CERAMICS AS INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC VARIATION IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines economic variability at five historic archaeological sites in the Red River region. The historic literature indicates that the economic variation that existed between the members of the Red River community was a significant part of the social organization.

The ceramic artifact assemblages from five Red River archaeological sites, Upper Fort Garry, Lower Fort Garry, Riel House, Delorme House and the Garden site are analyzed in order to assess the visibility of economic variation in the archaeological record. Using two different analytical techniques introduced by Miller (1980) and by Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) the Upper Fort Garry ceramic assemblage is compared at an intersite and intrasite level.

It was found that economic variation is discernable at historic archaeological sites through the comparison of ceramic artifact assemblages.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In order to facilitate an examination of economic variablity as it is represented historically and archaeologically, the ceramic assemblages from four sites from the Red River area are compared in this thesis to that of Upper Fort Garry (Fig. 1).

This thesis examines one aspect of socioeconomic status, a concept which has not been adequately defined. Economic variability, which is one element of the socioeconomic concept is both easily defined and more readily assessed in the archaeological record. Statements relating archaeological data to social organization are examined in this thesis by separating the concepts of economic and social variability. This allows for the relationship between the two to be clarified thereby contributing to the advancement of middle range theory (Raab and Goodyear 1984). Therefore one aspect of socioeconomic status, economic variability, is examined at historic archaeological sites to facilitate the clarification of the socioeconomic debate as well as to demonstrate how historical archaeology can clarify general methodological problems.

Studies done that address the issue of "socioeconomic status" as it is reflected archaeologically have used faunal and ceramic remains to detect variability.

Analyses done by Otto (1980), Baker (1978) and King (1974) illustrate that patterns found in the ceramic artifact record can be linked to cultural behaviours. These studies do not however clearly distinguish between the social and economic elements of these behaviours. Baker (1978), for example attributes the ceramic pattern found at Black Lucy's Garden to that of an impoverished Afro American. Baker has combined the ethnic and economic aspects thereby making one indistinguishable from the other. It would be useful to determine which one of these elements was responsible for the ceramic artifact pattern.

In order that ceramics be indicators of economic variability, it is necessary that they be visible and comparable in both the historic and archaeological records. As cultural remains, ceramics are durable, demonstrate a relatively high degree of variability and are adequately represented at Red River. Detailed historical information is available at the Hudson's Bay Archives regarding the cost of the ceramics. Using Miller's (1980) technique of indexing ceramic prices, in conjunction with Kenyon and Kenyon's (1986) technique of comparing quantities of vessel forms and the percentage of expensive waretypes, both intersite and intrasite ceramic assemblages, can be compared in terms of their relative cost.

The Red River region lends itself well to analysis of economic variability using ceramic artifacts since it has a

well documented social history and the Hudson's Bay Archives provides a source of information regarding ceramic prices. As well, the inhabitants were dependent on a single supplier of ceramics. The historic literature indicates that there was differential access to wealth at Red River. According to the historic record, employment within the Hudson's Bay Company or outside the Company is significant in terms of position in society. The literature however, does not necessarily indicate what factors were important in locating an individual within the social hierarchy. The historic literature indicates that differential opportunity existed where restrictions based on ethnic affiliation were imposed on those attempting to attain employment related to higher levels of income. Biases concerning assigned subjective status must be understood since much of the literature was written by one segment of Red River society.

This thesis then, will apply Miller's (1980) and Kenyon and Kenyon's (1986) techniques of economic analysis to the Red River assemblages in an effort to maximize the information derived from the ceramic data and to attain a level of reliability. These analyses will relate static archaeological observations to the dynamic past cultural systems that produced the archaeological record and will demonstrate how historical archaeology can clarify methodological and conceptual problems in archaeology.

Chapter two of this thesis provides a look at the

history and development of the Red River settlement. It will be through this review that the social and economic organization of the community as it existed from 1830-1850 can be fully understood. A discussion on how ceramics can be used as economic indicators is located in Chapter three. Considering the historic record and the archaeological remains of the Red River region, an appropriate means of classifying the ceramic remains is outlined in this chapter. A brief ethno-history of each of the five sites is presented in chapter four. Chapter five contains a summary of the Upper Fort Garry ceramic remains. The economic analysis of the ceramic artifacts is found in chapter six and the interpretation of the analysis is located in chapter seven. The conclusions are contained in chapter seven.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The social history of the Red River settlement must be analyzed in a diachronic manner. Although many descriptions of the social structure are synchronic, it is the product of many processes, and the resulting structure continues to change. If the archaeological data holds indicators of the relative social position of those who deposited the remains, it is important to view the social structure as a whole so that the relationship of the various parts or social levels can be analyzed.

Unfortunately, historical documents rarely explicitly discuss issues of social structure or status thereby requiring archaeologists and historians to interpret these aspects from the literature. Status or social postion is defined as the relative position held by an individual or group withing a recognized social organization (Porter 1965;9). Adams and Lunn (1983) suggest that the "social organization include all aspects of the society that are a result of its internal organization designed to protect its survival". Indeed, the hierarchical structure of the HBC was an important means of managing their extensive labour force. As the Red River expanded in population size and economic diversity and the HBC's monopoly declined, so too did the companies influence. The rise of an agricultural

community not directly controlled by the HBC established the foundations for a social organization quite distinct from the binary HBC hierarchy. While the Red River colony developed apart from the HBC, the Company's influence and the colony's British Victorian ties, while continually changing, are clearly discernable in the social organization of the settlement.

Historic literature exists regarding sites, such as those found in the Red River region. It is through historic records that socially distinct groups based on a combination of economic standing and ethnicity, are shown to have been an integral part of the social organization of the Red River settlement. It must be remembered, however, that much of the historical literature which survives regarding the fur trade, the Red River Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), was written by those in the higher echelons of the HBC (ie. Ross 1957, HBC Journals, Hargarave Correspondence). The majority of Red River authors were of British background, ie. Alexander Ross, Letitia Hargrave, George Simpson, and were, to varying dgrees influenced by the "Age of Enlightenment" that existed in Britain in the early 1800's. Racial stereotypes were a part of this world view and it was widely held that all races developed through stages of "savagery" and "barbarism" to reach the level of civilization epitomized by Victorian England (Friesen 1984;94). It was assumed by

the British then, that all people, including the inhabitants of Red River wished to aspire to a European way of life. On the basis of this philosophy it was evident that the Metis and Indians were inferior since these races had not achieved the British level of "civilization".

The History of the Red River Settlement

During the eighteenth century the NWC and the HBC were involved in expanding their fur trade explorations into the interior of Western Canada (Jackson 1970;20). As the HBC moved away from Hudson's Bay, the Red River became a strategic location. Along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was an area from which a valuable source of meat was extracted. The junction of the two rivers was also the principal east-west route of the NWC (Rich 1970;25). It was therefore not by chance that the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was chosen as a settlement.

> As early as the year 1811, in the progress of his colonizing system, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company a large tract of land comprised within the limits of its charter, for the purpose of planting a colony there (Ross 1957;8).

Ross (1957;19) expresses the opinion that the Earl of Selkirk wished to civilize and evangelize the native people of the Northwest. However, Selkirk's prime motivating force for establishing a new settlement was probably found in

England, Ireland and Scotland where the Industrial Revolution was causing a dramatic increase in the numbers of unemployed and poverty-stricken peoples (Prichett 1970;20). Emigration appeared to be a viable method of dealing with a critical situation.

After evaluating the Red River country's potential for supporting a colony, Selkirk wrote later in 1819 that,

> The Red River country was selected, as a place where the natural resources of provisions were abundant, and where at the same time beaver and other valuable fur bearing animals had been so much exhausted, that the district was of little consequence for the fur trade (Kaye 1986;13).

The exact location of the colony was determined by Miles Macdonell and the first settlers arrived at Red River in 1812. A site was chosen just a mile below the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, "The Forks", but settlers planned to spend their first winter at Pembina, about sixty miles south of the Forks.

These first settlers were Scottish and during the next few years they suffered innumerable hardships. The first settlers arrived at Red River too late in the summer to plant crops and they were therefore forced to winter at Pembina, a Metis settlement to the south of the Forks. Here, with the help of the Indians of the country they learned to hunt buffalo in order not to starve.

The first attempts at farming at the forks were

disappointing. The crops were insufficient to feed the settlers and it was necessary to return to Pembina for the winter. Their agricultural labours were hampered by locusts and flocks of migratory birds which feed off the grain before it could be harvested (Ross 1957;56).

The Metis who worked for the NWC felt that their livelihood was being threatened by the settlers and resorted to violence to discourage the Scots from remaining. Macdonell delt the NWC a serious blow in 1814 when he prohibited the export of provisions from Red River because food for the settlers was in short supply (Prichett 1970;117). The NWC depended on the Red River country for most of the provisions for its traders to the west and north. The embargo prompted open hostility with the NWC encouraging the Metis to destroy the settlers crops, stealing animals and farm implements and burning houses (Friesen 1984;75). The arrival of more settlers in 1815 and a bountiful crop, served to quell the crisis temporarily.

The death of twenty-two people at Seven Oaks in 1816 was the culmination of the conflict between the Metis and the settlers at Red River. Under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant, the Metis attempted to take provisions from the Forks to Portage la Prairie. Governor Semple tried to assert his authority and, with twenty Scotsmen he tried to stop the mission.

The significance of the event lay

> in its impact on the Metis and the Fur trade, not in the ultimate fact of the colony itself. The colonists would eventually accept that the events of Seven Oaks were the result of an accident; in this understanding lay the later reconciliation of Metis and colonists, of Grant and the scotsmen, and thus the peaceful coexistence of these communities in the following half-century (Friesen 1984;79).

The population of Red River in 1821 totaled four hundred plus the Indian. Half of the four hundred were Scots, one-third were French Canadian and the remainder were German and Swiss (Friesen 1984;89). Although the latter left the area, the population increased in the mid to late 1820's with the arrival of more Metis. Cuthbert Grant encouraged some Metis to move from Pembina and establish themselves twenty miles west of the Forks at St. Francois Xavier on the Assiniboine River (Friesen 1984;90).

The Metis

In 1821 the Red River community was still being torn between the sedentary nature of agriculture and the seasonal migrations of the bison hunt. It was primarily the Metis who were involved in the semi-annual bison hunt. Not only did this activity serve to provision themselves and the HBC employees it also was a means through which the Metis maintained a unified sense of identity.

> The occupation of the hunt had not only kept alive the corporate sense of

> the Metis, their belief in themselves as a 'new nation'; it had also, as it developed, given them character as a people, and a kind of government, and a very definite discipline (Morton 1967;78).

The historic literature regarding the Metis typically encorporates fact, accompanied by interpretations. While the facts may be historically correct, the iterpretations may present a bias. Most authors, ie. Morton (1967), Ross (1957) maintained that farming and sedentism were a civilized way of life while hunting was "savage" or "barbaric". This was a reflection of the concept widely held during this time, that societies evolved through stages. As Howard points out however, certain aspects of the "savage" lifestyle were ignored by the Europeans,

> Meanwhile the Anglo-Saxon farmers watched primly, deplored "casting off the habits of industry to go to the prairies," blind to the fact that in the week of preparation for this mass movement and two months on the Plains the Metis did more work than the farmers did in a year, and braved more hardship than the farmers did in a lifetime (Howard in Driben 1986;70).

Typically a combination of distinuishing characteristics such as ancestry, language, religion, style of dress and particular historical traditions which constitute an ethnic identity from an etic stand point (Sprenger 1972;17). The nineteenth century Metis were of Indian-French Canadian descent, were affiliated with the

Roman-Catholic Church, were French speaking and they chose to wear a traditional style of dress (McLeod 1983). It was these cultural traits which identified them as being Metis.

Although the fur trade was the basis of the nineteenth century economy at Red River, the bison hunt was an important secondary and complementary activity. The Hudson's Bay Company was dependent on the dried bison meat and pemmican that the Metis and Indians produced. Pemmican was the major staple for fur trade and it also provided a supplement to the agricultural produce. In the years that the first settlers were establishing the colony, 1812-1814, it was the hunt that prevented them from starving (Friesen 1984;74). The first bountiful harvest was in 1815 and after this point when the hunt failed, the farmers would often have a surplus available for the hunters (Morton 1967).

Some of the Metis settled on river lots and became successful farmers. Agriculture however, was difficult at Red River in the nineteenth century. The cooler climate, insufficient percipitation and a cereal crop not hardy enough for the climate made agriculture a difficult livelihood (McLeod 1983;55). Another factor which restriced agricultural growth was the lack of a market. The HBC was the sole purchaser of surplus produce. Many Metis farmers therefore, produced only what they themselves could use and encorporated the early summer and late fall hunts into their seasonal agricultural activities (Morton 1957).

The semi-annual hunt developed into an organized hunting system that occupied increasing numbers of people until 1868 when the last such hunt was undertaken in the Red River region (Kotecki 1983 in McLeod 1983;53). The importance of the hunt was recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company. The hunt not only supplied valuable meat but the Metis equipped themselves for the hunt on credit with the Hudson's Bay Company causing them to be continually indebt to the Company (McLeod 1983;53). It was the Company which persuaded the Metis at Pembina to relocate down the Red River after the international boundary set in 1818-1819 located them in American territory. The HBC did not want to lose their contribution to the Company's economy (Morton 1967).

As wage labourers employed by the Company for specific periods of time, the Metis assisted in boat runs, cart brigades or spring packing (Friesen 1984;92). These people performed an important and often dangerous job for the HBC. Transporting goods from York Factory to Fort Garry required incredible strength, stamina, and knowledge of the riverways to be navigated. The trip to Fort Garry required speed and agility in order that the goods arrive before winter and that they arrived at the Fort in good order.

Freighting, along with small trade, provided additional economic opportunity for those who could afford oxen and carts. The small traders were usually Metis who

were outfitted with trade goods by prosperous members of the Red River Settlement to cater to Metis hunters and Indians on the Plains (McLeod 1983;54).

For the most part, a variety of occupations enabled the Metis to achieve an adequate standard of living. By the 1830's the image of a Metis as a nomadic hunter was no longer appropriate. The Metis were typically seasonal migrants, who were involved in farming and supplemented their income through participation in the bison hunt, through trade or as tripmen or boatmen for the HBC.

The Country-born

The HBC maintained a practice of hiring English or Scots as officers and clerks and Orkneymen as tradsmen or labourers during the early years on the Bay (Judd 1980;305). Although the Company made every attempt to dissuade its men from establishing liasons with the native women of the country, the isolated conditions and the virtual absence of European women, made it inevitable that alliances would occur. Before the mid nineteenth century, marriage "a la facon du pays" was for the most part accepted in fur trade society (Van Kirk 1976;59). This new group of people, who were the offspring of Native women and English-speaking HBC employees are referred to by some as the Country born (Foster 1976).

In the eighteenth century Country-born children of the

HBC, particularily the girls, were usually absorbed into the mother's band. By 1790 the Hudson's Bay Company fathers began to play a more dominant role in their mixed-blood families by attempting to reinforce their British heritage. The increased interest in the Country-born was due in part, to the shortage of skilled labour available to the Company as a result of wars in Europe and competition with other traders (Praeger 1983;388). This paternal influence played a large part in the aspirations of the Country-born to be assimilated into the British fur trade way of life (Brown 1980). Integration of the mixed-blood children was undertaken by employing the boys in the Company while the girls were married to incoming traders or at least to another mixed-blood (Van Kirk 1985;80).

While the Metis were able to establish a strong sense of their place in the West, the Country-born, with their British/Indian ancestry were unable to propose a unified identity. The Metis had an ethnic identity which accepted their dual racial heritage. The Country-born, in their aspiration to become British, had to deny their Indian ancestry (Van Kirk 1985;80). Alexander Ross' British-Indian family appears to have been quite successfully acculturated. Ross' Scot's-Presbyterian influence completely overshadowed his native wife's attempts to imbue Indian attributes onto their twelve children (Van Kirk 1983;126). The four boys received the best education Red

River could offer. Four of the six daughters who reached adulthood married white men which in Ross' opinion was practically the only way to attain complete assimilation (Van Kirk 1983;127).

The Company betrayed the aspirations of the Country-born. Because of increasing racial prejudice and the limits on upward mobility within the ranks of the Company, by the early 1800's, the mixed-blood sons were no longer able to advance to an officers position in the Company (Brown 1980;205). The long standing tradition of upward mobility within the ranks of the HBC became increasingly fictive. After 1821 those men who entered the ranks as labourers could not expect to rise much above this position (Judd 1980;313). In 1821 the influence of the NWC, which maintained closed social classes based on familial ties, served to strengthen the restricted movement through the HBC's's ranks (Brown 1980;205).

> ...for the Country-born and the relatively uneducated Orcadians, the increasingly formalized stratification and lack of mobility within the H.B.C. hierarchy greatly limited the social role they could play in the latter three quarters of the 19th century (Hamilton 221;1985).

The changing attitudes of the Company, plus the arrival of European women in the 1820's and 1830's were significant factors in the intensification of the racist attitudes that began to be evident in the Red River

community (Livermore 1976;160). Where as the mixed-blood wives were once respected members of society, the arrival of white women challenged their acceptability as members of the fur trade elite (Livermore 1976;160).

Many of the European women were poorly suited to life in a fur trade community during the 1830's and 1840's. It was these women however, who were considered desirable as wives by those in the upper ranks of the HBC.

> ...the social status of Country-born and native women was seriously eroded. Local women had often formerly enjoyed prestigious positions in the fur trade hierarchy; now many chief factors were beginning to look elsewhere for wives. The position of all native and mixed-blood women in Rupert's Land seemed threatened, giving rise to social tension and frustration (Livermore 1976;170).

Governor George Simpson tried to exclude them from the elite of the fur trade. Simpson himself, "sent shock waves through fur trade society by abandoning his 'country wife' Margaret Taylor, and returning to Rupert's Land with his young cousin Frances as his bride" (Van Kirk 1986;5). His success was limited however, "partly because the early European wives failed to adapt to life in Red River, and a significant number of young officers continued to take highly acculturated mixed-bloods as wives (Van Kirk 1985;81).

The arrival of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy in

1818-1820 "firm in their conviction the 'civilization must go hand in hand with Christianity', they preached what they assumed were the virtues of nineteenth centry England as fervently as the Gospel" resulted in many Country-born or Indian wives being abandonned or put under the protection or married to another fur trader (Pannekoek 1985;103).

Because Country-born males were educated and closely connected to the image of a master of a trading post, a position that they themselves could not attain, these people were forced to find a niche outside of the Company. Although many farmed at Red River they did not share the attatchment to the land that the Scots maintained. "Several tried merchandizing but few enjoyed success as businessmen in the social network of kith and kin that was Red River" (Foster 1976;77). The Country-born trader who did succeed, eg. James Sinclair, were instrumental in generating the "Free Trade Movement" in the 1840's along with the Metis who were involved in trade (Foster 1976;78).

During the 1830's the population of the settlers grew very slowly. Between 1827 and 1830 the colony and the Scots were able to not only persevere, but begin to build a promising and thriving settlement (Ross 1957;110). The disastrous flood of 1826 left in its wake fertile river silt resulting in favourable crops in ensuing years. Orkneymen, hired as servants by the HBC brought their

Indian families to Red River causing both a population increase as well as providing a market for the agricultural produce.

The colony had taken a definite shape by the 1830's. The Scottish and Orcadians were located at Point Douglas and northward through Middlechurch; the Country-born were situated at the Forks, south on the west bank of the Red River and west on the Assiniboine River. The Metis were located on the east bank of the Red with small communities further west on the Assiniboine and south on the Red, ie. Headingly, St. James, St. Francois Xavier, Ste. Agathe (Jackson 1970;66) By the mid 1840's the total number of European and Canadian people had reached only one thousand. The Metis population, however, increased significantly so that by the early 1840's the French speaking Metis and the English speaking Country-born (Pannekoek 1985;100), numbered six thousand (Friesen 1984;90).

Many of the retired HBC employees were Orkneymen and the majority chose to remain at the colony rather than return home. Selkirk had agreed to give these men land on which to farm (Prichett 1970;223).

Hudson's Bay Company Social Structure

The HBC established a social hierarchy which influenced all members of the Red River community. Within Company posts, prior to the nineteenth century in true

military tradition, luxuries were reserved for officers and their families. While the voyageurs shared a "house" with four or five families plus a number of unmarried men, officers lived in relatively grand houses, furnished by themselves in a style befitting a gentleman of the fur trade (Van Kirk 1981).

The HBC social structure can be viewed as a pyramidal hierarcy which reflected the various ranked, work roles of the employees. At the top of the pyramid were the members of the elected London committee, usually made up of wealthy English noblemen or businessmen. Second on the pyramid were the officers. Chief factors were located above, seconds, Master's Assistants, inland traders, surgeons, sloopmasters and stewards. Tradesmen ie. armourers, boatbuilders, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, sawyers tailors, sailors, held the next position on the pyramid. Lastly, were the Country skilled including, steersmen, canoemen, hunters, with the common labourers located slightly below the former (Hamilton 1985;223).

The Company was based on stock holders and to be considered for election to the London comittee one was required to hold a specified amount. Dividends were paid out to the shareholdes based on profit percentages (Prager 1983;387).

The Company divided the regions into two departments, northern and southern with each having its own chief who

reported directly to the London committee. The departments were divided into districts where a central fort was run and maintained by a district factor. Chief traders were in charge of any other forts in a district. Each fort had at least one clerk, one or more tradesmen and a number of interpreters, canoemen and labourers (Prager 1983;388).

Prior to amalgamation with the NWC, upward mobility in the HBC was an established tradition (Hamiliton 1985;221, Prager 1983;389). Tradesmen and semiskilled labourers had a chance to move up in the hierarchy. One's chance for promotion was dependent upon the individual's degree of literacy and the extent to which he was conscientious and hardworking (Prager 1983;389).

After the joining of the two companies, the line between officers and servants was "an almost impregnable barrier" (Judd 1980;305). The tradition of upward mobility in the HBC's ranks was severely restricted as a result of the Company's "Retrenchment Policy" (Hamilton 1985;216). Once engaged as a servant one rarely aspired to an officer. Whether one was hired as an officer or a servant was primarily dependent on "race" or ethic origin (Judd 1980;313). Because the Metis population at Red River doubled every fifteen to twenty years, by 1840 at least part of this group had to find an alternative income to the buffalo hunt which could not support the entire population.

The pryamidal hierarchy was reinforced by the

prestige, priviledges and wealth that each group received. The lowest ranked, the labourers received the lowest wages, the fewest benefits, had no opportunity for advancement and were required to do the most menial of tasks (Pyszczyk 1983; 400). If the skilled labourers were competent and literate there was the possibility of promotion. Skilled tradesmen also recieved higher wages and had more benefits than labourers. The "upper class" of the fur trade hierarchy were the clerks and commissioned officers. These men received the highest wages, were required to do the least amount of physical labour, and were responsible for the administration and record keeping at the forts (Pyszczyk 1983;400).

The HBC provided labourer positions for many Country-born who were heirs to former gentlemen of the company filled the special officer candidate postions created in 1840 (Sprague and Frye 1983;20). In the 1840's and 1850's twenty sons of Chief Traders and Chief Factors were appointed as "Apprentice Postmasters". In this position they were expected to complete and eleven year apprenticeship, a term far longer than their European counterparts. If one could contend with this racism however, their was a substantial reward at the end (Sprague and Frye 1983;20). This preferential treatment of one native group (the Country-born) over another (the Metis) served further to segregate and already divided group.

Prior to 1821 the Metis and the Country born were able to advance in the HBC and received wages equal to their European counterparts. Entrenchment of the social hierarchy occurred at the time the NWC and the HBC amalgamated and racial stereotyping predestined the majority of these people to the lowest rungs of the fur trade society.

The English speaking Country-born sons of officers who were educated outside of Red River had the greatest opporunity of aspiring to an officers post and therefore a high degree of status. Those educated at Red River were slightly below the former group but were still well above the French speaking mixed blood in terms of relative status they could aspire too in the HBC. Andrew Graham says the reason for this was that,

> The Englishmen's children by Indian women are for more sprightly and active than the true born natives; their complexion fairer, light hair and most of them fine blue eyes. These esteem themselves superior to the others, and are always looked upon at the Factories as descendants of our countrymen (Judd 1980;308).

The social hierarchy of the HBC between 1821 and 1850 was forced to compromise, albeit as little as possible, the racist attitudes that were the foundations of their hierarchical structure. At the time of the companies merger, which coincided with the arrival of significant numbers of European women, prejudices against Metis and

Indians and to a lesser extent the Country born, served to raise racial barriers that had previously not existed.

The 1830's saw the increase of resistence to the HBC's monopoly of trade. The Company tolerated the steady erosion of its business caused by the open trading of furs for goods for quite some time. While free trade on a small scale could be overlooked, "...open trade for furs with goods imported into the colony by the Company's ships, and the scarcely clandestine traffic with Pembina and St. Paul, were more than the Company could tolerate" (Morton 1967;75). Although various methods were used to curtail trade across the border, there was little the Company could do to stop local free traders.

In the early fall of 1846, England sent three companies of the Sixth Royal Regiment of Foot (the Warwickshires). The soldiers, stationed at both Upper and Lower Fort Garry were necessary to ease the turbulence that was erupting between the free traders and the HBC. The epidemic of cholera that the settlement suffered made the Regiment's task easier since the lose of three hundred lives among the Indians, Metis and Country-born cooled the conflict (Jackson 1970;75). In the two years the companies were stationed at Upper Fort Garry they set the example for a British was of life. The presence of five hundred new men in the colony created a ready market for the locally sold merchandise and produce. The military presence and their

money temporarily restored traquility to the settlement. Upon the departure of the Sixth, a squad of seventy pensioners arrived to replace them. It was under the looser control of the Pensioner force that the trade monopoly of the HBC came to an end.

In 1849 Sayer and three other Metis were arrested for illegal trading in Fur. The Sayer trial was a corner stone in the struggle for free-trade in Red River. Although Sayer was found quilty of illegal trafficking of furs, that is , accepting furs from Indians in exchange for goods, its was Sayer's belief and that of the Metis that he was quitted (Ross 1957;376). Among the Metis and Country born it was believed, "Le commerce est libre!" (Ross 1957;376). The Pensioners were not able to act against the crowds of armed Metis celebrating the occasion and the HBC monopoly, for all practical purposes came to an end.

The Social Organization of the Red River Settlement

Monks (1983) makes a definite distinction between status within the HBC and status outside of the Company at Red River. In attempting to analyze the social organization of Red River outside the HBC, the lack of literature written by those involved in this society makes the task difficult.

Apart from the objective ways of measuring status, ie. income or wealth, occupation, there are the subjective

measures, ie. popular evaluation of occupations, opinions and judgements of individuals by other members of the community. These types of judgements in historical documents are useful as long as the sources of the opinions are kept in mind. There is no scarcity of documents describing in detail the social position of the Metis, Scots and retired HBC servants, however they are written by those who are clearly influenced by the Company hierarchy (Ross 1957; HBC Journals). These historically documented opinions of the Metis and the Indians are typically low simply because of the biased nature of the document sources. It is also true that "prestige" is not easily measure, nor can it be archaeologically recovered.

During the early fur trade period the Metis were typically hunters or labourers for the HBC. Hunters were at the bottom of the social hierarchy both inside and outside of the HBC. The lifestyle and ethnic affliation of the hunters was percieved as undesirable to members of the upper levels of the social structures (Monks 1983;408). With the advent of Free Trade an avenue was opened through which the Metis and the Country-born could aspire in wealth and social position.

The middle and lower levels of the social hierarchy outside the HBC included primarily the agriculturalists. Above this level were the officals, ie. administrators and functionaries. The Governor of Assiniboia was the head of

the hierarchy. The domination of the HBC was felt here on occassion when the HBC's Governor and the Governor of Assiniboia were the same person (Monks 1983;408).

The missionaries who had endoctrinated the people into various forms of Christianity unwittingly propegated social separation. After the 1826 flood the Company granted land to both the Protestant and Catholic natives but showed considerable favouritism towards the Protestants. The Scots and the Country-born who were supposed to become Anglicans and good farmers were given fifty to one hundred acres. The other, the Catholic Metis, were granted twenty-five acres or less. In this way the social groups "were kept separate in religion and expected social position (Sprague and Frye 1983;16).

> The first special favour accorded to the natives of the Hudson Bay (the larger land grants) and the later patronage (superior employment) set them further apart from the "inferior" Catholic Metis (Sprague and Frye 1983;20).

During Simpson's governorship the position of the Metis on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy was reinforced by the Governor himself who considered them "a more worthless set of people" (Judd 1980; 311). Simpson came to Rupert's Land in 1820 and brought stereo-typed British preconceptions about women and their role in marriage. He was also a typical 19th century racist who believed Indians and half-breeds were innately inferior to

whites (Livermore 1976;160). His attitude permeated the European population of the colony and was reflected in the decline in numbers of mixed-blood to be promoted to officer ranks during his period of command (Judd 1980; 311).

Simpson and the newly arrived missionaires introduced a social code into the fur trade that emulated their British background. Simpson's influence and the preachings of the missionaires caused conflicting feelings for many of the men about their marital arrangements. The fact that whenever possible, mixed-blood children received European-style education indicates the desire of the men to Europeanize their families rather than acculturate them into Indian culture.

> Thus for many reasons as the fur trade society became ever more firmly established it reverted again to being more European; as fur trade society moved to resemble more closely European society, native women were less and less desirable or necessary (Livermore 1976;167).

When Simpson married his British bourgeois cousin in 1830 after leaving his country wife, it was a clear statement that new social standards were replacing the old norms. The senior HBC officers were the most able to afford to import a European wife. These women were in no way prepared for pioneer life.

> Accustomed to personal waiting servants and nurses for their children, Victorian women of leisure were useless

> addenda to fur trade society. They contributed nothing but an air of gentility to Red River...(Livermore 1976;167).

Although the white women were ill equiped to exist in Rupert's Land, and many returned home, the social status of country-born and native wives had declined. This gave rise to social tension which climaxed with the Sarah Ballenden trial. Accused of adultery, Sarah was thought to be guilty by the white members of Red River society, particularily the clergy and their wives. The Country-born maintained her innocences.

The wives of the missionaires were perhaps a more real threat to mixed-blood wives than those of company officers. The clergy were considered to be secondary to the upper strata of the fur trade. The mixed-blood wives of officers were below their British counterparts and after the Ballenden trial the white missionaires wives established their position as being superior to the mixed-blood (Livermore 1976;171).

Summary

Throughout the changing social climate of the West, the primary indicator of status whether it be within the HBC or outside of the Company structure, was occupation and income. The racial attitudes of the British in the West and the HBC's policy of restricting the job opportunities of

certain ethnic groups had a significant impact on the amount of income these groups could expect to obtain. Ethnic affiliation strongly influenced the kinds of positions one could obtain in the HBC resulting in clusters of ethnic groups at certain occupational categories and therefore income levels (Monks 1983; Judd 1980). Dispite the prejudices of the British population a few of the Metis were able to rise up above their expected social position. This was usually accomplished by establishing oneself outside the HBC hierarchy.

Burley (1983) contends that there is a difference between social organization and corporate structure. The social esteem associated with one's coporate identity is only one aspect of "status" and that a person's position in a social organization is based on the "sum total of all aquired statuses" (Burley 1983;416). It should be pointed out, however, that one's rank, ie. one's social position relative to others as determined by profession, can be closely associated with status, which includes power, prestige and wealth.

> The most commonly used objective criteria of class are income, occupation, property ownership and education, all of which are ways of expressing objective conomic differences among members of the society (Porter 1965;10).

It is these factors that determine status in society.

Rank would be of particular significance in a totally closed system, ie. the fur trade companies of Western Canada, where social roles of company servants were dictated by company structure (Pyszczk and Prager 1983;419).

Monks (1983;409) notes that the fur trade developed in Western Canada with the benefit of a "formal internal organization". During the early monopoly period a relatively simple social hierarchy was maintained and imposed on both those involved directly with the fur trade and those only secondarily involved. Social complexity would tend to increase throughout the monopoly period as the population expanded and employment opportunities outside the HBC opened up.

The debate regarding socioeconomic status has failed to be reconciled in the historic literature. The nature of the historic records does not allow for a clear definition of exactly what combination of attributes constitutes a particular level of status. Economic position, however, is a component of the socioeconomic concept and is easily assessed in both the historic and archaeological records. Differential opportunity existed at Red River where restrictions based on ethnic affliliation were imposed on those attempting to climb the social hierarchy and attain the related wealth.

CHAPTER 3

CERAMICS AS ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Both historic and prehistoric archaeologists have recognized that ceramics hold a wealth of information about the peoples who left them behind. An analysis of the ceramic remains of sites at Red River, in conjunction with information from historic documents, can reveal a great deal about the 19th century inhabitants that would not be available from either source alone.

This analysis emphasizes the use of ceramic remains as economic indicators, that is, whether or not the ceramic remains of groups with varying economic backgrounds exhibit differences. A brief review of the literature is presented to ascertain the extent to which ceramics represent the economic backgrounds of those who deposited them.

This chapter looks at methods used by archaeologists to classify ceramics in order to facilitate an understanding of what they represent as cultural remains. The relative merits of particular methods of classifying ceramics must be assessed in terms of what the analysis hopes to show. Using primary and secondary historical sources, it is possible to discover what attributes of ceramics were important to the merchants and consumers, and what was fashionable in Victorian England and its sphere of

influence. The primary historic documents, ie. Hudson's Bay Company Archives provides information about what was actually available for purchase at Red River. Using these sources, the Hudson's Bay Company Archival documents, it is possible to categorize the ceramics into useful groups which will then allow for an analysis of the artifacts in terms of the relative economic position of those who used them.

Ceramics As Indicators Of Economic Position

Studies that examine ceramics in terms of economic indicators are few. It is only recently that historical archaeologists have studied sites in terms of "status", "ethnicity" or relative economic standing (Otto 1980, Baker 1978).

Otto (1980), South (1977), King (1984) and Baker (1978) attempt to link ethnic groups and patterns in the ceramic artifact record. South (1977) describes patterns of artifact frequencies which represent the remains of behaviours related to distinct cultural groups. King (1984) found that ceramic variability at St.Augustine, Florida, during the 17th century was largely due to income levels and occupational status. Otto (1980) attempts to explain these "ethnic behaviours" more thoroughly by first, examining the ceramic assemblage and second, the dietary patterns of plantation owners and slaves. The frequency of

certain vessel forms varies between these groups due to the differences in diets. The slaves, who ate lower quality meats, more often than not, made stews which would require different ceramic vessels than the plantation owner, who indulged in higher quality meats that could be roasted. Baker (1978) found the same high ratio of serving bowls to flatware at Black Lucy's Garden, an Afro-American site occupied by an impoverished freed slave. Baker however, suggests that "the patterns visible in the archaeological record may be reflecting poverty and not the presence of Afro-American" (1978;113).

Ferris and Kenyon's (1986) analysis of three mid 19th century rural Ontario sites provides interesting results concerning the relative quantities of vessel forms that were typically owned by a household and how the vessels are indicative of relative status. Probated wills provided median numbers of vessel forms owned by the average household. Although the records were not of the three families examined, they provide an insight into what might be considered the norm. The median number of plates owned was calculated as 10, the median number of "teas" (a cup and a saucer) was 6 and bowls, 3. Therefore, the typical household had more plates than "teas" and bowls and slightly more teas than bowls. As a result of an analysis of 18 domestic sites Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) termed this average the Ontario domestic pattern.

The ratio of plates to "teas" changes with increased wealth. The wealthier the household the higher the ratio of plates to "teas" and well as an overall trend of increased numbers of every type of vessel (Ferris and Kenyon 1986).

> In the 'better class' of homes, dinners featured multicourse meals, where those who wished to aquit '...themselves well in the honours of their table' (Trusler 1788;3 in Kenyon and Kenyon 1986) would change plates after each course. Thus to stage a meal with appropriate taste and decorum it was necessary to have on hand a large stock of plates. Cups and saucers were also a necessity, but no large amount of teaware was required since cups did not have to be changed throughout the meal, only refilled (Kenyon and Kenyon 1986;88)

Poorer households would have to make do with one plate, one cup and one saucer per person.

Analysis done more specifically at Red River includes Sussman's (1982) examination of intrasite variability of expenditure rates on ceramics at Lower Fort Garry. The Big House at the fort, which was occupied by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, had a significantly higher average expenditure per ceramic object than the farmer's house or the troop canteen. Absolute ethnic affiliation for certain patterns found in the artifact record are tentative. There does however, appear to be a relationship between expenditure rate and occupational status and the artifact record.

Classification Of Ceramics

It is increasingly evident that historical archaeologists are essentially working at cross purposes by trying to define 19th century ceramics on the basis of waretype alone. That is not to say that to distinguish between earthenware, porcelain and stoneware does not serve any purpose. Porcelain, for example, although it succumbed to the popularity of transfer-print on white earthenware still retains its position as a high quality ceramic. Frequently, waretype is the only diagnostic feature of some ceramic artifacts. If this attribute is ignored, a portion of the assemblage would not be included in the analysis. It is therefore important to be able to recognize the various waretypes that are present in an assemblage.

In attempting to categorize ceramic artifacts historical archaeologists must consider the emic point of view because it is from this position that the ceramics are historically documented. In order to utilize the historic records in the analysis of the UFG assemblage, it is advantageous to place the proper amount of emphasis on attributes which were historically thought to have been of significance. The Hudson's Bay Archival records describes each ceramic piece and lists its price. In order to interpret the cost of the artifacts they must be described in such a way as to make them identifiable as vessels

listed in the archival documents.

> European-made ceramics... are complex and very diverse but since so much research has been done on the history of the pottery industry in England and continental Europe, it is not unusual to know how the makers of this pottery classified, named and traded their wares. To apply strictly formal classificatory methods to this material and to ignore the historical data is like trying to reinvent the incandescent lamp by candlelight while ignoring the light switch at one's elbow (Deetz 1977:13).

Deetz suggests that it is preferable to use those attributes of ceramic ware that are as easily recognizable now as they were when the pottery was constructed. This means that one must consider what the potter, the merchants, and ultimately the buyers, considered to be distinguishing attributes that served to identify the various types of pottery.

At Red River, historical archaeologists are fortunate to have documents that list items which have become the cultural remains representing the various aspects of life at HBC posts. The Hudson's Bay Archives are a rich source of information about the goods ordered and used by the Company employees and by those who purchased goods at the Company posts. These historic documents provide interesting clues about 19th century perceptions of such everyday items as ceramic objects. Hamilton notes that for York Factory the Archival "Indent Books", which provide a list of goods

ordered, only give the briefest description of the ceramic items.

> The descriptive terms, although often vague, suggest that the quality, colour, and decoration of ceramic objects appear to be more important than the ceramic ware type. This provides an interesting insight into how the Hudson's Bay Company clerks perceived ceramic objects (Hamilton 1982;48).

The Indent Books do not usually use pattern names to describe the ceramic items. Descriptions such as "fine fancy colord ware", "strong colord ware," "Blue figures ware," or "plain white" were typical (Hamilton 1982;48).

The same is generally true of the Indent Books listing goods received at Red River from York Factory. Descriptions of "white E'ware Cream Jugs," Col'd E'ware Desert plates" and white E'ware cups and saucers" are common. Apart from stating whether the vessels are "white" or "coloured" there is no indication of decorative pattern until after 1848 in these particular Indent records. The record books however, appear to emphasize the form of the vessels, and when, in a rare case, the item is not earthenware the type of ware, ie. "Queensware" or "Brown ware" is indicated (HBC B.235/d/61).

Miller (1980;2) considers classification of nineteenth century ceramics by waretype not to be appropriate since the differences between creamware, pearlware, whiteware and

stone china are slight compared to the differences between the 17th and 18th century waretypes. The evolution of one waretype from another, ie. whiteware out of pearlware, contributes to the blurring of distinctive characteristics between waretypes and therefore their classification by paste.

Miller states that the price lists published by the Staffordshire Potteries (Mountford 1975) categorize and price the ceramics on the basis of the type of decoration on the piece.

> Terms like pearlware, whiteware, stone china, and ironstone rarely appear in the price lists and account books. Creamware is the only ware type appearing in the lists, and it appears as "CC" for cream color. On every list so far examined, CC was used for undecorated vessels, and it was the cheapest type available. All other types are defined by the process used to decorate them (Miller 1980:3).

For this reason Miller's (1980) indexing of ceramic prices is based on both form and decorative method rather than on waretype. Miller's technique of scaling the costs of the ceramics involves placing a base index number of 1 on the cheapest ceramic item and then assigning other items index numbers relative to its costs, ie. an item costing 1.20 times the cheapest item receives a value of 1.20.

Miller found the price differences for particular objects were invariably due the different methods used to

decorate the piece. The different decorative types are divided by Miller (1980;5) into four levels, they are:
First level, undecorated-usually refered to as CC, commonware, white earthenware or Earthenware;
Second level, minimal decoration applied by minimally skilled operatives ie. shell edge, sponged, banded, mocha. The decoration may vary from one vessel to the next of the same size and form due to the lack of consistency of its application;
Third level, painted wares. A degree of skill is required in order to produce sets of matched pieces;
Fourth level, transfer printed ware. With this method it is possible to apply complex patterns to sets of pieces with a high degree of consistency (Miller 1980;5).

These levels are indicative of the relative cost of the decorative groups. The first level would be the cheapest pieces, the fourth level the most expensive. Using Miller's economic scaling technique should be more objective since the actual cost of the pieces is being compared.

It is apparent, therefore, that pattern design and vessel form are important attributes because it is these characteristics that are cited the most consistently in the historic records. Waretypes cannot be ignored in this analysis however because; 1) waretypes other than earthenware are documented in the archival records and 2)

at many Red River sites, a large proportion of the sherds are found for which neither the pattern nor vessel forms are disernable. To ignore the various waretypes then would be to discount a large percentage of the assemblages.

It is also interesting that certain waretypes always retained their high status postion. Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) define "expensive" and "inexpensive" catagories of ceramics as follows,

Expensive: Porcelain
White granite or Ironstone
Printed
Flowing colours.

Inexpensive: Painted earthenware
Sponged (including "stamped".
Edged
C.C. or plain earthenware.

Porcelain is the only waretype that occurs in significant proportions at 19th century sites that does not fit well into Miller's decorative categories. Level one and two decorative styles do not apply to porcelain. Undecorated porcelain is very rare and shell edged, sponged, mocha or banded are not generally applied to this waretype (Miller 1980;4).

Baker (1978;14) considered the shape of the vessels to have been used more consistently by the manufacturers and merchants. The "emic" classification of ceramics was based on vessel shape and glaze and/or paste. Tea cups, water ewers, soup tureens, and fruit baskets appear to have been classified as such by the potters, merchants and

consumers. The merchants and consumers, however, described glaze and/or paste using a variety of terms. This leads Baker to the conclusion that these attributes, glaze and/or paste may have been secondary attributes.

Sussman (1982) found that there was a correlation between price and form of ceramic pieces at Lower Fort Garry. Because there was little variety in the decorative techniques of the remains at Lower Fort Garry, Sussman felt that comparisons of these traits alone would not illustrate economic differences clearly. Indexing the cost of the various shapes proved useful since the decision to chose such items as platters, soup tureens, pitchers and teapots, the more expensive objects, over the basic shapes such as plates, cups, saucers and bowls was a functional as well as an economic decision.

In order to utilize both the historic documents and the archaeological data to the fullest, the attributes on which comparisons of assemblages are based must be assessed carefully. Although Miller (1980;3) discounts the usefulness of comparisons based on waretype, there is justification for such an analysis at Red River. Firstly, the historic records indicate that the people were buying ware other than transfer-printed white earthenware and secondly, certain waretypes, usually the cheaper wares, were used for utilitarian purposes and their presence cannot be ignored. Finally, at sites where a large number

of sherds are recovered that do not have discernable decoration, waretype is the only viable attribute with which to compare these pieces.

Ceramic Wares And Decorations

This section briefly outines the history and development of transfer-printed ware, and other wares and decorative methods that were popular during the 1800's.

The introduction by Wedgwood of creamware or "Queen's ware" is considered to be a turning point in the development of English pottery. Salt-glazed stoneware, tortoise-shell ware, and delft, all once popular, gave way to the now fashionable creamware which was light cream in colour, tasteful and practical at the same time.

As a result of Wedgwood's marketing strategy, creamware and earthenwares were no longer the low status ceramics but could compete with the high status wares such as porcelain.

> Josiah Wedgwood was able, through dynamic marketing, to place his product in a very high status position, and it made great inroads into the market traditionally occupied by porcelain (Miller 1980;16).

By the end of the nineteenth century creamware had become a coarsened product, a thick body with crudely applied colours. At this point during creamware's decline, it was sold to the cheaper market (Collard 1986;113).

Creamware had bowed to the demand for the new printed ware.

As a result of Josiah Spode's work with blue printed wares, underglaze printed wares became the fashionable ware of the late nineteenth century. Transfer printing was not restricted to earthenware, nor was is limited to blue prints. Brown, pink, lavender, green, orange, grey and light blue transfer prints were all produced but a "blue" dinner set inevitably meant blue-printed earthenware. Those who once used painted creamware and who could afford porcelain were now using blue printed earthenware.

"Blue and white" pottery, or transfer-printed ware was one of the few pre-Victorian styles that survived into Victorian times. Brown saltgalzed jugs and "mocha" were popular in the early nineteenth century but by the mid 1900's transfer-printed wares were clearly predominant.

Metal blocks were engraved with lines or dots and then were coloured and wiped to leave colouring only on the engraving. The pattern was pressed onto the paper which was then applied to the surface of the vessel. Transfer-prints could be applied to pottery or porcelain either before or after it was glazed. Although underglaze was preferred, the pattern was slighly blurred when the glaze was fused over it. This gave rise to a new fashion, and by the 1840's "Flow Blue" was in great demand.

> The 1840's and 1850's represented the peak period of its popularity in Canada, and ironstone, or 'stoneware',

> was the favorite medium for its display (Collard 1984;118).

Transfer-printed pottery was immensely popular for its pictorial patterns.

> The result was a style of pottery in which considerations of usefullness or attractiveness tended to be outweighed by the pictorial interest of the printing; this is perhaps borne out by the great prepondernce of plates and dishes among the surviving transfer-printed ware rather than cups and saucers, teapots and tureen (Wakefield 1962;18).

Ironstone was an important development of the nineteenth century. As an intermediate ware between earthenware and procelain, ironstone was strong and hard-wearing.

Certain types of wares were more suitable for particular vessel forms and functions. Printed wares, while fashionable as well as utilitarian were intended for the dining room or the wash-stand. The earthnwares or stone wares made of buff, burned grey, tan, pink or dark-red, met the needs of the poor or found their way into the kitchens of the better off (Collard 1986;137). These types of wares were typically referred to as "Brownware", "Stoneware" or "Brown earthenware".

After 1840, yellow wares made of clays burned to a light buff shade and covered with a transparent glaze, and Rockingham wares which were covered with a maganese brown

glaze were available and were slightly more refined than the brownware.

Mocha ware, one of many types of dipped products was in particular demand from 1840 through to 1860. Mocha ware refers more to the decoration which was a "seaweed" decoration on a wide band of coloured slip applied to either cream or white earthenware.

The Ceramic Market

Ceramic marketing had a great deal to do with what types of ceramics are recovered archaeologically at Red River. Both marketing strategies of the companies producing the pottery and the logistics of supplying a settlement thousands of kilometres from the potters must be considered in the analysis of ceramic artifacts. Although the Red River population was influenced by Victorian fashion, there were practical limitations to the availability of fashionable material goods.

The HBC was the first importer of tablewares on a commercial basis. Spode/Copeland began supplying tablewares to the HBC in 1836. The Archival records indicate that Robert Elliot supplied York Factory with ceramics from 1823 to 1834 with items described as "Queensware" or "earthenware". The items were either plain"white" or decorated in "blue and white", "Best Blue and White", "Foliage", "Red dot", and "Rich Japan" transfer prints

(Hamilton 1882;52).

When William Copeland formed a partnership with Thomas Garrett the company was known as Copeland and Garrett. From 1833 to 1847 Copeland and Garrett were the suppliers of ceramics to the HBC. William Copeland continued to supply the HBC after 1847 as W.T. Copeland and later W.T.Copeland and Sons after his partnership with Thomas Garrett had dissolved.

The archival records show that Copeland and Garrett supplied York Factory with "queensware," "porcelain," "china" or "cream color" wares. W.T. Copeland supplied goods made of "P.White," "china," "E'ware" or "stone" (Hamilton 1982;52).

In 1835 John Blackburn was the primary supplier of ceramics to York Factory, Boucher and Company from 1855-1857, Jonathan Phillips in 1858, W.P. and G.Phillips in 1859 and in 1866, Boucher, Guy and Company (Hamilton 1982). Jonathan Phillips and W.P. and G. Phillips supplied wares described as decorated in "blue", "printed" and the "Fibre" pattern. These two companies supplied only bowls, saucers, mugs and plates.

Until the end of the 1850's Fort Garry and the Red River settlement received their supplies via York Factory, a dangerous journey due to the hazards of ice in the Hudson's Bay. After arriving safetly at York Factory the goods were transferred to open York boats for the next leg

of the journey down to Fort Garry.

The market for the goods shipped in this way was composed of settlers, along with the HBC officials and former HBC men and their families who chose to make a living in the area.

> This was the market supplied entirely, at the beginning, by the Hudson's Bay Company public sale shop at Fort Garry, and later competed for by private merchants for whom, in the first days of independent trade, the Company also brought in stock through Hudson Bay (Collard 1984;34).

By the end of the 1850's free traders were forced to find a supply route other than through the Hudson Bay. St Paul, Minnesota became the alternative to the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly. It is important to note however, that although the ceramic goods could now be obtained from the United States, the Red River dealers purchased wares of British manufacture (Collard 1984;38). This does not mean that there was no market for American crockery; indeed, evidence of such is found in the fact the American manufacturer's adveritised in Red River Territory (Collard 1984;38).

The market for wares of British manufacture had already been well established in the Red River region and therefore there would be a greater demand for English goods rather than American goods.

CHAPTER 4

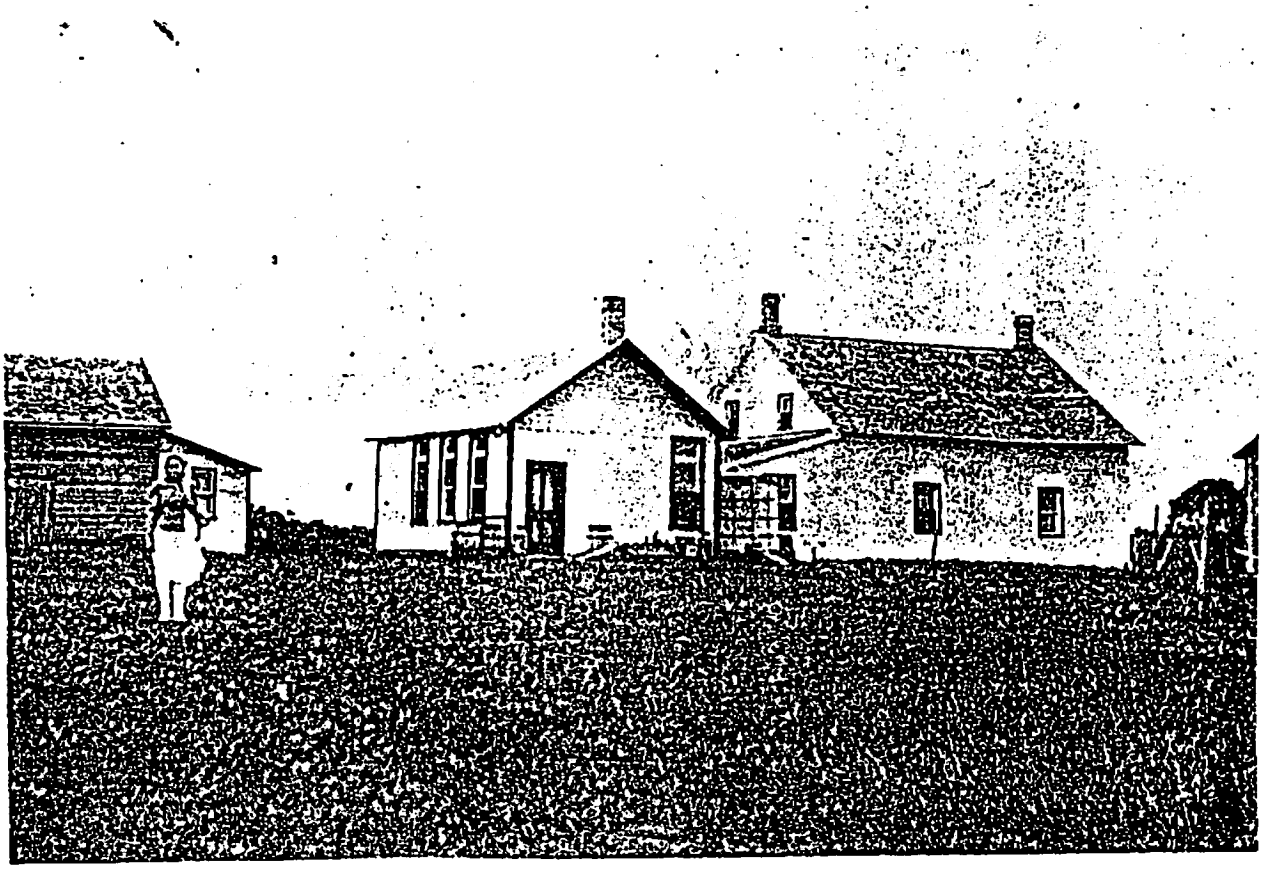
ETHNOHISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF FIVE RED RIVER SITES

Delorme House

The Delorme site is located near St. Adolphe, south of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Pierre Delorme owned a lot (Lot 21) situated on the west bank of the Red River. Historical information suggests that he and his family may have inhabited the site as early as 1856 (McLeod 1982;5).

By the 1870's Pierre Delorme produced cattle for the Fort Garry market, having made the transition from the bison hunt to farming (McLeod 1982;6). Delorme was also one of six Metis elected to the provincial legistative assembly in 1870 (McLeod 1982;6). After the Delorme's moved to the east bank of the Red River in 1880, the Patterson brothers occupied Lot 21 until 1889. Levi Courchaine bought the land from the Patterson's and owned it until 1960. Much of the information regarding the Delorme house and outbuildings was obtained through verbal communication and photographs from the Courchaine family (McLeod 1982;7) (Figs. 2 and 3).

Pierre Delorme built his house in the typical Red River style using a technique known as pièce sur pièce (McLeod 1982;8). Vertical uprights were placed at the four corners and along the walls. Each vertical post was prepared with a longitudinal groove into which tongued



(Figure 2 Delorme House c. 1920. From McLeod 1982;12).

(Figure 3 Delorme House c. 1906: (a) stable; (b) main house; (c) north wing; (d) granary/dairy building. From McLeod 1982;11).

horizontal logs were placed. A mixture of straw and mud chinking was placed in the spaces between the logs on both the interior and exterior (McLeod (1982:8).

Hamilton (1876) recorded the following description of the Delorme House.

> His house is a model of the better class of Metis... A story-and-a-half high, of logs, but clap boarded without having a large sitting room of which are half a dozen doors opening into a dining-room, little parlour and bedrooms. A table, chest of drawers, sewing machine, and half a dozen chairs with slats of wood and shagyrappi, a box stove are in the reception room into which the outer door opens direct (Hamilton in McLeod 1982;8).

Of the areas excavated at the Delorme site, Areas A and B are relavent to this analysis since there is sufficient indication that these deposits were at least partially the result of the Delorme family's activities. Area C, a small midden was probably not deposited by the Delorme's (McLeod 1982;259) and is therefore not included in this analysis.

Area A of the Delorme site functioned as a kitchen during the Courchaine occupation and was possibly used for a similar purpose when the structure was used by the Delormes. A feature located below the kitchen annex was probably used as a storage cellar for a variety of goods and was used primarily by the Delormes (McLeod 1982;123).

The north kitchen wing (Area B), a building most

recently used as a granary/dairy, was used by the Delorme's as well. The artifact remains suggest that the building was used not as a granary/dairy however, but as a meat processing and storage area.

Information used in this analysis regarding the ceramic data from the Delorme site was gathered from McLeod's (1982) report on the site.

Riel House

The property on which Riel House was located was owned innitially by Pierre Parenteau in 1835. With five acres cultivated, a house and a stable, in 1843 this was the sixth largest farm in what was then the St. Boniface district (Forsman 1977;2). By 1849, Parenteau owned six Red River carts. During this year the farm was sold to F. Gendron, a native of Rupertsland.

Julie Lagimodiere, purchased the property on which Riel House is located in 1864, shortly after her husband's death that same year. With her she brought seven children to the site; Louis and another child, Sara came to the house in later years (Forsman 1977;2). The Riel House, located in St Vital, Winnipeg, was occupied by Louis Riel in 1868, after returning from being formally educated in Montreal. Louis Riel resided in this house until 1869 (Forsman 1977;1).

Louis Riel was the son of Jean-Louis Riel and Julie

Lagimodiere. Julie Lagimodiere's father was an established farmer and, although the Lagimodieres were not poltically involved, their agricultural operation and their involvement in free trade made them one of the most affluent of Canadien families (Gosman 1977;101).

Jean-Louis Riel received a great deal more education than any of the Lagimodiere's but he was unsuccessful in his efforts to attain a comparable wealth. Louis Riel's father had been an educated man and was active in the social, political and industrial life of St. Boniface. He "had been as Canadien in outlook and temperment. His friend and associates were among the leading bourgeois of his community. His children had been educated and married into prominent families" (Gosman 1976 in Forsman 1977;2).

Jean-Louis was schooled by Oblates in Quebec but returned to Red River and married Julie in 1844. The Riels built their home on land at the junction of the Red and the Seine Rivers. Riel's father-in-law had received a large grant of land at this location.

Until 1847 the Riels attempted to farm but the census indicates that their holdings were below the average Canadien (Gosman 1977;84). Riel played a significant role in opening up council memberships and public posts for "respectable" Metis. In 1851 Simpson allowed certain members of the Metis community into office but they were not from typical Metis families.

> Most were wealthy and well educated. They at no time agitated to have public positions opened to the hunter class and actively engaged in nepotism and favouritism (Gosman 1977;23).

As such, they quelled the Metis demands for representation although they did not actually belong to the group they proclaimed to represent. Jean-Louis Riel never held office dispite his influence and education.

Excavations at the Riel site resulted in the unearthing of three early historic buildings. Of these three feature, structures 2 and 3 are dated to the Riel family's occupation.

Structure 2 was in existence from 1849 to 1864 during the period the Francois Gendron owned the property. The building was probably still in use when Julie de Lagimodiere purchased the property in 1864. The structure may have been used as a residence until the Riel House was built in 1867 or 1868 (Lunn, Hamilton and Priess 1980;28). The three main features of this structure are segments of the foundation, the floor and the cellar. The cellar has a circular plan with earth walls with sloped sides and an earth floor.

It is possible that the structure was dismantled some time after 1866 and the timbers salvaged to be incorporated into a new home. The old cellar feature was used as a garbage pit by the Riel's and is a rich source of artifacts

from their occupation of the site.

The Riel House Annex, east of Riel House, was represented by the foundation and associated cellar. The annex may have been built at the same time, or slightly later than, the Riel House. The actual function of this structure is not clear although it is suggested that a storage factility or/and a summer kitchen are possibilities (Lunn, Hamilton and Priess 1982;36). The annex was dismantled some time between 1907 and 1915.

Ceramic data was collected from Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1982) for analysis in this thesis.

The Garden Site

The Garden site (DkLg-16) located on the Sale River was part of the Red River settlement. Historic documents and maps were used to determine that DkLg-16 is located on Lot 81 or Lots 374 and 375 as they were designated prior to 1870 (McLeod 1983;88).

Etienne Gilbert is the first documented owner of Lot 374 on which the site is located. In 1845 Pierre Beauchamp purchased the lot from Gilbert as well as purchasing Lot 375 from the HBC.

The Beauchamps occupied the site until 1868 and were probably the only inhabitants because there is no indication that E. Gilbert actually lived on Lot 374 (McLeod 1983;91).

From 1838-1849 Beauchamp appears to have increased in his prosperity. The Manitoba census indicates that the number of carts and oxen increased over these years (McLeod 1983;92). By 1849 the Beauchamps lived in relative prosperity compared to other Metis settlers in the St. Norbert area. The family possessed four carts, seventeen animals and cultivated four acres (McLeod 1983;93). The fact that all of Beauchamp's children reached adulthood also indicates that the family was economically stable since the infant mortality rate of this group was fairly high (McLeod 1983;93). The ownership of carts suggests that Beauchamp was probably involved in trade.

Pierre Beauchamp died in 1865 and his land was divided between his wife and his oldest son, Abraham. The lot was further divided when in 1868 Abraham sold part of it to Marcelle Roi and in 1870 the remaining land was sold to Reverend N.J. Richott (McLeod 1983;95).

Archaeology of the Garden site produced three refuse pits, containing ceramic remains. The dates of these features suggest that they were the product of the Beauchamp family's activities. The three features are considered as a single assemblage in the following analysis due to the small sample size.

McLeod's (1983) report was used as a source of information about the ceramic data from this site.

Lower Fort Garry (LFG)

Construction of LFG began in 1831 (Bryce 1910;356) and it was intended to function as the seat of government for Assiniboia, as well as the head office of the Canadian Hudson's Bay Company. The fort took nine years to build and was constructed of "solid rock" buildings surrounded by a stone wall.

The site chosen for the post was nineteen miles down the Red River from UFG. The exact reason for locating the fort at this site is not clear. Bryce (1910;356) states that,

> Some have said it was done to place it amoung the English people, as the French settlers were becoming turbulent; some that it was at the head of navigation from Lake Winnipeg being north of the St Andrew's rapids; and some maintained that the site was chosen as having been far above high water during the year of flood, when Fort Douglas and Upper Fort Garry had been surrounded.

LFG did not function to its full potential primarily due to its location. The junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers continued to be the center of activity of the Red River settlement so that the old wooden establishment of UFG was replaced by a more permanent structure one quarter miles (.4 Kms) west (Green 1974;15).

LFG served as the residence of the Governor of Rupert's Land and was occuppied by the military on two

occasions. The first of these occupations occurred from 1846-1848 when the Sixth Regiment of Foot was posted at Red River. The detatchment was divided between both Upper and Lower Fort Garry's.

The structures from LFG that are used in this analysis are the Big House, the farmer's house and the troop canteen and barracks.

Upper Fort Garry (UFG)

In 1821 when the Northwest Company amalgamated with the HBC, Fort Gibraltar was chosen as the primary post at the Forks. It was renamed Fort Garry and was located at a slightly different location than the 1835 Fort Garry. The flood in 1826 extensively damaged the Fort and an attempt was made to move the HBC's business to LFG, located twenty miles downstream and outside the settlement. This proved unsuccessful, so that a new fort, UFG was reconstructed at the Forks in 1835 (Bryce 1910;357).

UFG was the nucleus of business, government, education and public affairs for three decades. The Fort itself has been described as follows,

> Rectangular in form, the walls of this last fort built at Red River were 289 feet from east to west, facing the Assiniboine, by 240 feet deep. The north wall was later moved outward but enhanced by an attractive stone gate in its center. There was another opening in the south wall, the main entrance, through which praire carts and cargoes

> from boats on the Assiniboine were loaded or unloaded. Only a small door opened in the east wall.
>
> Inside the now dismantled fort's 15 foot walls, which had corner bastions and blockhouses, were dwellings for deputy governor, officers and company clerks. In addition there were stores and granaries. (Outside, to the west, stood a separate jail). Along the inside top of the four walls an elevated walk gave sentries a clear view of the entire countryside. For over half a century 'Upper' Fort Garry constituted an important citadel of civilization on the fringe of the opening western frontier (Green 1974;150).

Bell (1927;36) adds that,

> several years after the original fort was built an addition was made at the north end to provide quarters for the resident governor of the Company. The high walls of this added enclosure were constructed of large solid square oak logs, laid horizontally in the form of crib work, the space between the outer and inner oak walls being filled with earth, and it was at this time that the gateway still remaining in the small Fort Garry Park was erected.

Two large houses were located in the center of the Fort. The larger of the two was the residence of the officer in charge of the Fort. One wing of the house accomodated another family and the upstairs was reserved for seasonal or transient guests (Cowan 1935;26). The smaller central house was the Bachelor's Hall with the lower storey reserved for officer's and the upper for clerks (Cowan 1935;27). Another officer's residence was

located along the western wall of the fort next to the large warehouses (Cowan 1935;27).

Only the families of officers were permitted to reside within the fort. The wives of these officers led an easy life. According to Anna Cowan (1935;26),

> life was very easy, particularily for the ladies, who had little or nothing to attend to. Each one kept her own maid, and those who were industriously inclined passed much of their time in various kinds of fancy work, material for which were always ordered from England.

In 1846 the Sixth Royal Regiment of Foot arrived at Red River. Twelve officers and one hundred and eighty-four soldiers were quartered at Upper Fort Garry. With them they brought seventeen of the soldiers' wives and nineteen children (Ingersoll 1945;15). The Hudson's Bay Company employees were forced to move to the buildings on the east side of the fort while warehouses were turned into barracks, the four bastions served as guard rooms, an engineer's office a sutler's shop and a magazine (Ingersoll 1945;16). Despite the cramped quarters in the fort, Cowan (1935;27) said that, "these were probably the gayest days ever seen in Red River."

The soldiers fit into the social life of Fort Garry well and they provided the settlement with a significant market for all nature of goods. "The people in the settlement were never so well off, as the Government spends

a great deal, buying all the cattle, pigs, sheep and grain. McDermott and the Scotch settlers are making fortunes" (Donald Ross in Ingersoll 1945;16). After two years the Sixth Regiment of Foot withdrew to England and were replaced in 1859 by a company of Chelsea Pensioners. Ross (1957;366) observed that this unruly groups cound not keep even themselves within the bound of order, "half-breeds were meekness and loyalty itself, in comparison with them". After 1861 the presence of troops was no longer thought to be necessary (Ingersoll 1945;17).

The Fort was sold by the Company in 1882 during a real estate boom. The area was surveyed into city lots and the fort demolished (Bell 1927;37).

Excavations of UFG (DlLg-21) extended over three years from 1981-1983 and resulted in the recovery of almost 1500 ceramic artifacts not including smoking pipes. The site is located at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The majority of land at the site is built up but Bonnycastle Park at the corner of Assiniboine Avenue and Main Street is free of buildings at present.

Using the City of Winnipeg's Special survey pin at the foot of Fort Street all measurements of the site were taken in terms of north and east coordinates. The survey pin was given the locational designation of N100 metres and E100 metres. The Geodesic survey plug found at the south east corner of the park was used to establish the vertical

control of the site. The plug's elevation was 232.203m ASL (Monks 1983b;4).

One metre by one metre units were surveyed in using a transit. These one metre squares were often linked to create trenches to allow for the locating of structures (Monks 1983;30). The fill and overburden (strata 01 and 02) were removed with shovels. The cultural strata were trowelled and screened in 1/4 inch mesh screen.

Interpretation of the structures, walls and foundations suggests that the west wall of the fort, a wall of an interior building and the remains of its floor joists were uncovered (Fig.4). The building is possibly a fur warehouse (Monks 1983b).

Between the west wall and the wall of the building structure were two wooden cribbed structures labelled as privy/refuse pits (Monks 1983b;32). Privy/refuse pit 1 refers to the southerly pit, the larger of the two.

Units associated with the privy/refuse pits are as follows,

Privy/refuse pit 1	Privy/refuse pit 2
N93E177	N92E174
N91E177	N93E174
N90E177	N96E174
N91E176	N94E174
N92E177	N94E175

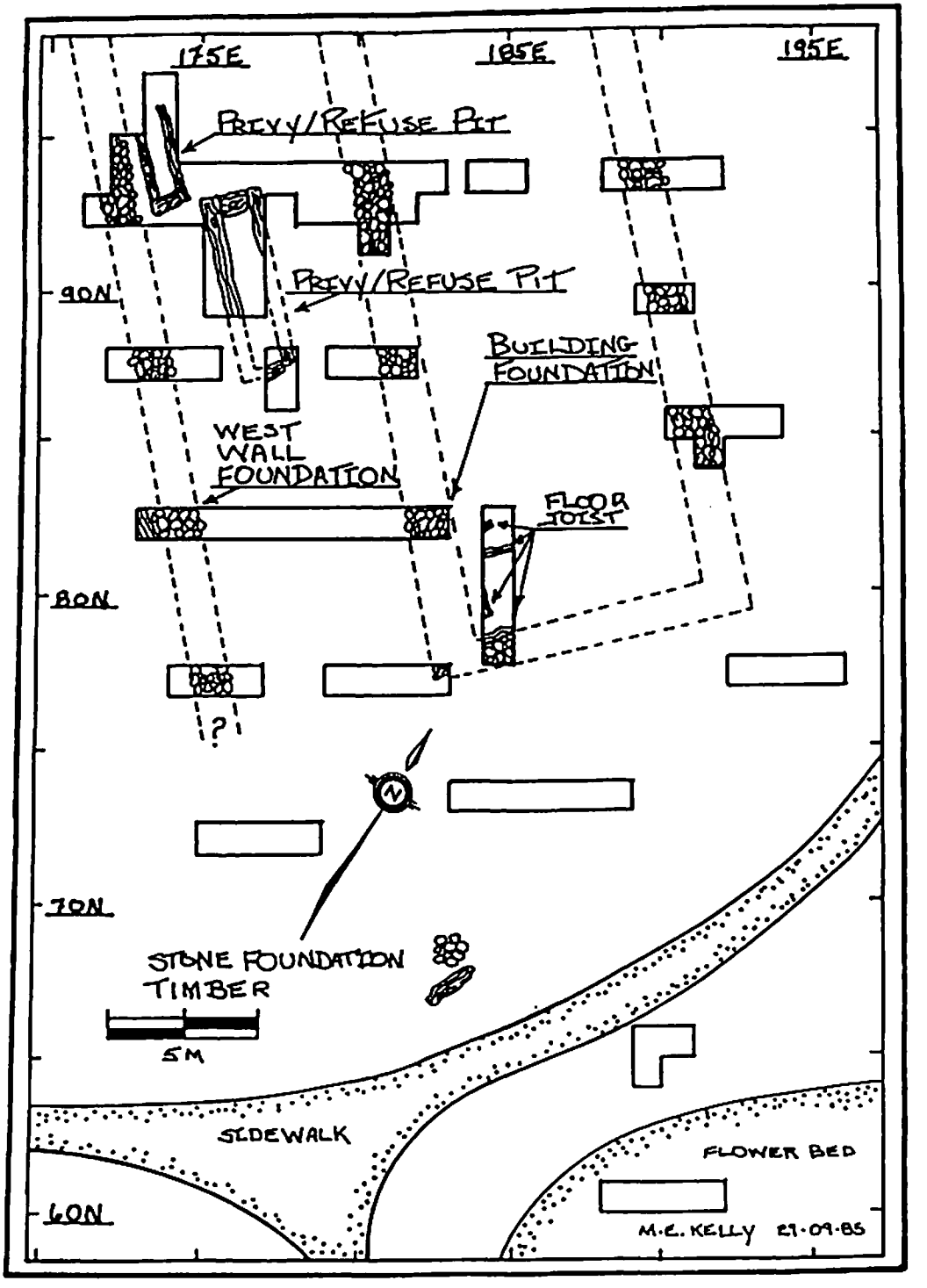


Figure 4. Planview of DlLg-21 showing location of Privy/refuse Pits 1 and 2.

Ceramics comprised 37% of the artifacts from privy/refuse pit 1 (Table 1). Privy/refuse pit 2 yielded dramatically less (13.3%). The area enclosed by the building walls contained 10.7% of the total ceramic count leaving 39% recovered in the remaining excavated area (Table 1). The trench N78E192-196, which is not associated with either privy/refuse pit nor the building, possessed 266 or 22.5% of the sherds recovered, a substantial number.

CHAPTER 5

CERAMIC ARTIFACTS FROM UPPER FORT GARRY

In order to facilitate the economic analysis of the ceramic remains from UFG, the artifacts will be presented and discussed as follows.

Firstly, dates for the site and the various features will be calculated through the examination of the datable pattern designs and the manufacturer's marks.

Secondly, the various attributes will be discussed. These attributes include vessel form, decorative methods, pattern designs and waretype. The distribution and frequencies of these attributes through time and across space will be investigated (Table 1).

Table 1

Frequency of Sherds per Unit.

Privy/refuse pit 1

Unit #	Freq of Sherds	Percent of site Total
N92E177	164	13.8
N91E177	71	6.0
N90E177	72	6.1
N91E176	27	2.2
N93E177	103	8.7
Total	437	37.0

Privy/refuse pit 2

Unit #	Freq of Sherds	Percent of Site Total
N94E175	6	0.5
N92E174	0	0.0
N93E174	32	2.7

Table 1 continued

N96E174	36	3.0
N94E174	84	7.1
Total	158	13.3

Units within Building Wall

Unit #	Freq of Sherds	Percent of Site Total
N88E182	1	.08
N92E181	2	.16
N93E179	6	.5
N94E180	5	.4
N84E186	1	.08
N85E192	8	.67
N86E191	12	1.0
N86E192	24	2.0
N86E194	34	2.8
N90E191	3	.25
N94E189	6	.5
N94E190	5	.4
N94E191	1	.08
N94E192	19	1.6
Total	127	10.7

Remaining Excavated Area.

Unit #	Freq of Sherds	Percent Of Site Total
N72E177	1	.08
N74E184	5	.4
N74E185	25	2.1
N75E185	3	.25
N82E177	1	.08
N88E174	7	.59
N88E178	3	.25
N88E182	1	.08
N90E174	1	.08
N91E174	1	.08
N93E173	1	.08
N93E175	5	.4
N93E178	22	1.8
N94E177	1	.08
N95E173	5	.4
N95E174	1	.08
N61E188	30	2.5
N61E189	3	.25
N61E190	0	0.0
N61E192	39	3.3
N74E187	9	.76
N74E189	13	1.1

Table 1 continued

N75E187	2	.16
N76E194	1	.08
N77E192	3	.25
N78E193	24	2.0
N78E194	141	11.9
N78E195	45	3.8
N78E196	55	4.6
N84E186	1	.08
N85E192	8	.67
Total	458	38.8
Site Total	1180	100.00

Using South's (1977a) methodology for calculating the dates for sites and site features is useful as long as the limitations of the method are understood. Firstly, the production dates for the ceramic patterns (Sussman 1979) were used to supply dates for the remains, however not all pattern designs are datable, thereby restricting the datable sample size. Eighty-four percent of the vessels from the entire UFG were datable.

Secondly, the dates given by Sussman (1979) refer to the date a pattern was introduced and to the latest date for which the pattern could be considered usable. Many of the pattern designs were used for extensive periods of time creating a skewed impression of the date a site may have been occupied. At UFG the Broseley pattern design appears in a high degree of frequency which may be a reflection of either its popularity or of the longevity of a pattern produced from 1818-1847.

Thirdly, South's (1977a) methodology does not interpret the fragments as portions of a vessel. Where a

high frequency of sherds may represent a solitary vessel, the sherds may heavily weight the date they represent. At Upper Fort Garry hollow ware vessels appear to have broken into more pieces than did flat ware vessels. Table 2 shows the differential breakage that occurred between the various vessel forms. The hollow ware vessels ie. cups, serving dishes and in particular, the chamber pot seemed to have broken into a large number of pieces.

By dividing the number of sherds by the number of vessels the average number of sherds per hollow ware and flat ware vessel is obtained. Hollow ware broke into an average of 11.5 and 19.6 pieces in privy/refuse pit 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 2
Number of Sherds of Hollow Ware and Flat Ware from Upper Fort Garry.

	Privy/refuse Pit 1			Privy/refuse Pit 2		
	# of Vessels	# of Sherds	# of Sherds/ Vessel	# of Vessels	# of Sherds	# of Sherds/ Vessel
Hollow Ware	10	115	11.5	13	256	19.6
Flat Ware	20	120	6.0	9	37	4.1
Total	30	235		22	293	

Flat ware has an average number of 6.0 and 4.1 pieces respectively. The highly fragmentable nature of hollow ware vessels compared to flat ware would bias a price index if fragment counts were used rather than a count of completely

and partially reconstructed vessels.

At UFG all of the vessels, with the exception of two surface finds and one small portion of a saucer, where recovered from the two Privy/refuse pits. The sherds excavated from outside the Privy/refuse pits were, for the most part, too small to be recognizable as a part of a vessel form. The sherds which were not recognizable as vessels were not included in any type of economic analysis.

It would be advantageous at this point to consider what behavioural activities occurred at UFG to result in ceramic vessels being recovered only from the privy/refuse pits while the remainder of the site revealed only scatterings of small sherds. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of sherd frequencies per vessel type in the privy/refuse pits.

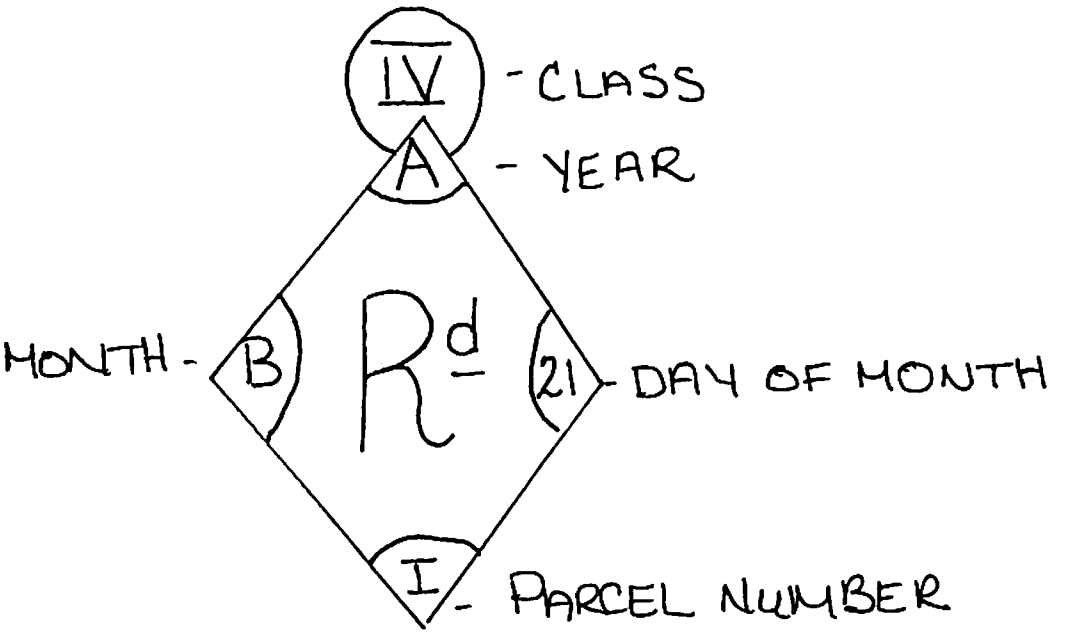
The privy/refuse pits were probably the recepticle for vessels which were no longer functional due to breakage. A vessel that happened to fall on the floor would break into any number of pieces, all being a variety of sizes. The larger pieces would be easily collected and perhaps sweeping the area would recover the majority of smaller pieces. These larger pieces would end up in a refuse area. The smallest pieces might remain where they fell when broken since they were too small to be noticed. These "housekeeping" activites are refered to as cultural formation processes where behavioural patterns directly

affect the archaeological distribution of artifacts (Schiffer 1975;62).

Table 3
Number of Sherds Per Vessel at Upper Fort Garry.

	Privy/Refuse Pit 1		Privy/Refuse Pit 2	
	# of Vessels	# of Sherds	# of Vessels	# of Sherds
Cup	3	32	2	9
Serving Dish	0	0	2	30
Small plate	2	4	2	6
Large plate	13	96	4	9
Jar	1	31	4	9
Hollow ware	1	8	1	4
Saucer	4	17	3	22
Bowl	1	26	2	7
Pitcher	1	6	0	0
Deep Saucer	1	10	1	3
Flat ware	1	3	0	0
Crock	2	2	0	0
Chamber Pot	0	0	1	194
Total	30	235	22	293

Although the sample size of sherds with manufacturer's marks is small, dating of these marks allows for more percision than using pattern dates alone, particularily if the registration and parcel number are present. These numbers give the exact year and month that a particular pattern design was registered. The design of the registration mark itself is datable as well (Godden 1967;27). From 1842-1867 the parcel number appears on the lower corner of the registration diamond. After 1868 the parcel number is in the left corner of the diamond (Godden 1967;26) (Fig.5). The presence of a manufacturer's mark also allows a sherd to be traced back to the company



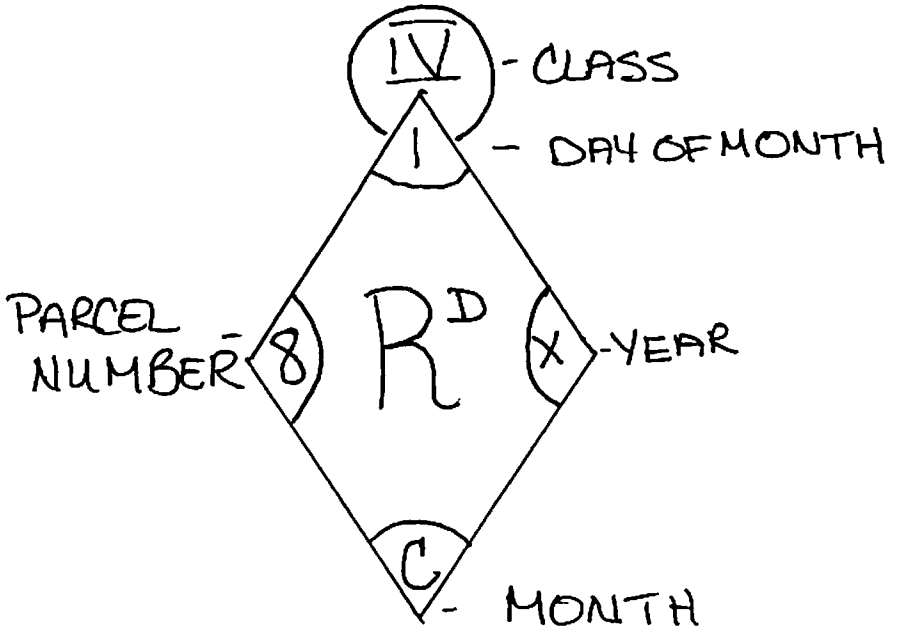


Figure 5. Example of registration and parcel number diamonds.

which produced the piece.

The dates of the pattern design and the manufacturer's mark indicate the introduction of either the design or the mark at its point of origin ie. Staffordshire It was typically two years before goods were received at York Factory after they were ordered (Hamilton 1982;48). In 1865 Hamilton notes that a York Factory clerk requested ceramic items with the [H]B pattern "these items where shipped from London in 1866 to arrive in York Factory in 1867. The earliest mention of this pattern in the invoices of shipments is recorded in 1868..." (1982;49).

All the vessels recovered from Upper Fort Garry with manufacturer's marks were excavated from either privy/refuse pit 1 or 2. One hundred and eighteen sherds were recovered the possessed a manufacturer's mark or belonged to a piece that did.

Manufacturer's Marks

1)Three plates had a manufacturer's mark of an impressed "Copeland and Garrett" "New Blanche" around an impressed crown. This mark was used from 1833-1847 by Copeland and Garrett (Fig.6a). One of the plates (vessels# 116) has the brown "Watteau" pattern design. The second plate (vessel# 142) had both a blue printed and an impressed version of this mark. This plate is decorated with the "Camilla" pattern design.

The last plate (vessel# 138) also had the blue printed and impressed versions of this mark. This plate has the "Lily" pattern design.

2)A deep saucer (vessel# 132) which was reconstructed with nine sherds bears the manufacturer's mark of "Copeland Late Spode" printed in green (Fig.6b) as well as an impressed "Copeland". The "Copeland Late Spode" mark was used from 1847-1867 by W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons. The pattern design "B772" decorated this deep saucer. A "British Flowers" plate (vessel# 130) possessed a blue printed "Copeland Late Spode" but not the impressed "Copeland".

3)A blue printed "Copeland" ".6" (Fig.6c) and an impressed "...land" was found on one piece of a "Broseley" cup (vessel# 156). The printed mark was used from 1847-1867 by W.T.Copeland and Sons. Vessel# 121 had similar marks, a blue printed "Copeland" ".6" and an impressed "Copeland". This vessel was also a cup with the "Broseley" pattern design.

4)A saucer (vessel# 159) was recovered with a green printed crown and "...ways" located underneath. This is possibly a Ridgeways manufacturer's mark. The saucer is decorated with a brown and blue stripe inside the rim and a thin brown stripe on the rim close to the center of the piece.

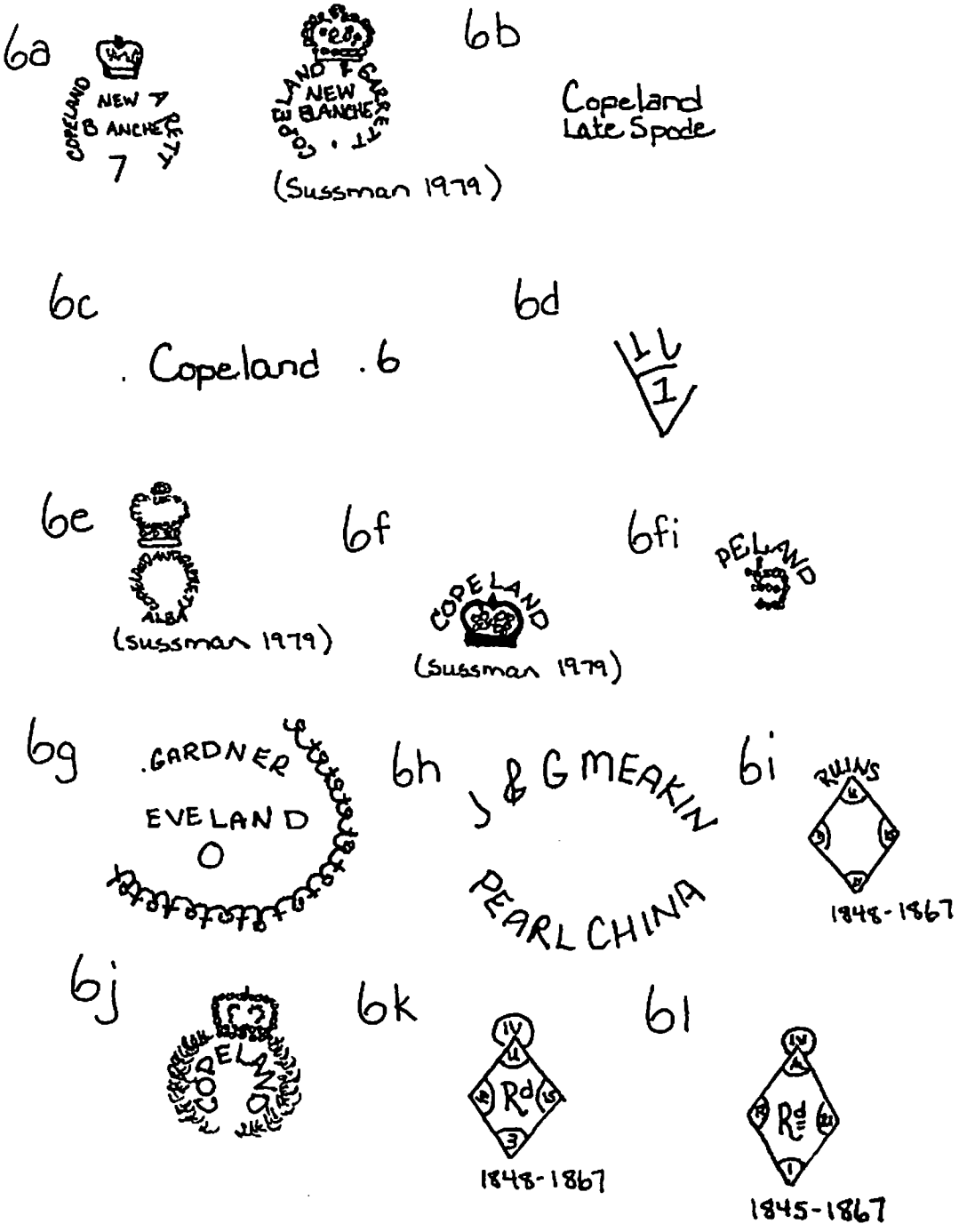


Figure 6. Manufacturer's Marks.

5)A blue shell edge decorated plate (vessel# 131) consisting of six pieces possesses an impressed anchor. The anchor does not appear to be datable.

6)One "Wellington" plate (vessel# 133) bares the mark of an impressed "Copeland". This mark was in use from 1847-1867 by both W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons. The plate was reconstructed from two sherds.

7)One small sherd with the "Continental Views" pattern design (cat# 1352) possesses a portion of a blue printed registration and parcel number (Fig.6d). The mark was used from 1842-1883. The pattern design "Continental Views" was produced by the W.T.Copeland company.

8)A blue printed "ALBA" was found on a "British Flowers" saucer (vessel# 118). Alba is probably the bottom line of "Copeland and Garrett" printed in a circle topped with a crown (Fig.6e). This mark was used from 1833-1847 by Copeland and Garrett.

9)A blue printed "Copeland" with an undecipherable line above and below was found on a cup with the "Broseley" pattern design (vessel# 108). W.T.Copeland and sons used this mark from 1847-1867.

10)A single plain sherd (cat# 5856) bares the impression of "peland" circled over a crown (Fig.6fi). This mark was used from 1847-1867 by W.T.Copeland and later by W.T.Copeland and Sons.

11)A saucer (vessel# 126) has the mark ".GARDNER

EVELAND O" (Fig.6g). The mark indicates that this is an American made artifact but it proved to be undatable.

12)An underglaze decorated chamber pot (vessel# 145) was reconstructed with 173 sherds. This vessel possesses the manufacturer's mark of an impressed "Copeland" over a crown and a printed "Copeland" (Fig.6f). This mark was also found on a dinner plate (vessel# 144) with the "Ruins" pattern design. W.T.Copeland used this mark from 1847-1867.

13)A plain saucer with moulded relief design (vessel# 110) was reconstructed with three sherds and has the manufacturer's mark of "J & G MEAKIN PEARL CHINA" (Fig.6h). The J & G Meakin Company dates from 1851 to the present. The inclusion of "pearl china" dates after 1851 to 1891 (Godden 1967;427).

14)A "Ruins" dinner plate (vessel# 144) has an impressed "Copeland", an impressed crown and a green printed pattern name and a printed registration diamond (Fig. 6i). The pattern was registered in 1848 and the style of diamond was used until 1867 (Fig.6f).

15)Vessel# 102, a small plate with the "Ruins" pattern design has an impressed crown, a registration diamond, a green printed crown with "Copeland" circled below (Fig.6j) and an impressed "L" and "10". The pattern was registered in 1848 and the style of diamond was used until 1867 (Fig.6k).

16)The "POWELL BRISTOL" manufacturer's mark appears on

a jar reconstructed of two sherds.

17)A plate reconstructed with five pieces has the pattern design "Gem". Gem was manufactured by Copeland and Garrett and W.T.Copeland from 1856-1882.

18)A "Broseley" cup (vessel# 115) has an impressed crown, a blue printed "Copeland" and a green printed "14". This symbol was used by both W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons from 1847-1867.

19)A small plate (vessel# 148) has a blue printed "Copeland Late Spode", an impressed "Copeland" and a printed registration diamond symbol (Fig.61). The rim of the plate is decorated with the "Louis Quatorze" pattern design. The pattern was registered in 1845 and the style of this diamond was used until 1867. These marks were used by W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons.

20)A cup (vessel# 147) with the "Broseley" pattern design has a blue printed "Copeland" "T" and an impressed "Copeland". W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons used this mark from 1847-1867.

21)A "Portland Vase" pattern design decorates a lid (vessel# 101) reconstructed with 20 sherds. This vessel has the manufacturer's mark of an impressed crown and a printed and impressed "Copeland Late Spode". This mark was used from 1847-1867 by W.T.Copeland and W.T.Copeland and Sons.

Dates Based On Manufacturer's Marks

A mean date was calculated using the sum of the frequency of a manufacturer's mark multiplied by the median date.

Mean Date= sum of product of marks / (frequency of marks + 1800).

Product = (median date-1799) x frequency of a manufacturer's mark.
Median = (initial date + terminal date of a mark) / 2.

Example using the frequency of Vessels from Privy/refuse pit 1.

Median = (1833 + 1847) / 2 = 1840.
Product= 1840 (-1799) x 4 = 164.
Mean date = (586.5 / 11) + 1799 = 1852.3.

Bracketing dates were found by averaging the initial and the terminal dates. A second initial, terminal and mean date was calculated in order to take into account the lag time for ceramics to reach Red River.

Privy/refuse pit 1 has a mean date of 1852.3(1854.3). Privy/refuse pit 2 has a mean date of 1858.3(1860.3) The bracketing dates however show further variation. Privy/refuse pit 1 has bracketing dates of 1842.0(1844)-1862.5(1864.5). The other pit seems to have been used at a later period, from 1847.4(1849.4)-1869.1(1871.1) (Tables 4A and B).

Table 4A

Dates Represented by the Manufacturer's Marks from Privy/refuse pit 1 Using Frequency of Vessels.

Dates	Freq	Product (-1799)	Initial date (-1799)	Terminal date (-1799)
1833(1835)-47(49)	4	164(172)	136(144)	192(200)
1842(1844)-83(85)	1	63.5(65.5)	43(45)	84(86)
1845(1847)-67(69)	1	57(59)	46(48)	68(70)
1847(1849)-67(69)	4	232(240)	192(200)	272(280)
1856(1858)-82(84)	1	70(72)	57(59)	83(85)
Total	11	586.5(608.5)	474(496)	699(721)

Mean Date=1852.3 (1854.3)
Initial Date=1842.0 (1844.0)
Terminal Date=1862.5(1864.5)

Table 4B

Dates Represented by the Manufacturer's Marks from Privy/refuse pit 2 Using Frequency of Vessels.

Dates	Freq	Product (-1800)	Initial date (-1799)	Terminal date (-1799)
1846(1848)-67(69)	1	57.5(59.5)	47(49)	68(70)
1847(1849)-67(69)	7	406(420)	336(350)	476(480)
1848(1850)-67(69)	2	117(121)	98(102)	136(140)
1851(1853)-91(93)	1	72(74)	52(54)	92(94)
Total	11	652.5(674.5)	533(555)	772(794)

Mean Date=1858.3 (1860.3)
Initial Date= 1847.4 (1849.4)
Terminal Date=1869.1(1871.1)

The dates for each of the privy/refuse pits calculated in terms of vessel frequency and the manufacturer's mark date lack in accuracy due to the relatively small sample size of vessels.

If the calculations are done using the frequency of sherds the results are entirely different (Table 5). The mean date for privy/refuse pit 1 is 1853.3; for privy/refuse pit 2 it is 1852.0. The date calculated for

the entire site assemblage is 1856.6. These results may suffer from a certain degree of skewness although the sample size is larger than the vessel frequency. The average number of sherds per vessel is approximately 10 but one vessel is represented by 173 sherds and this would weight the mean date for privy/refuse pit 2.

Table 5
Mean Dates Represented by the Manufacturer's Marks Using Frequency of Sherds.
Privy/refuse pit 1

	Freq of Sherds	Product
1833(1835)-47(49)	12	492(516)
1842(1844)-83(85)	1	63.5(65.5)
1845(1847)-67(69)	3	171(177)
1846(1848)-67(69		
1847(1849)-67(49)	18	1044(1080)
1848(1850)-67(69)		
1851(1853)-91(93)		
1856(1858)-82(84)	5	350(360)
Total	39	2120.5(2198.5)

Mean Date=1853.3(1855.3)

Privy/refuse Pit 2

	Freq of Sherds	Product
1833(1835)-47(49)		
1842(1844)-83(85)		
1845(1847)-67(69)		
1846(1848)-67(69)	20	1150(1190)
1847(1849)-67(69)	173	10034(10380)
1848(1850)-67(69)	10	585(605)
1851(1853)-91(93)	3	216(221)
1856(1858)-82(84)		
Total	226	11985(12396)

Mean Date=1852.0(1853.8)
Mean Date For Total Assemblage=1856.6(1858.6)

Decorative Methods

At UFG 54.6% of the ceramic sherds recovered were underglaze printed. This is in keeping with the mid 19th century fashion which made transfer printed ware popular. A slightly greater percentage, 33.4%, were plain sherds with no decoration. These sherds, however, may represent a plain portion of a decorated vessel. The majority of the sherds, 81.5% were glazed both on the interior and exterior.

Of the fifty-five pattern designs found at UFG, twenty-six are datable. All twenty six were manufactured by either the Copeland and Garrett Company (1833-1847), the W.T.Copeland Company (1847-67) or the later W.T.Copeland and Sons (1867-1970) (Sussman 1979). These twenty-six pattern designs are all underglaze printed and are primarily blue in colour but brown and green are also present. The datable patterns were coded and a median data calculated (Table 6).

Using the median date multiplied by the frequency of sherds per pattern design and the number of vessels per pattern design, a mean date can be obtained.

Bracketing dates were calculated using the date the patterns were initially used and two terminal dates for each pattern design. The first terminal date is 1882 which is the year UFG was dismantled. The second terminal date is the last date which the pattern design was considered to be

usable (Sussman 1979). A second initial date was calculated to correct for the time it would take for supplies to arrive at Red River from Europe.

Table 6
Codes and Median Dates for Datable Ceramic Patterns From UFG.

Pattern Name	Code	Dates	Median (-1799)
Blue Willow	A	1780-1820	1
Bosphorus	B	1854-1882	69
B700	C	1838-1847	43.5
Continental Views/ Louis Quatorze	D	1845-1882	64.5
Camilla	E	1833-1882(1900)	58.5(67.5)
Venetia	F		
Watteau	G	1847-1861	55
Passion Flower	H	1873-1882(1900)	78.5(87.5)
Broseley	I	1818-1847	33.5
Ivy	J	1845-1865	56
Shamrock	K	1861-1900	81.5
Alhambra	L	1856-1882(1900)	70(79)
Wild Rose	M	1830-1855	43.5
Ship Border	N	1820-1882(1910)	52(66)
Ionian	O	1851-1882(1900)	67(76.5)
Macaw	P	1838-1872	56
Wellington	Q	1839-1882	61.5
Ruins	R	1848-1882(1900)	66(75)
Rural Scenes	S	1850-1882(1900)	67(76)
B-772	T	1837-1882	60.5
Gem	U	1856-1882(1892)	70(75)
Marble	W	1822-1882	53
Rose Wreath	X	1847-1870	59.5
Antique Vase	Y	1833-1847	41
Portland Vase	Z	1831-1833	33
Strawberry	1	1825-1882(1900)	54.5(63.5)
Lily	2	1837-1882(1900)	60.5(69.5)
British Flowers	3	1833-1847	41

Eighty-six percent of the datable ceramic pieces were located in the two privy/refuse pits. The smaller pit, privy/refuse pit 2 contained 23%(N=70) of the total datable ceramics and the larger pit, contained 63%(N=204).

Privy/refuse pit 2 has a mean date of 1840.5, an initial date of 1830.7 (1832.7) and a terminal dates of 1852.5 (1855.9) (Table 8). The initial date is artificially low resulting from the high frequency of the "Broseley" pattern that was used from 1818-1847.

Using the entire UFG site assemblage a mean date of 1850.9 with bracketing dates of 1837.3 (1835.3)-1864.6 and a terminal pattern date of 1868.7 (Table 7).

Table 7

Dates For UFG Based on Frequency of Sherds Per Pattern Designs.

Pattern Code	Freq	Product	Initial Date	Terminal Date
A	4	4	7120	7280
B	10	690	18540	18820
C	20	870	36760	36940
D	39	2515.5	71955	73398
E	9	526.5(607.5)	16497	16938(17100)
G	3	165	5541	5583
H	19	1491.5(1662.5	35587	35758(36100)
I	60	2110	109080	110820
J	17	952	31365	31705
K	3	244.5	5583	5700
L	3	210(237)	5568	5646(5700)
M	13	565.5	23790	24115
N	3	156(198)	5460	5646(5730)
O	5	335(382.5)	9255	9410(9500)
P	5	280	9190	9360
Q	7	430.5	12873	13174
R	13	858(975)	24024	24466(24700)
S	1	67(76)	1850	1882(1900)
T	13	786.5	23881	24466
U	8	560(600)	14848	15056(15136)
W	1	53	1822	1882
X	3	178.5	5541	5610
Y	2	82	3666	3694
Z	20	660	36620	36660
1	7	381.5(444.5)	12775	13174(13300)
3	10	410	183300	18470
Total	298	15482.5	547521	555653(556843)

Mean Date=1850.9
Initial Date=1837.3
Terminal Date=1864.6(1868.8)

Table 8

Dates for Privy/refuse Pit 1 Based on Frequency of Sherds Per Pattern Design.

Pattern Code	Freq.	Product	Initial Date	Terminal Date
A	3	3	5340	5460
B	7	483	12978	13174
C	22	522	40436	40634
D	27	1741.5	49815	50814
E	9	526.5(637.5)	16497	16938
G	1	55	1847	1861
H	16	1256(1400)	29968	30112(30400)
I	38	1273	69084	70186
J	13	728	23985	24245
K	1	81.5	1861	1882(1900)
L	3	210(237)	5568	5646(5700)
M	2	87	3660	3710
N	2	104(132)	3649	3764(3820)
O	4	268(306)	7404	7528(7600)
P	3	168	5514	5616
Q	6	369	11034	11292
R	2	132(150)	3696	3764(3800)
S	1	67(76)	1850	1882(1900)
T	13	186.5	23881	24466
U	8	560(600)	14848	15056(15136)
W	1	53	1822	1882
X	3	178.5	5541	5610
Y	2	82	3666	3694
1	7	381.5(444.5)	12775	13174(13300)
2	3	181.5(208.5)	5511	5646(5700)
5	7	287	12831	12929
Total	204	10708.5	375052	380965(381767)

Mean Date=1851.4
Initial Date=1838.4
Terminal Date=1867.4(1871.4)

Table 9

Dates For Privy/refuse Pit 2 Based on Frequency of Sherds Per Pattern Design.

Pattern Code	Freq	Product	Initial Date	Terminal Date
B	2	138	3708	3764
C	1	43.5	1838	1847
E	1	58.5(67.5)	833	1882(1900)
I	20	670	36360	36940
M	10	430	18300	18500
N	1	52(66)	1820	1882(1910)
P	2	56	3676	3744
R	11	726(825)	20328	20702(20900)
Z	19	608	34789	34827
3	3	123	5499	5541
Total	70	2905	128151	129679(129916)

Mean Date=1840.5
Initial Date=1830.7
Terminal Date=1852.5(1855.9)

Privy/refuse pit 1 appears to have been used at a slightly later period (Table 8). The mean date is 1853.6 with bracketing dates of 1839.0(1841.0) and 1868.1(1872.0). It is quite plausible that privy/refuse pit 1 predates the arrival of the Sixth Regiment of Foot.

Cartier-Edwards (1986) indicates that the military maintained strict regulations regarding the differentiation between officers, the privates and the women's latrines. Upon the military's arrival at UFG it is conceivable that either new or simply more privies were required.

The mean dates for the privy/refuse pits may give a more accurate indication of their peiod of use relative to each other for the simple reason the military privies were typically cleaned out at regular intervals. A medical

> All refuse substances have been carefully removed from time to time as required and the latrine is disinfected regularily twice a week and as often as necessary (Cartier-Edwards 1986;8).

Assuming this to be true, the ceramic assemblages from privy/refuse pits at UFG would therefore represent a very brief span of time.

In conjunction with the mean dates and the assumption that the pits were cleaned regularily there is strong indication that privy/refuse pit 2 predates the arrival of the Sixth Regiment of Foot. The mean date of privy/refuse pit 1 coincides with the presence of the Sixth Regiment .

Table 10

Dates For Privy/refuse Pit 1 Based on Frequency of Vessels Per Pattern Design.

Pattern Code	Freq.	Median	Product
C	2	43.5	87
D	3	64.5	193.5
E	2	58.5(67.5)	117(135)
G	1	55	55
H	3	78.5(87.5)	235.5(262.5)
I	7	33.5	234.5
M	2	43.5	87
Q	2	61.5	123
R	3	66(75)	198(375)
T	1	60.5	60.5
U	2	70(75)	140(150)
Z	1	33	33
1	1	54.5(63.5)	54.5(63.5)
3	2	41	82
2	1	60.5(69.5)	60.5(69.5)
Total	33		1761(2011)

Mean Date=1852.4(1859.9)

Table 11

Dates For Privy/refuse Pit 2 Based on Frequency of Vessels Per Pattern Design.

Pattern Code	Freq.	Median	Product
C	1	43.5	43.5
I	3	33.5	100.5
M	1	43.5	43.5
Z	1	33	33
R	3	66(75)	198(225)
3	1	41	41
Total	10		459.5(486.5)

Mean Date=1844.9(1847.6)

The mean ceramic dates based on the frequency of vessels per pattern design concur with those based on sherd frequencies, that privy/refuse pit 2 was used at an earlier date than privy/refuse pit 1. The smaller sample size of the vessels may result in less accurate dates than those based on the sherd frequencies but the combined information of dates based on sherd and vessel frequency adds credibility to the results. The dates based on pattern designs is considered to be more reliable than those based on manufacturer's marks because of the larger sample of pattern designs.

Using the ceramics pattern dates, the individual strata were dated for each of the privy/refuse pits. In terms of the total artifact assemblage strata A,B and C contained mainly modern material although pre-twentieth century ceramics were found in here as well. The mean dates for these strata in the privy/refuse pits shows that there

may have been some degree of disturbance and therefore mixing of the artifacts (Table 12).

Table 12

Dates By Strata For Privy/refuse Pit 1 and 2.

Privy/refuse pit 1		Privy/refuse pit 2	
Strata	Mean Date	Strata	Mean Date
B N=6	1859.9	B N=2	1859.9
C N=2	1872.7		
D N=173	1849.9	D N=66	1836.3

The mean dates for strata B to C are older than expected. It is possible that after Upper Fort Garry was dismantled ceramics were not deposited in significant amounts. Strata D in privy/refuse pit 2 has an earlier mean date than privy/refuse pit 1, 1836.3 as oppossed to 1849.9.

In summary, privy/refuse pit 2 appears to have been used at an earlier period of time than privy/refuse pit 1. The dates calculated using the pattern designs suggest that privy/refuse pit 2 predates the arrival of any military occupation. Deposition into privy/refuse pit 1 dates after privy/refuse pit 2, to the period of military occupation of UFG. It may have been used for a brief period at the same time as privy/refuse pit 2.

Vessel Form

A vessel is considered to be, for the purposes of this thesis, any object that is identifiable in terms of its form whether it is complete or incomplete. At UFG fifty-five vessels were recovered. All the vessels were

removed from one of the two privy/refuse pits, with the exception of two crocks which were surface collected at the edge of the Assiniboine River.

Table 13 lists the frequency of vessels found in each of the privy/refuse pits. Fifty-four percent of the vessels were recovered from privy/refuse pit 1 and the remainder from privy/refuse pit 2. Large plates contitute 43% of the vessels recovered from privy/refuse pit 1. The next most frequent vessel types are saucers which compose 13% of the total vessels type.

Table 13

Frequency of Vessels by Functional Type and Location of Recovery, UFG.

Vessel Type	Privy/ Refuse Pit 1	Privy/ Refuse pit 2	Total UFG
Cup	3	2	5
Serving Dish	0	2	2
Sm.Plate	2	2	4
Lg.Plate	13	4	17
Jar	1	4	5
Hollow ware	1	1	2
Saucer	4	3	7
Bowl	1	2	3
Pitcher	1	0	1
Deep saucer	1	1	2
Flat ware	1	0	1
Crock	2	0	2
Chamber Pot	0	1	1
Total	30	22	55

Privy/refuse pit 2 had a more even spread of varieties of vessels with no one type being represented in vastly different quantities than the rest.

Large plates and jars each constitute 18% of the vessel count with the remaining percentages of vessels types being less.

The analysis of the forms of vessels assumes the function of the pieces, particularily when labels such as plate, saucer, or bowl are applied. Although a vessel may be used for a variety of functions, including some for which it may not have been designed, the labelling of vessel forms according to function is important when the analysis of the vessels is done in conjunction with historic documents. The archival records that apply functional labels indicate that the form and the function of a piece are equally important. Hamilton (1982;48) defines and describes a number of vessel forms that are listed in the HBC Indent Books. Bowls, for example may be listed as "Basins", "unhandled basins", "unhandled breakfast basins", "1/2 pint basons" or simply as "bowls" depending on the manufacturer's intended function of the piece.

At UFG two different bowl like forms were recovered (Appendix A, Fig.1 and 2). Hamilton's description of a "breakfast cup and saucer" would indicate that vessels# 132 (Appendix A, Fig.2) may in fact be more correctly called a saucer or deep saucer in order to dishtinguish it from the shallow type of saucer. Vessel# 108 (Appendix A, Fig.1) resembles the form of a breakfast cup. A breakfast cup and

saucer is,

> A cup that is considerably greater in capacity than a tea cup. The cups sent to York Factory were generally unhandled and of 1/2 pint or 3/4 pint capacity. The matching saucer is more similar to a shallow bowl than a modern saucer (Hamilton 1982;66).

Although saucers themselves are flatware, they are always associated with a hollow ware vessel in the archival records. In the York Factory invoice of Shipment saucers (Appendix A,Fig.3) are generally listed as "basins and saucers", breakfast basins and saucers", "1/2 pint cup and saucer" or "breakfast cups and saucers". There where no identifible handled tea cups found at UFG presumably due to their fragile nature. As Hamilton (1982;66) notes, York Factory usually received cups that where described as unhandled and of 1/2 pint or 3/4 pint capacity rather than simply cups.

Plates (Appendix A,Fig.4a-c) are divided into two catagories. Large plates, are ten to fourteen inches in size and small plates are six to eight and a half inches in size. Both varieties were found in the two privy/refuse features.

One chamber pot was recovered (Appendix A, Fig.5). This was the only toiletware vessel excavated at UFG.

One small pitcher (Appendix A, Fig.6) was found and reconstructed of six sherds. A large soup tureen or serving

dish lid with the Portland Vase pattern design was found (Appendix A, Fig.7). The lid is notched to allow for the placement of a spoon. A serving dish of the Wild Rose pattern design was also recovered (Appendix A, Fig.8).

Kitchenware is represented by two crocks and four jars. Three of the jars are of the crenulated variety, the fourth is a plain stoneware vessel.

White earthenware was the most commonly used body on which transfer prints were applied during the mid 1800's. Collard (1984;118) states that where creamware and porcelain had once been popular, blue printed earthenware was now fashionable. White earthenware was used in the manufacture of both table and toilet wares.

Waretypes

At UFG 81.7% of the ceramics recovered were white earthenware (Table 14). Course, yellow and buff earthenware were common types of ware used in the kitchen. At UFG 7.5% of the ceramics were represented by these types of wares.

Table 14

Frequency and Percent of Ware Types, UFG.

Waretype	Frequency	Percent
Not identified	1	.01
Earthenware	12	.85
Coarse Earthenware	62	4.7
Fine Earthenware	2	.14
Yellow Earthenware	21	1.5
Red Earthenware (19th century)	11	.78
Buff Earthenware	17	1.3
White Earthenware	1063	81.7
Vitrified White Earthenware	31	2.4
Stoneware	26	1.8
Coarse Stoneware	2	.14
Derbyshire	1	.07
Fulham/Lambeth	14	.99
Improved Glaze/ North American	1	.07
Porcelain	37	2.8
Total	1301	100.0%

The amount of porcelain at UFG is very low. Only 2.8% of the total sherds were porcelain. The paucity of porcelain may be indicative of the popularity of transfer printed earthenware. Porcelain was not purchased by the HBC in the large quantities that white earthenware was and therefore the low frequency of porcelain is not unexpected.

Chapter 6

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

This chapter deals with the economic analysis of the ceramic remains from five Red River sites. Two methods of comparison will be used. The first is Miller's (1980) technique of indexing the cost of the ceramic pieces. This method was deemed useful since it removes any subjectivety in the analysis. Miller's methodology has also been applied to the ceramic assemblage from Lower Fort Garry to illustrate economic variation (Sussman 1982). Instead of trying to assess who had the most ceramics or the "nicest", indexing the cost of the ceramics ascertains, relatively, how much was spent on a particular assemblage.

The second method of comparing the assemblages is based on an expensive verses non-expensive dichotomy proposed in Kenyon and Kenyon's (1986) analysis of a number of sites in Southern Ontario. Instead of dealing with the direct cost of the cermamic pieces this method groups them into two catagories, expensive and non-expensive. A comparison of the percentages of expensive ceramics yields interesting results. Kenyon and Kenyon also looked at the ratio of plates to saucers as an indication of the differences or similarities between sites.

Miller's Indexing Technique

Ideally, in order to establish a price index for ceramics from a particular area,

> A detailed study of ceramic prices and descriptions from a city of importation could provide knowledge of the range of types , forms and sizes being imported and cost information which would have application for the immediate surrounding area (Miller 1980;5).

Miller (1980;21) uses potters' wholesale prices to establish price lists. Price fixing lists from Staffordshire potters, Bills of Lading and bills from merchants from Pennsylvannia, Virginia and Delaware were used to establish price lists for ceramics of various forms and decorative variety. The price list covers the years between 1787 and 1874 with a list for fifteen different years. Using this information, Miller (1980) compares four ceramic assemblages from three different North Eastern states.

Difficulties arise in a comparison of this nature. Firstly, although the wholesale prices may be relatively stable, the retail prices may differ widely between the different regions and it is the retail prices that govern personal expenditure patterns. Secondly, Miller establishes price indexes from fifteen different years during which the wholesale prices fluctuate. Miller (1980;6) indicates that wholesale values of ceramics changed substantially between

1840 and 1860 yet the Tenant Farmer's House which was occupied throughout those years has been indexed with the scale of values only from 1846 (Miller 1980;35).

Red River sites are perhaps more suitable to the application of Miller's indexing technique. In applying Miller's methodology to compare five Red River sites it was found that: 1)a source of historic information regarding ceramic prices can be found in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The Hudson's Bay Company "Invoices of Shipment for Red River" provide details regarding the movement of ceramic goods in and out of York Factory; 2)the occupants of the five sites were, for the most part, dependent on a single supplier (the HBC), for their ceramics; 3)price indexing would show more variety if based on vessel form rather than on decorative method; and 4)the prices of the ceramics varied little between the years 1830 and 1862. The ceramic prices represent wholesale prices. The resulting retail prices would not be subject to variation since the HBC monopolized the ceramic market at Red River.

Miller's index (1980) is based on the fact that cream coloured was the cheapest type of ware available during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The Hudson's Bay Company records contain very few invoices of cream coloured ware between 1827 and 1860. In 1834 and 1836 (B235/d/61) there is reference to "common", "Queensware" and "white" wares. The Queensware is "col'd" (coloured), not undecorated as

Miller indicates is typical during the 18th century.

Only 69 of 414 invoices for Red River between 1827 and 1860 describe undecorated ceramics, ie. "white" or no decorative description. During the mid 1800's transfer printed ware was considered to be more fashionable than the once popular cream coloured ware (Collard 1984).

Miller (1980) catagorizes the ceramic pieces by decoration and by form. According to the Staffordshire Price fixing agreements (Mountford 1975), prices of ceramic articles vary depending on these attributes. However, in the Hudson's Bay Company Invoices of Shipments for York Factory, the single most important attribute is the form of the vessel. Before 1847 the decoration if noted, is only recorded as "coloured", "green", "brown" or "blue". The Invoices of Shipment from 1847 to 1860 give slightly more detail of the decoration by including the pattern name, ie. "36 plates Watteau brown" (B239/ee/52 1847). The colour of the pattern does not affect the price of the article. Thirty-six Camella blue plates and thirty-six Watteau brown plates were both priced at four pence per plate (B239/ee/52). The price does vary between plain earthenware pieces and earthenware with decoration, the latter being the more expensive.

It should be noted that there was not a great deal of decorative variety in the ceramic vessels imported to Upper Fort Garry. This was also found to be true at Lower Fort

Garry. "The decision to purchase an object with a particular function is an economic as well as simply a functional decision" (Sussman 1982;42). The Hudson's Bay Company's Invoices of Shipment indicate that the Lower Fort Garry store sold transfer-printed ware almost exclusively. The cheaper equivalents were not available at the store (Sussman 1982;44). Although decoration cannot be ignored as a factor in purchasing a ceramic piece, fashion and accessibility limited ones options.

It is evident therefore, that indexing on the basis of decoration would show little variation between assemblages at Red River. Sussman (1982;43) compares the results of indexing ceramic assemblages from Lower Fort Garry based on firstly, decoration and secondly, vessel shape. She found that differences between the assemblages was more marked when using shape than using decoration indices. Vessel form appears to be the single most important attribute detailed in the Hudson's Bay Company Invoice of Shipments and will therefore be the only variable of the ceramic assemblages examined using Miller's indexing technique.

Between 1827 and 1860 the prices of ceramic pieces generally remained constant (see also Hamilton (1982:53). Because inflation was not a significant factor during this period, the assemblages compared here are considered to be contemporaneous.

Using Miller's indexing technique, the number of

invoices in the Hudson's Bay Company records from 1827 to 1860 was tabulated for each vessel form and the mean price was calculated. An index value of 1.00 was given to the vessel form with the lowest mean price, in this case bowls with a mean price of 2.95 pence. An index number was calculated for each vessel form by dividing it's mean price by the mean price of the bowls. For example, large plates have a mean price of 3.89 pence which divided by 2.95, produces an index value of 1.31. Table 15 lists the vessel forms and their respective index numbers. Table 16 through 24 show the calculated index values for the assemblages from each of the five Red River sites. Table 25 summarizes the index values for these sites.

Table 15

Index Values of Vessel Forms For 1827 to 1860.

Vessel Form	# of Invoices	Mean Price in Pence	Index Number
Soup plate	22	4.0	1.35
Small plate	39	3.5	1.18
Large plate	43	3.8	1.31
1 pint Basins	3	3.5	1.18
Breakfast cup & saucer	7	4.2	1.42
Cup and saucer	5	6.5	1.88
Chamber pot	23	20.8	7.05
Bowl	12	2.9	1.00
Tureen	14	121.2	41.08
Basin with saucer	4	3.5	1.18
Bowl with saucer	22	4.9	1.66
12" serving dish	7	17.5	5.93
Small pitcher	1	10.8	3.70
Teapot	15	17.5	5.93
Jug	10	10.0	3.38
Washbasin	9	22.0	7.50
Sauce Tureen	3	32.6	11.00
Ewer	4	41.3	14.00
Sugar Bowl	3	12.0	4.00

Table 16
Index Values For Delorme House, Area A

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Large plate	4	1.31	5.24
Saucer	1	1.88	1.88
Cup	1	1.88	1.88
Total	6		9.00

N=6
Mean index value=1.5
Standard deviation=.25

Table 17
Index Values For Delorme House, Area B

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Saucer	2	1.88	1.76
Bowl	1	1.00	1.00
Cup	19	1.88	35.72
Jug/pitcher	2	3.38	6.76
Teapot	1	5.93	5.93
Large plate	1	1.31	1.31
Total	26		54.48

N=26
Mean index value=2.1
Standard deviation=.90

Table 18
Index Values For the Troop Canteen and Barracks, Lower Fort Garry.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index values
Saucer	6	1.88	11.28
Large plate	19	1.31	24.89
Cup	23	1.88	43.24
Bowl	6	1.00	6.00
Serving dish	1	5.93	5.93
Small plate	7	1.18	8.26
Total	62		99.60

N=62
Mean index value=1.60
Standard deviation=.65

Table 19

Values For the Big House, Lower Fort Garry.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total Index value
Saucer	22	1.59	34.98
Large plate	28	1.31	36.68
Cup	18	1.88	33.84
Sauce Tureen	4	11.00	44.00
Washbasin	4	7.50	30.00
Pitcher	1	3.70	3.70
Deep saucer	3	1.42	4.30
Ewer	1	14.00	14.00
Chamber pot	3	7.00	21.00
Breakfast cup	1	1.42	1.42
Sugar bowl	1	4.00	4.00
Soup plate	1	1.35	1.35
Serving dish	2	5.93	11.86
Teapot	2	5.93	11.86
Small plate	13	1.18	15.34
Total	104		268.28

N=104
Mean index value=2.57
Standard deviation=1.5

Table 20

Index Values For the Farmer's House, Lower Fort Garry.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Large plate	12	1.31	15.72
Washbasin	1	7.50	7.50
Cup	11	1.88	20.68
Saucer	17	1.88	31.96
Deep saucer	1	1.42	1.42
Breakfast cup	4	1.42	5.68
Small plate	1	1.18	1.18
Total	47		84.14

N=47
Mean index value=1.8
Standard deviation=.92

Table 21
Index Values For Structures 2 and 3, Riel House.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Saucer	9	1.88	16.92
Teapot	1	5.93	5.93
Soup plate	1	1.35	1.35
Large plate	7	1.31	9.17
Serving dish	1	5.93	5.93
Cup	6	1.88	11.28
Total	25		50.58

N=25
Mean index value=2.02
Standard deviation=1.2

Table 22
Index Values For The Garden Site

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Large plate	12	1.31	15.72
Bowl	4	1.00	4.00
Cup	4	1.88	7.52
Saucer	1	1.88	1.88
Total	21		29.12

N=21
Mean index value=1.38
Standard deviation=.09

Table 23
Index Values For Vessels From Privy/Refuse Pit 1, Upper Fort Garry.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Bowl	1	1.00	1.00
Small plate	2	1.18	3.54
Large plate	13	1.31	17.03
Saucer	4	1.88	7.52
Pitcher	1	3.70	3.70
Deep Saucer	1	1.42	1.42
Cup	3	1.88	5.64
Total	25		39.85

N=25
Mean index value=1.59
Standard Deviation=1.9

Table 24

Index Values For Vessels From Privy/Refuse Pit 2, Upper Fort Garry.

Vessel	Frequency	Index Value	Total index value
Serving dish	2	17.50	35.00
Bowl	5	1.00	5.00
Small Plate	2	1.18	2.36
Large Plate	4	1.31	2.62
Saucer	3	1.88	5.64
Chamber pot	1	7.05	7.05
Cup	2	1.88	3.76
Deep saucer	1	1.42	1.42
Total	20		62.85

N=20
Mean index value=3.14
Standard deviation=5.00

Table 25

Rank Order of Mean Index Values for Five Red River Sites

Site	N	Mean index value	Standard deviation
Privy/refuse 2,UFG	20	3.14	5.00
Big House, LFG	104	2.57	1.50
Delorme House, Area B	26	2.10	.90
Riel House Structures 2 & 3	25	2.02	1.20
Delorme House	32	1.98	.85
Upper Fort Garry	45	1.96	1.80
Farmer's House, LFG	47	1.80	.92
Troop Canteen & Barracks, LFG	62	1.60	.65
Privy/refuse 1 UFG	25	1.59	1.90
Delorme House, Area A	6	1.50	.25
Garden Site	21	1.38	.09

Based on the mean index values, privy/refuse pit 2 had the most expensive vessel forms. The high standard deviation for privy/refuse pit 2 is caused by the presence of the two serving dishes, which are significantly more

expensive than the other vessels. The Big House at LFG ranked second. It was suggested earlier (chapter 5) that privy/refuse pit 2 may have been used prior to the arrival of the military at UFG. These index values seem to support this hypothesis if the values of the LFG troop canteen and barracks and UFG's privy/refuse pit 1 are considered. Privy/refuse pit 1 was probably used by the Sixth Regiment of Foot based on the ceramic dates. The index value of 1.88 for this feature is closer to that of the Troop canteen and barracks at LFG which has an index value of 1.60, than that of privy/refuse pit 2. This suggests that the troop canteen and barracks and privy/refuse pit 1 functioned at more similar economic levels than did privy/refuse pit 2.

The Riel House had a relatively high index value compared to the other two Metis sites and the farmer's house of LFG. This may be a reflection of Riel's high profile in Red River society resulting from his political involvement.

Comparing Expensive and Non-expensive Ceramics

Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) found that there was a relationship between the percent of expensive wares and the number of vessel forms at twenty 18th century European sites in Southern Ontario. It was found that those sites with greater percentages of expensive ware had relatively more plates than did the sites with less expensive wares.

Expensive wares are defined as porcelain and transfer printed earthenware. Inexpensive wares are painted earthenware, sponged or stamped, edged or plain earthenware.

Kenyon and Kenyon attribute this phenomenon to the fact that wealthier households typically indulged in multicourse meals with the plates being changed between courses thereby requiring a large stock of plates. Cups and saucers, while necessary were not required in the same quantities. Households, who were not economically able to aspire to such luxury had a more equal number of plates, cups and saucers, usually one set per person.

In Kenyon and Kenyon's analysis the percent of expensive ware is calculated using the formula;

Percent of expensive wares = Exp/N

N=Total number of plates, cups and saucers.

Exp=# of expensive plates, cups and saucers.

This formula limits the sample size firstly, by using only identifiable vessels forms and secondly, by including only three types of vessel forms. Sherds that are not identifiable vessels are not included in the analysis. Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) are in fact comparing only a certain aspect of behaviour associated with food, that of tea drinking and multicourse meals.

The relationship between the percent of expensive wares with the plate to saucer ratio (Fig.7) yields some

interesting results.

The troop canteen and barracks at LFG had the most expensive collection of ceramics, that is 100% of the ceramics were transfer print, as well as a high plate to saucer ratio. The privy/refuse pit 1 from UFG is ranked second in terms of the expense of the ceramics and the plate to saucer ratio. It is interesting that the Big House at LFG ranks below the troop canteen and barracks in this analyis.

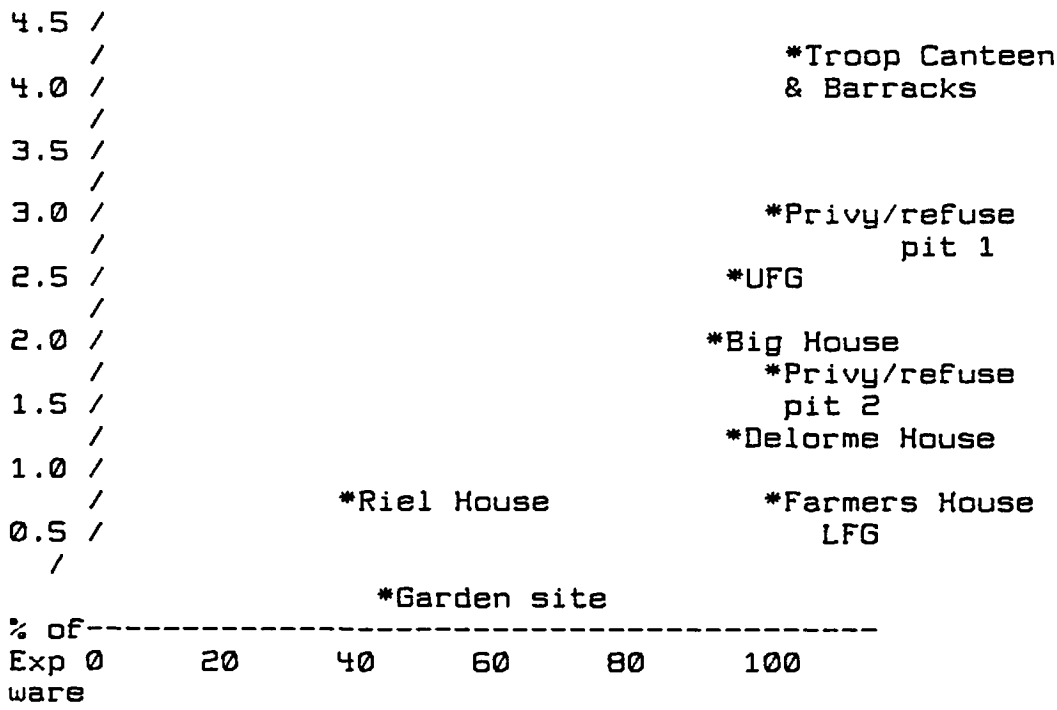


Figure 7. Percent of Expensive ware and Plate to Saucer Ratio.

Delorme House ranks above either of the other two Metis sites. The Riel House assemblage has the least expensive collection but a higher plate to saucer ratio than the Garden site.

In the case of the Big House, the Metis sites and possibly UFG, this method of comparing assemblages is valid since these sites represent family residences. At UFG the collection probably represents the refuse from the military occupation which may or may not have included family units.

It is unlikely that the men using the troop canteen and barracks involved themselves with multi coursed meals. The high plate to saucer ratio may simply represent the large number of men using the facilities.

The primary difficulty with this analysis is that the sample used is small relative to the total number of ceramics found at the sites. Secondly, this analysis only includes plates, cups and saucers in determining the relative "cost" of the assemblages. The plate to saucer ratio is also more of a measure of the inhabitants British behaviour patterns in that it assumes that whenever economically possible the occupants will have several course meals, during which the plates are regularily changed and that tea is part of this meal. Dispite the limitations, Kenyon and Kenyon's method of analyzing ceramic assemblages can supply additional information when combined with other analytical techniques.

CHAPTER 7

INTERPRETATIONS

The interpretations of the economic analysis and its implications for UFG and the Red River settlement will be discussed in this chapter. The UFG ceramic artifact assemblage will be examined first in light of the economic analysis and with reference to conclusions that other authors have drawn about the assemblages. The UFG assemblages will then be compared to the other Red River sites first, using the results of the mean index value and second, by including the results of the percent of expensive ware and the plate to saucer ratio.

Upper Fort Garry

The initial and terminal dates of the privy/refuse pits at UFG indicate that they were probably used consecutively with a period of overlap. The bracketing dates for privy/refuse pit 1, 1838.4-1867.5 suggest that this feature was used after privy/refuse pit 2 which has bracketing dates of 1830.7-1852.5.

Out of necessity, the military diligently cleaned out the latrines at frequent and regular intervals (Cartier-Edwards 1986;2). The need to adhere to this practise was probably not lost on the HBC. For this reason the mean dates for the two privy/refuse pits may provide a more accurate date than the bracketing dates since the

ceramic refuse was deposited during a brief span of time. Privy/refuse pit 2, with a mean date of 1840.5, predates the arrival of any of the military detatchments that occupied the fort. Privy/refuse pit 1 dates to slightly after the stay of the Sixth Regiment of Foot but in 1848 the Chelsea pensioners arrived and remained at UFG for an extended period of time.

Fifik (1986;77) calculated slightly different initial and terminal dates for the two privy/refuse features. Table 26 summarizes the dates calculated by this researcher and by Fifik (1986). Based on these dates it was concluded by Fifik (1986) that the two features were utilized simultaneously. Fifik's mean dates however, indicate that privy/refuse pit 2 predates privy/refuse pit 1 (1986;76) which coincides well with the present analysis.

Table 22

Summary of Dates Calculated By Two Researchers For UFG.

Researcher 1 Larcombe

USING SHERD FREQUENCIES

Privy/refuse Pit 1

	Mfg. Marks			Pattern Design		
X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date		X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
1853.3	1843.5	1863.1		1851.4	1838.4	1867.5 (1871.4)

Privy/refuse Pit 2

X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date		X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
1857.2	1847.0	1867.3		1840.5	1830.7	1852.5 (1855.9)

USING VESSEL FREQUENCIES

Privy/refuse Pit 1

	Mfg. Marks			Pattern Design	
X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date	X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
1852.3	1842.0	1862.2 (1864.5)	1854.8	1838.8	1870.7 (1877.9)

Privy/refuse Pit 2

X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date	X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
1858.3	1847.4	1869.1 (1871.1)	1844.9	1833.0	1856.9 (1861.3)

Researcher 2 Fifik (1986)

Privy/refuse Pit 1

	Mfg. Marks		Pattern Design		
X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date	X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
N/A	N/A	N/A	1854.3 (1857.3)	1839.8	1868.8 (1874.8)

Privy/refuse Pit 2

	Mfg. Marks		Pattern Design		
X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date	X Date	Initial Date	Terminal Date
1857.0	N/A	N/A	1847.0 (1847.3)	1832.4	1860.5 (1866.1)

Fifik (1986) assumes that the privy/refuse features were deposited at the same time and that the frequencies of ceramic artifacts found in the pits reflects differential use. Fifik (1986;78) concludes that both features were used by the Sixth Regiment of Foot and that privy/refuse pit 1 was used by the "higher ranks, ie. officers and sergeants and corporals with families" and that "the lower ranks of the army, ie privates used Privy II..." (1986;79).

This does not appear to be the most accurate conclusion for several reasons. Firstly Fifik (1986) bases her economic differentiation between the two pits only on

the frequency of ceramic sherds. This is based on Sussman's (1979;191) indication that the,

> "military personnel of the Sixth Regiment of Foot (1986-48) ... probably used metal plates and cups which were carried as part of the personal equipment.

Commissioned officers dined on ceramic dishes (Sussman 1979;191). What Fifik infers then is that the officers, who used ceramics dishes deposited them in the officer's latrine causing the high frequency of ceramics in privy/refuse pit 1. The opposite would be true of the rank and file who did not use ceramic dishes and therefore had few to deposit in their latrine. This is not supported by the LFG assemblage from the troop canteen and barracks. The presence of a ceramic assemblage suggests that the rank and file did use ceramic vessels while at the fort.

This assumes then, that the officers, themselves would take refuse, including broken dishes and dump it in the officer's latrine. It is difficult to conceive that the commissioned officers themselves were relegated to clearing away kitchen refuse after meals. This also applies to their wives. The wives that accompanied Sergeants and Corporals were of the same European background as the wives of the Hudson's Bay Company officers. Although they were thought to be an asset they were typically, "cultivating of a sickly state of health, unable to cook, mend or sew"

(Livermore 1976;167). They were generally not disposed to perform any useful household tasks and were accustomed to personal waiting servants and nurses for the children. Native and Metis women were probably responsible for the household tasks and the kitchen duties for the military.

The military adhered to strict protocol in the division of officer's, the regular men's, and the women's latrines (Cartier-Edwards 1986;2). The frequency of ceramics would not indicate the differentiation between officers and the rank and file of the military, rather, it would be an indicator of who discarded the refuse.

There are two possible explanations for the difference in quantities of ceramic artifacts between the two privy/refuse pits. First, privy/refuse pit 1 is larger and deeper than privy/refuse pit 2 (Monks 1983;12). Secondly, if the pits were routinely cleaned out the quantities of ceramic artifacts found would be dependent on how well the pits were cleaned and on how long the pits were used after they were cleaned last. Therefore the actual number of sherds in either pit would not indicate economic differentiation.

Without the benefit of Miller's (1980) and Kenyon and Kenyon's (1986) techniques of economic analysis, interpretation of the privy/refuse pits is limited. An intersite and intrasite comparison provides some indication of the economic postition of those who depositied both the

Upper Fort Garry assemblage and the assemblages at five other Red River sites.

Results of the Mean Index Value

Based on Miller's (1980) indexing technique, privy/refuse pit 2 at Upper Fort Garry had the most expensive ceramic assemblage. The fact that this collection ranks above the Big House at Lower Fort Garry is unexpected. Privy/refuse pit 1 has a mean index value that is only slightly higher than half of that of privy/refuse pit 2.

The presence of serving dishes in privy/refuse pit 2 suggests a formal type of dining. This is in keeping with the behaviour of the Hudson's Bay Company officer's who were know to entertain in style. The LFG Big House functioned as the Governor's residence and administrative center. The high quality of ceramic pieces reflect the economic position of the people who resided at this site.

Riel House had the third highest mean index value, Delorme House the fourth. Both of these Metis sites were inhabited by people who retained a relatively high profile in the Red River community. According to the historic records, the Riel's were not however, financially well off. After Louis Riel's father died it took the family four years to pay off his debts (Gosman 1977;5). Delorme was a successful farmer as well as a member of the Provincial

Legislative Assembly.

It is interesting that the Beauchamp's, who were historically noted to be very prosperous, ranked last in terms of the mean index value. The Beauchamp's were involved in trade and agriculture, two typically Metis occupations. The highly fragmented nature of the ceramics from the Garden site may explain the low index values since only recognizable vessels are included in the sample. It is also possible however, that the Beauchamp's chose to purchase the cheaper vessel forms or American ceramics for which prices are unavailable.

The Riels and Delormes, according to the mean index values chose to buy more expensive pieces although the historic records indicate that they may not have been as financially sound as the Beauchamp's. It is entirely probable that their deep involvement in Red River society influenced them in their purchasing patterns.

The Farmer's House and the troop canteen and barracks at Lower Fort Garry ranked third and second last according to the mean index values. The non-commissioned officers of the military,obviously did not dine on expensive wares compared to the other Red River sites. However, the military was supplied with transfer-printed ware which was far from the cheapest type of ceramics available. It should be noted that privy/refuse pit 1 ranked fourth from the lowest mean index value, only two positions above the troop

canteen and barracks.

The calculation of mean index values for the Red River sites presents a fairly distinct order of economic position. The major problem with the conclusions based on these finding is that the calculations are based on relatively small sample sizes. The use of additional methods of analyzing the relative econonmic standing can add reliability to the mean index values if the results concur, and/or may help to provide a clearer understanding of the differences between the sites.

Results using Kenyon and Kenyon's Method

The results of the analysis of the ceramic assemblages using Kenyon and Kenyon's technique are not as clear as those provided by the indexing technique.

All of the sites except for the Riel House and the Garden site cluster near 100% in the percent of expensive wares. According to Kenyon and Kenyon this indicates that these ceramic assemblages had a high frequency of transfer-print wares and porcelain. Porcelain, however, was present in very small quantities at the sites. It was the transfer-print ware that composed the high percentage of expensive ware. All of the HBC sites had ceramic assemblages that are close to being 100% expensive wares while only one of the three Metis sites had this high of a percentage.

Interpreting the Economic Analyses

It is perhaps the grouping of the different assemblages that reseult from the mean index value rankings, the percent of expensive ware and the plate to saucer ratio, that is important when interpreting the results of the three analytical techniques, rather than the ranks of the individual site assemblages.

The privy/refuse pits are quite dissimilar to each other when compared using the three methods of economic analysis. Privy/refuse pit 1 is in fact more similar to the troop canteen and barracks at Lower Fort Garry than privy/refuse pit 2. Both privy/refuse pit 1 and the troop canteen and barracks have high plate to saucer ratios which may represent the large number of men rather than a number of courses that composed a meal. This high ratio would also suggest that if metal plates were a part of one's personal military equipment, ceramic plates were used at the forts. It is not clear however, why the number of saucers is so low unless beverages other than tea were typically consumed.

Both privy/refuse pit 1 and the troop canteen and barracks had a high percentage of expensive ware. When ordering ceramic ware, the military undoubtedly ordered wares that were easily available as well as fashionable. This also happens to be one of the more expensive types of ware during this time.

The Big House at Lower Frot Garry had both a high index value, a high percentage of expensive ware and a moderate plate to saucer ration. This is in keeping with the fact that the Big House was used by Governors and Company administrators.

Privy/refuse pit 2 at Upper Fort Garry probably represents the Hudson's Bay Company occupation prior to the military's arrival. The mean index value for this assemblage, the percent of expensive wares and the plate to saucer ratio suggest that the wares were more expensive than the Riel House and Garden site ceramic assemblages. Although the Big House and privy/refuse pit 2 scared higher mean index values than privy/refuse pit 1 and the troop canteen and barracks, the latter two had the highest percentage of expensive ware followed by the combined Upper Fort Garry collection and next the Big House. Individually, privy/refuse pit 1 and 2 ranked third and fourth after the Big House but the pits were within 3% of each other.

It the actual numbers produced by the economic analyses are put aside and the groupings of the sites is examined further similarities and differences between the sites are apparent. The troop canteen and barrack appears to be similar in economic position to privy/refuse pit 1. In fact privy/refuse pit 1 is closer in terms of economic standing to the troop canteen and barracks than it is to privy/refuse pit 2. It is possible then that privy/refuse

pit 1 served as a refuse pit for the same rank of military as those who deposited the assemblage at the troop canteen and barracks at LFG.

Another grouping would include the Big House and privy/refuse pit 2. The Big House assemblage represents the archaeological deposit of the members of the highest echelons of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mean ceramic dates of privy/refuse pit 2, the percent of expensive ware and the plate to saucer ratio suggests that this may be true of this feature as well. This is supported by the large number of serving dishes in the Big House assemblage and that all theA third grouping appears to include Delorme House and Riel House. Both of these sites have a low plate to saucer ratio. Riel House has less than one saucer for every plate. Kenyon and Kenyon (1986;88) indicate that poorer or at least simpler households had one plate, one cup and saucer per person. This was considered to be the minimum amount required. Riel House also had a lower percentage of expensive ware than Delorme House yet riel House had a higher mean index value. The vessel forms recovered had high index values, ie. teapot and serving dishes, however, the amount of transfer print ware and porcelain recovered is lower than at the other sites.

The plate to saucer ratio is actually a measure of the degree to which the occupants of a site prescribed to European behaviour patterns, that is the part-taking of

multicourse meals and the drinking of tea. It cannot be assumed that the occupants of the Metis sites followed these behaviour patterns. This may account for the low plate to saucer ration at Riel House and the Garden site.

The Garden site ranked the lowest in every economic analysis. The Beauchamps present a contradiction in the historically they are noted to be well off yet the ceramic assemblage is cheaper than the other four sites. it is possible that although considered well off, perhaps the occupants of the other sites were still in a better financial position. It is also possible that the Beauchamps chose to spend their money on something other than the more expensive types of ceramics.

Assessing Economic Variation in the Archaeological Record

It was hypothesized in Chapter 1 that the economic variability that existed historically in the Red River community shoud be appared in the ceramic artifact assemblages from this area. Economic position is one of the many components of an individuals socio-economic composure. The archaeological literature shows that quthors have tried to unravel the complexities of "socio-economic status" without gaining a clear definition or understanding of the concept. In order to assis in the clarification of this concept one of its aspects, economic position, is examined.

Ceramics, a durable part of the archaeological record

was historically found to exhibit variability in cost based on the form of vessels. Two methods of measuring economic variability indicate that economic differentiation is visible in the ceramic assemblages of archaeological sites. Calculation of the mean index values results in a clear ranking of the assemblages based on the cost of the vessel forms. An underlying assumption in this thesis is that there is a close relationship between income levels and expenditure rate, ie. the higher the income level the higher the rate fo expenditure on ceramic articles.

Miller's indexing technique is well suited to analysis of the ceramic assemblages from red River since there is a source of historic information regarding ceramic prices, the inhabitants were, for the most part dependent on a single supplier (the HBC) for their ceramics and because the prices of the ceramics varied little between 1830 and 1862.

Kenyon and Kenyon's method of analyzing expensive verses non-expensive ceramics and the plate to saucer ratio adds a further dimension to the understanding of the differences between ceramic assemblages. The combination of the two techniques proves to be more useful than each method alone. The ranking of the sites based on index numbers reveals that the privy/refuse pit 2 had the most expensive and the Garden site the least expensive ceramic assemblages. Further analysis affirms that the Big House

which has an index number close to privy/refuse pit 2 is simialr to it in the percent of expensive wares and the plate to saucer ratio. The clustering of the sites which is vaguely apparent in the index values is magnified using the additional analytical techniques and a clearer picture of economic variability between the site assemblages can be ascertained.

Ethnic Visibility Based on Ceramic Variability

Ethnic visibility in the archaeological record is difficult to assess because ethnicity is multi-faceted. Historically, at Red River, an individuals ethnic affiliation usually affected his economic oppotunity. After the merger of the HBC and the NWC a policy was held restricting officers' positions to non-Metis employees. Within the Company then, those of Metis background could not expect to advance in the ranks and therefore could not advance financially.

Outside the Company however, economic well being could be found in farming and trade. It was hypothesized (Chapter 1) that Metis verses non-Metis sites should be visible in the ceramic record as a result of the differential access to wealth. The index values of the ceramic assemblages show no clear association between the values of Metis verses non-Metis sites. The Riel House and the Delorme House had higher index values than three of the non-Metis sites.

Based on the assumption that the higher the income the greater the expenditure rate, the Riels and the Delormes had an income levels slightly below that maintained by the upper echelons of the HBC as represented by the artifacts from privy/refulse pit 2 at UFG and the Big House at LFG.

Kenyon and Kenyon's analytical technique shows that there are differences between Metis and non-Metis ceramic assemblages. Except for the Farmer's house at LFG, the Metis sites all ranked below the HBC sites in the plate to saucer ratio. The variable quantity of vessel forms indicates therefore that the Metis assemblages are distinguishable from the non-Metis assemblages.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

It has been the intent of this thesis to analyze economic variation between nineteenth century ceramic assemblages in the Red River area of Manitoba. This was accomplished by first ascertaining that; 1)economic variation is discernable in the historic record; 2)ceramics are be historically identifiable in terms of value; 3)methods of examining the economic variation between the ceramic assemblages can be assessed. Upon satisfying these requirements the economic variation between five Red River sites was analyzed.

The historical documents kept by the Hudson's Bay Company provide detailed information about ceramics which were imported to the Red River area via York Factory. The fact that the Hudson's Bay Company relied primarily on one company for its ceramic supplies and that the inhabitants of Red River were dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company for their purchases, made comparison of sites in this area more reliable; however, the dependancy of the occupants of Red River on the Hudson's Bay Company supplies reduced substantially variability in the retail cost of ceramics. The Hudson's Bay Company "Invoice of Shipment" for Red River established that during the mid 1800's ceramic prices were relatively stable.

The Upper Fort Garry assemblage was analyzed in terms

of artifact distribution, manufacturer's marks, vessel types and ware types. The manufacturer's marks indicated that the Fort was dependent on Copeland and Garrett and the later owners of this company, for their ceramics.

Mean ceramic dates were calculated for the two privy/refuse features at Upper Fort Garry and for the entire site assemblage. The dates based on the pattern design of both sherd and vessl frequencies indicate that privy/refuse pit 2 predates privy/refuse pit 1. It is possible that privy/refuse pit 2 dates to prior to the arrival of the Sixth Regiment and privy/refuse pit 1 dates to just after its departure.

The distribution of ceramics at Upper For Garry, where all but three vessels were found in two features, probably resulted from fairly typical behaviour patterns. Larger portions of broken vessels would be removed to a refuse area in order to restore at least a minimal amount of neatness. This would cause the scarcity of vessels at Upper Fort Garry other than in the privy/refuse pits. Half of the ceramic sherds (589) from UFG were recovered from the privy/refuse pits.

The economic analysis of the privy/refuse features suggest that they may have represented depositions of two economically different groups. Privy/refuse pit 2 was similar in economic position with the Big House at Lower Fort Garry. The results of the economic analyses in

conjunction with the mean ceramic dates suggest that privy/refuse pit 2 was the result of deposition of refuse of the higher ranks of Hudson's Bay Company employees. Privy/refuse pit 1 and the troop canteen and barracks were also similar. The presence of textiles which are clearly associated with the enlisted ranks of the Sixth Regiment of Foot adds reliability to the economic analysis of privy/refuse pit 1.

It is apparent that factors other than finances were at work when the occupants of the Metis sites made their ceramic purchases. The Riel's involvement in Red River society may have influenced their decisions when purchasing ceramics. The relatively expensive ware contradicts their historically documented financial position. The residents of the Garden site, while historically noted as being prosperous, had the least expensive ceramic assemblage. While the index values do not segregate Metis verses non-Metis sites, analysis of the various quantities of vessel forms illustrates ethnic variability in the assemblages. It is apparent then, that economic advancement was attainable outside the HBC, By using a technique that measures particular behaviour patterns, the Metis assemblages are visible in the ceramic artifact record.

The methods used by Miller (1980) and Kenyon and Kenyon (1986) to analyze economic variation between site assemblages lacked the ability to examine either the total

or a major part of the archaeological sample. Where Miller's (1980) indexing method was based on sherd frequency this analysis used vessel frequency. The cost of vessel forms was found to have greater variability at Red River than did any other ceramic attribute. Using vessel frequencies also allowed for control over the differential breakage that occurs between hollow ware and flat ware vessels. It was shown that the hollow ware vessels broke into more pieces than the flat ware vessels. It is possible then that more hollow ware vessels were unidentified.

Because the sample size was small three techniques were used in the economic analysis in order to compensate for the effect of small samples. By observing the sample assemblages using three different analytical tools, interpretation of the ceramic remains is broadened and consistent results between analyses suggests they are reliable. Intersite comparison of the ceramic assemblages, as opposed to Sussman's (1979) intrasite comparison, allowed for a between understanding of economic variability in the Red River region. The analysis, which included Metis and non-Metis sites illustrates that ethnic affiliation is both historically and archaeologically visible to some extent, based on the plate to saucer ratio.

Dispite the limitation of the methods used to analyze economic variation, the results provide a great deal more insite into what the assemblages represent than

distributional analysis or sherd frequencies alone.

In conclusion, ceramic artifacts were found to provide useful information regarding the economic position of those who deposited the assemblages. Analysis of economic variation that exists between sites, historically and through the examination of the archaeological data, can add significantly to the interpretation of the archaeological remains.

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Appendix A

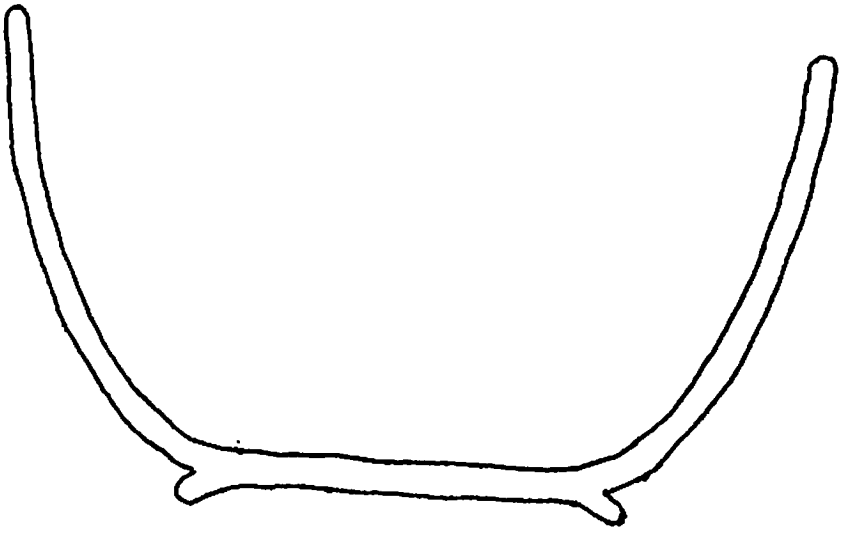
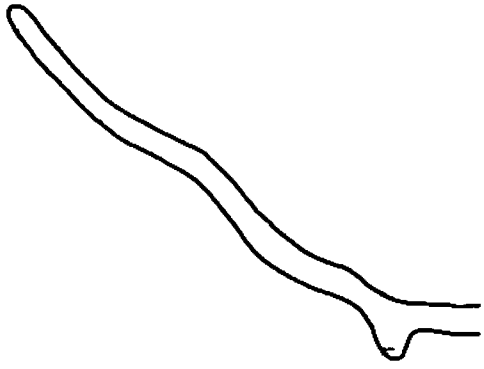
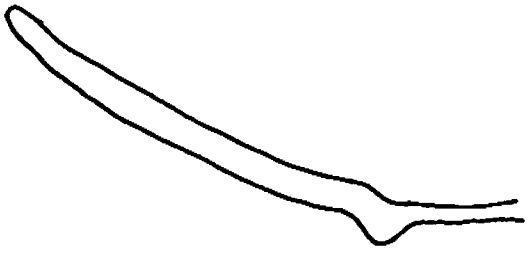


Figure 1 Vessel# 108 Cup

Figure 2 Vessel# 132 Deep Saucer



Vessel# 152



Vessel# 118

Figure 3 Saucers

Figure 4a Vessel# 131 Small Plate

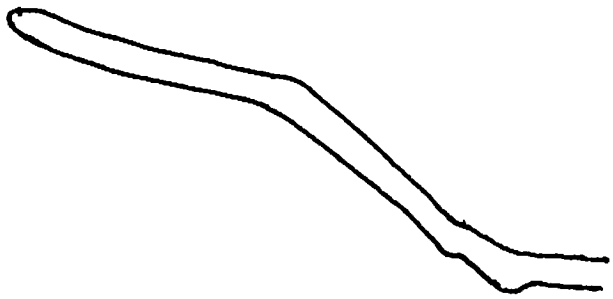


Figure 4b Vessel# 144 Large Plate

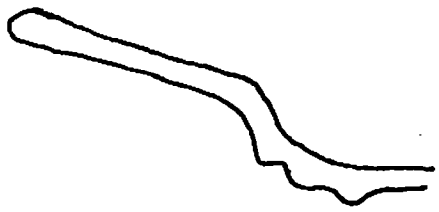


Figure 4c Vessel# 148 Small Plate

Figure 6 Vessel# 112 Pitcher

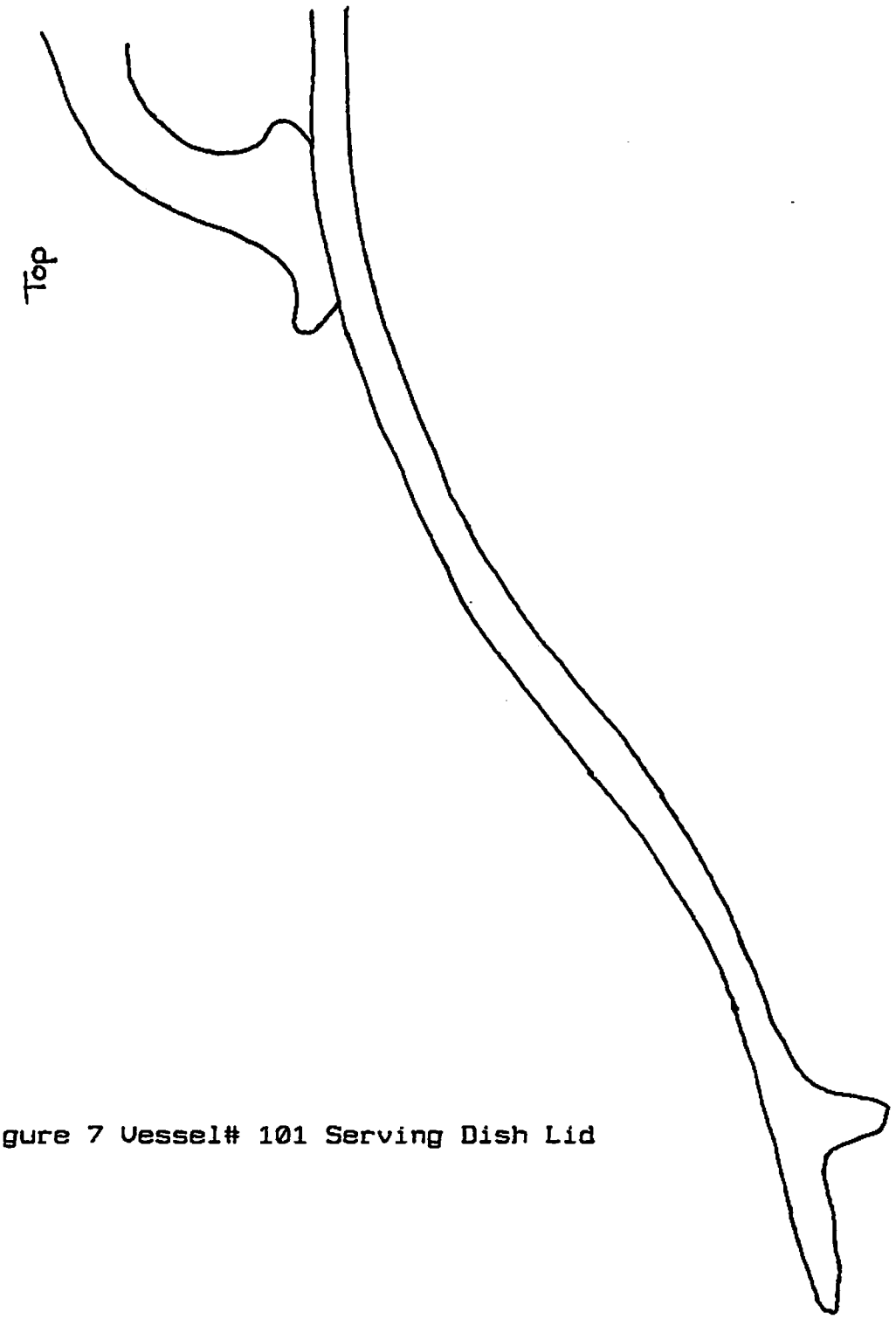


Figure 7 Vessel# 101 Serving Dish Lid

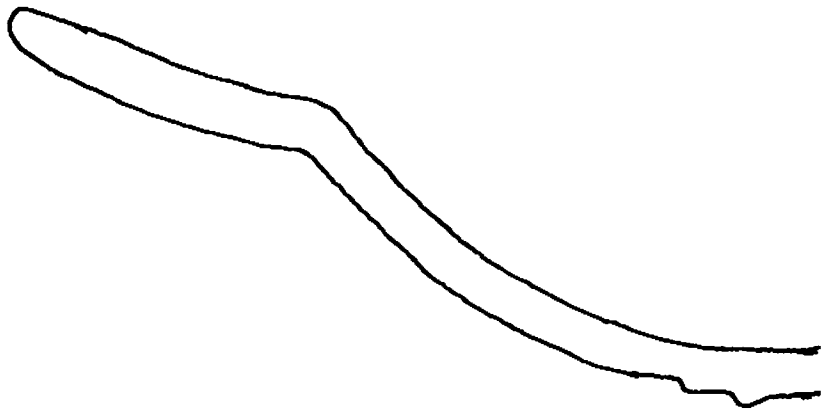


Figure 8 Vessel# 127 Serving Dish

Appendix B

Vessel #	Form	Pattern Design	Number of Sherds	Catalogue Numbers
100	Cup	Broseley	26	1507,16525-16531 16533,16534
101	Lid	Portland Vase	20	2841,5290, 16323-16339
102	Small Plate	Ruins	5	5265,16303-16306
103	Large Plate	Wild Rose	4	16071-16073, 18223
105	Jar	Crenulated	31	991,1080, 1100,1114 1145-1156,1213, 1257-1259,1305, 2837,16117-16123, 16309,18198
106	Hollow ware	Overglazed Flower	4	5321,16205,16079, 16080
108	Cup	Broseley	5	3071,3075,16205, 15456
110	Saucer	Plain	3	5291,16312,16311
111	Bowl	B700	1	5318
112	Pitcher	Strawberry	6	3136,3124,5170, 16092-16094
114	Large Plate	Passion Flower	8	5417,5356,5350
115	Cup	Broseley	6	3008,5317,16308 16349,16307,16310
116	Large Plate	Watteau	1	2839
117	Bowl	B700	26	3475,3488,3486
118	Saucer	British Flowers	7	3560,16503-16508
120	Saucer	Blue Underglz Trans/Print	7	3160,3968,6891 5353
121	Cup	Broseley	3	5295,16319,16318
122	Saucer	Blue Underglz Trans/Print	8	5335,16536-16539, 16549
123	Large Plate	Passion Flow	14	5347,5358,5364
124	Unidentified	Red Earthenwe	21	5283
125	Jar	Crenulated	3	5187,5186,5336
126	Saucer	Blue Underglz Trans/Print	2	5846
127	Serving Dish	Wild Rose	10	3004,3006,3412, 16342-16348
128	Jar	Crenulated	2	5386,3171
129	Jar	Crenulated	2	5344,5401
130	Large Plate	British Flows	3	3003,5294,16509
131	Large Plate	Blue Shell Edged	6	5253,5260,5254, 16510-16512
132	Deep Saucer	B772	10	5255,5288, 16513-16519
133	Large Plate	Wellington	2	5261

134	Large Plate	Continental Views	8	5262,16604, 16521-16525
135	Large Plate	Passion Flow	10	1772,5266,5264 1727,3480
136	Hollow ware	Moulded Relief	8	5288
137	Flat ware	Gem	3	5289
138	Large Plate	Lily	3	5316,5314,5624
139	Large Plate	Wellington	1	5257
140	Saucer	Blue Underglz Trans/Print	11	10851,10853, 18210-18213
141	Large Plate	Camilla	3	10497,10642
142	Large Plate	Camilla	4	3564,5622,5628, 18199
143	Large Plate	Continental Views	2	5252,5179
144	Large Plate	Ruins	5	3414-3417,16313
145	Chamber Pot	Blue Underglz Tran/Print.	173	3409
146	Small Plate	Gem	5	5382,16314-16317
147	Cup	Broseley	6	3009,3005,16320, 16321,16340,16341
148	Small Plate	Continental Views	3	5293,16301,16302
149	Jar	Glazed	2	3410,3014
150	Crock	Buff Coloured Glaze	1	15442
151	Large Plate	Underglazed Printed	2	15336
152	Saucer	Ship Border	1	5268
153	Crock	Salt Glazed	1	1508
154	Crock	Salt Glazed	1	5306
155	Cup	Broseley	3	5169,16500,16501
156	Deep Saucer	Broseley	1	3413
157	Small Plate	Ruins	1	3007
158	Small Plate	Black Underglz Trans/Print	1	5299
159	Saucer	Blue and Brown Underglaze	1	5284