THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF A FRENCH FORTIFICATION IN THE COLONY OF PLAISANCE: THE VIEUX FORT SITE (ChAl-04), PLACENTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND

AMANDA J. CROMPTON

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by

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ABSTRACT

This is an archaeological and historical study of the Vieux Fort archaeological site (ChAl-04) in Placentia (formerly Plaisance), Newfoundland. Plaisance was the location of the only official French colony in Newfoundland. The French held the colony until it was ceded to the English under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The Vieux Fort was, between 1662 and 1690, the only fortification in Plaisance, and was the first garrisoned fortification in Newfoundland.

The artifacts and features unearthed at the Vieux Fort site have allowed a reconstruction of the Vieux Fort, which is not well-documented historically. The Vieux Fort was a substantial fortification; it was reasonably large, with some considerable effort expended on constructing stone buildings inside the fort. Four years of archaeological investigation at the barracks building permit a detailed analysis of the daily lives of the soldiers and officers posted to the fort. The half-company of soldiers who lived at the barracks only had their basic needs partially met by the state; soldiers spent a portion of their time working as fishing servants for Plaisance's colonists to augment their pay and their rations. The artifacts from the Vieux Fort are representative of the world of goods that circulated in the early colony. The analysis of the artifacts, coupled with a detailed investigation of archival documents, allows the trade networks that supported the colony to be explored. The colony of Plaisance was firmly embedded in the French Atlantic world; from its earliest years, the colony was well-connected to France and to other settlements in North America.

The Vieux Fort was occupied only until 1690, when it was destroyed during an English raid on the colony. The fort was never rebuilt, and the land remained largely unoccupied. Unlike the other French forts, dwellings or infrastructure in the colony, the Vieux Fort was never re-used by the English after 1714. The French contexts are thus undisturbed, and date to a period which is relatively poorly understood from historic documents. The Vieux Fort site thus provides an important new perspective on the formative years of the French colony at Plaisance.

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ADCM: Archives départementales de la Charente Maritime, La Rochelle, France.

ADG: Archives départementales de la Gironde, Bourdeaux, France.

AN: Archives nationales de France, Paris, France.

ANOM: Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

ANQ: Archives nationales du Québec, Québec, Canada

Anon.: Anonymous.

B.A.R.: British Archaeological Reports.

BL: British Library, London, U.K.

BN: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France.

Col.: Colonie(s).

Coll.: Collection.

CNS: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.

fol.: folio

it.: item

J/PAC: Jerseyside/Placentia Archaeological Committee, Placentia, Newfoundland.

LAC: Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

n.d.: no date.

Min.: Minutes.

NAHOP: The Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program, at the Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.

NMC: National Map Collection, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

PHAC: The Placentia Heritage Advisory Committee, in Placentia, Newfoundland, Canada.

PRO: Public Records Office, the National Archives, Kew, U.K.

ROM : Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

TLFI: Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé (http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm).

TNA: National Archives, Kew, U.K.

UM : University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

In 1662, two ships—the *Aigle d'or* and the flûte *Royale*—brought a small contingent of French settlers and soldiers to the harbour of Plaisance, Newfoundland.[1] This small group, transposed from their homes in France to this faraway place on the western coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, began the work of constructing a colony in the harbour (Figure 1.1). This was not the only French settlement in Newfoundland; other small permanently settled French communities began to be established elsewhere in Placentia Bay, Fortune Bay and on the islands of St. Pierre. Of these settlements, only Plaisance was the official French colony and the physical embodiment of the authority of the French Crown in Newfoundland. Though the colony experienced setbacks and reversals of fortune, it continued to grow and would become the administrative, military and religious home base for France in Newfoundland (Proulx1979a). Plaisance was also an economically important centre in its own right and was the largest French settlement on the island.

[1] This harbour was known to the French as Plaisance and to the English as Placentia. It retains the latter name today.

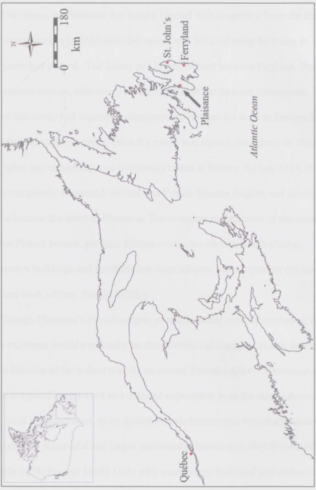

Figure 1.1: The location of Newfoundland.

Map prepared by Amanda Crompton, with map data derived from www.atlas.gc.ca.

The colony of Plaisance was hardly blessed with longevity; from the time it was decreed into existence in 1662 until the time it was bartered away by treaty in 1713, just over 50 years had passed. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed between England, France and other European nations, effectively ended the War of the Spanish Succession. The signing of this treaty had immediate implications, not just for wars in Europe, but also for colonies located an ocean away. Once the treaty was signed, the colony of Plaisance was lost to France and ownership was completely ceded to Britain. By late 1714, the colony had been completely evacuated; all that was French became English and *la colonie de Plaisance* became the town of Placentia. The complete replacement of the population meant that French houses, gardens, fishing rooms, warehouses, outbuildings, administrative buildings and fortifications were adopted and adapted by the newly arrived English and Irish settlers (Proulx 1979b).

Though Placentia's French origins would continue to be remembered, the colony's existence would eventually be characterized as a quaint episode in which Plaisance functioned for a short time as an ancient French capital. Historiographically, Plaisance is typically portrayed as a doomed experiment from the start—doomed either by inept local administrators, or by distant French bureaucrats whose attention was focused on more successful and larger settlements elsewhere in New France (Humphreys 1970; Innis 1954; Prowse 1895). Only with more recent historical and archaeological research has this interpretation of Plaisance been altered in any appreciable way. Through the lens of recent scholarship, the colony has started to appear as more than just a military outpost; Plaisance is now portrayed as a permanently settled, socially and economically complex community (Landry 1995:160).

Much of what we know of the colony comes from documentary and archaeological studies that have focused on the post-1690 period. Documentation—including official correspondence and notarial documents—increases remarkably in quantity after this time period. This means that the majority of historic research on the colony is centred on the later years of the colony's life. The same is true for archaeological research. A large-scale archaeological project had been carried out in Placentia in the late 1960s, centred on the post-1693 Castle Hill site (Grange 1971). As a result, the period between 1662 and 1690 is not nearly as well understood by either historians or archaeologists. As the first fort constructed by the French in Plaisance, the Vieux Fort archaeological site dates to this critical early period of the colony's life—from 1662 to 1690. Additionally, the Vieux Fort is (at the time of writing) the only French archaeological site in Placentia that was never re-occupied or re-used by the English after 1713. Both of these factors mean that the Vieux Fort site has the potential to provide a new perspective on Plaisance's earliest years. The site was first recorded by Gaulton and Carter (1997). Following this, the Vieux Fort site was the subject of archaeological survey and full-scale archaeological excavation between 2001 and 2004, under the direction of the author (Crompton 2002, 2006; Crompton and Temple 2004, 2005). The analysis of the Vieux Fort site forms the basis of the current study.

1.2 Content Outline

The French colony at Plaisance has been the subject of much historical writing. Historiographically, the colony is often conceptually placed at the periphery of New France, and is generally described as a small colony at the easternmost reaches of French North America. In much of this research, Plaisance sits at the margins of influence, power and importance in the French colonial world. Chapter 2 explores some of the reasons why this is so and describes how the colony is situated in different research traditions. Likewise, the material remains of the French colony have long been of interest to antiquarians and archaeologists. From the studies of nineteenth-century antiquarians, to a fluorescence of federally funded research in the late 1960s, material culture from both French and English contexts have been excavated and studied. In Chapter 2, the current research project will be placed against the background of this previous research. A summary of Plaisance's history is outlined in Chapter 3, providing a backdrop against which subsequent archaeological and historical interpretations can be set. Much recent historical work has resulted in a re-examination of the colony's history, providing a new perspective on the lives of Plaisance's settlers (or *habitants*) and their fishing servants (or *engagés*). Chapter 3 both summarizes this work and adds new interpretations and new data wherever possible.

Little is known of the Vieux Fort. Historical references to the fort are rare and the only map depicting the fort in any depth contains questionable detail that is exaggerated. Because the historic record for this early period is so fragmentary, the fort itself has been dismissed as being of little consequence (Humphreys 1970:11). As Chapter 4 demonstrates, a re-examination of the historic record has uncovered new data and has allowed some of the existing data to be re-interpreted. A new picture of the Vieux Fort emerges, drawn from archaeological excavation, a close examination of available historical documents and comparisons with other fort sites in the French New World. In this chapter, the rationale for site selection is discussed and the overall appearance of the fort is reconstructed. The factors that encouraged and constrained the fort's form and development are also outlined. Additionally, some consideration is given to the reasons for the fort's abandonment in the 1690s and attention is given to the post-abandonment use of the site.

Full-scale archaeological excavations at the Vieux Fort targeted one structure found inside the walls of the fort; from the earliest weeks of excavations, it became apparent that this building housed soldiers and thus served as a barracks. This discovery merits an examination of the history of barracks buildings in New France, which is discussed in Chapter 5. Archaeological investigation of the barracks building spanned four field seasons at the Vieux Fort. Chapter 5 outlines the interpretations of artifacts, features and site stratigraphy. An examination of chronologically sensitive artifacts indicates that the date of the barracks building is entirely consistent with a mid-to-late seventeenth-century occupation. The wider implications of barracks construction are also outlined, both in terms of how the building was used and what its construction represented for Plaisance's soldiers.

In order to interpret the material culture of the French soldier in Plaisance in a culturally meaningful way, a framework for the analysis of glass and ceramic artifacts needed to be developed. Artifact typologies are thus constructed in Chapter 6. Similar typologies developed for sites elsewhere in New France are adapted to render them suitable for a seventeenth-century Newfoundland site. Data on the material world of the French soldier are also derived, principally (but not exclusively) from Plaisance's notarial records, dating to the early eighteenth century. The data are combined to provide a suitable analytical framework for the artifacts from the Vieux Fort site discussed in Chapter 7. The artifacts found from the site are identified and analysed, in order to illustrate the activities that took place at the Vieux Fort barracks.

At present, the Vieux Fort site is the only French site in Placentia dating exclusively to the first 30 years of the colony's existence, without any further re-occupation by either the French or English in later years. As a result, the Vieux Fort site provides an opportunity to study the relations between those who lived in the colony during this early period and those living in the larger Atlantic world. Chapter 8 offers an exploration of the larger trans-oceanic networks that would have supported the fort and by extension, the colony. Artifacts from the Vieux Fort site offer insight into these larger networks, to the extent that their production locations and probable histories as items of trade can be determined. Being able to say that artifacts were manufactured in different locations does not explain how they came to be on the Vieux Fort site in Plaisance. Reconstructing how larger pan-Atlantic networks were incorporated into local systems of exchange is aided in no small part by the discovery of an informative set of documents belonging to a French trader working out of Plaisance in the 1670s. Together, a combination of artifact provenance and documentary analysis can contextualize the ways in which those living in Plaisance ensured the continued survival and growth of their colony.

1.3 Theoretical Considerations: Background

The excavation of historic fortifications, trading posts and other fortified sites has a long history within the discipline of historical archaeology (Deagan 1982:155; Doroszenko 2009:507; Little 2009:366). Many of these sites were excavated solely for the purposes of architectural reconstruction and public interpretation, with the result that much of the published literature has a particularistic and descriptive focus (Moussette 2002:145; Walthall and Emerson 1991:3; Waselkov 2009:625). Studies of French colonial historic sites thus tend to be "site-specific, descriptive, and essentially atheoretical—or, perhaps more precisely, lacking in explicit theoretical exposition" (Waselkov 1997:25). This reflects larger trends within the discipline as a whole. Theoretical engagement in historical archaeology began to emerge in the 1970s and only became common after the early 1980s (Cleland 1988; Orser 1996:5-16). From this point onwards, the theoretical interests of historical archaeologists multiply and diversify substantially (Johnson 1999a:28-34; Wilkie 2009:335-337).

The following section is not intended to provide a comprehensive review of theoretical applications in historical archaeology generally or in French colonial archaeology specifically. Rather, the intent is to provide a review of some of the theoretical concerns that have shaped research on French sites, particularly those which involves fortifications, trading posts and outposts. This will provide the intellectual antecedents of some of the theoretical concerns that will be addressed elsewhere in this dissertation. The first explicitly framed theoretical archaeology to be applied to French colonial sites stems from processual theory as it was articulated in the 1970s, when Lewis Binford suggested that different French and English colonial patterns could be seen at Fort Michilimackinac (Binford 1978). Binford's processually-informed scientific archaeology would be further expanded by Stanley South (South 1977, 1978). South developed *pattern recognition*, in which quantitatively defined patterns of artifact distribution frequencies were attributed to different cultural systems. South believed that European colonial patterns—belonging to French, British, Spanish, or other cultural groups—could be distinguished from each other. Despite the popularity of South's approach in the late 1970s and 1980s, little attention was paid to developing a French colonial pattern (Walthall and Emerson 1991:12). Further interest in large-scale patterning resulted in the construction of broad economic models to explain inter-site variation (Keene 1991: 41).

The search for pattern began to be replaced with the quest for markers of French identity, as seen in the identification of French ceramics and corresponding French foodways by Jean-François Blanchette (1981). Other studies explore the maintenance and adaptation of French cultural norms in new colonial settings (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:30; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987; Lavoie 2002; Silvia 2002; Yakubik 1990). Further research explores how French colonial cultures were formed, including the development of distinctly new regional identities as well as new practices and cultural behaviours (Gremillion 2002; Gundersen *et al.* 2002; Mann 2008; Moussette 2002:144-145, 2003:37; Nassaney 2008; Rees 2008). The quest for broad cultural patterns as delineated by Stanley South has, in many respects, been supplanted by a consideration of the importance of local factors and historical contingencies in archaeological explanation (Moussette 1994, 2008).

A similar theoretical trajectory characterizes the literature that deals with interpreting interactions in the French colonial world. The relationships between French colonists and Native inhabitants have been particularly well-studied, while interactions between metropole and colony or between different colonial regions have received less attention (Walthall and Emerson 1992; Waselkov 1997:13-14, 21-22). Where French inter-regional trade has been studied, the influence of world-systems theory is broadly apparent. World-systems theory was specifically developed to investigate trade between European colonies and their home countries in the early modern period (Bushnell and Greene 2002:4-13; Stein 1999:10-14). World-systems theory, at its core, is based on the notion that home countries dominate exchange systems that supply the colonies, which sit at the periphery of the system (Orser 2009). Large-scale exchange is thus seen as a global process, entwined with colonial expansion and the growth of capitalism (Carroll 1999:131-132).

In the later 1970s and 1980s, this theoretical orientation became a popular perspective for understanding large-scale economic structures, particularly of complex societies (Trigger 2006:438). Archaeological applications of large-scale economic processes have found some traction in French colonial archaeology. For example, one early influential study develops a hierarchical model of French fur trade sites, based on geographical distribution, economic organization and functional complexity (Tordoff 1983). In so doing, discernible differences in patterning at French fur trade sites are connected to larger-scale systemic structures. Following Judith Tordoff's work, others have continued to apply systemic frameworks to the analysis of fortification and trading outpost sites in New France (Balvay 2006:74; Brown 1985; Keene 2002).

More recently, critics have argued that analyses structured by world-systems theory tend to produce mechanically reductionist explanations (Dietler 1998:297; Johnson 1999b:64-84). Specifically, colonial peripheries are portrayed as passive recipients of the home country's influence, and this de-emphasizes the importance of local-level processes or human agency in the colonial periphery (Carroll 1999:132; Stein 2002). In recent years, theories attending to the importance of the agency of individuals, or groups of individuals, have come to the fore. These theories recognize the ability of individuals or groups to influence and interact with larger social structures and the external world (Dobres and Robb 2000:11; Dornan 2002:304,309). Colonial peripheries are now being re-envisioned as places of influence in their own right (Choquette 2002:202-2036; Stein 1999:16). Attention is now also given to the specific historical contexts that influence inter-regional exchange (Loewen 2004; Pope 2003c; Pope and Batt 2008; Shorter 2002). These theoretical developments broadly reflect larger trends in archaeological theory generally, in which earlier concerns with broad systemic processes and the search for patterns were later mediated by a new attention to the means by which local and contextual factors affect archaeological interpretation (Hodder 2003; Trigger 2006:467-478).

1.4 Theoretical Considerations: Atlantic History

This dissertation builds on the theoretical developments discussed above and situates them within the context of recent developments in Atlantic history. Though its intellectual antecedents can be traced back to the mid-twentieth century at least, Atlantic history did not emerge as a specifically articulated field until the 1970s, and only attained widespread popularity in the 1990s (Games 2006:744; Morgan and Greene 2009:3). This perspective has most frequently been adopted by historians. The majority of the literature is written as Atlantic history, though cultural geographers have also made contributions to the field (Gabaccia 2004; Ogborn 2005). At its most fundamental level, this approach takes the Atlantic basin and its surrounding continents as an analytical focus. Beginning in the late medieval period, the Atlantic basin emerged as a key region for demographic, social, economic and cultural exchanges between its bordering continents (Morgan and Greene 2009:3; Steele 1986; Vinson 2000). Atlantic history places emphasis on the ocean as a connector that knits together diverse peoples, places and processes; at its broadest conception, it is a framing device that highlights the connections across the Atlantic and between continents (Cohen 2008:390; Games 2004:3). Atlantic studies document "the creation, destruction, and re-creation of communities as a result of the movement, across and around the Atlantic basin, of people, commodities, cultural practices, and values" (Elliott 2002:239). Within this geographic space, cultures, beliefs and objects were linked together in an increasingly complex and dense set of connections (Morgan and Greene 2009:8).

Though the Atlantic world interlinked people and places, it is not conceived as a monolithic geographical entity. Superficially, the concept appears similar to Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean, which is portrayed as a self-contained sea, linking its surrounding peoples with shared connections (Braudel 1949). Yet beyond the broadest of similarities, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are different entities. By many measures—geographic, climactic, cultural and linguistic, just to name a few—the Atlantic and its surrounding regions exhibit much greater variety. The diversity of the Atlantic region resulted in encounters and experiences that varied profoundly, both within and between cultures (Bailyn 2005:61; Games 2006). The Atlantic is thus more than a simple geographic entity; it is a multivalent concept which was experienced by different people in different ways. For example, people from different regions experienced the Atlantic in ways that related to their place of origin. Thus, we can speak of the English, French or Spanish Atlantic, or the Black Atlantic of the African diaspora. We might also think of the Atlantic as experienced differently by those belonging to a specific occupation or social class, such as a working-class Atlantic or a merchant Atlantic. Similarly, the Atlantic can also be expressed in religious terms, resulting in studies of a Jewish, Catholic, or Huguenot Atlantic (Armitage 2002; Augeron *et al.* 2009; Games 2004:3-4; Gervais 2011:29; Morgan and Greene 2009). Ultimately, no singular narrative or perspective can illustrate the experiences of those who lived and worked in the circum-Atlantic region.

One of the interpretive advantages of the Atlanticist theoretical position is that researchers are encouraged to think outside of traditional scholarly boundaries, and to cast aside the limits of national historiographies and regional research traditions (Games 2006:749-750). Major research paradigms in Atlantic history have been broadly categorized into a number of thematic clusters. Circum-Atlantic studies examine the Atlantic region as a whole, while trans-Atlantic studies adopt an international comparative approach and cis-Atlantic studies examine a region within a larger Atlantic context (Armitage 2002:15; Cohen 2008:390). These research foci open the way for analyses that span historiographies, languages and research traditions.

The Atlantic perspective is not intended to reductively ascribe oceanic-centric explanations to all cultural and historical developments. Not all topics of inquiry require an Atlantic explanation; multiple perspectives (which need not be Atlantic) can be usefully applied to a single region (Games 2004:4, 2006:749). Furthermore, care must be taken to ensure that the Atlantic perspective can be read as more than just another Eurocentric framework for interpreting the past. The lives and perspectives of Native peoples, in particular, have not figured prominently in Atlantic studies (Cohen 2008:394). Unless care is taken to make sure that Atlantic approaches are inclusive and cross traditional research boundaries, Atlantic history may simply be read as old imperial or colonial history, repackaged under a new name (Games 2006:745; Morgan and Greene

2009:5). However, if carefully considered and thoughtfully framed, the Atlantic is a style of inquiry that is "good to think with" (Cohen 2008:390).

Generally speaking, British Atlantic studies form the largest proportion of the literature; by comparison, far fewer authors have explored the French Atlantic (Burnard and Potofsky 2011:3; Hodson and Rushforth 2010). Certainly, French scholars have made contributions to Atlantic history even before the field was formally articulated, and have continued to make contributions since the concept of Atlantic history was fully developed (Burnard and Potofsky 2011). Finding French Atlantic literature is not difficult; significant contributions have been made by many scholars. For example, Dale Miquelon (1978), John Bosher (1987) and James Pritchard (1999) have investigated French merchants on both sides of the Atlantic and the trade to New France generally. Kenneth Banks (2002) investigates the administration of French overseas colonies. The French fishery has been the topic of study by Charles de la Morandière (1962), Laurier Turgeon (1987) and Jean-François Brière (1990).

Yet when compared to the profusion of British Atlantic scholarship, the body of French Atlantic work is certainly less abundant. This less-frequent engagement with the concept of the French Atlantic has been attributed to disciplinary compartmentalization and research regionalisation. In France, colonial and post-colonial studies are weakly developed. In Canada, historical studies typically focus on North American issues and sometimes exhibit less of an interest in a larger transatlantic context (Hodson and Rushforth 2010; Vidal 2006). Additionally, some parts of the French colonial Atlantic world—such as the French Caribbean—are simply not as well-researched as others (Burnard and Potofsky 2011:5).

Another reason the French Atlantic has not been as widely adopted lies in the presumption that modern Atlantic history is a better fit for Anglo and Iberian research traditions, where the field has had its most enthusiastic reception (Vidal 2006). By comparison to the English and Spanish Atlantics, the French Atlantic world was relatively limited in scale and in economic importance. As a result, some critics view the concept of the Atlantic as one that cannot be satisfactorily applied to French history (Marshall 2009:2). Others have described the French Atlantic as both tenuously-established and over-reliant on the state, which may also contribute to the comparative lack of interest from French historians (Cohen 2008:393). Historiographical studies of the French Atlantic have also argued that this situation has been exacerbated by the perception that some French colonial dependencies (such as those in the French Caribbean) were failures. As a result, these regions are less likely to be included in broad French historical narratives (Burnard and Potofsky 2011:7). In recent years, the quantity of French Atlantic scholarship has increased considerably (Greer 2010). Some historians have noted that the transnational emphasis that characterizes more recent Atlantic history may help alleviate some of the disciplinary fragmentation that marks the French scholarly literature (Dubois 2009:147).

For the purposes of this dissertation, the content-driven objections to a French Atlantic are put aside. Even if the French Atlantic presence was different than the English or Iberian Atlantic presence in terms of population size, economic stability and degree of state dependence, the construct itself is still meaningful. Atlantic experiences were a product of unique historical contingencies and so will have different developmental trajectories (Marzagalli 1999; Schmidt 2009:180). Furthermore, the concept of a French Atlantic is particularly useful for a study that involves the French Newfoundland fisheries. The size of the French transatlantic fishing fleet was significant, rapidly growing through the sixteenth century to encompass perhaps 500 ships and 10 000 men. The scale and economic impact of the French Atlantic fishery cannot be dismissed as insignificant (Pope 2004:19-20; Turgeon 1985, 1998:592). The transatlantic French cod fishery was, by its very purpose, inextricably entwined with the Atlantic.

Indeed, the Atlantic provides a useful vantage point to begin thinking about the colonisation of the coastal regions of *l'Amérique septentrionale*. The need to secure adequate shore stations for processing fish on land would have prompted familiarisation with Atlantic coastlines (Brière 1990:3-4). Early exploration and colonization attempts often involved persons with previous experience in the fisheries (Trudel 1973:12, 65-66). Indeed, "the cod fishery allowed the French to 'occupy' the coasts of north-eastern North America, to symbolically consume this space and progressively construct a colonial territory. In a sense, their colonial project originated in the fishery" (Turgeon 2009:34). Settlements at Plaisance and Louisbourg were founded with the purpose of safeguarding the North Atlantic cod fishery. French administrators also hoped that the fish produced in its North American settlements would become integrated into Caribbean trading networks (Turgeon 1985:263-264). Thus, the quest for marine products from the North Atlantic provided motives, both symbolic and tangible, for the establishment of overseas colonies in the North Atlantic region.

Atlantic influences played out in the development of coastal settlements established along the Atlantic littoral. Most French colonies shared some very broad characteristics, including legal and administrative structures (Banks 2002:9). However, New France was not a clearly delineated territory, nor was it a uniformly administered political entity (Greer 2010:701). French settlements were not established with a set, comprehensive package of institutions or colonial mechanisms; rather, such institutions were transferred to the colonies in an uneven fashion (Johnston 2001:xix-xx,303). The polyglot assortment of settlements and outposts in New France were thus an "unsorted collection of peoples and possibilities and they received 'assembled bits of attention' from the state" (Banks 2002:7). As a result, settlements in the French colonial world had different developmental histories and by the eighteenth century, had developed distinct characteristics.

Settlements along the Atlantic littoral developed along a different social, economic and cultural trajectory than their inland counterparts (Greer 1997:112). Atlantic influences played an obvious role in the economic livelihood of coastally based settlements. Those who lived along the Atlantic coast tended to draw their living from the sea—such as at Louisbourg, where fishing, wholesale trading and the coasting trade formed some of the principal economic activities (Balcom 1984; Moore 1995:237-238). Social institutions that were present in some parts of New France—the seigneurial system of land tenure found in the Laurentian settlements, for example—were absent in the

Atlantic settlements of Plaisance and Louisbourg (Greer 1997:112). French colonial projects can thus be characterized as diversely organized and situationally adaptable, depending on their location. Atlantic influences certainly played a role in colonial development (Hodson and Rushforth 2010; Johnston 2001:303; Potofsky 2008:384).

1.5 Atlantic Historical Archaeology and the Colony of Plaisance

Atlantic perspectives have largely been adopted by historians and cultural geographers, though the framework can be easily adapted to other disciplines, including anthropology and archaeology (Games 2008). Archaeologists are beginning to turn to the concept of the Atlantic as a fruitful analytical construct. Initial interest in adapting Atlantic history to suit the needs of archaeology has particularly come from archaeologists concerned with environmental reconstruction (Coles and Housely 2004; Hambrecht and Arendt 2009). A consideration of the research specifically focused on Newfoundland finds that most of the Atlanticist research has come from historians, but archaeologists are beginning to adopt this framework (Bannister 2003:3-4; Codignola 2005; Dwyer 2006:315; Pope 2004). Atlantic historical archaeology can easily be expanded to embrace the full extent of themes covered by Atlantic history. Thematically, the concerns of Atlantic history overlap with the issues typically tackled in historical archaeology, such as the development of capitalism, the origins of the modern world and studies of class, consumerism, gender and colonialism (Bailyn 2009; Games 2006; Little 2009; Orser 1996). For the purposes of this dissertation, Atlantic historical archaeology encompasses the study of the material culture (including the written record) of the Atlantic region, with an emphasis on the contact, connections and cultural entanglements established around the Atlantic littoral and across the ocean. Atlantic historical archaeology does not necessarily centre on a single historical process, location, or series of events, though it certainly can.

The Atlantic framework has a particular utility for Newfoundland-focused researchers and for the present study of the history and archaeology of the colony of Plaisance. The Atlantic was not just a watery highway that provided the means of settlement and a boundary to be crossed and re-crossed in the process of the growth of European settlement in Newfoundland. The Atlantic also provided, in its marine biomass, the principal reason for European exploration of, and settlement in, Newfoundland.

> As the notion that 'oceans connect' gains currency among historians and geographers, we would do well to remember that… people not only crossed oceans and used them to stitch together empires of commerce and meaning, but also relied on ocean products and services as never before. The salient connections were not only *across* oceans, but *between* people and the sea (Bolster 2008:23; original emphasis).

An ocean-centred perspective reflects the centrality and importance of the ocean to the peoples who lived in Newfoundland. Plaisance was established in a landscape and seascape that had been familiar to French mariners for over 150 years. The colony had been founded with the purpose of making manifest France's desire for a share of the Newfoundland fisheries, and had an economic basis firmly centred upon the extraction of cod from the ocean. The Atlantic was a vital highway for those who lived in Plaisance, for ships brought labour, supplies, correspondence and information from France and from other colonies. Locally, navigating waterways surrounding the colony meant that planters could fish, gather wood and hunt on adjacent islands and in nearby bays. The ocean brought people—French, Basque, Native, English, African and Irish—into contact with each other in ways that were unique to this part of the world. The Atlantic had the potential to constrain the colony and individuals' lives as much as it provided opportunities. Storms, winter weather, pack ice, persistent fog and navigational dangers meant that the Atlantic took lives by shipwreck and drowning. The Atlantic Ocean enabled connections, conflict, competition and co-operation between the people who lived there, shaped by Plaisance's distinct historical trajectory. By many measures, the French colony of Plaisance and the Atlantic Ocean are inseparable.

An Atlantic perspective also provides a means to integrate different scales of analysis. This approach encourages a consideration of both the impact of larger trans-regional structures, as well as the role of individual experiences in (literally and metaphorically) navigating the Atlantic world.

> This was a world in which people's horizons could be intensely local – at the level of a village, a clan, a band, or a family, whether in Europe, America, or Africa. But at the same time, the transformations within that local world were determined by a process of interaction with a larger world (Games 1999:163).

In other words, the Atlantic perspective concedes the existence of larger cultural, social and political structures. However, such structures were often adapted, subverted and diverted by local actors to suit local needs (Dawdy 2008:4-5,227). This attempt to find a balance, or at least an interpretive accommodation, for the effects of both structure and agent within Atlantic-framed histories corresponds well with parallel developments in archaeological and anthropological theory (Hauser 2009; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Pauketat 2001; Sassaman and Holly 2011). As the brief theoretical overview above has outlined, historical archaeologists have also been grappling with these concepts of analytical scale: from a search for large scale patterns (identifying French patterns, or constructing large-scale models of trade and economic orientation), to a consideration of the importance of local actors, locally dependent contingencies and small-scale adaptations to explain the variability seen on French colonial sites.

The encouragement to integrate different analytical scales will be useful for the present study. Plaisance was part of New France, broadly defined, which means that wider comparisons between the colony's material culture and documentary record should be sought with the rest of the French colonial world. For example, the material manifestations of the colony's administrative structures (including fortifications, governor's residences, churches, property divisions, storehouses and military residences, just to name a few) ought to be compared to other French colonies elsewhere in the New World. Commonalities might be expected, testifying to ways of building colonies that might be thought to be characteristically French. For example, how do the fortifications constructed in Plaisance compare with those constructed elsewhere across the French colonial world? Such questions do not equate with a quest for a French colonial pattern, as historical archaeologists of the 1970s might have characterized it, but rather for broadly based similarities influenced by a shared colonial administrative structure. Such comparisons might in fact reveal that shared cultural and administrative structures do not translate into shared material expressions: fortifications at Plaisance may not resemble fortifications at French Michilimackinac, for the simple reason that Plaisance is not located in the Illinois country. We may in fact see that Plaisance's fortifications were influenced in appearance and design just as much by its location and its own history, as by its French cultural origins.

In fact, adopting an Atlantic approach means that we should look outside of standard national research traditions; in other words, we should not restrict our comparisons to the archaeology of the French colonial world. The English and the French settled in Newfoundland mostly for the same reasons; the demands and opportunities presented by living on the island of Newfoundland may have prompted similar responses from both groups. What is more, Atlantic historians remind us that studies of early modern Newfoundland should encompass not only the English and French experience, but also the African, Aboriginal, Irish, Basque, Portuguese and Spanish experiences as well (Candow 2006:370). This is an ideal that should be pursued, though practically it is difficult for one person to achieve a mastery of all of the languages, documentary and artifactual records that derive from these groups. The current study is aided by the fact that the historical and archaeological records for the English presence in early modern Newfoundland are well-understood and will provide a useful comparative perspective.

Ultimately, the Atlantic perspective allows us to characterize Plaisance as a colony that must be considered on its own, as a unique colonial entity, as well as a part of the larger administrative and political entity of New France. The theoretical viewpoint adopted in this dissertation is that New France is not a monolithic overseas empire, but rather a patchwork of French settlement, French influence and French territorial pretentions (Greer 1997:3; Marzagalli 1999:71). Indeed, colonies in New France can best be regarded as fundamentally experimental entities (Dawdy 2008:18). In the case of Plaisance, we can take into account the colony's position and development within the larger cultural, administrative and political entity of New France as a whole. Equally as important is an understanding of the colony's *in situ* development in its specific colonial context. Local factors influenced how the colony was established and the physical shape it took during its development, the location and design of its fortifications and the lives of the soldiers who lived there, as well as in a consideration of the relationships between Plaisance and other communities along the Atlantic littoral. Uniting all of these analytical threads is an Atlantic, ocean-centred perspective, in which the establishment and historical trajectory of the colony of Plaisance is resolutely intertwined.

Chapter 2

Plaisance in Context: Previous Research and the Placentia Uncovered Archaeology Project

2.1 Background

Plaisance's status as the only official French colony in Newfoundland means that it has been the subject of much scholarly research and popular writing, extending back well over a century. Research focusing on Plaisance is scattered across disciplines; furthermore, the colony is treated in varying degrees of depth and detail in the relevant literature. Most large scale histories of New France typically refer to Plaisance in a parenthetical fashion, as a distant outpost on the edge of the empire that was New France. A much smaller proportion of the available literature takes the colony as a focus of analysis in its entirety. The overall peripheral treatment of the colony in historical and archaeological surveys of New France and Newfoundland is perhaps a result of the regionalisation of research traditions. For example, Québécois historians tend to study the Laurentian settlements, while the history of Louisiana and Illinois tends to be written by specialists in American history (Greer 2009:21). Work in these different historiographical traditions also tends to treat the French and English separately—and this is true of the historiography of New France and the historiography of Newfoundland (Candow 2006:370; Greer 2003:469,484). In a similar fashion, archaeologists who focused on French colonial archaeology developed their own regionally specific interpretive traditions (Moussette 2007:151; Waselkov and Walthall 2002:64). Thus, while the colony of Plaisance is referred to in many publications, only a few actually focus on the colony in any depth.

This review must also accommodate different disciplines, for Plaisance has been the subject of study by varied scholars, from antiquarians, popular and academic historians, to archaeologists and folklorists as well. As much as one might wish to construct a standard historiography—neatly docketing scholarly work decade by decade, or paradigm by paradigm—the totality of research on Plaisance cannot be fitted into such a scheme with any sort of ease. Because the unit of focus is a particular location, not a subject, or a theme, or a single event, this summary of relevant research does not always conform to a chronologically ordered historiography. Thus, the present summary is divided into categories that sometimes crosscut periods and themes. This review is aided in no small part by the Olaf Janzen's literature review (1994), updated on the internet in Janzen (2011), among others. Sites referred to in this chapter are located in Figure 2.1.

2.2 The Early Histories

The earliest histories referring to the French colony at Plaisance, at least in passing, are French in origin. The very earliest histories tend to document the heroic elements of military action that were launched from Plaisance against English

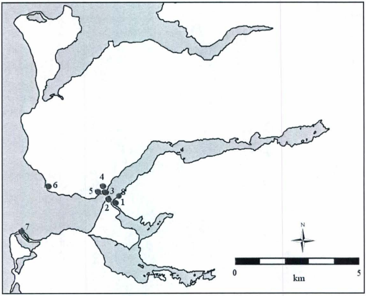

Figure 2.1 The location of selected archaeological sites in Placentia.

Sites are indicated either by a provincially designated Borden number or by a federally designated Parks Canada [PC] site designation. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton, using data from http://gis.geosurv.gov.nl.ca/resourceatlas/viewer.htm.

1) The Vieux Fort [ChAl-04].
2) Fort Frederick [ChAl-01].
3) Fort Louis/New Fort [ChAl-09].
4) The Gallardin [PC number 2A18].
5) Castle Hill [PC number 2A1].
6) Crèvecoeur Battery [ChAl-15].
7) Point Verde [ChAm-01].
8) Mount Pleasant Knoll [ChAl-11].

Newfoundland (Charlevoix (1900 [1744]). Though dating to an early period, Charlevoix's writings occupied a central place in both the English and French historiography of New France for almost a century (Trigger 1985:23).

Early English-speaking historians, most notably Francis Parkman, occasionally touched on Plaisance, but usually only to highlight its failure as a colony. An early Newfoundland historian, Judge D.W. Prowse, has cast a long shadow through Newfoundland historiography (Bannister 2002). Prowse saw the significance of the establishment of the French colony in Plaisance, and indeed the occupation of such a large portion of Newfoundland's coastline by the French, as a "betrayal of English territory and English rights" (Prowse 1895: 178). Prowse also portrayed French colonisation in Newfoundland as a failure: Plaisance was administered by tyrannical governors, whose corrupt behaviour ensured that the colony did not flourish (Prowse 1895:181-182).

These early historians take as their canvas the large ebb and flow of clashing empires, though occasionally particular events or personages are plucked out for closer study. Some of these noteworthy events are the 1690 Basque uprising and the establishment of the Récollet mission in the colony (le Blant 1932; Hugolin 1911). Historical interest in the notable men of the colony is reflected in a number of biographical histories, such as the history of Nicolas Gargot "dit Jambe-de-bois" or Governor Phillippe Pastour de Costebelle (Millon 1928; le Blant 1935). Dated though all of these early works are, their influence has endured through twentieth-century Newfoundland historiography (Candow 2006:370).

2.3 Antiquarian Studies of the Ancient French Capital

While early twentieth-century historians were writing their studies of great events and great men in Plaisance, a parallel antiquarian interest in the former remains of this "Ancient French Capital" also developed. None of this interest would translate into actual archaeological investigation of the physical remains. Though early archaeologists were at work in Newfoundland at this time, they tended to focus on the historic and prehistoric Native cultures that occupied the island, rather than the early European presence (Thomson 1986:193-194). For the most part, antiquarian interest in Plaisance was limited to remarks on the still-visible remnants of the colony. For example, James P. Howley—who would become best-known for his early work on the history and material culture of the Beothuk—visited Placentia in 1868 as part of a geological expedition with Alexander Murray (Kirwin and Story 1991). In his reminiscences, Howley commented on the visible remains of Castle Hill, their state of preservation and the commanding nature of the site (Kirwin and Story 1991:182). Additionally, the historian Michael F. Howley (James Howley's brother) and John Mullock comment on the ruins of old French Plaisance. Mullock briefly discusses the state of preservation of the physical remains of the French fortresses (1860:15). Mullock's comments are echoed in Michael Howley's monograph *The Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, accompanied by an illustration of the standing ruins of the French fort at Castle Hill (1888:149-150). For Michael Howley, the old forts of Placentia are "silent ruins, [that] speak with a thrilling voice to the soul as one wanders over the grass-grown ramparts, and recalls many a bloody fray" (Howley n.d.:4).

Michael Howley also took an interest in material remains from Placentia that could be read in the most literal sense, in his description of headstones from the French period at Placentia. Beginning with his initial discussion of the headstones in 1888, Howley would continue to decipher the headstones and publish articles on them for nearly 25 years (1902, 1903, 1908, 1912). Howley carefully recorded and documented them and began the process of translation. One was written in French; he suspected initially that the remaining three were written in Latin, though later discovered that these three headstones were in fact inscribed in Basque (Howley 1888, 1902, 1903, 1908). Howley particularly explored the biography of Svigaricipi, a Basque captain named in one of the more complete stones (Howley 1912). Howley was also interested in the relics of English Placentia- in particular, a painting of the old royal coat of arms and a painted bailiff's staff, both of which date to the eighteenth century (Howley 1904, 1909).

Michael Howley's (and, to a lesser extent, John Mullock and James Howley's) wide-ranging interests in the history and material culture of Placentia is typical of the time. Nineteenth-century historians explored diverse subjects, which today fall under the separate disciplines of folklore, history, archaeology, anthropology, or ethnology (Levine 1986:11-17; 70-75). Indeed, Michael Howley writes of having an interest of everything relating to the history of Newfoundland, in "every inscription or epitaph having the slightest pretension to antiquity; every vestige of the former occupation of Newfoundland… in a word, everything with the shadow of a claim to archaeological distinction" (Howley 1888:7). This interest is not just purely antiquarian. It also served a role in nascent Newfoundland nationalism. Michael Howley was a vocal Newfoundland patriot and his work related to Placentia reflects this (Crosbie 2000). Howley clearly indicates this in his writings, for example: "there are at Placentia many other interesting relics, old MSS., with an autograph of Louis XIV; old forts and batteries, etc., which, together with the beautiful natural scenery, make it a place worthy of a visit from the tourist and the antiquary" (Howley 1902:91). Howley wrote that Placentia's historic past and natural beauty could act as a spur to tourism and general development in the area (Howley n.d.:4). In effect, Howley was but the first in a line of authors who would state that developing awareness of Placentia's antiquities could play a role in boosting tourism—an argument that continues to be made over 100 years later.

2.4 Economic Histories and Histories of the Fisheries

Exploration of the economic impact of the Atlantic fisheries begins with the publication of Harold Innis' *The Cod Fisheries* in 1940 (revised and reprinted in 1954). Since its first articulation, Innis' staple theory has reverberated through the historiography of the New World. Innis argued that the exploitation of staple exports such as cod helped to structure and shape the political economy of a region. In the new colonies, staple exports formed the most important part of the economy and fuelled economic growth. In *The Cod Fisheries*, Innis writes of an economic battleground played out between England and France on the fishing grounds, in which England effectively triumphed. Innis argues that the reasons for English success are found in its economic flexibility, which allowed England to establish a locally based and locally supplied industry. The French, on the other hand, were forced to rely increasingly on governmental support for their inefficient migratory fishing industry, based out of Europe (Innis 1954:x,178). Historians have argued that Innis' work hearkens back to the histories of Francis Parkman: both depict the rise and fall of French fortunes as a heroic struggle, in which the English triumph over the French because of their fundamental cultural superiority (Moore 1990:45-47). Innis' theories have also been criticized for being economically deterministic, but his influence is still seen, particularly in studies that examine why fishing colonies did not diversify beyond staple production (Balcom 1984:174,178,194).

Charles de la Morandière's massive three volume work is another important early contribution to the historiography of the French Newfoundland fisheries (1962). Though de la Morandière's work has been criticized for occasional factual inaccuracies and because it is largely descriptive rather than analytical, it still stands as a monumental exploration of the history of the fisheries (Pritchard 1999:162). De la Morandière was also one of the few historians of his day who grasped the significance of the sea-based economy (Johnston 2001:xxviii). A section of his publication is devoted to the history and economy of Plaisance. While he thoroughly documents the political history of the colony, he is equally interested in exploring the trade networks that supported it. This topic was explored in a more focused sense in an earlier article on Malouin outfitting for the Newfoundland fisheries (de la Morandière 1961).

Following de la Morandière, John Humphreys published a short but detailed inquiry into the nature of Plaisance's supply networks (1970). Humphreys casts a critical eye on the contribution of the merchant ships to Plaisance's economic survival, arguing that they often grossly inflated their prices, which the colonists— desperate for supplies— were forced to pay. He also discusses the smaller role of Quebec traders in supplying Plaisance, as well as the illicit trade with the English, or with the New England colonies. Humphrey's research places the study of supply within an administrative context, which he uses to assess French mercantilist policy (Humphreys 1970: vii, 7-9, 15). Jean-Pierre Proulx's work on the military and administrative history of Plaisance briefly touches on economic matters, mostly revolving around the issue of the costs of provisioning the settlement and its dependency on overseas supply from the mother country (1979a). James Pritchard continues with a similar analysis in his consideration of state-sponsored methods of colonial supply and argues that they were disastrous for the colony (1999). Pritchard's interpretation continues the argument of other historians: official supply lines to the colony were tenuous at best, the disruption of these routes was fatal and the colonists themselves were helpless victims of unfair profiteering.

The scale, composition and origins of the French fishing fleet have been examined in far greater analytical detail by scholars such as Jean-François Brière (1990). Brière examines the migratory fishery after 1713, particularly focusing on the mechanics of the fishery, its annual rhythms, the trade connections between the French ports that outfitted ships for the Newfoundland fisheries and the French ports that absorbed the product of the fishery (1990). Laurier Turgeon, in a similar fashion, has explored the trade networks linking French ports and the Newfoundland fisheries, extending this analysis back into the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries (Turgeon 1985, 1986, 1997, 2004). Though Plaisance appears only infrequently as a topic of discussion for both Brière and Turgeon, their publications are invaluable as a larger interpretive context for the Plaisance fishery. They also make excellent use of previously understudied notarial documents, which permit detailed quantitative analysis of large-scale trade networks.

Recent work by Nicolas Landry demonstrates that other document collections can illuminate different aspects of trade and exchange in Plaisance (Landry 1995, 1998). For example, his examination of notarial records shows that privateering played an important role in the provisioning and economic growth of the colony; his studies have demonstrated the hitherto-unappreciated vitality and complexity of Plaisance's local economy (2002a, 2004). Landry examines the relationships between resident merchants in Plaisance, the kinds of financial ventures they launched and how their operations were financed (Landry 2001a). He also investigates the relations between resident fishermen and their fishing servants, or *engagés* and reconstructs the conditions of fisheries-based employment in the colony (Landry 2002b, 2007). As demonstrated in Landry's recent synthetic monograph, Plaisance possessed a vibrant and complex economy, which stands in stark contrast to earlier interpretations of its dire and bleak economic outlook (2008:77-133).

2.5 Military and Administrative Histories

Plaisance was France's only official colony in Newfoundland. As a result, studies focusing on the instruments of state authority—the military and the administrative structure of the colony—are part of the historiographical tradition related to Plaisance. The colony's administrative governance and the exploits of the French military have been a subject of comment from the earliest histories (Charlevoix (1744 [III]:289-291, 320-323; Garneau (1846 [II]:118-125). Plaisance's role as a military centre is referenced in the early antiquarian literature, biographies of great men and as a component of larger administrative histories (de la Morandière 1962). A detailed examination of the military development of the colony is not taken as a focus of historical research until the work of Jean-Pierre Proulx (1968, 1970, 1979a,b). Within a chronologically ordered structure, Proulx summarizes the major military and administrative developments of the colony, as well as the developments of the fortifications.

Roland Plaze examines the administrative structures in place in Plaisance between 1689 and 1713, gauging the impact of its status as a royal colony (1991). André Charbonneau takes military architecture as a focus in his examination of the redoubt in New France, in his analysis of the design of Fort Royale (Castle Hill) and the role that this fort played in the history of the colony (1992). Pritchard continues a focus on the intersection between administrative structures, combining them with a consideration of the alliances struck between the Ministry of the Marine and private individuals to arrange for the resupply of the colony (Pritchard 1999). He continues this work with an examination of the ways in which administrators and those living in Plaisance were able to orchestrate their own defence during times of war, in the absence of frequent support from the Marine (Pritchard 2001).

2.6 Population Histories

Interest in the people of Plaisance has figured in histories of the colony for some time, though the earliest histories are usually of the great men associated with the colony, such as Philippe Pastour de Costebelle (le Blant 1935). The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* provide useful biographical information on (typically male) persons of note, particularly governors and well-known military officers (Bélanger and Cook 2000; Pitt and Smallwood 1981-1994). A similar encyclopedic framework is taken by Stephen White, but with the very real difference being that White combed notarial documents for data relating to the general population of Plaisance, not just the noteworthy governors or military men (1999).

Landry tackles the analytical work of population history, gathering together notarial data to reconstruct the population of Plaisance and its demographic history (2001b). Unfortunately, in the absence of parish records from Plaisance, Landry has no choice but to rely strictly on census data and notarial documents; even so, the population can be reconstituted to a degree that permits comparison with other regions (Landry 2001b). Landry expands this focus to consider not just with the resident population of settlers (*habitants*), but also the number, origins and material circumstances of fishing servants (*engagés*), soldiers and officers (2008). The research by Landry and White has thus revealed the colony to be more than just a small fishing outpost or a military post, but rather a complex and relatively populous Newfoundland settlement.

2.7 Archaeology and History in the 1960s: The Parks Canada Stimulus

A major research project that had significant implications for our understanding of the history and archaeology of Placentia began to take shape in the 1960s, under the auspices of Parks Canada. This occurred during a period when Parks Canada expanded, along with a surge in the restoration and reconstruction of historic sites (Fry 1986:38, 2007:20). Indeed, it has been argued that the practice of historical archaeology in Canada grew dramatically with the expansion of Parks Canada's archaeological services (Fry 1986:38). Sites were variously chosen for nationalist and economic concerns, as well as on their potential for development as tourism venues. This expansion of historic sites under Parks Canada's mandate has been described as an explicit search for a "tangible historiography" of Canadian cultural history (Payne and Taylor 2003:6; Taylor 1990:xvii).

A major phase of research centred on Placentia in the 1960s and 1970s owes its origins to this expansion of Parks Canada. In 1962, provincial and local officials organised a tercentennial celebration of the founding of the 1662 founding of the French colony (Newfoundland Quarterly 1962:17). Preparations for the tercentennial celebrations at Castle Hill included erecting flagpoles and installing a small wooden gun platform and cannon (Grange 1971: 82-83). Reports during the celebrations note that the site was under consideration for restoration to serve as a tourist attraction (Harrington 1962:14). A 1962 agenda paper for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board (HSMB) contains an assessment of the state of preservation of the remnants of the French colony (in particular the fortifications). The Castle Hill site receives some attention in this report and the authors also indicate that Castle Hill was the subject of an already-existing reconstruction proposal (Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada [HSMB] 1962:3-4). Before archaeological work was undertaken, a historical survey of available documentary evidence was completed, to precede archaeological investigation (Ingram 1965). This report focused entirely on the Castle Hill site and paid almost exclusive attention to the physical features of the fort, including its major architectural construction phases. Plans of the fort were produced for major construction phases of the fort and careful note was made of site features that could be corroborated with documentary evidence.

Archaeological work began in 1965, under the direction of Roger Grange (then of the University of South Florida). This was the first of two major field seasons (the second in 1968) that comprise the bulk of the work at the site. The site was a Provincial Historical Park at the time, although the sponsoring agency for the excavation was the Federal Historic Sites Division (Grange 1965:i). At the time, it was unclear what the developmental trajectory of the fort would be: whether reconstruction or simply stabilization was to be attempted (Grange 1965:5). Preliminary research goals at this point were primarily to gain structural information about the site itself. A thorough programme of excavation was completed that summer, allowing the archaeologists to reconstruct the layout of exterior defensive walls, as well as complete structural details of all buildings located on the interior of the redoubt (Grange 1965:13-14, 62). Excavation was concerned with identifying features, understanding how features related to French and English construction and/or modification of the fort, and evaluating the overall state of preservation. Excavated stones were retained, particularly those that were cut, dressed, or otherwise significant, so that the appearance of the fort could be reconstructed (Grange 1965:58-61). Grange took great care in untangling stratigraphic relationships of this complex site, though the results of his artifact analysis would not be discussed in any detail until the final report was produced. Grange's ultimate recommendations following the 1965 field season were that future archaeological work be deferred until a master plan for the development of the site had been developed, particularly as related to the degree and nature of stabilization, reconstruction and interpretive development (1965:63).

Work at Castle Hill would soon take on a new direction, as decisions were made regarding its ownership and future development. In 1968, the Castle Hill site and its surrounding land were granted by the Province of Newfoundland to the Government of Canada, to be developed as a National Historic Site (National Historic Sites Service 1968; Proulx 1968:149). The 1965 field season had accomplished much, but a good deal of work was to be completed in 1968, again under Grange. By 1968, the decision had been made to continue excavations and to consolidate the exposed exterior masonry walls. Excavation plans were thus tailored to the needs of the stabilization goal for this season; the features that were excavated and consolidated depended on the condition of the existing walls and available resources (Grange 1971:89-90). Any remaining excavation and stabilization work was finished in the 1969 season (Morton 1970). Some additional work was completed by Karlis Karklins, focusing on dry-laid defensive walls at the Castle Hill site, as well as other nearby military structures in the National Historic Site, such as the nearby Gallardin complex (1971).

By 1968, the full-scale reconstruction of the site had been ruled out. Rather, structural remains were to be exposed during excavation, followed by a combined approach of stabilization and limited reconstruction. This combined approach was called consolidation by the researchers (Grange 1971:85-86,91). Consolidation stabilized existing masonry and also reconstructed missing sections of walls to reinforce structural integrity (Figure 2.2). Where necessary, walls were re-mortared for structural integrity. Modern mortar was used, applied and finished in such a way as to appear similar to the original mortar used historically (Morton 1970:23). Other work was completed, like re-orienting a wooden bridge to a more historically accurate position (Morton 1970:1). Walls that had collapsed sections were rebuilt until they came in line with nearby standing sections (Morton 1970:24).

Bruce Morton completed further work on the site in 1969, which finished up work remaining from the 1968 season. He also investigated other features within the existing park boundaries (Morton 1970:1). These included original trails that would have provided access to Castle Hill from the community below and trails between gun emplacements, as well as other masonry fortified structures (such as the Gallardin), also

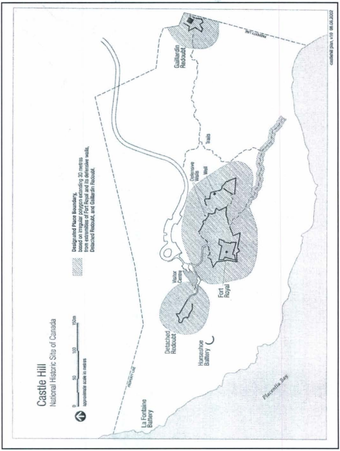

Figure 2.2 A map of the consolidated archaeological remains at Castle Hill.

Image courtesy of Parks Canada, Atlantic Service Centre.

found within the boundaries of the park (Morton 1970:27). Further work in 1970 explored some of these features in the park area, including the fort's defensive walls, the possible location of a mortar platform, a detached redoubt and the Gallardin battery (Karklins 1971:27-32). Of the features investigated, all but the lower defence wall and the Gallardin battery were restored to a height and layout indicated by archaeological evidence, while the restoration of the battery was left for the spring of 1971 due to the amount of work required (Karklins 1971:vii). Future work in 1971 involved work on the Gallardin and outlying defensive walls, as well as trail construction, landscaping and access facilities (Newfoundland Government Bulletin 1971:9). The interpretation centre was officially opened in 1973 (Frecker 1973:3). In the end, the interpretive vision for Castle Hill was not to rebuild the fort to represent one particular point in time, or to reflect either the English or the French period. Instead, the fort was restored to its condition as found, reflecting both English and French occupations.

The interpretation of sites such as Castle Hill reflects the larger trends in site interpretation seen elsewhere in the rest of the country. Sites were chosen to be developed as historic parks to reflect their importance in national and regional histories. In Newfoundland, for example, Signal Hill had been selected and acquired as a National Historic Park upon confederation with Canada (Taylor 1990:xiv-xv, 145). Sites were also selected to be developed as heritage tourist attractions that would provide economic benefits to their respective regions (Taylor 1990:xiv-xv). Local benefit was also derived from the temporary employment that such projects created locally. During the Castle Hill excavations, crews consisted of local residents hired by the archaeologists (Grange 1971:85).

The development of Castle Hill as a National Historic Site produced an impressive amount of archaeological and historical scholarly literature focused on Castle Hill specifically and Placentia generally. All of the archaeological work has been made available in report form, available from Parks Canada. Grange's report is exceptionally well-documented: this seven-volume site report has provided much comparative data for the current project. Grange was also able to tease out stratigraphic relationships and determine cultural affiliation of various contexts at the site. His research had a marked architectural focus, displaying an emphasis on determining construction sequences, untangling the sequential occupations of the site, assigning cultural affiliation to strata or features and verifying the accuracy of archival plans of the fortification.

The Castle Hill project also prompted continued historical research on Placentia. Ingram's work was produced in advance of archaeological excavation, in order to guide the archaeologists and provide them with a chronological history of construction (1965). Jean-Pierre Proulx's M.A. thesis places a heavy emphasis on the development of historic fortifications in Plaisance (1968). As he notes, this study "s'imposait depuis quelques années, du moins dans l'optique de la conservation, de la renovation, et de la reconstruction de nos lieux historiques nationaux" (Proulx 1968:ii). His thesis was eventually developed into the first synthetic monograph examining the history of the settlement through both French and English periods of occupation (Proulx 1979a,b). Brenda Dunn's research on the probate inventories from Plaisance was prompted by the need to understand the material culture of the average fisherman for the construction of displays in the Castle Hill interpretation centre (1985).

The Castle Hill excavations involved individuals from the local community as fieldworkers. This project, combined with the ensuing community interest in the archaeology at the site, appears to have generated other interest in archaeology in Placentia. The success of the Castle Hill dig seems to have spurred interest in doing other archaeology in Placentia in the early 1970s. In June of 1970, another Parks Canada archaeologist (William Dendy) visited Placentia to inspect the Vieux Fort site for a day giving it the Parks Canada designation of 3A1A1. Dendy visited and photographed the site and recorded all its surface-visible rubble piles. He did not excavate at the site or collect any artifacts (Dendy 1970). The following year, in 1971, archaeologist Robert Alan Mounier completed excavations in the tiny Anglican churchyard in Placentia (Mounier 1971). This churchyard is on the location of the older French church in the colony. A series of test units located some unmarked head and foot stones and two burials. Mounier and crew were looking for an earlier version of the Anglican church constructed in 1788; though they suspected it was located near their excavations, they did not succeed in finding it.

Local involvement in archaeological fieldwork continued in the community under the guidance of William O'Shea in 1972. This project was funded by the Opportunities for Youth program; the project was intended to provide employment and opportunities for development in the community (Jerseyside/Placentia Archaeological Committee [J/PAC] 1972). Directed by the Jerseyside/Placentia Archaeological Committee, fieldwork was intended to explore a number of sites in the community. This goal was partially achieved, but halfway through the project, O'Shea moved away from Newfoundland. His departure meant that the group had to discontinue subsurface investigation. The project report, largely completed after O'Shea's departure, still stands as an important record of archaeological projects in Placentia involving community effort. While O'Shea was with the project, the crews excavated human remains near the location of Fort Louis / the New Fort in Jerseyside. Following this, they collected artifacts from a trench that had been dug on the Verran property in Placentia. They also excavated test trenches in search of the Blockhouse (a fortified structure dating to the English period of Placentia's history). After O'Shea's departure, the group limited itself to site surface survey at Point Verde, Letter Rock, Galleon's Point, Fort Frederick and Crevecoeur Battery (J/PAC 1972). This is the last serious attempt at archaeology in Placentia until the 1990s. The only recorded instances of artifact collecting occur in the 1980s, when Parks Canada archaeologist Karlis Karklins collected some brick fragments from the Vieux Fort site (Parks Canada 1985). Other artifacts from the Vieux Fort site were collected by Don McLean (1985). One publication contains a reference to ceramics found at the Vieux Fort site, but it is not clear when these artifacts were collected, as they do not correspond with the artifact inventories of material collected by McLean or Karklins (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995).

2.8 Recent Archaeology

After the Parks Canada work in the community in the 1960s and early 1970s, no sustained further archaeological work took place in Placentia until 1991. At this point, construction on a water line uncovered part of the English Fort Frederick. Roy Skanes recorded and documented the exposed remains (1993). The next observable work in the community came with the community-sponsored interest in exploring Placentia's historic past, when archaeologists Matthew Carter and Barry Gaulton completed an archaeological survey of selected areas in Placentia (Gaulton and Carter 1997). Seven locations were tested in the course of their survey, of which five were considered to be badly disturbed by modern activity and two sites were found to be reasonably undisturbed. One site was the suspected location of an eighteenth-century blacksmith's shop (ChAl-06), and the other was the presumed location of the Vieux Fort (ChAl-04). They returned in the following year to complete an impact assessment of a proposed housing site but, aside from an abandoned headstone that had been converted into a doorstop for a dwelling, they did not find any undisturbed remains (Gaulton and Carter 1998).

2.9 The Placentia Uncovered/Plaisance à découvert Archaeology Project

The origins of the *Placentia Uncovered/Plaisance à découvert Archaeology Project* emerged directly from the community. A recent survey of attitudes towards heritage demonstrates that residents of Placentia are aware of Plaisance's ancient French past and typically have a strong sense of the importance of the community to the French and later, to the English and Irish (Carroll 2008). This interest became manifest in the drive to obtain funds for exploratory archaeological work in 1996, which identified promising sites, including one site dating to the French period (Gaulton and Carter 1997). With this in mind, the Placentia Heritage Advisory Committee (hereafter PHAC) was formed with the aim of pursuing further archaeological exploration of the town's history. This committee was a joint partnership between the Placentia Area Historical Society and the Town of Placentia. Other member groups consisted of Parks Canada and Human Resources Development Canada (the latter in an *ex-officio* capacity). PHAC joined the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program (hereafter NAHOP), a Memorial University-based Community-University Research Alliance designed to assist archaeology projects sponsored by local community groups (Pope and Mills 1997). The archaeology project that emerged from these partnerships was named the *Placentia Uncovered / Plaisance à découvert Archaeology Project.*

The Placentia Heritage Advisory Committee was successful in obtaining funds to support four field seasons of the Placentia Uncovered project, between 2001 and 2004 under the direction of the current author; the project has continued in years following under the direction of other archaeologists (Mills 2007; Simmonds 2011). Funding and in-kind support was derived from Human Resources Development Canada, NAHOP, the Town of Placentia and the Placentia Area Historical Society. The project aimed to develop an understanding of the archaeology of Placentia for several reasons. One of the most important was that the archaeology project could provide a venue to foster tourism. Placentia is ideally situated to continue to develop its importance in the tourism market. Its close proximity to Argentia (an important summertime ferry entry-point for the island) and to the capital city of St. John's provide a natural tourism market. The project aimed to increase the number of tourist venues in Placentia, by providing opportunities to visit archaeological sites and the archaeology laboratory. Another immediate benefit of the project was the employment of local residents and the development of a skilled workforce in the cultural tourism industry (NAHOP 2000). Archaeologists provided help with municipal planning projects, as well. Throughout the project, individuals from the Placentia region were hired to fulfill different roles within the archaeology project, including fieldwork positions, laboratory positions and interpreters. Finally, the project was designed to intertwine with academic research objectives. NAHOP provided a number of interns and field assistants to work in the field and in the laboratory and to assist with post-fieldwork analysis. The project successfully supported this doctoral project and three undergraduate honours essays, as well as providing teaching collections for a series of undergraduate courses at Memorial University (Murphy 2002, Psathas 2002, Wood 2010).

One of the major project goals was to investigate the French presence in Placentia. Interest in Newfoundland's French heritage rose through the 1990s, helped in no small part by meetings of the French Shores Working Group, organized by NAHOP, in the run-up to planning a Canada-wide celebration of French heritage in 2004 (Pope and Mills 2007). Previous research had demonstrated that French archaeological sites did exist in the community and several had potential for extensive testing and excavation. Accordingly, the Placentia Uncovered Archaeology Project undertook surveys to identify new sites and spent several weeks of each excavation season at the Vieux Fort site (ChAl-4), the location of the first fort constructed by the French in Plaisance. Our surveys also discovered the remains of the French Fort Louis/ English New Fort (ChAl-09), the French site of Crevecoeur Battery (ChAl-15), the French and English domestic occupation at Mount Pleasant Knoll (ChAl-11), among others. We conducted further work at several other sites, including the English site of Fort Frederick (ChAl-01) and at Point Verde (ChAm-1) (Crompton 2002, 2006; Crompton and Temple 2004, 2005).

Of particular interest here is the Vieux Fort (ChAl-4) site, which was first discovered during an archaeological survey of Placentia conducted by Gaulton and Carter (1997). The site is significant for a number of reasons, including the fact that it had never been re-occupied by the English after they took possession of Placentia in 1714. At the time of writing, every other French archaeological site has a later English re-occupation (such as Castle Hill and the Fort Louis/New Fort site). The occupation of the Vieux Fort site also spanned the early period of Plaisance's history, from 1662-1690. As such, it provides a bookend to other French sites that existed in the community, most of which

Figure 2.3 The location of the Vieux Fort site on an aerial photograph.

Provincial aerial photo reference number 95026-203. Inset map shows area referenced by air photo (scale of inset map 5 km). Inset map data after http://gis.geosurv.gov.nl.ca/resourceatlas/viewer.htm.

post-date 1690. Furthermore, the documentary record for Plaisance from the period 1662-1690 was comparatively poor, compared to the later, post-1690 period. Thus, this site deserved further inquiry and had the potential to provide archaeological data dating to the early years of the colony's history. This site was the focus of four field seasons of research, from 2001 to 2004 and research at this site provides much of the data for this dissertation.

2.10 The Vieux Fort Site Location

The Vieux Fort site (ChAl-4) is located on a hillside to the east of Placentia's Great Beach (Figure 2.3). The land is property of the Crown. In 1998 the Town of Placentia asked Crown Lands not to entertain any claims for this land because of its historical and archaeological significance. Realistically, the site is only accessible by boat, which is most easily landed near the small grass-covered knoll just to the north of Mount Pleasant. In 2001 and 2002, we landed our boat in the cove just to the east of the grassy knoll. We cut and maintained a trail up to the site from this cove. In 2003 and 2004, we were fortunate enough to have a floating dock constructed for our use at the western side of the knoll and we cut a new more direct, trail to the site from here. The site lies on top of a hill directly behind the grassy knoll, some 31 m above sea level. Dense forest covers much of the site, with smaller clearings of meadow grasses and shrubs.

2.11 Field Methods

The site is designated with the Borden Number ChAl-4 and has the official name of Mount Pleasant, derived from the modern name for the hillside on which the Vieux Fort is found. In practice, the site is referred to not by its official name, but as the Vieux Fort site, as a better descriptor of the site's original function. The field system implemented at ChAl-4 began with the establishment of a datum point at what was thought to be an extreme end of the site. Baselines were established and a series of 1 x 1 m units was laid out, though often joined together to form large trenches. Despite the fact that excavation units were laid out in trenches and archaeological contexts were excavated as a single unit where practicable, the 1 x 1 m unit remained a basic unit of recording. Discrete structures were assigned unique letters; between 2001 and 2004 only two structures were assigned names (Structure A and Structure B). Structure A represents the barracks building at the Vieux Fort, and Structure B represents an earlier feature, overlaid by the remains of Structure A. Stratigraphic units, termed *events*, were assigned unique numbers. Where events could be demonstrably followed between contiguous excavation units, the same event number was used. Where events were likely part of the same deposit, but were not uncovered in contiguous units, new event numbers were assigned, though notation was made that both event numbers probably referenced the same depositional event (Harris 1989). Features were designated by unique numbers as well. A list and description of excavated events and features is provided in Appendix I.

Excavation at the site was completed with trowels (though some shovel-tests were excavated in an effort to locate the fort's defences). Trowel excavation at the site followed natural or cultural strata; excavation in arbitrary levels was not used. All excavated soil was screened through ¼ inch mesh screens, erected beyond the western end of Structure A. Three-dimensional provenience (northing, easting/westing and depth) measurements were recorded of each artifact found *in situ.* Excavators at each 1 x 1 m excavation unit measured depth with a string and line level attached to a local datum spike at the corner of the unit. The elevation of each local datum was recorded with reference to the site datum. Tree cover at the site was heavy, but trees were only removed as necessary. Trees were cut down with a chainsaw and then excavation proceeded around the remains of the stump with trowels, exposing and cutting away roots as necessary. Stumps were removed only when enough roots had been cut away to permit removal without disturbing archaeological contexts. Tree stumps rooted in archaeological stone walls were not removed, because stump removal would threaten the integrity of the features.

In 2001, when excavations at the site began, very little was known about the fort's appearance. The best resource at the time was Proulx (1979a); at this point, relevant archival series had not yet been consulted (and in 2001 were not available for consultation on the internet). Thus, the excavations were driven by the need to understand the basic architectural layout of the fort. A pedestrian survey quickly revealed that a number of collapsed stone structures were visible on the surface of the site. One collapsed stone structure, set off on its own from the others, was selected as a good candidate for prolonged excavation. Excavation units were laid out in order to answer basic structural questions about this part of the site: to determine the overall dimensions of the structure, its layout and appearance, as well as its sequence of construction and collapse. All excavation and survey data will be available in the final report on the excavation project, which will be held on file at the Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Provincial Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, in St. John's.

Geophysical survey methods were not employed at the Vieux Fort site. Sediments at the site contain much rock and rubble, which can obscure the presence of subsurface features (Shott et al. 1996:307). Archaeologists working at the Ferryland site in Newfoundland attempted to use geophysical survey methods to locate buried features. Similar sediment conditions at Ferryland resulted in geophysical survey results that were inconclusive or occasionally misleading (Barry Gaulton 2012, pers. comm.).

2.12 Site Formation Processes

Overall, the site is reasonably well preserved. It saw only casual post-abandonment use and thus has been largely unoccupied since the 1690s. Intentional subsurface human disturbance of the site is limited to two holes, dug apparently by pothunters, to the southeast of the excavations and the construction of several garden furrows to the south of the site. No such intentional disturbance was found in the immediate area of our excavations. Refined earthenwares and ninteenth- and twentieth-century bottle glass are uncommon at the site and are most often associated with top humus layers of the site. This is not to say that the site has not been affected by post-depositional processes, for it most certainly has.

Two natural transformation processes were observed to have an impact on buried archaeological remains. The site has been subject to the effects of frost-heave through the repeated freezing and thawing of soils and sediments. Frost-heave tends to force artifacts upward through the sediments at a site and especially affects deposits closest to the surface (Johnson and Hansen 1974; Schiffer 1987:213). Thus, shallowly buried parts of the site were almost certainly impacted by the actions of frost-heave. Additionally, the site is located in a heavily forested area; excavation consistently required the removal of trees. Sketches drawn in the 1780s record that re-forestation had taken hold of the hillside, less than 100 years after the Vieux Fort had been abandoned (Proulx 1979b:185-189). Tree growth over the past 300 years has almost certainly affected the buried archaeological remains. Tree roots can have an impact on buried archaeological remains, by moving buried artifacts to one side (Schiffer 1987:210). Fallen trees can also greatly impact preservation at a site. Tree throws can disturb and homogenize stratigraphy and serve to migrate artifacts towards the surface as the roots and adhering rocks, artifacts and soil are brought up to the surface (Peacock and Fant 2002). Tree throws can leave large divots on the surface of archaeological sites, as the root ball is pulled up when the tree falls over (Wood and Johnson 1978). After the tree decomposes, the hole where the root ball was pulled from the ground remains. At least one example of an extremely deep divot from a tree throw was noted in the excavated area at the Vieux Fort site.

The effect of frost-heave, tree root growth and tree throws were easily seen at the Vieux Fort site. Artifacts worked their way up through the stratigraphic column and were found just below the modern humus layer, most notably in areas of the site that were only shallowly buried (which were generally defined as less than 40 cm of sediment accumulation). In shallow areas, tree root growth may have imposed some lateral movement on artifacts, likely rendering point-to-point provenience between artifacts or between artifacts and features suspect. Additionally, in shallow parts of the site, comparisons of artifact distributions between different occupation layers, or between occupation and collapse layers will likely be meaningless. This is not to say that tree growth affected all parts of the site in this way. Deposits found immediately beside the east gable wall of Structure A (Feature 14) were quite deeply buried, extending more than 1 m below the present ground surface. Here, the effects of bioturbation were less marked and stratigraphic mixing was less pronounced. Structure A's east room preserved an intact construction-occupation-collapse sequence around the gable wall of the structure.

Tree roots also had a discernible impact on the buried archaeological features—several trees were growing directly out of stone rubble piles visible on the site surface. Tree root action (and likely frost-heave) had a definite impact on the integrity of stone walls at Structure A. Some stones had been displaced from their original position and were no longer flush with the original wall face. More noticeably, stone walls were no longer plumb and all excavated stone walls leaned either to one direction or the other. This limited in some cases the excavation that could be undertaken near some wall faces, for fear of prompting the collapse of existing walls. This was particularly an issue around the Feature 4 gable wall and so rubble was left *in situ* along the wall's inner face to ensure it did not collapse. Additionally, the weakening of the bonds in the stonework by tree roots and the lack of soil cover over several of the rubble piles provided an entry point for artifacts from later periods. Very occasionally, intrusive artifacts worked down through the rubble and became incorporated into archaeological deposits, but these were rare occurrences. A discussion of the impact that site formation processes had on the analysis of the barracks building can be found in Chapter 5.5.

2.13 Additional Research

In 2005, the author undertook additional phases of research that contributed to the analysis of the Vieux Fort archaeological collections. At that time, most of the relevant French archival series were not available in Newfoundland, nor were the majority available on the internet (as is now the case at the time of writing). As a result, the author needed to investigate archival sources in the *Archives nationales du Québec* in Québec City and Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. All available sources that predated 1692-1693 were targeted for consultation and most of the official correspondence was copied, as were notarial documents and non-administrative correspondence (a list of all archival series consulted in the course of this research is provided at the beginning of the References Cited section of this dissertation). Additionally, research on comparative archaeological collections was also completed in Québec City, in a Parks Canada collections storage facility and in the *Centre de conservation du Québec*. The Castle Hill collection, stored in Parks Canada's Atlantic Service Centre in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was also consulted and photographed. This research phase provided access to vital documentary data, comparative material and secondary source research for this dissertation. Furthermore, consultations with staff at these institutions (particularly Geneviève Duguay and Janet Stoddard, both of Parks Canada) provided very useful guidance in archaeological and documentary research and I remain very grateful to these individuals for their assistance.

Chapter 3

A History of Plaisance

In order to provide context for the ensuing analysis, this chapter will outline the history of the colony of Plaisance, from its founding in 1662 to its loss in 1713. A detailed history of the Vieux Fort awaits a subsequent chapter. The colony's administrative, military and chronological history has been adequately detailed by Proulx (1979a). The social, economic and population history of Plaisance has been greatly illuminated with the publication of Landry's comprehensive monograph, along with several subsidiary publications by the same author (Landry 2008). Summaries of these publications form the larger part of the current chapter. In select places, I have added new data to augment some of the arguments advanced by others.

3.1 The Transatlantic Fishery: A Prelude to Colonisation

The French colony at Plaisance was not established in an unfamiliar landscape; French fishing fleets had been visiting the harbour for perhaps 150 years before the colony was founded. In the early years of the sixteenth century, the discovery of vast stocks of cod off the eastern coast of North America quickly drew European fishing ships to the western North Atlantic. The earliest references to the cod fishery, appearing as early as 1508, are sparse (Turgeon 1987:136). By the 1540s, French fishing ships were outfitted for voyages to Newfoundland with regularity (Turgeon 1997:8). The whaling industry developed in the 1530s in response to the discovery of substantial whale populations in the region (Barkham 1995:175). With the development of these industries came increased familiarity with the coastline. Indeed, Cartier's 1534 voyage to the St. Lawrence followed a well-travelled route through the Straits of Belle Isle, passing alongside a familiar shoreline, already known and named (Innis 1954:23-24). From this early period, the international fishing fleet grew in size; by the mid-sixteenth century, French ships were numerically dominant (Turgeon 1997:7-8, 11-13).

To speak of the cod fishery is to speak of two fisheries: the green (or wet) fishery on the offshore fishing banks and the shore-based dry fishery. The dry fishery began first in the very early 1500s, while the green fishery did not develop until the last quarter of the sixteenth century (Turgeon 1997:11). Ships working the green fishery left early in the year (in February or March) and sailed to the fishing banks well offshore from Newfoundland (Brière 1990:15-24). Once the ships arrived, the fishing began; small crews of 10-20 men fished over the side of the ship, passing their catch over to others for processing. The head and entrails were removed (reserving the liver) and the fish was opened and deboned. The catch was then passed to salters in the ship's hold, who oversaw the curing of the fish in salt on board (de la Morandière 1962 [I]:150-156). Because the fish was processed with a heavy salt cure without being air-dried, it is referred to as *morue verte*, or green fish (Brière 1990:11). Once the season was over, (generally between September and November), the ships returned home to market (Brière

1990:27). These fishing ships, working on banks that were far offshore, did not have any need to make landfall on the island itself (de la Morandière 1967:9).

The dry fishery, however, involved processing fish on land, so that fishermen played a key role in developing knowledge of Newfoundland's shores. Ships departed France in April or May, arriving in Newfoundland after a voyage that typically lasted about four weeks (Brière 1990:43). Ships would anchor in a desirable harbour, one that provided shelter, access to inshore cod grounds and a desirable beach space (*grave*), with a cobblestone beach if at all possible. Crews would begin to cut down wood to build necessary shore structures. These would include living quarters (*cabanes*), wooden platforms for drying fish (*vigneaux*) and stages for processing fish (*chaffauds*) (Balcom 1984:20; Brière 1990:46-47). Crews would fish the inshore stocks in smaller *chaloupes*, or small decked rowing boats with a small mast. Each *chaloupe* was manned by a crew of three (Balcom 1984:34-37). At the end of the day, boat crews would return to shore with their catch and would unload it for the shore crews to process on the *chaffaud*. Once the fish were beheaded, cleaned, split, given a light short salting and then washed, the drying began. Fish were initially laid out on the cobblestone beach surface (or on fir branches if no such beach existed) in piles and were rotated through a complex drying process that took almost three months (Brière 1990:47-48). The end product, called *morue sêche*, was a stable, easily transportable product which was highly desirable in European markets (Turgeon 1987:157-163).

3.2 The Landscape and Seascape of Plaisance

Both fisheries—dry and green—would have created what has been called a "maritime cultural landscape" along Newfoundland's shores (Westerdahl 1992). Sailing routes, prominent route markers, characteristics of the inshore and offshore fishing banks would all have become assimilated into generalized maritime knowledge, passed on informally and through rutters, or published books of sailing directions (Barkham 2003; Brière 1990:8-11; Janzen 2001:3). The dry fishery in particular prompted familiarisation with New World coastlines. Indeed, early exploration and colonisation attempts often involved persons with previous experience in the fisheries (Trudel 1973:12, 65-66). In this way, fishing crews identified good harbours that had suitable beaches for drying fish, ample natural resources and convenient access to bait and cod stocks. Thus, French fishing crews began the important task of landscape-learning—to accumulate knowledge of the landscape and the seascape, discovering prominent locations and navigational markers, the discovery of good harbours and identifying the extent and location of natural resources. Fishermen also began transforming the landscape by harvesting resources, chopping down trees and clearing beaches. This initial process of landscape-learning is an important step in the colonisation process, for it allowed colonies to be established in a reasonably familiar landscape (Rockman 2003).

The *baie de Plaisance* and the harbour at Plaisance were destinations for these fishing ships from the early sixteenth century onwards. The first step in the transatlantic journey to Plaisance for these fishing vessels would have been to navigate to the Grand

Banks. This was a journey of some 3400 km, which lasted anywhere from 4 to 6 weeks (Brunet 1672, 1673, 1674; Morgat 1685). Arrival on the banks was indicated by changes in water colour, temperature and the presence of birds; a ship's position on the banks was confirmed by taking soundings (Banks 2002:65; Brière 1990:21). At this point, Plaisance-bound ships ranged to the west or northwest, looking for familiar route markers that could be followed to the Baie de Plaisance (Figure 3.1). These were widely known, but even seasoned mariners could become confused, especially in foggy weather (Banks 2002:65; Brunet 1672:fol.7v).

For ships *en route* to Plaisance, the first waypoint of note was usually Cape Race, followed by Cape St. Mary's; sighting of the latter served as an indication to alter course northward to Placentia Bay (Brunet 1672:fol.7v). Here, the 85 km wide entrance gives way to a large bay, home to numerous islands. Onshore, sea cliffs dominate the region, particularly from the Placentia region southwards (Catto *et al.* 1997:38). The most notable of these was the Chapeau Rouge (near the modern community of St. Lawrence) on the western side. The Chapeau Rouge was a particularly prominent navigational route-marker for Placentia Bay, as it was a large mountain that could be seen from 20 *lieux* (about 100 km) away (Brunet 1674:fol. 15). Cape Judas (now Cape Jude), lying just to the south of Audierne (now Oderin) Island, apparently named for nearby navigational dangers, was another important route marker (Brunet 1674:fol. 12v). Once ships crossed into the bay itself, the journey to Placentia's harbour could take a day or two, or even longer, depending on weather conditions (Morgat 1685:fol. 8). Fog is persistent today

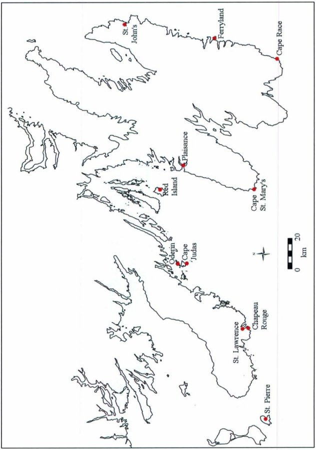

Figure 3.1 Map showing Newfoundland place-names referred to in the text.

Map prepared by Amanda Crompton, with map data derived from

http://gis.geosurv.gov.nl.ca/resourceatlas/viewer.htm.

in Placentia Bay, especially in the summertime (Catto *et al.* 1999:11). Prevalent fog is recorded historically, resulting in slowed voyages and problems in accurately reckoning location (Brunet 1673:fol.34v-35; Murray 1968:97). One seventeenth-century journal records such a situation: "en le millieu de la baye le vant et brume qui est assez coutumier nous obligerent de relacher a la garde de dieu ne sachant ou nous estions… je nay jamais vue une sy grosse pluye" (Brunet 1674:fol.14v).

Plaisance's harbour is a major embayment on the east shore of Placentia Bay; it was the first large well-sheltered harbour encountered when travelling up eastern Placentia Bay (Taverner 1718:fol.226). To enter Plaisance's large harbour or *rade* (today known as the Road), navigators sighted on Red Island as a navigational marker (Ménard 2006:236; Morgat 1685:fol.8). Ships then began their approach 2 or 3 *lieux* from the entrance (this is about 10 to 15 km) and passed far enough to the north of Point Verde to bypass rocks near Point Verde's bar. This route was followed to Crevecoeur Point and from there, ships sailed to the southward into the harbour (Proulx 1979a:63, 98, Plate 2). Entering and exiting the harbour was rendered difficult due to strong currents, wind gusts and recurrent fog (Landry 2008:49-51; Ménard 2006:325).

Placentia's harbour is large and complex (Figure 3.2). At the western end lies *Pointe verte* (known today as Point Verde); this is an elongated cobblestone bar that protrudes into the bay, separating Placentia Bay from Placentia harbour. The cobblestone bar surrounds a brackish water pond. Across from Point Verde, on the north side of the harbour, is a prominent headland named Crevecoeur point. The north side of the harbour

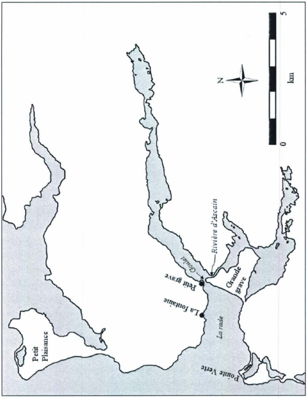

Figure 3.2 Plaisance's harbour, with toponyms and waterways indicated.

This map is based on modern data. Land use during the twentieth century heavily modified Petit Plaisance (now Argentia), resulting in a significantly different modern shoreline. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton, with map data derived from http://gis.geosurv.gov.nl.ca/resourceatlas/viewer.htm.

is marked by large hills; also on the north side of the harbour is a smaller cove with a river, known to the French as *La fontaine* and today called Freshwater. The eastern end of the roadstead has two cobblestone beaches, which were ideal for drying fish, because they needed little preparation or maintenance. The larger beach, or *Grande grave*, was separated from a smaller beach (*Petite grave*) by a narrow channel that feeds a long inner harbour system. This narrow channel, known as the Gut (or *Goulet*) was narrow enough to only admit the passage of one ship at a time. As a result, the Gut's fierce current and nearby marshes had to be navigated carefully; contemporary observers noted that passing through the Gut would be difficult for large warships (Anon. November 1698:fol. 164v). In 1794, Aaron Thomas wrote that once past the Gut, "Vessels may ride in perfect safety, but the ingress and egress is so difficult that few Ships go into this Arm unless they are going to stop here for some weeks" (Murray 1968:97). The Gut gives way to a complex inner harbour system. The Gut feeds directly into the Northeast Arm; this is a long sea inlet containing seven small islands and extending inland for about nine km. The Northeast Arm terminates at the outflow of a freshwater river. The Gut also feeds a narrow channel today known as the Orcan River (or *Rivière d'Ascain*), which in turn empties into the Southeast Arm. This long sea inlet extends inland about seven km and also terminates at the outflow of another freshwater river.

3.3 Pre-Colony Use of Plaisance

Placentia Bay has supported a diverse assortment of peoples from prehistoric to recent times, though to date, no prehistoric sites have been found in Placentia's harbour specifically (Linnamae 1971). The European presence in Placentia Bay dates to the early sixteenth century, but understanding the degree to which fishing ships preferred specific Newfoundland harbours is a difficult challenge. French notarial documents of the sixteenth century do not often indicate a ships' ultimate destination in the New World. Documents might indicate that ships were undertaking a *longcours* journey, which in many cases might mean they were bound for Newfoundland; others referred to *Terreneuve* without specifying a particular destination (Turgeon 1985:256).

Some of the earliest evidence of the use of Placentia Bay is derived from historic maps. Traditionally, the bay is said to make a first cartographic appearance on the Reinel map of 1504-5—which does indeed show the coast of Newfoundland, though Placentia Bay does not appear in a terribly recognizable form on this map (Winter 1937:61ff; Harrisse 1900:Planche V). Whatever the interpretation of the very earliest maps, by the 1530s and 1540s, Placentia Bay itself is shown with some degree of accuracy, thus implying some degree of knowledge of the bay itself (Harrisse 1900:106, Figs 21, 22, 36; Mollat and la Roncière 1984:227). Maps from this period also use the toponyms Plaisance, Pasamse, or Plasansa from 1547 onwards (Harrisse 1900:129, 233, 259).

When harbours are named in notarial documents, Plaisance appears as a destination from the mid-sixteenth century (Barkham [Huxley] 1987:143; Turgeon

1986:533,539; 1997:17; 2004:58). Mariners from the third quarter of the sixteenth century onwards could also have consulted the Hoyarsabal rutter, which is the oldest set of sailing directions for Newfoundland, or indeed any part of North America. This rutter includes sailing directions for Plaisance (Hoyarsabal 1579:99; Barkham 2003:107, 108). This suggests more than just a passing knowledge with the harbour itself. That Plaisance was an important harbour by the century's end is demonstrated by a report, in 1594, of 60 ships riding at anchor in Plaisance's harbour (cited in Howley 1915:13). Documentary evidence does seem to indicate that the *Baie de Plaisance* was an important destination for Basque seasonal fishing ships (Barkham (Huxley) 1987:154). One Basque contract from 1601 recorded specific requests for fish from St. Pierre and the port of Placentia, and twenty Basque ships are noted in Placentia Bay in the 1650s (Barkham 1994:8; Turgeon 2000:174). In 1655, apparently 20 Spanish and 11 Basque fishing ships were moored in Plaisance's harbour (de la Morandière 1962:220).

A few extant documents refer to overwintering in Plaisance before the colony was established in 1662 (Humphreys 1970:4; de la Morandière 1962(I):406). A settler named Sureau was said to have a habitation near the Gallardin before the colony was founded (Proulx 1979a:71, footnote 13). Another *habitant* named Thomas Mechin was recorded as living in Plaisance in 1658 and Philippe Zemard had lived there since 1660 (Landry 2008:143; L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a). The existence of more than just seasonal settlement in Plaisance is perhaps supported by the existence of an earlier fortification in Plaisance, built at some point before the colonizers arrived in 1662 (Proulx 1979a:16-17).

Such references are few, meaning it is difficult to know the exact extent of over-wintering which predated the establishment of the official colony.

3.4 The Logic of Colonisation and the Selection of Plaisance

The presence of a successful overseas fishery in Newfoundland's waters was not necessarily reliant on the existence of a permanent colony in Newfoundland. Yet despite this, proponents for the establishment a French colony in Newfoundland had emerged by the middle of the seventeenth century. Though the establishment of a French colony in Newfoundland had had advocates since the early seventeenth century, the idea would not receive much attention from the French Crown until mid-century. By this time, English settlers had begun to gain a firm foothold in Newfoundland and had established control over the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula, from Cape Race to Bonavista. The French Crown was interested in establishing its own claim to Newfoundland's shores. A colony could also provide a land base to help protect the land-based French dry fishery and provide a port-of-call for ships bound for Canada or fishing on the banks (Humphreys 1970:3-5; Landry 2008:9-10; Pope 2004:72-73; Proulx 1979a:9-10). The establishment of a colony was also consistent with Colbert's mercantilist policies, which were intended to integrate the sedentary fishery into the larger French Atlantic colonial trading world (Turgeon 1985:263-264).

Once the idea of founding a colony in Newfoundland had found traction with the crown, Plaisance was chosen as the location for the colony, as it had several natural advantages. Plaisance's roadstead was large; one contemporary observer estimated that the *rade* could accommodate 150 ships (Ménard 2006:322). The harbour was well-sheltered, surrounded by a large range of hills. The inner harbour system was easily defensible, as the Gut could be closed off with a cable. The large cobblestone beaches could provide ample room for colonists to establish their fishing plantations. Plaisance was close enough to commonly travelled shipping routes to Canada and to the offshore fishing banks to serve as a convenient port of call or refuge for French ships. And finally, Plaisance's strategic location, within striking distance of the English settlements on the east side of the Avalon Peninsula, might prove militarily advantageous (Humphreys 1970).

Plaisance also had other attractions in terms of the surrounding natural resources that could either be accessed directly in the harbour, or nearby in the surrounding bay. In modern times, the waters from Placentia south to Cape St. Mary's support a highly productive marine biomass (Catto *et al.* 1999:3; Sjare *et al.* 2003:14). Historic data and documents suggest that inshore cod stocks were plentiful and accessible. Concentrations of cod could be found off Point Verde and Merasheen Island and also in other locations in Placentia Bay, such as the Bennet, Oderin and Mortier banks (LeMessurier 1910:6-7). In the event of unsatisfactory fishing at the nearest inshore banks, *chaloupes* could be sent to fish elsewhere in Placentia Bay. This practice (referred to as fishing *en dégrat*) saw the initial stages of dressing and salting cod completed at temporary outstations, before bringing the partially cured fish to be completed at the permanent station. This easy accessibility of cod stocks was certainly an important reason for the establishment of the colony at Plaisance. With the move to Île Royale in 1713, the loss of Plaisance's fishing grounds was the subject of much complaint, for the cod stocks near Louisbourg were less abundant and located much further offshore (Balcom 1984:21).

The first attempts to colonize Plaisance did not meet with success. The first effort made to organize a colonizing venture emerged in 1655, when Louis XIV nominated a governor for the colony, Sieur Kéréon (Humphreys 1970:5). The equally influential Estates of Brittany and merchants of St. Malo successfully resisted this development and as a result, no actual attempt at colonisation was launched. In 1658, interest in a settlement project was renewed, when Nicolas Gargot de la Rochette was granted a *seigneurie* for the south coast of Newfoundland, including Placentia Bay. Two years later, he was appointed as governor of Plaisance (Landry 2008:17; Proulx 1979a:12). Again, opposition on the home front from powerful merchants meant that the colonizing scheme foundered yet again (Humphreys 1970:5). Gargot retired and nominated Thalour du Perron as his successor. After a decade of false starts, the first successful attempt at colonisation in Plaisance finally took root in 1662, under du Perron (Landry 2008:17). In this year, the *Aigle d'Or* and the *Flûte Royale* arrived with about 80 colonists for Plaisance—some 30 soldiers, 50 settlers, a chaplain and a governor (Landry 2008:17). From this point onwards, Plaisance had a permanently settled population.

Plaisance was a colony that was directly administered by the Ministry of the Marine in France (Plaze 1991:6-7). The colony was provided with administrative, military and religious personnel from its earliest days. The colony of Plaisance, strictly speaking, was limited to the harbour of Plaisance and nearby Petit Plaisance. All other French settlements that grew up in Placentia Bay and Fortune Bay were not part of the colony proper. The settlers who lived outside of the colony rarely sought recourse to the administrative authority of colonial officials. Residents from outlying settlements occasionally sought the services of the colony's notary, to register a dispute or draw up a legal document (e.g. Basset 7 September 1711, 16 October 1708). Plaisance's officials did sometimes visit settlements outside of Plaisance, in order to survey the surrounding region or assert royal authority (Crompton 2012:46-47). Generally speaking, colonial officials were mostly concerned with Plaisance and its immediate surrounding areas. The colony of Plaisance would be the largest French settlement in Newfoundland; the practices and traditions that were established there would continue elsewhere, even after the colony itself was gone.

3.5 The Chronological and Administrative Trajectory of the Colony

The new colony in Newfoundland was placed under the direct rule of the French crown (unlike earlier colonies elsewhere in New France, which had been established under co-operative agreements with trading companies). This was a reflection of Louis XIV's absolutist policy of bringing French overseas interests under direct rule (Banks 2002:22). Direct rule did not bring stability, however; the colony's earliest years were marred by volatility and discontent. In the autumn of 1662, the soldiers at the fort mutinied (Anon. 13 October 1663). They seized control of the storehouse and killed the guard. Governor du Perron returned from hunting to discover the mutiny in progress; shortly thereafter, he was killed with a musket shot. The chaplain escaped for a short time, but was also killed, after which the governor's valet and footman were also slain (Anon. 1663a). The following spring, order was restored in the colony. Fourteen of the mutineers were captured and sent to Canada for trial (Anon. 24 September 1663). At this point, documents relating to the history of the colony become scarcer, but it is clear that Ambroise Bellot *dit* Lafontaine was appointed as the next governor in 1664.

Lafontaine would not hold the post for long, as he was accused of corruption and failing to encourage the growth of the colony. He was accused of selling wine, *eau de vie*, flour, clothing, arms and powder to the English (Teuleron 25 September 1666). Lafontaine was recalled in December 1666 (Proulx 1979a:14). The next governor, La Palme (whose first name we do not know) arrived in the colony in 1667. La Palme's tenure outlasted his predecessor by a year and he was replaced in 1670. La Palme was also accused of corruption; he made unreasonable demands of *habitants*, demanded a share of their fish and sold supplies destined for the *habitants* and soldiers (Landry 2008:216-217). The next governor, Gaspard de la Poippe, seems to have made a success of his appointment, remaining in Plaisance from 1670 until his death in 1684 (Landry 2008:217). Antoine Parat was the next governor appointed, arriving in the colony in 1685.

From this point onwards, the administrative records become much more plentiful and so we are able to reconstruct a great deal more of the colony's administration. Parat's administration was marred with conflict and scandal; he again appears to have tried to confiscate a percentage of the products of the *habitants'* fishing boats. He quarrelled with the lieutenant appointed to Plaisance in 1687, Louis Pastour de Costebelle (brother of Phillippe Pastour de Costebelle, who would be the colony's last governor). Parat and Costebelle's disagreement over Parat's conduct and his misappropriation of supplies are well-recorded in the historic evidence. Parat was also accused of improper behaviour in his actions with another man's wife and forcing the *habitants* to provide supplies and labour for the construction of his house (Landry 2008:218-222). Though there was some suggestion from administrators in France that he be recalled, the next appointed governor (Jacques Monbeton de Brouillan) did not arrive before the events took a turn for the worse in the colony (Baudry 2000b).

Parat's tenure came to an abrupt end in 1690, when a watershed event occurred in the colony. On the 25th of February, the settlement was attacked by an English contingent (some of whom had been entertained by Parat in the colony a few weeks prior). They landed in Plaisance somewhere near Point Verde, proceeding overland to attack the main part of the settlement (Proulx 1979a:24). Costebelle drew a map of the colony, indicating on it the "passage de l'anglois par terre" (L. Costebelle 15 September 1690a). Descending upon the main settlement on the Great Beach, the attackers took the colony by force. They imprisoned everyone in the church and ran rampant in the colony for six weeks, removing valuables and provisions and damaging what could not be removed.

After the departure of the attackers, at Costebelle's recommendation, a wooden palisade was constructed around most of the settlement on the Great Beach and the majority of the *habitants* took shelter behind its walls. Seasonal fishermen provided the settlement with armaments and supplies for the summer season, though some grew displeased with Parat and threatened him. As a result, Parat decamped without permission from the colony (Proulx 1979a:25). Once back in France, Parat seemed to escape any serious punishment for his infractions (Baudry 2000b). In the absence of Parat, Costebelle became the interim governor until his replacement arrived.

In 1691, rebuilding the colony began anew under the next governor, Jacques Monbeton de Brouillan. It seems as though the near-loss of the colony spurred administrators in France to support the colony to a greater degree than had passed before, supplying increased numbers of soldiers, greater funds for the colony and approving expanded fortification projects (Thorpe 1971, 1980). Work began on Fort Louis, a new fortification on the Little Beach, and shortly thereafter work began on fortifying the hillsides surrounding the new fort with a string of batteries, redoubts and other fortified structures (Charbonneau 1992; Grange 1971).

The English continued to harass the settlement, though without much consequence for the colony. In August of 1691, a planned night-time raid by a group of English attackers was halted, but the attackers left behind a note that bore a drawing of the English coat of arms, along with the words "in tyme, I will establish m[y]self heare. I will come soone to see you with great companie & you will pay the fault" (Anon., August 1691). A "great company" would indeed return to Plaisance, in the form of five ships under the command of Commodore Francis Williams, who arrived off the coast on September 14, 1692. After moving into the harbour, attempting a landing, having parley and exchanging cannon-fire, the English retreated on September 22 without having inflicted too much damage (Proulx 1979a:29). A similar attack was launched in August of 1693, this time by a small fleet under the command of Francis Wheler (Lilly 1693). The English fleet arrived in the harbour and spent a week assessing their tactical situation. Finding the harbour too well-defended, Wheler's fleet retired without firing a shot.

The French responded in kind in 1696, when Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville arrived in the colony with the intention of launching joint land and sea attacks on the English shore. The long series of engagements took place over the winter of 1696-1697 (Williams 1987). Many English settlements were destroyed, including Ferryland (a large English settlement on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula). To the north, the largest English settlement at St. John's offered resistance to the French attacking forces, but soon capitulated. The French had no intentions of holding the town and soon left to move on to attack other English targets. French troops ventured into Conception and Trinity Bays, collecting plunder and prisoners in most of the settlements they came upon (Pritchard 1999; Williams 1987). Further attacks were launched on St. John's and other English settlements in 1705 and again in 1708 (Candow 1979:12-13).

Back in Plaisance, from the late seventeenth century, administrative infrastructure in Plaisance grew apace; construction of the fortifications continued, beach properties were surveyed and disputes resolved, the position of a notary was established and a hospital was constructed on the Little Beach (Plaze 1991; Landry 2008:305-320). The early eighteenth century saw the appointment of an interim governor after Brouillan was appointed as the commandant of Acadia in 1701 (Baudry 2000c). The interim commandant, Joseph de Monic, disagreed frequently with senior officers and administrators (Baudry 2000a; Landry 2008:229-301). This brief period of administrative strife was ended the following year with the appointment of Governor Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, whose administration was marked by much less tension between senior officers and officials (Proulx 1979a:44; Landry 2008:235-238). In 1706, the last governor of Plaisance, Phillippe Pastour de Costebelle was appointed; Costebelle would oversee the colony through to its handover to the English.

Administrative structures continued to grow under Costebelle's governance. Despite periodic naval blockade launched against Plaisance by English ships between 1708-1712, the economy and overall growth of the colony meant that Plaisance seems to have thrived during these years. The historiographical tradition of the blockade years being a period of decline in the colony seem exaggerated, in the light of Nicolas Landry's studies, which indicate a prosperous local economy, even during the height of the blockade years (Landry 2001a, 2002, 2004). This prosperity was not long-lived, for the colony was officially ceded to the English in 1713 under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht; this would bring about a complete re-orientation of the French privileges in Newfoundland (Hiller 1991). In 1714, most of the *habitants* of Plaisance would move to Île Royale (Cape Breton Island) and begin the process of re-establishing themselves there.

3.6 Settlement Patterning in the Colony

Plaisance consisted of several regions which together formed the colony. Initially, *habitants* settled on the Great Beach, aligned along the back side of the beach, as well as on the Little Beach, just on the north side of the Gut. Pointe verte, at the entrance to the harbour, was another locus of settlement; one or two planters lived at La fontaine as well. Additionally, a small cluster of habitations were established in Petit Plaisance (in the harbour immediately to the north, today known as Argentia). Collectively, these habitations were all considered to be part of Plaisance. The seigneurial system was never established in Plaisance, which stands in contrast to French colonies elsewhere in New France. As a result, *habitants* had direct possession of their land and the *brevets* of ownership establish the dimensions and relative location of each property (Anon. 1 May 1695). The houses, servant's lodgings, gardens, outbuildings and fisheries infrastructure (such as storehouses) were clustered together; wherever possible, habitations were laid out to provide access to water (Figure 3.3). Behind each planter's home stretched their beach drying area (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a,b,c). The borders of each *habitant*'s beach was marked by piles of stone (Ménard 2006:327). This has some superficial similarity to settlement patterning in the Laurentian settlements. Large seigneuries there were broken into evenly spaced, long-lot settlements, with a narrow width of frontage opening onto a body of water—usually a river—thus providing equal access to the water (Coates 2000:33; Courville 2000:83).

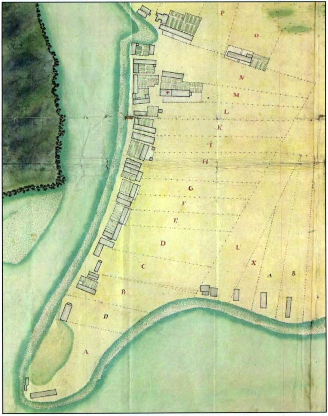

Figure 3.3 A map showing *habitant* properties on Plaisance's *grande grave.*

Detail from Jacques L'Hermitte, 20 September 1699, Plan particulier du Fort et des Graves et Habitations de Plaisance, ANOM, Col. 3DFC109A. North is to the bottom of the image. Image courtesy of the ANOM.

By contrast, the settlement in Plaisance does not appear to have these formally surveyed origins. Early on in the colony's history, the planters appear to have arranged themselves as they saw fit. The map shown in Figure 3.3 depicts some of the *habitants'* houses and outbuildings as sitting astride the boundary lines marking the divisions between properties, rather than being neatly contained within them. The mapmaker makes a special note of these inconsistencies: "les maisons ne se peuvent pas bien distinguer en ce que la plus part sont basties en partie sur les terrains des uns et des autreur" (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a). This evidence suggests that the construction of the buildings and the construction of the boundary lines were not contemporaneous. The property boundaries as seen in Plaisance in 1699 were thus not part of a formally surveyed boundary system laid out in 1662 with the arrival of the first colonists.

Disputes over ownership of land were common (Landry 2008:350-354). The Great Beach was a shared space that both resident and seasonal fishermen used. The *habitants* occupied the eastern side of the Great Beach and the seasonal fishermen occupied the western side. Conflict over the right to use such economically important space flared frequently (Landry 2008:342-345). Officials were often called to intercede in the case of conflict between seasonal fishing crews and resident planters (Landry 2001:30-31). Regulations were already in place to govern how seasonal crews allocated beach space, but these did not apply to Plaisance and indeed were not intended to resolve disputes between the seasonally and permanently resident. Thus, this task fell to Plaisance's administrators; by the end of the seventeenth century, officials had decided to formalize the distribution of beach space. This decision led to the creation of a very detailed census in 1698, which recorded not only the names of the families living in Plaisance, but also the size of their beach space and its location. If known, the census-taker recorded whether each *habitant* possessed title to the land, either in the form of a *brevet du roi*, or by permission of the governor.

In 1699, the colony's engineer, Jacques L'Hermitte, produced maps of the three communities that comprise Plaisance (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a,b,c). These maps record the layout of each *habitant* property, with structures and garden plots indicated, keying this representation to a census of *habitants* at the bottom of each map. In these censuses, L'Hermitte records two sets of property dimensions for each family. The associated text notes that the first column sets record the dimensions of the property as they currently exist and the second column sets record the dimensions of the property as they should be. There is almost always a difference in the area of land that each settler occupied and that which they were supposed to occupy. The difference usually balances out in favour of the *habitant*. Furthermore, most residents expanded the length of their property to the west. This meant that *habitants* gained land at the expense of the seasonal fishermen's beach space, rather than at the expense of each other. This does not mean that relations between *habitants* and seasonal fishermen were always adversarial; as shall be discussed in a subsequent chapter, these two segments of the population were in many ways dependent on each other. In terms of land use, there are certainly examples of co-operation; for example, seasonal fishermen sometimes rented fishing premises from *habitants,* for which they paid 10 quintals of fish (about 510 kg) per *chaloupe*-load (Balcom 1984:24).

However property was secured—via purchase, unsanctioned property expansion, or by rental—it was a critical element for success in the fishery. An increase in space on which to dry fish would increase the size of the catch that could be landed, thus bringing the potential for increased profit to a fishing proprietor. So possession of beach space was critical, whether it be outright ownership in the case of resident fishermen, or temporary possession for a season, in the case of seasonal fishermen. Additionally, owning the best land was also useful. Historic documents indicate that some land was more valuable than others. On the Great Beach, properties that were nearest the Gut were more desirable, because fishing *chaloupes* were that much closer to fishing grounds (Thibodeaux 1959-1960:69). But proximity to fishing grounds is not the only factor to be considered in assessing the value of land. If simple proximity to fishing grounds was the most important issue in land value, then the beach space at Point Verte (at the entrance to Plaisance's harbour) should be the most sought-after land in the harbour. This is not the case at all, as noted in a 1698 census; much beach space was said to be available at Point Verte (Thibodeaux 1959-1960:70). This land was not as desirable, because Point Verte suffered from persistent fog which interfered with the fish drying process (Thibodeaux 1959-1960:70; Brière 1990:48). Land that needed to be cleared of shrubs and overgrowth was less desirable—like some of the empty places at Pointe verte (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699b; Thibodeaux 1959-1960:70). This represented an additional investment of time and money; indeed, the need for land-clearing in Louisbourg was cited as a reason for higher shore property rent in Louisbourg than in Plaisance (Balcom 1984:24). Some areas of the harbour did not produce good dried fish, presumably because of climatic conditions, or so Sieur Barrat found when he tried with little success to dry fish at La fontaine (Thibodeaux 1959-1960:184). Land that was located far from the protection of the fort's cannon may have been less desirable. While the Wheler raid on Plaisance in 1693 may have retreated without firing a shot at Fort Louis, the attackers did pillage and burn houses down at Point Verte (Thibodeaux 1959-1960:70).

With the expansion of the official administration in the colony, particularly after 1690, more military and administrative structures were built in Plaisance. After the destruction of the Vieux Fort in 1690, the location of the fortifications was moved to the Little Beach; the whole north side of the harbour became increasingly militarized after this. Construction on Fort Louis on the Little Beach began in 1691. *Habitants* who were living around the fortification were eventually forced to move, though they were supplied with new *habitations* to compensate them for their loss (Landry 2008:349). Once the *habitants* moved from the Little Beach, it became strictly the preserve of the military. Some officers made the beach their home, living in houses on the grounds outside of the fort (P. Costebelle *et al.* 15 November 1715:fol.362). Drainage ditches with simple sluice gates transformed the marshy ground behind the fort into fertile area for the officers' gardens. Dry beach areas outside the fort were used for processing fish by crews working for the officers (Figure 3.4). The *magazin du Roi* was located here, as was a lime kiln and a hospital (L'Hermitte 4 November 1706a, 14 October 1709). Fort Louis was the centrepiece of the Little Beach. At its height, Fort Louis had officer's barracks, soldier's barracks, a powder magazine, a chapel, stone walls on at least two sides and possibly casemates (Proulx 1971a).

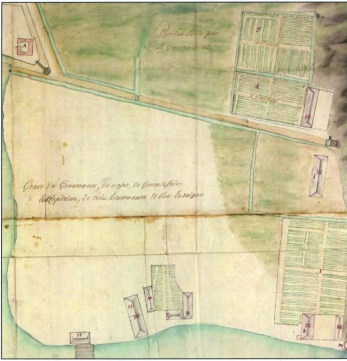

Figure 3.4 Military and administrative structures outside of Fort Louis.

Labelled on the map are: the northeastern corner of Fort Louis with its powder magazine (A), gardens (g, k), a *menagerie* and gardens (I), the governor's residence, gardens and storehouse (H), the hospital (L), a limekiln (M). Also shown are the *graves* belonging to the governor and officers, as well as the sluiced drainage ditches. North is to the right of the image. Jacques L'Hermitte, 4 November 1706, Plans des Forts de Plaisance, ANOM, Col. DFC, 3DFC113A. Image courtesy of the ANOM.

Depending on which archival documents are read, Fort Louis appeared either in tolerably good condition, or intolerably poor condition. Certainly difficult winters could do great damage to the fort, being located on the beach at sea level—but a certain amount of care must be taken when reading contemporary assessments of the fort. Whatever its state of repair and whatever the strength (or lack thereof) of its cannon, Fort Louis never fell to a direct military attack by the English. Fortification on the north side of the Gut was not limited to Fort Louis, but rather continued up the hillside. The hills to the north of the fort were fortified with a series of batteries, covered ways and a detached redoubt that the French called Fort Royale (Grange 1971; Karklins 1971). The latter quickly became a stand-alone fort in its own right. Eventually, the entire north side of Plaisance's harbour became the preserve of the military.

3.7 *Les Plaisantins*: A History of the Population

Plaisance was home to four major types of residents: the military, administrators, seasonal fishermen and permanent residents. Reconstructing the demographic history of Plaisance is particularly difficult, as the parish registers have not survived (Landry 2001b:19-20). However, a series of censuses taken between 1671 and 1714 have allowed a certain degree of population reconstruction by Landry (2001b, 2008) and White (1999). Plaisance never supported a very large population, but neither did other Newfoundland settlements, nor did other settlements elsewhere in Acadia and Maine (Pope 2004:200-

206). Furthermore, what is implied by the notion of the size of Plaisance's population is entirely dependent on the time of year the population was enumerated and whom the enumerators considered to be a resident.

The resident population of planters (*habitants*) ran family-based fishing establishments. Birth rates were comparable with other settlements in New France; in total, 93 children were born in Plaisance (Landry 2001b:25-26, 2008:142). The permanently resident population was first enumerated in 1671 at 74 persons and reached a peak of 265 persons in 1710 (Landry 2008:139). However, just because *habitants* ran permanent fishing establishments does not mean they were resident in the colony every year. Detailed demographic studies have shown that permanent residence must be placed in a larger context of circum-Atlantic mobility; residents might not spend every season in Newfoundland, but they spent a majority of time there (Pope 1993:235-236, 2004:220-230). Censuses taken in 1699, appended to the bottoms of maps of Plaisance and Petit Plaisance, are instructive; of 34 married *habitants*, 10 had wives who were resident in France at the time the census was taken (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a, 20 September 1699c). Clearly, the notion of a permanently resident family was not limited to the presence of the nuclear family living in the colony. Indeed, fishing colonies did not need continual population growth in order to be vital places (Landry 2001b:34). Their ability to access a highly mobile labour force meant that large numbers of resident settlers were not necessary, which may explain why fishing colony populations are smaller than colonies elsewhere.

While family-based fishing establishments provided some of the organisational structure of Plaisance's fishing establishments, residence was not limited to family members. The occupational demands of a fishing operation usually outstripped the number of family members available for work. Thus, a number of fishing servants, or *engagés*, were required for a successful fishing establishment. The servant population consisted of two groups—those who worked for *habitants* and those who worked for seasonal fishing ships. On average, each *habitant* employed about ten *engagés*, which resulted in an average of between about 250 to 350 in the colony per year, though there was a spike in 1704 when 695 *engagés* were present (Landry 2002b:18 2007:11). The length of time of each *engagement* varied; sometimes they were for a single summer, or for the summer, winter and following spring (Landry 2002b:21, 2007:11). *Engagés* were thus a highly mobile component of the population, who may have been in the community for as little as several months to as many as several years.

Understanding the size of the seasonal fishing crews that based their operations out of Plaisance's harbour is difficult, because these numbers are not recorded in the general population censuses. However, a few key censuses (from 1704, 1705 and 1712) of seasonal fishing ships are useful, as they enumerate the size of the crew on each ship. In 1704, 40 fishing ships anchored in Plaisance, with a total of 1508 men (Anon. 1704). This number is high compared to the two other years for which census data exists. In 1705, 23 seasonal fishing ships were based out of Plaisance, with a total of 721 men (Anon. 1705). The 1712 census reports similar numbers, with 24 ships having a crew complement of 885 men (P. Costebelle 9a November 1712). Though the sample size is small, for the years that we do have data, the number of seasonal fishing crewmembers was at least double the number of *habitants* and *engagés*. These years were war years, however, and therefore these are likely low numbers.

The military population was treated in a similar fashion—soldiers were not enumerated in general population censuses, though officers might occasionally be listed. *Rolles* of enlisted soldiers are rare, so the best estimates of troop strength must come from general tabulations or notations of what the company strength was intended to be. These would, of course, fluctuate, due to desertion or discharges, but serve as a reasonably accurate tabulation of general garrison strength (Landry 2008:252-253). Additionally, when offensives against the English shore were planned, the military population would—at least temporarily—enlarge with the presence of additional troops. For example, in 1696, d'Iberville arrived in Plaisance with an additional contingent of 125 French and 40 Native reinforcements, the former from Canada and the latter from Acadia and Cape Breton (Proulx 1979a:32).

Despite these fluctuations, the size of the Plaisance-based garrison is important to at least estimate, for the soldiers and officers together formed a significant proportion of the local population. Typically, ordinary enlisted soldiers were posted to the colonies for a minimum of six years, which made them more permanently resident than many of the fishing servants (Cassel 1988:118-119). Additionally, officers in particular tended to establish roots in the community; the notarial records for Plaisance indicate that many officers intermarried with the civilian population. Thus, the military was an important vector for settlement in Plaisance and their number deserves inclusion in a demographic survey of the colony. From 1662 until about 1690, there were probably 30 soldiers or less in the colony (Mauclerc and Cartigny 9 November 1687). This number increased after 1690 to about 60 in 1695, to 100 in 1697 and varying between 130 and 150 after 1701. In 1711, a brief surge in numbers resulted in 250 soldiers residing in the colony (Landry 2008:253).

To these numbers we must also add the various officials present in the colony—the governor and the notary—the office of the latter had been established in 1696 (Plaze 1991:43). Additionally, further functionaries included the Récollet friars, responsible for the churches and chapels in the community and in outlying settlements (Taylor-Hood 1999:215-216). Despite the intermittent nature of census-taking in the colony for these various segments of the population, enough censuses intersect for the year 1704 to allow the reconstruction of the total population resident in the summertime in Plaisance (Table 3.1). Plaisance was a relatively populous place during the summer months and was certainly no less populous than parts of English Newfoundland (Pope 2004:207-214). At least in the summer months, Plaisance in 1704 was more populous than Port Royal in Acadia and had only about 1300 fewer individuals than Montreal (Dechêne 1992:Table A; Landry 2008:139).

We can also assume that the vast majority of this population was male. Of the *habitants* resident in 1704, only 26 were women and 36 were girls (Landry 2008:139). The soldiers, officers and administrative personnel were certainly male. We might also assume that the vast majority of the *engagés* were men, as indicated by a 1701 census that enumerates the names of some of the fishing servants (Thibodeau 1959-1960:78). In

Table 3.1 The Total Summertime Population of Plaisance in 1704

Group	Number	Source of Data
Habitants	165	Subercase November 1704[1]
Engagés	695	Landry 2002b:18, 2007:11
Seasonal fishing crews	1508	Anon. 1704
Military and Administration (officers, soldiers, governor, notary)[2]	159	Anon. 25 March 1704; Proulx 1979a:54
Priests	3	Taylor-Hood 1999:215
TOTAL	**2372**	

Notes:

1. The data presented here is derived from individuals named in columns titled *habitants*, *femmes*, *filles* and *garçons*.

2. In 1704, expenses were for allotted for three companies of soldiers, totalling 150 men (Anon. 25 March 1704). There were 9 desertions, but these happened all at the same time in October, so they are not included here (Durand la Garenne and Subercase 1704 Oct 25). The numbers of officers (7) was taken from data in L'Hermitte (1706b, November 4), to which was added the governor and *écrivain*.

this regard, the demographics of Plaisance were very similar to the demographics of Louisbourg, where women never numbered more than 30 percent of the *habitant* population; if the military population had been included in this number, the proportion of women would be even lower (Johnston 2001:41). Though the absence of parish records means that determining the average age at marriage for women is difficult; calculations using other documentary sources does reveal some limited information (Landry 2008:143). Plaisance appears to be similar to Louisbourg in this regard, in that women married earlier in these maritime colonies than they did in other French settlements, such as in Acadia (Hynes 1973:11). This scarcity of single women, when combined with the need for men to be able to support a family, had the result that men had to wait longer than their contemporaries in Quebec to marry (Johnston 2001:41).

The demographic origins of Plaisance's colonists are easiest to track for *habitants*; as the population fluctuates and grew, this demographic profile would of course change. Landry indicates that the largest proportion originated in La Rochelle, with a small number coming from the nearby Ile de Ré; Saint-Malo in Brittany to the north contributed an equally small number, as did Bayonne in the Basque country to the south (2008:142). The 1698 census records the region of origin for *habitants,* which allows us to add several instances of settlement from less typical regions, such as Provence, Bayeux, or Jersey. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were also *habitants* who were born in Quebec and settled in Plaisance (Thibodeau 1959-1960). People of Basque origin definitely numbered amongst the *habitants* in the colony; a far greater number made up the ranks of the seasonal fishermen who were based out of Plaisance's harbour (Brière 1990:67). A few settlers were born in England and Ireland; most of these became naturalized and married French women (Parat 9 July 1688:fol.90v-91,93v; Parat 22 September 1685; Anon. December 8 1666).

Of the officers and administrators whose biographies can be reconstructed, twelve were born in France and only one was a native of Acadia. This contrasts with the situation in the eighteenth century for both Louisbourg and Québec, where officers tended to be born in the colonies (Cassell 1988:Tables 1 and 2; Johnston 2001:175). Soldiers' regional origins are much harder to uncover, but typically military recruitment tended to take place in major port cities in France (Choquette 1997:265-266). Occasionally, lists of recruits or deserters provide the origin of soldiers, though they are hardly a representative sample of the total population. Where origins are listed, the Poitou-Charentes region dominates (de Mezy 14 April 1697; Durand la Garenne and Subercase 25 October 1704).

Not all those who lived in and around Plaisance were of European descent. Beothuk archaeological sites have been found in Placentia Bay, though not in great number (Holly 2002:Fig.5.4; Linnamae 1971; Marshall 1996:273; Gerald Penney Associates 2008). Documentary sources record only infrequent encounters with Native peoples (either Mi'kmaq or Beothuk, depending on which author interprets the evidence) in Placentia Bay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Marshall 1996; Martijn 1996, 2003; Gerald Penney Associates 2008:9). This contrasts with the French and Basque experience on the west coast of Newfoundland and in Labrador, where the Inuit are often commented on from the sixteenth century onwards (Auger 1991). The relatively infrequent contact between the Beothuk and Europeans in Placentia Bay and along the south coast of the island is an indication that the Beothuk had largely withdrawn from the south coast and Placentia Bay by the end of the seventeenth century (Holly 2002:146; Marshall 1996:278). In the early eighteenth century, 60 Native families—probably Mi'kmaq—briefly moved to Fortune Bay and the island of St. Pierre, along the south coast of Newfoundland (Martijn 2003:73-75). Documents refer to Native peoples living in and around Placentia; one family was enumerated in the 1687 census and the Turbis family lived somewhere near the settlement in 1695 (Martijn 1996:121, 2003:71). French military commanders also recruited and transported Mi'kmaq and Abenaki men to serve on French military expeditions against English Newfoundland, so for a short time, these individuals would have been resident in the colony (Williams 1987; Martijn 2003:73-74). In 1701, a privateering ship operating out of Plaisance registered its *rôle* (crew list) with the local notary: numbered amongst the French crew was one "Augustin, le sauvage" (Monjaud 10 April 1712).

Individuals of African descent were also present in the colony, though references are difficult to locate. Governor Costebelle bought a "Georg le Negre" from one of the leading merchants in Plaisance (Donovan 2004:27). Another reference to an African individual in the colony is found in the accounts of Henri Brunet, a French trader who freighted ships from Boston to Plaisance after 1675. In his accounts for 1677, Brunet details what he was owed by various Plaisance *habitants*, including one Thomas Picq, a naturalized Englishman living in Plaisance. The records indicate that Picq owed Brunet for "carisse pour sa negresse", implying that the fabric was intended for an African individual in Picq's household (Brunet September-December 1677:fol.104v). Thus, the origins of the colonial population of Plaisance were largely French, but careful sifting of records demonstrates that people living in Plaisance were not always French, nor even European in origin.

3.8 A *poste militaire*: The Military in Plaisance

Soldiers were present in the colony from its earliest days, but it is not clear what the regimental associations of the earliest soldiers were. Before the 1680s, a patchwork of different approaches was involved in sending soldiers to French colonies. Since 1622, the Marine had levied its own troops, which were separate from the *troups de terre* of the Army. Before the 1680s, the Marine's troops served in French ports and on *vaisseaux du roi*, but typically were not sent overseas to be stationed in the colonies. Instead, the colonies were defended by the troops raised by colonial trading companies, or by locally-raised militia. Or, regiments were dispatched to the colonies by special arrangement, such as when the Carignan-Salières Regiment was sent to Quebec in 1665 (Cassel 1988:47; Eccles 1971:1-2). In 1674, the Marine adopted a different approach to colonial defence. Jean-Baptiste Colbert established the *troupes de la Marine* specifically for service in the colonies. They were directly under the control of the Marine (Balvay 1995:38). These troops were first sent to Canada in 1683 to help defend the colony against the Iroquois (Cassel 1993:48). The *troupes de la Marine* would have supplied the soldiers sent to Plaisance in 1687.

The Marine troops were organized into non-regimental independent companies of 50 soldiers. The basic unit was the single company, which could be divided to form a half-company of 25 men. Companies were not further subdivided into smaller regimental or tactical units. Day-to-day activities within each company were overseen by commissioned officers—the captain, lieutenant and ensign—and assisted by non-commissioned officers—the corporals and sergeants (Balvay 1995:38; Cassel 1993:51-52). Unlike in the regular French army, officers' commissions could not be purchased. Promotions were merit-based, issued as a result of yearly reports made by the governor to the Ministry of the Marine (Balvay 1995:36-37).

Soldiers were recruited in France by a variety of means: by announcements in the public areas of port cities, and sometimes by forced or fraudulent recruitment (Choquette 1997:265-266). During the seventeenth century, prisoners were not permitted to serve in the military, but this had changed by the early eighteenth century. One recruit who deserted his company in Plaisance in 1704 was an obvious prisoner; the physical description of one Jean Brunet *dit* St. Jean was as follows: "agé de 46 ans, taille moyenne, cheveux gris; avoit éte tire des galeres avec les oreilles coupées, le nez fendu, et la fleur de lys au [blank]" (Durand la Garenne and Subercase 25 October 1704:fol.142v). In 1702, one family deported their troublesome son from Nantes to Newfoundland to serve as a soldier (Choquette 1999:267).

When men joined the military of their own free will, they were issued a small sum of money to secure their recruitment. In 1687, this fee ranged from a minimum of 10 *sols* to a maximum of 1 *livre* 10 *sols*. In addition to this, they were provided with a set of clothes; in 1687, the *habit complet* was valued at 39 *livres* 13 *sols* (Table 3.2). It consisted of a coat, pants, shoes, two shirts and ties, a hat, an *épée* and assorted other equipment (Mauclerc and Cartigny 15 April 1687). We know little of the enlisted soldiers, as they were not enumerated in censuses. Occasionally names of soldiers are preserved, in the form of *rôles* of soldiers who were embarked for the colony, or a list of soldiers who performed work on the fortifications for additional pay, or a list of deserters (de Mezy 14 April 1697; Durand la Garenne and Subercase 25 October 1704; L'Hermitte 1708). One document lists soldiers sent to the colony in 1687; this is the only document that records the names of soldiers who would have lived and worked at the Vieux Fort (Mauclerc and Cartigny 15 April 1687). More is known of the commissioned officers, particularly after 1690, when correspondence to and from the colony is better-preserved.

On the whole, enlisted soldiers were not well-paid, earning only a monthly pay of 6 *livres* and 15 *sols* per month (Anon. 15 February 1688). This totals 83 *livres* and 5 *sols* for a year; compare this with the estimate for the remuneration of a fishing *engagé,* who could expect to earn approximately 90 *livres* over a 4 month fishing season (Landry 2007:9). Additionally, *engagés* were provided with food by their employers; one record from 1688 records the cost of food supplies were deducted from the soldiers' salaries (Bureau de ministre 21 February 1688:fol.9). Soldiers often sought additional paid work as labourers on fortification construction; in 1694, the soldier was paid 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* as a daily wage, in addition to his regular pay (Landry 2008:272). By 1708, soldiers who

Table 3.2 ***Rôle* of soldiers sent to Plaisance in 1687.**

Name	Terms of Engagement	Amount	
Gabriel Zecourt	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Et pour ce engagement		15 *sols*
Nicolas Le Couty	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		10 *sols*
Michel Hellaine	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Jean Louis Valladon	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
François Perrouille	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement	1 *livre*	10 *sols*
Marc Chaveneau	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		14 *sols*
Antoine Barde	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Pierre Jollin	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement	1 *livres*	10 *sols*
Jean Neron	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Guillaume Noyer	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Jean Bourdain	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Plus un bran[?]	1 *livre*	
	Plus une paire de souliers	3 *livres*	

Table 3.2 ***Rôle* of Soldiers sent to Plaisance in 1687, continued.**

Name	Terms of Engagement	Amount	
Jacques Ledreau	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		15 *sols*
Jean Nogue	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		15 *sols*
Antoine Jardin d. Champagne	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Pierre Joanneau	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		15 *sols*
Daniel Benoist	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		3 *sols*
Antoine Vidal	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Jean Maillet	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Jean Rochet	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		15 *sols*
Pierre Chavergnac	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Jean Petit	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
Michel Blondeau d. Lachesnay	Un habit complet	39 *livres*	13 *sols*
	Engagement		15 *sols*

Table 3.2 ***Rôle*** **of Soldiers sent to Plaisance in 1687, continued.**

Name	**Name**	**Name**			
Jean Sourdau d. DeLille	Un habit complet	39	*livres*	13	*sols*
	Engagement			15	*sols*
Jacques Chotard	Un habit complet	39	*livres*	13	*sols*
	Engagement	1	*livre*	10	*sols*
Martial Chambaret de Bayonne	Un habit complet	39	*livres*	13	*sols*
Frais de lever		125	*livres*		
Total		**1134**	***livres***	**4**	***sols***

Notes:

Data from Mauclerc and Cartigny (15 April 1687).

presumably worked as general labourers were paid an additional 8 *sols* per day, providing another 10 or 11 *livres* per month, based on working 23 days a month (L'Hermitte 1708). Soldiers with skilled trades were paid more; such soldiers were also paid by the month rather than the day. Per month, *charpentiers* (carpenters) were paid 14 to 20 *livres*, *pierrieres* (stoneworkers) were paid 10 *livres*, *muletiers* (muleteers) were paid 12 *livres* and those who worked *à la hacierre* (steel) or *à la forge* (forge) were paid 10 and 6 *livres*, respectively (L'Hermitte 1708). Soldiers also sought work amongst the *habitants* (L. Costebelle 3 September 1688; Landry 2008:273). It is not clear how much extra pay soldiers could have made by working for *habitants*; in Louisbourg, soldiers were paid 1 to 2 *livres* a day by *habitants* (Balcom 1984:24). Perhaps another vector of employment for soldiers might have come from working for their superiors, as officers also ran substantial fishing operations (Landry 2001a:234).

The military in Plaisance began as a reasonably small affair—the colony was initially allotted 30 soldiers in 1662 (Landry 2008:17). With the arrival of the *Troupes de la marine* in the 1680s, Plaisance was garrisoned by a half-company of 25 soldiers (Bureau de ministre 1 May 1689:fol.65). Funds were allotted for the pay of a lieutenant (who commanded the company), a sergeant and two corporals (Anon. 15 February 1688). Names of the commissioned officers are not recorded until the arrival of Louis Pastour de Costebelle in 1687. He was the brother of Phillippe, the later governor of Plaisance (Salagnac 2000). At least for a time in the 1670s, Plaisance's half-company also included one soldier named Abraham, who performed the function of both *maître canonier* and *armurier* (Brunet 1672:fol. 12,14). A *rôle* of soldiers was recorded in 1689, to document the recruits that were being sent out to the colony in that year. This is the only other source that records the names of the *soldats simples* who would have lived at the Vieux Fort (if only for a year before the Vieux Fort was destroyed). The names of these soldiers are shown in Table 3.2 above.

The disastrous English raid of 1690 resulted in increased attention being paid to military matters in the colony; after 1690, the number of troops posted to the colony began to increase. The period 1691 to 1696 was marked by an irregular increase of soldiers to a total of 2 companies (or 100 soldiers). In 1692, a letter regarding the state of Plaisance's military situation seems to indicate that an additional 20 soldiers were sent to augment the 40 who were already present (Anon. 1692). By 1692, there was also a lieutenant, captain and an ensign in the colony (Anon. [1694]:fol.8). In 1694, administrators in the Marine provided funds for two companies of men (92 soldiers, 4 *sergents* and 4 *caporaux*), though in this year, 14 soldiers deserted and one was condemned for sedition (Brouillan [1694]:fol.22-27; Anon. [1694]). In 1696, the military complement was increased to 3 companies, totalling 150 soldiers (Proulx 1979a:31,32). By this time, the basic allotment of officers consisted of two corporals, two sergeants, one ensign, one lieutenant and one captain for each company (Phélypeaux 9 May 1707). This basic distribution of commissioned and non-commissioned officers would continue until the evacuation of the colony in 1714. Of course, the number of soldiers actually in the colony at any one time varied and after 1698, actual troop strength usually varied between about 100 and 150 soldiers (Landry 2008: tableau 27).[2] These general numbers would remain more or less stable for the rest of the colony's history, with the exception of 1711, when the addition of infantry from Port-Royal would bring Plaisance's military cohort to 250 men (Proulx 1979a:51).

The military was an important vector for settlement in Plaisance, as well. Officers formed a reasonably stable part of Plaisance's population, though they would move if transferred. Officers in Plaisance tended to marry amongst local populations, as reflected in numerous notarial documents. By contrast, the notarial documents do not contain reference to marriages for ordinary soldiers. In Louisbourg, soldiers were not encouraged to marry, though this was not the case in Québec (Adams 1978:98; Cassel 1988:125; Greer 1997:16). Periods of residence for average soldiers are difficult to track; estimates from other parts of New France indicates that soldiers generally enlisted for a period of six years, but that there were many inducements to stay for much longer and even settle permanently. In Canada, enlisted soldiers initially served terms of three years, but later in the seventeenth and through the eighteenth century, discharges were often postponed. Many soldiers served for at least 10 years and sometimes served for 20 or more years (Cassel 1988:118-127, Deschêne 1992:38-39; Miville-Deschênes 1987).

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[2] Landry's estimate of the troop numbers in 1700 is incorrect. He shows 46 soldiers, which is substantially lower than the numbers found in other years. The document from which this information was derived is a summary of salaries allotted for the colony. The author of this document estimates the salary for one company of 46 soldiers (Pontchartrain 28 January 1700:fol.95). This number is then multiplied by three, to come up with a salary total for the three companies (of 138 soldiers) that were resident in Plaisance at this time.

3.9 Economy and Subsistence in Plaisance

The civilian population was profoundly centred around the fishery; it was the main economic activity of everyone who lived in Plaisance. *Habitants* hired crews of *engagés* to fish for cod from May to the end of July, when the summer fishery in Plaisance was traditionally said to finish (L. Costebelle 3 September 1688:fol.101v). Beach crews would process and dry the fish on the beach space belonging to each *habitant*, who would then sell the dried product to seasonal fishing or trading (*saque*) ships that were in the harbour (Brière 1990). Fishing and processing by Plaisance-based fishing crews were not restricted to Plaisance. Cod stocks migrated in inshore waters during the summer fishing season, so Plaisance-based crews moved about the bay, following the fish. This was referred to as fishing *en degrat.* They would construct a temporary fishing establishment in harbours closer to where fishing was good (Balcom 1984:47). These temporary outstations allowed crews to process cod for short periods; the partly salted fish would be brought back to the main fishing establishment in Plaisance for finishing (Brière 1990:47). Plaisance-based ships fishing *en degrat* have been recorded at Cape St. Mary's, Oderin Island and St. Lawrence, on the Burin Peninsula (Brunet 1674:fol.15; Taverner 1718:fol. 226, 231).

Fishing was not just limited to summer months. Modern data from Placentia Bay indicates that Placentia Bay is home to a resident cod stock that aggregates, disperses and migrates around the bay throughout the year (Lawson and Rose 2000; Mello and Rose 2005a,b). The resident fishing *habitants* at Plaisance were able to capitalize on this situation and ran a winter fishery, from October to as late as the end of December (L. Costebelle 21 September 1688:fol. 106v; Parat [1690]:fol. 86). Similar parallels in winter fishing were found in English Newfoundland as well (Pope 2003a:157). Cod was not the only fish that was hunted: capelin and herring were also collected for bait (Brière 1990:47, Humphreys 1970:5). Salmon in plenty were noted by eighteenth-century observers in the rivers draining into Plaisance's harbour (Murray 1968:98). Contemporary chroniclers noted the array of wildfowl, as well as terrestrial animals (including caribou and fur-bearing animals) that could be hunted in the *baie de Plaisance* (Brunet 1672:9v; Ménard 2006:326; Taverner 1718).

The agricultural potential of Newfoundland's soil has often been dismissed and the documentary record for Plaisance contains many references to the sterility of the soil (Colbert 7 October 1669, 9 March 1671; Pope 2003a). However, much cartographic and documentary evidence demonstrates that *habitants* clearly engaged in subsistence gardening; most built gardens on their property (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a,b,c). A letter from Governor Costebelle notes the fertility of the drained marshland soils behind Fort Louis and records that he grew artichokes, asparagus, green peas and pumpkins (P. Costebelle 28 October 1708:fol. 67). The *Grande grave* consisted of large expanses of cobblestone, so gardens there had to be made with transported soil. A survey of *habitant* properties taken in 1714 notes that one garden had not yet been finished because the *habitant* had not finished bringing in sufficient soil (La Forest Aug.27-Sept.6 1714:fol. 352v). This same survey records that many of the *habitant* properties also had pens for livestock; pigs, chickens and sheep are most often mentioned. Similar patterns in livestock ownership have been observed in English Newfoundland plantations, where swine ownership was most common, as pigs were easily fed on fish offal (Pope 2003a:160-161). In Newfoundland, the agricultural and pastoral potential of the land has often been underestimated, by both contemporary observers and modern historians alike. The archaeological and historical record has shown that gardens played an important part in the subsistence economy of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century residents. Additionally, livestock husbandry played a rôle in the local economy (Pope 2004:342-346).

Despite the dominant focus on the fishery, *habitants* often combined their fisheries activities with other economic activities, which is also typical of English Newfoundland fishing plantations (Pope 2004:337). Some *habitants* specialized in food procurement which they then sold to others. For example, Joseph Lafard's papers record selling halves and quarters of *cerf* (caribou) to various other *habitants* (Subercase 18-28 February 1706:fol.5). In 1673, Henri Brunet purchased 15 *barriques* of salmon from a *habitant* named André Doyen (Brunet 1673:fol. 36). *Habitants* specialized in other areas as well, working as carpenters, masons and tailors (Landry 2001:23). Some *habitants* chose to specialize in running cabarets to sell alcohol to soldiers and sailors; this was a typical practice for fisheries communities of this time period (Johnston 2001:144; Pope 1989,2004). Occasionally, fragments of account books from presumed cabarets have survived, which contain lists of alcohol sold to different individuals in small quantities (Basset January-March 1713). Notarial records demonstrate that Plaisance was home to a successful merchant community (Landry 2001a:250). During times of war, privateering was a popular activity in Plaisance; this was a highly regulated process by which licensed privateers captured enemy ships. These ships were returned to the nearest port, registered as prizes and the ship and contents sold off at public auction. In the French New World, Plaisance was second only to Martinique in the acquisition of prize ships; some 63 prize ships were registered in Plaisance between 1702 and 1712 (Bromley 1963:216; Landry 2002a:73).

Engagés formed a significant part of Plaisance's population. The vast majority were paid in shares of the total production of the crew, though there was variation in engagement contracts (Landry 2002b:24). Many were engaged for the summer season, but some were engaged over the winter—not necessarily to fish over the winter, but to reside in the colony year-round, probably at the fishing establishment of their employer (Landry 2007:11). The *engagés* would fish and do whatever carpentry work needed to be done (Landry 2002b:25). Generally, *engagés* received 36 to 38 quintals of cod per *chaloupe*-load of 300, depending on the function they served on the crew (Landry 2002b:31 2007:3). The *engagés* were paid in fish and the *habitants* for whom they worked reserved the right to purchase their *engagés'* fish at the current price in the colony (Landry 2007:14). In monetary terms, *engagés* could expect to earn about 90 *livres* for their 4 month fishing season (Landry 2007:9). *Engagés* would also receive partial or complete passage to the colony, as well as foodstuffs consisting of eau-de-vie, wine and utensils (Landry 2007:10). Fishing proprietors had the right to sell clothes and other necessities to their *engagés* (Balcom 1984:63). The employer also furnished the *chaloupe* and provided the *engagés* with lodging (Landry 2002b:24-25). Comparatively, *engagés* probably received the same amount of food as a soldier or a sailor (Balcom 1984:61). These migratory *engagés* were a critical part of the local economy; there was simply not a large enough permanently resident population to satisfy the workforce requirements for the fishery. Ensuring adequate recruitment was thus of central importance to the *habitants*.

3.10 The End of the Colony

The subject of the Newfoundland fisheries and France's right to participate in them had been a subject of negotiations since discussions over a treaty began in 1709 (Hiller 1991:25). With the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the fate of Plaisance was sealed. The treaty contained a section devoted entirely to the fate of Plaisance; under the terms of the treaty, the 50-year-old colony was to be handed over to the English (Proulx 1979b:117). Governor Costebelle was informed officially of Plaisance's fate by a letter from the King dated 29 September, 1713 (Proulx 1979a:67). Because the colonists would not learn of the colony's fate until the season was too far advanced for a safe passage to Cape Breton, the evacuation of the colony was delayed (Proulx 1979b:118). By the end of September 1714, all French civilians, officials and military personnel were to leave Plaisance (Janzen 2001:3). The French were subsequently prevented from any permanent settlement on the island of Newfoundland, beyond erecting the shore structures necessary for prosecuting a seasonal fishery, in a geographically defined part of Newfoundland's northern coastline that came to be known as the French Shore.

The fortifications of Plaisance were to be left intact, but the armaments and ammunition were removed by the French (Hiller 1991:28-29). This did not deter some of the departing *habitants* from tearing down some of the palisades at Fort Louis (Proulx 1979b:118). Before leaving Plaisance, Governor Costebelle sent a letter to priests to post in the chapels of St. Pierre and Fortune, informing the *habitants* that they would be regarded as rebels to the French king if they swore allegiance to the English crown (Taverner 20 November 1714:fol.261). In Plaisance, some of the *habitants* tried to sell their properties to the incoming English settlers; of the 72 properties that the French left in 1714, only five were recorded as being sold (P.Costebelle *et al.* 6 September 1714, 15 November 1715; Laforest *et al.* 27 Aug.-6 Sept.1714). Almost all of the *habitants* left the colony. Those who did stay behind, in Plaisance or elsewhere on the Chapeau Rouge, had to swear allegiance to the British crown. Proulx speculates that those who chose to stay in Plaisance were some of the naturalized Englishmen, but this is actually not the case (1979b:119). Among those who chose to stay was Claude Thomas de Beaulieu, who had been in the colony since at least 1695 (Laforest *et al.* 27 Aug.-6 Sept.1714). Madame de Bretonnière also chose to stay—though she had forfeited her home the previous year due to debts and was apparently in ill health (Basset 6 September 1714; Laforest *et al.* 27 Aug.-6 Sept.1714). Charles Henri Mahier (son of the late Charles Mahier, who had died only a few years earlier), was another who remained in the new English settlement, though by 1725 he appeared in Île Royale (Laforest *et al.* 27 Aug.-6 Sept.1714; Mahier 4

October 1725). And finally, surprisingly enough, a French official chose to remain in Placentia—the notary, Jean Basset. Basset claimed that he remained in Placentia in order to sell his residence. Despite his attestations of loyalty to France, he was censured for swearing an oath to the English Crown and changing his religion (Conseil de Marine 8 December 1716).

Census data recording residents of Plaisance in 1711, as well as those who had houses for sale or were listed as leaving Plaisance for Île Royale in 1714, can be used to establish a list of the colony's residents at the end of the French occupation (Costebelle 5 November 1714; Costebelle *et al.* 6 Sept. 1714, 15 Nov. 1715; Thibodeau 1959-1960). Comparing this list with censuses taken in Île Royale in 1715, 1716 and 1720 can help to determine what happened to the majority of Plaisance's population (Anon. 1716, 1720; Soubras 14 Jan. 1715). Some *habitants* who left Plaisance do not re-appear in Île Royale, indicating that they had established themselves elsewhere. Some of those who made the decision to stay in Newfoundland discovered that a decision to stay was one matter, but finding the means to maintain themselves afterwards was entirely another matter altogether (Janzen 1987a:186-187). Many of the residents of the islands of St. Pierre, for example, were unable to stay behind after 1714 because they were unable to gain credit from English merchants, with the result that the remaining French *habitants* could not afford to run their fishing establishments (Taverner 20 November 1714:261-261v).

The majority of Plaisance's residents did re-establish themselves on Île Royale. The initial settlement party landed at Port Saint-Louis; shortly thereafter, Louisbourg was chosen as the principal settlement, after a brief relocation to Port Dauphin. Many of the *habitants* who had prospered at Plaisance continued to prosper in Île Royale. Particularly successful Plaisance merchants or *habitant-pêcheurs* moved on to hold official positions in the administration at Louisbourg. For example, Joseph Lartigue had been a merchant and former fishing proprietor in Plaisance. After moving to Île Royale, he was able to obtain a judicial office (Johnston 2001:151). Other examples are not difficult to find, such as that of Guilliame Delort, a former *habitant-pêcheur* who eventually ended up on the Superior Council of Île Royale (Moore 1982:9). Some of the lessons learned at Plaisance were carried over to Île Royale. Probably mindful of the conflicts that had occurred between resident and transient fishermen over beach space in Plaisance, administrators in Île Royale tried to designate the harbour at Louisbourg for resident fishermen, while the migratory fishermen were sent to work out of Scatary and Menadou (Balcom 1984:52). Furthermore, customs between *habitants* and *engagés* that had been established at Plaisance were maintained at Île Royale (Balcom 1984:54,63). Thus, in some ways—small ways, perhaps—one important part of Plaisance's legacy was to serve as "the model and the miniature" for Louisbourg (Miquelon 1988:439).

Chapter 4

The Vieux Fort's Changing Landscapes

Vous transporter en la plus grande dilligence que vous pourrez en ladite Isle de Terre Neuve, vous y saisir des ports, et havres du grand et petit Plaisance…et y construire des forts y establir des habitations

—Instructions to Plaisance's Governor du Perron, 1660 (Louis XIV 1660:fol. 11).

4.1 Background

The expansion of France's territorial claims in the New World was often accompanied by the construction of fortifications in key locations (Pendery 2010). Forts in New France were constructed not just for the strategic defence of settlements; they also served to physically stake claims to territory, to establish places of interaction with indigenous groups, to protect communications routes and to facilitate commerce (Balvay 2006:83-89). Forts were thus a physical extension of France's right to territory and additionally served as a symbolic demonstration of this right. As the only official French colony in Newfoundland, Plaisance was fortified from its earliest years. During the first 30 years of the colony's existence, a single major fortification existed in the colony. This fort was intended to protect the fledgling colony and to permit its *habitants* to pursue the fishery. This show of strength was also intended to exclude the English—who were settled on the opposite coast of the Avalon peninsula—from establishing a presence in the colony and in the region (Colbert de Terron April 7, 1670:fol. 63). Governors were encouraged not just to maintain the fort, but to expand it and make it more capable of defending the colony. This chapter will re-visit the historical record relating to the fort, evaluating the existing evidence of its history, appearance and lifespan (leaving a detailed reconstruction of one of the buildings for the next chapter). Additionally, some explanations are offered in an attempt to understand why this site was ultimately abandoned and what happened to the site in the ensuing centuries.

The first fort constructed in Plaisance does not have a recorded formal name, unlike later fortifications in the colony. During its lifetime, the first fort is referred to as "le fort"; after it was abandoned, it was known as "le place nommé le Vieux Fort". The fort has continued to be known by the latter name since its abandonment (Colbert de Terron April 7 1670:fol. 61; Lahontan 1704). The Vieux Fort's lifespan—from its construction in 1662 to its destruction sometime in 1690—falls squarely within the most poorly documented period of the colony's history. As a result, references to the fort in the documentary *corpus* are extremely rare; by contrast, the letters, memoranda, journals, maps, plans and sketches that refer to Plaisance's post-1690 fortifications are abundant and informative. As a result, much of what can be learned of the Vieux Fort must be reconstructed from archaeological evidence, in combination with available historical documentary references. Interpretive data can also be drawn by comparison with similar sites, both in Plaisance and elsewhere in New France.

At the most fundamental level, this chapter will explore the history and development of the fort as a whole. Though falling within such a poorly documented period, a re-examination of the extant historical documents has identified new information regarding the fort's appearance and lifespan. Archaeological survey work has allowed the overall appearance of the fort to be compared and contrasted with what was known from the historical record. This chapter will discuss the fort's development and evaluate the reasons for its abandonment. Additionally, this chapter will place the Vieux Fort within a wider local and regional context, in order to understand the larger physical, social, administrative and symbolic landscape that existed in the colony. While some archaeological results from our excavations will be discussed in this chapter, a detailed analysis of the Vieux Fort barracks (Structure A) will be treated in Chapter 5. Descriptions of the stratigraphic events and excavated features that are discussed in this chapter are given in Appendix 1.

4.2 Why Fortify? A Review of Fortifications in Newfoundland

Among the earliest instructions for the governors of Plaisance was to build, superintend and encourage the growth of a fort in the colony. The reasons for constructing a fort for defensive purposes might seem a self-evident requirement of settlement, particularly in Newfoundland, where both the French and English had adjacent (and competing) claims to territory (Pope 2004:72,311-318; Proulx 1979a:9-10). However, state-sponsored fortification and settlement in Newfoundland were not necessary correlated, as a brief examination of fortification in English Newfoundland will show. In fact, throughout much of the seventeenth century, the English generally resisted the formal fortification and garrisoning of Newfoundland settlements. Instead, the English Crown preferred to entrust the defence of these regions to the Royal Navy (Crowley 1981:167; Graham 1946). Generally, England regarded Newfoundland as a collection of small, dispersed fishing stations which were difficult to fortify and defend (Bannister 2003:31; Janzen 1987b:24).

The earliest known examples are the defensive walls (of stone or wood, sometimes with accompanying earthworks) erected to surround and defend the newly established proprietary colonies at Cupids and Ferryland (Carter *et al.* 1997; Gilbert 2009:63-64, 2010:72-73). Archaeological investigations demonstrate that the defences erected at Ferryland are substantial, including defensive ditches, an earthen rampart surrounding the colony and a gun emplacement (Gaulton *et al.* 2010:65; Tuck 1993:308-309). Recent discoveries at Cupids also indicate that a seventeenth-century battery was built to protect the colony. In St. John's, fortified structures make an appearance with the construction of batteries at Chain Rock and Pancake Rock, built by concerned inhabitants to defend the entrance to the harbour c. 1665 (Candow 1979:9).

The largest of these initial fortifications was the redoubt known as King William's Fort, built in St. John's in 1693. Though the design of the fort was drawn up by a naval official (Captain Christian Lilly of the Royal Engineers), the project was an initiative not of the Royal Navy but of the local inhabitants. Its construction (and that of some lesser fortified outworks) was left entirely up to the efforts of the civilian population in St. John's (Janzen 1987b:27). The first state-supported English fortifications in

Newfoundland began later, with the construction of Fort William in St. John's in 1697 (built in a different location than the old King William's Fort) (Candow 1979:11; Janzen 1987b:29). Thus, though English attempts at fortification in Newfoundland were made throughout most of the seventeenth century, they usually consisted of defensive walls and small batteries. For the English Crown, the construction of large, stand-alone artillery fortifications was thought to be unnecessary until the very end of the seventeenth century.

The situation is different in French Newfoundland. Vernacular fortifications were erected by resident French *habitants,* such as the small fort and palisaded house constructed on Audierne Island (today known as Oderin Island) (Taverner 1718:fol. 228). The island of Saint Pierre provides another example- the French administration refused to fortify the island in 1694, but inhabitants of St. Pierre raised a small fort sometime after this, which was destroyed during an English raid in 1701 (de la Morandière [1]:471, 491). In the early eighteenth century, Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche built a fortified trading post in Brador Bay (which was considered as part of Labrador at that time, but is now located in the modern province of Québec) (Corley 2000). However, these efforts at fortification pale in comparison to the fortification efforts undertaken in Plaisance. From its earliest years, the colony was fortified and supplied with soldiers. The colony's initial fort, dating from the early 1660s, was thus the earliest garrisoned fortification built specifically by a colonial power in either English or French Newfoundland. After 1690, the colony's fortifications became much more complex than a single fort. The entire length of the harbour was protected by a systematic series of fortifications built in key locations (Proulx 1979a).

The emphasis placed on fortifying the colony is not surprising. From its very beginnings, Plaisance was a *colonie royale*—a state-sponsored initiative—in which the French Crown played a direct role in the administration of this colony via the Ministry of the Marine (Plaze 1991:6-7). This level of state involvement contrasts with the situation in English Newfoundland and may explain the earlier appearance of fortification projects in Plaisance. Additionally, Terry Crowley argues that "the French, although not without a considerable navy, put a greater trust [than the English] in permanent land defences as first seen at Placentia in Newfoundland and later more fully at Louisbourg" (Crowley 1981:167). Certainly, the efforts put into fortifications in Plaisance were insubstantial when compared with the scale of fortifications constructed in other parts of New France. For some, the degree of fortification and the level of state support of Plaisance have been dismissed as being insubstantial (Humphreys 1970:11; Proulx 1979a:23; Turgeon 1985:264). Compared with other parts of New France, this may be the case. However, in a seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Newfoundland context, the degree of state support and the attention paid to fortifying Plaisance was noteworthy.

4.3 The Vieux Fort: Site Selection Strategies

The dearth of documentary evidence relating to the Vieux Fort has led to some confusion about the site's location amongst some historians. For example, Prowse confused the location of the Vieux Fort with later fortifications built elsewhere in Plaisance (1895:181). This misidentification would confuse successive generations of historians (Tomkinson 1939:207). Proulx finally established the location of the Vieux Fort and reproduced a map that clearly shows the fort on a hillside, northeast of the Great Beach (1979a:17,100). Since the publication of Proulx's monograph, other maps have been located that confirm the fort's position on this hillside (Detcheverry 1689; Anon. 1687a).

Based on this information, Barry Gaulton and Matthew Carter initiated a survey of the hillside to the north of the town (1997). A series of test pits located a seventeenth-century French site, which Gaulton and Carter identified as consistent with the Vieux Fort. Later investigations beginning in 2001 confirmed that this hillside was the location of the Vieux Fort (Crompton 2002). The site is located on the hill today known as Mount Pleasant; to the French, it was occasionally known as the *montaigne de St. Bernard*, or more often the *montaigne appelleé le Vieux Fort* (L'Hermitte 14 October 1709; Anon. [after 1696]). The hill is located at the end of a long peninsula, separated from Placentia's Great Beach by a narrow sea inlet called the Orcan River (*Rivière d'Ascain* to the French). The site is located at the top of this hill, about 30 m above the present sea level. Mount Pleasant is separated from the mainland by two long sea inlets on either side (the Northeast and Southeast Arms), which effectively isolate the site from nearby land (Figure 4.1). The site is, practically speaking, accessible only by boat.

Documentary evidence does not indicate why this site was chosen as the location for the first fort that the French constructed in Plaisance. In the absence of such evidence,

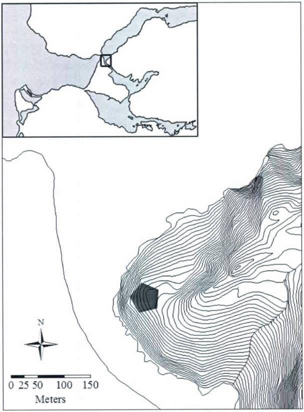


Figure 4.1 The Vieux Fort site on a topographic map.

The site is indicated by the shaded pentagon (the use of a pentagon on this map is not meant to imply the shape of the fortification). Map data from provincial digital topographic map 1N4391. Inset map shows the area covered by the topographic map.

inference must be drawn from contemporary strategic and tactical doctrine as well as by comparison with similarly sited forts elsewhere in New France. Furthermore, a growing body of literature contends that fortications can be understood beyond their practical, strategic value (Coulson 1996; Johnson 2002). For example, fortifications may be regarded as having complex expressions of meaning, and can be viewed as symbols of ideological, ethnic or religious identity (O`Keeffe 2001). Trying to understand the military reality of past fortifications is problematic; considering what made a location or a fortification defensible, or militarily logical, can be difficult to reduce to absolute statements. Furthermore, the use of militarily deterministic explanations of fortified structures selection tends to ignore non-military factors in decision-making (Johnson 2002:179-180). Even those espousing non-military interpretations of fortified structures concede however that the dictates of artillery defence and attack that flourish in the sixteenth and seventeenth century cannot be ignored (Johnson 2002:122-125). The important point here is to broaden the scope of enquiry to include non-military factors in the processes of site selection and fort design.

At the most basic level, questions of fort location were influenced by the functions that each fort was intended to serve. In New France, military sites were variously placed to protect urban centres, to command waterways and communication routes and/or to serve as trading *entrepôts* (Balvay 2006:65-68). In Plaisance, one of the fort's purposes was to protect the fledgling settlement, as the initial instructions to the colony's governor record (Louis XIV 1660:fol. 11). The site of the Vieux Fort was probably chosen because it overlooked the settlement, particularly the Great Beach, where the main part of the colony was located in the early years (Anon. [1662-1690]). The Vieux Fort site provides not only a view of the settlement on the Great Beach, but also of the sheltered inner waterway system. Sailing instructions for navigating Plaisance's harbour note the importance of this inner waterway system as a safe anchorage; maps record depth soundings for this area, further testifying to its importance (Murray 1968:97; Anon. [1662-1690]). This is an unsurprising discovery, as many other forts in New France were placed to overlook key waterways. These waterways may have been important harbours, key navigable portions of rivers, or other strategically important waters (Charbonneau 1990:44-45; Delpuech 2001:34; Desaney 2008:29; Keene 1991:32; Lafrance 1983:26; Robinson 1977:6; Santerre 2008:84).

Additionally, the selection of a hillside for the fort's location had defensive advantages, for in order to prevent infantry troops from storming a fort, "height remained the best barrier" (Lynn 1991:302). Hillsides were thus typical locations for fortifications (Cloutier and L'Anglais 2009:107; Goyette 2009:126; Santerre 2008:83; Walthall 1991a:44). Great attention was usually paid to local topography, in attempts to use topographic height to its greatest advantage. The Vieux Fort hillside had a further advantage in its isolation: a moderately sized plateau, on a headland surrounded by sea inlets. This situation limited the avenues that enemy forces could take to try and attack the fort (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:112). Attacking troops would have to approach and cross the inner harbour system and then would have had to scale steep bluffs in order to attack the fort outright. Additionally, these natural defences could permit the fort to be held by a smaller garrison. This stands in opposition to forts located on larger plateaus with several easy points of access, which required larger garrisons and more complex defences (Hall 1991:17).

Indeed, the restricted access to the Vieux Fort site may have negated or reduced one of its disadvantages: the Vieux Fort was commanded by a large hill to the east (Figure 4.1). In tactical terms, any hill, ridge or topographic eminence that overlooked a fort was regarded as commanding ground. Commanding ground was a disadvantage, for it rendered the interior of the fortification vulnerable to enemy artillery fire, should the commanding ground be captured by attacking troops (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:86). In the Vieux Fort's case, the commanding ground was difficult to access. Gaining the headland would require either an overland march from a long distance away, or a waterborne assault via the protected inner harbour system. The presence of nearby commanding ground may thus have been mitigated by its difficult access.

The selection of this hillside also meant that the Vieux Fort did not constrain the growth of the colony, which was a typical concern of contemporary fortification engineers working in settlements, towns and cities (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:93). In Plaisance, control and ownership of economically valuable waterside beach space was a point of contention in the colony that often flared between residential and seasonal fishermen (Landry 2008:342-354). In fact, the military did eventually take control of beach space for the construction of Fort Louis on the Little Beach, after 1691; this required the re-location of displaced *habitants*, which would not be an easily resolved issue. As of 1698, some of the *habitants* were still living on the Little Beach (Thibodeau 1959-1960:184). The remaining *habitants* were ultimately moved to different locations but the process took years. This conflict over the Little Beach illustrates the problems that could arise when military and civilian interests collided over land that possessed both economic and military value. Thus, the colonial officials who selected the site for the Vieux Fort avoided this issue by choosing space that was not useful for the fishery.

One final point to be considered in the selection of the site for the Vieux Fort lies in its position overlooking the *Grande grave*.[3] The hillside gives a clear and distinct view of the beach on which the majority of the *habitants* lived, as Figure 4.8 below indicates. It may be that the Vieux Fort was intended to provide some element of surveillance over the living spaces and working spaces of both the residents and the seasonal fishermen. Forts and fortified structures can be seen as symbols of authority and domination to those who lived near them, to enforce local authority and remind those who lived there that upsetting the social order could be resisted by force (e.g. Levy 2004:254, Monks 1992:44). The use of prominent hillsides as the location for a local seat of power has been well-documented in different cultural contexts (Upton 1988). Furthermore, the ability of those in authority to use an elevated position as a form of panoptic surveillance must be considered. Authoritative power can be asserted by surveillance over a local populace; from the vantage point at the Vieux Fort, the *habitants*, their *engagés* and the seasonal fishermen could all be monitored, as could their homes, beach workspaces, and boats. The use of surveillance as a means of social control relied on those in authority occupying the highest ground, and creating the perception that the populace was being constantly observed. Indeed, whether the local populace was being watched directly or not is in

[3] I would like to thank Dr. Neil Kennedy for drawing my attention to this point.

some ways less important than the potential for constant and consistent observation (Delle 1999a). With all of this in mind, the hillside on which the Vieux Fort was built may well have been selected for both its symbolic potential as well as for its practical value. Whether or not the Vieux Fort lived up to its mandate as a symbol of local authority, however, is an issue that will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

4.4 Not a Blank Slate: The Archaeology of an Older Structure at the Site

At the very end of the 2004 field season, archaeological excavations at the extreme north-eastern end of the Vieux Fort barracks (Structure A) uncovered unusually deep deposits, resulting from a sharp drop downwards in the natural topography of the subsoil deposits at this part of the site. Immediately beside the barracks' gable wall, subsoil was found at a depth of 1.7 m below the present ground surface. This was unusually deep; a short distance to the west, subsoil was typically encountered between 40 and 50 cm below the present ground surface. This sudden depression did not appear to be a cultural phenomenon, such as an intentionally excavated trench. Rather, it seemed to be a natural part of the slope leading downwards to a nearby steep cliff. The depression that we encountered had been intentionally filled in. The deposits that we found here (consisting of Events 53 and 58) consisted of soil, stones and much broken brick rubble (Figure 4.2).

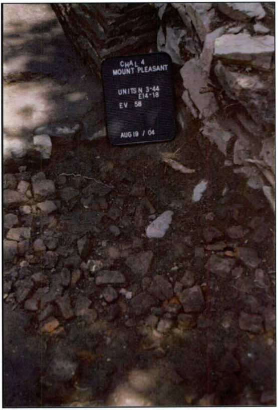


Figure 4.2 The top of the fill layer forming the sub-floor at the barracks.

Note the large quantities of broken and shattered brick scattered throughout this sub-floor layer (Event 58). The fill in this layer contains cultural material from the destroyed remains of an earlier structure at the Vieux Fort site. Photo by Amanda Crompton.

At the bottom of these deposits, about 1 m below the present ground surface, the remains of a second structure (Structure B) was discovered (Crompton 2006). The fragmentary remains of Structure B consist of Feature 18, a fragmentary mortared stone-and-brick feature (Figure 4.3). Orange bricks were laid four courses deep and rest on at least one stone. Another flat stone appeared beside the laid brick and was likely part of the same structure. The uppermost course of bricks was completely sooted and stained black, bearing the unmistakable signs of being repeatedly burned. The bricks, and the degree of sooting they bore, were very similar to a brick hearth associated with Structure A (Chapter 5.4.5). The stratigraphic deposit surrounding Structure B's brick feature (Event 63) had much charcoal in it. Together, this evidence suggests that Feature 18 was the remains of a hearth.

Feature 18 is found well below the floor surface of Structure A and it had been laid at a completely different angle than the walls of Structure A above it. The Feature 18 hearth is therefore part of an earlier building, unrelated to the Structure A barracks. It seems clear that the hearth was intentionally destroyed during the construction of the Structure A barracks. After this, the lowest courses of the barracks' northeastern stone wall (Feature 14) were constructed immediately beside the Feature 18 hearth (Figure 4.3). Then the depression was filled in, covering over what remained of Feature 18 and covering the lower courses of the inside face of Feature 14. The trench fill (Events 53 and 58) was likely derived, at least in part, from Feature 18's destruction debris, as these events are full of shattered orange brick fragments. The trench was filled up until it was

Figure 4.3 Photograph of the Feature 18 hearth (Structure B).

The remnants of the Structure B hearth (Feature 18) are shown directly beside the photographic scale. Note how Feature 18 abuts Structure A's north-eastern gable wall above it (Feature 14). Photo was taken while standing on top of Feature 14. Scale in photograph is 50 cm. Photo by Amanda Crompton.

roughly level with subsoil found in excavation units to the west. On top of this now-level surface, the floors of the barracks were constructed. Unfortunately, the layers surrounding Feature 18 contained very few artifacts other than brick and none are useful for the purposes of dating Structure B. Though directly dating this building is not possible, Structure B was clearly built before Structure A, and is therefore the older building.

The Structure B hearth had been intentionally dismantled and its remains incorporated into the subfloor of one of the buildings at the Vieux Fort. Ultimately, the presence of a structure pre-dating the Vieux Fort may have contributed to the site-selection process for the fort. Land in the immediate vicinity of this area would have already been cleared of trees and brush. Any useful elements from Structure B could have been recycled and its demolished remains were be used as fill to level out the ground surface. Thus, the discovery of a previously existing structure on the site may have meant that the decision to build the Vieux Fort at this location may have been made at least in part for the sake of convenience.

The archaeological evidence does not clarify the function of the Structure B building, though the presence of a hearth does suggest that it was a building intended for occupation. Perhaps Structure B represented a building constructed during the first years of the Vieux Fort's occupation, which was subsequently deconstructed in order to build Structure A. However, the curious absence of artifacts (other than brick) in the re-used fill suggests that Structure B was not an earlier barracks, storehouse or magazine associated with the Vieux Fort. Some clues to Structure B's function might be found in Jean-Pierre

Proulx's close examination of the documentary evidence for the 1662-1663 period (1979a:16-17). He makes a convincing argument that when the colonists arrived in Plaisance in 1662, they found that a fort had already been constructed. Du Perron, the colony's first governor, was unimpressed with the state of this existing fortification. He complained that the fort was small, with four cannon and only had "pour bastimentz une grande loge de pieux couverte de terre" (Proulx 1979a:16). The documentary evidence does not reveal who was responsible for constructing this fortification. Nicolas Gargot, governor of the failed 1660 settlement venture, was instructed to build a fort, though it is not clear what (if anything) was accomplished by him (Proulx 1979a:13). Perhaps the small fort was constructed by seasonal Basque fishermen, as another document contends, though once again, the evidence is not very clear (Proulx 1979a:16).

Perhaps Structure B's hearth was associated with the *grande loge* that du Perron wrote about shortly after he arrived in Plaisance. If Structure B does represent a pre-existing fortified building associated with the failed Gargot venture of 1660, then its short duration of occupation (from 1660 to 1662) could account for the absence of artifacts in the deposits surrounding Feature 18. Or, if Structure B represents a small fortification constructed by seasonal Basque fishermen, the absence of artifacts from a small fort not manned by a garrison is also understandable. Structure B is unlikely to represent a domestic structure belonging to a *habitant*, or a building for housing *engagés*. All indications from written documents and cartographic records suggest that domestic structures were located directly on Plaisance's beaches, not on surrounding hillsides (L'Hermitte 20 September 1699a,b,c).

If Structure B is correlated with the *grande loge* at the pre-existing fortification, then the selection of this hillside for the construction of the Vieux Fort can be seen as a symbolic act. By re-establishing an official fort at the location of an old one (either an unofficial Basque fortification, or a fort associated with Gargot's failed settlement venture), the site is drawn into a new network of power. "Due to… histories of use and modification, a place is never simply a *tabula rasa* that can be wiped clean and given new meaning with each phase of occupation" (Wilson 2010:4). Such re-uses of fortified locations are not unusual. A roughly analogous example is found in the Spanish and French clash over strategic locations along the Texas Gulf Coast; here, the Spanish destroyed the remains of a French fort and constructed Presidio La Bahía overtop of it (Bruseth *et al.* 2004). Forts were symbols of power; appropriating that symbol of power and incorporating it into a new regime may have been useful for those who selected the fort's site.

4.5 The Appearance of the Vieux Fort: Cartographic Sources

A close examination of the available cartographic evidence can reveal some information about the overall layout, appearance and constituent elements of the Vieux Fort. A 1689 map, by Basque pilot Pierre Detcheverry indicates the "le Fort de pleçançe", roughly in the correct location for the Vieux Fort site (Detcheverry 1689). This map shows a single small building with three chimney stacks (Figure 4.4). An unsigned 1687 map shows a similarly small stylized building (Figure 4.5; Anon. 1687a).

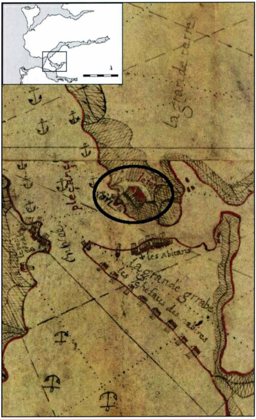


Figure 4.4 Detail from a 1687 map of Plaisance showing the Vieux Fort.

For clarity, the fort is circled. North is to the left. Inset map shows area covered by plan (inset map scale is five km). Anonymous, 1687, Baie de Plaisance, BN, Ge SH 18e pf 130 div 04 p 01 D. Image courtesy of the BN.

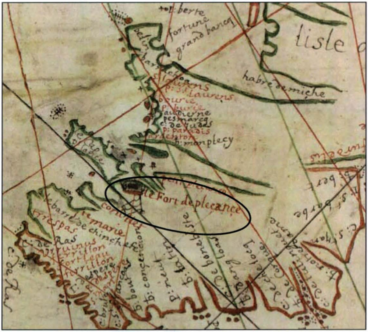


Figure 4.5 Detail from a 1689 map showing *le fort de pleçançe.*

For clarity, the fort is circled. North is towards the right of the map. Pierre Detcheverry, 1689, [Carte de l'île de Terre-Neuve], Faict à Plaisance par Pierre Detcheverry dorré de St Jan de Luz pour monsr Parat gouverneur de Plesance et lisle de Terre Neufe, BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine, Ge SH 18e pf 125 div 01 p 02/1 D. Image courtesy of the BN.

The best extant set of maps of the Vieux Fort are two almost-identical copies. Proulx reproduces one version of the map; though he suggests that it dates to the 1670s, he does not provide any further support for this suggested date (1979a:18). The Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des cartes et plans, Service hydrographique de la Marine) in Paris holds a second version of this map, which has not yet been published (Anon. [ca.1662-1690]). The landforms and waterways shown on both versions of the map are virtually identical, but some of the accompanying details are slightly different. The texts (though identical) are placed in different orientations. The biggest difference is that the unpublished version has both systematic depth soundings and has a scale (Figure 4.6). Importantly, though, the detail of the fort does not change. The only real difference between the depiction of the fort in both versions is that the fort's cannon are not shown firing in the unpublished version, while the published version shows cannon with plumes of smoke emerging.

The unpublished map provides some clues regarding the overall appearance of the fort. The map shows a large, five-sided bastioned fortification bearing several cannon (Figure 4.7). The fort is surrounded by what is probably a ditch to the rearward side. The ditch is crossed by a bridge or ramp leading to a rear (postern) gate. The front of the fort has an entrance gate from which a stairway leads down the hillside, terminating in a structure in the water which must be a wharf. The fort contains three buildings: two that are free-standing and one that is a conjoined L-shaped structure. One of the buildings is shown flying a flag and is set beside a free-standing cross. A small dot in front of one set of buildings reads *fontaine*. This map is clearly intended to show the location of the fort

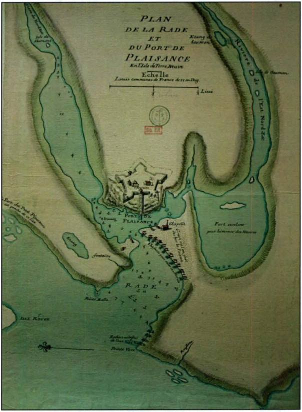


Figure 4.6 The most detailed map of the Vieux Fort.

This is the previously unpublished version of the map. North is to the left of the image.

Anonymous, [1662-1690], Plan de la rade et du port de Plaisance en l'Isle de Terre Nevfve, BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine, Pf-130-4-11(1)D. Image courtesy of BN.

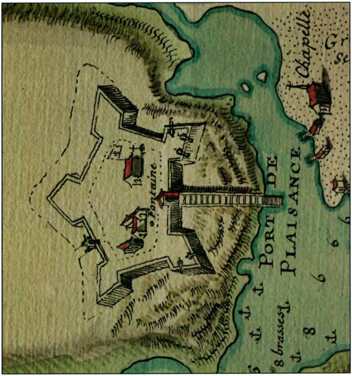


Figure 4.7 Enlarged view of the Vieux Fort map.

This is a detail of the map shown in Figure 4.6. North is to the left of the image.

Anonymous, [1662-1690], Plan de la rade et du port de Plaisance en l'Isle de Terre Nevfve, BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine, Pf-130-4-11(1)D. Image courtesy of BN.

and to show the basic layout of Plaisance. The mapmaker had a good understanding not only of the harbour's layout, but also of the harbour's bathymetry and the location of plantations on the beaches. The mapmaker also made observations about where boats should be overwintered and where fishing *en degrat* occurs. Thus, the mapmaker had a reasonable familiarity with Plaisance's harbour. By contrast, historical documents and archaeological evidence suggest that the mapmaker's depiction exaggerated the fort in certain key areas. The historical and archaeological evidence for the layout of the Vieux Fort will be presented below, followed by a discussion of the reasons behind the cartographic exaggerations shown on this map.

4.6 Archaeological Survey, Written Records and the Fort's Buildings

An initial survey of the site—including both pedestrian survey and shovel-testing—was initiated in the first year of the project to identify surface-visible features and to indentify locations for subsurface examination. Just to the northeast and slightly down-slope from the fort was a sunken depression that filled up with water during heavy rains; this feature has been described by local residents of Placentia as a well. We did not have an opportunity to excavate this feature to determine if this was indeed an historic well that could be correlated with the *fontaine* recorded on the Vieux Fort map. Just uphill from this feature, a systematic pedestrian survey identified the remains of at least three stone structures, identifiable as linear piles of collapsed rubble, still easily visible on the present ground surface. Two of the collapsed stone structures are clustered together on an upper terrace. On a lower terrace, to the north, was a third structure indicated by more collapsed rubble. These structures are consistent with the number of buildings shown in the Vieux Fort map, but not their orientation.

The presence of several large linear rubble fields over the site suggests that the fort contained several masonry buildings. A survey of eighteenth-century fortifications in New France indicates that forts associated with a settlement would most commonly contain a barracks, guardhouse, commandant's quarters, a storehouse and a powder magazine (Rouleau 1986:84). A close reading of the historic evidence for the Vieux Fort indicates that a storehouse was present during the early years. A description of the murder of Governor du Perron in 1662 records that the mutinying soldiers took over the storehouse at the fort; having found victuals inside, they proceeded to eat and drink heartily (Anon. 13 October 1663). That a storehouse for *munitions de bouche* (victuals) continued to be present at the fort is implied a letter from Colbert de Terron (1670:fol. 13). Whether or not there was a separate powder magazine to store *munitions de guerre* is not clear from these scant references, unfortunately.

The fort was also intended to house soldiers, as the instructions to Governor la Poippe make it clear that he was to make the fort more commodious for lodging the garrison (Colbert de Terron April 7, 1670). Occasional references to the "cabannes du fort" are also found in the documentary record (de Bonne 1676:fol. 50v). The historic record generally indicates that some of the buildings were constructed of wood. The words *pieux* and *piquets* were used interchangeably at this time and denote the use of vertical posts set in the ground (Krause 1974). A further clue regarding construction materials can also be found in a complaint lodged by various *habitants* against Governor Parat: "[In 1686, Parat] nous a commande de luy donner des escorces d'arbre pour couvrir les cabannes du fort, ce que nous avons fait fourni bois et autres choses qu'il nous a demandé" (Gillebert *et al.* 1690:fol. 301). Additionally, another request from Governor Parat requires "des cloux pour la reparation du fort" (Parat 21 September 1686:fol. 681v). Clearly, some of the structures at the fort had wood framing and roofing. A detailed architectural reconstruction of one of these buildings (the barracks) will be presented in a subsequent chapter.

4.7 Archaeological Survey, Written Records and the Fort's Defences

To the southwest of these structures is a large, flat terrace that provided very good views of Placentia's Great Beach and harbour. Of all the areas surveyed on the Mount Pleasant hillside, this terrace is the only area with a field of view that provides unobstructed views of the harbour (Figure 4.8). Elsewhere on site, the view of the harbour is impeded by large bedrock ridges. If the map of the Vieux Fort is at all accurate, this area should be the location of some of the fort's defensive works. Clear evidence of ramparts should be found nearest to the cliff, to provide the largest field of observation and fire from a hillside (Grange 1971:196). Ramparts are low-lying fortification walls that provided a stable platform for defending artillery, while also providing resistance to

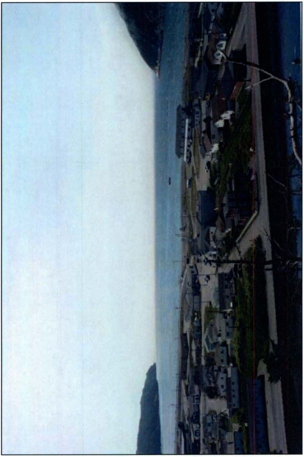


Figure 4.8 The view of Placentia's harbour from the Vieux Fort site.

attacking artillery fire (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:187, 224, 228; Kingra 1993:433). Ramparts were constructed of layers of earth, which were compacted with ramming tools, covered with sod and faced with stone or earth revetments. This arrangement of earth, sod, wood and/or stone provided an effective defence against artillery fire (Charbonneau 1982 *et al.*:229; Santerre 2008:75). The French military engineer Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban noted that an effective rampart should be 5 to 7 m high with a *terreplein* (or horizontal surface of the rampart) that measured 4 to 6 *toises* (or 7.8 to 11.7 m) wide (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:92, 188).

Another major component of such fortifications is the angle bastion, which is a solid projection, thrust forward from the line of ramparts. This served as a platform to allow defending artillery the widest possible range of fire. At the same time, the bastion created a position that allowed the defending artillery pieces to provide covering (or flanking) fire along the main line of the ramparts (Kingra 1993:433-434). The pointed arrowhead shape of the angle bastion eliminated dead zones along the ramparts, which could not be covered by defending artillery fire. The angle bastion also permitted defending cannon and firearms to cover the ground in front of the fort (Lynn 1991:301). Ditches were often constructed in front of the ramparts, with additional outer defensive works (such as covered ways and palisades) placed beyond this; these were designed to keep attacking troops from approaching the fort and to discourage escalade (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:90; Keene 2002:102-103).

The Vieux Fort map shown in Figure 4.6 clearly indicates the presence of all of the key features of early modern fortification, in the form of ramparts, ditches and bastions. The map clearly indicates that these features had relief and would have stood above the ground surface at the fort. An archaeological survey was initiated to determine whether these features actually existed on the site. Such features should be archaeologically visible: surveys of other fortification sites have detected the remains of ramparts and ditches, even if they have been partially destroyed, re-used, or abandoned (Guimont 2009:141-142; Keene 2002:109-124; Santerre 2008:93-109). The large, flat terrace that provides unobstructed views of the harbour was targeted as the location where the forward defences of the fort should be. A pedestrian survey of the area failed to locate any surface-visible rubble, or any remains of linear earthen mounds consistent with ramparts. Bedrock ridges jutting out from the steep slope below the terrace were also examined for evidence of stone rubble that could have originated from stone walls that collapsed upslope, and none was found.

A series of judgementally located shovel-tests were placed to intersect any subsurface remains of defensive structures, beginning at the middle of the terrace and moving out towards the cliff face overlooking the harbour. The only artifacts found included one pipe stem and several small fragments of brick. A shovel test in the middle of the terrace located a buried organic layer (interpreted as potentially representing a buried sod) at about 12 cm below the present ground surface; this may represent a previous ground surface, but no artifacts were found that could suggest a date for this buried sod. Our shovel-tests demonstrated that the area surveyed has seen only moderate sediment accumulation in the post-abandonment period. In most test pits, subsoil was found between 30 and 40 cm below the present ground surface. As a result, earthworks and stone foundations should be archaeologically visible, if they had originally existed at the site.

If the Vieux Fort did not have classic rammed earthen ramparts, then what defences did it possess, and what can we learn from the scattered historical references to the fort? Records from the earlier periods of the fort's history do not provide any information, but documents that date to the end of the fort's lifespan do provide some clues. For example, an administrative resumé of a letter written by Governor Parat describes the fort's defences as being *overt* in several places in 1686 (Anon. 1686:fol. 192). This suggests that the fort did have some existing defensive structures that had been allowed to collapse. A similar administrative resumé, dated two years later, requests the construction of *un enclos de maçonnerie* (Anon. 1688:fol. 192). If the request for a masonry enclosure was made in 1688, then it seems likely that the defensive structure that had existed before was not of masonry and was thus of either earth, or wood, or both. This is further supported by another document of 1688, in which the *habitants* of Plaisance complained that Governor Parat compelled them to make palisades for the fort (Gillebert *et al.* 1690:fol. 301v). No work seems to have occurred on the fortification's defences by the next year, as in 1689 the fort is described as being "sans enclose" (Parat 4 September 1689:fol. 115v).

As no large earthworks were present and no buried features were detected during survey, then the Vieux Fort was likely protected by a simple wooden palisade. Certainly, simple picket palisades were quick and easy defences to erect, such as the palisade constructed around the settlement on Plaisance's Great Beach, following the disastrous

English attack of 1690 (Proulx 1979a:26). Simple wooden palisade defences were common on forts and fortified structures; Fort St. Joseph, a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French fortification in present-day Michigan, provides a constructive comparison. It was defended by a simple a wooden palisade and lacked bastioned artillery platforms (Brandaõ and Nassaney 2006:65). Similar defensive arrangements are common enough at sites elsewhere in New France and were often associated with initial or temporary fortification efforts (Brown 1979; Jacob 2004; Verrand 2004). Furthermore, parts of the fort near Structure A needed no palisade at all, as the building was sheltered behind large bedrock outcrops. A comprehensive survey of the bedrock area (on both slopes) did not uncover any remnants of earthen or stone rubble supports, or stray nails, which certainly would have been required to support a palisade built along the narrow bare bedrock ridge.

4.8 The Stairway and Entrance to the Fort

The Vieux Fort map shown in Figure 4.6 also indicates that the fort was accessed by a gate at the front, connected to a stairway leading up from the Orcan River (or the *Rivière d'Ascain*). A vertical cleft in the rock face is still observable today, though it is overgrown with trees. This cleft could have served as such an entrance; it connected the large flat terrace (discussed above) with the sea. A trip up and down this cleft assured us that any easy transit of this feature would have required a stairway, as it was a slippery and precipitous route. We did not detect any obvious stone features that could conceivably be the remnants of a stone stairway, leading us to believe that any such structure would have been made of wood. Thus, the stairway structure shown on the Vieux Fort map could have existed in reality. However, the waterside base of the stairway probably only functioned as an access point for small boats and not large seagoing vessels. Today, the Orcan River is a generally shallow waterway with strong currents that change direction depending on the tides. Soundings recorded on historic maps (typically taken at locations along the north part of the channel) indicate depths of about a fathom. The Orcan River's depth has not changed much in the ensuing years (de Monsegur 1708; Jefferys and Cook 10 May 1770; Anon. 1687b). Indeed, most historic maps do not even record soundings for this part of the inner harbour, suggesting its limited use for ships of any size. Thus, as the only deep water near the fort is found in the Northeast Arm, the stairway entrance to the fort would only be accessible to small boats.

4.9 Cartographic Exaggeration and Depictions of the Vieux Fort

In the end, all maps showing the Vieux Fort map must be considered with care. Two of the maps (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) significantly downplay the extent of the fortification. The lack of detail in which the fort is depicted can be attributed to the large scale of both maps; the mapmakers simply did not have enough room to illustrate the fort in any detail. The remaining map of the Vieux Fort (Figure 4.6) is of a size that permits the Vieux Fort to be depicted with greater care. This mapmaker was certainly familiar with Plaisance's topographic and hydrographic complexities, as well as the colony's toponyms and settlement patterns. However, the Vieux Fort map depicts a fort that is much larger than that which exists archaeologically. The scale in Figure 4.6 indicates that the Vieux Fort measures over ¼ *lieux* (or about 1.25 km) across, from north to south. Our surveys estimated that the archaeological extent of the fort probably measured about 70 m in the same direction. Additionally, the Vieux Fort map shows defences consisting of large bastioned ramparts, while archaeological and historical evidence strongly suggests the presence of a simple wooden palisade instead.

Intentional exaggerations of a fortification's defences on maps are not unusual and have been noted on other maps of forts elsewhere. For example, descriptions of the contrast between cartographic depictions and archaeological observations at Fort Pentagoet include the exaggeration and fabrication of the scale and shape of the defences, in a manner that is remarkably similar to the cartographic portrayal of the Vieux Fort in Plaisance (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:57). In the case of Fort Pentagoet, the exaggeration of the portrayed defences were intended to make them appear up-to-date with principles of early modern fortification and to "present a fort which appeared to be a more valuable prize or a greater feat of construction than it really was" (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:58).

Such intentional manipulations of the scale and dominance of a depicted fortification in the local landscape are not surprising. Maps are not just declarations of geographical familiarity with a region; they are also instruments of colonial politics and of power (Miquelon 2005). Maps were used knowingly and purposefully to assert and extend colonial dominion; in effect, these maps were political arguments as much as they were faithful depictions of territory (Gronim 2001). In the French case, maps were used in colonial contexts to assert and affirm the legitimacy of French territorial possessions. This particularly applied to lands that were disputed, or perceived as being encroached-upon by the English (Petto 2007:100). Such maps can be read as a visual expression of French authority: "[elle] exprime la vision du colonisateur: elle donne l'image d'un paysage cultivé, policé, ordonné" (Chaffray 2005:27). Perhaps, in the case of the Vieux Fort map, the important issue was not to show a geometrically accurate representation of the fort, but rather to make a statement about the French possession of this harbour and the degree to which it was defended.

4.10 Which fort? The Vieux Fort and the 1687 *fort ou maison du gouverneur*

Near the end of the Vieux Fort's occupation, the construction of another fortified building was planned for Plaisance in the 1680s. Occasional references to a *fort ou maison du gouverneur* are found in the historic record. As a corollary of our work on the Vieux Fort, we also wanted to try and untangle the historical and archaeological record related to this purported second fortification, for several reasons. If we could find the archaeological remains of this fortified residence, it would provide a useful comparison site for the Vieux Fort. Also, we wanted to determine if documentary references to *le fort* in the later 1680s referred to the Vieux Fort or to this *fort ou maison du gouverneur.* And finally, the existence of a second fortified structure in Plaisance would alter how we interpreted the colony's seventeenth-century military landscape. As a result, our efforts to interpret the documentary and archaeological record related to the fortified residence deserve further explanation here.

In 1687, the Marquis d'Amblimont was ordered to set sail for Plaisance to drop off reinforcements and supplies for the soldiers (Anon. 1687c, fol. 200). Once arrived in Plaisance, an engineer on d'Amblimont's ship drew up a plan for a *fort ou maison du gouverneur* (Anon. 1687d; Proulx 1979a:101). As depicted on the plan, this was a building of 23 1/3 by 3 1/3 *toises* (equalling a structure of 140 by 20 *pieds*, or 45 by 6.4 m). This was a long building, with several fireplaces, a possible oven and a room marked with a cross (Figure 4.9). There were no obvious military or defensive adaptations, so it appears to be a fortified residence; perhaps the large rectangle above the structure was a cannon platform. Unfortunately, the plan's legend has not survived, so these details cannot be confirmed.

The implications of this map are that some of the documentary references to *le fort* after 1687 might either refer to this fortified residence, or to the Vieux Fort. Archaeological survey work was planned for the end of the season in 2001 to try and determine if we could find the location of this fortified residence and if so, determine if it had been constructed according to the engineer's plan. Locating the fortified residence was the first task, and one made difficult by the fact that the map shown in Figure 4.9 provides no indication of where in Plaisance's harbour it was built. Its location is not immediately apparent from the landforms shown on the map. Historian Jean-Pierre

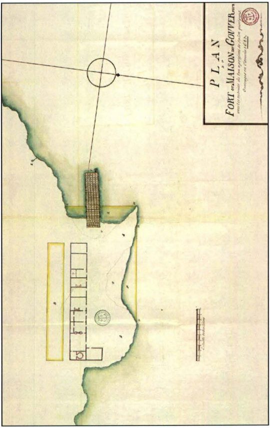


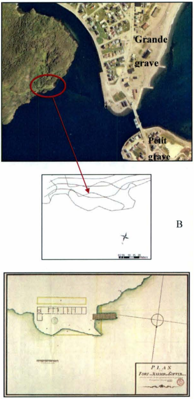
Figure 4.9 A 1687 map showing the *fort ou maison du gouverneur.*

Note the direction of the north arrow on this map. Anonymous, 1687, Plan du Fort ou maison du Gouverneur avec les endroits où l'on a projetté de faire quelques ouvrages en l'année 1687, ANOM, Col. DFC, 3DFC99B. Image courtesy of the ANOM.

Proulx suggests that the fortified residence shown on this map was located somewhere on the *Petit grave* on the north side of the Gut, not on the *Grande grave* on the south side of the Gut (1979:77, footnote 26). In 2001, we realized that this was problematic, because the map of the fortified residence indicates that north is oriented towards the water. Any likely locations for the fortified residence on the *Petit grave* mean that north would have been oriented towards the land and not the water.

Based on similarities in local geography, Mr. Ken Flynn of the Placentia Area Historical Society suggested that coastline shown in the 1687 map bears a marked similarity to that of a small meadow locally known as the grassy knoll. A comparison of the size of the knoll on a modern map is very close to the size of the area shown on the 1687 map (Figure 4.10). At the grassy knoll, north points towards the water-side. As a result, we targeted the ChAl-11 (Mount Pleasant Knoll) site for survey in 2001 and excavation in the years following. We discovered that the site preserves two separate occupations: a later eighteenth-century English occupation overlaying an earlier French occupation that dates to the late seventeenth century. However, the French occupation covers a spatially restricted area and is only found on the eastern third of the meadow (Figure 4.11). The French occupation does not cover the entire terrace, as it should have if the structure shown on the 1687 map was constructed as drawn (Anon. 1687d; Crompton 2002; Crompton and Temple 2004; Crompton 2006).

A final breakthrough on this issue was made in 2010, long after excavations at this site had ceased. Thanks to a visit to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris by a colleague (Mélissa Burns), a copy of a new map dating to 1687 was obtained (Anon.



A

B

C

Figure 4.10 The location of the *fort ou maison du gouverneur.*

A: Aerial photograph of the relevant region. B: Detail of the area on a 1:2500 map. C: Detail from map shown in Figure 4.9. In all images, north points to the bottom, so that each may best be compared to the historic map. C: Image from Figure 4.9, reproduced courtesy of the ANOM.

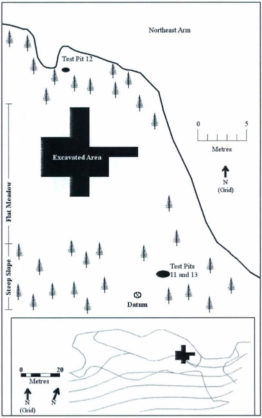


Figure 4.11 The location of the French context at ChAl-11.

We uncovered a French context dating to the late seventeenth century in the excavated trenches. Shovel tests on the western two-thirds of the meadow failed to uncover any French contexts. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

1687b). To the best of my knowledge, no Canadian archives holds a copy of this map, though fortunately it has since been made available online by the Bibliothèque nationale. This new map is very likely drawn by the same author who created the other map of the *fort ou maison du gouverneur.* Critically, this map is drawn at a larger scale and shows the outline of the proposed fortified residence on exactly the same location that we had speculated it existed on in 2001 (Figure 4.12). That this is the proposed governor's residence is further confirmed by an inset on the map that shows a profile of the intended building with the words "profil de la maison de gouverneur" (Figure 4.13).

Certainly the maps and documents imply that the fortified residence was intended to be constructed in 1687. Archaeological excavations revealed a late seventeenth-century French occupation at the site (based on dates derived from clay tobacco pipe bowls and maker's marks). While the archaeological remains are consistent with some sort of a residential structure, they do not correlate with a building of the size indicated on the 1687 maps. A close examination of letters written by various *habitants* and Lieutenant Louis Pastour de Costebelle is revealing; they accused Governor Parat of taking the materials intended for this fortified residence, and instead using the supplies to construct a large habitation and *chaffaud* on the Great Beach (L. Costebelle 8 September 1688:fol.131v; Gillebert *et al.* 1690:fol.301v). Costebelle also drew a map of *habitant*

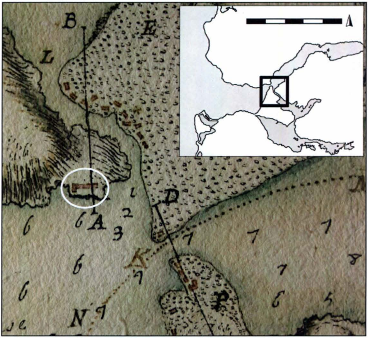


Figure 4.12 Detail of the *maison du gouverneur* from another map of 1687.

The shape of the circled building and its location corresponds with the map shown in Figure 4.9. The circle was added for clarity, and north is to the bottom of the image. Anonymous, 1687, Carte de la Baye et Port de Plaisance avec leurs Sondes et les Plans de deux Graves en 1687, BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine Pf 130-4-2D. Image courtesy of the BN. Inset map shows area covered by plan (inset map scale is five km).

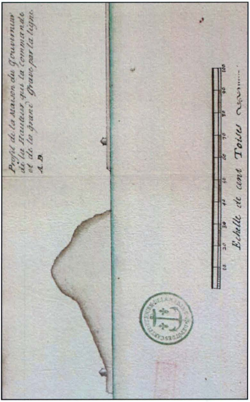


Figure 4.13 An inset drawing from the 1687 map shown in Figure 4.12.

This image shows the profile of the proposed *maison du gouverneur*. North is to the left of the image. Anonymous, 1687, Carte de la Baye et Port de Plaisance avec leurs Sondes et les Plans de deux Graves en 1687. BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine Pf 130-4-2D. Image courtesy of the BN.

properties on the Great Beach and labelled one property as belonging to Parat (L. Costebelle 15 September 1690).[4] As a result, it is clear that the *fort ou maison* envisioned by d'Amblimont's engineer was never constructed. We can thus definitively say that the Vieux Fort was the only fort in Plaisance until 1690. All references to *le fort* (which clearly do not refer to the proposed *fort ou maison du gouverneur*) can safely be assumed to relate to the Vieux Fort.

4.11 The Fall of the Vieux Fort

Whatever the Vieux Fort's state of repair in the late 1680s, its role in Plaisance's history would cease after the events of 1690. On February 25 of that year, 45 English attackers from Ferryland invaded Plaisance in the night, catching everyone in the colony unawares and in bed (Anon. 1690a:fol.310). The attackers killed two soldiers, wounded Costebelle, imprisoned everyone in the church and looted the colony (Proulx 1979a:24). The English spiked four of the fort's cannon and threw four others in the harbour (L. Costebelle 1 September 1690:fol.150v). The English stayed in Plaisance for six weeks, leaving the colony on April 5. The historical record does not document what happened to

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[4] This unpublished map (found in ANOM, Col. DFC, 3DFC100C) shows the structure Parat is said to have built, labeled "Parat" (mistakenly noted as "Pavat" in the ANOM catalogue). Proulx publishes a copy of this map, which is identical in all respects, except that the label "Parat" is absent (1979a:102).

the Vieux Fort during these six weeks, but it seems most unlikely that the raiders would have left the fort unscathed. Certainly they tried to destroy the fort's offensive capability by spiking or sinking its cannon, which suggests that the attackers spent at least some time at the Vieux Fort. Archaeological evidence from the barracks building (Structure A) does seem to indicate that the building may have been intentionally toppled, at least in part (Chapter 5.7).

The arrival of fishing ships in the spring of 1690 helped to put the colony back on a more secure footing; seasonal fishermen donated their cannon, munitions and supplies to the beleaguered colonists (Proulx 1979a:25). Unfortunately, the arrival of the fishing ships did not bring an end to the disorder in the colony. On August 20, dissatisfied Basque seasonal fishermen mutinied, took over a guardhouse, seized the weapons they found, and threatened Governor Parat. By September 1, Parat had abandoned his post and fled back to France. Shortly thereafter, the *habitants* began to build a wooden palisade around their houses on the *Grande grave* (Proulx 1979a:25-16). Andre Doyen, a *habitant* living on the *Petit grave,* refused to abandon his house and retreat behind the safety of the palisade; soldiers were sent to remove him. Doyen fatally shot two of the soldiers, and he was tried and executed by the middle of September (Landry 2008:337-338). This was an inauspicious end to the summer of 1690. Ultimately, the discord and disarray that befell the colony during this year were the end result of the fall of the Vieux Fort.

4.12 The Vieux Fort site in the 1690s

After the Vieux Fort site was abandoned in 1690, clues from both the documentary and archaeological record indicate how the site was used. The first indication of its use immediately thereafter is suggested on a map by William Hacke, an English mapmaker who produced several maps of Newfoundland (O'Dea 1971:35). Hacke's map shows gardens in the Vieux Fort's general area—though it perhaps indicates more clearly that gardens are located on the intended location of the fortified governor's residence at ChAl-11 (Hacke [c. 1693-1702]).[5] More clarity is provided in a document of 1693, which enumerates the buildings, dependencies and lands belonging to the King. This document records "trois autres [jardins]...sont au lieu nommé 'le vieux fort'" (Brouillan 06 October 1693:fol.273).

Plaisance's administrators developed an entirely different plan for the site shortly after Brouillan's letter was written, as indicated by another map found in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (L'Hermitte [c. 1694-1697]). This map is unsigned, but must be the work of Jacques L'Hermitte, based on palaeographical and stylistic similarities with his signed maps (Figure 4.14). He was a skilled mapmaker and engineer for Plaisance, who compiled a comprehensive series of maps of the colony over his seventeen years of residence there. The map in question is undated, but the earliest L'Hermitte could have

[5] Hacke's map is undated, but his map shows French fortifications that were not constructed until after 1693, and he stopped producing maps by about 1702, so 1693-1702 must be the date range for this map of Plaisance (Kelly 2004).

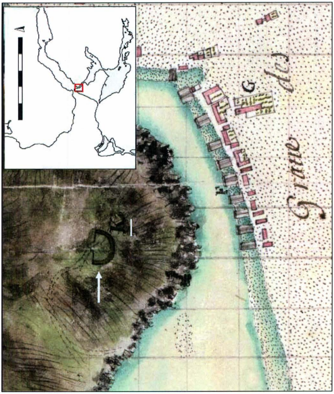

Figure 4.14 A map showing a proposed battery on the Vieux Fort site.

The battery is marked 'K'. The white arrow has been added to indicate the battery and the white line indicates the letter 'K'. North is to the left of the image. Jacques L'Hermitte, [ca. 1694-1697], Plan du fort et des environs de Plaisance. BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine, Pf 130-4-5D. Image courtesy of the BN. Inset map shows area covered by plan (inset map scale is five km).

drawn it is in 1694, when he was first present in the colony (Thorpe 2000). This map likely predates 1697, for reasons that will be discussed below. Of particular interest on this map is the structure marked K—which is described in the legend as a "retoute [redoute] a faire sur une autre hauteur" (L'Hermitte [ca.1694-1697]). On the map, this description refers to a semicircular feature located on the site of the former Vieux Fort. The structure is oriented towards the water, closed off on the back end by a straight line perforated with a door-like feature. The notation "K" is difficult to read, as it has been covered with a heavy green wash, but the letter is visible just below and to the right of the indicated battery. A double dotted line leads from the battery downhill to the waters of the Northeast Arm. This line probably indicates a pathway. This route would be the easiest way to access the hillside from the Northeast Arm. This is also the approximate route that our crew used to walk to the Vieux Fort site during excavations in 2001 and 2002.

This map thus indicates that a defensive structure was planned for the former site of the Vieux Fort. Was such a structure ever built? The notation *à faire* suggests that the redoubt had yet to be built, unlike Fort Royale, which was indicated on the same map as being *commencay*, or already under construction. A subsequent map, also unsigned and undated, sheds some further light on the issue. Again, this map is likely L'Hermitte's, based on palaeographical and stylistic similarities with his later signed work. The map consists of two elements: a larger map that shows the length of the harbour and a smaller inset map that focuses on Fort Louis and the settlement on the Great Beach (L'Hermitte [1697]). Both of these maps have associated legends that are keyed to single-letter marks on the map. However, the map also contains several double-letter marks (AA, BB, *etc.*) that are unfortunately not explained in either legend (Figure 4.15).

I discovered the key to interpreting this map in a completely separate archival collection—the MG1-DFC (*Dépôt des fortifications des colonies*) series. A letter, written in 1697, contains "remarques des batteries et retrancements fais aux environs de Plaisance augmenté sur la carte et sur le plan particulier de la cour" (L'Hermitte 25 August 1697:fol.1).[6] This letter describes a series of batteries and military structures drawn on an unspecified map. In this document, each military installation is marked with a pair of letters. A detailed examination reveals that each description of a double-letter mark matches the corresponding double-letter mark on the map, and agrees with what we know of each specified location. Thus, in the letter, AA refers to a battery with five cannon that guards the entrance to the port. On the map, AA is placed at the known location of the battery at Crèvecoeur point, at the entrance to the harbour. Furthermore, on the map, faintly written beside the mark AA is "batterie de 5 pieces". In each case, the double-letter mark indicated on the map exactly corresponds with the description in the letter. Though the letter and the map have been separated into different archival series, both contain enough details to be certain that the letter was originally intended to accompany the map.

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[6] A map identical to the 1697 L'Hermitte map has also been discovered (Lemoyne *fils* n.d.). In his letter, L'Hermitte claims authorship of the map, so the Lemoyne *fils* map must be a later copy (25 August 1697).

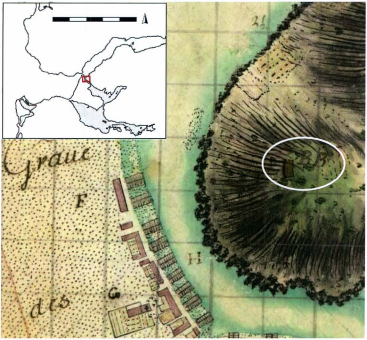

Figure 4.15 Detail from a 1697 map of the battery built on the Vieux Fort site. The rectangular battery is indicated with the notation 'BB'. The white circle has been added for clarity. North is to the top of the image. Jacques L'Hermitte [1697], Carte de Plaisance / Plan particulier de Plaisance, BN, Service hydrographique de la Marine, Pf 130-4-3. Image courtesy of the BN. Inset map shows area covered by plan (inset map scale is five km).

The inset map shows a structure marked 'BB' on the Vieux Fort site; the depicted structure consists of a heavy straight line, with a lighter rectangle behind it. Just below the site, in the Orcan River, is the letter 'H' (Figure 4.15). The L'Hermitte letter records the following for this site: "Il y a aussy une baterie de quatre piece de canon a l'endroit marquay BB sur la hauteur vis a vis des habitations et du goulet ou est sa marquee H" (L'Hermitte 25 August 1697:fol.2). The battery depicted on this map looks much different—and is certainly smaller—than the proposed redoubt shown on the earlier L'Hermitte map, so it appears that the battery's design was altered between its initial plan and its eventual construction.

L'Hermitte's letter implies that the battery existed, though engineer's maps of this period were used not only to record what had been accomplished, but also to propose modifications and repairs (Fortier 1972:3). However, L'Hermitte's maps typically make a clear distinction between work that is proposed and work that has been completed (L'Hermitte 4 November 1706b, 1707). The discovery of a letter by Governor Brouillan supports the idea that the battery was actually constructed and not just planned. In describing the work on fortifications that he had completed in 1697, Brouillan wrote: "on aussy fait sur une hauteur qui commander les habitations du lieu appellé la grande grave une batterie de quatre canons" (1697:fol.144). L'Hermitte wrote in the same year that "un fort de terre bien gasonne sur la pointe de la hauteur qui regarde les habitations de la grande grave qui servait a les deffendre" (L'Hermitte 22 December 1697:fol. 146). Taken together, this evidence strongly suggests that the battery on the ruined remains of the Vieux Fort was indeed built in 1697.

Archaeologically, our crew did not detect the remains of an earthen battery at the Vieux Fort site. However, excavations at this site only uncovered a small proportion of the entire fort and it is possible that remnants of the battery exist somewhere on the heavily forested hillside. It is also likely that this battery was not maintained in the long term. The battery on the Vieux Fort site does not appear on any eighteenth-century maps and no record of it has been found in eighteenth-century documentary correspondence, while other small batteries located elsewhere continue to be referenced (Proulx 1979a:57). The battery at the site of the former Vieux Fort may simply be too ephemeral to detect archaeologically.

4.13 Military Landscapes and the Vieux Fort, Abandoned

As previously noted, the hillside on which the Vieux Fort was constructed had a number of strategic, practical and symbolic advantages. Despite this, the Vieux Fort was never rebuilt, repaired, or returned to its position as Plaisance's principal fortification. The decision to abandon the Vieux Fort site as a location for the colony's main fort seems to have occurred shortly following the devastating English raid of 1690. The first indication that the site was to be abandoned is found in a letter by Lieutenant Pastour de Costebelle, who wrote to administrators in France with his ideas for the security of colony. He suggested that a fortification be built on the Gut for the safety of the colonists and for the security of the ships that anchored in the inner harbour, because the Gut was narrow and easy to defend (L. Costebelle 1691:fol.137v). Shortly thereafter, Pastour began construction on a small battery on the *Petit grave* (L. Costebelle 1691:fol.138). Administrators in France seemed pleased with this early work and do not question his selection of the site at all; the only comments that were sent to Pastour regard the selection of the north versus the south side of the Gut (Proulx 1979a:35). Construction on the main fort on the north side of the Gut, known as Fort Louis, began in 1691.

The reasons behind the decision to abandon the Vieux Fort location are not clearly stated in the available correspondence. However, just as the selection of the Vieux Fort site made sense in 1662, so must it have made sense to abandon the site in 1690. Interestingly, the Fort Louis site was not inherently a better choice for a fortification than the Vieux Fort site had been. Indeed, the Fort Louis site presented some distinct defensive challenges, particularly in its relationship to the surrounding terrain. The *Petit grave* is flanked immediately to the north by a series of high hills (about 75 to 90 m above current sea level). This meant that Fort Louis, lying at the feet of these hills, was commanded by them; should attacking troops occupy the hills, they could then fire down into the fort with ease. This was immediately recognized as a weakness of the site (Brouillan 25 September 1692:fol. 206v). Early instructions to Governor Brouillan urged him to defend the entrance to the port with two fortifications that were in communication with each other; united together, these two forts would make a better defence of the colony (Anon. 17 February 1691:fol.20v). The selection of the *Petit grave* for Fort Louis meant that a single fort would suffice no longer, but instead a series of fortifications would be required to secure the nearby hills. Construction on Fort Louis began in 1691, on the Gallardin redoubt to the northeast of Fort Louis in 1692 and on the Royal Redoubt (or Fort Royale) to the northwest of Fort Louis in 1693 (Proulx 1979a:36).

This expanded system of fortification necessitated a much larger investment in the colony than ever before. Not only were these new fortifications built on a larger scale than the Vieux Fort, they required a larger workforce, more supplies and were manned by a much larger garrison than ever before. Initially, financial considerations probably had an influence on how the defences of the colony were structured. From 1662 to 1670, Plaisance was allotted 10,000 *livres* per year for everything, including defence, and so the amount of money that the early administrators could devote to the Vieux Fort was probably limited (Bureau de Marine January 1666). After 1670, the funds that were allotted to the colony only covered the pay of soldiers, their occasional replacement clothing, as well as the pay of governors, officers, a surgeon and priests (Colbert de Terron 7 April 1670, 25 Jan 1672: fol.155). Compare this with later periods in Plaisance; after 1703, 20 000 *livres* a year were allocated for construction costs alone, forming 33 to 48 percent of the total budget allotted for the colony (Thorpe 1980:39). These numbers are credits allotted for construction, not figures recording the funds that were actually spent; such numbers often underestimate the expenditure of funds (Desloges 1981:431). Nevertheless, this level of funding compares well with funds allotted for fortifications in Canada (Thorpe 1980).

After 1690, Plaisance was thus re-fortified at a greater cost and with far greater effort. From this point onwards, the system of fortification set in place would only grow.

The two redoubts would be flanked by additional batteries, musket platforms and covered ways. The string of batteries would extend along the hills of the north side of the harbour, right out to its entrance, across from Point Verde (Figure 4.16). These new defensive structures are typical early modern artillery fortifications, many of which were planned and designed by the colony's engineer, Jacques L'Hermitte (Figure 4.17). What advantages would this fortified system have provided that the Vieux Fort was not capable of? One reason almost certainly lies in the defensive capabilities of this string of new fortifications, compared to the defensive capabilities of the Vieux Fort. A letter by L'Hermitte offers an insight into the challenges of defending Plaisance's harbour, in which he discusses the issue of how the whole length of the harbour was to be defended. L'Hermitte notes that cannon placed at the farthest reaches of the harbour could not prevent enemy ships from entering Plaisance's road, because the cannon were too far away to be effective (L'Hermitte 15 November 1708:fol. 152).

Accepting L'Hermitte's statement requires some understanding of the capabilities of available artillery, but it is difficult to speak with any confidence about the range of early modern cannon in a definitive sense (Guilmartin 1982:140; Martin and Parker 1999:185-186). Artillery tables for French cannon published by Pierre Surirey de St. Rémy in 1693 indicate impressive distances could be obtained by a cannon-shot. He demonstrated that a small four-pounder cannon could have a range of 3500 paces, while a

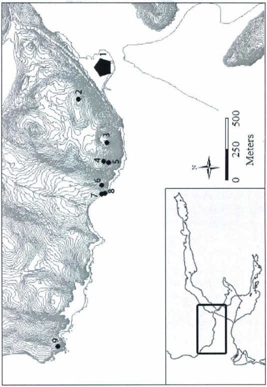

Figure 4.16 The location of fortifications post-dating the Vieux Fort.

1) Fort Louis 2) The Gallardin redoubt 3) Fort Royale 4) The Horseshoe battery 5) Another battery 6) La fontaine battery 7,8) Musket platforms 9) Crèvecoeur battery. All data regarding site locations is taken from maps published in Proulx (1979a).

Figure 4.17: The extent of the majority of Plaisance's defenses in 1709.

Detail from Jacques L'Hermitte, 14 October 1709, Plan du fort de Plaisance et des environs [et en cartouche] Carte particulière de Plaisance et des environs, ANOM, FR CAOM 3DFC115A. Image courtesy of ANOM.

large 24-pounder could have a range of 5000 paces.[7] These extreme ranges were produced with steeply angled barrels; point-blank (or levelled) barrels produced much shorter ranges (Chandler 1976:180). The ranges published in such artillery tables were "neither aimed nor effective", but rather represent the total distance of a cannonball's flight through the air and the distance it ricocheted along the ground (Lynn1997:507). In practice, these ideal ranges did not translate into actual results in the field. Most French experts remained insistent, until the mid-eighteenth century, that the effective range of their best cannon was limited to about 1000 yards (or about 970 m). Gunners were not advised to fire at targets over 800 yards away (or 730 m), and were advised not to angle their cannon beyond 8 degrees, thus further reducing their range (Chandler 1976:193). Similar ranges have been suggested in other studies (Simmons 1992:18).

These estimates of a cannon's effective range were limited by the fact that targets beyond these distances were difficult to distinguish, and thus difficult to hit predictably (Chandler 1976:193). The technology, too, was a limiting factor:

> Smoothbore cannon firing a spherical projectile were inherently inaccurate; the loosely fitting cannonball "balloted," or bounced, unpredictably down the barrel, acquiring "spin" in a random and uncontrollable fashion.... Attempts to hit anything beyond 500 yards or so were normally a waste of powder and shot, and long[er] barrels... had no more beneficial effect on accuracy than on range (Guilmartin 1983:563).

A useful comparison can be made to the 1745 siege of Louisbourg. English cannon fire from the quickly erected battery on Green Hill (located over 1200 m from the town) was

[7] A pace is a unit of measure equivalent to a stride (TLFI 2011). A generic estimate of a pace is typically given to be 5 feet, or about 1.5 m.

found to be too far away for effective bombardment and most shots fell without any impact on the town's defences (Baker 1978:24-25; Fry 1984:147). If about 900 m is considered to be a rough estimate of the effective range of the Vieux Fort's small-calibre cannon, then the territory that could be covered by the fort's cannon can be estimated. Effectively, the Vieux Fort's cannon could cover the Great Beach and the Gut; the chances of predictably striking any enemy ships sitting further out in the harbour with cannon-fire were much more remote. The cannons mounted at Fort Louis, Fort Royale, and all of the batteries stretched out along the north side of the harbour could in fact cover the entrance to Plaisance's roadstead. Indeed, ships entering the roadstead had to sail far to the north of the rocks at Point Verde, which would have taken the ships directly within range of the cannon mounted at Crevecoeur Battery (Proulx 1979a:63). With this string of fortifications completed, eighteenth-century Plaisance was better-defended than it ever had been with the Vieux Fort in the seventeenth century.

Ultimately, the Vieux Fort may have been abandoned for more than practical reasons or for reasons of military defensibility. Fortifications were "surely metaphysical as well as material; a matter of imagery and symbolism, not just of technology" (Coulson 1992:83, cited in Johnson 2002:27). Fortification sites are obvious symbols of power and authority, but the site is equally bound up with its situation in the local landscape. Landscapes influence and shape human behaviour in many different ways; the central issue for the present study is ways in which landscapes can be manipulated to exercise social power, emphasize territoriality and assert political control over a region (Delle 1999b:16-17; Zedeño 2008:212). A key factor here lies in the importance of a site's visibility in the landscape: for a statement of power to be visually reinforced, it must be a symbol that is clearly discernible to those it is meant to speak to. As discussed above, symbolically important structures are often found in prominent locations, ensuring that their architectural statement was clearly visible to all (Miller 1988:66-67; Hurry and Leone 1988:38).

Considering the appearance of the Vieux Fort within its local landscape is thus important. As noted above, the Vieux Fort had a commanding view of Plaisance's harbour. However, the Vieux Fort must also be considered from the viewpoint of those who would have looked at it, from the Great Beach or from the harbour. From a distant perspective at the entrance to the harbour, the fort likely did not make an imposing visual statement. This stands in stark contrast to the massively engineered stone constructions of later fortifications, such as Fort Royale and Fort Louis. Some sense of the position of the Vieux Fort site in the landscape can be derived from a close examination of contemporary drawings.

One drawing in particular is thought-provoking: that made by Christian Lilly, an engineer on a ship commanded by Francis Wheler (Lilly 1693). Wheler's fleet of ships entered Plaisance's harbour in 1693 with the intent of launching an attack against Fort Louis. His fleet stayed in the harbour for eight days. At some point during this time, Lilly drew a map of Plaisance's harbour (Figure 4.18). This map was drawn from the perspective of someone on board a ship riding at anchor in the harbour, and unfamiliar with the landscape beyond what could be seen from the ship. Lilly is just the sort of visitor (an enemy, unfamiliar with the harbour) that a fort should speak to. Of course, the

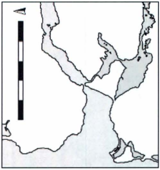

Figure 4.18 Christian Lilly's 1693 map of Plaisance.

(Top) Lilly's map, drawn during the English attack by Francis Wheler's fleet. Christian Lilly, 1693, A Draught of ye Harbour of Placentia, UM, Bell Coll., 1693 Li. Courtesy of the James Ford Bell Library, UM. (Bottom) Compare Lilly's map with the actual layout of Plaisance's harbour. Scale of bottom map is 5 km.

Vieux Fort was abandoned and at least partially demolished by this point, so we cannot be surprised if Lilly does not show the fort on his map. What is interesting is that Lilly's map shows a completely inaccurate depiction of the east end of the harbour, where the Vieux Fort was located. The waterways and landforms at this part of the harbour were drawn incorrectly, probably because Lilly could not see their layout from his perspective at the entrance to the harbour.

What this sketch underscores is how far away the site of the Vieux Fort was from the entrance to Plaisance's *rade.* The fort did not occupy a prominent position in the viewshed of the harbour, from such a distance. Located on a hillside at the rear of the harbour, with only a simple wooden palisade for its defences, the Vieux Fort could not make an imposing statement of power in the landscape. If fortifications are to be "domineering expressions of possession, conquered territory and defence", then they must appear in the local landscape in a highly visible fashion (Taçon 2008:106). Lilly's map makes it clear that the location did not provide a dominating focal point from an attacker's point of view. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the Vieux Fort's cannon could actually have had any sort of impact on a ship sitting where Lilly, for example, found himself at the entrance to the harbour.

By these measures, the Vieux Fort did not dominate the landscape in a visually powerful fashion and this may well be another reason that the site was never re-used. The location and construction of the Vieux Fort stands in stark contrast to the location and construction of Fort Louis; the two could not be more different. The Vieux Fort was a stand-alone site, located tucked away on a hillside at the back of the harbour; at most, it could defend the Gut and the Great Beach. By contrast, Fort Louis was located at sea level beside the critical waterway that gave passage to the inner harbour system; it was also flanked and protected by additional forts that formed a system of fortification stretching out to the mouth of the harbour. Even after Fort Louis was abandoned by the English in the eighteenth century, its ruins still dominated views of the harbour (Proulx 1979b:188).

The results of the Wheler attack in 1693 are proof positive that the post-1690 system of fortification actually worked and functioned as a symbolic deterrent to attack. Wheler's ships entered the harbour on August 16, 1693. At this time, Fort Louis was still under construction, having been started only in 1691. Construction on the royal redoubt (later Fort Royale) on the hill to the north of Fort Louis had only begun in the spring of 1693. After Wheler's ships arrived, Brouillan had cannon hastily brought up to the redoubt to render it capable of defence. Despite this, Lilly records in his journal that after several councils of war, even with a combined force of 700 Englishmen, the location of the forts were considered far too imposing to risk attack. Lilly records that the council of war decided it was most "honourable and better for the king… to draw off without firing a shot against it than to attack it" (Lilly 1693:fol.26). By the measures of visibility and position in the landscape, Fort Louis and Fort Royale combined were a successful symbol of power; by the same measures, the Vieux Fort would likely have appeared far less imposing.

In Section 4.3 above, I have argued that the site chosen for the location of the Vieux Fort had the potential to allow the fort to stand as a position as a symbol of local power, and to remind those who lived in Plaisance of the state's authority in the new colony. Nevertheless, the Vieux Fort may not have fulfilled its mandate in this fashion. Many of the public demonstrations of local authority were not held at its fortification, but rather held on Plaisance's beaches. For example, religious processions were held on the colony's beaches. Prominent members of the community carried a dias throughout the community, ending up at the church on the *Grande grave* (Taylor-Hood 1999:34-35). The fort, on the other hand, did not have a resident *aumonier* in the 1680s (Proulx 1979a:77,footnote 26).

Nor was the fort an effective seat of local administrative authority. By the 1680s, neither the governor nor the senior officer lived at the fort (L. Costebelle 8 September 1688:fol.131v; Gillebert *et al.* 1690:fol.301v; Parat 29 July 1689:fol.112v). Judicial authority was also dispensed on the beaches, rather than at the fort. In 1674, the trial of the governor's valet was held on the *Grande grave* (this incident is discussed in further detail in Chapter 8.3) (Brunet 1674:fol. 17v). And finally, further evidence that the fort had ceased to be a symbol of local authority can be found in the 1687 census of Plaisance. This document records that the inhabitants of the fort consisted of 9 soldiers and 14 *engagés* (civilian fishing servants) (Thibodeau 1962:205). This census information suggests that the fort had simply become another place to lodge fishing servants, as well as soldiers. Together, this data suggest that the fort did not function as a centre of power in the local community. The locus of the colony's religious, judicial and administrative authority was not centred at the Vieux Fort, but rather was found on Plaisance's beaches, amongst the *habitants* and seasonal fishing crews.

Ultimately, the Vieux Fort had failed to safeguard the colony. The English attack of February 1690 tested the adequacy of Plaisance's defences; the fort and its soldiers were not able to repel the attackers. Perhaps a final reason that the Vieux Fort site was abandoned was simply because the colony's defences had been tried, and had failed. The tumultuous events of 1690, which began with the failure of the Vieux Fort, were undoubtedly in the minds of colonial administrators in 1691 when they chose the sites for Plaisance's new fortifications. Collectively, these reasons—tactical, practical and symbolic—must be some of the reasons that the Vieux Fort was abandoned and was never rebuilt.

4.14 The Vieux Fort Site in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Following the end of the 1690s, there is little evidence to suggest how the site was used until well after the colony was handed over to the English. Based on the relative paucity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artifacts at the site, it seems likely that the hillside was largely abandoned. Several English maps refer to the hillside only as "where the old fort was" (Proulx 1979a:100). Some particularly useful images of the hillside were recorded in 1786, during the visit of Prince William Henry (later King William IV) aboard the *HMS Pegasus*. The logbook of the *Pegasus* contains several sketches of Placentia and its harbour, made by navigator James S. Meres between mid-July to early September of 1786 (Rollmann 1993). Two of the illustrations show the Vieux Fort site well (Figure 4.19). One view shows the site to the east, from across the Great Beach. This illustration shows the slopes and the margins of the summit forested, with a few empty meadows. Another view shows the location of the Vieux Fort as forested, with open areas behind it (Proulx 1979b:186,188). Another perspective of the hillside (if not of the summit) is shown in Figure 4.20. Clearly, by the later eighteenth century, the old fort site had been ignored to the point that tree re-growth had started to take hold. This continued through the nineteenth century, as historic photographs from the very late nineteenth and early twentieth century show a very similar pattern of forestation, with clearings maintained in the same area (Holloway [1901]).

Archaeologically, a few remnants of this later time period have been recovered from our excavations. These include three sherds of hand-painted pearlware, a transfer-printed whiteware cup and several fragments of nineteenth- and twentieth-century bottles. This testifies to the relatively infrequent and unintensive use of the site during this later period. Twentieth-century activities seem to be limited to wood-cutting and gardening, suggested by the remains of a small hand-cart, held together with twentieth-century wire nails, found near a clearing to the southeast of our excavations. In one area, near the probable cannon platform, are found the remains of several raised garden beds. Located very near this are the only substantial remains of twentieth-century activity at the site—the collapsed structure of a small cabin. Judging from the colourful and distinctive bright

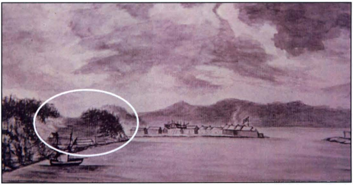

Figure 4.19 Illustrations from 1786, showing various views of Placentia's harbour.

For clarity, circles have been added to indicate the hillside on which the Vieux Fort site was located. (Top) James S. Meres, 1786, A View of the Town and Harbour of Placentia from the Hill aback of the Town. LAC, Series MG23-J7. (Bottom) James S. Meres, 1786, A View of the Placentia Gut. LAC, Series MG23-J7. Images are courtesy of LAC.

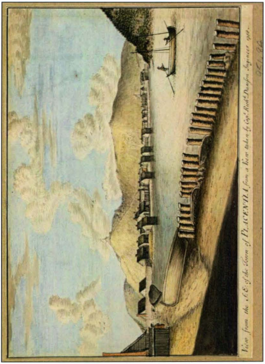

Figure 4.20 A partial view of the Vieux Fort hillside in 1758.

This painting shows a portion of the hillside that the Vieux Fort had been built on. The hillside, at the right of the image, behind the boat, shows the vegetation growth that had covered the hillside by this time. Richard Dawson, 1758, View from the S.E. of the Town of Placentia. ROM, 951.84. Image reproduced courtesy of the ROM.

orange patterned linoleum found there (as well as from first-hand testimony from some of our local crew members), this cabin was in use during the 1970s. This near-complete abandonment of the site following the 1690s and the infrequent use of the hillside since then has ensured that the Vieux Fort is the only site yet uncovered to have a completely undisturbed occupation dating to the first 30 years of the colony's life. Many other French sites in Plaisance were taken over by the English in 1714 and were subsequently altered and adapted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This means that undisturbed sites dating wholly to the French period are difficult to find. This, in the end, has made the Vieux Fort an important archaeological site and one that is, at the time of writing, unique in the region.

Chapter 5

The Archaeology of the Vieux Fort Barracks

"le Sr de la Poippe doit [rendre le fort] plus commode pour le logement de la garnison"

(Colbert de Terron, 7 April 1670:fol 63).

5.1 Background

All information from documentary sources indicates that the Vieux Fort was intended to have a barracks building for the lodging of soldiers from its earliest years. In France, the construction of barracks (or *casernes*) for housing soldiers was not introduced until the beginning of Louis XIV's reign; their construction within the walls of fortifications did not become widespread in New France until the eighteenth century (Adams 1978:62; G. Proulx 1979:550; Lynn 1984:63). A survey of twelve forts across New France with occupations spanning the eighteenth century found that barracks were eventually constructed in each case (Rouleau 1986:84). As will be further explored in this chapter, the attitude towards housing soldiers varied widely across New France, particularly in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the developmental history of the barracks concept means that the existence of a barracks building at the Vieux Fort is not, in fact, entirely typical of seventeenth-century French fortifications.

Archaeological excavations at the Vieux Fort focused almost exclusively on the barracks, in an attempt to understand both the structure and the poorly documented lives of the soldiers who lived there. This chapter will summarize the progress of the excavation and will describe how the building was constructed. Architectural comparisons will be sought with other barracks buildings, both in Plaisance and elsewhere, to try and fill in some of the gaps that exist in the archaeological and historical record. The date of the building will be assessed and an outline of the events that took place at the barracks building will be reconstructed.

5.2 Archaeological Excavation at the Structure A Barracks

Beginning in 2001, the location of one suspected structure at the Vieux Fort site was targeted for large-scale archaeological investigation. Three linear piles of rubble were visible on the ground surface before excavation began, with an ovoid segment of rubble marking a fourth pile. These piles of rubble were located in a valley between two long linear bedrock outcrops, about 3 to 4 m higher than the valley floor. The area was covered with moss, brush and trees, which required removal of selected trees as excavation proceeded. This suspected structure was designated Structure A at the beginning of our excavations. This is the same area explored in Gaulton and Carter's survey with Test Trench 1 (1997). Gaulton and Carter also refer to this as 'Area A' in their artifact catalogues. Other shovel-tests from the 1996 survey that are from this same area include test numbers 8, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

Gaulton and Carter had located a segment of stone wall during their 1996 survey, suggesting the presence of a structure. The roughly rectangular appearance of the rubble piles visible on the surface at this part of the site certainly indicated that a structure with interconnecting walls was present. The function of this structure was not immediately apparent. In 2001, our initial excavation goals were simply to try and determine what these rubble piles represented. If a structure was located, we wanted to determine its function, size and overall appearance. At this point, our knowledge of the historic record relating to the Vieux Fort was confined to summaries of the site in Proulx (1979a). This meant that the initial excavation goals at the site had an architectural focus. We needed to learn what purpose this building had served; understanding the structure's appearance and layout would go a long way towards determining the building's overall function.

The archaeological remains exposed during four years of excavation at the site are shown in Figure 5.1. During the 2001 season, we laid out an initial east-west trench running through the structure, perpendicular to one of the long rubble piles (Crompton 2002). Excavations quickly uncovered what we would learn was the south wall of the building, which we called Feature 4, in keeping with the feature designations used by Gaulton and Carter (1997). Once this wall's location was established, the trench was expanded along the building's interior, to obtain a larger sample of material culture from inside the building. Excavation trenches were extended to the west to try and locate the

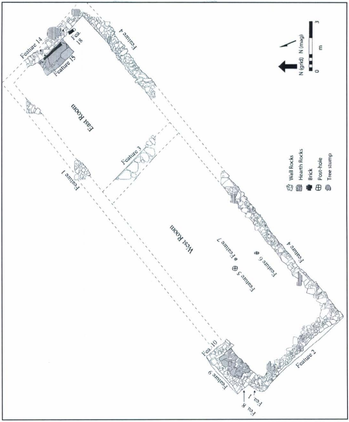

Figure 5.1 Archaeological site plan of the Vieux Fort barracks (Structure A). Except for Feature 18, all of the features shown are associated with the barracks (Structure A). Feature 18 is associated with Structure B. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

gable end of the building. The southwest corner (the junction of Features 4 and 2) of Structure A was located at the end of 2001. This was associated with a particularly rich and deep deposit of artifacts outside the building on the west side. In 2002, excavations continued at the west side of the building, to further explore the deposits on the exterior of Feature 2 and to locate the structure's northwest corner. The corner (the junction of Feature 2 and Feature 1) was located, slightly offset from where rubble piles were visible on the ground's surface. While exposing the north wall (Feature 1) of the structure, we unexpectedly discovered a new wall (Feature 8), emerging perpendicularly from the exterior face of Feature 1. Excavations were expanded uphill to determine what this wall was and by the end of the season, excavations had uncovered a fireplace, projecting outwards from the face of Feature 1. The fireplace consisted of three walls, collectively comprising Features 8, 9 and 10.

In 2003, a trench was laid out at the eastern end of the structure, with the goals of exploring the inside of the structure at this end, locating the continuation of Feature 4, and determining the location of the east wall of the building. If the piles of rubble visible on the surface were any indication, Structure A had the potential to be a very long building. Excavations in 2003 re-established the location of the Feature 4 south wall and exposed an interior wall (Feature 3), which divided Structure A into two rooms. That year's excavations did not locate the east gable wall of the building. The east wall (Feature 14) was not found until 2004, located right beside the edge of the terrace, overlooking a short but steep drop-off. Excavations in 2004 discovered another interior fireplace structure (consisting of Feature 15 and 16), built flush up against the interior face of the Feature 14 east wall. Excavations also uncovered the remains of a second structure (Structure B) located at the bottom of unexpectedly deep deposits at the extreme eastern end of the building. This structure is represented by the destroyed remains of a brick and stone hearth (Feature 18), representing an earlier occupation of the hillside (Chapter 4).

From the first season, artifacts recovered from Structure A related to food and beverage storage, preparation and consumption; it quickly became clear this building had been a structure in which soldiers had lived. The discovery of a barracks building was not surprising; Governor La Poippe's instructions were to maintain and augment the fort, particularly in its capacity to house a garrison (Colbert de Terron, 7 April 1670:fol. 63). Given that we know so little of the lives of the soldiers who lived and worked at the fort, in 2001 we decided to spend several seasons excavating at Structure A. In this way, we would learn not only about building techniques at this little-known fort, but also be able to reconstruct the lifestyle of the seventeenth-century French soldier. What follows in this chapter is an archaeological reconstruction of the building and its contexts; an analysis of the material world of the soldier at the Vieux Fort will be addressed in a subsequent chapter.

5.3 Other Barracks in Plaisance

Comparatively little is known of the barracks building at the Vieux Fort; as a result, descriptions and maps of barracks buildings at other forts in Plaisance can provide useful interpretive data. At Fort Louis, the first reference to a barracks dates to 1691, though it seems likely that these were only temporary structures, given that this was the first year that the fort was under construction (Proulx 1979a:36). Clearly temporary lodgings remained as late as 1698, because a letter written in that year notes that the barracks still needed to be constructed (de Brisacier 2 December 1698). By 1700, the barracks had been constructed of wood, though were said to require further work (Bureau de ministre 1700:fol. 101v; L'Hermitte 1 October 1700:fol. 46). By 1706, wooden barracks (with mortared chimney stacks) were under construction (P. Costebelle 8 November 1706:fol. 34; L'Hermitte 5 November 1706:fol. 72).

Construction continued into 1707, when a particularly detailed letter by Governor Costebelle describes the building as being constructed of wood pickets and wood plank roofing. The barracks measured 23 *pieds* (7.5 m) high, 128 *pieds* (41.6 m) long and 24 *pieds* (7.8 m) wide (P. Costebelle 10 November 1707:fol. 122). These measurements correspond almost exactly to the dimensions of the barracks building as shown on a map dating to 1706 (Figure 5.2). On this map, the barracks are shown as a long building, divided into several rooms. The smallest room at the westernmost end of the building measures 2.5 *toises* (4.9 m) long by 4 *toises* (7.8 m) wide and has a single-hearth, gable-end chimney stack. Three rooms in the middle measure (collectively) 14 *toises* (27.3 m) long by three *toises* (5.8 m) wide. The middle rooms are each a little narrower than either of the two end rooms. Two chimney stacks internally separate barracks' middle section into three rooms—one single-hearth chimney stack and one double-hearth chimney stack. Finally, the easternmost room, which measures 4 *toises* (7.8 m) long by 4 *toises* wide, has a double-hearth chimney located in the centre of the room.

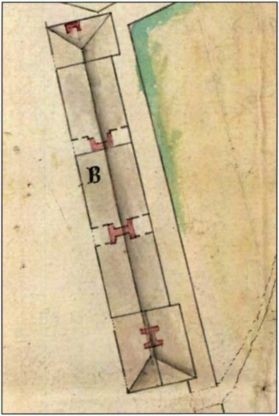

Figure 5.2 Detail from a map showing the barracks at Fort Louis.

Note that the barracks are divided into several separate rooms. North is to the right of the image. Jacques L'Hermitte, 4 November 1706, Plans des forts de Plaisance, ANOM, Col. DFC, 3DFC113A. Image courtesy of the ANOM.

The barracks had two floors, with lodgings on the bottom floor and an attic in the top. As of 1707, the barracks were ready to receive two companies (L'Hermitte 26 October 1707:fol. 229). Ultimately, the barracks building eventually held three companies of men in three separate rooms and one or two officers lived in the rooms at the end of the building (L'Hermitte 15 November 1708:fol. 151). Thus, approximately 150 soldiers plus several officers lived in the barracks building, though it seemed that whenever possible, officers tended to move to private residences outside of the fort, that they either purchased or had constructed (P. Costebelle 16 October 1698; P. Costebelle *et al.* 15 November 1715; L'Hermitte 15 November 1708:fol. 151).

Fort Royale (at the National Historic Site today known as Castle Hill) also had barracks. Though located very close to Fort Louis and indeed, connected to it with a communications route, this detached redoubt was intended to exist as an autonomous fort if need be (Charbonneau 1992:10-12). As such, the fort was provided with a detachment of 30 soldiers and a lieutenant, who were relieved monthly (Anon. 18 November 1709). The soldiers were housed in a two-part L-shaped building; the unusual configuration of the barracks was probably a result of Fort Royale's relatively small size (Figure 5.3). The west wing of the building is the larger room, measuring 10.6 m long by 3.5 m wide (Grange 1971:Figure 22). The north, west and south walls of this larger wing of the barracks were formed by the masonry revetment walls of the redoubt itself; these walls thus served both to retain fill in the gun platform and to form two of the walls of the barracks (Grange 1971:168). The smaller (south) wing of the barracks adjoins the west

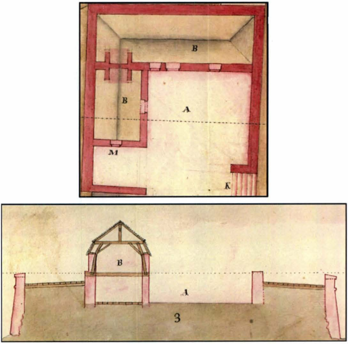

Figure 5.3 Detail from a 1701 map of the barracks at Fort Royale, Plaisance.

The barracks are marked 'B' in both images. (Top) The plan view of the barracks (north is to the right of the image). The dotted line represents the cross-sectioned area shown in the bottom image. (Bottom) The cross-sectioned view of the barracks building. Jacques L'Hermitte, 1701, Plan du Fort Roial sur unne hauteur qui bat la rades et le port de Plaisance, ANOM, Col. DFC, 3DFC110B. Image courtesy of the ANOM.

wing and shares a common wall, using the revetment wall of the fort as its south wall. This wing measures 4.9 m long by about 3.5 m wide—the width measurement varies, because of the angled orientation of the revetment wall that forms the building's south wall (Grange 1971:173).

Maps of the barracks show breaks in the walls, presumably to indicate doorways and windows; each wing had a single doorway and two windows, opening on to the interior of the redoubt (L'Hermitte 1701). The shared wall between the two wings had a single chimney with a double hearth. A third hearth on the north revetment wall was identified during archaeological excavations, but it does not appear on any historic plans (Grange 1971: 172). The 1701 plan is particularly useful, as it shows the barracks in profile. The barracks had two stories, with walls constructed mostly of stone; the upper part of the second storey has a wooden superstructure that angles in and is topped with a wood roof (L'Hermitte 1701). Above the ground, the masonry walls stood to a maximum height of one *toise* and four *pieds*. Using the conversion data given in Ross (1983), the stone walls must have stood 3.25 m tall above the ground surface on the building's interior. The exterior surfaces of the barracks wall—where these walls served as revetments—were buried deeply beneath fill. The complete building, from the bottom floor to the peak of the roof, stood three *toises* or 5.85 m tall.

The other redoubt built in Plaisance, known as the Gaillardin, was started in 1697 (though earlier palisaded defensive works had been on the site since 1691). The Gaillardin contained a square building in the middle (Charbonneau 1992:12). It appears not to have housed soldiers, at least until 1708. Both Governor Costebelle and the engineer Jacques L'Hermitte were opposed to sending a detachment to garrison the fort permanently for logistical reasons (P. Costebelle 10 November 1707:fol. 119-120; L'Hermitte 15 November 1708:fol. 151-152v). Archaeological investigation of the Gallardin found that artifacts at the site were remarkably few in number, suggesting that the fort was never provided with a permanently resident detachment (Karklins 1971:19).

5.4 The Vieux Fort Barracks: Construction Techniques

5.4.1 Overall Building Plan

Structure A was a large building, measuring 25.5 m long by 7.5 m wide. It was divided into two rooms, a west and an east room. Crossmends made between artifacts found in both of these rooms demonstrate that both were in use at the same time. A division between the rooms was made by an interior stone wall transecting the structure (Feature 3). We found that this wall was very poorly preserved, only two to three courses in height. Site formation processes resulted in substantially shifted and displaced stonework. Due to time constraints, we did not excavate enough of Feature 3 to determine if it was pierced by a doorway. Even if we had been able to excavate the entire length of the wall, the stonework was so poorly preserved and was so low in height that the presence of an internal doorway may not have been easy to detect.

The east room was the smaller of the two rooms in the structure. This room's interior length is 8.5 m. The east room was provided with a single-hearth chimney; the hearth was formed of large stone slabs and the back of the chimney was lined with brick. The hearth was laid flush with the interior face of the Feature 14 east gable wall. The larger of the two rooms, the west room, measured 14.75 m. It was transected by a row of post-holes (two in a line, with one replacement). It is unclear if these post-holes were entirely structural or served to divide the west room in two. However, the post-holes were not very large and it seems perhaps more likely that they were used for a dividing wall, rather than being load-bearing supports for the building's superstructure and roof. The east room was also provided with a single-hearth chimney; this room's chimney stack was built to stand outside of the exterior face of the Feature 1 north wall, in a C-shape. Further details on the construction and appearance of the Structure A barracks will be given below.

5.4.2 Site preparation

The barracks were built on a prepared ground surface, though the type of ground surface that the builders had to work with varied across the site. Structure A was built in a valley located between two linear bedrock outcrops. The overall shape of the valley constrained the building and its construction at several points (Figure 5.4). At the southwest end of the building, a builder's trench was excavated into the contemporary ground surface, the Feature 2 west stone wall was laid in this trench and the trench was

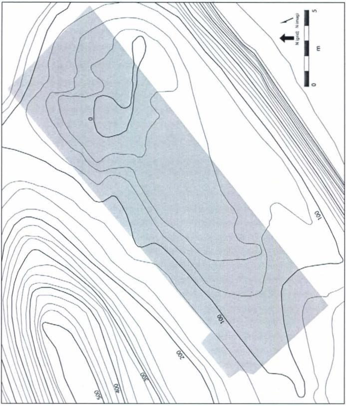

Figure 5.4 The location of the Vieux Fort barracks relative to local topography. Elevation data was taken from depth-below-site-datum measurements, which were collected in advance of archaeological excavations. The lowest elevation at the site is indicated with 0 cm contour line. Contour intervals increase in height by 25cm increments. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

backfilled. The northwest end of the building closely abuts a bedrock ridge and so the northern wall of the building (Feature 1) was laid directly on bedrock. No builder's trench could be detected, which means that whatever sediments were present at the time of construction were cleared away and the foundation of the building was laid directly on bedrock. Indeed, the west room hearth (consisting of Feature 8, 9 and 10 walls) was constructed on the upslope of this bedrock outcrop and in places, the bedrock had obviously been chipped away to accommodate the bottom course of the hearth walls.

At the southeast end of the building, the bedrock ridge lay several meters away from the southern wall (Feature 4) of Structure A. We failed to find a builder's trench here, possibly because room was so constricted—simply clearing out this area up to the bedrock ridge had formed a natural trench. Likewise, the Feature 1 wall at the eastern end of the building was also laid on bedrock. The eastern wall of Structure A (Feature 14) is laid directly on sterile subsoil, beside the few remaining remains of Structure B. The bottom portion of the wall was covered with the remains from Structure B's destruction (mostly shattered brick). This fill would have served to provide a level surface on the inside of the building (Chapter Four).

5.4.3 Masonry walls

The majority of Structure A's walls were constructed of dry-laid masonry (*pierre sèche*), though at least some of the masonry at the site was bound with clay, which was undoubtedly sourced locally. The use of clay between stone courses has been well-documented at other sites in Newfoundland and elsewhere in New France (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:88; Gaulton 1997:78; Godbout 2008:102; Renouf *et al.* 2004). At the Vieux Fort barracks, it is very clear that no lime mortar was used in the building's masonry, except for limited use in the brick fireback in the east room. No mortar was found adhering to in-situ or collapsed wall rocks, and no characteristic flecks of degraded mortar were found in the archaeological deposits, aside from those associated with the east room chimney. Most of the stone walls at Structure A were not covered by vegetation, but were covered only by collapsed rubble; additionally, natural site formation processes had shifted and separated the stonework, particularly in the uppermost courses. The masonry was loosened and exposed to water runoff, which could have served to flush clay binding from the walls. Such processes have been observed elsewhere and in their most extreme form, can make structures with clay-bound walls appear to be completely dry-laid (Brunskill 2000:40).

The only place that clay binding was visible was in the hearth surfaces, where it could clearly be observed. Further use of clay binding was suggested by chunks of clay found in Event 40, which was associated with the collapse of the east room chimney stack. The lowest wall courses buried below the ground surface might have preserved clay binding, but detecting any between the facing stones proved difficult. The only way to determine the presence of clay between wall courses visually would have been to disassemble a partial section of intact and well-preserved wall, which we chose not to do.

The walls themselves were made with largely unmodified rubblestone (Figure 5.5). Some of the stones bear what may be occasional hammer or pick marks; even the larger quoin stones are generally unaltered and lack the intentional tool marks that are typical of further finishing (Higgins 1979). No dressed stone that might have been used to frame windows or doors was located, though such stone (in particular, imported French limestone) was used in masonry buildings in later fortifications in Plaisance (Grange 1971:Vol. 3:941-947; Thorpe 1997). Based on informal macroscopic examination, it is likely that the stone used in the Vieux Fort barracks is of local origin; however, petrographic analysis would be required to be certain. Locally quarried stone was used at Fort Royale, where much of the stone used in its construction was presumed to be an igneous stone of local origin (Grange 1971:944). At the Vieux Fort, a bedrock outcrop found about 5 m to the south of the barracks shows uncharacteristically jagged step-like fractures; these fractures could indicate some small-scale occasional quarrying. A large talus slope about a ten-minute walk from the site could well have provided a more extensive source of stone for the fort.

As is typical with dry-laid masonry, the largest stones were generally laid at the bottom of the walls (Figure 5.6). None of the walls had a wider projecting course of stones (or footing) at the base of the walls. Where wall width could be measured at the base, the walls were generally about 50 cm wide, though this is a rough average. All the facing stones were laid so that their longest side ran in towards the centre of the wall. Though post-depositional processes have altered the position of many stones, it was still apparent that stones had been laid either flat or sloping downwards from the core of the

Figure 5.5 An example of the masonry walls preserved at the Vieux Fort barracks. This image shows the Feature 1 wall where it adjoins Feature 8 to the north and Feature 2 to the south. Note the absence of stone finishing marks on the masonry. Photo by Amanda Crompton.

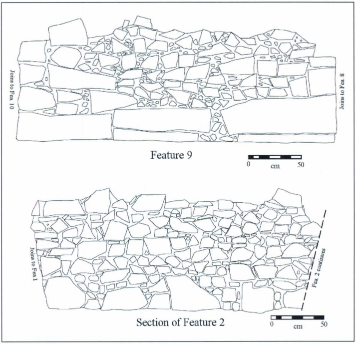

Figure 5.6 Elevation drawings of stone walls at the Vieux Fort barracks.

(Top) The complete length of the outer face of Feature 9, one of the walls comprising the west room's chimney stack.

(Bottom) A partial section of the outer face of Feature 2, the western wall of the barracks. Maps prepared by Amanda Crompton.

wall towards the outer faces of the walls. This would have served to channel water out from the wall. The inner core of the wall was composed of small rubble chips. Major facing stones occasionally had smaller stones wedged between them along the wall faces. Cross-stones (or through-stones) are long stones that span the wall from one face to the other; these served to bind the wall together and prevent it from slumping outwards (Garner 1984). Occasional through-stones were noted in the barracks building's masonry. Dry-laid stonework also requires the skilful placement of stones so that they interlock to form a cohesive whole (Jones 1990). The stonework at Structure A, though shifted from post-depositional processes, seemed generally laid to avoid vertical joints by laying one stone overtop of two and two stones overtop of one. This helped to ensure a strongly bonded wall. Sometimes dry-laid masonry walls are wider at the bottom and taper as the walls gain height; because the masonry at Structure A had shifted significantly (as walls leaned towards one side or another), intentional wall-tapering could not be identified.

The use of clay binding rather than mortar (outside of the mortar used in the brick fireback in the east room hearth) had some benefits, in terms of building maintenance at the Vieux Fort. Wet maritime climates that experience repeated freeze-thaw cycles contributed to the degradation of mortar. Furthermore, the sourcing of adequate materials (such as limestone and beach sand) in the local region could be difficult (Fontaine 1985; Fry 1984 I:159). The use of mortar on a large scale would also have required the construction of lime kilns and the sourcing of skilled limeworkers (Lindsay 1975a). Certainly, the construction and maintenance of mortar-bonded structures at Fort Louis in

Plaisance presented the same problems. In the 1690s, several years of searching for and testing appropriate mortar constituents (particularly for stone that would produce lime [*chaux*] when burned) did not produce reliable results (Thorpe 1971:58; 1980:138). As a result, imports of suitable lime from France was a necessity and ships bound for Plaisance were required to carry some; this was often difficult to enforce and did not produce needed quantities (Proulx 1979a:37, 40; Thorpe 1980:106). Mortared masonry thus required significant maintenance and constant supplies from France. During the earliest years of the colony's life, the significant logistical challenges of mortared masonry construction mean that the use of dry-laid masonry may have been the only realistic choice for the builders of Structure A.

It is not clear if the dry-laid stone walls at Structure A would have extended to the roofline. Certainly a great deal of collapsed rubble was noted at the Vieux Fort barracks site, and thus the building could have been built entirely of stone. In the absence of builder's contracts, useful cartographic evidence, or other documentary references, analogy must be sought with similar masonry construction at other sites. Elsewhere in Plaisance, at Fort Royale, non-mortared stone construction was used for freestanding walls only, not for building foundations (Karklins 1971). The barracks at Fort Royale used mortared stone in their construction (Grange 1971). Evidence from Louisbourg suggests that most of the official military structures (such as barracks) were also made entirely of mortar-bonded masonry (Adams 1978:64; Fry 1984 I:103). Private buildings with dry-laid stone construction only had a foundation of stone, upon which was built a wooden superstructure (Thibault 1972a). At Louisbourg, the dry stone foundations extended approximately three and a half *pieds* (about 1 m) above the ground surface, though this may not include the total height of the wall below ground. At Fort Chambly, one building had a dry stone foundation measuring about 1 m high which was probably associated with a wooden superstructure (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989:64). Ultimately, dry-stone construction appears to be most typically associated with boundary walls or half-timbered construction rather than full-masonry structures. The Vieux Fort barracks may have been a half-timbered structure on a stone foundation, in much the same way as the barracks at Fort Royale.

At the Vieux Fort, the most complete segments of masonry (the east gable wall of the barracks) measured approximately 1 m above the ground surface. It seems most likely, then, that the Vieux Fort followed the pattern observed at other sites, where a timber superstructure sat atop dry-laid stone foundations. Certainly the thousands of nail fragments recovered from this site suggest the use of a wooden superstructure. Unfortunately, the extant stone walls at the Vieux Fort do not preserve the topmost courses of stone, so it cannot be definitively demonstrated that the walls terminated in a completely level surface upon which a wooden superstructure could be built. The existence of masonry buildings at the fort certainly suggests that skilled workers were in Plaisance from the colony's earliest days, for the construction of the barracks would have required workers trained in both quarrying and masonry construction. The 1671 census—the first taken in Plaisance—records a mason (Thibodeau 1959-1960:180). Thus, the presence of masonry buildings at the fort suggests the presence of skilled workers and a pool of labourers. As shall be shown in Chapter 7, this pool of labours almost certainly consisted of the fort's soldiers.

5.4.4 Flooring

Evidence for flooring material was not always clearly preserved at the Vieux Fort, but stone or brick paving (which has occasionally been found at Louisbourg) was not present (Dunn 1972; Lindsay 1975b:87). In Plaisance, brick or cobblestone paving seems to have been uncommon, at least in private housing, as censuses taken 1714 record. Only two uses of cobblestone paving in private *habitations* are found in the 75 properties inventoried: once in a *magazin* and once in a large room in the governor's residence (P. Pastour de Costebelle *et al.* 6 September 1714:fol. 364; La Forest *et al.* 27 Aug-6 Sept 1714:fol. 352). Archaeologically, the east room provided some of the best evidence of flooring. The first detectable floor level for Structure A is found just below the top surface of the Feature 15 hearth. The floor events (probably representing several successively used surfaces) are represented by Events 27, 43 and 46. It is not clear if the floor was entirely wooden or beaten earth. However, the discovery of a rotted wood event (Event 44) just underneath the floor levels, abutting the interior face of Feature 1 (north barracks wall) suggests the presence of a joist for a wood floor. None of the stone walls bore any trace of ledges on the interior wall surfaces that could have functioned as joist sockets or joist supports. No obvious linear depressions present in the subfloor surfaces to indicate trenches for floor joists.

Evidence for flooring in the west room is less clear, but a wooden floor is a reasonable suggestion for a number of reasons. Large, rounded stones were found resting on subsoil. They did not have the same shape as the angular wall rubble scattered throughout the site's collapse layers. These large rounded stones likely served as fill underneath a floor surface. These rocks would have served to lift the floor surface up off of bedrock and subsoil in Structure A. The obvious efforts to raise floor surfaces up off of subsoil was almost certainly to combat issues related to water runoff.

Flooding was very certainly a problem in the Vieux Fort barracks. The north wall of the barracks is located directly beside a bedrock outcrop and the west room fireplace is actually built upslope along this bedrock outcrop. Studies of masonry architecture have noted the importance of installing a drainage ditch along the slope on such occasions, to prevent water from running down-slope right into the structure (Fields 1971:39). No sign of any drain construction was observed in the bedrock outcrop above the barracks, or anywhere else on the site. Thus, the structure may well have flooded in heavy rains. Certainly during fieldwork, we observed that after much rain, water would run off of the bedrock outcrops, soak the ground around Structure A and fill up excavation units. We also observed that where sterile subsoil existed in our excavations, it often appeared water-saturated and easy to dig; this was hardly a free-draining soil. Similar problems with damp and flooding were observed in buildings at Louisbourg. In the absence of constructed drains, some floors at Louisbourg had to be raised in an attempt to counteract the rising damp (Fry 1984 I:104). The use of wooden flooring in the west room of the

Vieux Fort barracks would have provided a dry surface, no matter how damp the subfloor layers were.

5.4.5 Hearths and Chimneys

The east room was equipped with a single hearth fireplace, built onto the interior surface of the room's east wall (Figure 5.7). The chimney stack was built of clay-bonded masonry. Large chunks of pure grey clay were found in association with the collapse of this chimney stack. These clumps may have been the remnants of further clay bonding, as has been observed for chimneys in Louisbourg (Thibault 1972b). Not enough of the clay was found to suggest that the chimney had upper sections of clay-plastered wood, as has been noted on one occasion in Plaisance and multiple times in other parts of New France (La Forest *et al.* 27 Aug-6 Sept 1714:fol. 348v; Moussette 1983:121-123). Thus, the chimney stack was probably built completely from stone. The hearth (Feature 15) was constructed of several large stone slabs, providing an inner surface area measuring 2 m by 1 m. Clay binding was visible between the stone slabs, so no mortar was used in the hearth base. The slabs were laid directly on fill that resulted from the destruction of Structure B below, which lay over a meter below the surface of the Feature 15 hearth. The hearth stones were heavily blackened from use. The hearth had the remnants of a stone arm on the north side, though these were badly displaced and only rubble was found on the south side.

Figure 5.7 The east room hearth at the Vieux Fort barracks.

It consists of a stone hearth (Feature 15) and a brick fireback (Feature 16), built against the east wall of the barracks (Feature 14). The scale measures 50 cm. Photo by Amanda Crompton.

Sitting atop the hearth were courses of mortared brick (almost certainly imported, rather than locally manufactured) forming a fireback at the back of the hearth (Figure 5.8). Firebacks were often iron, but in this case, the rows of brick would serve to reflect heat (Moussette 1983:58). These bricks were arranged in alternating rows of headers (laid with their long surface exposed) and stretchers (laid with the short surface exposed). In English architectural traditions, this style of brickwork is referred to as English bond. The brick was laid in a single layer, with the exception of the four bottom courses, in which bricks were laid two rows wide. The bottom two rows were laid at a distance from the stone wall behind it. This served to create a staggered pattern, giving Feature 16's exterior face a step-like appearance (Figure 5.9). The bricks were set in thin layers of sandy mortar, which was crumbling and badly preserved, but still visible between the courses of brick. The bricks that remained in situ were all yellow, save a single orange brick in the middle. Some of the bricks in the middle of the fireback were badly degraded and crumbling, to the point that the edges of the brick were difficult to discern; whether this was a result of heat damage or erosion after the fireplace ceased to be used is not clear. Two large pieces of thick strap iron, gently curved, were associated with the chimney collapse in this room. While these are broken and their original purpose is thus unclear, it seems likely that they served some structural function for the hearth. They may have supported a hood, or perhaps served as part of a crane to suspend cooking pots over the fire.

The west room was equipped with a single-hearth fireplace that had been built to

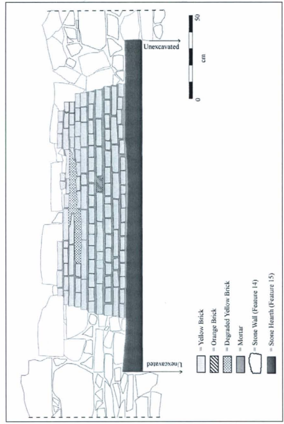

Figure 5.8 Elevation drawing of the barracks' east room fireplace.

The fireplace consists of a brick fireback (Feature 16) sitting atop a stone hearth (Feature 15). These are constructed against interior face of the east gable wall of the barracks (Feature 14). Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

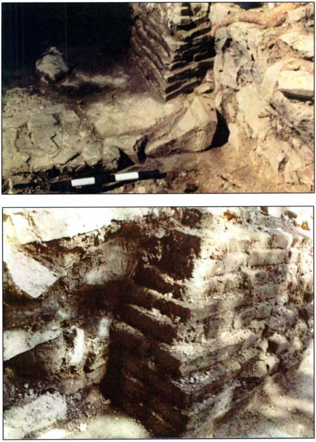

Figure 5.9 The brick fireback (Fea. 16) at the Vieux Fort barracks.

(Top) The south corner. Scale is 50 cm. (Bottom) Detail of the north corner. Photos by Amanda Crompton.

stand outside of Feature 1, the main west wall of Structure A (Figure 5.10). This masonry chimney was laid directly on bedrock. The outer face of the fireplace walls (consisting of Features 8, 9 and 10) are well-preserved, but the inner faces of these features are conversely poorly preserved. The inner faces of the walls had collapsed in badly, in some cases badly enough that the original wall faces were difficult to detect. The hearth floor was moderately well preserved, exhibiting some tilting of the flat stones. The hearth floor was clay-bonded, with clay and small stones inserted in the cracks between the major paving stones.

This was a well-used hearth. Many of the hearth stones were stained black and showed some evidence of heat-related spalling. Multiple iron concretions had been burned to the hearth's surface and were impossible to remove. One single brick was lodged in the badly preserved inner face of Feature 9, perhaps suggesting a repair. Some mortar lumps were found in association with this chimney fall, but not nearly the quantity to suggest widespread use of mortar in the chimney stack. None of the rubble recovered from the chimney fall was stained with the remnants of mortar, which suggests that mortar was not used in the chimney stack. This stands in opposition to the barracks at Fort Louis, which were made of mortared stone rather than dry-laid stone (L'Hermitte 5 November 1706:fol. 72). However, non-mortared chimney stacks have been documented in the colony. A 1714 inventory of Plaisance houses notes the presence of a "cheminée seiche", which must be a chimney stack of similar construction (la Forest *et al.* 27 Aug-6 Sept 1714:fol. 349v).

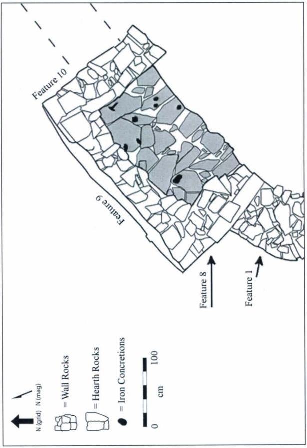

Figure 5.10 Map of the west room hearth at the Vieux Fort barracks.

Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

5.4.6 Doors, Windows and the Roof

Doors and windows are difficult to locate in Structure A, particularly considering that the structure was not excavated in its entirety. One large flat through stone (a stone that spans the entire width of the wall from inner to outer face) found in Feature 4, in the west room, could have served as a threshold for a doorway. A small concentration of artifacts was found outside the building in this general area. This might indicate a doorway, as artifacts tend to accumulate around the entrances of buildings. This is admittedly a well-documented phenomenon for English sites of early modern date; whether the same principle applies to buildings at French military sites is uncertain (Deetz 1996:172). Data from Fort Pentagoet indicates that rubbish tended to accumulate in areas where French soldiers relaxed and socialized, not necessarily around entrances to buildings (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:62).

At the Vieux Fort, the largest concentration of artifacts at the site was found in Event 14. This deposit was found along the outside face of the west gable wall of the barracks. This large concentration of artifacts is unlikely to represent a deposition around a doorway; this was a secondary deposit which had obviously been re-deposited. Furthermore, the Feature 4 wall was one of the best-preserved walls in the structure and, at over 1 m tall in places, showed no evidence of a doorway. The rubbish deposit in Event 14 again correlates well with excavated contexts at Fort Pentagoet. The greatest concentrations of rubbish around a dwelling at Fort Pentagoet was found in a ditch feature, located out of the way between the dwelling wall and the fort's curtain wall (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:82).

Another reason that doors were difficult to locate in Structure A lies in the poor general preservation of Feature 4, the south wall. It is generally only preserved three or four courses high and the openings for doorways in this wall most likely have tumbled away. Feature 1 (the north wall) is unlikely to have had doorways, as it lies on the upslope of a steep bedrock outcrop; traversing it daily to enter or leave a building seems unlikely. Field observations during the excavation of the west room fireplace demonstrated the treacherous nature of the steep bedrock face, particularly after heavy rains. No window glass was recovered from excavations and thus the use of wooden shutters for window closures is likely. Window glass was at the time expensive; indeed, the only recorded use of window glass in Plaisance is found on Governor Costebelle's residence at Point Verde (Costebelle 6 September 1714:fol. 364). Furthermore, the documentary record does not contain any references to the use of window glass at the Fort Louis or Fort Royale barracks.

The roof of the Structure A barracks was almost certainly made of wood or bark. Thousands of nail fragments were recovered from this structure, though they are all badly preserved. This heavy corrosion renders most features of the nail unidentifiable and so the identification of nails used for roofing as demonstrated at other sites is not possible here (Faulkner and Faulkner 1978:88). Still, the large quantities of nails at Structure A certainly demonstrate that a wooden superstructure and roof existed at the site. This is reinforced by documentary references from 1676, which record references to "quelques meschantes cabannes faites de pieux et d'escorce d'arbres" (De Bonne 1676:fol. 50v). A decade later, a letter from the principal *habitants* of Plaisance reveals that between 1685 and 1688, they were required to supply wood and tree bark to cover the *cabanes* at the fort (Gillebert *et al.* 1690:301v).

Evidence from elsewhere in Plaisance suggests that wood was a typical roof covering. Excavations at Castle Hill recovered only a single roof slate fragment—which was not enough to convince Roger Grange of their use at Fort Royale (1971:960). The 1714 survey of domestic housing and associated outbuildings in Plaisance records that *plan*, *plan de bois*, *planche* (board), or *bardeaux* (wood shingles) are by far the most common roofing material. *Plan* and *plan de bois* probably refer to rough wood slabs, consisting of the first and last slabs produced when a tree is cut into boards (Pouyez 1972). However, a surprising lack of references to the use of less expensive or less substantial options, such as tree bark or tarred sailcloth (*toile goudronné*) suggests that impermanent roofing materials were simply not noted in the survey (P. Pastour de Costebelle *et al.* 6 September 1714; la Forest *et al.* 27 Aug-6 Sept 1714). Documentary records from Fort Louis suggest that wooden planking was the preferred roof covering for the barracks there. The barracks had been covered with old *toille*, which did not keep out rain or snow and they were subsequently recovered with wood planks (P. Pastour de Costebelle 10 November 1707:fol. 122). At Louisbourg, bark roofing was common during the earliest years of the colony, but its need for continual repair, together with the fact that its harvest damaged trees, led to a ban on its use early on. For private buildings, wood boards or shingles were by far the most common roofing material (Pouyez 1972).

Many public or military buildings (such as the King's Bastion barracks) were fitted with roof slates, particularly for their fireproofing abilities, but some public buildings still had board or shingle roofs (Adams 1978:72; Fry 1984 I:104, 107; Lindsay 1975b:51).

5.4.7 Building Maintenance and Repair

The fortification would have required maintenance and repair throughout its lifespan. By 1685, *habitants* of Plaisance were required to "retablir les cabannes du fort", suggesting that the barracks had fallen into disrepair (Gillebert *et al.* 1690:fol. 301). The archaeological record preserves several examples of structural repair. The presence of two post-holes located very close to each other (Features 5 and 7) suggests the replacement of a structural post at one point. The discovery of one single brick lodged in the interior face of Feature 9 chimney wall suggests a repair as well; a small stash of brick was found behind Feature 9, resting on bedrock, perhaps to be stockpiled for similar repairs.

The best evidence for large-scale maintenance comes from Event14, located beside Feature 4, the west gable wall. This was clearly a secondary deposit, with loose, unconsolidated soil mixed in with loosely-packed small stone chips, larger pieces of rubble and occasional large pieces of stone. Event 14 has been subdivided based on the size of rubble contained in the soil. The uppermost portion was labeled Event 14A and the bottom section was labeled Event 14B. There were no actual differences in soil texture or artifact content between the two and they should be considered simply two phases of the same event. Throughout both phases, artifacts and rubble were often found oriented at an angle or vertically, as opposed to laying flat (Figure 5.11). All of this suggests that Event 14 was deposited or churned up as an episode of rapid filling rather than representing a slower accumulation of debris. Crossmends between artifacts in Event 14 and contexts inside of Structure A demonstrate that this deposit was related to the occupation of Structure A; there was no indication that this deposit was re-deposited from elsewhere on the site.

This suggests that the deposits outside of the barracks west wall (Feature 4) had been dug into and remixed. This event may represent a major episode of masonry rebuilding, based on the unusually large quantity of rubble and smaller rock chips contained in the matrix. It is difficult to tell if the masonry of Feature 4 had been extensively repaired, as only rough coursing exists in this wall. Post-depositional processes may certainly have resulted in some shifting of the rough coursing to give the appearance of repair where none existed. However, the masonry comprising the Feature 4-Feature 1 wall corner does appear to have been altered, in that it does not form a perfectly squared corner. Furthermore, Feature 1 and Feature 4 do not meet at a right angle, but rather at an obtuse angle (Figure 5.1). This might suggest some alteration of the Feature 4-Feature 1 wall corner during an episode of repair. What is more, the junction between Feature 1 and Feature 8 (the wall-fireplace corner) shows some irregularities. There appears to be no real continuation of the rough coursing in this area and no common stones are shared between these two walls (Figure 5.5). Perhaps the chimney

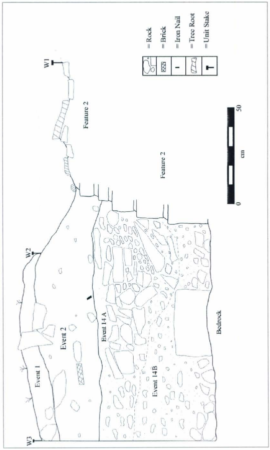

Figure 5.11 Profile map showing rubble in Event 14 at the Vieux Fort.

Event 14 is almost certainly derived from an episode of masonry repair. Map prepared by Amanda Crompton.

stack was a later addition to the structure and the orientation of Feature 1 had to be altered to intersect with it. Or, perhaps major repair work was required to the chimney stack. It is far from clear, but there are certainly indications enough to suggest major incidents of repair to Structure A.

5.5 Building Function and Internal Organisation

The identification of Structure A as a barracks building was apparent from early on during our excavations. Many artifacts found inside and outside the structure were related to food and drink storage, preparation and consumption, in large enough quantities that they could not be considered stray finds. The presence of charred cookpots, copper cauldron fragments and faunal remains suggested that this structure was not just a storehouse for provisions. Based on the quantity of food and beverage service vessels found during excavations, it quickly became clear that soldiers were eating and drinking in the building as well. The discovery of the west room fireplace in 2002 and the east room fireplace in 2004 made this identification more certain and further eliminated the possibility that this was a storehouse or a powder magazine.

A detailed reconstruction of how the interior space of the barracks was organized, supported by plots showing the location of different artifact classes, will not be attempted here. The natural site formation processes that have affected the site have been discussed in Chapter 2. These, combined with the cultural formation processes discussed below, will have definitely affected the distribution of artifacts within the barracks building. Any observable patterns in artifact location may say more about the location of trees than about the use of space in the barracks' interior. However, some basic reconstruction of the room function in the barracks can certainly be attempted, particularly by comparison to similar sites located elsewhere in New France.

Both rooms of the structure were in use at the same time, as crossmends between artifacts found in both rooms demonstrate. If both rooms in the structure were in use at the same time, then the reasons behind the existence of both a large and small room need to be explored. The artifacts found in each room show no difference based on function or purpose; each room contained fragments of artifacts related to food storage, cooking and food and beverage service. Comparisons with other barracks demonstrate that officers and soldiers lived separately, wherever possible. The smaller room in the barracks was likely intended to be the officers' room, leaving the larger room for the soldiers. This would be entirely consistent with the division seen between officers' and soldiers' rooms at Fort Louis and at other forts in New France, where the separation of officers and soldiers in the same building seems commonplace (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:69-79, Fry 1984 [II]:99). Generally speaking, the rooms reserved for officers tend to be smaller. However, officer's quarters did tend to be better-appointed (Lindsay 1975b:57).

As such, we might expect the smaller room to be equipped with appointments that were absent from the soldiers' room. The brick-lined fireplace suggests a luxury for officers. Given the lack of brick anywhere else on the site, except occasionally for repairs, this might be an indication of higher status. An identical example was discovered in the officers' quarters at Fort Pentagoet (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:90). It is difficult to determine if the increased status is reflected in artifact distributions, as almost all of the status-sensitive artifacts—including the fragments of wine glasses, the majority of sherds of a highly decorated jug and a sherd from a Chinese export porcelain vessel—are not found inside either room, but were found outside the structure. Many were found in the redeposited fill level beside the west gable of the barracks. However, the structural similarities between the Vieux Fort building and barracks buildings elsewhere suggest an analogous organisation of space for men of differing status. Certainly, by the end of the Vieux Fort's lifespan, officers were not living at the fort (Chapter 7). Though this room may have been built with the intention of housing officers, by the mid 1680s it may well have housed regular soldiers as well.

The larger soldiers' room would have been equipped with beds, though soldiers had to share beds—in theory, one soldier would sleep while the other was on watch. This was a common arrangement at fortifications in New France (Adams 1978:94; Lafrance 1983:43; G. Proulx 1979:551). Thus, the Vieux Fort's soldiers' lodgings should have room for about twelve beds (probably aligned along the walls, as they were at Louisbourg's guardhouses), along with the shelves, tables, benches and chairs (Adams 1978:94; Lindsay 1975b). Aside from such communal furnishings, soldiers would likely have had chests (or been provided with locked cabinets) for their own personal goods, as two soldiers' probate inventories from Louisbourg demonstrate (Adams 1978:94, 98). Here, soldiers could keep their few personal belongings—and the discovery of a key in the Vieux Fort assemblage testifies to the presence of secure storage. Based on the large number of gunflints and the lead shot found at the site, soldiers were clearly keeping their firearm supplies with them in the barracks (Lindsay 1975b:59). As shall be discussed in the ensuing chapter, the average soldier had a limited set of personal possessions and he probably kept it close by, in the limited space of the soldiers' room.

5.6 Dating the Barracks

The historical record of the Vieux Fort provides a reasonably good chronology of its occupation. The fort's construction began in 1662, on the site of a previously erected structure. The Vieux Fort was in use until the late 1680s, when documents record that it needed much repair. Whatever state the fort was in, by 1690 any standing remains were likely destroyed during the English raid, as discussed in the previous chapter. Despite this reasonably well-understood historical framework, archaeological artifacts were examined in order to verify this timeframe. Without a doubt, the most useful artifacts for this purpose are artifacts of chronologically sensitive design; the most important of these are tobacco pipes. English wine bottle glass—so useful for helping to derive dates for English sites—was not found in sufficient quantity, or with enough diagnostic fragments, to usefully contribute to this discussion. While eighteenth-century ceramics can provide valuable chronological information, based on the introduction of innovative new forms and wares, ceramics from the seventeenth century did not evolve quickly enough to be very useful for dating purposes.

Tobacco pipes provide the best information for dating at the Vieux Fort site. As has been found on many French sites, the tobacco pipes were generally of English and Dutch manufacture (Walker 1971; Waselkov 1997:18). France did have a pipemaking industry, but it does not seem to have made an impact on New World exports, nor is it well-studied (Ayto 1994:26; Trombetta 2001:158; Walker 1977:285-286). Knowledge of the general origins of tobacco pipes commonly found on French colonial sites is critical. The form of tobacco pipe bowls exhibit well-documented changes in style and in size through time. These stylistic changes can quite often be assigned a date range as little as 20 years (Oswald 1975). Tobacco pipes are fragile and broke often, thus making them common and useful finds for site dating purposes. Pipe finds can be compared to published examples in the literature and fitted into established regional chronologies. A small proportion of pipes were marked with stamps that indicate the manufacturer; with perseverance, the maker can often be identified, as well as the time period in which the maker was likely working.

An initial examination of pipe bowls available from the 2001 season was completed by Murphy (2002). The reader should note that this was an initial examination only. The discovery of more pipe bowls in subsequent seasons and the piecing together of more complete forms as a result of a concerted effort to find crossmends in the assemblage have added to the collection. In some cases, the original identification of the pipes has changed. Unfortunately, the entire assemblage from the barracks is quite small and fragmented, only producing eighteen bowls that were complete enough to have their overall form confidently identified. That fragmentation has played an important role in the reduced number of tobacco pipe bowls available for study is emphasized when the total number of bowls represented in the assemblage was estimated. By examining bowl fragments and grouping together fragments that might realistically be thought to belong to the same bowl, a minimum number of pipe bowl estimate was derived. The Vieux Fort assemblage consists of 53 tobacco pipe bowls. The minimum count method typically underestimates the original number of specimens present (Deagan 2007:104). As a result, the actual number of tobacco pipe bowls that make up the sample was probably much higher. The tobacco pipe bowls that could be positively identified were separated out from the remaining assemblage. These bowls possessed a complete profile, in that they retained largely unbroken side, top and base portions. These bowls were grouped into distinct forms (named forms A-I) and identified and dated using several key sources (Atkinson and Oswald 1972; Duco 1981; Gaulton 1999, 2006). All of the bowls that could be identified fit comfortably within the known date range for the site (Table 5.1, Figure 5.12).

Tobacco pipe manufacturers sometimes stamped their products with initials, symbols, or decorative motifs. A large body of research has been devoted to identifying these marks, correlating them with a maker and the years that the maker was actively producing pipes. These maker's marks can provide another set of valuable chronological information. Marks are either incuse (pressed into the flat surface) or relief (forming a raised mark on the surface of the pipe) and for the seventeenth century are most commonly found on the base of the heel, though some are found on the stem or the back of the bowl (Noël Hume 1969:304-305). Most of the identifiable marks from the Vieux

Table 5.1 Typology of Tobacco Pipe Bowls from the Vieux Fort Site

Form	Origin	Date	Number of Bowls
A	English, West Country	1650-1670	1
B	English, general form	1660-1680	6
C	English, West Country	1680-1720	1
D	Dutch, Gouda/Leiden?	1640-1670	1
E	Dutch, general form	1650-1680	1
F	Dutch, general form	1650-1680	1
G	Dutch, Gouda?	1650-1680	1
H	Dutch, general form	1660-1690	5
I	Dutch, general form	1670-1700	1
TOTAL			**18**

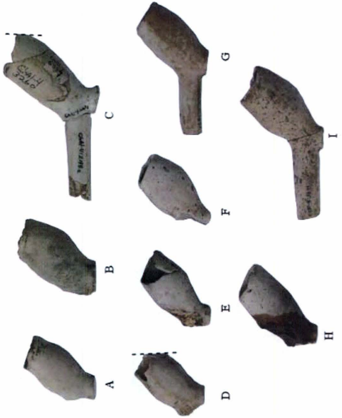

Figure 5.12 Tobacco pipe bowl types from the Vieux Fort.

The type letters correspond to the pipes as described in Table 5.1. The pipes are shown at actual size.

Fort assemblage were of Dutch origin, determined either by the identification of an indisputably Dutch mark, or by the presence of a more ambiguous mark on an identifiable Dutch pipe bowl.

The most common mark was the 'EB' mark. This is normally attributed to Edward Bird, a pipemaker whose products are often found on historic sites in North America (de Roever 1987). Bird died in 1665, but this does not mean that all EB marks predate 1665. The EB mark continued to be used after his death by Evert (his son) and by another pipemaker who subsequently took over the EB mark (Duco 2002). Only two certain English marks were identified and they were both pipes of the same manufacturer, Llewellyn Evans. The remaining marks are identified in Table 5.2, though two remain unidentified. Photographs in Figure 5.13 and 5.14 show all of the identified marked pipes. All of the tobacco pipe marks shown here are consistent with a site occupation dating between 1662 and 1690.

Tobacco pipe stems are common finds on archaeological sites from the seventeenth century onwards, and a good deal of attention has been paid to developing dating methods based on changes in the bore diameter sizes of English tobacco pipes. Typically, the bores decrease in size through time, and a number of analysts have developed graphs and formulae that produce dates based on measured bore sizes (Binford 1962; Harrington 1954; Hanson 1971). Unfortunately, the method remains problematic for a number of reasons and will not be applied to the Vieux Fort assemblage. For example, English Newfoundland sites tend to have tobacco pipe assemblages that are dominated by pipes from particular regions of England, such as the West Country. Pipe

Table 5.2 Tobacco Pipe Maker's Marks from the Vieux Fort Assemblage

Mark	Maker, Origin	Date	#	Illustration	Reference
EB	Edward Bird or successors, Amsterdam	c.1630-1665 (by Edward Bird) 1665- c.1700 (by Bird's successors)	5	Fig 5.13a	Duco 1981 #181; Duco 2002
SHVS	Steven Hendriksz van Steijn, Gouda	1660/1668-1695/1700	1	Fig.5.13b	Duco 1982:97 #625
Posthoorn ongekroond	Unknown, Gouda	c. 1660-1795	1	Fig. 5.13c	Duco 1982:65 # 212
ID	Jan Doesburgh, Gouda	1675/1690-1711/1725	2	Fig. 5.13d	Duco 1982:76 # 348a
Flower or Rose	Unknown, Dutch	1625-1660	1	Fig. 5.14a	Duco 1981:247
P/ I? /cup?	Unidentified	-	1	Fig. 5.14b	

Table 5.2 Tobacco Pipe Maker's Marks from the Vieux Fort Assemblage, continued

Mark	Maker, Origin	Date	#	Illustration	Reference
S?ID	Unidentified	-	1	Fig. 5.14c	
LE	Llewellin Evans, Bristol	1661-1686	2	Fig. 5.14d	Gaulton 2006:340
Debased Jonah	Unknown, English or Dutch	after ca. 1650	1	Fig. 5.14e-g	Gaulton 2006:127

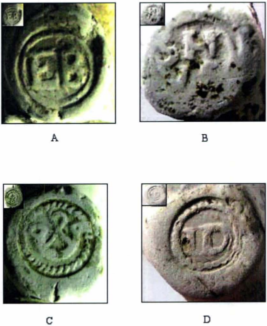

Figure 5.13 Tobacco pipe maker's marks from the Vieux Fort.

All images are enlarged to show detail; inset images show the mark's actual size. Marks shown here are described in Table 5.2.

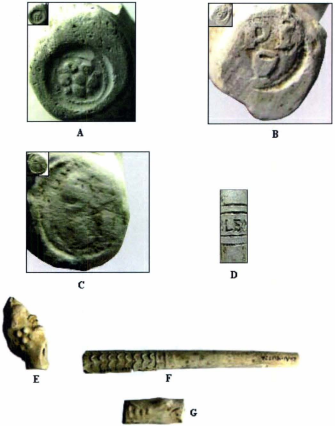

Figure 5.14 More tobacco pipe marks and moulded pipes from the Vieux Fort.

Marks shown are described in Table 5.2. A-C are enlarged to show detail; inset images show the mark's actual size. D is shown at actual size and E-G are fragments from a single pipe, shown at actual size. Marks shown here are described in Table 5.2.

bore diameters can vary within regions. West Country forms dating to the earlier part of the seventeenth century tend to have particularly small stem bores, while those from later in the century have larger bore diameters (Gaulton 2006:42). This means that English Newfoundland sites as a whole tend to produce erroneous results from stem-bore dates. A similar problem might be expected from French Newfoundland sites as well, if the English pipes are predominantly of West Country manufacture.

A most critical issue presented by the Vieux Fort assemblage lies in the fact that the pipestem dating method was developed for English pipestems only. Dutch pipes had smaller stem bores than English pipes and thus including Dutch stems in a calculation could produce erroneous results (Key *et al.* 2000:60). Other analyses have revealed that Dutch pipe stems are in fact useful for dating sites, provided the sample consists of mostly Dutch pipes (Schrire *et al.* 1990). What is still problematic is using pipe stem dating formulae on assemblages where the tobacco pipes are of both English and Dutch manufacture. Some attempts have been made to calculate formula dating on assemblages with some admixture of Dutch and English pipes, with varied results (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:63; Riordan 1991). Sometimes the method produces a consistent site date and sometimes it does not. As the discussion of pipe bowl styles has demonstrated, the Vieux Fort assemblage is of mixed English-Dutch origin and thus the method cannot reliably be applied to the site.

Artifacts and documents suggest that the site was occupied right up to 1690. One identifiable Spanish coin (with a denomination of one *real*) was also recovered from the barracks. The obverse of this coin bears a pillar-and-wave design, has the mint mark for

Potosí (in present-day Bolivia) and a date stamp of 1678 (Lasser *et al.* 1997:20-21). Thus, the site was still in active use in the late 1670s. References to the Vieux Fort in historical documents are typically brief, but they do appear in greater number in the 1680s. One particularly useful document is a letter collectively written by the *habitants* of Plaisance, who sent a letter to French colonial authorities complaining of their treatment at the hands of Governor Antoine Parat (Gillebert *et al.* 1690). The *habitants* detail the construction materials that they were expected to furnish for the Vieux Fort between 1685 and 1688, including the barracks building, and speak of the fort as being abandoned only in 1690.

5.7 The Destruction of the Barracks

The historical record documenting the Vieux Fort's history indicates that the Vieux Fort was still occupied by soldiers in 1687, as recorded in that years' census: "il y a au fort 14 engager [sic] et 9 soldats" (Thibodeau 1962:205). By 1688 and 1689, many of the buildings at the fort were in need of repair (Gillebert *et al.* 1690). Despite this, the historic documents do not preserve an exact date on which the site was abandoned or destroyed. As argued in the previous chapter, given the scale of destruction during the 1690 raid, it seems most unlikely that the English attackers would have left the fort unscathed. They both spiked and removed cannon from the site, so the attackers must have been on the site at some point. The archaeological record may in fact preserve evidence that the building was intentionally destroyed.

Structure A preserves a collapse sequence which begins directly above the occupation layers. The collapse is most clearly preserved in the east room. The bottom-most collapse layer (Event 43), consists of a thick layer of soot and charcoal fragments. This layer increases in thickness and becomes more shallowly buried as it moves east. It is found only in the region of the east room hearth/chimney stack . Given the orientation of the charcoal event, it perhaps represents the initial stages of chimney collapse. The discovery of a large quantity of nails in the top portions of this event might also suggest that part of the wooden roof structure of the building came down at the same time. Interestingly, this destruction/collapse layer extends right up to the inner face of the building's stone walls, but does not go over top or beyond them. This demonstrates that the building's walls were standing to a great enough height to contain the charcoal from the chimney stack and detritus from the possible roof collapse. This is the critical factor that suggests the building was intentionally destroyed; if this was an abandonment collapse rather than a destruction collapse, a clear layer of burnt material would not be found. On top of the charcoal event was found other events containing significant rubble, mortar and lumps of grey clay (Events 40, 41 and 42) which seem to represent the remaining chimney stack and gable wall collapse. It is certainly logical to expect that the fort was damaged by the English attackers in an attempt to reduce its defensive capabilities; the archaeological record suggests that this is exactly what happened.

5.8 The Wider Implications of the Vieux Fort Barracks' Construction

In France, the construction of barracks had been prescribed by ordinance since the seventeenth century, but these regulations were not widely carried out in the seventeenth century (Lynn 1997:159). The provision of a barracks building to house soldiers in was not typical of fortifications in seventeenth-century New France, and only became more common in the eighteenth century (G. Proulx 1979:550, Adams 1978:62). In the seventeenth century, if fortifications were located in or near towns, soldiers were often billeted with townspeople. This was the case in Québec, where barracks were not built until the mid-eighteenth century (Charbonneau *et al.* 1982:356). At Old Mobile, in present-day Louisiana, soldiers were not housed at the fort, but rather in purpose-built structures in the nearby town (Gums 2002:14, 23-24). Even when barracks were provided for soldiers in a fort, in practice, some soldiers were often quartered in nearby villages or farms. This was the case at Fort Chambly, for example (Miville-Deschênes 1987:30). Sometimes a fort was home to more than just soldiers; Fort Michilimackinac housed not only military personnel but also traders, craftsmen and migratory *coureurs-de-bois* (Stone 1974:8). Thus the approach to housing soldiers varied considerably across New France.

The presence of a barracks building at the Vieux Fort is not typical of contemporary fortifications. Undoubtedly, constructing a barracks at the Fort must have made logistical sense. The waterway that separated the site from the settlement meant that physically housing the soldiers at the Vieux Fort was a practical way of ensuring a military presence there. However, we can also argue that the barracks building has more than practical significance. The lodgings provided for the soldiers at the fort represent a significant effort in construction. The masonry used at the Vieux Fort barracks (and the absence of stone in the construction of the Vieux Fort's defences) is intriguing when placed against the overall context of masonry construction in Plaisance.

Certainly, masonry construction was widely used in Plaisance's later fortifications. Fort Louis, the Gallardin and Fort Royale (and any associated fortified outworks) all utilized masonry in some way (Grange 1971; Karklins 1971; Morton 1970; Simmonds 2009). The small size of both the Gallardin and Fort Royale redoubts mean that constructing the entire fortification of masonry was carried out quickly. In the case Fort Louis, which was a significantly larger fort, the initial fortification was built in wood. One of the first priorities seems to have been the reconstruction of the fort's defences in masonry, which had been started by 1697 (Proulx 1979a:39). The use of stone construction for buildings inside Fort Louis—particularly of soldiers' barracks—does not seem to have been a priority for Plaisance's engineers. As late as 1707, the barracks at Fort Louis were said to be of timber, with stone chimneys (P. Costebelle 10 November 1707:fol. 122).

The use of masonry for the Vieux Fort barracks provides a particularly interesting contrast to the simplicity of the construction of the fort's defences. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, the Vieux Fort was likely defended by a simple wooden palisade. In terms of their solidity, and their resistance to artillery fire and weathering, masonry defences were considered superior to wooden palisades (Lafrance 1983:35). The choice to expend the considerable effort that masonry construction required on the Vieux Fort's internal structures rather than its defensive works certainly contrasts with observable patterns at Fort Louis. If the fort was only defended by simple wooden palisades, why were buildings inside the fort selected for the extra effort required for stone construction? The documentary record is silent on the matter, but a reasonable reply may be fashioned from observable patterns at other sites and historically contingent events in Plaisance's history.

If the provision of barracks for soldiers was unusual in the context of seventeenth-century New France and the construction of buildings in masonry was unusual in the context of seventeenth-century Plaisance, then the use of stone construction at the Vieux Fort barracks must be interpreted as a meaningful act. Perhaps the effort invested in masonry construction was further intended to provide comfortable housing for the fort's soldiers. Inadequately constructed barracks were blamed for the loss of troops through desertion at Fort Louis (Proulx 1979a:39). What is more, stone construction was rarely used outside of fortifications for building construction in Plaisance; detailed surveys of domestic housing taken in 1714 indicate that the only private buildings constructed of masonry belonged to Governor Costebelle (P. Costebelle 1717:fol.15; P. Costebelle *et al.* 6 September 1714:fol.364). Costebelle had two buildings on the Little Beach that were constructed with timber framing resting on stone foundations (one of which was built with dry-laid masonry). Thus, the use of masonry construction on the soldiers' barracks at the Vieux Fort was noteworthy. The soldiers would likely have been living in one of the only stone buildings in the colony at the time.

The documentary record does not indicate who constructed the Vieux Fort's masonry, but construction practices at other sites provide the most likely answer. In New France, soldiers typically received extra pay if they worked on fortification construction projects (Johnston 2001:182; L'Hermitte 1708; G.Proulx 1979:556-558). This is equally true in Plaisance, where soldiers received extra pay for working on fortification construction at Fort Louis and Fort Royale. Soldiers provided both the general labour as well as fulfilling skilled work, such as carpentry and stonework (Landry 2008:272; L'Hermitte 1708). Such projects were not only a useful way of keeping soldiers busy; they also provided extra income to soldiers, who were typically poorly paid. It seems most likely that the Vieux Fort barracks were built by the soldiers themselves, though likely under the direction of the colony's mason, who was recorded as living in the colony when the first nominal census was completed in 1671 (Thibodeau 1959-1960).

At the Vieux Fort, the provision of comfortable housing for soldiers at the fort may have served to ensure contentment amongst the soldiers' ranks. Discontented soldiers sometimes mutinied, as they had at Louisbourg in 1744, when faced with a reduction in extra income derived from construction projects (Johnston 2001:206). Similar mutinies and protests occurred for the same reasons in British North America as well (Janzen 1984:133-135; Way 2000).

Containing soldiers in a separate barracks building was also thought desirable for reasons of order and control. Soldiers residing off-site were regarded as a potential source of social disorder (Lynn 1997:162-163). The simple *soldat* was often regarded by his contemporaries as a social unfortunate, at the lowest ranks of the social order, who was a moral outcast (Lynn 1984:63). Barracks were thus intended to separate the soldiers from the civilian population, and spare townspeople from the costs of their lodging. Barracks also were seen as a way of controlling the soldier's movement. With the increasing professionalization of the military during the seventeenth century, soldiers became a resource to be administered. Sequestering soldiers in barracks was seen as a way to instil discipline and self-control, as well as a way to prevent desertion. The barracks would eventually be seen as a "kind of discipline factory" (Jones 1995:162). They were also intended to bolster a sense of *esprit de corps* amongst a garrison.

Thus, barracks were intended to isolate and control the soldier's movement, while providing an alternative to billeting soldiers with civilians. In terms of fortifications in New France, the Vieux Fort barracks may be interpreted as an early forecast of the desire to constrain and control soldiers. As shall be discussed below, the Vieux Fort barracks may not have effectively fulfilled this mandate in practice. Indeed, the need to control the behaviour of soldiers was probably not lost on Plaisance's earliest administrators. Soldiers at the Vieux Fort had mutinied during 1662, in a most disastrous fashion (Humphreys 1970:5). By the time reinforcements arrived in 1663, only 8 soldiers remained of 30 that had been sent to the colony in 1662 (Proulx 1979a:14). Thus, the early administrators of Plaisance learned that keeping soldiers occupied and pacified was particularly important for peace and security in the colony

However, it is clear from references in the documentary record that the Plaisance garrison did not always live at the Vieux Fort barracks, despite the effort expended on their construction. As a letter of 1688 indicates, an officer at the fort admitted that the soldiers hired themselves out as fishing servants to civilian fishing proprietors and lived with them during the fishing season (L. de Costebelle 3 September 1688:fol. 102). If soldiers spent much of the summer fishing season working for *habitants*, then it follows that they were not living or working at the fort full-time. For at least some of its history, then, the Vieux Fort was occupied in a part-time sense—with soldiers working elsewhere, their presence at the fort would not have been constant or consistent. Barracks were generally intended to create strictly military zones, where soldiers and civilians could be kept apart and the activities and movements of soldiers monitored (Johnston 2001:92-93,174; G.Proulx 1979:553). The Vieux Fort barracks may have theoretically been intended to perform such a function, but in the end may not have served as an effective means of controlling the garrison. Additionally, the 1687 census records that there were 9 soldiers and 14 *engagés* (civilian fishing servants) living at the fort, suggesting that by the end of its life, any barrier between the military and civilian population was a permeable one (Thibodeau 1962:205).

Chapter 6

Ceramic and Glass Archaeological Typologies

6.1 Background

This chapter will provide methodological and typological order to two significant elements of the Vieux Fort assemblage: the ceramic and glass artifacts. Together, the ceramic and glass assemblage can provide a framework in which to analyse the material world of the soldiers and officers at the Vieux Fort. These two assemblages are treated here together, though these different materials are often analysed separately by archaeologists. Glass bottles and ceramic bottles may have been produced in different ways but they served the same ultimate purpose: the service and consumption of beverages. Glass vessels have typologies that are reasonably well-established. In the case of ceramic artifacts, a suitable functional typology for ceramic vessels needs to be formulated for the analysis of the Vieux Fort assemblage. The end result of this chapter will be the production of a basic functional typology that should be widely applicable to ceramics and glass collections found on French Newfoundland sites. By establishing a framework such as this, basic research questions can be explored. Such research should address the specific kinds of activities which took place at the Vieux Fort and an examination of how the Vieux Fort assemblage compares with collections from other sites. This chapter is only intended to focus on glass and ceramic typologies, because typologies for other artifact categories (such as for tobacco pipes) are reasonably well-established and so need not be re-formulated here.

6.2 The Archaeological Samples

The glass and ceramic typology will be developed using data drawn from two archaeological sites in Placentia: the Vieux Fort site and the Castle Hill site, excavated by Parks Canada.[8] Both are stand-alone fortification sites which housed either the whole Plaisance garrison (in the case of the Vieux Fort) or part of Plaisance's garrison (in the case of Castle Hill). While the sites may be functionally similar, they are chronologically separated: the Vieux Fort was occupied between 1662 and ca.1690, while Castle Hill was occupied between 1693 and 1714 (Grange 1971:3). These sites thus provide an opportunity for a longitudinal study, examining the material world of the French soldier across the entire lifespan of the colony. Castle Hill is a multi-occupation site. After Plaisance was evacuated by the French in 1714, Castle Hill was re-occupied by British troops. The British continued to use the site until 1811. Using the context descriptions contained in Grange's exhaustively detailed site report, stratigraphic units that were determined to be of French or probable French contexts were isolated (Grange 1971: Table 1). In June of 2005, the author examined the Castle Hill collections, stored in Parks

[8] Castle Hill is the site's official name under the Parks Canada site-naming system; please note that the French would have referred to this site first as the Royal Redoubt, and then after 1697 as Fort Royale (Charbonneau 1992:10-11).

Canada's Atlantic Service Centre in Halifax. During this visit, the assemblages from the relevant French occupations were examined, photographed and a minimum vessel count of ceramic and glass artifacts was completed. Additionally, a selection of published typologies and site reports were consulted to provide information on the range of vessel forms generally available on French colonial sites, to provide a sample of illustrated examples and to examine the construction of other archaeological typologies. The results of the analysis of the Vieux Fort and the Castle Hill assemblages will be presented in this and subsequent chapters.

6.3 The Documentary Record

To add dimension and context to the typological framework developed below, the documentary record for Plaisance was consulted for clues about vessel types, vessel names and the context of vessel use in the colony. This is not a novel approach: historical archaeologists have long seen the utility in combing documentary records for typological purposes (Beaudry 1988). The use of documentary evidence can not only provide temporally-appropriate semantics, but can also indicate "where breaks of possible significance occur along the continuum of formal variation" (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:21). For example, Paul Gaston L'Anglais has made a thorough search of French documentary evidence to identify culturally relevant terminology for defining vessel forms (1994). L'Anglais not only consulted notarial records, but also examined Diderot's *Encyclopédie* for illustrations and terminology of vessel forms. He also used the *Trésor de la langue française du Québec* to determine vessel terminology and etymology.

With this example in mind, the documentary record from Plaisance was consulted to derive data on vessel form terminology. This exercise was undertaken for several reasons, the first of which is simply because relevant documents exist. Nicolas Landry has examined part of Plaisance's notarial *corpus* as part of a study of the material culture of Plaisance; however, he was not specifically concerned with vessel form terminology (1998). A re-examination of the documents was certainly merited. Furthermore, just as Peter Pope found that adaptations had to be made to the Chesapeake-based POTS typology to apply it to sites in English Newfoundland, an examination of the documentary record for Plaisance might reveal that parallel adaptations would have to be made for Newfoundland's French colony (Pope 1986).

Plaisance's documentary record is much thinner for the period 1662 to 1690 than for the period from 1691 to 1713. For the earlier period, most of the available documents are generally restricted to official correspondence. Because most of the documents are administrative in nature, they tended not to contain information on mundane objects like glass and ceramic tableware. Plaisance's documentary record grows exponentially for the period dating from 1690-1714. For this period, the files compiled by the notary in Plaisance were extremely useful. These documents were consulted in depth; in particular, any type of inventory (post-mortem, inventories of disputed cargoes, inventories of captured prize ships) was transcribed. The documents that were highlighted for further study are shown below in Table 6.1. A further description of discrete document sets is found below.

As Table 6.1 demonstrates, the documentary record consulted for the present study included several separate archival series. The reader should note that while many more files were consulted than the ones shown above, these are the documents that contained the most useful information. Occasionally, references to vessel forms were found in administrative correspondence, typically in requests for equipment and supplies sent by officials in Plaisance to administrators in France. Sometimes, information was found in administrative inventories of equipment stored in royal storehouses, or in Plaisance's hospital. Occasionally, ship contents were inventoried, either as the result of a legal dispute or as part of the process of outfitting a ship. Some information on vessel forms was derived from letters and account books of merchants, particularly the Henri Brunet papers. Brunet was an itinerant French merchant who worked out of Plaisance in the early 1670s (Library and Archives Canada *Collection Clairambault,* Series MG7-IA5). His papers, including journals and rough accounts, were consulted in their entirety and were found to contain a great deal of useful information.

A great deal of information was located in notarial documents (in the Library and Archives Canada series MG1-G^3). In this series, the set of documents that contained the most information regarding kitchen and tablewares were the post-mortem inventories, which were compiled on the death of an individual. First, the dwelling (and/or chest or trunk, if the deceased lived on board ship) was sealed and this process was duly recorded

Table 6.1 Documents Consulted for Data on Vessel Form, Manufacture and Use

Date	Title of Document and Citation
167?	Memoire des hardes...pour mon voyage. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 21
1672	Journal de voyage de La Rochelle à Plaisance. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 1-18v
1673	Compte des vituailles...pour *Le Calesian*. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 23-24v
1673	Journal du voyage du *Callesien*. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 25-51
1673/4	Compte... paye a nos matelots du *Calesian*. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 30v-33
1674	Journal de voyage à Terre-Neuve. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 1-18
1674	Henri Brunet a M. Jacques Godeffroy. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 42-42v
1675	Memoire pour id hommes d'equipage. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 66v-67
1677	Diverses comptes de Henri Brunet. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 96v-98
1677	Diverses comptes de Henri Brunet. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 99-103
1678	Diverses comptes de Henri Brunet. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 117-120
1678	Diverses comptes de Henri Brunet. BN, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 864, fol. 120v-123
1688	Pastour au minister. ANOM, Col. $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, fol. 101-104
1690	Inventaire des biens d'André Doyen. ANOM, Col. $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, fol. 177-178
1691	Estat des munitions [et autres choses pour] Plaisance. ANOM, Col. F^{1A}, Vol. 7, fol. 25
1700	Inventaire des effets de François Audigny. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it.7, 6 pg
1706	Inventaire des biens de Guillaume de Lord. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 88, 2pg
1706	Inventaire...de défunt Joseph Lafard. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 70, 10 pg
1707	État des vivres, des hardes... pour l'hôpital. ANOM, Col. $C^{11}C$, Vol. 5, fol. 255-258

Table 6.1, Continued

Date	Title of Document and Citation
1708	Inventaire des gréments..de *le Haup*. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 126, 4 pg
1708	État des dépenses et des recettes pour l'hôpital. ANOM, Col. $C^{11}C$, Vol. 6, fol. 160v-167
1709	Inventaire du Vaisseau du Roy *La Venus*. ANOM, Col. E, Vol. 93, fol. 460-481
1709	Inventaire des effets de...veuve Le Roy. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 290, 4 pgs
1709	Inventaire des…effets de veuve Le Roy. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 294, 5 pgs
1709	Inventaire des hardes de Pierre Tailbot. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 195, 2 pgs
1709	Vente des hardes de Pierre Tailbot. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 285, 2 pgs
1710	Inventaire, vente des effets de vve. Leroy. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2053 (7/175), it. 267, 13 p
1710	Inventaire des effets...de Louis Josselin. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 145, 2 pgs
1710	Inventaire de…Charles Mahier. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 149, 6 pgs
1710	Renonciation par Catherine Lebaudy. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 12-14, 5 pgs
1710	Vente judiciaire [de] Sieur de Sourdeval. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 143, 2 pgs
1711	Inventaire … [de] Louis Josselin. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 1, 9 pgs
1711	Inventaire de… Gaspard Zemar. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 148, 3 pgs
1711	Inventaire [de]… d'Olivier Laisné. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 20, 1 pg
1711	Inventaire …de Robert Tebaux. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 21, 1 pg
1711	Inventaire … de Christophe Moisant. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 22, 1 pg
1711	Vente judiciaire …[de] Boismoreau dit Dumoulin. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2054 (8/176), it. 4
1711	Vente de la prise la Sloupe des *Plongeurs Angloises*. AN, G^5, Vol. 2/3, fol. 279
1711	Vente de la prise *la Chiquette*. AN, G^5, Vol. 2/3, fol. 217

Table 6.1, Continued

Date	Title of Document and Citation
1711	Vente de la prise *le Timothy Dapson.* AN, G^5, Vol. 2/3, fol. 201, 205-6
1711	Vente de la prise *le Dragon de Salem.* AN, G^5, Vol. 2/3, fol. 233
1712	Vente de la prise *la Anne.* AN, G^5, Vol. 2/3, fol. 334-349
1713	Comptes et requêtes ...de Gabriel Barneche. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055 , it. 76-83, 16 pgs
1713	Requêtes, etc. du sieur Marsane de Berger... et la vente judiciaire de son navire. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055, it. 68-74bis, 30 pgs
1713	Inventaire de... La Hongrie Lucas. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055 , it. 112, 7 pgs
1713	Apposition des scellés [de] la maison de la vve Pichaut. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055, it. 145, 3 pgs
1713	Inventaire ...de la défunte Magdeleine Aubert. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055, it. 146, 4 pgs
1713	Inventaire du coffre, de Jean Sempar. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055, item 22, 3 pgs
1713	Déclaration du Martin Dudoit au sujet de 3 paniers. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055, it. 7, 4 pgs
1714	Billet...et inventaire des effets [de] Barnetche. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2055 , it. 12-13, 2 pgs
1714	Abandon par Marie Lemaître de la Bretonnière de sa maison. ANOM, Col. G^3, it. 37, 3 pgs
1715	Inventaire des papiers [de] Jean-Baptiste Genesis. ANOM, Col. G^3, Vol. 2056, it. 9, 8 pgs
1715	Inventaire des papiers...[de] Durand Lagarenne. ANOM, Col. G^2, Vol. 194, file 10

in documents as the *apposition des scelles*. Following this, an inventory was made of the property and material possessions, recorded in an *inventaire après-décès* (Landry 1998:102). Depending on the circumstances, the proceeds of the deceased's estate could then be sold at a public auction, or *vente judiciaire*. At least for the Plaisance documents, it was only during a public sale that monetary values were attached to the list of material possessions. Unfortunately, inexpensive small items (like food preparation and serving vessels) were often bundled together in lots, making the valuation of individual items sometimes difficult. Sometimes several documents from the same individual's estate proceedings were preserved. Each document—the *apposition, inventaire* and *vente*—may contain information about food and beverage vessels.

In Plaisance, the completion of a post-mortem inventory (or at least the survival of these documents) forms the exception rather than the rule. For Plaisance, Landry counts 18 individuals with inventories in the MG1-G^3 series (1998:103). An additional three inventories have been added to the present study. The first is the inventory of the possessions of André Doyen, who was convicted of murder and executed in 1690. Unusually, this document is contained in the MG1-C^{11}C series, which typically consists of official correspondence only. The second and third inventories are both inventories of personal papers rather than material goods. Jean-Baptiste Genesis, a *maître-cannonier*, died in Plaisance just before the evacuation; his personal papers were inventoried in Île Royale in 1715, but all of his papers relate to his time in Plaisance. The last inventory belongs to Durand La Garenne, who was an official in Plaisance. Accused of corruption, La Garenne escaped to Saint-Domingue following the evacuation of the colony and died shortly thereafter (Baudry 2000a). His papers also relate almost entirely to his time in Plaisance. Another valuable series is the papers relating to the capture and sale of English prize ships by French privateers operating out of Plaisance (contained in Library and Archives Canada's MG3-IG5 series). As with the *ventes judiciaires* following post-mortem inventories, the contents of prize ships were listed and then sold off at public auction.

6.4 Other Typologies Consulted

The typology proposed here was never intended to be a completely novel construction, made without reference to similar studies undertaken by archaeologists elsewhere. Typologies of French colonial ceramics have been developed by several authors, to whom the present study owes a central debt. These include (but are not limited to) published monographs by L'Anglais (1994), Décarie-Audet (1979), Genêt (1996), Ravoire (2006) and St. John (2011). Amy St. John's typology is useful for comparative purposes, as she has devised a ceramic typology for artifacts from a migratory French Newfoundland fishing station, EfAx-09 (Champs Paya). The assemblages from this site date between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century. L'Anglais' publication is also useful, as he develops a general functional ceramic typology for French sites, under which can be subsumed ceramic vessels of all types and all places of manufacture. L'Anglais took as the subject of study several collections from latrines in Place-Royale in

Québec and several latrine contexts from Louisbourg in Nova Scotia (1994). Almost all of the contexts are of eighteenth-century date, except for the Dunière assemblage, which spans the later seventeenth century through to the eighteenth century.

This typology aims to bring together elements of the typologies of L'Anglais (1994), Genêt (1996), Ravoire (2006), St. John (2011) and Décarie-Audet (1979). Particular inspiration is also drawn from Beaudry *et al.*'s (1983) POTS typology, developed for ceramics in the Chesapeake. The POTS typology clearly defines and illustrates ceramic vessel forms. Importantly, the POTS typology groups vessel types into general functional categories. These categories permit the characterisation of collections from a site and the comparative analysis of artifacts between sites. However, the POTS authors argue that there is no one ideal typology and indeed typologies developed for one region or to account for a particular collection can be adapted to suit the needs of others (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:19). For example, archaeologists working on sites in English Newfoundland have found the POTS typology useful and have slightly adapted it to suit the particularities of Newfoundland assemblages (Pope 1986:124-127, 1993:418-425). For the purposes of the present analysis, inspiration is taken from the basic formulation of the POTS typology, in which defined and illustrated vessel types are grouped into discrete functional categories.

However useful the POTS typology is for English Newfoundland sites and for English sites generally, it was developed with data from sites in the Chesapeake. L'Anglais notes the difficulty in using the POTS typology for French collections: "les forms illustrées, appartenant à une autre entité culturelle, ne correspondent pas toujours à celles représentées dans nos collections" (L'Anglais 1994 [I]:28). For example, the POTS typology illustrates cups as sitting atop flat bases. However, one French potting tradition produced cups that have tripod-legged bases (Hugoniot 2002:29). Thus, differences in vessel forms found in French potting traditions mean that directly applying the POTS typology to the Vieux Fort assemblage is analytically untenable.

Additionally, the POTS typology makes functional assumptions about different forms based on cues from English documentary evidence and such distinctions may not apply to collections of largely French origin. The most noteworthy example of this lies in the consideration of tin-glazed earthenware. On English sites, tin-glazed often fulfilled decorative display and table service functions—areas where the highly decorative ceramic vessels might be best appreciated (Deetz 1996:80-81; Gaulton 2006:206-208; Noel Hume 1969:108-109). The same observation does not always hold for eighteenth-century French sites. Although tin-glazed earthenware was certainly used in for the purposes of aesthetic display, the French developed another use for the ceramic. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, a distinctive type of tin-glazed earthenware (*faïence brune*), made with heat-resistant clays, was developed to cook food as well as serve it (Blanchette 1981; Genêt 1996:10-11; Walthall 1991b). This distinct difference between French and English traditions in the use of pottery means that the POTS typology cannot be applied without modification to French collections.

Regional potting traditions within France itself are another reason to adopt a broadly defined functional typology, rather than relying on typologies developed for a single region of France. A plate produced in the Saintonge kilns of southwestern France broadly resembles a plate produced in the kilns of Beauvais or Normandy. But this may not always be the case for all forms. For example, some of the chafing dishes produced in the Saintonge tradition have rims topped with a continuous undulating loop of clay, while the chafing dishes of kilns from northwestern France tend to have rims topped with individual protruding lugs (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987; Ravoire 2006:171-172). As will be shown in the chapters that follow, the Plaisance ceramic collections are drawn from different regions of France. The definition of vessel forms formulated for the present analysis will need to be broad enough to encompass the regional variability between different French potting traditions.

A number of typologies have been formulated that have informed the current analysis. Ravoire's typology is useful for its organisational strategy, particularly in the use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative data to define different types (2006). As has been noted above, though, typologies sometimes have to be modified to suit specific circumstances. Ravoire's typology was developed specifically for ceramics found in the Île-de-France and Beauvais. This typology amply represents the variety of vessel types made in these regional traditions, but it cannot be directly applied to the Vieux Fort assemblage. Likewise, St. John's typology is based on collections drawn from a French Newfoundland fishing site, which are broadly dominated by wares from Brittany and Normandy (2011). Accordingly, St. John's typology is adapted from that proposed by Ravoire. As shall be discussed in Chapter Eight, the largest proportion of pottery from the Vieux Fort site was probably the product of kilns operating in southwestern France.

Ravoire's (2006) and St. John's (2011) tightly defined vessel types are simply not as applicable to pottery assemblages with different provenance.

L'Anglais' typology is the most useful for the present purposes, for he constructs a general functional typology to span a set of archaeological sites, covering many different individual ware types (1994). As a result, this typology forms a central influence for the present analysis. Once again, though, L'Anglais' typology cannot be directly applied to the Vieux Fort assemblage for a number of reasons. L'Anglais' typology was developed for collections derived from a variety of latrine contexts in Québec (Place Royale) and Louisbourg. This particular depositional context seems to have preserved ceramic artifacts in a remarkable state of completeness, with many complete or near-complete vessels. By contrast, the Vieux Fort assemblages are badly fragmented, with only 7 out of a total of 153 vessels preserving a complete profile (that is, the original contours of the vessel, from the base to the rim, can be reconstructed). Vessels with a complete profile are illustrated in Appendix II.

The survival of large numbers of whole ceramic vessels is unusual. This may not be the case with the Place Royale and Louisbourg collections, but the application of analytical criteria from whole-vessel collections to collections that are largely fragmented may prove difficult or impossible (Hirshman *et al.* 2010; St. John 2011:45). The state of fragmentation found with the Vieux Fort assemblage means that the direct application of the L'Anglais typology, without alteration, was not possible. Furthermore, distinctions between some forms as defined by L'Anglais are difficult to discern in the absence of complete profiles. For example, a *bassin* is described as a large vessel with an everted rim and a pouring spout (L'Anglais 1994:55, Fig.17). *Terrines* are described in a similar way and illustrations of the two different forms show virtually identical vessels (L'Anglais 1994:58, Fig. 28,29). What distinguishes *bassins* from *terrines* is that the former has an interior surface only partially covered with glaze, while the latter has interior surfaces completely covered with glaze. A similar issue arises in distinguishing a *jatte* from a *terrine*. Again, the forms are very similar in appearance; the distinguishing factor between the two is the presence of a pouring spout on a *terrine* and the absence of a pouring spout on a *jatte* (L'Anglais 1994:56,58, Fig.21,28).

These definitions require enough of the vessel to be present in order to distinguish between the forms, which was possible for the Place Royale and Louisbourg collections, but is not possible with the Vieux Fort assemblages. What is needed is the definition of objects that can be "facilement identifiable à travers les fragments recueillis dans une fouille archéologique par des caractéristiques comme le diamètre du rebord, la forme de la paroi et les dimensions du pied" (Cloutier 1993:55). Thus, some basic metric and dimensional specifications are required, as are clear, unambiguous definitions.

Furthermore, when it comes to the application of this terminology to tin-glazed earthenwares, the definition of vessel forms in the L'Anglais typology are not always consistent. For example, *jattes* in coarse earthenwares are distinguished from a similar form, the *plats creux* (deep dishes), based on the absence of decoration on *jattes* (L'Anglais 1994:56). The implication is that decorated *plats creux* are used for food service, while undecorated *jattes* are used for food preparation or other purposes. Elsewhere in the typology, decorated tin-glazed earthenwares are categorized as *jattes*

(L'Anglais 1994:99, Fig.37). This is a result of L'Anglais' (1994:91) adoption of Genêt's (1996)[9] typology in its entirety, without adapting it to his own classification. These issues are problematic, in that such typological non-conformities do not allow for the "unambiguous assignment of new objects to their categories" (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:14). What is needed for the Vieux Fort assemblage is a classification scheme that has categories suitable for the analysis of fragmented collections, and also has typological definitions that made as distinctly as possible.

Additionally, most relevant typologies, including L'Anglais (1994), Cloutier (1993) and Genêt (1996), were geared towards vessel forms found throughout the eighteenth century. This means that certain vessel forms that were not in common usage before the first quarter of the eighteenth century, such as teapots, would simply not be found at Plaisance (Jean and Proulx 1995 II:59; Lapointe and Lueger 1997:219; L'Anglais 1994 [I]:90). Likewise, not all material types present in the later eighteenth century will be found in Plaisance's documentary and archaeological record. Refined earthenwares were not developed until the mid-eighteenth century and refined stonewares were not developed until ca. 1715 (Noël Hume 1969). Even *faïence brune*, which is said to have been developed about 1707, might not be found on French sites in Plaisance, given that the colony was evacuated only seven years later (Waselkov and Walthall 2002:65). Indeed, *faïence brune* was not found in French contexts in the Castle Hill assemblages. Thus, some of the typological distinctions of vessel form and vessel composition made by those working with eighteenth-century material are not applicable

[9] Genêt's work was originally published in 1977 and was reprinted in 1996.

to the Plaisance material. Others researchers working on later eighteenth-century or nineteenth-century French Newfoundland sites can always expand the typology proposed here to better suit their purposes for later time periods.

6.5 Constructing the Typology

In combing through the documentary record from Plaisance, any reference to ceramic, glass, metal, or wood vessels was recorded. Notes were also made about the context of usage, if any such data were recorded (such as the location of the vessel in a domestic structure). Any indication of the vessel's composition (glass, ceramic, pewter, etc) was also recorded. In cases where the meaning of a word was unclear, reference material was consulted to determine the term's meaning and etymology, particularly Genêt *et al.* (1974) and the internet-accessible *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (2011). Relevant documents were transcribed and then any information on vessel form, capacity, composition and context of use was recorded in a database.

6.5.1 Ceramic Ware Terminology

In the course of reading documents, particular attention was paid to notations of forms in *verre*, *terre*, *grès*, *faïence* and *porcelaine*. Forms in *verre* are simple enough to translate and refer to vessels of glass. The term *verre* may also refer to a specific form, a table glass or a wine glass manufactured from glass. *Terre* refers to forms made of earthenware, or *terre cuite grossière,* as it is referred to by archaeologists. Coarse earthenwares are non-vitrified, porous ceramics, fired at a temperature range of 900-1200 degrees Celsius. In order to make them impervious to water, they are often coated with a lead glaze (Banning 2002:178). *Grès* is stoneware, which is a dense clay that takes on vitreous qualities after being fired (Rice 1987:5). Stoneware is not porous and does not require a glaze to make the vessel water-resistant. As a result, stonewares can be glazed or unglazed. Glaze on stoneware is often a salt glaze that is achieved by introducing salt into the kiln when the kiln has reached a relatively high temperature (Décarie-Audet 1979:21). This produces a clear but textured glossy glaze. Stoneware can also bear an ash glaze, which leaves characteristic reddish-brown matte deposits (Hurst *et al.* 1986:105).

Faïence refers to tin-glazed earthenware. This ceramic type has a low-fired earthenware body, covered by a lead glaze containing tin oxide (or *émail stannifère*) (Bernier 2002:3). Upon firing, the tin oxide turns the glaze into an opaque white surface. Decoration was frequently added to tin-glazed wares in the form of a series of different pigments brushed on the vessel, of which blue was most common. Regional traditions can be denoted in decoration and in fabric characteristics, but distinguishing between regional traditions is often difficult, particularly if the wares are undecorated. French tin-glazed wares are referred to as *faïence*, but in the Spanish tradition, they are referred to as *majolica* and in English and Dutch traditions they are sometimes known as *delftware* (Noël Hume 1969:106). Most of the tin-glazed earthenwares in the Plaisance assemblages are of French or assumed French origins; however, two are clearly of Iberian origin, so for the present purposes the generic label "tin-glazed earthenware" will be used to describe this type of ceramic. And finally, a thorough examination of the available inventories failed to turn up any references to the remaining ceramic type: *porcelaine* or porcelain. Porcelain is a highly vitrified ceramic, with a glossy surface and, where thinly potted, is translucent (Genêt and Lapointe 1994). European-made porcelain was a product of the mid-eighteenth century; porcelain predating this period was produced in China for export, which arrived in New World settlements (including early modern Newfoundland) through complex trade networks (Miller 2005; Shorter 2002).

6.5.2 Measures of Capacity, Not of Form

Before proceeding to the ceramic and glass vessel typologies, a brief discussion of some of the vessel forms that appear in the documentary record is required. Some of the terms found in primary documents describe vessel capacity, rather than describing vessel form. This was a widespread practice, as documentary studies of material culture (particularly those examining post-mortem inventories) have revealed. As Beaudry has noted, "an interesting aspect of capacity designations is their ability to serve as independent referents to vessel types" (1988:47). The documentary record for Plaisance contains a number of vessels referenced by their capacity, rather than by their shape. For example, the post-mortem inventory of Bernardine Paquiau (the widow LeRoy) lists "deux pot d'etain quatre pintes deux chopines un quart et un demi quart d'etain" (Basset

29 December 1709:fol.2). Even when specific capacities are not detailed, the importance of size is reinforced by the frequent appearance of size qualifiers, such as *grande, moyenne* and *petite.* Typically, this occurs for hollow vessels that were intended to be used for liquids.

This metonymic practice (in which vessel capacity is used to refer to a vessel's overall form) will have an impact on the construction of typologies. Such substitutions remind us that in many cases, the most important aspect of an object was not its shape, but rather its capacity. Thus, we must make an attempt to distinguish vessels typologically based on their size. For example, Beaudry *et al.* make a distinction between cups and drinking pots, based on capacity; cups have a capacity of less than a pint, while drinking pots hold over one pint (1983). In order to understand what capacities were among those commonly used in Plaisance, the number of occurrences of the forms named by their capacity was recorded (Table 6.2). Please note that this table probably under-represents the frequency of the *pot* as a metonymic term, as the *pot* can also be used to refer to storage and cooking vessels. *Pots* were included in this table only if the documents clearly specified that the vessel served a function related to drinking.

Some attempt has been made here to show the capacity indicated by each term, using data listed in Ross (1983:74). However, these capacities cannot be considered definitive, because of regional variations in metrology in early modern France. Across France, the same metrological term might be correlated with a different capacity, depending on the region and the liquid being measured. The *pot* is a useful example. A

Table 6.2 Vessels Indicated by their Capacities

Vessel	Capacity (taken from Paris standards)	Material	Number of References in Plaisance documents
Chopine	466 ml	Pewter, iron, unspecified	16
Pinte / Demi-quart	931 ml (or two chopines)	Pewter, iron, unspecified	19
Quart / Pot	1.86 l (or two pintes/demi-quarts)	Pewter	7

Note:

Capacity measures are taken from Ross (1983:74).

survey of published literature found that the *pot* represented a number of different capacities (Table 6.3). Indeed, other analysts have found that if we wish to understand the capacity that a French vessel was intended to hold, we must first discover where in France that vessel was made (Loewen 1999:48). Unfortunately, the ceramics and glass from the Vieux Fort assemblage came from a wide variety of regions, so enabling the vessel's region of origin to inform our understanding of its capacity is difficult. Translating these measurements into useful typological distinctions is difficult on a number of levels. In addition to the issue of regional variation in metrological terms, we must also consider variation in the manufacture of forms. The standardisation of the size of handmade containers (particularly those intended to store commodities like butter and wine) was a vexing question for authorities in early modern France, no less for the archaeologist of today (Dufournier and Fajal 1996). The implications of this problem for typology construction are that size, particularly of drinking vessels, is an important consideration. However, size cannot be ascribed a distinct measurement in terms of capacity. Rougher guidelines must be used to separate out small and large drinking vessels. Further details will be given below, particularly in the entries for the *pot à boire* and the *tasse.*

Table 6.3 Regional Variations in the Capacity of a French *pot*

Region	Capacity of a *pot* (in l)	Reference
Lyon	0.93	Ross 1983:72
Marseille, Toulon	1.07	Ross 1983:73
Rouen	1.65	Ross 1983:74
Normandy	1.82	Garnier 1996:172
Paris	1.86	Ross 1983:74
Lisieux, Beaumont en Auge (département du Calvados)	1.90	Garnier 1996:172
Crèvecoeur, Pays d'Auge (département du Calvados)	2.49	Garnier 1996:172
Bourdeaux	2.27	Loewen 1999:51

6.5.3 Documentary Analysis: Results

Data in the documents consulted was not always presented clearly and issues in interpretation occasionally arose. For example, sometimes vessels were listed in a series: "vingt huit assiettes et neuf plats d'etain" (Basset 12-13 December 1713:fol. 2). In cases such as this, the assumption was made that both the *assiettes* and the *plats* were made of *étain* (pewter). In some cases, multiple documents recorded the estate of a deceased individual (in *apposition, inventaire* and *vente* documents). Material goods from the same estate might be recorded, in whole or in part, in multiple documents; every attempt was made not to count the same object more than once. If the number of vessels was not explicitly stated in the document, the vessel count was given as only one. However, sometimes documents referred to an unspecified number of vessels, such as in the following example: "une barrique de grès" (Basset 1 June 1711:fol. 206). Occasionally, documents specified a number of vessels, but not their actual form: "douze douziemes de potterie à 6 [livres] la douzine, soixante douze livres.... 72 [livres]" (Basset 1 June 1711:fol. 206). In both these cases, the data could not be used in the construction of the vessel forms, though the data was recorded for use in other parts of this analysis.

When consideration is given to pricing data derived from these documents, the reader should also be aware of the context of each document. A document describing items sold at a public sale in Plaisance will indicate their cost to the consumer in the colony at the time of purchase; alternately, a document listing costs of cargo on board a ship might only describe the cost of that item to the merchant, rather than the price for which the item would be sold for in the colony. And finally, though the data presented in Table 6.1 above shows documents drawn from the seventeenth through to the early eighteenth centuries, the reader should be aware that the documents dating to the early eighteenth century provided the majority of the data on vessel forms. In total, these documents provided data on 1049 individual vessels in Plaisance, presented in Table 6.4 below. The data in Table 6.4 are broadly similar to data derived from later seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century inventories from Québec, in that the range of vessel forms named in the documents generally overlaps (Jean and Proulx 1995 II:59-61; Lapointe and Lueger 1997:219). The Plaisance data will be used, along with inventory data derived from similar studies in New France, to help define the terminology and suggest uses and functions of the forms presented in the typology below.

Next, the documentary data was used to isolate distinct forms that were likely to be found in glass and ceramic vessels. At this point, the names for forms from Plaisance documents were sought out in the published artifact typologies discussed above. In cases where conflict between form definitions is noted (as has been discussed above, for the forms *bassin, jatte* and *terrine*), inspiration is drawn from Beaudry *et al.* (1983:19), who argue that:

> all classifications are arbitrary. People impose categories, and hence order, upon objects to facilitate communication; this is true of the archaeologist as much as it is of the people he or she studies.... If persons are to make sense of this bewildering variety of experience, they must pick and choose, recognizing certain features as significant and discarding others.

Forms defined by St. John for French Newfoundland fishing sites have broadly similar

Table 6.4 References to Vessel Forms from Plaisance Documents

	Argent	Bois	Cuivre	Étain	Faïence	Fer	Laiton	Verre	Terre	Not Specified	TOTAL
Assiette				176	2					40	216
Bassin à barbe				1							1
Bidon										2	2
Bouteille								15	3	20	38
Chandelier			9	8		30	4				51
Chaudière			6							11	17
Chaudron			34			2				10	46
Chocolatière				1							1
Chopine				7		1				8	16
Couvercle			1								1
Cruche									1	1	2
Demi-quart				6							6
Écuelle				13	1					26	40
Fiole								1			1

Table 6.4, continued

	Argent	Bois	Cuivre	Étain	Faïence	Fer	Laiton	Verre	Terre	Not Specified	TOTAL
Flacon										36	36
Gamelle		1	2							1	4
Gobelet				2					2	27	31
Jarre										7	7
Marmite			5			3				2	10
Passoir			1								1
Pinte				9		1				3	13
Plat				60	5	5			2	24	96
Poêle						7				12	19
Poêlette				2						7	9
Poêlon			8								8
Pot				4		12			178	9	203
Pot, petit										1	1
Pot à bière									2		2

Table 6.4, continued

	Argent	Bois	Cuivre	Étain	Faïence	Fer	Laiton	Verre	Terre	Not Specified	TOTAL
Pot à confiture										1	1
Pot de chambre					1					6	7
Quart				7							7
Rechaud			2			37				1	40
Saladier					1		56				57
Salière				6						2	8
Tasse	4			2					1	3	10
Verre										39	39
TOTAL	**4**	**1**	**69**	**305**	**8**	**99**	**60**	**16**	**189**	**296**	**1049**

Note:

All data derived from sources noted in Table 6.1.

names and links between her typology and that proposed here are made wherever possible (2011).

Some of the forms defined in the present typology had specific uses and specific shapes, though this was not always the case. Sometimes, the definitions of and boundaries between different types of vessel forms may have been only fuzzily defined several hundred years ago when the objects were in use (Jackson 2005:8). Where the documents indicate discontinuity and conflict between defined forms, what appeared to be the least-specific or specialized term was selected here. If two different terms for the same basic type of object existed, they were lumped together and a single term was chosen to represent them. The tendency towards lumping similar forms together (as opposed to splitting similar forms apart) is appropriate for the current goals of the study. The intention here is to develop a broad functional classification to highlight site function, rather than a specific classification to emphasize stylistic trends, for example. The types defined here are intended to be specifically defined enough to distinguish one type from another, but broadly defined enough that a specific type can encompass variation between regions and potting traditions. Thus, a *jarre* was defined in a way that made it a meaningfully specific category, but the definition was general enough that products of different potting traditions (such as the products of Iberian, French and/or English kilns) can be subsumed under the same type.

6.6 The Illustrated Typology: Examples from Comparative Literature

Once the appropriate terminology was decided upon, a formalized definition for each term was then described. Taking inspiration from the POTS typology, illustrations of each vessel type were drawn, in an attempt both to show the defining attributes of each form and to demonstrate some of the observable variation encompassed by each form (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). Not all of the definable variants of a vessel type could be illustrated here, so consulting the written descriptions is just as important as examining the illustrations presented in this typology. As with the illustrations in the POTS typology, the figures presented here are simplified and are only intended to show the basic details of each vessel's shape. Unfortunately, the state of fragmentation of many of the vessels from the Plaisance assemblage meant that few full profiles of vessels were available for illustration. Thus, I have located published illustrations of vessel forms from contemporaneous French sites, redrawn them in a simplified format and reproduced them at a scale of 1:4. Vessels of similar function are shown grouped together (all cooking vessels are shown grouped, for example), though sometimes vessels of more than one functional purpose are shown in a single figure. All of the illustrations are shown in Figures 6.1 to 6.8 below. For ease of reference, written vessel descriptions are listed in alphabetical order.

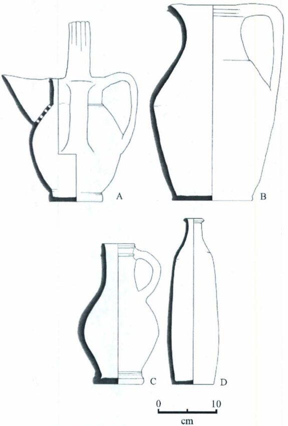

Figure 6.1: Examples of beverage service vessels from comparative literature.

A) *Cruche.* Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:61, no.137). B) *Cruche.* Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994, I: Fig. 19b). C) *Bouteille.* Redrawn from Hurst *et al.* (1986:Fig. 106, no. 335). D) *Bouteille.* Redrawn from Chrestien and Dufornier (1995:Fig.1c).

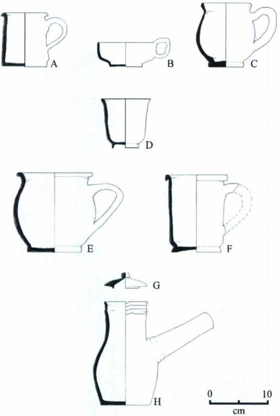

Figure 6.2: More examples of beverage service vessels from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Tasse*. Redrawn from Genet (1996:Fig. 53e). B) *Tasse*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:126,no.314). C) *Tasse*. Redrawn from Lapointe and Lueger (1997:180,Fig.3h). D) *Gobelet*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:6,Fig.53c). E) *Pot à boire*. From L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.26b). F) *Pot à boire*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig.53f). G) *Couvercle*. Redrawn from Lapointe and Lueger (1997:194,fig.f). H) *Chocolatière*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.18b).

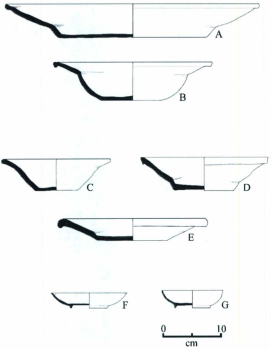

Figure 6.3: Examples of food service vessels drawn from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Plat*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:151,no.410). B) *Assiette*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:150,no.407). C) *Plat*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:150,no.406). D) *Assiette*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:169,no.461). E) *Assiette*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:168,no.459). F) *Soucoupe*. Redrawn from Genet (1996:Fig.50e). G) *Soucoupe*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.38).

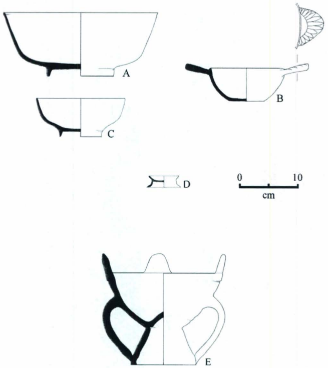

Figure 6.4: More examples of food service vessels from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Saladière*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig.71e). B) *Écuelle*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:145,no.387). C) *Saladière*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig.71c). D) *Salière*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig. 63c). E) *Rechauffoir*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:136,no.357).

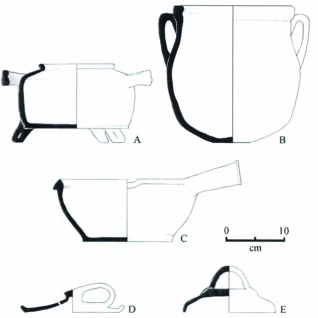

Figure 6.5: Examples of food preparation vessels from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Marmite*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.23a). B) *Marmite*. Redrawn from Amouric and Vallauri (2007:238). C) *Poêlon*. Redrawn from Lapointe and Lueger (1997:189,Fig.6g). D) *Couvercle*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.5). E) *Couvercle*. Redrawn from Lapointe and Lueger (1997:186,Fig.k).

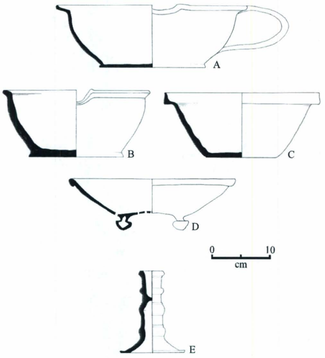

Figure 6.6: Food preparation and other vessels from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Jatte*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:135,no.349). B) *Jatte/Terrine*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig. 9b). C) *Jatte/Terrine*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:167,no.449). D) *Egouttoir*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:186,no.513). E) *Chandelier*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:206,no.581).

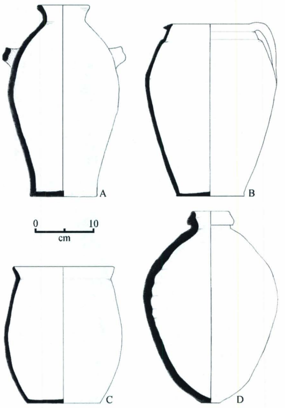

Figure 6.7: Examples of storage vessels drawn from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Pot*. Redrawn from Hurst et al. (1986:Fig.46,no.141). B) *Pot*. Redrawn from Chrestien and Dufournier (1995:Fig. 1j). C) *Pot*. Redrawn from Chrestien and Dufournier (1995:Fig.2d). D) *Jarre*. Redrawn from Hurst et al. (1986:Fig.29,no.80).

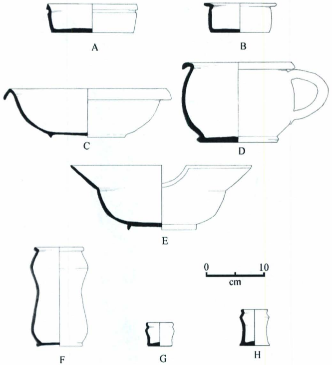

Figure 6.8: Examples of storage and hygeine vessels from comparative literature.
These images have been redrawn in a simplified fashion from published examples found in comparative literature. A) *Pot à conserve*. Redrawn from Genêt 1996:Fig.40a). B) *Pot à conserve*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig.40c). C) *Bassin*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig. 11e). D) *Pot de chambre*. Redrawn from L'Anglais (1994[I]:Fig.11). E) *Bassin à barbe*. Redrawn from Genêt (1996:Fig.12a). F) *Pot à ointment*. Redrawn from Ravoir (2006:158,no.123). G) *Pot à ointment*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:202,no.568). H) *Pot à ointment*. Redrawn from Hugoniot (2002:202,no.569).

6.7 The Ceramic Typology: Descriptions

Assiette: In the Plaisance inventories, this form was recorded both in pewter and in *faïence*. These are food service vessels that typically have a flat rim; sometimes, this rim is decorated (L'Anglais 1994 [I]:34; Genêt *et al.* 1974:31-32). Occasionally, *assiettes* can have rims that only weakly everted (Genêt 1996:101). The only modifiers that were associated with *assiettes* are the qualifiers "grand et petit", associated with 40 pewter *assiettes* noted in one inventory (Basset, 3 November 1711). This suggests some size variation within the category. *Assiettes* have been archaeologically defined as vessels of a medium-sized capacity that are smaller than *plats*. (Genêt 1996:45; L'Anglais 1994 I:62; Niellon and Moussette 1981:214). Metric data for vessels defined as *assiettes* from Place Royale show that these vessels have rim diameters ranging between 22 and 24 cm (L'Anglais 1994:59,69,72). Surprisingly, this correlates well with Beaudry *et al.*'s definition of the plate in the POTS typology, which has a rim diameter of 18 to 25 cm (1983). Thus, these two forms can be considered roughly analogous. The depth of the vessel form can vary; *assiettes* need not be shallow and deeper forms are sometimes encountered. *Assiettes* can be found in coarse earthenwares, tin-glazed earthenwares and porcelain (Genêt 1996:39; L'Anglais 1994 II:29; Lapointe and Lueger 1997:204).

Bassin: The presence of a single *bassin à barbe* (barber's bowl) in the Plaisance inventories suggests that a typological definition of both *bassin* and *bassin à barbe* is required. The term *bassin* is etymologically complex and the term has been ascribed with a series of different functional uses (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:263-264). However, the majority of the functional attributions reflect the role that the *bassin* played in hygiene, for washing and shaving (Alexandre-Bidon 2005; Genêt 1996:41; Jean and Proulx 1995 I:418, II:69). Thus, for the purposes of this study, *bassins* are associated with a hygienic function, much in the same way that basins are attributed a similar function in Beaudry *et al.* (1983).

With this resolved, a definition of the form is borrowed largely from Genêt (1996:41), as a rounded bowl with a strongly everted rim; they may be decorated and are typically found in *faïence*. Beaudry *et al.*'s (1983) distinction that basins in English forms are wider than they are deep seems to be entirely applicable to the *bassins* shown in Genêt (1996:117). Distinguishing archaeological fragments of *faïence bassins* from fragments of *faïence pots à chambre* may be based on the thickness of the rim. The *pot á chambre* possesses a sturdier, thickly potted rim. Furthermore, *pots à chambre* tend to be strongly hemispheric or globular in body shape and on a rim sherd this may be distinguishable by a steeply flaring angle below the rim. By contrast, a *bassin* rim sherd should not flare so steeply out from below the rim. To illustrate this with very simple geometric terms, if the top resting point of the rim is held level, the rim:body angle of a *bassin* should be obtuse, while the rim:body angle of a *pot à chambre* should be acute, or approach a right angle. For further details on distinguishing *bassins* from *saladiers*, see the entry for *saladier* below.

Bassin à barbe: This is a very specific vessel form manufactured for a very specific purpose; as such they tend to have a typical form, regardless of the potting tradition that produced them. In the POTS typology, they are referred to as 'barber's basins', but they can also be referred to as shaving basins or bleeding bowls (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:Table 1; Stoddart 2000:84; Genêt 1996:42). They are shallow or deep bowls, usually with a wide rim; what is most distinctive is the presence of a large crescent-shaped cutout in the rim of the vessel. This allowed the bowl to be inserted under the chin or elsewhere on the body, to catch shaving lather (or blood, if the barber was fulfilling his additional role as a surgeon). That such tools were used in Plaisance is testified to by the *ordonnance* posted by Phillippe Pastour de Costebelle in 1713, warning against unauthorized surgeons practicing in the colony and reminding the public to ensure they had confidence in those they sought out "pour la barbe" (P. Costebelle 28 December 1713). Indeed, the single reference to a *bassin à barbe* in Plaisance comes from the inventory of surgeon's tools during the outfitting of the vaisseau du Roi *La Venus* (Carrerot 1 February 1709:fol. 480).

Despite the apparent prevalence of unofficial surgeons in the colony, *bassins à barbe* appear to be rare archaeological discoveries (l'Anglais 1994 I:94). This form will only be detectable archaeologically by either the concentric cut-out along the vessel's broad rim, or by the decoration of the vessel with surgeon's implements (Stoddart 2000:84). Another indication that a vessel represents a *bassin à barbe* may be the presence of a very broad rim, though this is of course not a definitive indication that a rim fragment was once part of a *bassin à barbe*. The example recorded in the single Plaisance inventory is made of pewter; while examples recovered archaeologically are made from tin-glazed earthenware, this form was also produced in French coarse earthenware potting traditions (Genêt 1996:42, Hugoniot 2002:203).

Bouteille: *Bouteilles* are beverage-service vessels that are made of glass, earthenware, tin-glazed earthenware or stoneware (though the documentary record for Plaisance does not record any instances of stoneware bottles). Glass *bouteilles* will be described below. Ceramic *bouteilles* are either cylindrical or bulbous-bodied vessels with a constricted neck (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:264-265; Brain 1979:40-41). In some potting traditions, *bouteilles* lack handles, but they are present in others (Barton 1981:18; Décarie-Audet 1979:33; Ravoire 2006:116). As a result, *bouteilles* in this typology may or may not have a handle. This definition refers to beverage containers only; specialized forms of bottles may be present elsewhere (such as ink bottles), but as these were not detected either in the documentary record or in the archaeological record for Plaisance, they were not isolated as a distinct type (Décarie-Audet 1979:38).

Also included under this category is the term *bidon*. It is not a commonly used term and was only found in two documents from Plaisance, both dating to the early period of the colony's history (Brunet, June 1673; L. Costebelle, 3 September 1688). The term was not listed in L'Anglais (1994), Genêt *et al.* (1974), or Jean and Proulx (1995). However, the term is discussed in Alexandre-Bidon (2005:264), where bidons are defined as "chopines ou canètes de bois [...] faits à tenir et distribuer la boisson". In this definition, *bidon* is said specifically to refer to a wooden vessel. The etymology of the term in *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* for the early modern period is said to be a small container that can be closed off, made of wood or metal. It is thought to be a regionally specific word (common in Normandy) used by mariners until the end of the eighteenth century (TLFI 2010). Because this is such an uncommon term and because it seems to function in the same way as a bottle, it was subsumed under the category of *bouteille*, for simplicity's sake.

Chandelière: This term designates a candlestick. The Plaisance records indicate that all inventoried forms were made of metal. However, ceramic candlesticks are known in French potting traditions (Hugoniot 2002:206-207). Their forms are varied, but generally, elongated *chandeliéres* have hollow pedestalled bases that taper upwards to thin candleholders; the stems may have decorative ridging. Squat forms have also been discovered, in which a shorter hollow candlestick sits in a saucer, with a handle (Barton 1981:26). *Chandelières* have been noted in both coarse earthenwares and faïence (Genêt *et al.* 1974:80; L'Anglais 1994 I:89). Because of the similarity in manufacture between the base of a simple *chandelière* and the base of a *réchaud*—effectively a hollow pedestal with a flat resting point—these two forms may be difficult to distinguish if only base sherds are present.

Chocolatière: A single example of the term *chocolatière* was noted in the documentary record for Plaisance, made of pewter (Basset 19 September 1713). This form can occur as a ceramic vessel in highly decorated coarse earthenwares or in faïence.

(Genet 1996:Fig.36c; L'Anglais 1994 I:55). These forms are indistinguishable from those intended to serve coffee (*cafetières*) but the term *chocolatière* was maintained, though the two forms are equivalent. Chocolate was the earliest-adopted of the two beverages, though by the later eighteenth century, coffee had become the more important beverage (Norton 2006:666; Roche 2000:246). Not surprisingly, references to coffee or coffee service vessels were not found in the Plaisance documents, which means that for the present study, the *chocolatière* is the only form that needs to be defined. L'Anglais defines these as pear-shaped vessels, bearing an elongated neck, with a vertical or tubular handle opposite a pouring spout (1994 I:55). They were often fitted with lids.

With a fragmentary collection, the *chocolatière* might be difficult to distinguish from a *cruche,* especially in the absence of distinctive vessel elements (such as the tubular handle). However, given the rarity of the *chocolatière* in the Plaisance documents, the *chocolatière* will likely not be a common form found in the Plaisance assemblage. Thus, the attribution of sherds to the *chocolatière* form should only be made in the case where distinct and diagnostic elements are present. The rarity of chocolate in Plaisance is indicated by the fact that there are only two extant references to chocolate or to a *chocolatière* in the documentary record. The first reference is found in the accounts of the debts owed by the deserter Gabriel Barnetche, who owed 5 *livres* for a *chocolatière* of pewter and 6 *livres* for a small amount of chocolate (Goy dit Lalonde 19 September 1713:fol. 76*bis*). The second reference to chocolate is found in the public auction of a shipment of chocolate on the sloop *Plongeurs Angloises*, an English prize ship captured in 1711; a quart of chocolate was sold to Baptiste Genesis, *maître-cannonier*, for 63 *livres*

(Basset, May 1711:fol.278). Such a costly consumable was probably beyond the reach of most consumers in Plaisance at this time and as a result, *chocolatières* will likely be uncommon archaeological discoveries.

Couvercle: These are lids, of which there is one example made of copper in the Plaisance documents. Archaeologically, these are common enough finds in coarse earthenware (L'Anglais 1994 I:33). They may have a squat cone-shaped profile, or may be completely flat; typically, there is a loop-shaped handle on top, though button knobs are another variant (Barton 1981:21; Genêt 1996:126-129). Larger lids in coarse earthenwares were probably used in kitchen for storage or food preparation purposes, while smaller, tin-glazed earthenware lids are probably associated with table service wares.

Cruche: These are the rough equivalent to the term "pitcher" used in the POTS typology (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). The use of the term *cruche* is preferred over *pichet* by L'Anglais (1994 I:55,147), as the latter term is not nearly as commonly found in the documentary record. The term *pichet* was not encountered in the documentary evidence for Plaisance. The terms *buée* and *aiguière* seem to refer to the same general type of vessel (Genêt 1996:Plate 1; L'Anglais 1994 I:34). Indeed, the etymology of the word *cruche* itself seems to encompass a great deal of variation (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:267). This etymological variation of terms describing much the same vessel suggests that the vessel form itself can be equally broadly defined; thus, the types of vessels described in

Genêt as *pot à bec verseur* in *faïence* can be subsumed under the term *cruche* (1996:162). Likewise, the vessels defined by St. John as *pichets* are also included in this category (2011:110). *Cruche* thus is a general-purpose term used to describe a pouring vessel for beverage service. Their common features consist of a globular body, with a handle; the body narrows to a cylindrical neck, which may or may not have a pouring spout (L'Anglais 1994 I:Fig.7, Fig. 20). They may occur in coarse earthenwares, coarse stonewares or tin-glazed earthenwares (Décarie-Audet 1979:33; Barton 1981:17).

Écuelle: These are small conical bowls, with one or two eared handles attached horizontally at the rim. They are the parallel form to the "porringer" described by Beaudry *et al.* for the POTS typology (1983). This form may also be referred to as *bol à oreilles* in some publications; while morphologically descriptive, the use of the chronologically appropriate term *écuelle* is preferred here over the term *bol* (Trombetta 2001:149). See the entry for *saladier* for further details on the issue of the word *bol.* They are generally associated with food service (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:269; Genêt *et al.* 1974:112). These forms appear in *étain* and *faïence* in the Plaisance inventories, but were also made in coarse earthenware.

Égouttoir: This form should be considered separately from the *passoir* (*q.v.*). The *égouttoir* is a bowl-shaped object with a flat or lightly curving base; its defining characteristic is that the base has been pierced with many small holes to permit drainage. These forms are sometimes associated with the manufacture of cheese, though they are undoubtedly not restricted to this function (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:270). This form does not appear in the documentary record for Plaisance, but coarse earthenware forms do appear in Québec inventories and apparently analogous forms in metal have been discovered archaeologically (Bruseth and Durst 2007:Fig.11; L'Anglais 1994 I:89). If the pierced holes are not preserved in a fragmentary vessel, the *égouttoir* may be indistinguishable from the *jatte/terrine*. Given the rarity of the form in the documentary evidence for Plaisance (it does not appear), fragments that do not bear the *égouttoir's* diagnostic holes should instead be classified as a *jatte/terrine*.

Jarre: These are large storage vessels that are characterized by bulbous, ovoid, or carrot-shaped bodies and a heavily constricted neck (Barton 1981:41-44). They may also be large-bellied vessels with a heavily constricted neck and handles on the shoulders (Brandon 2006: Plate 16; Gusset 2007:Fig. 9.1.51, 9.1.58). This form has been recorded as being used in Plaisance as containers for olive oil or oil, though the material of manufacture is not specified (Brunet 1672:fol. 8,8v,10v,12v). Other documentary studies have recorded these forms in coarse earthenware and archaeological surveys have recorded similar forms in coarse stoneware (L'Anglais 1994 I:89, Décarie-Audet 1979).

Jatte/Terrine: The difficulties of distinguishing between *jattes* and *terrines* as defined by L'Anglais have been discussed above (L'Anglais1994). Thus, these two forms have been compressed into a single type; the imprecision of this category is signified by the use of the compound term '*jatte/terrine*'. These are large conical open vessels with rim forms that vary from squared-off, to lightly everted, to strongly everted. These are food preparation vessels; while they may have glaze on interior or exterior surfaces, they should be undecorated. They may or may not have a pouring spout. They can be found in large varieties, with rim diameters varying between approximately 20 cm for small versions, through 35 cm or more for large versions (L'Anglais 1994 I:60,64). Because these are utilitarian wares, they may be thickly potted, poorly finished and exhibit heavy rilling on interior or exterior surfaces. These vessels are the rough equivalent of milk pans as defined in Beaudry *et al.* (1983), though their use is certainly not limited to dairying. These are most typically found in coarse earthenwares. For guidelines on distinguishing the *jatte/terrine* form from the *plats creux* form, please see the entry under *plat*.

Gobelet: The Plaisance inventories record this form existing in both pewter and earthenware, though they were also produced in *faïence*, porcelain, silver and glass (Genêt *et al.* 1974:138). These are best defined as drinking cups that lack handles; the shape of the body can vary from tulip-shaped to straight-sided (L'Anglais 1994 I:Fig.85). This form does not have an obvious parallel in the POTS typology, which defines drinking vessels as possessing handles (Beaudry *et al.* 1983).

Marmite: This form is most often made in metal (iron or copper) in the Plaisance inventories, but this term can equally refer to forms made in coarse earthenwares (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:273). These are defined as round globular-bodied forms, with a slight constriction above the shoulders to produce a neck; rims may be everted. Typically, these forms have handles, either extending off the rim as a rod, or attached to the vessel both at the rim and on the belly. This form thus encompasses the forms described as pipkins and flesh pots in the POTS typology (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). While some of these forms do have tripod feet, it is not a requirement. Many *marmites* produced in French potting traditions do not have feet (Barton 1981:18; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:26,34). These forms can also be described as either a *coquemar, pot à bouillon, pot à soupe, pot tripode, pot pour marmite*, or as a *huguenot* (Genêt *et al.* 1974:144; L'Anglais 1994 I:57; Ravoire 2006:136; St. John 2011:128-131). These forms are used for cooking and often bear heavy sooting on exterior surfaces as a result.

Plat: This common form in the Plaisance inventories is recorded in pewter, iron, *faïence* and earthenware, though they are also likely found in porcelain. These are the equivalent of dishes in the POTS typology (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). These are intended to be food service vessels and as a result are often decorated (L'Anglais 1994 I:56,62). They may occur in deep forms (*plats creux*) and accordingly, can be difficult to distinguish from *jattes* (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:275, Genêt *et al.* 1974:191). However, L'Anglais (1994 I:56, footnote) suggests that the presence of decoration can distinguish between *plats creux* and *jattes*, as the latter are kitchen wares and thus unlikely to be decorated. Though a qualitative distinction, a survey of the forms illustrated in the L'Anglais typology suggests that *jattes* will be deeper vessels, more thickly potted and less finished, showing very clear rilling (L'Anglais 1994). *Plats* and *plats creux* also tend to exhibit a flat, everted rim (which is a typical location for decoration, either by incising, or the use of decorative slips and glazes.

Plats can be identical in form to *assiettes*; what distinguishes these two forms is their size (Genêt 1996:45). L'Anglais notes that the average diameter of *plats* in the Place Royale collections measures 26 cm, making them larger than *assiettes* (1994 I:56,62). Thus, a boundary measurement of 25 cm can be assigned. Forms with a rim diameter of 25 cm or larger are *plats*, while forms with a rim diameter smaller than 25 cm are *assiettes*. This correlates well with Beaudry *et al.*'s distinction between plates and dishes (1983).

Poêle: This form is intended to subsume the terms *poêlons* and *poêlette.* Genêt *et al.* illustrate that these latter two terms are diminutives of the *poêle* and that the smaller versions may have feet (1974:194,199). Generally speaking, these are metal vessels used for frying or quick cooking and the Plaisance inventories consistently indicate that these were most commonly metal vessels. However, L'Anglais catalogues one ceramic version, which resembles a *terrrine/jatte* in form, but has a hollow handle extending off of the rim that would be suitable for the insertion of a rod (1994 I:68). St. John also catalogues *poêlons* in her study of French ceramics from a Newfoundland fisheries site (2011:137). This form might be an occasional find in coarse earthenware (Amouric and Vallauri 2007:Fig. 33, 40; Ravoire 2006:168-169). Forms in tin-glazed earthenware or stoneware that are squat vessels with an inverted rim and a similar handle might seem to be analogous, but are likely either spittoons, bedpans, or urinals and serve a hygienic function rather than a cooking function (Genêt 1996:Plate 18; Bertaux and Levesque 1993:75).

Pot: This is a form that is notoriously difficult to characterize from documentary evidence; notaries use this term to describe a variety of different forms (L'Anglais 1994 I:57). Occasional modifiers are found; in the Plaisance documents, *pots* have been described as *pot à chambre, pot à confiture* and *pot à bière*. Other documentary and archaeological studies have indicated that pots of widely varied form were used for food storage, for medicinal materials, for drinking vessels, for chamber pots and for small conserves containers. The general term "*pot*" is reserved here for large food storage vessels exclusively; additional forms are isolated into distinct types with the addition of a modifying phrase (see *pot à boire*, *pot à pharmacie*, *pot de chambre*). Storage pots were multipurpose storage containers. For example, records from merchant accounts indicate that fat and butter was stored in *pots* (Brunet 1672; Brunet 1673-1674). These are vessels of diverse form and may exhibit significant variability depending on the region and potting tradition that produced them. Beaudry *et al.*'s definition is general enough to encompass the variety encountered: "a large, cylindrical or slightly convex-sided vessel, [which is] taller than wide" (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:36). They are commonly found in coarse earthenware and in coarse stoneware. The *pot* as defined here also includes the varieties described as *sinots, mahons* and grease pots in St. John (2011:115-126).

Pot à boire: This is a form that L'Anglais uses to refer to large-capacity stoneware drinking vessels (1994I:148). Adopting a specifically defined large-format drinking vessel will allow the typology to address the variety of large-capacity vessels noted above in Table 6.2. The *pot* was an important capacity for individual consumption of drink in Plaisance, as demonstrated by the records of merchant Henri Brunet. In 1672, he sold 83 *pots* of eau-de-vie to various residents and fishermen working in the colony (Brunet 1672). This was clearly a popular capacity for sale and thus a form designating this capacity ought to be described. Though Table 6.3 above indicates that the capacity of a *pot* varied, the term generally seems to encompass a drinking vessel of large size. Thus, a *pot à boire* is defined as a large-capacity handled drinking vessel of any form (straight-sided or globular-bodied). This reflects the division seen between cup and drinking pot found in the POTS typology (Beaudry *et al.* 1983).

In form and in definition, the *pot à boire* is the larger version of the *tasse*, as described below. They may be found in coarse earthenwares or coarse stonewares and were undoubtedly made in metal and wood as well. Distinguishing the capacity of a vessel from a fragmentary collection may be difficult, so a general rule of thumb was developed by consulting published illustrations. Large-capacity drinking vessels typically (though not always) have a larger rim diameter. After consulting a number of published illustrations, larger drinking vessels seem to be characterized by a rim diameter of ten cm or larger. Though this is an arbitrary measure, it will at least allow the *pot à boire* to be distinguished from the *tasse* when fragmentary sherds are all that remain.

Pot à conserve: One reference to this form was found in the Plaisance documents. One variant of the form (the only variant that was recovered at the Vieux Fort) are small, low vessels that look very much like a *pot à pharmacie*; the difference is that these pots are very low (Barbry 2007:8). On average, they are two to three times as wide as they are tall. A different, eighteenth-century version of the form is displayed in L'Anglais (1994 I:Fig.89), which are very tall cylindrical vessels with no constriction at the neck. They were probably used for conserves and other foodstuffs. They most commonly occur in tin-glazed earthenwares (Genêt 1996).

Pot à pharmacie: These are a common form in many potting traditions; they are most commonly found in cylindrical open pots, large and small, with a folded or rolled rim (Archer 1997:377; Genêt 1996). While there may be an external channel running around the exterior below the rim, the neck is open and not constricted (e.g Reese 2007:310-314). Occasionally, larger baluster-shaped jars are also found (Genêt 1996:44). These were used to store ointments, medicinal preparations and cosmetics (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). They may be highly decorated or plain; tin-glazed earthenware versions are most common, but occasionally found in highly decorated coarse earthenware versions (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987). These are referred to as *albarelle* in St. John (2011:134).

Pot de chambre: These are chamber ports, which are defined as globular or ovoid-shaped vessels with a heavy rim that flare markedly; some are flattened on the top. They are often characterized by thickly potted rims that overhang a lightly constricted neck and usually have handles (L'Anglais 1994 I:Fig. 33,34). These forms are generally made in tin-glazed earthenware and coarse stoneware, though they can also appear in coarse earthenware. As the name implies, they are used indoors for the disposal of human wastes.

Réchaud: This is the correlate of the chafing dish in Beaudry *et al.* (1983). Generally speaking, *réchauds* are pedestalled vessels with protruding supports around the rim. The vessel should be able to accommodate hot coals, while the rim supports allow a vessel of food to be placed on top. These allow a vessel of food to be kept warm at the table; as a result, these are food service vessels, rather than cooking vessels (Genêt *et al.* 1974:217). *Réchauds* can occur in metal forms, as the Plaisance documents indicate. The large number of iron réchauds in the Plaisance documents are a result of a single shipment which was found on board the ship *Anne*, an English ship captured as a prize in 1712 (Basset 1712). However, *réchauds* are often found in coarse earthenwares (Lapointe and Lueger 1997:214). In French potting traditions, the rim supports on a *réchaud* can be lugs, or knobs with button-like protrusions on the end; they may also be raised loops, or made from an undulating strip of clay that is laid around the rim of the vessel (Barton 1981:Figure 8, 22; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:197; Niellon and Moussette 1981:Fig.21). Because of the similarity in manufacture between the base of a simple *chandelière* and the base of a *réchaud*—effectively a hollow pedestal with a flat resting point—these two forms may be difficult to distinguish from each other if only base sherds are present.

Salière: This is the direct equivalent of a salt in the POTS typology (Beaudry *et al.* 1983). These are small, pedestalled bowls that may or may not have supports around the rim (Genêt 1996:49). As the name implies, these vessels are used for serving salt at the table (Genêt *et al.* 1974:224). These may be found in tin-glazed earthenware or in pewter, as the Plaisance documents indicate.

Saladier: These are food service bowls that are recorded in the Plaisance documents as either being of pewter or tin-glazed earthenware; they may also be made of porcelain or glass (Genêt *et al.* 1975:223-224; Jean and Proulx 1995 II:60). The term *saladier* is used instead of the term *bol*, because as L'Anglais indicates, the latter term was not used before 1760 (1994 I:29,116). *Saladiers* are not typically found in coarse earthenwares, but rather are most commonly found in *faïence* (Genêt *et al.* 1974). The *saladier* has a hemispheric body and may have a lightly everted rim, or may possess a straight (uneverted) rim. These qualities will distinguish the *saladier* from the *bassin*, which has a strongly everted rim. Additionally, the *saladier* tends towards a hemispheric body, while a *bassin* has strongly sloped sides (L'Anglais 1994 I:Fig.70). Additionally, *saladiers* may be further distinguished from *bassins* by their size. *Saladiers* may vary greatly in size from small to large in size, but *bassins* are strictly large-sized vessels (over 25 cm in diameter). The *saladier* encompasses the form described by St. John as the *coupe* (2011:139).

Soucoupe: Although the documentary record for Plaisance did not record any *soucoupes,* this form has been recorded in early eighteenth-century documents elsewhere (L'Anglais 1994 I:90). This is the cognate form of the saucer as described in Beaudry et al (1983); the distinction of the saucer as having a rim diameter smaller than 18 cm seems to hold true on comparison with forms illustrated in L'Anglais (1994) and Genêt (1996). These are very small plate forms, either with a simple uneverted rim or a lightly everted rim; they were occasionally served as small plates or served as saucers underneath a *gobelet* (Genêt *et al.* 1974:229). These can be found in pewter, tin-glazed earthenware, coarse earthenware, or porcelain (Genêt 1996; Genêt and Lapointe 1994; L'Anglais 1994 I:89).

Tasse: This is another form that is confusing to define. In the Plaisance inventories, it is listed as a vessel made in earthenware, silver and pewter. In Québec inventories, it is listed as being made of earthenware, *faïence*, porcelain and stoneware (Jean and Proulx 1995 II:4; L'Anglais 1994 I:89,127,164). However, a perusal of L'Anglais' publication indicates that *tasses* are only defined as vessels of *faïence* and porcelain; similar analogous forms in coarse earthenware are named *pots à anse* (1994 I:Fig.27 vs. Fig.86). It may be that L'Anglais was trying to distinguish finer tea- and coffee- wares from more utilitarian vessels, or this may be the result of his adoption of Genêt's (1996) typology for *faïence* without modification (as discussed above). Similarly, Cloutier struggles with a definition, though he does suggest that the term represents either tea cups or coffee cups (1993:55).

The documentary data are difficult to interpret. What is clear is that a *tasse* represents objects manufactured from multiple materials, from the most utilitarian (coarse earthenware) to expensive, status-sensitive materials (silver). Thus, L'Anglais' implied classification of *tasses* as forms of *faïence* and porcelain only does not satisfy (1994). The suggestion by both Cloutier (1993:55) and Genêt *et al.* (1974) that the term relates to tea- and coffee- consumption vessels is interesting and may well be a satisfactory definition for eighteenth-century data. However, the term is used in documentary records from Plaisance that date to the 1670s and another use of the term was found in 1690 (Brunet n.d.; L. Costebelle 13 September 1690). The incidence of this term predate the large-scale popularity of tea and coffee, which do not take hold amongst the majority population until well into the eighteenth century (Roche 2000:245-247). Indeed, an etymological survey of the term *tasse* finds incidents of usage that extend well back into medieval periods, when it was used to indicate a generalized drinking vessel (TLFI 2010). Thus, the conflict over the definition of *tasse* is a diachronic issue: the meaning of the concept changes through time, becoming increasingly associated with vessels relating to tea and coffee consumption as the eighteenth century progresses. Because Plaisance is abandoned as a colony before the widespread popularity of tea and coffee takes hold, the later definitions of the term are not satisfactory.

Thus, for this time period, a more general definition of *tasse* as a small drinking vessel, made without reference to its intended contents, is preferred here. In the interests of simplification, this typology will merge L'Anglais' *pot à anse* category with *tasse* and retain the latter name. The decision to maintain the name *tasse* and abandon *pot à anse* is based on the frequency of the term *tasse* in the documentary record for Plaisance, while the term *pot à anse* does not appear. Thus, a *tasse* is defined as a cup of varying shape—it may have straight sides (Beaudry *et al.*'s (1983) mug) or it may have a bulbous-shaped body (Beaudry *et al.*'s (1983) cup). Regardless of its shape, a *tasse* has a handle, allowing it to be distinguished from the *gobelet*. Based on the dimensions of illustrated versions of the form in L'Anglais (1994), it is suggested that *tasses* are small drinking vessels. Following the arguments made for the *pot à boire* above, the *tasse* can be distinguished in the presence of fragmentary sherds on the basis of rim diameter measurements. The *tasse* should have a rim diameter of less than 10 cm.

6.8 The Glass Typology: Descriptions

6.8.1 Container Glass

The number of glass sherds found at the Vieux Fort site is comparatively small, especially when compared to the ceramic sherds. The glass is very fragmentary and few diagnostic pieces from the base, neck, or rim were recovered. None were reconstructable to any great degree. The majority of the assemblage consists of flat blue-green glass bottle sherds, which are typically recognized as French products (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:179, Harris 2000). This characteristic blue-green glass colour is commonly attributed to the use of wood-burning glass furnaces in the *petites verreries* (glasshouses) in France (Waselkov 1997:19). Darker, olive-green glass bottles were made in the coal-burning furnaces of the *grosses verreries* in some parts of France (Harris 2000:234). Based on work with the glass collections in Louisbourg, Harris has isolated four types of bottles commonly found in the archaeological collections and the documentary record (2000). Harris' data are entirely consistent with what is found at Plaisance, so that her typology has been adopted here without modifying the larger categories of vessel forms. However, the fragmentary nature of the assemblage means that bottles cannot be assigned to Harris' various subtypes, which would require the presence of relatively complete profiles.

Flacon: *Flacons* are glass containers for liquids, generally described in the Louisbourg documents as being contained in boxes, cases, or baskets; the Plaisance documents support this interpretation. In Plaisance inventories, *flacons* were variously stored in a *caisse* (a large box or case), a *cave sans couvercle* (a small moveable crate or chest, in this case lacking a cover) and in a *canevette* (Basset 28 October 1709; 30 December 1709; 8 January and 9 August 1711). The meaning of *canevette* was difficult to determine, but a parallel reference to the form in the writings of Jean-Baptiste Labat indicates that a *canevette* was a small container that was used to carry liquor on board a ship (Toczyski 2007:14). In probate inventories from Plaisance, there are multiple references to *flacons*, but none with material type specified. At Québec, only three *flacons* were described as being "en terre" (L'Anglais 1994 I:89). It is assumed, then, that the vast majority of *flacons* refer to glass vessels. *Flacons* were used for decanting liquids from larger vessels and for beverage service. An example of this practice is found in Henri Brunet's 1673 journal, in which he records that he filled up two empty *flacons* with alcohol for sale (Brunet 1673:fol. 41).

In Harris' study, *flacons* are the most common type of bottle (Harris 2000). This is true both of the archaeological collections at Plaisance, and of their frequency within documentary sources. *Flacons* are defined as being blue-green glass multipurpose containers, which may be either square or cylindrical in cross section; they are further subdivided into types based on cross-sectional shape and neck style (Harris 2000:235-236). Neck styles are in fact the key criteria for this division, as they are the most varied—they may be short and thin, tall and thin, or short and wide, for example. In the Vieux Fort assemblage, only four neck finishes and eight bases are present; none could be linked together definitively as being from the same bottle and so each was counted as comprising a separate vessel. Harris divides the *flacons* into nine different types (2000). Unfortunately, allocating bottles to these types requires that both cross-sectional shape and neck height be reconstructed, and the Vieux Fort assemblage is too fragmentary to permit the use of these types (Harris 2000).

There are square-base fragments from seven different *flacons* and one round-based *flacon*. Three of the square base fragments preserve pontil marks; all of these marks were made with a glass-tipped round pontil mark made with the blowpipe (Jones 1991:94). This type of pontil leaves a distinct ring-shaped mark, either in the form of excess glass or in the form of a depression from the blowpipe. This has been found to be a typical type of pontil mark on French eighteenth-century blue-green bottles (Jones

1991:96). The cylindrical-base *flacon* has a pontil mark made with a solid iron rod with a conical point, which has left characteristic reddish deposits in the glass (Jones 1991:91,96).

There are four neck finishes, consisting of fragments from three long-necked versions, though unfortunately no parts of the rim or the shoulder remain to determine how long the necks actually were. They are all fairly narrow, measuring about 2 cm in diameter. The remaining bottle finish is a relatively wide specimen, measuring 4.5 cm in diameter. It best matches Harris' Type 9, in that the lip is everted. The lip has a cracked-off, fire-polished appearance and has been tooled outwards to evert the lip. However, it has a very short neck, at 0.5 cm long, which does not correspond with any of Harris' (2000) types and has not been found in other publications (Brain 1979, Faulkner and Faulkner 1987; Lapointe and Lueger 1981; Saint-Pierre *et al.* 1992). The closest match found for this style is that shown in Bellanger (1988:266).

Two fragments from another distinctive square bottle are also found in the assemblage, probably representing a single bottle. The glass is of a deep olive-green metal, which stands distinct from the blue-green glass so characteristic of so many French bottles. The difference in glass colour probably results from different fuel types used in glasshouses, though we know too little of French glass composition to be secure in assertions such as these. French glasshouses are known to have produced a coarse, heavy green glass, in addition to the blue-green glass that is so commonly found on French sites (Harris 2000:234).

Bouteilles: *Bouteilles* are defined as a separate type of bottle by Harris (2000:235), in that they are made exclusively of dark green or black glass. *Bouteilles* can take the form of French flowerpot-style shapes, which are broader at the shoulder than at the base (Jones 1991:89; Noël Hume 1969:69). However, *bouteilles* may also refer to English-style wine bottles. They were intended to be containers for wine and spirits almost exclusively. Noël Hume argues that the string-rims of French *bouteilles* were poorly made and poorly applied, compared to English examples. "Poorly applied" is a difficult concept to apply and English examples with poorly applied string rims are easy enough to locate in published examples. Thus, the single *bouteille* specimen found in the Vieux Fort assemblage (consisting of a relatively complete finish—lip, string rim and part of the neck) is here referred to as an English-style wine bottle. It has the appearance of a late seventeenth-century finish common on English wine bottles, with a tooled string rim laid close to the lip of the bottle. This stands in contrast to the rounded, untooled string rims that seem to characterize many French flowerpot-style bottles (Brain 1979:87-91; Lapointe and Lueger 1997:30-37, but see Figure 11b for an atypical rim).

In the documentary record at Plaisance, *bouteilles* were noted in inventories about as frequently as *flacons*. Fortunately, the material type was specified in all but a few cases, as *bouteilles* can also refer to ceramic vessels (Alexandre-Bidon 2005:264). Most of the *bouteilles* mentioned in the documentary evidence are *bouteilles de verre* (Basset 19 December 1710). One reference to a dozen *bouteilles d'ozier dans un grand coffre* may be an example of wanded bottles, which were enclosed in coverings of wicker (Noël Hume 1969:70). Bellanger describes these as *bouteilles clissée* (1988:265). L'Anglais has also noted the roughly equal distribution of *bouteilles* and *flacons* in the documentary record for Québec (1994:187). The relative paucity of *bouteilles* archaeologically in the Vieux Fort assemblage may be a simple function of the small sample. Together, the number of identified glass *bouteilles* and *flacons* totals only fourteen vessels.

Fioles: Harris also identifies *fioles* (phials) as a distinct type (2000:235). These are characterized as being of small size, with base diameters of less than 6 cm in diameter. They are particularly common in the Louisbourg collections (Harris 2000:236). *Fioles* are common archaeologically at Louisbourg and Place Royale, but only one *fiole* is represented in the Vieux Fort assemblage. This vessel is represented by a base fragment with a diameter of 4 cm and a pointed conical push-up made with a bare metal pontil rod. Only one *fiole* is documented in the inventories from Plaisance; here, it is found in the belongings of the wealthy Veuve LeRoy and is described as a *fiole de cristal à mettre l'eau de la Reine d'hongrie*. This is a rosemary-based perfume (Basset 30 December 1709; Martin 2009:13). Though said to be a popular perfume, Lapointe and Lueger's study of 98 Québec inventories of the late seventeenth through eighteenth centuries found reference to it only twice (1997:59). Other *fiole* contents are usually cosmetic, though they may also have been used for medicinal purposes (Harris 2000:237-238).

6.8.2 Drinking Glasses and Decorative Glass

Verre à pied: The Vieux Fort assemblage also has four *verre à pieds*, or stemmed wineglasses. None have the colourless clarity of English-tradition leaded glass; rather, all appear to be soda glass, which was more often than not tinted various shades of grey or green due to impurities in the ingredients (McNally 1979). All of the glass appears to be decorated in a style that imitated fancy Venetian glassware; this style is therefore known as the *façon de venise* tradition. These glasses are blown into highly ornamented forms with hollow knops (bulbs in the glass stem) and applied ribbing (Palmer 1993:4). *Façon de venise* glass was made in many European centres, including France (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:237).

The four Vieux Fort *verre à pieds* are made of four different colours of glass: grey, green, colourless and cobalt blue. The grey glass has a ribbed bowl and a hollow slightly compressed round knop of thinly blown glass. The deep blue glass has a ribbed bowl, virtually identical to one illustrated by Faulkner and Faulkner and a compressed circular hollow knop (1987:238). The cloudy green specimen is represented by a similarly compressed hollow knop. The more-or-less colourless specimen is represented by a bowl without any intentionally impressed ribbing.

Unidentified Decorative Glass: The Vieux Fort assemblage also contains a bright blue-green hollow bulb of unknown function. It is similar (but smaller) to the finial top on a decorative lidded glass vessel, as illustrated in Bellanger (1988:336,442). The other unusual artifact is made out of cobalt-blue glass, in a similar deep hue as the wine glass discussed above. It is not part of a wine glass, as this vessel has a rim diameter of only 3 cm. This vessel does not resemble any of the *fioles* illustrated by Harris (2000:236-238). Perhaps the closest parallel that can be found is a highly decorative bottle illustrated in Bellanger (1988:346); this bottle has the same very thin glass at the lip and is heavily everted. Additionally, Faulkner and Faulkner illustrate a vessel base with a hollow foot for a glass dish, or *coupella* in the *façon de venise* style (1987:238). Regardless, its very thinly blown glass and its bright blue cobalt colour suggest this was a decorative piece of glass.

6.9 Non-Ceramic and Non-Vitreous Vessel Types

This section will identify forms listed in Table 6.4 above that overwhelmingly occur in metal and are unlikely to be found in ceramic or glass forms. As a result, they are not included in the ceramic and glass typology developed here and are not shown in the typological illustrations.

Chaudière, Chaudron: While the largest category of these vessels did not have their material type specified in the documents, some conclusions regarding material types, uses and definitions can be made. First, it became quickly apparent that *chaudron* and *chaudière* represent types found only in metal in the Plaisance inventories and this seems to be the case with other inventories (Jean and Proulx 1995 II:59).These are large, round, open metal forms, often designed for suspension from a large handle (Saint-Pierre *et al.* 1993:138). In the Plaisance inventories, *chaudières* were the most common and usually made of copper; where sizes were specified, two held a quart and one was said to hold a barrique (Basset 28 October 1709; 30 December 1709). Four were said to be for beer brewing (Basset 12-13 December 1713; 12 October 1713). Other interpretations suggest that *chaudrons* could be multi-purpose vessels, but brewing seems to have been especially emphasized in Plaisance (Genêt *et al.* 1974:82). *Chaudrons* were either made of iron or copper; in one case, the presence of iron handles was specified (Basset 23 May 1714). Both forms were used for food and beverage cooking and production; they were designed to be suspended over a fire (Genêt *et al.* 1974:82). Metals are not preserved well at the Vieux Fort site, generally speaking, but fragments of one *chaudron* or *chaudière* in copper were discovered at Structure A; the sheets of copper were thin and badly degraded but rivet holes were still preserved.

Gamelle: This is an infrequently used term that seems to typically refer to vessels of wood or metal. This form is defined by as a "grand écuelle du bois or du metalle dans laquelle plusiers soldats mangeaient ensemble" (TLFI 2010). Genêt *et al.* agree with this definition and note that it is generally a vessel made of wood (1974). The equivalent form for this communal food consumption vessel seems to be the trencher in the English tradition (but see Adams 1978:97 for a reference to *gamelles* as drinking vessels). As it is a form that is rarely mentioned in documents and is generally thought to be only produced in wood or metal, it is unlikely to be preserved archaeologically in the Vieux Fort assemblage.

Passoir: Another form that typically only exists in metal is the *passoir*. This form consists of a large metal bowl punched with many small holes, used in food preparation to purée food or to extract juice. They are only very rarely found in earthenware, because the ceramic body needs to be very thin and finely potted to be able to be usefully pierced with many small holes (Bertaux and Levesque 1993:70; Genêt *et al.* 1974:183). A *passoir* is not the same vessel as an *égouttoir*; the latter is a vessel used for draining rather than puréeing.

6.10 Ceramic and Glass Quantification

A key requirement of any archaeological analysis is for the quantification of the mass of sherds that form the assemblage (Orton *et al.* 1993:21). Ceramic assemblages can be described with sherd counts—the number of fragments of each ceramic type are simply added and compared. This is problematic, because different types and sizes of vessels break into different numbers of sherds. When broken, larger vessels can potentially fragment into a greater number of sherds than smaller vessels. Certain ceramic types are more robust than others and thus are less prone to excessive fragmentation. Many analysts have abandoned simple sherd counts for ceramic quantification, because it is an unreliable method of describing relative abundance of ceramic types (Byrd and Owens 1997). Furthermore, comparing sherd counts from different sites is analytically untenable and produces meaningless results (Sussman 2000:102-103).

In order to produce meaningful results, archaeologists need to try to reconstitute these sherds into their original objects. One solution is to estimate the number of vessels represented by the assemblage—to try to recognise the minimum number of vessels represented by an assemblage (Orton *et al.* 1993:172). In practice, this means searching for crossmends to try and reconstruct vessels as completely as possible. Once this is exhausted, the diagnostic parts of a vessel (particularly rims, bases and handles) are grouped together, like with like, in an attempt to estimate the minimum number of vessels that would be necessary to account for the collection of sherds in the assemblage. While not a perfect measure of abundance, it is at least superior to sherd counts and is a widely used analytical method.

6.11 The Quantification of Ceramic and Glass Vessels from the Vieux Fort Site

The ceramic and glass assemblages were quantified by the minimum vessel count method described above and the results are displayed in Table 6.5 below. Each vessel type has been organized into a functional category based on the information regarding vessel function, discussed above. One issue that Table 6.5 makes apparent is that sherd fragmentation is extensive at the site. Many of the vessels could not actually be classified to a particular vessel type, but could represent one or two types. For example, distinguishing a *plat* from an *assiette* should be reasonably straightforward. Both forms should have a flat rim and may bear decoration; the distinction should be easy enough to make between the two forms based on the measurement of rim diameter. However, in several cases, enough of the rim was present to determine its overall form as either a *plat* or an *assiette* but not enough of the rim sherd was present to determine an accurate rim diameter reading. In this case, vessels were classified as an *assiette/plat*. Sometimes, all that could be determined is that the vessel was some sort of flatware made in tin-glazed earthenware; based on the overall profile of the sherds and other small cues, the sherds could only be assigned to the broad category of unidentified food service.

The tin-glazed earthenware in particular is badly fragmented and worn, likely because it is low-fired ceramic with a fabric that is comparatively soft and subject to fracture and erosion. In several cases, enough sherds of a vessel were present to allow it to be isolated as a distinct type; unfortunately, the sherds were so fragmented or so amorphic that they could not be assigned to a single functional category-- that is to say, it was not clear if the sherds were part of a storage vessel or a food preparation/cooking vessel. In the cases where vessels could straddle more than one functional category, the vessel was assigned to the unidentified category. The interpretation of these data will follow in the next chapter.

Table 6.5 A Summary of Vieux Fort Ceramic and Glass Vessels

Vessel Type	Functional Category	Number of Ceramic Vessels	Number of Glass Vessels	Total
Bouteille	Beverage service	4	1	**5**
Gobelet/Tasse	Beverage service	1		**1**
Pot à boire	Beverage service	11		**11**
Tasse	Beverage service	7		**7**
Cruche	Beverage service	6		**6**
Cruche/ Pot à boire	Beverage service	2		**2**
Tasse/ Pot à boire	Beverage service	12		**12**
Unid. Beverage service	Beverage service	3		**3**
Verre à pied	Beverage service		4	**4**
Flaçon	Beverage service		13	**13**
Assiette	Food service	6		**6**
Assiette/Plat	Food service	8		**8**
Couvercle	Food service	2		**2**
Écuelle	Food service	4		**4**
Écuelle/Saladier	Food service	2		**2**
Plat	Food service	3		**3**
Pot à conserve	Food service	1		**1**

Table 6.5, continued

Vessel Type	**Functional Category**	**Number of Ceramic Vessels**	**Number of Glass Vessels**	**Total**
Réchaud	Food service	2		**2**
Saladier	Food service	1		**1**
Unident. Food Service	Food service	12		**12**
Fiole	Hygiene		1	**1**
Bassin	Hygiene	1		**1**
Pot à pharmacie	Hygiene	3		**3**
Chandelier	Other	1		**1**
Decorative Vessel	Other	1	2	**3**
Couvercle	Preparation and cooking	1		**1**
Jatte/Terrine	Preparation and cooking	3		**3**
Marmite	Preparation and cooking	17		**17**
Jarre	Storage	4		**4**
Pot	Storage	12		**12**
Unident. Food Storage	Storage	1		**1**
Unidentified	Unidentified	22		**22**
Total		**153**	**22**	**175**

Chapter 7

The Material Culture of the French Military at the Vieux Fort

7.1 Background

Soldiers were a part of Plaisance's population from the colony's very beginning. Compared with other regions of New France, we know comparatively little about the life of the seventeenth-century soldier in Plaisance from documentary evidence. Indeed, we have a much more detailed understanding of the lives of the average *habitant* in Plaisance than we do of the average *soldat*. Four seasons of excavation at the barracks building at the Vieux Fort were undertaken in order to add to our knowledge of some of Plaisance's least-documented residents. What follows here is not a complete catalogue of every artifact or artifact type uncovered during the barracks excavations. Rather, the artifacts presented here are those that best illustrate the military life of both soldiers and officers.

Distinguishing between the material culture of soldiers versus officers has proved to be a particular challenge. The officers and soldiers were intended to live in separate rooms in the barracks, but the material culture found in each room was similar. Any of the status-sensitive artifacts that were uncovered at the barracks site were found in secondary contexts outside of the building (Chapter 5.5). Furthermore, it seems clear that, by the end of the Vieux Fort's occupation, the officers had chosen to live in private accommodations outside the fort (Parat 29 July 1689:fol.112v). As shall be addressed below, this was a fairly common practice for officers in New France. As a result, much of the material culture from the barracks has been attributed to the possessions of the simple *soldat,* unless clear attributions to the officers at the fort could be made. To allow these distinctions to be made, analogies were drawn from archaeological analysis of fortifications elsewhere in New France.

7.2 The Material World of the Soldier in Plaisance: Documentary Evidence

The documents that address the history of the soldier in Plaisance do so only briefly and often only tangentially—most often when administrators or officers reference soldiers during disagreements over other issues. The best source of information about soldiers at the Vieux Fort comes from the correspondence from the *habitants* and Governor Parat, or from the frequent disagreements between Governor Parat and Lieutenant Louis Pastour de Costebelle. As this correspondence all dates between 1685 and 1690, the documents that have the most to say about the Vieux Fort soldiers are all from the twilight years of its history. Due to the increased size of the documentary record after 1690, there is comparatively more data available about Plaisance's soldiers and officers to be found in documents from later periods.

These latter records post-date the Vieux Fort's occupation; we must be careful to remember that a *soldat* in 1710 may have been living in a much more stable and secure world than a *soldat* in Plaisance 40 years earlier. From 1690 to 1713, soldiers were sent to the colony in far greater number than ever before (Proulx 1979a). Frederick Thorpe argues that their recruitment and pay were inadequate, particularly when compared with soldiers at Louisbourg (Thorpe 1980). However, when compared to the earlier period of Plaisance's history, the soldier of the later period seems to have been better-supplied and more regularly paid (compare data presented in Chapter 3.8 with L'Hermitte 1708). The increasingly frequent glimpse that we get of the soldiers of the later period of the colony's history may not be entirely representative of the early part of their history; regardless, with so little data from 1662-1690, there is little other choice but to use the documentary data from the later period to interpret the material culture of the early period. This relative lack of documentary evidence for the Vieux Fort military personnel makes the archaeological data for this early period valuable; without it, the lives of soldiers and officers would remain largely unknown.

Even with the much better-documented period from 1690 to 1713, what we know of the material world of the enlisted soldier in Plaisance is still only made visible by brief references, usually in letters written by officers. The usual means of documentary enquiry into the material world of past peoples in historic periods has been to query notarial records, of which post-mortem inventories provide the most relevant data. Unfortunately, of the post-mortem inventories available for study from this period, not one encompasses the belongings of an enlisted soldier. Two officials (Jean-Baptiste Genesis, *maître-cannonier* and François Durand La Garenne, officer and judge of the Admiralty court) had their papers—but not their material goods—inventoried (Anon.

[1715]; Micouin 11-15 May 1715). The historic record does not provide much direct evidence regarding the daily life of the simple *soldat.*

As a result, perhaps the best impression of the material world of the ordinary soldier can be gathered by examining the inventories of his closest civilian counterpart, the fishing servant or *engagé.* As has been noted in previous chapters, when compared with the average soldier, the average *engagé* was better paid and had his material and nutritional needs better attended to by his employers. However, in the face of the absence of documentary evidence for the seventeenth-century soldier for Plaisance, using data from *engagés* as a proxy for that of soldiers will provide the closest approximation of the material world of the soldier. Particularly during the period before 1690, many soldiers probably worked as fishermen, so it is likely that their material circumstances would be roughly parallel.

Fortunately, two of the Plaisance probate inventories list the possessions of *engagés* and they are presented here in their entirety in Table 7.1 below. These data highlight the limited nature of the average fishing servant's material world. All of their worldly goods in Plaisance would likely have fit into the chest (or *coffre*) that each of them owned. Interestingly, their inventories only record clothes and personal papers; they do not contain any personal cooking or eating vessels. This probably parallels the material world of the soldier quite well, for we know that the only items provided to soldiers upon their enlistment was a *habit complet*, or a set of clothes (Landry 2008:259). The material world of the Plaisance *engagé* compares very well with the inventories of the belongings of three soldiers condemned to death in Louisbourg in 1726 (Table 7.2). Data from a

Table 7.1 Post-Mortem Inventories of *engagés* from Plaisance (1711)

Inventory of Robert Tebaux

Item	**Value at Auction**
Habit de pelleterie	11 *livres*
1 paire vielle botes	3 *livres*
1 vieux change, deux chemises	25 *livres*
1 chemise, 2 aune de toile	7 *livres*
1 coffre	6 *livres*
1 billet [de change]	
Total for Robert Tebaux	**52 *livres***

Inventory of Christophe Moisante

Item	**Value at Auction**
2 couvertures	17 *livres*
1 habit de pelterie, 1 paire de bottes	19 *livres*
4 chemises, 2 paires de bas	8 *livres*

Table 7.1, continued

2 blanchets	11 *livres*	
2 chemises et 1 change	24 *livres*	
1 coffre	6 *livres*	
1 Bourguignote [1]	6 *livres*	10 *sols*
1 billet [de change]		
Total for Christophe Moisante	**91 *livres***	**10 *sols***

Notes:

Data from Basset (4 April 1711a,b).

[1] A bourguignote is a metal helmet (TLFI 2010).

Table 7.2 Soldiers' Post-Mortem Inventories from Île Royale (1726).

Inventaire des hardes de Jean-Baptiste La Haye	**Assessed Value**	
Cassette fermante a clef	10 *livres*	
Un chapeau neuf [?] d'argent	10 *livres*	
Un epée apoigneé de fil d'argent[?]	7 *livres*	
Un habit couleur lie de vin, avec des boutons d'argent verte et culotte [?] usé	50 *livres*	
Un paire de bas de laine neuf [?] a meme couleur	4 *livres*	10 *sols*
Un paire de chaussettes de chamois	2 *livres*	10 *sols*
Une veille culotte de [?] rouge	3 *livres*	
Une paire de bas… demi-usées	8 *livres*	
4 chemises et 2 collets [?] et 2 mouchoir et [?] de toille	12 *livres*	
Total	**107 *livres***	

Notes:

Data from Desmarest (May 1726:418). Partially transcribed in Adams (1978:98).

Table 7.2 Soldiers' Inventories from Île Royale, continued

Inventaire des hardes de Reymond Aulier de Saint-Louis	**Assessed Value**	
Un coffre ferment à clef	04 *livres*	
4 chemises, trois fines a demi uses et un de grosse toille	14 *livres*	
Deux mechantes paires de bas	2 *livres*	
Deux collets de mousseline	1 *livres*	5 *sols*
Une vielle culotte de [?]	4 *livres*	
Une [?] de drap couleur lie de vin, usé	4 *livres*	
Une vielle chemise	1 *livre*	
Total	**30** ***livres***	**5** ***sols***

Inventaire des hardes de François Dubois	**Assessed Value**	
Son coffre ferment à clef	7 *livres*	15 *sols*
Environ sept aunes de mauvaises etoffes dechiré en plusiers endroits et bruleé d'eau de mer	7 *livres*	
Un méchante morceau d'etoffe rayé	3 *livres*	10 *sols*
Une paire de bas de laine fine	5 *livres*	
Un vieux habit retourné avec la veste idem	18 *livres*	
Un justacorps idem	9 *livres*	
Total	**50** ***livres***	**5** ***sols***

Notes:

Data from Desmarest (May 1726:418- 419). Partially transcribed in Adams (1978:98).

soldiers' inventory from Fort Chambly is also roughly comparable (Miville-Deschênes 1987:Appendix A). Taken together, these inventories demonstrate that both the material world and the material worth of the soldier is roughly equivalent to that of the sailor in the early eighteenth century. The values of the two sets of inventories are largely comparable, even though one set records sale values and the other records estimated value; the latter is almost certainly underestimated (Cloutier 1993:46). With this picture of the soldier's material circumstances in mind, several observations regarding the Vieux Fort archaeological assemblage can be made.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 also raise another issue: if the personal belongings of the soldiers were generally limited to their clothing, how can we account for the artifact assemblage found at the Vieux Fort? The fragments of plates, pots, bottles, jugs and cups could not all have belonged to the officers. Some of these supplies must have been sent as official equipment for the fort by administrators of the Marine. For the first ten years of the colony's existence, administrators provided provisions to support the colony, though these were halted after 1671 (Colbert de Terron 7 April 1670:fol.61v-62; Anon. 1663b). In 1687, M. de Amblimont arrived in Plaisance's harbour, carrying soldiers, supplies, armaments and food (Anon. 1690:fol.192v). In 1689, Governor Parat requested supplies for the fort. Among his requests was a series of calibrated measures, in the form of 50 wine bottles, 50 pints and 50 demi-septiers (Parat 9 May 1689:fol.67). It is therefore clear that some of the material possessions of the soldiers would have come from official warehouses of the Marine, located in Rochefort (Bosher 1994:226-227).

However, between 1671 and 1687, there are no records of similar supply (though the records for this period are poorly preserved). In the face of infrequent and/or a complete absence of supplies sent from administrators in France, soldiers would have had no choice except to act in their own best interests and work for the *habitants* to obtain money, food and supplies. This was an arrangement that was completely typical of the soldiering experience elsewhere in New France. At Louisbourg, for example, soldiers took unskilled labouring jobs, such as gathering wood. Those who were skilled at a trade were employed variously as masons, carpenters, bakers and the like (Adams 1978:95; Johnston 2001:186). Soldiers worked at soldiering, certainly, but they also worked at the same jobs that civilians did; in the case of Plaisance, this meant they worked as part of fishing crews.

Soldiers in Plaisance would have had no choice except to hire themselves out as fishing servants. Their rations were deliberately not supplied in sufficient quantity to feed soldiers for an entire week. Soldiers were expected to supplement their rations by fishing: "il suffisoit d'en envoyer pour quatre repas par semain a raison de 6 onces par repas, veu que ces soldats pourront avoir fasilem[en]t du poisson pour le reste du temps" (Bureau de ministre 21 February 1688:fol. 8v-9). Some basic fishing for lacustrine or riverine fish could be accomplished with little equipment—though by the 1680s, the fishing of salmon in the nearby rivers was said to be controlled by Governor Parat (Parat 23 August 1686:fol 279). Realistically, the only way that soldiers could participate in the cod fishery was to hire themselves out to *habitants* in need of fishing servants. The cost of outfitting fishing *chaloupes* was significant enough that it was doubtless beyond the means of ordinary soldiers, who were not provided with such gear by the state (L. Costebelle 21 September 1688:fol. 106v).

The practice of working outside the fort suggests that the material culture represented in the Vieux Fort assemblage was also a product of interactions and exchanges between soldiers and the *habitants* for whom they worked. In France, civilians who lodged Army soldiers were expected to provide soldiers with the use of a bed, linens, cookware and tableware. This was referred to as a soldier's *ustensile* (Lynn 1997:168). We have no detailed contracts recording the conditions under which soldiers in Plaisance hired themselves out as fishing servants, nor do we know the terms of their remuneration. If the situation of soldiers working for *habitants* was anything like that of the regular *engagés,* then soldiers would have received food and *eau de vie* or wine (Landry 1998:104, 2002:24). *Habitants* also provided their *engagés* with utensils; one document from Île Royale records that a *habitant* gave a *marmite* to an *engagé* as a gratuity (Landry 2007:14).

Though we do not have any contracts preserved which indicate the precise terms of employment of *soldats*, occasional references indicate that *habitants* housed the soldiers and provided them with nourishment. Soldiers were also asked to refrain from wearing swords during the period of their employment (Parat [1690]:fol. 85v; Proulx 1979a:21). In 1688, Lieutenant Louis Pastour de Costebelle sent the following note to administrators in France: "si vous ne trouvés pas a propos que les soldats continuent a travaillier chez l'habitant… nous envoyer des vivres… et autres utancilles necessaires" (L. de Costebelle 3 September 1688:fol. 102). Governor Parat echoed Costebelle's sentiments in a letter written in the same year (Parat [1688]:fol. 192). In other words, both Costebelle and Parat implied that the *habitants* gave food and supplies to the soldiers who worked for them; if administrators wished to have the soldiers living and working at the fort, supplies would need to be sent from France to support them.

Soldiers were also a convenient source of manpower for the *habitants,* who often had to make arrangements to pay for the costs of passage for *engagés* to come from France (Brière 1990:70; Landry 2007:4). Thus, despite the *habitants'* complaints that they were forced to house the soldiers, they may have indeed been a valuable resource. Perhaps this is why an obviously exasperated Henri Brunet wrote the following comment about the fishing crews in his employ:

> J'ai renverse chaudiere pot et plats et prete jure [?] atestation tout cella n'a nonplus servi que des passeraux en un cloche, pour les obliger a faire leur devoir. Ils sont meilleurs soldats que pescheurs de morue (Brunet 25 September 1674:fol.47).

In this passage, Brunet was exasperated by his fishing crew's perceived inactivity. To make the *engagés* do their work, Brunet threatened to turn *chaudières, pots* and *plats* upside down and beat on them as if they were bells. He must have intended the noise to be an imitation of the beating of drums that regimented the soldier's daily lives (Johnston 2001:174). Brunet says that they made better soldiers than fishermen. Perhaps hiring soldiers as fishermen gave *habitants* access to a labour pool accustomed to discipline, or at least accustomed to being ordered to work. Certainly having a permanently resident labour pool would have been helpful, since the prospect of a shortage in the seasonally mobile workforce was a constant worry for the *habitant* (Brière 1990:70). If the allegations of the *habitants* were correct, Governor Parat knew that access to the soldier-fisherman labour pool was important, for Parat is accused of charging *habitants* between 6 and 10 quintals of cod for the service of the soldiers who lived with them (Gillebert *et al.* 1690:300). Thus, there was an extensive relationship between soldiers and *habitants* in Plaisance and there were many opportunities for exchange between the two groups. The small-scale, informal exchanges between *habitants* and soldiers must have supplied the soldiers with some of the material culture found in the Vieux Fort assemblage.

The inventories of the soldiers and fishing servants shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 above provide a baseline for understanding the material world of the common soldiers and the officers at both the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill sites. The limited set of material goods belonging to soldiers is a direct reflection of the fact that they were not paid a great deal. In 1688, each soldier was paid 81 *livres* per year, but this is before deductions were made for rations, as was common (Adams 1978:95; Anon. 15 February 1688; Ministre 21 February 1688:fol. 9). This pay was lower than the average fishing servant might make, which has been estimated at anywhere between 90 and 200 *livres* for a 4-month fishing season (Landry 2008:159). Their comparatively poor financial standing does not mean that soldiers could not participate in the local economy. Soldiers in Plaisance were certainly consumers; for example, at the sale of the belongings of a deceased ship's *contremaître*, a *coffre* containing old clothes was purchased by one L'Hommeau, soldat, for 5 *livres* and 10 *sols* (Basset 5 December 1709).

Together, an analysis of the documents and the archaeological collections at the Vieux Fort can permit the investigation of the ability of the military to participate in the expanding world of consumer goods and novel foodstuffs in the early modern period. Some of these were novel commodities; others were not new, but were produced in a far broader variety of qualities and prices to appeal to a much wider range of consumers (Carson 1994; Fairchilds 1993). The consumption of these new commodities were used in various ways to negotiate different social strategies (Pendery 1992:57). Though these new commodities and consumable goods were available at a wide variety of prices, the degree to which the military would be able to participate in their acquisition was doubtless linked to their economic standing. In light of the documentary evidence presented above, it is almost a certainty that any items of rarity or expense in the Vieux Fort assemblage were the belongings of the officers rather than the soldiers. Given the soldiers' poor rate of pay, accessing luxury items of any significant cost was probably beyond their reach. However, luxury items were also defined in ways that had nothing to do with the item's monetary value. These were little luxuries, which soldiers were able to enjoy, no matter how poorly paid they were (Pope 1994).

If soldiers spent much of the summer season working for *habitants*, then it follows that they were not living or working at the fort full-time. For much of its history, the Vieux Fort was almost certainly only occupied in a part-time sense—with soldiers working elsewhere, their presence at the fort would not have been constant or consistent. As a result, the material collections from the barracks at the Vieux Fort are not very large. After 4 seasons of excavation, just over 10,000 artifacts were recovered—of which the majority are structural hardware (iron nails and brick). The artifacts that relate more directly to the soldiers' and officers' lives—their pots, plates and pipes—are fewer in number and badly fragmented and worn. But it is these fragments, carefully analysed, which can reveal much about their material world. This chapter will outline the material culture of the military at the Vieux Fort, categorized by function. Reference will also be made to the analysis of French material culture from Castle Hill, where appropriate. The archaeological data from the glass and ceramic collections at the Vieux Fort and at Castle Hill is presented in abbreviated form in Table 7.3 below.

The artifacts from the Vieux Fort will be drawn together along with relevant historical documents to offer a reconstruction of the daily life of the soldier at the Vieux Fort. The ceramic and glass data from the Castle Hill assemblage, shown in Table 7.3, will also be used to augment the reconstructions offered in subsequent chapters. However, the ceramic and glass data from Castle Hill must be regarded with some caution. The re-use and transformation of the site by the English after 1714 (and some twentieth-century disturbance) has reduced the number of secure French contexts at the site (Grange 1971:100-101). Some of the secure French contexts from within the boundaries of the redoubt did not produce many artifacts; also, French artifacts were recovered from secondary contexts, such as ditch fill, that cannot be linked to a structure. For the purposes of the present analysis, only artifacts that came from secure or probable French contexts were included. These identifiably French contexts are identified in Grange (1971: Table 1). Contexts labelled as English, probably English, or indeterminate were not included in this analysis.

Table 7.3 The Vieux Fort and Castle Hill Glass and Ceramic Vessels

Vieux Fort: Number of Identified Vessels

Functional Category	Ceramic Vessels	Glass Vessels	Total	Percent
Preparation / Cooking	21		21	12
Storage	17		17	10
Beverage Service	46	19	65	37
Food Service	42		42	24
Hygiene	3	1	4	2
Other	2	2	4	2
Unidentified	22		22	13
TOTAL	**153**	**22**	**175**	**100**

Castle Hill: Number of Identified Vessels

Functional Category	Ceramic Vessels	Glass Vessels	Total	Percent
Preparation / Cooking	3		3	6
Storage	16		16	30
Beverage Service	8	10	18	33
Food Service	8		8	15
Hygiene	5	3	8	15
Other				
Unidentified	1		1	2
TOTAL	**41**	**13**	**54**	**101**

Note: Total due to rounding error.

7.3 Food Procurement

A small faunal assemblage was recovered from the Vieux Fort site; it was derived almost entirely from the secondary fill deposits (represented by Events 9 and 14) found outside of the barracks, beside the western gable wall of the building. Soil conditions at the site do not favour the preservation of bone. Only 101 fragments of animal bone were recovered from this part of the site. The majority of the available faunal remains were preliminarily identified by Campbell (2003), though the sample size is too small to permit any meaningful analysis. The remains are also reasonably fragmented and Campbell was only able to identify most of the remains to the taxonomic categories of small, medium or large mammal. In the rare occasion that the faunal material could be identified to genus level, Campbell noted the presence of cow and pig bones, as well as fish and seal. At the Vieux Fort, domestic mammals are referenced by a census taken in 1687. A note indicates that some of the domestic animals in the colony belonged to the *troupeau du Roi*; of this herd, a cow and a bull were kept at the Vieux Fort (Thibodeau 1962:205). Thus some of the Vieux Fort soldiers may have had access to beef and fresh milk as well.

The Castle Hill faunal collection can provide more meaningful data on diet and thus must be used as a guide to interpret soldiers' diet in Plaisance. The faunal assemblage from Castle Hill showed that the French relied heavily on domestic mammals, particularly pigs, cows and sheep/goats (Grange 1971:954). Wild mammals are the second most important food source in French contexts at Castle Hill, including seal, caribou, fox and marten (the latter two may have been equally as important for their fur).

The next most important food source were wild fowl, including ducks, cormorants, ptarmigan, gulls, terns, Canada goose, loons and Great Auk (Grange 1971:955-961). Soldiers likely obtained this food by hunting in their off-duty hours.

Certainly, overwintering *engagés* were permitted to hunt, as notarial documents record the death of one Delabonté, "mort gelé à la chasse" (Basset 12 March and 24 September 1713:fol.1). Further episodes of *engagés* hunting are recorded in the Baie de Plaisance. While waiting out some bad weather in the bay, the *engagés* working for Henri Brunet killed and roasted a seal. Brunet notes that "je leur vy manger de sy bon apetit que je creu comme eux que cela estoit bon, et aussy je ne le trouvay point de mauvais goust" (Brunet 1674:14v). Brunet also hunted *gyber* (or gibier, game animals) himself (Brunet 1672:fol. 9v). Bird-hunting was probably a common activity in Plaisance and the Baie de Plaisance, given its large concentrations of seabirds and shorebirds. References to bird hunting can be documented historically: "Je fus a la chasse… et je tuay de bons allebrans [young ducks]" (Brunet 1672:9v). Great auks were also hunted by *habitants* from Plaisance. They sailed to the Penguin Islands, near St. Pierre and shot them in great number, returning to Plaisance to sell their catch (Taverner 1718:233v-234). The presence of lead shot and bird shot in both the Castle Hill and the Vieux Fort assemblages suggest that soldiers were permitted to hunt animals and wildfowl on off-duty hours. This was not unusual; soldiers in Île Royale were permitted to hunt as well, as the inventory of one soldier who died while out hunting in the woods demonstrates (Adams 1978:98). Greater detail on the firearms-related artifacts is found below.

Fish were not as numerous as might be expected in the Castle Hill faunal collection, especially considering the numerous exhortations by officers in Plaisance and administrators in France that the soldiers ought to fish for their food (Grange 1971:967-968; L. Costebelle 3 September 1688:fol.101v). However, this may be a simple reflection of the fact that fish were not being processed at the site, but were rather transported up to the site after being processed; this meant that most fish bones were not deposited at the fort where they were consumed. The soldiers at the Vieux Fort did leave some traces of this practice behind in the barracks, represented by fish-hook fragments and a simple cylinder of lead that probably served as a line weight (Samson 1980:76, Fig. 51). Eight fish-hooks were also recovered from French contexts at Castle Hill (Grange 1971:807). Another avenue by which fish might enter the diet of the average soldier at Castle Hill was via the fishing activities of officers; documents from the late seventeenth century onwards record that officers ran fishing establishments, often of a substantial size (P. Costebelle 5 November 1714:fol.60; Ménard 2006:329-330).

7.4 *La chasse* and *la guerre*: Firearms-related Artifacts

Firearms would have been a part of the everyday material world of the Vieux Fort, for both military duties and for any hunting activities the soldiers were permitted. Weapons at the fort were used during the disastrous first winter at the colony, when the governor was killed by mutinous soldiers with a "coup de mousqueton" (Anon. 12

October 1663:fol.13). The earliest reference to the supply of firearms to the fort dates to 1663, when powder for muskets, gunflints and iron molds for making lead shot were sent to Plaisance (Anon. 20 March 1663:fol.68). Occasional reference is found to the resupply of armaments, particularly *fusils,* which referred to firearms with a flintlock or snaphaunce mechanism (Lynn 1997:459). In 1688, an additional allotment of 15 *fusils* was sent to Plaisance (Anon. 9 March 1688). By 1687, a census records that 24 *fusils* and 12 *pistolets* were kept at the Vieux Fort (Thibodeau 1962:205). The same census indicates that firearms circulated widely in the colony, with 84 additional *fusils* recorded in the colony. Merchant accounts record occasional references to the sale of either gun locks (the working mechanism of the firearm), *fusils de forêts* and gunflints in the colony (Brunet 25 September 1674; 24 December 1674; Basset 1712:fol.346). It is not clear from the historic record what kinds of firearms these were, or their calibre; the poor state of preservation of metal artifacts at the Vieux Fort did not allow the definitive identification of any metal gun parts at the site. Slightly better preservation of iron artifacts at the Castle Hill site resulted in the survival of several iron gun parts and barrels.

All of the gunflints from both sites and the gun part fragments from Castle Hill indicate the use of *fusils* at both sites. This is not a surprising discovery, as French *fusils* had been first produced in the early seventeenth century and by midcentury had gradually started to replace matchlock muskets (Brown 1980; Given 1994:25,27; Lynn 1997:458-464). This probably substantially underestimates the variety in firearms present at the site, if the much better-preserved specimens of wheel-locks, snaphaunces and flintlocks found at Fort Pentagoet are any indication (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:147). Additionally, even at sites with good iron preservation like Pentagoet, the ability to distinguish between fragments of pistols and long-arms is difficult, because of the overlap in the sizes of lock mechanisms between the two (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:148).

No gun fragments could be positively identified amongst the Vieux Fort assemblage; however, 88 gunflints were found in the barracks deposits at the site (Figure 7.1). This strongly suggests that soldiers kept their personal gun accoutrements (and perhaps some of their firearms) in the barracks with them, as seems to have been standard practice elsewhere (Miville-Deschênes 1987). Very little lithic debitage was recovered from the Vieux Fort, suggesting that most of the gunflints were imported ready-made, as opposed to being manufactured on the site from bulk flint. In 1663, 6000 gunflints were sent to the colony in a single shipment, demonstrating that gunflints were imported in large quantities (Anon. 20 March 1663:fol.68). Nor were gunflints very costly. The 1663 shipment cost 25 *livres*. A record from 1712 shows 2 sachets (containing an unspecified number) being sold for 4 *livres* each (Basset 1712:fol. 346). The relative low cost of gunflints might well explain why so little flint debitage is found at the Vieux Fort.

There have been many attempts to classify gunflints stylistically (Blanchette 1975; Kent 1983). Gunflints may either be blade-type or spall-type, based on their method of manufacture. Blade-type gunflints are produced when a long blade of flint is struck off of a core with a metal hammer. The resulting segment is snapped laterally into small segments suitable for use in a flintlock. Spall-type gunflints are also produced by

Figure 7.1 A sample of the gunflints from the Vieux Fort site.

Spall-type gunflints are on the left and blade-type gunflints are on the right. Scale: 5 cm.

direct percussion and individual flakes are trimmed to produce a useable flint. A bulb of percussion should be visible on the flint, near the heel (Kenmotsu 1990:98-99). Many assumptions have been made about the origin of flint based on its colour; typically, blonde flint is said to be of French origin while grey flint is said to be of English origin (Kenmotsu 1990:95-96). However, some of the sourcing work indicates great variety in the colour and hardness of flint from the same source, identifying French flint that ranges from brown to grey (Emery 1980). One detailed study has identified flint sources outside France that produce the honey blonde flint typically said to be of French origin (Woodall *et al.* 1997). Furthermore, a recent sourcing study has demonstrated that grey and blonde flint can be associated with the same production areas, thus weakening the association between flint colour and country of origin (Durst 2009:28). The gunflints recovered from the Vieux Fort and French contexts at Castle Hill are broken down by type and by colour in Table 7.4 below. These data demonstrates that generally, blade-type gunflints were made on honey-coloured flint. The Vieux Fort assemblage also indicates that the yellow flint is the more commonly used of the two materials. However, until comprehensive sourcing of the Vieux Fort flints are undertaken, conclusions regarding their origin by colour are analytically untenable.

The lead shot recovered from the Vieux Fort and from Castle Hill are of varying sizes. Using the data parameters provided in Hamilton (1979:206-209), diameter measurements in millimetres can be converted to the French ball size. Here, the French *calibre* refers to the number of lead shot that can be made from a *livre* of lead (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:155; Hamilton 1980). Thus, the smaller the calibre number, the larger

Table 7.4 Gunflints from the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill sites

Vieux Fort Gunflints

Gunflint Type	**Yellow**	**Grey**	**White**	**Total**
Blade-Type	41	3	6	50
Spall-Type	57	20	2	79
Total	**98**	**23**	**8**	**129**

Castle Hill Gunflints

Gunflint Type	**Yellow**	**Grey**	**White**	**Total**
Blade-Type	1	1	1	3
Spall-Type	2	5		7
Total	**3**	**6**	**1**	**10**

Notes:

White flints are those that have been burned and have turned white as a result.

Castle Hill data are derived from Grange (1971:696-702,1480).

the diameter of the shot (Table 7.5). All of the lead shot was likely manufactured on-site, using molds and bulk lead. Documentary records record that four iron molds for making lead shot were shipped to the colony in 1663 (Anon. 20 March 1663:fol.68). Several fragments of sprue (lead left over in the casting channels of the shot molds) are found in the Vieux Fort assemblage, as are several lumps of lead spatter. An agglomeration of lead casting, having hardened in the vessel in which it was melted, preserved a portion of the vessel's interior shape.

The Castle Hill lead shot tends to be larger than the Vieux Fort, though this may simply be a result of the small sample size recovered from Castle Hill. The results from the Vieux Fort compare reasonably well with the results from both Fort Pentagoet and Fort Michilimackinac, with concentrations of 22 calibre and 34-36 calibre (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:Figure 5.22). However, the calibres are still widely varied; this is likely because the standardisation of French firearms did not begin until the production of the so-called Charleville model, first produced in 1717 (Bouchard 1999:123). The calibres for French firearms were standardized after this time as well (Parrington *et al.* 1996: Table 4.5; Hamilton 1980). Additionally, 42 pieces of small bird shot were recovered from the Vieux Fort; these were probably used in muskets just as frequently as ball shot, as the two were likely interchangeably loaded in firearms (Hamilton 1979:206-207). The bird shot all appears to be Rupert shot, or made by dripping lead through a colander into a pan of water (Hamilton 1980). The bird shot was likely used by the soldiers for hunting to supplement their diet.

Table 7.5 Lead Shot from the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill sites

French Calibre (balls per *livre*)	Distribution of Lead Shot: Vieux Fort	Castle Hill
14	1	4
15	1	4
16	1	
18	1	
19		1
20		1
21	1	
22	5	
23	1	
24	1	
25	1	
26	2	
28	2	
30	1	1
32	1	
33	1	
34	5	3
40	1	
Total	**26**	**14**

7.5 Food and Beverage Storage

At the Vieux Fort site, ceramic artifacts form the majority of artifacts relating to food and beverage storage. Identifiable ceramic storage vessels consist of seventeen fragments of *jarres* and *pots*, as shown in Table 7.6. Storage vessels form a small part of the overall collection. Out of a total of 174 glass and ceramic vessels represented by the assemblage, 17 storage vessels were identified, representing 10 percent of the total collection (Figure 7.2). This low percentage is likely due to the use of wood barrels as containers. Wood barrels were the standard unit of shipping for supplies in an early modern maritime context, with the exception of some commodities such as butter and oil, which were also shipped in ceramic pots (Loewen 1999:44-69, 2004; Dufournier and Fajal 1996). In the accounts of trader Henri Brunet, the vast majority of commodities that he shipped in and out of Plaisance were in barrels of varying sizes (Table 7.7). These barrels represent the vast majority of containers used during the shipment of Brunet's bulk goods.

Table 7.7 demonstrates that the provisions that would have been commonly stocked at the Vieux Fort would probably have come to the fort in barrels. Given the very poor organic preservation at the Vieux Fort site, all traces of such barrels have long since disappeared. The use of barrels at the Vieux Fort is very likely one of the reasons that the number of storage vessels in the Vieux Fort assemblage forms such a small percentage of the whole assemblage. This idea is further supported by the discovery of two copper alloy

Table 7.6 Food and Beverage Storage Vessels from the Vieux Fort site

Vessel Type	Number of Ceramic Vessels	Number of Glass Vessels	Total
Jarre	4		4
Pot	12		12
Unident. Food Storage	1		1
Total	**17**		**17**

Figure 7.2 Some of the ceramic storage vessels from the Vieux Fort site.

Table 7.7 Common Shipping Quantities/Containers used in the Plaisance Trade from the 1672-1674 Records of Henri Brunet.

Container	Quantity	Commodity	Reference
Baril	3	biscuit blanc	Brunet 1672:8, 10v,11v
Baril	1	cloux	Brunet 1672:10v
Baril	1	eau-de-vie	Brunet 1672:8v,10v,13v
Baril	1	goudron	Brunet 1672:12
Baril	6	lard	Brunet 1672:10,10v,12,12v
Baril, petit	1	eau-de-vie	Brunet 1672:8v
Barrique	2	farine	Brunet 1672:36
Barrique	1	fèves	Brunet 1672:10v
Barrique	30	huille	Brunet 1672:9v,11,12; 1673:36
Barrique	5	huille de poisson	Brunet 1672:13v
Barrique	18	pain	Brunet 1672:11v,12,13
Barrique	19	saumon	Brunet 1673:36
Barrique	30	sel	Brunet 1672:10,13
Barrique	28	vin	Brunet 1672:8-10v,12-12v,14v; 1674:17v
Barrique	2	vin, blanc	Brunet 1672:9
Barrique	2	vin, claret	Brunet 1672:10v
Barrique, gros	2	huille	Brunet 1672:11v

Table 7.7, continued

Container	Quantity	Commodity	Reference
Barrique, petit	1	huille	Brunet 1672:11v
Tierçon	1	huille	Brunet 1673:fol.36
Tierçon	1	huille de poisson	Brunet 1672:fol.14
Tierçon	1	vin, de Graves	Brunet 1672:fol.10v

spigots; these pierced barrels to dispense liquid in a controlled fashion (Figure 7.3). The spigots from the Vieux Fort are nearly identical to those recovered from Champlain's Habitation and from the Intendant's Palace in Québec, where they are particularly associated with dispensing wine from barrels (Moussette 1994:56; Niellon and Moussette 1981:Fig.82, type 7).

The low proportion of storage vessels might also reflect the fact that the Vieux Fort assemblage comes from the barracks, rather than the magazine. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Vieux Fort almost certainly had a separate magazine for storing foodstuffs and supplies. The low percentage of storage materials almost certainly reflects the storage of main food supplies at another, unexcavated part of the site. Certainly, the control and distribution of food was carefully controlled at fortification sites. Controversy surrounding access to food and its quality (or lack thereof) was a common source of tension between soldiers and officers or administrators. During the Plaisance mutiny in 1662, one of the mutineers' first actions was to break open the storehouse at the Vieux Fort, from which they ate and drank heartily (Anon. 13 October 1663). Soldiers' mutinies in Louisbourg also flared up at least twice over the quality of food and access to food (Greer 1983:106-107, 1995:72-73). If access to food could be such a politically charged issue at fortifications sites, then control over food supplies by removing them to a separate, locked building must have been seen as a prudent precaution by officers. Interestingly enough, the Castle Hill assemblage might support the supposition that storage vessels at the Vieux Fort were kept in a separate building. At Castle Hill,

Figure 7.3 One of two copper alloy spigots from the Vieux Fort.

storage vessels comprise 30 percent of the assemblage. This increased percentage is almost certainly because the Castle Hill collections come from contexts distributed throughout the redoubt that were not restricted to the barracks or any one functional part of the fort. As a result, the Castle Hill collections might represent the complete range of artifacts used at the fort, rather than representing a subset of the total population as might be the case at the Vieux Fort barracks.

The presence of even a few storage vessels in the Vieux Fort barracks does suggest that smaller quantities of food and drink were stored in the barracks. The historic records document the use of a weekly ration in Plaisance, based on four meals per week (the soldiers were expected to subsist on locally caught fish for the remainder of the week). The Vieux Fort soldiers were provided with 20 ounces (about 560 gm) of flour and 3 demi-septiers of wine per day (about 230 ml), as well as 6 ounces of *lard* (about 170 gm) given 4 times per week (Bureau de Ministre 1688, February 21:fol. 9). Perhaps what these few storage pots and jars represent are containers for the allocation of daily or weekly rations for soldiers. Governor Parat requested a series of weights, a scale and bottles of graduated sizes to be sent for the fort in 1689, which suggests that rations were at least intended to be weighed and measured out (Parat 1689, May 9).

7.6 Food Preparation and Cooking

As Table 7.8 below demonstrates, of the 175 vessels identified from the Vieux Fort, 21 of these were food preparation and cooking vessels, forming 12 percent of the assemblage (Figure 7.4). Clearly, food was prepared and cooked at the barracks; the heavily used fireplaces, the calcined animal bone and the sooted *marmites* make this clear. Ceramic cooking vessels were definitely not the only vessels used at the site; though metals did not preserve well, fragments of a riveted copper vessel were recovered. These were most likely fragments from a *chaudière* or *chaudron*. The iron handle from a similar vessel was also perserved. Some long and thick iron straps were also recovered from the east room fireplace collapse at the Vieux Fort; these may well have served as supports for suspending pots over the fire. At Castle Hill, the use of similar large-format metal vessels is one of the reasons why the food preparation and cooking category comprise only six percent of the assemblage of glass and ceramic vessels. This is demonstrated by the preservation of at least six metal cooking pots in French contexts (Grange 1971:736-740).

Cooking was an activity that was common to soldiers' residences (Adams 1978:97). As previously noted, rations for the Vieux Fort soldier consisted of 3 demi-septiers of wine, 20 ounces of flour and 6 ounces of *lard* (Bureau de Ministre 1688, February 21:fol. 9). After 1690, the breadth of available rations was expanded to include flour, lard or beef, peas or beans, molasses, butter and eau-de-vie (P. Costebelle 28 September 1698; P. Costebelle n.d.). Other documents contain indications of the types of

Table 7.8 Food Preparation and Cooking Vessels from the Vieux Fort site.

Vessel Type	**Number of Ceramic Vessels**	**Total**
Couvercle	1	1
Jatte/Terrine	3	3
Marmite	17	17
Total	**21**	**21**

Figure 7.4 Some of the ceramic cooking vessels from the Vieux Fort site.

Top image: sherds from the body of a *marmite*. The remaining images are handle fragments.

dishes that soldiers made. One letter, from Lieutenant Louis Pastour de Costebelle, consists of a request for cooking supplies for the soldiers at the fort. While it is not certain if these supplies were ever sent to the colony, it does provide an indication ofwhat soldiers at Plaisance probably made from their rations:

> L'annee prochaine nous envoyer des vivres, il faut songer a mesme temps a faire bastir un four au fort, a avoir un Boulanger, et a nous envoyer des chaudieres, bidons, gamelles et autres ustancilles necessiares avec de l'huille et poids pour leurs fair de la souppe les jours maigres sans quoy le soldat ne pourroit ester que tres mal (L. Costebelle 3 September 1688:fol.102-102v).

Soup is clearly highlighted here as a part of the soldiers' daily diet. Undoubtedly the frequency of pot-like cooking vessels (such as the earthenware *marmites* and fragments of a copper *chaudron* or *chaudière*) in the Vieux Fort assemblage is consistent with an emphasis on stews and soups. Parallels are seen in the reconstructed diet of garrisons elsewhere in New France, where mixed-meat stews and potages formed a staple dietary component (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:228-229; G.Proulx 1979:553). This diet is also consistent with the types of meals prepared by French fishermen in Newfoundland (Noël 2010:145).

The assemblage does contain one unusual artifact that suggests the military at least indulged in roasted meats on occasion (Figure 7.5). A small tapered, rolled needle with cut segments at the large end was identified as a larding needle (Buhler 1972:323; Field 1984:62). This was a tool used to insert segments of fat into roasts; the strips of fat were tucked into the cut end of the needle and the fat was effectively sewn into the roast. Caribou were certainly hunted in Placentia Bay; its meat is lean and benefits from being cooked with extra fat (Subercase 18-28 February 1706:fol.5; Taverner 1718:226v-227).

Figure 7.5 A copper alloy larding needle.

Perhaps this is another indication that soldiers or officers were engaged in hunting and were able to add occasional roasted meats to their diet. A similar implement (though not identified as a larding needle) was recovered at Fort Pentagoet (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:Figure 5.23j)

The soldiers may well have also brewed beer at the barracks. One document summarizing Governor Parat's requests records that Parat wanted the soldiers to be given "un chaudiere et des demis barriques pour f[ai]re de la bierre" (Anon. 1688:fol.192). *Chaudières* were often associated with beer brewing, so the fragments of the copper *chaudière* in the Vieux Fort assemblage could equally indicate beer brewing on site (Moussette 1994:43-44). The production of brewed beer at the Vieux Fort would not be surprising, as brewing beer was also a common task for *engagés* working in Plaisance. A number of inventories record the presence of *chaudières à biere* (some indicating capacity, either a *barrique* or a *quart*) in the *cabanes* for fishing servants (Basset 28 October 1709, 30 December 1709, 12 October 1713, 12-13 December 1713). Of all the drink imported into Plaisance recorded in inventories, only two records of *barils* of brewed beer were encountered, in the sale of the contents of a prize ship. Because this was a comparatively small amount, it may well have formed part of the crew provisions on the prize ship. The rarity of brewed beer in inventories in the Plaisance documents suggests that most of the beer was brewed locally rather than imported. For soldiers elsewhere, brewing and drinking beer—especially spruce beer—seems to have been a fairly consistent practice (Adams 1978:97; Ferland 2004:384; G. Proulx 1979:553).

Brewing beer was just as common an activity in English Newfoundland settlements (Clausnitzer 2011; Gaulton 2006; Pope 2004).

7.7 Food Service and Eating

The food service and eating vessels form 24 percent of the assemblage at the Vieux Fort, clearly demonstrating that soldiers ate in the barracks as well (Table 7.9). The most numerous identifiable forms are *plats* or *assiettes* (found in both shallow and deep forms), comprising 17 of the 42 food service vessels (Figure 7.6). The presence of several *plats creux* and *écuelles* in the assemblage further supports the idea that soups and stews were common meals for the soldiers. Historic documents have also recorded requests for *gamelles* (or communal eating vessels) for the Vieux Fort soldiers; shared eating vessels seem to have been commonplace for soldiers (Adams 1978:97). *Gamelles* have been recorded as wooden vessels and as such are unlikely survivals at the Vieux Fort site. Eating utensils are poorly preserved, but an iron eating utensil handle, probably from a spoon, was also identified.

Table 7.9 Food Service and Eating Vessels from the Vieux Fort site

Vessel Type	Number of Ceramic Vessels	Total
Assiette	6	6
Assiette/Plat	8	8
Couvercle	2	2
Écuelle	4	4
Écuelle/Saladier	2	2
Plat	3	3
Pot à conserve	1	1
Rechaud	2	2
Saladier	1	1
Unidentified Food Service	12	12
Total	**41**	**41**

Figure 7.6 Ceramic food service vessels from the Vieux Fort barracks.

7.7.1 Fine Dining? An Assessment of Decorated Food Vessels

Some of the eating and drinking vessels in the Vieux Fort assemblage are highly decorated, which might suggest some status-sensitive behaviours at the table. Generally, the possession of large quantities of decorated pottery such as tin-glazed earthenware is usually associated with a certain level of economic well-being, as such objects were usually more expensive in New France (Cloutier 1993:70; Côte 2009:83). This is not to say that the possession of highly decorated pottery is an absolute marker of wealth, for examples to the contrary are easily discovered. "The interesting question is not whether rich people could afford more pottery than the poor... but why some individuals chose to buy lots of fancy pots while many of their peers did not" (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:23). For those who chose to consume, however, the expression of one's *bon goût* with the acquisition of a wide range of expensive material objects can be seen as a social strategy, as a means of demonstrating social refinement and distinction (DuPlessis 2002; Fahmi 2005:466-467; Shovlin 2000:585-586).

Tin-glazed earthenware is usually said to be a status-sensitive object, as it was more costly than regular coarse earthenwares or wooden vessels and these often highly decorated wares provided a means of expressing good taste and fashionable patterns of consumption (Croteau 2004:77; Walthall 1991b:101). *Faïence* is typically thought to be a status-sensitive object because it could be highly decorated and also because it was more expensive than regular coarse earthenwares. Thus, tin-glazed earthenware was a consumable item that the poorest individuals could not afford. In this way, tin-glazed earthenware can be seen as an expression of social taste and the ability to distinguish oneself as a consumer of some means (Gaulton 2006:206-207).

The documentary record for Plaisance does not provide a large enough sample of price data to demonstrate that tin-glazed earthenware was more expensive than other ceramic wares. Only a small number of inventories were provided with monetary estimates of the value of *faïence.* In many cases, vessels of *faïence* were lumped together for sale with other objects, meaning that the cost of individual items could not be estimated. However, a detailed archival study of eighteenth-century ceramic prices in Québec by Cloutier was able to demonstrate definitively that coarse earthenwares were less expensive than tin-glazed *faïence*, which themselves were surpassed in price by porcelain (Cloutier 1993). Records of *faïence* in Plaisance inventories are only noted in the case of three individuals (Basset 28 October 1709; 19 September 1713; 12-13 December 1713). The inventories of these individuals indicate that they possessed a wide variety of material objects and were of reasonably comfortable financial standing. Thus, at the Vieux Fort, tin-glazed earthenware possession was probably not associated with the average soldier, but rather with the officers at the fort. They may have used the *faïence* to distinguish themselves from the regular soldiers by virtue of its cost and status associations.

If we can associate tin-glazed earthenwares with the officers and/or other officials at the fort due to their cost, then these vessels must have been used as a means of status distinction during mealtimes. The Vieux Fort assemblage consists of 42 identifiable food service vessels; of these, 25 (or 60 percent) are of tin-glazed earthenware (Table 7.10;

Table 7.10 Tin-Glazed Earthenwares at the Vieux Fort site

Vessel Form	Quantity	Functional Category
Couvercle	2	Food Service
Cruche	1	Beverage Service
Cruche/Pot à boire	2	Beverage Service
Écuelle	3	Food Service
Écuelle/Saladier	1	Food Service
Plat/Assiette	4	Food Service
Pot à conserve	1	Food Service
Saladier	1	Food Service
Saladier/Écuelle	1	Food Service
Tasse/Pot à boire	1	Beverage Service
Unidentified Beverage Service	2	Beverage Service
Unidentified Food Service	12	Food Service
TOTAL	**31**	

Figure 7.7a-j). The assemblage also consists of 65 glass or ceramic beverage service vessels; of these, 6 are of tin-glazed earthenware (or 9 percent). The majority of these vessels were plain white, but some were highly decorated. The degree of fragmentation for tin-glazed earthenwares means that the identification of complete or partial patterns was impossible. Some fragments from a single plate bear decoration that is similar to a vessel bearing Jesuit insignia found at Nicolas Denys' Fort Saint Pierre, though the degree of fragmentation of the Vieux Fort specimen makes a definitive attribution difficult (Hansen 1989:9). Even if the Vieux Fort vessel was decorated with Jesuit iconography, the presence of priests at the fort cannot be automatically assumed. During the Vieux Fort's occupation, Plaisance's chapel was located on the *Grande grave* (Taylor-Hood 1999:97). Furthermore, Governor Parat wrote in 1689 that there was no "aumosnier au fort" (Proulx 1979a:77,footnote 26).

Other status-sensitive decorated wares include a highly decorated polychrome earthenware vessel with a sgrafitto rim and an unidentifiable applied medallion in the middle. A close parallel to the rim sherds of this vessel has been discovered at Champlain's Habitation, bearing the king's monogram (Niellon and Moussette 1981:228,464). Another fragment of polychrome-decorated ceramic bears relief-moulded decoration, in the form of a large peacock surrounded by three smaller birds (Figure 7.7l). Though no exact parallels of this design have been found in published literature, the fabric, polychrome glaze and detailed moulded decoration are similar to some of the highly decorated products of the Saintonge potting tradition (Hugoniot 2002). Some

Figure 7.7 Decorated ceramic wares from the Vieux Fort barracks.

A-J: Tin-glazed earthenwares. K: Chinese export porcelain. L: Decorative polychrome vessel.

attention to the status-sensitive display and consumption of food at the table is also seen in the presence of two ceramic *rechauds*, one of which is a highly decorated polychrome vessel with applied molded medallions (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:197). Again, tendencies towards elaborate food consumption practices at the table is likely associated with officers rather than soldiers.

Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of status-sensitive dining behaviours is found in the discovery of a single porcelain vessel (Figure 7.7k). While only represented by body sherds, it is probably a flatware table service vessel. The porcelain is decorated with underglaze blue and overglaze red brushwork, in the Imari style (Noël Hume 1969:258). Porcelain was, for this time period, very costly—and would remain so well into the next century (Cloutier 1993). Besides the expense, it was also difficult to access and thus its appearance on sites of this time period is generally rare (Curtis 1988; Shorter 2002:137). Of all of the inventories surveyed in Plaisance, not a single one detailed an entry for porcelain. It is also rarely mentioned in Québec inventories (Jean and Proulx 1984 II:60; L'Anglais 1994 I:164). In English Newfoundland, porcelain is an equally rare find. Even in the Kirke mansion house at Ferryland, one of the wealthiest and most well-appointed households on the English shore, only 3 of the 513 ceramic vessels identified were of Chinese porcelain (Gaulton 2006:209-210). Thus, the presence of porcelain on this site is a significant example of the possession of luxury goods by officers.

7.8 *Le vin et l'eau-de-vie:* Beverages and Drinking

By far, the largest category of vessels present in the Vieux Fort assemblage is beverage service vessels. We recovered 64 glass and ceramic vessels which together comprise 37 percent of the glass and ceramic assemblage (Table 7.11). Many of these vessels are fragmented and are generally represented by small-diameter rim sherds and handle fragments (Figure 7.8 and 7.9). Several of *tasses* are made in highly decorated coarse earthenwares. This large percentage of drinking vessels suggests not only that drinking was popular with the soldiers—as often noted—but also that each soldier was likely entitled to his own mug. This stands in opposition to food service vessels, where the common soldier was often expected to eat from the same vessel as his companions.

The consumption of alcohol was commonplace in seventeenth-century English Newfoundland, particularly for fishing crews, as indicated by ample documentary and archaeological evidence (Pope 1989; 2004:393-406). The same is almost certainly true of seventeenth-century French Newfoundland; trader Henri Brunet's journals from the 1670s record that his most numerous import to Plaisance was alcohol—primarily wine and *eau-de-vie*. As Table 7.12 indicates, Brunet sold wine in containers of larger sizes—by the *barrique* or *tierçon*—while *eau-de-vie* was sold in *quarts* or *pots*, generally. Sale prices were not always recorded, but the available data from Brunet's accounts preserves some sale prices for wine and *eau-de-vie.*

Table 7.11 Beverage Service Vessels from the Vieux Fort Assemblage

Vessel Type	Number of Ceramic Vessels	Number of Glass Vessels	Total
Bouteille	4	1	5
Gobelet/Tasse	1		1
Pot à boire	11		11
Tasse	7		7
Cruche	6		6
Cruche/ Pot à boire	2		2
Tasse/ Pot à boire	12		12
Unidentified Beverage Service	3		3
Verre à pied		4	4
Flaçon		13	13
Total	**46**	**18**	**64**

Figure 7.8 Some of the ceramic beverage service vessels from the Vieux Fort.

Top row: rim fragments. Middle and bottom rows: handle fragments.

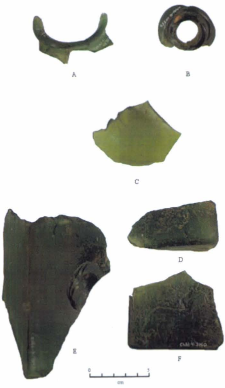

Figure 7.9 Glass *flacons* and *bouteilles* from the Vieux Fort.

A: *Flacon* rim fragment. B: *Bouteille* rim. C: Cylindrical *flacon* base fragment. D, E and F: Square *flacon* base fragments.

Table 7.12 Alcohol Costs in the 1670s, Plaisance

Alcohol Type	Unit	Sale Price per unit
Vin	Barrique	30 *livres*
Vin	Barrique	40 *livres*
Eau-de-vie	Baril	50 *livres*
Eau-de-vie	Quart	33 *livres*
Eau-de-vie	Quart	43 *livres*
Eau-de-vie	Quart	50 *livres*
Eau-de-vie[1]	Quart	3 *livres* 2 *sols*
Eau-de-vie	Pot	10 *livres* 10 *sols*
Eau-de-vie	Pot	25 *livres* 25 *sols*

Notes:

Data in this table is derived from Brunet (1672, 1674).

[1] The sale price for this entry is probably not an error, but rather an unusual measure of a *quart*. Most quarts were probably larger measures of 1.86 l, but this entry might represent a *quart* measure from a different region of France, thus explaining its significantly lower price. For example, the *quart* of Toulon was equivalent to 266 ml (Ross 1983). This small-measure *quart* appears only once in Brunet's papers.

Brunet's papers reveal that of the two types of alcohol, wine was the most expensive and likely the most status-sensitive. This was also the case in English Newfoundland and elsewhere in New France (Ferland 2005; Pope 1994). Most wine was thus sold in large bulk containers, while *eau-de-vie* was sold in smaller bulk containers. *Eau-de-vie* was also apparently sold in small quantities, by the *pot*, at a relatively low cost. Brunet was obviously targeting the seasonal and resident *engagés* with this practice. His papers occasionally record that he sold small quantities to unnamed members of migratory fishing crews (Brunet 1672:fol.13). But the distribution of alcohol can be regarded as more than a simple financial transaction. As Pope notes, exchanges of alcohol were used to cement social ties between people, between social equals or between employers and employees (2004:398). Henri Brunet's journals record exactly such an incident in 1674, when he was overseeing his crews at his fishing establishment at St. Pierre. On July 3, his *chaloupes* returned after a poor afternoon's fishing, with hardly any fish. Other crews had returned with half-charges and Brunet's fishermen gave only poor excuses in their defence. Brunet lost his temper with his *engagés* and retired back to his ship, wryly noting that all those on land were witness to his bad temper. On July 4, his sailors returned with 1200 fish; he received his *engagés* in good humour and gave them *eau-de-vie* as a reward for their hard work (Brunet 1674:fol.16v-17).

The parallel between the alcohol consumption of soldiers and sailors is not difficult to draw. Drinking was also thought to be important for the health of soldiers (Ferland 2004:389-390). Alcohol was perceived to be a source of warmth and as soldiers stood guard and worked in all weathers, a source of warmth would have doubtless been greatly appreciated (Pope 1994:272). Like *engagés*, soldiers worked far from home and family, were comparatively poorly paid and lived with other men in communal housing (Ferland 2004:359). Little wonder that alcohol was used as a means of fostering sociability and *esprit de corps* between soldiers. Drinking could thus be a social occasion for soldiers to encourage camaraderie amongst themselves and help to pass the time (Ferland 2004:380-401). Perhaps the unusual form of a Saintonge-type *cruche* from the Vieux Fort site (with three vertical strap handles at the sides and one bucket handle over the top) was intended to be used for social drinking by groups of soldiers. This vessel is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight and is illustrated in Figure 8.1. Its multiple handles suggest it was meant to be used in communal drinking situations, in social rituals that reinforced group solidarity (Carson 1994:534). On English sites, vessels that are emblematic of such traditions are large harvest jugs, puzzle jugs and fuddling cups (Carson 1994:534-541). Parallels to these can be found in French drinking traditions, as indicated by *faïence parlantes* (Waselkov and Walthall 2002:71). These vessels carried legends, slogans, drinking slogans and toasts, often celebrating Bacchus and drinking (Brain 1979:41-42). Though the Vieux Fort multi-handled jug is undecorated, similar highly decorated forms were produced in the Saintonge potting tradition and may well have served a role in sociable and communal drinking (Hugoniot 2002).

Habitants often ran *cabarets,* or tippling houses in Plaisance (Landry 2008:340-341). Governor Parat records that a transient Basque *cabaret* selling "eau-de-vie à pot, et à pinte, et mélasse" risked competing with the ability of *habitants* to sell alcohol to their *engagés* in Plaisance (Parat 1688:fol.192v). Soldiers were certainly customers in the civilian *cabarets.* Papers from a presumed *cabaret* operating in Plaisance in 1712 record that *bidasses* (soldiers) made multiple purchases of small quantities of wine and *eau-de-vie* (Basset January-March 1713). This was not the only vector for alcohol distribution among soldiers, as officers often provided them with alcohol too. Officers often accomplished economic control over soldiers by operating *cantines*. *Cantines* were established to provide soldiers with a range of supplies, of which alcohol was definitely one. The officers profited from their economic relationships and thus were established not only as the soldiers' military and social superior, but as their economic creditor as well (Johnston 2001:184).

A *cantine* almost certainly existed at the Vieux Fort. In 1672, French trader Henri Brunet sold a *barrique* of wine and 12 *pots* of *eau-de-vie* to one "Abraham, armurier et canonier du fort" (Brunet 1672:fol. 12, 14). Much has been written on the coercive nature of alcohol distribution between officers and soldiers. The existence of *cantines* doubtless led to blatant abuses on the part of the officers but A.J.B. Johnston raises a good point about *cantines* at Louisbourg:

> One assumes that the soldiers resented the officers' canteens, both for the deductions that were taken away from their hard-earned money and the general way in which the officers controlled the men's pay schedule. Undoubtedly they did feel such resentment. It is nonetheless noteworthy that none of these issues were raised as gripes during the mutiny in 1744 (Johnston 2001:184).

Despite the fact that the distribution of alcohol did not play into the 1744 Louisbourg mutiny, access to alcohol clearly had the potential to be a point of issue at the Vieux Fort. One of the first things that the mutinying soldiers did in 1662 was to break into the stores of alcohol at the Vieux Fort and drink heartily (Anon. 12 October 1663).

Officers were consumers of alcohol as part of their rations as well (Ferland 2004:386-388). Undoubtedly, as with their food consumption vessels, the officers had the option of drinking from decorative ceramic or fancy glass vessels. Thus, the four glass *verres à pieds* in the Vieux Fort assemblage were probably reserved for the use of officers (Figure 7.10). The officers' preference for the use of more luxurious glass vessels is reflected in the writings of Baron Lahontan, the well-known French officer who deserted his position in Plaisance and defected to the English shortly thereafter. Lahontan records that during an altercation with associates of Governor Brouillan, "bottles and glasses" were broken in the scuffle (Lahontan 1703 [I]:196). In the inventories for Plaisance, *verres* were uncommon, appearing only twice. Thus, the delicate glasses recovered from the Vieux Fort barracks were probably property of the officers.

7.9 Other Little Luxuries: Smoking

Much in the same way that alcohol served as a means for social bonding for the soldiers and officers of the Vieux Fort, so too would have been the consumption of tobacco. The Vieux Fort assemblage contains a sample of tobacco pipe fragments, most of which are badly fractured. In addition to the 18 complete or relatively complete pipe bowls that were discussed in Chapter Five, the fragments of at least an additional 35 tobacco pipes can be distinguished. This provides a minimum estimate of at least 53

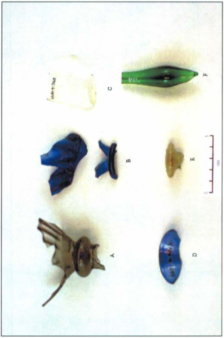

Figure 7.10 Glass vessels from the Vieux Fort site.

A: a smokey-coloured *verre à pied* with a ribbed bowl. B: two fragments from a cobalt blue *verre à pied*, in a similar style to that shown in A. C: a colourless glass *verre à pied* bowl. D: a rim fragment from a decorative cobalt blue glass vessel. E: a knop from a light green-coloured *verre à pied*. F: A fragment from a hollow blue-green glass object of unknown function.

tobacco pipes in the Vieux Fort assemblage, though this is almost certainly an underestimate, given the fragmentation of the pipes. Several of the stems bear whittling marks, which suggests they were fitted with replacement stems when broken (Bradley 2000:129). Some of these whittling marks are found very near the bowl, suggesting that the life of a pipe bowl was extended as long as possible (Figure 7.11). Tobacco smoking, like drinking, was seen as a healthful warming activity in a damp and cold climate, particularly for those who worked outside—such as soldiers standing guard (Pope 2004:396-398). The notion that soldiers used tobacco for warmth and sociability while on guard is also suggested by our archaeological excavations at Crevecoeur Battery (ChAl-15) in 2003. This was a French battery, built far out at the entrance to the harbour, separated from Fort Louis and Fort Royale by some distance. The only artifacts found at the site (other than iron nails) were a handful of tobacco pipe stems (Crompton and Temple 2005).

Tobacco would have been easily accessible to the soldiers at the Vieux Fort. In 1672, a ship was noted just outside of Plaisance's harbour; this was a ketch from New England that roamed the coastline selling tobacco (Brunet 1672:fol. 15). Brunet himself sold some tobacco, in *rolles* that he sold by the *livre*—in other words, a bundle of tobacco sold by weight (Brunet 1672:fol. 8v,9,10). Tobacco was reasonably inexpensive, being sold at auction for 25 *sols* per *livre* (Basset 17 December 1710). Nor were the clay tobacco pipes that were used to smoke tobacco expensive, either. At the sale of an English prize in 1711, a *baril* of pipes sold for 9 *livres* (Basset 1 June 1711:fol.207).

Figure 7.11 Modified tobacco pipestems from the Vieux Fort site.

A: incised grooves along stem and some whittling. B-D: whittled stems. E: whittled stem with possible bite mark. F-I: whittled stems.

Records from a probable *cabaret* indicate that the base price for a single pipe was 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* and pipes were sold individually in multiples of that price (Basset January-March 1713). It is unclear if the pipes were sold empty, or full of tobacco. The context of what was sold at that *cabaret* may provide some clue, where the majority of bills were for wine, molasses and cards. With this context in mind, it would not be at all surprising if the pipes were sold with tobacco, for enjoyment alongside a *pot* of wine and a game of cards. What this suggests is that despite the soldiers' low pay, they would have nevertheless been able to enjoy the little luxury of a pipe of tobacco. The fact that one tobacco pipe was marked with an incised X on the base of the heel testifies to the desire of its owner to mark the pipe as his own property (Figure 7.12).

7.10 Hygiene

Artifacts related to hygiene are few in number from the Vieux Fort assemblage, as Table 7.13 below indicates. This seems typical of fort sites elsewhere (Miville-Deschênes 1987:Table 4). Most of the hygiene vessels are potentially related to either medications or ointments. Undoubtedly some of these were personal items belonging to either soldiers or officers, but undoubtedly some must have belonged to the surgeon at the Vieux Fort. For the majority of Plaisance's history, medical care would not have been carried out in a hospital, for the colony's hospital was not constructed until the early eighteenth century (Landry 2008:316-319).

Figure 7.12 A tobacco pipe heel from the Vieux Fort, marked with an incised X.

Artifact is enlarged to show detail.

Table 7.13 Hygiene-Related Vessels from the Vieux Fort Assemblage

Vessel Type	**Number of Ceramic Vessels**	**Number of Glass Vessels**	**Total**
Fiole		1	1
Bassin	1		1
Pot à pharmacie	3		3
Total	**4**	**1**	**5**

This does not mean that Plaisance was without medical care, for a *chirugien* (François Bonnafou) was recorded as being present in the colony when the 1671 and 1673 censuses were taken (Thibodeau 1959-1960:179,181). Sieur Lepre, another surgeon, was recorded as being in the colony in 1672, when he purchased tobacco from Henri Brunet (Brunet 1672:fol. 8v). Sieur Lepre does not appear as a resident of Plaisance on either the 1671 or the 1673 census; it is thus likely that he was in the colony as part of the crew of a seasonal fishing vessel, which occasionally had surgeons on board. Sometimes, these were simply sailors who were experienced in bloodletting (Brière 1990:17). Yet another *chirugien*—this time located "au fort"—is noted in 1686, when Governor Parat informed administrators in France that this surgeon was, in fact, a Huguenot bent on converting others to his faith (Parat 23 August 1686:fol. 279). The surgeon at the Vieux Fort was probably equipped with a surgeon's chest and medications, for which funds were sent from France (Lubert 30 May 1679). Additional surgeons could have been available in the colony on board fishing ships carrying more than 20 men; regulations required ships of this size to have a surgeon aboard (Brière 1990:17-18).

7.11 Other Personal Belongings

Other identifiable personal belongings were few in number. The discovery of a key in the Vieux Fort assemblage testifies to the need for security at the barracks, such as providing a means for soldiers to lock their *coffres* (chests), for example. The recovery of a copper alloy thimble in the assemblage represents the need for soldiers to repair their clothing. On other sites, particularly domestic sites, thimbles and needleworking supplies are associated with "an activity considered quintessentially feminine" (Beaudry 2006:100). In this case, the thimble from the Vieux Fort is unlikely to be associated with women living on site, as this practice was rare on fortification sites in New France. Indeed, evidence from other fortification sites in New France demonstrates that soldiers were expected to mend their own clothes and typically soldiers were issued thread and needles for that purpose (Miville-Deschênes 1987:35,41). Part of the *habit complet* issued to new recruits bound for Plaisance in 1687 included a needle and an ounce of thread (Mauclerc and Cartigny, 15 April 1687). The 1673 census of Plaisance indicates that a *tailleur d'habits* named Louis Girard lived in the colony at this time, but it is clear that the enlisted soldiers at the Vieux Fort were expected to perform some of basic clothing maintenance themselves (Thibodeau 1959-1960).

Other artifacts from the Vieux Fort site include several fragments of copper alloy buckles. They are not complete enough to identify their function, but all seem to have been small buckles for belts or similar small straps, such as those that attached their swords to their belts (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987). Several copper alloy buttons were also excavated. These are flat (not domed) and do not bear any identifiable decoration. We cannot determine if the buckles and buttons belonged to either officers or soldiers, but undoubtedly formed part of the military uniform. In 1687, the Vieux Fort soldiers were issued a jacket, pants, two shirts, two cravats, a hat, a belt, a sword and a pair of shoes as part of their *habit complet* (Mauclerc and Cartigny, 15 April 1687). Both soldiers and officers would have had copper alloy buttons on their uniforms, though those belonging to the officers may have been gilded (Cassel 1988:298-299).

7.12 The Material World of the Military at the Vieux Fort

The archaeological assemblage from the Vieux Fort is an entirely typical one for a French military site of the later seventeenth century. The archaeological assemblage is derived from a barracks, where the soldiers slept, ate, worked and socialized—and as such, provides a representative sample of the material world of both soldiers and officers. The documentary record and the artifacts demonstrate that the simple *soldat* at the fort probably possessed few material goods and those which he did own were probably stored in a *coffre* and carefully curated. His most valuable material items would have been his clothes, provided on enlistment and replenished through time either through his own efforts or as official supplies, sent from France. He probably kept with him, either on his person or in his *coffre*, a supply of lead shot and gunflints, used both for soldiering and for hunting. Undoubtedly, he kept with him any of the supplies that he needed for his off-site work as a fishing servant, from fishhooks to lead line weights to personal eating utensils.

The average soldier was not without small luxuries; the barracks were probably a place for socializing as well as work, as the many tobacco pipes and beverage service vessels record. Whether purchased from an officer, a *cabaret*, or provided by a *habitant* as recompense for fishing tasks, the soldier was probably well-equipped with wine or *eau-de-vie*, dispensed from casks in the barracks. And when wine or brandy did not suffice, beer could be brewed on site, in copper *chaudières.* Enough beverage service vessels were recovered to suggest that the soldiers probably possessed their own personal mug or cup to drink from. This stands in opposition to their eating vessels: documents suggest that soldiers likely ate communally, from shared containers. Meals—likely soups, stews and potages—would have been cooked in the barracks fireplaces and eaten there as well. The Vieux Fort was likely only their part-time residence, however. Supplemental employment as fishing servants certainly would have kept some of the soldiers away from the fort during the fishing season.

The barracks were clearly built to accommodate officers, with the provision of a small room for their use. Officers certainly lived at the fort and their presence there is marked with consumer goods of some rarity and expense. The officers likely ate meals on tin-glazed earthenware plates and drank from decorated wine glasses. The presence of a single, extremely rare, porcelain plate speaks to the ability of officers to differentiate themselves from the ordinary soldiers. Though the presence of officers at the fort is certainly beyond dispute, they undoubtedly decamped to a private residence whenever possible, as Louis Pastour de Costebelle seems to have done (Lahontan 1703 I:194; Parat 29 July 1689:fol.112v). Between 1662 and 1690, the Vieux Fort barracks housed a rotating complement of *soldats simples* and officers, though by its final years of occupation, it probably did not house the complete garrison.

Chapter 8

Navires en pêche ou en troque in the Plaisance Trade

> Vendredi sur l'onze heure je fus à terre [et] voir monsieur le gouverneur [de Plaisance], lequel avait envoyé chercher tous les cap[itaines] des navires pour leur demander assistance de provisions (Brunet 1672:fol. 8).

With these words, French trader Henri Brunet recalled the governor's demand for provisions in a journal he kept during his stay in Plaisance in 1672. This interaction between La Poippe, then governor of Plaisance, the merchant Brunet and the various transient ship captains in Plaisance's harbour, raises key issues for the history and archaeology of Plaisance. How did those who lived in the colony ensure that they had the supplies and provisions necessary to run year-round fishing establishments? Every summer, transient ships from France arrived in Plaisance; these ships were either outfitted for fishing, for trade (or *troque*), or for both (Brière 1990:66-69). La Poippe's request to the ship captains in Plaisance in 1672 nicely frames the argument that will be made throughout this chapter: that the trade which supported the colony of Plaisance was a network of relationships between people. The characterisation of these relationships, of the transactions made between groups of disparate people in Plaisance, is a critical one for understanding the development of Plaisance's economy. This is an inquiry that can profit from a critical re-examination of historical scholarship, the querying of new sources and the analysis of archaeological data.

8.1 The Plaisance Trade

During the summertime, Plaisance's harbour was a very busy place. The harbour was home not only to boats and ships belonging to local residents, but also to ships that had travelled to Plaisance from other regions. The largest proportion of these ships were from France, having departed from their home ports in April or May, arriving (under good sailing conditions) in Plaisance about four weeks later (Brière 1990:43). Many of these ships arrived to fish for cod in the nearby inshore waters. These ships transported all the necessary fishing crews and gear; once arrived in Newfoundland, their crews processed their catch on Plaisance's beaches. Other ships arrived solely to trade (or *troque*) with Plaisance's *habitants*. Some ships performed a mixed fishing and trading function. Regardless of their purpose, fishing or trading, these visiting ships left Plaisance at the end of the fishing season to return to market with their cargo. Visiting ships played an important part in the local economy. Trading ships brought needed supplies, food and passengers to the colonists at Plaisance (Brière 1990; Landry 2008). The *habitants* hired fishing servants for the season that were brought over to the colony on these transient ships. Captains or merchants on the trading ships sold their wares on credit to the *habitants*, on the understanding that accounts would be settled at the end of the fishing season. The *habitants* usually repaid their debts in dried cod, though occasionally merchants bought other products from *habitants,* including oil, furs, salmon and fisheries infrastructure, like boats (Brunet 1672).

Traditional histories hold that the relationship between *habitants* and the merchants aboard trading ships was a troublesome one. Colonists are typically portrayed as dependent on overseas supplies, in part because of Newfoundland's perceived environmental marginality. In the words of one seventeenth-century commenter, "La nature ayant rendû le pays haut inhabitable a cause qu'elle n'y produit que de la mousse et des petits sapins, et que l'on n'y trouveroit pas un pouce de terre" (Ménard 2006 :322). The assumption that Newfoundland is environmentally marginal, particularly in its terrestrial resources, is a pervasive (and inaccurate) notion in both English and French historiographical traditions (Pope 2003a, 2004:343). The effect of this uncritical assumption about the island's agricultural deficiencies is that Newfoundland's settlers were said to be incapable of economic self-sufficiency, rendering them entirely dependent on external provisioning. The traditional narrative paints *habitants* as dependent on transient merchants to transport supplies, leaving colonists subject to rampant price-fixing, coercion and profiteering. Merchants held "the whip hand, and the ruthless exploitation which resulted was, as we have seen, the feature of the colony's economic life that most needed to be corrected and regulated" (Humphreys 1970:13). As a result, the threat of famine was said to be ever-present (Landry 2008:106-109).

Environmental marginality, economic dependence and deprivation are recurrent and persistent themes that reverberate through the historical and archaeological literature relating to Plaisance (Brière 1990:64; Humphreys 1970; Grange 1971:1012; Proulx 1979a:60; Rouet 2005:202). This historiographical trend may be the result of a reliance on administrative correspondence for impressions of the merchant-*habitant* relationship.

The officials in Plaisance who wrote letters complaining of scandalous merchant activities were usually involved in trade themselves. Many of these complaints might be seen as being motivated by economic competition on the part of those officials, rather than by outright profiteering by the merchants complained of (Pritchard 1999:171). Furthermore, detailed social histories of individual merchants and merchant families have demonstrated the interconnected nature between merchants, as well as between merchants and their clients (Bosher 1987; Forestier 2011; Gervais 2008; Miquelon 1978; Young 1995). A re-examination of these traditional historical narratives is permitted by the discovery of an important (and hitherto largely unexamined) set of documents, written by a merchant active in the Plaisance trade in the 1670s. What follows below is an examination of what these documents reveal about the social contexts of trade in Plaisance, barely ten years after the colony was founded.

8.2 Henri Brunet, Migrant Merchant: A Case Study from Plaisance

Commerce in Plaisance's early years has largely been unstudied. The rich notarial record of Plaisance's later years does not exist for the early ones, as the document series almost exclusively dates to the eighteenth century. This has left historians in the unenviable position of having to reconstruct the colony's economy from administrative records; such documents record a litany of complaints about the state of trade, but usually only from an administrator's perspective. Fortunately, the Brunet papers provide a unique window into the world of the Plaisance trade as seen through the eyes of a contemporary trader.

Henri Brunet's papers were briefly studied by Vigneras (1940), who transcribed several letters dating to Brunet's period of residence in Boston in the later 1670s. Other historians have made brief references to Brunet's New England years, as well (Bailyn 1955:146-147; Daigle 1975:91-93, Kelly 1977). Brunet's work, family ties and professional associations are further documented in John Bosher's writings (1992, 1995). Faulkner and Faulkner also use several documents from the Brunet series to inform their analysis of personal goods in use in the French phases at Fort Pentagoet (1987:249-250, 252, 311-312).[10] Beyond this, there has been little analysis of the Brunet papers, particularly as they relate to his years in Newfoundland. Library and Archives Canada's catalogue entry on this set of documents does not make it clear that it contains a large amount of detail about Plaisance and French Newfoundland generally. Yet an examination of the series reveals that many documents contain valuable and detailed information about the Newfoundland and the trade to Plaisance in particular.

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[10] Faulkner and Faulkner (1987:249-250) mistakenly identify the *Isles de l'Amérique* as Newfoundland in their transcription of one of Brunet's letters written in Boston (Brunet 1675a). Typically, the *Isles de l'Amérique* is usually said to represent the French Caribbean (Toczyski 2007). Letters written by Brunet while he was in Plaisance several weeks later clearly indicate that Brunet regarded the *Isles de l'Amérique* as a separate entity that was not Newfoundland (Brunet 22 September 1675, 24 September 1675b).

The series contains transcripts of Brunet's letters, mostly from dating between 1672 and 1676. His rough accounts from later years, particularly 1675 through 1678, are also preserved in the series, forming a very rough log of his financial transactions. The accounts are listed in the form of short notes, usually detailing the debt owed and the debtor or creditor's name. These later accounts do not always record the location of the transaction (especially in 1677-1678), although the reader can sometimes determine the location by textual clues. Brunet did business with the same *habitants* in Plaisance over multiple years, so the accounts relating to Plaisance can usually be determined. Such rough accounting, typically found in *brouillards* or waste-books, was a temporary means of recording financial transactions before they were recorded in more formal journals (Forestier 2011:51). The completion of more formalized accounts (such as formal journals or double-entry accounts) was not a regular occurrence during the early modern period, though this was the ideal standard (Gervais 2011:33). Many of Brunet's rough accounts have been overwritten by a diagonal line, which might suggest that the accounts were crossed out as they were recopied elsewhere.

Most fortuitously, the series also preserves three journals (written in 1672, 1673 and 1674) detailing Brunet's journeys in a day-by-day format.[11] These journals record details of his voyage and the places he visited in North America. In these years, his

[11] The reader should note that the three journals are found near the beginning of the archival series. They have been separately catalogued by Library and Archives Canada, and the transcriber has paginated them out of sequence from the rest of the series. The remainder of Brunet's papers have been catalogued as a single entry by Library and Archives Canada. For the sake of clarity, I have catalogued each letter or account separately, titled them with logical descriptors, and will reference them as stand-alone documents in the References Cited section of this dissertation.

primary destination was typically Newfoundland, though he also journeyed to Acadia and New England in 1673. His journals record the details of the fishing crews that he ran in Newfoundland, his sales to transient fishing masters and fishing crews, and his financial transactions with *habitants.* Brunet's journals also contain his observations of the landscapes that he travelled through, and the people that he met along the way.

Henri Brunet was a merchant, born in La Rochelle, to a family that was active in the Canada trade (Bosher 1992:48). Brunet had been involved in the fishing business and shipping generally for many years, as a 1655 account for the sale of cod demonstrates (Bosher 1995:87; Brunet 30 October 1655). He had extensive business dealings with well-established merchants in the Canada trade. Amongst his associates were prominent Huguenot trading families, including the Faneuils, the Godeffroys, the Papins and the Deponts (Bosher 1993, 1995). Many of these families were based out of La Rochelle and were involved in organizing fishing voyages to Newfoundland (Bosher 1992). Other associates with whom he did business were Arnaud Peré and Antoine Allaire of La Rochelle (Bosher 1992:48; Rivière & Soulard, 19a March 1687; Anon. 11 February 1677). In Plaisance, Brunet traded for his own profit and traded on behalf of others in France who had entrusted cargoes to his care. Brunet was also politically well-connected, having served Colbert as a director of the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* and the *Compagnie du nord* in 1670 and 1671 (Bosher 1992:48, 1995:87).[12]

[12] The *Compagnie du nord* should not be confused with the *Compagnie du nord ou de la Baye d'Hudson*, which was not founded until 1682 (Bosher 1993:62).

Brunet's first recorded journey to Plaisance took place in 1672. He spent the better part of the season in Plaisance establishing relationships with the *habitants,* selling them his merchandise, and monitoring the progress of their fishing season. He also traded with seasonal fishing masters and their crews, particularly for alcohol. Brunet made a mid-season trip to fishing stations around the Chapeau Rouge and St. Pierre. He then returned to Plaisance to prepare for his departure to France. His return voyage appears to have been uneventful, and he discharged his cargo once he was back in France (Brunet [1672a], Oct.-Nov. 1672).

Brunet's voyage of 1673 is a very different affair, which demonstrates the strength of his political connections. Brunet's business associates, Louis Pagez (or Pagés) and Henry Tersmitte, were *marchand-banquiers.* These men were also financial contributors to the *Compagnie du nord,* and were responsible for the company's ships and cargoes (Bosher 1993:60; Dessert 1975:1319). Additionally, Brunet's brother-in-law, Georges Papin, was responsible for a ship owned by the company (Bosher 1992:181). Given Brunet's own position with the *Compagnie du nord*, and his connections with Papin, Pagez and Tersmitte, it is perhaps not surprising to find he was asked to further participate in the company's affairs in 1673. During that year, the *Intendant* of Rochefort, Charles Colbert de Terron (who was also a member of the *Compangie du nord*), appointed Brunet as an agent for the company. Brunet was charged with making a joint voyage to Plaisance and Acadia, to trade on the company's behalf (Brunet 1673; Colbert de Terron 4 January 1674: fol. 75). On this voyage, Brunet was joined by Sieur de la Tour, who was charged with delivering provisions to Fort Pentagoet in Acadia

(Brunet 1673).[13] After an uncommonly late departure and an unusually long voyage, Brunet and la Tour arrived in Plaisance in early September. Brunet sold his cargo as best he could, but the ship could only stay in the colony for a short time. Less than a month later, his ship departed for Fort Pentagoet. After depositing la Tour and supplies in Pentagoet, Brunet returned to France.

In 1674, Brunet organized a mixed fishing-trading voyage. This year, Brunet spent most of his time with his fishing crews in St. Pierre, returning to Plaisance three times during the season to trade, as well as visiting other fishing stations on the Chapeau Rouge. His 1674 journal ends near the close of the fishing season, and from this point on his movements must be reconstructed by the letters he wrote. It does appear that he sent his fishing ship back to France, and began to make his way southward down the coast (Bosher 1995:87). After a particularly difficult journey, he reached La Hève (which is LaHave in present-day Nova Scotia) on November 7 (Brunet 7 November 1674). On November 13, he wrote again from *la rivière de Quelibecq*, which probably refers to the Kennebec River in present-day Maine (Brunet 13 November 1674). Brunet had arrived in

[13] This may well be Jacques de Saint-Étienne de la Tour, son of Charles de la Tour, the former governor of Acadia. Jacques de la Tour had an establishment in Cape Sable (in present-day Nova Scotia) and was married to Anne Melanson, a daughter of Charles Melanson. Charles Melanson, an Acadian planter and founder of the Melanson settlement, traded with Henri Brunet in Port Royal in the 1670s (Dunn 2007).

Boston by late January (Brunet 4 February 1675d).[14] From Boston, Brunet continued to participate in the Plaisance trade, and actively maintained his commercial relationships with Plaisance's *habitants*. Brunet died in Boston in 1686 (Bosher 1993:70). In 1687, Brunet's *creanciers* (creditors) Antoine Allard, Daniel Vivier and Pierre Faneuil made arrangements to deal with the fish and oil that was owed to Brunet by his customers in Plaisance (Rivière and Soulard, 19b March 1687). Clearly, Brunet continued his association with Plaisance's *habitants* and likely his trips to the colony in the latter years of his life. With the basic details of Brunet's life established, we can reconstruct the contexts in which Brunet traded in Plaisance.

8.3 Trade: Voyages, Cargoes and Sales

Brunet was, above all, flexible when it came to planning his voyages for each season. His papers indicate that sometimes he was in Plaisance and surrounding harbours to trade, sometimes to fish and sometimes both. No matter what the ultimate purpose of his voyage to Newfoundland was, above all he had to be flexible in how he organized his

[14] In an earlier monograph, historian John Bosher states that Brunet returned to France in 1674 and made another voyage to Plaisance in 1675 on the *Sacrifice d'Abraham* (1992:181). Bosher has corrected his reconstruction of Brunet's activities during this time in a subsequent publication (1995:87).

season. In 1674, he was dogged by a particularly long passage to Plaisance that took two months; upon arrival in Newfoundland, he had to improvise quickly (Brunet 1674). Once his ship had sailed into the *Baie de Plaisance,* Brunet decided to send his ship directly to St. Pierre, so that his fishermen could start fishing immediately. Before sending the main ship on its way, Brunet quickly loaded a chaloupe with items that he thought would interest his customers in Plaisance. In this chaloupe, Brunet departed for the colony with haste.

Like most traders freighting cargoes to New France, Brunet loaded mixed cargoes (Miquelon 1978:49-68). This would have offered the advantage of minimizing losses if one commodity did not trade well. His 1672 journal provides the most complete record of the entire contents of his cargo. Brunet's most important commodities were wine and *eau-de-vie,* which formed a significant part of his trade. Foodstuffs (such as bread, biscuit, flour, butter, olive oil and pork) formed the next substantial grouping, with incidental foodstuffs like vinegar and beans forming an occasional sale. He also sold clothes, hats and shoes, as well as fishing gear and supplies, such as salt, hooks, lines, sailcord, sails and anchor hardware. Tobacco also formed a small part of his cargoes in early years, but as Brunet came to establish himself in Boston in the later 1670s, it became a more important part of his trade, as did rum (Brunet 1 October 1674, September-December 1677). Another means by which Brunet sought flexibility was by combining trading voyages with some fishing; if a profit was not made on the fishery, it could be made on the traded goods, or vice versa. Brunet worried in 1674 that the poor catches that his sailors made that year would carry away the profit that he made on the cargo (Brunet 23 September 1674:fol. 46).

Once in Plaisance, Brunet was not only concerned with selling his cargo and buying fish—he also spent time developing relationships with the residents. Brunet developed a particularly important relationship with Governor La Poippe. In 1672, 1673 and 1674, his first action upon landing in Plaisance was to visit the governor. He dined with the governor and occasionally spent the night at the governor's residence (Brunet 1672:fol.9, 1673:fol.36, 1674:fol.13v). Brunet accepted bills of exchange from the governor and fulfilled special orders for specific cargo (Brunet 4 February1675a). The governor also took charge of merchandise left over during the winter and would sell and debit the cargo "as well as if Brunet was present" (Brunet 13 November 1674, 1 October 1674; my translation). Together, they planned joint ventures, musing about purchasing a ketch and planning joint cargoes (Brunet 28 September 1674a:fol.48). At the end of the season, Brunet left copies of his accounts in the governor's care for safekeeping (Brunet 30 September 1674).

When it came to the *habitants,* Brunet's clients were regular customers, with whom he had extended dealings which persisted year after year. Once newly arrived in port, he would usually seek out his closest customers for a visit. He selected goods with care, trying to choose items he knew that his customers would want. This sentiment is recorded in a letter of 1675: "je chargerai ici [in Boston] de marchandises qui sont propre pour Plaisance et les Isle de St. Pierre pour les habitations" (Brunet 4 February 1675b). Often, when he left Plaisance at the end of a season, some *habitants* remained in debt to him, which would not be cleared until the following year (Brunet 20-30 September 1673; Brunet 1678).

Delayed voyages meant that Brunet's customers had to turn elsewhere for their supplies; this occurred during his unexpectedly long voyage of 1674. The customers that were waiting for him eventually had to buy some of their supplies and victuals from Basque merchants instead (Brunet 1674, fol. 14). Brunet quickly agreed to buy whatever fish they had left (Brunet 4 August 1674:fol. 34). It is little wonder that so many of Brunet's letters to his business associates in France contained exhortations to send ships *en prime*—or arriving as early as possible in the season (Brunet 23 September 1674, 29 September 1674). Ships *en prime* would be among the first to sell their cargo, receiving the widest audience and best prices (Bosher 1994:189).

Brunet also took care to develop good relationships with the masters of other fishing ships. Other captains and their crew made frequent purchases from Brunet. Alcohol was the most frequent purchase, in both large barrels (purchased by captains) and in small measures (purchased by crews). Less commonly, food—including preserved meat, bread and butter—was sold to seasonal crews. Brunet could be opportunistic when it came to his sales. On one occasion, he sold 2 of his cannon and 45 cannonballs to a seasonal fishing master; the next day, he sold his map to another (Brunet 1672: fol. 10-10v). Sometimes, Brunet had disagreements with other fishing masters, particularly over the allotment of beach space for processing fish (Brunet 1674:fol.15v). Still, for the most part, he recorded comradery rather than conflict. This was usually expressed over alcohol;

in 1672, Brunet records having passed a poor night because he made merry with other ship captains (Brunet 1672:fol.9).

Developing good relations with customers did not mean that Brunet lost sight of profits and losses. If the world of the early modern merchant was dominated by interpersonal relationships, "making a profit was still the ultimate goal: merchant relationships cannot be reduced to a form of moral economy" (Gervais 2011:45). Brunet was most often paid for his merchandise in dried cod and so it is not surprising that the price of dried fish was always a subject of comment in his correspondence. Generally speaking, he valued merchantable dried fish at 6 *livres* 10 *sols* per quintal and refuse fish at roughly 3 *livres* 5-10 *sols* (Brunet 1673b, 23 September 1674). Fish that was more expensive was generally out of the question. This may be an indication that his profit margins were tight, for he records that fish at 7 *livres* 15 *sols* per quintal was too costly for him to purchase (Brunet 1673b). In 1674, he recorded that two ships from St. Malo, trading in St. Pierre, bought fish from Granvillais ships at 9 *livres* the quintal, which he thought was far too expensive (Brunet 29 August 1674). He was conscious of selecting merchantable fish, commenting once that he had poor fish from the Bretons that would only fetch 8 *livres* the quintal in France (Brunet 23 September 1674:45v). He was also conscious of selecting appropriate fish for different markets. Fish destined for Bilbao sold best if they were large, while fish destined for Portugal should be little, made "in the manner required" for that market (Brunet 23 September 1674).

Sometimes, as a merchant of some standing in the community, Brunet was called on to act in matters that had little to do with commerce. For example, upon his arrival in

Plaisance in 1672, the governor sent for all the ship captains to gather together; La Poippe requested assistance from them in the form of provisions (Brunet 1672:fol.8). It is unclear if this was a serious or just a formulaic request; Brunet's accounts for that year do not record any obvious *gratis* donations of provisions. An even more interesting example is found in the events of July 8-12, 1674. Brunet learned that the governor had put a "certain Roion" in irons for an offence involving arms. Ship captains were involved in the trial and Brunet "faire et dresser les informations dud. [of the said] Roion" (Brunet 1674:fol.17v). [15] Roion's crime must have been serious, for a sentence of death was pronounced, though the execution was delayed because of bad weather. Before the execution, Brunet was asked to summon the priest; he and the other ship captains observed the execution—and some of the captains held Roion during the beheading (Brunet 1674:fol.17v). This rather sombre affair is instructive, for it documents the role that transient merchants and ship captains played in ensuring an orderly society. This is certainly not a unique development, as similar examples of fishing masters helping to adjudicate legal matters in English Newfoundland are readily found (Pope 2004:306-311). Clearly, merchant interests in Newfoundland settlements extended beyond the credits and debits of their account books.

[15] Roion in this document is the same man as "Rogon" with whom Brunet traded in previous years. Roion was the governor's valet (also referred to in Plaisance's 1673 censuses as 'Royon *dit* le Suisse', the governor's *domestique* (Thibodeau 1959-1960). Brunet refers to the same incident in another letter (Brunet 24 September 1674a).

8.4 Implications of the Brunet Papers

The Brunet papers allow for a re-positioning of the role of the merchant and the nature of the merchant's trade in seventeenth-century Plaisance. Brunet's journals make it clear that trade was characterized by face to face contact and by the development of personal relationships between merchant and consumer. Brunet knew well enough that the success of his ventures rested on the will of the consumer to purchase his merchandise. Good trade depended on good relations between the two. Trading relationships were based on mutual trust—trust on the part of the *habitants* that he would satisfy their requirements and trust on the part of the trader that balances due would eventually be cleared the next season. Nor do Brunet's papers record evidence of any rampant profiteering. He paid attention to his bottom line, without a doubt. The merchandise that Brunet sold in Plaisance was certainly sold at a definite profit, but not egregiously so. Many of his letters show that he worried over his profit margins. As we have seen, when Brunet was delayed in his voyage, his customers sought out supplies from other merchants. Additionally, Brunet's papers suggest his profit margins were tight. He tried to reduce the risk of financial losses by importing mixed cargoes and combining trading with fishing.

Freighting cargoes and ships across an ocean were complex ventures that were financially risky (Janzen 1998, 2004; Miquelon 1978). A failure in one or more voyages could mean financial ruin for the merchant. This provides a different perspective on the market prices in Plaisance. For example, Landry indicates that prices for bread and molasses were artificially manipulated and prices in Plaisance were sometimes double the cost of prices for the same items in France (2008:84). However, the price of bread and molasses in Plaisance could not be the same as the price of bread and molasses in St. Malo, for the simple fact that Plaisance was not St. Malo. The ocean separating Plaisance and France necessarily resulted in increased costs. In the end, *habitants* and merchants were co-dependent. This is not to say that conflict did not occur, for it most certainly did, but to emphasize the power of one at the expense of the other is only telling half of the story (Pope 2003b:493,496). It is this co-dependence which led Brunet to rush his goods to market and to expend time, energy (and wine) socializing with his customers.

Brunet's papers indicate that the trade to Plaisance had a more complex composition than has previously been appreciated. The historiography of Plaisance traditionally holds that the Basques monopolized the Plaisance trade (Brière 1990:67; Humphreys 1970:9; de la Morandière 1962 I:228). The data on which this interpretation is based are typically not specified, though it is probably drawn from various documents dating to the second half of the colony's history, such as a series of official resupply contracts conducted with Basque merchants (Pritchard 1999). Additionally, three ship censuses (taken in 1705, 1711 and 1712) record the home port of ships in Plaisance's harbour (Anon. 1705; P. Costebelle 9 November 1712a,b,c; Costebelle and Garenne October 1711). These censuses indicate that ships from Basque ports made up between 54 and 61 percent of the ships in the harbour in these years, though it is clear that a number of these ships were present for fishing and not for trading.

A closer examination of documentary records indicates that a variety of ports were involved in the Plaisance trade, especially in the early part of the colony's history. Brunet was based first out of La Rochelle and then out of Boston. His papers make reference to ships in Plaisance or on the Chapeau Rouge as being attached to Basque ports and St. Malo, but also Normandy, Granville, New England and Le Croisic. Landry (2008:67) and Bosher (1992) indicate the importance of La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Nantes in the Plaisance trade as well. These data have been summarized in Table 8.1 below. Clearly, the early Plaisance trade was more multi-faceted than has been previously noticed.

Brunet's association with trading companies, particularly his position with the *Compagnie du nord* during his 1673 voyage, is also indicative of the different approaches taken by the Ministry of the Marine in provisioning Plaisance. State funding for the colony had been largely withdrawn in 1671; the French crown only provided the salaries of administrators and officers from this point on (Landry 2008:98). The *Intendant de la Marine* at Rochefort, Charles Colbert de Terron, was aware of the strain that this decision placed on the colony (Colbert de Terron 25 January 1672: fol. 155, 20 February 1673). In 1671, Colbert de Terron proposed that the cost of sending supplies to the colony be reduced by turning to local merchants in La Rochelle. Merchants would load supplies and transport them to the colony. Upon their return, merchants would be granted payment from the Treasurer, but only upon receipt of a certificate signed by the governor of Plaisance, testifying to the quality and quantity of provisions supplied. By removing the

Table 8.1 Records of Ships in Plaisance from 1662 to 1689

Ship Name	Tons[1]	Date	Home Port	Reference
Aigle d'Or	300	1662	Brouage	Bosher 1992
Flute Royale	300	1662	Brouage	Bosher 1992
Aigle d'Or	300	1663	?	Proulx 1979a:14
St. Louis		1666	Le Croisic	Teuleron 25 Sept. 1666
?		1666	Jean de Luz	Teuleron 25 Sept. 1666
Fortune Blanche	100	1672	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
?		1672	Basque country	Brunet 1672:fol.9
?		1672	Normandy	Brunet 1672:fol.9
?		1672	Granville	Brunet 1672:fol. 13v
?		1672	New England	Brunet 1672:fol. 15
?		1672	Granville	Brunet 1672:fol 10
?		1672	St. Malo	Brunet 1672:fol. 7v
?		1672	Le Crosic	Brunet 1672:fol. 15
Marianne		1673	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Calesian		1674	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
?		1674	Basque country	Brunet 1674:fol.14
Le Soeil		1674	St. Malo	Brunet 1674:fol. 12v
Sacrifice d'Abraham	200	1675	La Rochelle	Bosher 1993
Dame-Anne		1677	La Rochelle	Anon. 18 Feb. 1677

Table 8.1, continued

Ship Name	Tons	Date	Home Port	Reference
Vierge	300-350	1677	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Fortune Blanche	100	1678	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Vierge	300-350	1679	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
St. Dominique		1679	Bordeaux	Sugnets 29 Oct. 1680
Fortune Blanche	100	1680	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Rochelaise	300	1680	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Sainte Térèse		1680	Bordeaux	Sugnets 29 Oct. 1680
?		1680	St. Jean de Luz	Sugnets 29 Oct. 1680
Jeanne	45	1683	St. Palais	Bosher 1992
Diligente		1683	Bordeaux	Dubois 24 March 1683
Sainte Térèse		1684	Bordeaux	Malleret 19 Feb. 1684
St. Jean	90	1684	Bordeaux	Anon. 19 Feb. 1684
Vincent Marie		1685	Brest	Bellinger 20 Oct. 1685
St. Jean de Bordeaux		1685	Bordeaux	Anon. 20 Dec. 1685:fol. 9
Pere Estornel		1685	Brest	Anon. 20 Dec. 1685:fol. 9
Pierre de Bordeaux		1685	Bordeaux	Anon. 20 Dec. 1685:fol. 9
Benjamin		1685	La Rochelle	Parat 14 Aug. 1685:fol 262
?		1685	Boston	Parat 14 Aug. 1685:fol 262
?		1685	Boston	Parat 14 Aug. 1685:fol 262
?		1685	Boston	Parat 14 Aug. 1685:fol 262

Table 8.1, continued

Ship Name	Tons	Date	Home Port	Reference
Dominique	100	1686	Bordeaux	Anon. 14a Mar. 1686
St. Joseph	75-100	1686	Bordeaux	Bosher 1992
Saint-Guillaume	65	1686	Bordeaux	Anon. 14b Mar. 1686, 21 Oct. 1686.
?		1686	St. Malo	Parat [1690]:fol.85
Bretonne	90-100	1687	La Rochelle	Rivière and Soulard 18 Jan. 1687
Nonpareille de Chaillevette	42	1687	Bordeaux	Anon. 6 May 1687
Saint-Dominique de Bordeaux	100	1687	Bordeaux	Anon. 11 Feb. 1687
Suzanne	50	1688	La Rochelle	Bosher 1992
Sauvage de Bordeaux	140	1688	Bordeaux	Anon. 2 Oct. 1688
Deux-Germains	80	1688	La Rochelle	Rivière and Soulard 13 Feb. 1688
Ville de Matignon de Granville	150	1689	Granville	Anon. 26 Sept. 1689
?		1689	New England	Parat 2 Sept. 1689:fol.288
?		1689	St. Jean de Luz	L.Costebelle 1 Aug. 1689:fol.123

Table 8.1, continued

Ship Name	**Tons**	**Date**	**Home Port**	**Reference**
Mich[?]		1689	Le Croisic	Bosher 1992
Saint-Dominique	100	1689	Bordeaux	Anon. 8 March 1689
Ville de Matignon	150	1689	Granville	Anon. 26 Sept. 1689
l'Allemand		1689	Quebec	Parat 4 Sept. 1689:fol.117v

Notes:

1. Tonnage is listed in French *tonneaux*. The *tonneau* was a measure of capacity equalling about 42 cubic *pieds*, or 1.44 cubic m. The French *tonneau* was slightly larger than the English ton of this period; the English ton measured 40 English cubic feet, or 1.132 cubic m (Bosher 1992:12, 1994:217).

costs of transport, Colbert de Terron hoped to save two-thirds of the expense of provisioning the colony (Colbert de Terron 16 February 1671: fol. 131).

Colbert de Terron's idea was implemented, albeit in an altered form, a few years later. In 1674, Colbert de Terron wrote that a "petit vaisseau que sa Ma[té] avoit faict donner au Sr. Brunet marchand de La Rochelle, pour porter les provisions necessaries, aux habitations de Plaisance et de l'Acadie est retour depuis 8 jours" (Colbert de Terron 4 January 1674: fol. 75). Colbert de Terron must be referring to Brunet's 1673 journey in the *vaisseau du Roi* named *le Calesien*, made as an agent for the *Compagnie du nord* (Brunet 1763). Thus, Brunet's 1673 voyage to Plaisance was an experiment that attempted to merge the colony's supply and provisioning with the activities of an established trading company set up to profit from the fur trade to Canada (Bosher 1993:61).

The involvement of trading companies in supplying Plaisance would not be long-lived; Brunet wrote in September of 1675 that "je suis chagrin d'avoir perdu M. de Terron et que M. de Lagny aye sorti de La Rochelle" (15 September 1675: fol. 76). Brunet had clearly learned that the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, of which he was a director, had been abolished in 1674 (Bosher 1995:88). At about the same time, the *Compagnie du nord* found itself in desperate financial straits, when a convoy of its ships were seized during the Dutch War; the company only survived for a few more years (Bosher 1993:61). Jean-Baptiste de Lagny was a financier involved with the *Compagnie du nord,* an aide to Colbert de Terron, and was also a business associate of Brunet and his partners (Brunet 28 September 1674b: fol. 49v). Most importantly, Lagny functioned as a intermediary between Colbert de Terron and the company's directors (Vigneras 1940).

With the loss of Lagny and Colbert de Terron, Brunet's association with trading companies was largely severed. Short-lived though it was, this brief alliance between merchants, trading companies, and the Ministry of the Marine is interesting. This alliance was a precursor to the formalized arrangements set up for provisioning Plaisance that would be made between the Ministry of the Marine and private merchants in the 1690s (Pritchard 1999). State support of the colony would come to hinge on the joint efforts of bureaucrats and private merchants, for better or for worse, and Brunet's 1673 voyage is an early forecast of this trend.

8.5 The Vieux Fort: A Proxy for Plaisance?

At first, the Vieux Fort archaeological site might appear to be an unusual site from which to launch an investigation of issues of trade and exchange in the colony. The fort was, after all, a fort, concerned primarily with the defence of the colony. The Vieux Fort was not a fishing establishment. Can the data derived from this fortification be considered a reasonable point of entry into the affairs of supply and exchange in the fishing settlement as a whole? The Vieux Fort is probably best considered as a site that did *not* stand apart from the rest of the colony—it was far from being a separate and closed-off sphere of military jurisdiction.

For the first nine years of the colony's life, the Ministry of the Marine sent supplies to the colony, for the benefit of everyone living there, not just for the military (Landry 2008:136). Thus, the supplies in the cargo of official supply ships would have circulated through both military and civilian contexts. Additionally, the soldier's life in Plaisance was not just limited to the confines of the Vieux Fort. As Chapters 3 and 7 have indicated, many of the soldiers who were posted to the fort spent a better part of the year not resident there but rather living in the civilian settlement, working as fishing servants. This interaction with *habitants* would have provided the soldiers with the remuneration to buy their own equipment and utensils, or take those which were provided to them during their employment. In the face of infrequent official supply ships, poor rates of pay and official encouragement to work off-site, the soldiers really had no other option.

8.6 Ceramics and Trade: The Methodological Background

Considered in the context of the Brunet papers, the Vieux Fort ceramic assemblage can provide us with a useful way to understand the trans-oceanic connections that linked Plaisance with other Atlantic regions. The analysis of archaeological artifacts—particularly ceramic artifacts—is considered a fruitful means of investigating inter-regional trade. As Orton *et al.* note, "Pots also move about. They may be manufactured at a production centre and traded in their own right over greater or lesser distances" (1993:26). It is this movement of pots across the landscape—or, in the case of Plaisance, across an ocean—that can provide such fruitful information on the organisation of long-distance trade networks. Trade reconstructions such as this must be carefully contextualized with the historic record, to untangle the means by which pots followed trade routes (Deagan 2007). However, this sort of analysis has been usefully applied to sites elsewhere in Newfoundland and so a similar analysis is attempted here (Pope 2003c; Pope and Allan 1990).

Investigating pan-Atlantic trade networks by tracing the ebb and flow of pottery is dependent on the researcher's ability to identify the source from which the pottery came. This requires the study of pottery fabric on a macroscopic and ideally, a microscopic scale. Macroscopically, pottery fabric, inclusions, glaze, decoration and other physical characteristics can provide clues regarding its origin; occasionally, particularly distinctive forms can be shown to be typical of a pottery-producing region (Banning 2002:181; Orton *et al.* 1993:135-140). Macroscopic analysis is certainly prone to the bias of the analyst; mistaken attributions can and do occur (Monette *et al.* 2007:123). A solution to this is the use of physiochemical techniques, such as thin-sectioning, textural analysis and chemical composition analysis (Orton *et al.* 1993:140-141; Tite 1999). These methods are a reliable way to determine provenance, though they are not without their own interpretive concerns (Rice 1996:168-169).

The ability of the researcher to tie pottery sherds to their original source is also influenced by the degree of investigation not just of the sites where the pottery is found, but also the sites where the pottery is produced. If the source of the pottery is not clearly understood and delineated, it hampers the ability of the archaeologist to interpret its distribution. To a certain degree, this is problematic, for some pottery sources from France or from the Basque country are not well understood; this has certainly been an issue for other researchers (Gusset 2007:48-51). A complete program of physiochemical analysis was beyond the scope of the present research project, though it is an obvious direction for further research. Fortunately, some sherds from the Vieux Fort assemblage have been chemically and petrographically identified by other researchers (Newstead 2008; Pope and Batt 2008). Macroscopic identifications of both the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill assemblages have been sought by consulting comparative collections in Québec, through consultations with other researchers and by combing published reports (Brassard and Leclerc 2001).

8.7 Pottery Movements and Trade Routes

During the seventeenth century, and indeed the eighteenth and nineteenth, domestic pottery industries did not exist in Newfoundland, which meant that all ceramics had to be imported. Theoretically, the dominant ceramic wares in the Plaisance assemblages should be those common around the ports heavily involved in freighting ships to Plaisance. A ship's cargo should be drawn from the markets in port before its departure, thus making the ship's cargo an index of its last port of call before the voyage began (Kleij 1997:184). This is certainly an over-simplification of the issue; voyages were often completed in a multi-stage fashion, involving stops at different ports before the ship's transoceanic voyage began (Turgeon 1987). Additionally, pottery's role as a container for commodities—such as butter or oil—may have meant that pottery moved to different towns before being loaded onto ships. Brad Loewen demonstrates that the distribution of pottery around ports in France is complex (2004). The simple correlation of pottery kiln with nearest port does not always hold true. Thus, before we can attribute the products of a particular kiln with its nearest port city (and thus, with ships departing from that port), we need to ensure that we understand how the products of that kiln circulate around the countryside.

L'Hour and Veyrat take issue with the ability of ceramic artifacts to act as genetic markers of origin (2003). In their study of two shipwrecks in St. Malo, they observed that the assemblage was of surprisingly mixed origins, containing (among other items) Normandy stoneware, a Frechen bottle, wine bottles presumably of non-French origin and ceramic *marmites* from Cox (L'Hour and Veyrat 2003:184). They suggest that material culture common to the maritime world develops by the end of the seventeenth century, and that the processes of trade and exchange effectively obscure our ability to track trade archaeologically. L'Hour and Veyrat's (2003) cautions are duly noted, but they must be considered in light of Kleij's (1997) model. Kleij notes that shipwreck sites consist of different categories of artifacts that will be obtained and replaced at different rates. A ship's cargo might be obtained at the last minute in the last port of call before the voyage begins. On the other hand, a ship's galley utensils and eating and drinking equipment might stay on board for longer periods of time and thus may represent acquisitions made in completely different ports. Add to this individual acquisitions brought on board by passengers and crew members and the interpretations of a shipwreck site become even more complex. The artifacts found on a shipwreck site can thus be considered a palimpsest of acquisitive behaviours, which are difficult to untangle; little wonder that they implicate a bewildering number of ports of origin.

The situation is different on terrestrial sites. In Newfoundland, pottery on terrestrial sites can be understood as the remnants of many dozens of overseas cargo shipments. By accepting that terrestrial sites accumulate differently than shipwreck sites, we can effectively leave behind the caveats raised by L'Hour and Veyrat (2003). Additionally, Newfoundland archaeologists need not factor in the ways in which competing locally produced ceramics might have shaped or influenced the acquisition of non-local wares. In many ways, seventeenth-century archaeological sites in Newfoundland provide an ideal testing ground for identifying the impact of pan-Atlantic trade. There are certainly difficulties reconstructing trade patterns from pottery provenance, as noted above. Nevertheless, archaeologists working on both English and French Newfoundland sites have found that, carefully contextualized, pottery provenance can delineate trading relationships with specific English, French and Iberian ports or regions (Newstead 2008; Pope 2003c; Pope and Allan 1990; Pope and Batt 2008; Stoddart 2005; Temple 2004). Furthermore, ceramic assemblages from different parts of the island are composed of different ware types. The ceramic assemblage from the Vieux Fort is comprised of different ceramic wares than those found in contexts of a similar date at Champs Paya, a French seasonal fishing station on Newfoundland's *Petit nord* (Amy St. John 2011). This may be a product of different site functions, or it may be a product of different trade networks; the main point to be made is that it is different and this difference has a meaning that must be explained. In order to explain the meaning behind different archaeological assemblages, the pottery must first be identified.

8.8 Pottery from Plaisance: Sources

The current study is limited to an examination of coarse earthenwares and coarse stonewares only; tin-glazed earthenwares have been excluded from this study. Most of the research on the origins of French *faïence* has identified the region of production by classifying *faïence* by decorative style which has been associated with general regions of France—though with the caveat that styles were likely copied between regions (Bernier 2002:79-84; Genêt 1996:30-36; Walthall 2007:80; Waskelkov and Walthall 2002:64). This is problematic for the Vieux Fort assemblage, which is mostly comprised of undecorated tin-glazed earthenware. Additionally, the exceptionally porous and soft nature of the fabric means that depositional processes have fragmented the *faïence* sherds severely. It is difficult to determine the form of tin-glazed earthenware and more difficult again to associate the few decorated body sherds that exist with a particular form. Additionally, decorated fragments occur in such small pieces that the identification of an overall pattern is simply not possible in almost all cases. Leaving aside the tin-glazed earthenwares, the remaining coarse earthenwares and coarse stonewares identified in both the Vieux Fort and the Castle Hill assemblages are discussed below. This excludes ceramic sherds that could not be identified to a region of origin.

8.8.1 French Coarse Earthenwares

By far, the most common ware type from the Vieux Fort assemblage is what is here termed Saintonge-type and it remains one of the most problematic wares in the collection. This term is used to describe a homogenous, buff-bodied smooth fabric, with tiny mica and red-ochreous coloured inclusions. Sometimes the fabric is orange and is covered with a thin buff-coloured slip; the inclusions remain the same as the buff-coloured wares. These wares are typically covered with a bright green glaze, though polychrome glazes with greens, yellows, purples and browns are also found (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:49; Chapelot 1975; Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:186-187; Hurst *et al.* 1986:78; Toupin 2003). It is a very common find on French archaeological sites in the New World.

The problem with this ware lies in its provenance: "There is still much uncertainty as to the geographical and chronological origins of this white-paste ware, which all too often has been attributed to the Saintonge workshops without sufficient reflection" (Gusset 2007:77). Some physiochemical work has been performed on so-called Saintonge sherds and they have been found to exhibit substantial chemical diversity (Olin *et al.* 2002:93). Indeed, it seems likely that this ware was produced in several different centres and is probably best thought of as a product of southwestern France, from production sites found between the Loire and the Gironde (Chapelot 1978:124 in Gusset 2007:77).

One discovery amongst the Vieux Fort assemblage certainly suggests a link between these green-glazed buff-bodied wares and the Saintonge region (Figure 8.1). This artifact is a large *cruche* with four handles—three strap handles attached vertically to the sides and back of the vessel and one bucket handle over the top of the vessel. Identical examples of this jug are illustrated in Jean-Yves Hugoniot's monograph of Saintonge pottery (2002:60-68). The examples illustrated in Hugoniot were excavated from archaeological sites in the Saintonge region. The four-handled *cruche* is an unusual vessel form which has, at the time of writing, not been observed in other French potting traditions. The Vieux Fort *cruche* can reasonably be assumed to be a product of this region. Until the provenance of this type of ceramic ware is resolved with much more detailed study, the name Saintonge-type will be used here, to reflect the uncertainty of the ware's origin.

Breton coarse earthenware is a label applied to the products of a series of kilns in Brittany. These are buff-to-brown firing ceramics with a great deal of mica, white quartz and rod-like fossils in the clay; the latter are diagnostic of Breton ceramics generally (Pope 2003c). Recent physiochemical work by Pope and Batt has indentified some of the sherds from Plaisance as originating either from kilns at St. Jean-le-Poterie or Landeuil and others possibly from kilns near Finistère (2008:55). An additional vessel was identified macroscopically as being a product of the Pabu-Guingamp kilns. Because the

Figure 8.1 A four-handled Saintonge-type *cruche* from the Vieux Fort site.

This *cruche* is identical in form to archaeological examples excavated in the Saintonge region. One vertical strap handle is not visible in this photograph.

Plaisance sherds could not all be definitively linked to particular Breton kilns, they will for the present purposes be attributed to Brittany in general; this is sufficiently specific enough for the present analysis (Figure 8.2).

The remaining ceramic types are represented by only a few vessels for each type. Several sherds of coarse earthenwares from the Beauvais region in northern France have also been identified in the Vieux Fort assemblage. This type of earthenware has an off-white to buff-coloured homogenous and fine fabric, though with a somewhat porous, pitted appearance. It is typically covered with a yellow lead glaze, though decoration occurs (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:33; Hurst *et al.* 1986:106). Other occasionally found sherds originate in the Cox region of France, just northwest of Toulouse. The fabric can be buff-coloured, but tends to range towards reddish tones. The fabric is porous, with small quartz grains and sandy inclusions. The lead glaze generally has a yellowish appearance (Arcangeli 2000; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34-35). A single large storage *jarre* from Biot was identified; this is a buff-bodied ceramic with quartz and ferruginous inclusions; they are usually yellow-glazed. (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:43). And finally, sherds from a single vessel from Vallauris were uncovered. Vallauris ceramics have fabrics with a pink-buff colour, quartz and mica inclusions, as well as red and white particles that can be quite large. The surfaces of the ceramic are rough to the touch. Vessels are covered with a yellow-tinted lead glaze (Brassard and Leclerc 2001).

Figure 8.2 Fragments of Breton coarse earthenware from the Vieux Fort site.

8.8.2 Iberian Coarse Earthenwares

A number of sherds (probably all from the same vessel) of Portuguese Redware (formerly known as Merida or Merida-type ware) were recovered (Figure 8.3). Once incorrectly attributed to Spanish regions, subsequent research and recent physiochemical analysis has confirmed the Portuguese provenance of these wares (Hurst *et al.* 1986:69; Newstead 2008:120). The fabric is hard and fine, ranging from orange-red to red-brown. It is distinguished by its heavily micaceous fabric and by inclusions of quartz, feldspar and grog. Glaze, when present, is of a bright green or yellowish lead glaze (Newstead 2008:96). Additionally, a single sherd of Spanish Heavy Coarse Earthenware (with forms often referred to as Spanish Olive Jars) was recovered. These were large jars produced in Spain, with sandy, gritty, heterogeneous grey or pinkish-grey fabrics; they are easily distinguishable by their sandy texture and very large quartz inclusions (Hurst *et al.* 1986:66).

8.8.3 English Coarse Earthenwares

A single sherd of North Devon gravel-tempered coarse earthenware was recovered from the site. This is a very common find on English Newfoundland sites (Crompton 2001:78; Gaulton 2006:346-348; Nixon 1999:218-235). The fabric is orange, often grading to a grey core; the gravel-tempered variant has much angular quartz temper

Figure 8.3 Sherds from a Portuguese redware coarse earthenware storage vessel.

and small flakes of mica. They are often glazed with a green or brown lead glaze (Allan 1984:131). The wares were produced in the West Country towns of Barnstaple, Bideford and Great Torrington. North Devon pottery was marketed widely along the Atlantic littoral (Grant 1983).

8.8.4 French Coarse Stonewares

As with the earthenwares, most of the coarse stonewares from the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill assemblages are of French origin, though in both cases there are few stoneware vesssels. The most numerous type is Normandy stoneware, which is a dense, vitrified ceramic (Figure 8.4). It generally fires to a brown or brown purple colour, though Normandy stoneware can range to red-brown as well. The fabric may exhibit small white inclusions. The vessels are generally unglazed (Bertaux and Levesque 1993; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:99; Chrestien and Dufornier 1995a; Décarie-Audet 1979:25). Storage pots and bottles are some of the forms typically found on archaeological sites in New France, though *cruches* were also produced (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995a; St. John 2011:100). Normandy stonewares made useful shipping containers and were often used to ship butter and salted foods (Chrestien and Dufournier 1995a).

Stoneware from Béarne may have the same overall colour tones as Normandy stoneware vessels; typically, this stoneware fires to a brown or a brownish purple colour. The two wares can be easily distinguished based on their texture. Normandy stoneware has a fine, smooth, homogenous texture, while Béarne stoneware has a markedly gritty,

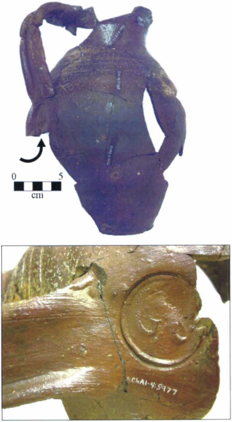

Figure 8.4 A Normandy stoneware *cruche* from the Vieux Fort.

The top image shows the *cruche*, with the location of an impressed stamp indicated by an arrow. The bottom image shows the enlarged detail of the initialed stamp, which reads "GS".

coarse and sandy texture (Décarie-Audet 1979). These vessels are also generally unglazed, though occasional traces of a thin yellowish glaze have been observed on sherds from Plaisance. As with Normandy stoneware, Bèarne stoneware was often made into storage pot forms, though cooking pots were also produced (Chrestien and Dufornier 1995a,b).

Finally, two vessels of coarse stoneware from the Beauvais (or possibly Loire) region were recovered (Figure 8.5). Beauvais and Loire products use very similar clays, and are thus difficult to distinguish. The fabric has a fine smooth homogenous texture, and fires to a light grey colour. Vessels are often unglazed; where glazed, they may have a light cobalt blue glaze, or a red-brown ash-glaze produced in the kiln. One vessel from the Plaisance collection has a distinctive glossy glaze that appears green-yellow where it pools. A variety of forms were produced in these traditions, including bottles, pots, jugs, cups, and mugs (Brandon 2006: 34-35; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:101; Décarie-Audet 1979:27; Hurst *et al.* 1986:105; Poulet 2000).

8.8.5 Rhenish Stonewares

A small number of sherds of Rhenish Brown stonewares were recovered, probably representing one vessel, probably produced in Frechen in present-day Germany. Frechen wares are characterized by a grey, vitrified fabric, covered in a rich ferruginous salt glaze which congeals in characteristic bumps. The Plaisance sherds lack much of the brown staining in the glaze but Frechen products with glaze that is more or less

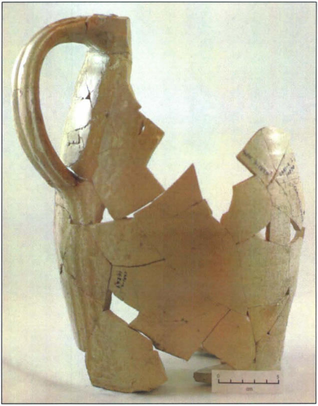

Figure 8.5 A Beauvais stoneware *cruche* from the Vieux Fort site.

colourless, exposing the grey body of the ceramic, have occasionally been noted in the literature (Gusset 1980:143; Hurst *et al.* 1986:214).

8.9 Pots, Ports and People: The Plaisance Trade, 1662-1714.

The Vieux Fort site and the Castle Hill site are both fortification sites and are thus directly comparable.[16] Both were stand-alone fortifications. Though Fort Royale was not the only fortification in Plaisance during its lifespan, this detached redoubt was intended to function as a self-contained fort (Charbonneau 1992). Food, water and supplies were stored there, as Fort Royale was always manned by a detachment of soldiers. The two forts are not contemporaneous, as the Vieux Fort was occupied from 1662-1690 and Fort Royale was occupied from 1693-1714. The ceramics identified from each site are presented in Table 8.2 below. Note that this table excludes tin-glazed earthenwares, as well as 18 coarse earthenwares that could not be identified due to excessive fragmentation and burning. This table also excludes one coarse earthenware vessel from the Castle Hill assemblage that could not be identified.

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[16] For clarity, even though the French referred to this site as Fort Royale, the archaeological collections from this site will be referred to as the Castle Hill collection, for that reflects its Parks Canada site name.

Table 8.2 makes several issues immediately apparent. The first is the size of the Castle Hill sample; it is much smaller than the Vieux Fort sample. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the English re-occupation of Castle Hill dramatically impacted the number of demonstrably French contexts available for study. The observed differences between the two sites might be amplified by comparing a small sample with a larger sample. Orton *et al.* are hesitant to assign a minimum sample size to ceramic collections but warn of the analytical drawbacks of small sample sizes (1996:175). For this reason, comparisons between the Castle Hill and Vieux Fort assemblages will not be subjected to any detailed quantitative or statistical analysis. The significance of any comparisons between the two will be derived from historically contextual information, rather than any kind of quantitative significance.

Table 8.2 demonstrates that 64 percent of the Vieux Fort assemblage is composed of green-glazed, buff-bodied ceramics that are Saintonge-type. If we accept that these originate in southwestern France, from the region between the Loire and Gironde rivers, we might then be able to associate them with the trade from major ports in this region such as Bourdeaux, La Rochelle and Rochefort. The discovery of a strong connection with southwestern France is not entirely surprising. The Saintonge potteries were heavily implicated in overseas trade to French colonies, having grown remarkably in the mid-seventeenth century to meet the expansion in overseas colonial trade (Musgrave

Table 8.2 The Origin of Ceramics in the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill Assemblages

Vieux Fort: Coarse Earthenwares (CEW) and Coarse Stonewares (CSW)

Ceramic Origin	**Ware**	**Number of Identified Vessels**	**Percent**
Béarne	CSW	1	1
Beauvais	CEW	5	5
Beauvais	CSW	2	2
Biot	CEW	1	1
Breton	CEW	14	15
Portuguese Redware	CEW	1	1
Normandy	CSW	4	4
North Devon Gravel-Tempered	CEW	1	1
Rhenish	CSW	1	1
Saintonge-Type	CEW	48	51
Saintonge-Type Polychrome	CEW	12	13
Spanish Heavy	CEW	1	1
Unidentified Southwestern France	CEW	2	2
Vallauris	CEW	1	1
Total		**94**	**99**

Table 8.2, continued.

Castle Hill: Coarse Earthenwares (CEW) and Coarse Stonewares (CSW)

Ceramic Origin	**Ware**	**Number of Identified Vessels**	**Percent**
Normandy	CSW	2	9
Westerwald	CSW	1	5
Spanish Heavy	CEW	10	45
Saintonge-Type	CEW	4	18
Portuguese Redware	CEW	3	14
Unidentified Southwestern France	CEW	1	5
Vallauris	CEW	1	5
Total		**22**	**101**

Note: Totals are due to rounding error.

1997:85). The trade grew to such an extent that it was organised by secondary distributors—often merchants based in La Rochelle—who purchased pottery from producers (Musgrave 1997:91). Certainly, these products of southwestern France are common finds on colonial sites in New France (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:186-188; Brassard and Leclerc 2001:50).

The Brunet papers attest to the degree to which trade connections forged across the Atlantic Ocean with Plaisance were part of long-standing relationships. That these trading relationships centred around southwestern France is not surprising. Henri Brunet was based out of La Rochelle until 1674; even after his move to Boston, he continued to import goods from La Rochelle for sale in the colonial market. Furthermore, during the earliest years of the colony`s history, around 70 percent of Plaisance's *habitants* originated in Saintonge and Aunis (Rouet 2005:191; Landry 2008:136-137). Clearly, the *habitants* of Plaisance had strong ties with this region and the pottery from the Vieux Fort assemblage indicates that these ties were maintained.

Some of this pottery may have been obtained as a part of official resupply voyages, arranged by the Ministry of the Marine. This again entangles the collections of Plaisance with the ports of southwestern France. Despite the fact that the major base for the Marine moved to Brest in 1673, the majority of the supplies for the Crown were usually sent from Marine warehouses in Rochefort (Bosher 1994:226). Thus, the importance of southwestern France in freighting supplies to Plaisance before 1690 is clearly indicated by all available evidence. The situation changes after 1690, for the proportion of Saintonge-type pottery falls to comprise only 14 percent of the Castle Hill assemblage. The potential reasons for this will be discussed in further detail below.

While the largest proportion of the Vieux Fort ceramic vessels originated in the kilns of southwestern France, the rest of the assemblage is heterogeneous. The remaining vessels originated in a number of other French pottery-producing regions, of which Breton pots are the most numerous. Other pots found in the Vieux Fort collection are derived from ceramic-producing regions in Normandy, Biot, Beauvais, Béarne, Vallauris and Cox (Brassard and Leclerc 2001). The identification of ceramics from various kilns in Brittany almost certainly demonstrates trade with these regions (Pope 2003c). At present, we cannot say which Breton port was most implicated in the Plaisance trade, because physiochemical testing was not able to specify the Breton region that produced these sherds (Pope and Batt 2008). However, the general tie with Brittany corresponds well with the data shown in Table 8.1, indicating that ports from north-western France were active in the Plaisance trade.

The remaining French ceramics from the Vieux Fort assemblage were produced in a number of different French potting regions. This diverse and heterogeneous character of the remainder of the assemblage reflects Brunet's observations that a number of ships in or near Plaisance originated in Le Croisic, Granville, St. Malo, Normandy and unspecified Basque ports (Brunet 1672,1673,1674). The merchants who worked aboard these ships must also have made inroads in the trade with Plaisance's *habitants*. Consumers in Plaisance could have obtained supplies from ships originating in other regions of France; they had a choice. Thus, the standard narrative that a controlled and monopolized network of merchants gave the *habitants* little choice in their purchases does not seem to be supported by this evidence.

What is equally interesting is the virtual absence of the products of these same kiln products in the Castle Hill assemblages, with the exception of two vessels of Normandy stoneware and one of Vallauris earthenware. The Castle Hill assemblage did not contain any ceramics from Brittany, Biot, Béarne, Beauvais, or Cox. Also worthy of note is the large number of Iberian storage *jarres* in the Castle Hill assemblage. Iberian pottery forms the dominant ware in the Castle Hill assemblages, representing 59 percent of the assemblage. By contrast, Iberian wares only form 2 percent of the assemblage from the Vieux Fort site. When sited within their historical context, though, these results find support, even in spite of the small sample size of the collection.

The decrease in ceramic variability at Castle Hill and the increase in the presence of Iberian *jarres* may well represent a shift in the ports involved in provisioning Plaisance. After 1690, official supplies were sent to the colony with greater regularity. The level of state financial support for the colony increased dramatically, *magazins du roi* were constructed and their contents were oft-monitored and inventoried (Thorpe 1980:39). In the 1690s, the French government contracted out the supply of salaries, food, munitions and necessities to French merchants, in exchange for use of the king's ships for fishing, trading and privateering (Pritchard 1999:163-164; Thorpe 2001:43). This was a radical change in the Crown's approach to provisioning. Before 1690, Plaisance had largely been left to its own devices; *habitants* and administrators generally had to make their own arrangements for provisioning. After 1690, the Ministry of the

Marine took a much more active role in the affairs of the colony. Perhaps the regular appearance of state-sanctioned trade means that the smaller-scale, heterogeneous nature of the early Plaisance trade was displaced.

Both the Castle Hill and the Vieux Fort assemblages are also marked by the virtual absence of English wares. The only artifact from the Vieux Fort assemblage that originated in England is a single sherd of North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware. The single Rhenish brown stoneware vessel may well be a product of English trade, as such vessels were traded to London and re-exported in large number (Allan 1984). French and English ceramics do not seem to overlap often on archaeological sites in Newfoundland (Brandon 2006; Crompton 2001; Nixon 1999; Stoddart 2005). English sites typically exhibit a small proportion of French wares, perhaps as a corollary of the wine and salt trade. This trade brought French salt and wine (and to a lesser extent, French pottery) to southwest England, from which they could have ended up on English ships bound for the Newfoundland fisheries (Allan 1984:42; Allan and Barber 1992:229). Some of these wares may result from occasional direct trade with French fishers in Newfoundland, as well. The Vieux Fort and Castle Hill assemblages indicate the inverse of this trend: few English wares are found on French Newfoundland sites.

The absence of English wares on French sites should not be taken as an indication that there was no contact between the French and English in Newfoundland. Although the French and English lived in geographically distinct parts of Newfoundland, there were opportunities for occasional encounters between them. Contact between French and English settlers and fishermen in Newfoundland occurred, particularly for disputeresolution (Pope 2004:309-311). Additionally, several English men with French wives settled in Plaisance and were regarded as naturalized Frenchmen (Parat 9 July 1688). English ships may have occasionally stopped in the colony, as recorded in a notarial document of 1700 (Barrat 3 May1700). This document provides the crew list (rôle) of a ship called the *Happy Success mon Aize,* of Bedford (probably Bideford), England. Furthermore, ships from New England were not unknown along the French Newfoundland coast, as the Brunet papers record. These ships seem to have largely specialized in trading tobacco (Brunet 1672). English prize ships taken during the early eighteenth century were another potential pathway by which English people and English goods entered the colony. Certainly, the prize ships inventoried and auctioned in Plaisance indicate a small number of recorded sales of English pottery (Basset 1 June 1711:fol. 206).

The only identifiable Anglo-American artifact in either the Vieux Fort or the Castle Hill assemblages is a single red clay Chesapeake pipe stem found at the Vieux Fort. These are terracotta pipes made of red clay, produced in Virginia and Maryland (Mouer *et al.* 1999:95-96). They are not numerous finds on English Newfoundland sites, but they are not entirely rare either and are associated with the New England trade (Gaulton 2006:134). The absence of New England-produced artifacts in Plaisance is somewhat surprising, for ships from New England plied their trade in and around Plaisance. In 1672, Henri Brunet encountered a New England ketch just outside of Plaisance, which was roaming the area selling a cargo of tobacco (Brunet 1672:fol.15). The next year, when Brunet was two days' sailing to the south of Plaisance, he encountered a ketch from Boston. The English master joined Brunet on board for a glass of wine and they exchanged one sailor from each crew, presumably to aid Brunet's ship in navigating unfamiliar waters in Acadia (Brunet 1673:fol.38). In 1674, Brunet purchased an English ketch from Boston in Plaisance (Brunet 29 August 1674:fol.41v).

This New England trade continued into the 1680s; upon Governor Parat's arrival in Plaisance, he encountered three small English ships from Boston, loaded with flour, pork, beef, peas and other foodstuffs (Parat 14 August 1685:fol.262). It is said that the Boston-Plaisance trade was advantageous, because even a small ship could make three or four voyages a year (Parat 14 August 1685:fol.262). Perhaps the New England trade was still small-scale, being carried out in small coasting vessels; this may be why Brunet wrote of the Boston-Plaisance trade: "C'est un fort bon negosse qui n'est pas congneu a tout le monde [is not widely known]" (Brunet 4b February 1675). The absence of more identifiably Anglo-American artifacts may also be a reflection of the fact that the New England ships seemed to carry food and tobacco, rather than merchandise.

The Vieux Fort and Castle Hill assemblages are also alike in the absence of any pottery from kilns in Québec. Local kilns in Quèbec were operational by the mid-seventeenth century (Monette 2005:16). Documented maritime traffic between Plaisance and Québec is recorded by the 1680s. Some ships arrived directly from Québec with merchandise for trade. Other ships stopped over at Plaisance while *en route* to Québec, or on the return voyage to France (Bosher 1992:189; P. Costebelle 9 November 1712c; Parat 29 July/4 Sept.1689:109v; Turgeon 1986:footnote 61). Plaisance acted as a waypoint for Québec-bound ships, particularly if the season was too advanced to permit safe navigation of the St. Lawrence (Daiherre 2 February 1692:165v; L.Pastour 28 December 1690:183v). Not surprisingly, merchants that were heavily involved in the Québec trade were also typically involved in the Plaisance trade (Bosher 1983; Miquelon 1987:71-3,204-205; Pritchard 1971:286-92; Turgeon 1987). Despite these connections of long standing, a careful search of comparative collections of locally produced pottery in Québec did not reveal any parallels with sherds in the Vieux Fort or the Castle Hill assemblages. It is entirely possible that the production of the Québec kilns was absorbed by local markets and thus played no part in inter-regional trade.

In the end, the Vieux Fort and Castle Hill sites can provide data on the extent and depth of inter-regional trade between Plaisance and other ports. Despite the relative proximity of French and English communities in Newfoundland, French ceramics tend to predominate on French archaeological sites, and English ceramics predominate on English archaeological sites. This seems to be a persistent pattern. The strong association between English wares and English sites and between French wares and French sites is not always the case outside of Newfoundland. Acadian sites analysed by Marc Lavoie are marked by assemblages that are mixtures of English and French wares (2002:424-425). Changes in local authority between the English and French crowns and close proximity to New England are the probable reasons for the mixed provenance of ceramics on these Acadian sites. Other examples from outposts in New France reveal that French settlers again made choices based on geographic proximity. French settlers living in French Louisiana chose to develop trading networks with nearby Spanish and Native

American traders, rather relying on distant traders from France (Shorter 2002; Silvia 2002).

A similar situation does not appear to have developed in Newfoundland; in the case of Plaisance, overwhelmingly, distant ports supplied the colony. The balance of the archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that the English and French trading worlds in Newfoundland were largely self-contained. English trading ships arrived to truck in English Newfoundland communities and French trading ships targeted French Newfoundland communities *pour la troque.* In spite of the relative proximity of French and English communities on the Avalon Peninsula, simple proximity to other communities of different national origin was not enough to encourage sustained commercial contact between them.

The Brunet papers amply demonstrate that personal relationships and mutual trust formed the basis of colonial trade in this period. Self-interest was not absent; Brunet exhausted many sheets of paper in calculating and worrying over his profits. Self-interest was not absent on the part of customers, who certainly tried to get the best merchandise that they could for their fish. Ultimately, the Brunet papers reveal the mutually dependent relationships that characterized his relationships with his clients in Plaisance. Nowhere in the documents do we see evidence for coercion on the part of the merchants which has so strongly characterized Plaisance's historiography.

Credit was, in the early modern period, a social construction above all. Each account that a merchant held was "a narrative of a certain relationship… what counted in most cases was the people, or the group of people, who underpinned the activity thus accounted for" (Gervais 2011:44). These relationships between merchant and resident were simply circumscribed within either the English or the French regions of Newfoundland. Indeed, French *habitants* who tried to stay in Placentia Bay or along the south coast after 1714 discovered the self-enclosed nature of trade to their disadvantage. Merchants and captains aboard the English ships now plying the waters in this area refused to extend credit to the French residents living there, even if the French residents had sworn an oath of loyalty to the English crown (Janzen 1987a:186-187; Taverner 20 November 1714:261-261v).

Just because English and French ships tended to trade in habitually English and French parts of Newfoundland is not to say that *habitants* and traders respected the dictates of national authority. "[C]olonists and mariners... cooperated, often illegally, across colonial and imperial borders" (Hatfield 2003:1). Merchants engaged in subterfuge, in illicit trade and unofficial alliances, circumventing state laws that prohibited trade with other countries (Thorpe 2007). The case of Plaisance is no different. Henri Brunet based his Plaisance trade out of Boston after 1685 and actively ingratiated himself in the trading world of New England. No matter where he located himself, in France, Newfoundland or New England, Brunet drew on his connections in France for imported goods, sending detailed letters with detailed requests for particular manufactured goods and selling the merchandise sent by his family and his associates in France (Brunet 27 September 1674, 1675b).

It is entirely possible that the predominance of French pottery is a corollary of a preference for French manufactured goods. Much the same argument has been made for the French occupants at Fort Pentagoet, who obtained the majority of their durable goods from France (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:268). Certainly, Henri Brunet wistfully writes from Boston in 1675 that it had been four months since he had drunk French wine (Brunet 4 February 1675c). A preference for French wine, French brandy and French food in overseas colonies is amply documented in other historical research (Ferland 2005; Mandelblatt 2008, 2011). The overwhelmingly French character of the archaeological collections from Plaisance might also reflect a desire for familiar goods in the French colony.

In the end, the Castle Hill and Vieux Fort assemblages demonstrate that simple geographic proximity does not appear to have resulted in significant inter-regional trade. Plaisance was located far closer to settlements in English Newfoundland, Boston or Québec than to France. Some maritime traffic certainly connected Plaisance with its nearest neighbours. Despite this, French ports overwhelmingly supplied the colony, despite the fact that that an ocean separated Plaisance and France. The close connections between the colony and France mark the Plaisance trade as different from other regions, such as the trade to Acadia or Louisiana. The dissimilarity of the Plaisance trade when compared with other places is in fact entirely typical of the trading experience in the French Atlantic. Early modern French trade was highly segmented and each trading effort was an *ad hoc*, regionally specific affair (Gervais 2011:44-45). The Plaisance trade was, in the end, a product of its own unique historical contingencies.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The early period of Plaisance's history—from 1662 to 1690—has traditionally not received much scholarly attention. This is in no small part due to issues of preservation. Historic records of this time are comparatively few in number until the mid-1680s; archaeological sites dating to this period are equally rare. As part of a renewed interest in Placentia's French past on the part of the *Plaisance à découvert/Placentia Uncovered Archaeology Project*, the Vieux Fort site became an obvious target for archaeological excavation. At the time of writing, the Vieux Fort is the only archaeological site in Placentia that dates exclusively to the pre-1690 period. Most of the infrastructure in the French colony was taken over by the English after 1714, including Fort Louis, Fort Royale and its ancillary military works, French administrative buildings, as well as the French *habitant* plantations.

Archaeological investigation at French sites in Placentia has demonstrated that intact French contexts are difficult to locate. Other sites bearing intact French contexts have all been re-occupied by the English, resulting in some impact on the scale of the preserved French context (Crompton and Temple 2004; Grange 1971; Mills 2007; Simmonds 2011). Not only was the Vieux Fort site never re-occupied by the English, the site remains relatively free from modern disturbance. These qualities, coupled with the unique historical place of the Vieux Fort—standing squarely within the least-documented part of the colony's history—means the site offers an important vantage point from which to study the colony's formative years.

One of the basic goals of the *Placentia Uncovered/Plaisance à découvert* archaeology project was to investigate the layout and development of the Vieux Fort site. Before this project began, our knowledge about the fort's history did not extend much past a general idea of its date. The single extant map that showed the Vieux Fort in any detail seemed to be of questionable accuracy, as far as the appearance of the fort was concerned. From our earliest excavations at the Vieux Fort, we realized that it was not insubstantial, insignificant or unimportant. The fort was marked by the obvious remnants of several substantial masonry buildings. We quickly realized that both the archaeological site and the historic documents related to this time period merited further study. Four years of excavation and survey, coupled with a complete re-examination of extant historical documents, has revealed much new material relating to the fort and the colony's early history.

Our excavations revealed that a structure had existed on the site before the Vieux Fort was built. What this structure represented is difficult to determine, but historic documents do suggest that this was part of a small civil fort constructed before the official colony was founded. Construction on the Vieux Fort began very shortly after the colonists and soldiers arrived in 1662. Historic documents make it clear that the fort was intended to house soldiers from early on, even though barracks were not always typical constructions on French fortifications at this time. The barracks building was thus constructed during the earliest years of the Vieux Fort's history. Other buildings were constructed inside the fort. Although we did not excavate these, they likely represent storage buildings for food, drink and munitions. Archaeological evidence also demonstrates that the only detailed map of the fort was a deliberate exaggeration, particularly in the size and scale of the fort's defences. This is not to say that the fort itself was insubstantial; time, effort and significant human resources had been spent on the construction of stone buildings on the inside of the fort. These bear a contrast to the apparent simplicity of the fort's defences. Clearly building elaborate defences at the fort was of secondary importance to the construction of substantial buildings inside the fort.

All available evidence—archaeological, cartographic and photographic—indicates that the site was little-used after its destruction by the English in 1690. A recently discovered set of maps shows that a small ephemeral battery was erected somewhere on the site in the mid-1690s but this battery was probably not used for very long. The efforts expended on fortifying the harbour were directed elsewhere in Plaisance after 1690 and these efforts were undertaken on a much grander scale than had been previously attempted in the colony. The decision to abandon the site after the 1690s was made for a host of tactical, practical and symbolic reasons. This decision was never re-considered; throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the site of the former fort was slowly reclaimed by the forest. Despite this, a memory of the fort's location lingered, and the hillside was occasionally referred to as the place where an Old French Fort once existed.

The Vieux Fort site thus stands as a record of the ways in which French colonial administrators tried to ensure the defence of their newly established colony. The Vieux Fort also offers an opportunity to understand the lives of the soldiers and officers who lived there during the colony's earliest years. Aside from a few exceptions, we do not know their names or how long they served in the colony. However, we can determine from both archaeological and historical evidence that the material world of the soldiers was fairly restricted. This is unsurprising, as soldiers were probably amongst the most poorly paid members of the colony. Soldiers were encouraged to supplement their rations, as provisions were intentionally under-supplied. Soldiers undoubtedly hunted and fished for extra food as a result. The best opportunity that soldiers had to increase their rations came from hiring themselves out as *engagés* to Plaisance's *habitants*. Colonists provided the soldiers with food, shelter and supplies, as well as extra funds to offset their meager (and intermittently-received) pay.

When not working for the *habitants*, soldiers lived together in the barracks. The large west room was likely intended to house the beds (probably totalling 12) that would have been provided for the half-company of 25 soldiers. In this room, the soldiers prepared and ate their food, drank, socialized and slept. Personal possessions were few. Each soldier probably filled his *coffre* with his uniform and work clothes (which were undoubtedly his most valuable possessions) and the supplies that he had been provided to maintain and repair them. Each soldier certainly possessed his own supply of lead shot and gunflints, along with any fishing or hunting equipment. If he was lucky, a soldier might have had his own eating utensils; he certainly possessed his own tobacco pipes and likely his own drinking vessels. Soldiers were active, if small-scale, consumers in the community. They were able to purchase alcohol and tobacco, either at the fort from officer-run *cantines* or in the colony from *habitant*-owned *cabarets.* Though they ranked among the poorest residents of the colony, soldiers were able to acquire these little luxuries.

Officers were also intended to live at the site, and the smaller east room at the barracks were likely their intended living space. Though the room was smaller than the west room, it was better-appointed, with its brick-lined fireplace. A subset of material culture excavated at the barracks (though unfortunately mostly derived from secondary deposits outside the building) testifies to the presence of officers at the site. At this time, fine wine glasses, *faïence* food service vessels, and decorated Chinese export porcelain were all items with status implications. Studies of post-mortem inventories, both from Plaisance and elsewhere in New France, suggest that such items, reflective of higher social status, tended to be the possession of those of comfortable means. Their expense, and the social refinement implied by their possession, probably put these items beyond the reach of the simple *soldat*. As a result, their presence at the barracks mean officers must have been present at the fort.

Though the presence of the officers at the fort is clear, they were probably not constant residents at the Vieux Fort. Frequently, officers posted to fortifications in New France chose to decamp to private accommodations instead. In this regard, the Vieux Fort was no different. For example, Lieutenant Louis Pastour de Costebelle chose to live elsewhere in the colony in the 1680s, just as many officers chose private residences in Plaisance over barracks life at Fort Louis. Indeed, the complete complement of the fort's garrison was not always resident at the Vieux Fort. By the end of the fort's history, the historical record indicates that many soldiers were living with and working for *habitants* elsewhere in the colony. This would have led to a much-decreased military presence at the Vieux Fort, particularly during cod-fishing seasons. Though the entire garrison may not have been living at the Vieux Fort at all times, the archaeological and historical evidence indicates that the Vieux Fort was occupied up to its destruction during the English raid on Plaisance in 1690.

The Vieux Fort site also offers an opportunity to expand our knowledge of the French experience in Newfoundland. Another main goal of this project was to develop typologies that could be analytically useful for other French sites elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador. The functional ceramic typology developed in this dissertation is intended to permit inter-site comparison. Furthermore, the typology is intended to be usable on archaeological collections that are not well-preserved. Highly fragmented collections cannot be readily fitted into existing typologies that require a significant degree of vessel completeness in order to distinguish between types. Furthermore, every effort has been made to define vessel definitions broadly enough to incorporate diverse ceramic collections comprised of a wide range of potting traditions. The Vieux Fort's comparatively short occupation, and its single-context French occupation means that the collection can serve as a good example of the French presence in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Newfoundland. The typologies developed in this dissertation are thus suitable for inter-site comparison of French contexts of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while the typologies can easily be expanded to suit other time periods as well.

Even though the Vieux Fort site is one of the few French fortification sites in Newfoundland, the site still has comparative value for other non-military French sites. The vast majority of the French archaeological sites in Newfoundland will be fishing stations, many of which were seasonally occupied. However, as has been argued throughout this dissertation, the Vieux Fort site did not stand apart from the rest of Plaisance. The Vieux Fort's inhabitants were fishermen as much as they were soldiers. As has been demonstrated with both archaeological and historical evidence, the world of the soldier and the world of the sailor were not that far apart in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Newfoundland. The Vieux Fort site will thus be comparable to a contemporary fisheries-based site of the same date.

At a larger scale of analysis, the Vieux Fort site also offers up opportunities for inter-regional comparisons and studies of comparative colonialism. The English and the French both occupied Newfoundland to pursue the cod fishery. The reason for settling on the island was the same in both cases, as were the methods and practices used in the fishery. However, the French and the English approached the settlement of Newfoundland in different ways. The approach of the French, with the establishment of a colony directly administered by the French crown, was not the approach taken in English Newfoundland. The influence of the state is heavily felt in French Plaisance; it is for this reason that the Vieux Fort was the earliest garrisoned European fortification in Newfoundland. Thus, the present analysis of the Vieux Fort site can certainly provide a perspective on further studies in comparative colonialism in Newfoundland.

The Vieux Fort also provides another perspective on the French Atlantic colonial experience. Recent writings in Atlantic history have suggested that French overseas colonies and settlements can best be regarded as fundamentally experimental (Dawdy 2008). French colonies were not rolled out in colonial lands with a set package of institutions and infrastructure. Each colony or settlement was a unique product: a result of different agendas of the colonists, different geographical constraints or opportunies and different historical contingencies. Nevertheless, each colony existed within broader French sociopolitical structures and institutions.

The Vieux Fort embodies this notion of experimentation. The Vieux Fort was constructed out of a need to protect the French fishery at the fledgling settlement of Plaisance. Local authorities chose the location for the fort, and oversaw its construction as best they could with the resources available. But no matter what the historic maps of the Vieux Fort imply, it was never a standard early modern artillery fortification. The Vieux Fort relied for its defence not on massively engineered ramparts, but rather on its location on a high terrace overlooking part of the colony. The influence of Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, which was so strongly apparent in the design of fortifications in other French colonies, is not seen to a great degree at the Vieux Fort. Colonial administrators in Plaisance had access to comparatively few financial resources, and were tasked with building the fort with their resident garrison (who proved mutinous during the colony's first disastrous winter). Considered in this light, the Vieux Fort was an important colonial achievement, even if it is not typical in terms of its design. The Vieux Fort was not a significant fortification—the fort's interior buildings were large masonry constructions, after all—but the fort was also not a standard fortification of its time.

The ultimate failure of the fort's defensive capabilities during the English raid of 1690 was not lost on Plaisance's administrators. The later fortifications system, which would grow to include Fort Louis, Fort Royale, the Gallardin and many associated outworks and batteries, shows that administrators had begun to experiment in a different direction after 1690. Rather than building a fort to defend the settlement, administrators and engineers made their first steps towards a fortified settlement. The defence of Plaisance's large harbour would require preventing enemy ships from landing forces outside the range of a fort's cannon. Plaisance's engineers (for after 1690, the colony was allotted an engineer) realized that the length and breadth of the harbour would need to be defended. Indeed, grappling with the needs of defending a fishing settlement would not be resolved with the Plaisance experiments. Engineers at Louisbourg would come to discover that a fundamental tension existed in the fortification of fishing settlements. Colonists needed to live on land suitable for the fishery, even if it was not in easily defensible positions (Johnston 2001:71). Placed in this overall context, the Vieux Fort can be seen as an initial experimental step in coming to terms with the defence of a fishing settlement.

If the design of the Vieux Fort was experimental, so too were the strategies of the people who lived there. Allowing and indeed encouraging soldiers to work at jobs other than soldiering was standard practice in New France. However, the terms by which soldiers hired themselves out to *habitants*, and the terms by which administrators attempted to control and profit by this process was certainly a local adaptation. This practice, well-documented at the Vieux Fort both archaeologically and historically, was developed by local actors to fit the needs of Plaisance's economic particularities. Soldiers were welcome to live with *habitants*, provided they did not wear their swords. Soldiers were a valuable and stable part of the local workforce, providing some small relief for the demand for seasonal *engagés* from France. Indeed, Governor Parat seized on this opportunity, and began to charge *habitants* for the privilege of employing soldiers. Soldiers hired out as *engagés* also worked to the benefit of local administrators. Soldiers working for the *habitants* did not need to have rations or supplies allocated to them from otherwise meagre colonial funds.

Flexibility and experimentation was also a hallmark of the relationships between Plaisance's inhabitants and the outside world. The Brunet papers demonstrate the depth of the personal relationships which structured the trading relationships between merchants and *habitants* in this period. These social relationships shaped the state of French provisioning and trade to the colony. This is particularly true of Plaisance's early history, when the colony did not receive a great deal of state funding and official supplies were infrequently sent. The archaeological evidence from the Vieux Fort points to strong trading connections with France, especially southwestern France, but French ports outside of this region also made contributions to the Plaisance trade. The relative heterogeneity of the Vieux Fort ceramic assemblage suggests that *habitants* had personal relationships with traders in many different French ports. This is echoed by the Brunet papers, which demonstrate that Plaisance's harbour attracted ships from many different French ports in the 1670s. The Castle Hill assemblages studied do suggest that the ports in France that were responsible for the Plaisance trade began to change after 1690. Historical evidence from this time period suggests that the trade to Plaisance became increasingly regulated and dominated by Basque ships; certainly, the archaeological evidence correlates with this trend. Geographical proximity to other ports in New France or New England did not result in sustained trade with Plaisance. Though maritime traffic certainly existed between these North American ports and Plaisance, archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the Plaisance trade was resolutely dominated by ports in France. The personal nature of transatlantic credit at this time also explains why English ceramics do not occur in great number on French Newfoundland sites.

Standard histories of Plaisance have emphasized the role of marginality and dependence when characterizing the relationships between merchants and *habitants* in the colony. The Brunet papers demonstrate that this is an exaggeration; the relationships between overseas merchants and their customers in the colony were marked by co-operation rather than outright coercion. Archaeological and historical evidence have demonstrated that Plaisance was a bustling and busy harbour in this early period, and was supplied with cargoes from ships from many different French ports. Indeed, the Plaisance trade is an entirely typical example of the trading experience in the French Atlantic. Trading efforts were regionally specific affairs, following the ebb and flow of individual relationships and the unique historical contingencies of individual colonies, settlements and regions.

Ultimately, assessing the significance of the Vieux Fort depends upon the perspective of the observer. While the site might not have been impressive to a military engineer well-versed in the finer points of artillery fortification design, it was certainly impressive in a Newfoundland context. Between 1662 and 1690, it was the only large, stand-alone fortification manned by a garrison of soldiers in Newfoundland. The stone construction used in the buildings in the fort is a testimony to the effort and intensive labour that the Vieux Fort's construction required. Though the Vieux Fort pales in comparison with the larger, more extensive fortifications erected in Plaisance after 1690, or indeed with other fortifications built elsewhere in New France, it was an impressive effort and a substantial fortification in the context of seventeenth-century Newfoundland.

The soldier posted to the Vieux Fort may not have been pleased with his poor and infrequently delivered pay, but he found ways to augment his pay and acquire little luxuries. The Vieux Fort archaeological assemblage is replete with examples of these individual decisions. The fish-hooks in the assemblage show that soldiers were fishermen. The lead bird shot in the assemblage demonstrates that hunting was an important subsidiary activity to soldiering. The soldiers' tobacco pipes and drinking vessels reflect that soldiers were consumers, and that they partook of little luxuries of food and drink to make the barracks at the Vieux Fort a more sociable environment. The colony that the fort protected has been viewed as small and insubstantial; this was not the perspective that overseas merchants like Henri Brunet possessed. Brunet's own words indicate that Plaisance was a busy spot, home to a healthy and growing trade.

From the perspective of the archaeologist working in the twenty-first century, the Vieux Fort is an exceptional site. The site is remarkable for its entirely French occupation and for its relatively undisturbed stratigraphy. The Vieux Fort site provides an opportunity not only to study the lives of the military personnel posted to Plaisance but also to investigate the relationships between Plaisance and the wider French Atlantic world. Archaeologists may often be accused of searching for the earliest or the oldest sites in a region. In the case of the Vieux Fort, the site's early date provided one of the most compelling arguments to make it the subject of a sustained research project. The Vieux Fort site provides a perspective on the early history of the French colony of Plaisance that we would not be able to derive from the written record alone. In short, the Vieux Fort site preserves an excellent record of the earliest French efforts at colony-building in Newfoundland.

References Cited

Explanatory Note

The primary documents referenced in this dissertation are listed below. The documents are listed by the referencing information provided by the institution that houses the records. The majority of the primary documents were consulted as microfilmed copies, not as original documents. A list of institutions that house the archival series consulted is provided in Section 10.2. This will allow readers to locate the archive that holds the original document and the archives that holds a microfilmed copy. Archival institutions are abbreviated, but their full name can be found in the Abbreviations section of this dissertation (page xii).

The primary documents that are cited in this dissertation follow in Section 10.3 below. In all cases, documents are listed alphabetically by the author of the document. In cases where the author of the document could not be determined, the author is listed as Anonymous. Each document is also listed by the most specific date that could be determined. If the document's date was not specifically given, but could be approximated by textual clues in the document, that date is listed in square parentheses. Each document has been assigned a title; wherever possible, this was drawn from the descriptive inventory of the document prepared by the archival institution. The archival institution and series is then listed, followed by volume and page, item or folio numbers, if applicable. Some of the cartographic or photographic documents are internet-accessible; if so, the internet address of the document is provided.

List of Archival Series and Institutions

ADCM, B, Amirauté: Original documents at ADCM, Série B (Cours et jurisdictions, Amirauté de La Rochelle ou Amirauté de Guyenne à La Rochelle). Microfilmed copies consulted as various volumes in Series MG6-A2 at LAC.

ADCM, E, Min. Teuleron: Original documents at ADCM, Série E (Féodalité, communes, bourgeoisie, familles), Fonds notariaux, Minutes Teuleron. Microfilmed copies consulted as various volumes in series MG6-A2 at LAC.

ADCM, E, Min. Rivière et Soulard: Original documents at ADCM, Série E (Féodalité, communes, bourgeoisie, familles), fonds notariaux, minutes Rivière et Soulard. Microfilmed copies consulted as various volumes in series MG6-A2 at LAC.

ADG, B- 6B: Original documents at ADG, Séries anciennes avant 1760, Série B (Cours et jurisdictions), sous-séries 6B (Amirauté de Guyenne). Microfilmed copies consulted as Series MG6-A17, 6B at LAC.

AN, B^3: Original documents at AN, Fonds de la Marine, Service general, Série B^3 (Lettres recues). Microfilm copies were consulted as Series MG2-B3 at LAC.

AN, G^5: Original documents at AN, Fonds publiques de l'Ancien Régime, Administrations financières et spéciales, Série G^5 (Amirauté de France, Conseil des prises). Microfilmed copies were consulted as Series MG3-IG5 at LAC.

ANOM, Col. B: Original documents at ANOM, Fonds ministériels, premier empire coloniale, Série B (Correspondance au départ). Microfilmed copies were consulted as Series MG1-B at LAC.

ANOM, Col. $C^{11}A$: Original documents at ANOM, Fonds ministériels, premier empire coloniale, Série $C^{11}A$ (Correspondance à l'arrivée, Canada et colonies du nord de l'Amérique, Canada). Microfilmed copies were consulted as Series MG1-C11A at LAC.

ANOM, Col. $C^{11}B$*:* Original documents at ANOM, Fonds ministériels, premier empire coloniale, Série $C^{11}B$ (Correspondance à l'arrivée, Canada et colonies du nord de l'Amérique, Île Royale). Microfilmed copies were consulted as Series MG1-C11B at LAC.

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Appendix I

Structure, Feature and Event Designations, ChAl-04

The site plan (Figure 5.1) shows the location of the main structures and features at the Vieux Fort site, which should be consulted in conjunction with Appendix I.

Structure Designations

Structure A: This is the stone-walled structure found during the 2001 excavations. It consists two identified dry-laid stone walls (Features 2 and 4) and two stone gable walls (Features 1 and 14), and one interior stone wall (Feature 3). Three post-holes have been found (Features 5, 6, and 7).

Structure B: This designates the remnants of a second structure found in 2004 below Structure A, consisting solely of Feature 18.

Feature Designations

Feature 1: The stone wall forming one of the long walls of Structure A, paralleling Feature 4. It consists of a long pile of surface rubble visible on the site. In 2001, our excavations did not find any easily definable intact faces; we probably did not excavate far enough inwards to find them. Excavations in 2002 uncovered a short segment of this wall, where it intersects Feature 2. Excavations in 2004 uncovered a short section of the intact stone wall. This is the same feature as Feature 1 identified by Gaulton and Carter (1997).

Feature 2: This feature is a stone wall that forms the gable wall of Structure A. This is represented by a pile of surface rubble, running roughly (magnetic) east-west. Excavation demonstrated that underneath the surface rubble was a dry-laid stone wall, with rough coursing, that was intact up to one m in height. We exposed only the outside face of Feature 2 in 2001 and 2002. The inside face of Feature 2 is buried somewhere beneath a rubble pile, which is so dense that almost no soil is found within the rubble. The inner face was not exposed, because the stonework was unstable enough that we were concerned that exposing both the exterior and interior faces would de-stabilize the existing standing stonework. Excavations around this dense pile of rubble (in units N28 E1 and N29 E1) found that modern material (especially broken beer bottles) has worked down in between the soil-less rubble and can be found at quite a depth below surface. This should not be taken to represent disturbance but rather as an indication of the porosity of the soil-less rubble found in and around Feature 2. The remaining portions of this feature were excavated in 2002. Feature 2 intersects with Feature 4 and Feature 1.

Feature 3: This represents a pile of rubble visible on the site surface. The rubble consists of a large round pile of rubble on the surface, and scattered surface stones and a slightly raised 'hump' of ground that appears to connect the round pile to Feature 1. Excavation in 2003 uncovered a small segment of this wall. Though we only exposed a small portion of this wall, it seems to represent the remnants of an interior stone wall in Structure A. It is badly preserved (only two courses) and the courses are badly displaced. This feature was excavated in 2003.

Feature 4: This feature designates the subsurface remains of a stone wall that parallels Feature 1. There was not any surface rubble present to indicate the location of this feature before excavation. Feature 4 was first uncovered in unit N28 E3, and excavation units were laid out to follow this feature along. This feature is most intact where it intersects Feature 2, where it approaches one m in height. This wall is much more disturbed than Feature 2, because tree root action shifted and displaced many of the wall rocks. This wall also intersects Feature 14 at the opposite end of Structure A. This feature was excavated in 2001, 2003 and 2004.

Feature 5: This is a post-hole discovered in N33 E3. The post-hole was not observed until subsoil was reached in all other areas of the unit, at about 45 cm below the surface. The post-hole extends 20 cm deep into subsoil, and ends at 65 cm below the surface. The post-hole has rocks wedged in on its west and south side. The hole is filled with sticky wet brown clay, similar to Event 3. Only one artifact (a nail fragment) was recovered from the bottom of the hole. This feature was excavated in 2001.

Feature 6: This is a post-hole discovered in N31 E4. It measures approximately 15 by 30 cm. The post-hole was not observed until subsoil was reached in the unit, at about 49 cm below the surface. The post-hole goes down another 22 cm into subsoil before terminating. There are rocks placed on the hole's west and east side. The hole was full of wet sticky clay and was devoid of artifacts. This feature was excavated in 2001.

Feature 7: This is a smaller post-hole discovered in the south-west baulk of unit N33 E4. It measures approximately 15 by 15 cm, and was discovered when this baulk was excavated to subsoil. The post-hole was first discovered at about 47 cm below the surface, and is about 18 cm deep. The sticky clay in the hole also contained some small pieces of iron. This feature was excavated in 2001.

Feature 8: This stone wall is part of the fireplace complex at Structure A. The wall measures 90 cm in length, adjoins Feature 1 at its southeast end and Feature 9 at its northwest end. This feature was excavated in 2002.

Feature 9: This wall is also part of the stone fireplace complex at Structure A. The wall measures 3 m long. It adjoins Feature 8 at its southwest side and Feature 10 at its northeast side. This feature was excavated in 2002.

Feature 10: This wall is the third supporting wall of the stone fireplace complex at Structure A. It adjoins Feature 9 at its northwest end. This feature was excavated in 2002.

Feature 11: This is a layer of flat paving stones that is found on the interior of the fireplace complex, forming the hearth. It measures approximately 180 by115 cm.

Feature 12: This deposit was originally given a feature number on the chance that it turned out to be cobblestone flooring or some other architectural feature. It consists of many small angular and sub-angular rocks, rounded cobbles, and occasionally brick fragments in a roughly level deposit. It is found just on top of subsoil in the western section of the 2003 excavation. Further excavation revealed that most of the stones in this feature were not typical rounded cobblestones or large flat paving stones that would represent an intentionally laid stone floor. This feature probably only represents a localized layer of stone and brick fill laid on subsoil,

Feature 13: This feature number designates a possible post-hole, found in unit N40 E12. As subsoil was being exposed in this unit, a patch of soil appeared that seemed to extend into subsoil. The possible post-hole measures 40 by 50 cm in size; no discernable post-mold could be located. Subsequent excavation determined that this feature was only 11 cm deep (measured from the level of the subsoil around it), which is likely too shallow to be serve as a proper post-hole. Furthermore, a tree throw was also noted in this unit before excavation, so there may have been some disturbance of the underlying strata in this unit. The feature was photographed and mapped nonetheless. This feature was excavated in 2003.

Feature 14: This designates the northern stone gable wall of Structure A. It parallels Feature 2, and adjoins Feature 4. It likely adjoins Feature 1, but excavation did not expose this corner. The Feature 15-16 hearth is laid up agains the interior face of Feature 14 wall, separated by a thin layer of clay. This feature was excavated in 2004.

Feature 15: This is a stone hearth floor first uncovered in N43 E16. It is found underneath Event 43. It consists of large, flat stones that abut the Feature 14 stone wall. The stones are heavily charred. Feature 16 (the brick back to the of the hearth) is laid directly on Feature 15. This feature was excavated in 2004.

Feature 16: This is a wall of mortared brick stacked on top of Feature 15 and laying against Feature 14. All the brick is yellow except for one orange brick. It is well-mortared, and aside from a few pulverized bricks in the middle and a few crumbly top courses, is in very good shape. One rock laid beside Feature 16 brick is all that remains of vertical arms that intersected the Feature 16 brick face, though some rubble in this area may be the collapsed remains of them. This feature was excavated in 2004.

Feature 17: These are a series of flat stones found in Event 56 in N26 W10. They cover the whole unit except for the eastern part. They are clearly not a wall, and it was initially thought that they might represent some sort of rough paving. Artifacts are found in between and underneath this feature. In the end, this deposit was determined not to be a feature. This feature was excavated in 2004.

Feature 18: This is a mortared brick-and-stone feature first visible in Event 58 in N42 E17 and N42 E18. It is likely from the base of a fireplace that predates Structure A. The orange-coloured brick measure 18 by 18 by 3 cm and are laid at least three courses deep. One stone abuts the brickwork at the eastern end of the feature. It comprises the remains of Structure B. This feature was excavated in 2004.

Event Designations

Event 1: This is a dark reddish-brown humus layer located over the entire surface of the site. It is covered with moss and fern and other low-lying plants. It is loose and very easy to remove with trowels. The humus contains tree needles, roots, sticks, leaves, and other decomposing organic matter. Event 1 corresponds with Stratum 1 as recorded in Gaulton and Carter (1997:9). It varies in thickness between 3 and 15 cm deep. A small sample of modern material (some refined earthenwares, and modern glass, particularly beverage containers) is found in this event. This event was identified in the 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004 season excavations. In the 2001 and 2002 seasons, Event 1 was found overtop of Event 2. In the 2003 season, Event 1 was found overlaying Event 25 or 26. In the 2004 season, Event 1 overlaid Event 25.

Event 2: This lies underneath Event 1. It is a damp soil, grayish brown in colour. There are still tree roots running through the top of this event. There is much angular rubble dispersed throughout; the rocks are *not* laid and are easily dislodged. Many of the rocks are large- 20-40 and even up to 50 cm long. This event corresponds with Gaulton and Carter's (1997:9) Stratum 2 (and possibly Stratum 3). This event probably corresponds with the collapse of the surrounding wall features. Event 2 is found both within and outside Structure A. There seems to be a lot of iron and many 17^{th} century artifacts from this event; very occasionally, a small amount of later material comes from the top few cm of this event. In units found within the fireplace base (consisting of Features 8 through 11), the rubble events that were designated Event 22 and 24 should be considered analogous to Event 2. This event was identified in the 2001 and 2002 season excavations.

Event 3: First uncovered in N31 E3. It is slightly greyer in colour than Event 2, though this is difficult to see sometimes. Its defining feature is that there are relatively few rocks, especially compared with Event 2. There are still some small rocks (ca. 5-10 cm long) but very few large rocks. Tree roots are still present in this Event. This event produces far fewer artifacts than Event 2. Occasionally, the top of rounded subfloor rocks are visible at the bottom of this event. This event is only found inside of the Structure A dwelling. It lies overtop of Event 4 (when present); when Event 4 is absent, Event 3 lies on subsoil. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 4: First discovered in N31 E2. It consists of damp grey clayey soil very similar to Event 3, but contains flecks of charcoal and occasionally brick. As with Event 3 there is also some small fragments of chipped stone. The extent of this event is very patchy and was not located in all units; it was only located inside of the Structure A dwelling. There are very few artifacts from this event. Where found, this event is underneath Event 3, and rests directly on subsoil. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 5: When first uncovered, this event seemed to be a damp grey clayey soil with many small pebbles. Further digging revealed that this event was actually subsoil, whose characteristic hardness had been altered by systematic flooding on site. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 6: This event is found in excavation unit N23 E3 only. It consists of a brown clayey soil, which sits upon bedrock. It is only a few cm thick; the only artifacts found was a lump of charcoal and a brick fragment. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 7: This event was first discovered in N37 E2, and was later found In N38 E2, N37 E3, N38 E3, N37 E4 and N38 E4. It is a medium brown soil underneath Event 1, and has much small chipped rock and some sand. This event rests on Event 8. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 8: This is a red-brown soil with many large rubble rocks, underneath Event 7. Initially, some of the rocks in this event seemed as though they were aligned in some form of order, but this later was determined not to be the case. This event also has much small chipped stone. It rests on subsoil/bedrock. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 9: This is an orange-brown soil first noticed in N27 E3, and was marked by some large-ish rocks at the surface of this event. This event represented the re-depositing of excavated soil in the builder's trench. This event lies underneath Event 2 and overtop of Event 10 (where that event exists) and subsoil where it does not exist. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 10: This is a darker grey-brown soil found in N27 E2. It may have been present in N27 E3 but was excavated as Event 9. It has many small rocks and a few larger angular rocks which may be wall rubble displaced by tree roots. This event must also represent the re-depositing of excavated soil in the builder's trench. Where present, this event underlies Event 9. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 11: This is a localized event found in N38 E3. It is a light grey sticky soil with some light brown mottling, with many small rocks. It is found below Event 7 and probably represents a variant of Event 8. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 12: This is a soft sandy patch of dark brown soil with flecks of black charcoal. Some small burnt artifacts are found. It is found in unit N28 E4 only in a 20-30 centim wide circle. No rocks at all in this event. It is only a few cm thick, and terminates at 22 cm below the surface. This lens is underneath and surrounded by Event 2. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 13: This is a lens found in unit N26 E1, located within Event 10. It is a small possible dump, containing a deposit of charcoal and bright orange soil, surrounded by rubble, measuring ca. 30 cm across. It is only 5 cm thick. This event was identified in the 2001 excavation season.

Event 14: This is a brown rocky soil underneath Event 2 in the units west of Feature 2 (outside the structure's walls). It contains much small and medium sized chipped rock; in fact there seems to be more rock than soil in this event. After excavation, in examining the profiles, it became obvious that Event 14 could be subdivided based on the size of rubble contained in the soil, and thus the top portion was labeled Event 14A and the bottom labeled Event 14B. There are no actual differences in soil texture or artifact content between the two, and they should be considered simply two phases of the same event. There are many large pieces of artifacts (contains more artifacts than any other event excavated in 2001 and 2002), some of which appear to be from the same vessel. There are also a few pipe bowls, and it seems that the some of the smaller (i.e. older) ones are being found at a *higher* elevation than some of the larger (i.e. more recent) pipe bowls (Murphy's (2002) research has demonstrated this field observation to be true). This all suggests that this event represents soil that had been dug up from somewhere else on the site and re-deposited here as fill. This event probably represents an episode associated with the repair of masonry. The top of this event in N32 W3 has small flecks of charcoal and a few fragments of brick. Event 14 stops in N33 W3 and does not go further to the north around the fireplace. This event rests on bedrock or subsoil, where present. This event was identified in the 2001 and 2002 excavation seasons.

Event 15: This is a brown rocky soil found in N30 E6 and is located below Event 2. It seems to represent the same episode (fill in builder's trench) as Event 9. This event rests on subsoil. This event was identified in the 2001 and 2002 excavation seasons.

Event 16: This is a bright orange soil representing the original (ca. 1662) ground surface into which the builder's trench was excavated before the construction of Structure A. The builder's trench can be seen in the E6 profile about 2 to 2.5 m away from Feature 4. We only excavated far enough back to find it in N28 E5. This event was identified in the 2001 and 2002 excavation seasons.

Event 17: This event is found underneath Event 14 in N32 W3. It is a soft orange-brown soil with only small pebbles and an occasional larger rock. It is a small patch of fill found beside Feature 8. Small pieces of glass and brick are found in this event. It extends out west from Feature 8 but does not cover the entire unit. It rests on bedrock. It is only found in N32 W3. It probably represents fill placed around the Feature 8 fireplace wall as it was constructed. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 18: This event is found in N34 W2, and slightly into N34 W1. It is underneath Event 2, and consists of a reddish-brown soil with traces of charcoal, and small pebbles with some small angular rocks. There are occasional flecks of greyish clay. It is found on the outside of the Feature 9 fireplace wall at a depth of 37 cm below surface. It may represent soil packed around the fireplace wall, in a similar way as Event 17. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 19: This consists of a dark brown peaty soil. It was found at 18 cm below surface, directly underneath Event 1 in N35 W0. It rests on top of Event 2. It is a lens that is only found in this unit. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 20: This is a solid, largely soil-less layer of rubble underneath Event 1 in N32 W1. At the top, it is mixed in with Event 1 soil. Very large (30-50 cm long) rubble rocks are found, mixed with smaller angular rocks. Because of the unusually high density of rubble in this event, it must relate to the collapse of the stone chimney. This event extends into N33 W1. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 21: This is a solid layer of brick placed on top of a flat rock. The bricks are lying flat, though they do not appear to be laid in any functional way; it has all the appearance of a cache of brick. It is found within Event 18. It was given a separate number to make the brick easier to isolate. This pile is found mostly in N33 W2, though a few bricks extend into N33 W3. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 22: This event is found underneath Event 20 in N32 W1. It consists of a medium brown clayey soil lacking the *very* large rocks found in Event 20, but does still contain rubble. It is probably analogous to Event 2 found over most of the site. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 23: Dark brown to black soil with very few rocks and large quantities of iron. It is tightly packed and hard to dig. It is underneath Event 22 and is found in N33 W1, N32 W1, and N33 W2, and all other units where Feature 11 is found. It rests directly on the paved hearth floor on the inside of the fireplace (Feature 11). Much of the iron found in this event is burnt and that which is found on Feature 11 has actually been fused to the stones. We were able to remove some of this iron but not all; the rest was left *in situ*. It is the fireplace deposit, with small flecks of ash, charcoal, and burnt artefacts. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 24: This is found underneath Event 20 in N30 W1. It consists of brown and black mottled soil, with a few large rocks, though not as many as Event 20. It probably is analogous to Events 2 and 22, but because of different soil colouration was given a different number. It was only found in this unit. This event was identified in the 2002 excavation season.

Event 25: A dark brown-black soil with some large angular rubble rocks; soil is quite damp and soft and has few small pebbles. Occasionally large angular rubble rocks are found in this event. It is found underneath Event 1 or Event 26, where that exists. It is probably the same as Event 2 noted elsewhere at the site. Event 25 covers much of the site, and rests on Event 27 and Event 28. Event 25 peters out in N39 E13 and vanishes in N39 E12. There, it is found side by side with Event 29. In N42 E16, N42 E17, and N42 E15, this event contains much wall rubble, particularly. Where wall rubble is thick, the event is very thick. This event was identified in the 2003 and 2004 excavation seasons.

Event 26: Found so far only in N38 E14. It is a bright reddish brown soil, directly under Event. 1. Event 26 was a localized lens found only in this area, and rests on top of Event 25. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 27: First discovered in N39 E14 at a depth of 40 cm below surface. It is a grey-brown damp soil with a very few small rocks and occasional large rubble rocks. It is particularly distinguished by small flecks of charcoal. It is found below Event 25. This event should be considered the same thing as Event 30. Event 27 and 43 are found at the same elevation and are roughly level. It is found in the E9 to E14 units. It is flat, perhaps representing a floor surface. It contains angular rock, 5-10 cm in size, lying flat, and seems well-compacted. Very few artefacts found in this event, particularly at its lower levels. This event was identified in the 2003 and 2004 excavation seasons.

Event 28: It was first discovered in N38 E15. The soil is a medium brown, and has the same colour and texture as Event 25 above it. It was determined to be a new event because the large wall rubble was absent. It may represent the original ground surface outside of Structure A when it was in use. Most artefacts seem to come from the top of this event. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 29: This is a yellowy-brown soil with small angular rocks first discovered in N39 E12 and N39 E13. It is found beside Event 25, and probably represents the same thing as Event 25, but was given a new event number because of its different colour. It is found underneath Event 1 and on top of Event 30. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 30: This event is found underneath Event 29, and was first identified in N39 E11 and N39 E12. It is a brown soil with many pieces of sub-angular and angular rocks, averaging 5 to 10 cm in size. Very occasional larger pieces of angular wall rubble are found. It is scattered with charcoal flecks. This even is almost certainly the same as Event 27, but because an unexcavated unit separated the two events [and we could not be sure that they were indeed the same event] a new number was given. In practice, Events 27 and 30 should be regarded as the same event. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 31: A lens of burnt charcoal in N39 E13 and extending into N38 E13. It appeared in Event 25 at 24 cm below surface (measurement taken in N39 E13). In N38 E13, it is only found in the northern 2/3 of the unit. It is 6 cm thick and is completely contained within Event 25. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 32: First found in N38 E16 (and was in N38 E15 but was not noted). It lies below Event 28 at a depth of 58 cm below surface (in N38 E16). It is a lighter yellowy-brown soil with many small angular rocks. This event continues straight down to subsoil. There are very few artefacts found in this event. It likely functioned as fill in the builder's trench outside of the Feature 4 wall. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 33: This is a localised event found only in unit N40 E12. It consists of the material found inside Feature 13 (which was thought to be a possible post-hole during excavation). It consists of a medium brown soil, with a wet and sticky consistency, and contains few rocks or pebbles. It begins at 40 cm below surface and continues to 51 cm below surface, where it ends on subsoil. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 34: This event was first discovered in N40 E10 (and was probably found in N40 E11 but was not distinguished from Event 27 at the time). It begins at a depth of 61 cm below surface (in N40 E10). This event begins below Event 27, and ends on top of Feature 12, the cobblestone and brick scatter. The soil is fine, black and often almost greasy, with flakes of white ash. There is also a lot of charcoal, burnt wood, and tiny brick pieces. Much of the iron found in this event is badly burnt. It may represent part of the original floor surface in Structure A. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 35: This event is a fairly solid layer of charcoal first seen in the northwest corner of N39 E15 and extending over the entire unit in N40 E15. In N40 E15, it begins at about 35 cm below the surface, and is about 5 cm thick. It does not seem to extend into N40 E14. In N39 E15 it runs right up to Feature 4 wall's inner face. It does not extend overtop of the rubble comprising Feature 4 and its collapse, but rather ends at Feature 4's inner face. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 36: This event was first found in the west corner of N40 E10. It is found beneath Event 27 in this unit, and overlays Event 34. It is a smooth brown soil which seems to be the remains of rotted wood. There are no rocks found in this event. It is probably limited to this unit. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 37: Found underneath Event 35 in N40 E15, N40 E16, and the northern $1/8^{th}$ of N39 E15. It is probably the same as Event 27, but was given a new event number to make it easier to locate. It is a reddish-brown soil with some small angular rocks, and extends from about 40 cm below surface to subsoil. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 38: This event was first found in N41 E10. It is probably the same as Event 34 elsewhere- the soil has the same soft, greasy texture, but is a brighter red colour and doesn't have as much charcoal as Event 34. It is found underneath Event 27 and on top of Feature 12. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 39: A blackish-brown soil found underneath Event 28 in N40 E18 and extending only slightly into N41 E17. It runs right up to the exterior face of Feature 4 wall. It probably represents a fill event in the builder's trench that is simply different in colour than Event 32. This event was identified in the 2003 excavation season.

Event 40: This event is found in units N42 E14 and N42 E15. It is a fine dark black-brown soil that quickly oxidizes to grey. It may be related to the collapsed wall as it is in and around wall rubble collapse. It contains wall rubble and large chunks of whitish solid but friable chunks of clayey soil. It may possibly be clay chinking/daub from the wall. It is found underneath Event 25. It seems to be associated with Feature 14, and does not extend into units to the east. Occasional flecks of mortar are found in this event. It is probably the same thing as Event 41, but is of different colour so it was given a different number. It is found beside Event 41. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 41: This is found in units N42 E15 and N42 E16. It is found underneath Event 25. It is probably the same thing as Event 40, but is of a different colour. It is a medium brown colour, with many large pieces of rubble, very little angular rock, and soft soil. It likely is a collapse event. It is found beside Events 40 and 42. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 42: This was first found in N43 E16. It probably represents the same collapse event as Events 40 and 41, but the soil is differently coloured, so it was given a new Event number. It is a lighter brown soil, with a pinkish tones. There is a lot of pinkish-coloured clay with scattered bits of brown flecks in it, and occasional bits of charcoal. It is found underneath Event 25 and is on top of Event 43. It is found beside Event 41, and is found in the E16 to E17 units. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 43: This is probably the same as Event 35 from 2003. It is a fairly thick layer of burned wood and soot. It has a very uneven surface, and seems to slope upwards towards the north. It appears to be some sort of wood destruction layer; based on its position in the stratigraphic profile, it is likely the remains of a burnt wooden roof or debris from the collapsed chimney stack. It is full of nails, often found in clumps. This event extends all over the eastern part of the structure, sloping up to the north. Event 27 is found at the same level as Event 43, but is found in the E15-E17 units. This event is found underneath Event 40, 41, and 42, and starts just above (and in N42 E15, partially beside) Event 27. Event 43 is very high up in the profile in unit N43 E17, and appears to be right underneath Event 25 in part of this unit (i.e. Event 42 only found in the western half of this unit). There is a small corner of unit N42 E15 (right beside the inner-face junction of

Features 4 and 14) where Event 43 is not found. Event 43 is thicker in the E16 units than in the E17 or E18 units. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 44: This was first uncovered in N42 E10 and N42 E9, and is also found in the western third of N42 E11. It is a bright orange-brown sticky soil with few rocks and scattered flecks of charcoal. It is the same as Event 36 in 2003. It is found underneath Event 27 in N42 E10. In N42 E11 where Event 44 is only found in the western third of the unit, Event 27 continues on beside Event 44. It extends up to the front face of Feature 1. It seems to be remnants of a wood floor. It is slimy, and has few rocks, especially compared to Event 27. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 45: This is found on the outside face of Feature 14 and on top of Feature 4 and 14 rubble piles. It is a pinky-brown soil wet soil, with much clay that looks like displaced subsoil. This may represent remnants of chinking/daub from the nearby stone walls. It is found underneath Event 25. It was first found in unit N44 E18. There are very few artefacts in it, and many small stones. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 46: This is found underneath Event 44 in N42 E11. It is indistinguishable from Event 27 and probably represents the same thing. It sits on top of subsoil. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 47: This event was first found in N45 E13, at a depth of 80 cm below surface. It is a light brown soil underneath extensive solid wall rubble and Event 1 surface material. This event still contains much wall rubble and some smaller angular rocks. It probably represents a collapse event much like Event 25 elsewhere. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 48: This designates a lens found in N45 E14, within Event 47, at a depth of 95 cm below surface. It is a brown soil, containing lots of small pieces of wall rubble. It ends at 100 cm below surface. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 49: This event is a black-brown layer found at 110 cm below surface in unit N45 E15. There is some charcoal in this event. It is probably the same as Event 27, but was given a separate number because it was excavated separately. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 50: This is found in all units from N42 E15 eastward, up to the inside faces of Feature 4 and 14. It is a brown-orange soil underneath Event 43. It probably equals Event 27 to the west, and meets up with Event 27 in unit N42 E15. It is found about 2-3 cm below the top of Feature 15, and it dips down right before Feature 15, as though a hole for Feature 15 was excavated slightly into it before it was laid. It sits on top of Event 54. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 51: This event is found in N45 E14, underneath Event 49, at a depth of 120 cm. It is a pinky-grey soil that is very similar in appearance to Event 45 and seems to be displaced subsoil. There is much angular rock. It is possibly a subfloor event. It is the same thing as Event 52, but was given a separate event number because these two events were excavated separately. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 52: A pinky-grey very clayey soil with lots of angular rock that looks like displaced subsoil. It is found underneath Event 27. It looks very much like Event 51 noted elsewhere. It was given a new number because it was excavated separately. Event 52 was first noticed in N42 E15. There are very few artefacts found in this event. It is possibly a beaten floor surface or a floor substrate. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 53: This even is found underneath Event 52 in N42 E15 and N42 E14. It is a reddish-brown soil with small pebbles and brick and charcoal flecks at the interface. It is probably a sub-floor event. It is probably the same as Event 58. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 54: Found in units N42 E16, N42 E17, N43 E16, N42 E15 and N43 E17. It is not found west of the E15 units. It is a thin layer of black charcoal (approximately 2 to 4 cm thick) very similar to Event 43. It has small angular rocks. It is underneath Event 50 and on top of Event 52. This may be related to when the fireplace was in use, perhaps a cleaning event. Or perhaps it represents the remnants of a burned wooden floor. It is thin, and appears to be sandwiched between occupation layers. It is also roughly level with the top of Feature 15. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 55: A small lens of 'rotted' pulverized brick sitting on subsoil in N31 W3. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 56: In N25 W8, this is underneath Event 1. It is a bright orange-brown soft loamy soil that is very easy to dig. It contains few artefacts. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 57: This event is found underneath Event 56 in N25 W8. It is a slightly darker brown soil with lots of angular wall rubble. It ends on subsoil at a depth of 68 cm. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 58: This event was first found in N43 E17 beside Feature 15. It is about 7-10 cm below Feature 15's top surface. It extends into N43 E15 and into the N42 units as well. It is a soil no different in texture than the event above it (Event 52) but is distinguished from it by a fairly continuous layer of broken red brick rubble. None of this brick appears to be laid in any way, but is rather just a scatter of rubble. The soil is orange-brown in colour, as compared to the pinky-grey soil of Event 52. It seems to be a fill event, perhaps as a prepared subfloor. It probably represents the same event as Event 53. The brick in this event is particularly plentiful within 1 m of Feature 14. It is quite a thick event, and ends on Event 63. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 59: A small lens of burnt wood found in Event 56 in N26 W10. The wood was badly degraded and could not be collected. It is only about 3 to 4 cm thick. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 60: Thin patches of charcoal found in Event 56 in N26 W10. They are found at roughly the same depth- 74 to 77 cm below surface. They are patches and are not a continuous event, and they are only 2 to 3 cm thick. They are found below the level of Feature 17. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 61: Found underneath Event 22 in unit N32 W2. It is a brown soil, without any rocks, and is soft and reasonably easy to dig. It is found underneath Event 22. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 62: This event is a burnt layer found underneath Event 61 in N32 W2. It is 23 cm below the surface of Feature 11, and it is not level. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Event 63: This is a layer consisting of much charcoal and brick fragments, level with the surface of Feature 18. It extends right up to Feature 18. It is found underneath Event 58, at 174 cm below surface. It is an orangey-brown soil with much charcoal. This event was identified in the 2004 excavation season.

Appendix II

Selected Ceramic Vessel Illustrations, ChAl-04

The ceramic vessels illustrated on p. 580 are selected vessel illustrations only, of the vessels that have a complete or near-complete profile (from base to rim). For a complete record of ceramic forms found at ChAl-04, please consult the final report for the site filed with the Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Tourism, Recreation and Culture, St. John's, Newfoundland. The vessels illustrated on p. 580 are:

A) *Plat.* Saintonge-type coarse earthenware. Green glaze on interior. Yellow-orange coloured fabric covered by buff-coloured slip.

B) *Assiette.* Saintonge-type coarse earthenware. Green glaze on interior. Buff-coloured fabric.

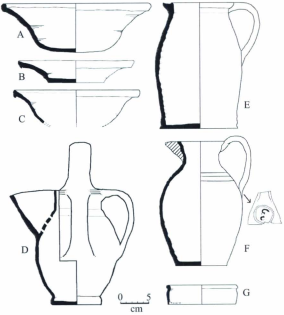
C) *Assiette.* Saintonge-type coarse earthenware. Yellow glaze on interior. Buff-coloured fabric.

D) *Cruche.* Saintonge-type coarse earthenware. Green glaze completely covering interior and exterior. Buff-coloured fabric.

E) *Cruche.* Beauvais coarse stoneware. Glossy translucent glaze over portions of exterior, having a green tint where it pools. Areas uncovered by glaze occasionally appears light orange-red. Grey-coloured fabric.

F) *Cruche.* Normandy coarse stoneware. Stamp at base of handle reads "G.S" though the upper portions of the initials are obscured by a smudge. Purple-brown coloured fabric.

G) *Pot à conserve.* Tin-glazed earthenware, undecorated white glaze. Orange-coloured fabric.



A
B
C
D
E
F
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