

A Question of Whitewares:
Consumer Behaviour and Ceramics at Clark's Crossing, Saskatchewan

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ABSTRACT

Clark's Crossing, FbNo-24, is a farmstead site occupied during the late nineteenth century by John Fowler and Maggie Clark. It was during the excavation of this site during the Department of Archaeology Historical Archaeology Field School (2002-2005) at the University of Saskatchewan, under the direction of Dr. Margaret Kennedy, that interesting patterns in the ceramic assemblage were observed. There seemed to be a preference in the assemblage for moulded relief decorated white granite ware ceramics. This research was undertaken to explore that preference and possible meanings behind it. Three avenues of study are undertaken to accomplish the goal of learning more about the relationship between ceramics, consumer behaviour and the sociocultural landscape of the nineteenth century west. These avenues are as follows; a historical and archaeological study of the Clarks and the site of Clark's Crossing, a discussion of white granite ware ceramics and the issues regarding its classification, and an analysis of the ceramics at Clark's Crossing including an examination of the ware types, the makers' marks, and the decorative technique and images found on the ceramics.

The behaviour of consumers can be influenced by several factors, including marketing and group membership or identity. Marketing can be a separate influence but it can also be seen as a factor in creating a perceived group identity. This thesis explores the influences on consumer behaviour in ceramics, specifically the ceramics of Clark's Crossing. It will discuss the implication that the ware type and decorative images on the ceramics act as the material manifestation of such influences.

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This thesis is dedicated to my Nan. She came to the prairies during the Great Depression to farm with her family and was never afraid of a little hard work. She listened to me talk of my work and was a willing participant in my studies of the past. She felt that by honouring our earliest pioneers I was honouring her. Thanks Nan, for listening to me about "my dishes". You will not be forgotten.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

One of the most fascinating aspects of culture is how we see ourselves. How do we identify ourselves? Do we identify ourselves as individuals or as part of a group? As archaeologists, we seek to answer these questions using the material remains of these past people. It is supposed that elements of identity are reflected in the consumer choices or behaviours of these people. What they purchased or acquired, in some measure, mirrors aspects of identity. Just the evidence that someone has something means that a thought process had to have been undertaken in order to acquire that object. Whether it was careful planning, emotional need fulfillment, the receiving of a gift, or the split second gut feeling of want, there was a process at work in order to obtain the object. It is also assumed that some of these goods make their way into the archaeological record as pieces of the past. It is through the study of these fragments of history that we build a better picture of the past.

Due to their preservation in the archaeological record, as well as their vital place in the home as both a utilitarian item and as a carrier of meaning, ceramics are a particularly useful line of inquiry into consumer behaviour and identity. Within the field of Historical Archaeology, ceramic studies are a cornerstone of inquiry when researching the past. Studies have shown that changing forms, styles, patterns, and technologies within and between ceramic assemblages can reflect patterns and changes within societies. Changing ware types reflect changes in technology, markets, available materials and popularity. Changing vessel forms reflect changes in the way we share, present, and consume food and drink. Changing makers reflect economic shifts, marketing, and distribution. Changing decorations reflect stylistic preferences by the producers and the consumers. These stylistic preferences can be seen as possible markers of identity. The

choices made in ceramics could reflect how one identifies themselves as part of, or separate from, other aspects of the society in which they exist.

There are several major archaeological works that focus on ceramics and consumerism in historical archaeology (Klein 1991, Majewski and Schiffer 2001, Miller 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992, 1993, Spencer-Wood 1987, Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987, to name a few of the most prominent). This thesis chooses to use the term consumer behaviour as opposed to consumer choice. The term 'consumer choice' was seen as too limiting (Klein 1991 and Henry 1991). It often implies that choices in consumption are made primarily on socioeconomic factors. However, there are other factors that may be involved in consumers' choices. Using the term 'consumer behaviour' implies a more complex set of factors at work in consumption. Consumer choices are being made, but the behaviour of the consumer is taken into account. The consumer's behaviour can be affected by many factors. Such factors can include marketing, availability, identity, and ethnicity. These factors, when in play, may also take choices away from the consumer (for example, if certain goods or choices are not available), and therefore consumer behaviour is a more appropriate choice in terminology.

The late nineteenth century was an important time in the history of Canada and the prairie west, especially since it marks the beginning of major settlement of Anglo-Canadians (English-speaking Canadians, usually of western European backgrounds), and other European descendant populations, in this area. The site of Clark's Crossing, Saskatchewan was one of these early settlements. The site offers a unique and interesting perspective on early Anglo-Canadians. It was occupied for a short and specific time (approximately ten years) by only two individuals (John Fowler and Maggie Clark). The site is known to history because of its involvement in the Riel Resistance of 1885, but its archaeological history speaks of a couple of homesteaders, rather than of a military encampment. The ceramic assemblage uncovered during archaeological excavations at this site revealed that most of the tableware ceramics were plain or moulded relief in decoration. In addition, the ware type for many of the identifiable ceramics was white granite ware. Many of the studies in historical archaeology and ceramics focus on time periods prior to the late nineteenth century, creating a break in our knowledge of archaeological ceramic history. These ceramics, which may be indicative of the time period, can be an important tool when looking at the consumer behaviour and identity in the past. By studying these ceramics within the context of a single site, we can better learn about the relationship between consumer

behaviour and the sociocultural landscape of identity in the late nineteenth century in the prairie west.

1.2 Research Goals and Layout of Thesis

The goal of this these is to address the following question: What can ceramics, and specifically white granite ware ceramics, tell us about the relationship between consumer behaviour and the sociocultural landscape in the late nineteenth century Anglo-Canadian west? In order to accomplish this goal, three major avenues of study were undertaken; a history of the archaeological site of Clark's Crossing, a discussion of white granite ware ceramics, and an analysis of the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing. The first avenue of study, a history of the archaeological site of Clark's Crossing, is undertaken in chapter two. The histories of John Fowler (also known simply as J.F.) and Maggie Clark and the site itself are explored, along with a brief history of the archaeological excavations undertaken here. This chapter will demonstrate how and why the site of Clark's Crossing is appropriate for this study and will offer insights into how the Clarks saw themselves and their place within the new prairie west. Concentrating on a single site like Clark's Crossing allows for the specific and meaningful analysis of one settler household's consumer behaviour during a particular period of time. By concentrating on a single site a practical starting place is created, allowing for future comparisons with other sites.

Chapter three focuses on ceramic ware types and the debates and discussions surrounding terminology. Proper terminology means proper identification, which means more apt analysis drawing better conclusions about consumer behaviour and identity. In this chapter whitewares are discussed in depth, in particular, types of whiteware, the Staffordshire potteries, and how these wares are pertinent to this study.

Chapter four fully explores the Clark's Crossing ceramic tableware assemblage. This chapter centres on an analysis of the ware types, makers' marks and decorative techniques and motifs found on these ceramics. It is through this analysis that connections between ware, makers, decoration and consumer behaviour and identity can be made.

Chapter five discusses consumer behaviour and identity as exemplified by the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing. What can be said about the consumer behaviour of the Clarks

through the ceramics they acquired? From these ceramics, can we deduce any ideas about identity that the Clarks may have had about themselves or the culture in which they lived? Consumer behaviour is influenced by external forces, such as marketing and group identity, and these will be discussed in depth in this chapter. The marketing of the west may play a role in the formation of identity for the Clarks and others like them. They may have been conforming (or attempting to conform) to a conceived and/or perceived idea of the prairie west at this time. This chapter also explores possible directions for further studies. Can we see patterns found at Clark's Crossing at other sites? How would these be studied? Further questions and avenues for research will be suggested, with the hope that the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing will, one day, be only one small part of a larger understanding of consumer behaviour and identity in the late nineteenth century prairie west. The conclusion summarizes this study of consumer behaviour and ceramics at Clark's Crossing.

Chapter 2 Historical and Archaeological Background of Clark's Crossing

*'A home on the lone prairie,
Away from all trouble and care,
Away from the city's temptations,
And the misery that's always found there.'*
-John Fowler Clark (Hawkes 1924: 527)

2.1 Introduction

This opening quotation was written by John Fowler Clark while employed as a surveyor in what is now Saskatchewan. It was during this time that he discovered his love for this land and his desire to live upon it. He would return to live the dream as a farmer and entrepreneur in Canada's west; a dream where an Anglo-Canadian man like himself could be successful and free, living off of the land and the opportunities it presented. Unfortunately, like many dreams, things do not necessarily work out the way one would hope. The land that was supposedly so easy to come by, was not. The "lone prairie away from all trouble and care" proved to be quite the opposite in 1885. The abundant opportunities could be easily washed away. It was at his home, along with his wife Maggie, where John Fowler attempted to make his dreams come true. It is at this place, Clark's Crossing, where we can attempt to gain a better understanding of late nineteenth century Anglo-Canadian settlement through the history of the place and the archaeology of the materials left behind. This chapter will explore these themes through a brief overview of the archaeology of the site and through exploring the history of the Clarks themselves and their relationship with the site of Clark's Crossing. Since the Clark house and the site of Clark's Crossing was only inhabited by the Clarks for a short period of time (approximately 1881 to 1894), the site offers a glimpse into the window of the late nineteenth century experience for one couple.

It is hoped that by better exploring the history of the Clarks, we can gain a better understanding of how they may have seen themselves and their experience as settlers on the Canadian prairies and gain better insight into choices they may have made in the goods, specifically ceramics, that they acquired. This chapter first looks at the identification of the location of the site and the early importance of Dr. D.G. Irvine in this search. In addition, a brief overview of the archaeological work done in the area is provided. The histories of John Fowler Clark, Maggie Ashton Clark, and the site of Clark's Crossing are then given.

The question of the whereabouts of Clark's Crossing is a confusing one to address. Clark's Crossing can actually refer to several different places from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Clark's Crossing was the name used to describe locations such as a farmstead, a ferry crossing, a telegraph line, a post office, a place where members of the Temperance Colonization Society travelled to before settling Saskatoon (Kerr and Hanson 1982:2, Committee of the Historical Association of Saskatoon 1927:9), a place where Major-General Frederick Middleton and his troops camped during the Riel Resistance of 1885, a possible settlement, a possible precursor of the now forgotten town of Clarkboro, and, in 1905, the location of a CNR (Canadian National Railway) bridge. Unfortunately, not all of these aforementioned places appear to be located in the same physical place. Although a large amount of pot hunting and metal detecting had occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the area (with those collections being in the possession of the collector) (Enns-Kavanagh et al 2002), the (re)discovery of the physical location of the Clarks' house and farmstead (otherwise known here as Clark's Crossing or FbNo-24), can be largely attributed to Dr. D.G. Irvine. The mystery of locating the place, Clark's Crossing, mentioned in reports of the Riel Resistance of 1885 caught his attention and he began collecting any and all historical materials that made mention of the name 'Clark's Crossing' (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:6). He determined that, although there were references to other places, including a 'Clark's Crossing' which appeared on maps 18 km west of the South Saskatchewan River, the location of the Clark's Crossing referred to in historical sources as part of the Riel Resistance of 1885 and the location of the John Fowler and Maggie Clarks' home was northeast of present day Saskatoon along the banks of the South Saskatchewan River (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:9). He then set about pinpointing the exact locations of events, including the physical location of Major-General Frederick Middleton's camp and the Clarks' house, by studying aerial photos, historical sketches, and visiting the site

(Weinbender and Irvine 2001:12). It is thanks to his curiosity and determination that the location of the Clark house (FbNo-24) was found. Unfortunately, Dr. Irvine passed away before the Department of Archaeology excavations were undertaken, but it is truly his research that was the impetus for subsequent work done at the site.

Although it is recognized that the term ‘Clark’s Crossing’ can be used to describe a variety of places, this thesis will focus on the farmstead at Clark’s Crossing, where excavations have taken place. The farmstead at Clark’s Crossing is located along the South Saskatchewan River, northeast of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on part of the east half, section 35, township 38, range 4, west of the 3rd meridian (see Figure 2.1). This farmstead, where remnants of a house, a barn and

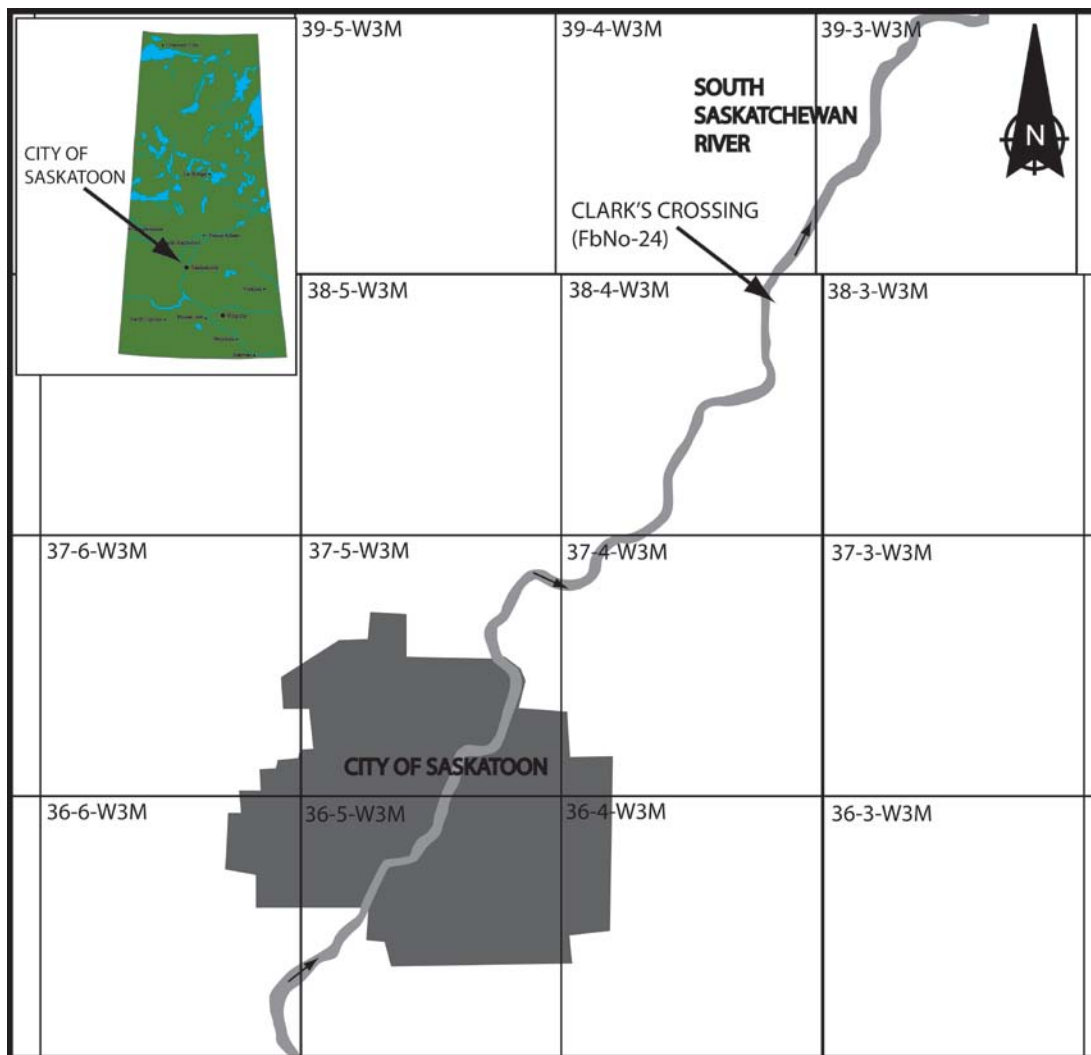


Figure 2.1: Map of the location of the site of Clark’s Crossing, Saskatchewan

a possible store house have been found, was established in 1881 by John Fowler Clark. He also eventually obtained homestead patents on the adjacent quarter sections (SW 36/38/4/W3rdM and NW 36/38/4/W3rd. The Clarks' house is also thought to be the location of the Clark's Crossing post office, discussed in more depth in Section 2.3. Clark also operated a ferry at some point close to his house, across the South Saskatchewan River.

2.2 Archaeology at the Site of Clark's Crossing

With the results of the historical research undertaken by Dr. Irvine and compiled with the help of Kim Weinbender for the Meewasin Valley Authority in 2001, it was obvious that knowledge of the site, the area, and of the late nineteenth century on the prairies of Saskatchewan would benefit greatly from archaeological excavations. The area was initially surveyed as part of the Fort Carleton Survey of 1978, when four sites were recorded (FbNo-1, FbNo-5, FbNo-22, and FbNo-23) (Enns-Kavanagh et al 2002:1.1-1.2). However, the specific area of the Clark's House was not examined archaeologically until 2002, by Dr. Margaret Kennedy and the Department of Archaeology Historical Archaeology Field School at the University of Saskatchewan. It is at this location, FbNo-24, where the field school continued for the next three years, concluding with a final excavation season in 2005. In addition to the work done by Dr. Margaret Kennedy and the field school participants, Stantec Consulting Ltd undertook a survey of the site and the surrounding areas for the Meewasin Valley Authority in the summer of 2002. Their study included a pedestrian survey of the area, mapping of the area and important features, and test excavations to assess the possibilities of intact historical and pre-contact sub-surface deposits (Enns-Kavanagh et al 2002:1.1-1.2). The site of FbNo-24 was mapped as part of this survey and artifacts were located on the surface with some metal fragments and bottle bases collected as part of the survey. Six test excavations were also done specifically at FbNo-24, but little was recovered (Enns-Kavanagh et al 2002:4.4). Further information on Stantec's survey of the area can be found in their report "An Archaeological Inventory of Clark's Crossing on the South Saskatchewan River" (Enns-Kavanagh et al 2002).

2.2.1 Department of Archaeology Excavations

The vast majority of the excavations done at the site of Clark's Crossing (FbNo-24), were done by the Department of Archaeology Historical Archaeology Field School (ARCH 361.6) of the University of Saskatchewan, under the direction of Dr. Margaret Kennedy from 2002 – 2005. Over 80 m² were uncovered, during which the location of the Clarks' house was confirmed, the location of a storehouse (or other small building) was identified, and a possible midden area was found. Unfortunately, no privy was found, even though the areas surrounding the house depression were surveyed repeatedly with a metal detector and with testing. Figure 2.2 shows the units excavated over the four years of study, as well as the locations of the Clarks' House depression and the (possible) storehouse depression. This figure also demonstrates that the excavations concentrated on the areas surrounding the house depression. A test unit placed within the depression yielded very little in the way of artifacts, whereas units surrounding the house proved to be quite productive. The deposits were fairly consistent in terms of depth of excavation. Units were excavated in 5 cm arbitrary levels to a depth of approximately 30 cm. In general, below sod there is a dark brown silt, followed by a grey brown silty clay containing chunks of mortar (and sometimes charcoal and ash). A profile example from an excavated unit on the south side of the house is given in Figure 2.3. This profile is also from a unit where the mortar line was apparent (see discussion below and figure 2.4). Most of the artifacts uncovered in these areas occurred at approximately 15 to 20 cm below surface, with historic occupation ending by 30 cm below surface with sterile sand/silt/fine clay deposits (Kennedy 2003: 1). Other than machine cut nails and window glass, very little was uncovered in regard to construction materials around the house depression, suggesting the house may have been removed from the site. A long piece of intact horizontal wood was uncovered in 2002 along the eastern part of the depression along with a large flat piece of flagstone, suggesting a doorway was located here (Kennedy 2002). In addition, in 2005 a wood post was uncovered on the south side of the house depression. Interestingly, careful excavation also uncovered a mortar or lime line on the north and south sides of the house depression (See Figure 2.4). This line is produced when lime or mortar dissolves off of walls and leaches into the ground (Kennedy 2002:3). Although Figure 2.4 only shows the mortar line in one unit, this feature extended along the units on the south and north sides of the house depression.

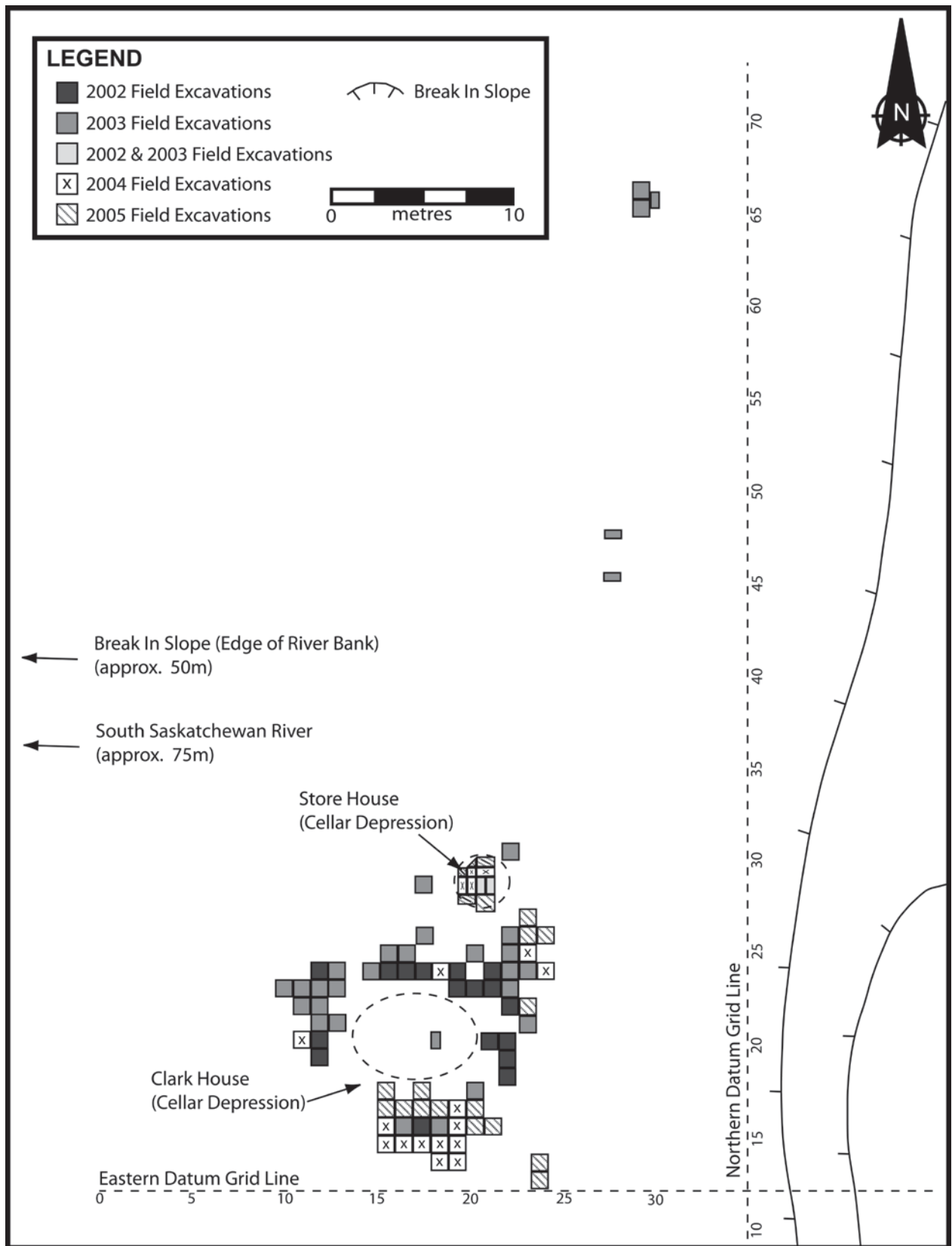


Figure 2.2: Map of excavated units at Clark's Crossing (FbNo-24) and the year of the field school in which they were excavated.

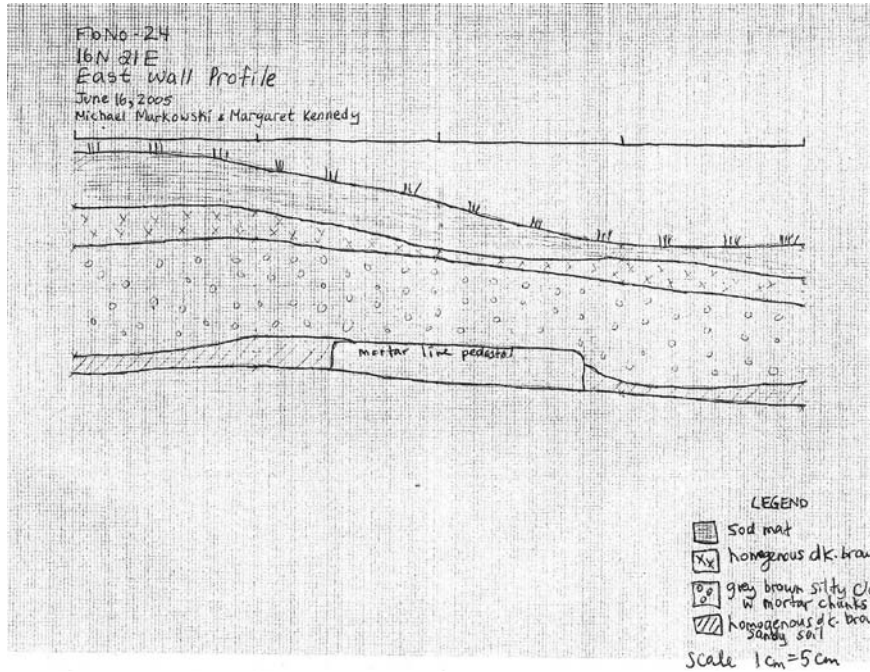


Figure 2.3: Profile of East Wall of 16N 21E, demonstrating what was typical at the site in terms of soil level makeup, as well as the mortar line found on the South Side of the house depression.



Figure 2.4: Photograph demonstrating mortar line on the south side of the house depression, unit 16N 19E (2005).

It is at the storehouse depression, located to the north of the house depression (see Figure 2.2), where the deepest excavations at the site occurred and where the highest concentrations of artifacts were found. The deepest excavations here were at approximately 90 cm below surface, but most materials were recovered at 50 cm below surface and above. It appears that this area may have acted as an artifact trap, although it is unclear if the depression was used as a garbage disposal area by the Clarks when they occupied the site, or if the artifact concentration is the result of a clean-up event at the site. In either case, the area contained a large number of artifacts, and these ranged in size from large barrel hoops and a large roasting pan or tub (see Figure 2.5) to the smallest of glass fragments. Figure 2.5 also demonstrates the range of artifact types found



Figure 2.5: Photograph of storehouse depression excavations showing the range and density in the artifact assemblage (2004)

in the storehouse depression. Large amounts of metal artifacts (barrel hoops, luggage frames, cans, and other various ferrous metal objects) were found here, as well as some glass bottles, lamp chimney glass and ceramic artifacts. Also, a large amount of faunal material was found in the storehouse depression, including bones exhibiting saw and cut marks. There was even a horse phalanx found, still in situ with the horse shoe. To demonstrate the variety of faunal materials, a close look at Figure 2.5 reveals a sawn right mandible of a six to eight month old *sus scrofa*, a *bos taurus* axis vertebrae, atlas and left tibia, all exhibiting cut marks and/or saw marks.

As can be seen in Figure 2.2 other parts of the site were excavated, including a small area of artifact concentration to the southeast of the south side of the house depression. However, no privy or well, the areas of a historic site that often have the highest artifact concentrations, were found. Even without finding the locations of these features, over 10,000 artifacts and ecofacts were uncovered. Examples include personal items such as sewing scissors, buttons, shoes, eyelets, the handle of a shaving brush, architectural materials such as machine cut nails and window glass, household materials like lamp chimney glass, fragments of a purple pressed glass pitcher, and a hurricane lantern, just to name a few. One of the most interesting aspects of the archaeological assemblage at the site is the large amount of moulded and plain whiteware ceramics. It is these ceramics that are the focus of this thesis and will be discussed further in subsequent chapters. In order to better contextualize these ceramics, and all the archaeological material and knowledge gained from four years of excavation at the site, the history of the John Fowler and Maggie Clark should be explored.

2.3 Timeline and History of John Fowler and Maggie Clark

The easiest and best way to approach the history of John Fowler and Maggie Clark, and their home at Clark's Crossing, is to present the information in a timeline. This allows the viewing of the history as a whole and for a quick reference guide for events. It also allows each major event to be discussed independently. The information presented here (and in Figure 2.6) is largely collected from census records, letters and paperwork found in homestead file number 346334, the words of Maggie Clark (Canadian Postmaster 1934), John Fowler Clark (Hawkes 1924), and various other primary and secondary sources (cited where appropriate).

2.3.1 Discussion of the Clark Timeline: The Early Years

When looking at the history of a site or the history of a person, it is best to start at the beginning. John Fowler (J.F.) Clark was born in Bruce County, Ontario on April 2, 1855 to John and Caroline Clark (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:15). John Clark (senior) was born in Ireland and (according to the 1871 Canada Census) was a farmer. His wife, Caroline (nee DeZeng) was of German descent but was born in Ontario, as were all of her seven children (1871 Canada Census). It appears that three of J.F.'s brothers were store clerks at one point in time, with James (the oldest) and Adgar listed as store clerks on the 1871 Canada Census, and William (one of John's younger brothers) listed as a store clerk according to the 1881 Canada Census. The 1871 Canada Census, however, listed John Fowler Clark, at 16, as a farmer, probably alongside his father. By the 1881 Canada Census, John Fowler was listed as a surveyor. In the fall of 1878, J.F. Clark heard of the Astronomical Survey, to be led by W.F. King, which was to head to the west in the following year (Hawkes 1924:519). In the spring he applied to be an assistant on the survey, was accepted, and soon headed into an area that was then unknown to the great majority of Anglo-Canadians. John Fowler kept a diary of many of his experiences on the survey, which is published as Chapter 61 in John Hawkes' "The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People, Volume 1" (Hawkes 1924). It was noted by Maggie Clark (The Canadian Postmaster 1934) that he found the land that he wished to settle upon while on the survey, but J.F. did not specifically make note of the land that would become Clark's Crossing in his diary (Hawkes 1924). Maggie Clark also said that J.F. then wintered in Winnipeg and settled on the land at Clark's Crossing the following year, presumably in 1880 (The Canadian Postmaster 1934).

In February of 1881, J.F. Clark was granted a charter from the government to put a ferry across the South Saskatchewan River (Letter from James F. Clark to Arthur Ward, March 23, 1881, Homestead File 346334). At this time, James F. Clark and John Fowler Clark were also active in letter writing in order to ensure that John Fowler Clark would be able to acquire the land adjacent to the ferry in order to erect buildings and to farm the land. The land was especially problematic as it had not yet been surveyed. In a letter dated November 27, 1882, James F. Clark, on behalf of his brother, stated that he (John Fowler) had improved the land adjacent to the ferry, had opened a trail from the Humboldt Trail to the Telegraph Crossing on the South Saskatchewan, also to Duck Lake and to The Battleford Trail, had erected a house,

Date	Event
April 2, 1855	- Birth of John Fowler Clark in Bruce County, Ontario ¹³
Dec 20, 1861	- Birth of Margaret Ann Ashton in Morris Township, Huron County ^{7 and 13}
1871	- John F. Clark is a farmer (16 years old) ³
1871	- Maggie Ashton is 9 years old ⁴
1878/1879	- J.F. Clark Astronomical Land Survey ^{1,2}
?	- J.F. Clark wintered in Winnipeg ²
?	- Settled on land at Clark's Crossing ²
Feb (?) 1881	- J.F. Clark receives charter from gov't to operate ferry
1881	- J. F. Clark listed as a surveyor ⁵
1881	- Maggie Ashton still at home (aged 19) ⁶
Fall of 1881	- J. F. Clark is at Clark's Crossing with his brother ²
1882	- Ice took ferry ²
July 28, 1882	- John N. Lake and group from TCS reach Clark's Crossing
Winter 82/83	- J. F. Clark is described as lonely ²
1883	- J. F. Clark returned to Huron district near the Ashton's ²
Feb 27, 1884	- J.F. Clark and Maggie Ashton Clark were married ⁷
Spring 1884	- J. F. and Maggie Clark return to Clark's Crossing ²
1884	- J. F. Clark opened post office at Clark's Crossing ²
Spring 1885	- Riel Resistance
1891	- Clarks continue to live at Clark's Crossing ⁸
1894	- JFC Receives Homestead Patent on NW1/4 Sec 36 ¹⁴
1901	- Clarks have relocated to British Columbia ⁹
1902	- Living at Corner of 6th Ave and Ontario st, Vancouver ¹⁴
1904	- Living in Port Hope, Ontario as a merchant ¹⁴
April 2, 1904	- Patent issued on SW 36/38/4/W3rdM
1906	- Clarks have returned to their farmstead at Clark's Crossing ¹⁰
1911	- Clarks are listed as living at Clarkboro, he as post master ¹¹
1916	- J. F. is still postmaster ¹²
June 21, 1934	- Death of John Fowler Clark ¹³
May 4, 1939	- Death of Margaret Ann Ashton Clark ¹³

- Documents referred to in timeline
- 1 Hawkes, 1924, "Saskatchewan and Its People"
 - 2 The Canadian Postmaster, "A Golden Wedding"
 - 3 1871 Canada Census, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm C-9933)
 - 4 1871 Canada Census, Ashton (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm C-9933)
 - 5 1881 Canada Census, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm C-13273)
 - 6 1881 Canada Census, Ashton (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm C-13273)
 - 7 Marriage Document, Clark and Ashton
 - 8 1891 Canada Census, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm T-6426)
 - 9 1901 Canada Census, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm T-6428)
 - 10 1906 Canada Census of MB, SK, and AB, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm T-18359)
 - 11 1911 Canada Census, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm T-20459)
 - 12 1916 Canada Census of MB, SK and AB, Clark (Library and Archives Canada, Microfilm T-21945)
 - 13 Weinbender and Irvine 2001
 - 14 Letters from Homestead File 346334

Figure 2.6: Timeline of John Fowler and Maggie Clark

outbuildings, and had cultivated the adjacent land (Letter From James F. Clark to Minister of the Interior, November 27, 1882, Homestead File 346334). He referred to these improvements, and to the fact that John Fowler Clark resided, on Sec 35, lying east of the river and adjoining ferry (containing about 100 acres) (Homestead File 346334). He also referred to the NW 36/38/4/W3rdM (probably as land that John Fowler had under cultivation). He enclosed, with the letter, a sketch (Figure 2.7). This sketch is particularly interesting in the way it relates to the

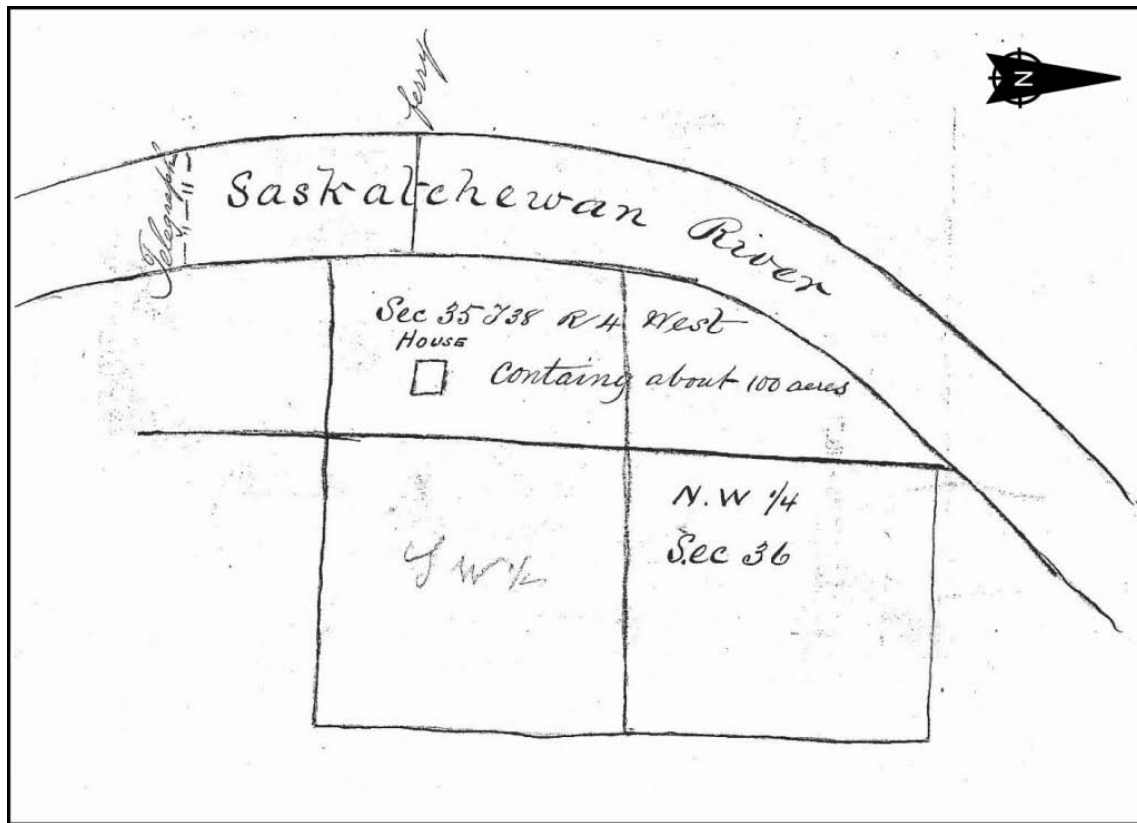


Figure 2.7: Sketch done by James F. Clark of the land on which John Fowler Clark resides in 1882 (Homestead File 346334) (north arrow added by author).

archaeology done at the site. The placement of the house in this sketch directly coincides with the artifact concentrations and excavations as demonstrated in the previous section. James Clark also made note in this letter that John Lake, the Land Commissioner for the Temperance Colonization Society, who had received a land tract grant from the government, had no

objections to John Fowler Clark residing on, and acquiring, this land (Homestead File 346334). John Fowler Clark's claim to the land of the E 35/38/4/W3rdM was settled when he acquired the land on October 24, 1889 (see Figure 2.8). However, his claims, and the resulting problems from these claims, of SW 36/38/4/W3rdM and NW 36/38/4/W3rdM continued for many years. In 1883, John Fowler Clark submitted a homestead patent for the NW 36/38/4/W3rdM and from the above information it appears that he had already begun the cultivation of this quarter section (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:16). He also applied for a pre-emption for the SW 36/38/4/W3rdM at this time.

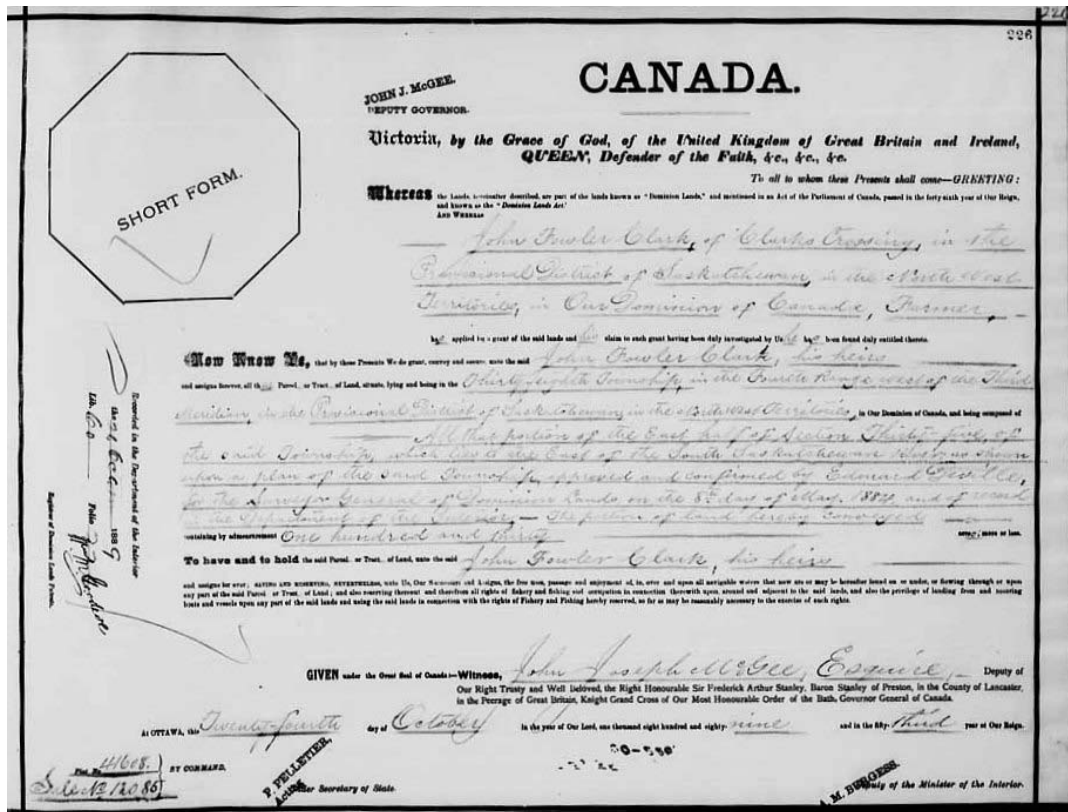


Figure 2.8: Land Title for portions east of the South Saskatchewan River in 35/38/4/W3rdM (Library and Archives Canada)

The year 1881 appears to have been a busy one for J.F. Clark. In addition to receiving a charter to operate a ferry across the South Saskatchewan River, he also must have

returned to Huron County during the time of the Canadian Census, as that is where his residence was listed (1881 Canada Census). Additionally, Maggie Clark described J.F. back in the North West operating the ferry by, at the latest, fall. In an anecdote from “A Golden Wedding”, she placed J.F. Clark at his “batchelor [sic] house” with his brother, A.W. Clark, helping a cold and hungry stranger in the fall of 1881 (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). In 1882, J.F. was joined by John N. Lake and other members of the Temperance Colonization Society as they reached Clark’s Crossing on July 28th, 1882 (Lake 1903:15). John N. Lake made note that religious services were held in the house of J.F. Clark on July 30, 1882, and J.F. himself led the singing (Lake 1903:15). These early years of J.F. Clark’s time in the Territories were not without hardships. In 1882, ice took the ferry he had worked hard to establish, and it is unclear if he ever operated a ferry at this site again (there were other ferries at or near this site, especially during the Riel Resistance of 1885, but it is unclear if he operated them) (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). Loneliness was a major element of J.F.’s life in those early years in the North West. Maggie Clark stated that he was so lonely in the winter of 1882/1883, that he took to shooting “his revolver through the door to break the silence” (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). This loneliness may have been the impetus for J.F. returning to Ontario to stay in the Huron district, near the home of Margaret Ann Ashton, sometime in 1883 (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). On February 27, 1884, John Fowler Clark married Margaret Ann Ashton. This earliest known picture of them (Figure 2.9) was probably taken on the occasion of their marriage, or sometime close to it.

Margaret Ann Ashton (known more commonly as Maggie) was born Dec 20, 1861 in Morris Township, Huron County (Canadian Census 1901 and Weinbender and Irvine 2001:19). Her father, William, was of English origin, and her mother, Margret, was Scottish (1871 and 1881 Canada Census). Maggie was the second of nine children and the second girl, with all of the children being born in Ontario (1871 and 1881 Canada Census). William Ashton’s occupation was listed as farmer (1871 and 1881 Canada Census). Growing up on a farm may have prepared Maggie for what awaited her in the west, and coming from such a large family, she may have been eager for new opportunities.

In the spring of 1884, J.F. Clark and his new bride made the journey to Clark’s Crossing. When they arrived, J.F. set up a post office out of their home, a post office that was operational one day before the post office in Saskatoon (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). John Fowler



Figure 2.9: John Fowler and Margaret Ann Clark (Hawkes 1924:525)

would act as the postmaster at this time, and would also return to the profession later in life.

2.3.2 The Riel Resistance and the Clarks

The spring of 1885 brought a major historical upheaval to the North West and impacted the Clarks on a personal level. The Riel Resistance of 1885 (also known as the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, the Riel Rebellion of 1885, the Northwest Resistance of 1885) brought disruption to the North West and to the Clarks' lives and land. The Riel Resistance is not the focus of this thesis; therefore the events leading up to it, the events involved in the conflict, and the impact of these events are not directly discussed here. However, some brief mention of the Resistance must be made as it relates directly to the lives of the Clarks and their home at Clark's Crossing. Major General Frederick D. Middleton arrived to secure Clark's Crossing on April 16, 1885 (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:42). This was an important strategic location since it was the location of a ferry (or if there was not a ferry at the location, it was an area where a ferry could be placed), it was on major trails to ease the flow of goods needed to operate a large force, and the telegraph office across the river from the Clarks' house (operated by Richard J. Molloy) allowed for easy communication back to superiors in Ontario and for the news from the front to make it back to the newspapers in the east. On this first night, Middleton, along with the small number of men he had with him, slept on the floor of John Fowler and Maggie's kitchen (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:42). The next day Middleton's troops arrived and the following day, April 18th, the 10th Regiment of Royal Grenadiers arrived, bringing the men under Middleton to 800 (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:42). According to a map drawn by Jerome Henry (Figure 2.10), a Métis spy, Middleton's troops were encamped quite close to the Clark house prior to the battle at Batoche (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:49). The map is oriented north and the arrows on the figure point out the location of Middleton's camp and what may be the Clark house (or perhaps the ferry).

Supplies and the delivery of these supplies are also a major factor of the Riel Resistance and the place of Clark's Crossing within it. The 7th Fusiliers and the B and D companies of the Midland Battalion were to act as armed escorts to accompany supplies to Clark's Crossing, on barges, along the South Saskatchewan (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:45). The men arrived with the supplies on May 20. However the latter supplies were no longer needed (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:45). Instead the men were to guard the telegraph and the supplies and this was the closest they got to actual combat. The 7th Fusiliers were also encamped close to the Clark house,

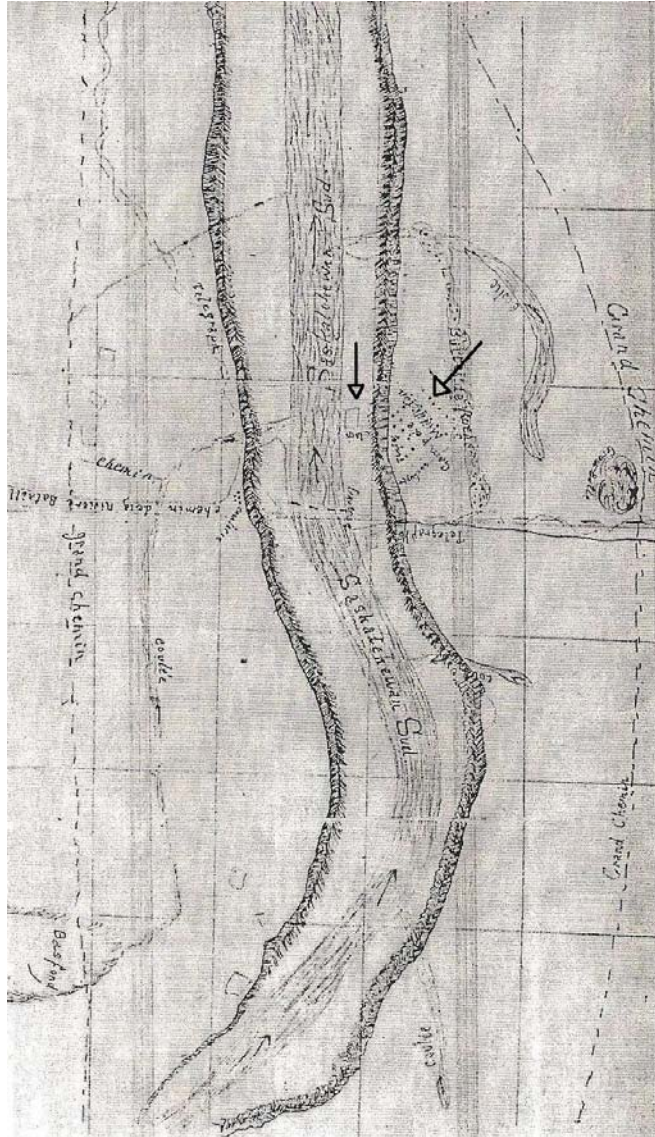


Figure 2.10: Map drawn by Jerome Henry of the area around Middleton’s camp (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:49).

most likely south of the house where the CNR bridge now stands (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:45, 73). Alexander Campbell noted that they chose a site for camp that was “a gentle incline towards the river from the level prairie, and about six or seven hundred yards from the river bank” and that nearby on the riverbank the two companies of Midlands were camped (Campbell 2009:63-64).

There are many interesting points and anecdotes involving J.F. and Maggie during these times. One source listed Maggie as the chief baker for Middleton's troops (Brown 1927:32). At one point J.F. went to repair telegraph lines that had been cut (he had always been friendly with the Métis in the area and he therefore felt there was no reason to worry about his safety) and Maggie went to stay with the Molloy's across the river at the telegraph office (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). Maggie returned to her home to be near the field hospital, operated out of the nearby stone house of James Parker Lake, where she acted as a nurse to the men (The Canadian Postmaster 1934:12). Maggie and J.F. visited Fish Creek shortly after the battle, and Maggie gave a somewhat grisly account of the battlefield to the Canadian Postmaster (1934:13). J.F. even cut bullets from the battle ground to take home as relics (1934:13), which is especially poignant as bullets have also been cut from the soil of Clark's farmstead, but through archaeological excavation.

2.3.3 After the Resistance: The Continuing Struggle for Land

As previously mentioned, J.F. Clark applied for a patent on the NW 36/38/4/W3rdM with a pre-emption for the southwest quarter in 1883. Over the next 21 years he fought for these pieces of land, through a series of letters and government paperwork that can be viewed in homestead file 346334. The major impetus to Clark receiving these lands was that he already had erected buildings on the east portion of section 35, near where he had operated his ferry when he first settled on the land. To fulfill the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act, the homesteader was required to reside on the land that was being applied for. There was an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act stating that the applicant must live only within a two mile (3.2 km) radius (which Clark would have been within), but the government argued back, stating that the amendment was there to allow several members of the same family to work together breaking land, only to reside upon their own homesteads once these duties were accomplished (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:18). J.F. argued he could not afford to erect new buildings in section 36, when he had suitable buildings on section 35. The buildings on section 35 are listed as a log house (12' by 28', or approximately 3.66m by 8.53m), a log storehouse (12' by 12' or approximately 3.66m by 3.66m), and a log stable (20' by 40' or approximately 6.1m by 12.19m)

(Sworn Statement by John Fowler Clark, signed October 8, 1887, Homestead File 346334 and Weinbender and Irvine:17). The Clarks also kept, at various times, horses, cattle, pigs and had approximately 26 acres in crop (with most of the crop being on the northwest and southwest quarter sections of section 36) (Sworn Statement by John Fowler Clark, signed October 8, 1887, Homestead File 346334 and Weinbender and Irvine 2001:17). He also argued that section 35 was preferable to live on because it was warmer in winter and there was more convenient access to water for his animals (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:17). J.F. again applied for a patent in 1887. He argued that building new buildings, especially so close to the existing ones, wasted his money and his time; time and money he could use towards the homestead (Letter from John Fowler Clark to the Dominion Land Commissioner, December 27, 1887, Homestead File 346334). However there are today remnants of low stone walls in SW36/38/4/W3rdM, so John Fowler may have attempted to construct new buildings, but there is not enough evidence to suggest the building had ever been finished. In concluding his letter to the Dominion Land Commissioner he reminded the commissioner that he had already been on the land for many years, and this length of stay should have been “sufficient to show my good faith as a settler” (Homestead File 346334). The government even insisted that Clark travel to Birtle with two witnesses to plead his case, but Clark retaliated, arguing that the 400 mile (approximately 644 km) convoluted trip to Birtle would cost him \$150, a value worth more than the land he would be arguing for (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:18 and Homestead Inspectors Report, June 19th, 1890, Homestead File 346334).

J.F. Clark applied for a patent on the northwest quarter of section 36, with a pre-emption for the southwest quarter, for the third time in 1890. The Clarks are found to be living in Saskatchewan in the 1891 Canada Census, but it appears that some time after the census they relocated to British Columbia (1891 Canada Census). The Clarks may have also lived at some point in time in Saskatoon. It is unknown when the Clarks (or perhaps just J.F.) lived in Saskatoon, but there is a picture of a residence in Saskatoon that is attributed to John Fowler Clark (Figure 2.11). The date the picture was taken is unknown, but according to the notes accompanying the photo, the house was built in 1889 or 1890 and was located on the 300 block of 3rd Avenue South (Notes and Photograph on file at Local History Room, Saskatoon, LH 3267). The picture is published in “Saskatoon’s Historic Buildings & Sites” as “the first building in what is now the main section of Saskatoon” (Potter Clubb and Sarjeant 1980:41). The notes on file

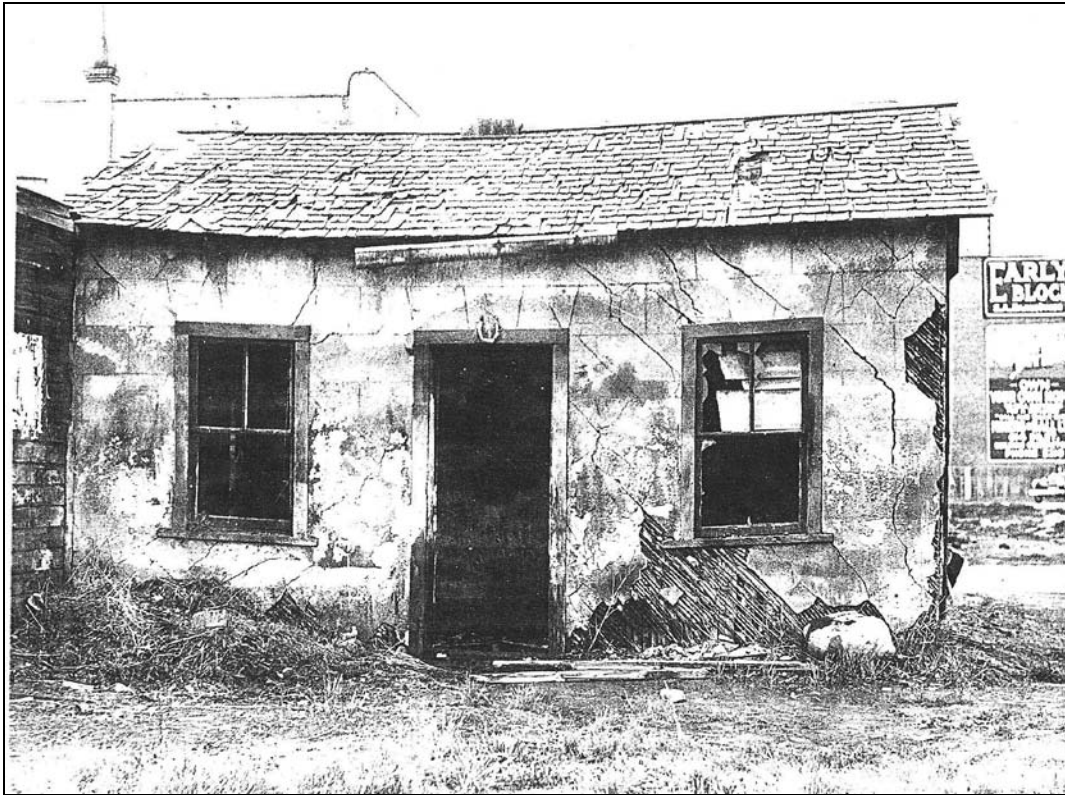


Figure 2.11: A house in Saskatoon attributed to J.F. Clark (Photograph on file with Local History Room, Saskatoon, LH 3267, date unknown)

with the picture at the Local History Room, however, also make a mention that J.F.'s widow had a homestead in what is now part of Saskatoon, which would place her far outside of the lands that they owned, and also places doubt on the ownership of this house (Notes and Photograph on file at Local History Room, Saskatoon, LH 3267). There is also the possibility that this house was moved into Saskatoon from the Clark farmstead at Clark's Crossing. However, the Homestead Inspector's Report of 1890, observed that the Clarks 12'by12' (approximately 3.66m X 3.66m) log shanty had only one window and one door, whereas the house in the picture has two windows (Homestead Inspector's Report, June 19th, 1890, Homestead File 346334).

Weinbender and Irvine suggested that the Clarks moved to Vancouver sometime before January of 1894 (2001:18). John Fowler's parents had moved to Vancouver in 1891 (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:18), but it is unclear if the Clarks moved to British Columbia to be with them, because they were frustrated with government regarding their homestead claims, or for some other reason. In any case, on January 8, 1894, John Fowler Clark received a special

patent for the northwest quarter of section 36 (Figure 2.12). It is unclear if the Clarks returned to their homestead at this time or if they stayed in British Columbia. The 1901 Canadian census records placed them in British Columbia where J.F. was working as a carpenter (1901 Canada Census). As well, a letter to J.F. Clark in November of 1902 from the Agent of Dominion Lands informing him that the amount owing on his pre-emption is \$320.00 with interest at 6% from December of 1895 to July 1900 and 5% from then to date of payment, was addressed to Clark at the corner of 6th Ave and Ontario Street in Vancouver (Letter from the Department of the Interior to John Fowler Clark, November 11, 1902, Homestead File 346334). By 1904, however, the Clarks had moved again, this time across the country to Port Hope, Ontario. A letter to the secretary of the Department of the Interior dated March 19, 1904, stated to the secretary that J.F. Clark's occupation was a merchant and his address was Port Hope, Ontario (Letter from and agent of Dominion Lands to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, March 19, 1904, Homestead File 346334). A letter from John Fowler Clark to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior was sent from Port Hope and informed the department that he had paid in full the debt on the southwest quarter of section 36 (Letter from J.F. Clark to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, April 7, 1904, Homestead File 346334). In response, the Department

Figure 2.12: Land Title for northwest quarter of 36/38/4/W3rdM (Library and Archives Canada).

of the Interior sent J.F. a notice that the patent for the southwest quarter was issued April 2, 1904 (Notification of Patent from the Department of the Interior, Letter April 13, 1904, Homestead File 346334, Figure 2.13). Twenty-one years after first applying and 24 years after settlement, John Fowler Clark finally had the land he sought.

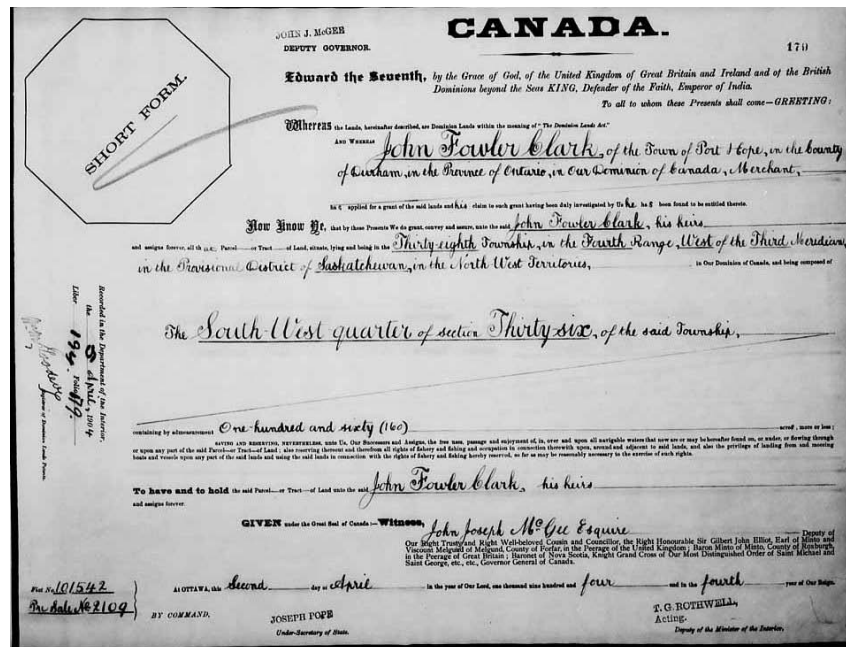


Figure 2.13: Land Title for southwest quarter of 36/38/4/W3rdM (Library and Archives Canada).

With their problems with the Department of the Interior behind them, J.F. and Maggie Clark returned to Clark's Crossing by 1906 (The 1906 census has them living at 36/38/4/W3rdM, which means they may have moved back into the house on section 35 OR they now had a newer place on section 36 and this newer place would have put them closer to what may have been Clarkboro proper) (1906 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta). J.F. was not listed on the census as having any stock and one can assume that he was no longer farming full time. On November 1, 1907, J.F. Clark was appointed as the postmaster of the Clarkboro Post Office, where he remained as post master until his death (Post Offices and Postmasters, Library and Archives Canada). The location of the Clarkboro post office was given as the NW 36/38/4/W3rdM (Library and Archives Canada), therefore it continues to be unclear if the post

office was out of their home, or if the town of Clarkboro was encroaching on their land (Weinbender and Irvine gave the location of Clarkboro as being in the northeast quarter of section 36). The 1916 census confirmed that J.F. was still employed as the postmaster, and made note that he and Maggie resided at the post office (1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) but the location given was only specific to the township (38) and range (4). However, the Clarks may have still alternated their time between Vancouver and Saskatchewan. As noted by Weinbender, the Aberdeen tax rolls of 1911 list Clark as the owner of the land, but he also had listed a Vancouver postal box for correspondence (Weinbender 2002:12).

John Fowler Clark died on June 21, 1934, from a heart attack after a stroke (Weinbender and Irvine 2001: 18). He died at his Clarkboro homestead, and a newspaper article around the time of his death suggested that this was not the same location as his original homestead (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:18). Maggie Clark passed away May 4, 1939 and shares a grave with her husband at the Woodlawn Cemetery in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (Weinbender and Irvine 2001:19).

2.4 Conclusion

It is through the integration of archaeology and history that we gain the best understandings of the historical past. Here, the brief overview of the archaeology done at the site demonstrates the richness of the archaeological record and hints at the possibilities for analysis. Exploring the history of the Clarks and the land they inhabited in the late nineteenth century enables a framework for the contextualization of the analysis of the artifacts, and for the purpose of this thesis, the ceramics uncovered here. By learning about the Clarks and the society and situations in which they lived, one can better formulate ideas about possible meanings behind the ceramic kitchenware they possessed. Such ideas regarding consumer behaviour and identities will be further explored in chapter 5. First however, the ceramic kitchenwares uncovered through the archaeological excavations and (presumably) owned by John Fowler and Maggie Clark, must be considered.

Chapter 3

What's in a Name? A Discussion of Definitions and Debates

3.1 Introduction

In any study of ceramics in historical archaeology, there are four major categories of classification that must be examined in order to be able to fully analyze the collection. These categories are ware type, vessel, decoration, and the identification of any makers' marks (or trademarks). The next chapter will deal with these categories and their relationship to the ceramic assemblage at the site of Clark's Crossing. However, with late nineteenth century assemblages such as the one from Clark's Crossing, a more detailed discussion of ware types is necessary. Classification consistency can be a problem when looking at ceramic assemblages from this time period. This issue is especially significant in regard to the classification of refined white bodied earthenwares, especially in regard to the use of terminology to classify white earthenwares (whitewares) and white granite wares. This chapter looks deeper into the meaning and methods, discussion and debates, behind nineteenth century ceramic ware types. In order to do this, this chapter addresses two major questions: What are the basic ware definitions of the ceramics most commonly encountered on nineteenth century sites, and how are the varieties of terms used to describe whitewares problematic in historical archaeology?

3.2 Definitions

According to "Pottery Analysis: A Source Book" (Rice 1987:484) ware is defined as "a ceramic material in the raw or fired state (examples being earthenware and stoneware); a class of pottery whose members share similar technology, fabric, and surface treatment". Ceramics are divided into three major categories based on the fired state of the ceramic material. The fired

state is also considered the ceramic material's level of vitrification. Rice defines vitrification as "the action or process of becoming glass; the high-temperature process whereby the particles within a mass fuse, closing the surface pores and forming a homogenous, impervious mass without deformation" (Rice 1987:484). These wares, from least vitrified to most vitrified are earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. Each of these broad categories can then be further subdivided. The ware terms in the following discussion are by no means an inclusive group. This discussion is not meant to outline a complete history of ceramics and its wares. Instead, the goal is to provide a framework in which to better contextualize white earthenwares and white granite ware, the focus of this thesis.

3.2.1 Stoneware

Stonewares are ceramic bodies that contain clay that has been fired at a temperature between 1200 and 1250 degrees Celsius. They are fully vitrified (and therefore impervious to liquids), opaque, and between earthenware and porcelains in hardness (Brooks 2005:33). Since they are resistant to liquids, the function of many stonewares is storage vessels or items such as sewage fittings and drains. Stonewares are usually grey, buff, brown, and sometimes white, red, and black. They can also be glazed, most commonly with salt glazes that give the ceramic a pitted appearance. Glazes offer protection, appeal, and give an enhanced impervious barrier to the ceramic. An example of stoneware, a fragment from a stoneware storage vessel from the site of Clark's Crossing, is found in Figure 3.1.

The proper identification of stoneware can be very important in any discussion of late nineteenth century ceramics. Many refined white bodied ceramics like white earthenwares and white granites of this time can have a high amount of vitrification, and can therefore be confused with stoneware and other refined earthenwares.

3.2.2 Earthenwares

Earthenwares contain clay that has been fired at a temperature between 600-1200 degrees Celsius (Brooks 2005: 30). This lower firing temperature means that earthenware is the least



Figure 3.1: Stoneware ceramic example from Clark's Crossing.

vitified of all the ceramic types and it must be glazed in order to be impervious to liquids. Earthenwares can be divided into coarse and refined categories. Coarse earthenwares are low-fired and coarse in body. Figure 3.2 demonstrates an example of coarse earthenware, taken from



Figure 3.2: Example of coarse earthenware ceramic from the site of Clark's Crossing

the collection at Clark's Crossing. A detailed study of coarse earthenwares is outside the scope of this thesis and therefore will not be discussed.

Refined earthenwares are earthenwares described as having a fine-body, are industrially mass produced, and were introduced in the middle of the eighteenth century (Brooks 2005:32). They are also more vitrified than their un-refined counterparts. The four major categories of refined earthenware are pertinent to this study are creamware, pearlware, white earthenware, and white graniteware. These four major categories, along with a summary of the identifying factors of each, are demonstrated in Table 3.1. A study of Table 3.1 demonstrates some of the possible problems when classifying refined earthenwares. A researcher cannot use only one category for classification. For example, in the cases of both pearlware and white granite ware, the glazes tend to pool (in places such as the footring and along rims) a blue colour. By looking at the dates and the type of decoration, one should be able to distinguish these ceramics. Although creamware and pearlware are prevalent at a time period earlier than the focus of this thesis, they are important to make note of for several reasons. The ceramic types that are the focus of this thesis, whitewares and white granite wares, did not exist within a vacuum. They were the result of ongoing developments and improvements within the ceramic industry of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Creamware and pearlware are early examples of the British potteries' attempt at mimicking Chinese porcelains, and later, French porcelains. In order to do this, the potteries were searching for new technologies to produce the 'whitest' pottery possible. Whitewares and white granite wares are a later attempt at this goal. As mentioned, a complete study of creamware and pearlwares is outside the scope of this thesis. However whitewares and white earthenwares will be discussed further in a later section in this chapter.

3.2.2.1 Ceramic Manufacturing and the Staffordshire Potteries

During the nineteenth century the centre of the potting industry was Staffordshire, England. It is from this area that most of the ceramics discussed in this thesis likely originated. Any discussion of British-made ceramics, especially refined earthenwares, should begin with a brief introduction to the Staffordshire area. North Staffordshire, and the six towns within it (Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, Longton, and Fenton, Figure 3.3) rose to predominance in the

Table 3.1: Major Classifications of Refined Earthenwares of the Nineteenth Century (adapted from information from Brooks (2005) and Parks Canada (1975)).

Name	Creamware	Pearlware	White Earthenware	White Granite Ware
Alternate names			Whiteware	ironstone, stone china
Dates	1760-1820/30, most popular 1770-1790	1780-1820-30, peaked ca. 1800	1805 to present, peak started in 1820s	1845+
Ascription	Europe, mainly Great Britain and France, United States	Europe, mainly Great Britain, United States	Europe, Great Britain, North America, the Orient	Great Britain, Canada, United States
Fabric	porous, creamy-white colour	porous, creamy white to white. Often difficult to distinguish in later stages of development from white earthenware	porous to vitrified, white (harder and heavier than creamware and pearlware)	vitreous, semi vitreous, slight bluish to bluish-grey tint
Glaze	thin, clear, lead glaze, tinted yellow or green by impurities	Thin, lead glaze tinted greenish blue, greyish or cobalt.	clear shiny lead glazes to hard glassy borosilicate glazes. Often slightly blue tinged	thick, hard, clear. White, greyish or bluish tint
Tips for identifying	pools of colour are yellow/creamy/green	pools of colour are blueish	more porous	thick, pools of colour are blue
Common Decorations	moulded relief, under and overglaze painted, under and overglaze transfer print, lithograph, impressed, rouletted.	moulded relief, under and overglaze painted, under and overglaze transfer print, sponged, gilded, impressed, rouletted	all types, in the 19th c transfer print was most common	very little in way of decoration except various moulded motifs
Common Functions	tableware and toiletware	tableware and toiletware	tableware, kitchenware and toiletware	tableware, kitchenware, toiletware



Figure 3.3: Map showing the Staffordshire district and the towns discussed in the text.

potting industry in the eighteenth century (Sekers 2000:5). By the nineteenth century the Staffordshire district was the dominant force in the world market of ceramics and in 1891 the National Order of Potters called it “the greatest centre of trade in the [British] kingdom” (Whipp 1985:114). This in spite of disadvantages in geography, as the area was at least 80 kms from the

sea, 48 kms from navigatable rivers, and the roads surrounding them were in constant need of repair (Barker 2001:74). However, this area had two major advantages for ceramic production: outcrops of coal (for the firing of kilns) and a variety of clays (for the making of a variety of wares). These two natural resources allowed for the production by the Staffordshire potters of high quality wares at an inexpensive price. As noted by David Barker, the wares could be produced so cheaply, that even after the costs of transportation were factored in, the Staffordshire potteries could still sell their wares cheaper than their competitors (2001:75). The industry centred on the six towns and the potteries that surrounded them. Some of these potteries will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent chapter in this thesis. For a more detailed industrial and social history of the potteries, please see Robert Sherlock's "The Industrial Archaeology of Staffordshire" (1976) and Richard Whipp's "The Stamp of Futility: The Staffordshire Potters 1880-1905" (1985).

3.2.3 Porcelain

The third major ceramic ware classification is porcelain. Porcelains contain clays that have been fired at temperatures of about 1280-1400 degrees Celsius (Brooks 2005:31). Generally porcelain is hard, non-porous, slightly translucent, and highly vitrified with the glaze often appearing to fuse to the body of the ceramic. Porcelain was originally developed in southern China in the ninth century, with European porcelain not being developed until 1708 in Meissen, Germany (Brooks 2005:31). Although this thesis discusses porcelains as they relate to tablewares, porcelain is also commonly used in other items found on archaeological sites, including (but not limited to) doll parts, doorknobs, bathroom fixtures, and insulators. In reference to tablewares, porcelains can be broken into two categories; soft-paste and hard-paste porcelains. Bone China (a subtype of soft paste) is the most popular of the porcelain types made in Britain in the nineteenth century. It was first introduced in about 1794 (Miller 1991a:11). It differs in composition from other porcelains because, as its name suggests, bone powder was added to the clay mixture. Its body is more coarse than other porcelains, it is generally off-white in colour, and very fine micro-crazing (where there are small cracks in the glaze) can sometimes be seen (Brooks 2005:27). However, these characteristics are not true in all bone china, so one

can also look to the footring (the raised rim along the bottom or base of a vessel on which it will sit). Bone china vessels will have a glazed footring, where in the case of hard-paste porcelains, the footring remains unglazed (Brooks 2007:Personal Communication). The Staffordshire potteries were very active in the production of bone china.

Hard-paste porcelains are generally thought to be more vitrified and a closer attempt on behalf of the British potters to imitate the Chinese porcelains. In addition to hard-paste porcelain vessels having unglazed footrings, the surface itself is smoother (it is not vulnerable to the micro-crazing common in soft-paste porcelains) and breaks are characteristically “sharper and more angular than with soft-paste” (Brooks 2005:30).

Since porcelains are very white in colour and can feature a wide range of decorations, they can be confused with whitewares and white granite. This is especially true with tablewares that have thick walls. In the case of porcelains with thin walls, when held up a light, a researcher can see the light pass through the body of the porcelain sherd. With thicker examples of soft paste porcelains, this is difficult or not possible. In these cases one must rely on other identifying features, including looking at the fabric. In the case of porcelains the fabric will be made up of finer materials than in the case of earthenwares and stonewares.

3.3 Debates Regarding the Classification of Whitewares and White Granite Ware

One of the most interesting aspects of the ceramic assemblage from the site of Clark’s Crossing is the large percentage of ceramic sherds that are of the ware types whiteware (white earthenwares) and white granite ware. Archaeological ceramic studies of the mid to late nineteenth century are unique in that the classification of the refined earthenwares uncovered at any given site may prove to be more difficult than at sites for other time periods. A white bodied ware could be classified using a variety of terms, including the three most common; whiteware, vitrified whiteware and white granite ware. This section will address some of problems regarding such classification and the terminology used. The focus is on five major pertinent questions; How are the terms whiteware and white granite ware defined? What are other terms that have been commonly (and confusingly) used? Why are these alternate terms used? Should ceramics

even be classified based on ware type? And finally, why have I chosen to use the terms white earthenware, vitrified white earthenware and white granite ware in this thesis?

3.3.1 How are the Terms Whiteware and White Granite Ware Defined?

Alasdair Brooks defines whiteware as “white-bodied, clear-glazed refined earthenware” (Brooks 2005:34). Brooks notes that whiteware becomes popular in the marketplace around 1820, but its popularity continues even into present day (Brooks 2005:34). The term whiteware is often used interchangeably with white earthenware. Whitewares can also be divided into the categories of vitreous and non-vitreous. A non-vitreous whiteware is usually just referred to as whiteware. A vitreous whiteware has been heated to a higher temperature and the ceramic is more impervious to liquids, although it is not as vitrified as either porcelains or stonewares. Vitreous whitewares may have thinner walls than their whiteware counterparts, but the quick tongue test can also, usually, assist the researcher in distinguishing between the two (where a clean exposed cross section of the ceramic unglazed body is placed against the tongue, a non vitreous whiteware will stick more than a vitreous whiteware).

How does white granite ware fit into these terms? In some ways, white granite ware is simply a sub-type of whiteware. It is a white-bodied refined earthenware, yet there are some major and important differences. Brooks’ definitions for identifying these wares have been compiled from the other leaders in historical ceramic research including George Miller (1991a, 1991b, 1993), Geoffrey Godden (1999), and Majewski and O’Brien (1987). White granite ware is defined by Brooks as “an often semivitreous, refined earthenware, often featuring a slight bluish to bluish-grey tint, and usually very little in the way of decoration except various moulded motifs” (Brooks 2005:35). Since white granite ware is defined as semi-vitreous, it can be confused with both whitewares and vitrified whitewares. Brooks also notes that white granite ware is thicker than whitewares, which can help in identification since whitewares and vitrified whitewares can also feature moulded patterns (Brooks 2005:35). Some white granite wares can even be considered “heavy-duty earthenware” and this made it better able to survive the journey from England and into frontier regions (Barker and Majewski 2006:216, see also Collard 1985:125). George Miller lists some points in distinguishing between whitewares and white

granite ware, and the relevant points are summarized and expanded upon below (Miller 1993:6 and Brooks 2005:34);

1. Pre-1845, there is no white granite ware
2. The most likely vessels forms of white granite ware are cups, saucers, platters, plates, tureens and jugs/pitchers
3. Semivitreous post 1845 earthenwares are most likely white granite
4. If the body, rather than the glaze, is tinted blue to grey than it is most likely white granite. However, some white granite also has blue tinted glaze (resulting in the use of the term 'pearl' being used in makers' marks that are indeed white granite)
5. Embossed [relief] moulding around the rim and/or brim (of flatwares) or the exterior body (of hollowares) is indicative of white granite wares.

There is some clarification need for the third point. Miller himself notes that by the 1870s, due to the need by the potters to produce wares at a cheaper cost, some white granites are being fired too low to be considered vitrified (Miller 1993:4-6). Examples have been found within the assemblage of this thesis research that confirm this statement. This point also does not consider vitrified whitewares, which can be found plain or with a variety of decorations. Miller uses such discrepancies in vitrification to further his argument for classification of wares based on decoration and potters' terminology instead of degree of vitrification (Miller 1980, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992, 1993).

It is apparent that decoration, vitrification, and colour play the most important roles in distinguishing whitewares and white granite ware from other ceramic types, and in distinguishing them from each other. Other terms have been and are still be used to describe these wares, especially white granite. The next section will look further at issues of inconsistent terminology.

3.3.2 What are Other Terms Used and Why are They Used?

As alluded to while addressing the previous question, there are often other terms that are commonly, and confusingly, used to identify whitewares and white granite wares. This misidentification usually occurs in the case of white granite wares. As noted above, white granite ware is identified by three major factors; decoration, vitrification, and colour. This means that white granite ware refers to a very specific type of ceramic from the mid nineteenth century

onward. Several other major terms have been used to describe white granite from this time. These terms are used in the collector's literature and in archaeological analysis, making inter-site comparisons based on ware type challenging. The most frequent alternative terms include 'china' (as in chinaware or stone china), 'pearl' (as in Pearl Stone Ware, and Pearl China), and, most common, 'ironstone'.

Why are these alternative terms used? The principal factor is that these terms are used on the makers' marks of the vessels themselves. Potteries used these terms to capitalize on the perceived characteristics that these terms evoke. Using the word 'china' implies that the ware is similar or superior to the Chinese porcelains. The term 'pearl' reminds the consumer of assumed quality of the pearlware of the eighteenth century. The term ironstone is the term used most interchangeably with white granite ware, but they are not the same thing and caution should be exercised when using the term. Many makers' marks specifically refer to the ware as 'ironstone' and the term is featured prominently (for example, Royal Ironstone China). The potteries use the term as a way of enticing the customer and embedding the product with a perceived idea of quality. This is the Kleenex Question (as modified from Brooks' discussion of brand names, 2005:27), where the brand name has become so common place that it begins to be used to describe the thing itself. One may ask for a 'Kleenex' (a brand name) in place of a 'tissue', the name of the product itself. In the case of ironstone versus white granite ware, 'ironstone' is to Kleenex as white granite ware is to tissue.

The ironstone the potters are alluding to is a stone china, the best example being Mason's Patent Ironstone. This was a highly decorated (often with themes imitating Chinese porcelains), and popular ware developed in 1813 (Godden 1980:102 and Collard 1985:121). This ware is finer, denser and was developed to compete with Chinese porcelains (Collard 1985:120). George Miller uses the term 'stone china' in the 1980s when discussing his CC ceramic index system ('CC' referring to the term used by the potteries, standing for cream coloured) (1991:9-10). He meant the term to be used to describe this early, dense, and vitrified ware body from the first half of the nineteenth century that was also highly decorated (Miller 1991 and Brooks 2005:33). The term was not meant to be used to describe the post-1845 relief (or embossed) moulded vessels that the above section identified as white granite ware. Therefore, when examining archaeological contexts that post date 1845 (as is the case in this thesis), it is best to refer to these wares as white granite (even if they are specifically marked 'ironstone'), and to only use the term

'ironstone' when specifically referring to colourfully decorated examples from the first half of the nineteenth century.

3.3.3. Should Ceramics be Classified Based on Ware Type?

Another question that is essential to address is whether ceramics should even be classified based on ware type. There is debate amongst scholars and their major points are summarized below.

Teresita Majewski and Michael O'Brien, in their influential work, "The Use and Misuse of Nineteenth-Century English and American Ceramics in Archaeological Analysis" argue that level of vitrification is important for analysis, that "subdivisions of white-bodied ceramics organized according to degree of vitrification of the body (nonvitreous, semivitreous and vitreous) can provide ceramic researchers with some objective means for ware identification" since the "terms earthenware, china, and porcelain often were used indiscriminately by producers and marketers of white-bodied ceramics" (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:112).

George Miller, on the other hand, argues for more of an emic perspective, in that for meaningful analysis (including the use of his ceramic price index to compare socioeconomic status between assemblages), one must use the terminology that the potters and distributors used. The use of industry terms allows for the inclusion of the evolution of terminology stressed by Miller. However, this also requires an intimate knowledge of the industry and exceptional documentary evidence, which is not available on all sites or accessible to all researchers (Brooks 2005).

Terms such as white granite are a mixture of approaches. George Miller notes that 'white granite' or 'W.G.' becomes common in invoices for wares sent to America in the last half of the nineteenth century (Miller 1991a:5). Using the term white granite also allows for an implication of decorative style (moulded relief). Majewski and O'Brien agree with George Miller that decoration is important in classifying ceramics, as he does in his price index (Miller 1980, 1991a. Majewski and O'Brien 1987:134). However, they stress that his scheme "is quite workable, especially for ceramics from the first half of the century, however, especially given the popularity of undecorated whitewares after mid-century, we would argue that a sound knowledge of post 1850 pastes and glazes is vital" (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:134). As pointed out by Majewski

and O'Brien, ware bodies and surface treatments are "points along a continuum of technological development," and their presence, absence and importance should not go unnoticed by the researcher.

Why should archaeologists concern themselves with ware type? If one is going to identify ware, it should be done consistently, using comparable terminology. Archaeologists must use consistent terms, with the same definitions, if constructive comparisons within and between assemblages are to result. Ware type, like any other identifiable feature of an artifact, is an important tool in analysis. It is, however, but one piece in the puzzle of any given archaeological site. As has been demonstrated here, especially in the case of white granite ware, decoration and ware type can be closely connected.

3.3.4 Why Does This Thesis use the Terminology it Does?

This thesis chooses to use the terms white granite, white earthenware and vitrified white earthenware when discussing the refined white bodied earthenwares in the assemblage. White granite has been selected as the term for classification because it avoids the confusion between the plain white and moulded relief wares and the highly decorated ironstone from the first half of the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this work, because most of the tableware ceramics uncovered at the site of Clark's Crossing are undecorated or moulded relief, the bulk of the ceramics are divided into the three earthenware categories discussed in-depth here as well as porcelain (these will all be explored further in the ware analysis section of Chapter 4). If the ceramic has the key characteristics of white granite as discussed (moulded relief, especially agricultural themes, blue tint, varying levels of vitrification), it is classified as thus. The remaining white earthenwares are classified as vitrified or no. It is recognized that historical archaeology has used a variety of terms to describe white granite. Instead of continuing to use confusing terms like ironstone, or even using vitrified whiteware in place of white granite, the choice was made to use the correct terminology, as defined here, whenever possible. This choice does lead to difficulties when making inter-site comparisons where alternate terminology is used, but these issues are addressed in the discussion portion of this thesis.

3.4 Conclusion

Archaeological material analysis begins with the classification of the objects by the use of a catalogue. However, as has been shown in this chapter, the classification of ceramics based on ware type alone can be a tricky one. Consequently, as in any good study, classification and analysis of ceramic materials from late nineteenth century assemblages should be based on more than one factor. In the next chapter, this will be addressed through the analysis of the Clark's Crossing assemblage using, not only ware type, but also decoration styles, techniques and the makers' marks on the ceramics.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Clark's Crossing Ceramic Assemblage

4.1 Introduction

In order to more fully understand any potential relationships between ceramics and consumer behaviour at the site of Clark's Crossing, an analysis of the ceramic assemblage must be undertaken. This chapter seeks to fully explore the ceramic assemblage at the site of Clark's Crossing through in-depth analysis. This chapter first outlines the basic methodology of the analysis. It then discusses the site distribution of the ceramics and the vessel forms and identifying fragments that are present in the assemblage. Following is a look at the makeup of the assemblage in terms of ware type. A discussion of the makers' marks represented is then undertaken, including a look at using the makers' marks to correlate the dates for the site's occupation. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the decoration types and styles represented in the assemblage.

4.2 Methodology

For this analysis, each ceramic item in the Clark's Crossing assemblage underwent an extensive identification and classification process. This analysis focused on three major aspects; ware type, makers' marks and decoration. Taken separately and together, these aspects give the most information regarding consumer behaviour.

To begin the analysis, the ware type and the vessel form of any given ceramic fragment was identified. The practical identification of ware type came largely with the assistance of "An Archaeological Guide to British Ceramics in Australia 1788 – 1901" (Brooks 2005) and the Parks

Canada Information Sheets (Parks Canada 1975). These resources were also of a great help when identifying the vessel that the fragment was from, as well as identifying portion present. Vessel forms are looked at further in Section 4.3. For an in-depth look at identification of ware type and the definitions of the ware terminology used here, please refer to the previous chapter.

Makers' marks (also known as base marks or trademarks) are usually located on the base of a ceramic vessel (if present) and can be useful in identifying the place and time frame of manufacture. Each of the marks identified in this assemblage was researched in depth. The primary sources for this line of identification were Kowalsky and Kowalsky's "Encyclopedia of Marks: On American, English and European Earthenware, Ironstone, and Stoneware 1780-1980" (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999), Godden's "Godden's Guide to Ironstone, Stone and Granite Wares" (Godden 1999) and "Jewitt's Ceramic Art of Great Britain 1800-1900" (Godden 1971), Sussman's "The Wheat Pattern: An Illustrated Survey" (Sussman 1985), the website "thepotteries.org" (a website devoted to the history of the potteries located in Stoke-On-Trent, Staffordshire, England), and Kovel and Kovel's "Kovel's New Dictionary of Marks: Pottery & Porcelain 1850 to the Present" (Kovel and Kovel 1986).

The identification of the type and style of decoration on the ceramics was the final focus of this analysis. The identification of decoration techniques was largely informed by Brooks (2005). For the specific pattern names of the moulded relief decorative styles, several major sources were used for identification and analysis. Wetherbee's "A Look at White Ironstone" "A Second Look at White Ironstone" (1985) and "White Ironstone: A Collector's Guide" (Wetherbee 1980; 1985; 1996) as well as Godden's "Godden's Guide to Ironstone, Stone & Granite Wares" (Godden 1999) and Kowalsky and Kowalsky's "Encyclopedia of Marks" (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999) were all used as preliminary sources. However, the patterns specific to the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage were largely identified using "The Wheat Pattern" (Sussman 1985) and "White Ironstone China: Plate Identification Guide 1840-1890" (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001). The registered pattern names and histories of the pattern were sought wherever possible. Unfortunately not all the patterns could be identified. In these cases a descriptive name was given, and this is noted in the text.

It should be noted here that sources such as "Kovel's New Dictionary of Marks," "White Ironstone China Plate Identification Guide" "A Look at White Ironstone" and "White Ironstone: A Collector's Guide" and "A Second Look at White Ironstone" could be seen as works solely for

collectors, and this is the audience to which these books are targeted. However, this does not mean that they should be disregarded as useable and useful sources for the archaeologist. Much of the archaeological literature on ceramics concentrates on the seventeenth, eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth centuries. Information on the late nineteenth century is lacking (with a few notable exceptions including George Miller's "A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880" (Miller 1991a), Brooks (2005) and Sussman (1985) (as discussed). Ceramic vessels from the nineteenth century, however, are highly collectible and many collectors' guides have been published on them (some of which are not much more than price guides). The ones mentioned above, however, include not only detailed pictures (and drawings) of patterns and marks, which were extremely useful for identification purposes, but they also include histories of wares, potteries, and types of decoration. The data collection regarding vessel form, ware, makers' marks and decoration, as well as the distribution of these elements throughout the site, has been formulated into tables throughout the chapter in order to clearly present the information.

To enhance the analysis and the presentation of that analysis, photographs were taken of the significant and demonstrative pieces in the collection. A few of these were also shown here to highlight the various decoration styles and makers' marks. Whitewares (white earthenwares and white granites) that have moulded relief with no other decoration can be difficult to photograph because of the glare that comes from the glaze and the detail in the relief is not always evident. Therefore, illustrations demonstrating the four major types of moulded relief found in the collection were commissioned.

4.3 Ceramic Distribution and Basic Assemblage Breakdown

Before the analysis of the wares, makers, and decorations of the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage is presented, the basic make-up of the assemblage should be addressed. For this, and subsequent analysis, the site was divided into seven major areas. These areas are demarcated in Figure 4.1. Following Figure 4.1, each area is described. This enables a spatial analysis of the ceramics to determine if there are patterns of disposal dependent on site area. Table 4.1 breaks down the site into units, giving the amount of ceramic sherds found in each. These are grouped

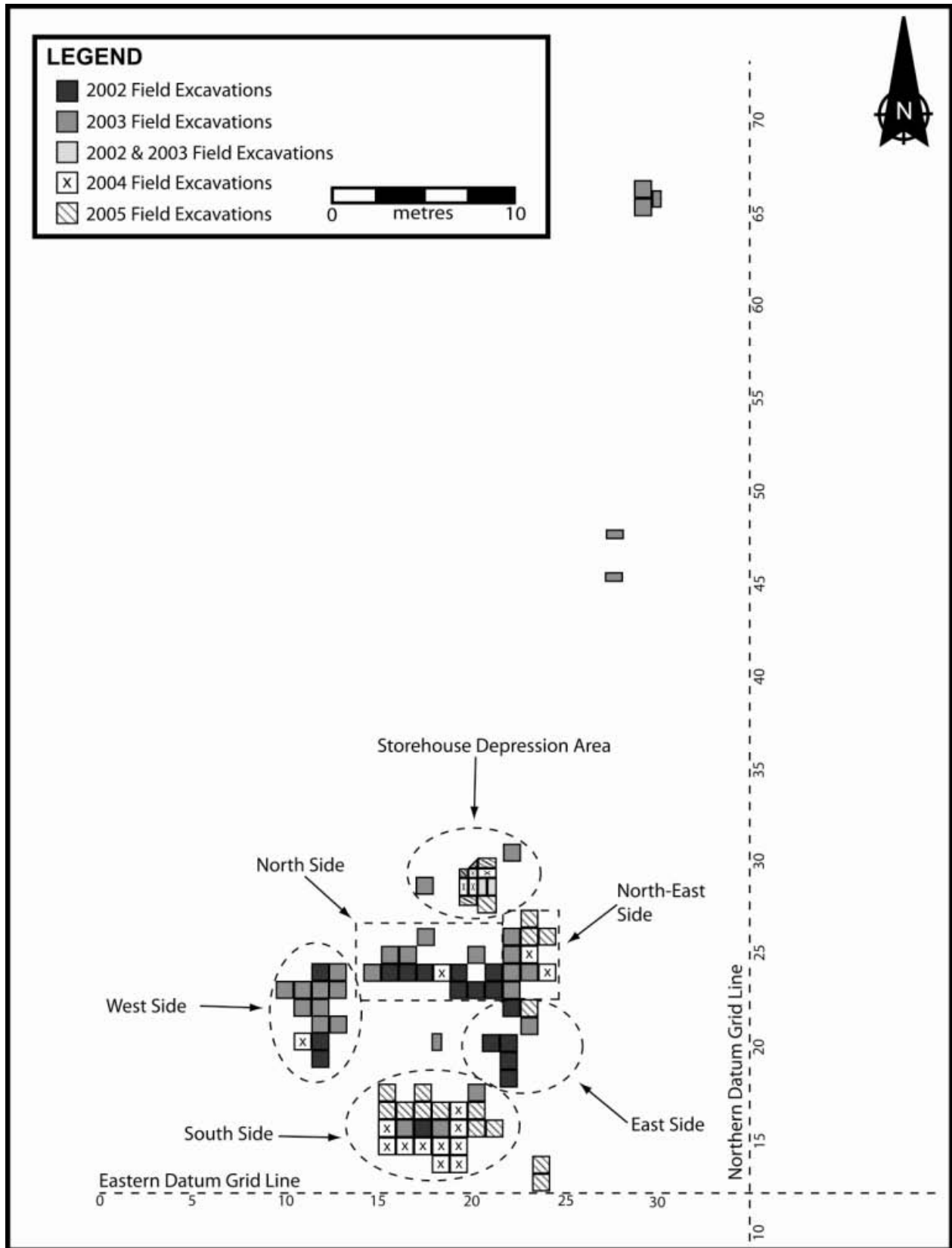


Figure 4.1: Distribution of site areas for analysis, FbNo-24

into their respective areas to gain a better understanding of ceramic distribution across the site and to test to see if there was one area in particular where the majority of ceramics were found.

The descriptions of the areas are as follows;

North of House Depression – excavated areas to north of the house depression. Evidence has been found here of a mortar line (as discussed in chapter 2). This area is closest to what is being called the storehouse cellar, where the largest concentration of artifacts was found on the site.

Northeast of House Depression – this is the area encompassing the excavated areas to the northeast of the house depression. This area has been separated from the others because if the eastern area was the location of the main entrance, the northeast may have been an easy place for disposing of refuse directly from the entrance.

East of House Depression – excavated area to the east of the house depression. There was a flagstone and a long piece of horizontal wood uncovered here (see chapter 2 for more information), suggesting that this may have been the location of an entrance to the house.

West of House Depression – excavated areas to the west of the house depression. This area is the closest to the river and to what may have been the location of the ferry crossing.

South of the House Depression – excavated area to the south of the house depression. A mortar line was found throughout many of these units (see chapter 2 for more information) and therefore evidence suggests that these units make up the area adjacent and close to the south side of the house.

Storehouse Depression – this is the area encompassing the excavated tests within and closely adjacent to what is being called the storehouse depression. As mentioned in chapter 2, this is the area of the site that contains the largest concentration of archaeological materials (whether deposited at the time of the Clarks or from a clean up event after their time here).

Other Areas – this category encompasses a feature to the southeast of the house depression (and is not close enough to be considered as part of the south side of the house). This area also includes the other tests and units that are away from the direct area of the house.

In Table 4.1, the number of ceramics in each unit, and area, were calculated. In order to see how this number related to the ceramics assemblage as a whole (with the total number of ceramics being 773), percentages were determined. There were different numbers of units in each designated area so the percentages of ceramics could be seen as skewed to areas that had a larger number of units excavated. To account for this, the percentage of each area as compared to the

Table 4.1: Distribution of Ceramics at Clark's Crossing

Area/Unit	Quantity	% of ceramics	% of total excavated	Area/Unit	Quantity	% of ceramics	% of total excavated	Area/Unit	Quantity	% of ceramics	% of total excavated
North				West				South cont'd			
24N15E	0			23N10E	3			15N21E	47		
25N16E	4			23N11E	1			15N22E	37		
24N16E	2			22N11E	0			Unit total #	23		28.75%
25N17E	10			20N11E	8			Ceramic Total #	355	56.79%	
24N17E	12			24N12E	7			Storehouse			
26N18E	23			23N12E	2			ST.TP1	10		
24N18E	6			22N12E	0			ST.TP2	10		
24N19E	13			21N12E	0			ST.TP3	9		
24N20E	14			20N12E	11			ST.TP4	21		
23N20E	2			19N12E	17			ST.TP5	1		
25N21E	0			24N13E	5			ST.TP6	4		
23N21E	2			23N13E	9			ST.TP7	1		
24N22E	8			21N13E	1			ST.TP8	1		
23N22E	8			Unit total #	13		16.25%	ST.TP9	4		
Unit total #	14		17.50%	Ceramic Total #	64	8.28%		ST.TP10	1		
Ceramic Total#	104	13.45%		South				ST.TP11	0		
Northeast				17N16E	15			ST.TP12	0		
26N23E	15			16N16E	4			ST.TP13	0		
25N23E	3			15N16E	10			ST.TP14	1		
24N23E	18			14N16E	22			ST.TP15	1		
23N23E	11			16N17E	9			29N18E	14		
27N24E	1			15N17E	13			30N23E	0		
26N24E	11			14N17E	30			Unit total #	7.5		9.38%
25N24E	6			17N18E	0			Ceramic Total#	78	10.09%	
24N24E	5			16N18E	6			Other Areas			
26N25E	0			15N18E	5			12N25E	10		
24N25E	1			14N18E	27			13N25E	2		
Unit total #	10		12.50%	16N19E	10			65N30.5E	0		
Ceramic Total#	71	9.18%		15N19E	32			66N30.5E	0		
East				14N19E	33			45N29E	0		
20N22E	0			13N19E	12			47.5N29E	0		
22N23E	0			16N20E	18			Cellar Test	0		
20N23E	1			15N20E	34			Unit total #	5.5		6.88%
19N23E	0			14N20E	27			Ceramic Total#	12	1.55%	
18N23E	0			13N20E	15						
22N24E	0			17N21E	1						
21N24E	4			16N21E	32						
Unit total #	7		8.75%					Total Units	80		100.01%
Ceramic Total#	5	0.65%						Total Cer.	773	99%	

site as a whole was also calculated. Each regular excavated unit was 1m² and there were 73 regular units excavated. There were also 3 1 x .5m units, bringing the total to 74.5 metres. The tests in the storehouse depression are the equivalent of 5.5 metres of (horizontal) excavations, bringing the total excavations at the site to 80m². If the ceramics were disposed of equally across the site, then the percentage of ceramics and the percentage of area should be close to equivalent. As is seen in Table 4.1, the North Area (North of the House Depression) contains 13.45% of the site's total ceramics and 17.50% of the excavated area of the site. The North Area has approximately the same percentage of the site's ceramics and the site's area. It is similar with the Northeast Area, which contains 9.18% of the site's total ceramics and 12.50% of the total area excavated. The Storehouse Area was also balanced, with 10.09% of the site's total ceramics and 9.38% of the total area excavated at the site. The East Area does not appear to be a popular area for the disposal of ceramics, as only 0.65% of the total ceramics are found here (even though the area accounts for 8.75% of the excavated area at the site). The West Area and the Other Area appear to also be unpopular places for the disposal of ceramics as the West Area has 8.28% of the total ceramics at the site (but 16.25% of the excavated area) and the Other Areas with only 1.55% of the ceramics and 6.88% of the area. The South Area (South of the House Depression) has the highest percentage of the site's total ceramics with 56.79% (even though it only makes up 28.75% of the total area excavated at the site). With over half of the ceramics at the site being found in the South Area, there may be a correlation between this area and disposal.

One could argue that the high percentage of ceramics in the South Area could be a result of an increase in the fragmentation of the ceramics and therefore a higher number of fragments and a higher percentage. However, as seen in Table 4.2, this was not necessarily the case. This table gives the number and percentages of the unidentifiable ceramics at the site. Unidentifiable ceramics are those ceramics that were too small for further analysis. Although the ware type could usually be identified, these ceramics had no distinguishing features that identified a vessel form, maker, or decoration. Since these ceramics were also usually the smallest of the assemblage, they were also a good indication of fragmentation so the higher the percentage of unidentifiabls in a given area could mean a higher level of fragmentation. Table 4.2 demonstrates that the unidentifiabls in the South Area make up 28.25% of the total. This number was slightly higher than the overall site percentage of unidentifiabls (26.91%), but it is not the highest (the highest being in the northeast area with unidentifiabls making up 32.39% of

Table 4.2: Distribution of Unidentifiable Ceramics

Area	# of identifiable	Total number	% that is identifiable
North	28	104	26.92%
% of total identifiable	13.46%		
Northeast	23	71	32.39%
% of total identifiable	11.08%		
East	0	5	0%
% of total identifiable	0%		
West	14	64	21.88%
% of total identifiable	6.73%		
South	124	439	28.25%
% of total identifiable	59.62%		
Storehouse	18	78	23.08%
% of total identifiable	8.65%		
Other Areas	1	12	8.33%
% of total identifiable	0.48%		
Total	208	773	26.91%

the total number of ceramics for the area). Most of the areas seem consist with each other and the site total. Consequently, there does not seem to be a correlation between one specific area of the site and a higher level of ceramic fragmentation, with fragmentation being fairly consistent across the excavated area of the site. For the further analysis of vessel forms, makers' marks and decoration, the unidentifiables will not be included. However, because ware type could generally be identified on these fragments, unidentifiable ceramic sherds are included in those tables. In summary, there does seem to be a correlation between ceramic refuse disposal and the south side of the house depression. Although ceramics were found throughout all areas of the site, the south side of the house depression has the largest amount and percentage of the overall assemblage, both those that are identifiable past ware type, and those that are not.

4.3.1 Vessel Form and Identifying Fragments Represented

During identification and classification of the ceramic assemblage, two other major aspects were made note of: portion present and vessel form. This was done by using Figures 4.2 and 4.3 (Parks Canada 1975) as a guideline. Figure 4.2 demonstrates the parts of a flatware vessel and the terminology used in the text. Figure 4.3 demonstrates the same for hollowware vessels.

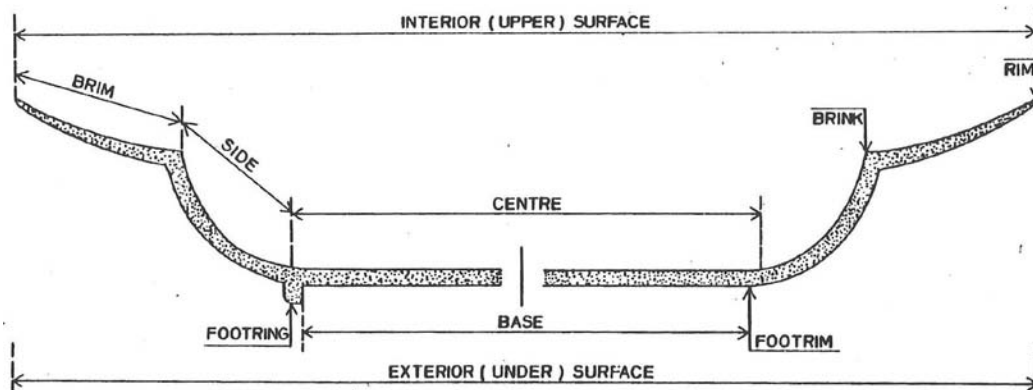


Figure 4.2: Parts of a Flatware Ceramic Vessel (Parks Canada 1975) as used in text

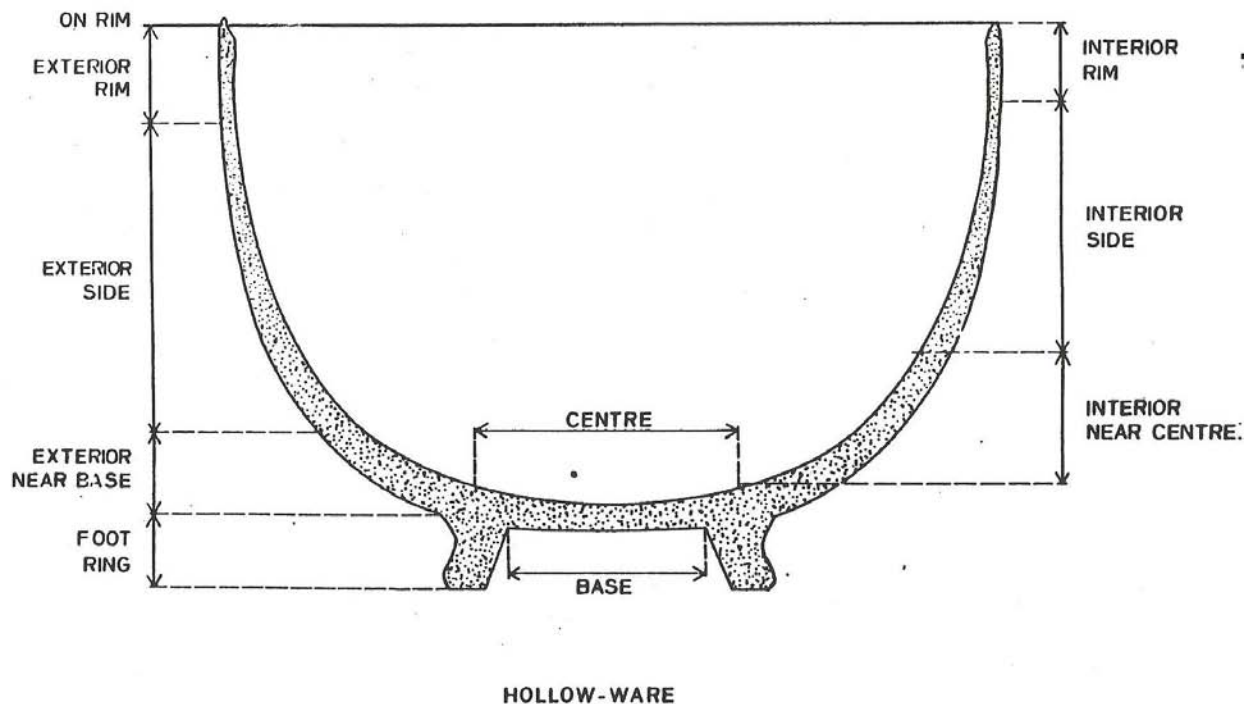


Figure 4.3: Parts of a Hollowware Ceramic Vessel (Parks Canada 1975) as used in text

Portion present was important to make note of for several reasons. Makers' marks were usually found on the base of vessels. Therefore if this was not the portion represented in analysis, then a makers' mark was not expected to be found. Additionally, in the case of moulded relief white granite ware of the nineteenth century, the decoration was most often found on the brim or the rim of the vessel. This was especially true with flatwares, but in the case of hollowwares, the decoration was usually found close to the rim on the exterior. This was also one of the reasons why it was important to make note of vessel form. Vessel form can also allow for some avenues of inquiry into what kinds of tablewares are being purchased and if there were discernable reasons for this.

The major vessel forms found at Clark's Crossing and used in this analysis are flatwares (plates and saucers) and hollowwares. There were a few exceptions including cups, an egg cup and a pitcher. When the specific form could not be identified, vessels were classified as flatware, hollowware, (or unidentifiable, but as previously mentioned, these will not be discussed in further detail). A 'plate' as identified by Brooks is "a flat vessel traditionally used for the consumption of relatively solid foods...are either circular or polygonal, although even polygonal examples will usually have circular centres and bases...come in a wide range of sizes" (Brooks 2005:51). A saucer was identified as a "flat to shallow hollow vessel traditionally seen as the base for a cup, but often used for a variety of other functions" (Brooks 2005:51). Plates and saucers at this time period can be mistaken for hollowwares. As demonstrated in Figure 4.2, these plates have high sides, allowing for the use of these plates for the consumption of solid foods, but also more liquid foods (like stews and even soups). Saucers, often with little or no brim and no brim, but just a shallow side, can be mistaken for shallow bowls. The presence of a cup well (where the cup would have been placed) will identify it as a saucer, but the absence of one does not, by default, mean it is a bowl, as some saucers simply did not have cup wells (Brooks 2005:51). Caution was taken in ensuring that vessels identified as saucers were indeed that form and not bowls or other hollowwares. Table 4.3 outlines the vessel forms and identifying fragments from the Clark's Crossing assemblage. This table demonstrates that the majority of the ceramic fragments were from flatware vessels, followed by unidentified (unidentified is different from unidentifiable; unidentified meant that the form of the vessel could not be identified, but the fragment was large enough or had enough detail, to identify the portion of a vessel it represented, such as rim, footring, base, body, and so forth) and hollowwares. A sherd was identified as being part of a

flatware vessel when it was known that it was a flatware, but could not be distinguished if it was part of a plate, saucer, or some other specific vessel form. The same was true for hollowwares (the sherd could be identified as being from such a vessel, but it was unknown if it was part of a bowl, a cup, or some other specific hollowware form). Many of the hollowware fragments may indeed have come from cups, especially considering the number of saucer fragments, but it was not possible to identifying them as such from the sherd alone. Table 4.3 also demonstrates that rims and body fragments make up the largest amounts and percentages from the overall identifiable ceramic assemblage. As mentioned, many of these rims were decorated with

Table 4.3: Breakdown of Form and Identifying Fragments

Vessel Form	Rim	Footring	Base	Body	Handle	Pedestal	Spout	Total	% of identifiable (n=565)
Flatware	55	27	23	55	0	0	0	160	28.32%
Plate	42	10	7	13	0	0	0	72	12.74%
Saucer	27	14	13	3	0	0	0	57	10.09%
Hollowware	50	7	5	47	15	0	0	124	21.95%
Cup	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.71%
Jar	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	7	1.24%
Egg Cup	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.53%
Pitcher	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0.71%
Unidentified	55	20	22	34	3	0	0	134	23.72%
<i>Total</i>	238	78	77	152	18	1	1	565	
% of identifiable (n=565)	42.12%	13.81%	13.63%	26.90%	3.19%	0.18%	0.18%		100.01%

moulded relief patterns. The term “body” has been generalized in this figure and represents fragments from anywhere between the footring and the rim of the vessel; if the fragment included either of these elements, it was included in that category. Many of these ‘body’ pieces are also decorated as they often represent the brims of vessels. There were a few notable exceptions in form to the usual flatwares and hollowwares. There were seven fragments that mend together and seem to form what looks like a jar. There was also the example of fragments of a pitcher. All the fragments, even though they do not mend, appear to come from the same spout. The cup fragments possibly represented three different vessels (two fragments mend, but the others do not). As mentioned, some of the ‘hollowware’ fragments may come from cups, but there was not enough of the identifying fragment to make that distinction between hollowware and cup. There were also two egg cups represented in the assemblage. There was a small hollow area that holds the egg and that was attached to a pedestal. These were made of a porcelain material, and feature a gold gilt band (these are discussed further in the section on decoration). Two of the egg cup fragments mend (two body fragments) and there was one pedestal fragment (which does not mend to the main hollow body portion).

The identification of vessel form has been a major focus of ceramic publications, in particular, how vessel form may relate to identity (this is seen especially in David Burley’s *Meaning and Context: Ambiguities in Ceramic Use by the Hivernant Métis* (Burley 1989), Cabak and Loring’s discussion of ceramic teawares and bowls amongst the Labrador Inuit (Cabak and Loring 2000), and Robert K. Fitts’ study of the middle class and domesticity in nineteenth century Brooklyn (Fitts 1999)). The variety of vessel forms in the Clark’s Crossing assemblage is limited, with identifiable forms being mostly flatwares (and plates and saucers) followed by hollowwares. However, the tendency towards flatwares may offer some insight into the assemblage and the site itself. Flatwares, which would have been easy to stack in a crate, may have just been easier to transport to the prairies from the eastern regions of Canada (and also from England). In addition, as demonstrated in this assemblage, it was common at this time for plates to have a deep side coming up to a wide brim. This type of plate would have accommodated a large variety of different meals, including stews. Therefore, these plates would have been a good ‘all in one’ type of tableware.

By breaking down the collection into portions present and vessel form, the major insight gained into the assemblage at Clark’s Crossing is that it was mainly made up by flatwares. With

a combined total of 51.15%, flatwares dominated the assemblage. Hollowwares fell behind, with a combined total of 25.14% and unidentified vessel form making up 23.72% of the assemblage. The makeup of the assemblage in terms of vessel form does not offer much in the way of variety. However, because moulded relief patterns were most commonly found on the rims and brims of flatware vessels, this assemblage can provide many insights into different patterns and possible meanings behind them, the ware types being used, and the makers who manufactured these vessels. These themes are introduced in the subsequent sections.

4.4 Ware Type

As can be seen in chapter 3, ware type can be an important, albeit confusing, aspect of ceramic identification. Using the criteria outlined in chapter 3, the ceramics were divided into five major categories; white granite (distinct blue pooling to glaze, moulded relief pattern), white earthenware (subdivided into unvitrified and vitrified), porcelain, salt glazed stoneware and coarse earthenware. Table 4.4 shows the basic breakdown of these ceramics. Table 4.4 demonstrates that white granite is the most prominent of the ceramics at the site, making up 67.08% of the identifiable assemblage (those which were large enough to determine what portion of the vessel they represented and/or had a distinguishing feature, such as a decoration) and 50.97% of the total assemblage. White earthenwares (here broken down further by vitrification) came in a distant second, with a combined total of 23.01% of the identifiable assemblage (and 38.68% of the total assemblage). Table 4.4 also expresses how other identifying factors can skew the identification of ware. Since white granite was also defined by the presence of blue pooling and/or moulded relief motifs, many unidentifiable ceramic fragments, by default, end up as being classified as white earthenware unvitrified (which makes up 26.39% of the total assemblage). If these fragments had been large enough to identify a moulded pattern or to see the pooling of the glaze, they may have been categorized differently. White granite wares can be vitrified or not, so some of the vitrified white earthenware may have been otherwise classified as white granite. Every care was taken to ensure that all cross mended fragments were identified consistently in terms of ware type. Without larger fragments or more complete vessels, proper classification of ware type, especially when dealing with one like white granite, which has a decorative

Table 4.4: Breakdown of Ware Types

Ware Type	Identifiable Quantity	% of Total Identifiable (n=565)	Unidentifiable	Total	% of Total (n=773)
White Granite	379	67.08%	15	394	50.97%
White Earthenware	130	23.01%	169	299	38.68%
Vitrified	62	10.97%	33	95	12.29%
Not Vitrified	68	12.04%	136	204	26.39%
Porcelain	43	7.61%	24	67	8.67%
S-G Stoneware	12	2.12%	0	12	1.55%
Coarse Earthenware	1	0.18%	0	1	0.13%
Total	565	100.00%	208	773	
% of Total (n=773)	73.09%		26.91%		100.00%

component in its identification definition, can be a tricky exercise.

Table 4.5 demonstrates both how many of each ware type was in each area of the site and how each ware type is distributed across the site. ‘W.G.’ is short for white granite ware, ‘V.W.E.’ for vitrified white earthenware, ‘W.E.’ for white earthenware, and ‘crse erthnwre’ for coarse earthenware. In almost all areas white granite ware was the most prevalent of ware types (with the only exception being vitrified white earthenware being dominant on the west side). The North, Northeast, South and Storehouse Areas all contain at least one fragment of the four most popular ware types (white granite, white earthenware, vitrified white earthenware, and porcelain). The East Area was an exception with all of the ceramics found here compromised of the ware type white granite. However, there were only five fragments found here. The only ceramics represented in the Other Areas were white granite ware and white earthenware. However, these areas also had the second smallest total assemblage of all the areas (with only 12 ceramic

Table 4.5: Site Distribution of Ware Types

Area	W.G.	V.W.E	W.E.	Porcelain	Stoneware	Crse Earthenware
North						
Total Ceramic	57	20	25	2	0	0
% as in area	54.81%	19.23%	24.04%	1.92%	0%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	14.47%	21.05%	12.25%	2.99%	0%	0%
Northeast						
Total Ceramic	27	9	22	13	0	0
% as in area	38.03%	12.68%	30.99%	18.31%	0%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	6.85%	9.47%	10.78%	19.40%	0%	0%
East						
Total Ceramic	5	0	0	0	0	0
% as in area	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	1.27%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
West						
Total Ceramic	20	29	15	0	0	0
% as in area	31.25%	45.31%	23.44%	0%	0%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	5.08%	30.53%	7.35%	0%	0%	0%
South						
Total Ceramic	224	36	116	51	12	0
% as in area	51.03%	8.20%	26.42%	11.62%	2.73%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	56.85%	37.89%	56.86%	76.12%	100%	0%
Storehouse						
Total Ceramic	50	1	25	1	0	1
% as in area	64.10%	1.28%	32.05%	1.28%	0%	1.28%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	12.69%	1.05%	12.25%	1.49%	0%	100%
Other Areas						
Total Ceramic	11	0	1	0	0	0
% as in area	91.67%	0%	8.33%	0%	0%	0%
<i>Overall ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>% as of ware</i>	2.79%	0%	0.49%	0%	0%	0%
<i>ceramic total</i>	394	95	204	67	12	1
<i>%</i>	100	99.99%	99.98%	100%	100%	100%

fragments). The West Area was the last area where all the four major ceramic ware types are not represented (with no porcelain fragments found). This area has the third least number of overall ceramics with a total of 64. Since the areas that are missing one or more of the four major ceramic ware types were also the areas with the least number of overall ceramics, it is safe to say that there are no specific site areas where disposal favours one ceramic type or the other.

Table 4.5 also demonstrates how each ware type was distributed across the site. The white granite ware column shows that, even though white granite may make up the majority of ceramics in any given area, the largest percentage of white granite ware was found in the South Area, with 58.85% of all white granite wares in the assemblage being found there. The vitrified white earthenware of the collection seems to be pretty evenly distributed between the West and South areas, with most of the remaining being found in the North Area. Most of the white earthenware in the collection was found in the South Area (at 56.86%), with the remainder being relatively evenly distributed across the site. The overwhelming majority of porcelain fragments were also found in the South Area, with 76.12%. All of the stoneware was also found in the South Area. It was not surprising that the South Area would have the highest percentages of most of the ware types, considering that over half of all the ceramics found at Clark's Crossing were found in this area (56.79%).

The analysis of the breakdown and distribution of ceramic ware types at Clark's Crossing has demonstrated two major points. First, white granite ware was the dominate ware type found at the site, with 67.08% of the identifiable ceramic fragments. There are, however, significant numbers of the ware types of white earthenware (vitrified or not) and porcelain. Interestingly, there were small numbers of stoneware (which are usually used for storage type vessels) at 2.12% and only one fragment of coarse earthenware (0.18%). This may indicate that the Clarks used other methods and container material types for storage. The information gathered from the analysis of the breakdown and distribution of ceramic ware types illustrates the second major point, that this information verifies that the south side of the house depression was the major area for ceramic disposal. The analysis demonstrates that the south area not only contained the highest percentages of ceramics overall at the site, but also contained the highest portion of many of the individual ware types (with 56.85% of all white granite wares, 56.86% of white earthenware, 76.12% of all porcelain and 100% of all stoneware being found in this area). To

further augment this analysis, the marks of the makers found on the ceramics of the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage are now discussed.

4.5 Makers' Marks

The maker's mark, or the imprint or transfer print (stamped) mark on a vessel, usually located on the base, can tell the researcher a great deal about the ceramic and the assemblage from which it comes. Makers' marks are useful for dating, sourcing, cross mending and vessel counts, and matching a ceramic manufacturer to a specific decorative pattern. Manufacturers placed these marks on their vessels to identify them as being made by their company. Marks could identify a vessel as being of a design or a shape registered with a patent office and the specific name of that design or shape. They could also indicate the vessel was made in a specific month or year, that it was of a specific quality, that it was made by a certain individual or group of individuals and/or that it was distributed by a specific retailer or wholesaler.. Marks could include the name of the pottery, a logo or picture, words that described the ceramic or decoration of the vessel and the country of manufacturer. The names of the potteries discussed in relation to the Clark's Crossing assemblage are Henry Alcock & Co, Robert Cochran & Co, W. & E. Corn, Thomas Furnival & Sons, W.H. Grindley & Co, and Mellor, Taylor & Co. Each of these potteries will be discussed.

In addition to identifying the manufacturer, marks also sometimes feature a company logo or some other type of picture. Animals are particularly popular with elephants, eagles, fish, dragons, and more all making appearances on different makers' marks. The most popular animals, especially in relation to this particular study, are the lion and the unicorn. The lion and unicorn are the central figures in the Royal Arms. An example of the Royal Arms is found in Figure 4.4. The Royal Arms was the symbol of the British monarch, and during the mid to late nineteenth century (to the turn of the century) this was Queen Victoria. Figure 4.4 shows the complete Royal Coat of Arms and many marks will use a simplified version of this. The English Lion and the Scottish Unicorn flanked the shield, which represented the royal emblems of different parts of the United Kingdom with the three lions for England in the first and fourth quarters, the lion of Scotland in the second and the harp of Ireland in the third (Birks 2010). The



Figure 4.4: The British Royal Arms (From Birks 2010)

words on the belt surrounding the shield mean “Shame to him who evil thinks” and words beneath mean “God and My Right” (the motto of the sovereign) (Birks 2010). Although the Royal Arms were to be used on goods holding a Royal Warrant (sold or supplied approved goods to the royal court), during the late nineteenth century many (non warranted) potteries used the Royal Arms (as well as words like ‘warranted’ and ‘Royal’) as a way to imply value and importance (Birks 2010). In addition, the presence of the Royal Arms does not necessarily mean the ceramic was British made. The American potteries also usurped this symbol (usually in a slightly modified form), in a way to suggest to the consumer that these were British made, or at least that they were of the same quality that the Staffordshire potteries were known for (Birks 2010).

Marks on ceramics may include the actual name of their country of manufacture. The McKinley Tariff Act of 1891 determined that the country of manufacture of the ceramic vessel must be printed on each piece (Kovel and Kovel 1986:229). However, finding a country’s name on a ceramic vessel does not necessarily date that vessel to 1891 or afterwards. Kovel and Kovel note that they have seen marks as early as 1880 with the word ‘England’ (1986:229) and Godden also addresses this point, maintaining that the presence of ‘England’ in a mark signifies a date after 1880, not 1891 (Godden 1971:257).

As mentioned, makers' marks can be used to date, cross mend, aid in vessel counts, and match decoration types in ceramic assemblages. Makers' marks assist in dating a vessel because the style or wording of a mark can change through time and it is simply a matter of finding when a company was using that name or that design on a mark. Even the slightest change in wording can signify a different time period. For example Henry Alcock & Co became Henry Alcock Pottery in 1910, therefore marks featuring 'Henry Alcock Pottery' post-date 1910. Figure 4.5 shows each of the marks found at the site of Clark's Crossing and the associated dates for each. It is recognized that ceramics can be used long after their dates of manufacture. However, by collecting and overlapping the dates from the maker's marks, it does give a good estimate for the time of site occupation, which also coincides with the historical research.

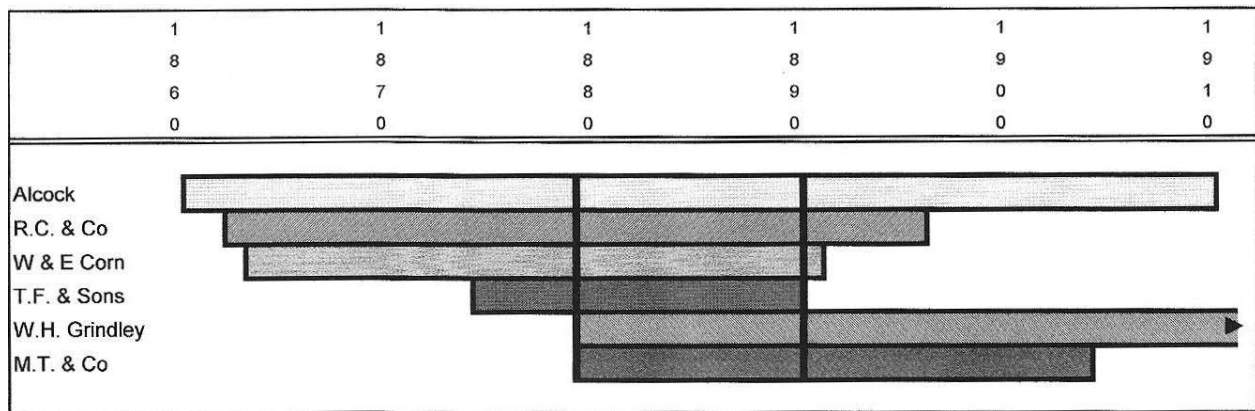


Figure 4.5: Date Overlap of Makers' Marks from Clark's Crossing

4.5.1 Makers' Marks Specific to Clark's Crossing

The ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing featured makers' marks by at least six major potteries; Henry Alcock & Co, Robert Cochran & Co, W & E Corn, Thomas Furnival & Sons, W.H. Grindley and Mellor, Taylor & Co. There were a few fragments containing makers marks where there was not enough of the mark to make a positive identification. (All of the marks found at the site are detailed in Table 4.7 and will be discussed in detail). Some of what has been identified as marks were simply impressed fragments of a base. In the case of this particular

ceramic assemblage, the impressions were all those of letters or numbers. Sometimes these were part of a transfer print/stamp mark and sometimes they were found on their own. The impressed marks are identified in Table 4.7.

Since they are so distinct, makers' marks are possibly the easiest way to cross-mend ceramics in a collection. These cross-mending relationships are shown in Table 4.6. Table 4.6 gives the distribution of the various types of makers' marks found at the site. The table demonstrates that the majority of the makers' marks (48.65%) were found in the South Area. This was not surprising, considering that most of the site's ceramics were found here. The numbers given in the table represent the number of distinct makers' marks, not the number of maker's mark fragments. If two or more fragments mended to form one distinct maker's mark, then it was counted as '1'. The fragments that were left over after mending were found to be too distinct for any of them to be from the same vessel, therefore the total vessel count, based off of information from maker's marks, was 37 (this can be seen in further detail in Table 4.7). In Table 4.6, some of the numbers are shown as '.5'. This indicates that part of the mark was found in this unit, while the other part of the mark that it mends with was found somewhere else at the site. By doing this, it enables one to see if we are seeing cross mending from nearby units (indicating that there was possibly little disruption at the time of disposal or post-disposal) or from units from farther away (indicating the opposite). From Table 4.6, we can see that there was one mark that mended within the West Area (Thomas Furnival & Sons), five that mended within the South Area (four W.E. Corn and one unknown). However, there are two marks that cross-mended across the site. The first is the Henry Alcock & Co mark, which cross-mended between the Northeast and the South Areas. The second was the Robert Cochran & Co mark, which cross-mended between the South and the Storehouse Areas. Although two marks are not enough to come to any significant conclusions regarding the deposition or post-depositional history of the site, they do indicate that there was some spreading of materials at the site.

Table 4.6 also shows the percentages of each maker in terms of overall makers' marks at the site. Henry Alcock and Company, Robert Cochran and Company, and W.H. Grindley are all represented by only one marked vessel (2.70% of the total). Mellor, Taylor and Company, as well as unknown impressed marks, were only slightly higher at 2 (or 5.41%) and 3 (8.11% of the total). The most popular known makers (with unknown makers making up 29.73%) were Thomas Furnival & Sons at six (or 16.22%) and W. E. Corn at 12 (32.43%). This is significant

Table 4.6: Site Distribution of Makers' Marks

Area	H. Alcock	R. C. & Co.	W.&E. Corn	T.F. & Sons	M.H. Grindley	M.T. & Co	Unknown T.P.	Unknown Imp	Total
North									
24N17E				2					2
26N18E							1		1
24N18E							1		1
24N20E						1	1		2
% of makers									16.22%
Northeast									
26N23E	0.5			1			1	1	3.5
26N24E								1	1
24N23E							1		1
% of makers									14.86%
East									
% of makers									0%
West									
23N10E				1					1
23N12E							1		1
23N13E				0.5					0.5
24N13E				0.5					0.5
% of makers									8.11%
South									
16N16E			1.5						1.5
14N16E			1	1					2
15N17E			1						1
14N17E			2.5				1		3.5
16N19E					1				1
15N19E	0.5		1						1.5
14N19E		0.5	1						1.5
15N20E			1						1
14N20E			2				0.5		2.5
13N20E							1		1
16N21E			1						1
15N21E							0.5		0.5
% of makers									48.65%
Storehouse									
ST.TP4		0.5						1	1.5
ST.TP9							1		1
% of makers									6.77%
Other Areas									
12N25E						1			1
13N25E							1		1
% of makers									5.41%
Maker Total	1	1	12	6	1	2	11	3	37
% total	2.70%	2.70%	32.43%	16.22%	2.70%	5.41%	29.73%	8.11%	100.02%

because both of these makers were known for their use of agricultural themes in the moulded relief patterns that adorned their ceramics. In both cases, the Clark's Crossing assemblage has examples of marks being in direct association with decorated fragments, and these will be discussed further in the section on decoration. In the nineteenth century it can be especially challenging to mend the maker and the moulded decoration. The moulded designs of these ceramics are usually found on the rims and brims of vessel. Since ceramic vessels are usually found fragmented in the archaeological record, matching the design and the maker are difficult unless the researcher is lucky enough to uncover fragments that mend or fragments that contain both the base and the brim/rim. Table 4.7 illustrates the breakdown of all the marks found at the site of Clark's Crossing, including the form of the vessel. Vessel form was noted in order to see if there was a correlation between specific makers and specific vessel forms (perhaps all the plates were one maker, all the bowls another, and so forth). In regards to the two most popular makers, W.E. Corn and Thomas Furnival and Sons, we can see some correlation between maker and vessel form. W.E. Corn had a number of saucers (five), but there are also unidentified (four) and flatwares (three, and these could have been either saucers or plates). Thomas Furnival & Sons marks were found on plates (two), but also general flatware (two, could have been saucers or plates) and unidentified (two). With the aid of Table 4.7, each of the makers found at the site will be discussed, including examples of marks from each.

4.5.1.1 Henry Alcock and Company

The pottery firm of Henry Alcock and Company was in operation at the Elder Pottery in Cobridge, Staffordshire (Godden 1999:179). There are a variety of marks known that signify a ware as being made by Henry Alcock and Company. These marks can sometimes feature the Royal Arms, but also may just be represented by "H.A. & Co.", "H. Alcock & Co." or the name in full (Godden 1999:179). Some Henry Alcock and Company marks feature the Royal Arms or a shield, but in the specific example from Clark's Crossing, only words are found as part of the mark. As can be seen in Table 4.7, there was only one Alcock mark found in the assemblage. It was found in three parts, and the vessel type is a saucer. The mark is seen in Figure 4.6. As mentioned previously (and as demonstrated in Figure 4.5), Henry Alcock and Company was in

Table 4.7: Breakdown of Makers' Marks

Maker Represented	Type of Mark	Mark Type	Total Fragments	Total Vessel Represented	Vessel Type
Henry Alcock	T.P.	None	3	1	saucer
Robert Cochran & Co	T.P.	Royal Arms	2	1	unidentified
W&E Corn	T.P.	Royal Arms	7	5	saucer
W&E Corn	T.P.	Royal Arms	7	4	unidentified
W&E Corn	T.P.	Royal Arms	3	3	flatware
Thomas Furnival & Sons	T.P. & Imp	Royal Arms	2	1	plate
Thomas Furnival & Sons	T.P.	"Lorne"	2	1	plate
Thomas Furnival & Sons	T.P.	"Lorne"	3	2	flatware
Thomas Furnival & Sons	T.P.	"Lorne"	4	2	unidentified
W.H. Grindley	T.P. & Imp	Royal Arms	1	1	saucer
Mellor Taylor & Co	T.P.	Royal Arms	3	1	Hollowware
Mellor Taylor & Co	T.P.	Royal Arms	1	1	plate
Unknown	T.P.	Royal Arms	6	4	unidentified
Unknown	T.P.	Royal Arms	2	2	flatware
Unknown	T.P. & Imp	Royal Arms	1	1	flatware
Unknown	T.P.	Royal Arms	1	1	plate
Unknown	T.P.	unknown	3	3	flatware
Unknown	Imp.	None	1	1	flatware
Unknown	Imp.	None	1	1	unidentified
Dundee Marmalade?	Imp.	None	7	1	Jar
Total			60	37	

operation from 1861-1910 (Godden 1999:179, Kowalsky 1999:89). The fragments shown in Figure 4.6 mend to read that this vessel was from Henry Alcock and Company. Although the words “Parisian porcelain” are part of the mark, this vessel is not porcelain, but is vitrified white earthenware, demonstrating that these terms were used to elicit supposed characteristics of the ware type, but are not an accurate description of the ware itself (see chapter 3). Godden notes that Henry Alcock and Company manufactured white granite/white earthenware under the names of “Ironstone China” and “Parisian Porcelain” exclusively for the American markets (Godden

1971: 36). One can assume that this also meant Canada.



Figure 4.6: Henry Alcock and Company Maker's Mark.

4.5.1.2 Robert Cochran and Company

The Robert Cochran and Company mark found in the Clark's Crossing assemblage is in two parts featuring the Royal Arms. It was from an unidentified vessel form. The mark is pictured in Figure 4.7. Although the pictured mark is smeared, it is almost identical to the example found in Sussman (1985:21), which also featured the Royal Arms, the line under 'Co', the blurry lines, and the words "Imperial Ironstone China" under the Royal Arms. The dates for the Robert Cochran and Company pottery are also taken from Sussman, who states that "the wheat pattern was produced at Robert Cochran's Britannia Pottery in Glasgow, Scotland, not long after 1863...continued operations at the Britannia Pottery until 1896" (1985:20-21). This example is the only ceramic vessel mark that is from outside of the Staffordshire pottery district of England. This is not the only object found at the site of Clark's Crossing that clearly says "Glasgow". There was also a pipe stem found in the storehouse area that has on it "...ITE GLASGOW". These artifacts may indicate that someone at the site specifically was identifying with Scottish heritage. John Fowler's parents, as seen in Chapter 2, were Irish and German. John Fowler identifies himself as Irish on the census records from 1901, 1911, and 1916 (Canadian Census Records). Maggie Ashton Clark's father was English and her mother was



Figure 4.7: Robert Cochran and Company Maker's Mark.

Scottish. Maggie is identified as English on the 1901 and 1911 census records, but in 1916, she is identified as Scottish (Canadian Census Records). However, with just two artifacts, we cannot make assumptions that these are representative of connection between Maggie Clark and Scotland. However, they are an interesting exception to the Staffordshire-produced wares.

4.5.1.3 W. and E. Corn

W. and E. Corn was the most popular of the marks found at the site, with a total of 12 distinct marks found. The marks were quite consistent, with all of them featuring the Royal Arms, with the words 'W. & E. Corn Burslem Staffordshire England' arching over the Royal Arms and the words 'Imperial Ironstone China' underneath. Examples of these marks are found in Figure 4.8. William and Edward Corn were located in Burslem, Staffordshire from 1864 – 1891, and then moved to Longport where they operated from 1891-1904 (Godden 1999:220, Sussman 1985:22). The marks in the Clark's Crossing collection indicated 'Burslem' so it was supposed they are from the earlier time period. Godden, referencing Jewitt 1878, notes that "Messrs. W & E Corn are exclusively devoted to the production of white granite ware for the

United States and other foreign markets” (Godden 1999:220). Advertisements from the time period also corroborate these statements.



Figure 4.8: W. and E. Corn Maker's Marks.

4.5.1.4 Thomas Furnival and Sons

Thomas Furnival and Sons are the second most popular of the identifiable makers' marks at the site of Clarks Crossing, with six vessels being represented. There were two different types of Thomas Furnival and Sons marks found at the site. The first type of mark, Figure 4.9, featured the Royal Arms and the words 'Thomas Furnival & ...' and "ENG...". Thomas Furnival and Son(s) was located in Cobridge from 1871 to 1890 (Godden 1999: 245). The 's' on sons was added in 1876. Although the example in Figure 4.9 does not include the portion of the mark that would say 'sons', this mark was found in situ with half a vessel including a decoration that was registered in 1878, placing this fragment after the 's' would have been added. Although it is not visible in the photograph, this mark also features a small impressed '11' that is over the mark. It



Figure 4.9: Thomas Furnival and Sons Maker's Mark, Royal Arms Example.

is unclear what this '11' represents. It could signify the batch from which the vessel came, the mark of a distributor, the person who placed the vessel in the mould that formed its decoration, or a number of other explanations. There was another type of Thomas Furnival and Sons mark found in the Clark's Crossing assemblage, and examples of this is in Figure 4.10. There were five distinct marks of this type in the assemblage. The words 'Thomas Furnival & Sons' are found within the top part of a loop or garter (after Godden 1971:257). The words 'The Lorne' were found inside this design. 'The Lorne' most likely referred to a specific pattern name. This pattern is discussed in detail in a following section on decorative styles in this assemblage. Thomas Furnival and Sons advertised their ware as white granite and Godden (from Jewitt writing on or before 1878) notes that the firm "ranks high as manufacturers of white granite and vitrified ironstone...for the United States and Canadian markets, to which they ship large quantities of goods (Godden 1999:245).



Figure 4.10: Thomas Furnival & Sons Maker's Marks, Lorne Example.

4.5.1.5 W. H. Grindley and Company (Ltd)

The firm of W.H. Grindley and Company was represented at Clark's Crossing by one mark. This mark was found on an undecorated saucer and is seen in Figure 4.11. The mark features the Royal Arms, the words 'Royal Ironstone China' arching over the Royal Arms, and 'W.H. Grindley & Co, England' underneath. There was also an impressed 'G' that was over the Royal Arms (specifically the lion). W.H. Grindley & Co operated out of Tunstall from 1880 -1991, however the style of this mark places it in the earlier portion of that time period (Godden 1999:249). Kowalsky dates this specific mark at c. 1891 – 1925, but this date can be pushed back to 1880, as Kowalsky does not take into account that 'England' can predate 1891 (Kowalsky 1999:215). Godden notes that W.H. Grindley's largest concern was in producing

“plain and embossed ironstone ‘in great variety...suitable for the Rome, United States and Colonial markets” (Godden 1999:249).



Figure 4.11: W.H. Grindley and Company Maker’s Mark.

4.5.1.6 Mellor, Taylor and Company

The two distinct marks by Mellor, Taylor and Company were the last identifiable marks in the Clark’s Crossing assemblage. These marks came from two different vessel forms; one was from a hollowware vessel (Figure 4.12), and the other from a plate (Figure 4.13). Figure 4.12 shows two of the fragments that mended to form the first mark. Figure 4.13 shows the Mellor, Taylor & Co mark fragment that is from a plate. Although the fragment is badly crazed, it appears that the mark is similar to the one shown in Figure 4.12. Mellor, Taylor and Company was in operation in Burslem, Staffordshire, from around 1880 to 1904. Godden notes that most Mellor, Taylor and Company marks incorporated the full name of the company, but there were some exceptions (Godden 1999:289). They were known for producing a large range of white granite wares and other refined earthenwares (Godden 1999:289).



Figure 4.12: Mellor, Taylor & Co Mark, from Hollowware Vessel



Figure 4.13: Mellor, Taylor & Co Mark, from a Plate.

4.5.1.7 Unidentified Marks

As noted in Table 4.7, there were also several marks in the assemblage that were not identified. There was not enough of these marks to make a positive identification to a specific maker. Eight of these marks featured at least some portion of the Royal Arms. They could be fragments from any one of the makers discussed that utilized this in their trademarks, or they could be from a different maker. In three of the cases of transfer printed marks, a determination of the design on the mark was not possible, as there simply was not enough of the mark remaining. Examples of these unidentified marks are found in Figure 4.14. Although some of

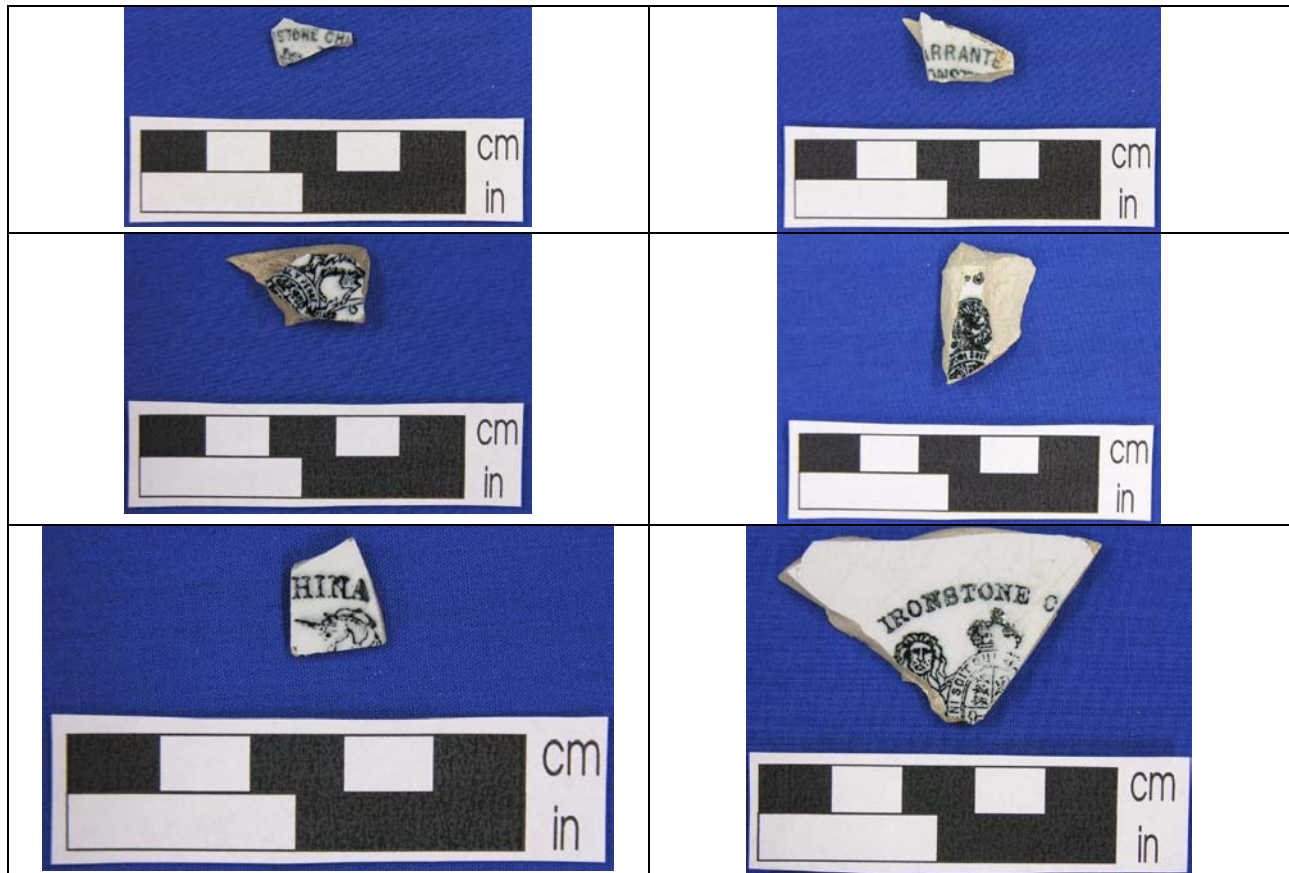


Figure 4.14: Unidentified Marks.

these marks featured words like “Ironstone” and “China”, as we have seen from the known examples, these words were used by a variety of makers and therefore the presence was not necessarily a determining factor in identification. In two cases of unidentified marks, the only distinguishing feature of the mark was an impressed letter, in one case a “G” and in the other case a “P”. Without the rest of the mark, it was unknown what these letters may have represented. The last unidentified mark in the assemblage contains the impressed letters “...BELLO” as seen in Figure 4.15. The meaning of this mark is unknown, as well as anything else about this ceramic container.



Figure 4.15: Unidentified “...BELLO” Mark.

4.5.2 Discussion of Makers’ Marks

The study of the maker’s marks of the assemblage of Clark’s Crossing has allowed for three main conclusions. First, the dates for the maker’s marks coincided with the dates for the site found through the historical research. The dates gave further evidence that these ceramics were used during the time of the Clarks’ occupancy of the site in the late nineteenth century. Second, the identifiable marks have shown that these ceramics originated in the United Kingdom (either the Staffordshire district of England or Scotland). This was the most popular and accessible origin for refined earthenwares during the late nineteenth century. The final conclusion that can be gathered from the analysis of the makers’ marks of this collection was that for a small

assemblage (with only 37 vessels represented by the makers' marks and 565 identifiable ceramic fragments), there was quite a variety of makers being represented. A total of six makers was identified (Henry Alcock, Robert Cochran and Company, W. and E. Corn, Thomas Furnival and Sons, W.H. Grindley and Mellor, Taylor and Company). Different makers indicate that all the ceramics in the assemblage do not belong to the same set. The ceramics would have been purchased at one time as different sets (by different makers), or at different times. Due to other similarities of the overall assemblage, there may have been an attempt to maintain a sense of cohesiveness to the household's ceramics. One of these similarities is the theme of decoration. The identification and analysis of the decorative designs and methods of the ceramic assemblage are now discussed.

4.6 Types and Styles of Decoration

Decorating a ceramic vessel involved enhancing its appearance in some way. This was done by altering the exterior of the vessel by adding a decorative technique or by manipulating its shape in a decorative way. This section discusses the decorative techniques and designs found in the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing, but by no means is it a complete discussion. Decorative techniques and styles vary temporally and spatially. In addition, although not expressed in this assemblage, ceramic vessels can contain more than one decorative technique. In this section each decorative technique encountered at the site of Clark's Crossing is discussed, including an expanded discussion on the moulded relief patterns found in the assemblage.

There were six major decorative techniques found during the analysis of the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage. A summary of these types and their percentages in relation to the whole of the identifiable ceramics are found in Table 4.8. The group with the highest percentage were those fragments that have no decoration present, with 251 fragments (or 44.42%). This category can be misleading, however. These fragments may come from vessels that are themselves decorated, but the fragment found contains no decoration. This can be especially misleading when a good portion of the assemblage was decorated in the moulded relief style of the late nineteenth century, where just the brim/rim may be decorated, leaving a large portion of the vessel with no decoration. The moulded relief style was the most popular of the six

Table 4.8: Simplified Decoration Breakdown

Type of Decoration	Total Fragments	% of Total Identifiable
Impressed	10	1.77%
Transfer Print	51	9.03%
Painted	6	1.06%
Gilt	8	1.42%
Undecorated	29	5.13%
Moulded	210	37.17%
None Present	251	44.42%
Total Identifiable	565	73.09%
Unidentifiable	208	26.91%
Total Ceramics	773	100.00%

decoration styles with 210 fragments (or 37.17%) being decorated in this way. The second most popular of the decoration was transfer prints with 51 fragments (or 9.03%). However, this category takes into account all the transfer printed maker's marks (since these makers' marks were applied using a transfer print, they are classified here, but it is not to be confused with transfer prints that decorate the body of a vessel). There was only one transfer printed fragment that was not a base printed maker's mark. The impressed category (10 fragments of 1.77%) was also all comprised of impressed marks of makers. Excluding maker's marks, the second most common decorative style was to have none at all, with the undecorated fragments comprising 5.13% (29 fragments) of the assemblage. The classification of undecorated was given to fragments where it was known that the vessel from which it came was completely undecorated (this was usually determined because there was enough of the vessel intact or discovered through cross mending). Although not a type of decoration per se, undecorated fragments were considered here because the lack of decoration can by itself create a strong and pleasing aesthetic in refined earthenwares, a choice that in itself could be seen as decorative. The last two types of decoration were gilt and painted. These fragments (with the exclusion of the maker's mark and the inclusion of the one transfer print design) are the only examples of colour decoration in the ceramic assemblage and are represented by 1.42% (8 fragments of gilded ceramic) and 1.06% (6 fragments of painted ceramic) of the assemblage.

The decorative types were broken down by site areas to ascertain if there were any relationships between area and each type. These relationships are demonstrated in Table 4.9. Since all the impressed fragments were from makers' marks (and have already been discussed), they are not included in Table 4.9, nor are moulded relief fragments, which are treated in Table 4.11. Additionally, the only transfer print fragment included is the one that is not a base maker's mark. Table 4.9 demonstrates that all the painted fragments were located in the South Area, the transfer print fragment was found in the Storehouse Area, and the gilt and undecorated fragments were found in either the South or the Storehouse Area. Even the majority of the fragments that had no decoration present (55.78%) were found on the South Area of the site. This distribution of these decoration styles across the site can offer little in the way of conclusions. It is consistent with the other ceramic distribution analysis, that the South Area of the site contains the majority of the decorated fragments. The South Area seems to be the most common area for ceramic fragment disposal.

4.6.1 Discussion of Decorative Types

As mentioned, there are six groups of decorated fragments found in the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage; painted, gilt, transfer print, undecorated, impressed, and moulded relief. These, along with fragments that had no decoration present, are summarized in Table 4.10. Since the impressed category was comprised of all makers' marks, it will not be discussed further. The moulded relief fragments are discussed in depth in section 4.6.2. The six painted fragments in the assemblage were all from a white earthenware hollowware vessel. All of the fragments were underglaze painted with a band of maroon on the rim. Two of these fragments mended so there may be as many as five vessels represented here, although that high of a number seems to be unlikely. One fragment also featured a green bird-like creature and can be seen in Figure 4.16. The pooling of the paint and the imprecise lines of the figure may also indicate that the design was applied using a stamp. The other portion of the figure was not discovered, making identification of the design and the meaning behind it difficult.

There were eight fragments featuring gilt decoration, with four vessels represented (taking into account cross mending). Two of these vessels were egg cups (as seen in Figure 4.17) and

Table 4.9: Site Distribution of Decoration Types (excluding Moulded Relief)

Area	Painted	Gilt	Transfer Print	Undecorated	None Present
North					
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	29
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	11.55%
Northeast					
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	24
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	9.56%
East					
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	2
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.80%
West					
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	28
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	11.16%
South					
Total (area)	6	7	0	27	140
% (area)	3.33%	3.89%	0.00%	15.00%	77.78%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	100%	87.50%	0%	93.10%	55.78%
Storehouse					
Total (area)	0	1	1	2	25
% (area)	0%	3.45%	3.45%	6.90%	86.21%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	12.50%	100%	6.90%	9.96%
Other Areas					
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	3
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	6	8	1	29	251
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.19%

Table 4.10: Breakdown of Decorated Ceramics

	Painted	Gilt	Transfer Print			Impressed			Undecorated			None Present					Moulded Relief	
Vessel Form/Identifying Fragment	U.W.E.	Porcelain	U.W.E.	V.W.E.	M.G.	U.W.E.	V.W.E.	M.G.	M.G.	U.W.E.	V.W.E.	M.G.	Porcelain	U.W.E.	V.W.E.	S-G Stoneware	Crse Ethnware	(see table 4.12)
Flatware																		
Rim												6	2	1	1			
Footring												26						
Base			3		9		1					4	2	1	3			
brim/side/body												19		1	1			
Plate																		
Rim																		
Footring												2						
Base					5			1				1						
brim/side/body												1						
Saucer																		
Rim		3							5		7		1					
Footring		2									7	3	1					
Base			2	3	6								2					
brim/side/body											1		2					
Hollowware																		
Rim	6		1						1	3		1	6	7	9			
Footring												5	1	1				
Base				3										1	1			
side/body									1			18	7	3	11	4		
Handle												10		5				
Cup																		
Rim									3			1						
Egg Cup																		
Rim		2																
Pedestal		1																
Jar																		
Base and Body							7											
Pitcher																		
Rim																		
Spout												1						
Unidentified																		
Rim									1			12	6	9	3			
Footring												15	3	2				
Base			8	1	10	1							1	1				
Body												5	1	7	2	8	1	
Handle												3						
Unidentifiable												15	24	136	33			
Total	6	8	14	7	30	1	8	1	11	3	15	148	59	175	64	12	1	210



Figure 4.16: Painted ceramic fragment

two of these vessels were saucers (as seen in Figure 4.18). Gilt was a type of enamelling (overglaze painted) where gilt, or gold, paint was used (Brooks 2005:39). Since it was overglazed and delicate, gilt enamelling is prone to fading (and sometimes all that remains is a faint mark or shadow where the gilt once was) (Brooks 2005: 39). The ware type for all four gilt vessels in this assemblage is porcelain, which also may suggest a higher value for these ceramics. Although there are two porcelain saucers, there were no porcelain cups found.

The one (underglazed) transfer printed fragment was from a Dundee Marmalade container. Figure 4.19 shows the fragment from the Clark's Crossing assemblage along with an example of what a complete Dundee Marmalade container would have looked like. From the mark it can be determined that James Keiller and Sons, along with their Dundee Marmalade, received the 'Grand Medal of Merit in Vienna in 1873' and the 'Only prize medal for Marmalade' in London in 1862. Therefore, although this fragment is technically decorated using transfer print, in reality it is more like a producer's mark than it is a decorated tableware vessel.



Figure 4.17: Gilt Banded Egg Cup



Figure 4.18: Gilt Decorated Saucer



Figure 4.19: Dundee Marmalade. Left: example from Clark's Crossing. Right: complete vessel showing what the complete mark would look like.

There were a total of 29 undecorated fragments. After cross-mending, there was a minimum vessel count for undecorated of 14 (seven saucers, two cups, three hollowware, one flatware, and one unidentified). One of these saucers is displayed in Figure 4.20. This saucer was made by Henry Alcock and Company and was marked as such (see section on maker's marks for more information). There was also another undecorated marked saucer, this one made by W.H. Grindley. In the undecorated vessels, there seemed to be some correlation between vessel and ware type. Both undecorated cups were white granite ware (although there was no moulded relief decoration, the other characteristics of white granite, including blue pooling, was evident). The unidentified vessel was also white granite. The one flatware vessel was vitrified white earthenware. There was a mixture of ware types with the other vessel types, with three of the seven saucers being white granite (with the remainder being vitrified white earthenware) and one of the three hollowware vessels also being white granite (with the remaining two being of vitrified white earthenware). With a mixture of ware types (and with at least two of the saucers being from different makers), it is evident that these undecorated ceramic vessels were not purchased as a set. However, since we are seeing similar style (as undecorated) this may mean that there was a desire for the vessels to match. The known patterns on the moulded relief vessels



Figure 4.20: Example of an Undecorated Saucer.

were all agrarian in theme (having to do with agriculture, plants, farming). These patterns will now be discussed further.

4.6.2 Moulded Relief

Ceramic fragments featuring the decorative method of moulded relief were the most popular decorated ceramics at the site of Clark's Crossing (at 37.17%, second to fragments where no decoration was present at 44.42%). The decoration was formed by the vessel being placed in a mould. The moulded patterns found on the fragments of the Clark's Crossing assemblage have been categorized into six categories: Centennial, Lorne, Acorn and Vine, Generic Wheat, Double Banded, and unknown. The terms Centennial and Lorne were for specific pattern names, which are discussed in detail, while the other terms were descriptive categories, as the specific pattern

names could not be identified. Table 4.11 demonstrates that fragments featuring moulded relief patterns were found throughout the site, but again, the greatest concentrations were found in the South Area. For the Centennial pattern, the overwhelming majority (94.34%) was found here, with some also uncovered at the Storehouse Area. The Lorne pattern was found in most areas of the site, but the South Area has the highest concentration with 50%. The Acorn and Vine pattern was also found throughout the site, but its highest concentration (at 41.67%) was found in the Other Areas of the site (and actually the five fragments represent, at the most, two vessels, more specifically, plates). The generic wheat category was pretty evenly distributed between the Northeast (35%), the South (30%) and the Storehouse Areas (30%), with one fragment found in the West Area (5%). The double banded fragments all come from the Storehouse Area (and two of the three fragments mend, meaning that at most there are two vessels represented here). The unknown fragments (usually where there was not enough of the fragment to identify a pattern) were found throughout the site, with the highest concentrations being in the North and South Areas. The moulded relief patterns and fragments are further summarized in Table 4.12. Each category of moulded relief will now be discussed in further detail

4.6.2.1 Centennial

The Centennial pattern was the most popular in terms of identifiable moulded relief patterns, with 25.24% of the moulded fragments being decorated in this style. The Centennial pattern was found on flatwares (including plates and saucers) as well as hollowwares and unidentified vessel forms. There seemed to be a strong correlation between the Centennial pattern and the maker W. and E. Corn, with several fragments either containing the mark and the pattern (see Figure 4.22 for an example) or the decorated fragment cross-mends to the maker's mark. The Centennial Shape was, indeed, registered by W. and E. Corn, Burslem, on November 3rd, 1874 (patent number 286720-2) (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001: 125), (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 393). An example from the Clark's Crossing assemblage is given in Figure 4.21. Figure 4.22 is a detailed line drawing of one of the fragments featuring the pattern. Moulded relief patterns on white granite can be very difficult to photograph. If a flash is not used then the valleys and ridges of the relief are difficult to identify. However, the glare from the

Table 4.11: Site Distribution of Moulded Relief Patterned Ceramics

Area	Centennial	Lorne	Acorn and Vine	Generic Wheat	Double Banded	Unknown
North						
Total (area)	0	4	4	0	0	27
% (area)	0%	11.43%	11.43%	0%	0%	77.14%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	0%	7.69%	33.33%	0%	0%	38.57%
Northeast						
Total (area)	0	6	1	7	0	3
% (area)	0%	35.29%	5.88%	41.18%	0%	17.65%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	0.00%	11.54%	8.33%	35.00%	0.00%	4.29%
East						
Total (area)	0	0	0	0	0	3
% (area)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4.29%
West						
Total (area)	0	8	0	1	0	2
% (area)	0%	72.73%	0%	9.09%	0%	18.18%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	0%	15.38%	0%	5%	0%	2.86%
South						
Total (area)	50	26	0	6	0	27
% (area)	45.87%	23.85%	0%	5.50%	0%	24.77%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	94.34%	50%	0%	30%	0%	38.57%
Storehouse						
Total (area)	3	8	2	6	3	7
% (area)	10.34%	27.59%	6.90%	20.69%	10.34%	24.14%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	5.66%	15.38%	16.67%	30%	100%	10%
Other Areas						
Total (area)	0	0	5	0	0	1
% (area)	0%	0%	83.33%	0%	0%	16.67%
Overall total	53	52	12	20	3	70
% (dec)	0%	0%	41.67%	0%	0%	1.43%

Table 4.12: Breakdown of Moulded Relief Decoration

Vessel	Identifying Fragment	Centennial	Lorne	Acorn and Vine	Generic Wheat	Double Banded	Unknown	U. W. E.	V. W. E.
		W.G.	W.G.	W.G.	W.G.	W.G.	W.G.	W.G.	W.G.
Flatware	Rim	8	11	1	12		12	1	
	Footring		1						
	Base								
	brim/side/body	1	12	1	1		18	1	
Plate	Rim	7	25	7		3			
	Footring	5	3						
	Base								
	brim/side/body	12							
Saucer	Rim	7			4				
	Footring	1							
	Base								
	brim/side/body								
Hollowware	Rim	10		2			4		
	Footring								
	Base								
	side/body			1			2		
	Handle								
Pitcher	Rim						3		
	Spout								
Unidentified	Rim	2			3		19		
	Footring								
	Base								
	Body						6	3	1
	Handle								
	Unidentifiable								
Total		53	52	12	20	3	64	5	1
% of total moulded relief fragments (n=210)		25.24%	24.76%	5.71%	9.52%	1.43%	30.48%	2.38%	0.48%



Figure 4.21: Photograph of the Centennial Pattern.

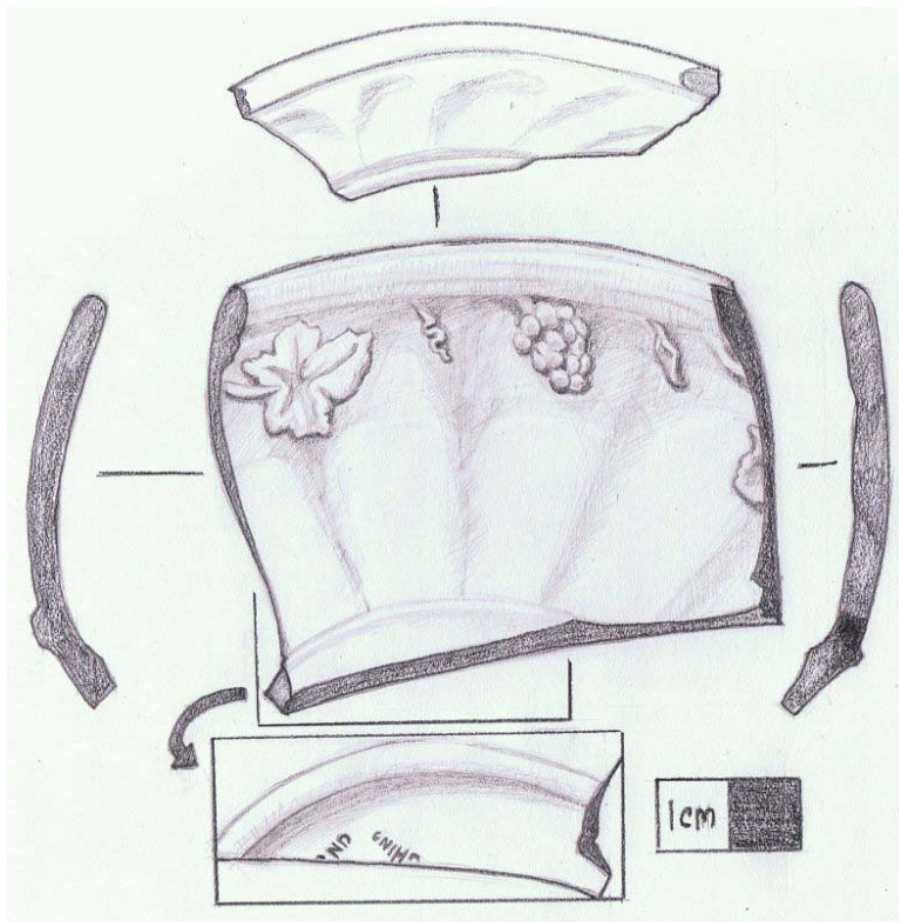


Figure 4.22: Drawing of the Centennial Pattern (Drawing by Matthew S. Stewart).

shiny glaze creates a problem if the flash is used. Therefore drawings were commissioned for the benefit of analysis and presentation. The Centennial pattern features grapes, vines, and leaves, suggesting a pastoral, agrarian, or perhaps even classical, theme. Since the pattern is found on saucers, plates, and hollowwares, it could be suggested that these were purchased as set or as a part set.

4.6.2.2 The Lorne Pattern

The Lorne pattern was the second most popular pattern, representing 24.76% of the known moulded relief patterns. At this site, the Lorne pattern is found exclusively on flatwares (including plates and the more general category of flatware). Half of a plate was excavated on the south side of the site, containing part of a Thomas Furnival and Sons maker's mark, and a rim/brim decorated in the wheat, rope and ribbon, or the Lorne pattern (Figure 4.23). Therefore, at this site, refitting demonstrates a definite connection between the maker and the decoration. Considering that Lynne Sussman writes that "marked examples of this pattern have not been found" (1985: 71), this find is especially significant. Interestingly, the maker's mark found on this vessel features the Royal Arms and not the terms 'The Lorne'. These terms, however, were found in the other Thomas Furnival and Sons marks from the site. Sussman notes that the pattern was not made by any other manufacturer, so it can be assumed that all the fragments with patterns identified as the Lorne were probably manufactured by Thomas Furnival and Sons. The photograph in Figure 4.24 shows an example of this pattern from the assemblage. The line drawing beside it (from Dieringer and Dieringer 2001: 128) gives an idea of what the pattern would look like in a more complete vessel. Figure 4.25 is a detailed drawing, which really showcases the incredible detail in this pattern. The Lorne pattern was registered by Thomas Furnival and Sons on April 20th, 1878 and its patent number was 320606 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky: 1999, Sussman 1985: 71, Wetherbee 1996: 215). As can be seen in Figures 4.24 and 4.25, it features ribbons with ropes looped between and wheat sheaves coming from the loops of the ribbons. The pattern was found on a variety of vessel forms, including saucers and cups, even though only plates (and unknown flatwares) are represented in the Clark's Crossing assemblage. It is unknown why there are only plates (and unknown flatwares) in the assemblage. A pattern



Figure 4.23: The Thomas Furnival and Sons plate, in situ (2004).



Figure 4.24: The Lorne Pattern. Left: photograph shows an example from the site of Clark's Crossing. Right: sketch from Dieringer and Dieringer (2001:128) shows what the Lorne pattern should look like.

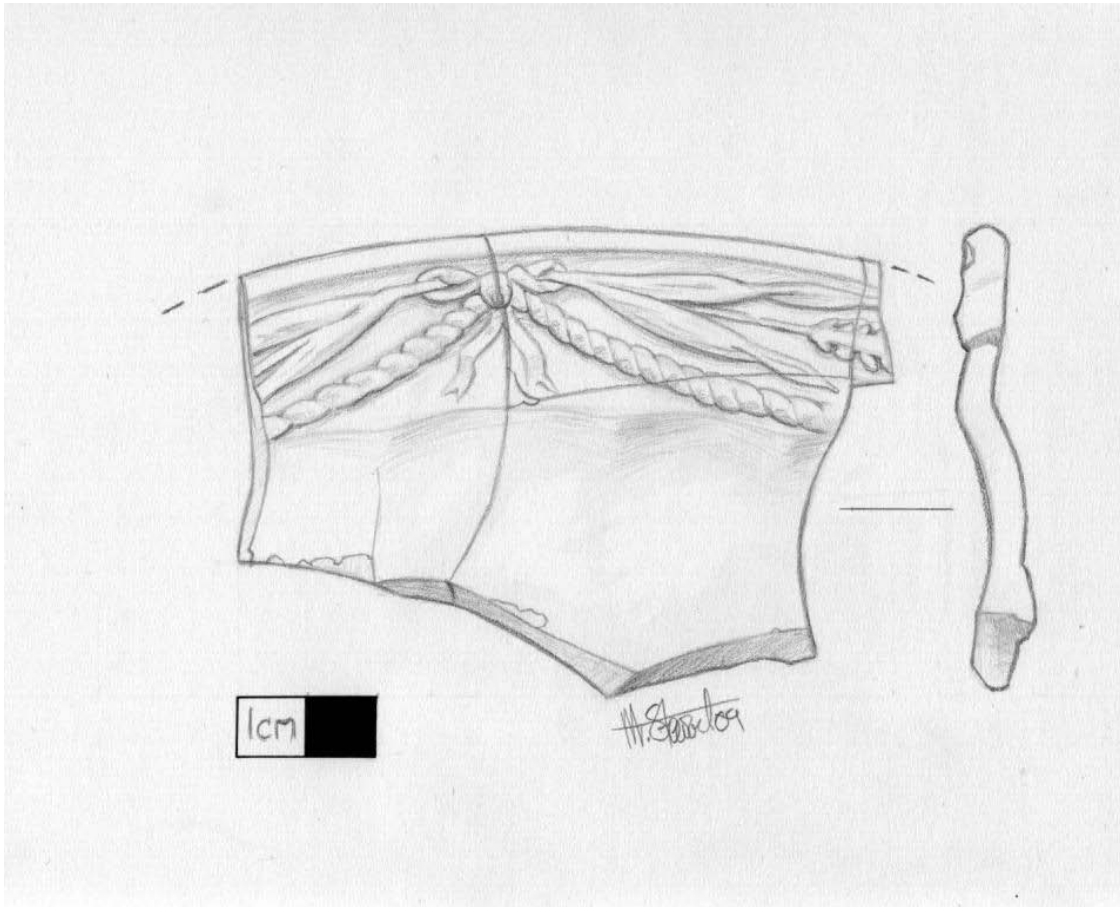


Figure 4.25: Drawing of The Lorne (Drawing by Matthew S. Stewart).

featuring sheaves of wheat would have complemented the agrarian themes found on the other vessels and fragments decorated with moulded relief.

4.6.2.3 Acorn and Vine

The terms Acorn and Vine are used as descriptive terms for the next grouping of moulded pattern, since the proper name of the pattern could not be found. This pattern is represented by twelve fragments, or 5.71% of the moulded relief fragments. The pattern can be seen in the photograph (Figure 4.26), as well as the detailed drawing (Figure 4.27). With its looping vines and leaves, this pattern shares some common traits with the Centennial pattern. However, there



Figure 4.26: Photograph of Acorn and Vine.

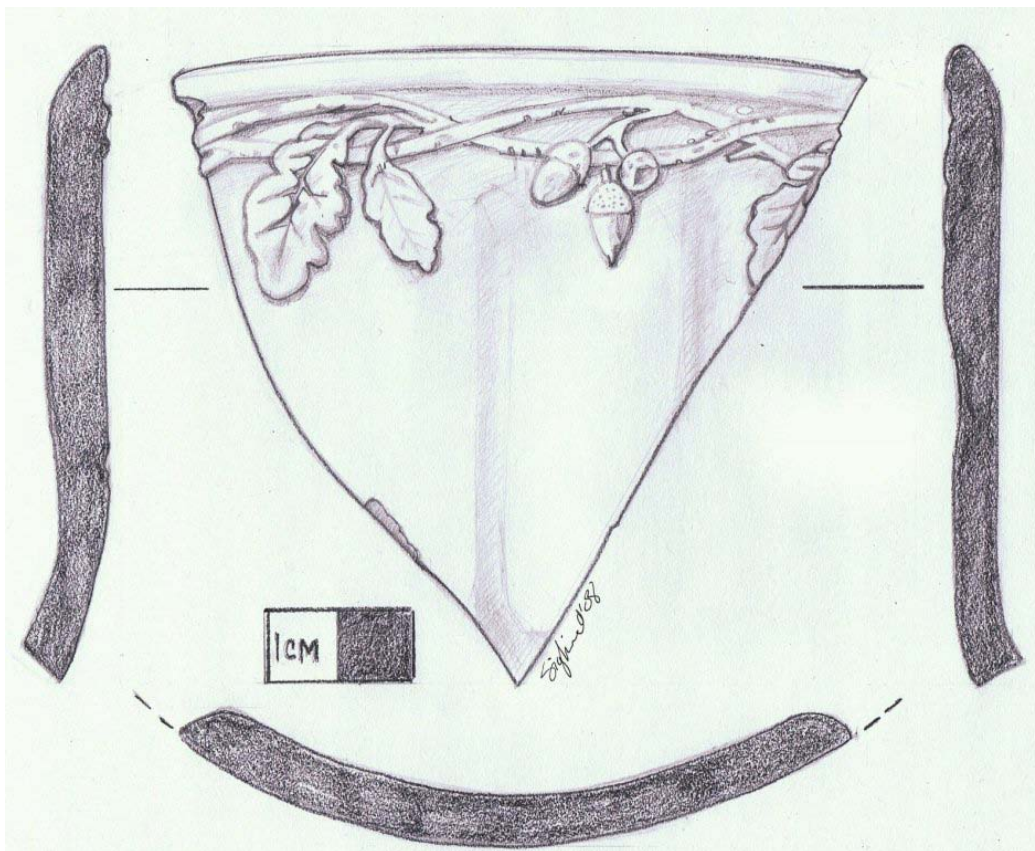


Figure 4.27: Drawing of Acorn and Vine (Drawing by Matthew S. Stewart).

are enough differences to classify them as separate patterns (the Centennial leaf is broader and has less points, the Centennial pattern features grapes, where as this pattern seems to show acorns or some similar type of nut or berry).

Although hollowware fragments are showcased in the figures, the pattern is also found on plates. Through mending, one of these plates, although badly damaged and discoloured by crazing, can be seen to feature both the faint ridges of the pattern and the mark of Mellor, Taylor and Company (see Figure 4.13 for a photograph of the mark). Even with the additional information of the maker, the specific pattern name could still not be identified. However, even without a name, the pattern's theme of leaves and vines is consistent with the other agrarian themes studied within the assemblage.

4.6.2.4 Generic Wheat Pattern

The wheat pattern was perhaps the most prolific and popular of all the moulded relief decorations in the late nineteenth century. The origin of the standard wheat pattern was in 1859 with Elsmore and Forester registering the "Ceres Shape" (Sussman 1985: 13). From here on, many different manufacturers would make many different variations of this pattern. However, none of the generic wheat patterns in the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing were found, or mend, with a maker's mark. Therefore, it is almost impossible to determine who is represented. The patterns featuring just wheat stalks, with no factors suggesting they were part of a different pattern, were grouped together to form the generic wheat classification. It makes up 9.52% of the moulded relief patterns. Wheat patterns can generally be divided into those that have two rows of kernels and those that have three. Many of the fragments in the assemblage are too small to make a distinction between the two. One of the larger fragments (shown in a photograph in Figure 4.28 and a drawing in 4.29), features two rows of kernels.

The generic wheat patterns were found on flatwares (including saucers) and unidentified forms. Robert Cochran and Company, W. and E. Corn, and Thomas Furnival and Sons all manufactured wares decorated with moulded wheat, although all these makers used patterns with three rows of kernels (Sussman 185:18-29). Mellor, Taylor and Company used a pattern with only two rows of kernels (as seen in Figures 4.28 and 4.29). Since almost all the makers



Figure 4.28: Photograph of Generic Wheat.

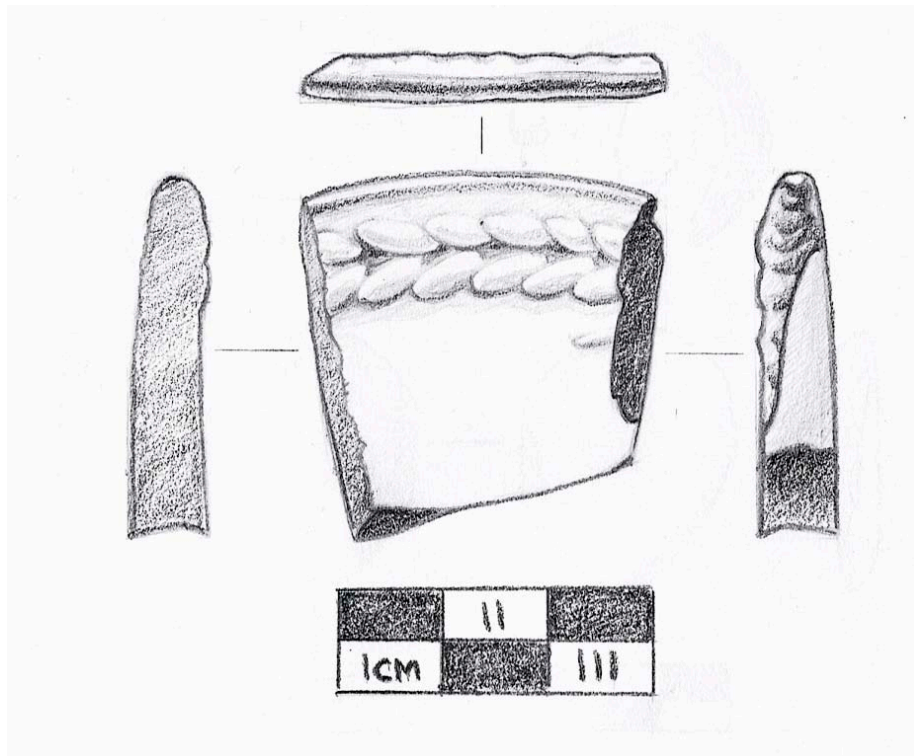


Figure 4.29: Drawing of Generic Wheat (Drawing by Matthew S. Stewart).

identified as having goods present at the site manufactured general wheat patterns, there is no way of knowing which of these makers, or some other yet identified maker, made the generic wheat patterns identified at the site.

4.6.2.5 Other Moulded Relief Patterns

There was another descriptive name given to a moulded relief pattern found in the assemblage, the double banded pattern. This was given to a specific example, found on only three fragments (1.43%). The name was given for the two thick raised bands that are found near the rim of these fragments (probably representing only one unidentified vessel form, as two of the fragments mend and the other was found within close proximity). The last classification was that of the unknown. The category of unknown moulded relief patterns made up 33.34% of all the moulded relief fragments. In most of these cases the pattern was deemed unknown because the fragment was too small to be able to identify what kind of pattern was on it and/or the fragment did not mend to a piece that would have provided additional information on the pattern. It is unfortunate that so much of the moulded relief fragments featured unidentifiable or unknown patterns.

4.7 Conclusion

What has been learned by looking at the types and styles of decoration? First, the majority of the decorative technique evident at the site was that of moulded relief (and solely moulded relief, with no additional technique applied).

Secondly, there was a correlation between decoration style and ware type. By definition, the majority of the moulded relief fragments were white granite ware and this was further demonstrated by this analysis. The gilt decorated fragments were also porcelain, perhaps adding to the value of the vessel.

Furthermore, a connection was noticeable between certain manufacturers identified at the site (through maker's marks) and certain decorative techniques and patterns. Henry Alcock and

Company and W.H. Grindley and Company both produced undecorated saucers that were found at the site. Mellor, Taylor and Company produced a yet unnamed decorative ceramic featuring acorns and vines. The Lorne pattern was produced exclusively by Thomas Furnival and Sons, and this is shown in the ceramics. The Centennial pattern also seems to have an exclusive manufacturer, W. and E. Corn.

Each decorative pattern came in a variety of forms, with some patterns being identified in more forms than others. In any case, there seems to be a preference for matching between the ceramics. Although the moulded patterns were not all the same, they do seem to have had a similar thematic element (in that they feature agrarian type designs). The implications of such themes are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

A Discussion of Consumer Behaviour and Its Relationship to the Ceramics of Clark's Crossing

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have given the history of Clark's Crossing, the archaeology undertaken there, an explanation of ware types and how this relates to the ceramics of Clark's Crossing, and a detailed description of the ceramics found during excavations of this site. This chapter discusses consumer behaviour in relation to the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage. Brief explanations of consumer behaviour and the influences of such behaviour, as they related to this study, are given. This chapter then looks at the significance of the ceramic analysis (including the ware types, the makers, and the patterns) and how this relates to identity and the early settlement experience, through the experience of the Clarks and the ceramics they possessed. By using the Clarks as a case study, a better understanding of how we may see an impact of influences on consumer behaviour in the archaeological record is sought. In addition, a better understanding of consumer behaviour can mean a better understanding of perceived and conceived identities and how the material record may correspond to these identities.

5.2 Consumer Behaviour

Consumerism is “the complex of technologies, organizations, and ideologies that facilitate the mass production, mass distribution, and mass consumption of goods” (Majewski and Schiffer 2001:27), or, in other words, consumerism is the culture of consumption. As with any culture, the behaviour of the individual components plays an important part in its makeup. Consumer

behaviour, which takes into account both the economic and social aspects in the act of consuming, is the study of “the behavior that consumers display in searching for (acquiring), using, evaluating, and disposing of products, services, and ideas, which they expect will satisfy their needs” (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:6, cited in Henry 1991:3). The decisions to consume and what to consume are influenced by both external and internal forces (Henry 1991:4). Since external forces are outside the individual and are “directed *to* or actively sought *by* the individual”, they are perhaps the most visible in the archaeological record (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:653, cited in Henry 1991:4). These external factors include marketing efforts. Henry also includes here the product itself, its distribution or availability, and promotion or advertising and the socio-cultural environment, which includes informal sources (such as influence provided by friends, neighbours, and leaders), the family or household, reference groups, social class, and subculture (1991:4-8). Marketing and availability play a huge role in the desire and procurement of goods during the late nineteenth century in western Canada. The socio-cultural environment is also important when looking at consumer behaviour at this time. As noted by Henry, the socio-cultural environment can greatly affect consumer behaviour, especially through group membership (Henry 1991:6). For these purposes, a group is defined a “a collectivity whose members share common beliefs, values, attitudes, standards of behaviour as well as symbols that represent the groups” (Henry 1991:6). It is argued that consumption plays an important role in signifying membership in said group and that this consumption is a reflection of lifestyle (Henry 1991:6). Group membership, or identity, as part of a socio-cultural environment, is itself formulated and altered by other socio-cultural influences. One of these influences is informal sources, such as consumer information and persuasion passed through friends, neighbours and those in the community whose opinion holds some weight, perhaps because of the individual’s role or status in society (Henry 1991:6). Another influence in a socio-cultural environment is that by a family or a household, where an individual may pattern their behaviour based on what behaviour has been demonstrated in the context of the household from which they came (Henry 1991:7). Reference groups are another source of consumer influence and these groups are places an individual may look towards in formulating their consumer behaviour, whether or not they are members of the reference group they seek to emulate (Henry 1991:7). Two such reference groups are subculture and social class (Henry 1991:8). A subculture has been defined as “a distinct cultural group which exists as an identifiable segment within a larger, more complex

society” (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:513). Two subcultures most studied in regard to consumer behaviour are regional/geographic subcultures and ethnic subcultures. Ethnic subculture has been seen as a factor in consumer behaviour in studies such as Henry (1987) (Mexican-American versus Euro-American in Phoenix, Arizona), Fossa and Leatherman (2008) (Chinese at Deadwood, South Dakota), Cheek and Friedlander (1990) (African Americans in Washington DC from the 1880s-1940), Griggs (1999) (the Irish in New York city’s Five Points neighbourhood) and Burley (1989) (Northwestern Canadian Plains Metis). The influence of social class is also an often studied factor of consumer behaviour (with Spencer-Wood’s edited volume “Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology”(1987) being a major focal point of studies of socioeconomic status. Social class implies a hierarchy of both society and wealth and that individuals with different access to wealth will also inhabit different rungs of a social ladder. It is also implied that individuals with more wealth will consume goods of higher cost and that “status is defined, validated, and even sought after through the appropriate consumption of certain consumer goods” (Henry 1991:8). It is recognized that there are also internal factors that influence consumer behaviour (as outlined by Henry (1991:9-10). External factors may influence internal factors and vice versa, but it is much more difficult to quantify these archaeologically (Henry 1991:9), and therefore these will not be discussed further.

In summary, consumer behaviour is influenced by both external and internal factors. It is the external factors that archaeologists are best able to study through the material remains of the past. These external influences include the marketing (and availability) of goods and the socio-cultural environment of the consuming individual. Within the socio-cultural environment, group membership plays an important role. The group membership, or as argued here, the identity, of the consumer is influenced by members of that group, whether they be friends, neighbours, opinion leaders or family. Reference groups, or subcultures of regional and ethnic identities and social class, also play a role in formulating consumer behaviour.

5.3 Consumer Behaviour and the Ceramics at Clark’s Crossing

In regard to relating consumer behaviour and the ceramic assemblage at Clark’s Crossing, the external factors of marketing and group membership, or identity, were worthwhile to explore

more fully. Included in this discussion was how regional subculture, as discussed above, may have influenced identity. Although social class (or socioeconomic status) and ethnicity may play a role in the Clarks' consumer behaviour, these influences were not as visible in this particular assemblage of the archaeological record in terms of ceramic consumption and are therefore not included in this discussion.

The analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the site of Clark's Crossing revealed two major themes; the majority of the ceramics were white granite (with 67.08% of the identifiable assemblage with the similar white earthenware being 23.01%) and the majority of the decoration being moulded relief (with 37.17% of the identifiable total with only none present having a higher percentage), specifically with agrarian thematic designs. The prevalence of these two assemblage features can be seen to relate directly with two of consumer behaviour's external factors; marketing and identity. Ceramics, being both sturdy and frail, often break in the home but survive in the ground, making them a vital part of the archaeological record and in the study of consumer behaviour. The ceramics from Clark's Crossing offer a glimpse into the material remains of external forces of consumer behaviour. The ware type (white granite ware) seems to have been marketed specifically towards consumers in colonial or "frontier" markets. These markets are in areas far removed from their main place of manufacturer (Staffordshire, England). As well, the agrarian themed moulded relief patterns seem to complement the marketing and selling of the Canadian west as the ideal agricultural heartland. These agrarian themes can also be seen as fitting in nicely with contemporary Victorian ideas. Victorianism "represented a combination of premodern modes of thought (patriarchalism, English common law) with ideals specifically linked to the modernization process (work ethic, delayed gratification, discipline, sexual repression, rational order, the cult of domesticity) (Majewski and Schiffer 2001:35). Choosing to make a life in the Canadian west during the late nineteenth century, like the Clarks did, would have involved many of these things. A farming life was one where a strong work ethic, rational order, and discipline was required in order to survive. Delayed gratification was also inherent in farming, where one sows seeds and then has to wait to see if they will thrive, or even survive. The patterns on ceramics, such as those in the Clark's Crossing assemblage, emulate a farming or agrarian lifestyle, suggesting that the inherent ideals of this lifestyle were important to the owners of such ceramics. The bountiful harvests displayed on the ceramics represented the ideal outcome of farming. Agrarian themed white granite ceramics seem to be

the most appropriate ware matching both the travel required to reach western Canada (which would require a sturdy, durable ceramic) and the regional identity that may have been perceived by the consumers looking to make a life in this 'Last Best West'. Even if one could afford more fragile wares, this may prove to be impractical, as white granite ware was more durable, meaning a household far from supplies would not be left without any dishes (Collard 1984:133).

5.4 External Influences: Marketing by the Makers

White granite (or, as it is called in some advertisements, ironstone, stone china) was marketed specifically to its target audience. The ware itself, thick and durable, would have had a better chance of reaching destinations far away from the Staffordshire district where it was manufactured, than other ceramic ware types. In addition, its qualities meant that white granite ware was better suited to “the rough usage of pioneer life on the new frontiers of British North America” (Collard 1984:129). Thanks to its large empire during the 19th century, Britain and its goods and influence could be found in many far reaches of the globe. This was especially true for areas like Canada, the United States, and Australia, where large expanses of land, recently appropriated from their native inhabitants, were being opened up for settlement. It is believed that more than a third of Staffordshire export wares were shipped to the United States, and the remainder went to Canada, Australia and other areas of the Empire (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:5). This direct selling to so-called 'frontier' areas can be seen in Figure 5.1. This advertisement, from the “Pottery and Glass Trades Journal”(1878) includes the United States, Canada and Australia, and also places like the West Indies, Cape Colonies. The importance of these markets for these wares was indicated by their direct mention, by name, in the advertisement.

It appears that it was common for the manufacturers to advertise directly to the wholesaler and/or the consumer. Figure 5.2 shows an advertisement from the 1890s showcasing the suitability of W.&E. Corn's wares for the markets of the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia (Godden 1999:219). Figure 5.2 is particularly interesting, because not only does it demonstrate that the ware type (white granite) was being marketed to a specific geographical market, but it also specifically mentions that they are manufacturers of “plain and embossed”

<p>THE BROWN- HILLS POTTERY CO., <i>Tunstall.</i> STAFFS.</p>	<p>USEFUL EARTHENWARE (Dinner, Tea, Toilet, etc.)</p>	<p>SUITABLE FOR ENGLAND, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Russia, Portugal, Spain, West Indies, United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Cape Colonies, &c., &c.</p>
	<p>STONEWARE (Jugs, Teapots, etc.)</p>	
	<p>JETWARE (Gilt Teapots, Jugs, etc.)</p>	
	<p>BUFF (Teaware, etc.)</p>	
<p>Good Quality. Good Designs. Moderate Prices.</p>		

Figure 5.1: Advertisement of the Brown Hills Pottery, Staffordshire. (From The Pottery and Glass Trades Journal, No. 1, V. 1, January 1878).



W. & E. CORN,
TOP BRIDGE WORKS,
Longport, Staffordshire,
MANUFACTURERS OF PLAIN AND ENAMELLED
White Granite, Ironstone China,
PRINTED AND ENAMELLED EARTHENWARE
IN GREAT VARIETY.
Makers of the Celebrated Ceres (Wheat) Ware,
Suitable for the
**UNITED STATES, CANADIAN, SOUTH
AMERICAN, AND AUSTRALIAN MARKETS.**
LITROS AND PRICES ON APPLICATION.

Figure 5.2: Advertisement of W. & E. Corn. (From Godden 1999:219).

white granite. As shown in Chapter 4, the Clark's Crossing assemblage contained many examples of W & E Corn ceramics, with 12 distinct marks found. The Centennial Pattern, registered by W & E Corn in 1874 (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:125), was also the most

popular moulded relief (sometimes referred to as embossed, as in the advertisement) motif found within the Clark's Crossing assemblage. Although the W & E Corn ceramics from Clark's Crossing were from the earlier time period when the pottery was located in Burslem, it is suggested that advertisements similar to the one shown in Figure 5.2 may have been effective.

W. H. Grindley, another ceramic manufacturer whose merchandise was found at the site of Clark's Crossing, also actively advertised. Figure 5.3 demonstrates one such advertisement. This advertisement also declared that their earthenware in "white and ivory bodies" was suitable for the United States, Canada, South American and Australian markets (Godden 1999:249).

W. H. GRINDLEY & CO.,
MANUFACTURERS OF
PLAIN AND EMBOSSED IRONSTONE-CHINA,

Printed and Enamelled
EARTHENWARE
in great variety,
**IN WHITE AND
IVORY BODIES.**

Write direct for
PRICES & SAMPLES.

Suitable for the
**UNITED STATES,
CANADIAN,
SOUTH AMERICAN,
AND
AUSTRALIAN
MARKETS.**

N.B.—No Agents represent
this Firm at Home or
Abroad.

NEWFIELD POTTERY,
TUNSTALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

SEND FOR SAMPLES AND PRICES.

Figure 5.3: Advertisement of W. H. Grindley & Co. (From Godden 1999:249).

It is unknown how much of an impact these advertisements would have had on the average consumer, such as the Clarks of Clark's Crossing. However, the existence of the advertisements and the existence of such ceramics on a site in one of these suitable remote destinations does suggest that marketing did play a role in influencing consumer behaviour or the behaviour of those (like wholesalers, shop owners) who sold such goods to the consumer.

5.5 The Marketing of the West: Government, Business and Communities

Marketing, promotion, and advertisements were also large parts of efforts to bring people (preferably Anglo-Canadians, Americans and Europeans) into western Canada during the late nineteenth and early parts of the twentieth centuries. During the “Expansionist Period” from approximately 1856, interested parties worked hard to extol the benefits of the North West (as it was called prior to 1905) to potential settlers (Owram 2007:4). These expansionists saw the North West as a “Promised Land” and took to convincing the rest of Canada and the world of the value of its lands and climate (Owram 2007:5). Not until after Confederation in 1867 (and the Red River Rebellion of 1870) was there any real effort at populating the west with suitable settlers. Expansion into the North West became connected with nationalism during the late 1860s when “[t]he very definition of the young Dominion of Canada and its hopes for the future were increasingly thought to be inseparable from the opening of the west (Owram 2007:25). It is this increased importance and ideal image of the North West that John Fowler Clark would have experienced as a young man growing up in Ontario.

The best known advertisements encouraging settlement of the Canadian west came from the Clifford Sifton era, beginning in 1896 when he became the Minister of the Interior for the Canadian federal government (Hall 2007:80). Sifton aggressively sold the west to potential settlers, including boastful claims of the areas potential. The advertisements and pamphlets produced by his office showed an ideal west, with prosperous farms, happy people, and limitless growth. One page from one such advertisement is shown in Figure 5.4. The shipping and railway business were also eager for Sifton’s strategies to work and bring settlers. Settlers from Europe needed passage and shipping lines, like the White Star Line (Figure 5.5) worked at encouraging settlement. The posters in Figure 5.5 also includes the information on who to contact for immigration information. The Canadian government paid bonuses to steamship booking companies in places like the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, offering \$5 for each traveller over 18 and \$2.50 for those younger, with the stipulation that “only farmers and domestic help of ‘perfect health and good character’ were desired” (Hupfer 1998:44).

Sifton’s strategies from the turn of the century onward were effective. However, though not as plentiful, there are examples of the marketing of the west prior to his approach. David

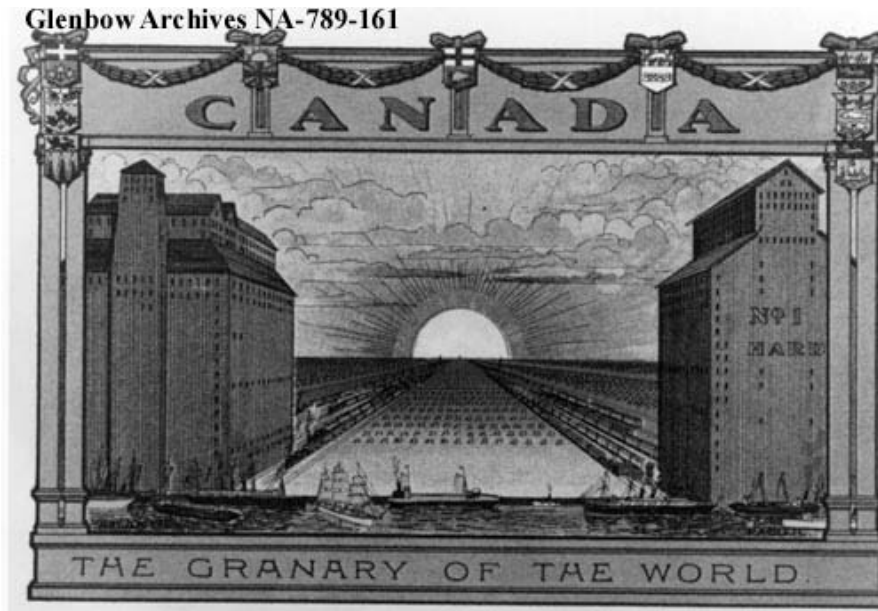


Figure 5.4: Page from a government pamphlet circa 1903 (Glenbow Archives: NA 789-161)

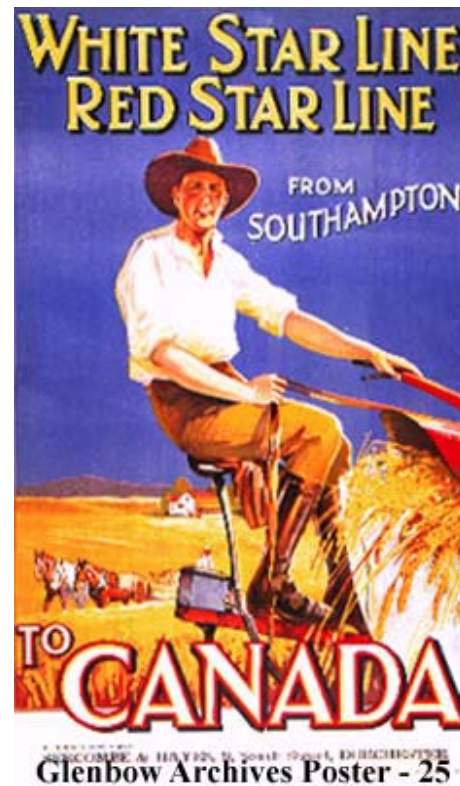


Figure 5.5: Posters from the White Star Line (circa 1919-1930 for “Canada’s Call to Women” and 1910-1930 for man in wheat field) showcasing ideal visions of the west (Glenbow Archives Poster-26 and Poster-25).

Hall notes that “Sifton’s vision for the West was, as noted, not much different from that which had been held by many Canadians for fifteen or twenty years” and Sifton “continued to use many of the same techniques as his predecessors to attract immigration and get them settled on their homesteads” (Hall 2007:82). The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885 and under its terms with the Canadian government (in 1880) they also received \$25 million dollars and 25 million acres of prime land (Hupfer 1998:44). Not only was the CPR eager to sell its land to potential settlers, but supporting the government’s free homesteads meant potential business in transportation of people and goods. In 1882 the poster in Figure 5.6 was released by the CPR, showing the completed and projected railway lines (Glenbow Archives NA 2222-1). It offered



Figure 5.6: Poster of the Canadian Pacific Railway from 1882 (Glenbow Archives NA 2222-1).

the settler advice and showcases drawings of idyllic prairie landscapes. Figure 5.7 shows a later poster printed by the CPR. Although this poster comes from a later time period than Figure 5.6, it showcases the same themes of bountiful farms and prosperity.

Land companies also invested in selling a prairie ideal to potential settlers. The Provident and Commercial Land Co published the twenty-six paged pamphlet “The Regina District and the Lands of the Provident and Commercial Land Co, Limited” in 1883 in hopes of bringing settlers



Figure 5.7: Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) poster circa 1910-1930 (Glenbow Archives Poster–22).

to the lands they had purchased just east of Regina (Provident and Commercial Land Company 1883). A tagline on the front of the pamphlet reads “The settlers’ universal verdict: Expectation more than realized” (Provident and Commercial Land Company 1883:1). The image of the Regina District that greets the potential settler is seen in Figure 5.8. The image, again, is of a bountiful harvest, neat parcels of fenced land (suggesting that everyone can own a piece of the prairies), and that of a community working together. The image also shows that the prairies were not as isolated as one would think, with the railway and telegraph keeping settlers connected. In short, it is again the picture of an ideal west built on agriculture. The pamphlet sings the praises of the Regina district, which is to be expected from a pamphlet put forth by people wanting to populate the North West with farmers. The pamphlet uses descriptive and enticing language to sell this district to the new settler;

The Regina District may be termed the “Garden of the Northwest.” Nothing can exceed the excellence or fertility of the land throughout the entire tract, and there is room for a great population, whose opportunities for profitable cultivation of the soil will be most enviable...the soil, with slight exceptions, being a rich black mould. The grass is long and luxuriant, affording fine pasturage, and the grand aspect of the country is gently undulating and highly favourable for agriculture, the soil being deep and uniformly rich (Provident and Commercial Land Company 1883:7).

Such pamphlets must have had a powerful impact on potential settlers, especially those who may have toiled on farms with less success. Even the Temperance Colonization Society used images of an ideal west to market its new settlement of Saskatoon and its surrounding areas (Kerr and

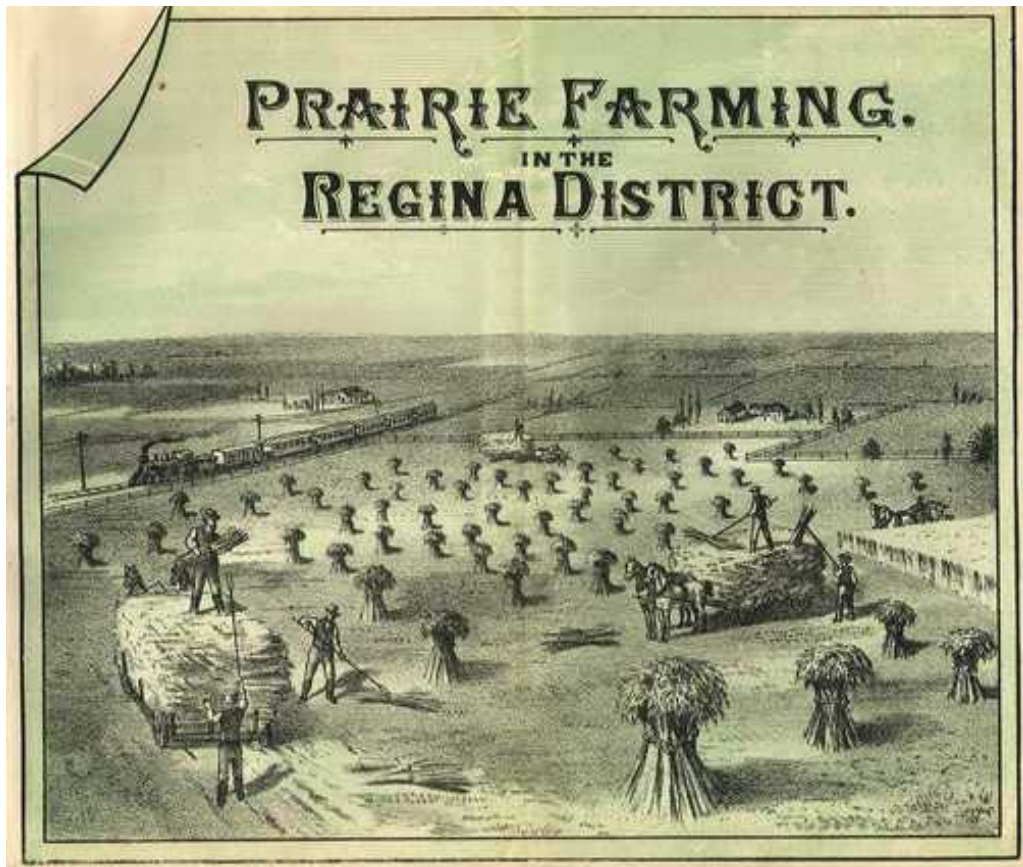


Figure 5.8: Image of the Regina District given in a marketing pamphlet (Provident and Commercial Land Company 1883:4).

Hanson 1982:11). An advertising brochure it produced and distributed in 1884 featured the image shown in Figure 5.9. This image again demonstrated an appealing and idyllic image of what farming in Saskatchewan would be like; bountiful, ordered, and full of community.

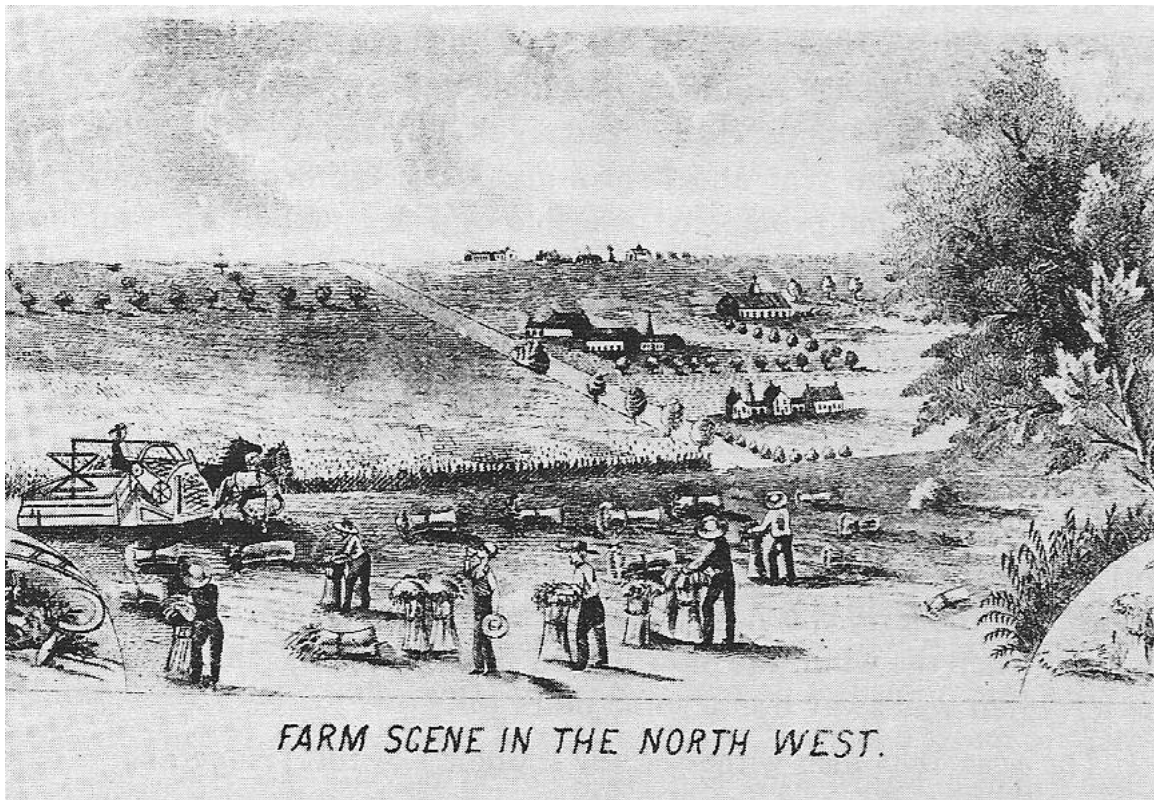


Figure 5.9: Image from an advertising brochure published by the Temperance Colonization Society in 1884 (Kerr and Hanson 1982:11).

As seen in this section, there were a variety of agencies and interested parties involved in the marketing of the west. Such promotion and advertisement must have reached the intended parties. It is argued that the agrarian themed ceramics analysed in Chapter 4 would have fit perfectly into these idealized and utopian visions of what the prairie west had to offer. With moulded images suggesting the limitless bounty of successful harvests and rich foliage of vines, grapes, and acorns, these ceramics would have been a perfect material manifestation of how the west was being marketed. In this way the marketing of the west as an idea can also be seen as an

influence of consumer behaviour. Additionally, such marketing created a conceived group identity (or one that would have been perceived by settlers/consumers) where the farming people of the prairies had a distinct group identity, where settlers, connected in their efforts to farm/settle the west, shared more similarities than differences. Whether this was realized or not is up for debate, but as one early settler summed it up “There was one good thing-we were all in the same boat” (Waiser 2007:155).

5.6 Conclusion: The History of the Clarks, the Ceramics, and the Ideal West

Did the Clarks find the ideal west as discussed here? Probably not. As discussed in Chapter 2, J.F. Clark struggled for 24 years to get the land he sought. The quote at the beginning of Chapter 2 seems to show an eager young man, willing and able to return to Saskatchewan to settle after working so hard to set up the survey that would facilitate the government’s Homestead Act. However, when he arrived, he faced some harsh prairie realities; sometimes ruthless weather and loneliness. Returning to his farmstead in 1884 with a new wife and new vigour, he was put in the middle of a national conflict in 1885 with the Riel Resistance. When that ended and the militia left, Clark spent the rest of the 1880s writing letters and arguing with the government over NW 36/38/4/W3rdM. By 1894, when Clark finally received this patent, he and Maggie had already left Saskatchewan. Although they did return to Saskatchewan by 1906, it is unclear if they resided at the original farmstead, or at some other location where they operated the post office. In any case, the historical records do not suggest that the Clarks ever fully achieved the idealized agrarian lifestyle suggested in contemporary (or later) documents, or suggested in their ceramics. Perhaps there are so many white granite ware ceramics at Clark’s Crossing because the Clarks chose to abandon these ceramics when they left the farmstead. Discarding these ceramics could have been a way of discarding a prairie identity of an unrealized idea.

The ceramics found during the excavations of the site of Clark’s Crossing seem to suggest that in some ways the Clarks were taking part in the (in some ways formulated) identity of the prairie west. The marketed image of the bountiful eden created by government and other interested parties helped to encourage a regional identity. The material manifestation of this regional identity could be seen to be white granite ware ceramics. These wares, advertised by

their manufacturers to be durable and suitable for such travel to, and life in, more remote parts of Canada, were also seen to be decorated with themes suggested bountiful harvests and an ideal agrarian lifestyle. The most popular designs at the site of Clark's Crossing, the Centennial, the Lorne and the Acorn and Vine, all suggest the best outcomes of an agricultural lifestyle. Although the ceramics may feature different depictions of an agrarian style, they are similar in their theme, making for a more cohesive set. White granite ware ceramics, being white and moulded, were easy to 'match' with others, even if from a different set. Even only somewhat matching dishes may have allowed the household to feel more 'civilized' even if they were in a remote location. With little nearby in the time of the Clark's, they would have had to make due with what they had, probably what they brought with them from Ontario. As mentioned previously, the white granite ware was seen as the most appropriate tableware ceramic to make such a trip (such as to Saskatchewan). The makers were making a ceramic for the prairies and the consumers were acquiring a ceramic for the prairies. How much this was impacted by a conceived or perceived agrarian group or regional identity affected by marketing and advertisements is debatable, but the suggestion is certainly intriguing and worth further study.

5.6.1 Suggested Directions for Further Research

To truly have an understanding on where white granite wares (and the decorative motifs found on them) fit into consumer behaviour, identity, marketing, and the (perceived or conceived) prairie west, further archaeological research is necessary. What could different assemblage makeups in terms of wares tell us? Is white granite always popular? What about moulded relief decorations? Are agrarian themes more popular in rural areas? Are there different patterns in urban settings? What are some similarities and difference regarding how these ceramics and the influences on consumer behaviour are sold to the customer? The scope of this thesis did not allow for such comparison with other collections, but a look at existing collections is certainly warranted as well as further excavations. Since white granite ware did not reach its height of popularity until the latter nineteenth century, sites from this time period would be needed. Additionally, sites similar in size (small, one family farmsteads or homesteads) and ethnicity (Anglo-Canadian) would be the best for comparison. Unfortunately, the late nineteenth

century is not as often studied as earlier sites, making finding useful sites for comparison difficult. The other major problem with meaningful comparison of site ceramic assemblages is that of terminology. As discussed in chapter 3, terminology is an important factor when analysing these ceramics. Unfortunately a variety of terms (china, stone china, ironstone) have been used to classify these ceramics, making proper inter-site comparison difficult. For many current comparative studies, one would have to go back to the original collections to determine the correct ware types and identify each using the terms presently in use.

A regional comparison, looking at sites across the prairies, would be one avenue for study. For meaningful comparison, Anglo-Canadian or rural sites from the late 19th century would need to be studied, to look to see if there is a trend towards ceramic assemblages having a high percentage of white granite wares, particularly those with agrarian themed moulded relief designs. If similar patterns to that of Clark's Crossing were found, then it would provide stronger evidence to consumer behaviour being affected by the external influences of marketing and regional identity. Perhaps the trend towards these moulded relief white granite wares is more wide spread, strengthening the hypothesis that the ideal west formulated in advertisements did have a strong impact on consumer behaviour. Excavation of sites in the area from the time period would aid greatly in the understanding of consumer behaviour during this time. Unfortunately, not many archaeologically intact homesteads or farmsteads from this time period seem to exist. There are some later sites (early part of the twentieth century) that are currently being investigated by Dr. Margaret Kennedy of the University of Saskatchewan, but because ceramic trends change so much after the turn of the century, the sites are not necessarily appropriate for this type of comparison. However, such later sites of the Saskatchewan prairies could provide useful information on how trends in ceramic consumer behaviour change over time.

Additionally, the research could be extended to a national level, to see if there is a difference in ceramic consumer behaviour between the western prairies and the central/eastern parts of the country. The work of Ian Kenyon seems to suggest that moulded relief white granite wares were also very popular in Ontario in the latter half of the nineteenth century, including those with agrarian themes, especially the wheat design (Kenyon 1984). He argues that white granite was introduced to Ontario stores about the middle of the century, and from then until the "1880s its popularity increased exponentially...during the 1880s it far outsold any other type of

plate” (Kenyon 1988a:5) and was also “the most widely stocked teaware type” (Kenyon 1988b:7). It is important to note that Ontario at this time was also a very rural place, a place where rural images on ceramics would also fit right in. Perhaps, with the Clarks coming from Ontario, they simply brought with them ceramics they were already using. Kenyon notes:

When it [white granite ware] was first introduced there were no railway lines like the Canadian Pacific Railroad. It was nothing strange in those pioneer days for a china merchant in Ontario to set out with his wagon of ware, and his farewell to his friends was, “I will burst or make good,” which really meant he was going “out west” into the unknown” (Kenyon 1985: 21).

An inter-site comparison (with similarities in time, size, and ethnicity) of Clark’s Crossing with sites in Ontario would definitely add to the analysis.

Another interesting avenue for comparison would be with the United States, specifically the western states. It could be hypothesized that the latter settlement of the western states was in many ways similar to that settlement in Canada. Both areas had large areas of land the government wanted settled by farmers, both governments offered initiatives, and both areas attracted diverse populations. Information on single or small groups of farms from the late nineteenth century would be needed. Scholars in the United States note that white granite ware ceramics are very popular, with “undecorated or molded white granite wares [being] the dominant type for the period ca. 1850 to ca. 1890” (Miller 1991a:6). It would be interesting to further explore this popularity and specifically how it relates and compares to popularity of similar wares on Canadian sites.

Since the present study looks at the impact of marketing by the manufacturers to colonial markets, it would be interesting to see if there are similar patterns (high percentage of white granite and agrarian themed ceramics) at sites affiliated with the expanding (and influence of the) British Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Susan Lawrence has explored British goods in nineteenth century Australia (Lawrence 2003) and discusses British ceramics on a variety of sites. She makes note that colourful transfer prints are the most popular, but that “mold-decorated white wares make an appearance” (Lawrence 2003:26). However, the latest date for a site she discusses is Dolly’s Creek in Victoria (a gold rush-related site) but it does not date past the 1870s (Lawrence 2003:26). Since the advertisements by the ceramic makers themselves

made note that these ceramics were good for the colonies, it would be interesting to see just how much of an impact these ceramics made in such assemblages.

Chapter 6 Summary and Conclusions

6.1 Summary

This thesis sought to explore the ceramics at the site of Clark's Crossing, FbNo-24, and to place these ceramics within a consumer behaviour framework. Within this framework concepts of identity and other influences on consumer behaviour could be better explored. To undertake this challenge, three major avenues of study were undertaken; a study of the history and archaeology of Clark's Crossing, a discussion of white granite ware ceramics, an analysis of the ceramic assemblage at Clark's Crossing.

Chapter 2 looked at both the archaeology and the history of Clark's Crossing, FbNo-24. The most significant excavations were undertaken by the Historical Archaeology Field School at the University of Saskatchewan, under the direction of Dr. Margaret Kennedy. Over four years (2002-2005), more than 10,000 artifacts and ecofacts were uncovered. Although a variety of artifacts were found, it was the ceramics that were most interesting. In Chapter 2 the histories of John Fowler and Maggie Clark were also explored. J.F. Clark originally came west in 1878 to be part of the Astronomical Land Survey. With its completion he returned to Ontario, only to come back to Saskatchewan to settle at Clark's Crossing probably around 1880. He received a charter to operate a ferry in 1881, but quickly lost the ferry to ice. His early years were lonely and he went back to Ontario in 1883 to marry Maggie Ashton. They returned again to Clark's Crossing in 1884. The Riel Resistance impacted the Clarks in 1885 when Major General Frederick D. Middleton and his troops (and later the 7th Fusiliers of London) camped on his and adjoining lands. Beginning in 1880, John Fowler struggled to obtain the rights to the lands he felt he was entitled to. He settled in the land close to his ferry charter, but did not receive the title to the east portion of 35/38/4/W3rdM until 1889. He argued with the government regarding his entitlement to the adjoining section of NW36/38/4/W3rdM and its pre-emption of

SW36/38/4/W3rdM. He first applied in 1883, but he would not receive title to these lands until 1904. Perhaps due to these struggles, the Clarks moved from Clark's Crossing sometime after 1894. They may have lived in Saskatoon and/or British Columbia and/or Ontario during this time. They returned in 1906 and began running the Clarkboro post office in 1907. The discussion of the archaeology and the history in Chapter 2 worked to better contextualize the ceramic assemblage uncovered at the site. By better understanding the Clarks, the people who were most likely the owners of these ceramics, we can begin to better understand how they may have been influenced in their consumer behaviour. As well, by exploring the Clarks as early Anglo-Canadian settlers in the prairie west, we can perhaps suggest that they identified themselves as that; as part of an agrarian lifestyle.

Chapter 3 explored the definitions and debates of ceramic nomenclature. Classification consistency can be a problem when looking at ceramics from the middle to late 19th century. The ceramic assemblage at the site of Clark's Crossing contained stonewares, a coarse earthenware, porcelain and refined earthenwares. Each of these wares was defined. What makes the ceramics at Clark's Crossing so interesting was the amount of refined earthenwares, particularly white granite ware, that were found at the site. Therefore the problem of classifying refined white earthenwares was looked at further, including whitewares (white earthenware and vitrified white earthenware) and white granite ware. These wares were further explored, with particular attention to the characteristics that make white granite ware different from other similar ceramics. White granite ware has been identified using alternative terms, such as ironstone, so a discussion of debates surrounding their use, and how these ceramics should be classified (and why) was also included in this chapter. It was concluded that classification and subsequent analysis of ceramics should not be dependant on only one factor, but instead other aspects of ceramics, such as decorative styles, techniques and makers' marks should also be addressed.

Chapter 4 fully explored the classification and analysis of the ceramics in the Clark's Crossing assemblage. The distribution of the ceramics across the site was looked at, as well as a breakdown of vessel form and identifying features. The majority of the ceramics were found on the southside of the house depression and flatwares were the most popular vessel form (followed by unidentified, hollowares, plates, saucers, and fragments from jars, a pitcher, cups, and egg cups). It was suggested that flatwares were the most popular ceramic at the site because they (including plates) may have been the easiest to move over long distances. Plates and flatwares at

this time featured high sides, therefore plates could also accommodate foods such as stews and soups, making them a multi-purpose vessel for consuming a variety of foods. The analysis also revealed that white granite was, in fact, the most popular ware type at the site (followed by white earthenwares, vitrified and no, and small amounts of porcelain, stoneware and one fragment of coarse earthenware). Six different makers' marks were found in the assemblage; five from Staffordshire, England and one from Glasgow, Scotland. Dating the ceramics using these marks revealed that the dates of the ceramics did correspond with the time period that the Clarks occupied Clark's Crossing. The variety of marks did indicate that the ceramic assemblage was composed of several sets of dishes, although certain marks did seem to correspond to certain vessel forms. The decorative techniques and styles exhibited by the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage were studied next. The most prevalent decorative technique present was that of moulded relief. There were five different patterns identified; Centennial, The Lorne, Acorn and Vine, Generic Wheat, Double Banded and unknown. After unknowns, the most popular patterns were Centennial, the Lorne, Generic Wheat, Acorn and Vine and Double Banded. The Centennial, the Lorne, Acorn and Vine and Generic Wheat are all similar in the way that they showcase agrarian images. They seem to represent bountiful harvests and a rural lifestyle with sheaves of wheat, bunches of grapes, acorns, leaves and vines.

The implications of the rurally inspired motifs found on the ceramics at Clark's Crossing were further explored in Chapter 5. In this chapter the discussion of the ceramic assemblage was undertaken within the framework of consumer behaviour. In order to better understand the behaviour of a consumer, this chapter looked at the influences at play on that consumer. This chapter explored some possible external influences on consumer behaviour, which may have resulted in the ceramic assemblage as shown in this thesis. The external influence of marketing was explored through the advertisements of potters, the government, interested companies like shipping and railway, land companies and towns. These advertisements illustrated an ideal west, with rolling hills, rich farmlands, and happy people. Group membership was also suggested as an influence on consumer behaviour. In this sense, group membership was also demonstrated to be akin to identity, where settlers coming west saw themselves as part of a group, one that was defined regionally. The decorative images on the ceramics at Clark's Crossing, with their agrarian motifs, seemed to be an appropriate material manifestation of such a western settler identity. This chapter also looked at directions for further study. Meaningful comparative sites

would better contextualize the consumer behaviour this thesis suggests at Clark's Crossing. Is this site an anomaly or is there a pattern in the ceramics at similar settlement sites in the late nineteenth century? Are there similarities regionally, nationally, or internationally? Also, by looking at contemporary sites, we can gain a better appreciation of influences on consumer behaviour during a time when there was such a great movement of people and a great burst of consumerism by these people.

6.2 Conclusions

This thesis suggests that agrarian themed ceramics, such as the ones that appear in the Clark's Crossing ceramic assemblage, are a material manifestation of the influences of identity and other external factors, such as marketing, on consumer behaviour. By choosing these ceramics, settlers like the Clarks may have allied themselves with an identity. This Anglo-Canadian farming identity may have been influenced by region and by the marketing of that region. In a way, the marketing formed a conceived identity of place, and consumers, like the Clarks, perceived this identity and associated themselves with it. The potters also promoted their ceramics as being suitable for this lifestyle. Combine a ware that is sturdy and meant for frontier life with agrarian patterns and you have a ceramic that is well suited for farm life. An ideal ceramic for an ideal west.

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