

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MORPHOLOGICAL VARIABILITY BETWEEN  
FRENCH CERAMICS FROM SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN NEW FRANCE

By

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B.A. Pennsylvania State University, 1995

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

(in History)

The Graduate School

The University of Maine

May, 2006

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In the seventeenth century, France was not one homogenous country but instead was comprised of many culturally distinct regions; it was as politically divided as it was socially. Two regions that typify this distinction are Normandy and Saintonge, which also produced ceramics exported to France's New World colonies. A morphological comparison of the these ceramics found in early North American sites will enable a comparison of the trade networks between France and New France.

In this study, Saintonge and Normandy ceramic artifacts have been examined from the seventeenth century archaeological sites of Ste. Croix Island, Champlain's First and Second Habitation, Fort La Tour, and Pentagoet I and III. Ultimately, this study will lend to a better

understanding of how these ceramics were used by those living in the seventeenth century New France regions of Acadia and Canada.

## DEDICATION

The author would like to dedicate this thesis to his family, who has shown tremendous support throughout his educational experience.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to first thank Alaric Faulkner, who had spent tireless hours editing this thesis and was a mentor during his time at The University of Maine. The author would also like to give special thanks to the Canadian-American Center, who awarded him with a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship to study French through an intensive language program at the Université Laval in Quebec City, Québec during the summer of 2001. The Canadian-American Center also provided a FLAS fellowship for his studies for the academic year 2001-2002. The author would also like to thank his two other committee members Jacques Ferland and Liam Riordan for participating in the thesis process and for providing valuable critiques of this thesis.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The late James Deetz, a pioneer in historical archaeology, stated "Historical archaeology can add to our understanding of the American experience in a unique way, by looking not at the written record alone but at the almost countless objects left behind by Americans for over three and a half centuries."<sup>1</sup> Ceramics are a particularly useful class of objects for interpreting archaeological sites. Ceramics are especially valuable to archaeologists because they occur in great numbers, do not deteriorate easily, and exhibit great formal variation. Ceramic wares, however, are rarely found as whole vessel forms, but when cleaned, mended and examined can aid in interpreting past lifeways.

On archaeological sites, ceramics are used as key indicators of temporal affiliation as well as regional origin. The last 30 years have seen many attempts to identify precisely the origin of French ceramics. One such example is the attempt by English scholars to differentiate English "Tudor Green" earthenwares from the green glazed wares of the Saintonge.<sup>2</sup> For French stonewares, the object of study became identifying the specific location of manufacture, e.g., deciding whether the wares were produced in Beauvais or within Normandy. These particular ceramics

have received increasing interest among archaeologists studying French colonial sites of the New World in the last several decades as more French colonial sites have been excavated and the importance of the trans-Atlantic trade network is interpreted. Several important studies on the export of French ceramics include: Jean Chapelot's *La Céramique Exportée au Canada Français*; John G. Hurst, David S. Neal, and H. J. E. van Beuningen's *Pottery Produced and Traded in North-West Europe: 1350-1650*; and John G. Hurst's *Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Imported Pottery from the Saintonge*, referring to Saintonge wares within an English context.<sup>3</sup>

Recently, scholars have been using various methods of determining the origin of French wares. These include morphology, decoration, and, most recently, chemical analysis of the ceramic paste. While decorative techniques often provide good clues for the temporal affiliation of ceramics, chemical analyses, through the use of neutron activation and X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF), have also been conducted to locate specific points of manufacture through the chemical composition of the clay used in ceramic production. Several important works in this field include: Jean-Pierre Chrestien and Daniel Dufournier's "French Stoneware in North-Eastern North America;" Jacqueline S. Olin, M. James Blackman, Jared E. Mitchem and Gregory A. Waselkov's "Compositional Analysis of Glazed Earthenwares

from Eighteenth-Century Sites on the Northern Gulf Coast;" R. J. Traill's "Thin-Section Examination and X-Ray Fluorescence Analyses of Ceramic Sherds from the Machault;" and Louise Décarie's *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*.<sup>4</sup>

Chemical analyses are quite useful but have their limitations. Because chemical analyses are dependent on identifying origin of ceramic production based on the clay composition of the vessels, vagaries in the regional soil matrix may skew the researchers results resulting in an incorrect or imprecise production location. From an opposing perspective, Janet Buerger argues that "morphological analysis [of ceramics] not only has advantages over decorative analysis but also is more accessible and often more precise than scientific techniques of mineralogical and neutron analysis."<sup>5</sup> A morphological analysis can, therefore, be used to compare ceramic vessel shapes to determine not only origin of production but also the function of the vessel. This approach to ceramic analysis will be adopted in this study.

France during the seventeenth century was not a unified nation but instead was comprised of many distinct, semi-autonomous provinces and principalities, each producing their own varied forms of ceramics since as early as Gallo-Roman times (Figure 1.1).

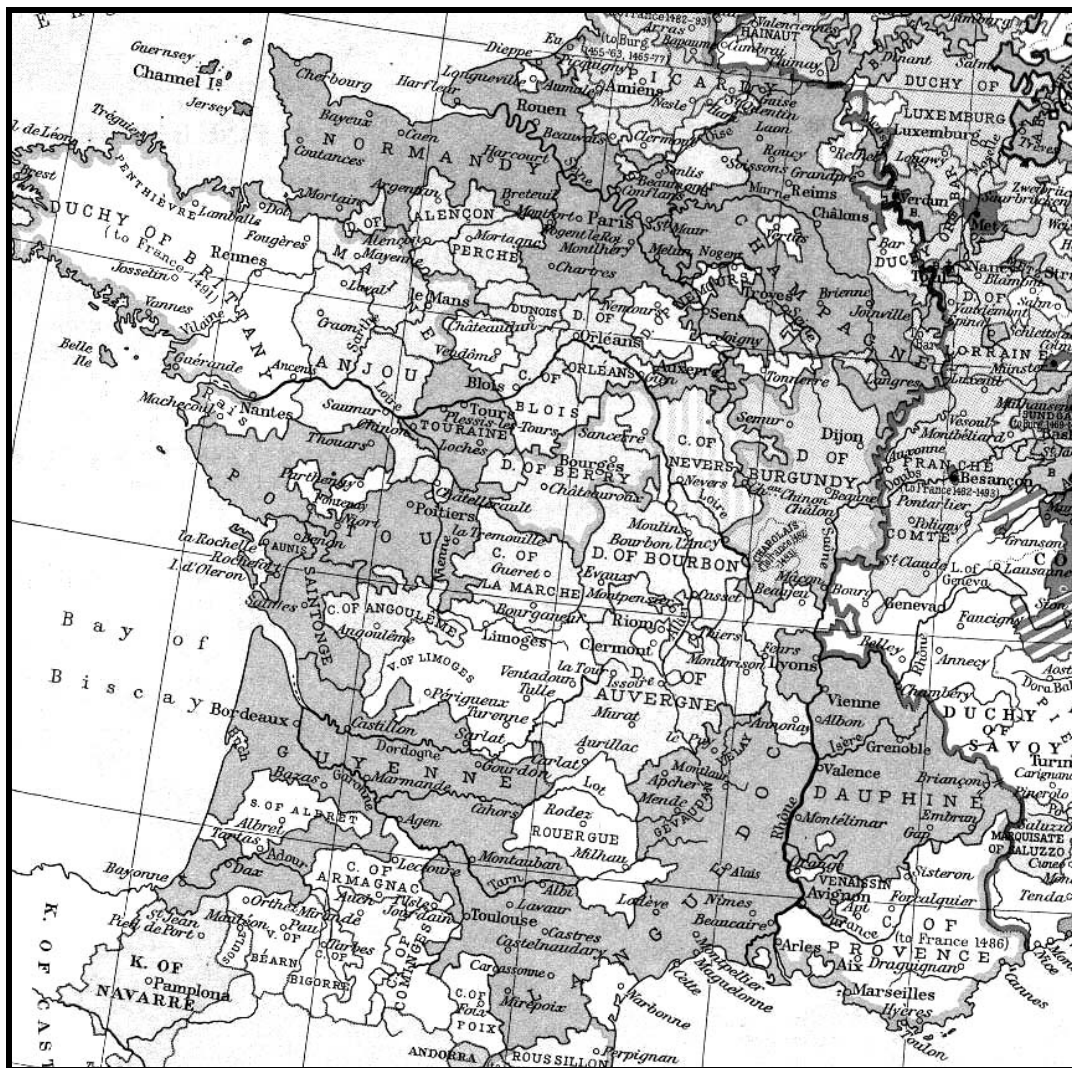


Figure 1.1. Map of France at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century.<sup>6</sup>

Two provinces in particular, Normandy, located in northern France on the *Manche*, and Saintonge, which is in west central France, are among the best known for their ceramic production. This mainly stems from their location, adjacent to large bodies of water, growing mercantile economies, and natural sources of quality clay for producing ceramics. Though many ceramic wares were most likely not used as trade items in and of themselves, they did contain



items of trade such as wine, butter, salted meats and so on. However, some ceramic types, particularly decorative forms from Saintonge, appear to have been intended for export from the beginning. La Rochelle, the city from which Saintonge wares were exported, had close trade connections with the New World colonies in New France, as did Normandy. These contacts were especially important for the early development and continued expansion of colonial enterprises in the New World.

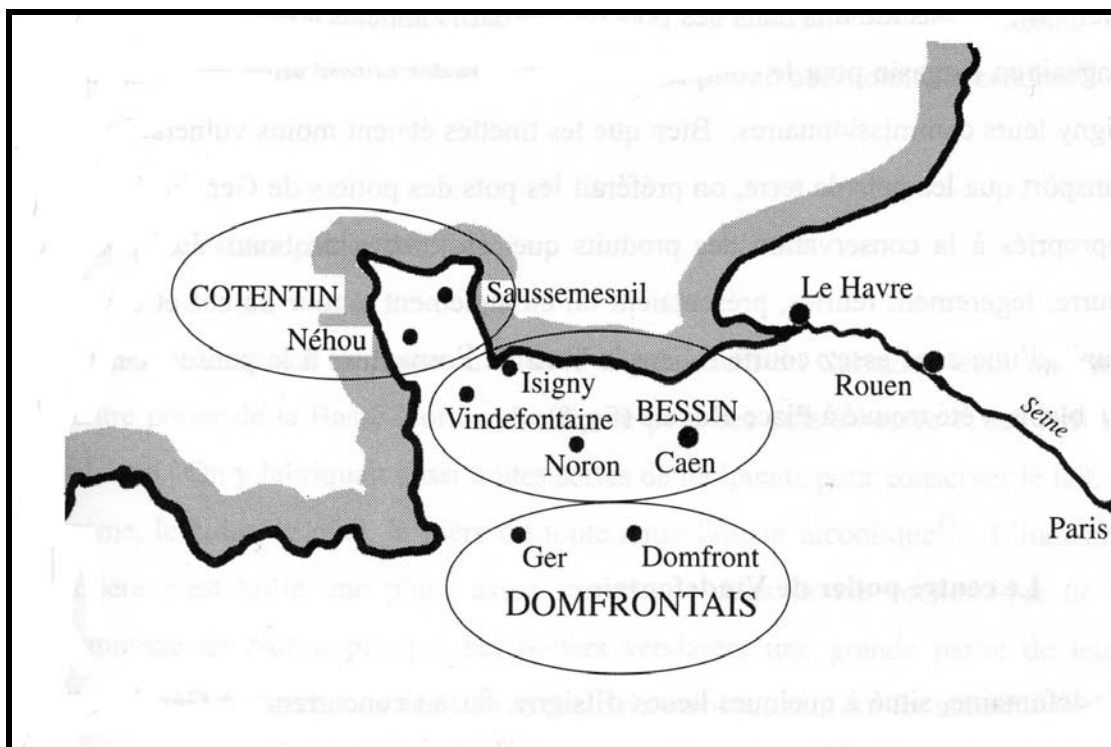
Northern continental Europe, including the area now comprising Northern Germany and the Rhine Delta, are among the most well-known production centers of high quality exportable stonewares. Normandy and Beauvais, in the province of Pays-de-Bray, are probably the best-known French stoneware production centers. While stoneware was produced in limited quantities in the regions of the Loire and Béarn as well, these items were not found commonly outside of France. Earthenwares were also produced in Normandy, however these wares do not commonly appear on archaeological sites of the New World.

French stoneware products are quite distinct from those of the Rhine Delta region. Throughout medieval France, the region north of the Somme was the most productive manufacturing center of French stonewares, called "Black Wares."<sup>7</sup> From this early period, artisans in the northern region of France produced stonewares in the form of

pitchers, jugs, and cooking pots, all of globular or semi-globular forms and having flat bottoms. Many of the larger jugs or jars have distinctive strap handles or lug handles. Because they served well for short and long term storage, pitchers and jugs were especially common export forms.

The northern region of France was notable for its production of butter and apple cider, which were highly sought-after regional commodities that were widely traded.<sup>8</sup> Northern France was also heavily involved in the whaling industry and these stoneware vessels, filled with cured meats, would have aided the whalers in their long ocean voyages. Considering the proximity to the British Isles, the presence of these items in English archaeological sites is not surprising.<sup>9</sup>

By the seventeenth century, the export of stonewares from northern France appears to have come from Normandy instead of Beauvais. The regions of Domfrontais, in southern Normandy, and Bessin and Cotentin, located in northern Normandy, were producing the largest quantity of stonewares for export (Figure 1.2). Many of the earliest settlers to New France departed northern France particularly through the Normandy towns of Dieppe, Le Havre and Honfleur, and brought with them these products.<sup>10</sup>



**Figure 1.2. Map of the Ceramic Producing Centers in Normandy.**<sup>11</sup>

Typically stonewares are produced from firing clays in the temperature range of 1200 to 1350 degrees Celsius causing them to harden and vitrify.<sup>12</sup> This process makes stonewares especially useful for the storage of liquids. Due to the high iron content in the clay in the Normandy region, stonewares from this area are identified by a purplish-exterior color and, when found broken, a gray and red fabric due to the firing process. By contrast, stonewares found from the Rhineland typically have a grayish to beige exterior and fabric. Northern French stonewares are also distinct by having minimal decoration, whereas Rhenish wares were highly decorated with sprigged molding, appliqué

medallions, incised decoration oftentimes painted with cobalt blue, and pewter lids. Normandy stonewares from this period continued upon earlier traditions and are found usually comprising common jugs, pitchers, and costrels, while Rhenish stonewares are quite stylish and frequently occur as elegant items for the table including tankards and bulbous jugs with a narrow neck and mouth.

Considerable research has focused recently on determining precisely the place of manufacture of Normandy stonewares found on French colonial archaeological sites in Canada.<sup>13</sup> Using chemical analysis, supplemented by morphology study, Chrestien and Dufournier have identified the places of origin for many Normandy stoneware vessels recovered from these archaeological sites. In summary, they suggest that the region of Domfront primarily produced large storage jugs for transporting salted foods and conserve pots, as well as smaller vessels to store preserves and medicines. By contrast, the production of Bessin-Contentin was largely confined to larger jugs, such as butter jugs, and salting tubs.<sup>14</sup>

Décarie goes one step further, suggesting that many of the stoneware vessels deriving from Normandy originated from the towns of Ger, in the region of Domfrontais, or from Vindefontaine, in the region of Bessin.<sup>15</sup> There do not appear to be distinctive attributes that separate these products, and the proximity of these two towns certainly

suggests that there were overlapping traditions of manufacture. Morphological differences appeared to occur at the level of the individual artisan, and are not distinctive of any one area within Normandy.

As with northern France, the Saintonge region of west central France has a long history of ceramic production and export. Saintonge, located on the southwestern coast of France and along the Atlantic Ocean, was a strategic location from as early as the Middle Ages. Due in part to the English conquest of the region of Gascony, located in southwestern France, in the thirteenth century and their common religious heritage, Saintonge had a well-established trade with England with its products being exported through the nearby ports of La Rochelle and Bordeaux.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the wine trade had become well established by the thirteenth century. These factors led to the increase in production of ceramics used in export.

Potters in Saintonge produced mainly earthenware vessels in and around the town of La Chapelle-des-Pots, a name derived from the Middle Ages when a chapel was built for the local potters.<sup>17</sup> These ceramics were then taken to the provincial capital, Saintes, located on the Charente River and the largest town of Saintonge. From Saintes they were transported to La Rochelle, a major port city located on the west coast of France (Figure 1.3).

Unlike stonewares, earthenwares are fired at a much lower temperature, ranging from 900 to 1200 degrees Celsius.<sup>18</sup> The region of the Saintonge is underlain with a mixed brownish-colored sandy clay, which when fired produces a white to beige colored fabric. Hematite, a reddish iron-oxide mineral was commonly included in the clay mixing process as a tempering agent and when the vessel was fired yielded a pinkish to salmon colored paste.

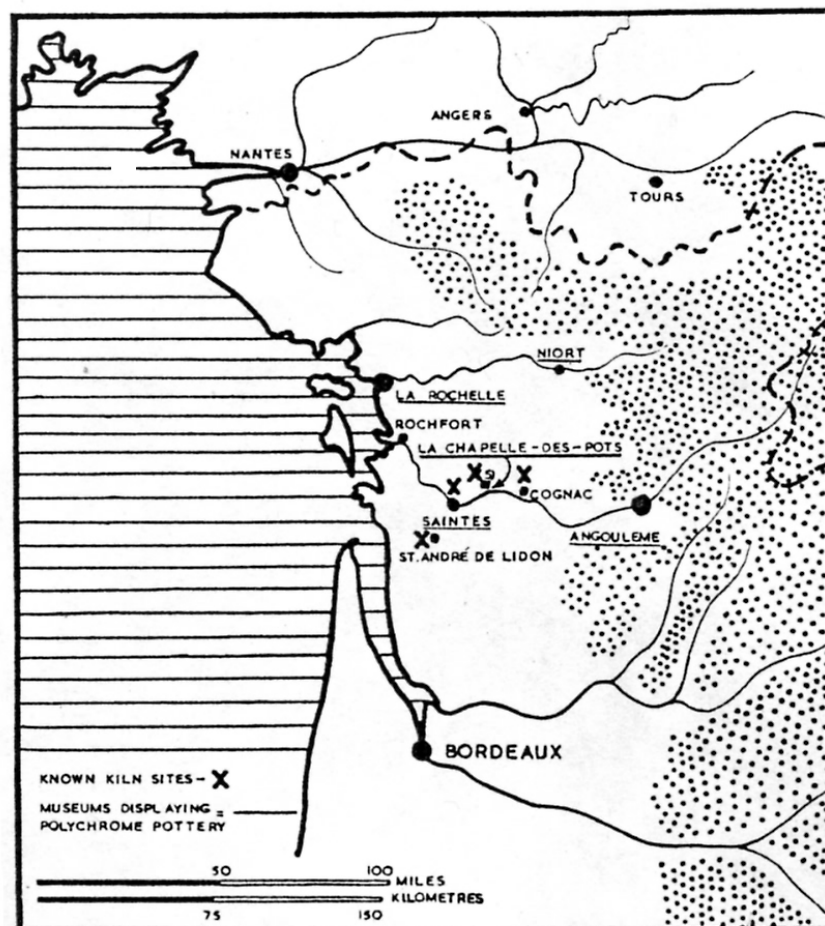


Figure 1.3. Map of Ceramic Production Centers in Saintonge.<sup>19</sup>

A wide variety of vessel forms was produced from this clay. Predominant forms that were exported during the Middle Ages appear to be squat jugs with handles and large-spouted pitchers, with flat and round bottoms. Platters and plates were also produced, but to a lesser degree. Because earthenwares are low-fired, compared to stonewares, their surface remains porous. As such, Saintonge wares are generally found glazed, particularly on the inside of storage of vessels, with a monochrome green or yellow, produced from copper oxide. However, specimens that are more elaborate had polychrome glazes added purely as decoration.

The Saintonge in the Middle Ages was apparently better known for its wine trade than for its ceramic production. As Jean Chapelot notes, Flemish merchant fleets were arriving in the Saintonge as early as the thirteenth century to trade for wine.<sup>20</sup> However, trade between France and England was interrupted during the period of The Hundred Years' War of the fourteenth century, and the wine trade and ceramic production industry were both decimated. Documents from the end of the fourteenth century studied by Chapelot indicate that potteries active before the war were now abandoned.<sup>21</sup>

The sixteenth century is marked by the revival of the Saintonge ceramic industry, occasioned largely by the rising popularity of the works of potter/artist Bernard Palissy.

Palissy's work corresponds roughly to the onset of the Renaissance. This artisan was responsible for the introduction of highly stylized polychrome decorations on the wares of the Saintonge. Previously, Saintonge ceramics had been decorated in plain glazes of green or rarely with added yellows and browns. With the introduction of Palissy's artistic values, Saintonge wares were richly decorated in polychrome colors of blues, yellows, and brown, in addition to green, and had highly stylized motifs. Over this surface was added a clear glaze to give a lustrous appearance. Palissy export wares of this period included polychrome glazed jugs, polychrome dishes and bowls, barrel costrels, and, most notably, chafing dishes. Thus, Palissy's work was in accordance with the gaudy artistic values of the Renaissance.<sup>22</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, Saintonge style ceramics became very popular, especially after Palissy moved to Paris and became a world-renowned potter. Soon after, many artisans in the Saintonge region began copying his work. By the seventeenth century these wares were found in a much more debased version and were widely exported to the colonies of France. The establishment of new colonies correlates well with this new demand for popular, stylish ceramics. Thus, the potters of Saintonge began to produce in quantity wares bearing a



semblance of high quality for expanding markets in French colonies abroad.

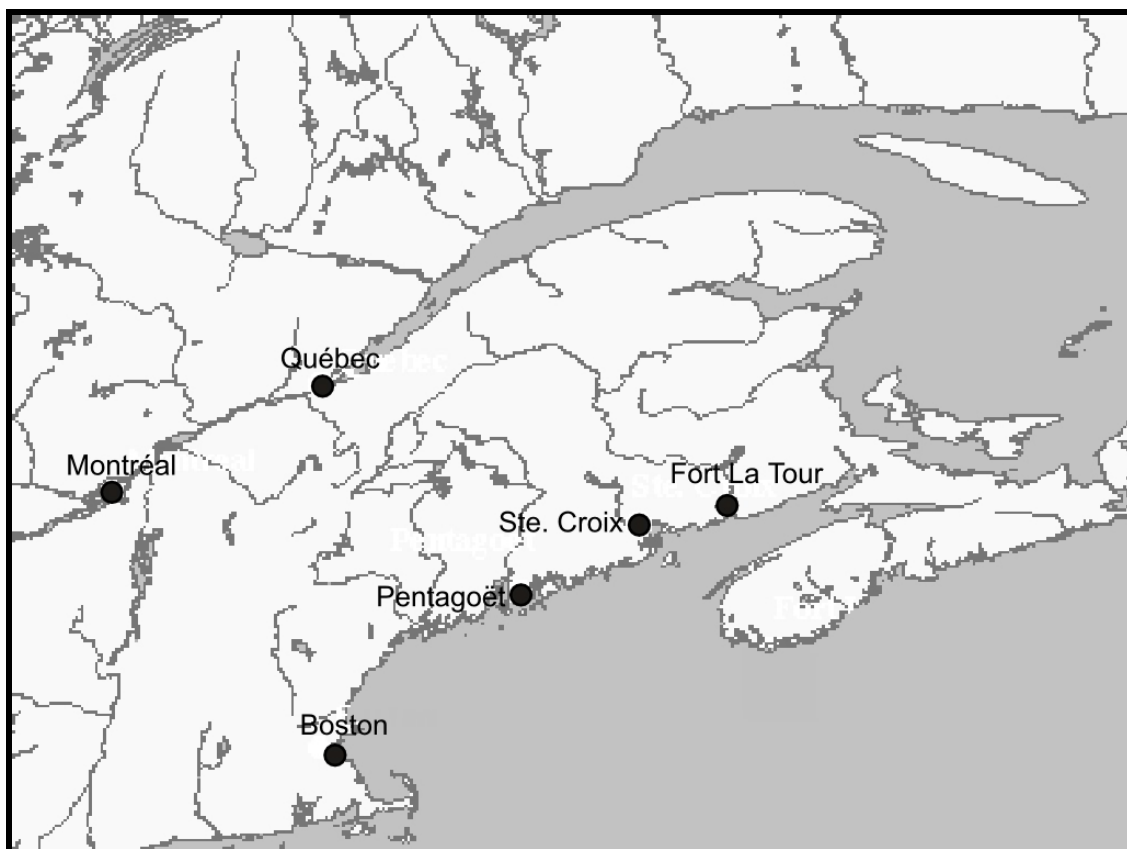
In another study on trade from this region, John Allan examined the "London Coastal Port Books" and noted that the majority of items shipped to London during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries comprised salt, vinegar and prunes. Nevertheless, wine export continued, and Bordeaux, located immediately to the south of Saintonge, was a major wine-exporting center.<sup>23</sup> In fact, two excavated shipwrecks at Port Berteau, located on the Charente downriver from Saintes, yielded a ceramic assemblage comprised almost exclusively of high-quality Saintonge wares, including wine costrels.<sup>24</sup> Across the channel, Saintonge costrels from this period are commonly found in sites in the West Country of England as well as in and around London.

An understanding of the morphological variability of ceramics is useful not only in establishing a timeline for a given site and in determining trade routes, but also for understanding the daily lives of the people using the various wares. A morphological comparison of Saintonge earthenwares and Normandy stonewares from seventeenth century French colonial archaeological sites can aid in understanding the development of the trade networks of La Rochelle and Normandy and northeastern North America. Because ceramics were so numerous and required frequent replacement as they broke, they are among the most

diagnostic indicators of changes in trade networks and foodways.

The French ceramic assemblages from six occupational levels of four archaeological sites will be examined in this study to understand the developing trade network and the development of French colonial life in the seventeenth century. The four sites are: Ste. Croix (1604), located on the Ste. Croix River between present day Maine and New Brunswick, Canada; Champlain's Habitation I (1608-1624) and II (1624-1632), built in present day Quebec City, Québec; Fort La Tour (1631-1645), located at the mouth of the St. John River in present day New Brunswick; and Fort Pentagoet I (1635-1654) and III (1670-1674), located at the mouth of the Penobscot River in present day Maine (Figure 1.4).

These archaeological sites, taken as a whole, span nearly the entire seventeenth century and are representative of both Acadian and Canadian occupations of New France. While many other excavated sites exist from this period and general locale, the sites mentioned have had extensive excavations, are published and have their ceramic artifacts catalogued and analyzed.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, they afford the best prospects for analytical comparison.



**Figure 1.4. Location of Archaeological Sites in Discussion with Modern Cities as Reference Points.**

<sup>1</sup> James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*, Anchor Books/Doubleday, (New York, 1996), p.5.

<sup>2</sup> F. Holling, "Reflections on Tudor Green," *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, vol. II (1968), pp. 61-66.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Chapelot, "La Céramique Exportée au Canada Français," *Dossier de l'Archéologie*, vol. 27, (1978), pp. 104-113; John G. Hurst, David S. Neal, H. J. E. van Beuningen, *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe: 1350-1650*, Gepubliceerd door, (Rotterdam, 1986), Rotterdam Papers VI, A contribution to medieval archaeology; and John G. Hurst, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Imported Pottery from the Saintonge," in *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: studies presented to Gerald Clough Dunning: with a bibliography of his works*, St. Martin's Press, (New York, 1974), pp. 221-256.

<sup>4</sup> see for example Jean-Pierre Chrestien and Daniel Dufournier, "French Stoneware in North-Eastern North America," In *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Medieval Europe and Beyond*, edited by Duncan R. Hook and David R. M. Gaimster, Occasional Paper 109, 1995; Jacqueline S. Olin, M. James Blackman, Jared E. Mitchem, and Gregory A. Waselkov, "Compositional Analysis of Glazed Earthenwares from Eighteenth-Century Sites on the Northern Gulf Coast," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 36 (Spring, 2002), pp. 79-96; and R. J. Traill, "Thin-Section Examination and X-Ray Fluorescence Analyses of Ceramic Sherds from the Machault," In *The Western European Course Earthenwares from the Wreck of the Machault*, Parks Canada, edited by Jean Brathwaite, Canadian Historic Sites/Lieux historiques canadiens, (Ottawa, 1977), Appendix B;

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and Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, Les Publications du Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec, Dossier 46, (Québec, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Janet E. Buerger, "Morphological Analysis of Medieval Fine Pottery: Provenance and Trade Patterns in the Mediterranean World," In *Archaeological Approaches to Medieval Europe*, edited by Kathleen Biddick, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Studies in Medieval Culture XVIII, (Kalamazoo, 1984), p. 204.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/maps/15cfrance>.

<sup>7</sup> K. J. Barton, "The medieval blackwares of northern France," In *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: Studies Presented to Gerald Clough Dunning with a Bibliography of his works*, edited by Vera I. Evison, H. Hodges and J. G. Hurst, St. Martin's Press, (New York, 1974), pp. 167-181.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Ketchum Wheaton in her book *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen Table from 1300 to 1789*, The University of Pennsylvania Press, (Philadelphia, 1983) identifies an individual who, in 1692, describes the importance of apples and pears in his shopping guide, and that the town of Isigny, Normandy was the location of salt-manufacturing industry and was also noted for its high-quality salted butter, pp. 78-79.

<sup>9</sup> D. C. Maynard, "Pottery From Dover Castle." *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, vol. II, (1968), pp. 33-45.

<sup>10</sup> see for example Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France: 1524-1663*, Translated by Patricia Claxton. The Canadian Centenary Series, (Toronto, 1973), McClelland and Stewart Limited.

<sup>11</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, *Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics*, (New York, 1991), Plenum Press, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> Jean-Pierre Chrestien and Daniel Dufournier's "French Stoneware in North-Eastern North America" and Louise Décarie *Le Grès Français de Place Royale* are two examples of the most recent studies.

<sup>14</sup> Jean-Pierre Chrestien and Daniel Dufournier, "French Stoneware in North-Eastern North America," p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, Les Publications du Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec, Dossier 46, (Québec, 1999), pp. 16-18.

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth J. Barton, "The Medieval Pottery of the Saintonge," *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. CXX, (1964), pp. 201-214; John G. Hurst, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Imported Pottery from the Saintonge," In *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: studies presented to Gerald Clough Dunning: with a bibliography of his works*, St. Martin's Press, (New York, 1974), pp. 221-256; Lyn Blackmore, "A Palissy-type vessel from Blackfriars, London," In *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe: Studies in Honor of John G. Hurst*, edited by David Gaimster and Mark Redknapp, Oxbow Books, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 371-379.

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth J. Barton, "The Medieval Pottery of the Saintonge," p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, *Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics*, Plenum Press, p. 28

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth J. Barton, "The Medieval Pottery of the Saintonge," Figure 1, p. 202.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Chapelot, "The Saintonge Pottery Industry in the Later Middle Ages," In *Ceramics and Trade: The production and distribution of later medieval pottery in north-west Europe*, edited by Peter Davey and Richard Hodges, Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, (Sheffield, 1983), p. 49.

<sup>21</sup> Jean Chapelot, "The Saintonge Pottery Industry in the Later Middle Ages," p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> M. J. Ballot, *La Céramique Française: Bernard Palissy et les Fabriques du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, (Paris, 1924), Musée de Louvre.

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<sup>23</sup> John Allan, "Some Post-Medieval Documentary Evidence for the Trade in Ceramics," In *Ceramics and Trade: The production and distribution of later medieval pottery in Northwest Europe* edited by Peter Davey and Richard Hodges, Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, (Sheffield, 1983), p. 42.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Chapelot, "The Saintonge Pottery Industry in the Later Middle Ages," p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> Norman Barka, *Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c.1850 A.D.*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1965; Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, Special Publications of the New Brunswick Museum and Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, (1987); Jacob W. Gruber, *The French Settlement on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Excavations for the National Park Service*, (1969); Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, Les Publications du Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles du Québec, Dossier 58, (Québec, 1985). Two sites, one at Cape Breton and the other at Annapolis Royal, have been only minimally excavated and no site reports have been published.

## Chapter 2

### STE. CROIX (1604-1605)

The early development of New France as a colonial enterprise largely derived from the quest for an easy and direct passage to China and India. This was initially accompanied by the search for precious metals in the New World. Following the lead of Spain and Portugal, many explorations were made in South America, the Caribbean and North America by French explorers or hired navigators to identify areas where valuable commodities, e.g. gold, silver and copper and later cod, timber, furs and timber, could be extracted. The entire eastern coast of North America was mapped in 1524 by Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine Italian, who was financed by French and Italian bankers of Lyon, and who provided the name *Nova Gallia* (New France) to northeastern North America.<sup>1</sup>

Jacques Cartier, who was a Breton ship's pilot, sailed from St. Malo in 1535 with the objective to further explore the New World and to identify an easy and direct passage to Asia. Although, he was unable to locate a direct passage to East Asia or to find precious metals, Cartier explored much of the St. Lawrence River Valley and established relationships with the native groups.

Despite this initial disappointment, Cartier persisted in his search for riches in North America. He returned to the St. Lawrence, in 1541, this time under the command of Jean François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval; both set sail from the port of Sainte Malo. The king of France provided funds for the expedition, which consisted of 10 ships, 400 sailors, 300 soldiers, skilled laborers, and supplies for establishing a permanent settlement in New France.<sup>2</sup> While Roberval was stalled in France waiting for supplies, Cartier constructed a post, Charlesbourg-Royal near Cap Rouge, where he thought veins of gold, silver and diamonds existed. This rock outcrop, now known as *Cap aux Diamant*, contained neither gold nor diamonds but instead iron pyrite (fool's gold) and quartz. The failure to discover precious metals was a major setback that dampened future plans for colonization as the value of more practical natural resources, such as fish, furs and timber, had yet to be fully appreciated. Because precious metals, a passageway to the Far East were not realized, and the failed attempt to establish a trade network with the local Native population, the settlement was soon abandoned. Although this expedition failed in its main goals, it provided information that would lead to future settlements and for France to become a dominant power in North America.

Though France neglected this area throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, the Basques began to

construct semi-permanent settlements along the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The Basques, who were fishing for cod and harvesting whale for oil, originally practiced "green cod" fishing, where the fish were salted aboard ship and taken home. They soon adopted "dry cod" fishing where small encampments were constructed, which included processing stations and drying racks and docks where the ships would land, be loaded with cod and sail back to France. In essence, semi-permanent settlements were established as fishing factories. In the off-season, many of these fishermen assumed alternate roles as they hunted or traded for furs. With the advent of "dry cod" fishing, the landscape of North America would be dramatically changed. However, only by the end of the century did furs become realized as valuable commodities.<sup>3</sup>

France again looked towards the New World as a valuable resource for income-producing commodities by the end of the sixteenth century. Several factors led to this realization. First, the Catholic-Protestant conflict was slowing in France, providing funds for government subsidized overseas ventures. Second, furs, especially beaver furs used in the production of hats, were becoming popular in France, and French merchants were obliged to procure this commodity primarily from Russia at disadvantageous prices.<sup>4</sup> Timber, along with copper, was imported from Scandinavian countries and the fishing industry was influenced by Basque and Dutch



fisherman. Consequently the prices for furs, timber and cod were all being unduly influenced by outside forces beyond the control of the French government. As a result, France re-evaluated its overseas commercial opportunities and looked towards New France.

In 1581, merchants of Dieppe, St. Malo, and Rouen, towns located in Normandy, organized expeditions for extracting furs from the St. Lawrence Valley. Le Havre and Honfleur, also located in Normandy, had a well-established whaling industry in the Bay of Biscay and these towns became supply centers for many of the earliest settlements in New France as well.<sup>5</sup> By 1598, an attempt was made to establish a permanent trading colony on Sable Island in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence using prison laborers. This was followed in 1600 with a post located at Tadoussac near the confluence of the Saguenay and St. Lawrence Rivers.<sup>6</sup> Although these settlements lasted only a few years, they inspired future trading and colonization that ushered in nearly a century and a half of French domination in northeastern North America.

As Kenneth J. Davies argues, "commercial exploitation without colonization or dominion was the style of a great deal of Europe's expansion into the wider world in the seventeenth century."<sup>7</sup> Davies further argues that the strategy was to exploit natural resources for profit abroad, rather than to establish and protect a large colonial

population.<sup>8</sup> This holds true for France, especially in North America, where a pattern of sparsely settled French fortifications dedicated to extractive pursuits persisted throughout the seventeenth century.

Eventually, however, the threat of English encroachment forced French merchants to take a serious interest in establishing permanent settlements. In 1603, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, who was part of the expedition in 1600 to Tadoussac with Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit, became lieutenant general of "of the coasts, lands and confines of Acadia, Canada and other places in New France."<sup>9</sup> At the same time, he received a ten-year commercial monopoly on trade from New France with the proviso that he would settle at least 60 to 100 persons and to Christianize the Indian population. To accomplish this feat, he established a trading company, *Compagnie des Marchands de Rouen et de Saint-Malo*, which was composed of merchants from the towns of Rouen, headquarters of the operation, Sainte-Malo, and also La Rochelle, and Sainte-Jean-de-Luz.

The expedition included de Monts, born in Saintonge in the Charente-Maritime along the Atlantic Coast of France and who was also a "distinguished Protestant soldier and administrator."<sup>10</sup> François Gravé du Pont, born at Sainte-Malo in northern France, was a captain in the French navy and a merchant, was the senior officer; Gravé was a member of the Tadoussac expedition in 1600.<sup>11</sup> Jean de Biencourt de

Poutrincourt et de Sainte-Just, likely from northern France, inherited many titles including seigneuries in Champaign, as well as the title "Gentlemen of the Chamber" from King Henry IV.<sup>12</sup> Poutrincourt was a close friend of de Monts and who helped obtain the "necessary arms and soldiers for the defence [sic] of the settlement."<sup>13</sup> Samuel Champlain as the acting geographer and cartographer—Champlain was also part of the Tadoussac expedition in 1600 and had much experience in the geography of North America, having first sailed with the Spanish and in the later decades of the sixteenth century navigated much of the St. Lawrence River valley.

In addition to these men, de Monts enlisted men of both Protestant and Catholic faith to help establish a permanent and thriving settlement. De Monts recruited "artisans, architects, and carpenters, masons and stone cutters, soldiers and vagabonds, several noblemen...and two priests."<sup>14</sup> In total, the expedition consisted of 80 men from all levels of society.<sup>15</sup> Before the departure, de Monts had three ships outfitted with everything needed to survive at least one year in the New World until new supplies arrived. Nearly all of the structures that were to be assembled in the New World were put on the ships as prefabricated units.<sup>16</sup> Additional items included sawn timbers, windows and doors. In 1604, de Monts sailed from Honfleur and Havre-de-Grace.

Attempting to avoid competition from other merchants in the northern part of New France, de Monts headed for the lower region, the area of the Gulf of Maine, which was yet to be fully tapped for its natural resources. This region also had a climate less harsh than that of northern New France and therefore was more conducive to year-round settlement. His primary interests in this region were in acquiring beaver furs, as well as locating a passage to Cathay and supposed copper mines rumored to exist in this area.

In 1604, after charting the area around the *Baie des Français*, now the Bay of Fundy, de Monts chose a spot at the mouth of the Ste. Croix River. Situated between modern day Maine and New Brunswick, Ste. Croix Island afforded an excellent strategic location. It provided a defensive position for the protection of the Bay of Fundy and could be used as a point of departure for fur trading and future settlement (Figure 2.1).

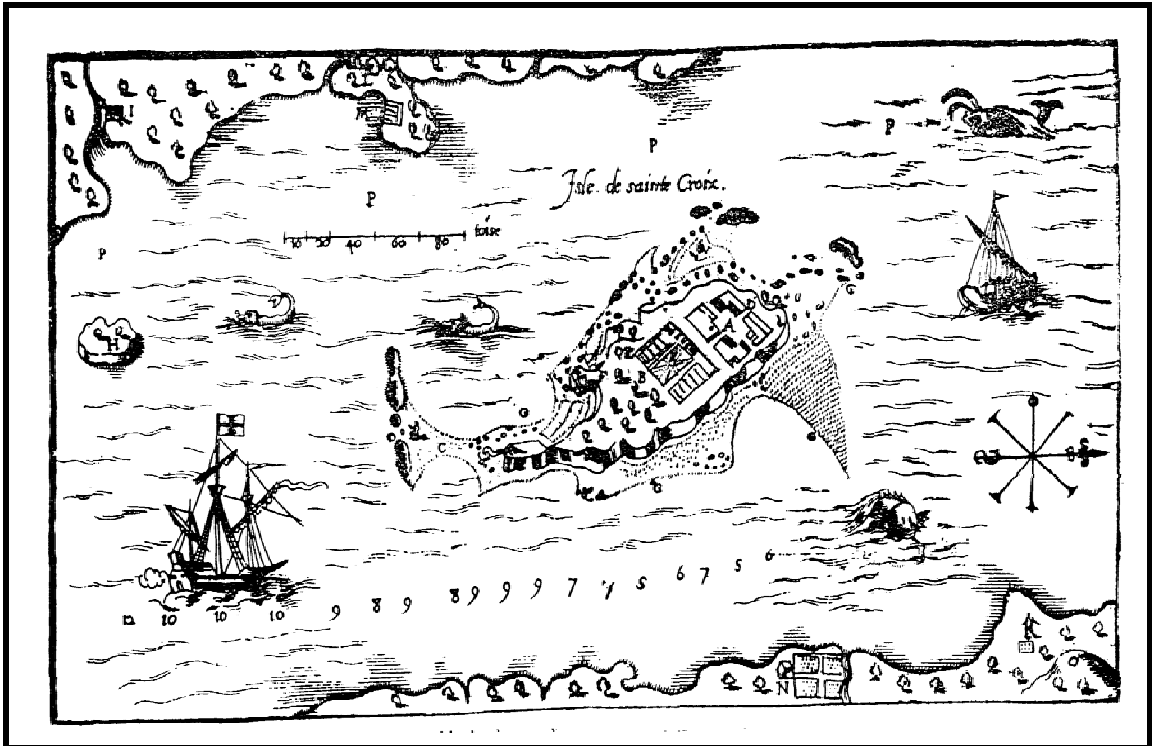


Figure 2.1. Champlain's 1604 Map of Ste. Croix Island.<sup>17</sup>

Construction of a fortification began immediately, and included a house for de Monts, another for Champlain, as well as barracks for soldiers and artisans, magazines and storehouses (Figure 2.2). The whole settlement was

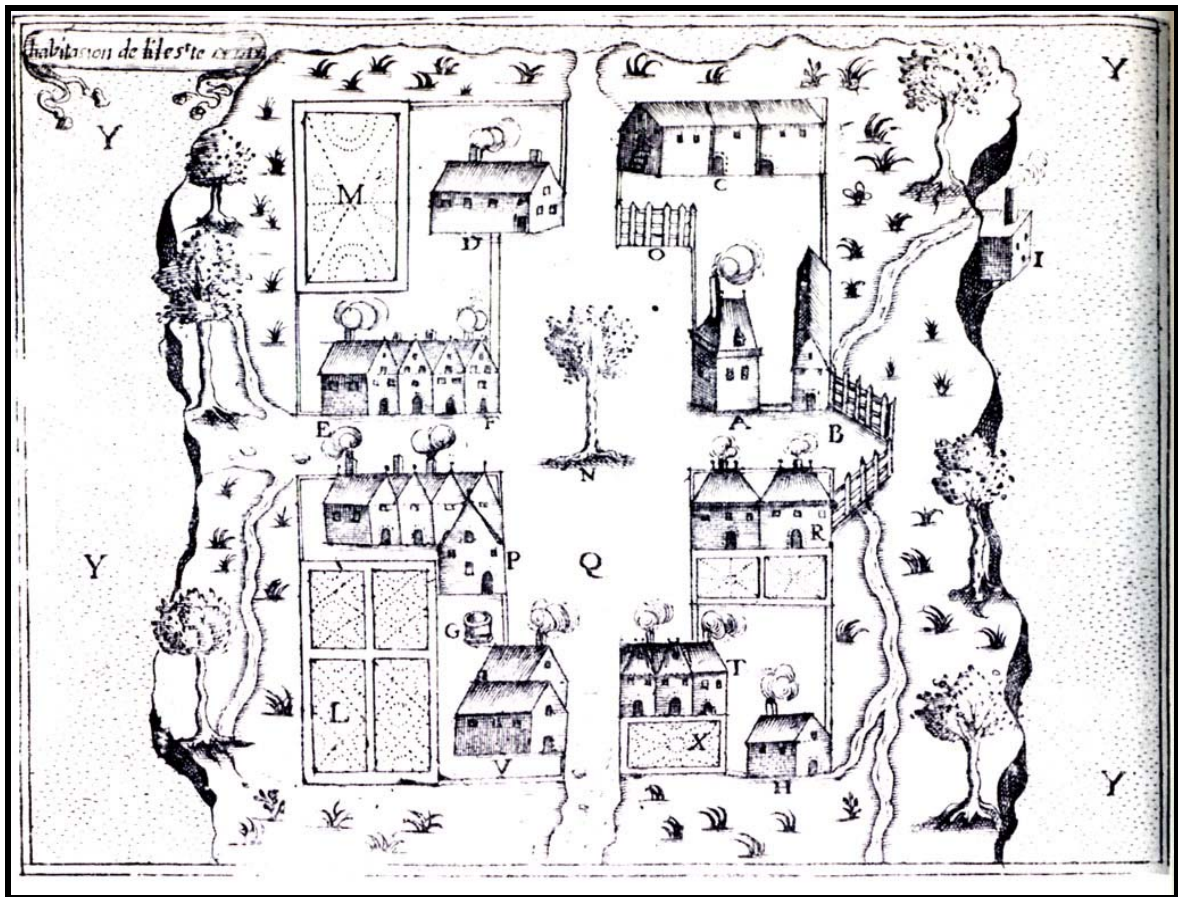


Figure 2.2. Champlain's Illustration of the 1604 Settlement on the Island of Ste. Croix.<sup>18</sup>

enclosed by a defensive wall and protected by a canon on the southern end to deter encroaching hostile traders, whether foreigners or compatriots. A chapel was also constructed to serve both as a place of worship and lodging for the Catholic priest, who ensured the settlers faith in Christianity while also attempting to convert the local native population. Samuel de Champlain also had a well-ordered garden to supply the colony with fresh produce.<sup>19</sup>

Several events occurred in the sites first year terminating hopes for a sustained settlement on the island.

The fort was constructed in early autumn, and the colonists were left with only the provisions brought with them from their original voyage. An unfortunate consequence of building in the northern latitudes was that supplies could only come from France during the spring and summer months. Furthermore, the fort was constructed on a small island fully exposed to the elements, lacking any natural barriers to storms. The winter of 1604 to 1605 was one of extremes with the first snows falling in October and the Ste. Croix River frozen by December, preventing any supplies from arriving, save for those traded by the local Native population.<sup>20</sup>

By the spring of 1605, nearly half of the colonists had died of scurvy, and their food was virtually exhausted. Supplies did arrive from Normandy that spring, but de Monts and Champlain decided to abandon the settlement and move to a more protected location. Though the settlement lasted for less than a year, it provided a springboard for future settlements and surely provided Champlain with experience that would be useful in constructing a long-lasting settlement.

In 1764, 160 years after the settlement of Ste. Croix, disputes over the location of the island began when Massachusetts and Nova Scotia were trying to determine their political boundaries. After the Revolutionary War and with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, a renewed

attempt was made at locating Ste. Croix to establish a boundary between the newly formed United States and Canada. However, local disputes and skepticism erupted over the exact location of the island. In 1797, a new treaty established a "Boundary Commission" of three persons, representing the interests of England, Canada, and the United States, who were charged with locating Ste. Croix.<sup>21</sup> A copy of Champlain's map was located in Europe and given to the British agent, who in turn provided it to Robert Pagan, a prominent citizen of St. Andrews, New Brunswick. Pagan located the island and filed a report to the commission on his findings:

On the North end of said Doceas Island where in the plan above mentioned the French buildings are laid down, he found four distant piles of ruins...On examining these piles he found them considerably raised above the general level of the ground around them...On further examining he discovered distinctly several tiers of stone in each of the Piles lain in clay mortar...In digging he found charcoal in a perfect state only it was easily crumble to pieces in handling he also found part of a stone pitcher in full preservation. On one side of one of the piles he discovered a number of bricks...In digging with a spade for a few minutes near one of these piles they turned up a metal spoon, a musket ball, a piece of an earthen vessel and a spike nail.<sup>22</sup>

Pagan concluded that this was the location of the ill-fated French settlement of 1604. This became the first



"archaeological" investigation of any French colonial site in North America.<sup>23</sup>

Thomas Wright, Surveyor General of St. John Island (modern Prince Edward Island) re-evaluated Pagan's discovery later 1797 on behalf of the commission. Wright also found a large collection of "very hard burnt Earthen ware."<sup>24</sup> In a letter to the commission, Wright states that he found

the foundation of a building in form of an oblong square...from the southern end of the foundation, towards the middle of the area, he observed a large heap of stones, with some bricks of a light yellow color...which heap of stones and bricks evidently appeared to have resulted from the tumbling down of a stack of chimneys...Some of the stone about the supposed chimney-heap appeared black, as if burnt on one side...there was, also, some pieces of very hard burnt earthen ware.<sup>25</sup>

With the "archaeological" surveys conducted by Pagan and Wright and the 1604 Champlain map, the commission unanimously agreed that this was indeed the location of Ste. Croix Island. Though archaeological excavations would not resume here until the twentieth century, these two studies are the earliest known examples of "historical archaeology" in North America and foreshadow the modern use of contract archaeology in "cultural resource management."

In 1950, excavations at this site resumed in anticipation of the site becoming listed as a National

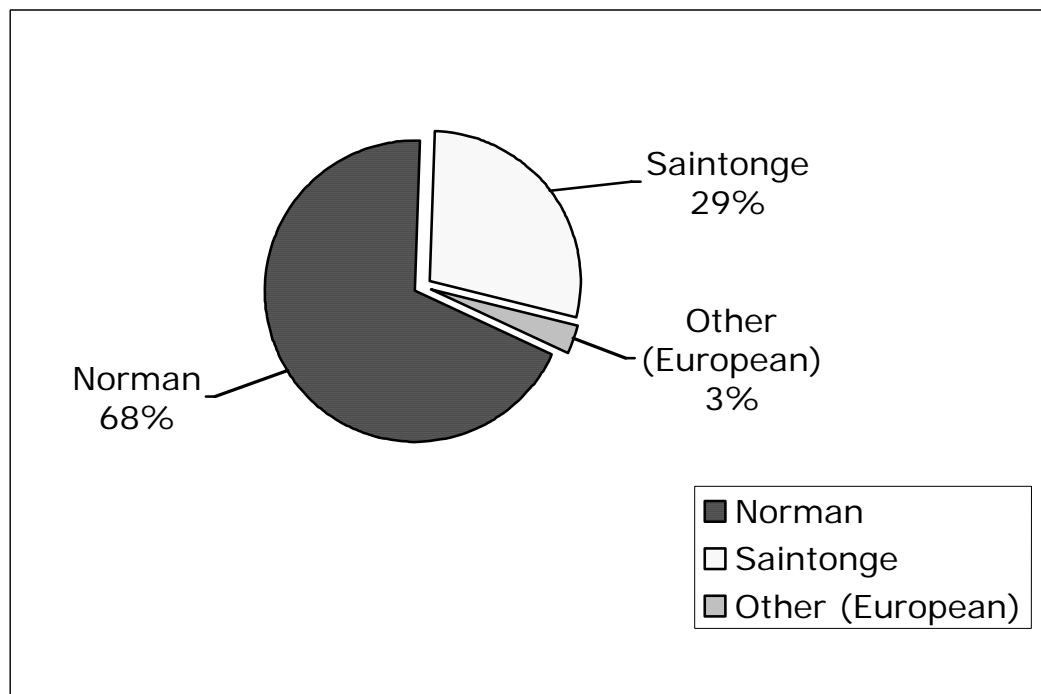
Monument. Wendall Hadlock, commissioned by The United States Park Service, and reported by J. C. Harrington, also from the National Park Service, conducted a preliminary examination of Ste. Croix Island, locally referred to as Dochet's Island.<sup>26</sup> The investigation focused on the habitation at the northern end of the island. The archaeologists used a strategy of trenching to identify subsurface architectural features. The trenches were two feet wide and of random lengths, but spaced 20 feet apart. In total, 1050 linear feet of trenching was excavated to locate habitation foundations.<sup>27</sup> Using this methodology, Hadlock encountered the remains of the storehouse, where an undetermined quantity of ceramics were recovered. These ceramics were defined as "thin, dark, undecorated stoneware" with surface color varying "from dark gray to dark tan or brown" in appearance.<sup>28</sup> Hadlock's excavation was meant only to identify the location of the habitation and the features identified were not expanded upon. However, based on the information gathered during the excavation, a recommendation was made for more intensive excavations.<sup>29</sup>

John Gruber, of Temple University, carried out a more intensive excavation in 1968 and 1969.<sup>30</sup> The excavation included large excavation blocks of 50-ft by 50-ft and 25-ft by 25-ft squares in the northern end of the island in the area of the habitation, including the area of Hadlock's narrow trenches, limited trenching in other areas thought to

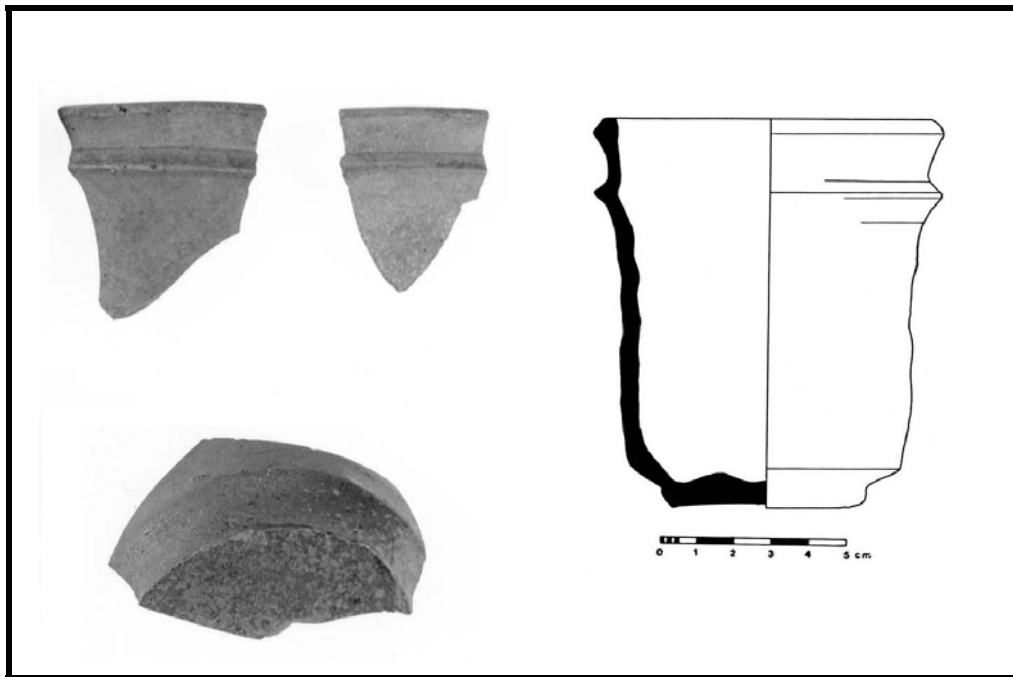
show signs of human disturbance and extensive trenching in the southern portion of the island in the location of the cemetery.<sup>31</sup> Using this testing methodology, Gruber re-identified the only permanently constructed structure, the storehouse, thus confirming Hadlock's findings. The majority of the artifacts recovered during Gruber's excavation were found in and about the storehouse.

Gruber collected 1,105 ceramic sherds during his excavation of Ste. Croix. This collection included French stonewares (Norman), predominantly, followed by French (Saintonge) buff-bodied wares with no glaze, Saintonge wares with green glaze, and a few non-French (other European) wares (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1. Percentage of Wares Identified from Gruber's Excavation of Ste. Croix.**



The most predominant ceramic ware identified from the excavation was French stonewares, particularly those from Normandy. The stonewares accounted for 695 of the 1015 sherds collected, representing nearly 63 percent of the total ceramic collection. These stonewares were identified as "a distinctive reddish brown to bluish black stoneware, undecorated, with a minimum of salt glazing on the exterior."<sup>32</sup> The most numerous of the types identified were thin-walled beakers, barely 4mm thick and having grooved rims (Figure 2.3).<sup>33</sup> These "beakers," which are similar to Italian albarellos, were most likely used for storing preserves, conserves, or ointments.<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 2.3. Ceramic Sherds and Reconstruction of Normandy Stoneware "Beaker" or Conserve Jar from Ste. Croix.**<sup>35</sup>

Stonewares with the same physical appearance, but found in lesser quantities included squat, globular vessels with wide openings and broad everted lips. These were most likely used as chamber pots, but might have served alternatively as large soup pots.<sup>36</sup> Bottles with short necks and a globular body were also recovered (Figure 2.4). These objects are thought to have been pharmaceutical bottles.<sup>37</sup>



**Figure 2.4. Photograph of Three Narrow-necked Normandy Stoneware Bottles.<sup>38</sup>**

Also represented were tall, and straight-sided jugs with strap handles (Figure 2.5).<sup>39</sup> These forms were likely

used to store various foodstuffs such as cured meats, fish and butter, for which they are commonly referred to as "butter pots."<sup>40</sup>

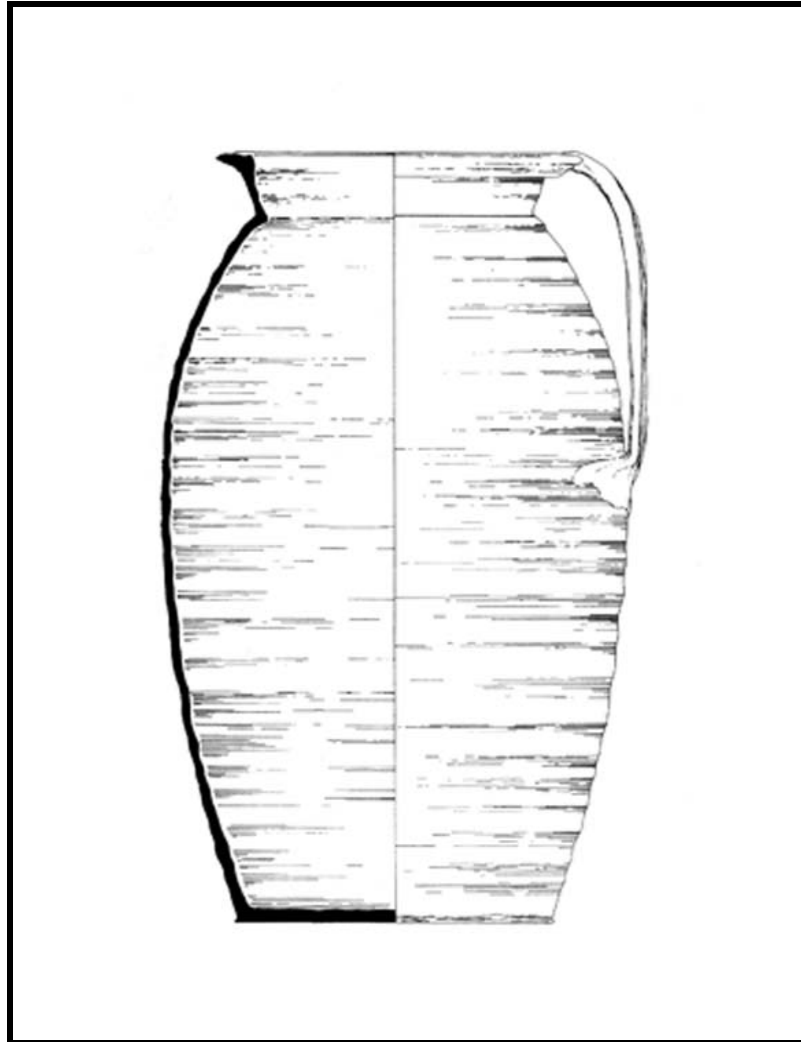
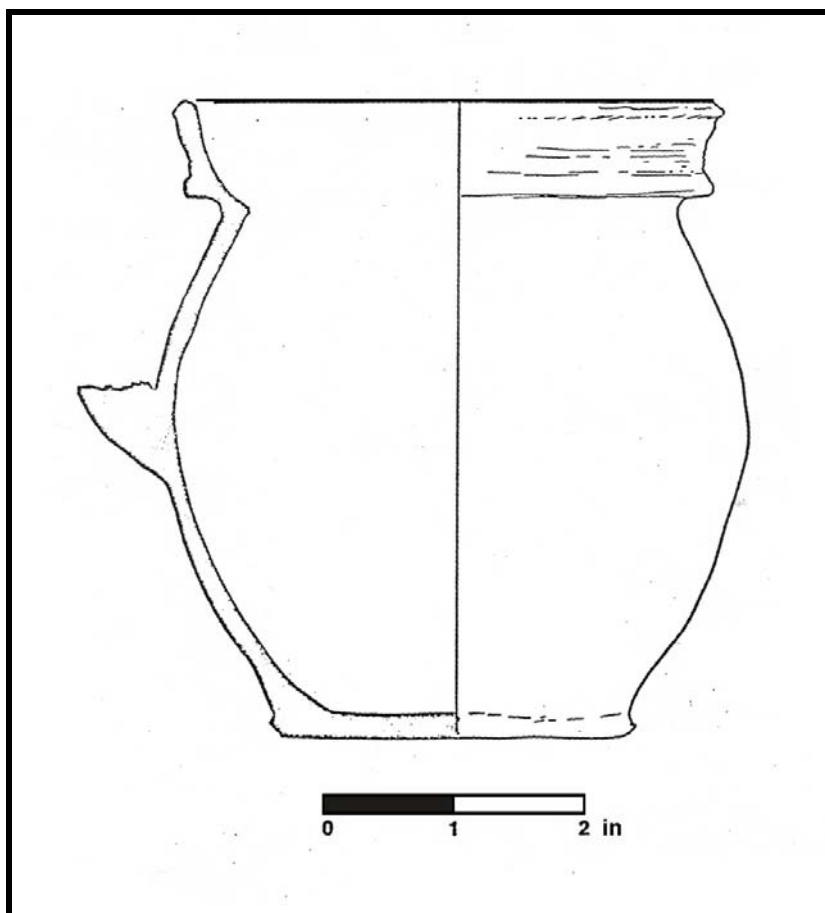


Figure 2.5. Reconstruction of a Large Straight-sided Stoneware Jug with a Wide Mouth and a Strap-handle, Produced in Normandy.<sup>41</sup>

Jean Chapelot conducted an initial analysis of these ceramics and concluded that, based on their physical appearance, these stonewares were indeed French in origin

and were likely utilitarian objects produced in Normandy.<sup>42</sup> Further chemical analyses of these ceramics were conducted in 1977 by Daniel Duformier, who suggested that these stonewares were produced in Ger, a town located in the Domfrontais region of Normandy.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to stonewares, several hundred fragments of earthenware, or 29 percent of the ceramic assemblage, which likely derived from the Saintonge region, were found. However, these wares may be from a later seventeenth century fishing camp on the site.<sup>44</sup> The Saintonge wares were divided into two separate categories: those with a buff-body and no apparent glaze and those with a yellowish paste and having a green glaze (see Table 2.1).<sup>45</sup> Of the first type, there were 186 sherds recorded, representing approximately 18 percent of the ceramic assemblage. These are mostly in the forms of bowls or bottles. Another 104 sherds, or roughly 10 percent of the collection, have a yellowish paste, are green glazed on the interior and some on the exterior, and are in the form of small pots flat-lipped globular vessels with wide openings (Figure 2.6). Although these Saintonge wares may be attributed to an occupation of the island several years after de Monts, both de Monts and Champlain were from Saintonge and may have brought with them familiar ceramic vessels from their native region.



**Figure 2.6. Illustration of a Saintonge Flat-bottomed Pot.<sup>46</sup>**

Because the many fur-traders heading to New France embarked from Norman ports including Le Havre, Dieppe and Sainte Malo, they brought with the items particular to this region. De Monts was no different and likely acquired many of the goods he needed, including foodstuffs contained in Normandy ceramic vessels, from Le Havre, the port from which he departed.

Champlain provides us with a vivid description of the tribulations of those inhabiting Ste. Croix during the



brief, but tragic occupation. Recording the final days of the occupation he writes

During this winter [the winter of 1604 to 1605] all our liquors froze, except for the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of the last was that there was no cellars under the storehouse.<sup>47</sup>

Champlain further notes that they had only to eat "salt meat and vegetables."<sup>48</sup>

The foodstuffs Champlain refers to would have been stored in Normandy ceramic vessels. In fact, storage vessels comprise the ceramic assemblage and included large storage jugs for salted meats and butter, small conserve jars, medicine bottles, bottles for storing liquors, possible soup pots and even chamberpots.<sup>49</sup> The many excavations conducted on Ste. Croix Island confirmed that after the abandonment of the settlement the ceramic vessels used for the storage of foodstuffs were left behind as the expedition moved to the new settlement at Port Royal and was re-supplied from Normandy.

Notably lacking from this ceramic assemblage, however, are refined ceramic tablewares. With the establishment of more permanent settlements in New France, the morphological variability of the wares represented in the ceramic assemblage would change,

mainly as a result of a more direct trade or re-supply with the Saintonge and as the need for tablewares increased. This will become evident as we proceed to Champlain's permanent settlement in Québec.

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<sup>1</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, Mclellan and Stewart Ltd., (Toronto 1973), p. 1; W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier: 1534-1760*, University of New Mexico Press (Albuquerque, 1969), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier: 1534-1760*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> for a detailed account on the cod and fur trade see Harold A Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*, Yale University Press (New Haven, 1940) and *The Fur Trade*, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1970).

<sup>4</sup> Raymond H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade: 1550-1700*, University of California Press (Berkeley, 1943), p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> J. Thierry Du Pasquier, "The Whalers of Honfleur in the Seventeenth Century," *Arctic*, vol. 28, no. 4 (1984), pp. 533-538.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France: 1524-1663*, pp. 62-70.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century: Europe and the World in the Age of Exploration*, University of Minnesota Press, (Minneapolis, 1974), vol. IV, p. 329.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

<sup>9</sup> George W. Brown, general editor, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1966), vol. 1, p. 291.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*; Margaret Conrad, Alvin Finkel and Cornelius Jaenen, *History of the Canadian Peoples*, Copp Clark Pittman, Ltd. (Toronto, 1993), vol. 1, 93.

<sup>11</sup> George W. Brown, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, p. 345.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>15</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France: 1524-1663*, pp. 84-87.

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Eliot Morrison, *Samuel de Champlain*, Little, Brown and Company, (Boston, 1972), p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> William Francis Ganong, "Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island: A Monograph," edited by Susan Brittain Ganong. Monographic Series No. 3, The New Brunswick Museum, (Sainte John, New Brunswick, 1945), Figure 10.

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Eliot Morrison, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> H.P. Biggar, (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Champlain*, University of Toronto Press, (Toronto, 1971), vol. 1, Part III, Book 1, p. 274.

<sup>20</sup> Ganong, "Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island: A Monograph," pp. 51-52.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-92.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>23</sup> John Cotter, "Premier Etablissement Française en Acadie Sainte Croix," *Dossier de l'Archéologie*, vol 27, (1978), p. 60.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Ganong, "Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island: A Monograph," p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Harrington, "Preliminary Archaeological Explorations on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Ste. Croix Island National Monument (Project)," Unpublished Report for the National Park Service, n.d.

<sup>27</sup> Harrington, "Preliminary Archaeological Explorations on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Ste. Croix Island National Monument (Project)," pp. 3-4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

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- <sup>30</sup> Jacob Gruber, "The French Settlement on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Excavations for the National Park Service, 1968 - 1969."
- <sup>31</sup> Jacob Gruber, "The French Settlement on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Excavations for the National Park Service, 1968 - 1969," pp. 33-34.
- <sup>32</sup> John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," Unpublished Report for the National Park Service, n.d., p. 24.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 24.
- <sup>34</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, p.55.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 55 and 57.
- <sup>36</sup> John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," p. 24.
- <sup>37</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, p. 43.
- <sup>38</sup> Photograph of Norman bottlenecks housed at the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Maine, Orono.
- <sup>39</sup> Jacob Gruber, "The French Settlement on Ste. Croix Island, Maine: Excavations for the National Park Service, 1968 - 1969," pp. 102-103; John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," p. 24.
- <sup>40</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, p. 28.
- <sup>41</sup> Drawings of Norman stoneware vessels housed at the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Maine, Orono.
- <sup>42</sup> John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," p. 25.
- <sup>43</sup> Louise Décarie, *Le Grès Français de Place Royale*, pp. 55 and 57.
- <sup>44</sup> Gretchen Faulkner, in an unpublished paper entitled "A History of Archaeological Investigations on Ste. Croix" indicates that these ceramics were all found outside of the storehouse area, associated with the de Monts settlement of 1604 to 1605, and may be attributed to the occupation of Platrier in 1611 to 1612 and not to the occupation by de Monts. She further suggests that this occupation was overlooked by all previous archaeological investigations.
- <sup>45</sup> John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," pp. 25-26a.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., Figure 1.
- <sup>47</sup> William Francis Ganong, "Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island: A Monograph," p. 52.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 53.
- <sup>49</sup> John L. Cotter, "Ste. Croix National Historic Site: A Beginning in Historical Archaeology," p. 24; Jean-Pierre Chrestien and Daniel Dufournier, "French Stoneware in North-Eastern North America," p. 92.

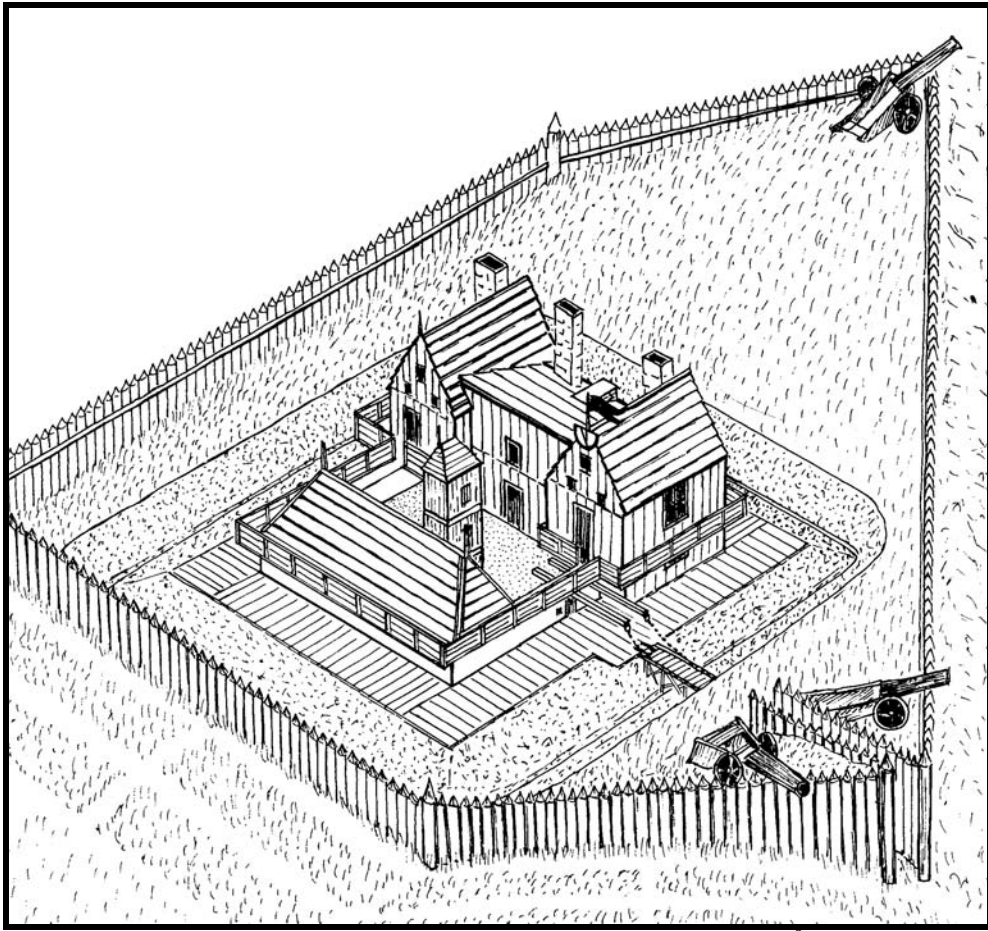
### Chapter 3

#### CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST HABITATION (1608-1624) AND SECOND HABITATION (1624-1632)

In 1607, Champlain, with the knowledge gained from his earlier experiences at Tadoussac and at Ste. Croix, began drawing plans for a permanent settlement along the shores of the St. Lawrence River. In the same year, Champlain became lieutenant for de Monts' trading company, which was awarded a one-year fur-trading monopoly for in the lower St. Lawrence River Valley. In the spring of 1608, an expedition of three ships, loaded with all the goods needed to survive at least one year in the New World, departed Honfleur.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the goods, Champlain also brought along men, 16 in total, of various professions including carpenters, ironsmiths, and other artisans, all of whom would remain in Canada year round.<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1608, he arrived at Cap Diamants and began construction of what became known as "L'habitation de Champlain."

The placement of the habitation was strategic as well as economic. The fortification was located well away from competing French and English traders deep in the St. Lawrence River valley at a point where the river constricts, affording it a defensive position. This area was within the lands of the Algonquians and near the Huron nation, affording Champlain the best opportunity to achieve his main objective, trading for furs.

The habitation was of a rather simple construction (Figure 3.1). It included a main house divided into three components, two wings and a central hall. One wing was reserved as the residence for Champlain, the other wing housed workers and soldiers, and the central hall contained



**Figure 3.1. Champlain's First Habitation.**<sup>3</sup>

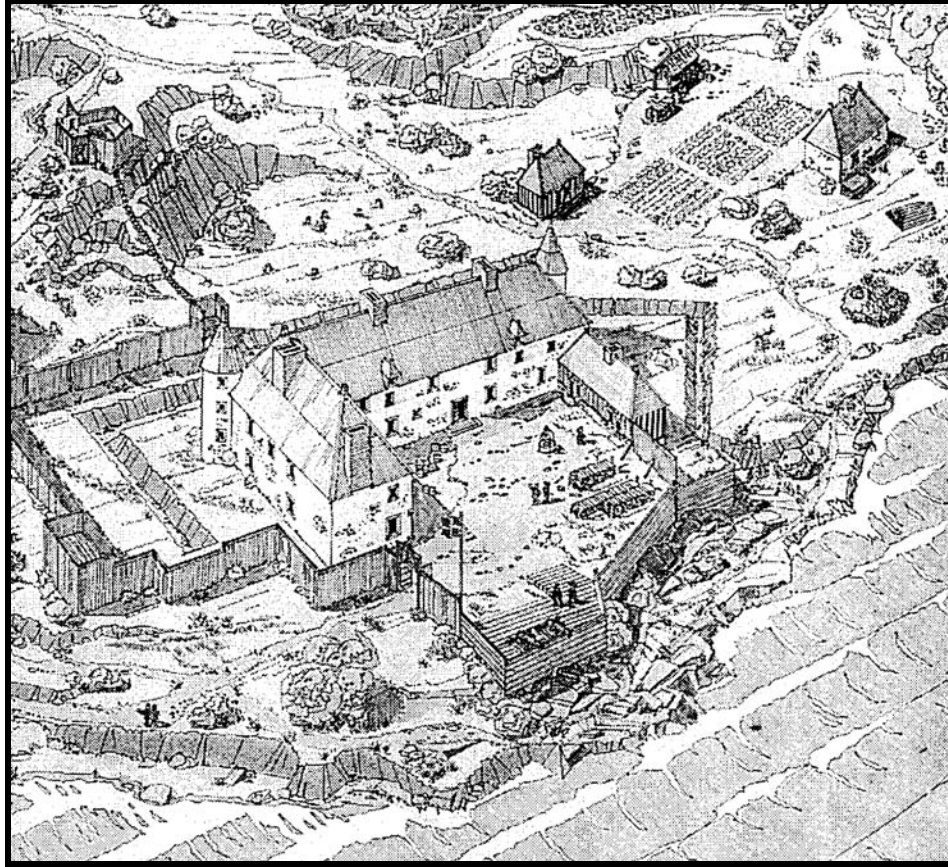
the forge and residence of the artisans. Near the front of the building was a magazine for the storage of goods. A wooden palisade surrounded the whole complex.<sup>4</sup>

All of the goods that were needed to support this small colony were shipped from France. In fact, Champlain sailed back to France to the ports of Honfleur and Dieppe many

times during the period of 1608 to 1624 returning with furs and advancing his cause to gain monetary support from the king. He may even have had direct ties with merchants in La Rochelle and sailed there in 1611 to deliver goods. By 1611, it seems that the fur trade was proving unprofitable and the de Monts merchant company was dissolved. In 1615, Champlain formed his own trading company with merchants from the towns of Rouen and St. Malo, or "Compagnie des Marchands de Rouens et de Saint Malo," which also went by the name "Compagnie de Champlain." Colonization efforts were only secondary to economic enterprise in the New World, however. As J. F. Bosher states: "businessmen were mainly interested in their own private profit, and colonizing in North America was not profitable."<sup>5</sup>

By 1620, Champlain's first habitation had fallen into great disrepair, mainly due to his absence and the lack of support from merchants and the government. Upon his return from France in 1620, Champlain noted the condition of the habitation, stating that: "the buildings were fallen to ruin, rain entered all sides, the courtyard was as squalid and dilapidated as a grange pillaged by soldiers."<sup>6</sup> Although the habitation was dilapidated and no longer served as the community focal point, a small community had grown around it. By 1620, there may have been as many as 60 to 70 persons living in this nascent community.<sup>7</sup>

In 1624, Champlain, who brought his wife from France, had a new habitation constructed (Figure 3.2). Unlike the



**Figure 3.2. Champlain's Second Habitation.**<sup>8</sup>

first habitation, built mostly of sawn timbers, the second habitation was constructed almost entirely out of locally quarried stone. The main house was "L-shaped" with two turrets at either end of the main component of the house. Again, the entire compound was surrounded by a wooden palisade and protected with several canons placed at its front, along the St. Lawrence River.

In 1627 and 1628 several events transformed New France. Cardinal Richelieu, who had just become minister of affairs for Louis XIII, founded and headed the "Compagnie des Cents Associés." His primary objectives were to increase commerce from New France and to secure a permanent foothold in the

New World to head off the expanding English colonies in New England. At the same time, he instituted himself as Grand Master and Superintendent of Navigation and Commerce.<sup>9</sup> With this new power, he drew up plans to send two to three hundred settlers of various occupations to New France with the attempted goal of increasing the French, primarily Catholic, population to 4000 by 1643; the population of New France by the time Richelieu came into power probably consisted of around 200 persons.<sup>10</sup>

Before this consolidation of power and commerce, only a few ships each year headed to New France to trade for furs. However, with this new merchant company came an increase in shipping to the French colonies. In 1627, some ten ships sailed from the port of Dieppe with cargo destined for Canada, with many others arriving from Honfleur and Le Havre.<sup>11</sup>

While Richelieu's attempt at preserving the already established colony in New France and to promote its future growth was optimistic, the establishment of the Company of One Hundred Associates only hindered its growth. As Bosher further argues "the Company of New France was not a commercial organization: it had strong and explicit missionary purposes to which trade was only accessory."<sup>12</sup> With France focused on religious persuasion in the name of Catholicism at home, and the company refocused on converting the native population in the New World, New France remained



a small, unprotected group of settlements vulnerable to predation by English merchant-privateers.

In 1628, Champlain's second habitation was partially destroyed by a contingent of British naval vessels led by David Kirke. Kirke, originally of Dieppe but became a London merchant and aided by a decree from the King of England, was ordered to remove all French occupants of Acadia and Canada. Kirke succeeded in destroying the settlements, displacing the French colonial population, and captured a fleet of ships loaded with goods from the town of Dieppe as well. Many Huguenot refugees, who had fled La Rochelle to London after the religious unrest in France, also aided Kirke's conquest of New France.

France regained New France after the signing of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632. Champlain was again appointed by Richelieu to head the settlement in Canada, on behalf of the Company of One Hundred Associates. Although Champlain's second habitation was repaired, it ceased to function as the primary defense and economic center of the community as new settlements expanded beyond the fortification. The signing of the treaty between France and England also coincides with the end of the occupation of the second habitation, and after the death of Champlain, the habitation appears to have remained in ruins.

The excavation of Place Royal in Quebec City, Québec, in which Champlain's habitation is located, was conducted

between 1976 and 1980.<sup>13</sup> In this excavation there were recorded seven different occupation levels. Champlain's first and second habitation occupied the lower two historic levels, while the intermediate levels are components of the later expanded Québec city, referred to as "La Place Royale," while the uppermost-excavated levels were dated to the nineteenth and twentieth century.<sup>14</sup>

Analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Champlain's first habitation shows that Saintonge earthenwares comprised a larger number of vessels than that of French stonewares: 30 to 12, respectively. The second habitation shows a similar ratio, where 25 Saintonge vessels were identified and eight French stoneware vessels were recorded.<sup>15</sup> Of the French stonewares, six vessels from the first habitation can be attributed to production in Normandy, while four vessels from the second habitation are from this region; five vessels from the first habitation and three from the second habitation have been identified as having come from Pays de Brays, a region just west of Le Havre, a popular embarkation point to the New World.<sup>16</sup>

The disproportionate amount of Saintonge to Normandy vessels is surprising considering Champlain sailed many times to the ports of Normandy for re-supply, in addition to other trading ships arriving from Normandy. Additionally, ships from La Rochelle, the principal port for the export of Saintonge wares, did not arrive into the Saint Lawrence River directly until after 1640.<sup>17</sup>

While several of the Saintonge ceramic fragments cannot be identified as to vessel form, there is a wide variety of forms and sizes represented. As an example, there are 21 vessel forms, combined from the two habitation levels, attributed to food consumption (Table 3.1). Within this grouping, deep-welled dishes, both large and small, composed the largest vessel category, totaling ten.

**Table 3.1. Comparison of Saintonge Vessels from Champlain's First and Second Habitation.**

Year of Occupation	Food Consumption										Total	
	Soup		Deep Dish		Plate	Bowl	Rechaud (reheater)	Jug w/ handle and Pitcher	Pots			
								spout				
	Large		Medium	Small								
	1608-1624		5		1	2		2		1		11
	1624-1632	1	3		1	1	1	1	1	1		10
	Preparation			Cooking			Storage					
	Terrine		Basin	Pots	Cooking Pot		Conserve Pot	Jar				
Small												
1608-1624	4		4		1	5	2	3		19		
1624-1632	4	3	1	2		4	1			15		

The large quantity of deep dishes, likely used for pies, or our version of the "pot-pie," is consistent with the findings of Douville and Casanova, who in their book "Daily Life in Early Canada," suggest that the pie dish was an important utensil in the kitchen because the pie, or "tourtière," was used to make an endless variety dishes.<sup>18</sup> In French tradition, the tourtière consisted of many bird variations but most commonly pigeons. In Canada, because of the large quantity of natural resources available, the tourtière was extremely diverse and included the meats from a wide variety of ducks, moose, caribou and beaver. Smoked

bacon and salted eel, which preserved remarkably well, were commonly eaten during the winter months.<sup>19</sup>

At least 34 other vessels from the two occupation levels can be ascribed to kitchen activities other than food consumption. These include food storage, preparation and cooking. Food preparation vessels, from both occupation levels, include eight terrines, three basins and five small and two medium-sized pots. Nine cooking pots with double-handles and round bottoms and at least one pipkin form with three-legs, comprise the cooking group (Figure 3.3). Storage vessels include three conserve pots and three jars.

Approaching the comparison of Saintonge wares from a different angle, the percentage of food consumption, preparation and cooking wares remain fairly even through both habitation periods, however, storage vessels declined dramatically (Table 3.2). This same trend is seen when examining French stonewares, where storage vessels are less relied upon as the settlement becomes more established through the seventeenth century.

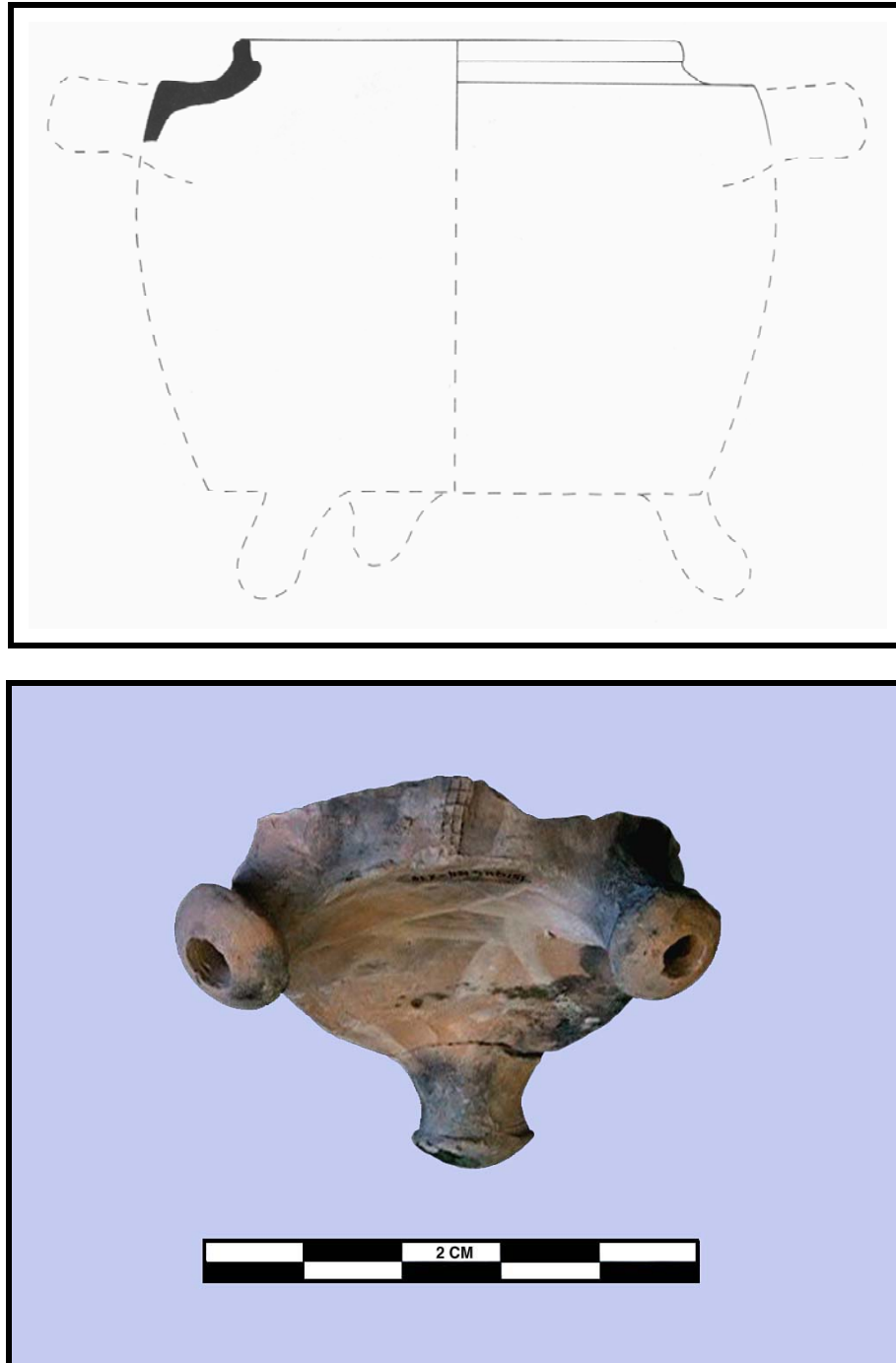
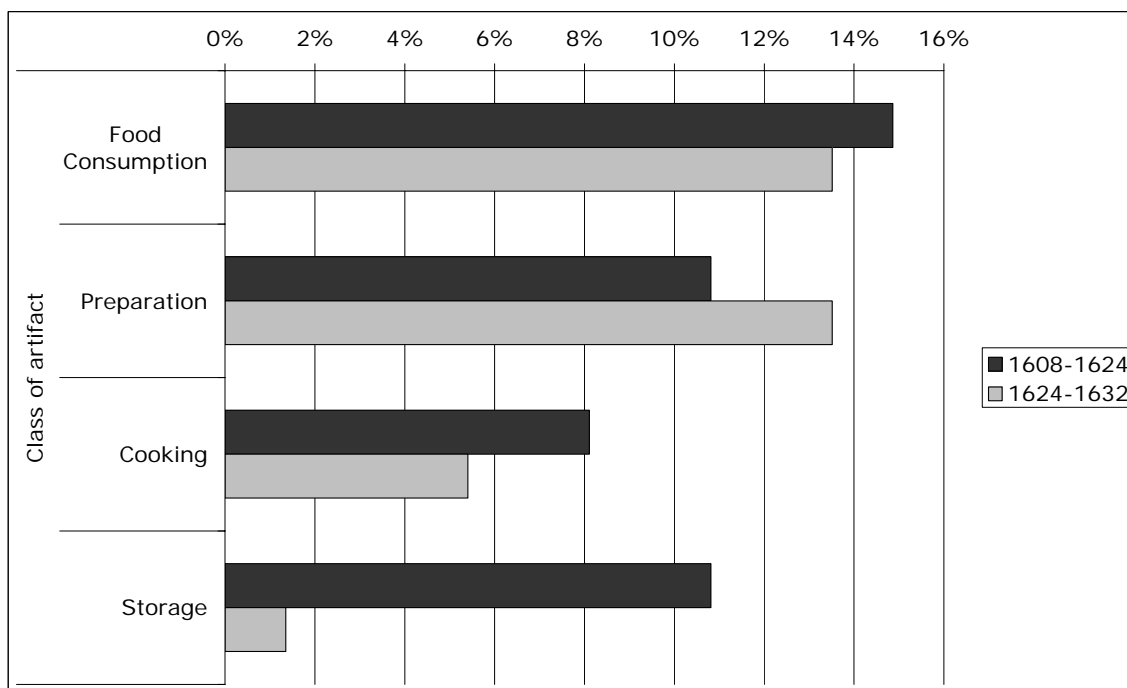


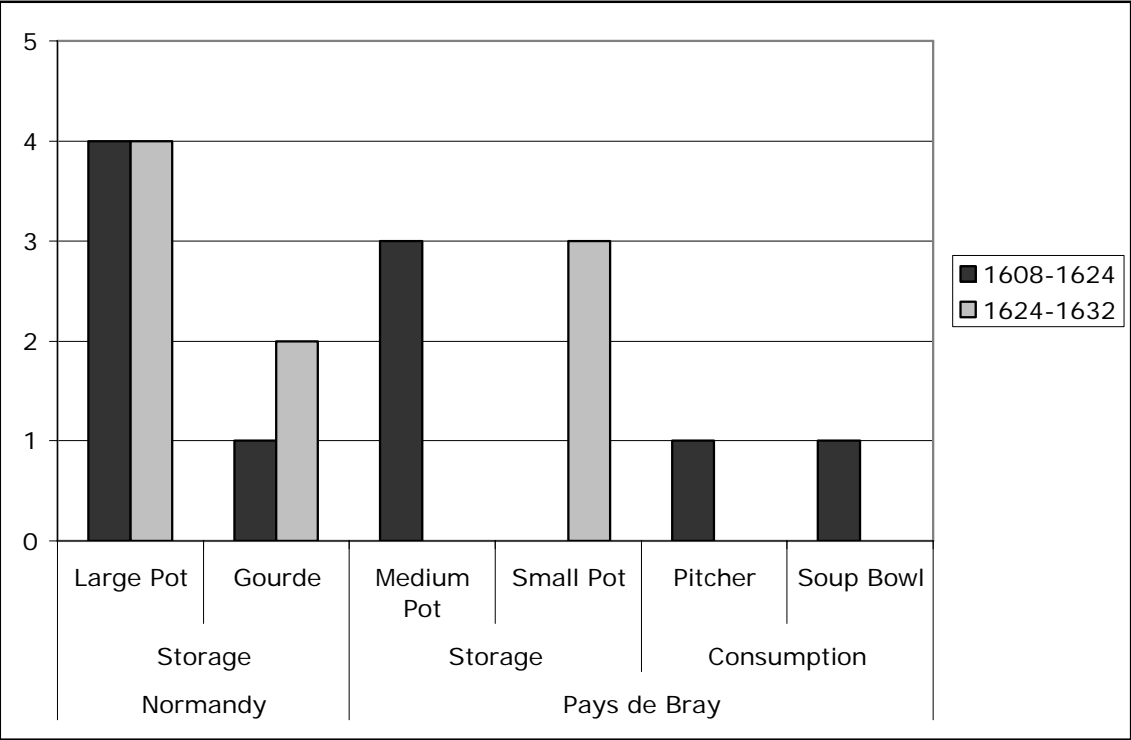
Figure 3.3. Example of a Saintonge Earthenware Pipkin, with an Illustration Recreating the Vessel Form (Top) and Picture of the Tripod Base (Bottom).<sup>20</sup>

**Table 3.2. Comparison of Saintonge Ware Classes by Percentage from Champlain's First and Second Habitation.**



Unlike the Saintonge wares, the variability of French stoneware forms is minimal, particularly of Normandy wares.<sup>21</sup> This may reflect the conservative nature of the artisans producing these objects or also may be a reflection of the vessels place in society. In comparison to the Saintonge earthenware vessel forms, French stoneware vessels found at this site are almost entirely used for storage. Of the 20 total French stoneware vessels derived from Normandy and Pays de Bray, the region just east of Normandy, 18 served for storage purposes, while the remaining two vessels, one small pitcher and one soup pot, were used for the preparation or consumption of foodstuffs; one other pitcher was attributed to the Loire region (Table 3.3).<sup>22</sup>

**Table 3.3. Number of Northern French Stoneware Vessels Identified in Champlain's First and Second Habitation.**



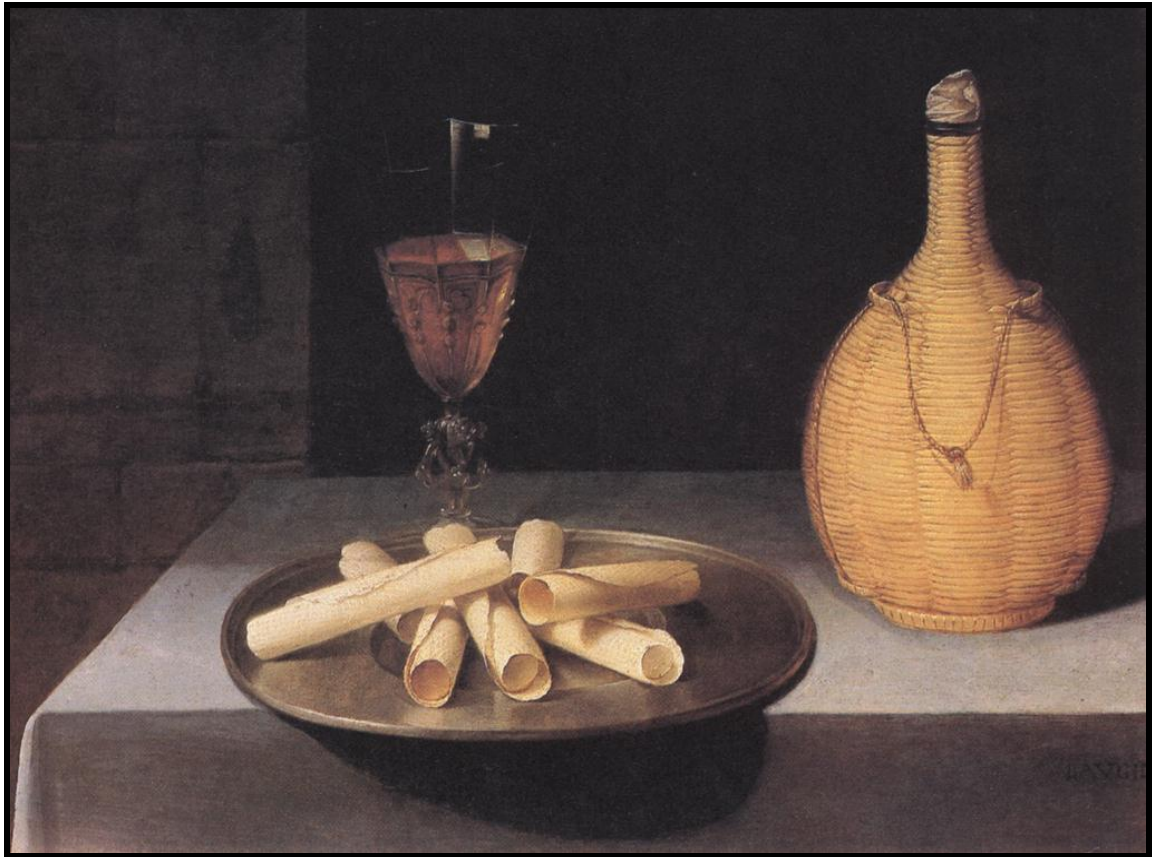
In addition to the three stoneware gourd-like vessels, known as costrels, three additional costrels are earthenware (Figure 3.4). They also come from Noron in the Normandy region. Costrels were made from two clay bowl forms seamed rim to rim with an attached neck.



**Figure 3.4. Earthenware "Gourd-like" Costrel from Champlain's First Habitation.<sup>23</sup>**

Once fired, they were then cord wrapped, either for protection or to insulate their contents, and had an attached cord so the bottle could be slung over the shoulder or hung from a hook (Figure 3.5).



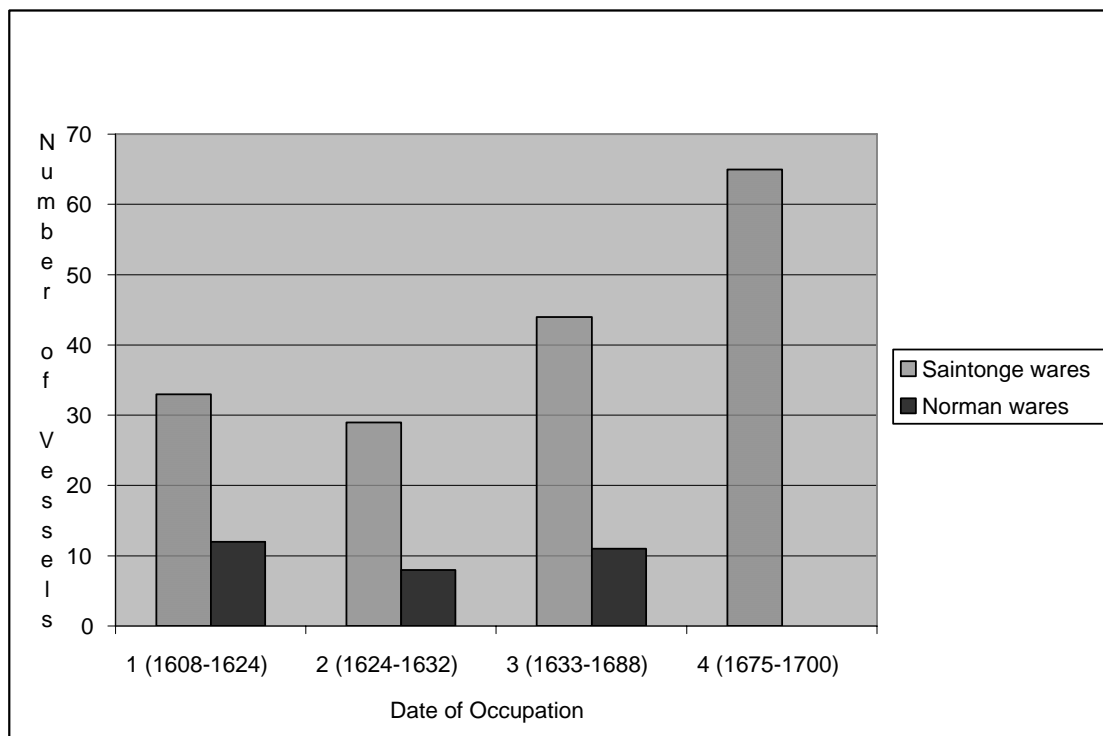


**Figure 3.5. A Cord-wrapped Wine Costrel in Lubin Baugin's "Le Dessert de Gaufrettes," ca. 1630s.<sup>24</sup>**

Costrels, such as these were the equivalent of canteens and were often used to store cider or *eau de vie*, a clear brandy distilled from fruits, particularly pear. Because water was not considered particularly healthy in the seventeenth century diet, alcoholic spirits were cut with water to prevent the chances of acquiring water-borne diseases. While Spanish wine, madeira, anisette and other refined liquors may have graced the table, locally-made beer, or "bouillon," produced from fermented corn was likely more common.<sup>25</sup>

The excavations of the intermediate historic levels from seventeenth century Place Royale further indicate that throughout the remainder of the century there was an increasing demand for Saintonge earthenwares and less demand for Normandy stonewares (Table 3.4). As Niellon indicates, there were at least 301 differing earthenware vessels identified, while there were only 41 stoneware vessels.<sup>26</sup>

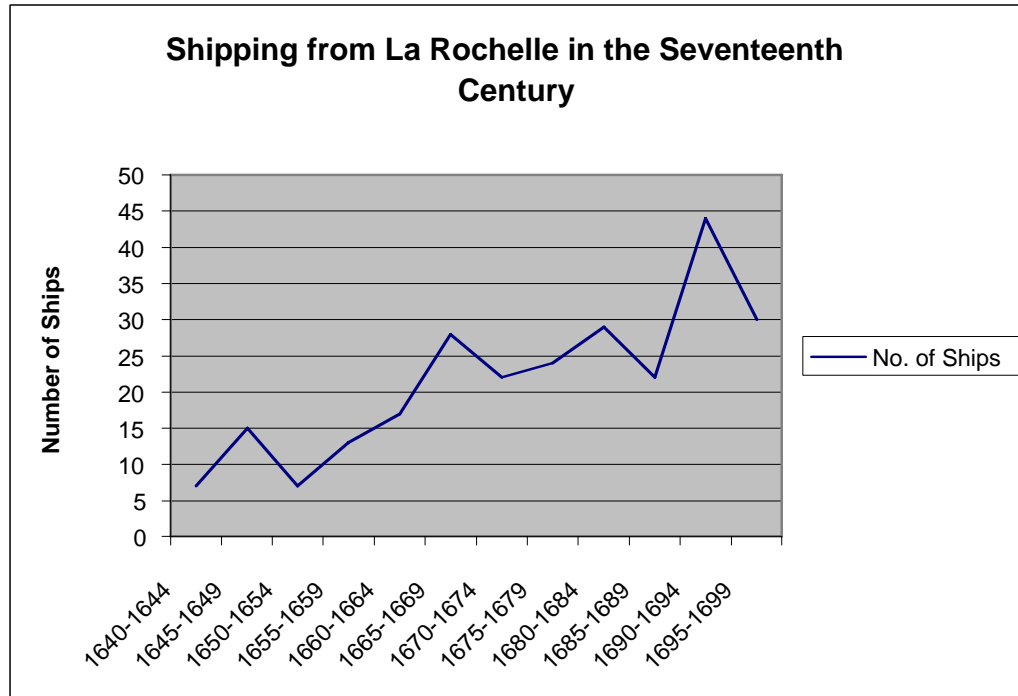
**Table 3.4. Comparison of Total Vessel Counts of Saintonge versus Normandy Wares from Champlain's Habitation (Levels 1 and 2) and Place Royale (Levels 3 and 4).**



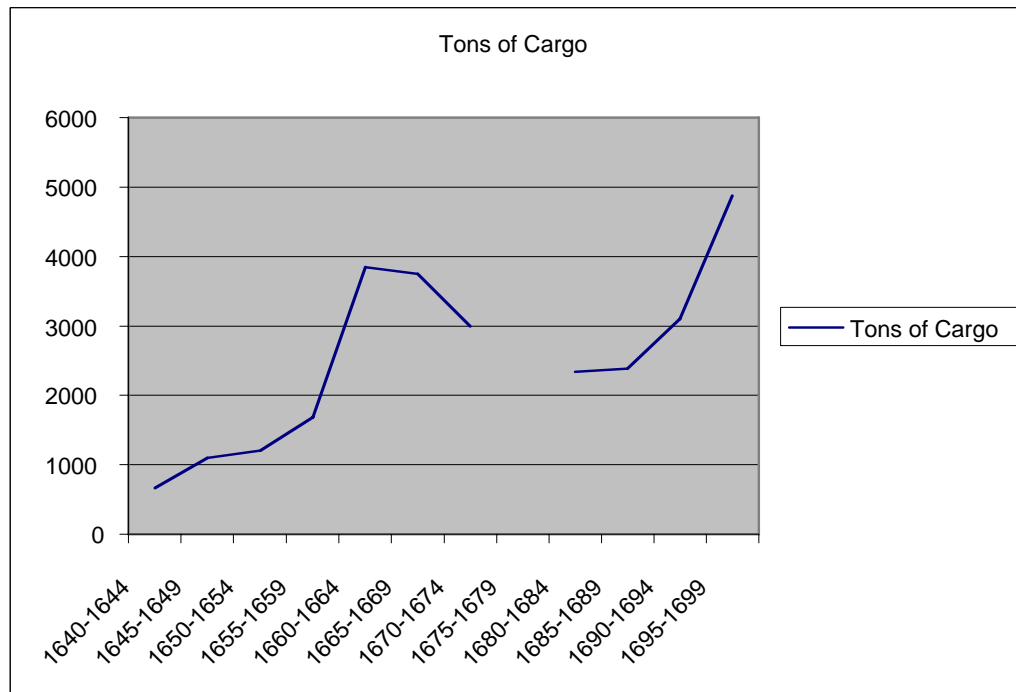
This is further exemplified when examining the shipping data from La Rochelle (Tables 3.5 and 3.6). In these tables, there is a noticeable increase in the usage of Saintonge earthenwares, which correlates with an increased shipping traffic from La Rochelle to New France. As James Pritchard

argues, before the mid-seventeenth century, nearly all of the cargo destined for New France originated in the northern French towns of Saint-Malo, Rouen, or Dieppe, towns where merchants formed the largest percentage of the shareholders of the *Compagnie des Cents Associés*. By 1660, however, Normandy ships consigned all of their cargo their La Rochelle.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 3.5. Number of Ships Leaving La Rochelle for New France.**<sup>28</sup>



**Table 3.6. Tons of Cargo Leaving La Rochelle for New France.**<sup>29</sup>



To test the hypothesis that Saintonge earthenwares were becoming more prevalent throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, at the expense of Normandy stonewares, we may look for comparative assemblages from other French colonial sites of this period. Fortunately there are two archaeological sites in Acadia that meet this requirement: Fort Pentagoet with two French occupation levels dating from 1635 to 1654 and 1670 to 1674, and Fort La Tour dating from 1631 to 1645.

<sup>1</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France: 1524-1663*, pp. 93-95.

<sup>2</sup> H.P. Biggar, (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Champlain*, vol. 2, p. 24-44.

<sup>3</sup> Camille Lapointe, Béatrice Chassé and Hélène de Carufel, *Aux origines de la vie québécoise*, Les Publications du Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles de Québec, Dossier 93, (Québec, 1995), Figure 10.

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- <sup>4</sup> H.P. Biggar, (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Champlain*, vol. 5, Book 2, p. 133.
- <sup>5</sup> J. F. Bosher, "The Political and Religious Origins of La Rochelle's Primacy in Trade with New France, 1627-1685," *French History*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1995), p. 291.
- <sup>6</sup> Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of New France in the New World*, p. 421.
- <sup>7</sup> Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, p. 29; Daniel G. Glenday, "French Mercantilism and the Atlantic Colonies (with specific reference to New France) 1494-1672," unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1976, p. 73.
- <sup>8</sup> Camille Lapointe, Béatrice Chassé and Hélène de Carufel, *Aux origins de la vie québécoise*, Figure 12.
- <sup>9</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France: 1524-1663*, p. 169.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 133-134; J.F. Bosher, "The Political and Religious Origins of La Rochelle's Primacy in Trade with New France, 1627-1685," p. 296; and Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de La Nouvelle-France, II, Le Comptoir: 1604-1627*, Fides, (Montreal, 1966), p. 409.
- <sup>11</sup> James Collins, "La Flotte normande au commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales de Normandie*, vol. 34, issue 4 (1984), p. 379-380.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 293.
- <sup>13</sup> Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, p. 23.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., Table 1, pp. 44-45.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., Table 58, p. 269.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> James S. Pritchard, "French Colonial Shipping to Canada Before 1706," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, vol. LXIII, no. 231 (1976), pp. 190-191.
- <sup>18</sup> Raymond Douville and Jacques Casanova, *Daily Life in Early Canada*, Translated by Carole Congreve, MacMillan (New York, 1968), p. 56.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> drawing from Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, Figure 31, p. 461.
- <sup>21</sup> as illustrated in Figure 5.4, there is a greater degree of morphological variability amongst stoneware storage vessels than among vessel types from the Saintonge, which have a greater degree of decorative variability.
- <sup>22</sup> Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, pp. 268-282.
- <sup>23</sup> drawing from Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, Figure 66, (p. 496).
- <sup>24</sup> Musée du Louvre, Paris, <http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/b/baugin/>
- <sup>25</sup> Douville and Casanova, *Daily Life in Early Canada*, p. 58.
- <sup>26</sup> Françoise Niellon and Marcel Moussette, *L'Habitation de Champlain*, p. 212.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 190-191.
- <sup>28</sup> statistical information from James S. Pritchard, "French Colonial Shipping to Canada Before 1706," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, Table 1, p. 201.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., Table 1, p. 201.

## Chapter 4

### FORT LA TOUR (1631-1645) AND FORT PENTAGOET (1635-1654 AND 1670-1674)

Throughout the seventeenth century, Acadia was the scene of political turmoil as France and England vied for control of its economic resources, in particular cod and beaver pelts. England remained in control of Acadia throughout much of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1632, however, both countries signed the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in which France regained its colonial enterprise in New France. In Acadia, the French territory extended along the Gulf of Maine to the Penobscot River, approximately at the halfway point of present-day Maine.<sup>1</sup>

In 1628, Isaac Razilly, a Knight of Malta and who had addressed Cardinal Richelieu on the importance of trade by sea, became a member the Company of One Hundred Associates.<sup>2</sup> Several years later, Cardinal Richelieu granted Isaac Razilly the position of Lieutenant General of Acadia ordering him to retake Port Royal from the Scottish occupying it. Razilly had grandiose plans for the expansion of France's colonial territory in Acadia. To fulfill these plans, Razilly included his brother Claude de Launay-Razilly, who was the financial backer of the enterprise, cousin Charles de Menou D'Aulnay, Sieur de Charnizé, who served as the Commandant's Lieutenant, and Nicolas Denys, a

La Rochellais merchant and member of the Company of One Hundred Associates and who had been in Acadia on previous expeditions.

To ensure success of the mission, Richelieu granted Razilly a warship and 10,000 livres.<sup>3</sup> The Company of New France turned its trading monopoly over to its subsidiary the Razilly-Cordonnier Company along with a trading monopoly for a period of ten years. However, the fur trading was to be shared equitably between Razilly and Charles de La Tour, already established in Acadia. Razilly, once in Acadia, established himself at Le Hève, on the opposite side of the peninsula from Port Royal, in present day Nova Scotia.<sup>4</sup>

Charles de Sainte-Étienne de La Tour, unlike many of his compatriots, had remained in Acadia throughout the many English incursions into the region during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Since his childhood he had been a member of the original Port Royal settlement, which was taken over by the English in 1612. By 1620, he was a fur-trading agent on Cap Sable, one of the sites captured during by the Kirke brothers' raid of Canada in 1628.

Thereafter La Tour traveled to Paris to discuss political leadership in Acadia. For his persistence, La Tour was awarded a patent by the French government allowing him to construct a fur trading post in Acadia, and while in France he visited La Rochelle, where he established ties with the merchant firm of Georges, Macain and Lomeron.<sup>5</sup> La

Tour then returned to New France and headed for the St. John River, in present day New Brunswick.

In 1630, provisions from his new suppliers arrived from La Rochelle for the building of a fort. In 1631, Charles de La Tour constructed a fort, named *Sainte-Marie*, along the St. John River to secure his claim to the trade in beaver pelts. In addition to his possessions here and on Cape Sable, La Tour was also awarded a seigneurie (a feudal estate system common in New France) along the Pentagoet River, where the English had established a trading post. In 1632, La Tour captured the post only to have it re-captured by the English, who retained possession for another three years.

In the summer of 1635, Razilly ordered his lieutenant, Charles D'Aulnay on an expedition to oust the English from the Pentagoet River, now Penobscot River. While D'Aulnay was successful, the Company of One Hundred Associates granted the area back to La Tour. In effect, by 1635 Acadia was divided into two parts: the Razilly's possessions of Sable Island, the Fort of Le Hève seigneurie, Port Royal seigneurie (property of Claude de Launay-Razilly), and Ste. Croix River seigneurie (property of Isaac Razilly) and La Tour's possessions of Fort St. Louis seigneurie on Cape Sable, Fort Ste. Marie seigneurie at the mouth of the St. John River and the Pentagoet River seigneurie.<sup>6</sup> Trudel remarks on this arrangement "If this system had the inconvenience of permitting less unity of action, it does not seem to have hindered the French enterprise in Acadia:



La Tour and Razilly worked by common consent under the immediate authority of Richelieu and the Hundred Associates."<sup>7</sup>

In late 1635, both Razilly and Champlain died leaving the future leadership of Acadia and New France in question. With the death of Razilly, Acadia was divided between the interests of Charles de La Tour, and Nicolas Denys and Charles D'Aulnay, acting on behalf of Isaac de Razilly. As Claude de Launay-Razilly was busy with business affairs in France, D'Aulnay was granted authority to handle the affairs of the Razilly-Cordonnier business. At the same time, the Company of New France reaffirmed La Tour as governor of Acadia.<sup>8</sup>

In 1637, D'Aulnay denied Nicolas Denys, while he was recruiting woodcutters to develop a timber industry, permission to return to Acadia. Denys was forced to abandon his plans and return to France. Denys was left without any Acadian possessions and only with the position of agent with the Company of New France in La Rochelle. Nicolas Denys would not return to France for another ten years.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the Razilly-La Tour relationship, D'Aulnay and La Tour struggled for full interest in the control of Acadia and its economic resources. M. A. MacDonald has eloquently described this dramatic conflict as the "Civil War in Acadia."<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the rest of the 1630s and early into the 1640s, D'Aulnay and La Tour struggled over the Company of

New France's interpretation of who was to be governor of Acadia. Both felt that the other encroached on their fur-trading areas. To secure his interests in Acadia, D'Aulnay took possession of the English post on the Penobscot River and built the Fort Pentagoet there in 1635. Establishing this fort as his headquarters, D'Aulnay was able to control the fur trade along the Penobscot and fishing in the Penobscot Bay.<sup>11</sup> He then moved the settlement located at Le Hève to Port Royal, establishing this location as his headquarters in 1636.<sup>12</sup>

The struggle between the two leading French figureheads of Acadia came to a head when La Tour, with the aid of Massachusetts' mercenaries, attacked D'Aulnay's stronghold at Port Royal. In 1645 while La Tour was in France trying to verify his political position in Acadia, Charles D'Aulnay retaliated by attacking and destroying La Tour's fort on the St. John, a raid that claimed the life of La Tour's wife. In destroying La Tour's fort, D'Aulnay had taken control over all of Acadia claiming himself as its governor.<sup>13</sup>

This lasted for only five years, however, for in 1650 D'Aulnay was drowned in a canoeing accident at Port Royal and La Tour was reinstated as Lieutenant Governor of Acadia. To secure further his hold on his Acadian interests, La Tour married Jeanne Motin, d'Aulnay's widow, who, albeit encumbered with d'Aulnay's debts at the time, was nevertheless the beneficiary of her late husband's power base.<sup>14</sup>

Though La Tour was again governor of Acadia, the infighting left the region unstable and vulnerable to attack.<sup>15</sup> In 1654, a fleet of ships from New England headed for Acadia to recapture the region and expel the French from the major fish and fur-trading posts of Port Royal and Pentagoet, among others. In 1667, the Treaty of Breda was signed between Charles II and Louis XIV, which effectively relinquished English control of Acadia to the French. In 1670, under the command of Grandfontaine, Fort Pentagoet was re-occupied, though for only a brief four years before the Dutch ultimately destroyed it in 1674.

Throughout the mid- to late seventeenth century, Acadia remained a sparsely populated area. At the founding of the fur-trading post *Sainte-Marie*, La Tour had approximately 20 men living with him. Razilly brought an additional 300 soldiers and artisans into Acadia when he established his headquarters at Le Hève. D'Aulnay also attempted to increase the Acadian population. In 1640, he enlisted 25 men and five women, and by 1643 D'Aulnay had attracted another 200 soldiers and artisans. While the Acadian population fluctuated, by the time Acadia reverted to English control and through the remainder of the century, the population hovered around an estimated 300 to 400 persons comprising maybe 50 families.<sup>16</sup>

In the early 1960's, Norman Barka, a graduate student at Harvard University, undertook the excavation of La Tour's

fort "Sainte-Marie."<sup>17</sup> Fort Sainte-Marie, commonly referred to as "Fort La Tour," comprised several wooden structures for living quarters and storehouses, each with cellars and all surrounded by a stockade or palisade, a design sharing gross similarities to Champlain's plan for Ste. Croix Island and his first habitation in Québec.<sup>18</sup>

Nearly all of the French ceramics identified from the fort were identified as Saintonge earthenwares, while only a few sherds were recognized as Norman stonewares. At least 28 differing vessels, from an assemblage of 588 ceramic sherds, many of which were either plain green-glazed or polychrome decorated, were identified as in the Saintonge-style.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, Barka has indicated that the "majority of pottery associated with Fort La Tour is a poor grade utility earthenware, glazed on one or both surfaces, and this usually in a sloppy manner."<sup>20</sup> He adds further that: "the pottery is of a soft buff-colored paste which contains tiny red stone particles" and "a translucent green glaze, often containing darker green speckles, covers the interior only of most vessels, but both surfaces of shallow bowl-like containers."<sup>21</sup> Thus, he argues, "glazing was done for strictly utilitarian purposes—to make vessels impermeable to water."<sup>22</sup> While he did not recognize these ceramics as coming from the Saintonge region, this description is typical for Saintonge wares.<sup>23</sup>

Five hundred and three sherds of low-quality Saintonge-style ceramics were excavated from the fort. Of these, there were 17 vessels identified as low-quality Saintonge earthenware. The most predominant ceramic vessel types in this category included tall, slender jugs and pitchers with flat bottoms and a squat form. The definition of "low-quality" in this instance likely refers to the lack of decoration on the exterior of the vessel and the coarseness of the vessel fabric. The next most common vessel form identified was cooking pots or "marmites" having rounded bases and convex sides that contracted near the flaring rim. Another low-quality vessel form was identified as a pipkin.<sup>24</sup> Characteristics of this form include most notably three legs and a hollowed handle, where a wooden dowel may have been inserted.

Barka also identified other Saintonge earthenwares having thin-walls and a stylized decoration of striped polychrome colors including purple, yellow, green and sometimes blue, on the outside of the vessel; the inside of the vessel were plain-glazed which when fired resulted in a bright yellow color. He classified these as finewares, or refined earthenwares, of which there were 85 sherds comprising at least 11 vessels.<sup>25</sup>

The finewares are composed of "bulbous and incurving pots with everted and rolled rims and strap handles; a probable bowl or porringer; an oval shallow bowl or cup [and] a pilgrim or costrel bottle" (Figure 4.1 and 4.2).



**Figure 4.1. Example of a Thin-walled, Strap-handled Bulbous Pot found at Place Royale, Québec and Similar to that of Fort La Tour.**

Other vessels included a complete cup and a ceramic vessel identified as a portion of a plate with a religious theme, a motif described by Barka as a "Madonna or saintly shrine" in the tradition of Palissy (Figure 4.3).<sup>26</sup>

Considering the religious nature of many of these early

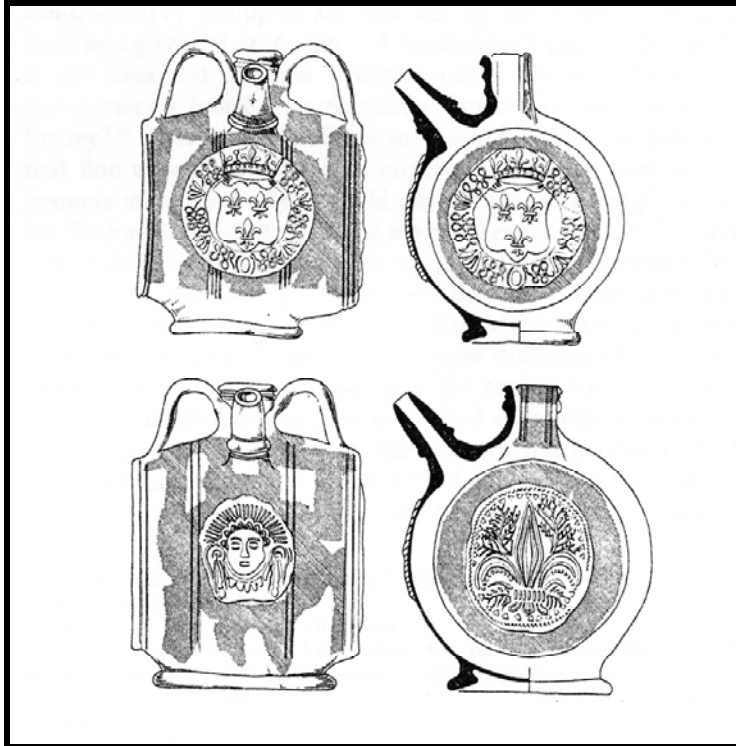


Figure 4.2. Illustration of Saintonge Wine Costrels.<sup>27</sup>

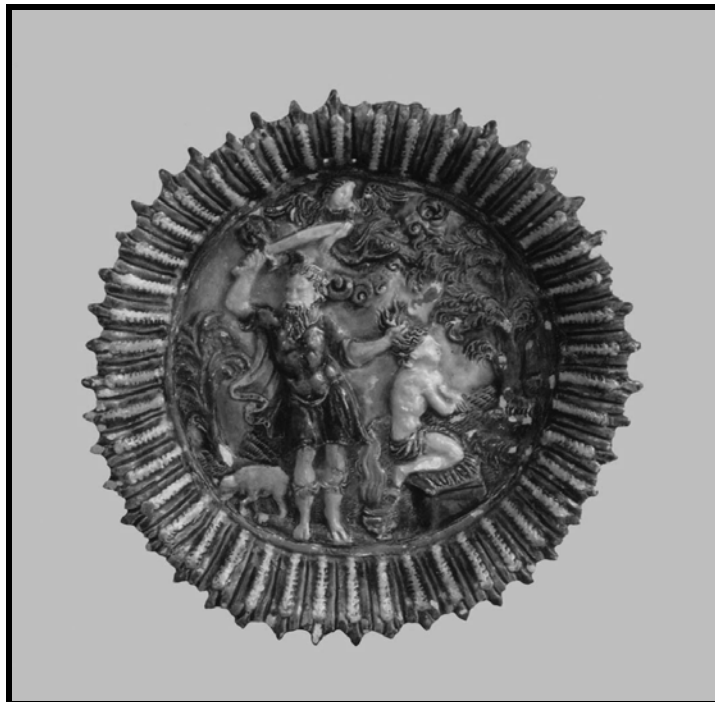


Figure 4.3. Example of a Palissy-style relief molded plate.<sup>28</sup>

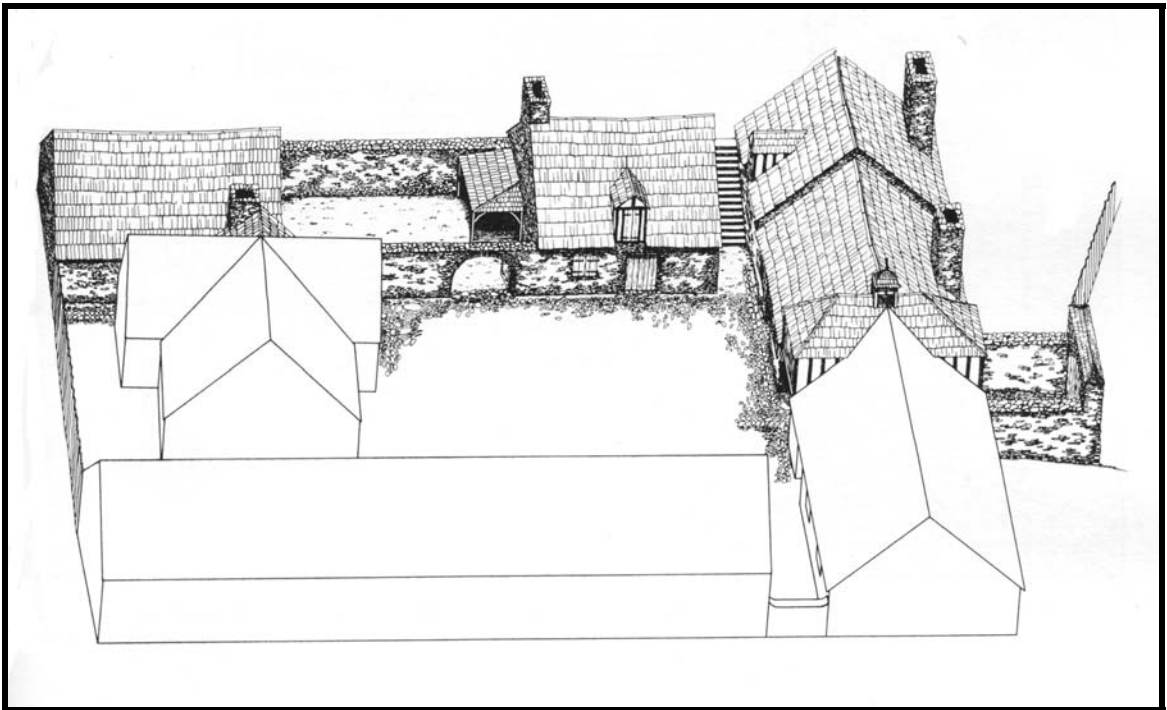
explorations, this plate may have served a Catholic priest as a baptismal font.

Similar in geographic location, time of occupation and ceramic assemblage to Fort La Tour is Fort Pentagoet. While oral tradition placed the location of Fort Pentagoet in the town of Castine, Maine, the location of the fort was not re-discovered until 1980, when a student in the historical archaeology program at the University of Maine discovered a section of the fort eroding from a shoreline bluff. Under the direction of Alaric Faulkner, professor of the historical archaeology program at the University of Maine, Fort Pentagoet was excavated from 1981 to 1984. In this excavation, nearly 50 percent of the fort was uncovered revealing "an impressive archaeological assemblage" and, because the fort was constructed out of stone, many archaeological features that would aid in the reconstruction of the fort's buildings and fortifications.<sup>29</sup>

The fort at Pentagoet consisted of D'Aulnay's residence, which was probably constructed of wood and placed on a stone foundation, workshop and officer's quarters, a magazine, guardhouse and chapel over the main gate. Defenses included a curtain wall of stone with four diamond-shaped bastions at each corner and a waterfront battery. These outworks were provided with cannons to protect the compound (Figure 4.4).<sup>30</sup>



In total, 12,221 artifacts were catalogued from the excavation of Fort Pentagoet, of which "ceramics made in southwestern France are especially common."<sup>31</sup> An estimated 2477, or 78 percent of the ceramic assemblage, was attributed to the seventeenth century, with "common buff-bodied earthenwares [comprising] the majority of the collection."<sup>32</sup> Unlike at Champlain's habitation, where the ceramics were classified based on vessel function, or at Fort La Tour, where the ceramics were ascribed to either coarse earthenware or finewares, Faulkner categorized the



**Figure 4.4. Archaeological Reconstruction of Fort Pentagoet, ca. 1650.**<sup>33</sup>

French ceramics, all buff-bodied coarse earthenwares in the Saintonge-style, based on the variation in the glaze, i.e. varying degrees of green glazing, orange-glazed, yellow-glazed or polychrome.<sup>34</sup>

Based on Faulkner's analysis, there are at least 37 ceramic vessels from Pentagoet that may be attributed to the Saintonge region; six of these are polychrome decorated, while the remaining 31 vessels had some form of green glazing.<sup>35</sup> Foregoing a comparison based solely on glazing, 31 vessels identified at Fort Pentagoet are roughly equivalent to the 17 coarse earthenwares from Fort La Tour, while six of the vessels from Fort Pentagoet equate to the 11 finewares from Fort La Tour (Table 4.1).<sup>36</sup> Thus, Pentagoet I has a very similar ceramic assemblage to that of Fort La Tour, which is not surprising considering merchants from La Rochelle supplied both Pentagoet and Fort La Tour.<sup>37</sup>

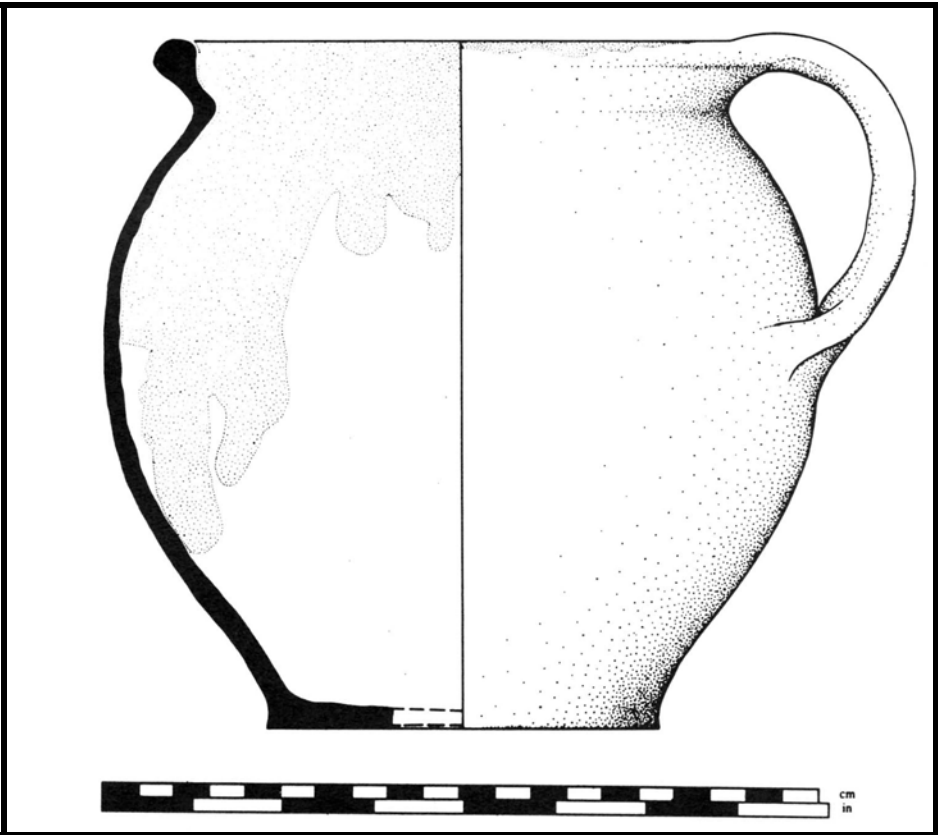
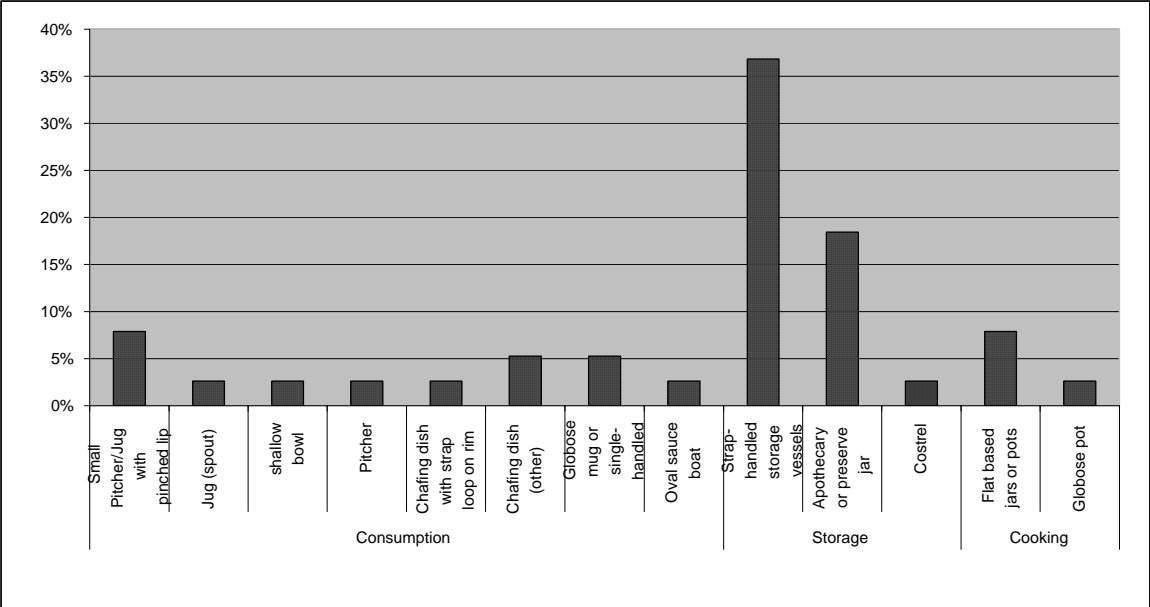
As at Fort La Tour, flat-bottomed, single or double strap-handled jugs are the most predominant ceramic vessel forms identified at Pentagoet I (Table 4.2, Figure 4.5). There were also identified flat-bottomed medicine jars, two small pitchers, and one spouted jug. Fine tableware items such as chafing dishes and barrel costrels were also

**Table 4.1. Comparison of the Fort Pentagoet and Fort La Tour Saintonge Earthenware Ceramic Assemblage Based on Minimum Vessel Counts.<sup>38</sup>**

Vessel Type	Vessel Count	
	Fort Pentagoet	Fort La Tour
<b>Glazed interior only</b>		
Strap-handled storage vessels	14	7
Pots with incised or rouletted banding	0	4
Pipken/skillet	0	1
Cup/small straight-sided jar	0	1
Small Pitcher/Jug with pinched lip	2	0
Jug (spout)	1	0
Flat based jars or pots	3	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Glazed interior and exterior</b>		
Apothecary or preserve jar	7	1
shallow bowl	1	0
Pitcher	1	0
Chafing dish with strap loop on rim	1	1
Globose pot	1	0
Unidentified form	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Polychrome</b>		
Globose mug or single-handled pots	2	2
Chafing dish	2	1
Oval sauce boat	1	1
Costrel	1	1
Tureen or poringer	0	1
Unidentified chevron embossed rim		
"Madonna" plate	0	1
Unidentified forms (handles, spouts)	0	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>28</b>

identified (Figure 4.6 and 4.7).<sup>39</sup> As Faulkner suggests, these items, especially those fine tablewares, were more important for maintaining or expressing the elite status of the commanders of the Fort.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 4.2. Comparison of Saintonge Earthenware Forms from Pentagoet I.**



**Figure 4.5. Strap-handled, Flat-bottomed Storage Pot Found Predominate in the Ceramic Assemblages of Pentagoet I and Fort La Tour.**<sup>41</sup>

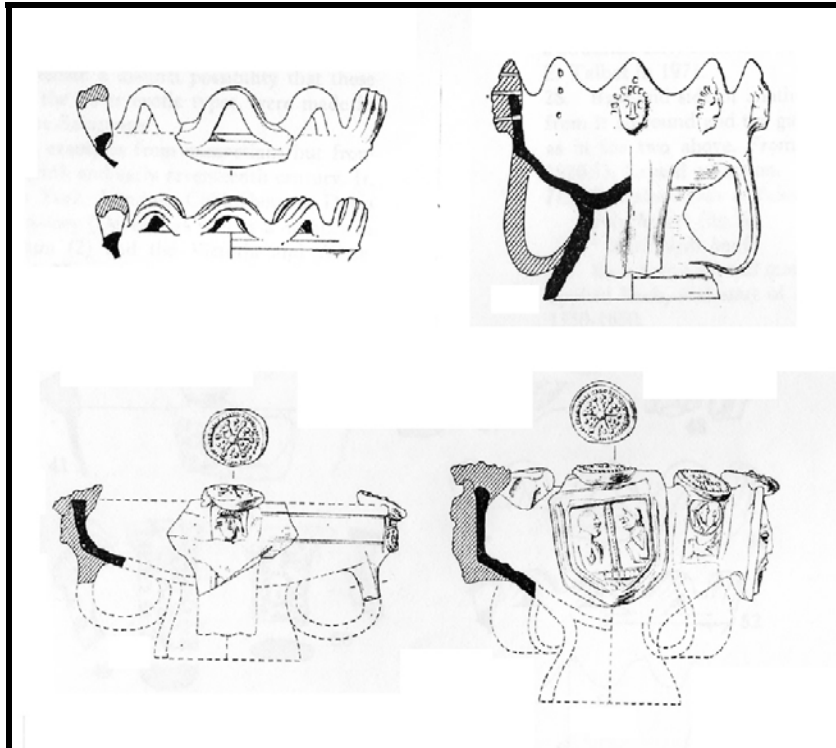


Figure 4.6. Various Types of Chafing Dishes Made Popular by Palissy; Examples of these Chafing Dishes were Found at Fort La Tour and Pentagoet.<sup>42</sup>

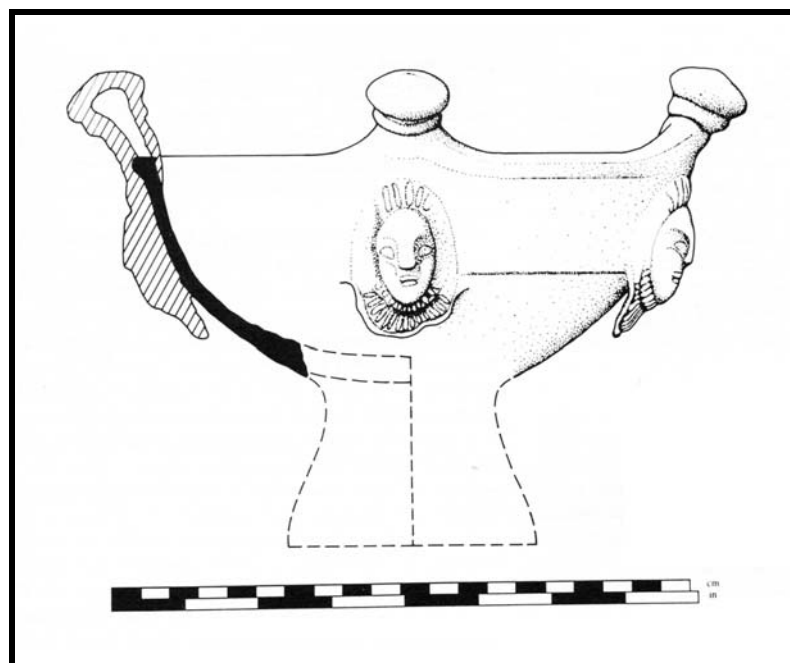
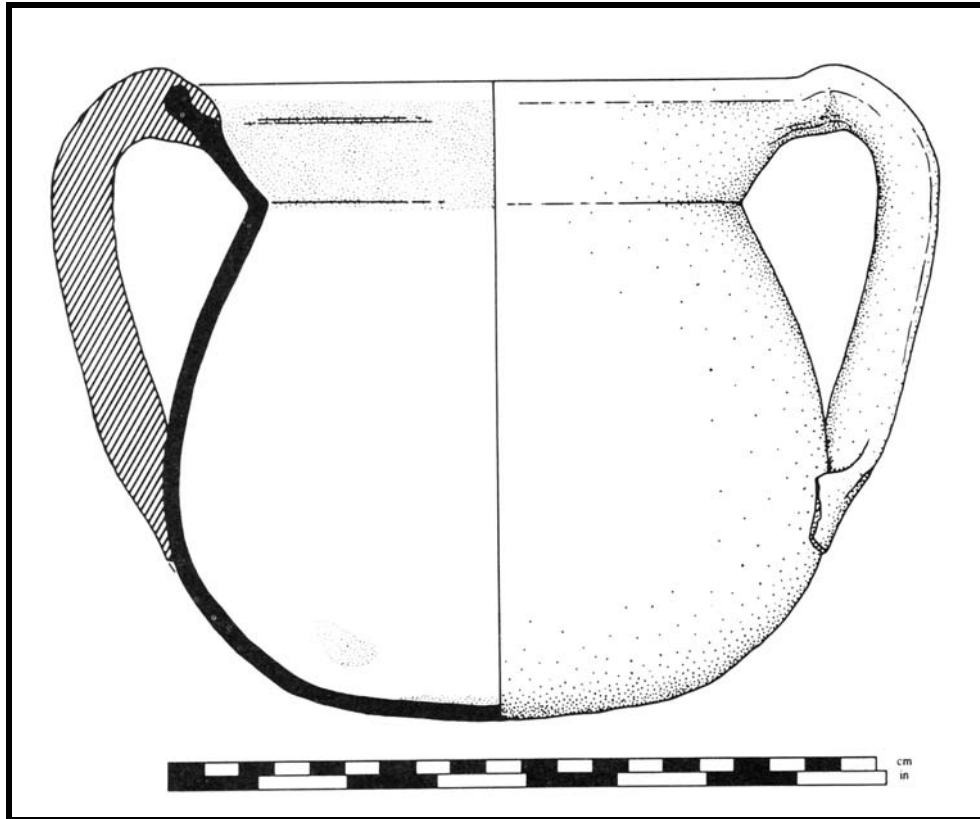


Figure 4.7. Example of Knobbed Polychrome Chafing Dish from Pentagoet I.<sup>43</sup>

Stanley South, working on eighteenth century frontier British colonial sites in South Carolina, reached a similar conclusion. In examining the ceramic assemblage from these sites, South identified an abundance of wares related to tea service compared to "heavywares" or storage vessels. He concluded that this related to the "strength of the tea ceremony in the culture."<sup>44</sup> Although heavywares are found in abundance compared to finewares at Fort Pentagoet, defining one's status on a military frontier site in Acadia was equally important as in British colonial sites as evidenced through the several examples of chafing dishes, sauceboats, and costrels found at this site and Fort La Tour.

The French ceramic assemblage from Pentagoet III differs from Pentagoet I and Fort La Tour in several aspects. As Faulkner suggests "the material culture of Pentagoet III exhibited little extravagance."<sup>45</sup> High-quality tablewares, decorated in polychrome glazes, including chafing dishes and costrels, disappeared from the assemblage. During the Pentagoet III period of occupation, however, a new ceramic form not previously witnessed at either of Fort La Tour or Pentagoet I appears at Fort Pentagoet III (Figure 4.8).<sup>46</sup> This new vessel, a round-



**Figure 4.8. Illustration of a Rounded-Bottom Marmite from Pentagoet III.**<sup>47</sup>

bottomed cooking pot or marmite, has been identified on sites dating from the eighteenth century in France and in New France, as well as depicted on a painting from Spain. Marmites have been excavated from the wreck of the *Machault*, a ship originating from Bordeaux that was sunk in 1760 by the British in the mouth of the Restigouche River, on the borders of Québec and New Brunswick.<sup>48</sup> This vessel form has also been identified at the fortress of Louisbourg, on Cap Breton Island. At this site, Kenneth Barton describes the marmite as having a buff to salmon pink body, similar to those vessels produced in the Saintonge.<sup>49</sup>

However, many of the Saintonge products have similar associations in Spain. This is not surprising considering the proximity of Saintonge and Spain and most likely close trade relations, particularly via the Basques. The attribution of this vessel form to Spain appears in a painting attributed to Velázquez, a seventeenth century Spanish painter. In this painting, the marmite is shown being used on a stovetop, where its rounded bottom fits into the burner opening.<sup>50</sup>

Fort La Tour, Pentagoet I and Pentagoet III sites share some similarities with Ste. Croix in that they have a large percentage of storage vessels, and the more mundane tablewares such as terrines, plates and soup bowls are conspicuously absent, or found only in a very small quantity. The reason for the lack of mundane tablewares at Fort La Tour and Pentagoet is not clear considering these items appear in archaeological sites dating from the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century.<sup>51</sup> However, these tablewares may have been substituted with wooden trenchers and pewter platters. The significantly larger percentage of storage vessels compared to tablewares is a common trait shared on all frontier sites in New France unlike established settlements.

Another disparity between Fort La Tour and Pentagoet and earlier seventeenth century French sites is that the ceramic assemblages of Fort La Tour and Pentagoet are comprised almost exclusively of Saintonge earthenwares. The



almost exclusive reliance on Saintonge wares, and disappearance of Norman wares as the seventeenth century progressed may be attributed to several factors. As Fort La Tour and Pentagoet were being constructed, La Rochelle, the largest and closest port to Saintonge, was being converted to the main port within France.<sup>52</sup> La Rochelle was endowed with a naturally large harbor, which could receive larger cargo ships. The growth of this port would have attracted a large merchant class. Although trading had been a lower class occupation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, merchants had grown significantly in social status and influence with French government. With the greater reliance on merchants in La Rochelle for supply came Saintonge wares. The versatility of Saintonge wares far exceeded that of Norman storage pots, thereby providing the inhabitants of New France with items they were likely accustomed to using in France and items needed for survival in the New World.

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<sup>1</sup> John G. Reid, "Political Definitions: Creating Maine and Acadia," In *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, University of Nebraska Press, (Lincoln, 1994), edited by Emerson W. Baker, Edwin A. Churchill, Richard S. D'Abate, Kristine L. Jones, Victor A. Conrad, and Harold E. L. Prins, pp. 173-190.

<sup>2</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> René Baudry, "Charles d'Aulnay et la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1957), p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 193-194.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. MacDonald, *Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia*, Nimbus Publishing, (Halifax, 2000), p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 197.

- <sup>9</sup> Bernard Pothier, "Nicolas Denys: The Chronology and Historiography of an Acadian Hero," *Acadiensis*, vol. I, no. 1, (1971), p. 68; Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 197.
- <sup>10</sup> M. A. MacDonald, *Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia*.
- <sup>11</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen F. Faulkner, "Fort Pentagoet and Castin's Habitation: French Ventures in Acadian Maine," In *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, University of Nebraska Press, (Lincoln, 1994), p.219.
- <sup>12</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 197.
- <sup>13</sup> Geneviève Massignon "La Seigneurie de Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, gouverneur de l'Acadie, 1635-1650," *Revue d'Histoire de L'Amérique Française*, p. 479
- <sup>14</sup> D'Aulnay was deeply in debt, to the point of owing roughly 260,000 livres by the time of his death, to Immanuel Le Borgne, a merchant from La Rochelle; J. F. Bosher, "The Lyon and Bordeaux Connections of Emmanuel Le Borgne (c. 1605 - 1681)," *Acadiensis*, vol. XXIII, no. 1 (1993), p. 130.
- <sup>15</sup> John G. Reid, "Styles of Colonisation and Social Disorders in Early Acadia and Maine: A Comparative Approach," *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne*, vol. VII, no. 3, (1976), pp. 105-117.
- <sup>20</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 104, Figure 4.46.
- <sup>16</sup> Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, p. 207.
- <sup>17</sup> Norman Barka, "Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c.1850 A.D." Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1965.
- <sup>18</sup> M. A. MacDonald, *Fortune and La Tour: The Civil War in Acadia*, p.39
- <sup>19</sup> Norman Barka. "Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c.1850 A.D.," pp. 363-370.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 363.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 364.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Barka actually attempts to compare Fort La Tour and Jamestown ceramic assemblages and suggests that the two assemblages do not resemble one another; thus, he suggests, the Fort La Tour ceramics are not English in origin. He further suggests that since the stonewares appear to be Walloon in origin [actually from Normandy], therefore, the earthenwares may come from the same region, possibly from "Bouffloux, Chatelet, or Pont-de-Loup." However, Barka does recognize, to a limited degree, the relationship between the polychrome wares and Bernard Palissy. Barka, p. 364.
- <sup>24</sup> Norman Barka, "Historic Sites Archaeology at Portland Point, New Brunswick, Canada, 1631-c.1850 A.D.," p. 364.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 364-366.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> from John G. Hurst, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Imported Pottery from the Saintonge," p. 249.
- <sup>28</sup> John G. Hurst, David S. Neal, and H. J. E. van Beuningen. *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe: 1350-1650*, Rotterdam Papers VI, A contribution to medieval archaeology, Gepubliceerd door, Rotterdam, 1986, p. 87.
- <sup>29</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 4.
- <sup>30</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen F. Faulkner, "Fort Pentagoet and Castin's Habitation: French Ventures in Acadian Maine," pp. 220-221.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 7.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 183.
- <sup>33</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, Figure 4.47 (p. 105).
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 184, Table 7.1.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 306, Table F.1; excluded from this count were 19 yellow glazed earthenwares and one orange-glazed earthenware that do not appear to be Saintonge in origin.

<sup>36</sup> There appears to be a small discrepancy between Barka's and Faulkner's counts of Fort La Tour ceramics. Barka counted 17 coarsewares and 11 finewares, while Faulkner counted 16 coarsewares and 12 finewares from La Tour.

<sup>37</sup> D'Aulnay's merchant in La Rochelle was Emmanuel Le Borgne, to whom D'Aulnay became quite indebted. Le Borgne was in competition with the de La Tour merchants but overcame this by arranging a marriage between his son and the daughter of Charles de La Tour; J. F. Boshier, "The Lyon and Bordeaux Connections of Émmanuel Le Borgne (c. 1605 - 1681)." *Acadiensis*, vol. XXIII, no. 1, (1993), pp. 128-145.

<sup>38</sup> This is a modified table based on the one found in Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 306, Table F.1.

<sup>39</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 214.

<sup>40</sup> Alaric Faulkner, "Gentility on the Frontiers of Acadia, 1635 - 1674: An Archaeological Perspective," In *New England/New France, 1600 - 1850*, edited by Peter Benes, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1989, Boston University Press, (Boston, 1992), pp. 82-100.

<sup>41</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 188.

<sup>42</sup> From John G. Hurst, "Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Imported Pottery from the Saintonge"

<sup>43</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 197.

<sup>44</sup> Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, Academic Press, (New York, 1977), p. 149.

<sup>45</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen F. Faulkner, "Fort Pentagoet and Castin's Habitation: French Ventures in Acadian Maine," p. 230.

<sup>46</sup> Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier*, p. 214.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>48</sup> Kenneth J. Barton, "The Western European Course Earthenwares from the Wreck of the Machault," In *Canadian Historic Sites/ Lieux historiques canadiens*, edited by Jean Brathwaite, Parks Canada, (Ottawa, 1977), pp. 56-57.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century. Volume 1, The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, Revised by Siân Reynolds, Harper & Row, (New York, 1979), p. 231.

<sup>51</sup> See for example Marcel Mousette, *Les terres cuites communes des maisons Estèbe et Boisseau*, Les Recherches Arkhis, Inc., (Québec, 1996) and Kenneth James Barton, Coarse earthenwares from the Fortress of Louisbourg, *History and Archaeology* 55, Parks Canada, (Ottawa, 1981).

<sup>52</sup> John G. Clark, *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy during the Eighteenth Century*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, (Baltimore, 1981), pp. 1-24.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

In this study, Saintonge wares have been compared with those from the Normandy region from four archaeological sites located in New France. Both Normandy and Saintonge have long ceramic production histories, which are technologically and morphologically distinct from each other. However, a great measure of their morphological variability, reflected in vessel form, is governed by their traditional use. Normandy stonewares were used mainly for storage and transportation of foodstuffs, including butter, cider, and meat. They are, therefore, typically found as large jugs or pots. Other Normandy vessel forms exist as well in the archaeological record including small apothecary or conserve jars, chamber pots, and costrels for the storage of liquors and wine. Saintonge earthenwares, on the other hand, are highly variable. These wares were produced in almost every conceivable form from cooking and storage pots to chafing dishes, plates of various sizes, bowls, and drinking cups.

The ceramic collection from the archaeological site of Ste. Croix is composed nearly entirely of Normandy stoneware storage vessels. Absent from the assemblage are ceramic flatwares, soup bowls and other tablewares; these tablewares were likely produced from wooden objects, which typically did not survive in the archaeological record. The large

percentage of ceramics coming from Normandy is not surprising considering that this is the origin of the fur-trading enterprise as they headed for New France. The large assemblage of storage vessels and lack of ceramic tablewares indicate a short-term occupation in which food items were brought from Normandy with the anticipation of back-up supplies.

At Champlain's Habitation in present-day Quebec City, Québec, Samuel de Champlain sought to make a permanent settlement along a major fur trading route: the St. Lawrence River. The stated goal of this venture and similar outposts in New France was to supply the motherland with raw materials, e.g., fur, timber, and fish, and in return purchase raw materials. The ceramic assemblage from Champlain's Habitation reflects a settlement where people existed as much as they did, although to a much more limited degree, in France. Although Normandy stoneware storage vessels were brought into this early colony, the greater percentage of wares came from the Saintonge region. While Saintonge storage vessels were also found in conjunction with Normandy storage vessels, ceramic wares associated with an established settlement begin to appear. These items, produced in Saintonge, include vessels associated with cooking, food preparation, and food service such as bowls or terrines from which stews were eaten.

The excavation of Place Royale, the occupation after Champlain's Habitation, revealed that as the settlement

expanded the quantity and variability of Saintonge earthenwares increased so that by mid-century it is the dominant ceramic ware found. Additionally, the predominance of storage vessels decreased as vessels associated with food preparation and consumption became more common.

Particularly prevalent was the *tourtière*, or pie dish, used for creating many varied meat pies. Also identified in the excavations was a larger quantity of plates and saucers in many varied sizes.

The two major excavated French frontier posts in Acadia, Fort La Tour and Pentagoet, exhibit traits similar to Place Royale, i.e., a superabundance of Saintonge wares was uncovered. That the Fort Pentagoet and La Tour sites had a predominance of Saintonge wares is no accident. Both sites were supplied directly by merchants from La Rochelle, the largest shipping port adjacent to the Saintonge region. Fort La Tour and Pentagoet are similar to Ste. Croix and Champlain's Habitation in that all four trading posts relied on goods supplied to them directly from France. As such, there is a predominance of storage vessels, which typifies frontier sites in New France. However, unlike Ste. Croix or Champlain's Habitation, at both Fort La Tour and Pentagoet, the presentation of fine quality tablewares was a reflection of the elite status of the officers at these outposts as highly decorated polychrome wares graced their tables.

These French ceramics from these four archaeological sites taken as a whole suggest that the early French

settlers, explorers, and fur-traders were attempting to recreate their French style of life in this new frontier to the best degree possible. However, the seventeenth century French colonists in New France were directly dependent upon France for re-supply, as evidenced by the abundance of storage vessels identified in the archaeological record. Further, the predominance of Saintonge ceramic vessels found at these seventeenth century sites suggests the versatility of these wares far exceeded that of Normandy storage pots, thereby providing the inhabitants of New France with items they were likely accustomed to using in France and needed to survive in New France.

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Upon completion of his graduate coursework, he began working for URS Corporation, Inc., an international environmental engineering firm, to continue his career in Cultural Resource Management as an archaeologist. He is a member of various professional archaeological associations, including the Society for Historical Archaeology, the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, and the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology. Kevin Mock is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in History from The University of Maine in May 2006.