Barton 1981:16, Brassard and Leclerc 2001:49). They are decorated by washing in a thick white slip over the inside, over which a copper-stained lead glaze is applied. The vessels are wheel thrown, not very well (Barton 1981:28). Objects found in Saintonge fabric include *assiettes*, *jattes*, hollow containers, *écuelles*, colanders, *jarres*, pots, two handled pots, *poêlons*, medicine jars, and *bouteilles* (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:49).

The Dos de Cheval vessels do not have the distinctive white slip of the Saintonge wares, making a classification into the more general French green-glazed CEW more appropriate. There are sherds in the collection that exhibit this white slip but for the most part they are very fragmentary, water worn and generally from the earlier events.

Unidentified fine beige fabric

These are vessels with fine beige fabric that do not fit into any of the other groupings (Figure 4.8 d).

Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze

These sherds are a very close match to Petit Nord CEW type 9 (Newstead 2006). We thought they might be Breton upon initial observation. However, they are generally lighter than the Breton reference sherds and are glazed in a lighter green rather than olive or brown glaze. The lighter green glaze and the light fabric may in fact be closer to Saintonge type wares. Object # 1317 was a suspected Breton sherd but inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) tests show this is a Saintonge type (Figure 4.8 e). However, I have left one of the vessels in this category in the Breton section, in part because of its abundance of mica (which does not necessarily rule out a Saintonge origin), and also because of its Pabu-Guingamp-like decorative incision at the shoulder.

Unidentified fine pink fabric

These CEW have a fine, smooth pink fabric with small red inclusions and a mottled yellow and brown glaze on the exterior, achieved by spattering iron material onto a lighter background, and clear glazing over top. The fabric is similar to Saintonge-type wares and the decor is similar to the leopard-skin type of glazing (Figure 4.8 f). This vessel could also represent the productions of northern France, such as Beauvaisis; however the fabric is pinker than typical Beauvaisis (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33).



Figure 4.8. a) Fine pink-beige to pink-white with leopard-skin glaze CEW, cat. # 1519. b) Fine beige with yellow glaze and Fine beige with green glaze CEW. cat. # 11241, 1243 and 1792. c) Fine grey-pink to beige-pink with green glaze (Saintonge-like) *pichets* cat. # 4601, 13203, 6895, and 1748. d) Unidentified fine beige fabric CEW cat. # 8152. e) Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze CEW cat. # 1317. f) Unidentified fine pink CEW cat. # 3809.

There are also unglazed pink to peach fabric in this category. The fabric is somewhat similar to Petit Nord CEW type 11 (Newstead 2006).

Fine pink slipware with sgraffito

This vessel has a fine pink fabric with a white slip, yellow glaze and floral and banded sgraffito decor (Figure 4.9 a). The slip, glaze and sgraffito are quite similar to Petit Nord CEW type 8 but the fabric is not white and chalky (Newstead 2006). This example is similar to Barton's type L4. Decoration executed in this way was common in the 17th and 18th century on both French and English ceramics (Barton 1981:25).

Coarse white unidentified fabric

This CEW has a coarse white fabric with opaque red and some quartz inclusions. It is glazed with chestnut/yellowish glaze on the interior with green and chestnut glaze on the exterior (Figure 4.9 b). The clay is almost like pipe clay in colour, but much coarser. It is likely a material from northern France; it appears similar but coarser than the fabrics of Beauvais, Paris, or the Loire region (Geneviève Duguay 2009 pers. comm.)

Unidentified fine terra cotta fabrics

Some of these fine terra cotta fabrics are too fine to be grouped with the Breton wares, although some of them approach Petit Nord CEW types 3 or 4 (Newstead 2006). They are subdivided within the category, as some of them have a fabric more similar to brown faïence (Figure 4.9 c) and some are closer to coarser Breton wares, but not as coarse. Those with coarser fabric have been grouped with the possible Breton wares



a.



b.



c.



d.

Figure 4.9. a) Pink slipware with sgraffito cat. # 2757. b) Coarse white unidentified fabric cat. # 13214. c) Fence like unidentified fine terra cotta colour fabric. cat. # 1340. d) Coarse terra cotta with a white slip and yellow glaze. cat. # 2665.

rather than here with the non-Breton wares. Some of these are unidentifiable because they are burnt.

Coarse terra cotta with white slip and yellow glaze

Many of the coarse terra cotta sherds fall into the Breton type of ceramics, however one example with a white slip and yellow glaze does not match the other coarse terra cotta sherds, and thus has been categorized as French, but not Breton (Figure 4.9 d).

4.5.2 Breton-type Coarse Earthenware

Recently, Peter Pope and other researchers have identified several varieties of CEW in Newfoundland that are of a Breton origin (Figure 4.10). They have a coarse fabric with high percentages of inclusions, due to the nature of the clay in Brittany, often with glaze on the interior or completely unglazed (Newstead 2006; Pope and Batt 2008). The natural inclusions in these fabrics can constitute almost half the volume (Giot and Querré 1987:149). Breton CEW productions were primarily utilitarian vessels. They were used as storage vessels and then sometimes reused as cookpots. They were also often intended as cookpots as evidenced by burned examples on the site, such as one that was mended by drilling after its handle broke (cat. 9150). We commonly find both relatively large vessels and, smaller, personal sized pots.

With the help of French colleagues Peter Pope has built up a type collection of these Breton wares and visual identification indicates that wares from Petit Nord fishing stations closely resemble Breton wares. Recent excavations at the Breton kiln site of Pabu-Guingamp have revealed an early modern earthenware with coarse pink-grey fabric

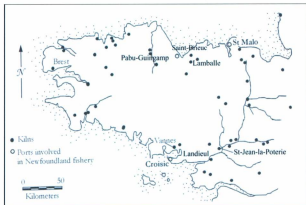


Figure 4.10. Kilns and Ports in Brittany (adapted from Pope 2003).

with fine mica, quartz inclusion and red grog or limonite (Pope and Batt 2008). Some of the Breton wares in the collection appear to be from this kiln site, among other kiln sites in Brittany, including those at Lamballe, and Laval.

We have recently sent Breton wares from the Petit Nord to have inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) done to confirm or refute our original visual identifications, through the comparison of chemical components. We were reasonably sure these are northern Breton sherds based on the close fabric make up, and these suspicions were confirmed when the samples tested were indeed Breton (Yves Monette 2010). However, visual identification of these Breton wares is extremely difficult (Newstead 2006).

Especially difficult to identify visually are the sherds that are potentially from the Landieul region in Brittany. Here, Landieul-like has been used to describe vessels that appear similar to fabrics from Landieul but cannot be confirmed as Landieul without further testing, and only possibly match the exact characteristics of the Landieul sample sherds (Newstead 2006). Yet, these are likely an obscure Breton ware and are possibly from a kiln or kilns near to the Landieul based on the close visual composition of the materials. Some geochemical analysis of the medieval pottery centres in Brittany has been underway for many years; however, examination of post-medieval Breton wares has only just begun, and the wares from different kilns are not well understood and difficult to differentiate visually (Giot and Querré 1987:155; Monette 2010).

Unidentified fine terra cotta

Those unidentified terra cotta wares with coarser fabric have been grouped here with the possible Breton wares, though their origin is not definitive (Figure 4.11 a).

Landieul-like fabric coarse pink-beige

The Landieul sample sherds range from a pink-beige/grey to brick red fabric. Visually all types are highly micaceous, with mica throughout the fabric and surface of the sherds and grains of quartz and limonite visible in the fabric (Figure 4.11 b). The Landieul sample sherds have been smoothed on both the interior and exterior and one sherd has a brownish-green glaze on the interior. Since visual identification of Landieul sherds has proven unsuccessful, those sherds exhibiting characteristics similar to Landieul sherds have been referred to as Landieul-like. These coarse, highly micaceous sherds are also equated to the Petit Nord CEW type 13 (Newstead 2006).

Coarse terra cotta

Coarse terra cotta is used as a blanket term here for all those wares that are coarse grained and have a terra cotta colour fabric, sometimes ranging into red-grey colour (Figure 4.11 c). They are most likely Breton wares, based on the reddish, pinkish fabric colour and the inclusions of quartz, and red grog or limonite. The coarse terra cotta fabrics are divided into those that are glazed and are similar to Petit Nord CEW type 4, and unglazed versions of a similar fabric. Object # 7304 is a chemical match to Saint-Jean-la-Poterie reference sherds (Monette 2010:36).



a.



b.



c.



d.

Figure 4.11. a) Possible Breton fine unidentified terra cotta, cat. # 7303. b) Coarse pink-beige Landieul-like, cat. # 12300. c) Coarse terra cotta with or without olive or brown glaze. This sherd is was ICP-MS tested and is a close match to Saint-Jean-la-Poterie sherds, cat. # 7304. d) Coarse terra cotta to red-grey. This vessel is chemical match to Guildo-Lamballe sherds with ICP-MS testing, cat. # 12866.

Coarse terra cotta to red-grey

These are all coarse, probable Breton fabrics that are not quite terra cotta, not quite the pink-grey of the Pabu-Guingamp-type fabric, but more of a red-grey, or greyish fabric. Object # 12866 (Figure 4.11 d) was ICP-MS tested and is a close match to fabric from Guildo-Lamballe (Monette 2010:36).

Pabu-Guingamp-like Breton fabrics

The pottery production site at Pabu-Guingamp produced everyday, utilitarian earthenwares, and was active from the Gallo-Roman period, and throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, from the 11th to 20th century. Pabu-Guingamp is located in the northern Breton department of Côtes d'Armor and its wares reached at least 50 km away to the market towns of Guingamp, Lannion, Paimpol and Morlaix; as well as the port of Saint Brieuc, which was heavily involved in the transatlantic fishery (Pope and Batt 2008). ICP-MS analysis has confirmed that many of these wares we have identified as potential Pabu wares are indeed Breton (Monette 2010:36). The Pabu-Guingamp sample sherds and the sherds identified as close matches from Dos de Cheval both exhibit a coarse pink-grey fabric with fine mica, quartz inclusions, and opaque white inclusions of calcinated quartz or fossil matter, as well as red grog or limonite or perhaps both (Newstead 2006). There are even some sherds (objects 1489, 10262) that exhibit decorative incisions nearly identical to those on our Pabu-Guingamp reference sherds. The Petit Nord CEW types 6, 9 and 12 are close visual matches to Pabu-Guingamp sherds

and initial results from ICP-MS analysis are consistent with productions in northern Brittany, which incorporates this production centre.

Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze

These sherds are a close match to Petit Nord CEW type 9 (Newstead 2006). They are generally lighter than the Pabu-Guingamp reference sherds but are none the less a close match in fabric, and are glazed in a lighter green rather than olive or brown glaze. Most of these have been classed as a non-Breton fabric, the lighter green glaze and the light fabric may in fact be closer to Saintonge type wares. However, one vessel seems closer to the Breton types (Figure 4.12 a).

Coarse pink-grey Pabu-Guingamp-like fabric.

These vessels that fall into the Petit Nord CEW type 6 and some that are similar to both Petit Nord CEW type 6 and 12 are the closest matches to Pabu-Guingamp fabric and have been called Pabu-Guingamp-like fabrics. It is likely they originate from a northern Breton kiln, some from Pabu-Guingamp itself. They range from pink-grey to almost brown fabric. Object # 5729 (Figure 4.12 b) exhibits a close chemical match to Guildo-Laval fabric (Monette 2010:36). Object # 1489 (Figure 4.12 c) and object # 9150 (Figure 4.12 d) are matches to Pabu-Guingamp fabric. Object # 7528 (Figure 4.12 e), and object # 11688 are similar to each other but not similar to any of the Breton kiln sherds tested so far (Monette 2010:36). Object # 12331 (Figure 4.12 f) is a match to fabric from Guildo-Lamballe (Monette 2010:36). This vessel is fairly burnt, but the general colouring of the fabric, the inclusions and the white striations in the fabric seemed like a good match to



Figure 4.12. a) Possible Breton coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/ light green glaze. cat. # 10262. b) Coarse pink-grey with orange-brown glaze *ouïe*, exhibits a close match to Guildo-Laval fabric. cat. # 5729. c) Pabu-Guingamp type sherd (top, photo Newstead 2006) and sherd tested to match Pabu-Guingamp fabric with incision. cat. # 1489. d) Cat. # 9150 tested to match Pabu type. e) Coarse pink-grey Pabu-like fabric. cat. # 7528 (tested but unknown) f) Cat. # 12331 tested and matches to Guildo-Lamballe fabric.

the Pabu-type. This illustrates how my category Pabu-type is really a broad category that means the vessels are probably from northern Breton kilns, rather than Pabu-Guingamp itself. Some of the vessels most certainly are Pabu-Guingamp, but until further work is completed on visual identification of these obscure Breton wares, production site names must be used with caution.

4.5.3 English CEW

Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware

There are six examples of Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware in the collection. The fabric is a fine buff or beige colour covered with a white or brown slip and decorated in a variety of ways with a lead glaze applied over it, giving it a brown and yellow colouration (Figure 4.13). Some vessels are close to classic examples and some are similar to the typical brown and yellow Staffordshire slipware but less finely made. I have referred to this ware as Staffordshire-type because they are a type from more than one place. It is associated with Staffordshire, but was produced in several centres in England. It was made in a wide variety of both utilitarian and tableware forms but only one form (the *pot à posser*) appears at Dos de Cheval. The production dates for Staffordshire slipware ranges from 1675 to 1770 (Barker 2001; Florida Museum of Natural History 2004). During the 17th and 18th centuries these wares found their way into North American and Caribbean colonies and were widely marketed (Barker 2001). The vessels found at Dos de Cheval were probably used by the French on the site, even though this is an English ceramic.



Figure 4.13. Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware *pots à posset*. cat. # 7802 and 7337

Several similar examples to the *pots à posset* at Dos de Cheval have been found at Québec sites. Published examples are found from Grande Place and Maison Estébe (1755-1810) (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:55; Lapointe 1998:183). Eighteenth-century examples of vessels with very similar form, fabric and decoration were recovered at Fort Michilimackinac (Miller and Stone 1970: 59-62 Fig 33).

4.6 Coarse Stoneware (CSW)⁹

4.6.1 Normandy Coarse Stoneware

Stoneware clays are relatively rare in France and the CSW production centres are close to these sources. One of these regions is Lower Normandy (Cartier 1999:74). Upper Normandy was characterized by the faïence of Rouen and Lower Normandy by the stoneware of Bessin, Cotentin and Domfront (Flambard-Hericher 2002:27). The Cotentin, Bessin and Domfrontais regions of Normandy, along with Beauvaisis, were the early leaders of stoneware production in France (Figure 4.14) (Dufournier 1996:98). The vast majority of CSW in the Dos de Cheval collection is Normandy CSW. Normandy CSW is a highly fired, non-porous ceramic typical of 17th- and 18th- century French sites in North America (Chrestien & Dufournier 1995: 92; Mock 2006). Stoneware was produced in Normandy from the end of the Middle Ages into the beginning of the 20th century. The first CSW in France was produced in the 14th century. However, production peaked in the 17th and 18th centuries and began to decline in the mid 19th (Cartier 1999:74; Gohel

⁹ See also Appendix 7, Coarse Stoneware Forms.

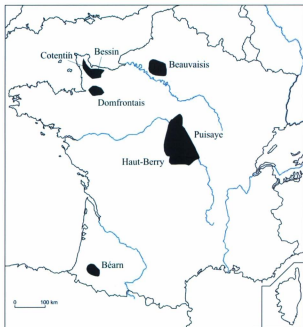


Figure 4.14 Stoneware production regions in France (adapted from Chrestien & Dufournier 1995:99 Fig. 3).

1996:92). Dos de Cheval has one of largest post 1700 collections of Normandy CSW in North America.

CSW is easy to produce, it holds liquids, and it is less costly than metal; its biggest fault is its fragility (Flambard-Hericher 2002:26). Normandy CSW forms are typically storage related. Its non-porous fabric made it a good shipping container (Chrestien and Dufournier: 1995:91). Normandy CSW was primarily used for conservation and transportation of salted food, fat and butter, as well as liquids and preserves (Chrestien & Dufournier 1995:92; Gohel 1996:91; Lamaitre: 2004:38). The Bessin-Cotentin products also include domestic items such as *pickets* and *cruchons* (Chrestien & Dufournier 1995:92). Normandy was close to a large body of water, had a growing mercantile economy, as well as sources of clay. These factors contribute to its growth as a ceramic production centre (Mock 2006:4-5). The ceramics themselves were not trade items but contained items such as wine, butter and salted meats (Mock 2006:5). Due to all these factors, Normandy forms at Dos de Cheval are generally storage or conservation related (Figure 4.15).

To obtain true stoneware the kiln must be between 1150 and 1350 degrees centigrade, depending on the type of clay (Dufournier 1996:98). Normandy CSW is distinguished from other French CSW by its rather dark surface firing colours ranging from red-brown to grey-black (Dufournier 1996:99). The Domfront CSW has a beige to beige-brown fabric, while the Bessin and Cotentin has a red wine colour fabric (Chrestien and Dufournier: 1995:91; Dufournier 1996:98; Flambard-Hericher 2002:174). A wide range of colours is found in Normandy CSW from Ger, including: grey, medium grey,



Figure 4.15. A range of Normandy CSW forms from Area C, EfAx-09.

dark grey, bluish grey, brown, chocolate brown, reddish brown, light or dark beige, greyish beige, and dark orange (Biancamaria 1996:99). All of these colours appear in the Dos de Cheval wares from Normandy. The exterior is usually matte, but can sometimes be fired to a lustrous finish depending on the positioning in the kiln, the type of kiln used and the use or not of sea salt in firing (Biancamaria 1996:99). The vessels were not intentionally glazed, but sometimes appear slipped as a result of firing (Lynch 1968:2).

The Bessin-Cotentin clay has a high iron content (which gives it its red colouring) and the peculiarity of being one of the lowest fired CSW fabrics known, starting at 1150°C, while the Domfront clay is fired at high temperatures of between 1250°C and 1300°C (Dufournier 1996:99). Production in Domfront preceded that in Lower Normandy, possibly in part because the Bessin-Cotentin clay required more control in kiln temperatures and did not fare well in too reductive an atmosphere (Dufournier 1996:99).

A little later than the 14th century diffusion of Normandy CSW reached Breton ports and eventually the early modern fisheries in Canada (Flambard-Hericher 2002:41). Normandy CSW is found on many sites throughout French North America, and a large sample was found at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Chrestien & Dufournier 1995, Lynch 1968). Lynch's wares 3, 4 and 5 are all probably Normandy CSW.

The Normandy CSW in the collection is generally a well made ceramic with neat rims and graceful, aesthetically pleasing lines. However, there is one class of poorly fired stoneware within the Normandy CSW bracket that is less well made (Figure 4.16). This poorly fired Normandy CSW grades into somewhat normal Bessin-Cotentin CSW in some instances. It is possible that it is more closely associated with Bessin-Cotentin than



Figure 4.16. A poorly fired Normandy CSW *sinot*. Cat. # 12703.

Domfront, although there are examples of both Domfront and Bessin-Cotentin CSW that are poorly fired and have thick black or dark grey either at the interior or exterior of both edges of the fabric where it has not fired evenly. There seem to be more examples that range in the brick-red to orange, then those that are in the brown family. It is possible that they are from somewhere around Bessin-Cotentin, because there is iron in the clay that gives it its red colour. Under-fired CSW or almost over-fired CEW was reported by Lynch at Louisbourg, though not in the same colours as their probable Normandy examples (Lynch 1968:4). It is possible that these vessels represent the work in a period of expanding production of Normandy CSW, or could simply be mistakes in firing that were typical of this vernacularly produced ceramic, that were a result of the low firing temperature of the Bessin-Cotentin clay (Flambard-Hericher 2002:31).

The boundary between Bessin-Cotentin and Domfront productions is not as clear as red versus brown fabric. Most of the time I was able to make accurate classifications concerning vessel origin but there are many cases where the fabric is reddish brown, or brownish red, where it seems prudent to just call it Normandy, rather than assigning a specific production area. Several of the poorly fired examples fall into this vaguer Normandy category as well. Most, if not all, of the Domfront or Bessin-Cotentin designations we have made are correct but in cases where I was not sure I have erred on the side of caution and not assigned a specific production centre. Sometimes the best and only way to tell the difference between the two is by taking samples for chemical analysis, which was not within the scope of the present project (Bruno Fajal 2010 pers. comm.).

Although much more widely distributed and produced at a larger scale than the Breton CEW, the Normandy CSW from Dos de Cheval still represents a vernacular industry and was produced at the artisanal scale into the 20th century (Flamhard Héricher: 2002). The ceramic industry was an extremely important industry in pre-industrial Normandy and ceramics were heavily used in both domestic activities and trades such as the fishery, until they were replaced by tin, aluminum and plastics (de Boüard & Bertaux 1978:23). As Normandy CSW became the preferred conservation container in northern France, it became tied to the expansion of agriculture and later to dairy farming (Dufournier 1996:99). Mindful of this, in comparison to the Breton CEW, the Normandy CSW is of a more industrial, post-1500 tradition. The ceramics themselves are more highly fired and more expensive, making them a better quality ceramic. By providing better storage and transport of liquids, butter, honey, lard and other fats essential to the diet of the fishers, Normandy CSW acted as a mechanism of the fishery. As a shipping container Normandy CSW was vital to the French migratory fishery. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries it enjoyed great success because of its utilitarian aspects (Cartier 1999:74). These shipping containers overwhelmingly dominate the collection and thus prove to be one of the most interesting areas of study in the collection and one of the most important contributions to the wider field of ceramic research.

4.6.2 Other CSW

There are a few examples of French CSW from Dos de Cheval that are most likely from Beauvais or the Loire region. These fabrics and exteriors are very light and very fine (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:91). Some of the CSW that has been classed as possibly

Domfront with the comment that it is very light in colour may in fact be a Beauvais or Loire type. One typical Beauvais grease pot rim is almost certainly from this region (Figure 4.17). One Anglo-American sherd was also found in excavations, but has not been included in the typology or vessel counts, since the form is not French, and because it seems most likely that this sherd is an invasive piece from a later, Anglo-Newfoundland occupation of the site.



Figure 4.17. Beauvais grease pot rim. Cat. # 2654.

Chapter 5: Vessel Forms and Typology

Many of the typical heights and diameters given here as form definitions are based on Ravoire's sample, not from Dos de Cheval, but the Dos de Cheval vessels do fit into these ranges (2006). Few of the Dos de Cheval types had more than one or two vessels with complete profiles, making measurement ranges difficult to compile. For vessel measurements see appendices one to three, five and six. As outlined in my methodology, the alphanumerical system works as follows: the letter refers to the form, the first number to the functional series, the second number to the type and the third number to the variant.

Tall closed vessels

With a neck and with a handle-Form A (Figure 5.1)

A1: *Pichet* (pitcher, ewer). This is a tall closed vessel with a neck and handle, used for the service of liquids. This form was in existence in the medieval ages in CEW and was common in CSW by the end of the 17th century. Ravoire's type A1 range: height 84-390 mm, rim dia. 26-124 mm, body dia. 45-384 mm (Cf. Ravoire 2006:120-122; Arminjon and Blondel 2002:160; Bresc-Bautier 2001:142-144; Lapointe 1998:121; Le François Frères 1990; Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982: 137 Fig 23).

A11 are *pichets* in French green-glazed CEW that have small dainty spouts and a constricted neck. They might look something like what Hugoniot calls a *petite cruche* (2002:82 no. 183). Within Ravoire's typology these are classed as *pichets*

because of the length of the neck. Alternatively they could be more like Hugonot's *pichets* (2002:86-87). It is difficult to determine their exact body shape from fragmentary vessels.

A12 This looks like the *ever* type of Chrestien and Dufournier (1995:98). It has an upright rim with a round handle. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 fig 1 f; L'Hour and Veyrat 1999:83 Fig. 30 *picher*; Ravoire 2006 type A15).

A2: *Cruchon* or *cruche* (jug or pitcher). This is a tall closed vessel with a neck and handle that is similar to a *pichet* but shorter, with a short, very tight neck and with or without a spout. These vessels are used for the service and conservation of liquids (Arminjon and Blondel 2002: 267). Ravoire's A3 range: height 88-190 mm, rim dia. 30-68 mm, body dia. 90-190 mm, neck dia. 18-52 mm (2006:125-126). (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995: 98 Fig 1 c, f; Le François Frères 1900; Guilluy 1991: 131; Lemaitre 2004:39 *cruche* XIX^es; Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982:136; Talbot-Senée n.d.; Stephen-Chauvet 1950: 17 Fig 21; Véronfils n.d.).

A21 These are *cruchons* in CSW with a simple, flared rim. This is a tight group, and all objects within the EfAx-09 A21 group are quite similar. (Cf. Biancamaria 1996: Plate 3 no. 10; Décarie 1999:46 Fig. 26 *Cruche à bec verseur*; Ickowicz 1988:129 Plate XXV: 3; L'Hour and Veyrat 2001 vol. 3: Plate 6 nos. 854 and 881).

Form A



A12 *pichet* cat. # 1705



A21 *cruchon* cat. # 1416



A2 *cruchon* cat. # 8361

Figure 5.1. Form A vessels with a neck and handle. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 1416 is from an original drawing by Amy St. John).

With a neck and without a handle- Form B (Figure 5.2)

B1: *Bouteille* (bottle). This is a tall closed vessel with a neck and without a handle.

Ravoiere's B1 range: height: between approximately 150-250 mm, body 112-134 mm (2006:126-127). They are used for liquid conservation and transportation. Some of the vessels are similar to those shown as *cièbre* in Bessin-Cotentin examples (Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982:139) (Cf. Chrestian and Dufournier 1995:98 Fig 1 b, c, d; Le François Frères 1900; Véronfils n.d.).

B11 are bottles with a ridge below the rim. A similar example appears at Louisbourg (Lynch 1963:37). There are also examples of 19th-century bottles with large shoulders that narrow at the base known as a *dames-jeannes*, rather than cylindrical bottles, although this is a rare form. (Cf. Biancamaria, J. F., 1996:101, 93 plate 1 #9, 94 plate 2 # 24; Décarie 1991:71 Fig 48; Lynch 1968:30 Fig. 6).

B12 are bottles with a simple, thickened, rounded rim. Some of these could be more of a *flacon* type but they have been classed within the more general bottle type where it is not obvious that they are small. (Cf. Chrestian and Dufournier 1995:98 Fig 1 d and c).

Without a neck and with a handle- Form C

C1: *Sinot* (Butter pot, handled pot, salted food pot). Ravoiere's *sinot* is a tall closed vessel without a neck and with a handle (Figure 5.3). This is a large, generally cylindrical vessel with a large flat handle. The form appears anywhere from the end of the 15th century to the start of the 20th. It is used as a butter pot, for transport and storage of butter, lard, salt

Form B



B1 bouteille cat. # 6250



B1 bouteille cat. # 8916



B11 bouteille cat. # 9602

Figure 5.2. Form B vessels with a neck, without a handle. Cat. # 6250 has been illustrated with a short neck similar to English bottle styles, but in reality the neck was probably much longer. Note the "MB" maker's mark on cat. # 6250. (Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*. Cat. # 8916 and # 9602 are from original drawings by Amy St. John)

Form C Functional Series C1



C1 *sinot* cat. # 6993



C1 *sinot* cat. # 9829



C1 *sinot* cat. # 12288



Probable C1 *sinot* cat. # 12700



C1 *sinot* cat. # 13268

Figure 5.3. A range of C1 *sinot* vessels. (Talva Jacobson for An Archaeology of the Petit Nord, cat. # 6993 and 12288 from original drawings by Amy St. John)

meat and fish. Ravoire's C1 range: height 210-450 mm, rim dia. 132-230 mm, body dia. 160-250 mm (2006:127-129). The Dos de Cheval examples fall more into the lower range around the 14-17 cm rim diameter range. Since they fall into the lower end, it is possible they functioned slightly differently. It has been suggested, that many of what I have grouped as *sinot* were not actually being used as butter or salt meat containers but as vessels for liquid instead (Bruno Fajal 2010 pers. comm.). They are, however, lacking the neck of a *pichet* or the tightening of a *cruchon* and are also lacking spouts, although the lack of a spout does not preclude them from storing liquid. *Sinots* were used for the transport and conservation of salted butter and salt food (Dalarun 1996:124; Lemaitre 2004:32). In many places what Ravoire refers to as *sinots* are referred to as butter pots (Stephen-Chauvet 1950:25; Lapointe 1998:100; Véronfils n.d.). Bresc-Bautier uses the term *sinot* for vessels that do not have a handle, as well as those that do (2001:70 Fig. 6).

The *sinot* has caused me more trouble than any other vessel form. What is a *sinot* to Ravoire is not a *sinot* to some other French archaeologists (Fajal 1999). It has been pointed out the term *sinot* is only used for Bessin-Cotentin vessels, and is not applicable to vessels that are not within this production (Bruno Fajal 2010 pers. comm.). Here I have fallen back on Ravoire's typological system; if the vessel falls into the category morphologically then I have fit it into that category. In his study of ceramics from Chateau de Dieppe Pierre Ickowicz refers to a Domfrontais butter pot as a *sinot* and states that: "the term *sinot* is usually used for this type of butter pot", though this might be a dated use of the term (1988:105). My type C16 (ex. Ob. # 8052) was possibly used for storing or serving liquid and quite plausibly would have been fitted with a lid that sat on

the inner edge of the rim (Bruno Fajal 2010 pers. comm.). However, this same form found at Louisbourg is called a *salted food jar* (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995: 99 Fig. 1 i). My use of Ravoire's term *sinot* seems to fit nicely with Chrestien and Dufournier's use of *salted food jar* (1995:98 Fig 1 a, i, j, k) and Décarie's *pot à beurre* or *jarre à une anse* (1999:29 Fig 8 and 9). In the catalogue of items from the Louvre Bresc-Bautier defines a *sinot* as a large cylindrical vessel with a large flat handle in Normandy stoneware that was used to transport butter and salt meat (2001:137-138). This interpretation allows these vessels to fit into Ravoire's *sinot* type, while possible use as liquid storage vessels does not allow them to fit neatly into any of the existing types. Object # 8052 does morphologically fit into Ravoire's category of tall, closed vessels, without a neck and with a handle. Arguably the function is not quite right, but at least with Ravoire's system the morphological definition cannot be disputed. Bresc-Bautier addresses this distinction by separating the *sinot* from other *pots de conservation* including *mahon* and *boyau*, which are pots smaller than *sinot* that are used for conservation of different foods. The term *mahon* is used for Normandy CSW, while the term *boyau* or the more general *pot à anse* are used for CSW and CEW. Bresc-Bautier notes that there is often some ambiguity between these smaller conservation forms and *cruches*, a problem I have encountered frequently in reconstructing forms of objects in the Dos de Cheval collection (2001:138).

For *sinot* definition (and others) I have considered the many functional options for these vessels. The diet in Newfoundland was very different than the diet in Normandy or Brittany and relied far more heavily on salted foods. It is thus quite possible that these vessels were being used for liquid or honey in Normandy and salted food, as the

Louisbourg analysis suggests, in Atlantic Canada. The use of the word *sinor* has been applied more generally here but the usage for anything other than Domfront productions may be a neologism, in certain archaeological circles.

C11 has been re-evaluated into the *cruchon* category and is now A21.

C12 has a horizontal rim that is more or less continuous from the body. Some are more rounded at the lip than others (Figure 5.4). This is not a particularly well defined type. (Cf. Décarie 1999:34 Fig. 14 g).

C13 has a short, rounded rim that has a distinct edge on the exterior but is continuous on the interior with a convex interior profile (Figure 5.4). These vessels have a late 18th-or 19th-century feel to them, but I have not found a comparative example that looks a lot like them. They are somewhat similar to examples of stoneware pots from Ger (Cf. Biancamaria 1996 Plate 3: 1).

C14 has a flat, horizontal rim that is folded over and little to no collar. This is an 18th-century or 19th-century type, probably post-1800 at Dos de Cheval (Figure 5.4). The rim seems similar to the 20th-century catalogue type rims, though there is no butter pot there. (Cf. Biancamaria 1996:97 plate 3 no. 7 and 9 (9 is a really good match); Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 J; Lynch 1968:34 fig. 8).

Form C Functional Series C1 Types 2 to 4



C12 sinof cat. # 8994



C12 sinof cat. # 8951



C13 sinof cat. # 1537



C14 sinof cat. # 5928



C14 sinof cat. # 9261



C14 sinof cat. # 5927, 5928 and 9261

Figure 5.4. Form C, Functional Series C1, Types 2 to 4. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 8951, 1537 and 5928 from original drawings by Amy St. John)

C15 has a horizontal rim that leads to a short upright neck-like collar then a rounded shoulder (Figure 5.5). This type is characterized by the right angles between the rim and the narrowing above the body. It is possibly a pre-1800 form. Some of these more closely match the early type than others and some are not as large at the shoulder as others. This is not as tight a grouping as other C1 types. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 k).

C16 has rims with interior profiles that are concave while the exterior is convex. These *sinots* have neat rims, not unlike some of the *coquemar* rims (Figure 5.5). This is probably a pre-1800 type and is similar to those found at Louisbourg dating from 1713 to 1763. The widest part of the body is the shoulder, which then tapers to the base. Type C16 is divided into two variants, one with sharper angles and a more upright rim than the other; however this division may be somewhat artificial. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Fig. 1 i; Dunton 1971:23 Fig 14 on the left; Lynch 1968:36 Fig. 9, ware 5 shape a, although the reconstruction is probably incorrect).

C161 is the curved variety of C16; the angles on the rim are not sharp. The point where the rim joins the body at the interior of the vessel is curved or smooth rather than sharp.

C162 is the more angular version of C16. The point at which the rim meets the body is defined by corners rather than curves and the rim and lip are more upright, approaching 90° in some examples.

Form C Functional Series C1 Types 5 and 6



C15 sinot cat. # 2493



C162 sinot cat. # 12464, 12289, 12701 and 12917



C162 sinot cat. # 12289



C162 sinot cat. # 12701



C15 sinot cat. # 12771



C161 sinot cat. # 8052

Figure 5.5. Form C, Functional Series C1, Types 5 and 6. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 12771 and 8052 from original drawings by Amy St. John)

C17 has upright rims that are thickened at the lip (Figure 5.6). This is a form that possibly continues into the 19th century. It does not closely match the Louisbourg or Place-Royale examples. It is also somewhat similar to some of the *mahon* type forms but with bigger rim diameters. (Cf. Décarie 1999:34 Fig 14 i but with less of a horizontal rim).

C18 has wide rims with concave interior profiles (Figure 5.6). They are similar to a smaller version of Figure 1 a in Chrestien and Dufournier but with a more concave interior profile and less horizontal rims (1995:99). All three from Dos de Cheval have a Bessin-Cotentin fabric that is like one of the fabrics described at Louisbourg (Lynch: 1968:9 Ware 3). Form C18 is probably a pre-1800 type.

C2: Tasse (cup). This is a medium open vessel without neck and with handle (Figure 5.7). They can be globular or straight sided, they generally have one vertical handle and often have a footring. They were used for service of liquids, generally hot (Arminjon and Blondel 2002:192). Their rim diameter is around 8-10 cm. Tea and coffee drinking did not become popular in France until the 18th century, so it is likely that these vessels on the site are from an 18th-or 19th-century context (Bruneau 1999:114). However, *tasse-vin* do appear in French 17th-century contexts. (Cf. Blanchette: 1981: 59 Fig. 4; Bresc-Bautier 2001:151; Genet 1996: 211 plate 58).

C21 is a *tasse* with straight sides. (Cf. Blanchette 1981:59 Fig 4 d).

C22 is a globular sided cup. Some are straighter and have only a slight curve to the body while others are more rounded. (Cf. Blanchette 1981:59 Fig 4 a, c).

Form C Functional Series C1 Types 7 and 8



C17 sinof cat # 7052



C18 sinof cat. # 9050



C18 sinof cat #. 13568



C18 sinof cat. # 2904, 9050 and 13568

Figure 5.6. One C17 type vessel and a range of C18 type vessels. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 13568 from an original drawing by Amy St. John)

Form C



C2 tasse cat. # 6728



C22 tasse cat. # 2482



C3 grease pot cat. # 2654

Figure 5.7. Form C vessels of functional series C2 and C3. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 2482 from an original drawing by Amy St. John)

C3: Grease pot. This is a tall closed vessel without a neck and with a handle (Figure 5.7). They were used for storage and conservation of food and are primarily found in Beauvais CSW. There is only one example in the Dos de Cheval collection. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:99 Fig 2 a).

Without a neck and without a handle- Form D

D1: *Flacon* (small bottle). This is a small bottle for the service, transport and conservation of liquids (such as eau-de-vie, pharmaceuticals, etc.) in small quantities (Figure 5.8). Ravoir's D1 range: height 46-88 mm, rim dia. 16-34 mm, body dia. 42-90 mm (2006:131). They generally have flared rims. There might be more in the collection since some *flacons* likely got classed with the general bottle category, where it was not possible to determine if they were small or large. (Cf. Bresse-Bautier: 2001:156; Chrestien and Dufournier 1995: 98 Fig 1 h; Décarie 1999:44 Fig 24; Cartier 1999:78 fig 272; Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982:151).

D2: *Petit Sinot* (small storage pot or ointment pot) is a tall closed vessel without a handle or neck (Figure 5.8). Dos de Cheval object # 7539 is a typical example. These vessels were most likely used for storage. There are some examples of very small *sinot* without handles in French collections that are the closest match to these that I have found; however, most small storage pots from other sites have a ridge at the collar of the vessel and a narrowing that allows a cover to be tied over it. It is possible that these are a variation on the *albarelle* type with a less distinct ridge or there is a faint possibility that they may be intended as a drinking vessel. They easily could have been used for storage

then reused as a drinking vessel; to non-ceramicist observers in the lab they certainly looked like cups, when I asked what people thought they were used for. This use would not have slipped the fishermen's notice. They only occur in Domfront Normandy CSW and were possibly made for export of some specific commodity or for a specific function. They really seem to be a less ridged, neckless version of the *albarelle* and could possibly be two varieties of the same general type. Based on the Dos de Cheval collection the diameter at the rim is about 6-8 cm, and total height is about 7-9 cm. (Cf. Biancamaria 1996:93 Plate 1 # 21; Bresc-Bautier 2001: 70 Fig 6; Lynch 1968:41 Fig 10, ware 5 vessel shape b).

D21 is a *petit sinot* type with rims similar to object # 7539.

D22 This type has a hooked rim profile, a rim with a concave interior profile and convex exterior profile. (Cf. Chretien and Dufournier 1995:98 Fig 1 i, rim shape is similar but vessels are smaller; Lynch 1968: Fig 10 ware 5 vessel shape b).

D3: Mahon (a cylindrical pot) is a tall closed vessel without a neck and without a handle (Figure 5.8). This cylindrical vessel is similar to a *sinot* but smaller and without a handle. Rim diameters are about 80-110 mm. They are used for conservation of lard in salt and butter in salt and in general conservation (Fajal 1999:84). They appear similar to some honey pot types (Lepottevin and Leberruyer 1982:132). The term *pot cylindre ou mahon* is sometimes used (Le François Frères 1900). The definition of this smaller storage vessel is tricky. Dalarun (1996:124) states that when a *sinot* takes a cylindrical form it is called a

Form D



D1 *facon* cat. # 6565



D1 *facon* cat. # 7527



D2 *petit sinot* cat. # 7559



D21 *petit sinot* cat. # 7539



D22 *petit sinot* cat. # 2743



D3 *mahon* cat. # 9048

Figure 5.8. Form D tall closed vessels. (Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 7527, 7539 and 9048 from original drawings by Amy St. John)

maïoum; a production that is infrequent in Cotentin (1996:124). Bruno Fajal defines them as cylindrical stoneware pots which are generally attributed to the workshops producing stoneware at Bessin and Cotentin (1999:84). Cartier calls a roughly cylindrical vessel with a rim diameter of 11.4 cm a *pot à conserver* (1999:78 Fig 271). Bresc-Bautier states the term *maïon* should be reserved for Normandy CSW vessels which are reductions of *sinots*, more or less cylindrical, or sometimes slightly globular, used for containing various products (2001:138-139 Fig 52). This final definition is somewhat vague, but it is closest to the way that I have utilized the term.

A-D: Tall, Closed Vessel. Many of these tall closed vessels are base pieces that do not enable us to determine if the vessel has a neck or handle. In the case of this study it is fairly safe to assume that many, if not most, of these tall closed vessels fall into the *sinot* category, due to similarities in shape and thickness to the known *sinots* of many of the sherds that fall into this ambiguous category.

Medium Closed Vessels

Without a neck and with a handle-Form F

F1: *Coquemar* (cook pot, cooking jug) is a medium closed vessel with no neck and one handle (Figure 5.9). They have ovoid bodies, short rims and a vertical handle, generally fixed to the rim. Ravoir's F1 range: height 60-260 mm, rim dia. 50-280 mm, body dia. 46-360 mm (2006:132-140). They are small pots for heating and reheating liquids in the embers (Ickowicz 1988:70). The form has existed since the middle ages. It

Form F Functional Series F1



F1 coquemar cat. # 12300



F11 coquemar cat. # 10526 and 1788



F12 coquemar cat. # 12666



F13 coquemar cat. # 9150



F142 coquemar cat. # 7303



F142 coquemar cat. # 7528

Figure 5.9. Functional series F1 vessels. (Illustrations for cat. # 12330, 7303 and 7528 adapted from Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord* from original drawings by Amy St. John; cat. # 9150 illustration Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord* from an original drawing by Amy St. John)

is a simple globular form, with traces of burning opposite the handle. Generally the body diameter is double the base diameter (Ravoire 2006: 110). Up until 1600, the rims were more upright and from 1600 to 1800 oblique rims were more common (Lemaître 2004:34). The Louvre catalogue breaks them into categories by height: large, 28-29 cm; medium, 21 cm; and small, 11-14.5 cm (Bresc-Bautier 2001:135). Examples in the Dos de Cheval collection with complete or close to complete profiles fall into the small category; however, most of the large vessels are too fragmentary to judge heights. With a collection with more complete profiles I would have followed the Louvre system, breaking the *coquemars* into size categories, since the term *coquemar* is sometimes used for only very small vessels, but here I have applied it more generally to one handled cook pots as in Ravoire. Stephen-Chauvet refers to similar vessels as *potets* or *potins* (1950: 25 Fig. 36a).

F11 is a type of *coquemar* with an oblique rim with a slight hook inwards at the lip and a thickening at the rim. Examples in the collection are fragmentary but all have similar lips.

F12 is a *coquemar* type that has a more horizontal rim than the typical *coquemars* and a wide flat handle. (Cf. Ravoire's 2006 F13).

F13 is a *coquemar* with a rim that approaches an upright profile but is angled slightly outwards at about 55° to 70°. The internal face of the rim profile is not convex but flat and the exterior profile of the rim is flat or slightly convex. The lip is only slightly thickened or not thickened at all. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F142).

F14 is a *coquemar* type characterized by small neat rims with lips that hook slightly inwards. The rim is oblique, the interior face of the rim is concave, and the exterior face can be rectilinear concave or convex. They most closely match Ravoire's F151.

F141 is a variant of type F14 that has a rim profile that angles outwards at between 60° to 80°.

F142 is a more concave inner rim profile and more convex outer rim profile version of F14. They have a small, neat hooked rim. F142 is a small variety of *coquemar* most similar to Ravoire's type 151. (Cf. Brain 1979:54 Type B Variety 4, Type B Variety 4, C-68).

F2: Pot tripode (pipkin, tripod pot). This is a medium closed vessel without a neck and with a handle (Figure 5.10). These vessels have a globular body and three little feet. They are derived from metal cauldrons of the middle ages. They are designed to be used in fire for cooking liquids and soups. Ravoire's F4 range: height 84-210 mm, rim dia. 88-234 mm, body dia. 80-228 mm (2006:145-147). The Dos de Cheval examples are all at the smaller end of these ranges. Bresc-Bautier refers to these type of vessels as *marmite tripode* (2001:133-134). (Cf. Lapointe 1998: 136).

F3: Pot de chambre (chamber pot). This is a medium closed vessel without a neck and with a handle (Figure 5.10). They are related to health and hygiene. Ravoire's F6 range: height 124-162 mm, rim dia. 110-200 mm and body dia. 126-168 mm (2006: 149-150). *Pots de chambre* became popular in the 18th century. Their function is sometimes

ambiguous, since other vessel forms could easily be used for this function. The *pot de chambre* form has similar dimensions to a *sinot* or a *coquemar* but the one example in the Dos de Cheval collection is made of faïence, not CSW or CEW. The available range of forms in a ware type helped to determine function. (Cf. Arminjon and Blondel 2002:316; Bresc-Bautier 2001:153; Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982: 150).

F4: Pot à posset (posset pot). This is a medium closed vessel without a neck and with a handle, generally two (Figure 5.10). It was used for consuming posset which was hot milk with beer, wine or other alcohol, plus sugar and spices (Cf. Brassard and Leclerc 2001:55; Lapointe 1998: 18, 183; Miller and Stone 1970: 59-62 Fig 33).

F5: Pot with a hook (pot). This is a medium closed vessel without a neck and with a handle (Figure 5.10). This type is represented by only one vessel in the collection. It had a small hook attached to the rim as a means of gripping, rather than a full handle. The rim diameter is 18 cm. It might fall into the *coquemar* type but was separated because it is unclear that this vessel serves the same function as a *coquemar*. I have not found a published example of a pot with this kind of hook.

A, C, F: Closed vessel with handle These are possibly large mugs or coffee pots when in Ligurian-style wares. They could also fall into the *tasse* category.

Without a neck and without a handle-Form G

G1: Oule (pot). This is a medium, globular bodied, closed vessel with no neck and no handle. They were used for both storage and cooking (Figure 5.11). Ravoire's G1 range:

Form F



F3 pot de chambre cat. # 8220



F2 pot tripode cat. # 2907



F5 pot with hook cat. # 3809



F4 pot à posset cat. # 7337



F4 pot à posset cat. # 7802

Figure 5.10. Form F, medium closed vessels without a neck, with a handle. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 8220 and 2907 from original drawings by Amy St. John).

height 132-177 mm, rim dia. 106-135 mm, body dia. 180-228 mm (2001:151-152).

Lemaître describes it as a *pot sans anse* (2004:33).

A-G: Closed vessels: The term *closed vessel* was used to describe vessels that were composed of only a base sherd or an indistinct rim when all we can say about the vessel is that it is closed rather than open.

Medium open vessels

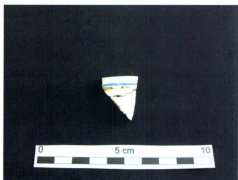
Without a neck and without a handle-Form J

J1: Albarelle (Albarello, ointment pot). This is a medium open vessel with no neck and no handle (Figure 5.11). They are used for small quantities of things such as spices, medicine and sugar in cuisine and conservation. The shape is common in the 18th century, especially in faïence; however they also occur in Beauvais fabric from the 16th century onwards (Bresc-Bautier 2001:140-141). Cartier points out that *pots à usage pharmaceutique* found in French CSW are a reproduction of the Italian faïence *albarellos* of the 16th century (1999:77). Ravoire's J1 range: height 40-174 mm, rim dia. 30-92 mm, body dia. 28-104 mm (2006: 156-158). They are similar in shape to the vessels I have dubbed *petit sinot* and serve a similar function. I have split these categories based on the tightening below the rim and the ridge that allows closure on the *albarelles*. The Augustin Véronfils catalogue illustrates small *pots à confitures* et *à onguent* that have very tight necks and pronounced shoulders that my *petit sinot* lack (n.d. c. 1900). Décarie refers to the CSW versions of this form as *pots à conserves* ou *à onguent* (1999:55-59).

Forms G and J



G1 oule cat. # 6867



J1 albarello cat. # 2896

Figure 5.11. Form G and Form J vessels.

F-J: Medium open or closed vessels are rim sherds with a small diameter that are likely *albarelles* but may be cups, when they are found in white faïence. If CEW they are likely *coquemars*.

Low open vessels

Without a neck and with a handle-Form M

M1: *Écuelle* (porringer). This is a low, open vessel with no neck and with handles (Figure 5.12). *Écuelle* are used for food service and other functions but primarily for consuming small quantities of hot foods such as *potages*, *ragoûts* and *boullions* (Bresc-Bautier 2001:150; Lapointe 1998:171). This form is shallower in relation to diameter compared to a cup. Ravoire's M1 range: height 38-78 mm, rim dia. 84-220 mm, body dia. 80-212 mm (2006:163-164). These vessels are generally accompanied by a lid, especially from the 18th century onwards (Arminjon and Blondel 2002: 104; Lapointe 1998:171). They can have ear-like handles and/or vertical or horizontal loop handles (Arminjon and Blondel 2002:104-107).

M11 are *écuelles* with small horizontal or vertical loop handles, as opposed to more ear-like handles. (Cf. Bresc-Bautier 2001:150 Fig. 77; Arminjon and Blondel 2002: 104 Fig. 534-536).

M12 are an *écuelle* type with an ear like handle. (Cf. Blanchette 1981 pg 61 figure 6 A; Genêt 1996 page 137, plate 19 a-g).

M2: *Terrine* (large pan with a handle). This is a low open vessel with no neck but with a handle (Figure 5.12). They have a large flat base, with a concave or rectilinear body and are used for the preparation and service of food. They generally have a spout. Ravoire's M2 range: height 60-104 mm, rim dia. 124-330 mm, body dia. 124-33 mm (2006:165-168). (Cf. Arminjon and Blondel 2002:22; Bresc-Bautier 2001:136; Lapointe 1998:119; Le François Frères 1900; Lepoittevin and Leberruyer 1982:146; Talbot Senée n.d.; Veronfils: n.d.).

Form M21 is a variety of Brown faïence *terraine* or cooking pot that has two horizontal handles, a ridge at the exterior about 1 cm below the lip, a foot ring and a bowl shaped body. (Cf. Blanchette 1981:61 Figure 6 C).

M3: *Poëlon* (frying pan). This is a low open vessel with no neck and with a handle used for frying and cooking eggs among other things (Figure 5.12). These likely would have been put on a tripod over the heat (Bruneau 1999:105). Ravoire's M3 range: height 54-80 mm, rim dia. 180-250 mm, body dia. 126-246 mm (2006:168-170). This form generally has a hollow handle when made in ceramic, and sometimes has feet (Arminjon and Blondel 2002:45). The hollow handle sherd in the Dos de Cheval collection has a bulbous edge and narrow opening that would be atypical of a *gourde* or *bouteille* mouth. There is a possibility this sherd could be the mouth of a *gourde*, however in the 17th to 19th century liquid storage vessels in ceramic in northern France would typically be made of CSW, not CEW, strengthening the case that this is in fact a *poëlon* handle.

Form M



M11 écuelle cat. # 1792



M12 écuelle cat. # 11025



M21 terrine cat. # 2756



M3 poëlon cat. # 7304



M4 jatte cat. # 2665

Figure 5.12. Form M vessels. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*).

M4: Jatte (large pan). This is a low, open large vessel with no neck, with or without one or two horizontal handles (Figure 5.12). It has a spout and is used for service and preparation of foods. Ravoire's M5 range: height 102-219 mm, rim dia. 212-429 mm, body dia. 200-429 mm (2006:173-175).

Without a neck and without a handle-Form N

N1: Coupe (bowl). This is a low open vessel with no neck and no handle (Figure 5.13). Each has a rim that is continuous from the body, with a rounded lip. They sometimes have a foot ring. The *coupe* probably served a similar purpose to a *plat* or an *assiette* for the service and consumption of food. Ravoire's N7 range: total height: 102 mm, rim dia. 306 mm and body dia. 100 mm (2006:187). This vessel is somewhat similar in form to what Genêt calls a *bassia* (1996: 117 plate 11).

N2: Plat (dish, platter). This is a low open vessel with no neck and no handle (Figure 5.13). Ravoire divides *plats* into two groups (both N2): one with rim diameters of 200-300 mm and depth of 20-60 mm and a second with diameter of 300-350 mm and depth of 60-120 mm (2006:179-182). I am using *plat* to define any sort of platter or dish with depth and a rim diameter of 25 cm or larger. They have large flat bases and winged sides. Many of the Dos de Cheval *plats* are in brown faïence.

N21 These vessels are ridged *plats* in Ligurian-style CEW. (Cf. Amouric and Vallauri 2007:212 Fig. 13; Amouric 1999:124 Fig. 248 and 250; Barton 1981 Fig. 34 # 15-19).

Form N



N1 coupe cat. # 5512



N21 plat cat. # 6336 and 12863



N232 plat cat. # 13392



N22 plat cat. # 1665



N4 soucoupe cat. # 12829

Figure 5.13. Form N vessels (N3 are depicted separately). (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord* from original drawings by Amy St. John).

N22 A *plat* with a foot ring. This vessel has a wide horizontal rim. The vessel body has a convex exterior and concave interior.

N23 are *plats* with wavy or undulating edges. They are further divided into those that are oval, and those that are round, though from a rim sherd it is sometimes difficult to determine if the vessel is round or oval. (Cf. Genêt 1996: 147-151 plate 28 and 26).

N231- oval *plat* with wavy edges. (Cf. Genêt 1996:151 plate 28 a, b, c).

N232-round *plat* with wavy edges. (Cf. Genêt 1996:47 plate 26 a, b).

N24 *Plat* with simple edges. (Cf. Genêt 1996:149 plate 27 a, b).

N3: Assiette (plate). This is a low open vessel with no neck and no handle (Figure 5.14). The form is absent among ceramics of the medieval period. Examples date from the 16th century and *assiettes* find success with the diffusion of white faience in the 17th century (Bresc-Bautier 2001:144). I have classed *assiettes* as vessels with a rim diameter of less than 25 cm to differentiate from *plats*. This division is consistent with the examples given by Bresc-Bautier from the Louvre, those in the Château-Musée de Dieppe catalogue exposition (2000), and with the POTS typology system where plates have diameters of between 7-10 inches (17.8-25.4 cm) (Beaudry et al. 1983: 33; Bresc-Bautier 2001:145). *Assiettes* were used for personal eating and service and are not as deep as a dish or platter. Essentially where Ravoire has divided her *plat* into two categories: those with larger

diameters and greater depth and those with less depth and smaller diameters, I have made

Form N Functional Series N3



N32 assiette cat. # 3918



N31 assiette cat. # 7773



N341 assiette cat. # 7302



N36 assiette cat. # 9074



N35 assiette cat. # 13677



N33 assiette cat. # 10525

Figure 5.14. A range of functional series N3 vessels. (Illustrations by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, cat. # 3918 and 7302 from original drawings by Amy St. John.

the distinction between *plat* and *assiette*. Giving the larger dishes the name *plat* by which I mean more of a platter or dish than a plate (2006:179-182). I have used *assiette* essentially to mean the English equivalent of plate. This distinction seemed necessary with the 18th- and 19th-century material. One must keep in mind that the Ligurian-style and the faïence *assiettes* in the Dos de Cheval collection are still deeper than what we typically think of as a plate today and are what some people would call a dish. However, I felt making the distinction between *assiette* and *plat* aids in the understanding of the function of these two types, as the large, deep, brown faïence *plats* and the shallower, smaller Ligurian-style and white faïence *assiettes* were likely used for different purposes by the fishermen on the site. It is possible that these *assiettes* were used for both liquids and solids (Ickowicz 1988:68).

N31 has a rounded lip which is thickened at the exterior.

N32 has little or no thickening at the rounded lip.

N33 is an *assiette* with a foot ring located near to the rim of the vessel. Only one example is present in the collection.

N34 is a hollow deep plate with a flat bottom and steeply angled sides in brown faïence.

N341 is a hollow deep plate with a flat bottom and straight steep sides.

N342 is a hollow deep plate with a flat bottom and curved steep sides.

N35 is an *assiette* with a scalloped edge. (Cf. Genêt 1996:109-111 plates 7 and 8).

N36 is an *assiette* with no noticeable thickening at either the interior or exterior of the lip, with a simple, round profile. Some examples have decoration around the rim. (Cf. Genêt 1991:103 plate 4 a, b, c).

N4: *Soucoupe* (saucer). A *soucoupe* is a low open vessel without a neck or handle, used for food service. They are similar to an *assiette* only smaller (Figure 5.13). There are not many *soucoupes* in the Dos de Cheval collection. One example has a rim diameter of approximately 14 cm. The form is probably more common in the 18th and 19th centuries with the rise of tea and coffee tableware (Bruneau 1999:114). Examples from Dos de Cheval are found in white faïence. (Cf. Château-Musée de Dieppe 2000 Fig 92; Genêt 1991:195-197 Plates 50 and 51).

N5: *Coupelle* (bowl, tea bowl) This is a low open vessel without a neck or handle sometimes with a foot ring. It was likely used for the service and consumption of food, liquid or solid; however the function is not certain. Some consider them drinking vessels that may have had multiple uses (Bresc-Bautier 2001:151). Ravoire classes them into the consumption of food category. Ravoire's N1 range: height 22-66 mm, rim dia. 48-186 mm, and body dia. 48-190 mm (2006: 177-179).

M-N: Low open vessels These are vessels that probably fall into the *plat* or *terrine* type categories.

Objects

Objects for the preparation, eating, conservation, and consuming of food and drink-

Object X

X1: *Gourde* (flask). A *gourde* is an object, Ravoire's X1, that does not fit into any of Ravoire's typological categories. These were globular or spherical bottle-like vessels with a tight neck and strap handles, used for the transport and consumption of liquids. They can have two or four handles that were used to suspend the vessel (Bresc-Bautier 2001:141; Ravoire 2006:189-191)

X2: *Couvercle* (lid). A *couvercle* is an object, Ravoire's X5, that does not fit into Ravoire's typological categories (2006:192-193). It falls into the cooking functional group, since it was used to close cookpots (Figure 5.15); however they can also be used to close storage vessels or for service vessels intended for the table (Bresc-Bautier 2001: 152; François Frères 1900; Veronfils n.d.).

Summary

The range of forms in the collection includes vessels relating to all of Ravoire's functional categories, illustrating how ceramics served many functions for the fishermen. A visual summary of the Dos de Cheval forms is provided in Figure 5.16. However, these are only typical examples of each functional series found at Dos de Cheval and do not represent the variations present within the collection or morpho-dimensional possibilities for each form. As some of these vessel forms are little understood and highly variable it is difficult to pinpoint a typical example for each.

Objects X



X1 gourde cat. # 8338



X2 couvercle cat. # 7306

Figure 5.15. Type X1 and X2 objects. (Illustration by Talva Jacobson for *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*)

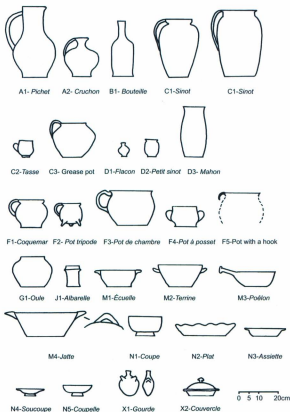


Figure 5.16. The array of vessel forms (functional series) from Area C, Dos de Cheval.

Chapter 6: Interpretations

6.1 Wares and Forms

The assemblage from Area C at Dos de Cheval is large but not particularly varied. It consists primarily of ceramics either from northern France or the Mediterranean. The nature of the ceramics strongly reflects the fact that the migratory fishery was provisioned in local, bounded areas of Normandy and Brittany. The largest groups are the Normandy, Breton and Ligurian-style wares as well as the brown faïence, primarily in the Rouen-style (Table 6.1). Normandy stoneware accounts for 48 percent of the collection (excluding the REW) and most of the CSW forms are either large or small storage pots. The Breton wares are abundant among which *coquemars* dominate. The Ligurian-style (or North Italian style) wares are plentiful but are almost exclusively *assiettes*.

It is immediately clear that migratory fishermen in Atlantic Canada relied heavily on storage vessels (Table 6.2). As might be expected, the ceramic signature of a migratory site is high in transport and conservation vessels. The fishermen were bringing all of their primary food sources with them, many of which would be stored in pots. Butter formed an important part of the diet in northern France in the 17th and 18th centuries (Flandrin 1983). The migratory fishermen certainly needed butter in the Newfoundland environment where protein was abundant in the form of fish but fat was difficult to obtain. The diet of the period in New France consisted of a high percentage of salted and dried food and the cooking methods were simple, including baking, frying, roasting and cooking in liquids (boiling simmering, stewing), to make a variety of simple

Vessel Form and Ware Minimum Number of Vessels at EZAs-09, Area C.

Vessel Form	Beauvaisis CSW	Normandy CSW	Breton CEW	French CEW	Ligurian style	English CEW	Brown Falcon	White Falcon	Total	%
<i>Assiette</i>				1	70		7	9	87	21
<i>Singe</i>		76							75	18
<i>Tall Closed</i>		51	2	3					56	14
<i>Petit Singe</i>		29							29	7
<i>Couquemar</i>			22	4					26	6
<i>Plat</i>				2	3		11	1	17	4
<i>Tasse</i>							9	7	16	4
<i>Mahon</i>		11							11	3
<i>Bouteille</i>		11							11	3
<i>Cruchon</i>		7	1						9	2
<i>Flacon</i>		6							6	1
<i>Pichet</i>		3		3					6	1
<i>Pot à Pisser</i>						6			6	1
Unidentified			1	4	1				6	1
<i>Terrine</i>			1	1			3		5	1
Low Open				1			2	2	5	1
Closed		1	1		3				5	1
<i>Écuelle</i>				3			1		4	1
<i>Coupe</i>				1			3		4	1
<i>Por Tripode</i>			1	2					3	0.7
<i>Atharelle</i>		1						2	3	0.7
Medium Closed			2	1					3	0.7
Open				1	2				3	0.7
<i>Auto</i>				2					2	0.5
<i>Oile</i>			2						2	0.5
<i>Coupelle</i>				1				1	2	0.5
<i>Souscoupe</i>								2	2	0.5
<i>Poillon</i>			1						1	0.2
<i>Pot de chambre</i>								1	1	0.2
Pot with Hook				1					1	0.2
Grease pot	1								1	0.2
<i>Gourde</i>		1							1	0.2
<i>Convercle</i>							1		1	0.2
Total	1	197	34	31	79	6	37	25	410	97
Percent	0.2	48	8	8	19	1	9	6	99	

Table 6.1. Minimum number vessel counts for each ware type. Percent totals are not 100 due to rounding.

Vessel Function at EFAx-09

Functional categories	Vessels with known function	%	Vessels with estimated function	%	Vessels with conservation of liquids added to storage	%
Food Preparation	9	3	14	4	14	4
Cooking	32	10	40	10	40	10
Service and Consumption of Food	122	37	125	31	125	31
Conservation, Transport, Service, and Drinking of Liquids	48	15	48	12	31	8
Transport and Conservation of Food	116	35	167	42	184	46
Health and Hygiene	4	1	4.0	1	4	1
Total	331	101	398	100	398	100

Table 6.2. Vessels broken down into functional categories. Estimates are the vessels that the function is not 100 percent certain but confident. *Bouteilles* and *flacons* were added to the storage and conservation category to include liquid storage. Six unidentified vessels and 5 closed vessels are missing from the functional counts. Where percent totals do not equal 100 it is due to rounding.

dishes (Dunton and Johnston 1986:73). This diet could be supplemented with wild game, and faunal evidence at Dos de Cheval suggests this was the case. However it was probably only the officers on site who had time to hunt game, other than the occasional seabird (Noël 2010).

Further work in dividing the early from late occupations may reveal an even larger percentage of storage vessels in the earlier period, since the Ligurian-style plates make up a significant portion of the collection and were not widely distributed until the 18th century. Of the vessels that can be assigned a functional category, 42 percent fall into Ravoire's storage and conservation of food category. By adding storage and conservation of liquids (*bouteilles* and *flacons*) into the storage category, the conservation of food and liquids jumps to 46 percent. This is not to say that bottles and *flacons* were not used for service as well as storage. This is one of the complications in functional interpretations; sometimes the intended function is not necessarily the only function. It is likely that many vessels used as cookpots did not arrive on the site empty, so they blur the lines between storage and cooking vessels; potentially making the storage and conservation category more than half of the collection.

When examining the functional groups of ceramics on the site, other artifact groups must be kept in mind. Wooden containers such as barrels and casks play an important role in the preservation of solid and liquid food and were most certainly being used on ships. Basketwork *panniers de beurre* were used for fresh butter in Normandy but not as frequently for salted butter destined for export (Fajal 2009:82). The plentiful wine bottles at Dos de Cheval attest to the fact that glass containers were especially

important in conserving liquids and sometimes solids. Household cookware such as pans, water kettles, casseroles and cooking pots were made of metal, particularly copper (Blanchette 1981:95). It is probable that the fishing crews were cooking communal meals for crews of at least five or more, using large metal pots and pans. Finally, metal could be used for plates, goblets, forks, spoons, and other utensils (Blanchette 1981:95). We do not find much in the way of metal utensils or cookware in the collection at Dos de Cheval, but these would not break easily, or if they did break they would be salvaged. Glass vessels on the site certainly complemented the ceramics, as would the metallic and organic assemblages. Glass vessels include bottles (including both wine and alcohol bottles and small pharmaceutical ones) and serving glass (including stemware and tumblers). Other glass such as oil lamps and possible ink bottles are also present in the assemblage. However, only preliminary study of these other classes of artifacts has been undertaken and it is beyond the scope of this research to undertake a detailed study of all the other materials that relate to the ceramics in assemblages on the site.

Mended ceramics, such as the obvious example with a hole drilled in it (object # 9150) (Figure 6.1), and also those with possible traces of pewter or lead staples (object # 2907) (Figure 6.2), illustrate the fact that the fishermen only had access to what they had brought with them. These vessels were not treated as disposable, but reused. It is likely that cook pots that show evidence of burning arrived at Dos de Cheval full of grease, lard, or some other sort of fat (Lemaitre 2004:38). Even some of the Normandy CSW *sinots* were found in contexts of burnt areas or hearths, and show evidence of being burnt, either from destructive burning of cabins and stages at the end of a season, or from use in the



Figure 6.1. A *coquemar* with a hole drilled in it and evidence of burning on the broken handle edge (object # 9150).



Figure 6.2. A pot with possible traces of pewter or lead staples on one sherd. Staining is visible on the opposite side, though to a lesser extent. Alternately this could be excess lead from the glazing process (object # 2907).

heat as containers for cooking food. The only ceramics these fishermen had were the ones they brought over with them. Unlike many sites in New France, local CEW do not come into play. Due to the fact that this is a seasonal site with a singular purpose, rather than a settlement site, production of local goods was not a priority. Local trade was limited, with fresh produce or meat being more likely acquisitions than commodities stored in ceramics (Noël 2010).

The ceramics at Dos de Cheval represent a unique assemblage, related to the migratory French fishery in Newfoundland. The migratory nature of the site clearly influences the types of ceramics found there. The collection is heavily weighted towards transport and conservation vessels in comparison with most sedentary sites, resulting from the need to continually transport summer supplies. Some early modern English sedentary sites in Newfoundland have similar proportions of storage related vessels for similar reasons.

6.1.1 Ligurian-style Coarse Earthenware and Faïence

A surprising amount of Ligurian-style CEW was found at Dos de Cheval, accounting for 19 percent of the vessels. One of the questions that emerged initially when the abundance of Ligurian-style CEW was being uncovered at Dos de Cheval, was whether these wares were a competitor or complement to the Brown Faïence on the market in the 18th century. The analysis of forms suggests that Ligurian-style wares, at least on this fishery site, were a complement rather than competitor. The two types served different functions on the site. The brown faïence was primarily used for preparation and service; the collection being dominated by *plats* that could be used to hold food near the

heat. The Ligurian-style CEW was being used for the consumption and serving of food, in the form of *assiettes*, a few *plats* and some possible *tasses*.

A second question that arose pertaining to the Ligurian-style CEW concerns its chronology. The Ligurian-style vessels examined here come from events throughout the mid to top strata of the site. They even sometimes appear in the sod layer, and often alongside creamware and pearlware vessels. In Québec, Ligurian-style ceramics are not usually found in context with pearlware and creamware (Geneviève Duguay pers. comm. 2008). This could be an indication that the majority of the North Italian style vessels at Dos de Cheval are not actually from Liguria but are imitation types from France. These industries in France may have replaced the Ligurian industry after 100 percent taxation in 1820 made it unprofitable to import Italian wares into France (Amouric 1999).

It is possible that these Ligurian-style plates were part of the fishing crew's effects. In the 1760 wreck of the *Machault*, such ceramics appeared to be crew's effects, as they were worn, and found in relatively small quantities (Barton 1977). Similar to brown faïence, the Ligurian-style wares are of a relatively fine quality. However, they were a widely available and inexpensive ceramic in southern France, which is likely where the Dos de Cheval fishermen were acquiring them. If they were a common commodity at ports in southern France it is likely that the fishermen were picking them up when offloading fish.

The brown faïence in the collection accounts for 9 percent of the total assemblage. The majority of the brown faïence vessels are either *plats*, *tasses* or *assiettes*. The *plats* were used for both heating and serving food (Blanchette 1981:88). Many of them show

use marks on their bases where they were shifted near the hearth (Figure 6.3). It is likely that the faïence *plats* were used by the common fishermen for preparing food for larger numbers of people, while the *assiettes* and *tasses* were used for serving food and drink, possibly to the officers. The *terrines*, *écuelle*, and the *couvercle*, would have been used similarly to the *plats* for heating and service of food (Blanchette 1981:88).

Unlike brown faïence, white faïence does indicate the presence of higher status individuals at Dos de Cheval (Genêt 1996). The white faïence only accounts for 25 vessels or 6 percent of the collection. Most of these are either plates or cups. Most are found in or around the central part of Area C and are probably of an 18th-century date. The chamber pot (object # 8220) was found in the same area as the cabin Feature 1201, not far above it, but also not in an event directly associated with it. These high status white table wares were probably being used not by the crew in general, but by the officer(s), who were spending time in and around the 18th-century cabin(s) on the site. The chamber pot especially points to a higher class member of the crew. The decorative Provence-style white faïence probably belonged to one of the higher status members of the crew as well.

The abundance of *assiettes* reflects the modern trend towards an increase in the importance of ceramic tableware and perhaps modern trends in the organization of the fishery. Medieval practices and customs were gradually eliminated to leave room for the rationality of the Age of Enlightenment. The concepts of individuality and individual rights gradually gained widespread acceptance. These ideals were incorporated into daily lives and new cuisine, table manners and serving utensils fit into this new trend



Figure 6.3. A brown faience *plat* with use wear on the base. (object # 13392)

(Blanchette 1981:134). The Ligurian-type wares are of relatively fine quality. They were, however, a widely available and inexpensive ceramic in southern France, which is likely where the Dos de Cheval fishermen acquired them. These ceramics were produced in great quantities at one place and distributed widely instead of produced and distributed on a small scale. These mass produced, widely available ceramics, imported from Italy and later copied in southern France represent a more industrial ceramic production than the Breton CEW.

6.1.2 English Coarse Earthenware

The English CEW only makes up 1 percent of the vessels in the collection. The six Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware vessels are all the same form: *pots à passet*. Staffordshire-type wares date from the last quarter of the 17th century, into the mid to late 18th century (Barker 2001). The presence of these vessels on the site is somewhat surprising. However, they were so widely exported that it would not have been difficult for the French fishermen to acquire them. Their context and the date ranges associated with these ceramic types indicate that they reflect an 18th-century French occupation, and not the later English one. The small quantity of these vessels and the fact that they are all one particular form could be a reflection of personal taste on the site. One particular crew member or even a few particular men might have wanted these particular vessels. They fill a similar need as the small French *cognemars*, allowing small portions of hot liquid, soup or stew to be consumed, and this form may have appealed to the French fishermen because its use was already known and familiar on the fishing site.

6.1.3 Coarse Stoneware

The most prominent and perhaps most significant type of ceramic in the collection is the Normandy stoneware. It makes up 48 percent of the vessels in the assemblage, close to 200 vessels. They are almost exclusively storage and conservation vessels with *sinots*, probable *sinots*, as well as *petit sinots* making up the majority of the collection. Other storage and conservation forms such as bottles of various sizes, and *mahons* are fairly common as well. Vessels for serving liquids including both *cruchons* and *pichets* are also found in Normandy CSW. Normandy CSW was used to conserve butter, salted foods, honey and preserves (Ickowicz 1988:69). Dairy products were an extremely important part of the northern French diet and butter was the dairy product that the fishermen could transport with them (Bruneau 1999:107).

The wide distribution and new technology of Normandy CSW is part of what makes the continuation and the large scale of the fishery possible. By providing better storage and transport than CEW containers, Normandy CSW acted as a provisioning mechanism of the fishery. Normandy CSW reflects the change in the fishery from a more local medieval system to a more modern, more integrated, export economy. Normandy CSW is primarily a shipping container and in this way the CSW can be used as a marker of a migratory site. Based on excavations at EfAx-09 and survey of the Petit Nord, it is safe to say that Normandy CSW shows up in abundance on French fishing sites. This concurs with the fact that a fishing station was populated by a large number of people, consuming large amounts, using a relatively small space for a particular purpose. If a migratory fishery site has a ceramic signature it would be primarily composed of storage

vessels. It has been suggested elsewhere that Normandy stoneware is an indicator of early, non-permanent French sites in North America and nowhere is this more evident than on these migratory fishery sites of the Petit Nord (Mock 2006:85-86).

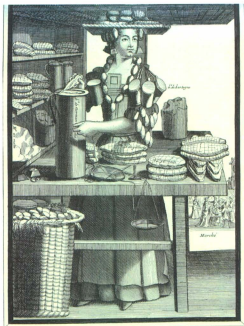
The great quantity of storage forms at Dos de Cheval allows for a close study of the large butter pots or *sinots*. There are observable trends in *sinot* forms over time. Normandy storage vessels change from taller more cylindrical forms early on, to having wider shoulders and narrower bases with slightly larger necks in the 17th and 18th century, to having almost no neck and flattened rims in the 19th century (Bresc-Bautier 2001:138, Chrestien and Dufournier 1995). Not surprisingly, ours match the types from Louisbourg much more closely than those from early Québec sites, such as the Champlain settlement. Some *sinot* forms remain the same for centuries, so dates given here are tentative at best, but some shifts in rim form have been noted at Dos de Cheval. The pre-1800 examples generally have more upright rims, high collars and sometimes have concave interior profiles to the rim. Later examples become more simplified and standardized with either flat topped rims or simple, vertical profiles and little to no collar (Le François Frères 1900).

Normandy stoneware *sinots* remain the same over centuries to some extent; but there is a difference in types that date to pre 19th-century contexts on the site and those that date to the 19th century. The migratory nature of the site creates mixed stratigraphy and ephemeral features, and this, as well as the consistency of the Normandy ceramic tradition up until the 19th century, makes it difficult to track changes in rim form

precisely. However, we can note trends and make educated guesses about their chronology.

The *sinot* rim form trends observed at Dos de Cheval agree with the high collar earlier, flat later trend that other North American archaeologists have observed (Peter. Pope pers. comm. 2010). However, the forms that are interpreted as later here, most certainly existed in earlier periods. A 1695 illustration featuring a Normandy butter pot indicates this, as do archaeological examples from France (Figure 6.4). It is clear that these forms existed earlier in France, but they appear later here. It is possible that particular forms were not used for export in the 18th century. Perhaps there was a distinction in the 18th century between a butter pot and an export pot that was not as clearly defined in the 19th century. The market for styles may be a factor here. There may have been an obvious distinction to the 18th-century Norman between a Norman butter pot and a vessel that is used for honey or liquid at home or for exporting salt meat, which was no longer apparent in the 19th century. What happens at Dos de Cheval (where high collars are typical of earlier contexts) may not be the same as what happens all over the world. The current study reports trends seen at a one site and cannot make generalizations about Normandy forms over time, because some forms of butter pots change little over hundreds of years. I can only say something about the styles of vessels that were being used here, not the evolution of Normandy vessel forms in general.

We can note the general trends in *sinot* rims over the 18th and 19th centuries and how these might have changed. The English occupation of the site from about 1790-1815 provides a good breaking point between the 18th- and 19th-century French materials. Those



Habit de la Beuriere

Après chez la Vierge de l'illustration. Voir à l'appendice à la page 107

Après gravé de B.

Figure 6.4. A 1695 depiction of the costume of a butter seller. The costume is not realistic but metaphorical. She is opening a large cylindrical vessel labelled *be. de Normandie* with a (parchment?) lid. This is a Normandy butter pot. (Veyrier 1974).

Normandy stoneware rims (and bases and bodies) found in the English events and above are more likely from a later period and have shifted down to rest on the early 19th-century events, rather than being mixed upwards. Generally in stratigraphy composed of beach cobble the trend is towards shifting downwards, in the natural falling through the cracks. Using the adaptation of Ravoire's typological system I have been able to identify seven types of *sinots*, and two variations within one of these types¹⁰. Date estimates are based on stratigraphy, associated features and artifacts as well as published comparative examples.

Type C12 It is probable that this wide rim variety is a pre-1800 type; however the group only consists of two rims. (Décarie 1999:34 Fig. 14 g).

Type C13 Type C13 is a type that seemed immediately to have a 19th-century feel, as the grouping emerged (Biancamaria 1996:97 Pl. 3). The flat rims are similar to those seen on 19th-century *pot à crémer*; although the vessels are different, the rim style is consistent with 19th-century rims (Arminjon and Blondel 2002:20 no. 85 and 88) Shallow deposits indicate a post-English, 19th-century date. C13 vessels are spread evenly throughout the farthest reaches of Area C.

Type C14 These vessels probably represent a late 18th-century or post-1800 type. They resemble some 18th-century examples, although the EfAx-09 rims are flatter (Chrestien

¹⁰ There was a Type C11 *sinot* but it was re-evaluated and placed into the *cruchon* functional series (A2). All other *sinot* numbers were not shifted as this would create continuity problems in the existing catalogue.

and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 J; Lynch 1968:34 Ware 4 Figure 8). Type C13 are more similar to 19th- and early 20th-century rims (Biancamaria 1996: 94 Plate 2 no. 15; 97 plate 3 no. 7 & 9; Le François Frères 1900).

Type C15 These represent a pre-1800, late 17th- or 18th-century form. Three are found in deposits either directly on top or beside an 18th-century slipway feature and one is located in an event associated with an earlier 18th-century cookroom. The last three vessels were found in the stage area.

Type C16 This is a pre-1800 type. Type C16 is divided into two variants, one with sharper angles and a more upright rim (C162) than the other (C161). This is the most plentiful type of *sinot* at EfAx-09. The most complete and most likely in situ example (object # 8052) is associated with a burn event of a mid-18th-century cook room or cabin. All the C16 *sinots* are clustered at the stage area and at the central activity area of Area C, near the slipway, and cabin.

Type C17 This is possibly a 19th-century form; but not definitely one. These rims do not closely match any examples on other North American French sites that have published collections. These are somewhat similar to some of the *maçon* type forms but with larger diameters.

Type C18 It is probable that this is a pre-1800 type. C18 type are associated with a midden-type deposit related to the 18th-century cookrooms/ cabin, the cabin itself and the stage area.

These trends in *sinot* forms aid in understanding use of the site, and which areas and features were in use over time, as will be discussed later in *Ceramics, Features, and Use of Space in Area C*.

A few general observations of note were made while examining the Normandy CSW. The Domfront fabric typically has yellow inclusions while the Bessin-Cotentin fabric has white. This is only an initial observation, but could potentially be useful for visually determining the production origin of those sherds that have fabric that is fired to a red-brown or brown-red colour that could possibly fall into either of the production areas. Also noted was a particular variety of Domfront CSW that has a relatively light grey-beige fabric and a light grey exterior and interior colour which often fired to a lustrous deep red at the exterior. This particular colour combination is almost exclusively found in the upper layers, and even on the surface of the site. It is possible that, at Dos de Cheval at least, this red exterior, light grey-beige fabric represents a 19th-century variety of Domfront CSW. On the other hand it could just be a peculiarity of a particular batch of vessels that may have been fired in similar ways, or made of similar clay. Furthermore, it is noted that rim diameters of storage jars at Dos de Cheval generally seem to range on the small side. There are lots of small ones of 6-8 cm, quite a few in the 8-11 cm range and in the 12-15 cm range, but not as many in the 16-24 cm diameter range. This seems counterintuitive on a site where bringing over large quantities of foods, such as salted meat and butter, would have been a priority. The plentiful *petit sinot* comprise about 7 percent of the total vessels in the collection. These vessels were probably used to transport a special commodity, similar in purpose to a preserves pot or ointment pot; and

seem to be a typical 18th-century form, based on comparative examples at Louisbourg (Lynch 1968:38 Ware 5, vessel shape b, fig. 10). Perhaps larger, more difficult to transport vessels would be left on the ship in the harbour, and not brought to shore, or differential breakage rates based on vessel size and function may be coming into play.

Increasingly in the later period, maker's marks appear on Normandy stoneware. This illustrates a modern trend in stoneware, primarily that from Domfront (Langouet and Dufournier 1978:62). Marks on pots are more frequent on Domfront vessels and they are found on pots destined for export with butter and honey in them (Flambard-Hericher 2002:289). It is unlikely that the actual names of the makers whose marks are found at Dos de Cheval can be identified at present, although research into matching initials with certain Domfront potters is ongoing (Bruno Fajal 2010 pers. comm.). These marks are a good indication that this stoneware was produced particularly for an export market (destined from Normandy to Brittany) that was partly made possible by increasing modernization of the fishery. Maker's marks were implemented for the prevention of fraudulent vessels in the later period of Normandy CSW production (Gohel: 1996:95; Fajal 1999:89). They appear in the form of abstract marks that represent makers, and actual initials, much like pipe maker's marks (Langouet and Dufournier 1978:61). Vessels bearing the marks "I E" (object # 13198) (Figure 6.5) and "MB" (objects # 6250, and 4676) (Figure 6.6) have been uncovered at Dos de Cheval. These maker's marks and the standardization of vessel sizes was brought about in part by the protests of Breton merchants (Gohel 1996:95). They illustrate that Normandy CSW was indeed linked closely to trade and provisioning.



Figure 6.5. Normandy Domfront CSW vessels bearing the mark "I E" (object # 13198).



Figure 6.6. Normandy Domfront CSW probable bottles bearing the mark "MB" (objects # 6250, and 4676)

6.1.4 CEW

The French non-Breton CEW accounts for 8 percent of the total vessels. The function of these vessels ranges from utilitarian vessels to finely made *écuelles*, but no particular functional type dominates. There are a few vessels which appear to be northern French wares, including the coarse white fabric and the fine pink fabric in the collection. There are some examples that are similar to the French green-glazed wares that are typically dubbed Saintonge. These French green-glazed wares were widely spread and show up on most French sites in North America, so it is not surprising that they are present at Dos de Cheval.

The Breton-type CEW makes up 8 percent of the total vessels in the collection. The *coquemar* form makes up the bulk of the Breton-type vessels. This is not surprising, since these small scale vernacular pottery productions in Brittany were primarily concerned with producing utilitarian vessels, not table wares or fine serving vessels. Although *coquemars* are used as cookpots, as many of the burnt examples in the collection testify, it is possible and likely that all of these pots were not shipped over empty but with something edible in them, probably grease or lard (Lemaître 2004:38).

Many of the sherds of what well may be actual Saintonge-type CEW with the typical white slip and bright granny smith green glaze seem to be water worn, perhaps indicating a heavier reliance on these southwestern French wares early on in the fishery and an increasing reliance on Normandy stoneware as time went on. The Breton wares

seem to be found both in very early and later contexts at Dos de Cheval, indicating the continuation of the artisanal ceramic production in Brittany.

6.1.5 Summary

The 17th-to 19th-century ceramics of Dos de Cheval reveal both modern trends and medieval traditions in ceramic production. On one hand, the declining tradition of small scale, artisanal ceramic production is well represented with an abundance of Breton CEW. On the other hand, the site exhibits a large sample of Normandy CSW - a ceramic reflecting growing modernity and industrialism produced at an increasingly large scale. The large quantity of Ligurian-style ceramics also emphasizes modern trends in ceramic production and mass distribution. The contrasts among rough Breton cook pots produced for a local economy, Normandy shipping containers and Ligurian-style plates designed for trade and export, illustrates how the French migratory fishery was on the cusp of the medieval and modern eras.

6.2 Trade and Provisioning

The fishing industry, although large, was primarily a vernacular industry; meaning it flourished in the context of regional economies and the seasonal rhythms of those economies. The ships, crews and provisions were from geographically bounded areas, usually centered around ports in France. Thus the links back to France were complex, and often strongly connected to particular regions (Pope 2009). In the case of Dos de Cheval, these connections are to the regions of Brittany and Normandy in northern France. Documentary evidence indicates that the early fishery on the Petit Nord was

predominantly a Breton enterprise, operating out of ports such as Saint-Brieuc, which was a key player in the Breton migratory fishery until the 18th century. In the 18th and 19th centuries financing by Norman merchants, particularly those from Granville, became increasingly important. However, these Granville ships were often provisioned and manned in the Breton port of Saint Malo (Pope 2008b:40).

The ceramics on the site allow the re-creation of the provisioning and trade practices of the salt cod fishery, adding to the sometimes scantily recorded documentary records. It is here that the relatively obscure wares such as the CEW products of Breton kilns and Normandy CSW become extremely useful. Breton CEW and even the more widely distributed Normandy CSW were produced at an artisanal scale. Small workshops produced clay, firewood and pots in seasonal rhythms. These local economies meshed with the larger vernacular industry of the cod fishery, both relying on it and in some cases driving it. It is a uniquely northern French collection. This indicates that the trade was limited to the tightly bounded areas that were associated with the fishery on the Petit Nord.

In some ways the lack of certain vessels on the site is as interesting as those that are present and can indicate something about trade on the site. There is not anything that looks like Bearn CSW in the assemblage of vessels; none of the vessels have a light enough, grey enough fabric. Bearn CSW is found on the east coast generally with Basque material (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:92). It is rare on 17th-century sites and it is more common in the following century. It can indicate commerce with Bordeaux, which does not seem to be closely linked with our site (Lapointe 1998:101). The relative lack of

southwestern French, Saintonge-type vessels also indicate that trade and provisioning on the site were not closely linked with southern ports, but with northern ones instead. This acts as an interesting foil to other North Atlantic French sites, where settlement was ongoing, rather than temporary. At Placentia Newfoundland, the site of a 16th-century fishery and a 17th-century French colony in Newfoundland, the collection is dominated by Saintonge-type wares (Amanda Crompton 2010 pers. comm.). This is indicative of the difference between the Petit Nord fishery based in northern French ports and a fishery and colony that were more closely linked with southwestern French ports.

A closer examination of some of Dos de Cheval's ceramics allows us to directly recreate the complex transatlantic links of the migratory fishery in Newfoundland. It makes sense that storage pots made in Pabu-Guingamp and pottery centers such as Lamballe, St-Jean-la-Poterie and Laval in Brittany appear at Dos de Cheval. Pabu-Guingamp is not far from St. Brieuc and the pots were sold there from late medieval times onwards. Since St. Brieuc was a key player in the Breton migratory fishery, the material links are logical. In this way the identification of Breton CEW at Dos de Cheval allows the archaeologist to recreate the vernacular provisioning and crew manning links from Pabu and other small centres to St. Brieuc to Dos de Cheval, typical of the early migratory fishery.

The Normandy CSW from Dos de Cheval represents a vernacular industry operating at the artisanal scale in family run workshops up into the 19th century (Dufournier, Claifontaine and Thiron 2004:11). The production region of Bessin-Cotentin is close to St. Malo in Brittany and Granville in Normandy. Normandy CSW is

increasingly common in Brittany itself in the 18th century and Domfront is close to Brittany. Normandy CSW could sometimes indicate a Norman presence but also a Breton presence since it was widely used in provisioning ships in Brittany (Genêt 1996). Rather than direct vernacular links from pottery workshops to ports like the Breton CEW, much of the Normandy CSW indicates the supplying, possibly by Norman merchants, of ships in Breton Ports. The abundance of Normandy stoneware at Dos de Cheval allows us to directly recreate the provisioning and supply links from the regions of Domfront and Bessin-Cotentin in Normandy to the port of Saint Malo in Brittany to Dos de Cheval in Newfoundland.

Based on identification of rim decoration most of the faïence at Dos de Cheval is in the Rouen-style. Rouen, the historic capital of Normandy, was a major producer of brown faïence starting in the 1640s and its decorative style was popular and often imitated (Waselkov and Walthall 2002:65). Rouen is located close to ports in Normandy and Brittany, thus the fact that much of the faïence at Dos de Cheval is of the Rouen-style strengthens evidence for the link between Normandy and the fishing stations on the Petit Nord.

Once the fishing season ended, the ships full of cod would cross the Atlantic to deliver their cargos to southern markets. Much of the dried cod was either sold or traded in and around Marseille in the Provence region of France (Pope 2009). Some of the ceramics of Dos de Cheval serve as probable evidence that the Breton fishermen did visit this southern area and brought back ceramics with them. Just as the Rouen decorative style can be identified, so can several pieces of faïence in the Provence-style from the

south of France (Waselkov and Walthall 2002:71-72). Recent debate on faïence origins may indicate that this faïence style is from Nevers but the Provence region cannot be ruled out (L'Anglais 2008). If they are in fact from Provence the proximity of Marseille to the faïence production center of Moustiers makes it likely that these ceramics were not traveling through France inland but were being picked up when the fishermen were offloading cod. These Provence-style vessels allow for probable trade links between the area around Marseille, the ports of Brittany and Normandy and then Newfoundland to be recreated since this is likely the journey these wares made.

The north Italian type or Ligurian-style wares were originally produced in the region of Liguria around the city of Genova in Italy near southern France. The examples we find could possibly be coming from southern France as imitations of the Ligurian wares. The market in southern France was flooded from around the 1760s-1780s and onwards into the 19th century with Ligurian-style wares. This ware acts as an indication that these fishermen had regular ties with the Mediterranean and the south of France. These ceramics allow us to complete the transatlantic triangle from the north of France to Newfoundland to the south of France where the final product of the vernacular cod fishing industry was sold or traded in the autumn, allowing the Breton crew to return to their homes for the winter, completing the seasonal rhythm.

The CEW in the collection were utilitarian and were embedded in the medieval tradition of small scale pottery production in Brittany. Recent identification of wares in Newfoundland from specific Breton kilns allows us to trace links between Breton ports in France and fishing harbours in Newfoundland. These regional economies of earthenware

producers depended on the fishing crews (Pope and Batt 2008). These ceramics were used to ship the foodstuffs needed to survive a spring and summer in Newfoundland and also to prepare and consume food on the fishing site. As part of ongoing research on Breton CEWs in North America, a small number of sherds were sent for inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS).

6.2.1 Breton CEW ICP-MS¹¹

ICP-MS (inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry) was conducted on ten sherds from EfAx-09 and one from nearby EfAx-11, by Yves Monette with the collaboration of Anne Bocquet-Lienard and Daniel Dufournier of CRAHM, and Michel Boëard, University of Caen, as part of a larger project examining ceramics, lead and residues from the Cartier-Roberval site in Québec City (CeEu-4). The Newfoundland samples are one of several comparative collections used in the Cariter-Roberval analysis, either from existing reference collections or tested for their research (2010:2).

The analysis was conducted in order to determine which isotopes characterize these ceramic products on a scientific basis and to recognize groups, which could ultimately help determine the origin of manufacture of these obscure wares. Essentially, we do not always recognize these Breton ceramics on the basis of visual attributes alone and type collections are limited. Also, the ceramics are often altered by fire, which changes the colour of the fabric. For these reasons Monette argues that it is difficult to identify the origin of manufacture of ceramics with traditional methods of morpho-

¹¹ See also Appendix 8, ICP-MS tested sherds.

stylistic attributes. Ceramics from the Breton productions at Pabu-Guingamp, Saint-Jean-la-Poterie, Finistère, Laval type "pink-blue" and Lamballe were used to compare to the North American samples (2010:9).

Pope and Batt have revealed the presence of Breton ceramics from Pabu-Guingamp, Saint-Jean-la-Poterie and Landieul at 16th-century fishing stations in Newfoundland (2008). The Newfoundland (EfAx-09 and EfAx-11) samples tested do have Breton origins but chemical analysis points to production centres besides just Pabu-Guingamp and Saint-Jean-la-Poterie.

Firstly, sample 20-1 (object # 1317) exhibits chemical characteristics that match Saintonge-type fabric, and is not Breton at all (Monette 2010:37).

Sample 20-6 (object # 12866) shares the composition of the sample of Guildo-Lamballe 30-17 and sample 20-10 (object #12331) reflects the composition of the other Guildo-Lamballe sample 30-16. The sample 20-2 (object # 5729) is closer to the production of Guildo-Laval "pink-blue" 30-15 (Monette 2010: 36).

In the case of sample 20-5 (object # 7304) there is a perfect match with samples 30-4 and 30-5 of Saint-Jean-la-Poterie. There are also excellent matches between Pabu-Guingamp sample 30-1 and Newfoundland 20-3 (object # 1489), and between 20-7 (object # 9150) and 20-11 (EfAx-11 artifact # 173) and the Pabu sample 30-2 (Monette 2010:36).

Finally three of the Newfoundland samples (20-4, 20-8 and 20-9) (objects # 7528 and # 11688) show compositions that resemble each other very closely but that are

different than any of the control groups for production centres currently at the disposal of this analysis (Monette 2010:36).

These results indicate that Breton fishing voyages were being provisioned with vessels from not one but many of the surrounding pottery centres around the ports in Northern Brittany. It is still likely that most of the provisioning was done out of the port of Saint-Brieuc, as Guingamp and Lamballe are located near Saint-Brieuc and were supplying pots to the port (Pope and Batt 2008:6). The presence of St-Jean-la-Poterie vessels at the site possibly reflects an economic linkage between the salt production region of La Roche Bernard, at the mouth of the Vilaine or from other small regional ports such as Guérande, le Croisic or even Redon, which was accessible to smaller vessels by river (Pope and Batt 2008:10). It is probable that these products from vernacular Breton workshops are linked to the port of Saint-Brieuc, rather than Saint Malo. Provisioning in Saint Malo was based heavily on Norman products, because they were easily accessible and high quality.

This testing illustrates the difficulty that remains in visual identification of French ceramics of this period, especially the lesser known northern wares. Vessels that have very similar visual appearances and fell into the same visually identified colour types did not necessarily match the same reference sherds in chemical composition. Products of the many Breton kilns of this period are difficult to distinguish from one another visually. It is possible that with more complete vessels, variation in form could be a significant factor in determining the origins of these vessels, since at present fabric identification is still in the speculation stage.

6.3 Ceramics, Features, and Use of Space in Area C

In an attempt to understand the evolving use of space in Area C, it seemed it would be informative to calculate the minimum number of vessels for the ceramic assemblage for the entire area and to link these to their respective features, where possible, so that any one object was counted only once for the entire Area. When sherds belonging to the same object were found associated with two different events, the object was associated with the event (or feature) that contained the largest sherds; priority was given to rim and base sherds over the body.

It was not possible to give exact date ranges for particular deposits or features on the site, because of the disturbed nature of the site itself and the very slow evolution of many of the ceramic types. Still, general trends in the use of ceramics can be noted. The growing popularity of brown faience in the mid to late 18th century can allow us to roughly date deposits underneath deposits with brown faience to the early 18th or 17th century. The appearance of Ligurian-style wares points to an 18th-century and even a mid to late 18th-century date. The REW in the collection can be used to estimate where the mid-18th-century deposits turn into late 18th-century deposits and where the 18th-century deposits turn into 19th-century deposits. It is more sensible to discuss trends in the use of ceramic vessels over time, than what types of ceramics the fishermen were using in a given decade. Vessel shape changes over time are given as trends rather than precise use dates. The order that certain rim forms were used may be described, but this site does not allow precise dating of a rim form to a restricted period.

The nature of the soil matrices on the site primarily composed of pebbles, cobbles, and stones with only some soil, allows for artifacts to slip through the cracks in time. The annual shifting of soil on the site associated with the construction, use and then destruction of the features that make up a fishing room contributes to the sometimes ambiguous nature of the stratigraphy on the site as well. In some cases ceramic mends across events appear to illustrate this. The instances of redeposit on the site are high, and often ceramics will mend across events of quite different dates. Older material such as CEW and pipe stems with large bore diameters are found water worn in the upper layers, where they have been moved up or across from their original position. In several cases, the events in which the vessels studied here were found are likely not related to the date at which they were originally used. In many cases, I have attributed certain vessels to either a higher or lower date than the rest of the material they were found with.

Due to these issues, it has been difficult to determine particularly exact dates for many of the features on the site. The ceramic vessels support the dates that have been proposed based on a preliminary survey of the artifacts. However, many of the ceramic vessels examined here have date ranges that span the course of a century or centuries, in the case of the Normandy stoneware and some of the CEW. A more detailed study of the tobacco pipes and closer examination of the presence of REW in certain events will probably provide the best opportunity to specify more precise dates for some of these 18th-century features in Area C. The vessels examined here do allow for loose dates on the features, and aid in informing us about the function of some of these features.

6.3.1 Feature 873, Burial

Within events directly associated with the burial a closed Ligurian-style vessel and a small storage jar in Normandy Domfront CSW were found. Neither of these was intended as grave goods, so it is likely that they were deposited after the event, possibly indicating a pre 18th-century date for the burial.

6.3.2 Feature 1021, Slipway

The slipway, Feature 1021, dates before 1790. The Staffordshire slipware-type *pots à posset* found both directly above and within Feature 1021 support a mid to late 18th-century date for the slipway. It is puzzling that these *pots à posset* point towards a somewhat domestic use of the slipway, rather than an industrial one. It is quite possible that at this point the mixing of domestic and industrial activities was not as segregated as in the 19th century. Perhaps the fishermen, or more likely an officer, were sipping posset while working on shore. The presence of Ligurian-style wares both within and directly over Feature 1021 indicates a mid to late 18th-century date for the slipway and likely not early 18th-century date. The brown faience over and within also places the slipway firmly in the mid to late 18th century, and the vessel found within the ramp itself (EFAx-09:1021T8300) has a Rouen polychrome-style decoration which was produced between about 1740-1790, although it is difficult to determine if this sherd is indeed Rouen from the period because the style of decoration was much imitated (Waselkov and Walthall 2002). The CSW and French CEW are more difficult to date. The C12 and C15 *sino* rim forms that were found in events above the slipway are types that have been tentatively

categorized as pre-1800, which would be consistent with a pre-English occupation date for the ramp. The C17 type could either be post or pre-1800, in this case it is most likely pre-1800.

6.3.3 Features 1201, 1248, 1233, 1326 and 1328, Cabins and Hearth

I have examined the ceramics from Features 1201, and 1248 together, since 1201 is part of the larger 1248. This roughly square burned structure or two overlapping structures, that represent a cookroom or cabin, most likely have an early to mid 18th-century date. Under Feature 1248 the only vessels found were Normandy Domfront CSW *sinots*, one of which is a C15 type, consistent with a pre-1800 date. Feature 1248 and Events 1238/1231 did contain REW but all other events directly associated with the cabin did not, so it seems likely that these small pieces of REW are intrusive, rather than indicative of a date for the feature.

In the midden-like deposits west of the burnt structures, the vessels include Ligurian-style *assiettes*, a brown faience *assiette* and Normandy CSW vessels, including a *gourde*, and various sizes of storage vessels. One of the *sinots* is a type C18; a pre-1800 type. This material fits with the 18th-century date for the cabin/cookrooms. The presence of CEW and TGEW *assiettes*, amongst the typical Normandy CSW storage vessels fits with the domestic, eating related activities that would be expected of an officer's cabin or cookroom.

Within the burn events that make up Feature 1248, the vessels indicate an 18th-century date as well. The white faience could be from the early 18th century, and the

Breton CEW and Normandy CSW could be from this period as well. The associated CSW *sinot* rim is a C161 type, which is a probable 18th-century type. The vessels found directly above the cabin include Ligurian-style CEW, brown faïence, French CEW and Normandy CSW. All of these point to an 18th-century date for Feature 1248 and perhaps an earlier 18th-century date, since there is mid to late 18th-century material built up over it.

Vessels associated with Feature 1233, a dry masonry hearth structure of tabular rocks, in a U shape, place it well within the suspected early 18th-century date. The Ligurian-style CEW above it and the French CEW and white faïence within the hearth area support an 18th-century date. The presence of white faïence *assiettes*, both here and in Feature 1248 events, supports the idea that the structure may have been used by officers. While brown faïence was used for cooking and was not necessarily a high-status item, it seems unlikely that regular crew members were eating off of white faïence *assiettes*. The extension walls on either side of the hearth (Features 1326 and 1328) also date to the 18th century, though probably later than the original hearth. Ligurian-style CEW and brown faïence vessels found in context with these extension walls indicates an 18th-century date, possibly a mid to late 18th-century date, since the Ligurian-style ceramics were more popular in the later 18th century.

6.3.4 Feature 1276, Hearths

Hearth features, Feature 1276, found at the southern end of Area C have some time depth, for they are not contemporaneous, but reflect continual activity from about 1650 onwards. The ceramic vessels found here support the suggestion that the natural

cobble beach was still open here, as late as 1650 and the built up anthropomorphic terrace in Area C dates later than that. A Rouen-style brown faience *plat* found within the hearth events indicates that at least one of these hearths was in use in the mid to late 18th century. Normandy CSW both beside and over the hearths indicate French use of these features. The *sinot* type C13 found over Feature 1276 is a type that is probably post-1800, suggesting that the hearths underneath it may be pre-1800.

6.3.5 The Stage Area

The trench opened in the stage area is not directly associated with any single feature but is in the area where the fishing stage would have been located. Vessels in this area include predominantly Normandy CSW, and Breton CEW as well as some faience, both brown and white, and only two Ligurian-style vessels. The function of vessels here indicates a mixing of functions in this area of the site. The most common vessels are Normandy CSW storage vessels, including both the most prominent *sinots*, and some smaller storage pots. Breton *coquemars* are also found in abundance here. On account of the abundance of *coquemars*, together with the pockets of burnt needles, and the fact that many of the ceramics found in this area are pockmarked and burnt, it seems probable that cooking activities were taking place in this area in the 18th century, and probably as early as the 17th century. This supports the hypothesis that in the pre-1800, earlier periods of occupation at the site, domestic and industrial activities were more mixed, and taking place in the same areas and then more separated in the later periods.

The white and brown faience vessels in the stage area include two possible *tasses*, and *assiettes* and *plats*. One vessel is a white tin glazed *assiette* that is likely not French, but possibly Dutch or Iberian. It is possible that this *assiette* represents an early, possibly 17th-century use of TGEW on the site. The presence of *assiettes*, *plats* and *tasses* indicates that this area was not exclusively a fish processing area. The *sinots* in this area that are grouped by rim type are exclusively types C15, C161 and C162; all types that are probable pre-1800. None of the short collared, flat rim, 19th-century types are found in this area.

6.3.6 Summary

The distribution of ceramic vessels can inform us about the way that the fishermen used their fishing room. The use of space became more industrialized in the 19th century, so that work areas and living areas on the site became more sharply divided. At Dos de Cheval, this becomes evident in the increased number of features and the labour that was invested in them (Mélicha Burns 2010 pers. comm.).

This changing use in the space becomes visible in the material culture. The earlier, probable 17th- and 18th-century *sinot* forms are clustered in the heart of Area C. The 17th- or 18th-century *sinots* sit close to the earlier features on the site, including a burnt 18th-century cabin or cookroom and its associated stone hearth (Feature 1248), a slightly later slipway (Feature 1021) and also the area where the fishing stage appears on historical maps (Figure 6.7). In general, Normandy CSW is distributed fairly evenly throughout Area C as would be expected of a ceramic type that was in production for the whole time

span of the site (Figures 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10). There are storage vessels and vessels relating to liquid conservation and service spread fairly evenly across the area.

The Breton-type vessels are spread throughout Area C evenly (Figure 6.11). Clusters of *coquemars* in the central area of the site may indicate 18th-century domestic activities, and *coquemars* uncovered in association with burnt pockets of material in the stage almost certainly do; perhaps from a period pre-dating the elaborate hearth feature of the 18th century. These rough, earlier types of *coquemars* may represent a period when domestic activities such as cooking meals were occurring in and around the fishing stage. Both of the vessels (objects # 12866 and 12331) that matched Guido-Lamballe reference sherds in ICP-MS testing are from the stage area, and at least one other *coquemar* from the stage excavation appears to be a similar material (object # 12298). This may indicate that provisioning in the period relating to the domestic events in the stage area was based more heavily on pots from this centre.

The Ligurian-style vessels are primarily clustered around the central area of Area C (Figure 6.12). They might indicate a late 18th-century French use of this area. Consistent with this is the abundance of faïence in the central area, both white and brown, and the Bristol Staffordshire-type slipwares (Figures 6.13, 6.14 and 6.15). Relatively little brown faïence is found in the stage area of excavations. The white faïence *assiette* found in the stage area is not French TGEW, but possibly Iberian or Dutch. This may be indicative of a 17th-century context, before French TGEW was popular and widely spread in the 18th century although conclusions based on one vessel are difficult to make. The non-Breton French wares are fairly evenly distributed across Area C except in the western

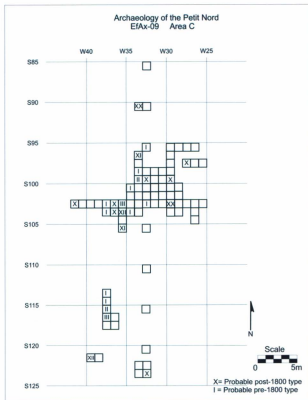


Figure 6.7. Pre and post-1800 rim type distribution for C1 *sinots* types C12-C18. Note the lack of post-1800 types in the Stage Area (roughly between S110-S120).

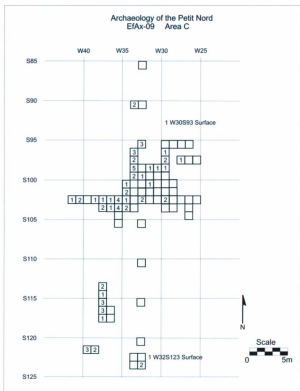


Figure 6.8. CSW C1 *sinot* distribution including C12-C18 series and other C1 vessels but not including probable C1 vessels. Numbers indicate the number of C1 vessels found in each unit.

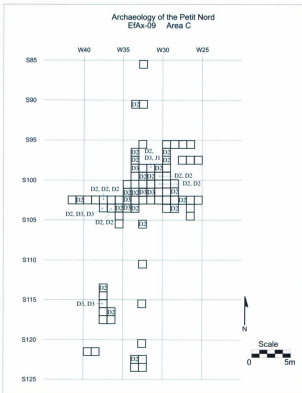


Figure 6.9. Distribution of small CSW storage vessels: D2 *petit sinot*, D3 *mahon* and J1 *albarelle*.

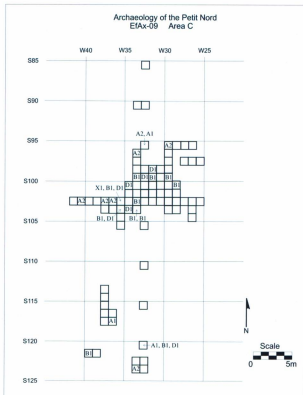


Figure 6.10. Distribution of CSW vessels relating to liquids: A1 *pichet*, A2 *cruchon*, B1 *bouteille*, D1 *flacon* and X1 *gourde*.

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W40 W35 W30 W25

S85

S90

S95

S100

S105

S110

S115

S120

S125

UN, 4

N2, 1

M, 1

N2, 2

C2, 1

M, 1

Scale

0 5m

Figure 6.12. Ligurian-style CEW distribution: C2 *tasse*, N2 *plar*, M low open vessel and UN unidentified. Numbers in units indicate the number of N3 *assiettes* found in each unit. Note the scarcity of Ligurian-style vessels south of S110.

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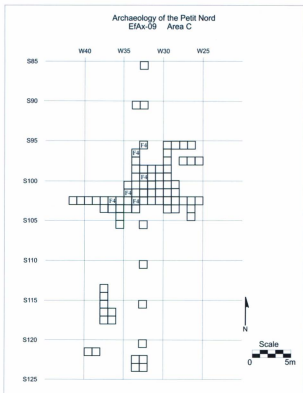


Figure 6.15. Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware distribution: F4 *pot à posset*.

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part of the excavated area between S110 and S120 (Figure 6.16). This makes the reliance on Breton wares in this possible early context in the stage area more evident.

The stage area and the cabin/ cookroom and slipway area in the centre of Area C were certainly in use in the 17th and 18th centuries, based on the clusters in the earlier *sinot* rims forms. The stage area in particular seems to have an earlier date for domestic activities than elsewhere in Area C. The relative lack of Ligurian-style wares, faience, and non-Breton French wares, and complete lack of Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware in the stage area may indicate that it was not used for domestic purposes in the 18th century. Contrastingly, the abundance of these wares in the central area indicates that the features there (the hearth, cabins and slipway) were in use in the 18th century. Furthermore, none of the suspected 19th-century CSW *sinot* material was found in the stage area.

In order to make conclusions about the cabin/ cookroom and slipway area (between S95 and S110) and the stage area (between S110 and S120) the relative number of excavated units was taken into account. We would expect higher variation in vessels found in the 65 units between S95 and S110 than in the nine units between S110 and S120 simply because of the larger sample size. To make tentative conclusions expected percentages of ware types for the number of units in each excavation area (12 percent of the total in the nine units and 88 percent of the total in the 65 units) were compared to actual percentages of ware types present. I found that the CSW, the non-Breton CEW and white faience were close to perfectly evenly distributed. The Bristol Staffordshire-type Slipware, the Ligurian-style CEW, and the brown faience were found in great percentages

in the central cabin/ cookroom area, while the Breton-type CEW appears in greater quantities than expected in the stage area.

This does not mean that the stage area was not used in the 19th century. Certainly it was, as REW is ubiquitous across Area C. The absence of these storage vessels in the later period might indicate that this part of Area C near the water was being used differently in the later period. Conceivably in the 19th century, possibly beginning in the 18th century, activities were more split: the stage area (according to contemporary maps) was not being used for domestic activities such as cooking, eating and sleeping, but as a more purely work related area (Candow 1999:12). Evidence of 19th-century structures at the edges of the work space illustrates how activities were increasingly split up as time passed. For instance, the bread oven on site is illustrative of more permanent investment and an increased quasi-domestic complexity. The location of the bread oven and other 19th-century structures on the fringe areas of the site suggests a separation of quasi-domestic and commercial activity. Preliminary examination of the 2009 material has so far supported these interpretations.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Further Work

Typological studies such as this one strive to fix problems in inconsistency of existing typologies by explicitly providing metrical interpretations. While POTS and other widely used typologies are undeniably strong systems and use historical sources well, they rarely explicitly state important criteria such as how hollow vessels are distinguished from flat ones (Beaudry et al. 1983). Although Ravoire's system is, possibly, initially confusing to those archaeologists accustomed to the anglophone system of naming vessel forms, Ravoire is very explicit with what she means by open and closed, tall, medium or low (2006). While this thesis has presented the ceramics in question in the more traditional way- one ware at a time and then looking at functions across wares- I hope to have demonstrated the value of a morpho-functional typological system and illustrated how Ravoire's system can be adapted to creating a morpho-functional typology for a diverse collection.

The links between Newfoundland and Brittany and Normandy were not simply from port to fishing harbour, but were more complex, involving the regional economies of the areas surrounding these ports. The vernacular industry of the migratory fishery was bound up in the production of salt, bread, beans, butter, salt meat, wine and cider, and of course the firing of pots that held these all important provisions which allowed the French migratory cod fishery to thrive in Newfoundland from the 16th century to the early 20th century (Pope and Batt 2008). These containers and the other ceramics at Dos de Cheval allow us to reconnect the provisioning and trade links between both the vernacular pottery industry in France and the larger migratory dry salt cod fishing industry. Through

ceramics we can examine this French maritime industry in Newfoundland and its transatlantic links which enabled our site to fit into this transatlantic world.

The ceramic assemblage at Dos de Cheval is an assemblage that is specific to a French fishing site. The migratory nature of occupation is reflected in the ceramics of the site, including an emphasis on shipping containers and the fact that the collection, although large, is not particularly diverse. The advantage of this sort of assemblage is the opportunity for a more refined study of the plentiful types, such as Normandy transport and conservation vessels, which abound in the collection. The migratory nature of the fishery is reflected in the archaeological dominance by a few types of provisioning vessels that indicate the focused character of this industry.

Unlike many other sites in New France, the ceramics at these migratory French fishery sites are all from France, there is basically no likelihood that they were of local production (Moussette 2007). So the question here is not whether these common CEW were being imported or locally produced but where were they being imported from. The scale of the Breton CEW collection and the Normandy CSW is significant. There are other sites in Newfoundland where Breton and Norman wares are found but the wares are often the minority rather than the majority in other collections (Pope and Batt 2008). The abundance of Ligurian-style ceramics is also specific to Newfoundland and, to some extent, Atlantic Canada. Louisbourg in Nova Scotia is perhaps the most comparable collection; besides, of course other French fishery sites surveyed on the Petit Nord. However, the lack of southwestern French types and Portuguese red wares at Dos de Cheval sets it apart from other 18th-century French collections, making this a particularly

northern French collection, with a smattering of southern France/ northern Italian wares (Waselkov 2009:621).

The Normandy CSW from Dos de Cheval is a unique assemblage and has the potential to aid in the understanding of Normandy stoneware found throughout North America on sites such as those in Québec and throughout the North Atlantic. At present French-made stonewares are not familiar to archaeologists in the United States (Waselkov 2009:622). This study is among several that aim to make these French CSW more accessible to historical archaeologists throughout North America (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995; Flambard Héricher 2002). Through analysis of these Normandy vessels we can begin to understand the progression of this ware from a small scale production in the traditional sense of the word to something of a larger, in some ways almost industrial, production of the later period. Normandy CSW illustrates how these later contexts on our site and the fishery in general are becoming more industrial over time. Trends in rim forms at Dos de Cheval indicate a change in rim forms used at this site over time. The later Normandy CSW forms have flat, horizontal rims and short collars, while earlier versions have more upright rims and more elongated collars. This trend is similar to that noted by Jean-Pierre Chrestien, on the basis of Normandy CSW throughout North America (Peter Pope 2010 pers. comm.). The similarity between the rims of early 20th-century commercial catalogues from Normandy and those found in 19th-century contexts at Dos de Cheval is striking, illustrating how these later contexts on our site and in the fishery in general were becoming more and more industrial over time.

In the early stages of historical archaeology in the 1960s and 70s, knowledge of the French material found in Canada was scanty and a good description, classification, identification and date for the ceramics needed to be established (Moussette 2007). Though we have come a long way since then, the need for classification and identification of French material is still present today. The understanding of French ceramics, especially these Breton and Norman wares is still underdeveloped. I hope to have contributed to this field by making this significant collection of Normandy CSW and Breton CEW available for reference and for further research to be pursued.

This work is not meant to be a definite typology for French ceramics. It is meant to be a typology for the ceramics of Dos de Cheval, which can potentially be used on other French fishing sites of the Petit Nord and perhaps beyond. There is still much work to be completed, not only on the sites of the Petit Nord, but on French colonial ceramics in North America (Moussette 2002:145, Waselkov 2009). As more kilns are excavated in France and Brittany in particular and more scientific analysis of ceramic composition is undertaken, this will lead to a greater understanding of where these obscure CEW originated.

The Dos de Cheval collection provides great promise for further study. For the purposes of this research only the diagnostic sherds were closely examined. There are countless body sherds that may still be of interest, especially some of the CEW fragments. Of special interest are those that are water worn and found in the lowest layers of occupation on the site that may be evidence of some of the earliest contexts on the site. The large collection of REW, mentioned only in passing, is another topic that could be of

interest for future research. The potential for a study of refined wares produced in France during the 19th century exists at Dos de Cheval, though it may be difficult to pull those wares which are French out of the vast collection of refined English wares.

This work is an important part of the larger project *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*, which is bringing into light the oft-overlooked history of the migratory French fishery. While French colonial archaeology is beginning to become synthesized and more fully understood, these non-permanent French sites span a longer period and are just as important in the history of North America as settlement sites, even if they are far less studied (Waselkov 2009, Pope 2008b). The ceramic collections of the Petit Nord offer potential comparisons and contrasts to colonial French collections throughout New World contexts.

I have only closely examined the ceramics from one area of one site along the entire coast of the Petit Nord, working at the smallest scale possible within *An Archaeology of the Petit Nord*. Further work on examining the collection on the site as a whole, the collection from the harbour as a whole, the collections from the French fishery sites surveyed along the entire coast of the Petit Nord, and comparing these to French collections would give a greater scale of interpretive value to these French ceramics. The morpho-typological system could be applied and adapted, or reproduced to fit the survey collections from along the Petit Nord. Trends in ceramic forms over time could potentially be recognized by more closely examining ceramics from French fishery sites of different periods. Furthermore, different CEW materials found at different sites could

aid in the recreation of the broadest, transatlantic scale of the fishery, by linking specific sites in Newfoundland to specific kilns and ports in France.

The work on the Petit Nord focusing on northern French CEW is in some ways, given the relatively large size of the collection, *the* work on these CEW in North America. Through the work on French sites in Newfoundland and that which has begun on post-medieval kiln sites in France, we are just beginning to determine origins of these locally-produced, small-scale, earthenware products. The chemical analysis of these French wares (Breton CEW and the Normandy CSW) has only just begun. Sampling of the Normandy stoneware could help us in further distinguishing the products of Domfront and Bessin-Cotentin kilns, especially the poorly fired examples. If the right vessels were uncovered, residue analysis, may aid in determining the function of some of these vessels. The chemical work on the Breton wares has even more potential to assist in establishing definite links between kilns in Brittany and sites in Newfoundland. In many ways I have merely scratched the surface; vessel form analysis is most certainly important to understanding the way that vessels were used on the site of Dos de Cheval and helps to illuminate the lives of the fishermen but there is still much to be learned about the production of French ceramics in this period.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Events Associated with Features in Area C

Feature 873, Burial

The burial underlies Event 844, it is cut into Event 871 (natural beach) and is included in the Feature 873, burial are Events 847, 874, 869 and 870.

Feature 1021, Slipway

The slipway underlies Events 1011, 1019, 1009, and 1013 and overlies Event 1093.

Smithy Deposit

The possible related deposit underlies Events 1027 and 1239, it is located beside Event 1241, and it overlies Event 1245.

Feature 1201, 1248, 1233, 1326 and 1328, Cabins and Hearth

Feature 1201 underlies Events 1045 and 1090 and overlies Events 1057, 1069, 1095 and 1099.

Feature 1233 is within Event 1242, it underlies Events 1214 and 1227 and Features 1326 and 1328. Feature 1233 is beside Events 1229, 1330 and 1246, and it overlies Event 1300. Features 1326 and 1328 are within Events 1027 and 1003 and they underlie Event 1003.

The charcoal events associated with the structure(s) are Events 868, 1035, 1049/1035 and 1238/1231.

Tabular Rocks

The tabular rocks underlie Event 1288, they are beside Event 1290 and they overlie Event 1294.

The Stage Area

Events 800, 1261, 1263, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1281 are associated with the stage area.

Feature 1276, Hearths

The hearth features are within Events 1260 and 1270, they underlie Events 1250 and 1252, they are beside Events 1256 and 1264, and they overlie Events 1270 and 1274.

Appendix 2. Ligurian-style CEW Forms

The Ligurian style collection has so many similar vessels that they are not all listed in the catalogue here, but are summarized by giving counts of each form, and diameter ranges and averages.

Form N3 *Assiettes* The Ligurian style *assiettes* or plates appear to all be carinated. Rims range from horizontal to angled upwards and lips are generally horizontal. There are 71 Ligurian-style *assiettes* all together. They fall into type N31, type N32, N33 or those that cannot be placed into a type because their rim is not intact. The rim diameters of the *assiettes* range between 18-24cm and the base diameters between 7-9cm. The average rim diameter of all the *assiettes* is 21.3cm. (Cf. Amouric and Vallauri 2007:231 Fig. 26; Amouric 1999 Fig 247 and 248; Barton 1981:46 Fig. 33 #10-11; Barton 1977 Fig. 24 f and g).

N31 *Assiette* Within this type rims range from 18-24cm in diameter and bases from 7-8cm. Average rim: 21cm rim. There are 29 N31 plates.

N32 *Assiettes* Rims diameters range between 18-24cm in diameter. Bases range between 7-9cm in diameter. There are 28 N32 *assiettes*.

N33 *Assiette* St. John Vessel 368, **object # 10525**. This vessel is an *assiette* with a foot ring located near to the rim. The rim diameter is 20.5cm and the foot ring diameter is 16.5cm. The presence of a foot ring so near the rim is not like any published examples found and it seems as though this might be a rare vessel type. It has an oblique rim with a rounded lip.

Plats

N21 Plat St. John vessel 538/567, **object # 6336**. St. John Vessel 187/247, **object # 12863**

Object # 6336 has more of a fluted or scalloped edge while object # 12863 is more of a rectangular or octagonal type. It is hard to get a good diameter from these non-circular rim sherds but they probably have a diameter of somewhere around 30cm based on similar complete examples and estimated diameters taken. (Cf. Amouric and Vallauri 2007:212 Fig. 13; Amouric 1999:124 Figs. 248 and 250; Barton 1981 Fig. 34 # 15-19).

N22 Plat St. John Vessel 255/283/377/500, **object # 1665**. Rim: 32cm. Foot ring: 16cm. Cf. Ravoire (2006) N26 but with a smaller wing.

Open Vessels without a neck- Form M or N

St. John Vessel 120, **object # 1319**. The vessel has a rounded lip with an undistinguished rim. Rim: 15cm. St. John Vessel 309/454, **object # 3848**. A rounded lip with an undistinguished rim. Rim: 13cm.

These two vessels could be *écuelles* or could be a *coupelle* or bowl type vessels. Both of these are possible within the Ligurian style wares. (Cf. Barton 1981 Figure 33 # 1-2).

Closed vessels with handles- Most likely Form C but could be Form A

St. John vessel 406, **object # 12832** Rim: 9cm. Handle width: 0.7cm. St. John vessel 320, **object # 5417** Rim: 8cm. Body: 11, Handle width: 1cm.

It is very likely that both of these small vertical handles and vertical, undistinguished rims fall into the *tasse* or coffee pots categories. (Cf. Amouric and Vallauri 2007 Figure 26; Barton 1981 Fig. 34 #12-13).

Closed vessel St. John Vessel 511, **object # 6768**. A base fragment. This vessel is probably something like a *tasse* or mug or coffee pot. Base: 5cm. (Cf. Amouric and Vallauri 2007 Fig. 26; Barton 1981 Figure 34 # 12-13).

Unidentified St. John Vessel 625, **object # 6616**. A handle, that could be vertical or horizontal.

Appendix 3. Brown Faience Forms

N23 Plat St. John Vessel 298, **object # 2940**. Brown exterior, white tin glaze at the edge of the rim. Rim: approximately 28cm.

N23 Plat St. John Vessel 343, **object # 13390**. Rouen-style rim decoration in blue and black XXXX pattern. Most of the interior tin glaze was flaked off and not fully reconstructed. This vessel has a similar shape to object # 13392. Terra cotta fabric with blue tinted white interior and brown exterior. Rim: 30cm. Base: 21cm. Height 4-5cm.

N23 Plat St. John Vessel 516, **object # 6759**. Rouen-style decoration at rim and center in blue and black. Light pinkish terra cotta fabric with a bit of a sandy texture. Off-white tinted blue interior and brown exterior. Possibly lighter than Rouen fabric. Rim 34cm. (Cf. Waselkov and Walthall 2002:66 Figure 3 G for rim decor style).

N23 Plat St. John Vessel 646/651, **object # 9052**. Rouen-style decoration at rim and in center in blue and black. White interior has blue tint. Rim: 32-34cm.

N23 Plat St. John Vessel 343, **object # 13390**. Rouen-style rim decoration in blue and black XXXX pattern. Most of the interior tin glaze was flaked off and not fully reconstructed. Similar shape to object # 13392. Terra cotta colour fabric with blue tinted white interior and brown exterior. Rim: 30cm. Base: 21cm. Height: 4-5cm.

N232 Plat St. John Vessel 19, **object # 13392**. A round *plat* with wavy or scalloped edges. Rouen-style black and blue decoration at the rim, the interior is a bluish white. It shows use wear on the base, likely from being shifted in heat. Rim 31cm. Base 22cm. Height: 4.3cm. (Cf. Waselkov and Walthall 2002:66 Figure 3 G for rim style).

N232 *Plat* St. John Vessel 69/181/383/433, **object # 12393**. Rouen-style cobalt blue and black decoration. Terra cotta colour fabric, white interior, dark brown exterior. The rim is wavy so it is hard to get a perfect diameter. Rim 25-28cm. Base 16cm. (Cf. Waselkov and Walthall 2002:66 Figure 3 G for rim decor style).

N232 *Plat* St. John Vessel 165/192, **object # 13389**. Rouen-style rim decoration in blue and black. Bluish white interior glaze and dark brown exterior. Rim 26cm. Base 22cm. Height 4-5cm. (Cf. Waselkov and Walthall 2002:66 Figure 3 G for rim style).

N24 *Plat* St. John Vessel 285, **object # 2815**. A round *plat* with simple edges. A low, open vessel. Rouen-style XXX decoration in blue and black. Rim approx. 28cm.

N24 *Plat* St. John Vessel 222, **object # 12528**. A fairly straight-sided, hollow *plat*. Fine terra cotta fabric with mottled medium/dark brown on the exterior and off white on the interior. Rim 28cm. Base 20cm.

N24 *Plat* St. John Vessel 263, **object # 2481**. A low, open vessel with a wing-like rim. Most of the tin glaze is missing from the interior. Dark brown exterior. Ext. rim: 37cm. Int. rim: 34cm. Similar profile to Genêt (1996:99 Plate 2 f), but has a larger rim diameter.

N2 *Plat* St. John Vessel 372, **object # 10931**. A fairly upright rim. Dark brown exterior and white interior. Similar to object # 8773 in profile but larger in diameter. Rim: 31cm.

N2 *Plat* St. John Vessel 294/296, **object # 1787**. White interior with a blue and black floral Rouen-style design in center. Brown exterior. Base: 16cm. (Cf. Genêt 1996:151 plate 28 a-c for possible decoration style).

C21 *Tasse* St. John Vessel 455, **object # 6990**. The interior is pale blue-white, almost a robin's egg blue. The exterior is brown with brown and white mottled at rim. Rim: 7cm. (Cf. Blanchette 1981 Fig 4 D pg 59).

C21 Tasse St. John Vessel 583, **object # 7164**. Light terra cotta colour fabric with bluish white interior and dark brown exterior. The foot is unglazed. Foot ring: 7cm. Flat part of base: 6.2cm. (Cf. Blanchette 1981:59 Figure 4 D).

C22 Tasse St. John Vessel 273, **object # 2482**. A footed globular *tasse*. Not as globular as the examples given in Blanchette but too curved to be classed with the straight sided cups (1981). *Jaspé* marbled white/dark brown exterior and off-white/pink-white interior on fine terra cotta fabric. Rim: 3.5. Foot ring: 2.4cm. Flat part of base: 1.8cm. Height: 7.2cm. (Cf. Blanchette 1981 Fig 4 A and C, pg 59).

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 385, **object # 1492**. This is probably a cup like object # 2482. Fine beige fabric with white interior and dark brown exterior. Foot ring: 5cm. Body: 6cm.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 265, **object # 9608**. Fine beige fabric white interior and brown exterior. Rim approx: 8cm.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 515, **object # 6798**. A handle from a *Jaspé* (mottled brown and white) cup, similar to object # 2482. Interior is a blue tinted white.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 241, **object # 11956**. Fine beige fabric with some red inclusions, blue-white interior and *Jaspé* mottled brown and white exterior. A tiny upright rim with small lip. Rim: 6cm.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 287, **object # 3007**. Terra cotta colour fabric with white tin glaze interior and brown exterior. Rim: 7cm.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 687, **object # 9092**. Terra cotta fabric with white interior, dark brown exterior. Rim: 8cm.

C2 Tasse St. John Vessel 531, **object # 6535**. Similar to object # 2482. Greyish-terra cotta fabric with bluish white interior and dark brown exterior. This vessel has a bit of a flared lip. It appears to have had a foot ring which has broken off. Rim: 7cm. Broken Foot ring 5cm.

N341 Assiette St. John Vessel 131/645, **object # 7302**. A round hollow plate with straight edges. Mottled white and brown at the exterior edge of rim. This could be a 19th century shape; it is unlike 18th-century examples from Louisbourg and Place Royale. Dark brown exterior. Rim 21.4cm. Base 16cm. Height: 4.5cm.

N342 Assiette St. John Vessel 674, **object # 8773**. Similar in shape to but more curved than object # 7302. A beige-white interior with some white at the edge of the brown exterior. Rim 24cm. Base 18.2cm. Height 3.1cm. (Cf. Genêt 1996:99 Plate 2, a, only with less noticeable carination).

N32 Assiette St. John Vessel 539, **object # 8300**. Bluish white interior with dark indigo and black decor at the rim. Possibly Rouen-style decoration. Rim: approx. 22cm.

N32 Assiette St. John Vessel 530, **object # 6559**. Rouen-style XXXX rim decoration. Bluish white interior. White glaze carries over to the outside of the rim for about 1cm. Brown exterior. Rim: 20cm.

N35 Assiette St. John Vessel 180/641, **object # 13677**. Pale beige-terra cotta fabric with small red inclusions. Exterior is brown. The decoration is a dainty black vine with pastel blue and green leaves on white tin glaze. This is possibly a 19th-century faïence type. Rim 21cm. Base 13cm. Height: 2.4cm. Most similar to floral designs found at Place-Royale. (Cf. Genêt 1996:111 plate 8 e and f).

N35 Assiette St. John Vessel 365, **object # 10397**. An *assiette* with Rouen-style decoration at the rim in blue and black. A slightly wavy edge. Off-white interior with brown exterior. The rim is thinner than *plat* types. Rim 23cm. (Cf. Genêt1996:109 plate 7 c-f).

N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 194, **object # 12533**. The rim sherd is small so it is difficult to get an accurate diameter or profile. Brick red fabric, brown exterior, white interior. Rim 20-24cm.

N1 Coupe St. John Vessel 616, **object # 5512**. Light somewhat gritty terra cotta colour fabric with pinkish white interior and brown ext. Small rilling is visible on exterior. Possibly a 19th-century form, since there are not any of these in Blanchette's work from Louisbourg (1981). The profile is reconstructed. The foot ring is unglazed. This vessel has sherds that mend from depths of 6cm to 44cm, illustrating the disturbance of stratigraphy in areas of the site. Rim 14cm. Foot ring: 9cm. Height: 8.2cm (Cf. Ravoire 2006 N7 for approximate form).

Probable N1 Coupe St. John Vessel 688, **object # 9091**. A water worn foot ring. White tin glaze interior, unglazed on foot ring, brown exterior. Foot ring: 9cm. It is similar in form to object # 5512.

Probable N1 Coupe St. John Vessel 652, **object # 8895**. It is similar to object # 5512. Bluish white interior and red-brown unglazed exterior of foot ring. Foot ring: 8cm.

M21 Terrine St. John Vessel 193/274/384/502/667, **object # 2756**. Terra cotta fabric colour with a with brown exterior and blue-grey tinted white tin glaze interior. Rim 22cm. Foot ring: 10cm. Body: 14cm. Height: 11-12cm. (Cf. Blanchette 1981:61 Figure 6, C).

M21 Terrine St. John Vessel 689, **object # 7784**. Very similar to object # 2756 with a slightly thicker rim profile. Ridge on exterior about 1cm below the rim. Off-white interior, white carries over to the exterior a bit. Rim 20cm.

Probable M21 Terrine St. John Vessel 579, **object # 7109**. Interior is bluish white. Rim 17cm. It is similar to object # 2756.

Low open vessel St. John Vessel 101, **object # 2844**. Rim sherd is too short and water worn to get a good diameter or profile. It is probably a *plat* or *assiette*. Rim: approx. 18cm.

Low open vessel St. John Vessel 286, **object # 2964**. This is some sort of scalloped edge form. Fine beige fabric. We are unsure of this form and which is the exterior and interior of the vessel. It appears as though the white tin glaze is on the exterior but it must be a scalloped form. Rim approx. 15cm.

M12 Écuelle St. John Vessel 41, **object # 11025**. An ear or handle from an *écuelle*.

Object X1 Couvercle St. John Vessel 562/584/673, **object 7306**. A lid with a knob handle on top. A yellow-tinted white and pinkish white tin glaze interior, brown exterior with some white spots. Exterior of "foot" is unglazed red-brown. The similar examples from Place Royale date to the first half of the 18th century. "Foot": 12.4cm. Widest point: 17cm. Height: 6.3cm. (Cf. Genet 1996:126-127 plate 16, a, c, d, e, h-l; Ravoire 2006 type X5).

Sherds of Interest

St. John Vessel 573, **object 6660**. Not a handle, rim or base; just a bunch of body sherds. Probably a hollow vessel. Dark red-terra cotta fabric with off white interior and brown exterior. The fabric is a uniquely dark red colour.

Appendix 4. White Faience Forms

N36 Assiette St. John Vessel 404, **object # 13281**. A fine beige fabric with white glaze and a straight pale blue band with an undulating darker blue band around the rim. It is a match to a Normandy blue on white rim decoration style. Some sherds are burnt. Rim: 20cm. (Cf. Jelks 2007:140 Fig. 43; 2 Genêt 1991:103 Plate 4 a; Walselkov & Walthall 2002: 66 Fig. 3 B).

N31 Assiette St. John Vessel 585, **object # 9074**. Provence-style blue on white rim decoration. Fine salmon-terra cotta fabric with off-white glaze. Rim: 21cm. (Cf. Dunton 1971 Fig. 9; Walselkov and Walthall 2002:68 J).

N36 Assiette St. John Vessel 133/297/568, **object # 2759**. A buff beige-pink fabric with white glaze and orange-yellow decoration at rim and centre. Provence-style yellow on white pattern. Base: 15-16cm. (Cf. Walselkov and Walthall 2002:66, J).

N36 Assiette St. John Vessel 229/617, **object # 6105**. A rim sherd with buff fabric with white tin glaze. Slightly chalky texture to fabric. Rim: 18cm.

N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 653, **object # 8834**. A rim with much of the glaze chipped off. Beige with white tin glaze. Only a small fragment of rim is remaining. Rim: approximately 19cm.

N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 591, **object # 7476**. Buff with white-grey glaze. This is only a small fragment of rim sherd. Rim: approximately 18cm.

Probable N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 141, **object # 11908**. This might a plate, half of the profile is missing and the sherd is too short to get a good diameter. It has salmon-terra cotta fabric with white tin glaze.

Probable N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 316, **object # 5149**. The flat base of an open vessel, probably an *assiette* based on thickness. Buff or cream fabric with off white glaze blue decoration. The base is water worn, smooth and a bit chalky.

Possible N4 soucoupe St. John Vessel 342/386, **object # 14169**. The rim is too short to get a really accurate diameter or profile. Pink-beige/buff fabric with white glaze. Rim: approximately 14cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991:197 Plate 51 a-d).

N4 soucoupe St. John Vessel 40/43, **object # 12829**. Buff fabric with white glaze and some blue at rim. Rim: 10cm. Foot ring: 4.6cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991:195 plate 50, b-e).

N4 soucoupe or N5 coupelle St. John Vessel 128, **object # 1386**. Buff fabric with bluish white glaze and parallel blue stripes. Base: 8cm.

Probable N5 coupelle St. John Vessel 132/191, **object # 12971**. A small *coupelle* or possibly a *tasse* in fine beige fabric with blue-white glaze and a blue band just above the base. Foot Rim: 11cm. Foot ring: 5cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991:207 plate 56 c tea bowl, Ravoire 2006 type N1).

Probable C2 tasse St. John Vessel 403, **object # 13620**. A handle from a small vessel, most likely a *tasse*. Buff/brown fabric with white glaze. (Genêt 1991:201 plate 53 a-f).

Probable C2 tasse St. John vessel 223, **object # 12526**. A bit of handle from a small vessel. It is probably a vertical handle from a *tasse*. (Cf. Genêt 1991:201 plate 53 a-f).

Probable C2 tasse St. John Vessel 224, **object # 12301**. A small vertical handle probably from a *tasse*. Salmon-terra cotta fabric with pink-white glaze. (Cf. Genêt 1991:201 plate 53 a-f).

Possible C2 tasse St. John Vessel 42, **object # 12857**. A vessel with a small handle. Buff fabric with grey-white glaze. The handle sherd has a tight curve, and is likely from the top

of a vertical handle. This could also be from something like a small *pichet*. (Cf. Genêt 1991:164 plate 34 a-f or Genêt 1991:201 plate 53 a-f).

N low open vessel without a handle St. John Vessel 245, **object # 13197**. A small low, open vessel (*coupe, soucoupe* or *coupelle*) in beige fabric with blue-white glaze with a thin (1mm) rust-red band around the rim on the interior. The rim piece is too short to get an accurate diameter. Rim: 6-8cm.

C2 tasse St. John Vessel 484, **object # 6232**. A small handle from a *tasse*, probably a *tasse* with two handles. Pale blue decor consisting of painted lines and dashes. The decoration matches a Nevers style example. (Cf. Genêt 1991: 205 Pl. 56 e).

Form C2 tasse St. John Vessel 501, **object # 6728**. This rim appears to be a *tasse* but is only a small sherd. Pink-beige to buff fabric with white glaze. The base is almost complete. Rim: 7cm. Foot ring: 4cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991:201 Pl. 53 b).

Possible C2 tasse St. John Vessel 21/237/561, **object # 12856**. The rim is upright and a carination appears at some lower point in the body. A buff fabric with blue and black vine and leaf patterns (in the style of Nevers) on white tine glaze. more a cup.. There is an example of a mustard jar that is carinated and has a narrow neck from Place-Royale: (Genêt 1991:173 Pl. 39 a). This object might be something like that example in form, but the rim profile seems more like a cup than a jar or pot. Rim: 7-8cm.

J1 Albarelle St. John Vessel 93/392, **object # 2896**. An *albarelle* or ointment pot type vessel with a blue band just above a ridge about 0.5cm below the rim. Rim: 7cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991 pots à conserve Pl 38, and pots de pharmacie Pl 45; Ravoire 2006 type J111).

Probable J1 Albarelle St. John Vessel 686, **object # 7785**. A vessel with a small upright rim that looks like it might have a ridge about 0.9cm down from the rim. Buff with a very

bluish white glaze and a blue band about 0.8cm from rim. Rim: 8cm. Similar to object # 2896. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 Type J111).

F3 *Pot de chambre* St. John Vessel 541/549, **object # 8220**. A handle and rim of a chamber pot. Salmon-terra cotta fabric with grey-white glaze. The rim flares outwards. Rim: 22cm. Opening: 20cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991 plate 16 a. and 177 plate 41 c; Ravoire 2006 type F6).

N24 *Plat* St. John Vessel 618/685, **object # 7300**. A round *plat* with salmon-terra cotta fabric and blue-white tin glaze. This is probably Rouen faience, based the fabric colour and the bluish tint in the glaze. Rim: 27cm. Base: 22cm. (Cf. Genêt 1991:149 Pl. 27 b).

Non-French Faience

N3 *Assiette* St. John Vessel 20/436, **object # 13784**. A smooth chalky buff material which has lost much of its greyish off white/cream-grey tin glaze. Probably Portuguese, Iberian or possibly Dutch. This is the only vessel of TGEW that is not obviously French. Rim: 21cm. (Cf. Florida Museum of Natural History 2004: Delftware plain, Iberian).

Sherds of Interest

St. John Vessel 321, **object # 3830**. Body sherds. Probably a low open vessel such as a *soucoupe*. Pink-beige fabric with blue tinted white glaze and some blue hand painted decorations. Body: approx. 9cm.

St. John Vessel 264, **object # 3152**. White tin glaze with polychrome hand painted floral design. This is possibly Moustier's polychrome style (Cf. Waselkov & Walthall, 2002:71).

St. John Vessel 310. A polychrome body sherd. Probably a low, hollow vessel with no neck. Fine beige fabric with blue and black painted design beneath the glaze, and orange decoration on top of glaze. Similar to Rouen designs. Body: 8cm.

Appendix 5. Newstead's 2006 CEW Classifications of the Petit Nord Ceramics

Preliminary research on CEW from 2004 archaeological surveys of the Petit Nord was conducted by Sarah Newstead in 2006. She identified several potential Breton CEW as well as several other French CEW types. Some of these previously defined categories mesh nicely with the groupings I found emerging in the EfAx-09 collection and some did not. The following are Newstead's brief descriptions and notes on how these existing CEW types were integrated into the present research.

CEW type 1- delicate body, grey beige fabric, yellow and green lead glaze interior. Possibly originating from Cox (north west of Toulouse) (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34). One St. John vessel is a potential match to this type.

CEW type 2- moderately delicate body, small neat rims, hard red fabric, brown lead glaze. This is Ligurian-style CEW.

CEW type 3- moderate body, hard fine pink beige fabric, yellow lead glaze. Some of the "unidentified terra cotta" vessels approach CEW 3 but are not perfect matches.

CEW type 4- moderate body, hard fine terra cotta body, olive interior glaze. Some of the coarse terra cotta with olive glaze match this CEW 4 closely.

CEW type 5- moderate body, fine hard grey fabric, green lead glaze. There were not any sherds from Area C EfAx-09 that looked similar to these type sherds.

CEW type 6- moderately heavy body, dark brown fabric, slightly micaceous. This ware type closely matches several vessels and the Pabu Guingamp type vessels. Pabu

Guingamp wares exhibit a coarse pink-grey fabric with fine mica, quartz inclusions, and opaque white inclusions of calcinated quartz or fossil matter, as well as red grog or limonite, or perhaps both (Newstead 2006).

CEW type 7- fabric hard grey pink. Glaze appears olive to green. Ranging from grey-pink to beige-pink, these wares are interpreted in the current analysis generally as green-glazed French wares, possibly originating in the region of the Rhone Alps, Saintonge region or the north of France (Brassard and Leclerc 2001: 28-29).

CEW type 8- white fabric, yellow glaze, white and brown slip, incised decoration. There are no CEW 8 types in the St. John vessels; however one pink fabric vessel has a similar white slip and yellow glaze with sgraffito.

CEW type 9- very coarse beige grey fabric, green glaze. Often with large red grog inclusions. This is a similar ware to Pabu-Guingamp ware and is a Breton type of ware. Several vessels in the collection match this type.

CEW type 10- dark brown glaze, fine terra cotta fabric, Ligurian-style CEW.

CEW type 11-glazed, fine beige fabric, often with yellow glaze. CEW 11 is interpreted here as yellow on beige, and as possible Beauvais (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33).

CEW type 12-moderate body, hard fabric with high percentage of white and red inclusions, yellowish brown glaze. This is a rough match to some St. John vessels. Likely a Breton ware; not necessarily Pabu Guingamp type but similar and probably Breton.

CEW type 13-highly micaceous; smooth surface; red and quartz inclusions. Not Landieul, since these wares are difficult to identify visually (Newstead 2006); but Landieul-like, with very similar fabrics to Landieul. Hence, my Landieul- like vessels are tentative.

Appendix 6. CEW Forms

Leopard skin CEW

N1 Coupe St. John Vessel 64/105/344/363, **object # 1519**. The rim is close to vertical, and is continuous from the body, with a rounded lip. Fabric colour varies but where it is less discoloured it is a pink-beige. The pattern is spotted in places and streakier in others. Rim: 13cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 L1, Figure 3 26-29).

Unidentified / Possible M1 Écuette St. John Vessel 106, **object # 3021**. Either a vertical handle of Form F or a horizontal strap handle of Form M1 an *écuette*. Handle width: 1.8cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 L1, Figure 3 25).

Fine beige with yellow glaze

M11 Écuette St. John Vessel 556, **object #1243**. The rim and handle of an *écuette*. Rim: 17cm. (Cf. Hugonot 2002:148 no 398 or 399).

M11 Écuette St. John Vessel 207, **object #13379**. A small horizontal handle. Handle width: 0.7cm.

Unidentified St. John Vessel 284, **object # 2514**. This appears to be a close match to Beauvais fabric. Handle width: 2.1cm.

Unidentified St. John vessel 428, **object # 11241**. A handle fragment that appears to be vertical; possibly from a *tasse* (C2). Handle width: 1.1cm

Fine beige with green glaze

M11 Écuette St. John vessel 97/492, **object # 1792**. Two horizontal handle fragments with grey-beige fabric and green glaze. They have a ridged decor on the upper side of the handles and are from an *écuette*.

Fine grey-pink to beige-pink with green glaze

Form A11 Pichet St. John vessel 512 **object # 4601**. Rim: 11cm. Neck: 7cm.

Form A11 Pichet St. John vessel 244 **object # 13203**. Rim: 10cm.

Form A11 Pichet St. John vessel 513 **object # 6895**. Rim: 10cm.

Form A11 Pichet St. John vessel 89 **object # 1748**. Neck: 6cm.

Possible F1 coquemar St. John vessel 87, **object # 1717**. A small neat, rim the hooks inwards. Glazed interior. Rim: 11cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 type L3 Fig. 11 and 12).

Possible F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 420, **object # 11192**. A small, neat oblique rim that hooks inwards. Rim: 11cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 type L3 Fig. 11 and 12).

Tall closed Vessel St. John vessel 401, **object # 11364**. A shoulder fragment of a tall closed vessel, approaching the rim. Green-glazed interior. Evidence of burning on the exterior suggests this vessel was a cookpot of some type, possibly a *coquemar*. Shoulder: 10cm.

F2 pot tripod St. John vessel 17/121/281/666, **object # 3961**. This is an example of a vessel that mends across several events indicating the disturbance on the site. Rim: 9cm. Base: 8cm. Estimated Height: 10cm. It is quite similar to Hugoniot's *petit vases globulaire tripod* (2002:29 No. 46). (Cf. Moussette 2007:158 Figure 6; Ravoire 2006 F4).

F2 pot tripod St. John vessel 682, **object # 7810**. A water worn base sherd with one foot remaining. Base: 8cm. (Cf. Hugoniot 2002:29 No. 46).

Tall closed vessel St. John Vessel 643, **object # 8849**. The shoulder approaching the rim of a tall closed vessel. This glaze is brighter than the other green-glazed wares in the collection and the fabric, although beige-pink has large red inclusions unlike others in the collection. It is possibly of Northern French origin. Shoulder: 7cm.

Low open vessel St. John Vessel 497, **object # 6969**. A water worn horizontal handle with green glaze, likely from a low open vessel. Handle width: 1.4cm.

Unidentified St. John vessel 179, **object # 12342**. A water worn small piece of rim. Rim: approximately 15cm.

Unidentified Fine beige Fabric

Open Vessel- Form M or N St. John Vessel 548/598, **object # 8152**. Beige fabric with a pinkish interior, and small amount of light green glaze at the rim. Rim: approximately 19cm.

Form F or G St. John Vessel 610, **object # 7116**. Fine grey-beige fabric with orange glaze on the interior. A probable cookpot rim. Rim: 16cm.

Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze

F1 Coquemar St. John Vessel 190/227, **object # 1317**. Similar to object # 10262. A beige-pink/grey fabric with many large red inclusions, and light green glaze interior some green glaze on the exterior. Rim: 6cm. Shoulder: 11cm.

Medium closed vessel- probable F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 139, **object # 12861.**

Coarse grey/pink fabric with many large red inclusions. Green glaze on interior. Rim: approximately 18cm.

M low open vessel with a handle- probable M2 terrine St. John Vessel 409, **object #**

11678. This seems too large to be an *écuelle*, and is probably either a *terrine* or *jatte*. The handle appears more like the vertical handle of a *terrine* than the horizontal handles of the *jatte*. Beige-pink/ grey fabric with many large red inclusions, quartz inclusions. A yellow-green glaze on the interior. Rim: 32cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 type M23).

M4 possible jatte St. John Vessel 138, **object # 11947.** This fabric is similar to the more general green glazed French wares. This twisted horizontal handle with a width of 1.5cm is nearly identical to one found at Canada Harbour, another Petit Nord fishing station, that has an abundance of green glaze remaining. This was most likely the handle of a large serving vessel with handles. It could also be a small bit of a vertical handle from a *cruche* type vessel. This vessel probably had greenish glaze, based on the comparative example. (Cf. Arminjon and Blondel 2002:279 no. 1398 or Barton 1981 pg 20 Fig 10; or Hugonit 2002:51 No. 111).

Unidentified Fine Pink Fabric

N2 plat St. John Vessel 582, **object # 7217.** Fine, unglazed pink to peach fabric. The fabric is somewhat similar to Petit Nord CEW type 11. Rim: 38cm. (Cf. Newstead 2006).

F5- A pot with a hook St. John Vessel 315, **object # 3809.** A fine, smooth pink fabric with small red inclusions and a mottled yellow and brown glaze on the exterior, achieved by flicking iron material onto a lighter background, and clear glazing over top. The fabric

is similar to Saintonge type wares and the decor is similar to the leopard-skin type of glazing. This vessel could also represent the productions of Northern France, such as Beauvais; however the fabric is pinker than typical Beauvais (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33). This vessel is the only example in the collection with a hook instead of a full handle. Rim: 18cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 L1 pg 13 Fig. 3 no 29-31).

Fine pink slipware with Sgraffito

N5 coupelle St. John Vessel 14/94, **object # 2757**. A fine pink fabric with a white slip, yellow glaze and floral and banded sgraffito decor. It is a small vessel, likely open because of the decoration on the interior. The slip, glaze and sgraffito are quite similar to Petit Nord CEW type 8 but the fabric is not white and chalky (Newstead 2006). This example is similar to Barton's type L4. Decoration executed in this way was common in the 17th and 18th century (Barton 1981:25). Rim: 9cm. (Cf. Barton 1981 pg 23, type L4 Figure 13 No. 6; Ravoire 2006 type N1).

Coarse white unidentified fabric

Tall closed vessel St. John Vessel 419/692, **object # 13214**. A coarse white fabric with opaque red and some quartz inclusions. It is glazed with chestnut/yellowish glaze on the interior with green and chestnut glaze on the exterior. The clay is almost like pipe clay in colour, but much coarser. It is likely a material from Northern France, it appears similar but not identical to fabrics of Beauvais, Paris, Loire region, only coarser (Geneviève Duguay 2009 pers. comm.). Base: 9cm.

Unidentified fine terra cotta fabrics

Faïence like fabric

N2 Plat St. John Vessel 615, **object # 5756**. A plat with a non-circular rim. It appears burnt, with an ash-like burnt on coating or burnt glaze. Similar fabric and shape to brown faïence vessels but not tin glazed. Rim: 25-28cm.

N3 Assiette St. John Vessel 119, **object # 1340**. Highly friable condition. Light green-grey glaze at rim and dark brown glaze on the interior. Rim: 21cm.

Coarse Terra Cotta

Coarse terra cotta with white slip and yellow glaze

M4 Jatte St. John Vessel 189/249/280/514, **object # 2665**. Coarse terra cotta colour fabric with quartz, opaque white and fine mica inclusions. Mustard yellow glaze over a white slip on the interior surface and rilling on the unglazed exterior; and burnt on the exterior. The rim has a spout. This vessel might be similar to Barton's type L4, a soft pink/red fabric covered with inside with a white slip, from Southern France (1981). Barton's creamers can have a yellow colour on the inside (1981 Figure 16, Nos. 24-25). Object 2665 could possibly an 18th-century example as its rim profile most closely matches an 18th-century type in Lemaître (2004:35). Rim: 38cm. (Cf Ravoire 2006 M5).

Sherds of Interest

These are groupings of body sherds that I originally thought could compose vessels but are not diagnostic enough to say more than whether they are closed or open forms. They have not been added to counts of vessel forms in the interpretations reached here.

Coarse beige-grey with yellow glaze- Closed Vessel St. John Vessel 39, object # 12897.

This is a grouping composed of two sherds, yellow glazed on the interior of a beige-grey fabric with mica and small quartz inclusions. The vessel has a body diameter of about 18cm. The fabric is similar to Petit Nord CEW # 1, which is possibly a production of Cox, near Bordeaux of a 17th or 18th century date. (Cf. Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34, Newstead 2006).

Fine grey-pink- Closed vessel St. John Vessel 609, object # 7091. Two sherds with fine grey-pink fabric with a few white and red inclusions and yellow glaze. It is a closed vessel with a body diameter of around 24cm. This fabric could be from southwest or northern France, possibly of Biot in south France (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:43).

Sherds not included: There are other Saintonge or Beauvaisis light fabric, sherds scattered throughout the collection but none matched the other vessels.

Breton-type CEW

Unidentified fine terra cotta

F2 pot tripod St. John Vessel 68/71/260/381/481, object # 2907. A fine terra cotta almost orange fabric with brown-green/olive green glaze on the interior and an unglazed smoothed exterior. It is a close match to Petit Nord CEW type 4 but somewhat finer. It might almost fall into the more general green-glazed French wares. One sherd shows evidence of what was probably a lead or pewter staple; evidence for mending of ceramics on the site. Rim: 10cm. Base: 7cm. Height with feet: 8.8cm. Height of body: 8.2cm. (Cf. Moussette 2007:158 Figure 6; Ravoire 2006 F4).

F142 coquemar St. John Vessel 611/644, **object # 7303**. This small vessel's exterior does not show any signs of burning. It is possible that it served a slightly different function, more like a mug than a *coquemar*. It has a fine light terra cotta colour, almost orange, fabric, with a few white and yellow inclusions. Mottled green glaze showing red where worn. This vessel is similar in fabric, glaze and rim shape to object # 2907. Rim: 7.4cm. Base: 5cm. Body: 9.4cm. Height: 7.5cm. This vessel is similar to examples from Tunica, Louisiana. They are described as small pots or mugs with one handle (*pot a une anse*) that served a variety of purposes: cooking, storage, chamber pots and perhaps as large mugs. Pots of this particular form were made in France during the 17th and 18th century and similar forms are also found at Louisbourg. They range in height from 10.5-10.4cm for Type B variety 4 and 10.7-12.2cm for Type D (Brian 1979:54). (Cf Brian 1979 pg Pg 54 Type B Variety 4 and pg 66 Type D particularly Cf. Type B Variety 4, C-68).

Tall closed vessel St. John Vessel 430, **object # 4615**. It has an upright rim. A fine soft terra cotta fabric with red and yellow inclusions and orange-grey exterior. The interior is glazed with mottled medium chestnut brown and dark brown almost like Ligurian style wares. Rim: 27cm. Body: 34-36cm.

Tall closed vessel St. John Vessel 442/468, **object # 6246**. The base of a tall closed vessel; possibly a pot. Fine salmon-terra cotta fabric with some red, yellow, and mica inclusions. The fabric is similar to object # 4614, and somewhat similar to a fine version of Petit Nord CEW type 4, but lacks the olive glaze. The vessel has an unglazed pink-grey interior. Base: 9cm. Body 14-16cm.

Possible M2 terrine St. John Vessel 382/547, **object # 11083**. A bowl-like vessel with a spout; probably a terrine. This has a fine salmon-terra cotta fabric; similar to Petit Nord CEW type 3 (Newstead 2006) but darker and a salmon/grey exterior and grey-brown interior with brown-green glaze at rim. This material is unlike any other in the collection. Rim 20cm.

Unidentified St. John Vessel 236/528, **object # 6329**. A broken knob. It has a matching upright rim and fine terra cotta fabric with brown glaze with some green on the interior. The diameter is approximate because the rim sherd is so short. It is possible the knob attaches to a lid if the rim does not go with the knob. Rim: 20cm.

Landieul-like fabric: Coarse Pink-beige

F11 coquemar St. John Vessel 369, **object # 10526**. The fabric is burnt but appears as coarse brown-grey with lots of mica, and some red limonite and fine quartz inclusions. Rim: 17cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F 12).

F11 coquemar St. John Vessel 295, **object # 1788**. Smooth, coarse grained grey-beige fabric with mica, and a few quartz inclusions. Similar to object # 10526 in both shape and fabric. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F 12).

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 37, **object # 12300**. A *coquemar*, with almost a *sinot*-like flat rim and handle. A hard coarse beige/grey/beige fabric with large quartz, white, black and fine mica inclusions. Similar fabric to object # 3421. It has a wiped surface on exterior and interior. Rim: 16cm. Body: 20cm. (Cf. Ravoire's F17 types).

Medium Closed Vessel- Probable G1 *oule* St. John Vessel 53/81, **object # 3421**. This vessel is likely an *oule* based on its upright rim and large diameter. It has coarse light pink-beige fabric with lots of mica and small quartz inclusions. A bit of brown glaze is

left at the rim. The fabric is smoothed with a rag or some material. Rim: 30cm. Body: 37cm.

Coarse Terra Cotta

Coarse terra cotta with or without olive or brown glaze

M3 Počlon St. John Vessel 661, **object # 7304**. A handle sherd. Coarse terra cotta/brick red colour with mica, quartz and opaque white inclusions. It has a bit of green-orange glaze on the exterior. The interior of the vessel probably would have been glazed. Handle diameter: 3.2cm. The handle is somewhat similar but not exactly like a 16th- to 17th- century example (Cf. Arminjon and Blondel 2002: 45 no 207; Ravoire 2006 type M3).

F1 Coquemar St. John Vessel 38, **object # 13431**. The rim fragment is only 5mm long. A hard terra cotta colour fabric which is quite red. It has yellow material folded through the fabric some small red inclusions and no evidence of glaze. Rim: approx. 8cm.

Medium closed vessel St. John Vessel 66, **object # 11051**. A coarse terra cotta/ brick red colour with a slightly spongy texture and fine quartz and mica inclusions. Orange-brown glaze on the interior. It is probably a cook pot type of vessel. Base: approx. 14cm.

Coarse Terra cotta to Red-grey

F12 Coquemar St. John Vessel 13, **object # 12866**. Coarse grey-red/ terra cotta fabric with mica, small quartz, white and yellow inclusions. The interior is red brown and the exterior is brown-grey. The interior is smoothed. The rim is fairly horizontal, not really like the typical curved up rim of a *coquemar*. There are no signs of burning but we could just have the handle side of the pot. Rim: 14cm. Body: 17cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F1 3).

F1 Coquemar St. John Vessel 545, **object # 8307**. A hard coarse red-grey fabric with red, white and fine mica inclusions. The exterior is grey-brown. Handle width: 1.5cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F1).

F1 Coquemar St. John Vessel 18, **object # 12772**. A possible Breton *coquemar*. It has hard fabric (almost like CSW) in a coarse dark grey with quartz, and white inclusions. The exterior is an unglazed red-grey. The handle has a groove down the middle of the exterior. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 F16).

Pabu-Guingamp-like Breton Fabrics

Coarse pink-grey with red inclusions and green/light green glaze

F13 coquemar St. John Vessel 411/694, **object # 10262**. This has coarse beige-pink/grey fabric with large red inclusions, and some quartz inclusions and fine mica. The fabric is smooth to the touch. Incised shoulder decor. It has a green-yellow glaze on the interior with specks of iron and is wiped on both the interior and exterior. It is similar to object # 1317. Rim: 11.8cm. Body: 16cm.

Coarse Pink-grey Pabu-Guingamp-like fabric.

F13 coquemar St. John Vessel 130/370, **object # 9150**. A *coquemar* with a burnt exterior in coarse pink-grey with quartz, red, white, and fine mica inclusions. A light olive green glaze with speckles of iron on the interior. This pot shows repair work where the handle was broken off and then a hole was drilled just below the rim to the right of the handle serving as evidence of reuse after the handle broke. The brown specks in glaze are very similar to Pabu type sherds. Rim: 13cm. Body: 20cm.

F14 coquemar St. John Vessel 282/364, **object # 5202**. A coarse pinkish red-grey fabric with quartz, mica, white, and red inclusions with brown glaze on the interior, and a grey/brown exterior. It appears to be an F14 type, but it is hard to tell which variety since the rim profile is somewhat obscured by the handle attachment. Rim: 15cm. Body: 20cm.

F14 coquemar St. John Vessel 22/361, **object # 12298**. A coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz, red, and opaque white, inclusions and fine mica. Olive-brown glaze with speckles on interior. The exterior is wiped/smoothed pink-grey. Rim: 13cm. 10cm.

F141 coquemar St. John Vessel 56, **object # 12074**. Burnt fabric. The fabric falls into the red-grey or pink grey range. Quartz and mica inclusions are visible. Brown-green glaze on interior. Rim: 21cm.

F141 coquemar St. John Vessel 408, **object # 9366**. A coarse red-grey fabric with large quartz, large white, red and fine mica inclusions. The exterior is grey-brown the interior has a brown glaze with speckles. Some sherds are burnt. Same as object 5202 in fabric and shape. Rim: 11.4cm. Body: 15cm. Handle width: 2cm.

F142 coquemar St. John Vessel 590, **object # 7528**. Coarse pinkish-red-grey fabric. It has large quartz inclusions, white and red inclusions and mica throughout. Brown glaze at the interior. These *coquemas* are of a post-1600 type, dating anywhere from 1600 to 1800. Rim: 10.4cm. Base: 8cm. Body: 11cm. Height: 11cm. (Cf. Lemaître 2004 pg 34 "coquemar à bord droit" for a similar rim type).

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 483/499, **object # 6712**. Coarse pink-grey fabric with large quartz, red, and white inclusions, and mica. Brown glazed interior and pink beige exterior. Rim: 18cm.

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 36, **object # 11688**. A coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz, white, red and mica inclusions with a yellow-brown glaze in the interior. The rim is damaged. The exterior of the vessel is burnt. Similar to object # 9975. Inside of Rim: 15.6cm. Base: 10cm. Body: 21cm.

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 362, **object # 9975**. A small neat rim fragment. The fabric is a burnt brown-grey with mica and quartz and white inclusions and green-brown glaze on the interior. Rim: 18cm.

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 259, **object # 1489**. A shoulder fragment with coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz, red, white inclusions and mica. Green-brown glaze on the interior with iron flecks and, incised decoration at the exterior. It is nearly identical to object # 9150. Base: 14cm. Shoulder: 12cm.

F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 52, **object # 12331**. A coarse pink to red-grey/ grey fabric with white, red, quartz inclusions and mica. It has a bit of green glaze at rim. The vessel is quite burned and the exterior is brown-black. It is a rather rough, coarsely made vessel with a large rough handle. Inside of Rim: 17cm. Base: 12cm. Body: 18cm.

Probable F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 107, **object # 1560**. A handle sherd in coarse pink-grey with white, red and mica inclusions. It also has rose quartz inclusions. Handle width: 1.9cm.

Probable F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 529, **object # 6413**. A fairly flat handle in coarse grey-pink/ grey fabric with small quartz, white; red inclusions and fine mica. It is slightly finer than typical Pabu-Guingamp type fabric. Handle width: 3cm.

Probable F1 coquemar St. John Vessel 456/695, **object # 6982**. A significant portion of reconstructed body, almost certainly a *coquemar*. A coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz

inclusions, red, opaque white inclusions, fine mica and some Pabu-like white striations. The fabric looks somewhat like Landieul type but with far less mica. Some of the sherds have an orange-brown glaze remaining. Body: 17cm.

G1 *oule* St. John Vessel 140/612/639, **object # 6867**. An upright rim, and a flat base with a burnt exterior. Coarse pink-grey fabric with red, white, and small quartz inclusions and mica. The interior is glazed with iron or manganese (dark brown) splatter on the inside. Rim: 19cm. Base: 13cm. Body: 21-23cm. (Cf Ravoire 2006 G13).

G1 *oule* St. John Vessel 482, **object # 5729**. A coarse pinkish-red-grey fabric with lots of white and red inclusions. The interior has a chestnut brown glaze with an orange peel like texture. Rilling visible on exterior. Inside of Rim: 21cm. Body: 34cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 type G12).

Probable A2 *cruchon* St. John Vessel 79, **object # 2827**. The short neck, and small rim suggests this vessel is a *cruche*. The short tight neck flares out to the body. The fabric is a coarse pink-grey with quartz, red and white inclusions and mica throughout. Rim 6.8cm. (Cf. Ravoire 2006 type A3).

Closed vessel St. John Vessel 693, **object # 13219**. A water worn piece near the base of a closed vessel in a coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz, white, and red inclusions and pale yellow-brown glaze. Base: 11cm.

Breton Sherds of Interest

Coarse terra cotta with brown glaze St. John Vessel 684, **object # 9088**. A tall closed vessel with an approximate body diameter of 26cm. One sherd has scratch decor. A

coarse red-grey almost terra cotta fabric with quartz, red, white and mica inclusions.

Shiny orange-brown glaze on interior. The slightly burnt exterior is smoothed.

Coarse grey-beige to brown St. John Vessel 167, **object 13114**. A probable Breton fabric. Coarse grey-beige to brown with many quartz, brown and white inclusions, and some mica. Green/ orange-green glaze on the interior. Red-brown exterior; burnt black. The vessel is composed of six matching sherds of a unique fabric. It could be from elsewhere in France. It is probably a *coquemar* type pot based on the diameter, shape and burning. Body: 28-32cm.

Coarse pink-grey St. John Vessel 380, **object # 9604**. Close to Petit Nord CEW type 12 but not a perfect match. Coarse pink-grey fabric with quartz, opaque white, yellow and fine mica inclusions. A distinctive brown-orange glaze on the interior. It is likely some sort of *coquemar* as it is burnt on exterior. Body: 32cm.

English CEW

Bristol Staffordshire-type slipware

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 510, **object # 7802**. Fine beige fabric with fine white, red and black inclusions. Yellow glaze with dark brown spots near the rim. Rim: 11.4cm. Base: 8.6cm. Body: 10cm.

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 601, **object # 7337**. Fine beige fabric with red, white and black inclusions and yellow glaze. Base: 8.6cm.

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 234/444/498/640, **object # 6713**. Beige fabric with fine red, black and white inclusions and yellow glaze. It was likely used by the French, water worn then redeposited in English context. Rim: 8.8cm. Base: 11cm.

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 164/324/360/422, **object # 1241**. A fine beige fabric, with fine red and black inclusions, and yellow, brown-red and black glaze. Rim: 11cm. Base: 8cm.

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 250, **object # 13181**. Not a typical Staffordshire-type slipware but similar in fabric. Fine beige fabric with thick brown-black glaze on interior and mottled chestnut/brown on exterior. Base: 9cm.

Form F4 Pot à posset St. John Vessel 183/275, **object # 3502**. Possible Staffordshire-type slipware. Fine beige fabric with red and black inclusions. This vessel is too coarse to be REW and the fabric is similar to Bristol Staffordshire-type, however the exterior is cream with brown bands. This could be a late version of CEW produced in the same area, somewhat creamware-like. Rim: 11.2cm. Base: 8.2cm.

Appendix 7. CSW Forms

Other CSW (Not Normandy)

Form C3 grease pot CSW Beauvaisis (or Loire) St. John Vessel 46/82/279, **object # 2654**. The form is similar to the Beauvaisis fat pots from the Fortress of Louisbourg (1713-63). It has a light grey fabric with black inclusions that is light orange-peach at both interior and exterior. Rim: 12cm. Body: 16cm. Handle width: 2.5cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:99 fig 2 a, e, f).

Probable jar St. John Vessel 647, **object # 8906**. Anglo-American CSW of the 19th or 20th century. Grey-buff fabric with white slip and yellow glaze on exterior. This vessel is not included in the typology since the form is not a French one. The sherd is water worn and was found not far from the existing beach. It might be out of context in Event 1071. It is the only non-French stoneware from excavations (not surface survey) of Area C (as of 25/06/2009). Shoulder: 13cm.

Normandy CSW

C12 sinot BC St. John Vessel 170/524/543, **object # 8994**. A *sinot* with a wide, flat rim. Red wine colour fabric with a few white, brown and red inclusions. Red-brown exterior and interior and some black lines run around the rim. Rim: 24cm. Opening: 21cm. Body: 24cm.

C12 sinot DF St. John Vessel 671, **object # 8951**. A horizontal, rounded, curved out rim. Brown fabric with yellow inclusions, grey on the interior and lustrous red on the exterior. Rim: 15cm. Opening: 13cm.

C13 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 104, object # 1537. A short rounded rim. The fabric is brown with yellow inclusions, grey exterior. Rim: 11.8cm.

C13 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 58, object # 10336. A rounded rim. A grey-beige fabric with red and white inclusions and air pockets in the fabric. Grey interior, grey and lustrous red exterior. This is a quite substantial vessel. Rim: 16cm. Base: 12cm. Body: 20-22cm.

C13 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 129, object # 10364. A folded over rim with a squared exterior. Similar to object #1537. Brown fabric with orange-yellow inclusions and grey-brown exterior. Opening: 25cm.

C13 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 697, object # 8171. A flat, rounded rim. Beige fabric with a few white inclusions. Grey exterior. It is water worn. Rim: approx. 12cm.

C13 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 552, object # 7913. A rounded rim slants slightly up from horizontal. It is difficult to tell if it is BC or DF. Reddish-brown fabric with many yellow inclusions. Brown-grey exterior. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm.

C13 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 103, object # 1522. A continuous rim that is rounded at the lip. Beige fabric with white inclusions, grey exterior. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 10cm. Body: 14cm.

C14 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 75, object # 3447. Similar to object # 5928. Brown fabric with yellow inclusions, grey interior, grey and red-brown exterior. Rim: 15cm. Opening: 10.5cm.

C14 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 441, object # 5928. Chocolate colour fabric with yellow and white inclusions. A grey interior; and grey-brown exterior. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 10.8cm.

C14 sinot DF St. John Vessel 331, **object # 9261**. A flat folded over type rim. Similar to object # 3447. A caramel fabric with some yellow inclusions. Brown with an orange tint at the exterior. Rim: 15cm. Opening: 11cm.

C14 sinot DF St. John Vessel 440, **object # 5927**. Beige fabric with yellow, white and red inclusions. A grey interior. The exterior is grey with red lustrous areas. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 12cm. Body: 22-23cm.

C14 sinot Normandy St. John Vessel 251, **object # 12894**. It is difficult to tell if this is DF or BC. A reddish chocolate fabric with yellow inclusions and striations. Dark blue grey interior and grey and blue-grey exterior. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 12cm. Base: 10cm.

C15 sinot DF St. John Vessel 80, **object # 2493**. A heavy flat rim and shoulder. Grey fabric with a bit of brown in the middle and few white inclusions. Blue-grey exterior and interior that is burnt and pocked. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 10cm. The vessel is similar to one from Bonavista Bay found in a late 17th-century deposit (Stephen Mills 2009 pers. comm). This vessel is probably early for our site. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 k.)

C15 sinot DF St. John Vessel 599, **object # 8233**. Caramel fabric with dark grey at he edges, and a few white inclusions. Grey-brown exterior and interior. Rim: 11.5cm. Opening: 11cm.

C15 sinot BC St. John Vessel 489, **object # 6928**. A flat handle attached to a rim. Red wine fabric with a few white inclusions. A dark grey interior, lustrous red exterior. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm.

C15 sinot BC St. John Vessel 532/565, **object # 6605**. A neat, short, flat rim. Red wine colour fabric with a few white inclusions. The interior is dark grey, the exterior is lustrous

brown-red with some yellow discolouration likely from heat. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 13.8cm. Base: 12cm.

C15 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 5, **object # 12703**. This is the most extreme example of poorly fired CSW. It is not a perfect type C15. There is evidence for a handle that has broken off on one rim sherd. Dark grey and orange fabric with large and fine yellow and white inclusions. An orange-brown exterior. Rim: 13cm. Opening: 11cm. Base: 9.4cm.

C15 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 30, **object # 12771**. A short flat rim with evidence of a handle and a narrowing before the body. Red wine colour fabric with black at the exterior edge, and white inclusions. A brown-grey interior and semi-lustrous red-brown exterior. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 14cm. Base: 12cm. Body: 16-17cm.

C161 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 95/595, **object # 8052**. A partially mended *sinot*. Red wine-brown colour fabric with some small quartz, yellow and white inclusions. The fabric colour falls somewhere between the BC and DF productions but based on the form I would guess it is DF. The interior and exterior of the vessel are grey. One of the rim sherds (EfAx-09.822.S1754) was found separately from the rest of the vessel. It was possibly dug up from its original deposit (with the rest of the vessel) and re-deposited in a higher event. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 11.2cm. Base: 8cm. Body: 13-14cm. Height: 21.9cm.

C161 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 28, **object # 12291**. It is similar in shape to object # 8052 but larger. Brown fabric with red, yellow and white inclusions. Burnt and pocked. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 10cm. Base: 8cm. Body: 18cm.

C161 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 50, **object # 12464**. The fabric colour is right in between DF and BC, more likely DF. It has dark red-brown fabric with yellow and white inclusions and a blue-grey exterior. Opening: 9.8cm

C161 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 554, **object # 4380**. A rim with a handle attachment scar. Brown fabric with yellow striations and a grey exterior. This rim may have been redeposited. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 55, **object # 12917**. Brown fabric with yellow and white inclusions. Grey interior and exterior. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 9cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 248, **object # 13250**. Brown fabric with yellow and red inclusions, brown-grey exterior and interior. Rim: 13cm. Opening: 9cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 569, **object # 6586**. Brown fabric with large yellow inclusions. Grey and grey-brown at exterior and interior. Rim: 12.8cm. Opening: 9cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 124, **object # 1375**. Caramel fabric, with yellow and orange inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. Rim: 13.4cm. Opening: 10cm.

C162 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 218, **object # 12501**. Dark burgundy fabric with a few yellow inclusions. Grey-brown exterior. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 12cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 226, **object # 12465**. Reddish chocolate fabric with yellow inclusions, blue-grey interior, light grey and red-brown burnt exterior. Rim: 12.6cm. Opening: 11cm. Body: 17cm.

C162 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 166/669, **object # 12982**. A flakey, rough, unusual texture for CSW. It is probably poorly fired DF fabric. Caramel fabric with dark grey at

the exterior. White inclusions, and yellow straitions. Grey interior, grey-brown exterior. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 9cm. Body: 18-19cm.

C162 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 27, **object # 12701**. Burgundy to brownish fabric with white and yellow inclusions. Burnt and pocked. Grey interior, red, brown and lustrous brown-red exterior. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm. Body: 17-18cm.

C162 *sinot* DF St. John Vessel 49, **object # 12289**. Fabric is grey/brown/grey. Exterior and interior are brown-grey and grey. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 9cm. Body: 17-18cm.

C17 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 575/600, **object # 7052**. Red wine colour fabric with white and red inclusions. Red-brown interior; lustrous red exterior. Rim: 14cm. Body: 17cm.

C17 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 158, **object # 11847**. It has an incised band below the rim. Burgundy fabric with red-brown to grey brown exterior. Rim: 14cm.

C17 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 278, **object # 1699**. A fairly small lip on an upright rim. Burgundy fabric with a few white inclusions. Grey and brown interior and exterior. Rim: 13.5cm. Opening: 11cm.

C17 *sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 162/522/681, **object # 12683**. An example of poorly fired Normandy CSW. Brown-red and black fabric with large red and fine white inclusions. Grey-brown with an orange tint on the interior and red-brown on exterior. This is an upright rim of a large *sinot* that is fragmentary. One of the rim sherds is bent from being gripped while thrown. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 15.5cm. Base: 14cm. Body: 24-25cm.

C18 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 215, **object # 13568**. A red wine colour fabric with lots of light yellow, quartz and some red inclusions. Brown grey/ grey on exterior and interior. The fabric is quite coarse for CSW. Rim: 21cm. Opening: 17cm. Body: 24cm.

C18 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 630/690, **object # 9050**. A red wine colour fabric with lots of white and some red inclusions. Brown-grey interior and exterior. Rim: 15cm. Opening: 12cm. Body: 13-15cm.

C18 *sinot* BC St. John Vessel 74, **object #2904**. A red wine fabric, with a thin grey strip at the exterior. It has large white inclusions and some red inclusions. Grey-brown with orange tint on the exterior. Rim: 16cm. Opening: 13cm. Body: 18-19cm.

C1 *sinot* (these do not fit into any of the types)

DF St. John Vessel 51, **object # 12288**. A small *sinot*. This vessel does not fit neatly into the forms because it is a *sinot* type rim with a very small diameter. The form is most similar to type C15. It has a short, flat rim, with a shoulder that steps out a lot. Chocolate fabric with fine yellow inclusions and a blue-grey exterior and interior. Rim: 10.2cm. Opening: 8.6cm. Body: 13cm *. (Cf. Lynch 1963:14).

DF St. John Vessel 78, **object # 3408**. A large *sinot* missing the lip of the rim. Brown fabric with dark grey at exterior and cream inclusions. A dark grey interior and a grey-brown exterior. It is pock marked from burning. This is one of the larger vessels in the collection. Opening: 14cm. Shoulder: 18cm.

DF St. John Vessel 599, **object # 8233**. A flat, horizontal rim. Close to type C15. Caramel fabric with dark grey at edges, and a few white inclusions. Grey-brown exterior and interior. Rim: 11.5cm. Opening: 11cm (Cf. Décarie 1999:34 Fig 14 e).

BC St. John Vessel 151, **object # 11845**. A simple, horizontal rim with a slight slope upwards, that is closest to type C12. Red wine fabric with white and yellow inclusions. Brown-grey interior, and brick red exterior. Rim: 25cm. Opening: 22cm.

DF St. John Vessel 350, **object # 9829**. A horizontal rim with a bit of a hook at the inner edge. The rim is closest in profile to type C16 but more horizontal. Blue-grey fabric, grey and grey-brown to rust brown fabric. Either over fired or burnt. Rim: 13cm. Opening: 10cm.

DF St. John Vessel 654, **object # 8449**. A fairly flat, horizontal rim, that slants up and out a bit. Closest to type C15, but the rim is damaged. Fabric is two-tone grey/brown/grey with large orange and some white inclusions. Exterior and interior are orange or rust-grey. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 10cm. Body: 13-14cm.

DF St. John Vessel 125, **object # 1374**. A rounded lip, and a concave profile on the exterior. Brown fabric with yellow inclusions, grey and red-brown ext. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 11cm.

Normandy St. John Vessel 217, **object # 12395**. Probably BC. Burgundy/grey fabric; red-brown; grey red exterior. A water worn vessel. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 10cm.

BC St. John Vessel 59/67, **object # 10332**. The rim is fragmented, missing its interior part of the profile. Closest to type C15. Red wine fabric with yellow inclusions, red-brown exterior and interior. Rim: 16cm. Shoulder: 18cm. Body: 19-20cm.

DF St. John Vessel 506/586, **object # 6782**. The rim is hooked and concave at the interior. Red-brown fabric with white inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. Rim: 12cm. Opening: 10cm. Body: 18cm.

BC St. John Vessel 76, **object # 3448**. A flat rim, that is angled up. Similar to object # 12980. Red wine colour fabric with few white inclusions. Dark grey interior; grey and light grey exterior with yellow discolouration; possibly burnt. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm. Base: 9cm. (Cf. Décarie 1999:34 Fig 14 i).

BC St. John Vessel 175, **object # 12980**. A small rim about 1cm across. It is similar to object # 3448. Red wine fabric with white inclusions. Dark grey interior and grey exterior with yellow discolouration. Rim: 12cm. Body: 15-16cm.

BC St. John Vessel 233/678, **object # 9024**. Dark burgundy fabric with dark grey at the edges, and white inclusions. Red-brown interior, brown-red exterior. There are lots of air bubbles in the fabric, some large. Rim: approx. 18cm. Body: approximately 24cm.

DF St. John Vessel 302, **object # 2635**. A base and handle. Beige-brown fabric with a few yellow inclusions. Grey interior, and red-brown/grey exterior that is burnt and discoloured yellow in places. Base: 11cm. Body: 15cm or larger.

DF St. John Vessel 330, **object # 13268**. A base and handle. Caramel fabric with brown and white inclusions. Grey interior and grey and red-brown exterior. Base: 7.6cm. Handle width: 2cm.

DF St. John Vessel 270/301/425, **object # 1858**. A large *sinot* with chocolate red-brown fabric with white and yellow inclusions. A blue-grey interior and mottled red-brown, grey and pale blue-grey burnt exterior. This is a thick and substantial base. Base: 11cm. Body: 18-19cm.

DF St. John Vessel 254, **object # 11076**. The rim is fragmented. Grey-beige fabric with fine grey inclusions. Grey exterior and interior with some red lustrous areas on the exterior. Rim: 14cm. Opening: 12cm. Base: 11cm.

Normandy St. John Vessel 479, **object # 8077**. The base of a tall closed vessel, most likely a *sinot*. The fabric is dark grey, almost black, with a few white inclusions. The interior is dark grey-brown with orange/rust colour streaks and the exterior colour is a semi lustrous reddish brown. Base: 9cm. Body: 14cm.

DF St. John Vessel 605, **object # 6993**. A rim and shoulder sherd. Grey-beige fabric with white inclusions. There are air pockets in the fabric. The interior is light grey, and the exterior is grey and lustrous red with yellow discolouration. Rim: 15cm. Opening: 11cm. Shoulder: 19cm.

Probable Form C1 *sinot*: Many of these are handles that are almost certainly from *sinots* based on their flat shapes (Cf. Décarie 1996:40 fig 40 for typical handles).

Normandy St. John Vessel 479, **object # 8077**. A base sherd. The fabric is dark grey, almost black, with a few white inclusions. The interior is dark grey-brown with orange/rust colour streaks and the exterior colour is a semi lustrous reddish brown. Base: 9cm. Body: 14cm or larger.

DF St. John Vessel 534, **object # 6306**. A small base with a *sinot*-like profile. The fabric is brown with yellow inclusions, and a grey exterior, that is red-brown in places. It has a heavily riled interior and a finishing mark in base. Base: 5.6cm. Body: 10cm or larger.

DF St. John Vessel 3, **object # 12769**. A flat handle, attached at the shoulder or lower. Beige fabric with one large yellow inclusion and a grey exterior. All sherds are heavily burnt and pock marked. Body: approximately 16cm. Handle width: 2cm.

DF St. John Vessel 656, **object # 8447**. A large flat handle of a *sinot*. Dark brown fabric, and fine white inclusions. Brown-grey and rust coloured exterior. Handle width: 2cm.

DF St. John Vessel 171, **object # 12350**. A handle from a *pichet* or *sinot*. Probably near the lower end of a *sinot* handle. Grey fabric with grey, grey-red and rust exterior. Handle width: 1.3cm.

DF St. John Vessel 614, **object # 5538**. A flat, wide handle with folded in edges. Dark brown fabric with a grey and rust exterior. It is almost identical to an example found at

Place-Royale given a date between the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

Handle width: 4.3cm. (Cf. Décarie 1996:39-40 Figure 19, Figure 20 a).

DF St. John Vessel 401, **object # 11245**. A handle sherd. Brown fabric with white and orange inclusions, and a grey exterior. Handle width: 1.6cm.

DF St. John Vessel 566, **object # 6379**. A flat, water worn handle. Beige-brown fabric with yellow inclusions and a grey and pale grey exterior. Handle width: 2.3cm.

DF St. John Vessel 526, **object # 6400**. A flat, water worn handle. Brown fabric, and a grey exterior. Handle width: 1.6cm.

DF St. John Vessel 332, **object # 9380**. A handle and body sherd. Grey-beige fabric with red inclusions. Grey interior, and grey and lustrous red exterior. Body: approx. 16cm. Handle width: 1.7cm.

DF St. John Vessel 206, **object # 12678**. A handle. Brown fabric, with yellow inclusions. Red-grey and lustrous red grey exterior. Handle width: 1.8cm.

BC St. John Vessel 351, **object # 9804**. A flat handle. Burgandy fabric with grey at the exterior and few fine white inclusions. A dark grey exterior. Handle width: 2.1cm.

DF St. John Vessel 627, **object # 8545**. A flat handle. Brown fabric with grey at exterior. Orange and white inclusions and a grey-brown exterior. Handle width: 2.1cm.

DF St. John Vessel 508, **object # 6761**. A handle. Beige fabric with grey exterior. Handle width: 1.7cm

BC St. John Vessel 118, **object # 1305**. A handle. Red wine fabric with thin grey edge and fine white inclusions. Red-brown exterior colour. Body: approximately 16cm. Handle width: 1.9cm.

DF St. John Vessel 172, **object # 12700**. A flat handle. Red-brown fabric with yellow inclusions and a grey exterior. Handle width: 2.2cm.

DF St. John Vessel 185, **object # 12602**. A flat handle. Grey/brown fabric with white inclusions. Grey and brown exterior. Burnt and pocked. Shoulder: approximately 9cm. Handle width: 1.6cm.

DF St. John Vessel 57, **object # 10870**. A *sinot* handle and body sherds. Beige-brown fabric with a few yellow inclusions. Grey to grey-red exterior. Rim: approx. 11cm. Opening: approximately 9cm.

BC St. John Vessel 394/540, **object # 3520**. A handle and body. Red wine colour fabric with thin dark grey at exterior and interior and a few white inclusions. Lustrous red-brown and red interior and exterior. It is burnt in places. Body: 13cm. It is similar to object # 11888.

D2 *petit sinot* It is possible that some of the bases that are grouped into Form D2 could actually be small bottles. I have made judgement calls, on the basis of diameter, and the extent of the S curve. A more S curved base being more likely to belong to a small bottle than a small pot.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 657, **object # 8297**. A base sherd in light DF fabric. Grey-beige fabric with red and white inclusions. Light grey interior and exterior. Base: 4cm. Body (just above base): 6cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 570, **object # 6630**. Base is similar to object # 7539. Chocolate fabric with yellow and white inclusions, and a blue-grey exterior. Base: 4.4cm. Body (just above base): 6cm.

D2 *petit sinot* Normandy St. John Vessel 70 **object # 11269**. It is difficult to tell if this is DF or BC. A thin neat rim, of which only the lip survives. Red-brown fabric with few yellow inclusions and grey exterior. Rim: 9cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 457, **object # 7551**. Base is similar to object # 7539 but with a bit of an S curve. Beige fabric with red and white inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. It appears that this vessel was picked up near the base before fired and dented. Base: 4.8cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF or Beauvais St. John Vessel 603, **object # 7559**. Light fabric for DF. This could possibly be Beauvais, however it is pinker than typical Beauvais. It is almost the same shape as object # 7539. The base is irregular. Grey-beige with white and grey inclusions, and a light beige-grey exterior. Base: 4cm. Body: 6cm. If it is Beauvais fabric it is probably most like a preserves or ointment pot. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:99 Figure 2 g).

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 597, **object # 8374**. This object has light colouration for DF. Grey-brown fabric with white and yellow inclusions. Light brown-grey and grey exterior. Base: 4.4cm. Body: 7cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 269, **object # 3898**. The base has a little bit of an S curve but not a pronounced one. Brown fabric with yellow and red inclusions and grey exterior and interior. Base: 4cm. Body: approximately 5cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 507, **object # 6767**. A similar base to object # 7539, but a bit heavier. Brown fabric with white and yellow inclusions and grey with an orange tint on the interior and a grey exterior. Base: 4cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 400, **object # 14055**. The base slants outwards. Brown and grey fabric and exterior. It is burnt and stained. Base: 4cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 703, **object # 11084**. The base is very similar to object # 7539, but slightly smaller. Caramel fabric with yellow and white inclusions, and a grey exterior. Base: 3cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 322, **object # 2746**. Beige fabric with black and white inclusions. Pink tinted grey exterior and interior. Base: 5cm. Body: approximately 6cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 335, **object # 9348**. The base has a bit of an S curve, but not a strong one. Brown fabric with yellow and white inclusions, blue-grey interior and exterior. Base: 7cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 525/680, **object # 7798**. This has no profile, only the flat part of the base. Brown fabric with yellow inclusions and a grey exterior. Base: 4cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 670, **object # 8590**. A sherd from near the base. Brown fabric with orange and red inclusions. Grey-brown exterior. Base: approximately 4cm. Body: 6cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 115, **object # 3468**. Chocolate colour fabric with yellow inclusions. Grey to blue-grey exterior. Base: 4.6cm.

D2 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 205, **object # 13387**. A small base without an S curve. Brown-beige fabric with yellow and brown inclusions, and a grey interior and exterior. Base: 5cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 675, **object # 7539**. A *petit sinot* that is almost fully reconstructed. Brown fabric with few yellow inclusions and grey exterior. It is slightly slanted to one side (you can tell it is hand thrown). It has riling on exterior, especially at

the shoulder. This is the best example of this small form. Rim: 7.6cm. Base: 4.2cm.
Height: 9.5cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 33, **object # 13488**. A slightly smaller and more upright rim than object # 7539. Caramel fabric with white and brown inclusions and a grey exterior and interior. Rim: 5.9cm. Opening: 5.6cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 698, **object # 2513**. Brown fabric with grey at exterior and interior. Brown-grey exterior. Rim: 7.4cm. Opening: 6.2cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 374, **object # 10934**. Brown fabric with yellow and white inclusions. Grey interior and exterior. Rim: 7.5cm. Base: 4cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 576, **object # 7131**. The rim profile is slightly more square than object # 7539. Brown fabric with yellow and white inclusions and a grey exterior. Rim: 7cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 405, **object # 12429**. Brown/grey fabric with yellow inclusions. Grey to blue-grey exterior and interior. It is burnt and discoloured in places. Rim: 8cm. Base: 4.6cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 352, **object # 9995**. Caramel fabric with fine white inclusions and a grey exterior. Rim: 7.2cm. Opening: 6cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 214, **object # 12598**. Brown fabric with orange inclusions, and a grey exterior. Rim: 8cm. Opening: 7.2cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 463, **object # 6173**. This is similar to object # 7539 but with a bit more of a shoulder. Beige fabric with white inclusions, and a grey exterior. Rim: 7cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 300, **object # 2744**. A rim sherd. Brown fabric with a few white inclusions. Brown-red exterior and interior. Rim: 6.8cm. Opening: 6cm. Body: 6.5cm.

D21 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 304, **object # 3599**. Peach-beige fabric with grey and white inclusions. Grey exterior. Rim: 7.8cm. Opening: 6cm.

D22 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 2, **object # 12873**. Beige fabric with yellow and white inclusions and a grey exterior and interior. Rim: 8cm. Body: 11-12cm.

D22 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 102, **object # 2743**. Light brown with orange and white inclusions and a grey exterior and interior. Rim: 5.9cm. Body: 6cm.

D22 *petit sinot* DF St. John Vessel 410, **object # 10286**. Brown fabric with red, yellow and white inclusions and grey exterior colour. Rim: 6cm.

B1 *bouteille* DF St. John Vessel 268, **object # 2801**. A tall cylindrical bottle base and body. Brown fabric with white and yellow inclusions. The exterior is brown-grey with a green tint. Base: 8cm. Body: 8cm. Height of reconstructed fragments (not total height): 14cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 c; Décarie 1999:42 Figure 22).

B1 *bouteille* DF St. John Vessel 73, **object # 3135**. A straight sided, cylindrical bottle. Brown fabric with yellow and orange inclusions. Grey-brown with orange tint on exterior. Base: 9.4cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 c; Décarie 1999:42 Figure 22).

B1 *bouteille* DF St. John Vessel 243, **object # 13198**. A shoulder stamped with "I. E". One of 3 stamped examples of Normandy CSW in the collection. This appears to be a bottle with an upright body. Grey-beige fabric with some white inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. Normandy CSW with makers marks is rare, but examples of initials stamped

on vessels do appear in the 19th century (Biancamaria 1996:96; Gohel 1996:95) Shoulder: 8cm. Body: 8-9cm. Neck: 3cm.

B1 bouteille BC St. John Vessel 490/542/613, **object # 8916**. Red wine fabric with fine white inclusions. Brown-grey interior, lustrous red-brown exterior. Mouth: 4cm. Opening: 2cm. Base: 9cm. Neck: 4cm. Shoulder: 8cm. Body: 8cm.

B1 bouteille St. John Vessel 550/553/631/679, **object # 6250**. Bottle stamped with "MB" near the base and a matching bottle mouth. Brown fabric with yellow, white and orange-brown inclusions. Brown-grey with orange tint at exterior and interior. Mouth: 4cm. Base: 9cm. Body 9cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 c).

Object # 4676 is a second bottle base stamped with "MB" that was collected during beach survey in Area C. It is not included in counts, since beach material has not been included in the present study.

Probable B1 bouteille DF St. John Vessel 493, **object # 7159**. A tall closed vessel with a neck. Probably a bottle based on the shoulder. Brown fabric with yellow and red inclusions, blue-grey exterior and interior. Base: 9cm. Shoulder: 8cm. Body: 8-9cm.

B12 bouteille DF St. John Vessel 459, **object # 4160**. A small, neat, rounded rim. Beige-brown fabric with red and fine white inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. Mouth: 2.6cm. Opening: 1.6cm.

B12 bouteille BC St. John Vessel 407, **object # 10456**. The mouth and a bit of neck of a bottle. Red wine colour fabric with red-brown ext. Mouth: 3cm. Opening: 2cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 c).

B12 bouteille BC St. John Vessel 86, **object # 1706**. The mouth of a bottle. Red wine colour fabric with grey at exterior and interior with a few white inclusions. A red-brown interior and a semi-lustrous red-brown exterior. Mouth: 3.5cm. Opening: 2.4cm.

B11 bouteille BC St. John Vessel 333, **object # 9602**. The rim and neck of a bottle with a ridge about 1cm below the rim. Mouth: 3.6cm. Opening: 2cm. Red wine color fabric with grey at exterior and interior. Red-brown interior and lustrous brown-red exterior.

B11 bouteille DF St. John Vessel 544/636, **object # 8915**. Brown fabric with dark grey at exterior and interior. A few yellow and orange inclusions. The vessel is grey-brown at the interior, and brown-red at the exterior. Mouth: 3cm.

D3 mahon DF St. John Vessel 48, **object # 12287**. Brown/grey fabric (brown in centre) with some white inclusions. Rust colour grey-brown interior and a grey exterior with brown/rust patches. The grey colouration in the fabric and the rust colour on the exterior could be evidence for over firing or burning after firing. Rim: 8.8cm. Opening: 7cm. Body: 10cm. (Cf. Le François Frères 1900: "Pot cylindre ou mahon").

D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 676, **object # 9048**. A neat, upright rim. The body is not perfectly cylindrical but fits most closely into the *mahon* functional series. Burgundy fabric with thick dark grey at edges and fine white and orange inclusions. Red-brown interior with orange and red streaks, dark red exterior. Possibly over fired. Rim: 9cm. Body: 12cm.

D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 239, **object # 12016**. A fairly upright rim with a bit of a lip. Red wine fabric with white inclusions. Grey-brown exterior. Rim: 10cm. Opening: 8cm.

D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 375, **object # 10828**. An upright rim. Red wine colour fabric with dark grey at the exterior and white inclusions. Grey-brown interior and brown-red exterior. Rim: 8cm. Opening: 6.5cm.

D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 635, **object # 7312**. A fairly small shipping pot of a mustard pot type. The rim is similar to 19th-century types of upright rims. The fabric is orange-red with a few white inclusions, grey/orange interior, grey-brown exterior. Rim: 10cm. Body: 11-12cm. (object # 7312 similar to EgAw02.190S276 in shape but not rim type).

Possible D3 mahon DF St. John Vessel 421, **object # 10373**. Similar to object # 7539, but larger. The top of the rim hooks inwards a bit. This vessel is more like some of the larger butter pots in rim form. Caramel fabric with yellow and red inclusions, and a grey exterior. It is grouped as a *mahon* type because the rim diameter is too small to fit into the larger *sinot* category, however it is difficult to determine if the body of this vessel is cylindrical or not, or if it has a handle or not. Rim: 11cm. Opening: 9cm.

Possible D3 mahon Normandy St. John Vessel 536, **object # 8294**. A small, flat rim. It is difficult to determine if the fabric is BC or DF but the redness in the fabric points towards BC. Dark brown-red fabric. Brown exterior, and grey interior. It is somewhat burnt. Rim: 11cm.

Possible D3 mahon DF St. John Vessel 464, **object # 6831**. Probably a *mahon* type; but it could also be a *pichet*. It does not seem as cylindrical as the typical *mahon* type. Beige fabric with white inclusions, and grey on the exterior. Rim: 8.5cm.

Possible D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 519, **object # 6736**. A *petit sinot* or *mahon* or possible *pichet*, but most likely a *mahon* type. An upright rim with an indent below it. Red wine fabric with white inclusions. Grey exterior and interior. Rim: 8cm.

Possible D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 256, **object # 2997**. A vessel with an upright rim. Red wine fabric with a brown-grey exterior. Rim: 11cm. Base: greater than 6cm.

Possible D3 mahon BC St. John Vessel 9, **object # 11210**. This vessel is probably a *mahon*, but possibly a *sinot*. Red wine colour fabric with white and yellow inclusions. Grey-brown interior, lustrous red-brown exterior with some spots of yellow. Rim: 10cm. Body: 14cm.

Form D1 flacon DF St. John Vessel 494, **object # 6060**. A very small base, with an S curve. Grey-beige fabric with white and black inclusions. A grey exterior. Base: 2.6cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 h; Décarie 1999:44 Figure 24; Lynch 1963:44 Fig 13).

Form D1 flacon DF or Beauvais. St. John Vessel 303, **object # 3594**. A small bottle or flacon with an S curve base. Light in colouration for DF, it could be from Beauvais. Grey-beige with beige grey exterior and some red. Base: 2.8cm. Body: 4.5cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 h).

Form D1 flacon DF or Beauvais St. John Vessel 277, **object # 1700**. An S curved base. This is possibly too light to be DF. The fabric and exterior are close in colour, both are a light grey-beige with brown and white inclusions. Base: 3cm. Body (just above base): 5.5cm.

Form D1 *flacon* BC St. John Vessel 88, **object # 1735**. A *flacon* that flares out at the shoulder and has a short neck. Red wine with few white inclusions, and a grey exterior. Mouth: 4cm. Opening: 2cm.

Form D1 *flacon* BC St. John Vessel 587, **object # 7527**. Dark burgundy fabric with yellow inclusions. Grey-brown with a rust tint on the exterior and interior. Mouth: 2cm. Opening: 1.8cm. Neck height: 2cm.

Probable D1 *flacon* DF or Beauvais. St. John Vessel 460, **object # 6135**. The base has an S curve. Light fabric for DF. Beige fabric with pale grey exterior. Base: 4cm. Body (just above the base): 6cm.

Probable D1 *flacon* DF St. John Vessel 533, **object # 6565**. A probable small bottle with a flared lip. However, it also could be a larger bottle. Brown fabric with grey exterior. Mouth: 3.8cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 b, or g).

A12 *pichet* BC St. John Vessel 84, **object # 1705**. Red wine fabric, with a few white inclusions. Red-brown interior and lustrous brown-red exterior. Rim: 8.4cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 fig 1 f; L'hour and Veyrat 1999:83 Fig. 30; Ravoire 2006 type A15).

Probable A1 *pichet* DF St. John Vessel 117, **object # 1304**. A tall closed vessel with a neck, and a dainty handle. Pink-brown fabric with fine yellow, white and red inclusions. Pink-grey exterior. Bottom of neck: 8cm. Shoulder: 9cm. (Cf. L'hour and Veyrat 1999 Fig. 30).

Possible A12 *pichet* or tall closed vessel BC St. John Vessel 34, **object # 12773**. A water worn upright rim with a round handle. Similar to object #1705 but larger rim diameter. Red wine fabric with fine white inclusions. Grey and grey-brown exterior. The form

seems consistent for a *picket* but the rim diameter seems large for this type of vessel.

Rim: 15cm.

A21 *cruchon* BC St. John Vessel 574/592/634/668, **object # 8361**. A *cruchon* with a spout and handle. The fabric is a terra cotta/brown-red with dark grey/black at edges. White and yellow inclusions and yellow material folded through the fabric. The exterior is brown-grey. Rim: 9cm. Base: 10cm. Body: 15-17cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:98 Figure 1 e).

A21 *cruchon* BC St. John Vessel 347, **object # 9123**. A flared rim, similar to an ewer type of vessel in Chrestien and Dufournier but with less of a neck(1995:98 Fig. 1 e). Red and black fabric with red interior and lustrous deep red exterior. Black at the edge of the rim. Rim: 8.8cm.

A21 *cruchon* DF St. John Vessel 122, **object # 1416**. A tall, flared, fairly upright rim. Reddish brown fabric with thin black line at the exterior and yellow and white inclusions. A brown-grey interior; grey and red/rust exterior that appears burnt. Rim: 10.6cm. Opening: 7.5cm.

A21 *cruchon* DF St. John Vessel 655, **object # 8328**. Flared type rim. Brown-beige fabric with yellow, red and white inclusions. Brown-grey to pale grey exterior with some discolouration. A similar shape to object # 1416, Rim: 12cm. Opening: 9cm.

A21 *cruchon* DF St. John Vessel 677, **object # 9022**. A flared type rim and a matching base. Grey-beige fabric with dark red inclusions. Pale grey at interior and exterior. The exterior has some lustrous red patches. Rim: 11cm. Base: 7cm.

A21 cruchon DF St. John Vessel 63/65/73, **object # 10280**. Caramel/grey fabric with yellow inclusions. Grey/brown exterior and where burnt it is white. Also rust stained in places. Rim: 11cm. Opening: 9cm. Base: 8cm. Body: 16-17cm.

A21 cruchon DF St. John Vessel 168/186/238, **object # 12628**. A flared rim that is continuous from the body. Similar to object # 1416. Beige-brown fabric with red and yellow inclusions. Grey interior, red-brown and grey exterior. Some pieces are burnt. Rim: 11cm. Opening: 9cm.

J1 albarelle BC St. John Vessel 305, **object # 3597**. An *albarelle* type preserve pot with a ridged cordon 1cm below the upright rim. Dark red wine fabric, with large white inclusions. Lustrous red finish on interior and exterior. Rim: 11cm. (Cf. Chrestien and Dufournier 1995:99 Figure 2 g; Décarie 1999:59 Figure 37 d; Ravoire J112, J113, J123).

Object X1 gourde BC St. John Vessel 596, **object # 8338**. A tight horizontal handle that lies close to the body, designed for a strap. Dark burgundy and dark grey fabric with some white inclusions. Lustrous dark red and black exterior, red interior. Body: 19cm. (Cf. Lynch 1963:36 Fig. 5; Ravoire 2006 Type X1).

Tall closed vessel DF St. John Vessel 336, **object # 9828**. Probably a bottle due to the straight, non globular body, it could also possibly be a cylindrical butter pot type vessel. It is riled on the interior. Caramel fabric with dark grey at exterior with white inclusions and yellow folded through. Grey-brown interior, reddish grey-brown exterior. Body: 8cm.

Tall closed vessel BC St. John Vessel 114, **object # 3481**. A tall closed vessel with an upright rim. Probably either a *mahon* type or a *pichet*. Red wine fabric with white inclusions, dark grey interior and exterior. Rim: 10cm.

Tall closed vessels: The remainder of the tall closed vessels are a large group of fifty one vessels that are shoulders or bases of probable *sinots*. There are five shoulder sherds (4 DF and 1 BC) that appear to be *sinots* but could be another type of tall closed vessel. The remaining tall closed vessels consist of 46 isolated bases. This includes 27 DF bases, 16 BC bases and 3 bases that are Normandy CSW but were too burnt or otherwise damaged to determine the exact fabric type. While most of these vessels are more than likely the large *sinot* forms that dominate the collection some of these vessels are possibly bottles, especially some with smaller base diameters. The shoulder diameters range from 11-14cm. The DF bases range in diameter from 6-14cm, with most falling into the 9-11cm range. The BC bases range in diameter from 8-12cm, with most falling into the 10-11cm range. The Normandy bases fall between 9-10cm in diameter.

All of the base diameters of the tall closed vessels fall between 6-14cm. Most fall into the mid range of these two extremes and it is likely that those with a diameter of 6cm are another type of tall closed vessel besides *sinots*. There are some examples that have a slip like coating that was a result of firing, creating a shiny exterior on the stoneware.

Closed vessel DF St. John Vessel 480, **object # 4577**. It is difficult to determine this shape. It is either a tall or medium closed vessel. The base diameter of 6cm seems too small for a *sinot*. It could be a *mahon* type or *petit sinot* type. Chocolate fabric with yellow inclusions, brown-red exterior and interior. Water worn. Base: 6cm.

Sherds of interest:

BC St. John Vessel 696, **object # 14011**. This appears to be a bottle neck and shoulder, but there is no matching mouth or base. Brown-orange fabric with grey at exterior with a few white inclusions. Brown-orange interior, grey-brown exterior. Neck: 3cm. Shoulder: 7cm.

BC St. John Vessel 462 **object # 6177**. Probably a neck from a bottle. Red wine fabric with grey interior and red-brown exterior. Neck: 2cm. Body: 11cm.

BC St. John Vessel 176, **object # 12473**. A body sherd that does not match any rims or bases. It is incised with swirls and lines on the exterior. Orange-red fabric, with yellow and orange inclusions. Grey interior, grey-brown exterior. Body: approximately 20cm.

BC St. John Vessel 664, **object # 8930**. Probably a tall closed vessel with no neck. No matching rim or base. An incised body sherd with bands and swirls on the exterior. Red wine fabric with one large quartz inclusion. Lustrous red-brown on interior and exterior. Body: 18cm.

DF St. John Vessel 606, **object # 6694**. A large body sherd of what is possibly a bottle with a non-globular shape. Brown fabric with white inclusions, grey interior and a brown-grey exterior. Body: approximately 11cm.

DF St. John Vessel 588, **object # 7461**. Body sherds with red-brown fabric with a dark grey at the exterior, and yellow and orange inclusions. Red-brown exterior and interior. Similar to object # 2812. Heavily rilled at the interior. Body: approximately 14cm.

BC St. John Vessel 296, **object # 2992**. A large body sherd. Probably a tall closed vessel. Red wine fabric, yellow inclusions, red-brown interior and lustrous red-brown exterior. Body: approximately 15cm.

St. John Vessel 62, **object # 10317**. Body sherds. These looks somewhat like Bearn stoneware, but are hard and fine. Brown fabric with yellow inclusions, rust-brown interior and exterior. Body: 12-14cm.

BC St. John Vessel 47, **object # 11093**. The body of a probable tall closed vessel. Red wine colour fabric with white inclusions. Dark brown-grey interior and bright brick red/terra cotta exterior. Body: 15-16cm.

BC St. John Vessel 337, **object # 9320**. A large body sherd. Red wine colour fabric with few white inclusions. Red wine interior, and dark grey exterior. Body: 15cm.

DF St. John Vessel 257, **object # 2888**. Body sherds. Beige fabric with dark grey exterior and orange and white inclusions. Brown with an orange tint on interior, and exterior. Body: 16-18cm.

BC St. John Vessel 216/258, **object # 3970**. Body sherds. Most likely a tall closed vessel. Red-orange/ brown-orange fabric with grey exterior and interior. Body: 14-15cm.

BC St. John Vessel 60 **object # 10312**. Body sherds. Red wine colour fabric with some white inclusions. Grey-brown interior, lustrous red exterior, either slipped or re-fired with something. Some yellow discolouration on the exterior. Body: 24cm.

BC St. John Vessel 559, **object # 5809**. Body sherds. Red wine fabric with grey-brown interior and red brown exterior. Body: 15-16cm.

Appendix 8. ICP-MS Tested Sherds:

Yves Monette, with the collaboration of Anne Bocquet-Lienard and Daniel Dufournier of CRAHM, and Michel Boilard University of Caen, conducted ICP-MS (inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry) on ten ceramic sherds from EfAx-09 and one from nearby EfAx-11, as part of a larger project examining ceramics, lead and residues from the Cartier-Roberval site in Québec City (CeEu-4) (2010) . The results from the Newfoundland samples are as follows:

EfAx-09:1269E11107 part of object 11688: Unknown provenience, similar to object 7528.

EfAx-09:1273E11688 part of object 11688: Unknown provenience, similar to object 7528.

EfAx-09:1069E7343 part of object 7528: Unknown provenience, similar to object 11688.

EfAx-09:1073E7304 part of object 7304: A perfect match with two samples of Saint-Jean-la-Poterie.

EfAx-09:1220E10276 part of object 9150: Match to one Pabu-Guingamp sample.

EfAx-09:861E2673 part of object 1489: Excellent matches to a Pabu-Guingamp sample.

EfAx-11:101E173: Excellent match to a Pabu-Guingamp sample.

EfAx-09:1273E11686 part of object 12331: Reflects the composition of a Guildo-Lamballe sample.

EfAx-09:1267E11023 part of object 12866: Reflects the composition of a Guildo-Lamballe sample

EfAx-09:1059E8693 part of object 5729: Close to the production of Guildo-Laval "pink-blue"

EfAx-09:1310E11687 part of object 1317: A match to Saintonge-type fabric.

