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Towards a Historical Archaeology of the German-Canadians of Markham's Berczy Settlement

Cover Page Footnote

This article is an expanded version of the paper presented at the 2002 CNEHA Conference in Wilmington, Delaware. I would like to thank the student paper competition organizer Karen Metheny, the 2002 judging panel, journal editor David Landon, and the reviewers for their thoughtful comments that strengthened this article. My Master of Science research would not have been as rewarding if it had not been for the many people in Toronto who helped along the way. Three people deserve special mention. My advisor Professor Marti Latta was a great source of support and made available space in her lab at the University of Toronto at Scarborough. My employer Ron Williamson made available on loan the archaeological collections used in this research, and arranged for my two-year leave of absence so that I could pursue my degree. Finally, my husband David Robertson drafted the figures for this article. More importantly, while I was in school he provided constant support and encouragement at home, a gift for which I cannot thank him enough.

Towards a Historical Archaeology of the German-Canadians of Markham's Berczy Settlement

Eva M. MacDonald

In his book In Small Things Forgotten, James Deetz (1977) challenged archaeologists to use material culture as a source of information about human actions that may not be represented widely in the written record. Consequently, studies of ethnic minority groups became popular in American historical archaeology from the 1970s onwards. Equally invisible, however, are immigrant groups who wish to blend in with—or whose character resembles that of—the charter group in a given region. This article presents a model that seeks to distinguish German and English ethnic identity through an analysis of ceramic vessels from five domestic sites occupied by some of the first immigrants to settle in Markham, Upper Canada (Ontario), ca. 1794 to the 1830s. In particular, differences and similarities observed in the ceramic vessel assemblages are interpreted within the contexts of the goods available in the embryonic settlement and the ethnic foodways of the sites' occupants.

Dans son livre In Small Things Forgotten, James Deetz (1977) a mis les archéologues au défi d'utiliser la culture matérielle comme source d'information à propos des actions humaines qui peuvent ne pas être largement représentées dans les archives écrites. Conséquemment, des études portant sur les groupes de minorités ethniques sont devenues populaires en archéologie de la période historique américaine à partir des années 1970. Les immigrants souhaitant se mêler aux groupes fondateurs—ou ceux dont les traits ressemblent à ceux de ces groupes, dans une région donnée—sont également tout aussi invisibles. Cet article présente un modèle qui cherche à distinguer les identités ethniques allemande et anglaise à travers l'analyse de récipients de céramique provenant de cinq sites occupés par quelques-uns des premiers immigrants à s'établir à Markham en Ontario entre ca.1794 et les années 1830. Plus précisément, les différences et les similitudes observées dans les assemblages de récipients de céramiques seront interprétées dans le contexte des biens disponibles dans la communauté embryonnaire et des habitudes alimentaires des occupants du site.

Introduction

This article presents data from five historic archaeological sites that were occupied by some of the first immigrants to settle in Markham, Ontario (FIG. 1), and which formed the basis of the author's Master of Science thesis research at the University of Toronto (MacDonald 2002). William Berczy, an entrepreneur who brought a group of approximately 200 German-speaking immigrants to Markham at the request of lieutenant governor John Graves Simcoe, founded the community in 1794. The German settlement was to provide an agricultural hinterland for the Town of York (Toronto), and facilitate the extension of Yonge Street north for military and commercial purposes (Moogk 1991: 95). Two years earlier, Simcoe had remarked to British secretary of state Henry Dundas that Upper Canada (Ontario) was "a country where there is not as yet a village," and many of Simcoe's policies were geared toward building the new

province (Cruikshank 1923–1931:1: 250). English, Scottish and American immigrants soon joined the Berczy settlers and by 1803 the Markham population swelled to 720 souls (Champion 1979: 330).

While several books and articles have been written about Berczy himself, who was a painter by training (Allodi et al. 1991; Andre 1967; Stagg 1987), and who has become a symbol of success to members of the modern German-Canadian community (Beringer 1984; Froeschle 1981, 1992), little scholarly work has focused on the individual families and their experiences (Smith 1994). This research is offered as an example of how archaeology in general can contribute information on this important aspect of Markham's history. More specifically, this article develops an analytical model that interprets the differences and similarities observed in the ceramic assemblages within the context of a German meal system transplanted to Ontario. The word "system" is

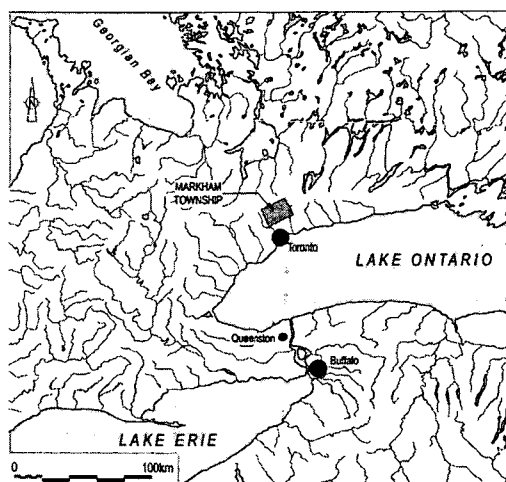


Figure 1. Location of Markham Township.

used to denote the patterned, daily and weekly cycle of meals prepared by the immigrants. Mary Douglas (1984: 28) has stressed that individual food items, by themselves, do not constitute an ethnic diet, therefore, this analysis has taken into consideration the meal system as reflected in the vessels used to prepare, serve, and consume food.

Project Background

This research builds on the Ontario study of ethnic groups and their foodways first pursued by Ian Kenyon, together with Thomas Kenyon (Kenyon and Kenyon 1982) and Neal Ferris (Ferris and Kenyon 1986). They developed a model of ceramic vessel use that they called the "Ontario Domestic Pattern" derived from studying 19th-century merchants' inventories and material from 49 archaeological sites in southwestern Ontario dating between 1814 and 1867 (Kenyon and Kenyon 1982: 1). A household exhibiting the Ontario Domestic Pattern was said to possess more plates than tea wares (as represented by saucers), and a few more teas than bowls, roughly a ratio of 10 to 6 to 3. This pattern was believed to reflect the shared ideas that settlers had concerning the numbers and types of vessels needed to stage a meal (Ferris and Kenyon 1986: 96). Furthermore, it was hypothesized that although many households were alike in their selection of vessel forms, deviations from the pattern could be explained in terms of wealth

or the maintenance of specific cultural practices after immigration (Kenyon and Kenyon 1982: 24). In effect, the ultimate goal of this article is to define a "German Domestic Pattern," if one exists, or confirm the hypotheses proposed by the Kenyons.

The meals systems analysis employs data from four archaeological sites that were founded by German immigrant families, John Marr (AlGt-216), Joseph Marr (AlGt-217), Cornelius (AlGt-238), and Neu (AlGt-218), and one site, Robinson (AlGt-240), that was occupied by an immigrant from Cumberland, England (FIG. 2). They are located in the former township of Markham, approximately 45 km northeast of Lake Ontario and the City of Toronto. Each had been identified during separate pre-development archaeological assessments and, because archival research determined that they had been occupied during Markham's pioneer period, each had been recommended for salvage excavation if they could not be protected within the plan of subdivision (ASI 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1998). They were excavated over the course of three years in the late 1990s by the consulting firm Archaeological Services Inc. and the data made available on-loan to the author for her Master's thesis in 2000. In particular, the four German households had been enumerated in William Berczy's 1803 Census of Markham Township (reprinted in Champion 1979: 323-330).

The archaeological sites had to meet three criteria before their ceramic vessel assemblages were employed in the meal systems analyses. First, the site should be within the core area of the Berczy settlement in the former geographical township of Markham, and date to the early period of immigration, ca. 1794 to the 1830s. Second, the site must represent a domestic occupation, and in particular it must contain deposits with ceramic vessels used in the daily preparation and consumption of meals by the site occupants. Finally, in order to clearly associate the ceramic assemblage with a particular family and its ethnic foodways, it was important that each assemblage originate from deposits that were relatively unmixed; that is, the site history was not complicated by later occupations unrelated to the pioneer period within the Berczy settle-

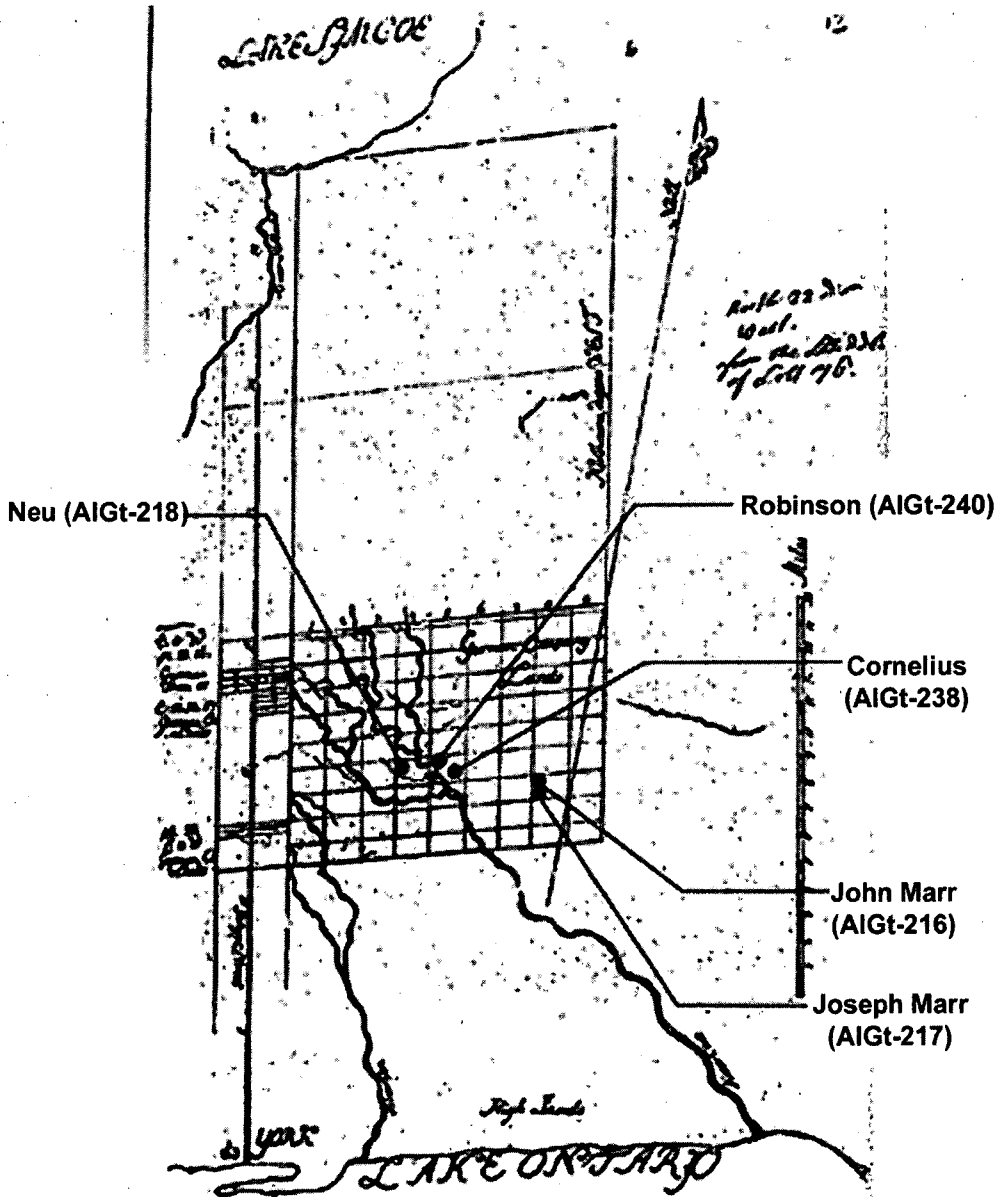


Figure 2. Location of archaeological sites superimposed on 1802 German Company survey map of Markham.

ment. Sites that were occupied by more than one household were not excluded if the archival research demonstrated that subsequent households shared the same ethnicity as the founding one. For example, the Neu site was occupied by more than one family, but the archival research demonstrated that subsequent households shared the same ethnicity as the founding one. Thus, the ceramic assem-

blages could be lumped together for analysis based on a defined "household type" (Seifert 1994: 153), in this case an ethnic type. This approach was used to analyze material from an urban tenement in Washington D.C., where it was difficult to correlate features with individual households. In the absence of the household type approach, some of the data might be regarded as "ugly" and unusable

(Wilson 1990: 30) because of the overlapping and non-discrete feature distributions.

The approach to analyzing the ceramic vessels does not strictly follow the model proposed by Kenyon and Kenyon (1982), that is the pattern is not expressed as a ratio of three vessel types: plates, teas, and bowls. Instead, the ceramics are grouped into classes that distinguish between vessels used in eating, drinking, food preparation, food or beverage distribution, and food or beverage storage. The division of the data is consistent with the anthropological treatment of foods and beverages as separate categories (Beaudry et al. 1983; Douglas 1972; Schaefer 1998; Yentsch 1991). The decision was made to analyze a wider range of vessel types to allow for a more detailed discussion of the construction of meal systems by the Markham pioneers. The role that food plays in building the identity of a person is a complex one, given that identities are fluid and can operate along the lines of age, gender, class, religion and ethnicity (Scholliers 2001: 6). In this paper, consideration also is given to the relative economic status of the households and the types of ceramics available for purchase in the embryonic community, in order to strengthen the argument that any differences or similarities observed between the vessel assemblages can be interpreted as expressions of German or English meal systems.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that pattern recognition in the data is affected by the sampling strategy employed during the excavation of the archaeological materials. Stanley South's studies have been criticized because his formulations were based on materials excavated from specific structures and middens, and the intervening areas were not sampled, bringing into question how representative his sample was (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 176). The same criticism could be leveled at four of the sites employed in this research, as only a limited amount of sampling was undertaken in the plowzone. Excavation without plowzone testing is standard practice among many cultural resource management firms in Ontario and parts of the United States, even though the utility of using data derived without some plowzone sampling has been questioned (King and Miller 1987; MacDonald 1997; Riordan 1988). The John Marr, Joseph

Marr, Cornelius and Robinson sites were registered with the provincial sites data base subsequent to pedestrian surveys of plowed fields, and were recommended for salvage excavation if they could not be protected within the proposed plan of subdivision. Further investigation began with a controlled surface collection of artifacts to delimit each site's area, and the excavation of between nine to thirteen 50 x 50 cm test units to sample the plowzone for the presence of a midden before the topsoil was removed using a Gradall. It is instructive to compare the patterns observed in the Neu site assemblage, which was hand excavated in 1 x 1 m units, with the other German assemblages before they are compared with the Robinson site.

Historical Background to the Berczy Settlement

Abraham Iredell undertook the Markham Township survey in 1794, at the request of lieutenant governor John Graves Simcoe, for the purpose of locating a group of German immigrants that had arrived in the province under the leadership of William Berczy (Champion 1979: 13). Initially, the settlers had accompanied Berczy to America to begin the process of clearing the Genesee Tract in New York State for English owner Sir William Pulteney and two London associates. Berczy was under contract to the Pulteney Associates to recruit 200 German "servants" for the new settlement, who were to be "of good Moral characters, ... well acquainted with farming," and "who have been accustomed to hard labour and Industry" (Moogk 1991: 84). Thus the enterprise was founded "in the spirit of commercial speculation combined with true idealism" common to private settlement schemes of the 18th and 19th centuries (Lehmann 1986: 89). Friction soon developed between Berczy and the Pulteney Associates' American land agent over salaries, provisioning and housing arrangements, and Berczy persuaded the group to leave New York State in the winter of 1793-1794. In order to petition the government of Upper Canada for a land grant, Berczy formed his own company with seven investors, including a representative of a Bremen merchant house in

America (Moogk 1991: 93). While Berczy did not have any money to invest in the company personally, he used the immigrants' labor as collateral to obtain an equal share in the company. The company's profit was to come from the sale of surplus lands after each assisted family received their 200 acre lot (Moogk 1991: 94). In May of 1794, a grant of 64,000 acres was offered to Berczy and his German Land Company on the condition that it be "properly settled," although the meaning of the condition was not spelled out to the company (Moogk 1991: 99). Shortly thereafter, 12 vessels loaded with 186 passengers reached Queenston, Ontario, along with livestock imported from New England and farm implements purchased in Albany, New York (Moogk 1991: 95).

It is estimated that of those settlers who made it to Queenston with Berczy, 21 were Pennsylvania-Germans who joined the group during their trek through the Northeast (Andre 1971: 23). Many single men immigrated, some of whom were former soldiers and one third of whom were craftsmen, including woodworkers (Moogk 1991: 88). Older couples with no dependants also joined the group, as did Lutheran pastor Georg Siegmund Liebich. In late July of 1794, Berczy, Pastor Liebich, the surveyor and 10 colonists travelled to Markham, where they found the quality of soil good. They also gave consideration to potential mill sites on the Don River. Indeed, it was anticipated that the settlers would prosper. In a letter dated November 1794, it was reported by a gentleman resident in York that the

Germans came in this summer, furnished with everything to make their situation comfortable and enable them to improve their land to advantage, and no doubt in a short time will make a fine settlement; they are supported by a company, who have liberally supplied them with teams, farming utensils and provisions, sent them a clergyman of their own country and are about to build them mills, a church and a school house" (Cruikshank 1923-1931:3: 192).

Berczy committed the immigrants to the task of clearing Yonge Street on the government's promise of choice lots fronting Yonge if they could build the road as far as Holland Landing, a distance of 70 km, in one year's

time (Stagg 1987: 71). By December 1794, 30 km of Yonge Street had been laid out and the settlers moved onto their lots.

The task of building Yonge Street and other projects took the men away from clearing the land and planting crops on their own farms, and the first years in Markham were arduous due to food shortages. The harvest of 1795 was modest, and flour ran out in September. One third of the settlers retreated to York, Burlington Bay and Niagara, where skilled tradesmen could find work (Moogk 1991: 97). By February 1796, the people were in extreme distress caused by the general scarcity of provisions (Moogk 1991: 97). After lieutenant governor Simcoe departed in 1796, his replacement Peter Russell informed Berczy that no land patents would be issued until the German settlers had been naturalized for seven years. Berczy's associates were uneasy about the delay in obtaining title to their land grant, not to mention the mounting costs of supporting the settlers, and Berczy's salary as agent of the company was discontinued (Moogk 1991: 97). Berczy continued to finance the settlement by borrowing money from other sources, and loaned money and supplies to individual families who needed help (Allodi 1991: 58). In 1797, he was elected overseer of the road for the "German Settlement" district, although he himself lived in Toronto according to the oldest surviving printed census for the Town of York (Mosser 1984: 3).

William Berczy left York in April of 1798 to seek support in England for the new settlement, but was unable to change the government's naturalization policy towards the German immigrants (Allodi 1991: 58). He returned to his wife in Montreal in 1802, only to be informed that the Executive Council had given away part of the German Company lands (Allodi 1991: 62). To pay his outstanding debts, Berczy sacrificed the bond that existed between himself and some of the colonists by obtaining a power of attorney to apply for the land grants of those who owed him payment. He thus acquired title to 4,800 acres and paid his creditors in lands and goods (Moogk 1991: 104). Eventually, locations not taken up by Berczy's settlers were assigned to the next wave of immigrants to Markham Township. The settlement encouraged a modest chain

migration of German families from Pennsylvania, and by 1803, Berczy's census revealed that almost twice as many Pennsylvania-German immigrants ($n=254$) as Berczy settlers ($n=169$) now lived in Markham, in addition to Anglo-American and British families (Bausenhardt 1989: 53). The Markham population would remain small but stable until the 1820s, when immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland would begin to flood into Ontario. To the very end of his life, William Berczy never gave up hope that the German Company would receive the land grant it was offered in 1794. In 1812, he met with his associates in New York City and proposed they advance him a sum of money against his shares, so that he could return to England to redress his claims regarding the Upper Canada land grant. He fell ill and died in New York on February 5, 1813 (Allodi 1991: 75).

Today, the contribution of the German pioneers to the founding of Markham Township is recognized through a number of historic plaques and a bicentennial monument constructed in 1994 to mark the immigration led by William Berczy. Unfortunately, the rural landscape is disappearing under the urban sprawl of the Greater Toronto Area. In 1971, the township's population including Markham village was 37,000 people. In 1998, the Town of Markham counted 185,000 people within its boundary, which comprises lands of the former township east of Highway 404 (Smith 1998: 7). Ironically, one of the newest housing subdivisions is fixed on a 1,000 acre block of land in the sixth concession that the developer has named Berczy Village (Brennan 1998). The following section examines more closely the archaeological sites of five pioneer families, including two sites found as a result of subdivision assessments within the "Berczy Village" project.

Site Settlement Patterns and Histories

The occupation dates assigned to each site are based on two lines of complementary evidence. First, a land use history has been constructed for each property using documents available at the Ontario Archives, establishing a basic chronology for each site. Second, *ter-*

minus post quem (TPQ) dates have been calculated for all site features where applicable. This dating technique was advocated by Ivor Noël Hume (1969), but has become overshadowed by the Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) technique (South 1977). George Miller (2000) has renewed interest in using TPQ dates by publishing a comprehensive list of materials commonly found on historic sites in the Northeast and their dates of introduction. The TPQ dates used in this research are taken from Miller's list, and from identified maker's marks on refined earthenware pottery. It is argued that providing a series of dates for the latest-made artifacts in their archaeological context is more precise than calculating a mean date by lumping together ceramics from features that might span a 100-year period (Miller 2000: 1).

The John Marr site (AlGt-216) is located on the west 100 acres of Lot 13, Concession 9, in the former Markham Township (FIG. 2), which were granted by the Crown to Polly Marr et al. in February of 1821. There is evidence that the lot was settled much earlier than that, however, in the form of the census conducted by William Berczy of Markham settlers in 1803 (Champion 1979: 329). According to the census, Lot 13 was occupied by John Marr, his wife Barbara Bruch (also spelled Brock and Brooks), and their family, who had been assigned the lot in 1801 after emigrating from Pennsylvania (Wheeler 1983: 43). Marr's will, dated July 1808, was registered on title to Lot 13 in January of 1809, and it bequeathed to Barbara the benefit and use of the land and moveable property as long as she remained a widow. Thereafter, the west half of Lot 13 was to be divided between John Jr. and daughters Polly and Bethany. Barbara remarried John Wurts, a widower whose land abutted hers (Wheeler 1983: 43), and it is assumed she moved into his household. In 1822, John Jr. married Esther Noble (Wheeler 1983: 44) and it is probable that they continued to occupy the old homestead. In February of 1833, the west half of Lot 13 was sold outright to John Marr Jr. for £75. He immediately subdivided the property into 50-acre portions and offered

them for sale before moving to Brock Township, east of Markham (Wheeler 1983: 45).

The settlement pattern of the John Marr site comprised a loose cluster of eight features that were documented within the 20 × 30 m area where topsoil was stripped (FIG. 3). Feature 4, which measured approximately 196 × 195 × 31 cm, may have functioned as a root cellar prior to its abandonment given its size and shape. Feature 7 may also have functioned as a cellar pit as the upper fill contained large rocks that overlay a thin dark basal layer similar to other 19th-century root cellars documented in Ontario (MacDonald 1997: Fig. 10). A 3-liter soil sample was retained from Feature 5 and floated for botanical remains. The analysis conducted by Dr. Stephen Monckton identified elderberry and bramble seeds in the feature fill, therefore, it is possible that Feature 5 represents a privy pit. Botanical indicators such as seeds are often used to identify privies because the dense organic waste expected in these features is not always present, and their size and shape are variable (Geismar 1993). The remaining features, in general, comprised extremely shallow, ovoid or squarish pits of unknown function, some of which also contained small amounts of refuse. Over half of

the site's artifacts were recovered from the plowzone, while the feature fills contained relatively few artifacts. Artifacts such as ceramics and container glass predominated, but a significant percentage of animal bone also was present (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.4). The TPQ dates of 1830 and 1835 calculated on pearlware ceramics in the two cellar pit features do not permit a seriation of their use, but if each was associated with a particular household, one may represent the location of the house established by John Marr Sr., while the other may represent the house of John Jr. The feature pattern, archival evidence, and the TPQ dates suggest, therefore, that the site contains two components. One represents the household established by John and Barbara Marr ca. 1801, and which was occupied until Barbara's remarriage sometime after the premature death of her husband in 1808. The second household was established ca. 1822 by John Marr Jr. and his wife Esther (Noble) Marr. The latter couple moved to Brock Township in 1833.

The Joseph Marr site (AlGt-217) is located on the west half of Lot 12, Concession 9, in the former Markham Township (FIG. 2), which was granted by the Crown to Joseph Marr in March of 1816. Joseph had arrived in Upper Canada from Pennsylvania with his family in 1799, and had petitioned the Crown for a land grant in Markham after spending two years in Stamford Township. To demonstrate to the Crown that he was a desirable candidate, his petition stated that he and his wife had three children, and they owned a yoke of oxen, two cows, several hogs, and farming utensils (Wheeler 1983: 69). Two years later, William Berczy's census of Markham township listed the family as settlers on Lot 12 (Champion 1979: 329). After Joseph was widowed in 1816, he sold his property and the family returned to the Niagara region (Wheeler 1983: 69). The new owner of Lot 12 did not reoccupy the site. Eight features that formed two clusters were documented at the Joseph Marr site after the topsoil was removed (FIG. 4). Feature 1 comprised a large concentration of fired soil and ash lenses within a shallow, darker soil matrix that contained artifacts. It may represent the location of an outdoor activity area that utilized a bonfire, such as the manufacture of

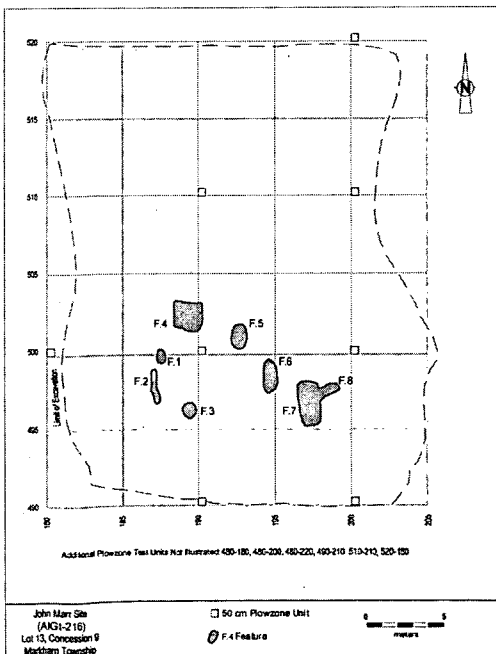


Figure 3. John Marr Site feature pattern.

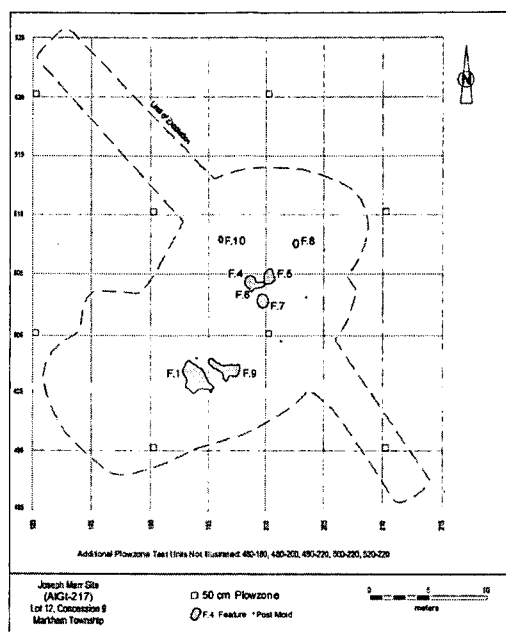


Figure 4. Joseph Marr Site feature pattern.

soap boiled in a kettle. The remaining features, in general, comprised extremely shallow, ovoid or squarish pits of unknown function, only half of which contained small amounts of refuse. Only Feature 4 contained stratified fill layers and a significant number of artifacts ($n=227$). Just under half of the total site assemblage of 550 artifacts comprised ceramic artifacts, which together with other meal system items such as eating utensils and glass tableware made up approximately 46.2% of the assemblage. A large quantity of animal bone also was recovered (31.6%), and smaller amounts of personal items such as clothing buttons and smoking pipe fragments, along with farm-related artifacts such as a horse harness buckle (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.6). The archival evidence and the TPQ dates calculated from the artifacts recovered from sealed deposits suggest that the site represents the homestead of the Joseph Marr family ca. 1801–1816.

The Cornelius site (AIGt-238) is located on Lot 18, Concession 6, in the former Markham Township (FIG. 2), which had been granted by the Crown to William Berczy in August of 1804. The settlement duties, however, had been performed by Christian (Charles) Cornelius, and his wife Elizabeth, a couple in

their mid-50s with no dependants according to the 1803 Markham census (Champion 1979: 326). Christian Cornelius was mentioned in the diary of another immigrant as having walked from Niagara to Markham in 1794, herding sheep for the settlers, and he was employed by Berczy in 1795 to clear the mouth of the Rouge River (Smith 1994: 26). It is likely Cornelius did not receive the Crown patent because he owed Berczy money. After Berczy obtained the title to Lot 18 in 1804, he immediately sold the property to Forsyth Richardson as he had his own debts to pay off. Christian and Elizabeth Cornelius may have remained on the lot as tenants until their death as it is unlikely that Richardson ever lived there. In October of 1819, another of the German immigrants, George Pingel, purchased the lot for his daughter Anna and her husband Alexander Thompson, the latter of whom eventually purchased the east half of Lot 18 from his father-in-law in 1830. It is not known when Anna predeceased her husband, but by 1846, Thompson had moved to another lot and no occupant was listed for the east half of Lot 18 in Brown's *Toronto City and Home District Directory* (Brown 1846: 54).

Thirteen features were documented at the Cornelius site within the 25 × 30 m area stripped of its topsoil by the Gradall (FIG. 5). Feature 11 has been interpreted as a root cellar, based on its configuration and the two associated drains. Feature 12 may also represent a cellar pit that had been abandoned and filled with refuse. Feature 5 comprised a rectangular foundation of flat rocks. The remaining features were shallow, ovoid or squarish pits that contained small amounts of refuse. The distribution of artifacts between functional classes fits the pattern observed on the John Marr and Joseph Marr sites. Just over half of the total site assemblage of 657 artifacts comprised ceramic artifacts, which together with other meal system items such as container glass and iron kettle fragments made up approximately 53.3% of assemblage (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.8). A large quantity of animal bone also was recovered (25.9%), along with smaller amounts of personal items such as clothing buttons and smoking pipe fragments, as well as farm-related artifacts such as horse tack and two grain sickles. The absence of a TPQ date for

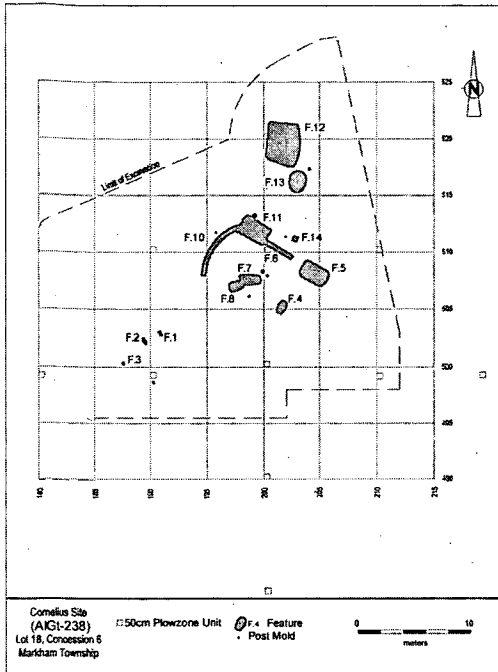


Figure 5. Cornelius Site feature pattern.

Feature 12 does not permit a seriation of the cellar pits, but if each was associated with a particular household, one may represent the location of the house established by Christian and Elizabeth Cornelius, while the other may represent the house of Alexander Thompson and Anna (Pingel) Thompson. The archival evidence, feature pattern, and the artifacts recovered from sealed deposits suggest, therefore, that the site comprises two overlapping components. One is the homestead of Christian and Elizabeth Cornelius ca. 1794–1819, and the second is the home of Anna Pingel and Alexander Thompson ca. 1819–1840s.

The Neu site (AlGt-218) is located on the west half of Lot 17, Concession 5, in the former Markham Township (FIG. 2). The lot was granted by the Crown in July of 1803 to John Gotlieb Wichier, a shoemaker who also worked in York after his arrival in Upper Canada (Andre 1971: 38). By 1803, he and his wife Hanna had settled on Lot 17 according to the Berczy census, which also noted that a John Neu (also spelled Noye and Nigh) had purchased land from Wichier and resided there (Champion 1979: 326). It is assumed,

therefore, that Wichier established his household on the east half of Lot 17, as the west 130 acres were registered on title in Neu's name in September of 1805. Neu was not part of the original group that emigrated from Germany, but was an American-born Lutheran of German-origin according to Markham historian Isabel Champion (1979: 48). In October of 1805, Neu sold the property to John Wilhem Neuschultz, who in turn sold the west 130 acres to John Hacker (also spelled Haacke) for £125 in 1810. The deed abstracts indicate that both men also owned property elsewhere. In 1817, John Hacker sold the west 130 acres on Lot 17, Concession 5, to the Honourable William Allan of Toronto for £254. Allan would become the first President of the Bank of Upper Canada after it was chartered in 1821 (Careless 1984: 35), and an official in the Canada Company, and he probably purchased the property on speculation. Eventually a William Horsely settled on the property ca. 1837, as evinced by his listing in Walton's *Home District Directory* (Walton 1837: 104), but his land use did not overlap with the settlement pattern of the German immigrants.

The Neu site was registered with the provincial archaeological sites data base subsequent to a shovel testpit survey of a woodlot, and was recommended for salvage excavation if it could not be protected within the proposed plan of subdivision (ASI 1998). Further investigation comprised the hand excavation of 140 1 × 1 m units over an area approximately 30 × 35 m. This revealed four features and considerable quantities of slag, stone rubble, and thick lenses of wood ash (FIG. 6). Feature 1 was a rectangular flat-bottomed pit approximately 40 cm deep that contained a mixed ash, charcoal, subsoil and brick rubble fill. The surrounding subsoil was noticeably fire-reddened. An articulated course of stones formed the western edge of Feature 2, which was further defined by a thick stratum of ash and fired soil. Its other edges were less clearly visible, but numerous brick fragments on the southern and northeastern edges of the ash "floor" suggest the remains of a modest structure. Feature 3 comprised an ovoid pit into which wood ash was dumped repeatedly until it overflowed the pit. It was capped by rubble

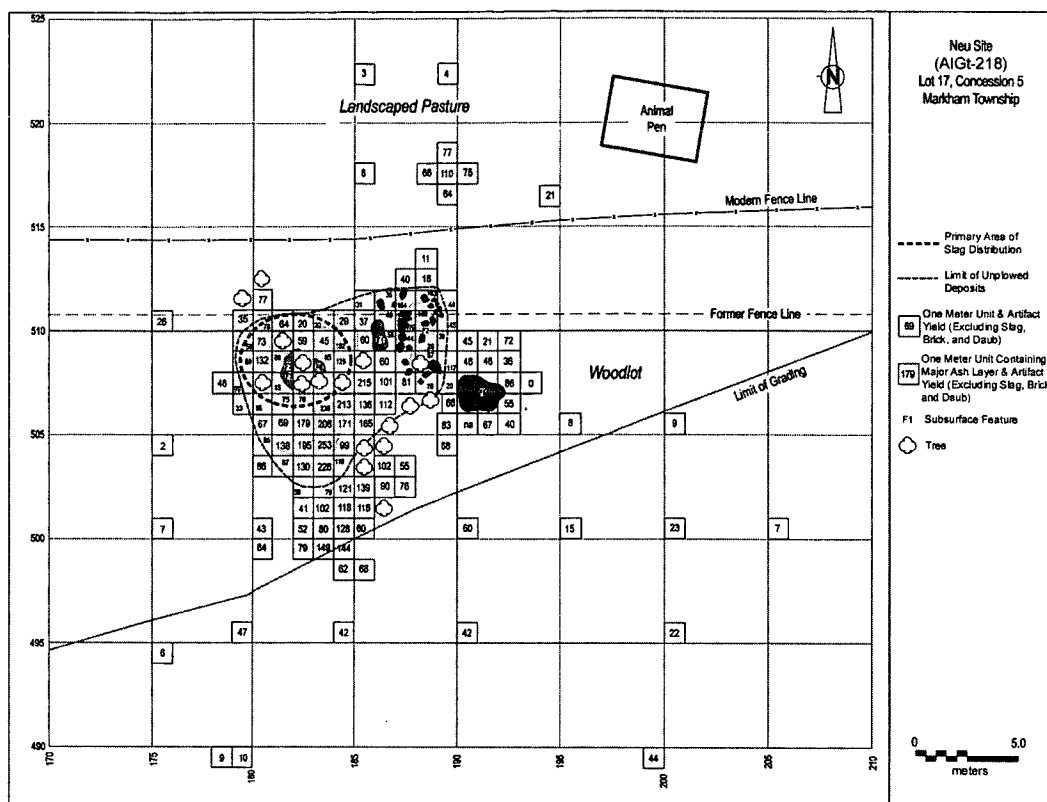


Figure 6. Neu Site feature and artifact pattern.

and slag waste. Feature 5 has been interpreted as a sub-floor pit.

Thus, in addition to the domestic occupation represented by the substantial deposit of ceramics and animal bone found in units on the eastern and southern portions of the site, there is evidence that a blacksmith operated a business on the property. Broken files, fragments of iron bar stock, other assorted modified metal fragments, and numerous horse-shoe nails support this interpretation (Light 1984). Two blacksmiths were said to have been with Berczy's group in New York State, along with one locksmith, two weavers, one cartwright, three joiners, one potter, one brewer, one tanner, several shoemakers, and two bakers (Richardson and Cowan 1942: 242–243). It is not known if both smiths made it to Markham, but only John Lindemann is mentioned by name in published accounts of the Berczy settlement. His smithy was erected closer to Yonge Street, on the road to the German Mills southwest of the core settlement

area (Andre 1971: 48). The Neu site, therefore, represents the home and business of a second blacksmith hitherto unknown in the history of the Berczy settlement.

The distribution of artifacts between functional classes on the Neu site differs slightly from the other German sites. This can be explained as differences in the site formation processes and the dual function of the Neu site as a domestic habitation and a smithy. Architectural items such as window glass and nails occurred more frequently at the Neu site (20% of the assemblage of 10,704 artifacts), perhaps reflecting the *in situ* decay of a structure (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.12). It is also true that nails are a product of a smithy operation and the Neu site pattern is not strictly a domestic one. In contrast, the architectural class made up 12.6% of the Cornelius assemblage of 657 artifacts, and 12.3% of the John Marr assemblage of 178 artifacts. This may reflect the reuse of window glass or nails so

that they did not end up in feature fills, or it may reflect the more limited nature of the plowzone excavation on those sites. Fewer faunal elements were recovered from the Neu site, where they comprised approximately 13% of the assemblage, compared to 25.9% at Cornelius, 24.2% at John Marr, and 31.6% at Joseph Marr. This pattern of relatively fewer faunal elements present on sites comprised of primary deposits that have been excavated in 1 x 1 m units has been documented in another Ontario study, and reflects the fragile nature of bone left exposed in open-air middens (MacDonald 1997: 71). A greater frequency of bone is observed on sites with features full of secondary deposit material. At Neu, just over half of the assemblage (54.9%) was comprised of ceramic artifacts, container glass and other meal systems artifacts. This accords well with the Cornelius assemblage (53.3%) and the John Marr assemblage (56.7%). In general, few tightly dated artifacts were recovered from the Neu site features.

The presence of a relatively high proportion of creamware, tin-glazed earthenware, and black basalt vessels, and the absence of ceramics more characteristic of the second quarter of the 19th century, such as underglaze transferprints in colors other than blue, or flowing colors (MacDonald 2002: Table 5.6), suggests that the site location was occupied ca. 1794 and abandoned sometime in the 1820s after the sale of Lot 17 to Allan. Artifacts found in association with the slag and metal working debris help to date the period when the smithy was in operation. In the ash and slag layer of Unit 509-184, for example, a ceramic with an impressed maker's mark anchor and the lower-case letters "dav" indicates a vessel manufactured by the English firm of Davenport ca. 1795 (Godden 1964: 189). Together with the archival evidence, the archaeological assemblage suggests that John Neu operated the smithy during his tenancy; a period which may have extended through the selling and reselling of the property to other Markham residents after 1805.

The Robinson site is a small rural farmstead located on Lot 20, Concession 6, in the former Township of Markham (FIG. 2). The lot

had been reserved for the Crown during the partial survey of Markham Township in 1794, and according to the abstract index to deed titles, the University of King's College eventually received the land patent in January of 1828. The university held the lot on speculation and sold it to John Robinson in February of 1842. As 1842 is a relatively late date in the settlement history of Markham Township, other sources were consulted to determine if John Robinson could have been living on the lot prior to receiving the land title. Lot 20, Concession 6 was not occupied according to William Berczy's 1803 census of Markham Township, but a John Robinson was listed in the census as a 46-year-old widower living in the township with his 5-year-old son (Champion 1979: 323). In 1834, a John Robinson signed a Markham petition addressed to William Lyon Mackenzie in support of reforming the government of Upper Canada (Champion 1979: 190). Three years later, Walton's *City of Toronto and Home District Commercial Directory* confirmed that John Robinson lived on Lot 20 prior to receiving title (Walton 1837: 107).

In 1838, Robinson was arrested for participating in the Mackenzie Rebellion, and was sentenced to jail for three years and then banished (Champion 1979: 193). Evidently he returned and was back living on Lot 20, Concession 6, Markham Township, according to Brown's 1846 Toronto City and Home District Directory. John Robinson died in February of 1876 at the age of 76 and was buried in St. Phillip's Anglican churchyard on Kennedy Road in Markham. The inscription on his tombstone noted that he was a native of Cumberland, England. The age of the John Robinson who owned Lot 20, therefore, prevents him from being identified as the widower listed in the 1803 census, but he certainly could have been the widower's unnamed son. The abstract index to deeds indicates that the patent to the lot occupied by John Robinson (Sr.) in 1803 was granted to a different man in 1807, and it is possible that Robinson Sr. re-established his household on Lot 20 shortly thereafter.

A tight cluster of four features was documented at the Robinson site within a 20 x 20 m

area after the topsoil was removed using a Gradall (FIG. 7). Feature 1, which measured approximately 200×183 cm, contained stratified fill and remnants of a wooden lining. This feature contained the majority of the site's artifacts, a pattern observed on other 19th-century domestic sites in southern Ontario (MacDonald 1997:72-74). It has been interpreted as a root cellar that probably existed beneath the floor of the Robinson kitchen. Three features comprised shallow, ovoid or squarish pits that contained small amounts of refuse. Over half of the total site assemblage of 1,247 artifacts consisted of ceramic artifacts, which together with other meal system items such as container glass, made up approximately 63.6% of the assemblage (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.2). Thus the percentage of meal systems artifacts was slightly higher on the English site than the four German sites. A substantial quantity of animal bone also was recovered (24.3%), and smaller amounts of personal items such as clothing buttons and smoking pipe fragments, as well as farm-related artifacts such as horse tack and a rake head. The TPQ dates calculated for each of the four features indicate that the Robinson site probably was not occupied beyond the 1830s (MacDonald 2002: Table 4.3). Together, the

archival evidence and the TPQ dates calculated for all four features suggest that the site represented the homestead of John Robinson (Sr.) established ca. 1807. It continued to be occupied by his son, John Jr., who was forced to leave Markham after the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837. When he returned to Markham, John re-established his household in a different location on the property.

The Anthropology of Food and Ethnicity

Many archaeological studies use ceramics to explore ethnic identity because foodways are assumed to be a central and conservative aspect of culture (Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Greenwood 1980: 115; Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 186; Praetzelis et al. 1987: 39). In particular, social conventions practiced in meal preparation and consumption reveal how a given culture is organized, and allow one to distinguish between different members of society and different ethnic groups (Douglas 1972, 1982; Wood 1995; Yentsch 1991). Mary Douglas (1972: 61) has written that "if food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries." These messages and patterns are visible in the meal system practiced by a given group, with the word "system" used to denote the daily and weekly cycle of meals and food combinations. Douglas (1984: 28) has stressed that individual food items by themselves do not constitute an ethnic diet, therefore, a sound analysis will take into consideration the pattern of meals, and by extension the vessels used to prepare, serve and consume them.

Given that ethnicity is one of many potential sources for variability in the archaeological record, one of the ongoing debates in historical archaeology has been how to define an ethnic pattern as one distinct from patterns of gender, class, or the economic impoverishment of ethnic minorities relative to the dominant culture (Baker 1980; Cheek and Friedlander 1990; Delle et al. 2000; Praetzelis et al. 1987, 1988; Schaefer 1998; Schuyler 1980). The problem is complex because the variables do not exist independent of one another (Majewski and

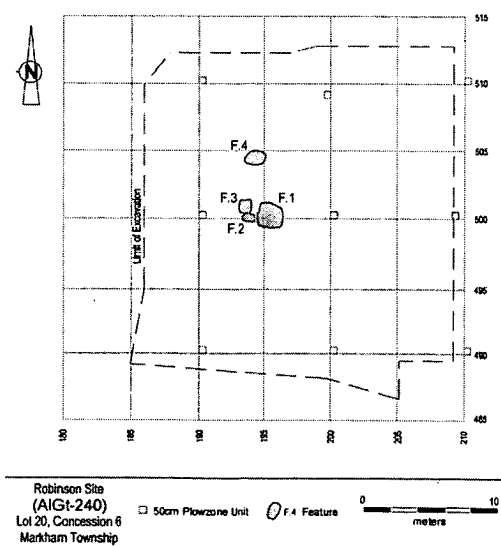


Figure 7. Robinson Site feature pattern.

O'Brien 1987: 190). Before the meal systems analysis is presented, it is important to establish that the Markham households under study are of the same relative economic status in order to strengthen the argument that differences can be attributed to ethnic preference rather than purchasing power. The same ceramic vessel data set can be used to calculate values using Miller's CC Index technique, with "CC" an abbreviated reference to the creamware vessels that provide the baseline for the index values (Miller 1980, 1991). Cheek and Friedlander (1990) took this approach in their study of households in a Washington D.C. neighborhood ca. 1880–1940. They determined that the ceramics used in comparative households all reflected the same economic status, that is similar values were calculated. Specific differences in the forms or ware types of the vessels present in each assemblage, therefore, could be interpreted in terms of ethnic preferences, as both black and white households formed the study.

Briefly, the Miller CC Index scales the value of ceramics based on the form of the vessel, its ware type, and how it is decorated, with plain creamware the least expensive to purchase and transfer-printed wares among the most expensive. It is not a precise measure because the technique does not take into consideration all the vessel forms and ware types that might be present (i.e., no value can be calculated on Chinese porcelain or tin-glazed earthenware). Neither is it assumed that there is a simple correlation between the value of an assemblage and the social affiliation of the household. What the Miller Index can do is provide a basis by which one can assess the relative investment made by the immigrants in their ceramics because it covers the most common types of ceramics found on North American sites from the 1790s to the mid-19th century (Brighton 2001: 18–19). The index also takes into consideration the devaluation or inflation of ceramic prices on a year-by-year basis, which facilitates the comparison of the Markham sites as they were occupied at slightly different times during the pioneer period ca. 1794 through to the 1830s.

The CC Index values calculated for the five Markham sites range closely between 1.42 (Joseph Marr), 1.54 (Cornelius), 1.56 (Joseph

Marr), 1.57 (Robinson), and 1.59 (Neu). This suggests similar spending patterns, and strengthens the argument that differences observed in the choice of vessels forms can be attributed to cultural preferences. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in the Northeast, a value within the Markham range was calculated for a rural tenant farmstead in Maryland (1.45) (Klein 1991: 82). By contrast, these values are lower than those calculated on working class immigrant sites in an urban context, where access to ceramic goods and markets was better (Brighton 2001: 20). A mid-19th-century New York City tenement occupied by Irish immigrants, for example, scored 2.4 (Brighton 2001: 19).

A Comparison of German and English Foodways

The pioneer period in Markham corresponds to the age of industrialization in Europe, when profound changes were taking place in all aspects of society, including food habits. Hans Teuteberg (1992: 13) has noted that more is known about the food habits of pre-industrial European society because researchers are just beginning to go beyond the topic of food supply and into the realm of changes that occurred in household food storage, preparation and consumption. Nevertheless, the following generalizations can be made. Here a meal is defined as one or more foodstuffs made ready to consume (Teuteberg 1992: 13).

The German people traditionally ate five meals a day. It began with breakfast, *Frühstück*, and was followed with a mid-morning snack, *Zweites Frühstück*, or second breakfast (Standen Hazelton 1969: 29). These meals comprised bread with butter and jam, but also boiled eggs, cheese, and cold cuts if desired. The principal hot meal of the day was dinner, *Mittagessen*, served at noon, and one-pot meals or *Eintopf* were family favorites (Standen Hazelton 1969: 14, 33). *Kaffee* was served in the late afternoon, and the day ended with a light supper, *Abendbrot*, literally translated as "evening bread" (Standen Hazelton 1969: 29). Regional differences also defined traditional German cooking. The Berczy settlers origi-

nated from towns such as Hamburg and Altona in the north, where cooks were influenced by their Dutch, Danish, and Polish neighbors. The cold, damp climate was conducive to hearty dishes such as cabbage and bacon soup, meats stewed with dried fruit, roast duck or goose, and pickled herring (Standen Hazelton 1969: 105).

Although no systematic studies have been made of pre-WWI working class meal patterns in England, a few general observations can be made on the changes that occurred to organized meals in English society (Oddy and Burnett 1992: 34). Two hundred years ago in England there was a marked contrast between regions and social classes with regard to food preferences. In part, this was due to the difficulty of growing certain crops in the cold, wet uplands of northern England. Wheat, for example, could not be grown as a breadcorn, but oats and barley did survive (Wilson 1984: 216). Thus, barley bread, hasty pudding (a type of oatmeal porridge), milk, and potatoes were the foods commonly consumed by agricultural and other manual laborers in northern England. Such "moist" foods that had been popular since the medieval period were still preferred during the 19th century in the north of England, Scotland, and Ireland (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992: 8-9). The laboring classes took as many as five meals throughout the day: an early breakfast, a mid-morning snack, a cold lunch, a four o'clock snack, and a hot evening supper at home (Oddy and Burnett 1992: 34). This echoes the traditional German system of five meals consumed per day.

Meal Systems Analysis

The meal systems analysis presented in this paper deviates from the typology employed by the Kenyons as a wider range of vessel forms is considered to allow for a more detailed construction of meal systems by the Markham pioneers. A total of 21 different vessels forms are identified, and are grouped into classes that distinguish between vessels used in eating, drinking, food preparation, food or beverage distribution, and food or beverage storage (TAB. 1). In particular, recognition was given to the different sizes of plates that were manufactured to be used in different meals,

and the typology uses the terms for vessels commonly found on English potters' lists (Coysh and Henrywood 1982; Miller 1991). The Staffordshire potters, in particular, had become the dominant suppliers of refined earthenware table and tea wares to the world market during this period (Miller 1991: 1). Advertising in circulation in Upper and Lower Canada in the late-18th and early-19th centuries also used these terms (Collard 1984: 109; Whate 1980: 5). The early advertisements were not as precise in the use of words to describe coarse red earthenware and stoneware vessel forms, therefore, terms used in this analysis are consistent with terms used by Donald Webster (1971a, 1971b) to distinguish vessel forms.

The total number of vessels recovered from each site ranged between 12 identified in the John Marr ceramic assemblage to 110 vessels identified in the Neu site assemblage (TAB. 2). The Cornelius and Joseph Marr sites contained a similar number of vessels, 35 and 33 respectively, and the Robinson ceramic assemblage contained 65 vessels. The analysis presented in this paper assumes that form follows function, although consideration has been given to alternative functions that a vessel might have served (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 182-83). In particular, the vessels are analyzed according to their function in a meal system. Thus, they are grouped into classes that distinguish between vessels used in eating, drinking, food preparation, food or beverage distribution, and food or beverage storage. This functional division of vessel forms is well-established in historical archaeology (Beaudry et al. 1983; Schaefer 1998; Yentsch 1991), and is consistent with the anthropological treatment of foods and beverages as categories with separate meanings in a cultural system.

To answer the question of whether a "German Domestic Pattern" can be identified on Ontario archaeological sites dating to the earliest pioneer period, the relative frequencies of the different vessel classes on each of the five sites were compared (TAB. 2). The four German ceramic vessel assemblages were similar enough internally to provide a contrast with the English immigrant's assemblage. The sample sizes for the classes of food distribu-

Table 1. Vessels type definition.

<i>Function and Type</i>	<i>Description</i>
Food Consumption	
Muffin 3-7"	Flat, circular vessel with rim diameter measuring at least 5" but under 8"; distinguished from saucer by acute angle of brim relative to base, thicker walls
Twiffler 8"	Flat, circular vessel with rim diameter measuring at least 8" but under 9"
Supper Plate 9"	Flat, circular vessel with rim diameter measuring at least 9" but under 10"
Table Plate 10"	Flat, circular vessel with rim diameter measuring 10"
Soup Plate	Flattish, circular vessel with concave brim, deepened interior to hold liquids
Plate ? dia.	Flat, circular vessel with distinct brim, but less than 1" of rim extant
Porringer	Hollow vessel of bulbous form; rim diameter greater than height; one handle extant; manufactured from coarse earthenware
Bowl	Hollow, hemispherical vessel with rim diameter greater than 5"; manufactured from refined earthenware
Food Distribution	
Dish	Flat vessel of circular or oval form, rim diameter greater than 10"
Covered dish (Lid)	Hollow vessel with lid
Condiment pot	Small hollow vessel, orifice smaller than its body diameter; bulbous or straight sided forms
Food Preparation	
Milk pan	Open vessel with form resembling inverted, truncated cone; manufactured from coarse earthenware, glazed on interior
Food Storage	
Crock	Hollow vessel with thickened rim profile and large capacity; lip sometimes flattened to allow a cover to rest on crock; manufactured from coarse earthenware or stoneware
Jar	Hollow, lidded vessel with constricted neck, rounded shoulders; orifice wider than that of bottle; manufactured from coarse earthenware
Preserve pot	Hollow vessel with distinct channel on exterior wall below lip; orifice can be sealed with parchment held in place by string resting in the channel
Beverage Consumption	
Tea cup	Hollow, hemispherical vessel with rim diameter not greater than 5"; decorated on interior and exterior
Saucer	Flat, circular vessel with concave walls; rim diameter not greater than 6"; decorated on interior only
Mug	Straight-sided hollow vessel with one handle; height greater than rim diameter
Beverage Distribution	
Tea pot	Hollow vessel with lid and pouring spout
Jug	Hollow vessel of bulbous form with one handle; neck flared with gutter for pouring
Beverage Storage	
Bottle	Straight-sided hollow vessel with constricted neck; narrow lip finish to seal in contents
Hygiene	
Chamber pot	Hollow vessel of bulbous form with everted, sturdy brim

tion, food preparation, and beverage storage were too small to attribute meaning to any differences observed between assemblages. No significant differences were found in the class of beverage consumption. Hot beverages were an important part of both the English and German meal systems, and remained important in Ontario (FIG. 8). In general, teacups and saucers comprise half of an assemblage, although at the Neu site the figure is only 40%. The difference may be attributed to sample size, in that the Neu site has more classes of meal system vessels represented in its larger

assemblage. Although the ceramic cups are called teacups in this typology, they could equally have been used to serve coffee, if it was available, or coffee and tea substitutes such as dried herbs, roasted chicory or toasted breadcrumbs (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992: 5).

With regard to food storage vessels, red earthenware crocks with glazed interiors are the most common type of storage vessel found on the Markham sites, with smaller jars also present on the Neu and Cornelius sites (TAB. 2). When the presence of food storage vessels is expressed as a percentage of the total vessel

Table 2. Comparison of vessels by functional classes on five Markham sites.

	<i>Robinson</i>		<i>Cornelius</i>		<i>Joseph Marr</i>		<i>John Marr</i>		<i>Neu</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Food Consumption		38.4%		42.8%		33.3%		41.7%		38.2%
Muffin 3-7"	10		2		2		1		5	
Twiffler 8"	2		0		0		0		3	
Supper Plate 9"	5		7		6		2		20	
Table Plate 10"	0		1		0		0		5	
Soup Plate	0		2		0		0		2	
Plate ? dia.	2		0		0		0		0	
Porringer	1		0		0		0		0	
Bowl	5		3		3		2		7	
Food Distribution		3.1%		2.9%		3.0%		0.0%		3.6%
Dish	1		0		0		0		2	
Covered dish(Lid)	1		0		0		0		2	
Condiment pot	0		1		1		0		0	
Food Preparation		1.5%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		3.6%
Milk pan	1		0		0		0		4	
Food Storage		6.2%		2.8%		6.1%		8.3%		8.2%
Crock	4		0		2		1		6	
Jar	0		0		0		0		2	
Preserve pot	0		1		0		0		1	
Beverage Consumption		47.7%		48.7%		51.5%		50.0%		40.0%
Tea cup	13		6		7		2		23	
Saucer	18		11		9		4		21	
Mug	0		0		1		0		0	
Beverage Distribution		3.1%		2.8%		6.1%		0.0%		4.6%
Tea pot	0		1		2		0		3	
Jug	2		0		0		0		2	
Beverage Storage		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.9%
Bottle	0		0		0		0		1	
Hygiene		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.9%
Chamber pot	0		0		0		0		1	
Vessel Totals	65	100.0%	35	100.0%	33	100.0%	12	100.0%	110	100.0%

Table 3. Comparison of food consumption vessels by type on five Markham sites.

	<i>Robinson</i>		<i>Cornelius</i>		<i>Joseph Marr</i>		<i>John Marr</i>		<i>Neu</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Muffin 3-7"	10	40.0%	2	13.3%	2	18.2%	1	20.0%	5	11.9%
Twiffler 8"	2	8.0%	0		0		0		3	7.1%
Supper Plate 9"	5	20.0%	7	46.7%	6	54.5%	2	40.0%	20	47.6%
Table Plate 10"	0		1	6.7%	0		0		5	11.9%
Soup Plate	0		2	13.3%	0		0		2	4.8%
Plate ? dia.	2	8.0%	0		0		0		0	
Porringer	1	4.0%	0		0		0		0	
Bowl	5	20.0%	3	20.0%	3	27.3%	2	40.0%	7	16.7%
Vessel Totals	25	100.0%	15	100.0%	11	100.0%	5	100.0%	42	100.0%

assemblage, very little difference is observed in this class between the Robinson assemblage and several of the German assemblages. Approximately 6.2% of the Robinson assemblage is comprised of storage vessels, the Joseph Marr site contains 6.1% and the Neu site contains 8.2% (TAB. 2). Overall, this class of

vessel ranges between a low of 2.8% on the Cornelius site to a high of 8.3% on the John Marr site. The durability of the coarse earthenware fabric, and their function as stationary vessels stored out of the way of general traffic, no doubt prevents them from being broken and discarded as often as the other vessel



Figure 8. Reconstructed tea cup, the Neu Site.

classes. Stoneware storage vessels of the type found in abundance on German domestic sites (Gaimster 1986), and which were manufactured in America beginning in the 18th century (Webster 1971b), were not found on the Berczy sites, but this should not be surprising. American products were not commonly available in Canada during the 19th century (Collard 1984: 140). This was because of the heavy, bulky, and fragile character of ceramic goods and the hazardous nature of overland freighting prior to the railway era (Webster 1971b: 37). The alternative to ceramics was the use of wooden barrels, and later guides written for immigrants coming to Upper Canada in the 1830s note the use of barrels for staples such as pork and flour (Kenyon and Kenyon 1992: 4).

The food consumption class proved to be among the most instructive with regard to distinguishing between English and German meal systems (TAB. 3). Vessels related to food consumption include porringers, bowls and various types of plates. When the presence of food consumption vessels is expressed as a percentage of the total vessel assemblage, very little difference is observed in this class between the English Robinson assemblage and the German immigrants' assemblages. For example, approximately 38.4% of the Robinson assemblage is comprised of food consumption vessels, and the Neu site contains 38.2% (TAB. 2). In general, this class of vessel comprises just over one third of a given site assemblage. Interesting differences are observed, however, when the individual types of food consump-

tion vessels are given consideration (TAB. 3). The porringer is a hollow vessel used to eat porridge, stew, or other one-pot meals (Beaudry et al. 1983: 32; Yentsch 1991: 41). One slip-decorated, coarse red earthenware porringer was partially reconstructed from sherds found in Feature 1 at the Robinson site (FIG. 9). It is difficult to assign a country of origin to the porringer as the potter did not mark it and its form is said to be "international," meaning many cultures used it. It is distinguishable from a bowl in that its height is less than its diameter, and it possesses at least one handle (Schaefer 1998: 55). Furthermore, porringers do not appear to have been manufactured from refined earthenwares as there is no entry for this type of vessel in the *Dictionary of Blue and White Printed Pottery* (Coysh and Henrywood 1982). Rather, they are part of the folk tradition of manufacturing coarse red earthenwares, including English slip-decorated wares (Barker 1993: 16). While the porringer form reportedly fell out of common use in England by the mid-18th century, the consumption of gruel and porridge continued as part of the English food system using new vessel forms such as the small, footed, refined earthenware bowl (Yentsch 1991: 41-42). In Ontario, bowls also have been interpreted as a vessel form characteristic of cultures that enjoy consuming "soft" foods such as oatmeal por-

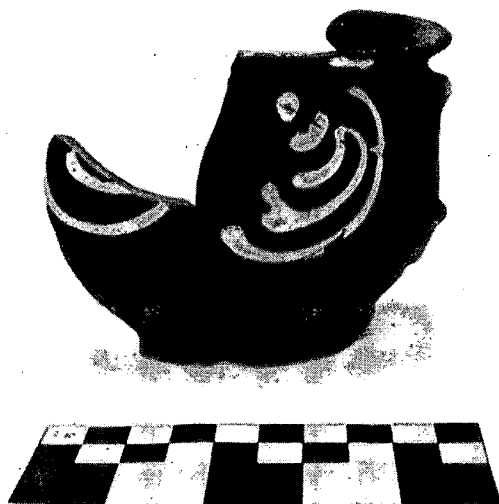


Figure 9. Reconstructed porringer, the Robinson Site.

ridge, in the case of the Scots, or corn soup, in the case of the Six Nations Iroquois (Ferris and Kenyon 1986: 97). According to Donald Webster (1969: 25), slip-decorated pottery was imported to Canada from England in the 19th century, but as a decorative form it was much in decline and generally limited to baking dishes. It is interesting to note that one red earthenware pottery operating in western New York in the early-19th century did manufacture porringers similar in size and shape to the one found in Markham (Barber and Hamell 1971: Figure 8.1), demonstrating that they had not yet disappeared as a popular form in parts of the rural Northeast. The porringer does not appear, however, to be a form that was commonly produced in Ontario, the site of the first red earthenware potteries established after 1800 by Pennsylvania German immigrants (Webster 1971b: 60). Pie plates, utility bowls, crocks, preserve jars and jugs are among the vessels commonly illustrated in surveys of 19th-century Ontario red earthenwares (Webster 1971b: 57–85).

Bowls were found in every ceramic assemblage and they comprised between 20% and 40% of the food consumption class (TAB. 3). They are better represented in the smaller John Marr and Joseph Marr assemblages, but make up less than one-fifth of the larger Neu site assemblage. Together, the bowls and porringer make up one-quarter of the Robinson assemblage. All bowls were manufactured from refined white earthenwares and thus represent vessels suitable for use at the table, as opposed to utilitarian food preparation bowls commonly manufactured from coarse earthenwares (Webster 1971b: 61). Bowls are difficult to interpret because they could serve a variety of purposes, and did not exclusively hold food to be consumed during a meal. One could also distribute food using a bowl, or pour off tea leaves into a slop bowl if they were found floating in one's teacup. Thus, one study of ceramic use has classified them as multifunctional (Brighton 2001: Table 1). In this study, they are treated as part of the food consumption assemblage, in keeping with the Ontario Domestic Pattern proposed by the Kenyons. Three factory slip-decorated bowls found on the Robinson site are interesting in that they possess similar looking rouletted green rims

and grey banded bodies, one of which had been mended with wire to prolong its use. This set of matching bowls might represent the Robinson family's favorite way to eat their hasty pudding, with one member continuing to use the old-fashioned porringer rather than a refined earthenware bowl.

Refined earthenware plates could be purchased in different sizes by the late-18th century and the specific terms were used consistently in the price fixing lists devised by the Staffordshire potters. The introduction of new dining practices was codified by the potters, who began to produce the appropriately-sized plates for a particular meal or course within a meal. Muffins are 3–7 inch plates (Miller 1991: 11). The *Dictionary of Blue and White Printed Pottery* defined the potters' term "muffins" as the abbreviation for "plates for muffins," and indicated that in today's parlance plates of their size would be known as tea plates (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 255, 372). Thus, they are small plates that could be used to serve bread and butter or small portions of cake during afternoon tea. They can also be used to serve dessert and, as is the case with bowls, the interpretation of the cultural significance of their use is not straightforward (Wall 1991: 75). It is interesting to note that the word muffin originated in northern England, while in other parts of the country the Saxon word "crumpet" was given to similar griddle cakes made from a flour and milk batter (Wilson 1984: 239). They were especially popular in the 19th century, when vendors rang their bells at tea time in the streets of English towns, announcing their muffins for sale (Wilson 1984: 239). Every ceramic vessel assemblage contained muffin plates (TAB. 3), but they make up a significant proportion (40%) of the Robinson food consumption vessels, and outnumber supper plates by two to one. By comparison, on the Neu site, muffin plates comprised 11.9% of the 42 food consumption vessels, and supper plates outnumbered muffins four to one. At the Cornelius site, supper/table plates outnumbered muffins four to one, and at Joseph Marr the ratio was three to one (TAB.

3). The presence of muffins on the other German sites of John Marr, Joseph Marr and Cornelius appears to preclude the use of another small plate type known as the twiffler, an 8 inch plate that is known today as a dessert plate (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 372). Thus, small plates may have been used in the German households during the afternoon *Kaffee stunde*, or during a dessert course, but the general paucity of small plates on the German sites suggests that it was not important for individuals to use one during these meals, or that a non-ceramic vessel was used instead. In the Robinson household, both twifflers and muffins were used, but the latter group was present in much greater quantities. Furthermore, all of the Robinson muffin plates were edge-decorated (FIG. 10) and can be interpreted as inexpensive vessels used everyday

by the family, as opposed to the more costly transfer-printed vessels that might be reserved for more special occasions. At the Neu site, three of the muffin plates were decorated with blue underglaze transferprints, two of which were part of a matching set with a Greek key and acorn motif that also included a partially reconstructed jug and a probable slop bowl. While not directly analogous to the Markham situation, previous studies of working class and lower middle class households have pointed out that the more expensive wares are often present in the form of tea wares, used to set a "respectable table" in non-familial settings where social display was more important (Brighton 2001: 23; Wall 1991: 77). This interpretation is reinforced by the presence of specialty forms and a matching set of similarly decorated vessels in the Neu assemblage. It is

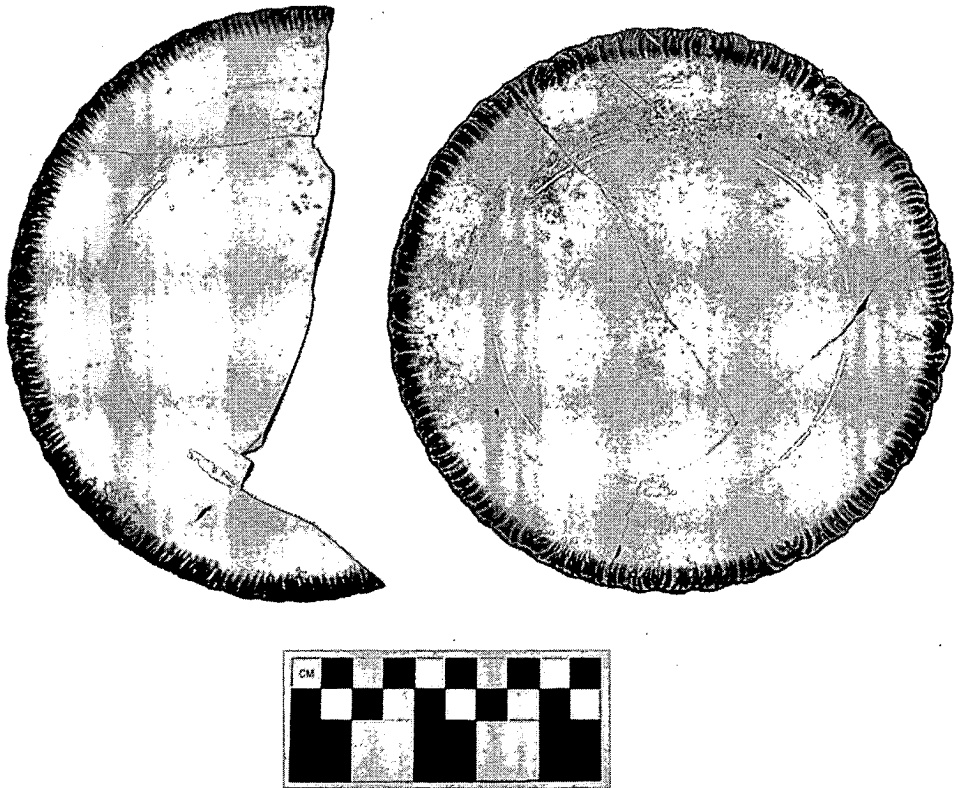


Figure 10. Reconstructed muffin plates, the Robinson Site.

suggested, therefore, that afternoon tea was an important family meal in the English household, and the use of individual, shell-edged muffin plates reinforced the bond between members participating in the familiar ritual. In the German households, it may have been customary to serve a hot beverage in the afternoon with a snack that could be passed around on a single plate (Standen Hazelton 1969: 37), but it would appear that small individual plates were not needed for the meal.

Supper plates measure 9 inches in diameter and table plates measure 10 inches in diameter (Miller 1991: 11). They are large enough to hold the variety of foods that might be served as part of the principal, hot meal of the day, whether it was served in the afternoon or the evening. Every ceramic vessel assemblage contained supper plates, and two of the German sites also contained the larger table plates (TAB. 2). These two types of large plates make up a greater proportion of the German food consumption class, ranging between 40% and 59.5%, whereas they only make up one fifth of the food consumption vessels at the Robinson site (TAB. 3). The increased representation on the John Marr and Joseph Marr sites is due partly to sample size, and partly to the fact that only two types of plates were identified in the assemblages. Nevertheless, at the Neu site, where five types of plates were identified, the large plates comprise 59.5% of the food consumption vessels. This may reflect an increased emphasis in German households on serving meals composed of solid foods arranged on a plate, from cold cuts with bread and cheese at breakfast, to pickled pork and cabbage in the evening. In the English household, more emphasis may have been placed on hasty pudding-type meals, with a variety of sweet or savory ingredients added to the oatmeal base depending upon the time of day (Wilson 1984: 193). Soup plates possess the same diameter and projecting brim as supper plates, but the interior of the plate is deep enough to hold a portion of soup or stew. Soup plates were present on two German sites, Neu and Cornelius (TAB. 2). Cut marks consistent

with the use of a knife are present within some of the bowls, which suggests that portions of boiled or stewed meat were served along with a broth (FIG. 11). It is unlikely that these use-wear marks would have occurred through eating porridge out of soup plates.

Conclusion

Is there a "German Domestic Pattern" that can be identified on Ontario archaeological sites dating to the earliest pioneer period? Or were Ian and Thomas Kenyon correct in suggesting that immigrants adopted a vernacular meal system upon arrival in Ontario? This paper has attempted to develop a model that answers these questions. First, five sites were chosen for analysis after it was established through archival research and TPQ artifact dates that they contained domestic deposits related to the pioneer period in Markham ca. 1794 to the 1830s. Families of German descent who were enumerated in Berczy's 1803 census occupied four of the sites. The fifth site was founded by an English immigrant and was included for comparative purposes. It was further concluded through the use of Miller's CC

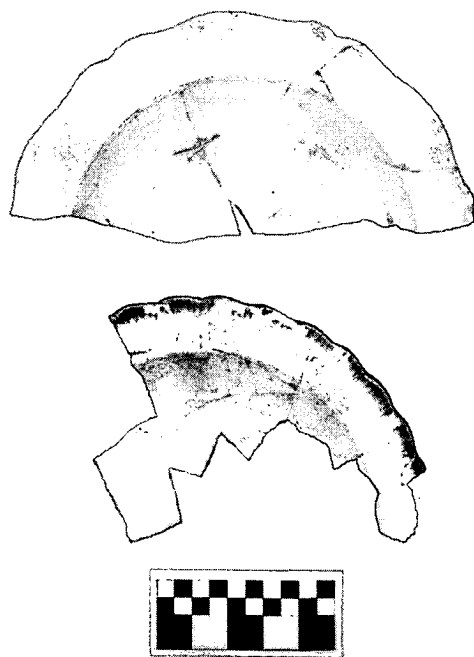


Figure 11. Reconstructed soup plates, the Neu Site

Index Value formula (Miller 1980, 1991) that the five assemblages belonged to households that made the same relative economic investment in their ceramics. Next, the 21 vessel forms identified in the assemblages were classified in terms of their function in a meal system: eating, drinking, food preparation, food or beverage distribution, and food or beverage storage. The model employed here expands on the Ontario Domestic Pattern proposed by Kenyon and Kenyon (1982) to allow for a more detailed discussion of the construction of meal systems in Markham's Berczy settlement.

In the meal systems analysis, the relative frequencies of the four German ceramic vessel assemblages were similar enough internally to provide a contrast with the English immigrant's assemblage. The plate and bowl vessel forms in the food consumption class proved to be among the most instructive with regard to distinguishing between English and German meal systems. The sample sizes for the classes of food distribution, food preparation, and beverage storage were too small to attribute meaning to any differences observed between assemblages. No significant differences were found in the class of beverage consumption. In general, teacups and saucers comprise half of an assemblage, although at the Neu site the figure is only 40%.

It has been demonstrated in this research that it is important to analyze plates in terms of their size, as they were manufactured and marketed for specific functions within a meal system. The larger table, supper and soup plates made up a significant proportion of the German food consumption class, ranging between 40% and 66.7%, whereas they only made up approximately 20% of the food consumption vessels at the Robinson site. Within the context of meals served in the Robinson household, the muffin plate gained importance as the vehicle for serving the small griddle cakes favored in the north of England. Indeed, the porringer, matching slipware bowls, and muffin plates in the Robinson assemblage were well-suited to a diet that featured grains and milk products in the form of hasty puddings and griddle cakes. In the German immigrants' households, individual

plates were less important for serving afternoon *Kaffee*. The Neu site contained a large sample of vessels, and five types of plates were identified, with the large plates comprising 64.3% of the food consumption vessels. This has been interpreted as an increased emphasis in German households with serving meals composed of solid foods arranged on a plate, from cold cuts with bread and cheese at breakfast, to pickled pork and cabbage in the evening.

In conclusion, a German Domestic Pattern in Ontario can be distinguished by a relatively high percentage of large supper, table and/or soup plates within the category of food consumption vessels. In this study, they ranged between 40% and 66.7% of a site's food consumption assemblage. The relative absence of small muffin-type plates in favor of large plates and soup plates has been interpreted as a preference for serving slow-simmered casseroles, roasted meats or for composing cold meals with a variety of foodstuffs. Small plates will be present in the assemblage in a lower frequency, ranging between 13.3% and 19% because they are important for serving finger foods during the *Kaffee stunde*. Bowls comprise between 16.7% and 40% of the food consumption vessels in a German assemblage, but this form is difficult to interpret because bowls can perform a variety of functions. Beverage consumption vessels such as teacups and saucers are an important part of the German meal system, and in this study they comprised between 40% and 51.5% of a site's total vessel assemblage.

Given Berczy's connection with at least one Breman merchant in the German Company that he formed, it was anticipated that Westerwald-type stoneware storage vessels, or even ceramics manufactured by the immigrant red earthenware potters of Ontario would have been found on the Markham sites. This did not prove to be the case. Nevertheless, the lack of "German" type ceramic forms does not make the vessel assemblages any less German. It is important to place the vessels within their cultural and historical contexts and take into consideration the messages they convey within the German meal system.

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