

The French Counts of St. Hubert:  
An Archaeological Exploration of Social Identity

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## Abstract

The 'French Counts of St. Hubert' is a group of aristocrats who left France for homesteads in the Canadian North-West during the late nineteenth century. They settled near and within the town of Whitewood, Saskatchewan, most notably along the Pipestone Valley. Many of the Counts were accompanied by wives and children. The aristocrats attempted to carve out a living in the Prairie West while at the same time maintaining their connections with Europe. Their attempted numerous business ventures all ended in failure, including forays into sheep-herding, horse-raising, cheese production, coffee manufacturing, and sugar beet refining. The Counts also brought with them a large number of French immigrants to act as labourers and establish a Francophone settlement. St. Hubert would become a vibrant community throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The participation of the aristocrats, however, was short-lived. All returned to France by the early 1900s.

One of the homesteads associated with the French aristocrats is called Bellevue (Borden No. EbMo-5), a home erected by Comte de Rouffignac in 1888 and eventually transported to another location in 1926. The location of the original homestead was the subject of excavations by the author in the summer of 2006. Over 3000 artifacts were recovered from 17 square metres of excavation. While most of these artifacts are fragmentary in nature, a number of them have implications for understanding the social identity of the French aristocrats.

This thesis discusses the social identity of the French aristocrats as framed through the theoretical perspective of practice theory. This social identity is formulated through the expectations they carried into an unfamiliar social space that required experience and compromise to negotiate a position within the social field accepted by all parties. Ethnicity, class, ideology, and gender all played roles in the formulation of this identity. Artifacts from the Bellevue excavation are used to highlight the materiality of the French aristocratic social identity in the Prairie West.

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## **Abbreviations**

Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)

Saskatchewan Water Authority (SWA)

Town of St. Hubert (TSH)

Whitewood History Book Committee (WHBC)

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

The Canadian Prairies in the late nineteenth century were subject to an intense campaign of colonization and immigration. The Dominion of Canada was emphatic in its resolution to settle the prairie regions of the North-West Territories in what is now Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. One town that became instrumental in this process was Whitewood, developed along the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) during the 1880s (WHBC 1992:69). Whitewood became a hub for ethnic block immigration throughout southeastern Saskatchewan as groups from Eastern Canada and Europe disembarked from the main line and made their way to homesteads acquired through the federal government.

Among the immigrants was a group of aristocrats from France who settled along the Pipestone Valley south of Whitewood during the 1880s and 1890s. The aristocrats were “nine French counts, one Belgian baron and his brother, and three men of capital who sought to transplant from the ‘Old World’ the socio-economic and cultural traditions of the French noblesse oblige” (Smeets 1980:3). Despite the fact that not everyone involved in the community actually held noble title, they are often described as “French Counts” in local histories (Hawkes 1924:937). Additionally, the ‘French Counts’ aided in the influx of other Francophone settlers to the area. The aristocrats “imported whole families to work for them, land workers, gardeners, grooms, house servants, and craftsmen” (Hewlett 1954:4). These families would make up the nucleus of the community of St. Hubert in the twentieth century. The French Counts themselves would all vacate the area by 1914.

The individuals and families that comprise the ‘French Counts’ were only in the North-West Territories for a short time, but their presence had a substantial impact on the economic and

social development of the area. They attempted multiple large-scale agricultural business ventures that required cooperation from many of the other farmers in the region. In doing so, they injected a considerable amount of cash into the economy. They also helped establish a French Catholic parish meant to serve a burgeoning Francophone population. Their commitment to Canada, however, was short-lived. They refused to allow the physical, social, and economic realities of the Prairie West to dictate their standard of living. The French Counts maintained deep ties to their families in Europe. They lived lives of extravagance to which they had become accustomed at their rural châteaux and Paris apartments in France. They imported goods from Europe that were befitting the social standing which they envisioned themselves to occupy. In effect, the French Counts did not foresee a need to alter their everyday life in any significant manner.

The reality of a situation, of course, hardly ever matches the expectation. The Counts were settling into a new situation in which the rules of social interaction could not possibly be identical to those that existed in France. How did the abrupt clash of expectation and reality affect their understanding of their own social identity? The research in this thesis wishes to explore in some fashion the answer to several questions. Why did the French Counts come to the Prairie West? What did they hope to accomplish there? How did they identify themselves and how does this identity shape their social relations, both amongst themselves and with other settlers in the region? More importantly, did their conception of their own social identity remain static? Or were they forced to adapt this identity as they participated in new social relationships? The research goals of this thesis are as follows: (1) To use archaeological evidence to verify the claims of the enduring stories about the French Counts in historical sources. These stories are steeped in mythology and I will attempt to move beyond this representation; (2) To analyze the social identity of the French Counts; (3) To discover if and how this particular archaeological record is shaped by social class; (4) To discover if and how this particular archaeological record is shaped by ethnicity.

These questions can hopefully be answered through an exploration of social identity. Mayne states that the “most compelling examples of historical archaeology have championed this ‘multiscalar’ ethnographic interest in building interpretation from the small, the local, the particular, and extrapolating to wider historical contexts and processes” (Mayne 2008:105). My own research attempts to do the same. In this thesis, I will utilize information from multiple

strands of evidence to construct the social identity of the French Counts of St. Hubert. I hope to show how the construction of this identity is historically situated and informed by various temporal, spatial, and social dimensions. Some of the factors that affect social identity will be explored, including the interplay between notions of ethnicity, class, ideology, and gender. I will then show how the archaeological evidence recovered from the Bellevue Site (Borden No. EbMo-5) relates to this social construction.

My understanding of social identity stems from those conceptualizations developed by social scientists working as practice theorists. Practice theory refers to the idea that the source of human action can be located within daily, habitual practices of everyday life (Barnard 2000:143). By studying habitual action, social scientists can uncover the social framework that both informs and is influenced by daily experience. The theoretical approach outlined in this thesis stems from practice theory as initially developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's social theories were formulated in the 1970s and 1980s. Other social scientists have since scrutinized, criticized, and ultimately expanded his ideas over the last several decades to come to a more workable configuration of practice theory. Many of these people did so through the fields of anthropology and archaeology, and it is through the lens of their work that I will apply Bourdieu's theories to the research in this thesis.

## **1.2 Location of the Study Area**

This historical and archaeological study concerns the community of St. Hubert, located in southeastern Saskatchewan, Canada, 65 km west of the Saskatchewan-Manitoba border (Figure 1). The historical configuration of the community straddled the Pipestone Creek valley, a tributary of the Souris River that flows in a southeastern direction into Manitoba (SWA 1997:1). The Qu'Appelle River valley, the most fertile farming land in the area, is located 34 km to the north. Moose Mountain, a "rugged and undulated prairie, with high bluffs and underwood" (Macdonald 1966:283), is located 34 km to the south. The nearby community of Whitewood (14 km northeast) played a major role in the development of St. Hubert. Other nearby significant communities include Langbank (18 km south), Broadview (24 km northwest), Grenfell (46 km northwest), and Moosomin (50 km east). Nearby communities of historical significance include Cannington Manor (60 km southeast) and Indian Head (100 km northwest). Several First Nations

reserves are also situated nearby, including those located south of Moose Mountain – Pheasant Rump and White Bear – and those along the Qu’Appelle valley – Ochapowace, Kahkewistahaw, Cowessess, and Sakimay (Barry 1999:44). Figure 2 shows Whitewood and the surrounding area as it existed in the 1880s.

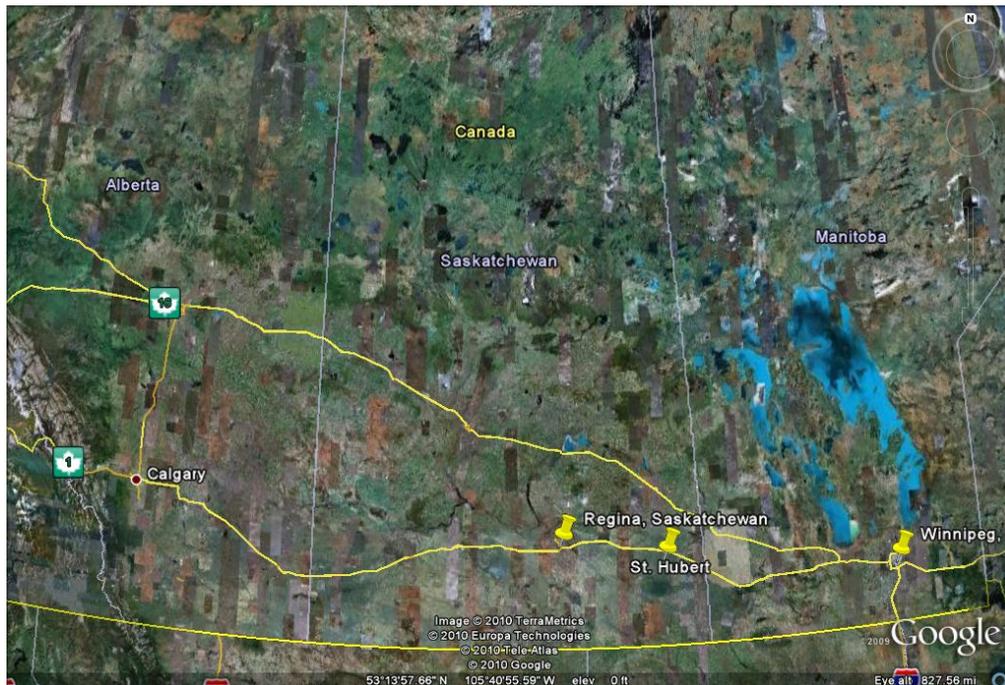


Figure 1: Location of study area (courtesy of *Google Earth*).

### 1.3 Environment of the Study Area

The study area is located in the Aspen Parkland ecoregion of the Prairie ecozone (Padbury and Acton 1999:161). Located specifically in the Melville Plain Landscape Area, the region is characterized by its hummocky terrain and fescue grasslands intermixed with groves of aspen. Grasslands tend to occupy dry, south-facing upper slopes, while aspen groves tend to occupy lower, moist, north-facing slopes. Past glacial activity carved into the landscape, leaving short, steep slopes and a prevalence of undrained depressions and sloughs. Fertile, loamy black soils are common in this region. The thickest fertile soil sediments exist in the Qu’Appelle River valley, but the remainder of the area has ample soil coverage for cultivation of a number of specialty crops. The region averages 420 mm of rainfall and 127 cm of snowfall annually. The mean temperature in July is 18 degrees Celsius; in January, the mean temperature is - 18.8

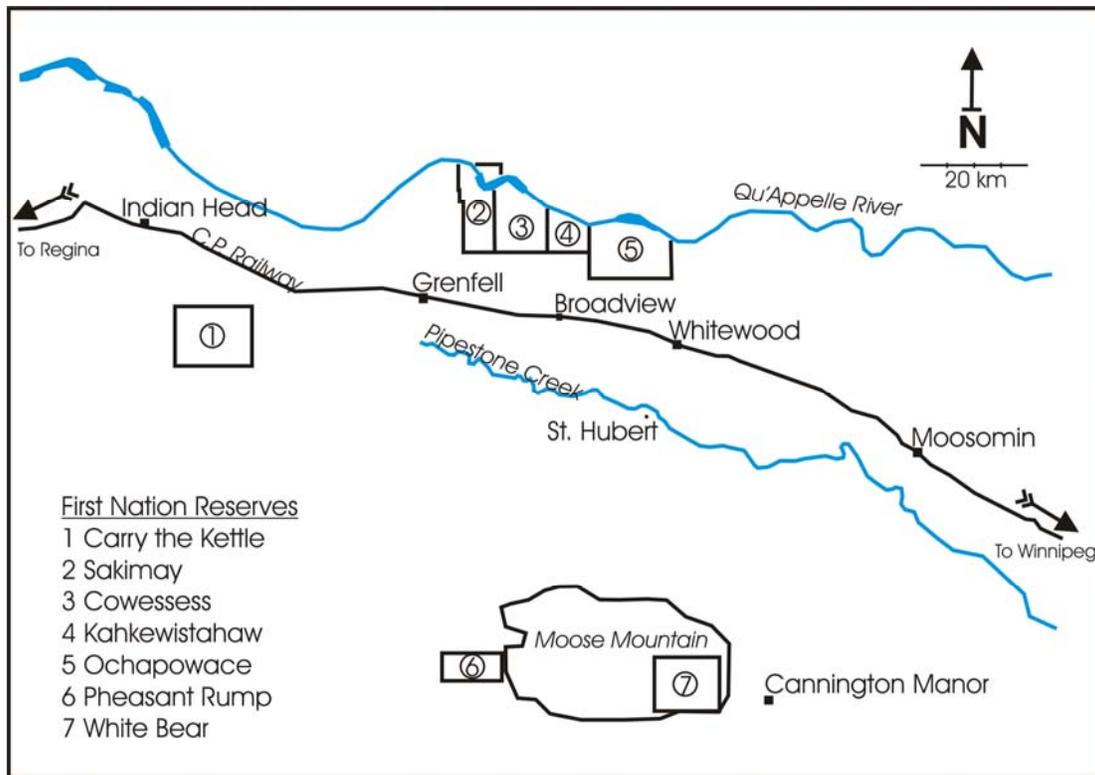


Figure 2: Whitewood and area, circa 1885.

degrees Celsius (Padbury and Acton 1999:161-162). St. Hubert sits on the banks of the Pipestone Creek. The Pipestone is the largest waterway between the Qu'Appelle River and Moose Mountain (SWA 1997:5). The Moose Mountain Upland is a prominent landform to the south, a hummocky moraine that reaches an elevation of 808 metres. Aspen forest is common here (SWA 1997:1-2).

Undrained sloughs provide an ideal habitat for ducks and other waterfowl, allowing for 19 species to occupy the area. Other typical birds include the house wren (*Troglodytes aedon*), least flycatcher (*Empidonax minimus*), western kingbird (*Tyrannus verticalis*), and yellow warbler (*Dendroica petechia*). The most prominent wildlife species is white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Other prominent mammals include moose (*Alces alces*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), hare (*Lepus americanus*), swift fox (*Vulpes velox*), and Richardson's ground squirrel (*Spermophilus richardsonii*). Seven species of fish live in the waterways, including yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*) and northern pike (*Esox lucius*). Nine species of reptiles and amphibians inhabit the area, including the garter snake (*Thamnophis sirtalis*) (Padbury and Acton 1999:162;

SWA 1997:3-4). Moose Mountain is historically known for populations of bear, elk, moose, lynx, red fox, and coyote (Hewlett 1954:4).

## **1.4 Chapter Overview**

This thesis is organized in the following fashion. Chapter 2 deals with the history of the French Counts of St. Hubert. In this chapter I will outline the political, social, and environmental landscapes of southeastern Saskatchewan in the 1880s. I will also discuss these same aspects of society as they stand in Europe (specifically France) during this time. I will then describe various aspects of the St. Hubert community, including the establishment of a community hub at La Rolanderie, the arrival of the community's residents throughout the tail end of the nineteenth century, the economic and social activities of the members, the material dimension of the community, and the lasting impacts of the community on a regional scale. I will then discuss the deterioration and eventual abandonment of the settlement, the subsequent development of the town of St. Hubert, and the changes that affected the community and the surrounding region during the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework that informs my research. The main jumping off point of this thesis is Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization of practice theory. This chapter will outline the constitutive elements of this theory, including the material implications of this approach as identified and developed by archaeologists who use it. I will also discuss how archaeology approaches issues of ethnicity, social class, and gender. I will close this chapter with a concise articulation of my theoretical approach to the archaeology of social identity.

Chapter 4 is a detailed construction of the social identity of the French Counts of St. Hubert. Multiple lines of evidence are used to understand the social milieu of the Counts and to discover how they perceived themselves in relation to the social sphere of late nineteenth century Saskatchewan. I attempt to show how the Counts' ethnicity, ideology, and historically situated dispositions all affected their negotiation of social positioning with the St. Hubert community and surrounding region.

Chapter 5 takes a closer look at the archaeology of the French Counts. This chapter outlines my own research investigations into the Bellevue Site (EbMo-5), built at the behest of Comte de Rouffignac in 1888. The building was home to numerous French families until its removal in 1926. In the summer of 2006, I conducted surface and subsurface surveys of the site

and excavated 17 square metre units. This chapter will describe the results of this excavation and my interpretation of the features found there. The analysis of the artifacts found at Bellevue is discussed in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7, I attempt to integrate my articulation of the social identity of the French Counts with the material remains recovered from the Bellevue Site. I will also discuss elements of their material culture that are represented in the historic record. While the artifacts found at the site cannot be direct indicators of ethnicity or social class, they do hint at the dispositions that produce and are produced by the social identity of the Counts. Chapter 8 effectively synthesizes the theoretical and material data and offers tentative conclusions concerning the archaeology at the Bellevue Site.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The History of the French Counts**

This chapter will outline the historical development of the French Count community at St. Hubert. The history of this community involves the relocation of individuals and families from one social situation to another: that of the late nineteenth century aristocratic world of France to the late nineteenth century homesteader world of southeastern Saskatchewan. These social situations differed drastically in content and form and existed in two different physical spaces, but they cannot be considered completely isolated social spheres. The residents of St. Hubert arrived in Saskatchewan at different times, were in continual contact with France, and even made frequent trips back to Europe. Therefore, it is necessary for this historical summary to straddle the geographical and social gulf between these two regions and gain a full understanding of the social context of each.

#### **2.1 Historiography**

This summary of the history of the French Counts cannot be treated as simply a buildup to the archaeology contained in this thesis. Instead, it is a deposition of evidence for the ways that the French Counts constructed their own identity. The assertions made in this thesis require the consultation of multiple lines of evidence in order to reach holistic, multi-perspective, and multi-scalar conclusions. Historical archaeologists must consult written records, oral histories, and material evidence in order to form a complete picture. Each of these lines of evidence offer different social and temporal perspectives that have been created and implemented through their own specific historical context. While the content of each may be similar, the evidence may often appear contradictory and lead to insights regarding different types of questions or subjects.

The challenge for researchers is to blend these lines of evidence in an effective and responsible manner (Wilkie 2006:13-14; 20).

While the apparent contradictions amongst multiple lines of evidence may sometimes be viewed as inconsistent and problematic, such insights can lead to a stronger analysis of the subject material. These inconsistencies may be used to ‘get to the truth’ (for instance, using material evidence to disprove an assertion made in the documentary record), but even more likely can help identify the patterns of everyday practice or resistance. For example, if instances in which assumed cultural superiority are consistently repeated in various forms, the over-emphasis of the subject may suggest that this assertion is not so ‘self-evident’. At the same time, contradictions in multiple sources may help explain why this emphasis is repeated, and what social processes are being enacted through this repetition (Hall 1999:193).

Before I delve into the specific history of the community, it is important to discuss the notion of history itself (how is it created, used, and maintained), as well as the notion of collective memory and its role in the construction and public formation of history.

### ***2.1.1 Archaeological Approaches to History***

The writing of history can be understood as dependent on the previous writings of history. At the same time, a historian never has access to the complete picture. As Highmore states, “there is no direct contact with the past, of course, only commerce with its traces” (Highmore 2006:23). Historical documents are neither objective nor absolute. Their version of the story is always a fragmented one, partially because of inconsistent rates of preservation, and partially because they usually represent the perspective of a select group of people (Jones 1999:222). It may be argued that historical documents have always been a tool for societies to construct their past. It can also be asserted that written language has been utilized by the elites to constitute official history and institutionalize public memory (Funari et al. 1999:9). Michel de Certeau understood history as a discourse between the people of the present and the events of the past. The act of producing history is situated in the present and history itself is “acted upon by the historian...” (Quinn 1999:86-87). If history is seen as a discourse, then producers of history must analyze their own practice because “...historical discourses cannot be understood independently from the practices that produced them” (Clark 2004:121).

So how can historical documents be analytically useful? A discussion of Michel de Certeau's concept of the 'historiographic operation' may be pertinent here. He has asserted that the writing of history is the material production of past knowledge. It is essential that the researcher recognizes that this knowledge has not only been compiled from other sources, but that the information has been shaped, focused, and amputated to achieve the desired narrative. Much information has also been excluded in this process. History is essentially a movement of documents; this movement constantly alters the context and composition of the document and highlights the subjective interpretation of the past (Highmore 2006:32-34).

A key insight of de Certeau is that when we consider historical documents, we must try to understand how the authors came to the conclusions about what facts or events were worthy of notice. As Conley explains, "de Certeau does not dispute the point that certain events may have occurred. Rather, he emphasizes how events are described, how they are considered meaningful, how they become worthy of record or notice. The eye that recognizes them is necessarily conditioned by the ideologies, assumptions, and dispositions of the observers and scribes of the past...This background inevitably inflects the ways historians select and interpret events" (Conley in de Certeau 1998:xv). Any history (including those written today) is interpreted through the perspective of current ideas. The differences between histories about the same subject, written in different periods, cannot be solely attributed to the implementation of new evidence. We must take into account the position and perspective of the scholar and the academic field the scholar is situated in at the time of writing (Highmore 2006:26). The temporal position of the historian also influences the methods by which analytical categories (places, social groups, time periods) are devised. Decisions are made to determine when and where to create categorical divisions, and an integral aspect of this decision is selecting what to remember and what to forget. Often these analytical categories are treated as universal (e.g. the break between politics and religion), but in practice the distinction between them can be anything but clear cut (de Certeau 1998:3-4, 121).

The historiographical operation seeks to understand history as it relates to its material space, the procedures that shape it, and its construction as a literary text. Thus history is understood both as a physical reality and human activity or practice (de Certeau 1998:57-70). It is in this same sense that we can understand that all writing – even histories – has a literary component to it, that is, writing is constructed by cultural narrative (Highmore 2006:9). Hayes

contends that the “point of narration is not what it describes, but the act of giving structure to that which is learned or experienced” (Hayes 2008:22). The historical text is thus composed of three elements: the original story; a presentation that is structured (consciously or unconsciously) through rules; and additional source material from other places and times (Galloway 1991). Primary sources are important because their use allows us to “appreciate context” (Wilkie 2006:18), that is, to gain a better awareness of the specific spatial and temporal influences on the source material, without having this information filtered through the perspectives of later writers. Secondary sources of history are not true representations of the actual events, but instead are representations of the events reconstructed through the evidential remains. This insight allows us two realizations: that history is created by scholarship and that the position and perspective of the historian is firmly planted in the present, thus colouring interpretation. Some historians find their position one that must be overcome, while others actively incorporate it into their writing as an act of celebration (Clark 2004:19). Another facet of secondary sources that we must be aware of is their ‘intertextuality’, that they are constantly accessing the same sources. Source references are reused on multiple occasions and through multiple perspectives within the literary community (Galloway 1991). Intertextuality is a potential pitfall in my own research, as I have discovered that various authors of French Count history have cited each other’s information. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish if an account or detail has been fabricated or manipulated somewhere down the line and has been taken up as ‘fact’ by subsequent researchers.

We are left with the conclusion that it is nearly impossible to effectively make sense of a historical document through a single context. A major goal of the historian (and the historical archaeologist delving into history) becomes “the never-completed (or completeable [sic]) task of multiplying the contexts, of thickening the perspectives, to arrive at a fuller account of the past” (Highmore 2006:44). The ‘multiplying of contexts’ necessitates the need for archaeologists to be aware that history must be approached with a “relativist stance toward historical fact” (Saitta 2005:374). This does not mean that researchers are forced to claim that every perspective or fact is equally valid. Instead we “make value judgements by relating one account to another. In this, the values underpinning judgement are not absolutes...and can only be encountered in relative terms” (Highmore 2006:11). As researchers, we must situate ourselves between objectivity and absolute cultural relativism in what Clark (2004:23-24) terms ‘cognitive relativism.’ This relativism attempts to keep hold of a positivist view of history while at the same time being

selectively critical of the various perspectives we encounter in historical documents. While cognitive relativism is a tool for researchers to grasp the different cultural and moral views of the past societies they seek to understand, it also works to aid researchers in recognizing their own limited and structured perspective (Clark 2004:157). For this approach to be effective, researchers must apply this understanding of relativism within a cautious, ethically informed, framework. Part of this ethical framework includes the awareness that a process of exclusion is always at work. All histories exclude certain 'facts' for the sake of the narrative. Ethical researchers must be prepared to be held accountable for their own decisions on exclusion (Highmore 2006:25, 93).

So how should archaeologists wade through the quagmire of perspectives that construct historical narrative? We have to reach toward an understanding of the context of each of these perspectives. Archaeologists are already well aware that context is everything: it "frames meaning by tying it to actual situations and events [and] is inextricably bound up with meaning" (Beaudry et al. 1991:160). To understand the context within historical documents, Loren suggests that archaeologists use "source criticism" when analyzing them (Loren 2008:11). Texts must be critically evaluated so that one can understand the author of the document and its subject. This includes examining the author's position in a social hierarchy, the training the author has as an observer, the author's method of observation, the time frame of the observation, the cultural context of the written text, the nature of the text, the author's use of categorical models, and the degree to which multiple sources corroborate each other (Jones 1999:219; Lightfoot 1995:205; Loren 2008:11). Once these factors have been sorted out, archaeologists can cautiously apply these documents to their research. Additionally, historiography and historical archaeology have shown that historical documents must be approached with a clear methodology. The simple act of filtering information through our own understanding of 'common sense' is dangerous, because it does not allow us to explore the hidden assumptions within the structure of both the source material and our own understanding of it. When evaluating a historical text, archaeologists must be aware of both intentional and unintentional misrepresentation. Writing is a description of actual or mythologized events from a specific point of view, and the narrative of writing is always constructed in a manner that makes sense to the author in terms of his/her own culture. In the same vein, archaeologists must also be aware of the dangers of analogy and its unconscious nature. The usefulness of analogies lies in their use by

authors to explain scenarios in terms that the audience can understand. They help form (or more specifically, conform to) a known scenario in the audience's mindset. The more we use analogies, the greater the danger that we end up fitting a scenario to our own perceptions rather than understanding the perspectives of the authors or the subjects of the narrative. In the same vein, we must recognize the use of analogy in historical documents and be able to sort out from which perspective the latter are made (Galloway 1991).

When applying historical documents to archaeology, one must not reduce material culture to a tool of verification for the documentary record, or vice versa. Each line of evidence must be critically analysed as original, independent sources (Loren 2008:14). Some authors have argued that archaeologists who conceptualize text as another aspect of material culture can overcome any perceived dichotomies between written and material evidence and face less of a danger in privileging one line of evidence over another (Funari et al. 1991:10). We can take this insight a step further by approaching the documentary record as a "body of texts" rather than a monolithic portrayal of the past. We can sort through and account for a collection of perspectives within history, including our own perspective as that of the researcher (Beaudry 1991:162). Researchers attempt to place the emic perspectives of the authors and subjects of historical documents into the etic framework of their research. We can strive to illuminate this point in our work, but we must also acknowledge that the attempt is not always successful (Beaudry et al. 1991:160).

Ultimately, the use of historical documents and material culture is a dialectical process that strives for a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Wilkie sums up this interplay between textual and material evidence when she asserts that she "tried to maintain an active tension between the two, using the one source to interrogate, deconstruct, or illuminate the other" (in Mayne 2008:104).

### ***2.1.2 Public Memory***

Many of the historical documents concerning the French Counts have been drawn from small scale, community-driven local histories. These local histories, for the most part, are a compendium of stories oft-told by the community members who live in the area today. Oral histories are "histories transmitted from generation to generation through word-of-mouth" (Wilkie 2006:19) and play a pivotal role in the maintenance of memories that seldom reach

prominence in the minds of the national public. The very act of maintaining and retelling these stories places this local history within the context of public memory.

Drawing from the work of Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Shackel notes that public memory is “constructed with reference to collective narratives” (Shackel 2008:10). The processes that people utilize in their discourse on memory to decide what to remember and what to forget are tied into their everyday experiences. These experiences may be fashioned by competing interests that “struggle to create a specific memory of an event” (Shackel 2008:10). Social groups may utilize various strategies to create their own specific memory of the past: they can exclude inconsistent or ‘messy’ details in an effort to imply and reinforce a continuity between the past and the present; they can develop commemorative practices that strengthen social unity and the sense of historical bonds; and they can manipulate historical events to suggest a long tradition behind current social and political ideologies (Shackel 2008:10-11).

To become part of public memory, a remembered event must transcend the individual. “It is, of course, individuals who remember, not groups or institutions, but these individuals, being located in a specific group context, draw on that context to remember and recreate the past” (Cosser in Halbwachs 1992:22). Individual and group identity is created, reproduced, and perpetuated by the relationships that exist between people through shared memories. These relationships are bonded through shared interests and perspectives. People connected with this relationship retrieve or reconstruct collective memory through a common logic. This ‘shared’ aspect exists not because the memories are the same, but because the people who share them are able to recall them through physical or emotional landmarks that are tied into memory. Thus individual memory exists within a framework of collective memory, or even a series of collective memories. These collective memories are located within the social landmarks that connect a memory with a group identity (Halbwachs 1992:47-52, 174-175).

Tied into the notion of collective memory are Bodnar’s concepts of official and vernacular histories (Saitta 2005:372-373). Official histories are those recognized by the institutions in power. They tend to be nationalistic in character and emphasize social unity, continuity, and triumph through progress. These histories often gloss over any periods of contradiction or conflict that do not fit with the recognized pattern of success. Vernacular histories, on the other hand, are more local in character and more dependent on stories about everyday experiences told by ordinary people. Since these stories do not always conform to the

official versions, they are sometimes contradictory not only to the official history, but to other oral histories as well. Bodnar notes that vernacular histories “convey what social reality feels like, rather than what it should be like” (in Saitta 2005:373). Vernacular history can be expressed in public memory and be consistent with many elements of the official version, but the amount of detail from vernacular history that is able to seep into public memory is determined by the ongoing negotiation between local and official levels. Some of the sources I have consulted for my thesis straddle both of these versions of history, but for the most part can be separated into each category. The primary and secondary sources concerning St. Hubert and the French Count community in Saskatchewan can be mostly defined as vernacular sources, while the historical information concerning the history and social identities of those coming from Europe consists mostly of sources that fit closer to official history. I have tried to counteract this trend with more information culled from social histories (e.g. Lehning 1995; McPhee 2004), but the dichotomy of the reference material is still an aspect of historiography that must be kept in mind throughout this thesis.

My understanding of local histories is also informed by Darvill’s discussion of the value of heritage. Darvill argues that social groups place differing values on historical information based not only on their own interests, but also their own ideas of what is valuable. For example, he claims that the importance placed on a heritage site by a social group is determined by the importance the group places in market, community, and human values. Every group will weigh each of these categories differently. Certain events or situations can be identified in a multitude of different ways by various groups, depending on the perspective of the social group doing the remembering (Darvill 2005). At the same time, all social groups who show interest in a historical event or heritage site claim some kind of “cognitive ownership” of the subject matter; they attach value to place through “intellectual, conceptual, or spiritual meanings” (Boyd et al. 2005:93). It is imperative to note that the concept of cognitive ownership only reinforces the proliferation of multiple meanings and that “the important issue is not the truth or validity of one meaning over another, but merely their identification” (Boyd et al. 2005:93). A collective of individuals that identify themselves as having the same cognitive ownership of a place may form their group based on age, gender, culture and classes (Boyd et al. 2005:101).

Collective memory and cognitive ownership of the past lie at the heart of the local histories concerning the French Counts of St. Hubert. This history is valuable to the local

community and has been constructed through their own perspective and experience. The concepts discussed above are essential to my research as I try to maneuver around and through the multiple written sources concerning the French Count community. Local histories hold ambiguous, erroneous, and often contradictory information, making the details of a story never straightforward. Thus multiple facts must be cited. I also realize the danger that this research may continue to highlight the sensational story of the aristocrats at the expense of the stories of the rest of the settlers of St. Hubert – those whose descendants continue to live in the area. (For an exploration of St. Hubert's local history from the current community's perspective, see Sullivan 2009). My research is meant to focus on the complexity of the social situation as seen from the point of view of the Counts and at times is a sympathetic portrayal of their thoughts. The value of earlier sources very much relies on the propagation and proliferation of these locally cherished stories (eg. Fallourd in Smeets 1980; Hawkes 1924:937-946; Hewlett 1954). Later sources include many of the same insights and anecdotes, but their true value lies in their attempts to attach recently-surfaced historical documents (ie. correspondence, government files) to local narratives in order to clarify, enhance – or even further muddle! – the historical record (eg. Frémont 1980; Guitard 1977; Humpheries 1978; Léonard 1987). All of these sources have proved useful in some fashion in reconstructing the history of the community first known as 'La Rolanderie', and then later St. Hubert.

## **2.2 France in the 1880s**

Before discussing the arrival of French aristocrats in the Whitewood area, it is important to note the political, social, and economic backdrop from whence they came. It is also necessary to go into greater detail than it warrants at first glance, as much of this information will be useful in later chapters.

Politically, France during the 1880s had achieved a certain stability that it had been lacking since the late 1860s. The Third Republic may have been the first firmly entrenched democratic government in France. France had spent the hundred years since the Revolution in a series of power struggles. The First Republic of the Revolution ended with a coup d'état in 1799 and the ascension of Napoleon Bonaparte as Emperor. After Napoleon was defeated in 1814, the Second Restoration gave the crown back to the Bourbons – who ruled as a constitutional

monarchy until the July Revolution of 1830, in which the more liberalized Duke of Orléans claimed the throne. The July Monarchy ended in 1848 through violent revolution, and France once again became a democracy under the Second Republic. The Republic lasted only three years, when in 1851 the elected president Louis Napoleon (Napoleon's nephew) followed his uncle in declaring a Second Empire. Napoleon III ruled until 1871, when the combined events of the Franco-Prussian war and the bloody Commune of Paris ended his reign. The Third Republic was thus established in 1871 under the shadow of a lost war to a recently unified Germany. (For a detailed yet concise history, see Bury 2003). Historically, a Republic government meant "bloodshed, confiscation, terror and war" for the general population (Bury 2003:71). The Third Republic, however, was established under a different atmosphere and was considered a government of peace and stability. Universal male suffrage (ironically implemented during the Second Empire) remained intact (Bury 2003:89).

After France's defeat to Prussia in 1871 and the fall of the Second Empire, the elected National Assembly of the newly-formed Third Republic was composed of a coalition of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Liberals, both noble and bourgeois, who had an overwhelming majority. Of the 630 deputies, 400 were considered to be royalists who wished to restore the monarchy. Their majority gave them the legal ability to restore the monarchy, but the realities of politics complicated the situation. The royalists did not have a shared vision of a restored monarchy. Their loyalties were equally split between two pretenders to the throne, the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris, as well as between the concepts of authoritarian monarchy and constitutional, parliamentary monarchy. The Republic also had more immediate concerns. The Assembly had to deal with the consequences of defeat to Prussia and that took precedence (Osgood 1960:1-10). In addition to war retributions, France lost Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, which included important iron ore deposits, textile works, rich forests and agricultural land and some 1,600,000 people (Bury 2003:128).

As restoration of the monarchy took a back seat to other priorities, each successive election brought more republican deputies into the Assembly. Chambord, who had only vague plans for political and social reform and – more politically serious – refused to allow the Tricolour flag to stand if he was placed back on the throne, would not budge on key issues that stood in the way of his restoration. The state would not give up the Tricolour, and Chambord refused to negotiate the issue, believing that to give in would be the first in a number of

concessions that would strip the throne of any meaningful power. By the 1880s the royalists in the Assembly were too few to push for a legal restoration and the issue was effectively finished. The prospect of restoration waxed and waned throughout the 1880s, but was never again a serious threat to the Republic (Osgood 1960:12-32). The royalists turned to other avenues of acquiring power, including the failed military coup of General Boulanger in 1888, but would not see the monarchy rule again (Brogan 1970:204).

Economically, the end of the century was a harsh one. The French economy was hard-hit in the 1880s. The 1880 national budget was the last of the century to show a surplus (Brogan 1970:168). The years between 1874 and 1895 witnessed a “great depression” in agriculture. The prices of many agricultural products fell, including that of cereals, potatoes, beef, veal, butter, and cheese. Milk prices remained stable. Sugar beet prices continued to rise, mostly because farmers had managed to substantially increase the sugar content in their beets. The price of wine rose from 1881 to 1885 because of short supply due to a phylloxera epidemic that ravaged vineyards until 1890. Despite the increased prices, this negatively affected farmers because they were losing crops to the disease (Price 1987:26-27). A series of bad harvests crippled producers, but instead of causing an increase in prices, the general trend was a price depression (Brogan 1970:171). Low domestic prices led to a backlash against foreign imports and opened the door to a period of economic protectionism across Europe. General tariffs on imports were established in 1881. Laws aimed at increasing tariff protection were passed in 1881, 1885, 1887, 1892, and 1894 (Price 1987:191). The tariff laws meant to protect agriculture had the unpleasant consequence of raising the price of bread in 1887 (Zeldin 1973:643). Entering into the 1890s, France and Britain had strained relations, partly due to these protectionist policies. France’s hostile opinions to Britain were illustrated by France’s “open sympathies with the Boers during the Boer War of 1899-1902” (Bury 2003:202).

Industry fared better than agriculture. Most industrialists witnessed their incomes increase in unprecedented amounts in the nineteenth century (Braudel 1990:402). The years 1880-1905 comprised a period of increased industrialization, especially in the Ile-de-France, the basin surrounding Paris. The area witnessed the development of chemical, food, metallurgy, pharmaceuticals, painting, and (later) electrical material industries (Mollat 1972:490). Increased construction of railroads and communication lines aided and accompanied this expansion. In France, the network of railway lines increased exponentially in the second half of the nineteenth

century, from 3,248 km in 1851 to 40,700 km by 1913. Most of rural France, however, was not sufficiently connected to this network until the 1880s (Price 1983:212, 214). Bank profits soared as lending regulations were loosened. Even though a stock market crash in 1882 and two periods of stagnation (1872-1882 and 1893-1901) affected bank profits, a general trend of increased profits occurred (Braudel 1990:661; Liesse 1909:174).

The decade also witnessed changing economic and social relationships. Braudel describes France's overall economic superstructure from the fifteenth to the twentieth century as that of a "peasant economy", in that agriculture accounted for over half of total production. This production originated mainly from peasant family households that were in direct contact with the market, and state apparatuses that regulated economic interactions between town and countryside. In this formulation it did not matter if the peasant farmers were owner-occupiers, tenants, or share-croppers – they were still an essential component of production (Braudel 1990:224-228). This began to change as capitalism became more intrusive. Aristocrats, the traditional landowners, were transforming into or making way for industrialists. The land itself was becoming less a property and more a commodity. This differed from the traditional share-cropping system. In this system, the *métayer* provided the labour, while the owner provided the land, working capital, livestock, machines, and fertilizers; the owner and the *métayer* then divided the produce. Usually this division was equal, or as much as two-thirds to the *métayer* (Zeldin 1973:160). This system was impregnated with the paternalistic intent of *noblesse oblige*, in which the owners and workers were bonded by social duties to each other. A purely capitalist focus on agriculture minimized the landowner's social obligations. Zeldin discusses how the sharecropping system witnessed an "aristocratic revival" between 1880 and 1914 as it was "praised as the ideal form of co-operation between capital and labour and the best way to ensure the moralizing of the peasantry and the preservation of the authority of the upper classes" (Zeldin 1973:162). But more agricultural work was being done with capitalistic intent or as an extension of the factory system.

Changes in rural France had wider implications. In 1881, the wage for agricultural workers in the Ile-de-France was 1.8 francs per day, and many felt they could earn more in the factories (Price 1983:357). An increasing trend in mass migration of marginally poor peoples from rural to urban centres was at its most intense between 1875 and 1881, when 840,000 people left the countryside (Zeldin 1973:172). The agricultural depression of the 1880s accelerated the

depopulation of rural areas and had a domino effect on industry which suddenly faced a reduced demand for consumer goods. By 1885 social discontent among the masses had reached hostile levels (Bury 2003:166).

Tied into the increased wealth of industrialists was the rise of the bourgeoisie. Nobles who were not necessarily royalist were able to survive by grafting onto whatever party lines or imperial powers that were in control and were able to strengthen their families through intermarriage (Zeldin 1973:13). Definitions of 'bourgeois' and noble' existed within the social hierarchy, but the distinction between the two was not absolutely clear. The richest businessmen married into noble families in search of large dowries. Some families simply pretended to be noble; by the twentieth century, there were three times more nobles on public record than existed in official records. Papal titles, for example, were claimed by 2,000 people between 1831 and 1906, despite the fact that the pope only granted 300 during that time (Zeldin 1973:16).

Aristocratic families most closely identified with the *ancien régime* probably lost the most after the Revolution, while the lesser nobility and provincials probably retained their wealth and influence (Bury 2003:11). During this time many of the large landowners parcelled out their land into smaller sections and sold them to peasant farmers, partly to transfer capital out of the land and place it into other, more profitable, investments (Price 1987:18). Nineteenth century innovations in the process of concentrating capital in industry and finance allowed for new ways to amass wealth, but nobles were slower than most to transfer their wealth out of land and into other investments. Wealthy nobles in 1910 still had 30-40% of their wealth tied in land, while most other investors had only 2% (Price 1987:96). Agricultural mechanization became more common as the century closed. It seems to have been applied first in the Paris region and then in the north; "areas in which large-scale, capital intensive farms existed, adequate power was available and labour supply problems were causing considerable difficulties" (Price 1983:285). While mechanization increased the speed of harvest, it did not usually cut down much of the cost. Mechanization was more about a reaction to poor production and the right circumstances, rather than people wanting to be up-to-date on the newest technology. Rural elites in France had the opportunity to enhance their knowledge through formal specialized agricultural education at various national and regional *écoles d'agriculture*, but most of their education was informal, culled from participation in agricultural societies and fairs that generally catered to their own interests and the presentation of new advances in technology (Price 1983:359).

Elite landowners living in the Ile-de-France could live in Paris and still be within an arms-length of their rural properties (Charle 1994:138). In 1881, the Ile-de-France had a population of 4.25 million out of France's total population of 37 million. Most people lived in Paris and its suburbs (2.7 million), but there were about 1.15 million rural dwellers and 350,000 urban people living in about 30 smaller cities and towns. Only ten of these had populations larger than 10,000. Maule, the home of chateau 'La Rolanderie', was not one of them (Mollat 1972:446). Due to its proximity to Paris, the Ile-de-France became known for the propagation of learned societies (Bloch 1966:50). Its forests also became the playground of sportsmen who participated in fox-hunting and horse racing. The smaller urban centres often had four or five chateaux, many constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, owned by wealthy families who spent half their time there and half in Paris. It became fashionable to simply purchase existing homes instead of building new ones, probably because their antiquity lent credibility to the owner's status. The preferred locations of chateaux included the summits of hills that offered a beautiful view and plenty of water (Bloch 1966:104; Mollat 1972:452).

Spiritually, France was unabashedly Roman Catholic. The official national census of 1872 placed 35.3 million Roman Catholics in France, out of a total population of 36 million (Price 1987:261). Despite this majority, times had become hard for the clergy. Increasingly throughout the 1870s the Republic felt threatened by the power collecting in the clergy and the clergy's perspective was felt to be at odds with the Republic's optimistic application of positivist thought. In 1880, the Jesuits were dissolved and banned from operating in France. In 1882 the Republic took their anti-clerical stance further by banning religious supervision of state primary schools. Later laws denied Catholic universities the right to confer degrees and eliminated clerical representation on boards of education or charity administrations (Bury 2003:156-159). The Jesuits were expelled from providing education in 1880. Up to that time they ran the most expensive Catholic schools in the country and attracted sons of the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie (Zeldin 1977:279). It was not until the 1890s, after most royalists backed General Boulanger's attempted coup, that the church and state developed a more conciliatory attitude. The Pope ordered Catholics to recognize the legitimacy of the Third Republic in 1892, although most royalists were slow to obey (Bury 2003:176-177).

A bond existed between aristocracy and clergy. From the Revolution (and probably before), aristocrats had a "renewed belief in the importance of the Church and of religion as a

necessary check upon the evil doctrines of revolutionary free-thinkers and as a necessary safeguard of stability in state and society” (Bury 2003:12). Most nobles stuck by the clergy, but their outrage over the declining influence and respect shown toward the clergy may have not been completely about faith. Price shows that during the restoration after the Revolution, 82% of appointed bishops were nobles. By 1870, only ten percent held noble title (Price 1987:263). They were thus protecting their own interests. Roger Price discussed the role of elites in agriculture in France in a negative light, stating that most large landowners “continued to behave primarily as *rentiers* drawing income from their farms while reinvesting as little of it as possible and failing to provide an example of good husbandry.” He notes that landowners spent a large amount of time and money on refurbishing chateaux and rebuilding churches. He takes a dim view of both, suggesting that these actions were “socially paternalistic measures... [that] must have diverted considerable sums away from productive investment.” His assertion that these activities meant to serve “as a reminder that the estate was conceived of traditionally by its owners more as a social entity than simply as an economic unit” touches on an important point: that the aristocrats’ relation with the land and the poorer classes was as much about status and prestige as it was about economics (Price 1983:366). This idea will be explored further in Chapter 4.

### **2.3 Southeastern Saskatchewan in the 1880s**

The Pipestone Creek valley area, like much of the Canadian prairies, underwent a major social transformation in the 1880s. Previously, the area was primarily characterized by fur-trading activity and Aboriginal livelihood. The western prairies had long been perceived negatively by those in the East and abroad, mainly due to the propaganda of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The company wished to keep the agricultural and resource potential of the area under wraps to discourage people from intruding on their fur-trade operations (Eisler 2006:12). The conflicting reports offered by the Palliser and Hind expeditions between 1857 and 1860 only worked marginally to correct this perception (Eisler 2006:12-13). The decline of the fur trade led the HBC to pass control of Rupert’s Land to the Dominion government in 1870, who gave it the legal designation of the North-West Territories. In 1882, the southern portions of the North-West Territories were divided into the four districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca (Archer 1980:76-77). In 1886, Assiniboia was split into Assiniboia East and

Assiniboia West (Moffat 2000:128). While district boundary changes were made six times between 1883 and 1891, the area covered by this study remained known as Assiniboia East (Moffat 2000:130-131).

The Dominion's first priority for the prairie portion of the North-West Territories was the establishment of permanent European settlements. To politicians in the East, the prairies were devoid of any significant human activity. The official vision of the prairies imagined that First Nations and Métis groups were "absent or past", or at the very least had been moved to less conspicuous areas, and that the land was free for development (Fairbairn 2007:406). This was far from reality. Aboriginal groups had lived in the area for thousands of years, and certain places (especially Moose Mountain) held spiritual significance. The number of reserves located nearby, as noted above, is indicative of the strong Aboriginal presence in the area in the 1880s. Treaty No. 2 in 1871 secured the rights to lands in the Assiniboia area from Moose Mountain south. The Whitebear First Nation selected reserve lands adjacent to the Moose Mountain area despite being signatories to Treaty 4 in 1874, which covered the rest of Saskatchewan (Barry 1999:45). The Ochapowace Indian Reserve on the Qu'Appelle River was formed in 1881, combining two different reserves that had been established in 1876 (WHBC 1992:2). The government's view of native groups was that they were an impediment to progress, and while it preached the rhetoric of self-sufficient agriculture, the government did little to actively aid native groups in this effort (Hall 2007:81-82; see Carter 2007). Settlers' concerns about the First Nations population may have also been a factor in the establishment of a North-West Mounted Police post at Moosomin in 1888 (Avery and Hanson 1999:46).

Immigration, as it had been for its entire history, was the cornerstone of Canada's nation-building process (see Macdonald 1966:5-6). The federal government had grand dreams of expansion and settlement in the Prairie West in the second half of the nineteenth century, but their early efforts to colonize the territories were largely disappointing. Only about 30% of immigrants who came to Canada during this period headed west and most did not venture farther than Manitoba (Waiser 2005:60). Canada and the United States worked hard in the 1880s to draw immigrants from Europe. Both countries advertised themselves as having immense economic and agricultural potential, abundant land and natural resources, low taxation and transportation costs, and liberal-minded governments that did not suppress civil and religious affiliations. Canada's message differed in tone, however, as its efforts were as much about

deflecting immigrants destined to the United States as it was attracting them. Canada used extensive advertising by land agents, colonizing companies, transportation companies, traveling exhibitions, and delegations of influential people in order to attract potential settlers (Macdonald 1966:30-31). Government officials sought particular settlers to inhabit the North-West. British, French, Scandinavian, and German immigrants were the most desired because the government expected them to most easily assimilate into Canadian – ie. British – society (Hall 2007:92). The government produced dozens of pamphlets that were freely given out in a variety of languages. Each contained testimonials from farmers and journalists who had been sent by the government to report on the region's possibilities and comment on various facets of economic, political, and cultural life. The pamphlets touted the region's clear water and soil quality, toned down the harshness of the winter by emphasizing its low humidity, and portrayed the region as a unspoiled bastion of morality (Hall 2007:82-86).

Within Canada, the federal government tried to stimulate settlement by selling tracts of land to colonizing companies. Few of these companies succeeded in drawing in settlers. Their main target was largely British-Canadians who could capitalize on the railroad boom. But these were not the type of people who would stay in an area that had yet to develop any significant infrastructure (Waiser 2005:60-63). The most successful settlement, the Red River valley in Manitoba, had prime agricultural land but few homestead plots available for new settlers. The government turned its attention to Assiniboia, focusing its efforts in the 1880s on settling the Souris and Qu'Appelle river valleys and the narrow strips of available land along the Canadian Pacific Railway (Norrie 1975:411).

There were several reasons for this slow development. The Public Land Regulations act of 1872 stated that each adult of twenty-one years of age could receive 160 acres in exchange for a "\$10 entry fee and the completion of settlement duties of limited cultivation and residence", which had to be proved at the end of three years. Homestead patents were then issued to the settler. Fulfilling the homestead requirements was no easy task: settlers usually had no access to capital and had to supplement their income through cash employment, which was not always available (Macdonald 1966:173). Although the farms were practically free, farmers still needed to purchase or acquire equipment, animals, transportation, and supplies for survival until the crops were secure. It may have taken as much as one thousand dollars to set up a homestead. To earn this money, settlers worked on the railroad, in lumber camps, or hired themselves out during

harvest (Archer 1980:100). The government's attempts to make the North-West sound rosy were offset by the harsh realities of the situation. Settlers had to deal with "bad roads, bad water... mosquitos [sic], black flies, grasshoppers, hail storms, drought, frost, prairie fires," and increased land prices due to speculation (Macdonald 1966:171). To hinder matters, the events of 1885 – the North-West Rebellion and increasingly exaggerated stories concerning the safety of settlers – all conspired against the colonization effort (Macdonald 1966:264).

The real boom in settlement did not occur until after 1896, when rising wheat prices, falling transportation costs, government subsidies, global labour migration, and the shrinking of the American frontier all worked together in various ways to attract settlers into the North-West (Norrie 1975:421). Changes in government policy focused on the Prairie West as a place where one could escape "indentured labour, unproductive land, intolerable working and living conditions in industrial cities, religious persecution, or simply blocked opportunities" (Francis and Kitzan 2007:x). In addition, they wanted hardy workers. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior (1896-1905), stated that his ideal settler was "a stalwart peasant in sheep-skinned coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for 10 generations, with a stout wife and a half a dozen children" (in Eisler 2006:21). Little emphasis was placed on skilled labourers or people suitable for office or clerical work (Eisler 2006:21).

Still, the 1880s and 1890s were a time of European influx and rapid alteration of the social landscape. From 1885 to 1891, Canada welcomed between 69,000 and 92,000 immigrants annually, and a full third of them made their way to Manitoba and the North-West (Archer 1980:103). As the century reached its close, Assiniboia became a popular destination for a multitude of ethnic groups from Europe, including Russian, Finnish, Hungarian, Swedish, German, Polish, Czech, English, Scottish, and Irish peoples (Hawkes 1924). In 1885, non-British immigrants made up just 1% of the population of the Territories; by 1891 it was 6% and by 1901 the total rose to 22% (Archer 1980:104). Francophones only made up a small percentage of this increase. While in 1885 Francophones represented 2.1 % of a population of 32,097 (674 persons), by 1916 that percentage had only increased to 4.9%, to 31,743 persons out of 647,835 – a significant increase, to be sure, but not on pace with the rest of the population (Archer 1980:358).

A definite physical impediment to settlement was the lack of adequate transportation to and within the region. Railroad building was the response. Rather than going through the fertile

agricultural zone that curved to the north, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was built straight west through Assiniboia, partially as a cost-saving measure, partially to curb American expansion. By mid-1883, the CPR rail line was fully operational from Winnipeg to Calgary (Archer 1980:69-70). As the railroad was laid across the prairies, many successful settlements sprang up along the line (Figure 2). After 1882, Moosomin, Whitewood, Broadview, Qu'Appelle, and Indian Head had all been established along the main line and risen to prominence (Archer 1980:75). Moosomin, an English-speaking settlement 350 km west of Winnipeg was a major commercial centre by 1884. Broadview, 70 km farther west was the western terminus of the second section of the CPR from 1882 to 1884 (Macdonald 1966:283-284). The railroad was the river through which the national economy flowed and each of these small towns was at the epicenter of agricultural commerce throughout Assiniboia.

The town of Whitewood was created during this uncertain, but optimistic, boom. Homestead records for Whitewood first appear in 1882. The early settlers who took up these homesteads had to walk the trail from Brandon and many returned east during the first difficult winters. The CPR rail line opened later that year and the town grew beside it. The first store was opened by Ben Limoges in 1883. A hotel and a grist mill were erected shortly after. By 1884 the town's immigration hall had become a convenient stopping place for new or moving settlers. By 1885 Whitewood had "2 hotels, 1 restaurant, a boarding house, billiard parlor, 2 harness shops, a barber, butcher, tailor, jeweler, baker, liveryman, carriage builder, undertaker, lawyer, and doctor" (WHBC 1992:54). It also boasted a Presbyterian manse and a two-room schoolhouse, built in 1888. The year 1892 proved important, as the town became incorporated and had its first civic election. The mayoral and councillor electoral list contained 61 names and their qualifications. A weekly newspaper, *The Whitewood Herald*, was also established that year (WHBC 1992:53-59, 149-150, 232, 279).

Assiniboia was also a popular area for socially-conscious settlements and many of them were situated around Whitewood. Nearby utopian settlements included the Benbecula Scottish crofter colony in the Qu'Appelle valley, East London Artisans Colony, Cannington Manor, Harmony, and Grenfell (Rasporich 2007:129; Yule 1967:49). None of these lasted long. Ethnic block settlements also sprouted up near Whitewood. Scandinavian and Finnish settlements were established at Vallar, New Finland, and Percival by 1889; Jewish settlements at Wapella (1886-1907) and New Jerusalem near Moosomin (1882); Hungarian communities at Esterhazy and

Kaposvar by 1888; and Czech settlements in the same area (Anderson 1999:57). Due to its close proximity to such ethnic block settlements, Whitewood became known as a business centre for various nationalities. John Hawkes, a resident of Whitewood and later the Saskatchewan legislative librarian, described the town in the 1880s as “the most cosmopolitan point in the west. It came to be a saying that one should know eleven languages to do business in Whitewood” (Hawkes 1924:937).

## **2.4 Establishment of La Rolandarie**

Canada as a whole, and Quebec in particular, had begun recruiting immigrants from Francophone communities in Europe (France, Belgium, Switzerland, and southern Germany) in the 1870s in order to sustain the nation’s Francophone population. French peasants were considered perfect candidates, since they were characterized as being simple, frugal, hard-working, and skilled farmers. The number of settlers they were able to entice, however, was meagre (Macdonald 1966:99-101). French interest in Canada began earnestly after Quebec actively sought economic and social partnerships with France. In 1882, Premier Adolphe Chapleau appointed senator and journalist Hector Fabre to represent the province of Quebec as a general agent in Paris. Fabre’s goal was to seek French capital to be invested in Quebec and to facilitate large-scale colonization projects by French and Belgium farmers. Fabre had many speaking engagements across all of France. The following year the federal government decided to use him as the federal representative in Paris as well, although only on clearly economic issues. This expanded his mandate to lobby for the rest of Canada as well, especially the North-West Territories, and he was most eloquent and persuasive in the ears of wealthy listeners. Fabre founded a small weekly newspaper, *Paris-Canada*, which up until 1910 was used to make France aware of opportunities Canada had to offer for settlers and investors alike.

Fabre enjoyed a high profile, but found limited success. In 1861, only 3,173 citizens of France lived in Canada; through 1881-86, this number grew to only 4,400 (compared to 106,900 who lived in the United States); by 1901 the number had only increased to 7,900 (Zeldin 1977:89). France’s emigration as a whole differed in character from other European countries, as the normal factors of poverty and unemployment did not always apply. “[M]any of them were enterprising individuals, making their own choice, rather than participating in a mass movement;

they were often artisans or even professional men anxious to make a fortune and to use their skills in a new environment” (Zeldin 1977:90). French investments abroad by 1902 were mainly focused in Russia and Spain (6,966 and 2,974 million francs, respectively), while investments in Canada amounted to a mere 138 million francs (Zeldin 1977:119). Fabre’s work was essentially clandestine, as propaganda in favour of emigration was illegal in France because of the government’s attempts to curb population decline in rural areas. He also encountered much resistance from anticlerical circles who were alarmed by his Catholic message and heavy support from the clergy. He was not able to entice more than a few thousand to immigrate to Canada (Simard and Vaugeois 2000). Some of this was due to political considerations. During the 1870s, people permanently emigrating from France required the permission of the State’s Minister of Justice, Commerce and Public Works. In 1872, Canada only allowed 300 emigrants from France per year (Macdonald 1966:102-103). More and more of these settlers passed through Quebec and Ontario on the way to settlements in Manitoba and the North-West; yet, between 1881 and 1901, only 812 persons immigrated from France to Saskatchewan – accounting for a meager 0.9 percent of those entering the region during that time period (de Brou 1999:54).

Immigration from France to Quebec waned in the 1870s due to inflamed rhetoric from French-Canadian leaders who questioned the moral standing of such immigrants (Léonard 1987:36). The West, however, sought increased Francophone immigration to bolster the presence of a French-speaking and Catholic minority, which at this point was mainly Métis (Léonard 1987:37). A special enticement was the education provisions of the North-West Territories Act of 1875, which provided for the establishment of schools and allowed for separate Protestant and Roman Catholic schools to be set up in districts that wished it (Archer 1980:76). Families had come to the North-West direct from France before, although not often. Anderson describes French settlement in the North-West as coming in waves rather than a steady stream. Early efforts consisted of Métis expansion of fur-trading operations during the 1860s and 1870s. The next wave of settlements was established by French or Belgian immigrants who had no previous connection with the Métis (including St. Hubert, Forget, Montmartre, and Dumas). A third stream consisted of Quebec settlers who either created new settlements (ie. Gravelbourg, Dollard, and Domremy) or joined with previous francophone communities. Some settlers even came from francophone communities in the United States (Anderson 1999:58).

French-Canadian immigration within Canada was problematic during this period. Very few French-speakers in eastern Canada showed interest in moving west. In 1871 there were 6,500 Francophones in Manitoba out of a total population of 11,400. By 1881 the total of Francophones rose only 52%, compared to 687% of the English population. By 1891, only 7.3% of the total population of Manitoba was French-speaking (Silver 1969:12). Despite the best efforts of French-speaking Manitobans, French Quebec never responded favourably to immigration to the North-West. Early accounts by Quebec settlers in the North-West characterized the area as being of poor agricultural potential. In addition, most French-Canadians viewed settlement outside of Quebec as unsafe and beyond the communal protection of French institutions. The North-West was considered a hostile place for Francophones. French Quebec viewed the North-West as an extension of the British domain and felt their participation there was unwanted. It did not help that Quebec's clergy promoted this pessimism in an effort to discourage emigration out of Quebec (Silver 1969:15-27). Quite simply, French-Canadians in Quebec were told that there was nothing for them outside of their home province. "An Ontarian emigrating to Manitoba was only moving from one part of his homeland to another, but a French Canadian considered that he was going into exile" (Silver 1969:23). These persistent beliefs forced French-Canadians in Manitoba to seek Francophone immigrants from abroad.

European publications such as Frederic Gerbie's *Le Canada et L'emigration Francaise* in 1884 aided in the colonizing cause by recommending settlement in both Manitoba and the North-West (Frémont 1980:11). The cause was also taken up by various colonizing companies. The *Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation* was instrumental in this regard. A colonizing company organized by Francophones in St. Boniface, Manitoba, its shareholders included Bishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché, Honourable A. Larivière, Charles de Cazes and M. Le Marchand of Paris. As early as 1881, Comte Arthur de la Londe was working in the company's capacity as an agricultural delegate in Rouen, France. He was a business partner of Baron de Reinach of Paris (Léonard 1987:38). Acting on behalf of the company, La Londe purchased 200,000 acres in the Qu'Appelle valley at two dollars an acre and planned to colonize it with gardeners from France. In the early part of the decade, Charles de Cazes, originally from France but living in Manitoba, purchased some of the land and took up market gardening in the Qu'Appelle valley. In 1887 de Cazes won thirteen prizes for his vegetables at the Regina Fair. Other settlers included Benjamin Limoges from Quebec, who came to Assiniboia following a brief stint in Chicago. Limoges

would later settle in Whitewood and become a successful businessman, setting up one of the first general stores and becoming the first mayor (Lapoint and Tessier 1986:62; Léonard 1987:38-39). The effort did not last long, however, and a few years later de Cazes moved to Edmonton and served as an Indian agent there (Léonard 1987:102).

Bishop Taché, the archbishop of St. Boniface, Manitoba, was the highly visible face of both the *Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation* and the influential *Société de Colonisation de Manitoba*. This colonization society worked specifically to bring French Canadians to the North-West. Taché had connections to Ottawa through his brother, the deputy Minister of Agriculture (Silver 1969:12-18). Taché was a valuable contact for Francophones wishing to settle farther west than Manitoba. From 1874 to 1890, the *Société de Colonisation de Manitoba* had organized eighteen parishes along the Red and Assiniboine rivers and brought in 3,000 settlers, most of them from Quebec. Relevant communities included St. Norbert and St. Vital (composed of immigrants from France and Belgium), Lorette, St. Anne, Le Broquerie, St. Malo, St. Charles, St. Francis-Zavier, St. Pierre, Letellier, St. Pie, St. Jean Baptiste, Fannystelle, and La Salle, which consisted of wealthy French-Canadian families (Macdonald 1966:191-192).

Aristocrats intent on settling in the North-West became, if not popular, at least common. Many prominent French economists, like Agostini and Molinari, wrote that the opportunities offered in the expanse of land in the prairies could save European agriculture. These authors logically concluded that colonists should not be peasants, but instead large landowners supported by large amounts of capital who could thus attract peasants as labourers. In their view, colonization depending on 'active collaboration' with the upper classes of France (Frémont 1980:13-14). This sentiment is expressed in Alfred Bernier's 1887 publication *Le Manitoba, Champ d'Immigration*, in which he wrote that prestigious noble French families could colonize Manitoba through their capital and bring with them peasants who were chosen to come with them under their direction, without having to give up any of their French identity. In essence, colonization of the North-West would be done through the 'gentleman farmer' (Frémont 1980:14-15). This view of Canadian Francophone immigration was put forth in such publications as the *Journal des Debats*, *Revue Britannique*, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* – all of which would have been read by educated men. In fact, Rameau de Saint-Claire, the author of *Une Colonie Feodale en Amerique* [A feudal Colony in America] spoke in favour of emigration to

Canada to an audience from the *Société d'Economie*, a society founded by Frédéric Le Play, whose widow would become a shareholder at La Rolanderie (Frémont 1980:12).

What qualities did the Canadian Prairie West possess that made it so attractive to the French aristocracy? As Gerald Friesen suggests, “a place must be imagined before it can exist” (in Hall 2007:78). This was certainly true of the North-West. Canada promoted the region with three particular images that were sure to spark interest. The first image of the region was that of undisturbed, peaceful beauty that acted as a retreat from the busy, noisy, industrial world. The perceived innocence of the land conjured up the second image, that of a region that was physically and socially malleable. It was a region in which new societies could be created and shaped by the characteristics of its settlers. The landscape was free and unbound and could take on the strong, honourable, and moral character of its tamer. Finally, the region was portrayed as free of limitation, a clean canvas on which any settler could paint his dreams of wealth and success (Francis and Kitzan 2007:x-xi). Also enticing was the sense of adventure and excitement that the prospect of an as-yet-untamed wilderness offered. While some immigrants were true ‘tourists’ in the sense that they only visited the region, others found excitement in trying to develop this wilderness into civilization (Owram 2007:7-10, 19). All of these points probably tapped into the collective conscious of the French aristocratic community.

Thus began what Frémont calls “a system of colonization from the top” (Frémont 1980:14). The French sociologist Claudio Janet publicly expressed his intentions to settle in Canada. Although this did not happen, his romanticized sense of camaraderie is clearly on display in his assertion that his “coeur de Français et de catholique tressaille” [French Catholic heart shudders] when he contemplates how deeply he identified with French Canadians in Manitoba (Frémont 1980:12). In 1884, Raymond de Jouvenel and his father purchased one thousand acres of land along the Qu’Appelle River and planned to spend the next summer there. Many wealthy gentlemen spent time in Manitoba to investigate its possibilities (Frémont 1980:11). Gerbie’s 1884 work mentions several French aristocrats who had already settled in Manitoba by 1882 at St. Lawrence, St. Boniface, and Lisbyville. These include the Duke of Blacas, le Comte de Simencourt, and other men who “quoique n’ayant pas tous ces titres, n’en ont pas moins de noblesse” [though without title, are not any less noble] (Frémont 1980:16, my own translation). In what would become a pattern, these aristocrats would spend winters in central Canada, Quebec, or France, and hire experts to oversee operations on their lands.

Agricultural enterprises included farming and dairying. They were also closely connected with Catholic missions in the region (Frémont 1980:17).

The community of La Rolanderie (later St. Hubert) was a continuation of this trend. As Léonard indicates (1987:4), the history of the French aristocratic settlement near Whitewood is most conveniently divided between the phase of original growth under Dr. Rudolph Meyer (1885-1889) and the subsequent expansion of the settlement under the French aristocrats (1889-1899, and beyond). It was once believed that Meyer arrived in 1885 with Emile Renoult and Yves de Rouffignac (see Frémont 1980:121; Hewlett 1954:3), but subsequent research has shown this not to be the case. Instead, it appears that Meyer arrived first under entirely different circumstances, and that the involvement of French aristocracy evolved from his activities.

To attract immigration, the Canadian government invited influential people from Europe to spend time in western Canada at the expense of the Department of Agriculture. These individuals would spend several weeks there during the warm season, with the hope that they would return with favourable comments and well-documented information about the agricultural, industrial, and resource potential of the region and publish it in the local press (Léonard 1987:34-35). In 1881, Rudolph Meyer was part of a group of five Germans (others being Mssrs Glock, Eberhadt, Weidersheim, and Shreiner) and one Swiss (Mr. Hauswirth) that was invited to the North-West. The group arrived in 1882 and did a tour of Canada. An account of Meyer's trip appeared in his 1883 publication *Ursachen Der Americanischen Concurrenz*, which explored the subject of American competition. The publication was popular at a time of heightened trade concerns in Europe due to the agricultural crisis (Léonard 1987:35).

Rudolph Hermann Meyer was born in Alsace in 1839, when it was a department of France (Léonard 1987:19). Alsace-Lorraine had been ceded to France in 1697, but was annexed by Germany in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War; it was not recovered by France until 1918 (Zeldin 1977:77). Meyer was a widower with a grown son and daughter back in Alsace. He was also Catholic, and his family was supposedly heavily involved in Catholic charitable projects (from Fallourd in Léonard 1987:16-17). Although Humpheries (1978:17) and others presume that Meyer's doctorate was in agriculture, Léonard (1987:2-3) suggests that Meyer, as a preeminent European economist, held a doctorate in economics. His bibliography seems to indicate a greater interest in the political implications of agriculture than in agriculture itself (see Appendix A for a list of his publications). Parker Thomas Moon, a contemporary American

political scientist, also indicates that Meyer's educational training was in economics (Moon 1921:130).

Meyer was best known in Europe as an outspoken advocate for social reform. Meyer wrote extensively on state intervention in the matter of working-class conditions, including emphasis on legislation of working hours, factory inspections, minimum wages, social insurance, old age pensions, state cooperatives, and the use of political pressure against countries that refused social legislation. His 1877 publication *Politische Grunde und die Corruption in Deutschland* [Political Reason and Corruption in Germany] was condemned by the Bismarck government. Political pressure forced Meyer to leave Alsace and relocate to Austria soon after. There he joined the Vaterland Group, a group promoting Social Catholic doctrine. Sometime later, Meyer left Vienna and settled in Paris. Here he associated with several leaders of the Social Catholic movement in France, including the Marquis de La Tour du Pin, Henri Lorin, and Comte Albert de Mun. In Paris, Meyer edited and wrote articles for the *Association Catholique*, in which he defended the Social Catholic movement from liberal economists (Léonard 1987:20; Moon 1921:130).

Meyer had a strong academic background in Social Catholic doctrine. In *La Question Agraire* [The Agrarian Question] (1887), a book written with friend Gabriel Ardant, Meyer extolled the economic virtues of the small landowner and their enhancement of productivity and stability of national economies. He used as an example the homestead law exemptions of the United States. Other subjects touched upon in the book include the "constitution and the use of landed property according to the Christian dogmas of the Catholic church", the social role of the Church, and Christian Socialism. Meyer was prominent enough in the Social Catholic movement in France that he was mentioned repeatedly in Parker Thomas Moon's (1921) discussion of the subject. Moon made a keen observation about Meyer and Social Catholicism that directly relates to the future of St. Hubert:

In Austria... the Social Catholic movement drew its leaders from the feudal nobility... And yet the Austrian school of Social Catholics was perhaps more inclined toward state-socialism than any other; Dr. Meyer, whose ideas most dominated the scientific economic theory of the school, imparted to it no small measure of the socialism of Rodbertus [his mentor]. That a group of feudal aristocrats should become radicals, almost socialists, in economic doctrine is no paradox; to anyone familiar with the early history of social legislation it appears almost as commonplace. [Moon 1921:131]

Meyer was enamored by Assiniboia and planned another trip to Canada for 1883. He met with Baron de Reinach (business partner of Comte de La Londe) in Paris to help prepare this. At the same time, in August of 1883, Charles Tupper (the Canadian High Commissioner in London) was in Paris meeting with Mr. Hauswirth, who Meyer had previously met on his trip to Canada. Hauswirth was in the process of attracting Swiss settlers to the North-West (Léonard 1987:40). Meyer met with Hauswirth and Tupper and decided to work with them on the task of creating a Swiss colony in Canada. Their final meeting with Tupper was in February 1885 when the final details of the colony were sorted out. The deal agreed upon with the Department of Agriculture for the colony included: standard homestead land allotment of 160 acres for a ten dollar fee; assurance that the colony would be situated near both a navigable waterway and the CPR railroad; the colony would be tax-exempt for a period of ten years; CPR railroad freight charges would never exceed those of American railroads in the Dakotas; the colony was allowed forest exploitation rights; and the colony was given a three-year exemption on the duty for imported cattle and agricultural machinery (Léonard 1987:42-43). Reinach helped secure aid and transportation to St. Boniface.

Meyer met Hauswirth and his son-in-law in Ottawa at the end of April, 1885. In Ottawa, Meyer received assurances from the Department of Agriculture and Department of the Interior that an Order-of-Council would be promulgated to render their agreement official. On May 6, Meyer wrote to his friend Gabriel Ardant that the contract was made. The Governor-General stamped the Order-of-Council on May 11, giving Meyer and Hauswirth control of the lands and the authority to act on behalf of the colonizing partnership. As payment for their efforts to bring in settlers, Meyer and Hauswirth each received one homestead section and three additional quarters – on the condition that a cheese factory had to be erected and fully functional with at least three thousand dollars of equipment by November 30, 1887. They were also promised more land for every settler that established a homestead (Léonard 1987:45-46).

From Ottawa they arrived in Regina on May 22, 1885. The May 26, 1885 *Regina Leader* issue states that Meyer and Hauswirth had money at their disposal and were there to “start a Swiss and German Colony for dairy purposes.” The article also notes that about one hundred immigrants had already been ready to travel here, but stayed in the United States when they heard reports of the Riel rebellion. Meyer and Hauswirth retraced their steps to the Broadview

area and began to search for suitable land (Léonard 1987:48). Meyer mentions in his letters that he was advised by William Van Horne (the director of CPR railway construction) and John Henry Pope (Conservative Minister of Railways) in regard to where he could find suitable lands to homestead (Smeets 1980:3). At Whitewood they found an acceptable place to settle. A serviceable road from Whitewood, fashioned the previous year, brought them to the Pipestone Creek 16 km south (Frémont 1980:121). Here, three sections were chosen for the location of the Swiss village: sections 3, 4, and 5 in Township 15, Range 3. Meyer placed his own homestead in section 4. The village was to be located down in the valley. Meyer was excited about the prospects of the land. “On the plateau there is a place for two new villages between the river and the railway, the one lying to the South, the other to the North of the forest, where good fuel and, also, larger wood grows, which would be suitable...” (in Léonard 1987:49).

They went back to Winnipeg at the end of May 1885, where signs of trouble brewed. According to Léonard the civil servant there gave the Order-of-Council “an interpretation completely different from that of the interested parties”, although he did not clarify what that meant (Léonard 1987:50). Regardless, Hauswirth left for St. Paul, Minnesota the next day, ostensibly to warn Swiss immigrants there about the problems with the colony. He promised to return in one week. Meyer stayed in Winnipeg to file homestead applications. Hauswirth sent a postcard dated June 2 to say that his cousin wanted to return home, and used the opportunity to demand \$500 that he claimed the Canadian government owed him in expenses. He refused to return until he received the funds. Meyer responded by digging in his heels; he purchased cattle in Winnipeg and returned to the Pipestone to fashion his homestead. Hauswirth sent another letter on June 5, postmarked from Chicago, stating that he would return to Switzerland and postpone the project if he did not received the money owed him. Meyer responded with a firestorm: he informed the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior of the deteriorating situation, fearing that Hauswirth was trying to settle in America instead. By July 7, the relationship between the two gentlemen completely soured and they severed ties (Léonard 1987:50-53).

Rather than giving up, Meyer decided to develop and expand his operations on the Pipestone. If Meyer had left, he would have lost the \$2,300 he had already invested in the endeavour. His reputation was also at risk as he had just spent several years publishing on the advantages of agricultural work in North America. To walk away would be an awkward

admission of defeat. Instead, he decided to try alone to fulfill the Order-of-Council (Léonard 1987:54). By mid-summer he had built a summer house and began work on a winter house and barn with the aid of three hired hands (Léonard 1987:57). Materials were purchased from John Grierson, owner of the lumber yard in Whitewood and two of Grierson's employees, Collin and Miller, did the construction (Léonard 1987:15, 59). Meyer built a house with wooden walls and filled the interior of the walls with unfired clay bricks for insulation. The clay was mined from a nearby hill by seven men who worked for three days and were paid a dollar a day for labour. The house measured 32 by 38 feet (9.7 m by 11.6 m), including a veranda that covered the entire front portion of the house. He also built two clay-brick stoves to heat the house and purchased an American iron cooking stove for \$25. A cellar underneath the building measured 24 by 12 feet and reached a depth of eight feet (7.3 m by 3.6 m by 2.4 m). A well located near the house was dug to a depth of thirty-five feet (10.6 m) and had at least twelve feet (3.6 m) of water in it at all times (Humpheries 1978:18; Leonard 1987:59, 123). By November 1885, his possession balance sheet listed a house, stable, ice-house, smokehouse, a bridge and a road, 45 ploughed acres (with 640 acres in total), six oxen, one cow, two horses, three ploughs, two harrows, a roller, a wagon, a grass-mowing machine, a grass-horse-hoe, and two wood-and-hay sledges, for a total investment of \$5,400 (Léonard 1987:64-65). By 1888, Meyer would acquire 4,160 acres in the Pipestone valley (Guitard 1977:110).

Meyer established homestead claims in 1887 and within the next two years he was also given another twelve quarter-sections through special grants for his role as a colonizing agent (WHBC 1992:118-120). From the beginning, Meyer was worried about having settlers too spread out in individual homesteads, and actively petitioned the CPR to exchange specific sections with him. Since 1881 land sections had been classified with even-numbered ones reserved for homesteaders and odd-numbers ones reserved for the railway. A certain allotment of odd-numbered sections was also made available for purchase in lots by colonizing companies and agents (Macdonald 1966:178). At the time the CPR was entitled to the odd-numbered sections within 24 miles of either side of the railroad. The CPR used a 'fairly fit for settlement' clause in this agreement to refuse areas of poor agricultural potential, especially in British Columbia and northern Ontario and had chosen most of their sections in Saskatchewan and Alberta. The CPR thus had ample land to sell or trade as they saw fit (Archer 1980:70). Meyer found this situation advantageous and met with CPR agents to negotiate a trade of his granted

lands for those situated close to each other. The board agreed to exchange a certain amount of odd-number sections which the railroad owned for any even-numbered sections that Meyer acquired (Léonard 1987:47). The Western Land Grants Index shows thirteen homestead records detailing seven land grants extended to Rudolph Meyer: 2-15-3-W2M, S-3-15-3-W2M, 4-15-3-W2M, S-5-15-3-W2M, NW-24-14-3-W2M, NE-34-14-3-W2M, and NE-4-36-4-W3M (Library and Archives Canada 2006). These would be the basis for the future community. In May 1886, the Canadian government rewarded Meyer for his service in the colonizing effort by declaring the agreement of the Order-of-Council fulfilled, even though many of the conditions of settlement had not been met, including construction of the cheese factory (Léonard 1987:67).

Meyer also did not give up on the idea of a socially-responsible settlement. Meyer began using his connections with the Social Catholic community in Paris to drum up interest in the settlement. Through correspondence with Gabriel Ardant and a M. Lorin, he began searching for both settlers and investors. Meyer wrote that their target was “a young man in possession of 20 to 30 thousands Francs who would be active, honest and intelligent and who would consent to expatriate himself and to associate himself with him” (Léonard 1987:63). Several authors have mentioned that Meyer was financed and even an employee of an organization called *Société Anonyme* (Guitard 1977:110; Léonard 1987:27; Smeets 1980:4). *Société anonyme*, however, is the term for a limited-liability company. The limited company gave full power to its board of directors, allowing for small-scale shareholders but limiting their executive power (Braudel 1990:656, 746). This company probably did its financial business through the *Banque Transatlantique* in Paris with his friend Gabriel Ardant. Ardant’s correspondence with Meyer bore the stamp of “Banque Transatlantique, Société anonyme, Fonds de 25,000,000 francs, 25 blvd. Hausman, Paris” (Guitard 1977:113, n2). M. Lorin, first name unknown, appears to be the main benefactor of this *société anonyme* and was Meyer’s main contact in France. Meyer was given 100,000 francs by M. Lorin, on behalf of this company, to establish a Francophone settlement (Smeets 1980:4). At the time, 100,000 francs was equal to about \$20,000 Canadian dollars, a considerable sum (Léonard 1987:18). Lorin resided in Maule (Seine-et-Oise), France, in an eighteenth-century château that carried the name ‘La Rolanderie’. This roughly translates to ‘heart of the community’ (Frémont 1980:121). Meyer named his property along the Pipestone ‘La Rolanderie’, perhaps as a tribute to his benefactor, and the name became synonymous for the region until the St. Hubert parish was established in 1890 (Smeets 1980:3-4).

Meyer was named Director of the colony at La Rolanderie and the group began working to bring settlers from France to the area. Meyer spent the winter of 1885 in France to work out the details and drum up support for the settlement. He brought with him some vegetables grown by Charles de Cazes – the same de Cazes whose produce would win prizes at the 1887 Regina Agricultural Exhibition – as evidence of what Assiniboia had to offer (Léonard 1987:65). Meyer stayed in Paris over the winter and did not return to the Pipestone until March 1886 (Léonard 1987:66). Meyer arrived with a gardener named Emile Renoult and Comte Yves de Rouffignac (Léonard 1987:66). Yves Marie Martial de Rouffignac (b.1865- d.1943) was from the Haute-Vienne department of Limousin, France (Léonard 1987:191-192; Smeets 1980:4). Rouffignac was most likely recruited by Ardant and Lorin and would become a prominent figure in the settlement (Léonard 1987:78). Meyer's female cousin, who had been hired as his housekeeper, arrived later that year. The two married in 1886 and had a son, Otto-Heinrich Meyer, who was born at La Rolanderie in 1887 (Frémont 1980:122).

Meyer's relationship with other area settlers may not have been very warm. In 1885 Meyer complained to the Department of the Interior in Ottawa of the difficulties he experienced with other settlers, forwarding as proof a menacing postcard sent to him from a settler. Meyer's correspondence with the Department of the Interior suggests that he felt his hard work was being taken for granted (Humpheries 1978:17). Meyer's duties as a colonizing agent included acquiring and subdividing land and lending money for house construction, farm machinery or other business. Meyer met new immigrants at the train station, lodged and boarded them, ensured their transportation around the district and wrote letters for them if they were illiterate in English. Meyer's most pressing concern in his correspondence appears to be the need for security. He frequently criticized the federal homestead system for forcing settlers to homestead in isolated plots rather than settling in more secure, closer groups. He accused the Aboriginal population of "stealing the settlers' horses and setting prairie fires" (Humpheries 1978:20). Meyer repeatedly voiced his concern for the safety of settlers from the Indian population, citing that his wife was scared of the situation where farms were isolated and Indians roamed the area at will. Meyer cited two instances in which "well armed Indians" arrived on the property and acted "very impudent" by checking for open locks on doors (Meyer in Léonard 1987:63-64). He insisted on more police presence, even going so far as to offer to board them himself (Léonard 1987:64). Prairie fire ravaged the Whitewood area in 1886, 1894, and 1896 and this may have also

presented an obstacle for immigration (Hewlett 1953B:5). Meyer also housed CPR land guides and prospective settlers and complained in his letters that he was not given any political or monetary advantage for this and his hospitality was being taken advantage of (Smeets 1980:4).

Meyer's fears were not completely unfounded. In the spring of 1885, Métis and Native issues of food scarcity, lack of buffalo, poor cultivation and harvests, lack of circulating cash and inconsistent land surveying and titles all found outlet in the Métis Resistance. In April of 1885, 3,300 soldiers were transported via the main CPR line from Ontario to the North-West to engage Métis and Aboriginal groups in battle. The resistance ended by May 1885, but its effects were felt long after. Not only would these soldiers have travelled through Whitewood to reach their destination, but General Middleton made his base and basic preparations at Qu'Appelle (Archer 1980:84-98). Some local families such as the Curries and Knowlers helped the military transport supplies from Qu'Appelle train station to Clarke's Crossing north of Saskatoon (WHBC 1992:563, 818). The Métis had also tried to persuade Aboriginals in Moose Mountain to join the revolt (Smeets 1980:4). The North-West Rebellion made headlines in the newspapers in Europe and Meyer's friend Ardent wrote that even though the revolt had been quelled, enthusiasm for settlement in Canada had greatly diminished (Léonard 1987:52). While fighting did not occur in Assinboia, its residents witnessed the military mobilization and unrest associated with the event. Regardless of the accuracy of the various stories circulating at the time, the threat of armed conflict in the North-West in the 1880s seemed very real and may have contributed in the beginning to the overall lackluster draw of the settlement to prospective immigrants.

Around this time Meyer became interested in Canada's efforts to establish a system of agricultural experimental stations. Experimental farms, which infused scientific inquiry with agricultural practice, had become a focus of governments worldwide. Experts agreed that the best examples of experimental farms came from Europe, from Rothamsted Farm in England, the Highland and Agriculture Society in Scotland and the numerous experimental stations set up in Germany (Marcus 1985:64-65). In 1880, Germany had 80 experimental farms and France had 43 (Anstey 1986:6). The U.S. and Canada also wanted to enjoy the benefits associated with them. The first agricultural station in the U.S. was established in 1875. By 1880 there were four and by 1889, after the passage of the Hatch Act, the U.S. had 46 stations in operation (Atwater 1889:98). While Quebec and Ontario had established public and private facilities by 1859 and

1863 respectively, the Dominion Experimental Farms System of the Canadian Department of Agriculture was not started until 1886 (Anstey 1986:xiv).

The Canadians had slightly different motivations than their American counterparts in pursuing the project. Americans developed experimental stations because they believed that farmers in the States suffered from a “blind reliance upon improper systems... [and] clung to outmoded systems” that were causing undue suffering on American farms. Farmers were considered old-fashioned and out of step with technology (Marcus 1985:13). Canada’s approach was more focused on challenging the environment rather than blaming the farmer. In their hasty attempts to sway immigrants to Canada, the Department of Agriculture quickly realized that they had “no way of helping new arrivals decide which crops to grow or how to grow them.” They were not suggesting that farming techniques at the time were wrong, but that improvements in knowledge would help usher in new immigrants. By 1884 a committee was analyzing how the government could aid in improving Canadian agriculture (Anstey 1986:4-5). The objectives of the Experimental System were to: test the value and health of various plants, stock, feed, and fertilizers; study the quality of various methods of insect control, disease protection, and animal husbandry; gather useful statistical data and publish informative bulletins for the public (Anstey 1986:5-6). In April 1886, the government was empowered to establish experimental farms. It was decided to establish one central farm in the vicinity of Ottawa to serve Ontario and Quebec jointly and then four other farms in different parts of Canada. One of most important agricultural objectives of the Experimental Farm System was to “produce a spring wheat that would ripen before the fall frosts in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.” For this reason one station would be placed in the prairies (Anstey 1986:7-8).

Meyer wrote to the Department of the Interior to put forth La Rolanderie as an experimental farm, with himself as manager and M. Renoult as head gardener (Humpheries 1978:20). There were probably several reasons for Meyer to do this. It may have been a desperate attempt to fund his floundering project. Also, being the manager of an experimental farm would have increased Meyer’s prestige and probably made the settlement more attractive to European investors. His personal reputation was probably also at stake. Alsatians were considered to have a strong agricultural tradition. Alsace had the earliest agricultural schools and the first experimental farm in France (Agulhon et al. 1976:419-420). Professor William Saunders visited La Rolanderie in November 1886 to gauge its suitability as an experimental farm.

Saunders visited again in December but ultimately overlooked La Rolanderie as a suitable site. (Léonard 1987:67-69). Saunders instead chose the nearby farm at Indian Head (Anstey 1986:11). Meyer wrote a letter to Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General, to protest the decision, arguing that Saunders had visited when the ground was snow-covered and that a judgment about his farm should not have been reached based on those conditions. Meyer's letter also included his ideas for how the North-West Territories should be politically divided to maximize each region's economic output, as well as a suggestion that the experimental farms focus on growing grains that had proven successful between the Oder and Ural rivers in eastern Europe, since the climate of this region and the Canadian prairies was comparable (Humpheries 1978:21).

If Meyer had held out longer, he may have found his luck changing. By 1895, Saunders had come to the conclusion that the four existing experimental farms were not enough to represent all the different climates and conditions in Canada. More farms were opened between 1896 and 1909, including one in Rosthern, Saskatchewan. Coincidentally, one of the deciding factors in awarding a station to Lethbridge, Alberta, was the construction of a sugar beet factory there in 1904 (Anstey 1986:15-19, 34-35). Farmers at La Rolanderie would later attempt to establish a sugar beet factory as well. Unfortunately, an agricultural and economic agreement with the government evaded Meyer, and this set a pattern of challenges and failures that the community would have to face during the next decade.

## **2.5 Community Participants**

The original château of La Rolanderie was located in Maule, which was located in the department of Seine-et-Oise (since modified into the Yvelines department). Versailles, the former seat of the monarchy, was its capital. Maule itself is approximately 45 km west of Paris. Seine-et-Oise is part of the area known as *la grande couronne* [the large ring] of the Ile-de-France, because it was the large circle of less-populated suburbs that sat farther away from Paris (Mollat 1972:10). In being situated near to Paris, it would have been an excellent base of operations for the colonizing effort. The company was trying to attract two different people: the pragmatic peasant family and the adventurous wealthy investor. Meyer suggested that potential settlers have available to them 3,000 francs for expenses, that each family have two hard-working males and that one be either a farmer, mason or blacksmith (Humpheries 1978:18).

Eventually working-class families would emigrate to Canada but the original focus was on wealthier investors who could set up an economic situation that would entice poorer families with the promise of a better life.

Between 1887 and 1891 a dozen wealthy gentlemen and their families made their way from Europe to the banks of the Pipestone (Smeets 1980:5). Table 1 lists the pertinent gentlemen, their time spent in Assiniboia and any family that accompanied them. According to historical records, the prime players in the settlement were Comte Paul de Beudrap, a cousin of Rouffignac's wife, who arrived with his family in 1891; Baron van Brabant, his wife, children, and brother, who arrived from Belgium in May 1887; Comte Jean de Jumilhac; Comte Jules de Beaulaincourt; Comte Joseph de Farguettes; Comte Joseph de Langle; Comte Alphonse de Seyssel; Comte Henri de Soras; Emile Janet; and Robert Wolfe (Léonard 1987:84; Smeets 1980:5). Of this list, only Wolfe and Janet did not carry noble title (Léonard 1987:92). These gentlemen and their families came from all around France (see Figure 3), but most likely became involved in the colony through contacts in Paris. Most came directly from France, although there were exceptions: Charles de la Forest-Divonne lived for a year in Fannystelle, Manitoba, where his family owned land, before arriving at La Rolanderie (Léonard 1987:106). Besides those listed, a number of wealthy gentleman made the journey to Whitewood but only stayed briefly (a few weeks or months), including André de Gagnay, Comte de Miniac, and the parents and eight children of the Bidan de Saint-Mars family (Frémont 1980:122; Léonard 1987:82, 102). For the most part, the Counts arrived with unabashed optimism. Rouffignac's wide-eyed appraisal of the Pipestone valley was captured by Julian Ralph in his wide-reaching travelogue of the Canadian West. Ralph asserted that Rouffignac's opinion of the area was so high that "there [was] nothing to compare with it on earth" (Ralph 1892:8). Another count declared that "[e]verything in this country is better than in the old country." They claimed that the land did not need fertilizer and that half the labour was required to get the same result in Europe. This was in contrast to the heavy pessimism concerning the state of Europe. There the Counts complained of heavy taxation and a reduced standard of living due to economic depression. France was also seen as "anti-monarchist and in a war against religion..." (Smeets 1980:3). Smeets noted that Assiniboia offered the Counts an opportunity to revive their traditional social structure within an "aristocratic, Catholic, and French" context (Smeets 1980:3). Hewlett (1953B:4) stated that they disliked the republic in France and there is plenty of evidence of this. Hawkes remembered how

Table 1: List of Community Participants, alphabetically by commonly used surname (Sources: Léonard 1987:80-81, 89, 95, 125-126; Smeets 1980:4-5; TSH 1980:36, 38; WHBC 1992:102, 118-120, 790).

Name	Dept of Origin	Age at Arrival	Arrived	Departed	Length of Stay	Wife	Children at St. Hubert
Paul de Beaudrap de Denneville	Manche	?	1891	1899	8	Yvonne Ribord	4 (5 in total)
Jules Gustave Ange de Beaulaincourt	Vosges	39/40	1887/ 1888	1896	8/9	Marie-Therese	4
Van Brabant	Belgium	28	1887	1892?	5+?	Matilda	3
Van Brabant (brother)	Belgium	?	1887	1891	4	No	None
Fernand Carnoy	?	?	1892	1895	3	No	None
Joseph de Pradal de Farguettes	Haute-Garonne	19	1887	1890	3	No	None
Charles de la Forest de Divonne	Savoie	?	1890	?	?	No	None
Emile Joseph Abel Janet	Marne	26	1890	1898	8	No	None
Jean de Jumilhac	Calvados	36	1888	1898	10	No	None
Claude Alexis Joseph de Langle	Orne	21	1887	1901	4	Marie Josephine	?
Gonzague Legouz de Saint-Seine	Côte-d'Or	17	1891	1899	8	No	None
Guillaume de Roty de la Madeleine	Calvados	23	1889	1891?	2+?	No	None
Rudolph Hermann Meyer	Alsace	48	1885	1889	4	Yes	1
O'Diette	?	?	1892	1895	3	?	?
Max de Chauveau de Quercize	Saône-et-Loire	?	1888	1891?	3+?	No	None
Emile Renoult	Seine-et-Oise	?	1885	1895?	10+?	?	?
Marie Martial Yves de Rouffignac	Haute-Vienne	21	1886	1892?	6+?	Germaine de Salvaing	None
Alphonse de Seyssel-Sothonod	Ain	37	1890	1895	5	Julie Gay-Petrie	? (7 in total)
Gabriel Emile Henri de Veyre de Soras	Ardèche	26	1888	1904	6	No	None
Robert Wolfe	Rhône	24	1888	1891?	3+?	No	No

he gave his sympathies to Wolfe concerning the assassination of President Carnot. Wolfe, unperturbed by the event, shrugged his shoulders and replied, “Oh! We can get plenty of Presidents.” Hawkes took this statement to mean that elected officials were not as important as royalty (Hawkes 1924:938). The Counts probably did not admire the Third Republic much,

1. Ain
2. Alsace
3. Ardeche
4. Calvados (2)
5. Cote-d'Or
6. Haute-Garonne
7. Haute-Vienne
8. Manche
9. Marne
10. Orne
11. Rhone
12. Saone-et-Loire
13. Savoie
14. Vosges
15. Yvelines

\* Maule, Yvelines

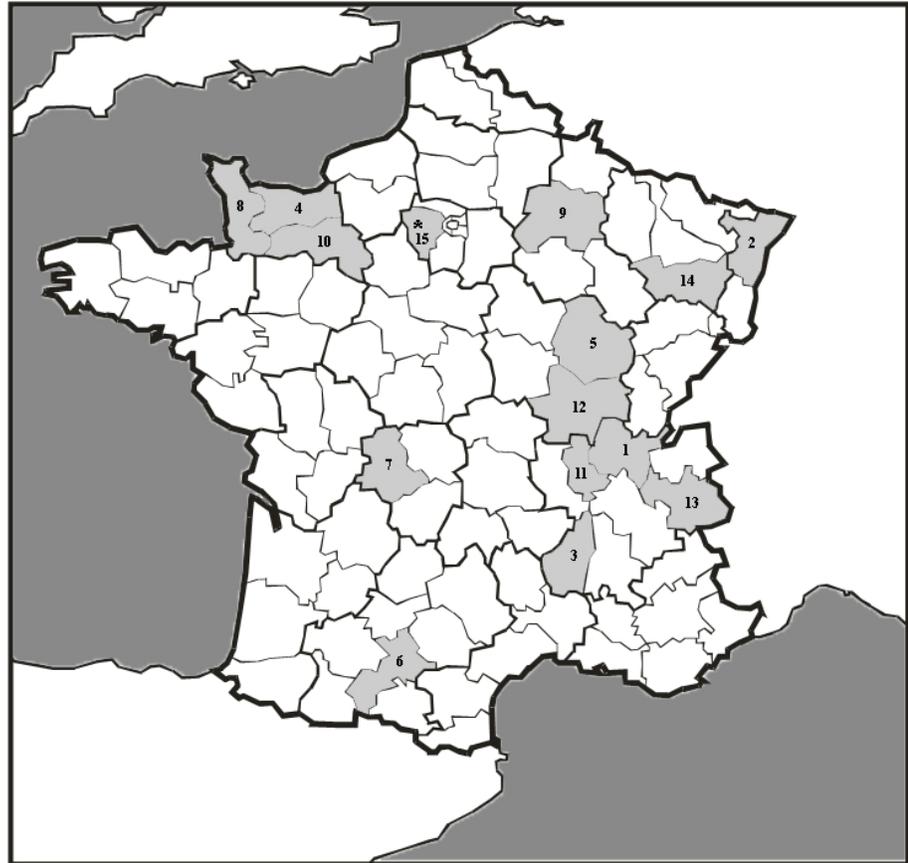


Figure 3: Departments of origin of the French aristocrats. (Sources: Léonard 1987:80-81, 89, 95, 125-126; Smeets 1980:4-5)

especially when it was later embroiled in the Panama Canal scandal and the Dreyfus Affair from 1893 to 1904 (Bury 2003:181-188).

While past authors have stressed the young aristocrats' aversion to the Third Republic, most recognize that distaste for representational democracy may not have been the driving force behind this settlement (Léonard 1987:74). Léonard noted that many came from rural aristocratic lineages that would not have wielded the same political power in France as the urban elites. Many also had military training at the officer school at Saint-Cyr (near Versailles), but had found this career path wanting. Seyssel left the military to marry while Beaudrap resigned because he could no longer reconcile his own moral principles with those of the military (Léonard 1987:92). For Léonard, these gentlemen

belonged to the agrarian aristocracy...Few of them were eldest sons and had little to expect from the family inheritance. The domains and titles would not be theirs and they

had to manage on their own and earn their living from scratch. As the shareholders of large enterprises such as 'La Rolanderie', they were recruited...in the different layers of the urban aristocracy whose fortunes were still fairly large. [Léonard 1987:76]

The older, perhaps more established community members had their own myriad of motives. Beaulaincourt, in a later letter to Father Fallourd, detailed in retrospect his motives for leaving France:

With a very small fortune that was made smaller by the crisis in agriculture, worried for the education of my children because of the spirit of the rich classess [sic] which have, so-to-say, no more inclination for good than for evil, I wanted to bring my family very far away and teach it about life far from wordliness [sic]. [Léonard 1987:84]

It is also interesting to note that in the 1891 Canadian Census, most of these gentlemen listed their occupations as either ranchers, farmers, or stock-raisers – the one notable exception being Beaulaincourt, who wrote down 'Artist' (Léonard 1987:84).

Much has been made by historians of the pedigrees of the aristocrats, and historians have gone to great lengths to prove them worthy of noble title. The Rouffignac, Beaudrap, and Jumilhac lineages had been ennobled since the years 1248, 1596, and 1597 respectively (Léonard 1987:182, 187, 193). Legouz de Saint-Seine was the son of a Marquis (Léonard 1987:89). Jumilhac was a prominent member of the Richelieu family, descendants of Cardinal Richelieu, powerful advisor to the monarchy in the seventeenth century (Hawkes 1924:937). Interestingly, Wolfe and Janet did not hold noble titles and yet fitted well into the community (Léonard 1987:92). In this regard, sources of wealth may have been just as valuable as lineage. Robert Wolfe was an associate of Pleyel-Wolfe pianos and brother-in-law of the Michelin brothers who owned a rubber factory and in the late 1880s began manufacturing Michelin tires (Frémont 1980:122). Emile Janet was the son of a wine-grower and Comte Charles de la Forest de Divonne the son of a famous French painter (Léonard 1987:88). M. O'Diette from Paris was the adopted son of the Marquis de Foucauld and nephew of the priest Charles de Foucauld, a famous explorer and missionary (Léonard 1987:90). Many also had already established a track record of travel and adventure. Wolfe was born in Paris but had already lived in London and New York (Hawkes 1924:938). Beaulaincourt had been a lieutenant in the army and a prisoner during the

Franco-Prussian War of 1870 (Léonard 1987:83). Emile Janet studied with the Jesuits at Reims and then at Ventor in the Isle of Wight in order to improve his English (Léonard 1987:189-190).

In Saskatchewan, the aristocrats were not afraid to display their wealth and carried on in this fashion as they would in the richly-populated social circles of Paris. Both the men and women kept up with the latest fashions from Europe and were sure to have plenty of quality clothing and possessions on hand. L.W.D. Parks characterized their flamboyant behaviour and dress as “perhaps memories of happier days overseas” and mentioned how their dresses “breathed an air of real distinction” (in Frémont 1980:126). At picnics, ladies wore “huge straw hats covered with green mosquito netting” (WHBC 1992:103). Parks, in a 1940 article in the *Whitewood Herald*, noted that the Count community had dogcarts and three- and four-in-hands phaetons for transportation, attended by coachmen and footmen. The ladies wore Parisian gowns, silk parasols, and elaborate hats. They also “imported foods, wines, confectionery... thoroughbred horses and dogs...” (in Humpheries 1978:20). Other material goods included “silver mounted harness, guns, furniture, pianos, linens, cutlery, glass, chine [sic]. They imported and also paid well in the Whitewood stores for luxuries unknown to pioneers of that date” (Hewlett 1953B:7). Before leaving, one Count auctioned off a grandfather clock that supposedly predated the French Revolution (Hewlett 1953A:10).

Some of the aristocratic gentlemen arrived alone. For example, Soras and de Langle remained single for the duration of this time (Léonard 1987:200; TSH 1980:182). Others brought family or began one in Canada. Rouffignac married while a member of the community and his wife joined him in Canada. Other men stayed single in the colony then left it specifically to get married. Only the Beudrap, Beaulaincourt, Seyssel, and van Brabant couples looked after children while members of the community. Comte de Beaulaincourt and his wife and four children lived in Whitewood, presumably to allow the latter to attend school easily (Frémont 1980:122). The aggregation of single men is most likely a factor of age: most were only in their early twenties when they arrived. Rouffignac, who found himself in a relative position of power, was only 21 upon arrival. Farguettes was only 19, Gonzague Legouze de Saint-Seine was only 17, and Charles de la Forest de Divonne was no more than a teenager. Despite being married, the Beudraps were young and had only been married for two years when they moved to Canada (Léonard 1987:185).

Many of the counts, such as de Farguettes and de Langle, applied for homesteads and lived on their land; others, like Beaulaincourt, lived in Whitewood (Hewlett 1954:4). (Figure 4 illustrates the land that the aristocrats utilized during their time in Assiniboia.) Both Soras and the Seyssel family initially lived on homesteads but moved into Whitewood at a later date (Léonard 1987:199-200). Some lived quite close to Whitewood or the Pipestone, others a fair distance away. De Langle took a ten-year grazing lease on an entire township (36 sections) in the shadows of Moose Mountain, about 30 km south of La Rolanderie (Léonard 1987:81; TSH 1980:36). Many of the Counts did not file their own applications but instead homesteaded on lands that were technically owned by the Company. The patent for La Rolanderie's quarter-section, for example, was filed by Meyer in 1885 and sold to "La Rolanderie Farming and Stock Raising Company" in 1889. Even though it was lived on almost continuously, the title was not transferred again until 1906. It was common for new arrivals to stay at another's home for an extended amount of time until a place of their own could be built or procured. Soras, for example, lived at Jumilhac's residence for the first year before moving near Moose Mountain to establish his own ranch, which he dubbed Kalenterin Ranch (Smeets 1980:5). Over the course of three years the van Brabants lived at Jumilhac's farm, Rouffignac's farm, and their own homestead (Léonard 1987:84).

A few of the houses built by the aristocrats on their homesteads came to be known by names that harkened back to their family lineages. As previously noted, La Rolanderie was named after a château in Maule. Jumilhac's home was named Richelieu after his family's ancestral estate (Frémont 1980:122). These buildings paled in comparison to the châteaux in France but were of considerable investment value here. Most homes were constructed out of wood and plaster although La Rolanderie was the only building with clay-brick cobwork within its walls. Seysell's home was constructed of brick (Smeets 1980:5). Richelieu was built with a front staircase wide enough for a carriage to be driven up (Léonard 1987:81). The buildings were also not without conveniences; Mrs. Frank Jordan mentioned that the Beudrap home that they purchased in 1906 had "a brass thing under the table, when you pressed your foot on it, it rang a bell in the kitchen" (in Hewlett 1953C:11). Beaulaincourt kept a life-size portrait of an Indian in the staircase of his house (Guitard 1977:112).

Meyer left the area for good on May 15, 1889. He was 50 years old and some historians have speculated that he left due to fatigue, although he would continue to publish on agriculture

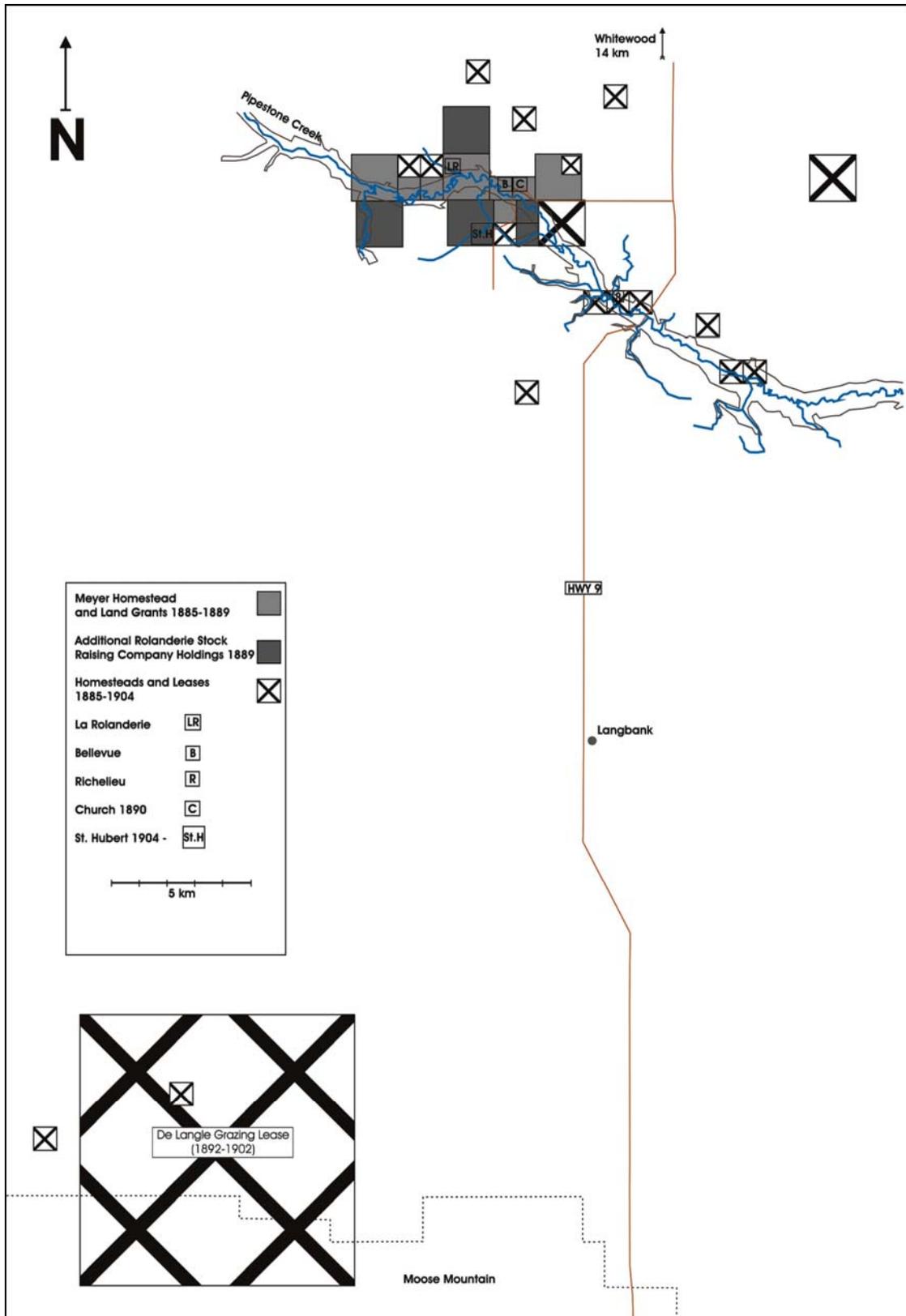


Figure 4: Map highlighting the French aristocratic community in the St. Hubert area. (Each homestead is one quarter-section)

and political science while in Europe until his death in 1899 (Léonard 1987:70-71). On May 23 a new property title was drawn up, putting the capital under possession of “La Rolanderie Farming and Stock Raising Company”. At this point the property comprised 4,480 acres and included hogs, horses, and a large herd of Shorthorn cattle (Léonard 1987:70-71). According to the April 29, 1891 edition of *Le Manitoba*, the principal shareholders of this company were Comte and Comtesse de Rouffignac, de Jumilhac, de Soras, Wolfe, the Van Brabant family, Janet, de Seyssel and family, the de Beudrap family, de Langle, and de Quercizel. Other shareholders were also named: the Marquis de Mentault, Baron Salvaing de Boissieu (Rouffignac’s father-in-law), Comtes Henri and Martial de Rouffignac (Rouffignac’s brothers), M. Lorin; Baron de Roland de Blansac, Comte de La Lande, Dinaux de Arsis (lieutenant in the cavalry) and his wife, de Saint-Saver-Bougainville (a naval lieutenant), Comte André de Ganao, Comtesse de Chabrilan, Vicomtesse de Béranger, and Mlle de Thury (Frémont 1980:242). It is possible that ‘Comte de La Lande’ is a misspelling of Comte de La Londe, the previously-mentioned colonizing agent. Of the others, all of them assuredly lived in France, acting more as investors and recruiters than settlers. Furthermore, the correspondence of the company shareholders highlights the existence of other, high-profile shareholders, including Henri Lorin (the famed French sociologist, but not the same Lorin who owned Rolanderie), Comte Albert de Mun, and the wife of sociologist Frederick Le Play, who had died in 1882. All were acquaintances of Meyer (Léonard 1987:85).

After Meyer left, the public face of the colony was Rouffignac. Rouffignac took over as Director of La Rolanderie after Meyer’s departure, and maybe even facilitated it (Léonard 1987:73). Léonard stated that Rouffignac lived with Meyer at La Rolanderie from 1886 to 1889, then built his own residence which he named Bellevue in honour of its great vantage point of the Pipestone valley (Léonard 1987:77). However, his stay at Bellevue was short. After Meyer’s departure, Rouffignac “redore son blazon” (“re-gilded his coat of arms”, as Frémont eloquently puts it); this referred not to building the settlement to glory, but to marrying the daughter of a wealthy industrialist who possessed a sizeable dowry (Frémont 1980:124). Rouffignac married Germaine Marie Louise Isabelle de Salvaing de Boissieu in 1890 when he was 25 and she 19 (Léonard 1987:191-192). They married in France and when he returned to Canada with his new bride in 1890 they took up residence in the by then vacant La Rolanderie (Hewlett 1954:6).

Probably the most important facet of Meyer's exit is that from 1889 onwards, the settlement was no longer under his control, meaning that he no longer shaped its policies or goals.

## **2.6 Economic Activities**

Rudolph Meyer had a large capacity for energy, despite being twice as old as most others in the colony. Meyer bred shorthorn cattle, horses, and pigs. He also cultivated grains, but these went mostly to feed the livestock rather than for sale (Frémont 1980:122). Meyer began experimenting with sugar beets in 1886 (Léonard 1987:69). One of the requirements of his original Order-of-Council was the establishment of a cheese factory on his property. The first summer he was in Assiniboia (July 1885) he called a meeting of area farmers to bring forth the idea of forming a dairy cooperative that would service a Gruyere cheese factory. He even worked out a constitution for the project, but the idea went no further under his direction (Léonard 1987:58). Meyer's efforts are mentioned by Henry Tanner in his work promoting the advantages of the North-West to prospective immigrants. He referred to "Dr. Meyer's Colonisation System", identified it as a Swiss settlement, and discussed the merits of the settlement's dairy production. This report obviously concerned a settlement in its formative stages, and much of the work mentioned is nothing but speculation by Meyer at this point. But Tanner, in his role as propagandist, fed off the optimism of Meyer, even stating that the "success of this work will be watched with the deepest interest" Tanner (1885:42-43). While none of these predictions came to pass, the sugar beet and cheese projects would later be revived by some of the aristocrats. When Meyer left the Pipestone, he had built up a substantial agricultural investment that also reflected his socially-responsible business manner.

A large portion of the ill repute heaped on the aristocrats by later historians probably derives from the activities of Rouffignac, who was described in such terms as "frivolous and irresponsible" (Guitard 1977:111) and an "irrepressible enthusiast, who seems to have had a finger in every pie and usually burnt it undismayed" (Hewlett 1954:6). In 1890 he did not grow enough grain to feed the pigs that Meyer had raised and was forced to slaughter them – after which he could not procure enough salt to cure the meat, and abandoned most of it to rot (Fallourd in Léonard 1987:86). Auguste Bodard, a colonization agent in the 1880s who specialized in French immigration, mentioned in exasperation that the French families in

Whitewood were only cultivating half of what they owned, and that “elles se plaignent du pays quand c’est leur faute [they complain about the country when it is their fault]” (Frémont 1980:123).

Rouffignac was involved in numerous enterprises over the six years he was a member of the community. The first was a horse-raising venture. Farguettes and de Langle developed the idea to breed horses for the French cavalry. Farguettes and de Langle put up most of the capital for the project, while Rouffignac came in as a business partner. They purchased 135 mares and 15 stallions from Regina, and 65 more mares from a ranch in Pincher Creek, Alberta. For reasons undisclosed, this venture ended in a lawsuit between the parties less than a year later. Rouffignac lost the lawsuit and took a serious financial hit. Farguettes sold his share of the business. Soon afterwards, he injured his leg in an accident and returned to France. For the remainder of his time in Whitewood, de Langle remained the sole owner of the horses (Frémont 1980:122; Léonard 1987:80-81). Seyssel also ran a horse-raising enterprise on his ranch. He hired Joseph Cottin to care for the animals. Cottin, who had served in the French Cavalry in Africa and was an expert in raising cavalry horses, arrived with his family from Lochieu, France in 1893. After Seyssel left in 1895, Cottin took his own homestead (WHBC 1992:554). Neither operation appears to have reached the point of selling the horses to France, although they did conduct business within Assiniboia itself. The reality of European economics may have doomed the idea from the start, as the French military – especially those divisions stationed on the eastern border – often found it less-expensive to purchase cavalry mounts from Germany or Switzerland (Braudel 1990:313).

Numerous aristocrats raised sheep as well. Soras, Beaudrap, Quercize, and Wolfe all kept sheep on their homesteads (Hewlett 1954:5). Larger-scale sheep activity was situated in and around Moose Mountain. Max de Chaveau de Quercize managed a sheep ranch in Moose Mountain (Léonard 1987:89). Jumilhac joined with Wolfe and Soras and they purchased sheep from Alberta and Ontario and managed their own ranch. The herd was looked after by Tom Harkness, a Scottish immigrant, for four years, during which Jumilhac lived in town and came out periodically to inspect the operation (Hewlett 1953A:5). Harkness had a starting pay of thirty dollars a month (Hewlett 1954:6). As each successive aristocrat quit the area, they sold their share to Soras, who would end up as the sole owner of a few thousand sheep at his Kalenterin Ranch. Eventually he sold the business and moved to Whitewood (Léonard 1987:82).

Emile Janet arrived from Marne already armed with the idea of setting up a Gruyère cheese factory. He came with two collaborators: Alexandre Jeannot of Beynes (Seine-et-Oise) and François Dunand of Songieu (Ain), who would manage the enterprise (Frémont 1980:125). Janet would eventually leave with the other aristocrats but Jeannot and Dunand would become successful members of the community. Seyssel, who had some experience in the dairy business, having founded the Dairy Cooperative of Bassieu in 1875, came aboard as well (Léonard 1987:88, 199-200). The Counts believed that a large demand for cheese existed in Canada, especially Quebec and that focusing on quality Gruyère cheese would help them corner the market (Léonard 1987:99). The cheese factory was built east of Richelieu in 1892 and Janet kept a herd of 30 cows to supply it with milk (WHBC 1992:102). After most of Janet's herd died in the harsh winter, he purchased milk from area farmers at six cents a gallon (Hewlett 1953A:6). The preliminary production of Gruyère cheese failed miserably, as the Counts discovered that the levels of alkali in the soil produced milk that could not cure and age as required for Gruyère cheese and thus was unsuitable (TSH 1980:217). Even though the Gruyere cheese failed, they did manage to produce white and coloured cheeses that were displayed at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 (Hewlett 1953B:10). Their judgment of the local market, however, was poor, as none of the settlers could (or wished to) buy any cheese and they were unable to secure contracts farther abroad (TSH 1980:217). The factory closed down within a year, and Janet confided in Hawkes that he lost close to \$20,000 on the venture (Hawkes 1924:940).

Rouffignac and the Van Brabants also dabbled in coffee production. The van Brabants had previous experience in the coffee business in Belgium (Guitard 1977:112). Rouffignac and van Brabant set up the *Bellevue French Coffee Company* in 1889 and began producing coffee flavoured with chicory. According to Frémont, the chicory was the Van Brabants' idea. They believed the Prairie West was the ideal region to grow chicory as it was a crop known for resisting frosts and they felt that chicory as an additive improved the texture and taste of the coffee. Rouffignac, supplying the capital, imported seeds and machinery from Europe. The Van Brabants, handling the technical aspects, moved into Bellevue and planted chicory on all the available land in their possession. The Bellevue farm yard was converted into chicory drying and manufacturing stations. The roots were dried at Bellevue and roasted in the winter at La

Rolanderie by Emile Renoult. Once roasted the chicory was ground then mixed with coffee and packaged in tins (Frémont 1980:123; Smeets 1980:6).

Unfortunately, chicory harvesting was labour-intensive. Chicory had to be sown, thinned, and hoed by hand then dried on massive iron rods (Hewlett 1953A:7). Rouffignac hired regional aboriginals to help with chicory harvest (Léonard 1987:95). To entice others to participate, Rouffignac distributed free chicory seeds to area farmers to experiment with. If they sowed the chicory, Rouffignac promised harvests of 250 to 400 bushels per acre and offered a purchasing price of thirty cents a bushel. Many farmers took up the offer (Léonard 1987:93). The coffee, known under the brands *Franco-Dutch Coffee Co.* and *Bellevue French Coffee Manufacturing Co.* was first produced in June 1889. Rouffignac announced that they had shipped “more than 40,000 lbs of coffee throughout Canada” via the main CPR line. He also announced orders topping 1.5 million lbs (or 680,388 kg). According to the press, the company shipped 300 to 500 lbs (136 to 226 kg) a week. The next spring they set ambitious goals: flush out new markets to reach a sale of 3 million pounds of coffee, including destinations in China and Japan. They secured a contract with the Lamont Brothers of Whitewood in 1890 to manufacture tin cans (Léonard 1987:94).

The operation certainly attracted attention outside of the North-West and the talk was optimistic. The *Ottawa Citizen* ran an 1891 article about the “Franco-Dutch Company”, claiming that “chicory plays a great part in our best coffees, and the chicory grown in the North-West is the best in the world, being sweeter than Dutch, German or French, which last is very bitter.” In the article Rouffignac claims to have yielded 250 bushels per acre the year before (Lapoint and Tessier 1986:63). Watson Griffin, in his sweeping geographical survey of Canada for the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society of New York*, briefly mentions La Rolanderie, stating that “chicory is now being cultivated on an extensive scale by a Franco-Dutch company. It is said to be superior to any produced in Europe...” Griffin also cites the figure of 250 bushels per acre (Griffin 1890:420).

The reality could not match the expectation. The ambitious plans for expansion were wishful thinking as sales were mediocre at best. The coffee quickly acquired a tremendously poor reputation and was considered of inferior quality with too much added chicory. In April 1891 the barn at Bellevue burned down and Rouffignac viewed it as a sign to quit. The van Brabants moved the operation to Richelieu and renamed it the *Richelieu Coffee Brand*. Guitard

observes that the “bad reputation of the ‘Bellevue Coffee Brand’ forced them to seek a market outside of Saskatchewan” and the product was mostly sold in Winnipeg (Guitard 1977:112). In July 1893, the Richelieu barn also burned down and the van Brabants gave it up. Beaudrap purchased the remaining machinery and focused his work on the chicory alone. The resurrected chicory enterprise was conducted by Emile Renoult, with the financial backing of Paul de Beaudrap. They advertised in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria, and Toronto and were able to make a modest profit selling just the chicory (Frémont 1980:128). Although Beaudrap claimed the chicory-only operation was a small success, Smeets stated there existed “no record of a sale of the additive to a buyer even as far as Regina.” But according to sources, Beaudrap continued the business until 1899 (Smeets 1980:7).

The most ambitious project was probably that of the sugar beet refinery. At the end of the nineteenth century, sugar beet was a prized agricultural commodity in France. Sugar beet production was seen in France as “a hundred times better than winegrowing” (Braudel 1990:335). The amount of land used for sugar beet cultivation doubled from 1852-1882 (Agulhon et al. 1976:236). Sugar beet was the only exception to the rule of depressed agricultural prices in the 1880s. Its resilience to economic forces may have been due to plant breeding that led to increased sugar content in new strains of beet. The growing return from a single beet, coupled with a generally fixed price on the manufacturing end, made profits soar. In fact, the price of sugar beets increased consistently for fifteen years (Agulhon et al. 1976:396). The use of sugar beet actually increased wheat yields as well. Switching the land every year between sugar beets and wheat allowed for better returns of both (Agulhon et al. 1976:236). Between 1885 and 1894, France produced 64 million quintals of sugar beets. While this was down from the previous and next decade (78 and 75, respectively), this dip was far less drastic than other agricultural production during this period (Price 1987:9). In France by the 1870s, sugar beet cultivation had reached 253,000 hectares, almost double that of even ten years previous and continued to hover around this number straight into the next century. There was a downside, however. Sugar beet cultivation utilized large amounts of fertilizer and deeply ploughed fields. To be successful, it required substantial capital for seed and manure costs, easy access to or ownership of a refinery and an accessible market dependent on cheap transportation costs. And, as alcohol was a by-product, the most profitable sugar beet operations in France were run in tandem with alcohol refineries (Price 1983:370).

The sugar beet project had first been outlined by Meyer in 1886 but was not initiated by Rouffignac until 1890 (Guitard 1977:111). He met with shareholders in France and outlined a plan that required \$350,000 for capital costs and at least 50 farmers to cultivate 10-15 acres to produce enough beets (Léonard 1987:98). Rouffignac also predicted that the factory would need 300 employees in order to operate effectively (Hawkes 1924:939). Rouffignac met the Minister of Customs in Ottawa and convinced him to have the machinery shipped for free on the rail lines from Montreal to Whitewood (Frémont 1980:127). Rouffignac and van Brabant held a community meeting in Whitewood shortly after his return from France in 1890. They focused on the crop's profitability and its hardiness in frost climates (Smeets 1980:7). Rouffignac declared that farmers who were able to capture 60 tonnes per acre would profit forty to fifty dollars per acre, minus labour costs. This was an attractive proposition for area farmers (Léonard 1987:98).

In France Rouffignac procured Villenovrie variety sugar beet seeds, a strain that does not grow very large but has a high sugar yield of 17.5% (Hawkes 1924:939). Seeds were distributed to area farmers, who had a successful crop in 1890 (Smeets 1980:7). Again, hopes of success were high. News about the sugar beet refinery made it into the November 1890 edition of the *Manitoba Free Press* (Hewlett 1954:6). Parks stated that "it was thought that by cultivating the sugar beet the farmers could produce a commodity which would rival wheat production in that it would give richer returns per acre" (in Smeets 1980:7). But they hit a production wall because of the process' by-product, which was alcohol. Partly as a measure to keep liquor away from Indian reserves, the government required a permit to hold or produce liquor and the Lieutenant-Governor refused to grant one for its production. Rouffignac and the van Brabants paid the farmers for their produce but were unable to do anything with the beets. (Smeets 1980:7).

Other enterprises including a brush-making factory but this also produced no results (Smeets 1980:7). Their ambitions to run a light railway from Whitewood to the Pipestone also came to naught (Hawkes 1924:939). As well, the increased tariff protection could not have helped any ideas the Counts had of importing goods into France. Many Counts participated in the World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893, and promoted both their cheese and their coffee. Unfortunately, they did not seem to gain the exposure for their products that they were seeking. An important side note involves Rouffignac's trip to France to discuss the beet-sugar operation. When he left, he put Guillaume de Roty in charge. De Roty, twenty-three years old, had no agricultural experience. Rouffignac later blamed de Roty of mismanaging the

settlement although evidence suggests the settlement was already well on its way to financial difficulty (Guitard 1977:111).

In summary, the French Counts were an ambitious group of businessmen. They attempted multiple enterprises that stretched in various directions. When one project failed, they reached for another in an almost haphazard manner. None of these enterprises had any apparent connection to the other, except for their revenue possibilities and their mirroring of already established and successful businesses back in France. The aristocrats were aware of the business ventures that worked in France and tried to recreate them in Assiniboia without an adequate understanding of the land. Even when faced with failure, the aristocrats did not seem to alter their methods or approach in any perceivable manner.

## **2.7 Social Activities**

In local histories, the aristocrats are perhaps best known for their social pursuits rather than their economic ones. Even though they were living in the relatively isolated abode of the Prairie West, the French Counts refused to give up the finer trappings of life back in France. The Counts participated in fox hunting on horseback and complete with hounds. The aristocrats also had a great love for horse races and attended them at Cannington Manor and Moosomin during the summers. Parks describes such a scene:

Indians in festive attire, on one side, a racially mixed group of settlers nearby and, in another spot, the French aristocrats in faultless riding attire, ensemble complete to crop and martingale, accompanied by their ladies, sitting in high dogcarts or in phaetons dressed in Parisian gowns and hats protecting their fair complexions from the sun with frilly silk and lace parasols. [in Guitard 1977:112]

The aristocrats had numerous associations with other settlers in Assiniboia, many of them prominent citizens. The previously-mentioned Count de Cazes had regular contact with the French Counts. His adopted uncle, Dr. James Bird, landowner around Round Lake in the Qu'Appelle River valley, was also a close associate (WHBC 1992:469-470). Benjamin Limoges, the oft-mentioned French-Canadian who had made his early fortunes in business in Chicago and ran the general store “was naturally the man to whom they [Counts] turned for advice and information” (WHBC 1992:863). He was most likely responsible for importing many of the

goods they requested. Dr. Francis Guerin was a dentist who arrived separately from the Counts, but became close with them. The aristocrats hunted for foxes on the Guerins' land and enjoyed beverages at their home. Comte de Seyssel taught their daughter Elsie to paint. Local histories also note that "Mrs. Guerin was always very popular with all the French people and she spoke their language fluently" (WHBC 1992:103, 697).

The aristocrats also formed close relationships with other nearby communities that had been formed under similar circumstances. The town of Grenfell, a short distance west of Whitewood, had its own version of a short-lived aristocratic settlement. English lords began to settle there in the 1880s and were referred to as the "Remittance Men". They too enjoyed fine luxury items and engaged in horse racing, polo, and hunting with the hounds. Again, most of their enterprises failed – one gentleman even tried to build a winter resort just north of the town – but they helped build the grain elevator, the first private bank and many of the stone buildings in the town (Yule 1967:49-53). The French aristocrats also associated with the elite members of Cannington Manor. The latter was a short-lived settlement that was founded in 1881 by British upper-middle class military families. The initial purpose of the settlement was for it to act as an agricultural school for young men of wealthy families. These British gentlemen and families also participated in fox hunts, dances, and concerts (Enns-Kavanagh 2002).

The aristocrats did not shy away from the town social life and in many instances embraced it. Léonard described the small circle of aristocrats as "not exclusive of others and rather showed a social awareness. Many of its members took a more than symbolic part in the cultural, social and political life of the area" (Léonard 1987:112). Jumilhac was the founding president of the Whitewood Gun Club (Léonard 1987:105). De Langle was a member of the Whitewood Skating and Curling Rink Company. Emile Janet was on the board of the Whitewood Flour Mill and also a Justice of the Peace. De Soras appears on the list of municipal councilors in 1896 (Léonard 1987:105). In 1892, the 61 names comprising the first mayoral and councilor electoral list included the following and their qualifications: "Comte de Beaulincourt...House and lots"; "Comte de Soras...House and Stables, Stock"; "Robt. Wolff...House and lots" (WHBC 1992:59). Several Counts played in the town band, which performed in engagements as far away as Regina and Winnipeg. As part of the Whitewood band, Jumilhac played the small bugle, Soras the piston, Wolfe the clarinet, and Langle the drum (Frémont 1980:126). Jumilhac and Wolfe often brought their musical instruments on social

visits, frequently playing the “cotillons [sic] that enlivened their companions”, a type of square-dance with four couples. They were also known to play benefit concerts (Léonard 1987:103). Interestingly, Jumilhac taught the violin to a young May Guerin, who later became the first violinist in the Regina Symphony (WHBC 1992:697).

The presence of all these single, young, wealthy gentlemen meant that a degree of courtship had to be expected. The daughters of Guerin seem especially coveted. May Guerin was courted by de Jumilhac, but he was much older than her and she declined his advances. Comte de Soras was engaged to her sister Elsie, “but his mother, the Countess in France forbade it and ordered him home to France or she would cut off his income” (WHBC 1992:697). The role of parenthood is important here: de Soras’ mother obviously had significant objections to the marriage. It is also possible that Whitewood parents were alarmed by any perceived rambunctious behaviour by the single French noble gentlemen and this fear contributed to any negative attitudes that settlers had of them.

There are numerous stories of the aristocrats as generous hosts. The most romantic memories of them described their “most gracious hospitality and peculiarly Gallic courtesy” (McCourt 1968:31). This included a story of an unpaid bill, as told by Hawkes:

Thus, when a boarding-house landlady protested to a French Count that one of his compatriots had skipped off without paying his board bill the Count hastened to reassure her: ‘My friend has a little money, but he will pay you. If you were a man perhaps not so. But you are a lady; he is a gentleman. He will pay you.’ And in due course he did.  
[McCourt 1968:31]

Novelist Leon de Tinseau, who stayed in the community for five days, found that his accommodation “prend des airs de chateau quand on y est reçu par le comte de Rouffignac” [takes airs of a castle when one is received there by Count Rouffignac] (Frémont 1980:125). Whitewood had two hotels: the Woodbine and the Alhambra. The Alhambra Hotel was renamed the Commercial Hotel in 1892, although it was often referred to by locals as the Counts’ “Town House” (WHBC 1992:67, 255). The Alhambra/Commercial Hotel would be the one frequented by the Counts. They frequently held parties there to celebrate various events, including the visit of Rouffignac’s parents-in-law, the Baron and Baroness de Salvaing de Boissieu (and other distinguished visitors), and the farewell party for Charles de Cazes, who had been assigned to Edmonton as an Indian Agent (Frémont 1980:125-126; Léonard 1987:102). Dinners at these

gatherings commonly consisted of seven or eight courses. The food at one dinner party thrown by Soras included a pig stuffed with a whole goose, a whole fowl filled with epicurean dressing, and oysters (Hewlett 1953A:11; C:15).

According to McCourt, there were subtle differences between Cannington Manor and La Rolanderie: “they held court once a year in the Whitewood Hotel, and, in contrast to the more exclusive Cannington Manor hosts, invited all the world to share the frolic and the wine...” (McCourt 1968:31). The Counts frequently wished to show their charity by spreading their wealth at certain social occasions. Rouffignac threw the reception for the marriage of his housemaid and servant in September 1891. According to Léonard the “marriage was lavish, all the Catholics in the neighbourhood having been invited” (Léonard 1987:104).

As has been shown with Rudolph Meyer, there may also have been undercurrents of tension running through the aristocrats’ relationships with the general populace. Some friction existed between the aristocrats and other area farmers. Hewlett quotes a disenchanted English settler who felt that the aristocrats “expected the families they brought out [sic] to live on black bread and radishes, like they did in Europe”. The settler acknowledged that the aristocrats were “superb riders”, but felt that they “looked down on us as if we were dirt. They tried to ram their French ways down our throats...” (Hewlett 1953A:2). It has also been suggested that the Counts lumped all English-speakers as ‘Anglais’, regardless of which country or region they originated from (Ontario, Britain, Scotland, United States, etc), and this may not have endeared them to some (Hewlett 1953D:2). Hewlett also noted that the language barrier and the “haughtiness of the Frenchmen’s manner” led even the wealthy gentlemen of Cannington Manor to at times “dub them ‘snobs’” (Hewlett 1954:6). Frémont indicates that the perceived haughtiness of their behaviour may have had its roots in the language barrier. He frames their social activities as sincere attempts to “*entrer dans cet esprit de communaute fraternelle* [join the spirit of the fraternal community] (Frémont 1980:126). Regardless, not everyone in the Whitewood area welcomed them with open arms.

## **2.8 Establishment of St. Hubert**

The Counts were also instrumental in building and sustaining a Catholic community in the area. Between 1887 and 1890, Roman Catholic religious services were held in Comte de

Beaulaincourt's home in Whitewood (WHBC 1992:97). The Counts recognized that if a Francophone community was to be encouraged and maintained, a strong and vibrant church structure was required in the area. According to *The Colonist*, in 1889 de Rouffignac and van Brabant met with Monseigneur Langevin to work out the details for establishing a Catholic parish at La Rolanderie. Langevin was a bishop at St. Boniface and would eventually become Taché's successor in 1895. Langevin agreed that the Catholic community had grown large enough to warrant its own church (Smeets 1980:5). On April 5, 1890, Abbé Leon Muller arrived in Whitewood to develop the idea. Muller was originally from Paris but for the past year been presiding over the church at Fannystelle, Manitoba, where he had been the tutor for Charles de Forest-Divonne (Guitard 1977:113).

It was decided to build the church closer to the Francophone community along the Pipestone rather than in Whitewood. Muller stayed at La Rolanderie to oversee the construction of a church, which was completed in August 1890. The nobility and the French-speaking Catholics of the area paid for the erection of the church. Fashioned from stone, the church was constructed by French masons on top of a high bluff overlooking the Pipestone. It sported an elaborately-carved oak door and eight stained-glass windows that were manufactured in France and then shipped to the parish. An oil painting of the Annunciation, executed by Comte de Forest-Divonne, the father of Charles, hung inside (Frémont 1980:124). The new parish was christened St. Hubert. Although most likely named for the patron saint of hunting, it is interesting to note that de Seyssel's son was also named Hubert (Smeets 1980:5).

During the planning stages of the parish, the gentlemen concluded that the development of the St. Hubert district would be better served by regulating the sale of homesteads. They decided to purchase large blocks of land that could then be given to new settlers, ensuring that they would not be spread out in individual homesteads. Rouffignac and Brabant purchased 14 quarters in Township 14 (all of sections 31, 33, and 35, plus east half of 34) and 14 quarters north of the valley in Township 15 (all of sections 2 and 9, north halves of 4 and 5, and south half of 3). (See Figure 4, Additional Holdings) This land was then sold to the Diocese of St. Boniface at cost (Smeets 1980:5). The Diocese of St. Boniface resold it to the Sons of Mary Immaculate in 1903, who would preside over the parish for the duration of its service (WHBC 1992:97).

Muller left in August 1890 to return to Paris to work at colonizing the newly-christened parish of St. Hubert (Smeets 1980:5). The church had itinerant priests from 1886 to 1893. L'Abbe Henri Nayrolles arrived from France in 1891 and served as reverend until 1893 (WHBC 1992:97). The house at Bellevue, situated less than a quarter-section west, served as the rectory (Frémont 1980:130-131). In 1903, the stone church of 1890 was demolished and a new one was built "three miles [4.8 km] south in a more central location for the twelve Roman Catholic families in the congregation." Some of the hardwood and stained-glass windows were reused. The location of the original church was commemorated in 1940 when a stone cairn was erected. The church also served as a school until 1907 (WHBC 1992:98). Father Jerome Boutin was the first permanent pastor for the Sons of Mary Immaculate and served until 1918 (WHBC 1992:98). Father Benjamin Fallourd, who lived at St. Hubert from 1904 until his death in 1949, served afterward (Frémont 1980:131). The church became the central gathering place for the St. Hubert community. A village formed next to the second location of the church and it also bore the name of St. Hubert.

## **2.9 Impacts of the Community on the Surrounding Area**

Regardless of their failings, the aristocrats had a major impact on social and economic life in Whitewood and the surrounding area. Probably their most important contribution was their role in bringing so many Francophone families to settle near Whitewood. From the beginning, the aristocrats "imported whole families to work for them, land workers, gardeners, grooms, house servants, and craftsmen" (Hewlett 1954:4). Léonard argued that the main goal of the settlement was for the aristocrats to "to make their capital produce and to rapidly acquire a certain influence" (Léonard 1987:92). A large labour force was needed to realize this goal. For example, Rouffignac predicted that the sugar beet factory would need 300 employees (Hawkes 1924:939). The Counts were perpetually short of labour to work their numerous activities. The aristocrats may have genuinely been concerned for the welfare of poor families in France and wanted to help them establish a better life. The following story frames this concern clearly. In 1892, Pierre Raffard, Joseph Cottin, and Octavie Dunard were all heading to New York on the same steamer *Sardinia* as was Comte de Seyssel. Not only did Seyssel help the new immigrants through customs but he found inexpensive lodgings for them and then kept in contact with them

on their journey to western Canada (WHBC 1992:1017). While admirable, there is no denying that there existed an economic motive in actions such as this. Not only would the aristocrats have a large Francophone workforce at their disposal but they believed that the settlers would become a customer base for the products they produced (Smeets 1980:6).

Although the aristocrats ideally wanted French employees, they were willing to hire other people in the area. Meyer hired people of different races and languages from around the area (Frémont 1980:122). Father Fallourd, the St. Hubert parish priest in the early twentieth century, stated that this “personnel, composed of French, English, German, Swede, etc, could not talk to each other except by signs...” They also hired Aboriginals, most notably during the chicory pulling season at Bellevue in 1890 (Smeets 1980:6). The difficulty in communicating with the various employees caused the aristocrats to seek out Francophone employees. For the most part this meant attracting settlers from Francophone nations.

The shareholders spent considerable energy promoting their colony to potential settlers and to a certain degree succeeded in drawing rural and working-class families to the Pipestone. Renewed colonizing efforts included the promise of “free and comfortable homes, liberty and remunerative employment” and one homestead per each head of family (Colonist 1963:35). It is unclear if the promised homestead was that provided by the federal Homestead Act or from the Counts’ land grants. Rouffignac spent the winter of 1886-87 recruiting settlers and returned to Canada with other colonists in May 1887 (Léonard 1987:79). He spent the winter in France again in 1889, this time to get married, but also did more promotion. Baron van Brabant spent the winter of 1891 in Belgium for the same purpose. Some success came out of these endeavours. Between March 26, 1892 and October 3, 1893, 88 French and Belgian immigrants settled at St. Hubert (Smeets 1980:6). Several families came from the Ardennes region in Belgium at the behest of the Van Brabants. Others came from Annonay (Ardeche), the home of Comte de Soras and were most likely influenced by his persuasions (Frémont 1980:125). The Whitewood history book is filled with examples of families who came from various regions of France and Belgium, including Brittany, Pompaire, Annoyay and Lochieu (WHBC 1992:486-563).

Conditions for these families when they first arrived varied. Some workers came by themselves and sent for their families later, sometimes years later (TSH 1980:64). Some had to live in workers’ shacks on the Rolanderie, Bellevue, and Richelieu properties, described by one settler as simple buildings with benches chipped by axe out of the wooden walls (Hewlett

1953B:3). Separate workers' cottages dotted many of the quarter-sections owned by the company (TSH 1980:217). Other settlers, especially those hired as house servants, were able to live in the residences of the aristocrats. For example, six employees lived at Richelieu in 1891 (Léonard 1987:82).

Among the aristocrats' other lasting impacts was their role in the infusion of cash into the community. The French Counts and the working-class families both faced the same physical and social dangers as other potential immigrants (such as the exaggeration of positive soil and climate conditions in government promotional material) and each had to weigh the cost of immigration with the potential of success or failure (Macdonald 1966:2). In general, the working-class families probably had fewer options waiting for them back in Europe than did the aristocrats and were likely more willing to stick it out. Even with help from the Counts, life at the beginning would have been difficult for these families. It took three years to secure title to a homestead, during which time the occupant had to be living on the land for at least six months each year, had to have erected a shelter and to have either cultivated at least 15 acres or constructed a barn and raised 20 head of cattle. Between 1871 and 1930, two of every five homestead applications on the Canadian prairies were cancelled (Waiser 2007:158). Successful homesteading depended on "[t]iming, location, capital, experience, assistance, endurance – and sheer good luck" (Waiser 2007:159). Since crops usually took several years before they could be relied on consistently for income, homesteaders had to find other ways to ensure survival (Waiser 2007:160). Thus, there existed a large workforce for the aristocrats to utilize and an avenue of employment for settlers to aid in acquiring money and establishing their own homesteads (Smeets 1980:6).

Even though many families initially arrived as employees for the Counts, they eventually came to stand on equal footing, at the very least in economic terms. Emile Renoult, the gardener who had accompanied Meyer in 1886 worked for Meyer, Limoges and then Rouffignac in multiple capacities (Léonard 1987:79). He was able to acquire his own homestead in 1890 and held it until 1895 (WHBC 1992:120). Jean Sage from Ardeche, France arrived in Canada in 1886. He worked for de Soras and de Jumilhac for three years at Richelieu. Baron Van Brabant paid his last wage: a black horse, saddle and bridle and a dog. In 1889 he purchased horses from de Beaudrap and in 1898 purchased 23 mares and four geldings from de Langle (TSH 1980:200). Another example, found in the Whitewood history book, relates to Francois Dunard's experience

with the Counts: “He worked for them for three years. Each year he was given two weeks off in which he could prepare his own homestead. He was paid \$900.00 for the three years he was in their employ. He got his own homestead and built a house on it” (WHBC 1992:626). The histories of both St. Hubert and Whitewood are convoluted with references to the economic relationship that area families had with the aristocrats, including forms of employment and duties of various jobs. It was common for people to work for two or three Counts in varying capacities. Employment under the Counts proved to be a stepping stone for many to establishing their own economic independence.

In general, the aristocrats’ participation in social activities, importation of quality goods, implementation of business, and investment of money considerably increased the circulation of cash in the area (Guitard 1977:112-113). Their push to construct a Catholic parish was invaluable as it created a spiritual centre for the French families to unite around. They injected a large amount of capital and were instrumental in bringing a Francophone population to the area (Hewlett 1954:3). Their impact on the community cannot be overestimated.

## **2.10 Social Transformation of the Study Area during the Twentieth Century**

By the turn of the century most of the aristocrats had abandoned the area. While many of the aristocrats did not frequent the area any longer than a couple of years, most of the key figures in the settlement effort stayed longer: Beaudrap, Beaulaincourt, Janet, Jumilhac, Rouffignac and Soras all resided in the area for six to eight years. Rouffignac’s exit probably signalled the end of aristocratic involvement in the settlement. Rouffignac accused Guillaume de Roty, who Rouffignac left in charge during his trips to France, of ruining the company in a matter of months. The veracity of this claim is debatable (Frémont 1980:124). What is certain is that the shareholders did not feel their investment was sound. The Baron and Baroness of Salvaing were on hand to witness some of the festivities and “thought these expenses to be too extravagant.” The blame that Rouffignac fostered on de Roty was not enough to save the former and in the spring of 1892 Fernand Carnoy, an industrial engineer, was sent by the Baron to replace Rouffignac as administrator of the settlement (Léonard 1987:104). Although many Counts remained when Rouffignac left (presumably around 1892 when he was replaced by Carnoy), the passion for the settlement appears to have waned from this point on.

The abandonment of the community by the aristocrats is probably best symbolized in a statue. A statue of Saint-Hubert was crafted in France in 1893 at the expense of the Duchesse d'Uzes in France. It was a replica of one that stood outside the basilica at Montmartre. The Baron Salvaing de Boissieu had it shipped from France to Chicago as the artist wished to have it displayed at the Exhibition that year. From there it was transported to St. Boniface, where it sat. Boissieu had strong doubts about the future of the colony and delayed sending it farther. After a visit in 1892, he wrote in 1893 to Archbishop Taché in St. Boniface that the community was doomed for failure and that the statue should not be sent any farther than it had already gone. Instead, it remained in Saint Boniface and was placed at the archbishop's residence. Sometime later it was moved to the garden of the museum in St. Boniface (Frémont 1980:128; Hewlett 1953C:5; Pierrette Boily, personal communication 2009).

The aristocrats departed from the area in a trickle, much in the way they had arrived. Many of them had to borrow money from relatives in France in order to afford the return journey (Smeets 1980:8). According to Hawkes (1924:938), the last Count to leave was de Wolfe. Hawkes could be judged a good authority on the subject, as he knew many of the Counts. Hawkes claimed that Wolfe moved to Winnipeg but does not mention what happened afterward (Hawkes 1924:941). The last confirmed mention of Wolfe in the historical records, however, is 1891. Only slightly more is known of de Langle. According to Smeets (1980:7), de Langle sold his land in 1904 to open a general store in Whitewood and lived in the community until 1913. The Whitewood History Book also mentions de Langle's store, but indicates no dates (WHBC 1992:103).

The aristocrats' reasons for ultimately leaving were varied. Beaulaincourt was presumably never happy in Saskatchewan. According to Guitard, Beaulaincourt's letters to the Minister of Affaires Etrangères of France in 1894 complained that he had been misled in the quality of life he would find upon arrival in Whitewood. In fact, many of the aristocrats appear to have sent complaints to the French consul in Montreal, who dutifully passed these on to the Minister (Guitard 1977:113). However, Beaulaincourt's complaints did not mean he had given up on Canada; in fact, the family was one of the longest to stay. They lived in Whitewood for eight or more years, then spent time in Kentville, Nova Scotia, and Campbelton, New Brunswick, before returning to France. The Beaulaincourts had eight children, at least one of whom was born in Whitewood. One of the forenames of their son Antoine was Cachaca, a name

supposedly of an Indian tribe that resided on a reserve near Whitewood (Léonard 1987:185-186). Beaudrap left in 1899 “for family reasons” (Smeets 1980:7). Beaudrap referred to these reasons in a letter to Father Fallourd, citing that his wife was in frail health and that he was concerned for the education of his children and did not trust the quality of schooling in Whitewood (Léonard 1987:97). de Soras was called back to France when his brief engagement to Elsie Guerin caused a scandal back home (WHBC 1992:103). Similarly, Janet sold his homestead in 1898 because “his future father-in-law did not wish his daughter to go to Canada.” He married in France in October 1898 and became an associate of his father-in-law until 1914 (Léonard 1987:189-190).

When the Counts left they auctioned off many of their belongings and sold their land. Limoges was in charge of the auction and used the funds to recoup the debts that the aristocrats had incurred at his store. The shareholders put a Winnipeg lawyer in charge of the lands (Léonard 1987:108; WHBC 1992:97). Most of the land owned by the Stock Company was ceded to the parish in 1903 (Frémont 1980:129). Richelieu was closed in 1889 and eventually demolished (Smeets 1980:7). The Beaudrap place was sold to Joe Tadier, who sold it to Francois and Mary Jordens in 1906 (TSH 1980:139; WHBC 1992:790). Emile Renoult took over La Rolanderie after Carnoy left in 1895, although he too returned to Seine-et-Oise sometime before the turn of the century (Frémont 1980:130). La Rolanderie was sold to Dave Coleman in 1906, then sold to the Gatins. Adolph Gatin (who had worked for the Counts as a horse rancher) and his wife (who had worked as housekeeper and cook) purchased La Rolanderie in 1912 (TSH 1980:110-111, 139, 149). Bellevue was used as the church rectory until 1904 when the house was moved to Alexandre Jeannot’s property. It was eventually dismantled in 1941 and a new house was built with its lumber (Léonard 1987:108, 126).

Some Counts apparently were not ready to surrender their sense of adventure and searched for it elsewhere. In 1898 Jumilhac travelled north to Ile-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan, en route to the Yukon to become involved in the gold rush. The Hudson’s Bay Company clerk at Ile-à-la-Crosse, E.C.W. Lamarque, noted in 1898 that Jumilhac was one of three people (along with a German and Englishman) who arrived in a steamboat. Lamarque further asserted that the steamboat made the trip as far as Fort McMurray. He declared it the first steamboat to have been used that far on the upper Churchill River (Frémont 1980:129; Hewlett 1954:7). Jumilhac also served in the Boer War after his Canadian adventures (Hewlett 1954:7). After leaving Canada

the Rouffignacs settled in Long Island, New York. Eventually they moved to Cherchell, Algeria, where M. Rouffignac lived the remainder of his life (Léonard 1987:191-192).

Comte de Beudrap is unique among the aristocrats as he decided to give Canada a second chance in 1905, returning to the prairies to help set up the town of Trochu, Alberta. Beudrap arrived in Trochu with his family and brother in 1904, where three French aristocrats had already settled and helped establish the Joanne d'Arc Ranch. The settlement began as a refuge for former military officers disillusioned by military scandals such as the Dreyfus Affair. For the most part it was a communal bachelor society. Yvonne Beudrap was the first woman at the ranch. The participants attempted dairy and agricultural co-operatives with limited success. As a bachelor society, the project faltered. The town of Trochu itself did eventually flourish, although not in its original form, and the Beudraps remained. Descendants continue to live in Alberta. A more detailed account of Trochu can be found in Frémont (1980:187-194) and Rasporich (2007:140-141).

Despite their financial and settlement failures, the romantic qualities of the North-West remained in many of the French Counts' hearts. Comte de Soras, for example, returned to Whitewood for a single winter in the early 1900s because he preferred the snow and low humidity to the winter rains of Paris (Rasporich 2007:140-141). During World War I, Soras invited a sergeant from Whitewood, who was serving in the conflict, to a feast in the sergeant's honour. In retirement, the sergeant fondly recalled the elegant dinner and his surprise at the number of noble guests who attended (Hewlett 1954:7). The romantic nature of this settlement is best characterized by its use as a setting in a novel of the period called *Faut-Il Aimer?*, written by Léon de Tinseau (1892). The story involves an upper-class young gentlemen and his search for love, with some of the action taking place on the train ride from New York to Montreal, then Montreal to Winnipeg, then Winnipeg to the town of "Wabigoon", situated near another town of "Moose-Brook" (Most likely Whitewood and Moosomin, respectively). The novel also details the life a rich German who lives near Wabigoon at the "Maison-Grise". While historical records indicate that Bellevue was often known as the "White House" (Frémont 1980:122) it is likely that the author has La Rolanderie in mind.

For the aristocrats, the Rolanderie Farming and Stock Raising Company was considered the financial glue that held the community together. The company appears to have collapsed in 1893 (TSH 1980:132). Afterwards the aristocrats retreated and left St. Hubert to its own devices.

But a lack of aristocrats did not mean the community floundered. Those families and people who had come to work for the Counts stayed behind and built up the community of St. Hubert (Frémont 1980:127). The land that was owned by the Sons of Mary Immaculate was parcelled out to new settlers throughout the early twentieth century. The St. Hubert Post Office opened in 1915. The name of the community would later be changed to St. Hubert Mission at the advice of postal authorities to better distinguish it from the community of St. Hubert near Montreal (Frémont 1980:124; WHBC 1992:99). In 1920, the St. Joan of Arc Boarding School was built northeast of the church. It was subsequently converted to a senior's home and infirmary in 1924 and operated into the late 1960s (WHBC 1992:99). By 1932 the parish had grown to 60 families. In 1935, fire destroyed the church and it was rebuilt in the same location (WHBC 1992:98). Unfortunately the community slowly lost viability. The post office closed in 1968. A dwindling parish finally forced the official closure of the church in 1990 (WHBC 1992:99). The town site of St. Hubert is no longer inhabited and the remaining families that live in the area have been co-opted into the communities of Whitewood and Langbank.

The history of the French Counts has never fully evaporated from the recollections of the community. Hawkes thought enough of the French Counts to dedicate an entire chapter to them in his *Story of Saskatchewan and Its People* (1924:937-946). Both Father Fallourd and L.W.D. Parks wrote histories of the colony for the *Whitewood Herald*. (For a list of pertinent newspaper accounts, see Appendix B.) Accounts of the aristocrats also factor heavily in the local histories of St. Hubert (TSH 1980) and Whitewood (WHBC 1992). Comte de Soras' house was still standing as of 1980 (Frémont 1980:131). The Beudrap house and La Rolanderie have been significantly modified through decades of subsequent use (Léonard 1987:124-125), but remain standing today. A stone cairn marking the location of the first church was erected in 1940 and stands near a small cemetery, where a handful of people were interred in the 1890s (Léonard 1987:127; Smeets 1980:5). The cairn and a historical plaque were erected by the Department of Natural Resources of Saskatchewan. The plaque is situated on Highway 9 south of Whitewood (Léonard 1987:128). In the late 1980s, *L'Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan* did a historical study of the area in order to assess the heritage significance of La Rolanderie and to test the validity of a proposed heritage park (Léonard 1987:1). Though the heritage park never materialized, a museum was created at the Whitewood Merchant Bank Centre in 1992 that highlighted the aristocrats' contributions to the community.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical Framework

The previous chapter dealt with the history of the French Count settlement, beginning with the establishment of La Rolandarie and ending with the demise of the St. Hubert community. For the most part, this history was presented as a collection of facts about events and people. While some motivations were considered, it mainly dealt with the information that historical documents have to offer. Unfortunately, the picture of the French Counts as assembled from historical documents is incomplete for two reasons. First, some of the documents are focused on only the economic aspects of the story (e.g. business, economy, material preferences). At the same time, the local histories are mostly focused on French Count behaviour that appeared out of sorts with accepted social conduct of the time. The French Counts are portrayed as failed pioneering businessmen, but we cannot forget about the other citizens of the community, such as the women, children or workers. The remainder of this thesis tries to understand the social identity of the French Count community, and how the archaeological record contributes to this understanding.

Social identity, as first conceived as a sociological concept by Tajfel and Turner (1979), is a term meant to define the way individuals perceive themselves and the other individuals with whom they identify. Social identity involves the categorization, identification, and comparison of peoples. The concept of social identity has a long and ambiguous history in archaeological thought. Originally the concept was used interchangeably with 'sameness', as people perceived to have common cultural traits were lumped together into static social units (Pauketat and Loren 2005:22). Present understandings of social identity have more to do with a 'negotiation' of a sense of self and community based on perceptions of power, status, belief, religion, and gender (Fisher and Loren 2003). The transformation of the concept from static to fluid coincides with a general trend in sociological thought that adjusts the analytical treatment of these concepts from

a category to a process. Viewed as a process, identity becomes a fluid and dynamic concept that is in a constant flux of negotiation and reconstruction (Pauketat and Loren 2005:22). The result is a concept of identity that negotiates the divide between difference and sameness (Meskell 2002:279-280).

But what does ‘social identity’ actually mean, and how is it a useful category for analysis? The concept is extremely difficult to clearly define, partly because of the different social and physical elements that come to play in its formation and expression. A person’s race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, class, personhood, health, and/or religion can all contribute to the social and material expression of individual or group identity (Casella and Fowler 2005:2). While a clear definition may elude us, it is possible to outline some of the characteristics that are important to keep in mind when discussing social identity. First, identity may be formulated within an individual, but it has a decidedly social and collective nature. A person’s social identity cannot be fully realized unless it interacts with other people’s opinions or ideas. Group identity grows out of a shared sense of identity among a collection of individuals. Group identity also works to make itself distinct from the social identities of other groups. Adler and Bruning describe social identity as having a necessarily collective nature that “constitutes a cultural construct, a negotiated understanding of past and present social interactions that can be shaped and altered in a variety of ways” (Adler and Bruning 2008:38-39). The term thus becomes multi-scalar on a number of levels, including temporal, spatial, and social scales. This leads to the second point: that social identity has a history to it. Identity’s explicit dependence on history is important to both group members and non-members. In addition, it may be fruitful to understand the multiple identities of a single actor along both synchronic and diachronic lines. Multiple identities can be exhibited during a single moment or interaction, the span of a lifetime, or even over a historical period. To further complicate the issue, it is possible that identities can even be created in response to previous identities (Casella and Fowler 2005:2-4).

Another important aspect of social identity is that it is inherently a public act, an expression of self through its mediation with others. The external expression of self to others is as important to the definition of self as any internal formulation. Likewise, people classify the identities of others by decoding the material clues that they publicly express (Beaudry et al. 1991:154-155). Michael Warner’s (2002) discussion of the public as a social space illustrates just how much the composition of social identity depends upon its outward representation. Warner

asserts that the public sphere of society is self-organized and can only exist by being addressed. It requires attention and cannot exist unless someone implicitly recognizes that it does. Public discourse is what gives a public its character. This includes not only verbal discourse, but also discourse in dress or action. The “reflexive circulation of discourse” is what gives a public its sense of social space. It should also be noted that only selected voices are recognized as legitimate by the public, and what allows *a* public to appear as *the* public. Warner also recognizes that people as public participants are primarily strangers who must interpret each other’s public position through visual or verbal cues. Actions made in public are performative in that discourse in public is not just an address to someone else, but also an affirmation and articulation of one’s own perceptions. Public speech itself consists of both personal and impersonal elements, allowing the actor to convey either a specific or general message to members of the public. These messages are, of course, open to (mis)interpretation. Warner’s final point is that the public sphere has a historical component. Participants draw on the past for pre-existing forms of reference when deciding on action, discourse, and recognition of cues (Warner 2002:67-115).

Coupled with a sense of history is a sense of place and belonging. Physical space, its uses, and the memories attached to it can also play a large role in social identity. A sense of social or communal identity may come partly from a connection to place. The sense of belonging comes from a sense of attachment to the physical space of place, but also to the historical experience of the community of that place (Jones 2005:233-234; see below for a discussion on identity and nationalism).

Discussions concerning social identity centre around people’s ability to negotiate their own identities. In public especially, people must maneuver between their own ideas of themselves and the ideas that others hold. Each side must convince the other of their desired perception. For this reason, the negotiation of social identity is never finished. The full conceptualization of social identity is summed up well by Hassan:

The emergence of the idea of ‘people’ must now take its place in the evolutionary trajectory of the group that individuals identify with. The family and the community are the real units where we engage in face-to-face interactions. Beyond that level, associations are consolidated by imaginary bonds through ancestral descent, a common history, a common language, a shared religion or a specific geographic setting: the supra-

local group as an idea (an abstraction) that assumes validity, authenticity, and legitimacy through a communality of speech, rituals and objects... [Hassan 2007:224]

If anything, the brief discussion above shows how difficult social identity is to pin down and clarify. Archaeologists deal with some aspect of social identity whenever they theorize about sexual specificity, gender bias, class inequality, politics, the construction of nation, and even heritage representation (Meskell 2002:280). So how can social scientists analyze social identity with proper breadth? More pertinently, how can historical archaeologists locate social identity within the archaeological record? The next section looks at theories of practice as one way to approach social identity within an analytical framework. I will then look at how practice theory can be applied by archaeologists. Specific elements of Bourdieu's practice theory may be applicable to my own studies, and I will show how archaeologists have dealt with those concepts effectively. The remainder of this chapter will focus on two other aspects of social identity (ethnicity and social class) that are commonly utilized by archaeologists and may have some bearing on my discussion of the French Count community.

### **3.1 Social Identity as Social Practice**

Practice theory refers to the idea that the source of human action can be located within daily, habitual practices of everyday life (Barnard 2000:143). Practice theory insists on the agency of the individual and that every cultural situation the agent encounters can result in many possible outcomes. These outcomes, however, are not entirely random or unpredictable. Individuals are capable of individual action, but they must constantly interact with objective social structures. The use of the word 'objective' denotes that which exists in the physical world, outside of the mind, rather than an articulation of the situation based supposedly on reason and free of emotion (de Certeau 1988:57). Individuals carry out action through the lens of their "subjective hopes" which are constantly played out against the "objective chances" of those hopes succeeding (Jenkins 1992:27-28). Most of practice is done to reconcile objective and subjective notions of reality in a way that makes sense to the individual and fits with the individual's experiences. In other words, practice theory attempts to illustrate a dialectic relationship between structure and agency (Harker et al. 1990:1).

Rules that regulate social interaction are evident in all aspects of society, but practice theory emphasizes that rules are seldom rigidly expressed or enforced. Instead, these rules are like guidelines that are learned through explicit teaching or experimental experience – that is, practice (Jenkins 1992:71). People who participate in society use past experience to formulate plans of action. As such, practice theory “stresses strategic and improvisational action over rule-driven behavior” (Stahl 2002:829). Practice is neither wholly conscious nor unconscious and continually draws from experience. People use an internal logic to decipher the proper course of action in social situations (Jenkins 1992:70). We develop this logic and express interest in an object or practice through a “cultural competence” that locates meaning in the action. Competence is the ability to master the rules of a social situation and depends on “explicit or implicit schemes of perception and appreciation” that have been taught to us through experience or formal teaching (Bourdieu 1984:2). People’s level of competence varies, and any individual has better mastery of the rules of certain social situations over others.

The most informative practice theory is that which, to borrow from de Certeau, seems to find “theory in everyday life rather than simply of everyday life” (in Highmore 2006:106). Practice theory tends to emphasize trivial aspects of everyday life that are rarely recorded in historical documents. Archaeology, through its study of the material and mundane, may have an advantage in identifying these aspects. It is these actions that can tell us the most about social structure (Highmore 2006:111). Important to archaeology is the idea that past practices create history. Everyday practice appears in the now, but draws deeply from memories of the past. History is both the culmination of collective wisdom and the reproduction of past practices. History is a product of what people do, creating “an ongoing set of likely outcomes” that perpetuate the status quo and gives the appearance that history repeats itself (Jenkins 1992:80-81).

An appropriate example of a practice theorist is Judith Butler. Her formulation of speech acts has relevance to all actions in practice. Butler argues that verbal addressers are compelled to follow a loose set of rules in order to have their speech act accepted as legitimate by the listener. In this sense, speech is constrained by these procedural norms. But speech is never *determined* by these norms, nor does everyone always follow them. Interestingly, the same phrases can be uttered in entirely different contexts that slightly change their meaning with every use. In fact,

humour that is derived from puns or innuendo is based on this readjustment of context (Failler 2005:96-103).

Important practice theorists in the social sciences include Anthony Giddens, Antonio Gramsci, and Pierre Bourdieu. It is Bourdieu's theory of practice that has most influenced the theoretical approach of this thesis. Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist and anthropologist who developed his practice theory after being academically trained in structuralist theory. He eventually found structural theory too restrictive on individual agency, perceiving that the constructed social model of the researcher was often at odds with the actual practice of the subjects. Bourdieu's theories attempted to create social structure from the data, rather than fit the data into the structure (Jenkins 1992:17-18, 67). His theoretical approach is meant to go beyond what structuralism has to offer, but – as Hanks (2005:69) points out – Bourdieu's work is “sometimes filtered through structuralism and sometimes not.” At the same time, much of his language comes from economics, and many of his own studies tend to emphasize the economic aspects of people's identities (Jenkins 1992:86). Despite this, Bourdieu's practice theory has much to offer archaeology. A brief summary of his ideas are found below.

### ***3.1.1 Bourdieu's Concepts of Habitus, Field, and Social Space***

The important stimulus in practice theory is the “acquisition of knowledge”, the gaining of awareness of the structures that guide social interaction through learning and experience. Bourdieu has a particular idea about how these structures are created, reproduced, and utilized. He devised the concepts of habitus, field, and social space to illustrate the functionality of these structures.

The objective structures of reality are internalized by each individual and then projected to everyone else in the form of the habitus (de Certeau 1988:57). Habitus is “the culturally defined system of knowledge and social action made up of ‘dispositions’ or choices available to individuals” (Barnard 2000:201). A more detailed definition reveals the complexity of the concept:

...a mutually constituted interaction of structures, dispositions, and actions whereby social structures and embodied (therefore situated) knowledge of those structures produce enduring orientations to action which, in turn, are constitutive of social structures. Hence,

these orientations are at once ‘structuring structures’ and ‘structured structures’; they shaped and are shaped by social practice. [Calhoun et al. 1993:4]

A complete detailed assessment of the workings of habitus is a book in itself, but a few general characteristics of the concept must be outlined here. First, the rules and principles of social action are for the most part unconsciously acknowledged. A person’s habitus acts as a dictionary or filing cabinet, in which the person’s experiences are stored and categorized for future reference, then quickly consulted for proper procedure. People do not have to think about the proper way to act; they already know. This is especially true of habitual, everyday practice, which would be difficult to perform if it operated within a strict and conscious rule system (Stewart-Abernathy 2004:52). Second, habitus is embodied in individual agents, but is ultimately a social phenomenon (Jenkins 1992:79). It exists within the mind of the individual, but only functions fluidly if all individuals have “embodied understanding” of the habitus – that everyone understands the rules of behaviour without explicitly formulating those rules (Taylor 1993:58). Third, the habitus is reflexive; the agent constantly gauges new experience with the lessons learned from past experience and modifies the habitus in a way that makes sense of both. In this fashion it reproduces itself (Calhoun et al. 1993:6). Fourth, the habitus encounters a physical reminder of itself each time it is enacted in practice. Since the habitus exists in the mind of the agent, the only physical representation of the habitus is its consequences. As such, the habitus is embodied in practice. A person’s appearance, posture, the way he/she uses material goods – all contain elements of the habitus because the habitus in some way influences the choices an agent makes in practice. Despite being very abstract, the habitus has a strong material dimension (Jenkins 1992:75).

Habitus works on guiding action through a person’s dispositions. Dispositions are the “tendencies or choices individuals have within the habitus” (Barnard 2000:198). Since the habitus is the body of knowledge that the agent unconsciously consults to determine which actions are possible and/or appropriate for any given situation, dispositions are the inclinations that make agents lean towards one choice of action over another. Individuals decide on which dispositions to follow based on the context of the decision, their understanding of their own habitus, and their perception of how they fit into the event at the moment (Barnard 2000:142). Dispositions are the generative basis of practices. Most are learned early in life and are passed onto subsequent generations. Through socialization, society learns the same general set of

dispositions and applies them in more or less the same way to the same situations. The key here is the phrase ‘more or less’; not everyone will choose the exact same disposition to follow. People test their dispositions through practical experience and unconsciously fine-tune them based on the outcome of those experiences. By allowing for human agency, the concept of dispositions suggests a causal link that is neither mechanical nor deterministic (Johnson 1993:5; Jenkins 1992:78-79). In essence, the habitus and the dispositions that form it are an internalization, and then projection, of knowledge gained by experience.

The habitus explains the guidelines of social interaction, but it does not explain how people use their habitus through social behaviour. Bourdieu introduces the concept of ‘social field’ to accomplish this. A field is “a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them” (Jenkins 1992:84). The field is where internalized articulations meet external experiences. The people who interact in a field take up social positions relative to each other. These positions are based on power relations. Within a field, people can be dominant, submissive, or equal to each other, depending on their access to goods or resources deemed in that field (Jenkins 1992:84-86). How an agent approaches social situations in the field is “partly shaped by the position of the agent and the dispositions the agent brings into the field” which, of course, have been partly shaped by past experience. The field’s structure is therefore externally impressed on agents, but also restructured through agent participation (Hanks 2005:73). Objective conditions (such as social events like economic crises or expansion, revolutions, or epidemics) can limit or expand the possible actions of the agents, or more precisely, can limit or expand the outcomes of those actions. The structure of the field acts on all the agents within it, but does so “in a differential manner according to the positions they occupy there” (Bourdieu 1996:232). When circumstances change – such as when a person’s access to resources changes – the social position of the person in the field also changes (Bourdieu 1996:233). We have a dialectical relationship between the objective structures of the field, the dispositions brought in by the agent, and the positions of other agents within the field. Dispositions always influence an agent’s actions, and can have successful or detrimental effects on an agent’s social position (Bourdieu 1996:265).

Bourdieu developed the concept of social fields to explain how people’s dispositions affect the actions of everyday life (Johnson 1993:6). Examples of fields used by Bourdieu include the fields of cultural production, primary education, organized religion, and even

disciplined-based fields such as anthropology or engineering. The positions in the field are defined in relation to each other, usually in an oppositional manner, an idea that Bourdieu retained from structuralism. In the field of academia, for example, the ‘demanding instructor’ and the ‘motivated student’ occupy different positions in the field and bring with them different interests, motivations, and dispositions to each activity in which they participate. They also either directly or indirectly participate with each other when performing all activities associated with the field (Hanks 2005:72).

A field may be an abstract representation of social interaction, but its structure is a tangible entity that developed through the history of the relations between the positions of agents occupying the field. There are multiple fields in society, and people can find themselves involved in numerous fields at once. How do these fields relate to each other? Some fields are more similar than others, and Bourdieu uses the term ‘homology’ to describe the similarities in organization between two or more fields (Hanks 2005:74). Fields are basically autonomous, but are often hierarchically organized within the overall social structure of a society and linked together by certain dominant fields. The most dominant field is the ‘field of power’, the “space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions in different fields” (Bourdieu in Sheptak 2009:6). Other fields are tied into the field of power and are affected by what occurs there.

The field exists within a ‘social space’ that is both symbolic and material. Actors gain a physical sense of self whenever they enter a social field: they become aware of their physical bodies as they begin to sort out where they stand in the social space and what actions are appropriate for their position and the field in general (Hanks 2005:69). There is always a tension between those who occupy positions and those who are trying to acquire a position or change it (Bourdieu 1996:126). Bourdieu believed that all action must be referenced in relation to the social space. All actions that affect the field are meant to alter or maintain social positions. Moreover, any gains made by an agent can be cancelled or minimized by the actions of other agents who have the same objectives (Bourdieu 1984:156-157). Although de Certeau’s articulation of the social situation is slightly different from Bourdieu’s ‘field’, de Certeau writes of how social space is redistributed based on who is acting in the field at a given moment and the positions they represent. Like Bourdieu, de Certeau configures practice as an operation dependent on logic. Logic in this sense does not refer to strictly rational thinking, but rather the

internalized reasoning of the agent used to infer reasonable and unreasonable courses of action for any given situation. There are two key points to this understanding: first, what constitutes 'logic' depends on how the actions are placed relative to the types of situations; second, the working of this logic depends on the circumstances of the situation (de Certeau (1988:18, 21-23).

Every position in the field depends on the other positions in the field. There is no a priori hierarchy; position is relative. The field is also where we find the material or symbols of value that agents seek access to. Bourdieu argues that the structure of the field is determined by the distribution of the capital that is deemed valuable and at stake in the field (Bourdieu 1993:30). Capital is simply any resource that enhances power. It can exist in various forms, including symbolic, cultural, social, and economic. Value can be found in social elements such as authority, prestige, and recognition, or material wealth and capital (Hanks 2005:73). Those agents with the most capital hold the most power in the field. Economic capital and social capital are sometimes related, and the acquiring of both leads towards a common goal. Social and symbolic capital are more abstract, as they involve important items or ideas that do not necessarily hold monetary value, such as family reputation (Bourdieu 1993:102). Capital is what gives culture its material force. Culture is embodied, objectified, and legitimized through the physical presentation of capital (Harker et al. 1990:207-208). Agents make decisions on how to use the capital they possess or have access to. The different forms of capital can be transformed into one another in order to enhance the agent's social position (Calhoun et al. 1993:5). Capital is historically situated and dependent on the accumulation of past experience, meaning that the field structures the relative worth of capital. The structure of past social relations means that capital is unequally distributed among social categories (such as class, age, gender, and ethnicity). The use of capital requires the knowledge and recognition of it by the agents in the field. Agents must have at least an unconscious understanding of what certain capital is worth in order for effective social interaction to occur (Bourdieu 1993:263).

The processes at work in the field establish a structure of legitimacy and authorization. Bourdieu argues that the state of power in the field heavily depends on the field's ability to "impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers, including those who are closest to the dominant pole of the field of power" (Bourdieu 1993:40). These 'norms and sanctions' generally conform to the opinions of the dominant agents. So while the hierarchy of the field is built contextually, the 'norms and sanctions' of the dominant agents naturalize their

actions and gives the appearance that an a priori hierarchy does exist. Fields do not have clear borders, but access to the field is “always differential and selective” (Hanks 2005:74). An agent’s ability to participate in the field is hinged on other agents recognizing that person’s position as legitimate. For an agent’s actions to be considered legitimate, they must be recognized by the other producers or the dominant class. Authority is invested in the agent herself and gives the agent the right to proclaim their actions as legitimate. Again, the declaration of authority comes from the other agents in the field; an agent’s claim of authority is only valid when the other agents in the field accept that claim (Hanks 2005:76). Ultimately, the recognition of legitimacy is a group effort. Individuals come to their own conclusions, but it is a consensus with the social field that dictates which agents and actions will be deemed legitimate. This consensus is collective, and sometimes – but not necessarily – overtly public (Bourdieu 1993:78, 135-136).

The agents who have taken up positions in the field relate to each through struggle and competition. The social field becomes a space of ‘strategic possibilities’, where the potential for action is located. Competition between agents over the stakes of the field reinforces the social rules of the field, and reinforces which dispositions are deemed favourable by the majority of the agents. This gives the field a reflexive nature, and practice reproduces the general structure of the field. Bourdieu’s emphasis on competition as the dominant mode of interaction in the field is probably reasonable, but I am unsure if we can effectively state that agents are always struggling against each other. This idea carries over from Marxist theory and is a popular way to approach social theory. But not every situation is a struggle, in the sense that one agent is trying to gain or assert herself over another. A better term to describe the participation in the field may be ‘negotiation.’ Agents relate to each other through a negotiation of their space. Sometimes this negotiation most definitely involves struggle, but it also leaves room for instances of cooperation or affirmation, especially when the position in the agent is threatened in any form.

Agents use strategies to achieve success in the field. Strategies are “the ongoing result of the interaction between the dispositions of the habitus and the constraints and possibilities which are the reality of any given social field” (Jenkins 1992:83). Strategies are actions; they are how people play the game. A similar configuration of the term ‘strategy’ is used by de Certeau, although he differentiates ‘strategy’ from ‘tactics’ based on the social position of the person using them. A strategy is the ‘proper’ way of doing things. These are actions or motivations used when in positions of power. Tactics come from the ‘other’ and are always in a position of

resistance, an attempt to manipulate events in order to refashion events into opportunities. They are utilized by agents who do not hold much power in the social field in which they try to participate. He believes that many everyday practices are tactical in nature. In this articulation, strategies are connected to power and are rationalized to maintain that power. Strategies produce and impose power within social space, while tactics manipulate and divert power (de Certeau 1988:xix-xxiii, 30). Bourdieu himself does not make this epistemological distinction; he uses the term 'strategy' to define the actions of all agents in the field. I will not make this clear-cut distinction either, but it should be acknowledged that the strategies used by those with social or economic power will differ from those utilized by those without power, or those seeking to gain power. Strategies are contingent on the direction suggested by their dispositions and how agents prioritize their interests. Strategies are consciously carried out, but the dispositions that inform the strategies may remain unrecognized (Moi 1991:1022). Not every agent uses the same strategies, or believes that the same strategies will work. The strategies that agents adopt depend on their own understanding of their position in the space and the rules and conditions that they must maneuver around in order to achieve their interests. Agents must also maneuver around each other in the social field and there are a multitude of ways that agents can foil other agents' strategies (de Certeau 1988:18, 53).

While capital is what is at stake in the field, it is the agent's interest that drives their decision-making. The interests of an agent are fashioned from "the competitive logic which leads those who are part of it and those who want to be to compete against each other, consciously or unconsciously, towards the same objectives and over the same objects." Bourdieu argues that the specific interests of the individual have as much to do with their dispositions as their social position (Bourdieu 1996:270). However, the agency of the agent – the degree of "conscious strategy" or "cynical calculation" invested in the actions of the agent – is impossible to quantify because each agent utilizes slightly different strategies (Bourdieu 1993:72). How does an agent decide on a strategy? Strategies depend on the position of the agent in the field as based on their symbolic capital as related to other agents and how each situation is interpreted through their dispositions. The strategy an agent uses also depends on "the degree to which it is in their interest to preserve or transform the structure of this distribution and thus perpetuate or subvert the existing rules of the game" (Bourdieu 1993:183). A willingness to maintain the present

structure will most likely result in more conservative strategies, unless the agent's position is being directly and severely threatened.

The ongoing struggle between agents is what gives the field its temporal character, its history (Bourdieu 1993:106). The analyst's structure of social space is always viewed synchronically, because it is a construction of the social space at a particular time. The social space is given its diachronic dimension through the study of change in the social space (Bourdieu 1996:205). Thus social fields or the agents within them are never static. The trajectory (or career) of an agent is a list of the history of the positions she has occupied in a field, including how they were acquired and how they were vacated (Hanks 2005:73). The trajectory of an agent is enhanced and guided by certain interests, but also accumulates new interests and preferences that develop from the social positions that the trajectory leads the agent to occupy (de Certeau 1988:xviii). The past experiences and interactions in the field organically create the structure of the field in the present. The history of the field has given rise to what is considered valuable (what is at stake, what can be lost or gained), the rules of language that guide the discourse between agents in their quest for value, and the beliefs and assumptions that give the field legitimacy (Hanks 2005:73).

Bourdieu's articulation of history opens the door for the possibility of culture change. Many of Bourdieu's detractors criticized his early work for being deterministic, claiming that agents were only robots who followed their dispositions (Dornan 2002:306-316; Jenkins 1992:74, 123). Admittedly, Bourdieu did state early on his belief that external factors are necessary for change to occur in the field. These include political revolutions or crises, or, in the case of fields that produce material or spiritual goods, a swing in the tastes of consumption of agents in society (Bourdieu 1993:57-58, 184). But agents do not mindlessly follow their dispositions:

There is nothing mechanical about the relationship between the field and the habitus. The space of available positions does indeed help to determine the properties expected and even demanded of possible candidates, and therefore the categories of agents they can attract and above all *retain*; but the perception of the space of possible positions and trajectories and the appreciation of the value of each of them derives from its location in the space dependent on these dispositions. [Bourdieu 1993:65, emphasis in original]

While the tendency is for agents with “dispositions associated with a certain social origin” to migrate to certain positions, we must be aware that this is only a tendency; each agent approaches the field in a slightly different manner (Bourdieu 1993:70-71). Even agents who appear to have identical dispositions will not be completely the same, as the dispositions were created through the historical process of each agent’s individual experience.

A discussion of the term ‘choice’ might help clear up the charge of determinism found in Bourdieu’s practice theory. As Silliman articulates, choice is “the ability of an individual to act in the face of alternatives and in ways congruent with past practices and future expectations” (Silliman 2005:281). Silliman also emphasizes that freedom of choice is not universally applicable, that not all choices are freely available to all agents. Each agent has a range of possibilities available to him/her. In Silliman’s work on colonial North America, this recognition of choice allows him to explore arguments concerning culture contact that no longer privilege European motivations and desires. While European actions are important, Native Americans have a range of possible actions that they choose from in any colonial situation (Silliman 2005:281-290). An agent’s movement through social space is hardly random, but cannot be called deterministic. The agent is subject to the structure of the field, but can actively resist that structure at any given time, especially if the agent finds resistance a favourable or desirable activity (Bourdieu 1984:110). Change in the field itself is not wholly dependent on the actions of the agent, no matter which disposition is followed. The outcome of an action depends also on the objective structure’s ability to accommodate or change in response to it. If the structure is resistant, change will not occur or will be difficult (Bourdieu 1996:127). The history of the field is created by the ongoing struggle between those agents who are entrenched in positions and those attempting to secure positions. If there are no positions available, agents can stay in the field by creating new positions. Every new position alters how the other positions are related to each other, and thus can produce either minor or major changes in the structure of the field (Bourdieu 1993:58-60). The key is a change of position, not the agents who fill those positions. Change does not occur when new agents enter to take over those positions, but when agents create new positions for themselves. Under this configuration, it is even possible for agents with opposing dispositions to occupy the same position (Bourdieu 1993:66).

For Bourdieu, if a catalyst for change is to be found internally, then it most likely resides in the opposition between orthodoxy and heresy (Bourdieu 1996:205). Bourdieu uses a term

called 'doxa' in much the same manner as 'ideology' (see below, Chapter 3.3). Doxa are historically established social knowledge that is legitimized and deemed natural by repeated practice. Most doxic practices are performed without an awareness of specific intent. They are seldom questioned and often involve the most mundane activities in daily life (Silliman 2001). Doxa operates on a variety of scales and is enacted on a wide range of practices, but its qualities differ depending on the context of the situation and the personal attributes of the individual (gender, age, etc). While doxa is considered the natural basis for social interaction, it can be challenged. Once challenged, two modes of action come into existence: orthodoxy and heresy. Orthodox action is invested with interests in doxic attitudes and attempts to establish rigid rules in order to save the doxic attitudes from permanently damaging criticism. This usually comes in the form of social censorship. Bourdieu even suggest that when doxa is seriously challenged, dominant groups attempt to solidify the dispositions of the habitus into concrete rules of social engagement. The rigidity of orthodox action is obviously at odds with the lax embodied structures normally used to guide society, and tensions increase between agents of different positions. At this point, orthodoxy must be enforced through symbolic or physical violence in order to maintain itself. Actions of heresy counter this attempt by bringing to the forefront the arbitrariness of doxa and how doxic attitudes favour certain agents over others. If these tensions are not pacified, society may transform the structures of the field and alter the doxic attitudes of society through legal or illegal means (Jenkins 1992:155-156; Mann and Loren 2001).

The term 'social field' is both "more specific and more consequential" a term than 'context' and is therefore a better unit of analytical study (Hanks 2005:73). The concept lends analytical value to discussions of social space, as it situates agents into positions within the field in an attempt to understand the interests and motivations that guide their strategies. Any academic analysis of a social field must focus on certain characteristics to gain an understanding of how that field is structured: "the space of positions, the historical processes of their occupancy, the values at stake, the career trajectories of agents, and the habitus shaped by engagement (Hanks 2005:73). Full knowledge of a field's participants is essential. In fields of cultural production, for example, collective memory tends to focus only on those agents that 'survived the test of time' and are considered by history as "worthy of being conserved". We must recall forgotten agents in order to understand the positions of those remembered agents and how they interacted and struggled with other positions. The agents who have been rejected by

history have as much to do with the establishment of the agent's celebrity as those who are remembered (Bourdieu 1996:70-71). To explain an agent's origins, we must look at how he/she has managed to occupy or produce his/her position – given his/her social origins, experiences, and the dispositions derived from them (Bourdieu 1996:215). Knowing how an agent comes to occupy a position is just as important as knowing the position itself, as the exploration of the process can reveal the dispositions that favoured or pushed a move toward the position and the objective conditions that allowed for this movement (Bourdieu 1993:162).

The practical application of Bourdieu's theory involves locating social interaction within a field. The field is identified by its relationship to the 'field of power', which is the most political and regarded as the dominant field. Then the 'objective structures' of the field's positions – the physical realities that the agents deal with – are mapped out. Then the habitus (along with strategies and trajectories) of the agents in the field are analysed (Jenkins 1992:86). All of this is plotted out in a diagram of social space. The purpose of the social space diagram is to show people's relation to each other. Importantly, these relationships are based on the agent's own recognition of the authority that the others have in that social space (Adkins and Skeggs 2004:48). Figure 5 illustrates how agents position themselves within the social space of a field. In this example – the field of cultural production – the accumulation of economic and cultural capital allows agents to occupy a more dominant position in the field. Agents who have abundant cultural capital but small amounts of economic capital (eg. artists) occupy a different space than those with large amounts of economic capital and small amounts of cultural capital (eg. producers or publishers).

Bourdieu's practice theory is not without its critics. The charge of determinism in his models has been repeatedly stated, and Bourdieu (cf. 1993, 1996, 1998) devotes large tracts of space defending this charge in his later works. He adamantly rejects the criticism, but it is true that his own models are structured in ways that leave little room for any other conclusion (Jenkins 1992:175). I personally find that his models come across as mechanical, but do not believe that the theory itself is deterministic. His formulation of interests and strategies used by competing agents does seem like a 'move-counter move' system, but the flexibility in the choices of agents and the readjustment of dispositions due to new experience allow for agency to express itself. His theories are also weak on the transformative processes in society. How exactly does cultural change become initiated, or occur at all? Jones is convincing when she asserts that

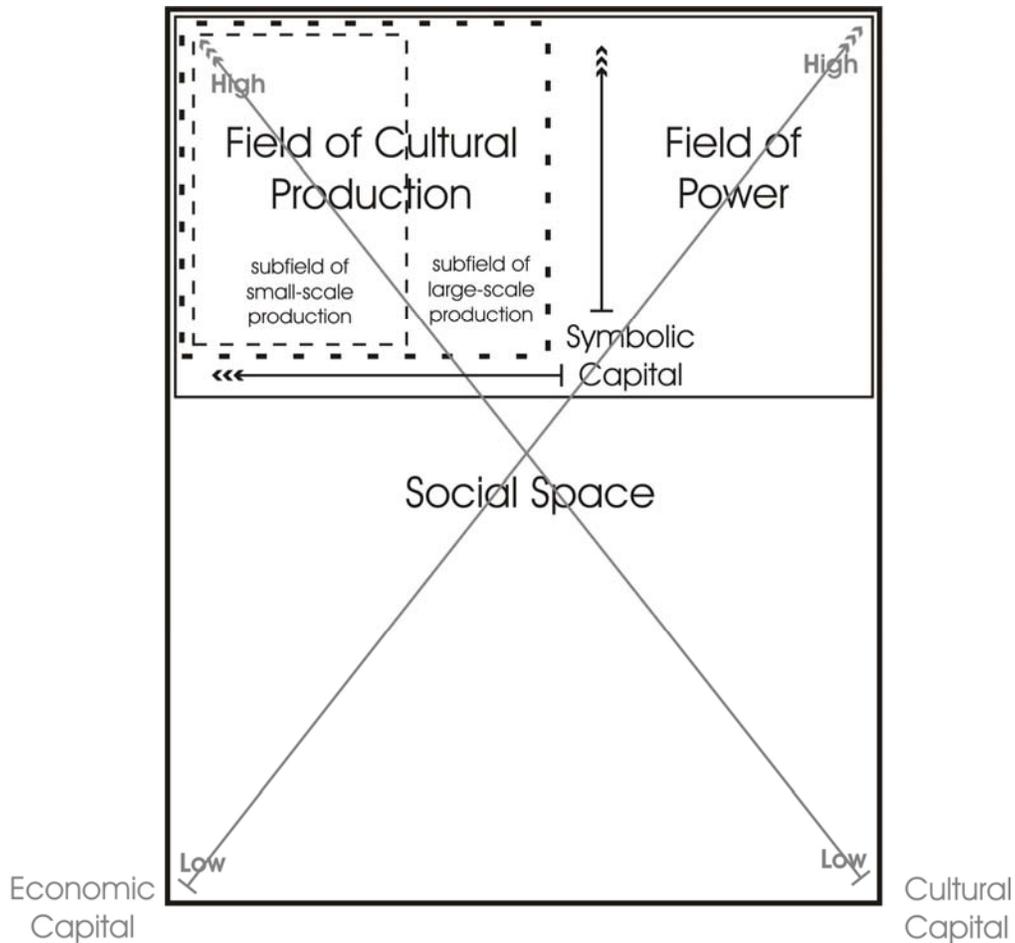


Figure 5: The Field of Cultural Production (adapted from Bourdieu 1996:124).

the transformation of material conditions over time leads to the transformation of structured dispositions in order to be relatable. How individuals decide to interpret the relationship between their dispositions and the new conditions of social practice is where change can occur (Jones 1997:89-90). Bourdieu himself was not able to illustrate this, and for this reason his “theory is at its best...as a theory of reproduction, and at its weakest as a theory of transformation” (Calhoun et al. 1993:72).

### 3.1.2 Archaeological Utility of a Theory of Practice

Despite the apparent limitations, practice theory has attracted archaeologists for several decades. An important point, from an archaeological standpoint, concerns the three components of social interaction: structures, situations, and practices. Of the three, only situations and

practices are observable. The structures that create and are created by situations and practices can only be inferred through an interpretation of the data, and therefore must always be considered as theoretically constructed models of social interaction (de Certeau 1988:57). But can archaeologists take a theoretical model meant to analyze society in the present and apply it to societies in the past? If so, how can an archaeologist use it effectively? Orser cautions archaeologists who cease their research after constructing habitus, field, and capital; according to him, unless past action is connected to material symbols, the work falls under the category of 'historical sociology', and not archaeology (Orser 2004:158).

Archaeologists were quick to realize Bourdieu's engagement with the material aspects of society. Material culture is a part of the reproduction of social practice, and thus an indication of social structure (Barrett 2001:152). Social structure can also be expressed through the body and physical space (Jenkins 1992:179). Practice theory also emphasizes holistic knowledge of internal group social relations and the symbolization of those relations – key aspects for the archaeological reconstruction of past group identity (Orser 2004:78). Part of the appeal of practice theory is that it incorporates every detail of daily life, no matter how mundane. A focus on daily practice is well suited to archaeology because the mundane tasks of routine behaviour produce much of the material culture we find in the archaeological record. Daily practice can also produce patterns of behaviour that are interpretable in an archaeological context – privies being a prime example (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201).

Archaeologists have been some of the social scientists who have appropriated Bourdieu's ideas and have worked hard to overcome the deficiencies in his theory. The earliest applications of practice theory in archaeology were by processual-minded theorists in the 1980s who viewed social agents as strategic and rational actors who are guided by universal motives. Like Bourdieu's early work, archaeological research in this vein was criticized for being mechanical and deterministic, as processualists in the 1980s such as early Hodder (1982) attempted to fit the concept of habitus into otherwise structuralist interpretations (Stone 2003:34). Habitus became another synonym for culture. One of the more challenging studies from this period that made use of the habitus concept is Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon's work on the Métis. The authors constructed an explicitly Métis habitus through an analysis of its material manifestations, citing that relative isolation and the integration of European and Aboriginal social attitudes throughout the nineteenth century helped develop a collective history of practices from which the Métis

habitus was formed. The authors contend that the underlying structure of this habitus is visible in their food preparation, language, space organization, toolkits, and identity symbols (Burley et al. 1992:117-122, 155-159). The strength of this study was its ability to address social change within a theoretical framework that was often considered deterministic.

Practice theory has since matured as practitioners have dealt with such criticisms head-on. An important aspect of current practice theory focuses on the role of agency in society. Dornan has illustrated how there is room for agency in Bourdieu's theory, as his framework treats practice as goal-driven and understands that agents must be skilled in manipulating common knowledge to be successful. Studies that try to better explore the concept of agency have led to the proposal that social agents have agency within the confines of historical and social circumstances (Dornan 2002:307-308). A dialectic relationship develops between structure and agency, in that the agent is guided by routine but makes decisions based on personal strategy. Individuals are "both constrained and enabled by structure" (Silliman 2001:192). Structure may constrain action, but it also mediates the range of possibilities that practice reproduces; ultimately, the agent has the final choice (Barrett 2001:149-150). Silliman asserted that daily, mundane activities take on political significance when a group feels their social identity is being threatened. In these instances the categories of agency become more rigid, and all action will be categorized either as resistance, compliance, or refusal to act. He used the term "practical politics" to denote the "negotiation of politics of social position and identity in daily practices" (Silliman 2001:194). The term describes how agents perceive their own positions in the social field and how they consciously use their actions to improve or maintain their position. Silliman distinguishes between acts of resistance and acts of residence – those attempts to stake out a position in the social world that have nothing to do with outright resistance. This is a fresh take on agency, which too often is conceived solely as resistance to structure.

Archaeologists have also taken Bourdieu as a starting point and reformulated his work into improved practice frameworks. Rosemary Joyce drew on Bourdieu to explore the construction and performance of gender identities in Aztec society, specifically gender performance, the materiality of sexualization, and the boundaries of gender abjection. She emphasizes that practice theory allows researchers to focus more on the social aspects of gender rather than the 'biological residues' that generally only serve to naturalize gender classifications (Perry and Joyce 2005). John Barrett has focused his research on the 'duality of structure' – how

social fields of practice are situated within the historical context of material conditions. Barrett broadens the scope of research by analyzing how fields of practice are regionalized: how they are affected by movement and orientation of peoples through the physical environment, how material context can identify fields between regions, and how material culture structures and is structured by exchange and transformation (Barrett 2001).

Russell Sheptak of the University of California, Berkeley, utilizes Bourdieu's concepts as they are interpreted by William Hanks, who analyzes speech genres by constructing the 'linguistic habitus' of language. This consists of styles, themes, and index reference schemes that build a speech genre into a coherent formulation. Hanks applied his work to Mayan language documents in sixteenth century colonial Yucatan and showed how new forms of speech genres emerged through colonial encounters. Speech genres are historically constructed while being structured by the actions that are possible within social fields. Speech genres gain their form through the act of speech. Speech is organized and routinized through its production, and through the repetitive nature of reproduction is "subject to innovation, manipulation, and change" (Hanks 1987:677).

Sheptak applies these ideas to his work on historical documents from seventeenth century colonial Honduras. Sheptak approaches the historical documents with Bakhtin's understanding of dialogue, that "every utterance (whether oral or written) is formed in anticipation of a response from another (the addressee)" (Sheptak et al. 2007:2). If the researcher can tease out of a document the positions of those who are speaking and those persons who are the focus of the speaker's statements, then one can infer the structure of all the social fields with which the agent is engaged. The message of a document may be intended for a specific person, but there is almost always some aspect of the document that is indirectly aimed toward other members of the field, in what Bakhtin terms a 'side-ways glance'. The names of other agents, and how those names are used, can tell us about other positions in the social field (Sheptak 2009:9; Sheptak et al. 2007:4). Sheptak's first example, a document debating the supposed necessity of state-required labour, reveals a speaker who is situated in multiple social fields at one time. Sheptak was able to identify the position that the speaker takes in each of those fields. While being a member of the town of Masca who shares his other townspeople's interests, the speaker is concurrently: a member of a certain social class within that town that has certain interests; an important community official authorized to speak to the colonial capital; and a colonial

representative with little power or authority within the larger social field of colonial administration (Sheptak et al. 2007:7). His other example deconstructs the documents surrounding a petition for pension and badge of office for a free black captain. He illustrates the various social fields that the captain interacted in, including his position within the economy of British slavery, the Spanish military system of colonial Honduras, his own ship, his own family, and the economic activities (farming, fishing, and logging) that he frequently engaged in (Sheptak 2009:5).

The narrator's voice is the key in a historical document: the act of speech itself (and the language, pronouns, and syntax that the narrator chooses to use) not only divulges details about the social fields being accessed by the speaker and the positions that the speaker believes he occupies, but also gives clues to how other agents receive the speaker and the positions that they perceive the speaker to occupy. The speaker's position is not perceived the same way by all parties (Sheptak et al. 2007:10). The strength of Sheptak's approach is that he is able to outline the interests of various groups and individuals within a structural framework that does not force data into rigid epistemological boxes. In fact, the classification schemes are drawn from the data itself. His work, and practice theory in general, is more methodologically sound than a majority of postprocessual theory.

As we can see, Bourdieu's theories do hold some application to current archaeological thought. In addition to the main concepts, a few other ideas that come out of Bourdieu's theoretical approach are also useful for my analysis of social identity.

### ***3.1.3 Taste and Distinction***

Taste is defined as "systems of preferences concretely manifested in the choices of consumption" (Bourdieu 1996:160). Since the habitus both structures and reproduces systems of classification, it is within the habitus that we see the capacity to classify and make judgments on those practices and products that represent different lifestyles – and therefore different tastes. The preference for one taste over another comes out of these judgments (Bourdieu 1984:171-175). Taste is hierarchically classified by agents in the field based on the degree of legitimacy each taste is given by the field overall. Taste is formed by the dispositions of the habitus as it generates a set of consumer choices that is thought of by the agent as legitimate (Bourdieu

1984:175). Symbolic systems of taste are habituated through practice, a process that naturalizes the assumptions so they appear to be self-evident (Hanks 2005:77). Since taste is tied into dispositions and positions in the field, any changes in the positions of the field may result in a “translation of the structure of tastes”, both in the hierarchy of tastes and in the preferences of each position (Bourdieu 1996:160). Dispositions that lead to certain tastes can be cultivated implicitly (through family or experience) or explicitly (through formal education). The cultivation of taste involves the division of products and actions into favourable or unfavourable associations. Agents learn through positive (“ennobling”) reinforcement what is good taste, and through negative (“stigmatizing”) reinforcement what is poor taste (Bourdieu 1984:23).

Taste is an assignment of value, but distinction is a practice that utilizes taste at its base (Stahl 2002:834). Distinction is the process through which people use taste to differentiate themselves from others. The hierarchy of tastes can be seen as the “dialectic of cultural distinction” – agents’ tastes are constantly being measured against each other in an effort to affirm social identity (Bourdieu 1993:117). Taste has a “social use” for each agent. The difference between tastes has as much to do with public discourse as it does with private preference. Bourdieu believed it possible to use a person’s taste for analytical advantage. To prefer one object over another is to place more value in one than the other. The choice reveals the value. In this manner, people are more attracted to choices that line up with the values that have been ingrained in them as natural (Bourdieu 1984:91-92). He viewed some tastes as “more classifiable”, meaning that they more closely correspond to the general dispositions of people in particular social positions and thus their identity can help categorize people into social categories (Bourdieu 1984:18). The habitus and associated dispositions are continuously retranslating the characteristics of the social field, either modifying the meanings of these characteristics to better fit their dispositions, or using the experience of the field to modify their dispositions. This results in a social class with a relatively homogenous condition of existence, and a relatively homogenous life-style (Bourdieu 1984:208). Bourdieu uses the example of sports to show how different classes interpret the same activities:

“...the classes do not agree on the profits expected from sport, such as effects on the external body, like slimness, elegance or visible muscles, and on the internal body, like health or relaxation; or extrinsic profits, such as the social relationships a sport may facilitate, or possible economic and social advantages...one is practically never entitled

to assume that the different classes expect the same thing from the same practice.”  
[Bourdieu 1984:211]

The use of distinction in everyday practice can be identified in the ‘performative’ aspects of social identity. Every performance, act, or gesture associated with an aspect of one’s social identity is a “public gesture”; that is, partially performed for others in order to display a characteristic of one’s identity. Bodily performance is how the internal formulation of one’s identity is materially expressed in the physical world. For this reason, repetitive performances work to perpetuate and constrain the acceptance of identity, while at the same time they can be used to resist and transform the perception of identity in everyday society (Roden 2005:29-34). The body is highly performative and probably the most visual representation of identity, both through decoration (dress, ornamentation, body modification) and action (gesture, posture) (Fisher and Loren 2003:225).

The performative aspects of everyday practice exist in the public sphere and project a representation of self to others, whether done consciously or not. In this regard everyone brings the dispositions of their own public habituses to the table. Thus we have multiple spheres or (to use Michael Warner’s terms) publics and counterpublics that are always dialectically interactive. To view dispositions in such a manner is to recognize that a personal view is not simply reactionary or conforming to public discourse. Instead, the public display of shared dispositions actual gives social groups their sense of community (Highmore 2006:114, 163-164). This interaction of perspectives takes place in the social fields. People’s conception of their position may change slightly based on the number and form of social fields they believe themselves to be occupying during any given interaction. Because the representation of self is so public, that portrayal of self is “open to manipulation and representation by others” (Fisher and Loren 2003:225). Bourdieu asserts that many choices and preferences come from an agent’s implicit understanding of how the objective structure of the social space limits the space of possibilities. According to Bourdieu, if an object is inaccessible (due to economics, ethnic identity, etc), chances are better that the agent will not want it, or even disparage it as a possible preference, or mock other agents in the same social position for wanting it. So while the objective structure does not dictate preference, it does hold some influence (Bourdieu 1984:378-379).

Taste and distinction play a major role in social fields and are a way for agents to discover their position in the social space. Recognizing similar tastes is a way to unify a group,

while distinguishing one's own taste from others is a way to classify and separate groups or individuals. People judge each other's background and moral character on the bodily performance they exhibit. The tastes of the dominant class are usually deemed 'legitimate' or considered to hold the most symbolic capital – at least by the dominant class itself; other groups do not necessarily agree. Bourdieu considers the legitimization of taste a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1993:41). Symbolic violence is defined as the “imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning” by one group onto other groups, in an attempt to legitimize a group's social position (Jenkins 1992:104). The use of symbolic violence is a common strategy of the dominant agents and is a way for the dominant agents to continually reproduce symbols of power that allow the current relations to appear natural (Jenkins 1992:104-105).

The principles of legitimacy that work to maintain social positions and their cultural products act on multiple levels. Some processes work to maintain the status quo of the overall hierarchy within the field by pushing positions and products up or down. Other processes work to maintain the association of certain products with certain positions, as a claim of ownership or group prestige rather than an attempt to climb the social ladder. These processes establish that a certain taste is legitimate, regardless if it is dominant (Bourdieu 1993:50-51). In his own work, Bourdieu divides taste into three categories: legitimate taste (considered culturally of high value); middle-brow taste; and popular taste (supposedly devalued within the hierarchy of the system, and yet consumed by the majority of the population, perhaps losing its cultural value due to its commonality). Bourdieu makes it very clear that this classification of tastes refers to the class structure of mid- to late-twentieth century France (Bourdieu 1984:16). One can recognize early in Bourdieu's work on distinction that a driving interest on his part in exploring this concept is his hatred for the idea of the 'pure gaze'; that aesthetic beauty in art is self-evident and that the masses are not educated enough to appreciate it. Popular taste, then, is always judged negatively in this scheme. His point is that 'good taste' is not a natural concept, but a relative one (cf. Bourdieu 1984:31-32). But it must be noted that this hierarchy of tastes is most recognized and perpetuated by the dominant class. People with 'popular tastes' would not try to argue that their tastes are 'high class'; instead, they would argue that their preferences are legitimate.

As dispositions and doxa are naturalized, so are tastes (Stahl 2002:833). It is telling that we speak of 'learning (or growing) to like something' – we are fashioning taste at the same time that we pretend that taste is natural. A major point emphasized by Bourdieu is that distinction is

arbitrary; there is no particular reason why one judgment should be considered upper class and another considered working class. The characteristic that makes distinction lose its randomness, however, is that it is *historically* derived. It is set by precedent and is part of the doxic attitude of the habitus (Calhoun et al. 1993:17).

### ***3.1.4 Archaeological Implications of Taste and Distinction***

Social distinction in Bourdieu's terminology is where one can locate the material portrayals of social identities. A person's dispositions, which are 'cultivated' by their habitus, factor into the choices people make as consumers of material culture (Bourdieu 1984:13). Bourdieu recognized early on the agent's role in assigning value and meaning to material culture. Suggestions that value and meaning are installed in material culture through the process of production disguise the fact that consumers and other handlers have their own ideas of what an object represents (Bourdieu 1993:76). The meaning embedded in an artifact comes more from the consumption of that item rather than the production of it. How consumers manipulate products in ways unintended by the producer can reveal the logic that the agent exercises in the social space. Consumption is thus a hidden act of production (de Certeau 1988:xii-xiii, xviii). In this fashion, distinction becomes one of the agent's tools of consumer choice.

Bourdieu posits that we can use the sum total of preferences (and thus the process of distinction) to map out the social space. If taste is considered a classification system structured by distinction, conditioned by the dispositions of social origin and social position, and related to the objective structure of social space, then the items within the classification system become important in determining both the structure and the dispositions. The material goods within this system are ranked in value by every agent. Since taste depends on the system, a change in goods corresponds with a change in tastes (Bourdieu 1984:231). This helps the archaeologist look at artifacts and determine the "structure of consumption", by identifying which artifacts are important and why they are important to agents (Bourdieu 1984:231). Bourdieu points out that objects can never escape the objective structure of "the hierarchy of legitimacy". Even when a group finds an item highly valued, they still have some idea of the value of that item within the overall field. Items can be used prominently or cast as mundane, even by the people in the same class, depending on how they use the object and where it fits in their mindset (Bourdieu

1984:88). The more people who appropriate a distinctive object or practice, the less distinctive the object becomes. For the elites to maintain their distinction, they must continuously find new goods to bestow value on, or find new ways of using goods (Bourdieu 1984:230).

According to Loren, material culture is a pertinent part of social identity, as it is often used purposefully in public transactions to “actively constitute” identity. In this manner, material culture such as architecture, dress, and even food choices can be used to relay information to others about one’s own conception of identity (Loren 2005:311). In the same vein, archaeologists can analyze a group’s choices of material culture to construct their perceived identity. Theoretically, all goods can be used in research, as all goods display some aspect of the practices of everyday life. It is quite possible, however, that luxury objects best express difference: they have symbolic value, or social capital, actively ascribed to them (Bourdieu 1984:226). Likewise, family heirlooms are impregnated with symbolic capital that represent the values historically instilled in the social identity of a family or social group. The heirloom and the stories attached to it often reveal the dispositions that the family has found valuable through time, and the heirloom serves as a method to reproduce those dispositions (Bourdieu 1984:76-77). Taste in items of dress are also essential to archaeological work because of their closeness to the body and their potential to display personal identity. They can also express multiple identities simultaneously (Fisher and Loren 2003:228). Bourdieu further argues that to exercise preferences of material goods (clothing, architecture, furnishings, etc) is to use those material goods as opportunities “assert one’s position in social space.” Even groups who refuse to participate in a social situation are in effect choosing a preference, and thereby illustrating dispositions that guide their logic process (Bourdieu 1984:57).

How have archaeologists used these ideas? Taste and distinction can be seen as tools that agents utilize when they engage in consumer choice behaviour. The process behind their choices is located in taste. When archaeologists focus on taste, they must be careful not to define taste in general or universal ways. Specific tastes are historically and contextually embedded in specific social identities (Stahl 2002:834). Archaeologists studying colonialism, such as Ann Stahl (2002), have tried to analyse how taste and distinction shape the reception or rejection of newly encountered material culture, as well as the “*recontextualization* of objects through the course of colonial entanglements” (Stahl 2002:834, emphasis in original). Of note is Stahl’s point that objects and tastes have “dual histories”, that their histories are entwined and complementary, but

not always parallel. Their importance may coincide at particular moments in time and space, but their historical trajectories cannot always be combined (Stahl 2002:835).

Archaeologists can also use Bourdieu's formulation of distinction to better understand acts of display within the archaeological context. It is possible to manipulate social taste in order to alter social positioning. Agents may appropriate tastes in an attempt to be perceived as members of a different social class, usually one in a higher position (Mann and Loren 2001:283). This process is less than perfect, however. Bourdieu notes that "agents have a harder time acquiring and convincingly naturalizing certain tastes if they were not raised with them, and learn them later in life instead" (Bourdieu 1984:75). Those who do not already have those dispositions that fit can attempt to acquire them through practice. It is a social practice to either 'fit in' or achieve a better social standing.

The best way to see taste and distinction at work in the social space may be to witness instances in which certain tastes are not deemed appropriate. A highly pertinent example, and one that has major implications in my own research, is Rob Mann and Diana DiPaolo Loren's work at French Azilum, Pennsylvania (2001). French Azilum is a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century community of French elites who came to America to escape the French Revolution. The authors utilize the concepts of habitus, taste, and doxa to illustrate how the French elite created social distinctions in the Pennsylvanian frontier. The French elite found themselves in a socially foreign situation in which their comfortable representation of social class did not exist. They attempted to re-establish the doxic beliefs of their class structure by reproducing the practices of their social class that had existed in France. In effect, they were trying to legitimize their particular construction of their own social identity. Their attempts largely failed, because they were the only group in Pennsylvanian frontier society who believed these attitudes to be natural. Mann and Loren suggest that the French elite's "bid to misrepresent the material relations at Azilum" was at the centre of social tensions between the French colonists and the local Anglo-American rural population (Mann and Loren 2001:285). It is clear from this example that distinction is historically and spatially located, and that the transplant of tastes into new situations does not result in the effortless reproduction of social structures.

### 3.2 Ethnicity and Archaeology

A clear definition of ethnicity is complicated by the various theoretical approaches to the term, the degree (and debatability) of objectivist and subjectivist thought found in those theories, arguments over the degree of specificity or generality that each theory takes, the aspects of ethnicity that social scientists have deemed important over the years, and the diversity of the regions in which research has been conducted (see Jones 1997:56-61 for a brief overview). Siân Jones has defined the terms that matter most in an archaeology of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is “that aspect of a person’s self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent.” An ethnic group is “any group of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and/or common descent.” Ethnicity is thus defined as “all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity as defined above. The concept of ethnicity focuses on the ways in which social and cultural processes intersect with one another in the identification of, and interaction between, ethnic groups.” Her definition focuses on the subjective dimensions of the term as accorded to the people themselves and depends on active associations with personal and group identity (Jones 1997:xiii).

Siân Jones has recognized that the concept of culture, as it emerged in the early twentieth century, helped deflect analytical attention away from classifications based on race. The emphasis on culture as bounded, holistic, societal units, however, inadvertently perpetuated the idea of ethnicity as relating to distinct, static entities (Jones 1997:48). ‘Ethnic group’ became the predominant term used by social scientists by the middle of the century, partly as a way to incorporate the articulation of people’s own ethnic categories (Jones 1997:52). The culture history approach to ethnicity treated material culture as ‘ethnic markers’, that is, artifacts were organized, classified and then labeled with an ethnic affiliation. To utilize ethnic markers strongly implies that there is a direct and fixed relationship between particular styles of material culture and certain identities, and that those identities are homogenously-contained entities (Jones 1997:220). This idea is not atheoretical; it comes from a normative view of culture that sees society as having a shared set of ideas that are regularly transmitted to its members (Jones 1997:24). Processual Archaeology dealt mainly with systems of economic and social organization and processes of material production. Ethnicity fit into these approaches, but was

not often treated as a sole focus of archaeological inquiry (Jones 1997:5). Archaeologists still tended to equate particular styles and forms of material culture with specific ethnic groups. For the most part, there was no attempt to delve into the constituted meanings inherent in the artifacts that gave them their ethnic association (although those archaeologists that did pursue such research directions came to conclusions that have enhanced the concept of ethnic identity; see Jones 1997:27 for a list of examples). The use of ethnic markers was further problematic in archaeological contexts where their existence in that context was out of place when compared to the historical texts associated with that site or region (Bálint 1989:188). In these instances, are we finding lost ethnic voices of the past, or simply misinterpreting the archaeological record? The use of 'ethnic markers' is driven by three assumptions: innocent positivist notions of material culture that assume that ethnicity can be reduced to a simple list of traits and practices; that ethnicity is a stable unit of social measurement; and that ethnicity is directly invested into the material world in ways that are not only uncomplicated, but easily highlight moments of continuity and change in ethnic behaviour (Upton 1996:1-3).

Post-modern and postcolonial research has subsequently renounced the idea of distinct cultural entities, instead focusing on the paradoxical blending of cultural characteristics through colonialism and globalization, and how ethnicities are fractured or recombined through hybridity and creolization (Jones 1997:8). Siân Jones describes the change in approach as a shift from "description and classification to that of explanation and interpretation" (Jones 1997:28). Studies on ethnicity have moved from treating ethnicity as a static entity to treating it as a social process that must be actively maintained. Ethnicity thus becomes a part of the social process instead of the end product of it. From this we see two types of studies emerge: those that analyze the relationship between ethnic symbolism and material culture, and those that study how ethnicity helps structure economic and political relationships (Jones 1997:28). Some theorists have moved beyond the processual focus on economic and political circumstances and chosen to emphasize self-identification. Issues of self-identification are not taken at face value, but instead "it is assumed that this self-awareness is something that has developed over long periods, and is a reflection of other 'objective' components of identity such as language, beliefs and values, the material culture of everyday life, and so on" (Jones 1997:63).

Ethnicity must be considered as subjective and always changing (Shennan 1989:15). We have to always keep in mind that archaeological categories of material culture do not necessarily

hold any meaning or were classified in the same way by the people who used them (Trigger in Loren 2008:21). According to Upton ethnicity is “a synthesis of imposed and adopted characteristics that is forged through contact and conflict” (Upton 1996:4). Ethnicity is a tool in the process of continuous self-definition as it is portrayed to others. Upton does not hold stock in positivist notions of finding ethnicity within material culture, but he does suggest that objects can be (and often are) commodified by groups and given as proof of social identity. The key here is that people are often able to consciously *choose* to commodify certain objects with signs and symbols that reflect their ethnic background (Upton 1996:4-5). At the same time, dominant groups are often able to select specific symbols that they then apply to others.

Because of the subjective nature of the concept, archaeologists such as Bruce Trigger have concluded that the exploration of ethnicity in material culture is practically impossible without collaborating evidence in the form of historical or ethnographic data. While this view is debatable, historical archaeologists have an obvious advantage when trying to tease ethnic affiliations from associated artifacts (Jones 1997:219-220). The general feeling is that historical documents can help flesh out ethnicity because written records can provide “access to people’s self-conscious reflections on identity” (Jones 1997:220). We cannot, however, approach these documents without careful scrutiny (see Chapter 2). The authors of these documents may depend on their own uncritical and commonsense notion of ethnicity that is unproductive to research and we must resist the urge to take these documents as straightforward assessments of ethnicity. We must be aware of the social and political contexts of these documents, as well as the interests and positions of the authors and their audience. Furthermore, we must also protect ourselves from using documentary evidence in a circular manner, by defining the association of ethnicity with material culture based on documentary sources, which are then used to verify historical sources (Jones 1997:220-224). Documents must be viewed as just one more piece of evidence. At the very least we must acknowledge that “the ethnic labels applied by early writers do not necessarily correspond to our definition of self-conscious identity groups” (Shennan 1989:14).

Archaeological studies of ethnicity continue to expand the theoretical concept. Since ethnicity is a process, its historical development can be traced: how the ethnic group came to exist in its contemporary form, what social resources it draws from, how it reproduces itself, and the role it plays in the reproduction of other processes and aspects of culture (Shennan 1989:16). Shennan introduced the phrase “emblemic style” to replace ‘ethnic marker’, although in practice

the phrase is more complementary than an outright replacement. Noting that certain items of material culture are used by groups in public to display specific meanings – especially in terms of group unity, power, strength, and wealth – Shennan posits that stylistic variations of the same artifact type can be connected to specific groups. While at first glance this appears to suggest some kind of group signifier or symbol, Shennan is careful to point out that the artifact is meaningful only because that particular style has some connection to a meaningful interest of the group. So it is not the artifact that is important, but the context in which that style of artifact has been appropriated by the group (Shennan 1989:20-21). In a similar vein, Washburn urges archaeologists to analyze ‘pattern-specific’ features of an artifact, rather than ‘object-specific’ features when gauging an artifact’s relationship to ethnic affinity. Pattern-specific features (which are created by the manipulation and combination of the characteristics that form the basic functional and stylistic components of the artifact) are those that the individual uses to decide how to identify and categorize artifacts when they are looked at (Washburn 1989). Funari and colleagues echo a similar sentiment when they urge archaeologists to look at material culture to understand the discourse between power and identity, specifically by analyzing the forms and styles of artifacts and not just the artifacts themselves (Funari et al. 1999:13).

Carol Hill’s (1989) exploration of the transformation of racial identity in Virginia and Louisiana since the eighteenth century illustrates just how complicated the archaeology of ethnicity actually is. Her research dissects the permeability of racial identity by systematically outlining the changes in perceived racial categories as portrayed by groups and imposed by outsiders. She is able to show how these categories had less to do with actual skin tones and more to do with status and the quest for status, community marginality, geography, kin affiliation, and preferred marital arrangements. All these factors came from both within and outside the groups. Hill reaches the following conclusions:

First, social networks may be just as important in describing ethnicity as material culture, since material culture can be shared by several ethnic groups. Secondly, the expansion of ethnic groups may be socially determined by the dominant ethnic group. Thirdly, the formation of distinct cultural groups is not necessarily a long process. Before 1776 there were no remnant populations with various mixtures of ‘three geographical races’, but in 1948 at least 120 different groups existed...Fourthly, cultural change can be drastic during periods of contact or subjugation; it can occur without transitional forms and can be artefact-specific within an enduring population... [Hill 1989:240]

Finding social identity in artifacts is masked by the people themselves who used those artifacts. The same material culture can be used by people from a multitude of backgrounds, and this material culture may be already familiar or unfamiliar to them. The way this material culture is combined can express social identity or even social tensions between and within households and communities. Since people are not always socially and spatially segregated, it becomes difficult to assign an artifact to a particular group. Also, people considered low on the hierarchy of the colonial situation may not leave any material residue that they can clearly call their own, as they are utilizing the same material culture as those on the top (Loren 2008:22). Hill noted in her own research that certain ethnic groups are simply archaeologically invisible due to shared or common material culture in the regions she studied, commenting that the “material culture of triracial-remnant groups in the early 1900s was very similar to poor white rural material culture” (Hill 1989:239). Of course we must remember that Hill’s research is area-specific and the conclusions may be unsuitable for other regions, but it does indicate that ethnic markers cannot be used to tease out ethnicity in a site. Factors beyond our knowledge may be masking the appearance of ethnicity. The advent of mass-produced consumer products in the late nineteenth century, for example, can work to generalize archaeological assemblages to the point that ethnic preferences are more easily masked (Kennedy 2005).

When we as archaeologists search for ethnicity in the archaeological record, what are we attempting to accomplish? As noted above, we cannot simply equate an artifact with a specific group and try to pin down ethnicity. Instead, we must search for the social action or symbolic meaning within the artifact that people used to make a connection with it (Loren 2008:21). We have to understand how the artifact was utilized within a particular social context. Any meaning that exists in an artifact develops through its consumption. Part of the archaeological understanding of creolization is that people modify and synthesize material objects from their own perspective. Communities are always collectives of individuals, but cannot be called integrated homogenous entities. In certain instances material culture can be used as physical tools for navigating the intricacies of social interaction (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). Elizabeth Brumfiel speaks of ‘factional competition’ as a possible driving force behind social transformation in colonial contact situations, bringing in new interests and goals and creating new positions in the social field to capitalize on those interests. Some strategies like intermarriage, partnerships and cooperatives are meant to utilize this (Brumfiel 1994).

### ***3.2.1 Practice Approaches to Ethnicity in Archaeology***

Theories of practice can address the intricacies of ethnicity because they focus on the relationship between physical reality and the way that people approach that reality, both idealistically and materially (Jones 1999:225). Siân Jones states that the “practical realizations of ethnicity in many instances involve the production and consumption of distinctive styles of material culture” (Jones 1999:228).

Some practice theorists see ethnicity as situated in the habitus, and that an agent’s affinity – or sense of social connection – to other people arises from the similarities in the ethnic dispositions within the habitus. Ethnic identity is thus anchored in experience, and the recognition of shared interests or emotional attachments (Bentley in Shennan 1989:15-16). Within the habitus, ethnicity is a subjective classification that is constructed by the agent based on shared experience within particular social domains. Instead of being a passive reflection of cultural practice, ethnicity is embedded in an agent’s dispositions that are shaped within the habitus through past experience. The dispositions and the habitus in general continue to be shaped through future experience. Instead of being a category of classification, ethnicity becomes a process of interaction and internalization. The key here is habitual practice: certain practices become reified through repetition and practice. The symbolic use of material culture acquires its meaning in the same manner (Jones 1999:226-228).

The labeling of categories is a subjective process, whether done by a cultural participant or an analytical researcher. This leads to social categories being malleable and reflexive. Agents have always been able to move between categories, or even manipulate the definition to suit the current representation of that category. Analyzing everyday practice allows us to see the categories as constructed by the participants themselves, as they see themselves and how they each see each other (Casella and Fowler 2005:6). We might claim that binary classifications are just analytical constructs, but it does not deter from the fact that people really do divide and classify in everyday life. Likewise, we must be aware that adopting a practice is not the same thing as adopting an identity. To assume a practice that is characteristic of a certain group does not indicate automatic membership into that group, and people have distinct social strategies to (a) keep other people from assuming their own group identities, and (b) spot and recognize

‘legitimate’ practice that belongs to other groups and does not fit that person (Casella and Fowler 2005:7-8).

A number of archaeologists have utilized practice theory in their discussions of ethnicity. The work of Burley and colleagues, mentioned above, described a Métis habitus. This research not only illustrated how Métis dispositions guided the individual in differentiating behaviours considered right or wrong, but also how those dispositions helped differentiate between behaviours considered Métis and non-Métis (Burley et al. 1992:6). Barbara Voss’ (2005) work in Colonial California tries to illustrate how social categories were created through the ‘practices of colonization’ that rely on the particular history of that specific region. Material culture is used strategically to minimize difference and reduce tension while at the same time create and perpetuate distinctions between groups. Charles Orser (2004) has combined Bourdieu with Frederick Barth’s notions of ethnic boundaries to demonstrate how historically contextualized material culture reflects creolization, self-identity, and racial identity as imposed on others. He understands race to be a relation of identity that is informed by the actor’s location in social space. Through an analysis of living, space, pottery, and trade networks, he details how the Irish in nineteenth century Britain came to be considered ‘white’.

An important aspect of social identity related to ethnicity that may have implications in my research is that of national identity. National identity is entwined with ethnic identity because “most, although not all, nations have their roots in the coming together of ethnic communities under one dominant ethnic core” (Palmer 1998:176). Often the dominant core represents the mainstream identity of the nation. The nation is explicitly anchored to the notion of physical territory, a place where the nation exists. Despite this attachment to place, nationalism is located in relationships between people. Nationalism can be construed as an “imagined political community” that binds people together through a shared sense of space and time (Palmer 1998:178). It is tied to a strong sense of history and the memories and traditions that contribute to a sense of communal or shared history. It can be considered an ‘imagined’ shared identity because most citizens of a nation never meet each other, and so participants have to envision a shared feeling about the nation with most people in the territory. Nationalism, as a homogenous cultural consciousness, is essentially a modern concept and seems to have developed during the nineteenth century. That century was a time when communication and transportation structures improved through the maturation of capitalism, which could have created or intensified the

process. Nationalism is also tied into the political, technological, and cultural institutions of the state. National systems of education often disseminated accepted cultural traditions and symbols and presented them as equally valid in all areas of the nation (Palmer 1998:177-179).

Bilig distinguishes between nationalism as commonly perceived (a patriotic feeling that is usually expressed at specific times) and ‘banal nationalism’, which is invoked at all times in the practice of everyday experience (in Palmer 1998:181). Catherine Palmer argues that body, food, and landscape act as ‘flags’ or reminders of banal nationalism. The artifacts associated with each provide the context in which material culture is used, consumed, and experienced. ‘Flags of nationality’ are found in the everyday, but are for the most part only consciously acknowledged when items or situations of difference become apparent. These flags are then consciously displayed as natural or common sense examples of ‘the right way’ for members to represent the nation. ‘Flags’ of the body include articles of dress, adornment, posture, and ideas of personal space. Food preferences can also display information regarding nationalism. For many people, a preference in food requires an emotional investment that often speaks volumes about what symbols and qualities of society are represented by the types of food, preparation techniques, and the manner in which the food is consumed (eg. bread and red wine as the body and blood of Jesus in Christianity; the idea of kosher dishes in Judaism). What people choose to eat depends on cost, availability, personal preference, cultural taboos, and even climate and environmental conditions. Food can be used to express difference (“I would not eat that”) or sameness (“American as apple pie”). A shared fondness or preference for a particular food can take the form of a national bond. The idea of a ‘national diet’ stems out of the particular history of the nation; food fashion is heavily tied into episodes of exploration, trade, colonialism, cultural exchange, and boundary-making (a great example is Thanksgiving turkey in North America). National cuisines were first being recognized in Europe as early as the fifteenth century and may have been disseminated to populations through the proliferation of print media. Landscape can also be displayed with nationalistic intent through the use of the physical environment to symbolic express territorial boundaries or historical events. Manifestations of geography can be entrenched into the social characteristics of a people (eg. Swiss as mountain climbers). Again, we see an ‘imagined’ shared use of the land, as from the sixteenth century onward better maps and transportation allowed people to feel connected to others in a larger conceptualized idea of shared territory (Palmer 1998:182-193).

Ethnicity is thus a complex concept that is best utilized by archaeologists when it is conceived as social process. Ethnic dispositions inform, and are informed by, people's practice. Ethnic dispositions aid not only in the formulation of social identity, but influence the choices people make in their consumption of material culture.

### **3.3 Social Class and Archaeology**

As with most socioeconomic concepts used by historical archaeologists, the term 'class' is used often but hardly ever explicitly defined (Wurst 2006:190). It is clear that class is important, in that it pervades common perceptions about reality, gender lines, the division between public and private spheres, and the practice of daily life. Additionally, class is clearly linked to larger economic and social structures, such as capitalism (Wurst 2006:199). Further complicating the subject is that class (like ethnicity and gender) can hardly ever be treated as an isolated unit of study. Social factors like gender and ethnicity can affect consumption patterns that infringe on status or class articulation processes. Issues of status may not translate directly to issues of class. Even archaeological factors, such as depositional rates and differential survival rates, can affect what exactly are seen as high status goods (Funari et al. 1999:12). Monks (1999:204) illustrates that sociological terms with economic significance (eg. socioeconomic status, class, and prestige) are used perhaps too liberally in historical archaeology. Many of the concepts are ambiguous, even when used by sociologists, and this ambiguity has transferred to our own studies (I ironically duly note that Bourdieu's practice theory is rife with terminology borrowed from economic theory, with no actual attempt to utilize these terms in the same manner as an economist). Also, the assumption that these concepts as developed for twentieth century economics can be systematically applied to eighteenth and nineteenth century social systems has never been adequately tested. In the early twentieth century, key aspects of modern monopoly capitalism that evolved included the advent of consumerism and the renegotiation of the relations between capital and labour (McGuire 1991:102). Can we use theories based on contemporary data to analyse models of the past? The tendency is for archaeologists to take sociological concepts and apply them uncritically to whatever archaeological dataset is available, which may be considered a 'top-down' approach. The result is the use of common tools of class analysis (eg. price indexing, consumer choice profiles, wealth evaluation, occupation) to flesh out common

formulations of class (Monks 1999). Even archaeologists who try to ferret out a plurality of identities, in practice tend to use class within a rigid, established structure, such as the divisions of upper, middle, and lower classes, or the dichotomy of workers versus capitalists (Wurst 2006:194).

What exactly constitutes class? Most understandings of class owe a debt to Karl Marx's formulation. Even when these understandings differ from Marx, researchers usually use Marx as a jumping point. Marx generally speaks of class in a relational sense. Marx's dialectic implies that an agent cannot exist apart from the social relation to others, because that social relation is part of what defines the agent. Godelier has pointed out that Marx actually uses 'class' in two ways: specific and general. The specific version casts class as a binary opposition of domination and exploitation, as in the modern capitalist configuration. This definition is well-suited for research dealing with the economic and social aspects of capitalism. Class can then become a focal point of struggle and conflict within the relations of production (Wurst 2006:197). His general definition, however, uses the role of production and how groups relate to that production in a particular history or place determines their position. This definition has been better utilized by social scientists and allows for the use of 'class' in any social context. Even though the 'general' term is better suited for our use, we must also note that classes exist in specific, *concrete* historical contexts, and have to be viewed at a local level in order to make sense (Wurst 2006:195, 198). There is, however, a multiscale component to class. In colonial or frontier societies especially, we can examine class at local, regional, and global scales and gain a sense of how each set of social relations operates differently at each of these scales (Wurst 2006:201).

Parallel to issues of social identity and ethnicity (above), discussions of class in archaeological theory have moved from a conceptualization of class as a label or object, to one of a relation or process (Wurst 2006:191). As a label, models of class are generally derived from a type of economic scale, usually based on economic wealth, occupation, or material patterns. These models simply define class and reify class categories (Wurst 2006:196). Using a relational view of class helps us pinpoint the mechanisms behind the social relations (Wurst 2006:194). A discussion of class in many ways becomes a discussion on social positioning. Social positioning consists of a dialectic opposition that incorporates multiple perspectives. Classes are dependent on each other as points of their own reconstruction – they cannot formulate what they are without a discussion of what they are not. Just as Bakhtin finds a 'side-ways glance' in documents that

speak to other agents not necessarily mentioned in the document, it is possible to show how social classes reference the symbols of other classes when they portray their own identity. These references are made in order to distinguish themselves from others (Hall 1992:391-392). Most models of social class are constructed to show either the upper class keeping the lower class in its place, or the lower class striving to obtain the upper class objectives. The latter idea may be somewhat egocentric; as Casella (2005:167) asks “can we assume that the desire for class mobility was universal?” Practice theorists answer that question with a ‘no’, but explain how those desires are compatible with desires to maintain social position. A perception of inequality depends on an agent’s own classifications and the field in which they are situated.

A concept that has come to be closely associated with class, and pertinent to other aspects of social identity, is that of ideology. As with other concepts discussed in this chapter, a concrete definition and methodology dealing with ideology evades archaeologists. What separates ideology from simply culture or worldview is its connection to power. Not all people have equal access to power, and some have more access to power in certain situations. Since these discrepancies always exist, the tensions that underlie them also always exist (Burke 2006:130-132). Archaeological uses of ideology come from two areas: the Marxian use of ideology (from Hegel, Marx, and Lukács), which deals with the dichotomy of true/false and the attempt to hide truth from others; and the sociological definition (from Althusser, Gramsci, and Giddens), which uses ideology as a functional tool of social life (Burke 2006:129). The Marxian conception of ideology as ‘false consciousness’, a negative action meant to confuse or mask realities and inequalities from certain groups, is also limited in scope. Here ideology is simply an instrument of exploitation. Subsequent studies have shown ideology to be a weak tool of control at best, primarily because of its fractured and contradictory nature. Class oppression may be a characteristic of ideology, but it is not the main motivation for its (re)creation (Wurst 1991:125-126). If we see ideology only as exploitation, then we are again equating agency with resistance. Resistance can only exist dialectically with domination. Ideology is thus reduced to a two-dimensional process (Burke 2006:137). Following Kus, one can say that the optimal situation for the dominant class is for the oppressed to voluntarily participate in their own oppression (in McGuire and Paynter 1991:8). But is the optimal situation realistic? An approach using ‘false consciousness’ implies that there is only one ideology in society, and it is created and maintained by the elite. While ideology’s capacity to structure social action lends its use as a tool of

exploitation, viewing ideology as a tool of the dominant may be too simplistic a reading. That there exists a dominant ideology is not in doubt; its capacity to dominate others, however, is. For example, the appearance of public unity (that there only exists one public) is ideological. It usually tries to conform to the dominant dispositions and discounts other publics as “merely personal, private, or particular” (Warner 2002:117).

Althusser’s definition, used by historical archaeologists such as Mark Leone, states that ideology “represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Hall 1992:382). This definition seems compatible with Bourdieu’s practice theory, in terms of having objective structures in which agents place themselves. Gramsci and Althusser were able to link ideology with practical forms of social reality. To effectively re-create social structures, ideology must be pervasive in everyday social practice. If the operation of power is diffused through habitual practice, the formation of social structures occurs through “a process of constructed consent” (Burke 2006:133). Beaudry and colleagues discuss power discourses as ‘cultural hegemony’ rather than dominant ideology. Working from the ideas of Gramsci and Foucault, they see social control as working “through consensus rather than coercion”; that the dominant class accommodates some interests in order to quiet the other classes and get their implicit cooperation in the naturalized social order. Importantly, hegemony is never complete, as it must constantly adjust itself to the terms of discourse with the other classes. The ideologies of other classes thus find acceptance (or at least tolerance) in the social order. This model allows for a more active and creative conception of multiple and contemporaneous ideologies (Beaudry et al. 1991:165). For my purposes, McGuire’s reconceptualized definition of ideology as “that subset of culture that is involved in power relations” may work best (Wurst 1991:126). This definition takes the concept out of the hands of the elites and allows for a multitude of ideologies that are interpreted differently by different classes or groups. It locates ideology in the relations of power tied into each of the classes (Wurst 1991:126).

In dealing with ideology epistemologically, we again see archaeologists shift from a positivist view of the term to one that is more flexible and encompassing of social action and agency. It may be true that the elites believe that their morality and social graces are the standards towards which all society should strive (McGuire and Paynter 1991:8), but Hall (1992:382) poses a legitimate question when he asks, “to what extent did the dominant citizens succeed in concealing their accumulation of wealth and power from those they held in

subordination?” It is possible that nobody was fooled into believing an ideology that did not in some way match the realities of society. Any theoretical model of the relationships between classes must take into account the ability of each class to accommodate interests of the other classes (Beaudry et al. 1991:158). It seems more plausible that dominant class ideologies work to maintain group cohesion and the collective memory of the dominant class itself. In turn, this ideology can be either rejected or reinterpreted by the other classes, depending on the historical context (Wurst 1991:125-126). Ideology may have more of a naturalizing effect on a social class that creates it, rather than on a class that is in the process of being duped. Each class would then create their own ideologies. Hall thus suggests that “consumers...were coupled to the dominant elites not through persuasiveness of false consciousness, but by the desire to signify status in a competitive, class-conscious world” (Hall 1992:383). Again, we find ourselves discussing social identity in terms of negotiation, rather than terms such as resistance. The ideology of dominant classes becomes a justification for their past, present, and future position, while the ideology of other classes may work to actively justify any challenges to that position (Hall 1992:384).

Hopefully practice theory can minimize some of the above concerns. Bourdieu’s concept of ideology tends to follow Althusser and Foucault. In general, though, Bourdieu seldom mentions the concept. He does recognize ideology’s ability to naturalize, legitimize, and rationalize the preferences of the elite and connect those preferences to structures of power (Bourdieu 1984:68). Bourdieu’s concepts of taste and distinction are linked with ideology. According to Bourdieu, agents with similar dispositions occupying similar positions within the social space tend to have similar tastes. Taste and preference are the practical expressions of their dispositions and act to unite them as a group or class. Social classes are thus constructed out of shared tastes and preferences. Taste is not simply a tool of the elites, then; all classes or social groups have an ideology that suggests what tastes and preferences are considered natural and legitimate. Everyone considers their own taste to be naturally produced or biologically calibrated. Thus their own taste is legitimate, while different tastes are unnatural and possibly vulgar (Bourdieu 1984:56). A practice theory approach to ideology understands it as reflexive and helpful for expressing identity. Ideology is less about the tensions amongst multiple identities within the individual, but more about the tensions that exist between the individual and his/her place in society or the social field. Ideology can be false and true at the same time, either as being empirically true but used deceptively, or is true on the surface but based on false

assumptions. It is not the content that is important, but the way the content is used in relationships of power (Burke 2006:134-136).

A 'bottom-up' approach tries to figure out which sociological concepts best fit the dataset at hand, and what can be best learned through their application. Thus analyses of class through price indexing, consumer choice profiles, wealth evaluation, and occupation can take on a more contextual application and site-specific viability (Monks 1999). Practice theory attempts to form its structure from the dataset. Instead of fitting agents into preconceived categories, it provides a framework from which social classes can be defined. Historical archaeologists will often define a household based on income or other statistical data; alternatively, practice theory maps the tastes and preferences of the subjects and builds a structure of class from that. Bourdieu's own work on class in modern France used material culture to find patterns and identify classes (Bourdieu 1984). His conclusions tend to emphasize occupation and education over other factors, but his structure of class is provocative. A structure of social class based on preference may better reflect the historical development of each subject area. Bourdieu's ideas on using taste and distinction to sort classes may work better than economic models that have been tried in the past.

Of course, how meaning is produced through the interaction between people and objects, and how and why that meaning is expressed in social situations is what is important for an archaeologist to consider (Burke 2006:141-142). It is possible for material culture to actively or passively reflect the status or class of the people who used it (Funari et al. 1999:12). The material culture of a person may reflect how certain identities were mobilized in certain situations, especially how each of those identities is perceived in the power relations of the situation (Burke 2006:136).

### **3.4 Summary**

This chapter attempted to outline the various issues that I am confronted with when assessing social identity through a theory of practice. Some of the above subjects have been treated in greater depth than others. This was done partly to explain lesser known concepts that have not received much attention from archaeologists. This was also done to mirror the theoretical emphasis towards which this thesis will lean. In particular, the concepts of dispositions, social space, fields of interaction, interests, strategies, taste, and distinction will

play a large role in the theoretical framework of the following chapter. The present chapter on theory covered a lot of ground, and a brief summary will further clarify the theoretical framework of this thesis.

First, social identity is understood as a process of negotiation of self between the representations as perceived by the individual and those perceived by the community. Identity thus has both personal and collective natures, exists in private and public spheres, and is constructed by both internal and external interpretations. Social identity is continuously reproduced and reconstructed and negotiates the divide between difference and sameness.

Second, the construction of social identity is contingent on the interplay between several physical and cultural manifestations of identity, including issues of ethnicity and class. Ethnicity involves the creation and maintenance of group identity based on shared cultural characteristics that differentiate themselves from other social groups. Ethnicity is not a static state, but is instead a complex process of negotiation that fractures, transforms, and recombines conceptualizations of identity. Likewise, class can be considered a relational process through which people are socially positioned. Both ethnicity and class depend on internal and external perceptions of identity, are historically situated in particular spatial circumstances, and must be grounded in historical context in order to be effectively recognized. The material manifestations of ethnicity and class are not straightforward correlates or ‘markers’, but instead indications of the process of identity construction and expression. Ethnicity and class inform the choices people make concerning material culture, but more often affect the *use* of the object, and not necessarily the object itself. Archaeologists must locate social action instead of social category within an artifact. Meaning is created through consumption rather than production. The unequal preservation processes of the archaeological record can also negatively affect an archaeologist’s interpretation of ethnicity and class in an artifact assemblage.

Third, the practice theory that stems from the early theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu has great utility towards the archaeology of social identity. Even though practice theory comes by way of sociology and anthropology, it appears that archaeologists have done enough with these theories to do them justice. Practice theory asserts that people exercise agency within the limitations of objective social structures. These structures are reproduced and modified through habitual practice. Bourdieu conceptualizes every person as having a habitus, the system of knowledge a person compiles through experience and references (both consciously and

unconsciously) when choosing courses of action. The habitus guides action through dispositions that help the individual sort out proper behaviour in society by suggesting informal rules of conduct. Individuals relate to each other in terms of their respective positions within social space. The organization of social positions can be seen in social fields, the sites of struggles over material and symbolic capital. People utilize capital based on their own interests in the field. The structure of the field is determined by the positions within it, and the field is always responding to the different strategies utilized by people as they seek to protect and strengthen their interests. The field is also responsive to changing objective conditions. People categorize themselves their use of taste and distinction. Taste is a system of preferences held by the individual; distinction is the process by which the individual uses taste to differentiate themselves from others. People use distinction to legitimize and naturalize their behaviour and to judge the social positioning of others.

The epistemological value of this theoretical framework will make itself evident in the next chapter, as I turn my attention to the social identity of the French Counts themselves.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The Construction of French Count Social Identity**

The previous chapter discussed the concepts of practice theory as first defined by Pierre Bourdieu and how those concepts have been utilized and transformed by subsequent social scientists. In this chapter, I will apply the most relevant of those concepts to the French aristocrat community at St. Hubert in an attempt to understand the social identity of the community's participants. These aristocrats came to Canada with specific expectations of what their lives would be like here. Their expectations were based on a mixture of their own experiences back in France and a romanticized understanding of the Prairie West. I hope to show how these expectations matched with the reality of the situation. First I will explain the nature of the community itself, and the ends that the aristocrats were trying to meet with its formation. I will then look at the practice of the Counts, their habitus, their location in the social space, and their participation in the social fields that existed in Assiniboia. The remainder of the chapter will focus on the aristocrats' interests at stake within the social fields, the strategies they used when they interacted with others within the fields, and the social factors that affected how the aristocrats' chose particular strategies to enact in order to pursue their interests and participate effectively within the social field.

#### **4.1 Nature of the French Count Community**

Before discussing how the aristocrats fit into the social space of Assiniboia, we must explore the nature of the settlement as a whole. Some authors have considered the St. Hubert community as a utopian settlement and place it alongside Benbecula, East London Artisans Colony, Cannington Manor, and Harmony as utopian colonies in the area (Rasporich 2007:129).

If we accept this designation, certain assumptions about everyday life in the settlement would also have to be accepted. But should it really be designated as such?

To answer this question, we need to explore the academic understanding of the nature of a utopian community. A 'utopian community' can be defined as "the foundation of community and other experiments aimed at producing an ideal society" (Tarlow 2002:300). According to Van Bueren and Tarlow, all utopian settlements are founded on two fundamental precepts. First, the participants are dissatisfied with some aspect of the dominant society. They often express concern over urbanization, material attachment, immoral capitalist competition, labour segmentation and exploitation, gender exploitation, and/or religious disregard. Second, participants firmly believe that they can escape the evils of society through the application of their idealism (Van Bueren and Tarlow 2006:1-2). Utopian thought can be characterized as optimistic, in that "harmony, co-operation, and mutual trust are more natural to humanity than competition, exploitation, and social alienation" (Rasporich 2007:127). Utopian ideals can also take drastically different directions in aim and structure, from "static to dynamic, from aristocratic to democratic, and from collectivist to individualist..." (Rasporich 2007:127). Utopian settlements, at their most basic, are acts of social resistance that explicitly criticize dominant group values and practices. Otherwise, utopian settlements vary widely in philosophy and organization.

It is true that many utopian ideas that originated in Europe were eventually expressed in physical form in North America, especially in the western frontier, mainly because of the cheap land available and the relative distance from 'civilization' (Tarlow 2002:308). La Rolanderie, then, fits the mold. But if utopian ideology is always at "the forefront of the consciousness of its adherents", as Van Bueren (2006:133) asserts, then is that the case at La Rolanderie? Léonard (1987:114-115) broached the question of a utopian mindset: "How can the participation of so many...people interested in social reforms amongst the shareholders of 'La Rolanderie' be explained? Was there a plan to create a sort of utopian village where the principles and values of Social Catholicism would be implanted?" In his discussion of the French Count community, Rasporich labels St. Hubert a utopian community, stating that it was created through "cleavages in old-world French society" and that the Counts "sought refuge in an idealistic re-creation of a declining class-order" (Rasporich 2007:139). Can this statement be taken at face value? Were the aristocrats seeking refuge from the evils of modern society? Were they transplanting their

naturally-assumed social order? If so, how conscious was this application? Rasporich's assertion of refuge and denial of social realities seems grossly simplistic, and as will be shown below, highly unlikely. I believe that the aristocrats' actions are more about negotiating social position rather than imposing a vision of a social order on others.

Some of the evidence does point toward St. Hubert as a utopian enterprise. Tomaso and colleagues have identified that most utopian movements involve the physical relocation of people "from a variety of economic classes and backgrounds into less populated or less expensive lands...sometimes inadvertently helping to expand the infrastructure of the same society and government from which utopians felt alienated" (Tomaso et al. 2006:23). This description mirrors the activity of St. Hubert, as the Counts actively worked to convince and help transport rural- and working-class families from Europe. As well, Tarlow noted that the "use of technological innovation to facilitate productive or domestic labor characterized some utopian communities [and that] very few utopias opposed technology *per se*, and many made innovative use of developments to enable sustainable and pleasant work and leisure practices" (Tarlow 2002:301). The Counts were also not shy about using the most up-to-date technology in their business ventures. Utopian communities are often dismissed by dominant groups as 'failures' as a way to diminish their contributions and any enduring influences (Van Bueren and Tarlow 2006:3). This is certainly the case here (see Sullivan 2009 for an exploration of the historic legacy of the Counts). In fact, the dominant theme that emerges in the local histories about the French aristocrats is their eccentricity, which has been attributed to their perceived unwillingness to abandon their noble lifestyle. This lifestyle is emphasized in two different ways: first, the maintenance of social privilege and the traits of upper-class society; and second, the philosophy of *noblesse oblige*, the behaviour which dictates how elites act toward lower social classes.

The aristocrats' ties to royalism may well have informed their actions. John Hawkes' story of Robert Wolfe's blasé response to the assassination of the French president definitely suggests monarchist leanings (Frémont 1980:129). Royalists believed that French society was undergoing spiritual decay. They blamed democracy for these problems, as it stressed universal suffrage and equal opportunity for a mass population that were seen to have neither the skills nor the political knowledge to make decisions about the country. Universal suffrage was considered an insult to the prestige of the 'intelligent' elites. Royalists wanted the vote of the 'common man' to be 'contained' and given less weight, giving preference to the political power of those who

they felt rightly deserved it. Royalists only recognized a patriarchal relationship between the state and its people, believing that society was naturally hierarchical and that the monarchy provided the strong social and political framework necessary for societal stability. Royalists also felt that the monarchy had the workers' interests in mind more so than the capitalist republicans and that it could solve the problems of unfettered capitalism (Hansen 1982:3-12; McPhee 1992:40; Osgood 1960:59-60, 138-139). It is probable that the Counts' royalist viewpoint was not diminished by their experiences in Canada: any issues they had with the federal government and the railroad company could have been used as examples of problems with democracy, and reaffirmed their lack of faith in the Third Republic back home.

The idea of *noblesse oblige*, that the elites have a social contract with the rest of society and a moral responsibility for the welfare of the masses, may be best expressed through the late nineteenth-century Social Catholic movement. The conservative Catholic vision of the social order drew from the "paternal authority of God, the king, and the head of each family." This paternal element led to the teaching of corporatism (rather than secular individualism) in charitable work and informed the development of Social Catholicism (Baker 1999:33). Social Catholicism became a widespread political movement at the end of the nineteenth century, but had existed in less-formal forms since the 1840s. It was part of a larger movement concerned with the "moralization" of France that focused on reforming not only the behaviours of the masses, but also those of children, animals, and attitudes towards health (McPhee 2004:239). The Social Catholic movement was based on Catholic initiatives to redress social and economic problems that plagued modern society. There existed two camps: an "aristocratic and paternalist [organization that] emphasized Christian charity, social reconciliation, and the duties of the rich to the poor"; and a democratic-minded group that "stressed principles of social justice rather than charity." The aristocratic tradition flourished through the century, but the democratic variety did not take hold until the 1890s, when the Church attempted to reconcile itself with the Republic (Ford 1993:100-101; for a more-detailed understanding of Social Catholicism, see Rollet 1947 or Vidler 1964).

Social Catholicism was a specific reaction to the negative consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Not only did religious emphasis make it a moral right for the wealthy to intervene in capitalist injustices, it also became clear that traditional forms of charity were ineffectual to the rising problems caused by industrialization (Léonard 1987:166-167). The term directs attention

to those aspects of Catholicism that are concerned with the welfare of society. A Catholic's social obligations include the family, government, the Church, and "the duty of compassion for the poor" (Vidler 1964:ix). Social Catholicism defines itself through an analysis of the social consequences of the industrial revolution and the attempts to limit its negative effects. Social Catholics addressed the social question by advocating a return to the land and the development of agricultural syndicates. They rejected liberalism, which viewed contemporary conditions as a normal consequence of the natural laws of economics, and also socialism, which wanted to abolish the right to private property (Vidler 1964:ix-x, 112, 122-126).

Three instrumental figures in French Social Catholicism during the late nineteenth century were Comte Albert de Mun, Comte René de la Tour du Pin, and Frédéric Le Play (Vidler 1964:70-75, 113-122). Comte de Mun was perhaps the most prominent, as he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1876, and to the Assembly as a Social Catholic candidate in 1893 (Ford 1993:97; Vidler 1964:122). Albert de Mun "wished to effect an alliance between the people and an aristocracy that had ostensibly long forgotten its social obligations" (Ford 1993:103). Both de Mun and de La Tour du Pin were aristocratic royalists. They were interested in limiting daily and weekly working hours, improving working conditions for women and children, establishing pension plans, and implementing worker's insurance against industrial accidents. They set up an Association of Workingmen's Clubs in Paris that spread throughout the country and were funded by wealthy aristocrats (Vidler 1964:121). Frederic Le Play was a famous sociologist in France whose works on the 'social problem' heavily influenced the ideas of La Tour du Pin (Léonard 1987:177). Le Play believed the family to be the basic social unit and applied the analogy to society as a whole, believing government and employers to have "paternal authority and responsibility" over their citizens and employees (Vidler 1964:73). The school of Social Catholicism followed by Le Play and du Pin denounced the idea of egalitarian societies; they believed that a well-established social hierarchy was essential in keeping society vibrant. They believed that employers had obligations to their employees "beyond the financial obligations demanded...by law", and that employees should in turn respect the "natural superiority" of their employers (Kaplan 1995:104-105). Le Play believed that social reforms had to come from practical analysis of real situations, rather than abstract theory, and spent his career as a sociologist working towards that goal (Vidler 1964:72). Le Play envisioned a *patronage* system, in which the employer and worker were bonded by "social contracts and co-operation between

them outside, as well as inside, the factory.” Cash employment was considered irresponsible, because it left the factory owner disinterested in the welfare of his employees (Vidler 1964:74). The Social Catholic agendas of these men were considered revolutionary in regards to social issues, but conservative in political issues (Ford 1993:103).

Zeldin considered the social Catholicism of de Mun and de la Tour du Pin to be more about the morality of aristocratic traditions than the morality of capitalism (Zeldin 1977:1017-1018). de Mun and de la Tour du Pin’s Social Catholicism was not only paternalistic, but also utopian, as its mechanism for social change depended upon on the restoration of the monarchy (Maier 1965:260). Practical applications of Social Catholicism in France were very utopian. Val-des-Bois, for example, was a workers’ community built around a factory. Each worker had a house with a garden. Each family had an allowance and free medical service. Workers acquired interest in their savings, and the workers controlled safety measures and the overall business direction of the factory (Vidler 1964:124).

When we turn our gaze to St. Hubert, we cannot deny that Social Catholicism played a role here. Leading figures in the Social Catholic movement seem to have had some peripheral involvement in the St. Hubert community. Rudolph Meyer was involved in Social Catholicism and was at least an acquaintance of de Mun and de la Tour du Pin. The La Rolanderie Farming and Stock Raising Company counted the leaders of France’s social Catholic movement as its main shareholders, including de Mun, Le Play’s widow, and Henri Lorin, a prominent Social Catholic author (Léonard 1987:178). If we consider St. Hubert a colony generated by or focused through Social Catholicism, then the utopian label might fit. La Rolanderie, as first envisioned by Meyer, would probably have been constructed as such. And there is really no argument against Smeets’ assertion that the wealthy settlers wanted to live in a settlement that was “aristocratic, Catholic, and French” (Smeets 1980:3). But does having a specific set of expectations at the outset equate to having a utopian vision? I believe this to be a simplistic portrayal. These leading figures certainly had expectations that originated from their own experiences rather than the realities of Canada, but the reality of St. Hubert under the management of the aristocrats strays too far from this vision and does not have the feel of a concisely articulated and followed plan. The aristocrats involved in St. Hubert were in actuality a group with fractured interests. Some were shareholders living abroad with no personal or physical attachment to the settlement and whose primary interests appear to have been monetary.

Some were family men searching for a peaceful place to raise their families. Some were young affluent gentlemen in search of their own prosperity (either at their own behest or that of their families). And some were wealthy gentlemen who came in search of adventure. None of these groups would have consistently shared the same interests or held a shared vision of the nature of the settlement. There is certainly no hard evidence to suggest that the Counts were imposing a will on other settlers, even those they brought themselves. They did not punish or ostracize families that did not help create their vision. They did not interfere with families' lifestyles or their attempts to establish their own homesteads. The families who immigrated to St. Hubert appear to have been left to their own devices. For example, the Counts continued to display the best fashions from Europe, but they did not appear to try to influence the mode of dress of the families they brought with them. Furthermore, I believe the peasant families that came here were inspired more by a survival instinct than a utopian vision. So while the tenets of Social Catholicism are evident and part of the aristocratic mindset, I do not see St. Hubert as a conscious application of it.

At the same time, the Social Catholic agenda should not be completely dismissed. The tenets of Social Catholicism cannot be easily disentangled from *noblesse oblige*, which will be shown to have permeated French Count ideology. The shareholders, although not present, must have had some kind of vision for the settlement. Some of the Counts must have had similar sentiments. Both de Mun and de la Tour du Pin arrived at their Social Catholic mindset through their experiences in the military and as prisoners of war (Vidler 1964:113, 119). This chain of events seems to mirror that of Seyssel and Beaudrap, whose moves to Canada were partly influenced by their experiences in the military during the Franco-Prussian War. Also, Comte de Beaudrap's later activities in Trochu, Alberta suggests a continuity in his thinking: the original settlers of Trochu were army officers disenchanted with the French military and alarmed by France's treatment of Catholic religious orders. The townspeople of Trochu recreated the same social atmosphere and leisure style attempted in St. Hubert. They also worked to incorporate socially-conscious capitalism by setting up a variety of co-operative enterprises, including a creamery, from 1905 to 1907 (Rasporich 2007:140-141).

The evidence, however, suggests that the aristocrats viewed the settlement more as a capitalistic opportunity than a chance at preserving a social order. The community's immigration was designed to supply the aristocrats' businesses with a sufficient capable workforce. As

Léonard points out, the “paternity of ‘La Rolanderie’ therefore is due first of all to movements of capital” (Léonard 1987:117-118). It is telling that the settlement was administered through a *société anonyme*, or limited-liability company. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, *sociétés anonymes* were attractive investments for nobility. Mostly based in Paris, they were commonly utilized for banking, insurance, transportation (railroads and sea shipping), real estate, agricultural, publication, mining and metallurgy enterprises (Freedeman 1979:26, 53-54). *Sociétés anonymes* allowed nobles to invest without being publicly involved in commerce, “which they regarded as incompatible with their dignity” (Freedeman 1979:8). The foreign aspect of the settlement would have also been interesting to investors as stocks, shares, and untaxed property held overseas could be more easily disguised or covered up (Charle 1994:263). In this regard, St. Hubert holds parallels to the so-called ‘utopian’ settlements in Ireland that Colin Breen (2006) studied extensively. Breen summed up the relationship of these settlements with capitalism in the following way:

The Irish communities mentioned here can be viewed as engaging not so much in resistance [to capitalism] but as attempting to find a balance between change, good practice and progressive social reform. This was, however, reform as imagined by an intellectual elite tied to progressive capitalist thought. These were sponsored settlements led from above by a hierarchical elite designed still to maximize capital through ‘improved’ agricultural practice. Interestingly, the project also invested in many new labour saving devices and advanced agricultural machinery, indicating their desire to progress industrially on a commercial scale... [Breen 2006:46]

Breen goes on to declare that these settlements are *not* utopian colonies in the classic sense, but instead settlements in which the leaders had a fledgling social agenda. While this may come down to an issue of semantics, it may be more appropriate to apply the label of ‘intentional community’ rather than a ‘utopian’ one (see Van Wormer 2006 for an assessment).

In summary, utopian communities are: practical critiques of the dominant society; challenge fundamental values of the dominant society by appealing to alternative practices; envision a better future and attempt to convert people to the same vision; consciously and voluntarily choose to live apart and differently from dominant society; are designed and tightly organized communal settlements; and believe that humanity is basically good and that humans want to live in social harmony (Tarlow 2002:304-305). While St. Hubert flirts with some of these characteristics, the settlement is not defined by them. Instead, St. Hubert might be

considered a colonial community. France's imperialism was neither solely political nor economical; "considerations of social order" were always impregnated in these activities (Elwitt 1975:276). More often than not, the social structure that French imperialists tried to establish in their colonial endeavours was a re-creation of *ancien régime* social order. This, coupled with new opportunities for achievement, adventure, and research, may explain why so many aristocrats were involved in French empire-building (Zeldin 1977:938-939). Within colonial situations, archaeologists tend to speak of the negotiation of identities within the new social and physical context. In general this means issues of resistance, creolization or 'acculturation', but the idea can be extended to any situation where "individuals may shift identity in different situations or even permanently depending on their interest" (Jones 1999:224).

A term that better conveys the social context may be "colonial entanglement". Stahl (2002) uses the term to describe social situations in which multiple social spheres interact with each other. For Stahl, cultural transmission between groups is not simply acculturation or appropriation, but reconstruction of identity. Everyday practices associated with colonial entanglement illustrate "how cultural worlds were reconstructed through dress, architecture, the manipulation of space, and the consumption of new objects..." (Stahl 2002:828). The intentions of the community, especially after Meyer left, may be too singularly focused on capital to firmly place a 'utopian' tag on it. Interestingly, the capital in question is not only *economic*, but also *social*. The aristocrats had their own interests at the forefront as they administered the settlement. It is these set of interests that I find most appealing. What ability did they have to consolidate their vision with the realities of the situation? How did their habitus fit with the social space already established in Assiniboia when they arrived? What was at odds? What strategies did they use to adapt to these changes, and were these strategies successful? Were these strategies resisted? In essence, what was the daily practice of the French Count community?

#### **4.2 The Practice of the French Count Community**

A person's habitus is informed by dispositions that have been created through social experience. The aristocrats' habiti were constructed specifically to deal with social fields in nineteenth century France. At St. Hubert, the aristocrats encountered a different social space than they were used to, and their initial social tools used to navigate the social space were in some

ways inadequate and mismatched. Certain dispositions had to be adjusted in order for the aristocrats to function successfully in the new social space.

As we have seen, some of the tenets of Social Catholicism are part of this, especially that which fits the noble mindset. Halbwachs' (1992:122-126) discussion of the development and maintenance of European nobility is interesting and worth mentioning. He places the basis of the characteristics of nobility on a history of family memories, memories that are associated with particular lives, acts, alliances, and past services rendered. The historical data held in these memories are stored in idealist forms (such as names, titles, and stories), and in material form (such as coats of arms, documents bestowing title, and family heirlooms). The creation and recognition of nobility was never considered an abstract system by those participating in it; they were united by relations of "friendship, mutual service, testimony, esteem, and consideration" (Halbwachs 1992:122). The game that bestowed title on a family was not constructed as a simple illusion to fool the masses; each family who acquired a title believed that they deserved a higher social position. The key to the system of nobility is memory and the legitimacy of memory through recognition. Such "historical rights" are considered symbolic capital in the field of class relations (Halbwachs 1992:123). This symbolic capital is utilized in ways dictated by their dispositions. The nobility followed dispositions that maintained the conformity of the upper class in France, or "La Haute Société Parisienne", as Mollat (1972:510) calls them, and for the most part are an extension of the same legitimacy system recognized above. These dispositions involved issues of upbringing, education, and leisure, and were expressed publicly through "dress, gestures, language, opinions and beliefs" (Price 1987:105).

The Counts' dispositions relied partially on their education. In the 1880s, secondary education was restricted to the middle and upper classes. Education in general was "designed to provide the training and skills which it was assumed were required by particular social groups, i.e. to replicate social barriers rather than to promote mobility" (Price 1987:139). Secondary education was all at once a luxury, an investment, and a status symbol, and many parents preferred to send their children to Catholic schools as a matter of social pretension (Zeldin 1977:293-295). The sons of traditional families were often drawn toward education in law as a way to enter the civil government (Price 1987:344).

Secondary education was often coupled with military education. Many of the Counts had military training at Saint-Cyr and this fact gives us a certain insight into their dispositions.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the army retained its prestige in social circles by offering something for every class. For the lower classes it offered the chance for stable income and social mobility through promotion. For the nobles, it was associated “with the nobleman’s claim to the right to command, [and] with the idea that war was an aristocratic hobby.” In the second half of the nineteenth century, the army became a sort of refuge for the aristocracy, who used it “as a kind of finishing school” (Zeldin 1977:876-879). There were seven military cadet schools, but Saint-Cyr was the officer’s school and thus seemed the most prestigious to the nobles (Zeldin 1977:883). The cost of attending a military cadet school was about 12,000 francs and thus was more accessible to the rich. The number of candidates for Saint-Cyr tripled during the early years of the Third Republic and the majority of the accepted officers had noble names. In real terms, the technical education offered by the Polytechnic made it a more valuable military-training school than Saint-Cyr (Zeldin 1977:879). The military education offered at the Ecole Polytechnique was more academically demanding and technical than that at Saint-Cyr. In terms of promotion, however, it was better to have been schooled at Saint-Cyr than to work through the ranks of the army (Brogan 1970:18, 381). In this way Saint-Cyr graduates were admired by social elites and vilified by other social classes. At Saint-Cyr young cadets were told to wear civilian clothing in Paris, “to avoid incidents”. Both the masses and the bourgeoisie considered them “imbeciles” (Zeldin 1977:895-896).

The habits of the aristocrats in France would have been displayed in a number of physical and social manifestations. Materially, noble families possessed urban properties and hotels in large cities and in Paris, as well as rural estates and châteaux (Baker 1999:86). Both properties usually required large domestic staffs, which were displayed as a sign of wealth (Charle 1994:195). Elite fashion was separate from the rest of the population. Ready-made clothes had become commonly produced in France by the late 1860s, but high society men accepted ready-made suits a full fifty years before women took to wearing ready-made dresses. Men could access ready-made suits without social calamity, but women sought outfits that stood out and were tailored for the individual. For both men and women, foreign tailors were often admired not only for their craftsmanship, but also because their foreignness added to their prestige. The capital of women’s fashion was in Paris, but men’s fashion emanated from London. Hats were also important status symbols for both sexes (Zeldin 1977:433-438).

Socially, they frequented exclusive salons, clubs, restaurants, and theatres. Dinner parties and public balls “produced a measure of visible solidarity” amongst the elite, even when in direct competition or facing failure (Smith 1981:128). They educated themselves by studying science and reading books published on themes of public etiquette, moral behaviour, and good health (Zeldin 1977:574, 666-680). Aristocratic families were often deeply involved in charitable works. Their leisure activities were expensive to participate in and often required access to large tracts of land (Charle 1994:186). Hunting on horseback and with the use of dogs was a popular pastime for the elite in France. There were 73 major hunts a year, mostly in western France or in the Ile-de-France region (Zeldin 1977:683-684). Horse-racing was also popular, as it was attractive for opportunities of gambling and for those interested in animal breeding (Zeldin 1977:690-691). Dedication to these forms of sport was considered a “measure of both free time and of sociability” and functioned to display wealth and maintain social networks (Charle 1994:195). Social life for the elite was “expensive, regardless of whether they were given in conjunction with balls, dinners, theatrical performances or hunts” (Sée 2004 [1927]:55). Such events played a large role in urban life. But the social events in the small towns and chateaux were just as sumptuous as those in the large cities. Aristocrats held feasts, theatrical performances, and large hunts on their estates (Sée 2004 [1927]:56-58).

Certain clues that outline the aristocrats’ habitus can be found in their everyday practice in Whitewood. It is clear they were participating in the community partly to establish themselves financially. The younger gentlemen may have also been trying to distinguish themselves within their noble families. Their economic activities may not have been as haphazard as they first appear. Profit, of course, was a first priority, but their forays into agricultural production tapped into an aristocratic yearning to return to the golden age of rural elites. The manner in which they established their cheese and sugar beet factories also hint at the type of cooperatives championed by Social Catholics – cooperatives under aristocratic guidance rather than a democratic pooling of farm labour and resources. While profit was the prime motivation, it is hard to escape the idea that a certain prestige also came along with many of their chosen ventures. Ideas such as horse-raising for the French calvary and producing specifically high-end cheese and coffee certainly hint at this. The prestigious rise of sugar beet operations in France gave the Counts courage to attempt the same at St. Hubert.

In all probability, the aristocrats treated St. Hubert as an extension of the family's rural estate. They established grand homes from which to base their operations and used the labour power of the surrounding community to propel their business interests. They frequently lived in Canada only during the warmer months and returned to Europe in the winter, mirroring common rural/urban residential patterns in France. They participated in community activities that they felt would benefit the social health of an area, such as church-building and political life. They were also able to take leisure activities they were familiar with (fox hunting, horse racing, extravagant dinners and balls) and carve out a place for them in the Canadian West where they were still anomalies. They exerted their experiences upon the Prairie West and tried to fashion a lifestyle comparable to the one they knew in France.

#### **4.3 The French Aristocratic Position in the Social Space**

In the previous section, I outlined how dispositions and experiences embody the habitus of the French Counts. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the habitus is constantly reinforced or altered by the ongoing interaction of new experiences. For the French Counts, many of these new experiences were situated in Canada, not France, and thus must be accounted for. The aristocrats must be placed within the social space of the Whitewood area. Once they have been located within this social space, we can better understand how the aristocrats identified themselves and how this identity was played off of others in order to secure and exemplify aspects of their social identity. A cognizant implication of practice theory, relevant to the 'transplanted' French Count identity in southeastern Saskatchewan, is that people's habitus, dispositions, interests, and strategies all coalesce into arenas of social interaction called fields. The integration of all these fields is what constitutes the public sphere. Public, as opposed to private, is where social fields allow for dispositions to rub against each other. While the public may be dominated by one group, no group can ever monopolize all dimensions of it (Warner 2002:12, 37).

Key changes in the formulation of the public sphere were already well underway in France by the end of the nineteenth century. Lachmann showed how the opportunistic behaviour of the elites from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries opened the door to capitalist development. Changes in intellectual, political, and economic structures were created through the rational (in the Bourdieuan sense) interests of actors (Lachmann 2000:9). Habermas (in Warner 2002:46-51)

illustrated how political power in the public sphere became shaped by public consciousness. Warner (2002:51) further suggested that public personas were constantly being contested by others through strategies of distinction and interest.

How did the dispositions of the aristocratic community affect how they conducted themselves in public? It is quite likely that their dispositions were initially ill-suited for life in the Prairie West. It is important to note that a change in the sociability of the public sphere meant that the old rules of social interaction no longer applied. This may be true even for the younger Counts, whose understandings of the previous social order relied more on the mythological dimensions of nobility that had been passed on to them from their elders than their own experiences. For many social situations, nobles may have followed dispositions that were now mismatched and somewhat ineffective. We can see evidence of these mismatched dispositions in the local histories, especially in those stories in which aristocratic behaviour is portrayed as ridiculous or humorous. Local histories can tease out aspects of a group's identity, both through what is said and what is left out. Despite the propensity for exaggeration or inaccuracies, there generally exists a kernel of truth within the stories. We can use a formulation like Sheptak's (see Chapter 3) to figure it out the social fields at play and where the Counts fit in the social space.

The French aristocrats entered the social space when the community of Whitewood was relatively young and the niches of the social space had yet to materialize. Although most established their homes south of Whitewood along the Pipestone Creek, Whitewood was the original focal point of social interaction. Even after St. Hubert became its own entity, Whitewood's location along the CPR main line gave it favoured status in the area. For this reason, the town can be considered the social centre for most of the community's members. When the Counts arrived, they set themselves apart from other residents in several ways. They promoted themselves as wealthy investor farmers with unlimited access to capital, ambitious businessmen who wished to expand the economic potential of Whitewood instead of concentrating solely on establishing a homestead. As time went on, they tried to establish themselves as stewards of both the Catholic faith and the commercial well-being of the community. Their frequent interactions with government officials (local, national, and international) placed them in strategic positions at multiple political stages. They considered themselves people of influence – although, as we shall see later in this chapter, not all of these social roles were accepted by the community itself.

In short, the aristocrats of St. Hubert were filling the social position of what was known in France as a *notable*. In French rural society, notables were the links between towns and regions, and those with the greatest prestige had the nearest access to state power (Charle 1994:29). Rural France was patterned politically in a series of connections to a wider world: *villages* were grouped into *cantons* that centred around *bourgs*, where the market was held. Cantons were in turn positioned around towns (or *communes*). The network of towns created the regions from which provinces were drawn. Provinces, and later departments, were networked into the nation (Braudel 1988:127-128). The territorial divisions of villages, bourg, commune, and province were also social divisions that for the most part depended upon themselves internally (Braudel 1988:72-73). People who filled the social role of notable bridged the local/regional or regional/national divisions. A notable wielded authority that was dependent on his status within the community, based partly on the presumed ability of the notable to communicate the community's interests to outside authorities. The importance of a notable was based on their influence: the lower ranks of notables were well-off peasants, notaries, and doctors; middle rank notables included landowners and businessmen; the upper levels were typically industrialists, merchants, senior military officers, and civil administrators – all people with broader-reaching connections (Price 1987:113). More importantly, a notable's position was ever-shifting and depended on circumstance. Local notables, for example, probably had limited influence outside their bourg; likewise, notables in urban areas may have found their influence waning as they jostled for position amongst a much larger population of elites (Beck and Beck 1987:40-41).

The aristocrats at St. Hubert clearly felt that they occupied a favoured position within the greater Whitewood community and tried to assume many of the roles which notables in France would have held. For most of the nineteenth century, provincial nobles garnered the most power when they were able to fill the notable position. Provincial nobles filled several overlapping identities: “as residents of a particular locale; as men of learning and, in some cases, professionals; as eminent urban citizens and natural leaders; as arbiters of the *pays*' history and topography” (Gerson 2003:89). Their influence, however, waned in the latter decades of the nineteenth century as notable roles were filled by bourgeois businessmen or wealthy farmers. The situation in Whitewood might represent a sincere attempt to recapture this influence by restaging it in the Canadian Prairie West. The aristocrats were royalists, but by no means

appeared to have treated the farming community as royal subjects. Instead, they positioned themselves as people of influence with somewhat paternal motivations.

It is fair to assume that the Counts occupied a position in the social space with a large degree of economic and social influence. However, they may not have registered as high on the social hierarchy as they themselves believed. In order for them to successfully fill all the roles they wished to play, their roles had to be recognized and legitimized by the rest of the Whitewood community. The social behaviour behind this act of acceptance requires the negotiation of identities within the social space.

#### **4.4 Issues Concerning the Negotiation of Social Positioning**

At the beginning of this chapter I decided to treat St. Hubert as more of a colonial situation than a utopian one and characterized it as a situation full of ‘colonial entanglements’. Such situations are sites of direct social conflict, even when this conflict produces only discomfort rather than violence. If we conceptualize this situation as a colonial one – and the French Counts may have very well viewed it this way – we can then understand social identity as a negotiation between the “changes of landscape, bodies, architecture, and quotidian practices with more familiar practices and ideologies to constitute new identities” (Loren 2008:9). Instead of forging new identities, the French aristocrats may have been negotiating their social identity in order to stabilize their place in an unfamiliar social setting.

Stovall’s (2003) relevant discussion of the relationships between white women and colonial men in France during World War I makes the point that people choose their viewpoints based on the situation. He argues that agents use different conceptual frameworks for each distinct situation to decide how to weigh various factors and apply them to the given circumstance:

For example, an individual may consider his or her racial identity paramount in some circumstances, but in others gender differences may take pride of place. Moreover, one set of social identities may change the ways one conceives another, so that men and women can perceive the very nature of class differently. Moreover, conflicts over race, gender, and class all have their own separate histories and power dynamics, so that they cannot simply be reduced to a question of social difference. [Stovall 2003:298]

In the same way, the Counts drew on different dispositions, depending on the situation, to help guide them through the various social interactions in Whitewood. Loren argues that daily practice in any colonial enterprise is highly politicized; identities are contested and negotiated through every social situation, with increased self-awareness of one's social position due to every transaction being under a microscope (Loren 2003:231). In our case, it is quite likely that the French Counts (and probably all who dealt with them) felt the same way, and under the same scrutiny, until both sides could figure out where each was positioned in the social space.

While the previous section dealt with social space at its most ideal, the reality is that that people must work to maintain or fit into these positions. Bourdieu recognizes that no agent has dispositions completely adapted to their social position. In fact, the best method of uncovering dispositions is to analyze situations in which an agent's dispositions do not fit, "when the practices generated by the habitus appear as ill-adapted because they are attuned to an earlier state of objective conditions" (Bourdieu 1984:109). Agents feel out the social space, by carving out new niches that they themselves envision and by shifting their own dispositions to fit already existing tones. Terdiman (1985:282) calls this "the gymnastics of distinction." Bourdieu put it the following way:

The accomplished socialite chooses his terrain, sidesteps difficulties, turns questions of knowledge into questions of preference, ignorance into disdainful refusal – a whole set of strategies which may manifest self-assurance or insecurity, ease or embarrassment, and which depend as much on mode of acquisition and the corresponding familiarity or distance as on educational capital. [Bourdieu 1984:89]

It is in the act of social negotiation that strategies and distinction play their part. These facets of Bourdieuan thought have often been treated as minor by social scientists, but archaeologists have had success searching for signs of distinction in material culture. The issues of social negotiation are practically applied through the tools of distinction (the practice of social differentiation) and taste (the system of preferences upon which distinctions are made). The practical application of distinction should be identifiable in the history and archaeology of the French Counts. As Terdiman points out, Zeldin's volumes (1973; 1977) on the social milieu of nineteenth-century France gives us insight into aristocratic dispositions. Terdiman comes to the conclusion that "the bipolar mechanism of distinction" is the dominant theme that runs through the dominant discourse. Zeldin cites numerous class practices that enforce distinction, including

a reservation of a room exclusively used for dining, a practice not found in the lower classes (Terdiman 1985:280-281).

Distinction is best seen through the pattern of material tastes. At this stage, I am not going to try to create a hierarchy of tastes. It is more informative to note what the Counts' tastes were, rather than where on the scale those tastes appear. In addition, the aristocrats most likely viewed their own tastes as being more refined. How did their tastes affect their position? One of the key tenets of Bourdieu's formulation of social change is that the identification of 'privileged' taste – normally an asset in terms of the negotiation of social positioning – can quickly become a liability when the objective structures change. Privileged individuals are the slowest to respond to this change with complimentary strategies and thus “fall victim to their own privilege.” Bourdieu cited examples from France of nobles who become ruined financially because of their refusal to change their ways, or great peasant families who refuse to marry rather than marry someone from a lower social standing (Bourdieu 1984:24).

The negotiation of social roles in Assiniboia is actually captured best in the following quotation concerning the English 'Remittance Men' of Grenfell:

Even today one can find, in some old timers, a feeling of resentment towards those class-conscious English people, though admittedly they brought money and culture to the community. The lines of social distinction were drawn very finely, as in the Old Country, and the rules were unchanging, but Canadians didn't understand how the game was played. [Yule 1967:49]

A great deal is being said here: that the English brought their own idea of social space and their role in it; that social distinction played a hand in this; and that the Canadians had their own idea of the social space, and thus did not necessarily play by the same rules. The same observations can be made at Cannington Manor and at St. Hubert. Internal and external factors concerning class, ethnicity, and ideology would have affected how the French aristocrats negotiated the social space. Each of these factors will be explored below.

#### ***4.4.1 Issues Concerning Class***

The largest set of issues that affected the negotiation of French aristocratic social identity is probably that of class. The most obvious class concerns would have been those between the

aristocrats and the peasant and working-class families. But issues would have also existed between the aristocrats and the rest of the community surrounding Whitewood. Additionally, class conflicts with other supposedly elite groups in the area must be acknowledged, as well as possible conflicts within the aristocratic community itself. Again, we must refer back to France before expounding on the nature of social relationship at Whitewood.

The French understanding of the people who represented the social elite changed during the nineteenth century. The bourgeoisie (middle-class) gradually assumed control of the country from the Revolution on; their power was formally recognized with the establishment of the Third Republic (Elwitt 1975:20). It is fair to note that the classic image of the ruling groups of the Third Republic is that of a shift of power from the old notables and nobility to bourgeoisie lawyers. Charle argues that this image only encapsulates parliament at best and is not descriptive of the whole sphere of social relations (Charle 1994:179). Instead of a simple image of nobles clinging desperately to power, it is more fruitful to discuss ways in which noble families adapted to changing social circumstances. The Revolution, and subsequent events, was “not a holocaust of nobles”, as McPhee (2004:93) puts it; most nobles retained their property and power, although their wealth may have suffered slightly. The average annual income of provincial noble families fell from 8,000 to 5,200 francs. At the same time, running an estate became more and more like a business than a property (McPhee 2004:103). It is important to note that the elites in France were hardly a unified outfit. Even in the eighteenth century, the nobles “did not constitute a social class with a consciousness of collective interests. They formed an incoherent mass of privileged persons, who were concerned primarily about their family interests, that is, their personal interests” (Sée 2004 [1927]:63). The elite divided itself based on “levels of wealth, family background, professional interest and religious affiliation” (Kaplan 1995:14).

During the Napoleonic era, elites “melded material substance through landowning, service to the State through the army and administration, and political reliability” (McPhee 2004:86). These strategies continued through to the Third Republic. Despite the rise of the bourgeois and supposed collapse of the nobles, civil administration occupations at the end of the nineteenth century were still largely filled by those with the education, income, kinship connections, and ability to use them to political advantage. A full two-thirds of administrative state officials came from traditional notable families. Their political power may have appeared to wane, but through such channels the elites were able to protect their interests (Price 1987:116-

117). Aristocrats worked in civil service, finance, and justice, and usually made up a third to a quarter of the board of directors for bank, insurance, railway, mining, and steel companies (Zeldin 1973:17). While nobility was considered a separate concept, nobles still mingled with an ever-heterogeneous upper class. Roger Price discusses the existence of a “plutocratic life-style [that was] made possible by great wealth and the desire to make a public affirmation of social status.” Price points to “conspicuous consumption” as the method used to display this status, especially money spent on housing, clothing, furnishings, and the trappings of social events (Price 1987:104).

The struggle within the elite social class was ever-present in a number of ways. First, nobles maintained a hierarchy amongst themselves. Nobility who could trace their titles further back than the Revolution often worked to distinguish themselves from other nobles (McPhee 1992:38). Distinctions were made between noble families who earned titles through public office (*noblesse de robe*) or by feat of arms (*noblesse d'épée*) (Braudel 1990:409, 745). Provincial elites were less likely than urban or royal elites to be able to afford expensive educations for their children in prestigious church schools or in military academies (McPhee 2004:16). Wurst showed how the ideologies of rural and urban elites may be complementary, but could be constructed differently based on separate histories, modes of production, relations with other classes, differing types of classes, resources, and capital product. The elites of the rural provinces did not necessarily have the same interests as those in the large urban areas (Wurst 1991).

Second, the notion of nobility itself was very fluid. According to Huppert, “no two historians agree on what they mean by ‘bourgeois’ and ‘noble’...The heart of the problem has been our failure to explain...considerable movement between social groups” (Huppert 1977:2). Wealthy merchant families were able to enter into nobility through processes that appeared natural. As early as the eighteenth century, families could acquire noble title by purchasing offices from the crown, who often sold them to raise money for war campaigns (Zeldin 1973:113). Kinship was used to develop useful social contacts (Price 1987:106). Noble families also “contracted alliances with families in the financial world...Not only the daughters of financiers married nobles, but often the financiers were ennobled and thus founded nobled [sic] families” (Sée 2004 [1927]:54).

There may have been an integration of several social elites in France, all of them mingling but at the same time attempting to maintain some social distinction from each other in order to assert their own claims of special status. Many aspects of elite life were a continuation of social relations established before the Revolution (Price 1987:102). In fact, the fusion between the established elites and the 'new rich' (who acquired their wealth through business) had already begun during the *ancien régime*, and only accelerated after the Revolution. Many businessmen were rewarded for their success with noble titles, while others were able to purchase such offices when the monarchy was strapped for funds (Price 1987:103). The bourgeoisie included "rich land owners and merchants, chiefs of industry, capitalists, judges and high government officials...In the 1890s members of the bourgeoisie owned outright the medium-sized industry and much of the large industry of France...shareholders owned giant enterprises such as insurance companies, rails, utilities, banks and some mines" (Kaplan 1995:13). Michel Chevalier noted the existence of two 'kinds of bourgeois': those who played active roles in production and distribution, and those who exist "without active employment", deriving income from rents or investments (in Elwitt 1975:4-5). The second type was indistinguishable from nobility in everyday life. A degree of contempt from the nobility may have existed just below the surface towards wealthy elites who were not considered noble (Huppert 1977:32-33).

Bourgeois families who aspired to nobility had four courses of action: an investment strategy for accumulating wealth; a strategy of inheritance for maintaining that wealth; marital strategies to enhance the growth and maintenance of wealth; and fertility strategies designed to prevent the fragmentation of wealth. All of these were "family strategies" in that the good of the family came before individual self-interest (Nye 1993:37). Marriages among any social class were not always about love; material interests often dominated these considerations, especially among the families of property-owners. For the wealthy, this meant that marriage was often another means to extend a family's power and influence (Price 1987:75). When it came to marriage, noble families put great stress on the antiquity and stability of potential matches – unless, of course, the dowries being offered were quite sizeable. Dowries could be used to strengthen family finances or social mobility (Zeldin 1973:287). Family networks were just as important to the bourgeois industrialists as the nobility, especially in terms of partnerships and starting capital as industrial equipment became more expensive. While a large percentage of

heirs succeeded their fathers, a substantial number succeeded their fathers-in-law (Charle 1994:77). “Young titled girls continued to marry nobles so as not to lose their noble name, whereas young nobles could marry well-endowed commoners...” (Charle 1994:187). Men and women were expected to seek out marriages that were in their and their future family’s best interests. Arranged marriages were common. Most of these marriages were brokered with the participation of the people involved, and the degree of pressure used to ensure this union is debatable and probably varied. Most people involved in the marriage system defended it, citing that parents had the best interests of their children at heart when selecting potential matches (Smith 1981:57-59). Thus marriage strategies required children to abide by their parents’ decisions, which were often in line with the family interest (Nye 1993:38).

In 1893, 56% of French deputies were nobles and wealthy bourgeois. The country was governed by a mix of pre-Revolution nobles and bourgeois who gained their wealth through land-owning, business, and official positions. The assumptions each brought concerning family, education, and social hierarchy bonded the elite class more than it separated them (McPhee 2004:263). While social differences most definitely existed between families of noble title and those of bourgeois makeup, the dichotomy of the structures of their wealth may be grossly exaggerated. The terms ‘bourgeois’ and ‘noble’ existed within the social hierarchy, but the distinction between the two was not absolutely clear. The incomes of the nobles had suffered since the Revolution; the abolition of seigneurial dues and tax exemptions and the confiscation of land all took their toll, but families did not lose economic power simply because they had noble lineage (Price 1987:99). The century witnessed a decline in the belief in *vivre noblement* – translated as ‘living nobly’ – which referred to the noble preference of “keeping one’s hands clean of commerce or industry” (Braudel 1990:459). Many nobles remained invested in agricultural enterprise out of the fear of *dérogance* (“the loss of status likely to occur from ‘degrading’, money-making activity”), but as the nineteenth century progressed, more money was invested in order to gain enough income to ensure the lifestyle that their social standing required them to maintain (Price 1987:99). Despite the social stigma, nobles began investing in mines, glassworks, and foundries in the eighteenth century. Changes in banking regulations also helped. The increased availability of credit after 1850 with the opening of provincial branches of major banks greatly increased the profit potential (Braudel 1990:594-595). The laws on joint stock companies were liberalized in 1867 (Charle 1994:80). New government regulations in the

last quarter of the century made investing in joint-stock companies easier and with minimal involvement or effort (Price 1987:100). As Hohenberg noted, while “England was becoming an urban country whose elites retained rural values, France remained a rural country with highly urbanized elites” (Hohenberg 1972:232). By the 1880s, the accumulation of wealth from land was being replaced by stocks and shares, but land still remained the ultimate symbol of wealth (Charle 1994:120). (For a summary of how the participation of nobility in business became legally legitimate, even as the social stigma on the activity remained, see Huppert [1977:29-31]).

Regardless of these transformations, noble birthright and behaviour retained its prestige. French high society continued to be dominated by aristocratic values, even into the twentieth century. Halbwachs contended that this began because “many bourgeoisie sheltered itself [sic] under the mantle of the nobility in order to obtain a recognition which its wealth alone could not attract, because society still respected titles and did not yet recognize bourgeois merit” (Halbwachs 1992:159). The purchase of an estate with a château continued to be a mark of financial success (Price 1987:101). Even as some nobles had to sell their land to make up for lost wealth, both nobles and bourgeoisie “looked to the land as a symbol of status that moveable wealth could not confer” (Gibson 1981:21). Chateaux and agricultural land remained what Charle termed “prestige investments” even when industry gave better returns (1994:181). At the same time, the rural landscape increasingly became viewed as “a place for leisure activities, as a symbol of a lifestyle, not as a centre of existence” (Charle 1994:182). Not only was the chateau itself an important symbol of a family’s social status, but it proved a very visible connection to an illustrious past; often châteaux were altered to appear more antiquated (Price 1987:104). In the nineteenth century it became commonplace for upper bourgeoisie to own chateaux in the country and spend part of the year there (Braudel 1990:448). Many financiers purchased châteaux in departments near Paris that sat on estates with grand hunting grounds. Many “adopted the life-style of their aristocratic neighbours...” (Price 1987:98-99).

How one acquired material culture was also governed by the same set of rules. Furniture was a material expression of one’s status and wealth. Socially conscious people preferred furniture that was solidly and impressively built, and the more antiquated the better to suggest a history of wealth. In this end, fake antique furniture was just as sought after as the real thing (Zeldin 1977:430). Not only did these status symbols help newcomers assimilate into the ranks of the elite through the recognition of proper social etiquette, they also served to distinguish them

from the other classes (Charle 1994:81). The noble title was that extra ticket for families “whose wealth, offices, lands, and local status combined [were] barely enough to justify their claim of not being bourgeois” (Huppert 1977:31).

Entry into the elite class could be purchased, but acceptance was another matter. Families had to act the part and prove their credentials. A major step in acceptance was the acquisition of nobility. For many, “the pretension to nobility was more important than the legal validity of titles” (Price 1987:103-104). Industrialists and merchants purchased titles at any opportunity (Braudel 1988:238). Many wealthy families paid to have their family name inserted in the *Bottin Mondain*, the directory of aristocracy (Zeldin 1973:404). As well, nobility could be falsified. It was common for families to adopt the particule (*de*) to give the appearance of nobility, and while the name change did not legally define nobility, it lent the impressions of noble descent (Zeldin 1973:403). Gibson (1981:7) illustrated how nobility that originated during the *ancien régime* decreased throughout the nineteenth century (from 29,200 in 1820 to 4,300 in 1900, an 85% drop), but the uses of the *particule* did not decrease in nearly the same drastic form (25,000 in 1820 down to 15,200 in 1900, only a 39% drop). Names that began with ‘De’ could be split apart. Families could add ‘de’ in front of surnames that appeared to be localities, and then suggest that the family held noble title from that area (Gibson 1981:5). Adding the name of property to the title also gave the same impression (Zeldin 1973:403). Some families simply pretended to be noble; by the twentieth century, there were three times more nobles on public record than existed in official records. Papal titles, for example, were claimed by 2,000 people between 1831 and 1906, despite the fact that the pope only granted 300 during that time (Zeldin 1973:16). By the twentieth century, only 20% of nobles could trace their lineage to the fifteenth century or earlier, and some 40% could trace no further than the eighteenth century (Zeldin 1973:402).

Noble titles were valued because of the prestige that came with them, or more precisely “for the *cultural* capital they possessed” (Nye 1993:152, emphasis in original). Acting the part also meant maintaining proper class appearances at all costs. This requirement was financially draining. For this reason the richest of the nobles of France were also the most deeply in debt (Sée 2004 [1927]:56). In fact, the loss of seigneurial rights for noble families probably more greatly impacted their relationship with other nobles than it did with the peasants, as it may have exacerbated social conflict among the elites (Lachmann 2000:187-188). It was common for

nobles to have over-extended credit, but the financial hits of the 1880s made this situation untenable for some nobles (Gibson 1981:21). Great variation among nobles existed in living conditions; some homes were large and extravagantly furnished; other chateaux smaller with furniture hardly better than the peasants (Sée 2004 [1927]:57-58).

While the nineteenth century saw the rise of a social class that included both nobles and *grand bourgeois*, the idea that they were a united group is far too simplistic a portrayal. At the same time that rich bourgeois were adopting aristocratic symbols, the nobility felt the need to self-consciously identify itself as separate (Gibson 1981:7-11). Thus noble families with meager means worked extra hard to obtain distinguishing symbols of their elite status. Zeldin argued that increased fluidity between bourgeois and nobility actually led to “more room for snobbish rejection” (Zeldin 1973:17). Nobles jealously clung to their social traditions as a way to maintain some kind of upper hand in the social space. At the same time, rich bourgeois families adopted many of those same practices: living off private incomes, dividing their time between town and countryside. Nobles believed that their families had special qualities that made them noble and could only be inherited; while bourgeois initiated success through business, bourgeois families quickly began to view their social station as an inherited right. So it is possible that the nobility should not be considered a class in itself, but a social group with membership into the elite social classes (Zeldin 1973:542). Class solidarity is affirmed through shared distinctions (Terdiman 1985:285).

What does all this mean for the aristocrat identity at Whitewood? As mentioned, the noble aspect of the aristocrats’ background is frequently referenced in local histories. It certainly appears that names and memories were chosen by the aristocrats to purposefully (yet subtly) convey a sense of entitlement and reaffirm the social position that they believed they were entitled to occupy. La Rolanderie was named specifically to invoke the prestige of a shareholder’s chateau in France. Likewise, Jumilhac named his home Richelieu to honour his family’s noble title. When the Counts gave their full names, many of their surnames (de Denneville, de Farguettes, de Saint-Seine, de Sothonod) are drawn from the regions of their ancestral estates. Rouffignac is often referred to as hailing from the Haute-Vienne department in Limousin, France (Smeets 1980:4). The reference to Limousin could have a deeper meaning, as Limousin was the name of the *ancien régime* province that covered that area pre-Revolution, rather than the state-sanctioned name for the area.

A blending of noble and bourgeois sensibilities is also evident within the aristocratic class at St. Hubert. For example, local histories note that Wolfe and Janet were not titled, but they did serve particular uses within the community. An interesting sentence concerning Emile Janet by Léonard gives us some insight into this: “a descendant of a family of magistrates, therefore a middle-class person, and because of his knowledge of English, he would succeed in holding a place of importance among the notables of St. Hubert” (Léonard 1987:88). Both his class and his language skills meant the Counts placed him in a different position in the social field, or more specifically, used his talents to help assert their own position within the fields of interaction. Janet’s skills as an English-speaker and middle-class businessman would have helped to ease communication between the Counts and the farmers. Wolfe and Janet’s participation in the community highlights two key aspects of the French upper class: its ability to endure a membership of multiple backgrounds, while at the same time subtly classify and separate the members of the upper class into differential categories.

The shared economic interests of the French Counts most likely kept internal class differences at a minimum. Price believed that shared interests such as these are what kept nobles and wealthy non-nobles in France consolidated into an elite class. He stated that they exhibited a “shared awareness” in maintaining power and that any differences that arose between the nobles and non-nobles were often swept aside when other class conflicts entered the picture (Price 1987:106). These other classes would include true bourgeoisie (those with middle class values that did not enter the elite), the working class (especially in urban areas) and the rural population. Rural people were usually characterized as *paysans* (peasants, or ‘people of the land’) but this tag tends to smooth out the complexities of the social situation. While a good half of the rural population could be classified as such, as they were small-plot farmers or wage-labourers, there also existed in rural society large tenant farmers, landowners with wage-labourers working farms, religious workers, and landless labourers (including domestic servants). Plenty of manufacturing industry also existed in provincial towns (McPhee 2004:10, 35). The French rural countryside, of course, was not solely composed of peasant farmers. Nineteenth century census takers considered towns of fewer than 2,000 people to be ‘rural’, and often communities reaching as much as 10,000 people were also considered rural. Most of the citizens of these towns would not be considered farmers (McPhee 1992:11-12). Between 10 and 25% of a commune’s

population would reside in the bourg proper, which usually contained the schools, the central Catholic church and cemetery (Lehning 1995:41-42).

The above description of rural life is comparable to Whitewood at the end of the nineteenth century, and there are good indications that the Counts treated the Whitewood population as they would any other rural district. This means that the aristocrats would have initially transposed their own class terminology onto the residents. Thus we may consider that the aristocrats gave differential treatment to the Whitewood area elites, the middle class (merchants and well-to-do townspeople), and the homestead farmers respectively. Each of these relationships is explored below.

Other elites in the area included the wealthy English families in Cannington Manor, Grenfell, Moosomin, and Whitewood, and influential French settlers like de Caze, Limoges, and the Guerins. Local histories detail that the French Counts became well-acquainted with the wealthy residents of Cannington Manor. Interesting parallels can be made between the two groups. Cannington was a ‘bachelor society’ where young rich men were supposed to be trained in agriculture, but the town was mainly treated as a residence of leisure (Rasporich 2007:130-131). In terms of class relations, the upper-class residents of Cannington occupied the same position as the French aristocrats (although ethnic differences, as we shall see, may have complicated the issue). The British “reproduced a round of British upper middle class leisure activities such as fox hunts, dances, and musical evenings...” (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:ii). Cannington also had a church choir, Glee club, Rifleman’s club, cricket club, theatre company, town band, a thoroughbred racing stable with a permanently graded race track, and tennis courts. They held dances and balls regularly, as well as annual agricultural fairs (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:67-69). They also endured many of the same financial setbacks as the French Counts due to similar reasons (failure to properly implement flour, cheese, and pork factories, inability to secure a rail line into the settlement) (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:3-4). Even more telling of their true financial situation, the founders of Cannington had “depleted financial situations” and funded their endeavours largely through inheritance and their wives’ estates (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:70).

The French Counts participated in many of the same social events as the Cannington Manor elites, implying that some social connection existed between the two. The most obvious assumption is that this occurred on the level of class relations. Each must have had a tacit acceptance of the other’s shared social position. The fact that Cannington residents were not

nobility, however, must have come into play in some instances. It is very likely that the Cannington elite were treated much as wealthy bourgeoisie were treated in France: accepted as elites, but held distinct from nobility. The same may be said about Limoges and Guerin, who were businessmen but probably fit into the elites due to their influence. Their shared French ethnicity (as we shall see later) further cemented these relationships.

Cannington Manor also holds some lessons regarding relations between the elites and the common class. At Cannington, the elites were the minority in the settlement. The rest of the community were referred to as the ‘Canadians’ and were lower- and middle-class people from England and eastern Canada (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:3). Enns-Kavanagh noted that “class differences [at Cannington were] mediated to some extent through the mutual interdependences felt by both” the upper-class English and the lower middle-class farming community (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:ii). A degree of social negotiation was required in sustaining these relationships.

Social relationships with common farmers may have played out differently with the French Counts, who may have had a different understanding of what was considered ‘mutual interdependences’. The popular peasant image in the nineteenth-century had already acquired characteristics set up to be diametrically opposite to urban industrialists (see Braudel 1990:229-237). Country folk in France were generally stereotyped by urban elites as “superstitious savages, potentially given to irrational violence, a dead weight on French development, under the control of priests, politically conservative, and resistant to change.” The ‘peasant’ was seen as different from ‘French’ (Lehning 1995:2). In nineteenth-century literature, peasants were “also passive when faced with their poverty and with the injustices that rural society, especially its feudal vestiges, visits upon them” (Lehning 1995:28). Agency among the peasant was thus considered limited and purposefully placed in counterpoint to the nobility’s charitable qualities of *noblesse oblige*. At the same time this image was alternated with that of the ‘noble savage’ who displays conveniently-bourgeois cultural values relating to work, family, religion, and patriotism (Rogers 1987:57). Lehning discusses cultural identity in the French countryside as negotiated through a series of ‘narratives’ that are held together in a cultural landscape. The French conceptualization of ‘peasant’ was neither static nor readily accepted by the peasants themselves. Instead, peasants continually negotiated their identities (Lehning 1995:6-10). Even today, the image of the peasant stands for “a heritage, a cultural diversity, a strand of French

national identity in marked opposition to a highly unified identity derived from a powerful centre” (Rogers 1987:56).

The nobility’s influence in daily rural life during the *ancien régime* was felt mostly in economic power and exertion of seigneurial rights over land and people; control of the land was central to the income of most of these families, including basic farm payments and the right to ask for unpaid labour on certain ‘public’ works on the noble’s land (McPhee 2004:16-17). Nobles lived in chateaux within the communities, but often remained socially exclusive and tried to control forms of contact with the populace (McPhee 1992:39). Daily interaction between peasants and landowners waned as more landowners began living for longer durations away from the chateau, either in town centres or farther away in large cities like Paris (McPhee 2004:17). Class relations could also be affected by the variation in personal behaviour. The ‘lesser’ nobles, rather than feeling closer to their peasant counterparts, may have exercised their seigneurial rights more rigorously than wealthier, ‘respected’ nobles and worked to distinguish themselves from peasants at every given opportunity (Sée 2004 [1927]:60).

As MCPhee noted, when “patronage systems were strongest...they were not simply a sign of deference but rather a way by which the poor gained access to scarce resources via a wealthy patron” (McPhee 2004:156). People who worked land in France often did so under complex arrangements. A family farm may have been composed of a combination of plots of inherited land, land belonging to kin who migrated to urban areas, land rented from someone else for a moneyed payment, and land rented under the share-cropping system (Lehning 1995:49). Lehning noted that a large number of peasants refused to modernize their agricultural practices in the 1880s. He suggested that their agricultural production was drawn inward and done for consumption purposes, rather than market purposes, due to the declining prices of crops. This strategy was more about producing for the family unit and protecting the family farm, rather than producing for the market economy (Lehning 1995:87-88). Family members also participated in ‘marginal’ activities that were imperative to the livelihood of the families, including temporary and seasonal farm labour, paid domestic work, wet nursing, and manufacturing (Lehning 1995:50-51, 61).

Elites had the most personal contact with the peasant classes in the domestic sphere. Domestic servants of the nineteenth century included cooks, housemaids, live-in gardeners, ladies’ maids, valets, and chauffeurs. All were expected to be of high moral character, as they

were representatives of the household and influences on the children (Smith 1981:74). The number of traditional ‘servants’, who lived on the land with their masters, declined in the late nineteenth century, although domestic servants increased in number as their hiring came to be expected of not only the rich but also the urban middle classes; having servants was just as much a status symbol as owning furniture. In France at the end of the nineteenth century there was the perception of a “crisis in the servant situation”, in that too many people wanted servants and good ones were hard to find. This was partly due to the reality that idealized servant-employer relations were just that, and both sides often fought for the respect from each other that they believed they deserved (Zeldin 1977:942-945). The male rural servant occupations – such as coachman, groom gardener, or estate manager – originated often from a family tradition (Charle 1994:252). The average age of the working class was 24 for women. Married life as a servant was difficult. Men married more often than women, who often had to save for a dowry. In 1906, 57% of male domestic servants were married, as opposed to only 38% of females. It “was not unusual to employ married couples as domestic servants or to arrange marriages between servants; this was a guarantee of their loyalty to the household...” (Charle 1994:252-253).

In the minds of the French aristocrats, the common homesteader in Canada may have been considered equivalent to French *paysans*. For the moment, I will treat the single homestead farmer in the Whitewood area as one class. As mentioned in Chapter Two, conditions varied for the working-class and peasant families when they first arrived. Single workers usually lived in small worker’s shacks on Count property. Families tended to have more spacious quarters, sometimes living in the same homes as their employers (at least initially). As in France, the Counts commonly employed spouses as domestic staff, and it was not uncommon for single workers to eventually marry each other. Many settlers in the Prairie West had to get jobs to acquire capital to establish their homesteads or subsidize their incomes (Carter 2007:106). The Counts were able to supply employment for Whitewood-area residents doing the same. French families that stayed in Canada were able to acquire their own homesteads in time.

There were plenty of points of cooperation between the aristocrats and the farmers in the area. When the Counts brought the sugar beet and chicory ideas to the farmers and convinced them of their viability, they drew upon common interests. Most Saskatchewan farmers saw “themselves as victims of economic subjugations...The structure of the prairie farm economy...was dominated by the large and powerful interests of the railway companies, the

Winnipeg Grain Exchange and a small number of elevator companies” (Eisler 2006:58). Farm groups that opposed the monopoly of these institutions already existed in the 1880s, including the Manitoba and North West Farmers Alliance (Eisler 2006:60). Agricultural co-operatives would eventually become significant developments in the prairie economy (see Eisler 2006; Fairbairn 2007). Later co-operatives, as Brett Fairbairn characterized, were “about apples, not theories,” meaning that they brought farmers together out of social and economic necessity (Fairbairn 2007:408). The feeling of the cooperation fostered first by Meyer, and then subsequently by the likes of Roffignac, was perhaps not the same. The cooperatives that the Counts attempted were patterned more after the comfortably understood sharecropping system than a democratic cooperative, and this was a dichotomy that would have affected the Counts’ interaction with the farmers.

But not all class relations would have been idyllic. Even when cooperating, the French Counts may have drawn from their experiences in France, where relationships between nobles and peasants were often peppered with suspicion. Republicans often presented the nobility and the clergy as the enemies of the peasantry in an effort to garner votes and support, even when republican businessmen were just as exploitive (Gibson 1981:33). Social contact with farmers may have been broached with a bit of wariness. At the same time, farmers would also have been wary of the Counts’ motivations. Any perceived smugness on the Counts’ part would have also increased class friction.

#### ***4.4.2 Issues Concerning Ethnicity***

Ethnicity must have also played a role in social interaction in nineteenth-century Assiniboia. As noted in the previous chapter, Whitewood was the centre of a multicultural colonization activity. The ethnicity of each group would affect which dispositions the aristocrats chose to enact when engaging them in social fields. The French identity of the aristocrats would have most notably affected their interactions with other French persons, English settlers, and aboriginal groups.

The nineteenth-century concept of “French” included principles of civilization, bonds of race, and the bond of the language (Zeldin 1977:25). The French nation is not defined by multiculturalism; as Rogers (1987:56) put it, “there is no such thing as a hyphenated Frenchman.” And yet France cannot be considered a single ethnic entity. The ethnic character of

Frenchness comes from either its dominant centre (Paris) *or* from its rural roots, but never from both. These two images are always placed as opposites and never together (Rogers 1987:56). France did not have mass ideas of social unity until well into the eighteenth century; before that it was more a feeling held by its rulers than its people. The old provinces around Paris probably had the most nationalist fervour, but that was tied up with the royalty (Zeldin 1977:4-5). This nationalistic bent was offset by the reality that France was a collection of regions (or *pays*) that had been shaped by local identities (Braudel 1990:746). The ‘idea’ of France first and foremost meant ‘civilization’; to be French meant conducting oneself in a civilized manner, or in other words the manner of high society in Paris (Zeldin 1977:6). It was often believed – by the elites, of course – that the possession of French culture made a person French. Thus peasants as much as immigrants had to be “made French”, mainly through acculturation in schools and the army, and the French identity took on dimensions of class as well as ethnicity (Zeldin 1977:17).

Race played a role: only certain races could be considered ‘French’. In the nineteenth century Deniker divided France into six different races, including Franks, Gauls, Celts, and Bretons. From a racial view, then, France was not a united entity, although some races were deemed ‘more French’ than others (Zeldin 1977:9-12). But language was the commonly used tool for distinction based on ethnicity. Language has ethnic and class hierarchies, as Grillo (1989:3) asserts, and this is no better evident than in France (see Grillo 1989:7-10 for a discussion of the relationship between language, power, and politics). France had two dialects of French (northern and southern), plus at least 30 patois, plus non-French languages at the periphery of the country (including Basque, Flemish, and German). The dialects of patois began to be noticeably different as little as eight leagues away (Braudel 1988:92). Patois are dialects of French or French-like languages that are regionally located. Their regionalist character meant they were hardly understood outside of their area of use (Grillo 1989:26). The language known as French (called the *langue d’Oïl*) was the dialect of the Ile-de-France, the area around Paris. From the Middle Ages onward it was the spoken dialect of the monarchy, whose reach eventually spread to the coasts of the European peninsula. By the seventeenth century it was the literary standard. Its evolution through grammatical rules based on the practices of the Court made it the speech of ‘dignified’, official discourse. Grillo even argues that the spoken form began to mirror the standards of the written form (Grillo 1989:162-163). More importantly for

the elites, French became a “cultivated language” through study of speech and writing, rather than the simple transmission of it from societal members (Grillo 1989:190).

The French language was “a powerful discriminatory apparatus in the creation of administrative elites” (Stovall and Van Den Abbeele 2003:8). Distinction of language in France developed under two lines. First, the ethnic division of language became synonymous with class divisions, as regional patois was separated from the French language and considered the tongue of the peasant. Second, the written form of French became the preeminent form of communication at the state level, further cutting of the peasant from the state apparatus (Grillo 1989:6). Although no official policy existed, French was the dominant language of the royal court, which then trickled down into the provincial elites via the court’s upper classes. The focus on developing a national language and minimizing patois did not develop until the idea of a nation-state took hold at the end of the eighteenth century (Grillo 1989:29). The policies of the *ancien régime* most likely promoted the use of patois, as the monarchy was not interesting in developing “lateral communication between its subject communities”, instead preferring to maintain peace, extract taxes, and curry local favour (Grillo 1989:28). In fact, it was probably in their best interests not to have everyone speaking the same language, as the monarchy’s identity resided in sovereignty and it did not wish its citizens to ever unite against it. In contrast, the Republic’s identity resided in its citizens, and a common language would unite them (Grillo 1989:29-30). At the time of the Revolution, there were 30 patois spoken in France, with many displaying their regionalism by having the same names as *ancien régime* provinces. Abbé Grégoire presented a report to the French Republic in 1794 on “The need and the means to eradicate the patois and to universalize the use of the French language.” He and others believed that a standardized French national language was essential to the unity of the Republic (Grillo 1989:23-24). French gave people access to standardized education and commerce and allowed them to become participants in the political process. Speaking French was also tied up with “intellectual, moral, and political improvement.” According to elites, French opened the door to improvement (Grillo 1989:31-33).

Even in the mid-twentieth century, Julian Pitt-Rivers’ ethnography of a French village illustrated how patois was used by villagers when discussing family matters, agriculture, and weather, but French was spoken when the conversation dealt with politics, fashion, education, commerce, and national affairs. As well, the larger the urban centre, the more the French

language dominated (Zeldin 1973:378). Because the French language crossed regional barriers that local patois could not, those who spoke it quickly gained prestige. To further compound the differences, Balibar asserts that a division of French dialects along class lines formulated with standardized schooling, as those with more formal education learned different rhetorical and grammatical techniques. These lines came from the difference between ‘elementary’ French, which was taught by everyone, and ‘secondary’ French, which was taught by those who continued their educations beyond what the average citizen had access to (Grillo 1989:208-211). We might also assume that the wholesale adoption of French actually diminished the elite’s sense of distinction; at one time only they spoke French in the provinces, but by the end of the nineteenth century a larger majority now did. The eradication of local languages was deemed essential to the development of easy communication and political unity within the Republic, but it could also be seen as having been “designed to erase the historical memory of monarchy and oppression” (Ford 1993:14-15). Thus the French concept of nationalism has a civic dimension as well as an ethnic one (Stovall and Van Den Abbeele 2003:6).

The aristocrats’ relationship with the families of St. Hubert would have been influenced by the above. The Counts preferred the French families as employees due to their shared language, which eased communication and most likely reduced tension in everyday business and domestic operations. But the French language probably also had deeper implications. The aristocrats might have assumed that the other French families shared a value system in line with their own, one based on Catholic morals, and allowed them to be more comfortable working with them in close quarters. It may have led to a sense of camaraderie among the aristocrats towards the St. Hubert families that enhanced the nobles’ sense of *noblesse oblige*, which allowed the aristocrats to freely associate and provide some manner of comfort for such families. Certainly, the weddings that the aristocrats threw for St. Hubert couples belonged in this category. Simultaneously, a difference in accents and dialects would have also been noted as subtle signs of class distinction by both groups.

Their relationship with the rest of the Whitewood community was also partially predicated on ethnicity. Limoges and Guerin most definitely enjoyed a closer relationship with the French aristocrats than Anglophone businessmen due to their Frenchness that was felt on all social, political, and economic levels. In fact, Limoges would have profited considerably from his financial dealings with the Counts. Anglophones who were perceived to be members of the

same social class as the Counts (ie. Cannington Manor elites) would have enjoyed a relationship based on shared class, but one that was rife with conflict due to ethnic differences. I previously mentioned that the Cannington elites noted a “haughtiness of the Frenchmen’s manner” and even called them “snobs” (Hewlett 1954:6). This viewpoint likely derived from confusion about each other’s motives. Neither side may have been able to adequately translate their culture or language to the other. These misunderstandings were a matter of poor translation of both culture and language. Cultural concepts of space, custom, and etiquette were not always properly understood by the other. Sometimes one group would choose not to engage in communication because of problems with language. Situations like this would include times when a French person was too shy or uncomfortable with the English language and so would only give curt responses, or none at all. These actions could be construed as snobbish.

There is also the issue of social relations with aboriginals. The French Counts often hired aboriginal labour, but they were clearly not the first choice. At least one story recounts that the French Counts did not consider aboriginals to have a very good work ethic (TSH 1980:217). Meyer’s letters also outlined at least disdain for aboriginal activity. It seems likely that the aboriginal acquired in the aristocrats’ eyes the most negative of images concerning the French peasant. Ironically, this view conveniently mirrored that of the Canadian government, whose farming policies on reserves from 1889 to 1896 strongly suggested that they too viewed native groups as ‘peasants’ (Carter 2007:104). Simultaneously, the typical ‘noble savage’ image, so ingrained in European images of the both the ‘peasant’ and the ‘indian’ is strongly present. One example of this is Beaulaincourt’s son, who was given the surname Cachaca as a tribute of sorts to a nearby First Nations group (Léonard 1987:186).

Bill Waiser suggested that in the Prairie West “help was help”, that ethnic backgrounds were far less important as homesteaders struggled to survive in the early years, and leaned on their neighbours regardless of background. He asserted that it was not until the land was sufficiently settled that “questions about assimilation and integration became more pronounced” (Waiser 2007:163). Waiser’s assertion is appropriate for homesteaders, but is less true for the French aristocrats. Some conflict must have occurred, even if it was subtle and below the surface. The friction that existed between the aristocrats and the area farmers was felt partially because of the language differences, partially because of the class differences, and often this was rolled into a single anti-French sentiment. In Chapter 2 it was noted how some settlers resented

the French for snobbish behaviour, and that much of this probably stemmed from lack of communication. Likewise, it appears the aristocrats did not work to distinguish English-speaking settlers from each other.

#### ***4.4.3 Issues Concerning Ideology***

Also central to social relations in Whitewood are issues that stem from the ideology of the French Counts. Some of these issues have been touched upon already, as these ideologies are steeped in class and ethnic dimensions. In practice theory, ideology is the foundation of doxa, the base of knowledge that is considered legitimate by the dominant discourse of society. Behaviours that are aligned with doxic knowledge are considered orthodox, while behaviours that resist doxa are considered heretical (see Chapter 3). The situation in Whitewood is interesting, because the French Counts most likely arrived with different understandings of doxa than the settlers who were already established. Any push by the aristocrats to have their doxa legitimized by society could have antagonistic repercussions. The specific purpose of this section is to highlight those attributes of French Count ideology that may have directly led to social tensions between them and the residents of the Whitewood area and, more importantly, how those residents would have reacted to these social assumptions.

First, Count ideology would have been at odds with official government ideology. The Canadian government was in the midst of its own colonial operation, as it worked to ensure the dominance of state ideology in the North-West. They drew political boundaries and built institutions in order to fashion a political state that was built to withstand any resistance by its people, most notably the Métis and First Nations groups. The human geography was fashioned by methods (including the grid system) that organized the North-West with the power relations between the West and Ottawa clearly in mind (for a detailed discussion on the national government's imposition of authority and ideology, see Moffat 2000). The Counts clearly resisted what they viewed as unnecessary meddling by the government, especially when the township system complicated their initial plans for a closed village. In addition, the Counts never gained favourable support from the government for any of their projects. It appears that the two sides were always at odds with each other.

Second, certain characteristics of the aristocrats' ideology would have distinguished them from the other settlers. Essential to the aristocrats' dispositions, and thus a major factor in their

ongoing negotiations of social space, was their conceptualization of honour. Honour factored deeply into aristocratic behaviour. Honour has several different definitions that encompass multiple, often contradictory concepts. For example, honour can refer to “good name or public esteem”; it can also be “a keen sense of ethical conduct” – meanings that could culminate in several different courses of action by an individual (Reddy 1997:7). In general, honour was associated with “generosity, self-sacrifice, courage, honesty, [and] self-esteem” (Reddy 1997:13). The French widely-used the terms *honneur* (honour), *honorer* (to honour), *honorable* (honourable) when discussing character virtues. In the first sense, *honneur* “was an exterior or visible mark of distinction or rank” that someone has, gives, receives, or does, or is bestowed. Honour was something that was accumulated. While the literature refers to honour mainly as a male concern, women were “expected to comport themselves – in terms of dress, household management, social relations, consumption, conversation – in a manner appropriate to the rank of their husband or male relations.” In the second sense, *honneur* was badge that had to be kept untarnished. One could be in the state of dishonour (*déshonneur*) or shame (*honte*). People honoured their commitments or defended their name from insult. Women were concerned most with this sense, as their task in the social sphere “was to preserve themselves and their family’s name from even the suspicion of improper conduct” (Reddy 1997:20-21).

The honour code worked as a system of social behaviour. Honour was never permanent; it was always open to challenge and required constant reaffirmation (Nye 1993:13). Honour served several functions. First, it served to govern feelings. Passion, for men especially, was only allowed in certain domains and in certain forms. In public, for example, passion was allowed in the forms of just anger in defense of public slander. In private, passion was allowed as love and devotion to family and relations. Second, it allowed for secrecy and the management of appearances. Behaviours that affected one’s honour could be concealed or perjured, or dealt with through violent confrontation (including the duel). Concealment included repressing behaviour, including even from oneself. Third, for the most part honour was not explicitly taught; it was most often “reinforced...by parental discipline...As a result, these models operated at the level of background assumptions, habits of mind, inclinations that did not need to be mentioned or reflected upon” (Reddy 1997:60-63). Thus honour was used most prominently to keep up appearances, and to conceal or avoid shame (Reddy 1997:7). The quality of *sangfroid*, keeping

control of one's emotions when circumstances required, was a prized virtue of a gentleman that aided in social mobility (Nye 1993:144-145).

The keys to honour are its prestige and the utility of aristocratic behaviour in social mobility. Nye rightly asserts that historians cannot simply invoke 'tradition' to explain anachronistic behaviour; actions that continue to thrive despite their apparent barbarity must convey some meaning and serve some sort of useful function (Nye 1993:135). Mark Girouard viewed the rebirth of chivalry in nineteenth-century Britain as a "search for a gentlemanly code that might ease the progressive intermixture of old and new elites" (Nye 1993:150). Nye viewed the same rebirth in France as a "rediscovery of the 'moral' component in medieval life" that worked first to justify the incorporation of *ancien régime* aristocratic behaviours into modern manners, and second to place the courage of the warrior ethic into an otherwise restrained, rationalist society (Nye 1993:150).

Nye believed that the conceptualization of nineteenth-century honour originated in *ancien régime* ideas of noble military service, entwined with strategies of inheritance, reproduction, and the idea of 'noble blood'. Nineteenth-century European authors and scientists went to great lengths to link the social order of family and gender with biological sex and ideas about honour became a part of this movement (see Nye 1993:41-128). Honour became critically connected with natural demeanor, in that the truly noble person naturally possesses such qualities; adversely, people of noble birth are assumed to already possess these qualities (Nye 1993:15). Nineteenth-century aristocrats believed honour to be "a natural quality of the superior European male, not a social construct" (Reddy 1997:13). Noble lineage gave a male the aptitude for virtuous behaviour, but it was recognized that a gentleman had to realize his virtue through his public behaviour; however, the two were inseparably linked (Nye 1993:19-21). Thus honour was a public display in the social space. Honour provided "claims of individual distinction" while at the same time was used to justify or deny inclusion of an individual or family within a social group (Nye 1993:8).

Honour also had gender connotations. Women's honour was primarily located in sexuality, pinned to first virginity and then marital fidelity. Women treated honour defensively, in that it could only be maintained or lost. Male honour revolved around the sexual and the social, and these intertwined in certain situations. Honour became more important to elite French males in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after the defeat to Prussia in 1870

suggested that the nation's honour itself was tarnished. There was a sense that male honour became more fragile throughout the Third Republic and thus had to be defended (Reddy 1997:237-238). It was recognized that men can lose honour as well, if they "act in a cowardly or fearfully manner, commit civil crimes, break a betrothal, engage in unprovoked violence, or fail to oversee and protect the honor of the women in their family", but can also regain their honour through many of the same avenues of action (Nye 1993:10-13; for a discussion of the duel as a legitimate tactic to defend one's honour, see Nye 1993). Honour worked most effectively as a silent social construct; honour usually became explicitly stated only when it was publicly challenged and needed to be defended. Any other open declaration of honour was treated suspiciously (Reddy 1997:13). For this reason, a person's honour only came up in practice in explicit statements when it was being breached (Reddy 1997:14).

Like other aristocratic traditions touched upon above, the qualities of 'manliness' as exemplified by the noble gentleman were adopted whole-heartedly by the bourgeoisie, or middle-class. These codes preserved elements of the feudal past: "personal courage, loyalty, prowess in combat, and gallantry in love." But the newly-rich elites did not simply imitate the aristocratic elites. Rather, they were influenced by the tenets of their own struggle to be legitimately recognized as elites: "the bourgeois preoccupation with moral discipline, inner values, and with the control of reproduction and sex" (Nye 1993:32). Bourgeois elites tried to shift the focus of the male code from 'honour' to 'virtue', which evoked the democratic principles of the Republic and the meritocracy of the bourgeoisie (Nye 1993:32). At the same time, nobles shifted their own social values, incorporating issues of work, thrift, and merit into their male code. But an effort to remain distinct probably still existed; nobles tried to keep the aristocratic elite in a separate sphere from the elite class in general (Nye 1993:35). Perhaps we have a constant jockeying for relative social position within the elite class itself. In the bourgeoisie configuration, honour was tied more to merit and virtue than the noble version, which stemmed more from noble birth and the responsibilities of that birthright (Nye 1993:36-42).

Honour and chivalry played important roles in the way that the French Counts related to other residents of Whitewood. The story of the unpaid bill, related by Hawkes (in McCourt 1968:31), specifically draws upon the Counts' qualities as "gentlemen" and their chivalrous attitude toward women. Hewlett (1954:6) also recounts a tale by Harkness, Jumilhac's sheep

manager, whom Jumilhac treated with sincere concern during particularly rough weather conditions. As well, the fact that the Counts paid the farmers for their participation in the failed sugar beet and chicory operations arises out of the tenets of trust and honour.

Enns-Kavanagh, in her discussion of Cannington Manor, touched upon how ideology can shape social relations in interesting and often unintended ways. At Cannington, the upper class was paradoxically “described with respect, at other times with derision”. Social discord arose through the clash between the status to which the elite felt they were entitled and the value system of the farming community. This value system “centred strongly on hard work and endurance” (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:92). The wealthy British organized labour rather than performed it themselves and spent most of their energy on leisure activities. Both of these decisions would have been criticized by the working community. Older, more experienced British were most likely better respected than the young, inexperienced bachelors, for the reason that they tended to be more serious about their endeavours. The wealthy British assumed a claim to their status, but their claim to prestige and respect was not well-recognized within the community. In other words, the status that the British elites expected to be ascribed to them would have been only recognized by the community if it were based on merit (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:92, 127).

We see many parallels with Whitewood. There was obviously tension between the aristocrats and other settlers because of their lifestyle, and this would affect their participation in social fields. Smeets also argues that the claim that they lacked “business knowledge” is an inappropriate appraisal of their work, noting that politics and social connections had just as much to do with any entrepreneurial obstacles as work ethic did (Smeets 1980:8). But it is an appraisal that comes from the local community, and their opinions cannot be dismissed when discussing how people relate to each other. Many of the aristocrats’ actions may be attributed to an attempt to claim status. For example Wolfe, Beaulaincourt, and Soras appear in Whitewood’s 1892 electoral list (WHBC 1992:59). Both Beaulaincourt and Soras included their noble title (Comte) before their name, perhaps because as recent settlers to the area they wished to prove their qualifications for being involved in politics and the welfare of the community. Material culture, including clothing, was meant to give subtle visual clues as to their social standing. Their extravagant dress factors large in local histories; this includes Francois Dunand’s story about a Count riding into a muddy field wearing “leggings, white pants, red jacket with swallow tails,

and a tall black hat, along with his light walking stick and gloves” to meet a group of workers in common garb (TSH 1980:217).

There were perhaps two major sources of tension between the classes: the high-society lifestyle, and the insistence on doing things ‘their way’. At Cannington, the English were known to stick to inappropriate “ways of the old country” instead of adapting to the problems of the land at hand (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:98). If we apply this label to the Counts, we must think about the saying in two distinct forms. In business, their ‘ways of the old country’ refer to their unwillingness to listen to locals and their application of techniques that worked in France without researching their usefulness in Canada. The cheese and chicory industries are pertinent examples of this. But we must also consider that their ‘ways of the old country’ also refer to the social side of doing business and the politics that accompany it. The Counts were never able to work well enough with the various levels of governments to achieve the end they desired. This may be because they were using tried-and-true methods from France that simply did not work in Canada. Or, it is quite likely that their level of influence in broader political circles in Canada was never as great as they either believed, or tried to achieve. A comment by Smeets suggested the Counts had difficulty with this reconciliation: “Possibly, though, some of them left because they were conquered by the prairie. Life in the Canadian West did not meet their expectations, and they refused to compromise” (Smeets 1980:8).

The financial burden of the settlement, regardless of the cause, would have placed great strain on the aristocrats. The original settlers had arrived with every intent to succeed and had become disillusioned with the result (with the possible exception of Beaudrap). This certainly created hostility amongst themselves and with others as their participation in the community played out. In his argument that the term ‘failure’ was perhaps too narrow a label to apply to the aristocrats, Smeets made the following point: “The Counts generally are viewed as not succeeding in their various endeavours because their lifestyles were too extravagant, and because they lacked business acumen...But we have no way of knowing whether these activities were extravagant by their standards, since we do not have access to their account ledgers” (Smeets 1980:7). He also acknowledged that their behaviour, combined with low returns on their investments, may have been too much to maintain (Smeets 1980:8). Regardless, it is clear from shareholder reaction that such activities put a strain on their finances. This brings up the question: why were these activities treated so importantly by the Counts when it was so

detrimental to the community? The Counts have been derided in local histories for their frivolous behaviour and insistence on leisure activities. But their insistence on these activities is actually an entry point into the differential dispositions of the aristocrats and the Whitewood farming community. It is quite probably that the aristocrats viewed these activities as *socially* necessary, regardless of the cost. The Counts may have engaged in such behaviour on the one hand because they believed themselves superior and thus entitled to do so; on the other, they may have done so because they felt it necessary for the continued mediation of their social identity.

Mediation, of course, requires someone to negotiate with, and the rest of the Whitewood community needed to acknowledge the aristocrats' claims on status in order for such claims to be legitimate. But not all Whitewood area residents would have agreed on the social conditions that the Counts subtly insisted upon. In fact, the degree of derision found in local histories strongly suggests that the community rejected Count ideology. Social relations, though, are never simple static representations of assumption and rejection. Instead, groups negotiate which aspects of each other's ideology can be legitimately acknowledged. The act of negotiation is always ongoing. It is important to note that class conflict concerning social ideologies was evident within France. Rural and factory workers in the 1880s were hardly convinced that the elites deserved their social status. They heavily criticized their employers for mediocrity and incompetence, and often they disparaged the leaders of capitalism for poor business management (Zeldin 1973:263). As McPhee stated, "relationships between seigneurs and peasants were based on reciprocity, but *noblesse oblige* had never been an equal exchange for the surplus extracted" (McPhee 2004:17). The tenets of *noblesse oblige* can be understood as a form of paternalistic social control, and one must not forget that the philosophy was a tactic used by nobility to foster and maintain cordial relationships with rural workers.

When detailing aristocrat/settler relations, it is important to note that the Counts would have treated their ideology as the doxic one. Doxic attitudes "always have a guilty conscience" (Terdiman 1985:64) because they actively and paradoxically work hard to represent themselves as natural. The people who invoke doxic ideas are also conscious on some level that there exist attitudes that run counter to them. Discourse between these attitudes draws out the fundamental fictions of the doxic attitude. The bottom line is that no matter how charitable these movements appear to be, there is always a self-serving interest at stake somewhere in its formulation. In France, landlords sometimes addressed sharecrop farmers with the informal *tu* rather than the

polite *vous*, a gesture that Price believed symbolized the nobility's attempt to maintain intimate bonds with 'their' peasants. They tried to foster a sense of obligation among the lower classes that kept them tied to the elites as protectors. Charity played a major role in this ideology. For the most part noble charity was sincere, but even sincere charity was impregnated with the Catholic sense of social duty and social hierarchy. Charity was considered part of the accepted responsibilities of the nobility's social position (Price 1987:112). It could also be argued that charity was short-term and immediate – meaning that it was neither a permanent nor costly solution, so it allowed the nobility to feel they were doing their Christian duty without actually transforming any of the elements of the social hierarchy (Price 1987:113). Not only did acts of charity soothe any guilt about addressing the social responsibilities of the elite, it also justified their wealth by illustrating to the public that they were indeed responsible people and deserved to be in charge. At the same time it dampened any obvious calls for social reform (Price 1987:276). Sometimes aristocratic intentions resulted in the opposite effect. The *tu/vous* example above, for instance, did not always work as intended. Often the nobles use of *tu* was taken by peasants as condescending and a sign of a lack of respect (McPhee 2004:155). Peasants did not have undying loyalty; more likely, they displayed more loyalty to elites who appeared to offer the best incentives and give them the best chance of success (McPhee 1992:149).

The situation in Whitewood was really an attempt by the Counts to extend the same set of social relations with which they were involved with in France. The voluntary associations in Whitewood that the aristocrats participated in served several functions. Baker divides voluntary associations into “‘expressive groups’ (which exist in order to express or satisfy specific interests which members have in relation to themselves – such as sports’ associations and other leisure societies) and ‘instrumental groups’ (which focus their activities upon the wider society in order to bring about a situation within a limited field of the social order which will be of benefit to their members – such as agricultural supply co-operatives).” Some associations may be able to serve both functions (Baker 1999:49). In Whitewood, the hunting and horse-racing can be seen as expressive groups in which distinction played a major role. The cooperative businesses (like the sugar beet and chicory operations), the establishment of the parish, the town band, and the dinner balls have enough characteristics to suggest that they functioned as instrumental groups.

The French Counts may have confronted any potential class conflicts in Whitewood through acts of display. Display could have been utilized in two very different ways: to

legitimize their claim to status, or to legitimize their paternal efforts towards the community's common good. Different forms of the same act could incorporate elements of both. Clothing is a pertinent example. As previously mentioned, many of the gentlemen did not wish to abandon their fine clothing when out in the fields. To them, their fashionable clothes were a signal of prestige. On the other hand, the Whitewood Merchant Centre displays photographs of both Comte de Rouffignac and Comte de Beudrap performing farm tasks while dressed in outfits suitable for dirty work. These clothes were appropriate because they displayed a sense of work ethic that the rest of the community appreciated. Ironically, these photographs prove that acts of display – like clothes – do not necessarily make the man: even though both men are shown to engage in farm work, only Beudrap (who eventually resettled in Canada) was known as a practical worker. The act of display was never recognized enough in Rouffignac's case for him to be legitimately considered as such.

The Frenchman's Ball and other festivities thrown by the Counts can also be considered crucial acts of display. In France, the act of entertaining guests was a serious social responsibility, from a regular dinner to a grand reception. This occurred in both the apartments of Paris and the chateaux of the countryside. Activities in the rural setting (such as dinners, picnics, hunting, gatherings at local salons, and learned societies) offered ways to establish and preserve social ties to other elites and to peasants who worked their land (Price 1987:105). In one sense these festivities were meant to reaffirm the aristocrats' status. The *service à la française* had three acts of food, each with enormous menus. Food was brought to the table in these stages in a buffet method. The entrees were numerous but presented in small portions, and thus not everyone at the dinner could sample everything. In this system *hors d'oeuvres* were designed to fill the gap between main courses. This method fell out of favour slowly throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, being replaced by the *service à la russe*, which had food divided into servings in the kitchen and then brought to individuals. More formal parties retained the French method until the end of the century (Zeldin 1977:734-735). This is the system that appears to have occurred at the Whitewood dinner parties, and this system would have been meant as a representation of their noble heritage and elegant aristocratic manner. Both of those points, however, would probably have gone unnoticed by the Whitewood community, although the grand nature of the events would have been effective in illustrating the aristocrats' wealth.

These acts of display would have also worked to appeal to the community's sense of camaraderie, or to show the community that the Counts' behaviours were motivated by what was in the best interests of the community. Frémont (1980:126) and others have suggested that the Counts worked hard to 'join the spirit of the fraternal community' of farmers. Aristocrats in France often threw public balls for the peasants who worked their land. These events "were specifically designed to revive the family atmosphere" that the aristocrats' felt had existed under the *ancien régime* (Zeldin 1977:663). The Frenchmen's Ball certainly brings to mind aristocratic behaviour toward peasants. It is no mistake that historians have characterized the Frenchmen's Ball at the Commercial Hotel in Whitewood as "complete with white shirt fronts, white kid gloves, and the *politesse* of French aristocratic society..." (Rasporich 2007:139, italics in original). We even have glimpses of this behaviour after the Counts returned to France, with the story of de Soras entertaining a sergeant from Whitewood. In essence, this is an appeal to the community to overlook any glaring social faults in order to recognize the aristocrats' declared social position. Although the motives behind these two types of display acts appear to run contrary, they do serve a common purpose: to allow the aristocrats to negotiate their role within the social space that is both acceptable to their own standards and yet recognized by the rest of the community.

In the same vein, the Counts' use of provincial names was probably not just about highlighting their noble heritage. It may have also swelled from a larger push for a consolidation of local social identity. Stéphane Gerson (2003) noted that a pride in local memories surfaced in nineteenth-century France from the 1820s on, a "public effort...to resuscitate the local past, instill affection for one's pays (or locality), and hence produce a sense of place, a deep emotional and intellectual attachment combining territorial identification with membership in a social or political community" (Gerson 2003:3). Although this movement was spearheaded by aristocrats, it also contributed to new forms of territorial identity that eventually came to be associated with the Republic. The Third Republic was able to celebrate the local while using it as a foundation to build a national character of France. While the Republic spurred intellectual elites to foster "pride in place", they had difficulty wrestling control of these provincial symbols and gaining authority over them (Gerson 2003:4, 9). Each of these regions was seen as steeped in historical privilege of the pre-revolutionary provinces. Such connotations referenced the authority of the aristocracy and the organic and patriarchal nature of its communities. These characteristics were

recognized by legitimists and republicans alike, but were celebrated by the former while downplayed by the latter. In the provinces, intellectual elites worked to cultivate memories concerning their own place of residence. Elites tried to re-establish historical threads severed by the Revolution. At the same time they used that connection to co-opt the progressive discourse that had taken place since (Gerson 2003:23, 61, 87). Elites used local memories to encourage agriculture and “tie residents to ‘the soil of the *patrie*’” (Gerson 2003:120). According to Gerson, elites adopted this cult of local memories largely as a way to control their self-representation. Nobles hoped to legitimize their authority by consolidating their family heritage with provincial memories and establish overlapping identities that could be legitimately recognized in multiple social fields (Gerson 2003:89).

It seems reasonable to suggest that the French aristocracy in Whitewood also tried to foster a ‘pride in place’ that emphasized the French and noble aspects of their heritage as a way to legitimize their authority. Part of this meant ensuring that people of similar French dispositions in the area would recognize their claims as legitimate. The Counts further attempted to assert themselves in the Whitewood social space through behaviours intended to establish their own local identity. If they could prove to the community that their high status and good intentions were legitimate, then their position in the social space would be assured.

#### ***4.4.4 Issues Concerning Gender***

Another social issue that should be considered is that of gender. Gender is not a major focus of this thesis, but its role in social negotiation cannot be dismissed. Practice theorists understand gender as a disposition, like ethnicity, that influences the habitus and decision-making (Moi 1991:1034). The historical documents concerning the French Counts do not pry very often into the lives of the women of the community. The aristocratic women are seldom mentioned, and the women of the working-class St. Hubert families are usually only noted when the discussion turns to domestic labour. But it is known that at least six of the French Counts either brought their wives and children to live with them in Canada, or were married sometime in the duration of their stay. Therefore, a quick discussion of women and family is relevant here.

The lives of bourgeois and noble French women were often devoted to the family and to the Church. In essence, they had control over the domestic sphere (Smith 1981:4). The most

basic education for all French women was domestic in nature, and the upper class was no exception – their version was just considered more refined than the average. Piety was emphasized. Young women were trained in managing the household, including the servants, and conducting the salon. They were taught expressive arts such as painting, dance, embroidery, and piano. They also learned French language, literature, and history and often gained some proficiency in foreign languages. Women were effectively barred from the baccalaureate because Latin or philosophy was never taught to them. Even in 1880, the Republic’s program for the secondary education of women was “none other than a preparation for marriage and family responsibilities” (Mayeur 1981:61-62).

Procreation and childrearing were given a “central place in domestic symbolism” (Smith 1981:78). The centrality of reproduction also informed the domestic behaviour of the socialite and lady of charity (Smith 1981:123). Women were the most active in charities, possibly because of the bonds between motherhood and charity (Smith 1981:150). It seems apparent that “the female dominated [at any social function] the form of food, fashion, or rules of etiquette” (Smith 1981:129). Domestic actions, like cooking and cleaning, may have been carried out by servants, but the praise was always attributed to the *maîtresse de maison* (Smith 1981:67). Women were responsible for the purchase of commodities for the household (Smith 1981:4) and thus made choices daily about what to display in public. Material culture (including dress and domestic interiors) and posturing were recognized by upper class women as important symbols of wealth and status (Smith 1981:66). For these reasons women may have been especially attuned to acts of display and the power of distinction, especially around the household. Their honour was attached to the household, a poor representation of the household was a poor representation of themselves.

Charle asserts that upper class women were “eternal[ly] minor and dependant”, even as he describes how they facilitated the family’s economic and social capital (Charle 1994:25). While it is true that this exists within a misogynistic framework (in which women are first attached to a family’s economic power through her dowry), their power to manipulate and accumulate social capital was substantial. Many mothers dictated the marriages of their sons and “chose young girls of old social extraction, sometimes noble, who were capable of taking a worldly role or even a symbolic one, since it was women who organized the elite social activity of the salons” (Charle 1994:25). Women’s affiliation with the elite was a natural one, as they

entered it through either birthright or marriage. It was much less common for women to be integrated through their profession (Mayeur 1981:58). Like men, women needed to validate their nobility by displaying personal qualities that the social role expected of them. For the most part this meant socializing effectively, which included “running a salon, at a time when salons were an important feature of intellectual and social life” (Mayeur 1981:58). The act of visiting (spending an afternoon at several homes for brief 15-20 minute meetings) was a social institution enacted by women and ritualized throughout the nineteenth century (Smith 1981:132-133).

As most of aristocratic women’s influence in the nineteenth century was in the domestic sphere, it may be understandable that French aristocratic local histories contain less about their activities than the men’s, since the male-dominated domains of business were much more public. But a few points can be derived from this material. First, the aristocratic women were most certainly the initiators of community socializing. The act of socializing was for them a key component of displaying the proper aristocratic image. For this reason it is likely that the Whitewood Ball and other festivities were driven by the women, who would have garnered much respect for well-run dinner engagements by members of all classes. Second, the aristocratic women may not have felt completely at ease in their new surroundings. Smith argues that in late nineteenth century France the gentleness and daintiness of women was emphasized (Smith 1981:80). This may have contrasted with the other women in the Whitewood area, who had been trained to tackle the rough hurdles of frontier life. This ties in with an issue brought up by Enns-Kavanagh in regards to the women of Cannington Manor. She suggested that women purposefully maintained their social distance because of the class expectations associated with their behaviour (Enns-Kavanagh 2002). Perhaps they did not associate often outside of their families except during grand social events.

The issue of family is also that of the welfare of children, and the aristocrats’ understandings of the needs of their children may have been at odds with the overall community. Something as simple as education could have easily been misconstrued. Beaudrap mentioned on more than one occasion that he did not feel the education his children received in Whitewood was adequate. The quality of frontier education probably did not meet the standards to which he was accustomed. But it is also possible that some of his ill-regard had to do with the difference in tastes that the educational system in Whitewood was unconsciously teaching as opposed to what the educational system in France would have offered. Bourdieu noted that the educational system

gives legitimacy to, and actively encourages or inhibits, certain tastes: “The official differences produced by academic classifications tend to produce (or reinforce) real differences by inducing in the classified individuals a collectively recognized and supported belief in the differences, thus producing behaviours that are intended to bring real being into line with official being” (Bourdieu 1984:25). In any case, the education offered in Whitewood did not seem to meet the requirements that Beaudrap expected.

Social pressures from families in France influenced the community at critical moments. Some of this was financial, as the stockholders pressured the aristocrats to produce returns on their investments. Rouffignac’s father-in-law, for example, was very influential in the overall success of the settlement, but just as much pressure came from families back in France. The engagement between de Soras and Elsie Guerin pinpoints this precisely: de Soras, regardless of his own feelings, eventually crumbled to the demands of his family back in France who did not consider it a good idea. Zeldin voiced the power of the family in the following way: “Concern with their own style of life became increasingly important after they lost the fiscal and feudal privileges which had differentiated them, particularly since this was the way they could keep control of their rebellious children” (Zeldin 1973:406).

As we can see, French aristocratic social identity in Whitewood was a complex process rather than a label, and the ongoing negotiation of position depended upon recognition, reaffirmation, and compromise. The aristocrats shared many interests with other classes that cross-cut cultural barriers, but at the same time came up against social obstructions that impeded their ability to be legitimately recognized in the social position for which they strived. They would have understood some sort of social stability in France that was not evident in Whitewood. Many of the aristocrats moved around frequently and had unstable positions in the community. This may reflect their overall social distress. It is possible that even with shared class and ethnic interests, the French aristocrats felt isolated along the Pipestone. This social isolation could have played just as large a role in their abandonment of the settlement as their lack of financial success.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Excavations at the Bellevue Site (EbMo-5)**

The social identity of the French aristocrats is complex, and unfortunately includes much speculation. The past two chapters have dealt with the social side of their identity. This is, however, only part of the story. Archaeologists have come to understand that social identity also has a material dimension to it. The remainder of this thesis will focus on the material culture of the French Counts, most specifically that relating to the site of the house known as Bellevue (Borden No. EbMo-5).

#### **5.1 History and Nature of the Site**

The site of EbMo-5 is located on a small terrace below the plateau on the northern edge of the Pipestone Valley (Figure 6). The terrace dimensions are approximately 65m wide (east-west) and 60m long (north-south). At its highest point the terrace sits 8m above the valley floor at 614m above sea level. The terrace, although relatively flat, dips slightly as it approaches the plateau and has an elevation of 611m at its lowest point. The plateau above the terrace is 618m above sea level. Although cultivated in the past, at the time of the archaeological investigation the terrace had been left to fallow and hosted indigenous prairie grasses. The terrace sits at a slightly lower elevation than the fields above it, meaning that it would have been afforded extra protection from the wind. The terrace is bracketed on the west and east sides by steep ravines that lead down to the valley floor. The south edge also slopes down to the valley floor at a steep angle, although a gentler slope exists at the southwest corner and cuts across the face of the slope, reaching the valley floor at the southwest corner. John Boutin indicated that a cart trail once ran along the northern bank of the Pipestone Creek and the access to Bellevue would have been off this road from the valley floor (John Boutin, personal communication 2005). Aerial



Figure 6: EbMo-5, facing northwest. Arrow showing location of original Bellevue house site. Photo by author.

photographs taken by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources in 1965 seem to verify this; the faint outline of the trail is discernible, but does not appear to still be in use at this time.

The history of Bellevue is brief, but complicated. The house, as it sat on its original location, was only used for a short period of time, but was frequented by many different people. Bellevue was built on a quarter-section (SW-3-15-3-W2M) originally filed under Rudolph Meyer's homestead claim (Smeets 1980:5). Since the house existed on a land parcel that was collectively owned during the 1890s, its legal framework mirrors that of the other parcels – owned first by the Rolanderie Farming and Stock Raising Company, then by the St. Hubert parish. The specific history of the house has been cobbled together from various historical sources. Unfortunately, these accounts are not always in chronological agreement. In short, it appears that Bellevue was the residence of various aristocrats from 1889 to 1891, the church rectory from 1891 to 1903, then a private residence until its removal in 1926.

Le Comte de Rouffignac had lived at La Rolanderie with Meyer since 1886, but in 1889 moved to his own residence which he called Bellevue. Rouffignac paid for its construction in 1888 (Léonard 1987:80). Some sources have suggested that Bellevue may have been built by

Comte de Jumilhac instead, but Rouffignac is more likely (Smeets 1980:5). James Grierson of Whitewood, who had constructed La Rolanderie, also oversaw the construction of Bellevue (Smeets 1980:7). Built on the northern edge of the Pipestone Valley, Bellevue was given its name by Rouffignac because of its picturesque view. It was also called *La Maison Blanche* [the White House] because its walls were painted white (Frémont 1980:122).

The first people to stay at Bellevue may have actually been Robert Wolfe and André de Gagnay. They arrived in 1888 with the intention of investing in the horse venture, but both quickly lost interest. Wolfe and Gagnay departed to Vancouver, and while Wolfe returned to the settlement in the spring, Gagnay did not. Wolfe then moved to the Richelieu residence sometime in 1888 (Léonard 1987:82-83). Bellevue was the residence for Rouffignac, de Farguettes, and de Langle in 1889 as they carried out the French cavalry mount operation. When this ended in a lawsuit, de Farguettes left while de Langle remained at Bellevue (Frémont 1980:122).

Rouffignac's stay at Bellevue was short-lived. He only lived there while still a bachelor. When he and his new bride arrived in Whitewood in the spring of 1890, Meyer had already vacated La Rolanderie and Rouffignac decided to take up residence there (Hewlett 1954:6). Bellevue was apparently vacated by de Langle around this time. The house was then occupied by Baron Van Brabant, his wife, three children, and his brother through 1889 or 1890. They remained there for the duration of the chicory operation. The chicory roots were dried at the Bellevue farmyard, using large drying racks (Frémont 1980:123; Léonard 1987:84). According to Léonard, chicory machinery was "installed...above a barn a few steps from dryers who were in a gully almost below the House in Bellevue" (Léonard 1987:93). The house was the base for the chicory operation, as signified by the original product label *Bellevue Coffee Brand* (Frémont 1980:123). In April 1891, the barn at Bellevue burned down and the Brabants moved to Richelieu (Léonard 1987:96).

From this point on the house became associated with the church. It appears that Reverend Muller stayed at Bellevue in the spring and summer of 1890 as he set about creating and organizing the parish of St. Hubert (Léonard 1987:106). Bellevue subsequently became the rectory for the parish church, located two quarter-sections to the east (see Figure 4 in Chapter 2). L'Abbe Henri Nayrolles, in his capacity as reverend of St. Hubert, lived at Bellevue from 1891 to 1893 (WHBC 1992:97). For most of 1892, Nayrolles was joined by the Beaujots, who had immigrated to St. Hubert. Mrs. Beaujot worked as the rectory housekeeper. They moved to their

own homestead in the fall of that year (WHBC 1992:450). Bellevue apparently remained the rectory until the church was moved in 1903. The house was sold to Alexandre Jeannot in 1904. After living in it for several years, he transported the entire house in 1926 to another farm three quarter-sections to the west, needing several teams of horses to move the structure. It stood in its new location for fifteen years, until his son demolished it in 1941 and used the lumber to build another house (Frémont 1980:131; Léonard 1987:126; WHBC 1992:97). Another farm was established at the quarter-section in the 1940s and a house and farmyard were erected 100 metres north of the original building. The remains of this farm still stand. The plateau of the original house was left untouched until the 1980s, when it underwent some landscaping in order to make it agriculturally usable. The parcel was then periodically cultivated from the 1980s to the present (John Boutin, personal communication 2005).

Three photographs of the house survive from when it was still standing at its original location. Figure 7 is an undated photograph of the front view of the house, with Comte de Salvaing de Boisseau and two unidentified men on horseback in the foreground. The house is shown to be rectangular in shape, with two stories and an attic on the main body and single story wings on either end. The left wing appears to have another smaller wing with an entrance attached. A small vestibule with a door is situated in the centre of the main body and appears to be the main entrance. A large number of windows are present, including one on each wing, two on the left side of the second story, and six on the face of the main body. All of the windows are rectangular except for the attic window, which has a springline design. The building has a very steep cross-gabled roof. The roofing material is difficult to ascertain from the photographs. La Rolanderie's roof was finished with wooden shingles and the same construction could have occurred here. Two possible chimneys can be seen on either end of the main structure, although their exact placement is obscured by the angle of the photograph. The foreground of the house reveals a very gravelly farmyard.

The other two photographs give us an indication of how the house changed over time. Figure 8 shows Bellevue taken sometime in the 1890s. Eight figures stand in the foreground of the photograph, two of them women. This photograph is at the earliest a contemporaneous one to the Boisseau photograph, but is more likely from a later date. It is possible that the figures are the Van Brabants. The basic structure of the house is the same as in the Boisseau photograph, although it may be from the other side: the small attachment on the right-hand side was on the



Figure 7: Bellevue, undated photograph. (Whitewood Merchant Bank Centre, from the collection of Carol Leonard)



Figure 8: Bellevue in the 1890s. (Whitewood Merchant Bank Centre, from the collection of Ed Jeannot)

left side in the previous photograph. It is possible that the negative of one photograph was flipped, or that both sides of the house would have had a vestibule entranceway. The chimneys can be seen and they are clearly situated on either end of the main body of the house. No other major renovations are apparent. The third photograph (Figure 9) is that of the house in the 1920s, prior to its relocation. Eight men stand in the foreground next to a canopied automobile. In this photograph the building has been significantly modified. Neither side has an outcropped attachment to the wing. A second story (and possibly an attic) has been added to the right wing. Wooden beams or eaves troughs have been added across the windows below the roof gable. A shed or outhouse can be seen in the background to the right. In all three photos a thick stand of trees appears in the background. In all, the photographs illustrate that the main building was quite substantial, but do little to illuminate other possible features in the yard.



Figure 9: Bellevue in the 1920s. (Whitewood Merchant Bank Centre, from the St. Hubert History Book)

## 5.2 Methodology

Once it was decided to pursue research on the social identity of the French aristocratic community, the original site of Bellevue was located and chosen for testing and excavation.

Bellevue is one of three homesteads relating to the French Counts of which the original location is still known. (The others, La Rolanderie, and Beaudrap's house, are still standing.) Bellevue's original location was chosen for two main reasons: it had a relatively short occupation (1888-1926) and it was hoped that relevant data particular to the French Counts would be uncovered there. As well, there would be no possibility of damage to existing structures.

In October 2005, the landowner John Boutin guided me to the original site of the structure, where surface artifacts and indications of possible subsurface features were noted. Mr. Boutin also indicated the area where the house cellar had once existed and had been filled in when the terrace was flattened in the 1980s. Archaeological Resource Investigation Permit #06-77 was obtained from the Culture and Heritage Branch of the Government of Saskatchewan in order to carry out geophysical reconnaissance and excavation at the site. A geophysical survey of the site was conducted in May 2006 by K. David McLeod, of Stantec Consulting Limited (Winnipeg), aided by myself and David Norris. Subsequent excavations were conducted during the summer of 2006 in two stints, the first from July 2 to July 17, the second from August 26 to September 2, for a total of 24 days in the field. I was assisted in the field by graduate student Michelle Manchur. A total of seventeen people volunteered their services over this period to help record and excavation the site, including graduate students, members of the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society, and members of the Pipestone Archaeological Society.

### **5.3 Visual and EM-30 Conductivity Surveys**

Before excavations began, the terrace on which Bellevue was located was photographed and mapped, and information concerning physical features, vegetation, topography, and surface finds was recorded. No surface features, such as depressions or mounds, were noticeable to the eye. There were, however, two patches of vegetation change that likely indicated buried features. Both spots had noticeably darker vegetation than the rest of the terrace. The largest spot was circular and measured 4.5m in diameter. A small circle of dark grass, located 3m north and 6m west of the first, measured 2.5m in diameter (see Figure 10). Noted surface artifacts included machine-cut nails, brick fragments, and unidentified white earthenware ceramic sherds. A few samples of each were collected. The steep ravine to the east contained a few surface finds, mostly large machinery such as an iron wheel from a tractor and parts of an iron range stove. It is

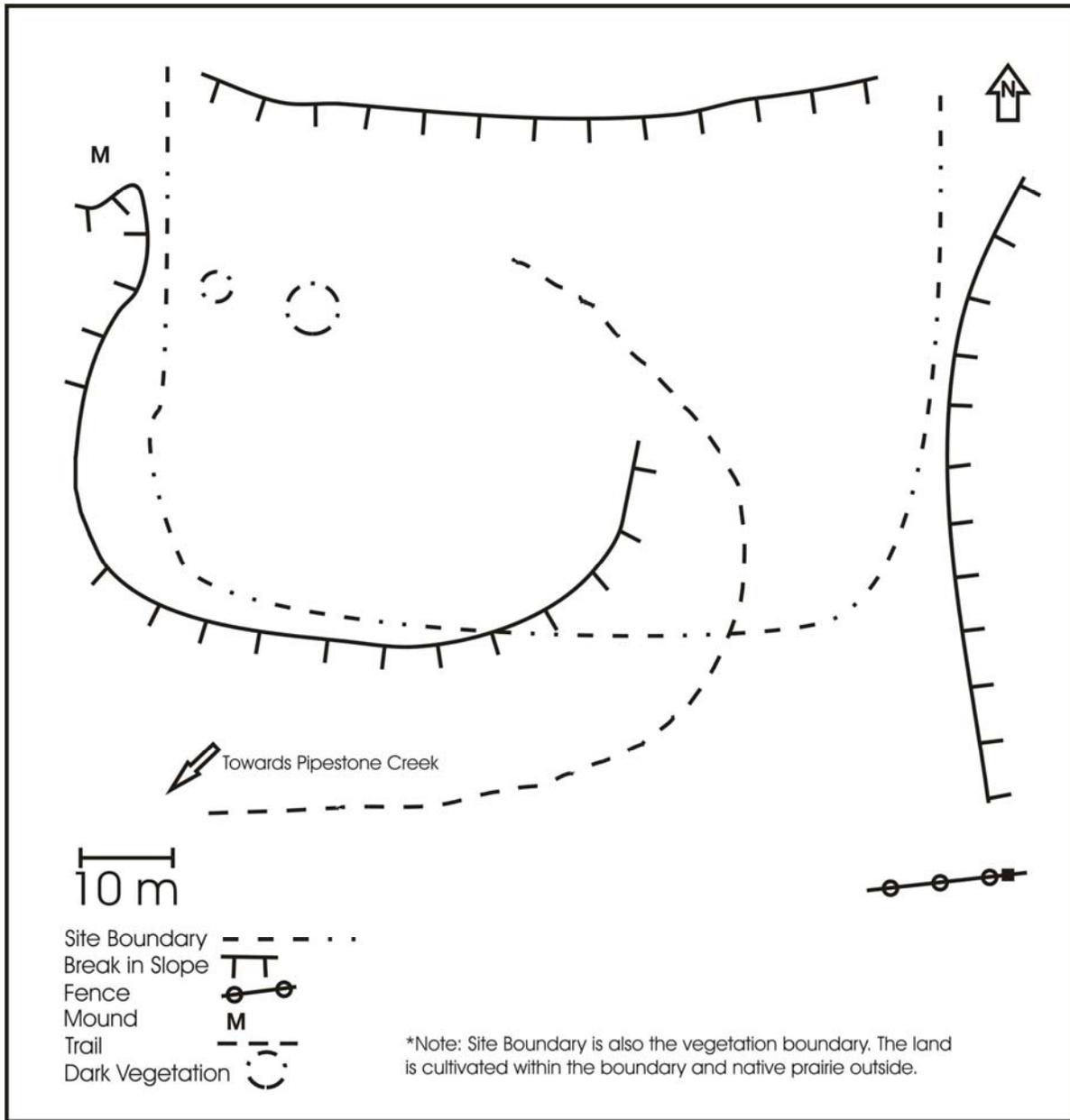


Figure 10: Site map of EbMo-5.

likely that these artifacts date to a later period, perhaps associated with the homestead built on the plateau. There was no indication of the remains of drying racks within the ravine as mentioned by Léonard (1987:93). The concrete remains of a possible building foundation was noted at the head of this ravine and may be the remains of the barn that Léonard stated was situated above the drying racks. The west ravine did not contain any surface artifacts, although a flat collection of boulders is evident at the head of the base. Although there are possible

structural interpretations of this feature, such as a stone-lined path, they could also be fieldstones thrown from the plateau above during agricultural activity.

Since few surface features were present, it was determined early in the investigation that a geophysical survey of the site was necessary in order to create a systematic methodological framework for the excavation to follow. To meet this end, remote sensing was conducted by K. David McLeod using an EM38 electromagnetic ground conductivity meter (Figure 11). The EM38 measures the ability of the soil to conduct electricity. A section of ground in which there is unusually high or low levels of conductivity relative to the rest of the area is considered an anomaly and is hypothesized to be most likely disturbed. The EM38 machine is able to read electromagnetic currents to a depth of 1.5m (McLeod 2006:1). Two grids, each measuring 20m by 20m, were set up adjacent to each other over the area where the centre of cultural activity is believed to have taken place. These grids were oriented to UTM grid north. The EM38 was guided across this grid along transects that were placed 1m apart. The EM38 collected data at a rate of 10 reads per second (McLeod 2006:6).



Figure 11: McLeod performing the EM38 electromagnetic conductivity survey. Photo by author.

Figure 12 shows the results of the conductivity survey. The data received by the EM38 were relatively homogenous, most likely due to the close proximity of glacial till to the ground surface (McLeod 2006:8). Large spikes in conductivity were most likely caused by metal scatters below the ground surface, resulting in curvilinear ‘bull’s-eye’ points on the map. Two major anomaly locations appeared within the grid: one large area at the southwest corner and a lesser disturbed area in the centre of the grid. McLeod interpreted the results as showing two possible building features. Significantly, the largest of the dark vegetation areas noted in the visual survey corresponded with the anomalies in the southwest portion of the grid. A number of shallowly buried smaller anomalies were noted throughout the grid and were believed to be associated with possible metal pieces (McLeod 2006:8). The majority of disturbance appeared to occur in the western half of the 40m grid. There was a marked difference in the conductivity of the soil between the west and east portions of the survey. A distinct line separating conductivity zones ran north-south 10.2 m from the eastern boundary of the grid. McLeod suggests that this abrupt line may represent a natural phenomenon, such as thinning clay loam over the site towards the

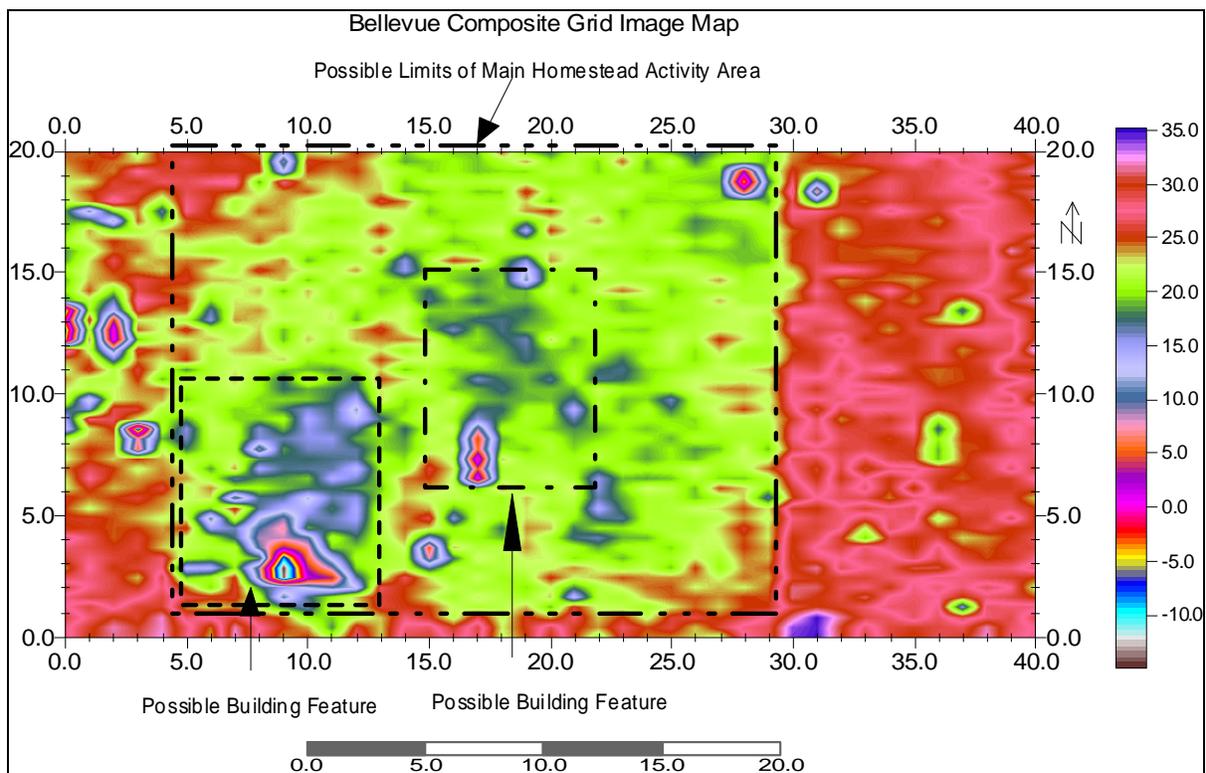


Figure 12: Results of conductivity survey. Note possible structural features and homestead activity area (from McLeod 2006:11).

east, or a cultural phenomenon related to past use, such as the eastern limit of the homestead yard (McLeod 2006:10-12).

The information derived from McLeod's geophysical survey was used to make decisions regarding testing and excavation. Six locations within the grid were judged to be significant enough to excavate (Figure 13). All six areas were located within the detected ground disturbance and five of them were located within the possible structures suggested by McLeod. The site was also surveyed with a metal detector before and during excavations. The strongest metal anomalies from the EM38 readings were picked up by the metal detector, but many of the other points of interest were not. The metal detector did not detect any additional metal anomalies.

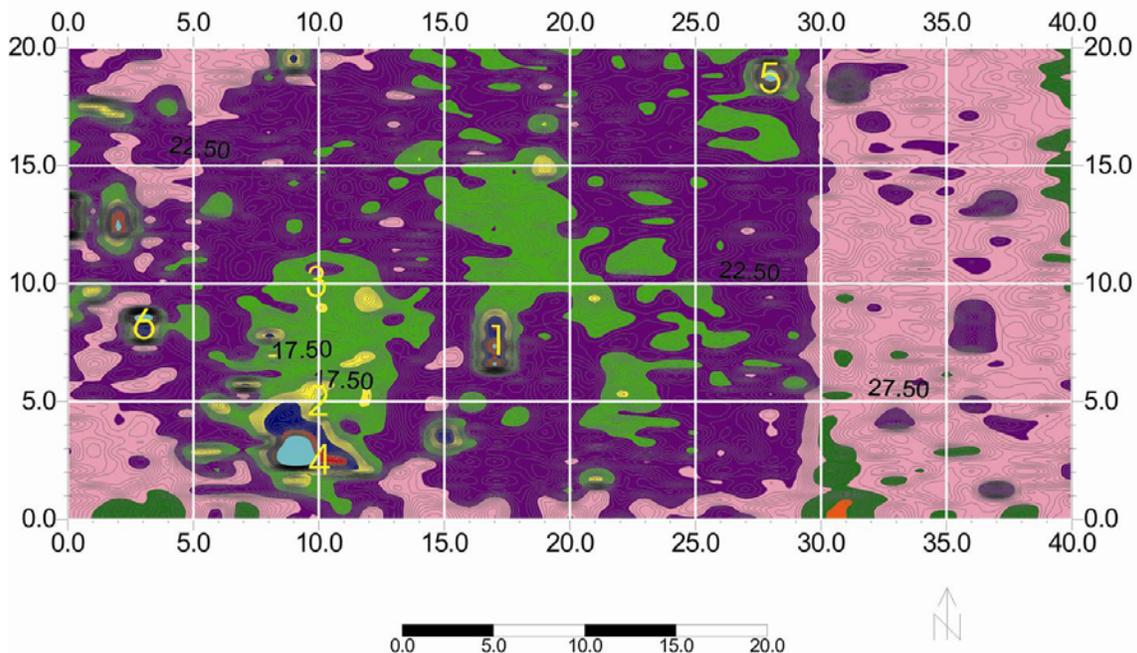


Figure 13: Conductivity survey grid map with areas marked for archaeological investigation (adapted from McLeod 2006).

#### 5.4 Excavations

The datum and subsequent grid were established to fit with McLeod's conductivity grid, so as to easily integrate both sets of data. The datum of 0 North and 0 East was shot in using a transit and the south east-west line of the conductivity grid became 53N. Excavation units were

placed within the grid in six specific areas based on McLeod's data. A total of 17 square meters were excavated at the site, 16 full 1m by 1m units and two half-units. Figure 14 is a photograph of the excavation in progress. Figure 15 depicts the placement of the excavation units within the overall site. A blow-up of this grid is seen in Figure 16. Each unit was excavated in 5 cm levels using trowels, shovels, and brushes. Material was then screened through a ¼ inch mesh for any additional artifacts. The depth to which each unit was excavated varied throughout the site, based on the stratigraphy, occupation layers, and the presence of artifacts. The shallowest units were in Area 4 and were excavated to the lowest depth of 28 cm below surface (DBS). The deepest units were in Area 2, which had two units excavated to 100 cm DBS. An additional ten 50cm by 50cm testpits were placed throughout the site, but were unproductive and not explored further.

The predominant soil type in this section of the Pipestone Valley is Oxbow Loam to Clay Loam, with an A-horizon of dark clay loam to clay loam (10-20 cm thick), a B-horizon of grayish brown clay loam (12-25 cm thick), and a Cca-horizon of light gray to white calcareous clay loam (15-25 cm thick). The C-horizon below consists of brown-gray clay loam mixed with glacial till (University of Saskatchewan 1936:53). Past agricultural activity had disturbed the context of the site, but evidence of features still existed below the plow zone.



Figure 14: Site of Bellevue (EbMo-5) during excavation, facing southwest. Photo by author.

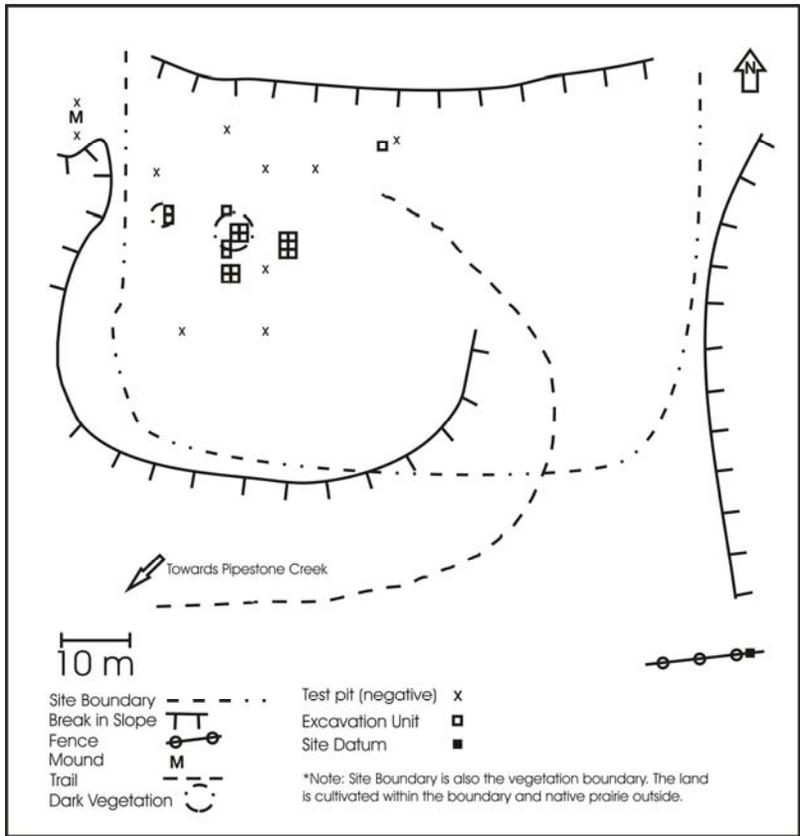


Figure 15: Site map of Bellevue (EbMo-5) showing tests and units of excavation.

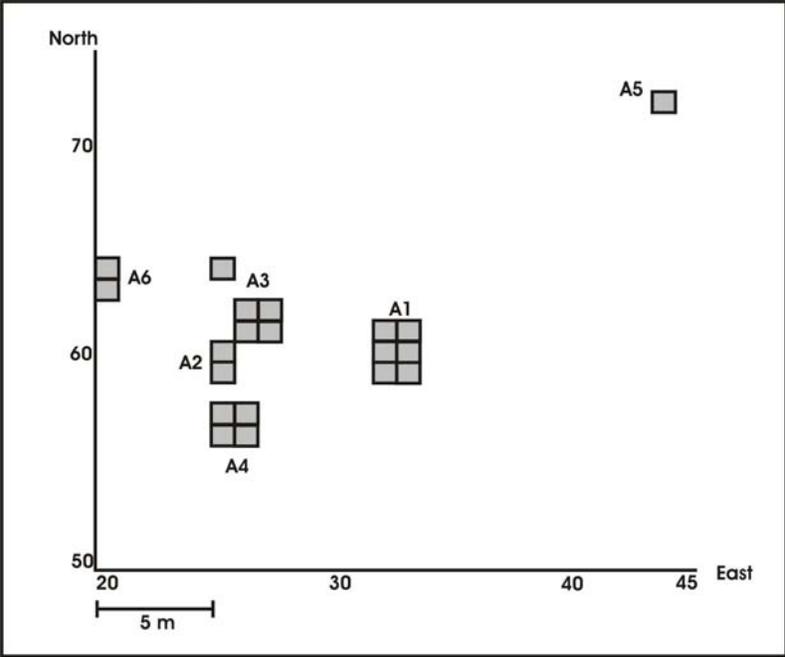


Figure 16: EbMo-5 excavation grid, highlighting the explored areas (A1-A6) and the 1m by 1m units within each area.

### ***5.4.1 Area 1***

Six units (59N 32E, 59N 33E, 60N 32E, 60N 33E, 61N 32E, and 61N 33E) were opened to explore the anomaly located in Area 1. Excavations exposed multiple features below the plow zone that can be broken up into four distinct layers (Figure 17; Figure C8 in Appendix C). The deepest of these layers was encountered at a depth of 22 cm DBS. This layer was composed of black organic material and ran the length of the area. The layer was relatively flat and homogenous and measured between 9 and 15 cm thick. This organic layer lay directly on top of the parent material composed of glacial till. The parent material was devoid of artifacts and the organic layer produced few artifacts. Excavations did not continue below the extent of soil deposition. Directly on top of the organic layer lay a hard-packed clay layer. This layer was at its thickest in the western portion of the area and uniformly thinned out towards the eastern walls. The layer measured 14 cm thick in the west and appeared directly underneath the sod. The clay layer almost entirely disappeared in the east. Above the clay was a layer that consisted of limestone mortar and ash. Fragments of brick and charcoal were interspersed throughout this layer. Although less-uniformly shaped than the layers below, the limestone layer appeared more fully in the eastern units and seemed to migrate further east as it moved northward. Most of the artifacts were recovered from this layer. All three of these layers were intruded upon by a fourth layer that consisted of a mixture of clay, mortar, and loam. This layer appeared to be intrusive, perhaps created by rodent disturbance. The plowzone itself is evident only in the top 8 cm of the stratigraphy.



Figure 17: South wall profile of units 60N 32E and 60N 33E. Note dark organic layer at the bottom, clay layer above that thins to the left, and limestone mortar near the surface. Strata in middle of photo due to rodent disturbance. Photo by author.

A total of 1153 artifacts was recovered from the six units excavated in Area 1 (Table 2). Most of these artifacts were recovered from the mortar and ash layer. Metal and glass dominated the assemblage (50.9% and 30.4% of the artifacts respectively). Of the 587 metal artifacts recovered, 330 were nails. An abundance of ammunition (n=28) was also recovered from the area, including 10 spent cartridge cases, 10 shotgun shell heads, two percussion caps, and lead shot. Most of the recovered glass (84.3%) was clear and flat and can be considered window glass. A complete patent medicine bottle was also recovered. Other artifacts included ceramic sherds (n=57), leather fragments (n=12), and treated wood fragments (n=62). Five buttons, two made of glass and three of metal, were also recovered. Faunal remains (n=43) were also present in the assemblage. Finds included 6 large mammal vertebrae and longbone fragments, 11 bird remains, and 17 rodent remains. Interestingly, 16 lithic artifacts – mostly quartzite and chert debitage – were also recovered. Other artifacts of note included a worked antler tine, a pipe stem fragment, a ceramic drawer pull, two glass beads, a glass mason jar liner, a decorative chain, and two bottle corks. Representative samples of brick, mortar, and charcoal were also collected.

Table 2: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 1.

Artifact Type	Units Excavated						Totals
	59N 32E	59N 33E	60N 32E	60N 33E	61N 32E	61N 33E	
Brick			9	2	2	4	17
Ceramics	3	6	7	21	11	9	57
Concrete						1	1
Faunal		18	5	7	4	9	43
Glass	33	32	50	72	45	119	351
Graphite					1		1
Leather		1	3	7		1	12
Lithics	4	2	2	4		4	16
Metal	41	41	173	117	95	120	587
Plastic		1		1			2
Rubber				3			3
Wood	4	3	18	22	3	12	62
Totals	85	104	267	257	161	279	1153

#### 5.4.2 Area 2

Two units (59N 25E and 60N 25E) were opened to explore the evidence of disturbance within Area 2. The general stratigraphy of these units (Figure 18) mirrored the stratigraphy noted in Area 1. A flat homogenous horizontal layer of black organic material was found at a depth of

19 cm DBS and extended down to the parent material. Above it lay a hard-packed clay layer mixed with limestone and ash layers. The surface of these layers was also relatively flat and horizontal. The entire feature was located only 5 cm below the sod. A number of rodent intrusions were also present here. Unit 60N 25E revealed a significant layer of fragmented brick above the clay layer that continued into the north wall. The stratigraphy in 60N 25E appeared to slope down towards the north. A substantial pit feature, not shown in the wall profile, was uncovered directly in the middle of the units (Figure 19). This pit feature was circular in planview and funnel-shaped in profile. It measured 85 cm across at its widest point, 33 cm at its narrowest (at the bottom), and extended to a depth of 41 cm DBS. At the bottom of the feature large fragments of brick were found in the top layers of the feature. Most of the faunal remains from these units were found within the pit feature. At the bottom of the feature a wooden plank (measuring 143.1 mm long and 39.7 mm thick) was recovered that appeared to have been lying flat at the depth where the feature ended. The layer of fragmented brick in the north unit did not extend south past the pit feature.

A total of 229 artifacts was recovered from the two units excavated in Area 2 (Table 3). Again, metal and glass dominated the assemblage (51.5% and 29.3% respectively). Of the 118 metal artifacts recovered, 92 were nails. Ammunition (n=7, including four cartridge cases and two shotgun shell heads) was found in these units as well. Most of the recovered glass (80.6%) can be considered window glass. Cobalt blue bottle glass was also recovered. Other artifacts included ceramics (n=21), lithic debitage (n=2), and leather fragments (n=3). Faunal remains (n=13) were also present in the assemblage. Finds included three bird longbone fragments, a pig molar, an unidentified mollusk shell fragment, and a butchered ulna-radius from domestic cattle.



Figure 18: East wall profile of units 60N 25E and 59N 25E. Note dark organic layer at bottom, clay layer above, and mortar and brick layers descending to the north. Photo by author.



Figure 19: Pit Feature in units 60N 25E and 59N 25E, shown in various stages of exposure. Note cow ulna inside pit. Photo by author.

Table 3: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 2.

Artifact Type	Units Excavated		
	59N 25E	60N 25E	Totals
Brick	3		3
Ceramics	10	11	21
Faunal	9	3	12
Glass	39	28	67
Leather	3		3
Lithics	2		2
Metal	81	37	118
Shell	1		1
Wood	2		2
Totals	150	79	229

### 5.4.3 Area 3

Five units (61N 26E, 61N 27E, 62N 26E, 62N 27E, and 64N 25E) were opened to explore the evidence of disturbance within Area 3. The first unit opened, 64N 25E, revealed large boulders that reached a depth of 51 cm DBS (Figure 20). Since these rocks may have been architectural, the rest of the units were opened to investigate the possibility of a foundation or cellar depression. The four subsequent units were located within the patch of dark vegetation noted in the original visual survey. The westward units (61N 26E and 62N26E) were complete 1m by 1m units, but were only excavated to a depth of 10 cm DBS. At this point the excavators encountered hard clay and convoluted stratigraphy. The west quadrants of Unit 61N 27E and 62N 27E were trenched to a depth of 100 cm DBS in order to explore the stratigraphy. The stratigraphy was very complex and indicative of extreme taphonomic processes (Figure C9 in Appendix C). For the most part, hard gray clays were interrupted by episodes of gray silty loam. At approximately 60 cm DBS the gray clay gave way to softer dark brown loam. At the bottom of the units, within the loam, a number of large boulders were uncovered. Artifacts were dispersed in small numbers throughout the levels, including the bottom levels where the boulders



Figure 20: Planview of unit 64N 25E, level 8. Top of photograph is north. Photo by author.

were located. Due to the extreme depth and nature of the cultural layers in this area, the area was not explored any further.

A total of 684 artifacts were recovered from the five units excavated in Area 3 (Table 4). Although metal and glass again dominated the assemblage (36.7% and 46.9% of the artifacts respectively), far less metal were recovered from these units than in other areas. Of the 251 metal artifacts recovered, 213 were nails. The amount of ammunition recovered (n=9) was again significant and included three spent cartridge cases and six shotgun shell heads. Most of the recovered glass (87.2%) was clear and flat and can be considered window glass. Five fragments of cobalt blue bottle glass were also recovered. Other artifacts included ceramic sherds (n=62), lithic debitage (n=12), and three buttons (two made of glass and one made of metal). Faunal remains (n=30) were also present in the assemblage. Finds included five lagomorph bones, 10 bird bones, and a butchered cow humerus. Other artifacts of note included a complete glass mason jar liner.

Table 4: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 3.

Artifact Type	Units Excavated					Totals
	61N 26E	61N 27E	62N 26E	62N 27E	64N 25E	
Brick		3			1	4
Ceramics	9	17	10	13	13	62
Faunal	3	10	3	7	7	30
Glass	37	126	18	51	89	321
Lithics	3	2	3	3	1	12
Metal	35	76	27	54	59	251
Wood		2		1	1	4
Totals	87	236	61	129	171	684

#### 5.4.4 Area 4

Four units (56N 25E, 56N 26E, 57N 25E, and 57N 26E) were opened to explore the anomaly located in Area 4. The conductivity data had suggested a substantial feature at this location. Subsequent excavations revealed a significant concentration of brick fragments below the sod surface (Figure 21 is a photograph of the south wall profile; Figure C2 in Appendix C is the profile of the east wall). The brick concentration ranged in size from fragments to almost full brick blocks. The brick layer covered the entire area of the four units, although its density dropped off significantly in the southern units. Likewise, a majority of the artifacts were



Figure 21: South wall of unit 57N 26E. Note distinct layer of shattered brick. Photo by author.

recovered from the northern units where the brick concentration was most dense. The hard clay layer found in other areas was also evident in these units, but as a much thinner stratum. The clay layer disappeared in the southern units. There was also no evidence of a black organic layer; instead, the dark brown loam at the bottom of the units gave straightway to the parent material. The units were excavated to a depth of 23 cm DBS.

A total of 967 artifacts were recovered from the four units excavated in Area 4 (Table 5). There was a sharp division in artifact production between the north and south units; the south units only produced 49 artifacts, while the north units produced 918 artifacts. Metal and glass again dominated the assemblage (54.9% and 29.8% respectively). Of the 531 metal artifacts recovered, 431 were nails. Again, an abundance of ammunition (n=22) was recovered, including seven spent cartridge cases and 15 shotgun shell heads. Most of the recovered glass (79.5%) was clear and flat and can be considered window glass. A partial patent medicine bottle and a complete but fragmented spruce gum syrup bottle were also recovered. Other artifacts included ceramic sherds (n=37), and treated wood fragments (n=12). Four buttons, one made of glass, two made of metal, and one made of wood, were also recovered. Faunal remains (n=74) were also

present in the assemblage. A large portion of the faunal remains was bird (n=41). Other faunal finds included five lagomorph remains, fish cranium fragments, two egg shell scatters, and a canid canine. Lithic artifacts (n=19) were most predominant in unit 57N 26E, where a chert endscraper was among 16 artifacts found there. Brick fragments were found consistently throughout the unit and appear to form a feature, but only samples of the brick were kept.

Table 5: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 4.

Artifact Type	Units Excavated				Totals
	56N 25E	56N 26E	57N 25E	57N 26E	
Brick			2		2
Ceramics	1	4	14	18	37
Faunal	3	1	35	34	74
Glass	3	8	98	179	288
Graphite			1		1
Leather			1	1	2
Lithics			3	16	19
Metal	3	26	315	187	531
Rubber			1		1
Wood			4	8	12
Totals	10	39	475	443	967

#### 5.4.5 Area 5

One unit (72N 44E) was opened to explore the anomaly located in Area 5. Half of a red brick was discovered directly below the sod, and this artifact may have been the cause of the survey anomaly. The unit was excavated to a depth of 100 cm and is basically sterile. The stratigraphy of the unit (Figure C13 in Appendix C) appears to represent natural soil horizons, indicating that little cultural disturbance occurred in this section of the site. The excavation of this area did not uncover any significant features. It did, however, show the rate of deposition on the terrace in a location that is probably on the edge of the homestead activity area.

A total of 10 artifacts were recovered from the unit excavated in Area 5 (Table 6). The artifact types were representative of other areas in the site and included two nails, three brick fragments, and one lithic debitage specimen.

Table 6: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 5.

<u>Artifact Type</u>	<u>Units Excavated</u>
	<b>72N 44E</b>
Brick	3
Ceramics	1
Glass	1
Lithics	1
Metal	4
Totals	10

#### 5.4.6 Area 6

Two units (63N 20E and 64N 20E) were opened to explore the anomaly located in Area 6. This anomaly also corresponds with the smaller of the two areas of dark vegetation. Excavations revealed a possible depression feature 13 cm below the sod. The depression reached a depth of 28 cm DBS (Figure 22). The depression was filled with the hard clay which forms a layer throughout the site and contained brick fragments and artifact scatters. This layer also seemed to progress to the south of the units. Below the depression was a dark brown loam layer that eventually gave way to parent material. The units were excavated to a depth of 33 cm DBS (Figure C11 in Appendix C).



Figure 22: West wall of units 63N 20E and 64N 20E. Note pit feature in middle of photo. Photo by author.

A total of 260 artifacts were recovered from the two units excavated in Area 6 (Table 7). Consistent with the rest of the site, metal and glass artifacts dominated the assemblage (37.3% and 39.6% respectively). Of the 97 metal artifacts recovered, 85 were nails. Three spent cartridge cases and two shotgun shell heads were also recovered. Although most of the recovered glass can be considered window glass (64.1%), this represents a significantly lower percentage than in other areas. Other artifacts included ceramics sherds (n=48) and treated wood fragments (n=4). Faunal remains (n=5) were recovered in limited quantities and included an ungulate molar root and egg shell scatter. Artifacts of note included a ceramic drawer pull and a bone plate from a utensil handle.

Table 7: Artifacts recovered from excavations units in Area 6.

Artifact Type	Units Excavated		
	63N 20E	64N 20E	Totals
Brick	1		1
Ceramics	28	20	48
Faunal	2	3	5
Glass	70	33	103
Leather	1		1
Lithics		1	1
Metal	56	41	97
Wood	4		4
Totals	162	98	260

#### 5.4.7 Other Tests

A total of ten other test pits was placed within the research area to explore lesser anomalies. Each yielded little in terms of results. A piece of ceramic was recovered from rodent backdirt at the base of a possible mound feature above the west ravine, but two subsequent tests yielded only a single unfused large mammal longbone epiphysis.

In total, 3346 artifacts were recovered from the site. (The artifact tables per area do not add up to this amount because the total includes artifacts from test pits and surface finds.) Of all the brick and wood found at the site, only a representative sample was collected. The fragmentary nature of the artifacts is indicative of past agricultural activity and possible site cleanup. The artifacts found in the cultivation zone and within the fill feature cannot be

considered *in situ* due to taphonomic processes, but the presence of features below the plow zone strongly indicates that certain artifacts correspond to particular features.

### 5.5 Description and Interpretation of Site Remains

Figure 23 details the archaeological work conducted at the Bellevue Site. Numerous features were uncovered during the course of the investigation. Certain interpretations can be drawn from the observed and collected data. As well, comparisons with La Rolanderie (built during the same time period and by the same builders) can be informative. First, the large amount of building debris and architectural artifacts found in Area 1 suggests that this was associated with the outside walls of the house. Historical evidence stated that Bellevue was

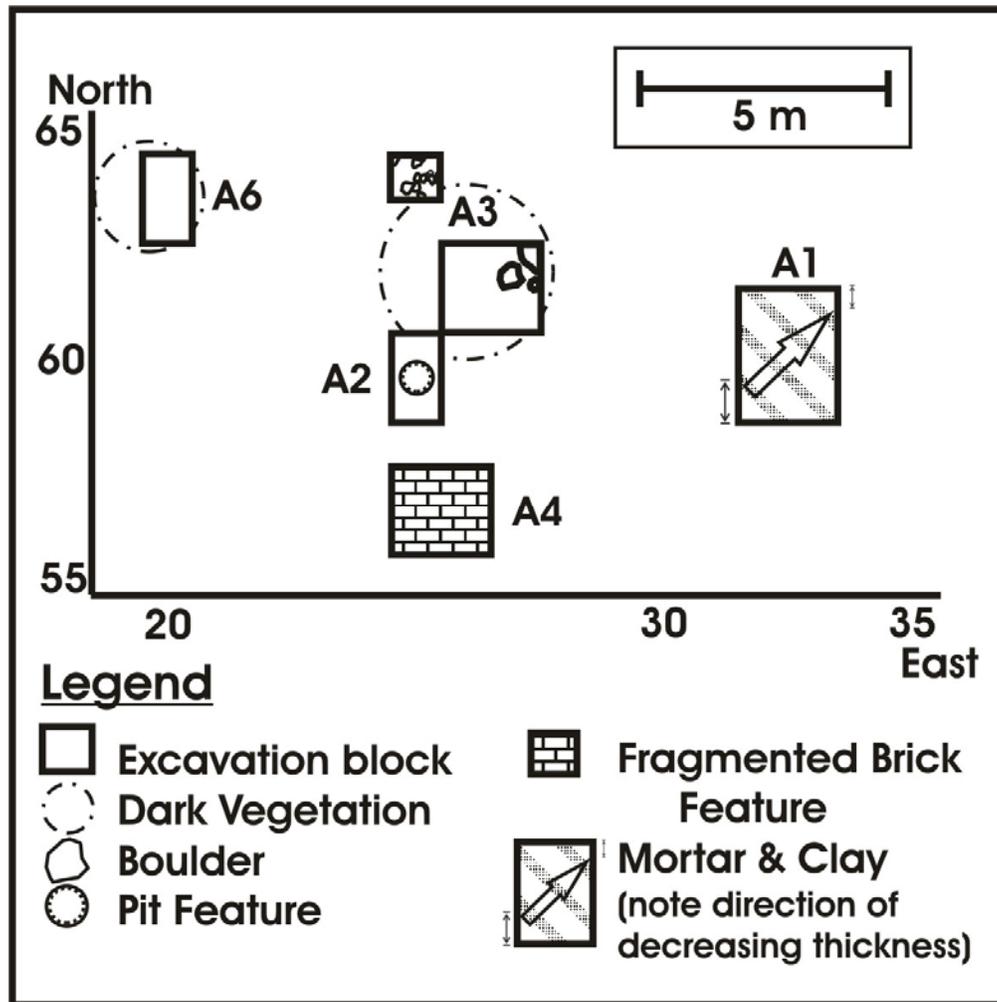


Figure 23: Site map of EbMo-5 with location of known features.

painted white, and the amount of white limestone mortar recovered from the area corroborates this assertion. The definitive hard clay layer may also be explained as architectural. However, the black organic layer appears to be a natural organic sediment that was buried underneath cultural strata; in effect, a buried A-horizon. The clay may have been put down by the builders as structural support for the wooden building. An inspection of La Rolanderie by the author noted that clay had been laid down to support the building and probably to level the building area. The same could have been done at Bellevue. It is possible that the topsoil had not been removed beforehand, and that the black organic layer was the ground surface at the time the house was built. The clay layer is thickest in the central portion of the study area and in Area 1 thins out towards the east. We can infer that Area 1 contained the exterior edges of the clay that was laid down and that it represents the eastern edge of the house. No masonry footings or basement walls were definitely exposed.

The circular pit depression found in Area 2 is enigmatic. It could be the remains of a well, although its depth would be too shallow to be a working well, or an aborted attempt at a well. A more likely possibility is that it represented an ice box or root cellar. At the very least it was used as a refuse pit, as evidenced by the butchered bones inside. The single plank of wood at the bottom of the depression was most likely discard. The pit may have served one purpose during its use by the French Counts, and then a different use during its time as a rectory or as a homestead. The presence of refuse could also be the result of post-abandonment activity. The north portion of Area 2 may also represent the southern edge of the cellar depression, as the stratigraphy uniformly dropped in depth. The deep feature in Area 3 most likely signified the cellar depression from the house. The complex stratigraphy could have been created by later attempts to fill such a massive depression. There may have even been more than one fill attempt. Evidence from the west wall stratigraphy suggests that the excavation units exposed the south corner of the cellar. The boulders uncovered in Unit 64N 25E are probably also associated with a large root cellar. Although this feature was not fully exposed, the large boulders uncovered at the bottom may be associated with the cellar corner or a collapsed wall.

The brick concentration in Area 4 could be interpreted in two ways. It could be the remains of a chimney that had been further destroyed due to subsequent cultivation. The lack of ash or charcoal, however, makes this interpretation problematic, unless the brick was part of a structural wall not associated with the chimney. It is also possible that the brick represented the

remains of a walkway or patio. A structural feature in this form would have most likely been situated outside of the building. The disappearance of clay layers in the southern units of Area 4 do suggest that the building did not extend beyond this point. Likewise, the depression uncovered in Area 6 probably signals that the building did not extend farther west. The small subsurface depression uncovered in this area may have been structural in function, but its determination is difficult. The recovered artifacts gave no clear clue of function and they may have been discarded there post-abandonment.

A number of conclusions about the nature of the site can be drawn from these interpretations. An analysis of the historical photographs indicated that the main house was the only significant structure located directly within the study area. Although McLeod suggested that two buildings had been on the site based on the results of the conductivity survey, it seems likely that the data should be interpreted as two distinct sections of a much larger building. The deep feature in Area 3 was most likely Bellevue's cellar depression and was probably located underneath the centre of the house. (La Rolanderie, built by the same lumber yard and in a similar manner, had the cellar dug underneath the main house.) The house seems to run lengthwise west-east, although the exact orientation of the house is still debatable. It is likely that the front of the house faced south in order to capture the sun – La Rolanderie's front door and sun porch did the same.

Access to the farmyard appears to have been from the valley floor below, rather than the plateau above. The gentle part of the slope would have been wide enough for a horse-drawn carriage and although steep, would have still been accessible by wagon. Since no evidence of a well was located, it is probable that water was transported from the Pipestone and hauled up the slope. The privies associated with the house were most likely located on the northwest end of the terrace, to the back of the house and away from the road that led into the farmyard. Efforts to locate a privy, however, were unsuccessful.

Although a large number of artifacts were collected, most of them were significantly fragmented. The fragmentary nature of the recovered artifacts was expected due to past agricultural activity and the fact that the building had been moved. But the lack of artifacts anywhere else is puzzling. Even in the ravines, where one would expect refuse to be disposed, almost no cultural material was discovered. It is possible that any material culture of perceived value had already been gathered by local collectors. There is also the possibility that the terrace

and surrounding ravines were purposefully kept clean of refuse. Local historians have mentioned that a communal dump site once existed farther up the Pipestone Valley to the west, although its exact location and period of use is debated (Blaine Coleman, personal communication 2005). This possibility was not explored during the course of this investigation.

Finally, the presence of chert and quartzite debitage indicates that a precontact occupation also existed at EbMo-5. While most of the material was classified as shatter, identifiable flakes were also recovered. A definite chert endscraper was also found. It is likely that a precontact site of unknown age had existed on the terrace before Bellevue had been erected. The construction of the house evidently disturbed the context of the original site. The terrace would have been an ideal campsite area, as it is close to a permanent water source, offers a clear view of the valley, and is better protected from the prevailing winds than the plateau above.

In summary, the excavations at EbMo-5 proved to be fruitful, although somewhat enigmatic. Despite existing within a previously cultivated field, the stratigraphy of the site below the plow zone was remarkably well-defined. The remains of a large central structure were uncovered and this was assumed to be associated with the original Bellevue house. A total of 3346 artifacts was recovered. Many of these artifacts were fragmented due to both natural and cultural taphonomic processes. Regardless, information can be gleaned from these artifacts, as we shall see in the next two chapters.

## Chapter 6

### Artifact Analysis

The artifacts collected from EbMo-5 were analyzed in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan. Artifacts were cleaned, catalogued and identified using resources available at the department. All faunal remains were identified with the help of Cara Pollio and the faunal reference collection housed by the department, as well as select publications (Cohen and Serjeantson 1996; Gilbert 1990; Sisson and Grossman 1953; Wheeler and Jones 1989).

A crucial preparatory step for artifact analysis was the construction of a methodology that established a framework for drawing the most important and relevant information from the artifacts. Historical archaeologists attempt to find meaningful data by organizing artifacts into categories based on function. By grouping artifacts by their actual or intended function, historical archaeologists can determine activity areas within a site. This technique also works to distinguish items within a group that seem similar, but have uses that were guided by different motivations or actions (ie. glass bottles contained many different substances, ranging from poison to alcoholic beverages to pickled foods). Classification schemes also serve to create a more standardized framework through which historical archaeologists can reference and utilize each other's research (Gould 2002:39-40). Unfortunately, no classification system is perfect. It must be acknowledged that certain artifacts do not neatly fit into specific functional categories. For example, nineteenth century medicine often had high alcohol content. While such items are usually classified based on their medicinal properties, in certain contexts archaeologists cannot discount the possibility that such products were consumed more for pleasure than health. Likewise, glass containers originally used for one purpose may be recycled by people for other activities. Part of the challenge of establishing a functional classification system is modifying it to encompass all artifact types and uses.

For this reason there is no standard system used by all historical archaeologists. Most classification systems however, do use Roderick Sprague's work as a starting point. Sprague devised a classification system based on function that worked from the most personal, individual categories to broader social activities. Artifacts that had multiple functions were placed into a category that best fit the archaeological context in which they were found (Sprague 1981). Archaeologists have adapted Sprague's original system over the years to better encompass various forms of artifacts. Systems are also usually tailored to best reflect the archaeological record of a specific site. The scheme used in this thesis follows the same pattern. My functional categories classification scheme uses Enns-Kavanagh (2002:170-174) as a starting point. She took Roderick Sprague's system, modified it into her own, and utilized her categories for her work at Cannington Manor. I first researched her system because of the similarities between the history of Cannington and that of La Rolanderie. Both parties were perceived to occupy an equivalent economic class and had access to the same supply of commercial goods. It was hypothesized that many of the artifacts found at Bellevue would be similar to those found at Cannington Manor. Table 8 outlines the functional classification system used in this thesis. Each major activity group is broken down into subactivity groups that better reflect personal activities. Examples of each activity are also given. The categories are organized beginning with the individual and moving outward. One key way in which this system deviates from Enns-Kavanagh's is in the category of Hunting/Defence/ Recreation. The activity of 'Recreation' was added once it was recognized that the act of discharging firearms does not always correspond to the other two activities. This difference will become apparent later.

The artifacts recovered from the Bellevue site were identified and placed within the most likely functional category based on their context (Table 9). The artifacts fit into 12 separate activity groups that encompassed a total of 38 subactivity categories. A thirteenth activity group labeled 'Unidentified' was used to place all artifacts that did not fit into any perceivable category of their own, mostly due to their fragmented or unrecognizable nature. The remainder of this chapter will break down the artifacts based on function in an effort to describe the archaeological assemblage of the Bellevue Site. No attempt was made in this thesis to interpret the frequency of artifacts within each functional categories by the areas in which they were recovered, as initial attempts to do so proved analytically insignificant.

Table 8. Functional category classification system with examples.

<p><u>Personal</u></p> <p>Adornment (<i>beads, jewelry</i>)</p> <p>Clothing Fasteners (<i>buttons, buckles</i>)</p> <p>Clothing Materials (<i>cloth, leather</i>)</p> <p>Tailoring Tools (<i>thimbles, sewing needles</i>)</p>	<p><u>Transportation</u></p> <p>Animal Powered (<i>horseshoes, harnesses</i>)</p> <p>Mechanical Powered (<i>machine bolts, gears</i>)</p>
<p><u>Health &amp; Healing</u></p> <p>Medicine Bottles</p>	<p><u>Agriculture</u></p> <p>Equipment &amp; Tools (<i>harrow tooth, shovel</i>)</p> <p>Fencing (<i>staples, wire</i>)</p> <p>Hardware (<i>washers, rivets</i>)</p>
<p><u>Social/Recreational &amp; Indulgence</u></p> <p>Alcohol Consumption (<i>beer, wine bottles</i>)</p> <p>Smoking (<i>pipe stems</i>)</p>	<p><u>Faunal</u></p> <p>Small Bird (<i>teal</i>)</p> <p>Medium Bird (<i>mallard</i>)</p> <p>Large Bird (<i>heron</i>)</p> <p>Fish</p> <p>Very Small Mammal (<i>rodent</i>)</p> <p>Small Mammal (<i>rabbit</i>)</p> <p>Medium Mammal (<i>dog, pig</i>)</p> <p>Large Mammal (<i>deer, cow</i>)</p> <p>Mollusk</p> <p>Unidentified Bird</p> <p>Unidentified Mammal</p> <p>Unidentified Faunal</p>
<p><u>Hunting/Defence/Recreation</u></p> <p>Ammunition (<i>shell casing, shot</i>)</p>	
<p><u>Reading, Writing, &amp; Education</u></p> <p>Writing (<i>ink bottles, pencil leads</i>)</p>	
<p><u>Food Preparation/Consumption</u></p> <p>Kitchenware (<i>cooking utensil</i>)</p> <p>Reusable Storage Containers (<i>canning jars</i>)</p> <p>Single Use Storage Containers (<i>tin can</i>)</p> <p>Tableware (<i>dishes, cups</i>)</p>	
<p><u>Household Furnishings</u></p> <p>Furniture (<i>table, dresser</i>)</p> <p>Hardware (<i>tacks, spring</i>)</p>	<p><u>Precontact Material</u></p> <p>Debitage (<i>flakes, shatter</i>)</p> <p>Tool (<i>blades, projectile points</i>)</p>
<p><u>Architectural</u></p> <p>Building Materials (<i>brick, wood paneling</i>)</p> <p>Door Hardware/Material (<i>strike plate, hinge</i>)</p> <p>Hardware (<i>nail, screw</i>)</p> <p>Window Hardware/Materials (<i>window glass</i>)</p>	<p><u>Unidentified</u></p> <p>Ceramics, Glass, Leather, Metal, Wood</p>

## 6.1 Personal Artifacts

The artifacts (n=38) that fit within the Personal functional category make up 1.1% of the assemblage. This category is further subdivided into Adornment (n=5), Clothing Fastener (n=20), Clothing Material (n=4), and Tailoring Tool (n=9) artifacts. Buttons (n=17) make up a significant percentage of the fasteners (85%). The majority of the buttons are made of glass or metal, although single buttons made of shell, wood, and ceramic were also recovered (Table 10). There are several buttons of note in the collection. Of the seven metal buttons, three are disc-

Table 9: EbMo-5 artifacts classified into functional categories.

<b>Functional Categories</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Functional Categories</b>	<b>Total</b>
<u>Personal</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>21</u>
Adornment	5	Animal Powered	17
Clothing Fasteners	20	Mechanical Powered	4
Clothing Materials	4		
Tailoring Tools	9	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>130</u>
		Equipment & Tools	6
<u>Health &amp; Healing</u>	<u>24</u>	Fencing	4
Medicine Bottles	24	Hardware	120
<u>Social/Recreational &amp; Indulgence</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>Faunal</u>	<u>169</u>
Alcohol Consumption	10	Small Bird	5
Smoking	1	Medium Bird	44
		Large Bird	2
<u>Hunting/Defence/Recreation</u>	<u>71</u>	Fish	1
Ammunition	71	Very Small Mammal	21
		Small Mammal	19
<u>Reading, Writing, &amp; Education</u>	<u>9</u>	Medium Mammal	5
Writing	9	Large Mammal	16
		Mollusk	1
<u>Food Preparation/Consumption</u>	<u>287</u>	Unidentified Bird	34
Kitchenware	2	Unidentified Mammal	13
Reusable Storage Containers	23	Unidentified Faunal	8
Single Use Storage Containers	34		
Tableware	226	<u>Precontact Material</u>	<u>48</u>
		Debitage	47
<u>Household Furnishings</u>	<u>11</u>	Tool	1
Furniture	2		
Hardware	9	<u>Unidentified</u>	<u>312</u>
		Ceramics	14
<u>Architectural</u>	<u>2215</u>	Glass	157
Building Materials	68	Leather	16
Door Hardware/Materials	1	Metal	92
Hardware	1214	Wood	33
Window Hardware/Materials	932		
			-----
		<b>Total Artifacts</b>	<b>3346</b>

shaped with a concave interior and snakeskin pattern along the front edge. These buttons were commonly seen on denim clothing. Another stamped flat disc button bears the phrase “E. TAUTZ & SONS OXFORD ST” on the front. Tautz and Sons was a high fashion tailor that specialized in men’s sporting and military clothing in the late nineteenth century. The company

Table 10: Range of buttons recovered from the site.

Material	Hand (n=2)		Moulded (n=6)		Stamped (n=9)		Total
	Holes (2)	Eyelet	Holes (4)	Eyelet	Holes (2)	Holes (4)	
Ceramic				1			1
Glass			3	1		3	7
Metal				1	2	4	7
Shell	1						1
Wood		1					1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>17</b>

had its main store on Oxford Street in London, but also had another store in Paris (Kelly 1882:954). A gold-coloured moulded metal button bears the image of an anchor and the word “CONWAY” on the front. The button has a single eyelet on the back. The HMS Conway was a British navy training vessel for young cadets beginning in 1859 (Masefield 1933). These buttons were found on “eight button reefer jackets” that were part of the cadet’s dress uniform (Windsor 2001). Three different designs were used over time for the Conway buttons. This particular button was in use from 1880 to 1900 (Burt 2007:7). Six of the seven glass buttons are white. Three specimens are stamped flat disc buttons with four holes within an etched circle. Another three are more rounded four-holed buttons with a concave front. The other glass button is a moulded dome-shaped button with a single eyelet on the back. The button is multicoloured with blue as its base colour and red, green, yellow and gold swirls throughout. (For a view of a selection of buttons, see Figure 24.)

The other fasteners recovered from the site are a brass bootlace hook and two men’s waistcoat buckles. The buckles are similar but not identical. Both are rectangular and have two tines. One is has “A.M. & C” stamped on one side and “PARIS” stamped on the centre. The other has “L.D. & C” stamped on one side and “~ SOLIDE ~” stamped on the centre (Figure 25). These buckles were used as adjusters on the rear straps of men’s waistcoats, typical of the time period from 1850 to 1920 (Praetzillis and Praetzillis 1992:72).

The artifacts in the Adornment subcategory include two identical black glass beads. Measuring 5.6 mm in diameter, the beads are spherical and faceted. Both beads were found in Area 1. Also in Area 1, excavations uncovered a medallion that could either be a broach, badge, or some other accessory. This artifact has a lead surface with a stamped design on the front: three



Figure 24: Selection of buttons recovered from the site. From left, top row: white stamped glass, moulded multicoloured glass dome with single eyelet, moulded metal “Conway” naval academy button. Middle row: white stamped ceramic disc, rusted stamped metal disc, stamped metal “Tautz & Sons”. Bottom row: hand-manufactured shell disc, four-holed moulded glass flat disc, and wood with single metal eyelet.

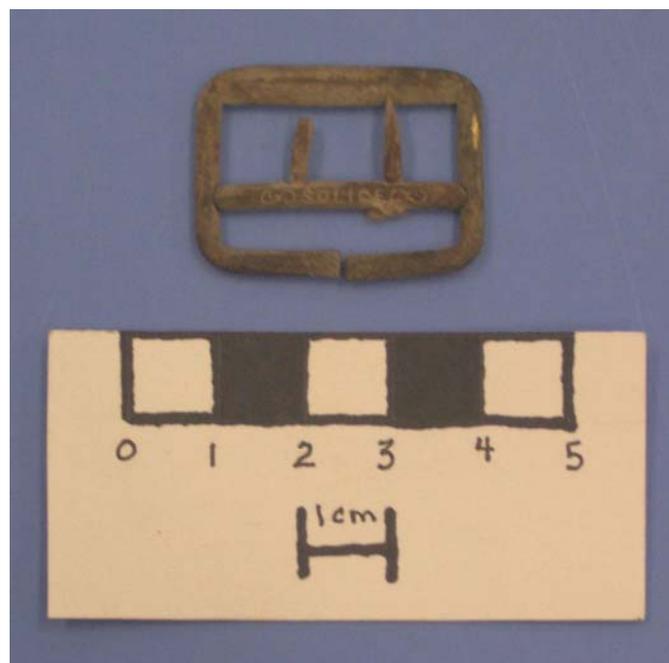


Figure 25: Men's waistcoat buckle recovered from the site.



Figure 26: Medallion or clasp recovered from the site.

concentric circles surround a flower or cross-type symbol (Figure 26). The back of the artifact is filled with pewter and part of a clasp is attached. The remainder of the clasp was found in an adjacent unit. Area 1 was also the location where a decorative chain was found (Figure 27). The chain consists of seven links of a soft precious metal connected by seven smaller copper links. The artifact is 88.7 mm long. It is attached to a rectangular piece of non-ferrous metal 25.9 mm long that appears to be part of a larger metal piece.

The four artifacts within the Clothing Materials subcategory are all leather footwear fragments. Each piece has metal shoe rivets embedded in the material (the longest piece, 86.6 mm long, has 12 such attached rivets). None of the pieces are large enough for detailed analysis. Artifacts in the Tailoring Tools subcategory consist solely of nine straight pins. All were found in Area 1 between levels 3 and 5. All measure between 26.0 mm and 30.1 mm in length.

## 6.2 Health and Healing Artifacts

The artifacts (n=24) that fit within the Health and Healing functional category make up 0.7% of the assemblage. All of the artifacts relate in some fashion to medicine bottles. The actual number of fragments is 48 but some glass shards found in the same context together could be refitted and were catalogued in batch numbers to reach the artifact count of 24. Many of these shards are unidentifiable body, shoulder, and finish portions. At least six of the shards represent the remains of generic mould-blown square panel bottles, a common design for medicine bottles throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At least two such bottles were recovered from the Bellevue Site. The first, found in Unit 60N 32E, is fragmented into 13 pieces but is nearly complete. A generic Blake Variant 1 type square panel bottle (Fike 1987) with a tooled patent finish, the bottle measures 126.4 mm tall, 42.6 mm wide, and 23.9 mm thick. Amazingly, a wooden cork still sits in the finish. The cork is 17.5 mm in length and is painted blue on the end inside the bottle. Unfortunately, the bottle has no markings of any kind. The other identified square panel bottle was found within the brick layer of Unit 57N 26E and is also fragmented. The bottle has an applied double bead finish and the word “DAVIS” blown into the wide panel. The bottle best matches the description of Perry Davis Vegetable Pain Killer, a popular nineteenth-century elixir. Collectors’ photographs of complete Davis bottles show one side panel to read “Vegetable” and the other to read “Painkiller.” Based on this information, several other



Figure 27: Decorative chain recovered from the site.

shards recovered from this unit are most likely from the same bottle, or at the very least the same type of bottle. One shard has "...AIN" blown into a panel and is probably from the word "Painkiller". A shard with "V" and a shard with "...TABLE" probably represent the other side panel, which would have had the word "Vegetable" embossed. The square-panel shape dates the bottle to post-1867 (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:80) and its double bead finish places it pre-twentieth century (Jones and Sullivan 1989:79). This gives us a manufacture date of 1867-1900.

Other artifacts of interest in the Health and Healing category include a clear, mould-blown bottle base with an oblong prescription basal profile. Blown into the base is the marking "A [or triangle] C 3043". This marking remains unidentified but probably represents a mould number. Also recovered was a small mould-blown bottle. Nearly complete except for the broken lip portion of the finish, the bottle measures only 66.1 mm in length, 28.2 mm in width, and 15.5 mm in thickness. It is a miniature Blake Variant 1 bottle (Fike 1987) with two seams that run diagonally along its body edges. As well, a pontil scar is deeply incised on one side. The bottle has no markings to identify it and is substantially patinated. While likely a medicine bottle, it could also be an ink bottle. It is possible that the supposed breakage on the lip was actually caused by the lip being sheared off during the manufacturing process. According to Matthew Campbell (2009:97) this was common on ink bottles in the late nineteenth century. Most ink bottles, however, are square rather than rectangular, so this interpretation seems unlikely. The only non-glass artifact in the category is a small cork with sky blue paint on one end. Measuring 17.8 mm in length and 14.3 mm in diameter, its size makes it ideal for a medicine bottle. It is very similar in size and design to the cork in the square panel bottle described above.

The paramount artifact in this category is a pale green two-piece mould round bottle found in Unit 57N 25E. Fragmented in seven pieces but nearly complete, the bottle is Spruce Gum Compound Syrup. The bottle has an applied patent finish and measures 145 mm long and 40.9 mm in diameter. Blown into the body are the French words "DE GOMME D EPINETTE... COMPOSE...OEURS DE LA PROVIDENCE...ENREGISTRE" (Figure 28). This particular brand of spruce gum was manufactured by Des Soeurs de la Providence of Montreal. First registered in 1875, the drink was popular medicinal tonic for stomach ailments in the late nineteenth century and was advertised as suitable for children (S.N. Montreal 1882:4). Bottles were printed in both French and English and the product was distributed across Canada and the United States.



Figure 28: Photograph and illustration of Spruce Gum Compound Syrup bottle.

### **6.3 Social, Recreational, and Indulgence Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=11) that fit within the Social, Recreational and Indulgence functional category make up 0.4% of the assemblage. All but one of these artifacts is related to alcohol consumption. Unit 60N 32E yielded three such artifacts: a fragment of lead foil from an alcohol bottle enclosure; a burnt cork, measuring 40.9 mm in length and 17.3 mm in diameter, and pierced on both ends; and a 60 mm diameter unmarked round bottle base. The alcohol-related artifacts are fragments of wine and liquor bottles. Two other portions of bottle bases were recovered, but neither had any discernable markings.

The single artifact in the Smoking subcategory is a ball clay pipe stem fragment recovered from 33 cm DBS in Unit 60N 33E. The fragment is white and has an exterior diameter of 6.3 mm and an interior diameter of 2.1 mm. There are no markings visible.

### **6.4 Hunting, Defence, and Recreational Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=71) that fit within the Hunting, Defence and Recreational functional category make up 2.1% of the assemblage. All of these artifacts are related to ammunition and can be divided into shotgun shell casings (n=35), cartridge cases (n=27), lead shot (n=7), and percussion caps (n=2). Headstamps on the cartridges were used to determine the manufacturer and date, if possible. All casings except one shotgun shell head appear to have been fired. The shotgun shell casing assemblage is diverse. Many of the heads still have some remnants of paper casings attached to them. The shell heads are almost evenly split between 12-gauge and 16-gauge caliber cartridges (Table 11). Most of the heads have centrefire ignition systems, named because the hammer of the firearm would strike the back and centre of the cartridge. The rest of the casings are pinfire cartridges, named because they have a pin sticking out of the cartridge that is the point of impact for the hammer of the firearm. Of the 35 total shell cartridges recovered, 30 had identifiable headstamps (Table 12). A total of nine different headstamps were identified that represented three different manufacturers: Eley Brothers of London, Purdey & Sons of London, and Union Metallic of the United States. The headstamps of both Eley Brothers and Purdey & Sons have long time depths starting in the mid-1800s. The headstamps associated with Union Metallic, however, have a still long but more manageable time frame of manufacture of 1867-

1911. All of the pinfire shell heads bear the headstamp “E B London 16”, meaning they are 16-gauge cartridges manufactured by Eley Brothers of London.

Table 11: Caliber of shotgun shell heads recovered from the site.

<u>Ignition</u>	<u>16 gauge</u>	<u>12 gauge</u>	<u>Unidentified</u>	<u>Total</u>
Centrefire	6	15	2	23
Pinfire	8	0	0	8
Unknown	0	0	5	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>36</b>

Table 12: List of identified ammunition headstamps.

<b>Maker</b>	<b>Headstamp</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Dates</b>
<b>Shells</b>	<b>Total Types</b>	<b>9</b>	
<u>Eley Bros.</u>		<u>19</u>	1828-1978
ARM ___ NEWCASTLE No 12 ELEY		1	
E B London 16 (pinfire)		7	
ELEY No 12 LONDON		7	
ELEY LONDON No 12 GASTIGHT		2	1885-
E. M. REILLY & Co ELEY No ___		1	1860-1915
LINSCOTT EXETER No 12 ELEY		1	
<u>Purdey &amp; Sons</u>		<u>3</u>	1868-
PURDEY & SONS No 12 LONDON		3	
<u>Union Metallic</u>		<u>8</u>	1867-1911
U. M. C. Co No 12 CLUB		2	
U.M.C. Co No 16		6	
<b>Cartridges</b>	<b>Total Types</b>	<b>5</b>	
<u>Société Française des Munitions</u>		<u>1</u>	
GUERRE MOD 7.5 [symbol]		1	1883-1930
<u>Union Metallic</u>		<u>8</u>	1867-1911
U.M.C. S H 44 C F		8	1873-1911
<u>Winchester</u>		<u>8</u>	1873-
W R A Co 44 W C F		7	
W R A Co 4570 U S G		1	1886-
<u>Unidentified</u>		<u>1</u>	
3 Concentric rings		1	

All the cartridge cases are rimmed straight centrefire casings. Fifteen of the 24 are .44 caliber casings and nine are of unidentified caliber. The other two appear to be European pistol cartridges, one identified and one of similar proportions. Of the 27 bullet cartridge casings recovered, 18 had notable headstamps (Table 12). Three different manufacturers were again identified: Winchester Repeating Arms Company and Union Metallic of the United States, and Société Française des Munitions of Paris. Another cartridge had a headstamp of three concentric circles, but could not be identified. Four of the 25 cartridge casings appear to be for pistols or revolvers rather than rifles, based on the short length of the casing (0.67 – 0.71 inches, or 17.02 – 18.03 mm). These include two cartridges without headstamps. One such artifact is a 7.5 mm caliber revolver cartridge headstamped “GUERRE MOD” with two interlaced back-to-back stylized ‘G’s. These bullets were manufactured by the Société Française des Munitions for the civil market from 1883 to 1930. The Gs stand for Gévelot and Gaupillat, the names of the two former companies that merged in 1873 to form the new manufacturer based in France (Steinhauer 2008). The dates of manufacture for these cartridges coincide with those of the shell casings. According to Curtis Steinhauer, the dates on Winchester cartridges can be narrowed down based on the presence of a ‘W’ on the primer, which began to appear in 1894 onwards (Steinhauer 2008). None of the Winchester cartridges recovered from the site seem to have this marking, and thus probably date between 1885 and 1894. The overall assemblage of ammunition appears to date to the late nineteenth century. (See Figure 29 to view a selection of the ammunition recovered.)

Two percussion caps were recovered in Unit 61N 32N at a depth of 15 cm DBS. Both are double-lobed caplock primers made of copper. The diameter of each is 5.4 mm and neither is fired. The percussion cap firearm was a stage between the ignition systems of muzzle-loading flintlock firearms and the breech-loading hammer firearms. This means that the technology of the firearm used in conjunction with percussion caps was older, although this does not prove that the artifacts themselves are older or even antiquated. Seven separate scatters of 73 pieces of lead shot were also recovered from the site. All were found in Areas 1 and 2. The shot are divided into two sizes, size 1 (n=6, 3.1 mm diameter) and size 5 (n=67, 4.1 mm diameter). Interestingly enough, these sizes are closer to buckshot than to those found in shotgun shell casings. For example, a 12 gauge shotgun shell should have 18.5 mm diameter shot, a significantly larger size. For this reason it may be plausible to assume that the shot was deposited at a later date.



Figure 29: Selection of ammunition recovered from the site. Clockwise from top left: .44 Winchester spent cartridge case, pinfire 16 gauge Eley Bros. shell head, interior of centrefire shell head, centrefire 16 gauge Union Metallic shell head, lead shot, and 7.5 mm Société Française des Munitions revolver cartridge casing.

### 6.5 Reading, Writing, Education Artifacts

The artifacts (n=9) that fit within the Reading, Writing and Education functional category make up 0.3% of the assemblage. Artifacts in this category include a fragment of square graphite that is 29.1 mm long and most likely was part of a pencil. Several small fragments of a similarly-shaped purple rod were also recovered and may represent another writing lead or a crayon. Additionally, seven shards of cobalt blue glass were recovered from Areas 3 and 4. The shards appear to be from a single ink bottle. The container has an estimated body diameter of 50 mm (Figure 30).

### 6.6 Food Preparation and Consumption Artifacts

The artifacts (n=287) that fit within the Food Preparation and Consumption functional category make up 8.6% of the assemblage. The group is further subdivided into the categories of



Figure 30: Largest of seven ink bottle shards recovered from the site.

Kitchenware (n=2), Reusable Storage Containers (n=23), Single Use Storage Containers (n=34), and Tableware (n=226). The Kitchenware subcategory consists of a fragment of a perforated metal strainer or shaker lid and a sherd of an earthenware bowl. The perforated metal is 60 mm wide but has only 3 holes, each measuring 2.4 mm in diameter. The earthenware sherd has a dark brown glaze on the exterior and is undecorated.

The subcategories that cover storage containers (both single and reusable) include food-holding tin cans, canning jars, barrels, and crockery. A total of 32 tin can scatters, ranging from two to ten pieces per scatter, were recovered from the site. Of these, 25 scatters appear to be of common cylindrical tin cans used for food. These cans roughly measure 117 mm in length and have a 75 mm diameter. Four cans have hole-in-top soldered closures (Figure 31). One scatter represented a nearly complete tin can that was larger than the others, measuring approximately 131 mm in length and 80 mm in diameter. The ends are still attached, but the top end has been opened by piercing. One artifact is a flattened rectangular tin can without any markings. Two lids were also recovered. The first is a half of a capped-on perforated sprinkler plate,



Figure 31: Hole-in-top tin can end recovered from the site.

designed to shake powdered material from the container. The other lid was a complete slip lid. Raised printing on the surface indicates that the lid is for a 12 oz. container of “Dr. Price’s Cream Baking Powder” (Figure 32). Interestingly, the excavations at the Maltby House in Cannington Manor also yielded a product of Dr. Price, a bottle of extract dating to 1862-1894 (Enns-Kavanagh 2002:186). It appears likely that products with this brand name were available through regular commercial channels. Another artifact pertaining to tin food containers is a single metal key designed to open tin cans. The key is unused; there are no metal fragments wrapped around the shaft from peeling the lid off.

Besides metal, storage containers of other materials were recovered. These include two glass canning jar lid liners. Both are pale green and circular. The first liner is complete, has an 85 mm diameter and has printing on one surface embossed along the rim. This printing reads “PATD.F .12 .17 \_1. 0\_.4.62 DEC. .4. J\_\_\_”. The second liner is 80% complete, has a diameter of 73 mm and has the words “HAMILTON GLASS Co HAM\_... T” embossed on the surface (Figure 33). The Hamilton Glass Factory operated in Hamilton, Ontario from 1880 to 1898, during which time its principal product was fruit jars and lids (King 1987:58-61, 172). Fourteen



Figure 32: Tin can slip lid for “Dr. Price’s Cream Baking Powder”, surface (left) and interior (right).



Figure 33: Hamilton Glass Company canning jar lid liner.

treated wood fragments from at least one barrel were also recovered, all from Area 1. Two barrel lid halves were recovered in adjacent units (Figure 34). The differential diameters of each (81.8 mm and 121.6 mm) suggest they are from two different barrels. A large-mouthed cork was also found in Area 1. Measuring 35.8 mm at its thickest diameter, the cork could be a stopper for a barrel or a wide-mouthed glass bottle. Two sherds of stoneware crockery were also obtained from the excavation. Each piece is from a hollowware vessel and have thick dark mustard-coloured glaze on the exterior surface.



Figure 34: Barrel lid half, recovered from Area 1. Note interior groove.

The Food Preparation subcategory of Tableware is dominated by ceramics. Glass artifacts only account for six of these items. Three of these shards exhibit a bubble pattern blown on the exterior and are probably fragments of a fruit or candy bowl. The other shards are part of a drinking glass. The glass is 70 mm in diameter and exhibits pontil scarring on the base. A fragment of a cutlery handle plate is also present. Made of bone, the piece is yellow and curved in the front but sawed flat on the back. Drilled perforations are noticeable on either end but are not complete, suggesting that the piece has broken off of a larger object. Interestingly, someone has carved letters carved into the curved face of the handle. The carvings may read “R (or K), A, a (or &), U (or W)”. Whether these carvings had any significance beyond whittling is unknown.

The remaining 226 Tableware artifacts are ceramics. The ceramics are divided into polychrome pearlware (n=190), vitrified white earthenware (n=9), white earthenware (n=4),

earthenware (n=30), and stoneware (n=5) (Table 13). The author was able to establish the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) in the assemblage through an analysis of distinguishing vessel portions, decoration, and estimated vessel size. Unfortunately, few of the sherds refit and the general purpose of the vessels had to be inferred. A minimum of 16 vessels, five flatware and 11 hollowware, are represented by the assemblage (Table 14). The largest type of ceramic material is polychrome pearlware, which accounts for 84.1% of the ceramics. (See Figure 35 for examples of the ceramics recovered from the site.) The pearlware has a white glaze with a slight blue tinge. All brim sherds are painted blue along the rim. Most pieces exhibit a floral decoration that either depicts red and yellow flowers or blue, black and green leaf designs. All decorations are painted and 25 sherds (17.6%) appear to be sponge-painted. Concerning vessel form, a majority of the sherds (74.7%) are classified as flatware. Despite the large number of pearlware sherds in the assemblage, the author could only determine a minimum of six vessels – three flatware and three hollowware. These include a 26 cm diameter serving plate, a square bowl, and a round cup or bowl. The two strikingly different floral patterns suggest at least two vessels, although they could come from the same general set. The remainder of the ceramic assemblage is a hodgepodge of vessels and types. The nine sherds of vitrified white earthenware are most probably ironstone, or some imitation thereof. They represent at least two vessels, one plate and one bowl. The three flatware pieces are decorated with an unidentified moulded-relief pattern of two parallel lines.

Table 13: List of recovered ceramics and vessel types.

<u>Ware Types</u>	<u>Flatware</u>	<u>Hollowware</u>	<u>Unidentified</u>	<u>Sherds</u>
Polychrome Pearlware	142	14	34	190
Vitrified White Earthenware	3	2	4	9
White Earthenware	0	1	3	4
Earthenware	1	13	16	30
Stoneware	0	4	1	5
<b>Total</b>				<b>238</b>

Table 14: Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) of each ceramic ware type.

<u>Ware Types</u>	<u>Flatware</u>	<u>Hollowware</u>	<u>Total</u>
Polychrome Pearlware	3	3	6
Vitrified White Earthenware	1	1	2
White Earthenware	0	1	1
Earthenware	1	5	6
Stoneware	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>16</b>



Figure 35: Selection of ceramics recovered from the site. Top row: exterior (left) and interior (right) stoneware. Middle row: burgundy (left) and black (right) transferprint earthenware. Bottom row: painted polychrome pearlware.

## **6.7 Household Furnishing Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=11) that fit within the Household Furnishings functional category make up 0.3% of the assemblage. Two items of furniture recovered from the site are both mushroom-shaped ceramic drawer pulls, found on opposite sides of the site (Units 64N 20E and 61N 33E). The other Household Furnishing artifacts are all hardware: three furniture nails, three upholsterer's tacks, and three trunk nails. The trunk nails are machine cut but the rest are machine made. The presence of these items definitely suggests an association with fabric-covered furniture at the site.

## **6.8 Architectural Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=2215) that fit within the Architectural functional category make up 66.2% of the assemblage. This category is by far the most dominant. The group is further subdivided into the categories of Door Hardware and Materials (n=1), Building Materials (n=68), Hardware (1214) and Window Hardware and Materials (n=932). The sole Door Hardware artifact is a door jam strike plate, probably from a standard household door jam mechanism. The artifacts within the Building Material subcategory are all structural components of the house and include concrete (n=1), limestone mortar (n=3), treated wood paneling (n=34) and brick (n=30). The amount collected was only a representative sample of the total that was encountered in excavations due to the impracticality of collecting all the material. These materials were also the basis of many of the features uncovered during the excavation, such as the brick feature in Area 4 and the limestone mortar layer that contained brick fragments in Area 1. As well, large portions of brick blocks were found in the pit feature in Area 2 (see Figure 23 in Chapter 5). The treated wood paneling is similar in appearance to the wood used for barrels, except for its flat shape and grooved sides that allow for the wood to be buttressed together to form wall paneling. Nail holes are evident in many of the pieces. Three pieces still have fragments of wall paper finish attached to them. Four pieces have one side painted with dark varnish or stain. The wood panel fragments range in thickness from 3.9 mm to 11.5 mm.

Brick fragments were especially widespread throughout the site and ranged from almost full rectangular blocks to shattered particles. Four different types of brick were identified in the assemblage based on differing colour and temper size (Table 15). The most prevalent brick was

Table 15: Characteristics of brick types recovered from EbMo-5.

<u>Colour</u>	<u>Temper Size</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Light Pink	> 5 mm	Most
Pinkish Red	< 5 mm	Moderate
Dark Red	< 5 mm	Least
Pale Yellow	> 5 mm	Least

that with a light pink colour and significantly large temper (> 5 mm). Samples of both the dark red and pinkish red brick show evidence of being frogged (Figure 36). Masonry mortar was evident on many of the pieces, regardless of the colour. Brick colour can be influenced by firing temperature or mineral content. High iron content in the temper tends to create pink hues, high lime content tends to create yellowish hues, and dark red colours usually mean the brick was fired at a lower temperature (Hudson 1972:28-42). The presence of various bricks suggests that the builders utilized different brick manufacturers, gathered bricks on different occasions, or made bricks on site. None of the brick is stamped with a maker's mark, although it is probably all of local origin. Two brickyards existed in Whitewood during the late 1800s. The Whitewood Brickyard, owned by John Street, operated within Whitewood town limits from 1884 to 1895. It produced bricks that were "pale buff, hand-molded soft-mud without a frog" (Buhr 1997:118). The pale yellow species from Bellevue appear to match this product. The other brickyard, the Sterling brickyard owned by C. Angus Campbell, operated 12 km north of Whitewood from 1893 to about 1904. The brick from this yard is described by Buhr as "orange salmon" with a shallow frog (Buhr 1997:120). The pinkish red specimens recovered from Bellevue appear to match this product. If the bricks originate from either of these brickyards, then it is likely more than one phase of construction occurred at Bellevue.

The largest architectural subcategory is Hardware. This category includes nails, screws, and tacks. Table 16 shows the breakdown of this category. An overwhelming majority of these artifacts are machine cut manufactured (1111 of 1211 artifacts, or 91.7%), dating their time of use to the late nineteenth century. Of the 1073 common machine cut nails collected from the site, 545 are considered complete. The total lengths of the complete nails ranged from 0.6 to 5.1 inches (15.2 to 129.4 mm), although these lengths can be further grouped into four main sets based on their gauge (Table 17): 4d (n=130), 6d (n=64), 8d (n=229), and 20d (n=37). The 8d nail is the most common size, and this makes sense as it is the perfect size for holding structural wood against heavier beams. Other machine cut nails recovered from the site include brad nails,



Figure 36: Pinkish red architectural brick fragment with frogging.

finishing nails, fine nails, casing nails, and tacks. These were not found in substantial quantities, but their presence represents a wide sample of common architectural hardware associated with a house. Wire-drawn nails, which overtook machine cut nails at the end of the nineteenth century,

Table 16: Architectural hardware recovered from the site.

<b>Manufacture</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Manufacture</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Total</b>
<u>Machine cut</u>		<u>1111</u>	<u>Machine made</u>		<u>54</u>
Common nail		1073	Tack		23
Cut Tack		12	Wood Screw		19
Brad nail		11	Common Screw		7
Finishing nail		8	Slotted nail		5
Unidentified nail		4			
Fine nail		2	<u>Round</u>		<u>1</u>
Casing nail		1	Common nail		1
<u>Wire drawn</u>		<u>44</u>	<u>Handmade</u>		<u>1</u>
Common nail		40	Common nail		1
Tack		3			
Brass Escutcheon		1	<b>Total</b>		<b>1211</b>

Table 17: Lengths of machine cut nails recovered from site.

Nail Length	Corresponding Gauge	Total
1.4 - 1.6 inches 35.5 - 40.6 mm	4d	130
1.9 - 2.1 inches 48.3 - 53.3 mm	6d	64
2.5 - 2.7 inches 63.5 - 68.6 mm	8d	229
3.9 - 4.1 inches 99.1 - 104.1 mm	20d	37

are also represented (n=44) but in smaller amounts. Various screws were also recovered, with most of them (19 of 26) being wood screws commonly used in wood-frame construction.

Other significant architectural hardware include three mechanical lock pieces. One piece is a lock tumbler. The two other pieces, a shield-shaped body and a shackle, were found in the same unit and level (63N 20E, level 1) and appear to be pieces of the same padlock. The front portion of the padlock that has the keyhole is missing (Figure 37). The tumbler could have been part of a door-locking mechanism, thus a true architectural artifact, but the padlock could have latched a variety of different objects, making its association difficult to determine.



Figure 37: Lock mechanisms recovered from the site. A tumbler (1), padlock shackle (2), and padlock body (3).

Artifacts that make up the architectural subcategory of Window Materials are almost as prominent as those of Architectural Hardware. Of the 1134 shards of glass recovered from the site, 935 (82.5%) are flat glass. The sheer quantity of the flat glass suggests that most of it represents fragments of window pane, but it is difficult to ascertain what percentage of the flat glass is definitely from window glass. The artifacts exhibit a substantial range in thickness from 0.9 to 3.7 mm, although a large majority (68.7%) falls within the 1.9 to 2.3 mm range (Figure 38). The shards within this range of thickness are most likely window glass, but the thicker or thinner specimens could represent mirror glass or picture frame glass.

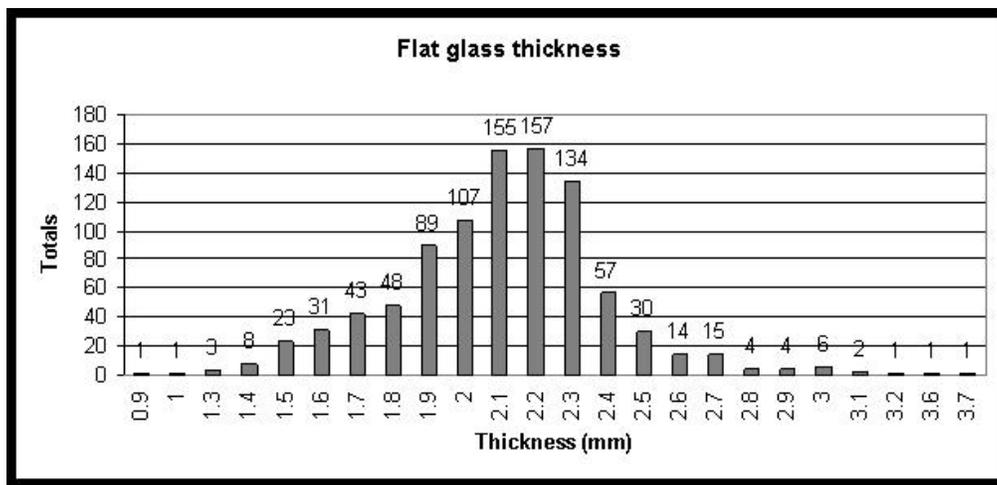


Figure 38: Thickness of flat glass recovered from the site.

Glass thickness might also hold other information. Archaeologists have toyed with the use of flat glass thickness as a dating tool for window glass. (See MacDonald et al. 2007 for a bibliography of these attempts.) Glass tended to increase in thickness from the early nineteenth century to 1915, when window panes reached modern dimensions. Moir’s regression formula states that a Glass Manufacture Date can be obtained with the following formula:  $(84.22 \times \text{Glass Thickness [in mm]} + 1712.7)$ . The results of this formula have been found to be accurate in 60% of cases with a margin of error of +/- 7 years (MacDonald et al. 2007). If we apply this formula to the Bellevue site using either the mean thickness (2.11 mm) or median thickness (2.25 mm) of the flat glass, we are given an estimated construction date of 1890.4 and 1902.2 respectively. Both of these estimates are comparable to the historical record. Very little other information can be gleaned from this artifact class. Unfortunately, analysis of the location of flat glass recovery

did not yield any significant information to indicate where the windows of the building were located. It is also interesting that so much flat glass is present at the site, as the building was moved before it fell into ruin. It is possible that some of the building's windows were broken during the act of transportation.

## **6.9 Transportation Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=21) that fit within the Transportation functional category make up 0.6% of the assemblage. Horseshoe nails (n=12) account for over half of this total. Nine of these are complete and unbent, suggesting they were deposited pre-use. Most measure 2.1 inches in length (54 mm), although one reaches a length of 2.8 inches (72 mm). Also related to animal-powered transportation is a small harness ring, a harness buckle, and two fragments of leather harness strapping.

## **6.10 Agricultural Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=130) that fit within the Agricultural functional category make up 3.9% of the assemblage. This group is further subdivided into the categories of Equipment and Tools (n=6), Fencing (n=4), and Hardware (n=120). Equipment and Tools artifacts include four unidentified cast iron pieces that appear to be metal components of large agricultural machinery. Also included are two hand-held hooks that are most likely butcher's tools. The hooks were found in adjacent units (60N 32E and 60N 33E) within Area 1. Each hook is made of a solid bar of iron and is approximately 140mm in length (Figure 39). The Fencing subcategory is composed of four fencing nails. The largest subcategory is that of Hardware. Of the 120 artifacts placed in that category, 54 are rivets and 63 are washers. All are made of brass. The rivets have flat countersunk heads, suggesting they are not meant to protrude beyond the surface finish (Figure 40). The rivets range in length from 5.2 mm to 16 mm. Many of the shorter rivets have been snipped by a pinching tool. The washers are all flat discs and have an interior diameter (4 mm) that matches the shaft diameter of the rivets, suggesting that they are meant to fit together. Both were often found in the same context, although a rivet and washer were never found attached *in situ*.



Figure 39: Handheld hook recovered from Area 1.

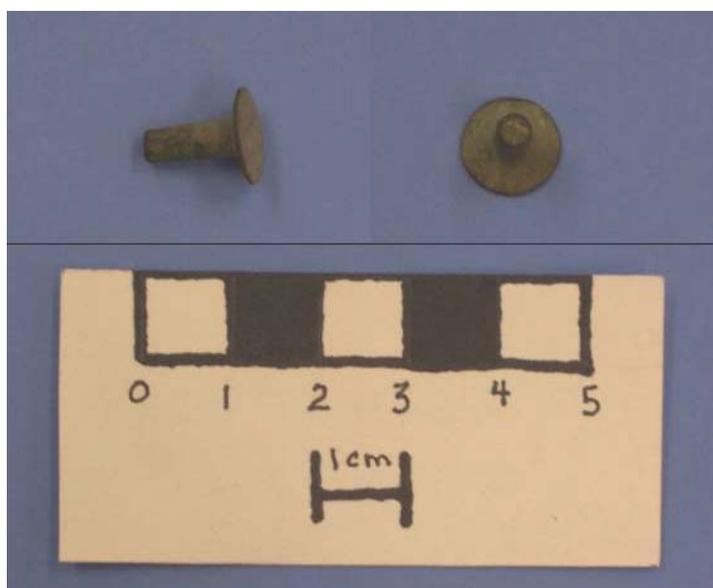


Figure 40: Example of brass rivets recovered from the site.

Many of these artifacts could possibly be attributed to the use of the area as a cultivated field during the early twentieth century and do not necessarily tie into the cultural context of the French aristocratic community. The fencing nails, which were all found in the top 10 cm of four different excavation units, may have been deposited at a later date. The rivets and washers, however, were found in 10 of 17 units and at a depth that ranged between 0 and 30 cm below

surface. The widespread provenience of the rivets suggests a time frame of use that corresponds with the features in which they were found.

### 6.11 Faunal Remains

The artifacts (n=169) that fit within the Faunal Remains functional category make up 5.1% of the assemblage. The faunal remains can be divided into five animal classes: avis (n=85), mammal (n=74), fish (n=1) and mollusk (n=1). The remaining elements (n=8) were unidentified. Although the unidentified elements appear to make up only a small portion of the total faunal assemblage, an additional 47 pieces (of 159; 29.6%) of the bird and mammal remains could not be identified beyond their class. The assemblage contains a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 30, based on the presence of duplicate elements of the same side and species (The identification and MNI of faunal remains can be found in Table 18). The author was able to identify 13 separate families and 12 different genera. A total of eight species were identified (Table 19).

The largest group of identified faunal remains is that of bird, which makes up 50.3% of the faunal assemblage. This subcategory is further divided by size: large (n=2), medium (n=44), and small (n=5). The remaining elements (n=34) are considered bird but could not be specifically identified. Interestingly, a vast majority of all aves remains are appendicular elements. Only 16 axial elements were recovered from the site, compared to 69 appendicular elements. This trend occurs regardless of the size of the bird (Figure 41). Both large bird specimens were identified to the level of Family. The first is a complete phalanx belonging to the Family Ardeidae, which includes herons. The second, a distal fragment of a left tarsometatarsus, belongs to the black geese genus (Anatidae *Branta*). This genus includes the Canadian goose.

Of the 44 specimens attributed to medium-sized birds, nine belong to the mallard (Anatidae *Anas platyrhynchos*). All are appendicular elements. Mallard has a MNI of two, based on two complete right carpometacarpi and two distal fragments of right radii. A further 19 specimens are dabbling ducks (Anatidae *Anas*). This genus includes mallards, but the elements could not be identified to species. Dabbling ducks have an MNI of two (not including mallard) based on two identical distal fragments of left humeri. In addition, six more specimens are attributed to the Family Anatidae, but cannot be identified more specifically. Other recognizable

Table 18: Faunal remains recovered, as grouped by Class.

Class	Total Elements	MNI	Class	Total Elements	MNI
<u>Total Bird</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>Total Mammal</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>11</u>
Large Bird	2	2	Large Mammal	16	3
Med. Bird	44	9	Med. Mammal	5	2
Sm. Bird	5	4	Sm. Mammal	19	3
Unid. Bird	34	2	Very Sm. Mammal	21	3
Total Fish	1	1	Unidentified Mammal	13	0
Total Mollusk	1	1	Total Unidentified	8	0
<b>Total Faunal</b>				<b>169</b>	<b>30</b>

Table 19: List of identified faunal remains.

Family	Genus	Species	Common Name	Total	MNI*
Anatidae	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Waterfowl	6	1
Anatidae	<i>Anas</i>	Indeterminate	Dabbling ducks	19	2
Anatidae	<i>Anas</i>	<i>discors</i>	Blue-winged Teal	1	1
Anatidae	<i>Anas</i>	<i>platyrhynchos</i>	Mallard	9	2
Anatidae	<i>Branta</i>	Indeterminate	Black geese	1	1
Ardeidae	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Herons	1	1
Bovidae	<i>Bos</i>	<i>taurus</i>	Cow	4	2
Canidae	<i>Canis</i>	Indeterminate	Dog	1	1
Cervidae	<i>Odocoileus</i>	Indeterminate	Deer (mule or white-tail)	1	1
Corvidae	<i>Corvus</i>	Indeterminate	Crows	1	1
Cricetidae	<i>Ondatra</i>	<i>zibethicus</i>	Muskrat	1	1
Geomyidae	<i>Thomomys</i>	<i>talpoides</i>	Northern Pocket Gopher	17	1
Leporidae	<i>Lepus</i>	Indeterminate	Hares/Jackrabbits	6	1
Leporidae	<i>Lepus</i>	<i>americanus</i>	Snowshoe Hare	4	1
Phasianidae	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Pheasants/Partridges/Chickens	1	1
Phasianidae	<i>Tympanuchus</i>	<i>phasianellus</i>	Sharp-tailed Grouse	1	1
Sciuridae	<i>Spermophilus</i>	Indeterminate	Ground Squirrels	3	2
Scolopacidae	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Waders (bird)	1	1
Suidae	<i>Sus</i>	<i>scrofa</i>	Domestic pig	1	1
<b>Total Faunal Identified to Family Level</b>				<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>

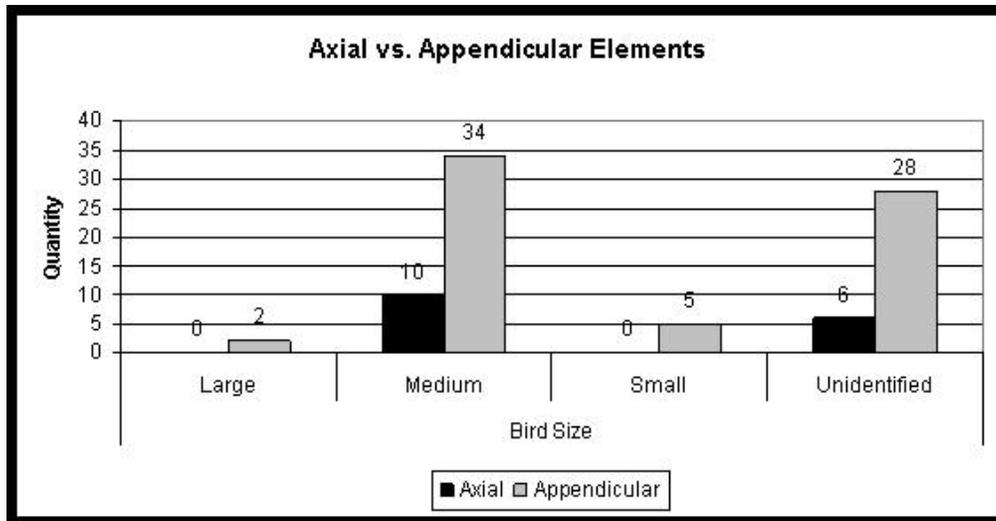


Figure 41: Bird remains categorized by skeletal element.

Elements from medium-sized birds include the distal portion of a right tarsometatarsus from a genus of crow (*Corvidae Corvus*), a complete left carpometacarpus of a sharp-tailed pheasant (*Phasianidae Tympanuchus phasianellus*), and the distal portion of sternum from a pheasant species other than domesticated chicken. The remaining nine bone fragments belong to medium-sized birds, but could not be identified.

Of the five specimens attributed to small-sized birds, only a complete right tarsometatarsus was identifiable as belonging to the blue-winged teal (*Anatidae Anas discors*). Small dabbling ducks are represented by a complete left carpometacarpus and wading birds (*Family Scolopacidae*) are represented by a single proximal fragment of a right tibiotarsus. Two bones, proximal fragments of a left tibiotarsus and a left femur, are unidentified. The remaining 34 unidentified specimens in the bird category are mainly longbone fragments and phalanges, with the exception of three separate scatters of unidentifiable egg shell (two from Area 4, one from Area 6).

Mammal is the next largest group of identified faunal remains and represents 43.8% of the faunal assemblage. This subcategory is further divided by size: large (n=16), medium (n=5), small (n=19), and very small (n=21). The remaining elements (n=13) could not be specifically identified. As with bird, appendicular elements dominate the mammal assemblage but by a far slimmer margin, only 35 of 55 or 63.6% of the assemblage (Figure 42).

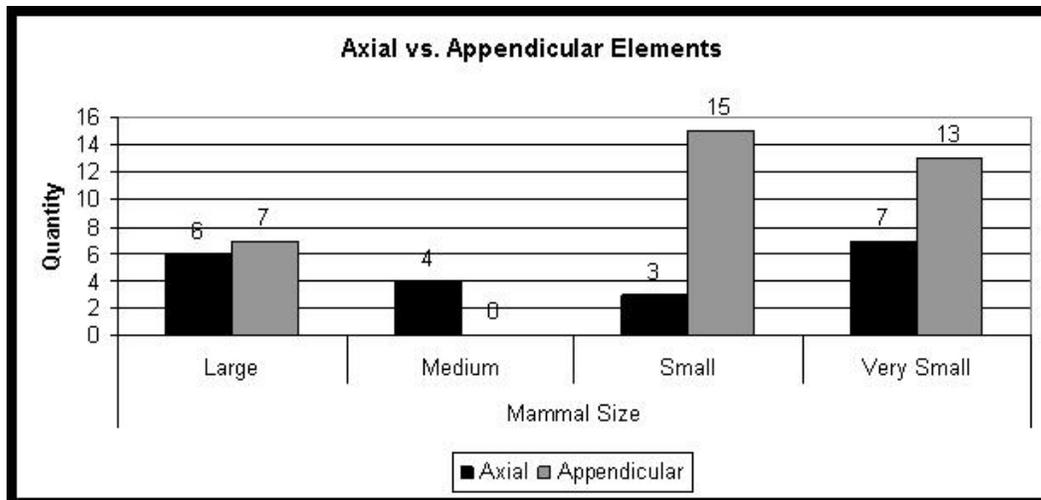


Figure 42: Mammal remains categorized by skeletal element.

Of the 16 bones attributed to large mammal, only five elements could be positively identified. An ungulate species, most likely a white-tail or mule deer, is represented by a single antler tine found in Level 4 of Unit 60N 33E. The tine was sawed from the rest of the antler. The distal end exhibits signs of cultural modification and may have been sharpened or wittled (Figure 43). Four other bones are identified as either adult bison or cattle (*Bovidae Bos taurus*): two distal right humeri, a proximal right ulna, and a proximal right radius. An MNI of two is attributed to cow based on the two humeri. All pieces are probably domestic cow. One humerus is sawed in half lengthwise. It was found on the surface and could be from a more recent context. It is comparable in size to the other portions. The other humerus end was recovered in Unit 64N 25E at a depth of 47 cm DBS. The end has been sawed from the rest of the bone (Figure 44). The ulna and radius portions were found in the pit feature in Area 2. Both have been sawed at the shaft at apparently the same point. Although not found together, the pieces do appear to articulate (Figure 45). The remaining 11 large mammal specimens (six longbone fragments, three vertebral transverse process fragments, one molar fragment and one sphenoid fragment) are all considered to be ungulate but cannot be identified further. The three transverse process fragments are from lumbar vertebrae and have all been sawed off the larger element.

The five bones attributed to medium-sized mammals include a complete canid canine and a complete molar from a domesticated pig (*Suidae Sus scrofa*). Other bones include a proximal rib end and a complete central/4<sup>th</sup> tarsal, both unidentified. The 19 bones attributed to small-sized mammals include a complete but fragmented muskrat cranium (*Cricetidae Ondatra zibethicus*).



Figure 43: Worked antler tine. Note sawed proximal portion and worked distal end.



Figure 44: *Bos taurus* right humerus, distal end. End has been sawed from rest of bone.



Figure 45: Butchered *Bos* remains from Area 2. (1) Proximal radius; (2) proximal ulna; (3) radius and ulna articulated. Note matching saw lines on the shafts.

Hares are well-represented by four portions of snowshoe hare (*Leporidae Lepus americanus*), including a complete right calcaneus. A further six elements are from the *Lepus* genus, including four complete metapodials and a distal left humerus. The metapodials were all found in level 2 of Unit 57N 25E and most likely came from the same foot. The foot may belong to *L. americanus*, but cannot be verified. The remaining two longbone fragments, two phalanges, two rib fragments, and two metapodials cannot be positively identified.

Of the 21 bones attributed to very small-sized mammals, 17 are attributed to the northern pocket gopher (*Geomyidae Thomomys talpoides*). These include a complete cranium, 13 vertebrae, a complete innominate, and matching sets of complete fore- and hindlimbs. All of the elements were recovered from Unit 59N 33E at a depth of 20-25 cm DBS and most likely represent a single individual. Three other bones in this category are identified as a species of ground squirrel (*Sciuridae Spermophilus*). These include two right tibias, giving this genus an MNI of two. All bones in this category are most likely intrusive. The remaining 13 unidentified specimens in the mammal category are all fragmentary. Two such fragments found in Area 1 were burned.

Two other classes of faunal remains were recovered: mollusk and fish. Mollusk is represented by a single fragment of a probable bivalve shell found within the pit feature in Area

2. Fish is represented by a single scatter of six gill bones found in the sod level of Area 4. The bones are from a bony ray-finned fish (Class Actinopterygii) but cannot be identified at a more specific level.

We are left with a total of 55 faunal specimens that are not identifiable beyond the level of Class. Many of these could represent either bird or mammal remains. In total, the faunal assemblage is limited but useful. Notably, a total of 35 faunal elements and an MNI of six are attributed to waterfowl, the largest category of bird in the faunal assemblage. Many of these waterfowl, most notably the mallard and the blue-winged teal, are migratory birds that nest in Saskatchewan in the spring and then spend their fall and winter much farther south (Gollop 1999:152-153). As well, the identified black goose specimen from the site may be indicative of the Canada goose or similar species, birds that have been known to nest locally as well as stop over in Saskatchewan during their migration pattern (Smith 1999:150). Also interesting is the butchering evidence on the ungulate remains. If we assume that the unidentified ungulate is the same as the identified cow, then the butchered elements fit with recognizable beef cuts. The cut that separates the shank and brisket portions of the animal occur at the proximal ends of the ulna and radius, at the exact point that the ulna and radius recovered from the site has been sawed. As well, the sawed transverse processes of the lumbar vertebrae match the spot where the loin steak would have been separated from the butt cut (Davis 1924:7).

### **6.12 Precontact Material Artifacts**

The artifacts (n=48) that fit within the Precontact Material functional category make up 1.4% of the assemblage. This category is further subdivided into seven identifiable lithic materials with the remainder unidentified (Table 20). The most dominant material type, making up 60.4% of the assemblage, is a generic chert. The single lithic tool recovered from the site is also fashioned from this chert, an endscraper measuring 23.7 mm in length (Figure 46). The precontact material was found scattered throughout the excavation at depths ranging from sod to 35 cm DBS. The mixed nature of the assemblage location suggests that the material came from sediment disturbed by the construction of the house and predates the French Count occupation.

Table 20: Lithic material recovered from the site.

<b>Material</b>	<b>Flakes</b>	<b>Shatter</b>	<b>Tools</b>	<b>Total</b>
Chert	2	26	1	<b>29</b>
Quartzite	0	6	0	<b>6</b>
Cathead Chert	0	3	0	<b>3</b>
Swan River Chert	1	1	0	<b>2</b>
Petrified Peat	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
Agate	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
Sandstone	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
Unidentified	0	5	0	<b>5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>48</b>



Figure 46: Chert endscraper recovered from the site.

### 6.13 Unidentified or Unclassifiable Artifacts

The artifacts (n=312) that could not be identified into a functional category make up the remaining 9.3% of the assemblage. These artifacts are further subdivided into the following material types: ceramics (n=14), glass (n=157), leather (n=16), metal (n=92), and wood (n=33). Most of these artifacts remain unidentified because their small size or fragmented nature. Both the ceramic and glass artifacts are most likely pieces of the larger identified vessels. For

example, 42 clear or pale green glass shards are most likely fragments of bottles or containers, but cannot be more certainly identified.

#### **6.14 Artifact Summary**

Of the 3346 artifacts recovered from the Bellevue site (EbMo-5), 90% fit into broad functional categories that give us some indication of the types of activities that occurred at the site. The presence of animals for transportation, work, and consumption is well documented. The animal remains considered as food are divided between domestic and wild species. The domestic species were either purchased or butchered on site. The wild species would have been hunted. The presence of fired artillery on site suggests that some hunting occurred on the homestead itself, perhaps in the procurement of waterfowl.

The largest functional category was that of Architectural artifacts, more specifically those concerned with building materials and hardware. This is interesting in that one would expect to find all this building material only if the Bellevue house had decayed into ruins at this very site. But historical records indicate that the house was moved well before this happened. This suggests that these objects relate to foundation materials left behind, or even items that broke off the house as it was moved. If this is true, then a substantial amount of the structure that was fashioned of brick seems to have been left behind. If we interpret the remains of the brick feature in Area 4 as a walkway or patio, then such an assumption would make sense. If the brick represented a chimney feature, the chimney would have to be an outside feature that was not physically connected to the house, perhaps as a summer oven.

Many of the household and kitchen-related items are those commonly found in other late nineteenth century homesteads on the prairies. The presence of tailoring tools also suggests standard domestic activities. The recovery of medicinal bottles suggests a concern with health and well-being, although this does stand in stark contrast with the presence of alcoholic beverages (or just possibly, they complement each other). The personal artifacts reveal a specific taste in both clothing and adornment, a topic that will be broached in the following chapter.

## Chapter 7

### Discussion: Social Identity and Material Culture

The first four chapters of this thesis dealt with issues of social identity as formulated within practice theory and how those issues played out in the French aristocratic community near Whitewood at the end of the nineteenth century. Chapters five and six described the archaeological excavations conducted at the Bellevue site, the location of one of the homes occupied by the French Counts during this period. The purpose of this chapter is to reconcile these two sections into a single avenue of inquiry; that is, to utilize the material evidence from the archaeological record to assess the social identity of the French aristocrats.

Before one can venture into this discussion the relationship between material culture and social identity must be broached. Archaeologists work from the assumption that material culture holds symbolic meaning that give us clues to the mindset of the people who used it (Jones 2007:13). Much of the theoretical debate concerning the meaning and role of material culture in society has led to an unsettling but challenging conclusion: material culture is always ambiguous and conveys multiple meanings (cf. Mayne 2008). The search for ‘meaning’ embedded in an artifact is messy. Efforts to probe the meaning in artifacts are faulty because the necessary inclusion of so many multiple and possible meanings that reside in social life make the effort epistemologically ineffective (Stahl 2002:829-832). This conclusion, however, is not relativism run rampant; material evidence can be used to support ideas about group coherence and continuity, while at the same time provide evidence that allows outsiders to assess the differences and validity between various constructions of said group’s identity (Adler and Bruning 2008:36). Andrew Jones makes the point that “material culture is critical to the maintenance and performance of tradition” as it connects the individual with the collective memory of the plural that feeds the symbolic meaning of the physical object (Jones 2007:46).

In practice theory, material culture is not a direct reflection of social identity; rather, the expression of identity in material culture grows organically out of what forms of material culture people choose or are forced to choose through the practice of everyday life (Pauketat and Loren 2005:22). Material culture “both constitutes people’s identity and position in the world and is drawn on by those people in the active negotiation of their identity and relationship to others” (Funari et al. 1999:12). Objects gain their symbolic meaning through extended use and experience resulting in a “dialogic relationship between person and thing that evokes recall” (Jones 2007:61). Since the symbolic meaning of an artifact is never completely static, it may be best to consider artifacts as having ‘traces of meaning’ that subtly change as the artifact moves from one context to the next (Jones 2007:80). Groups can make political dimensions of everyday practice known by using material culture in ways not meant by dominant society. Often conscious, the “tactics of consumption” find their base within a strategic use of material culture (de Certeau 1988:xvii). These can be tactics that are meant to portray a specific identity to others (acts of display).

Archaeology itself can help deduce an agent’s ‘range of possible choices’, especially when historical documents are mute or inadequate on the subject. The archaeological record can reveal material culture that was either not thought of as part of these possibilities or ignored as improbable (Silliman 2005:282). Additionally, this material may have been previously ignored because it did not appear to contain any significant information pertaining to an agent’s social identity. The presence of this material archaeologically can suggest that this is not the case, and that a more significant meaning may relate to its use or existence at the site. Mary Beaudry has commented that the most abundant artifacts found in archaeological deposits (such as ceramics or lithics) draw most of the analytical attention, while solitary or casual artifacts are less subject to scrutiny and usually delegated as ‘small finds’ or ‘personal artifacts’. She claims this bias towards quantity implies that smaller finds are less useful, and limits how archaeologists place the meanings embedded in these artifacts in everyday life (in Loren 2003:235). It can be argued that the processualist bent of archaeology in the latter half of the twentieth century focused on formulas and models that required large sample sizes and that there were simply not enough ‘small finds’ to perform the same analysis. Post-processual thought has a chance to rectify this. I agree that these artifacts cannot be overlooked or simply ignored. In terms of social identity, these artifacts may play a substantial role. But we must be careful not to over-read identity into

material culture. Michael Nassaney, in his paper on French and Native identity formation at the eighteenth-century frontier outpost of Fort St. Joseph, noted that no one-to-one connection exists between social identity and material culture. He concluded that “identity – being symbolically constituted, fluid, situational, malleable, and contested – is subject to fewer constraints than, say, technology...[and that] our interpretations are still constrained by the material evidence such that we can begin to approach identity in all its myriad forms through the archaeological record” (Nassaney 2008:314).

In Chapter Four it was noted that French aristocratic interaction in Whitewood could be considered an extension of colonial contact. Within colonial situations, material culture is often appropriated for strategic use in social relations (Silliman 2001). At the same time, vivid symbols of social identity that were strong before the colonial situation may be promoted to emphasize this connection. For example, Dawdy and Weyhing’s discussion of faience ointment jars in early nineteenth century Louisiana noted the purposeful “antiquated retention” of identifiably French designs that were meant to inspire an association between the quality of the product and national origin (Dawdy and Weyhing 2008:374). At the same time a degree of ambiguity is expected when one deals with social identity in a new social situation. As Elizabeth Scott stated, “Just as interesting as the degree to which we may see a ‘Frenchness’ in this arc of colonial and post-colonial settlement is the variation that may be found along it” (Scott 2008:275). As such, one does not expect to find material culture dealing *solely* with Frenchness. The social situation is always changing and the way material culture is used to express one’s social identity changes with it.

Several points must be made about the material culture at Bellevue in order to successfully interpret their role in the overall framework of French aristocratic social identity. First, how certain are we of what the artifacts from Bellevue represent? Unfortunately, the material culture found at Bellevue is sparse, and I must make do with what was found. I also will draw in information of material culture described in historical sources. I must also acknowledge the possible problem of misidentifying artifacts based on an assumed association with the French Counts. Bellevue was occupied from 1888 to 1926. Only from 1888 to 1891 did people associated with the French aristocratic community live there. For the rest of the time Bellevue was occupied by church officials and regular homesteaders. This must be kept in mind when making observations and applying interpretations. For example, notions about class can be

misinterpreted if an artifact was used and/or deposited by less-wealthy homesteaders at a later date, or even items used by contemporaries to the French aristocrats who worked on their staff. The life of an artifact (time between manufacture and deposition) can be affected by an object's material strength, its popularity over time, its value as a heirloom, the frugality of its owner, the extent to which it is handed down to other users, the degree it is looked after by its owner, and its place within a set of objects, the degree of reuse it is subjected to, and amount of time spent in storage (Adams 2003:40-59). When working with these artifacts I have taken into consideration issues of artifact time lag and extended use, whereby the manufacturing date of the artifact and its deposition into an archaeological context do not necessarily correlate (see Adams 2003).

Other studies have presented arguments about social identity similar to the one in this thesis. The most pertinent is that of Rob Mann and Diana DiPaolo Loren, who conducted archaeological research involving a similar situation at French Azilum, Pennsylvania, albeit one hundred years earlier. Azilum is the site of an eighteenth-century community of French aristocrats who arrived in America as refugees of the French Revolution. The authors examined the social practice of the French elite in order to understand the underlying social structures of the community. They focused on the idea of distinction as a tool of differentiating social class in a way that appeared both natural and obvious. At Azilum, the authors reasoned that material culture both reflected and perpetuated the social distinctions of a given class (Mann and Loren 2001). They argued that the French elites used architecture and dress to express their perspective and therefore “legitimize their class and ethnic identity... in a setting where local Anglo-Americans openly challenged such overt expressions of both elite class status and French identity” (Mann and Loren 2001:285). In other words, the French elites used material culture to express the way they felt others should see them.

Unfortunately, the artifacts from Bellevue are the only tangible evidence of the Counts' material culture and are weak representations of their purchasing choices. The local histories focus on the extravagant and detail very little about mundane articles. More concrete evidence about such material choices do not exist; the Limoges store burned down sometime in the early twentieth century, so we do not have access to contemporary invoices or waybills (Blaine Coleman, personal communication 2007). But it is highly likely that products purchased from the general stores fit a pattern that saw the expansion of mass-produced material culture throughout the area. More of these items, mostly produced in factories in eastern North America, gained

acceptance throughout the late nineteenth century, culminating in the corporate-branded consumerism of the twentieth century. These items have implications for archaeological research. First, the horizon of mass-produced material culture is both monolithic and homogenous. Second, this situation may have led to an increased consolidation of a 'western identity' on the prairies. For this reason immigrants who lived in block communities and had less contact with other communities had a greater chance of surviving together and withstanding the homogeneity of this 'western identity'. Third, the possibility exists that its presence can change other cultural roles that transform to incorporate these items into existing cultural perspectives (Kennedy 2005).

As we shall see below, many of the issues concerning the French Counts come down to acts of display. But this is only a single facet of their identity, and to focus solely on this subject would do them a great disservice. They were multifaceted characters who approached everyday practice from a variety of perspectives. For this reason other motives besides posturing must always be considered when interpreting their choices made in daily practice. The following sections will analyze examples from the archaeological record of the French aristocrats in order to further explore the practical notions of social identity, specifically those that deal with architecture, faunal remains, consumption, health, personal belongings, and agriculture.

## **7.1 Architecture**

Although architectural elements make up a large proportion of the archaeological assemblage, none of it can be considered spectacular. But as practice theory asserts, even the most mundane aspects of social life can give us an abundance of information, and the physical elements of architecture are no different.

Plenty of speculation has surrounded the architectural paternity of the aristocrats' homes. Many of the historical sources give credence to the idea that they were representative of ancestral châteaux in France (see Chapter Two). Certainly the names given to many of these homesteads (e.g. La Rolanderie, Richelieu) were meant to invoke the grandeur of such estates. But was the architecture itself influenced by the buildings of France? Interestingly, there was a French influence in architecture throughout Canada at the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s historical accuracy had been abandoned and the historical styles were being reinterpreted

by architects by using only facets they liked and combining themes from other historical periods. Architectural styles with a particular “French flavour” became popular revivals. In Quebec buildings “were often modified in a manner that acknowledged established tastes and traditions, such as steep roofs, dormer and casement windows, and stone construction” (Ricketts et al. 2004:43). Styles that originated during France’s Second Empire became designs of choice for monumental public and commercial buildings in the 1870s and 1880s (Ricketts et al. 2004:87-88). As well, the Château style became popular for hotel construction in Canada in the 1880s and 1890s. Inspired by the sixteenth-century French châteaux of the Loire Valley, the design called for “steeply pitched, copper-covered roofs with dormers, gables, conical towers, tourelles, finials, and iron cresting” (Ricketts et al. 2004:99, 101-102).

These Revival styles, especially Château, are exactly the styles in which rural estates would have been constructed in nineteenth century France. All of these revival styles were prominent in Canada at the time, but as such were only used for monumental architecture. None of the characteristics of the French revival styles show up in the Bellevue design, with the exception perhaps of the steep roof slope. Steep roof slopes, however, are more a function of climate and winter weather. Vernacular houses in the north and the west France had steeply sloping pointed roofs with thatch or small panels of stone or wood (Lavedan 1979:204-205), but again this is a function of climate. This leads us to the possibility that the aristocrats’ homes on the Pipestone mirrored those of vernacular houses in France. Vernacular homes in France during the late nineteenth century varied from region to region. For the most part buildings tended to be either of the “Maison a cour ouverte” style [house with an open courtyard] or “Maison a cour fermee” [house with an enclosed courtyard] style. New buildings were buttressed up against the standing structure as additions (Agulhon et al. 1976:282-284).

Do any of these characteristics show up in the plan of Bellevue? Bernard Flaman, former Head Architect of Saskatchewan Heritage, believed that Bellevue’s design fit more with the Victorian (ie. British) architectural sensibilities of the time. Furthermore, he felt it to be far more vernacular than monumental in style. He noted that the building was built symmetrically at the outset with winged ends that could have been conceived as summer kitchens (see Figures 7, 8, and 9 in Chapter 5 for comparison). Other aspects, however, are not so symmetrical. For example, the peak of the front door was built with a lower slope than that of the roof. The later photographs indicate that eavesdraughts were added in awkward places and that another building

may have been pushed into the original (Bernard Flaman, personal communication 2007). In all, Bellevue does not appear to have been treated with the reverence of an ancestral château.

Most aspects of the Bellevue building reflect characteristics common to vernacular architecture in the area at the end of the nineteenth century. Although there are three types of brick present at the site, none of it is particularly decorative and instead appears to be mostly utilitarian. As well, the machine cut nails found on the site would have been from the original construction in the 1880s. Since very few wire drawn nails were found, any subsequent modification to the building may have reused machine cut nails. Interestingly, the Beaudrap house (which still stands) is constructed in a very similar design to Bellevue. It is possible that both buildings were based on a basic plan by lumber yard owner and builder James Grierson of Whitewood. The use of wood for the house would also have been a function of the region. Timbered houses were dominant in French vernacular homes by the turn of the twentieth century, especially in Alsace, Normandy, and the Basque, but châteaux were almost always constructed of stone or brick (Agulhon et al. 1976:296). It is likely that the use of timber for Bellevue was more about using materials at hand than mimicking an established mode of construction. This means that while the titles given to the homesteads had an air of legitimacy and prestige to them, their actual construction was no different from other vernacular, well-built homes of the period or those built within town. The one difference is that the aristocrats paid someone else to build them instead of building them themselves as other settlers in the area most definitely did. This act alone may have set them apart from the others, although it does not necessarily mean it was a conscious act of display.

## **7.2 Faunal Remains as Both Food and Sport**

The faunal assemblage at the Bellevue Site displays a number of characteristics that may tie into social identity. The entire assemblage contains 19 identified animals: four identified to family only, seven to genera only, and eight to species. Domesticated species are represented in the assemblage by cow (MNI=2), dog (MNI=1), and pig (MNI=1). The presence of all these animals was commonplace on homesteads. As well, the saw marks found on the cow remains are consistent with established beef cuts at turn of the twentieth century. (See Chapter Six and Tables 18 and 19.)

Interestingly, there is also a large number of wild species in the assemblage. The most abundant of these remains are avian. Bird species make up half of the assemblage, 17 of the 30 MNI, and 10 of the 19 identified remains (four of four to family, three of seven to genus, and three of eight to species). Of these 10 identified birds, five are waterfowl, one is heron, one is a perching bird, one is a wader bird, and two fall under the category of pheasants/partridges/chickens. The waterfowl and the pheasants most definitely fit the category of ‘game bird’ and would have been commonly hunted. All the species of waterfowl spent a majority of their time in southeastern Saskatchewan. Additionally, the region is directly within the migration patterns of other migratory waterfowl (Gollop 1999:151).

Other wild species include at least two different species of hare, one species of muskrat, and two species of rodent. The rodents (ground squirrels and gophers) are most likely intrusive. However, the hares and possibly even the muskrat may have been hunted by the residents on site. The presence of wild species suggests two equally compelling scenarios. The first is that these species – including the waterfowl – were procured for purposes of consumption. The meat from the wild species would supplement the food produced on the homestead. We might associate this activity with people who *need* to supplement their income rather than people who *choose* to. This could very well be the case if the faunal remains were deposited at a later date than the French aristocratic occupation. Certainly this assumption is not always true; there may be many reasons to hunt for food, including a preference for wild game or even for the enjoyment of the hunt. Economic class is not a perfect indicator of such activity. This leads to the second point: the wild game may have been hunted more for sport than for sustenance. The French Counts may have enjoyed eating game birds, but the biggest attraction may have been the thrill of the hunt itself. This behaviour certainly fits into the sporting activities of the aristocrats that are documented in the historical record.

### **7.3 Food Preparation and Consumption as Display**

The artifacts that tie into food production and consumption can be divided into two categories, that of functionality and that of display. Functional items were purchased for their basic uses and the preference for these items was based on practicality. Choices surrounding the purchase or retention of items meant for display purposes are more complicated. These items are

meant to display a certain aspect of the owner's social identity to either the general public or to a group selected specifically as a target for the message. As mentioned above, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, fewer items required for everyday use on a homestead were hand-made and more were derived from mass-produced material culture. Eventually this material culture homogenized the homestead assemblage. This has major implications for social identity. Since practice theory suggests that everyday experiences shape people's conceptions of social identity, then a significant portion of social identity is derived from the material culture that is used on an everyday basis. For this very reason, any everyday item that has somewhat different characteristics from the generic version is in some way an act of display. The item is in effect personalized with some aspect of individual or group identity, regardless of whether the owner is conscious of the act of display or not.

Most of the artifacts recovered from the Bellevue Site can be considered generic and easily obtainable in the Prairie west. Dr. Price was a popular brand of baking powder and would have been commonly carried by general stores. The Hamilton glass canning jar liner was also generic and readily purchased. It also shows the act of canning was occurring. If anything, the presence of these artifacts suggest that the residents of Bellevue were participating in common household activities that did not separate them from other homesteads in the area.

The ceramics from the Bellevue Site are enigmatic in that they fit best within the category of the everyday and generic. None of the ceramics appear to be especially expensive and the hollowware and flatware vessels appear to be from a common set of tableware (see Figure 35 in Chapter 6). While it should be noted that the absence of an item does not prove a point, it is probable that better quality ceramics were present. In any event, none of the expensive ceramics would be in the archaeological assemblage unless they were broken. The historic record notes that many of the high-end items owned by the aristocrats were sold to local people after they moved (WHBC 1992:97). High quality ceramics may have been included or were otherwise brought back to France. There is also the possibility that the ceramics were not used by the French aristocrats at all; that they date to a later period of occupation. Several points indicate that this is not the case. First, archaeological studies have shown ceramics to often date earlier than the rest of the artifact assemblage due to their longevity and infrequent replacement (although the replacement rates of fine and generic ceramics can vary significantly). Ceramic tableware can have a lifespan from manufacture to deposition of 15 to 20 years (Adams 2003:38). Second,

pearlware was at its peak of popularity at the beginning of the 1800s. Third, most of the pearlware has a blue tint to the glaze, making it reminiscent of the tin-enamel wares popular in France in the eighteenth century. The manufacture of tin-enamel wares, however, had died out in France by the early nineteenth century (Dawdy and Weyhing 2008:374). These points do not necessarily predispose an early date, but do suggest that this type of ware was less frequently used at the end of the nineteenth century. In other words, despite being generic and inexpensive-looking, the ware was somewhat distinct from the common ware readily available to settlers in the region. The purpose of this distinction is unclear. The ware does share some characteristics of Portneuf ware, which is a Scottish pottery with sponge decoration that has been found at sites in eastern Canada (Cruikshank 1982:7). Interestingly, Portneuf pottery produced by Methven & Sons in 1855 is described as “blue-edged and sponged” (Cruikshank 1982:3). The early date makes a connection dubious. However, the company did produce unmarked generic spongeware specifically for Canada until 1920. If a match, it would highlight the mundane nature of the ware (Cruikshank 1982:8).

#### **7.4 Health and Healing**

Certain artifacts in this category again involve the issue of personalizing mass-produced material culture in the mode of one’s social identity. Brands of medicinal bottles were extremely numerous at the turn of the century, so much so that preference and taste must have played some role in their selection for consumption. The bottle of vegetable pain killer manufactured by Perry Davis, however, was a common and easily accessible product. Like the baking powder, this product hints at an affinity to mass-produced material culture. Such an affinity may be most pronounced with objects that are used often and are inexpensive to obtain.

The bottle of spruce gum compound syrup may have ethnic implications in ways that are both obvious and subtle. The Sisters of Providence were a religious order established in Montreal in 1844. By the 1930s the order was spread across Canada and the Western United States, including one diocese established at St. Boniface at the turn of the twentieth century (Chartier 1930:451). The Sisters were manufacturing Compound Syrup of Spruce Gum by at least 1875. The Irish-American Almanac of 1876 contains an English-version advertisement for the product, citing it as “the cure of Coughs, Colds, Hoarseness, Pains in the Chest, Disease of the Lungs, and

all Pulmonary Affections”. This advertisement also shows how widespread the product had become, as it was distributed by D. & J. Sadlier and Company and was available in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Albany, Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, Portland, and Milwaukee (Lynch et al. 1876:143). A 36-page pamphlet published in French in 1880 goes into great depth about the history of the product, the numerous charitable works the product’s profits aid, and the differences between it and its competitors (Citoyen 1880). The attribution of ‘Citoyen’ as the author to this document hints of the broad appeal that the Sisters were trying to foster concerning their product: *Citoyen* translates as ‘citizen’, and in this context is basically used in the same manner as ‘anonymous’ but in such a way that it preaches to the mass public by acting as one of its own. Interestingly, the Sisters were sued in 1875-1876 over their product because of perceived unfair competition to others who made similar medicines. The Sisters were able to sell it cheaply because they did not pay themselves for their labour; instead, all the profits were used towards charitable assistance. They won the case against them (Auclair 1914:136-138).

There is of course the possibility that the bottle is linked to later use. The product was being sold well into the twentieth century. In fact, the presence of the bottle may be better applied to Bellevue’s later stint as a rectory. But the manufacture of the bottle (two-piece mould with applied finish, rather than machine-made) and lack of any markings on the base suggest that it is an early version of the product. If it is associated with the Counts, what does this product tell us about them? First, it is important to note that the bottle is embossed only with French lettering. The bottle was manufactured with both French and English lettering and this particular bottle would have been promoted to a Francophone population. It is unlikely that the product was available as is from the local stores, thus suggesting it was acquired more as a specialty item. It could very well have been acquired through the parish at St. Boniface, who had a direct connection to the Order.

Second, there is an intrinsic connection between this product and issues of paternalistic charity as put forward by the religiously-influenced tenets of Social Catholicism and *noblesse oblige*. A quick example: Zeldin’s summation of nineteenth century French society includes a story about a doctor in the 1880s who attended to noble families. The doctor observed that noble families had “absolute faith in all remedies which had the picture of a priest or nun on the label or simply the statement that they were manufactured in a convent or monastery” (Zeldin

1973:38-39). As a single story it cannot be taken as all-encompassing, but it serves to illustrate the attachment between nobility and Catholicism and their basic understandings of health and medicine. Purchasing this product supported both the Catholic faith and the system of charitable works that the Church endorsed. The details of the pamphlet and the lawsuit noted above definitely emphasize the product as a worthwhile one to endorse from the aristocrats viewpoint. Of course, one would assume that the product was purchased for its medicinal properties foremost, but its selection among its competitors depended upon the habitus of the aristocrats.

### **7.5 Household Furnishings**

The archaeological record concerning household furnishings was sparse. Additionally, none of the artifacts can be considered ornamental. We must look to the historical record for evidence of such. Numerous mention is made in local histories about the extravagant belongings of the aristocrats. Many of these were auctioned off and acquired by the remaining settlers, including a pre-French Revolution grandfather clock (Hewlett 1953A:10). The historical record focuses on impressive material culture, but it is highly unlikely that such objects represent a large percentage of their material culture. Again we may infer that not every physical object owned or used by the Counts can be considered expensive or extravagant. Most likely it was those objects that best displayed some aspect of social identity that fit the category of elegance. Items used in private had less of the same connotations.

The lack of ornamental artifacts could also be explained by the possibility that Bellevue never housed a large quantity of decorative objects. If these objects functioned primarily as tools of display, then it is possible that ornamental objects did not exist at all in the private sphere. As objects of public display, they would have only been placed in areas of the house commonly accessed by the public. It may not have been a priority to decorate private quarters. A decorated public sphere would suggest to others that the private sphere is just as extravagant and would serve its purpose to project an all-round comfortable lifestyle.

### **7.6 Firearms and Their Multiple Social Dimensions**

The ammunition recovered from the site tells us a surprising amount about French Count social identity. At least four different firearms are represented by this ammunition: muzzle-

loading caplock firearms (as indicated by the percussion caps), breech-loading shotguns, breech-loading rifles, and breech-loading pistols or revolvers. All of the 71 artifacts associated with firearms appear to date to the time of the French aristocrats. This conclusion stems from the analyses of their ignition systems and headstamps. The assemblage is an amalgamation of centrefire, pinfire, and percussion cap ignition systems. On the surface this collection appears chronologically contrary or even anachronistic, as percussion caps superseded pinfire, which was eventually replaced by centrefire (Smith and Curtis 1983:19). This succession of technological advances, however, did not result in the immediate replacement of older technologies. The 1884 edition of John Browne's pricing guide of British goods for foreign markets has a substantial section on firearms, including muzzle-loading and breech-loading rifles and revolvers, percussion caps, and rimfire, centrefire, and pinfire cartridges and shells (Browne 1884:115-127). This source shows that multiple firearm technologies were being sold at the same time. As well, all major manufacturers were still producing the full range of ammunition styles. While most brands of firearm are British – including the most common, Eley Brothers – the catalogue does list foreign brands, such as 12 mm, 9 mm, and 7 mm pinfire revolvers by France's Lefauchaux (Browne 1884:122). The headstamps in the assemblage also point to a late nineteenth century date. The Union Metallic cartridges were all manufactured no later than 1911. At least one Eley Bros. cartridge (E.M. Reilly & Co.) was manufactured no later than 1915. The Winchester cartridges were probably manufactured no later than 1894, due to the absence of a 'W' on the primer (Steinhauer 2008). The latest manufacture date for the Société Française des Munitions cartridge is 1930, although an earlier date associated with the Counts is more probable than a date associated with later homesteaders.

The pinfire shells are intriguing for a number of reasons. First, the pinfire cartridge was French in origin, having been invented by Casimir Lefauchaux in 1835 (Smith and Curtis 1983:5). The technology was the preferred firearm of both the French military and the general public during the last half of the nineteenth century. The Lefauchaux pinfire revolver was the standard sidearm for French naval personnel from 1858 to 1873, when they began converting old revolvers to centrefire (Smith and Curtis 1983:19, 75). Its popularity had spread throughout Europe during the middle of the century (Smith and Curtis 1983:7). Its use in North America though, was mostly limited to the American Civil War, when both sides scrambled to purchase munitions from Europe (Smith and Curtis 1983:89-97). The pinfire was marketed in North

America – Sears, Roebuck & Company sold pinfires in their catalogue until 1903 – but it was viewed by the general public as an anachronistic weapon (Smith and Curtis 1983:19). Smith and Curtis go so far as to suggest that people retained their pinfire weapons as much out of sentimentality as economic factors (Smith and Curtis 1983:24). Therefore the Counts’ use of pinfire firearms was a preference that directly connected to the tastes developed by growing up in France. For the older gentlemen who had served in the military, the pinfire may have been especially meaningful.

Second, it seems that it was the technology that was important in terms of identity, and not the product itself. All of the pinfire headstamps identify them as manufactured by Eley Brothers, a British company. At the time, Eley would have been a prime supplier of ammunition in Canada. The aristocrats were purchasing the ammunition in Canada and making do with the products available to them. In other words, it is the pinfire technology – not the nationality of the ammunition – that presupposes some sort of ethnic identity. The use of pinfire technology could be considered a form of distinction used by the aristocrats to maintain a separate sense of identity, a status symbol meant to distinguish themselves from others in the same social position in Whitewood.

The presence also of a single cartridge of French origin (Société Française des Munitions) implies an obvious connection between the aristocrats and a strong French ethnic identity. But a more interesting connection may be found in how these firearms were used. Interestingly, the term ‘sporting’ is used in several sections of Browne’s guide, such as in the examples of “Sporting Ammunition for Breech-Loading Guns” and “Loaded Sporting Cartridges” (Browne 1884:124). It is possible that these firearms were considered more equipment of sport than tools of livelihood. The presence of cartridges near the house implies that people were shooting waterfowl from that position. This activity certainly has the feel of sport. This would have differed from the general Whitewood Assiniboia population, who may have considered their firearms in a manner more related to livelihood.

## **7.7 Personal Belongings and Attire**

It is difficult to overestimate the degree of information a person can display through their choice of personal attire. Much has been made of the Whitewood aristocrats’ adherence to high

fashion (see Chapter 2). In light of what would have been available to them in Whitewood, it is clear that the aristocrats made conscious decisions about their clothing and personal affects. For women this may have been especially crucial, as nineteenth-century bourgeoisie believed that “one could tell immediately the character of a woman from her clothing” (Smith 1981:132). Besides the obvious act of display, there is historical precedence for this. Under the *ancien régime*, clothing was highly regulated according to social position. The types and qualities of each style of dress also spoke of the person’s status, gender, and even occupation (Loren 2003:233). The Whitewood aristocrats dressed in a fashion that they believed was befitting their social position, even when the necessity of such clothing was challenged by the rest of the population.

Did they even understand that their clothing, meant to project social standing, was more often than not a focal point of derision in the local community? Probably not. But it may be of interest to note that in some instances the Counts took measures to clothe themselves in more appropriate garb. Even during early colonial times in areas like New France and Louisiana, historical records show that elites would abandon their appropriate dress as a way to enter and move through political spheres (Loren 2003:234). At least three photographs displayed in the Whitewood Merchant Bank Centre show Counts dressed in clothing befitting ranching work. One of these gentlemen is Beudrap, shown working with cattle in the mud. Since Beudrap is the Count who continued his Canadian experience at Trochu, one can infer that his efforts are the most sincere, that his adoption of working clothes was a subtle act of social negotiation meant to legitimize his farming actions in the eyes of the other settlers. Another photograph is of Rouffignac, who does not enjoy such respect in local histories. His adoption of ranching attire was probably not taken seriously and may have even been criticized as posturing.

The archaeology at Bellevue follows these trends. The button from Tautz & Sons clothing represents a conscious effort by the gentlemen to maintain the finest clothes – notably clothing that would be considered fine across Europe, and not just considered fine in Whitewood. While this clothing could have been purchased in the store located in Paris, again we see that it is the item itself, and not the ethnic attribution, that is prized. The waistcoat buckles, which were manufactured and attached to clothing originating from Paris, is also representative of the emphasis on dress. At the same time, however, the abundance of more-generic buttons and

tailoring tools reveals standard domestic work being performed at the site that is not necessarily touched upon in the historical records.

The presence of a HMS Conway button is a hint towards the emphasis the aristocrats placed on military education and may have even had the same connotations as the pinfire firearms: the honour and prestige of military service. This particular Conway button is dated to a specific timeframe (1880-1900). Boys often enrolled in the Conway school as young as thirteen and participated for three or four years (Masefield 1933:8). This means that by the year 1900, the owner would have been in his late teens at the youngest or mid-thirties at the oldest. These ages roughly correspond to those of the Counts during their time in Canada. There is the possibility, of course, that the button was deposited at a later date by an older gentleman not associated with the aristocrats. The author was unable to track down any possible leads in this regard.

Artifacts pertaining to personal adornment also follow these trends. The exact object that was attached to the decorative chain is unknown, but its quality suggests an item of significant value. The medallion is equally puzzling. There is the possibility that it was once part of a cope clasp used by priests to keep their religious vestments closed (Pierrette Boily, personal communication 2009). If this identification is correct, this artifact most likely dates to a later period, when the building was used as a rectory. While it could be used to make a connection between the aristocrats and Catholicism, the association is tenuous.

## **7.8 The Importance of Education**

Education obviously played an important role in the lives of aristocrats. The pedigree of one's education was as important as the lessons themselves. Although there is a sense that formal education was more highly valued than practical education, we may be able to describe the young aristocrats who arrived in Whitewood as seeking a form of practical education through experience, one that could then be drawn upon as they entered the business world back in Europe. The hoped-for outcome of these experiences, of course, was filtered through a romantic lens. The education that their children received also played a key role and informed the decision-making of those Counts with families. The pencil leads and ink containers recovered from the site tie into this concept. The number of artifacts that fit this category are small and thus only provide a minor representation, but they do serve as reminders to two points: the high value the

aristocrats placed on education; and that their education was a part of their identity in the Whitewood area. Much like Rudolph Meyer at the beginning, the aristocrats helped new immigrants manage the legal and practical pitfalls of early homestead life. Such actions were inherently born out of the ideologies of *noblesse oblige*, regardless of the motivations at the time, and served as evidence they could put forward to insist on a prestigious social standing within the community.

### **7.9 The Social Dimensions of Recreational Activities**

As noted in Chapter Four, the French aristocrats seemed keenly aware of the power that formalized social gatherings had on the assertion, transmission, and negotiation of identity. While the aristocrats no doubt enjoyed a good party, they also used hosting opportunities to emphasize their own understandings of the social space. The presence of alcohol bottles, especially wine, fits into this general pattern. Undoubtedly some alcohol was for personal and private consumption, but the ability to have wine on hand for invited – and even uninvited – guests would have been one of many gestures that helped negotiate their positioning within the social space.

### **7.10 Social Dimensions of Economic Activities**

Evidence of the materiality of French aristocratic social identity within the realm of agriculture is less than explicit. In terms of artifacts, there is little in the archaeological assemblage that suggests characteristics of a specific social identity. The focus of the French aristocratic community's agricultural activity, however, does suggest that they were drawing from a specific value system based on their own particular experiences, tastes, and expectations. The aristocrats primarily centred their attention on five agricultural activities: sheep-raising, horse-raising, chicory coffee production, cheese production, and sugar beet production. For all of these activities, it appears that making a profit was the primary concern. The act of making money in itself seemed essential to the habitus of the young aristocrats especially, who were expected to try to make their own fortunes (emphasis on the 'attempt', as many of these gentlemen eventually joined the business of their family or father-in-law). Additionally, the economic activities were all agricultural in form. There was no attempt to create any industrial

development. This mirrored the emphasis that the rural nobility placed on agriculture and the idea of success coming from a tie to the land.

While sheep-raising was an intensive venture for a number of the Counts, the other four activities had interesting subtexts. The horse-raising venture was focused toward raising cavalry horses for the French military. There are several interesting facets in this choice of economic activity. First, the intended customer of their product was in France, not Canada, emphasizing their continued connection with the place of their birth. Second, their product emphasized their ties with the military. As previously noted, many of the gentlemen had served in the military and a military career (especially that of an officer) was considered as befitting gentlemen of noble family. It certainly seems that they felt it more prestigious to raise cavalry horses than draught animals. The chicory production also fits within the European aristocratic system of tastes. Chicory in coffee was a flavour combination that was popular in Europe, but an utter disaster in North America (Guitard 1977:112). It is quite possible that there was an upper-class taste for chicory in France and this did not correspond to the same set of tastes found in the Prairie West. The same observations can be applied to the attempts at cheese production as well. The aristocrats were intent on producing Gruyère cheese, which in their experience was a desirable and economically feasible product. They believed there was a market for this type of cheese, especially in Quebec. This could be interpreted to mean that they believed they would be producing a product that catered to the French ethnicity – that the French system of tastes preferred Gruyère cheese over others. On the surface it may seem that the aristocrats were trying to establish a ‘French’ product for Francophones, but the assumption may have been more that of an assumption of ethnic tastes; that Francophones were more likely to have a preference for this cheese. Sugar beet production had similar connotations. This venture was undoubtedly attractive because of its enormous success in France. Again, sugar from beets appears to have been a business of some prestige. But much like with the cheese and the chicory, no attempt was made to discover if this product was suited for the Prairie West. As well, the method in which they set up this business was very reminiscent of the relationship between nobles and farm-workers in rural France. The aristocrats set the terms of the business arrangement, had the farmers work their own land for the benefit of the aristocrats, and then purchased the goods. This is basically the share-cropping system that had evolved in France, although with a touch more elaborate capitalism that mirrored the milieu permeating the end of the nineteenth century.

In summary, the aristocrats sought to involve themselves in economic activities that fit within the habitus they already constructed, using methods that they were experienced with, regardless of their previous degree of success. Although the Counts were in search of profit, it is apparent their products were meant to have a quality of distinction that may have had more to do with taste and preference than economic feasibility.

### **7.11 Summary**

A number of crucial observations arise from this analysis of the physical evidence from Bellevue. First, the ethnic implications of artifacts are not always what they seem. Some artifacts appear to have a straightforward correlation to French ethnicity in that they are derived from French language or production. This includes the *gomme d'épinette* medicine, the French casing, and the waistcoat buckles from France. But in other artifacts French ethnicity surfaces through the way the object was used or the meaning that was impressed upon it. The best example of this may be the pinfire casings in the assemblage.

Second, people are able to embed meanings into physical objects that do not necessarily correspond to the objective realities of the situation. The aristocrats' homes for example, while generally large for the era, were in no way equal to those of the grand rural estates back in France. The fact that they were built of timber instead of stone and did not utilize any explicitly French monumental architectural features is noteworthy. Regardless, the idea that they were representative of ancestral homelands became ingrained in local consciousness, even to today. They were able to manipulate the representation of these objects to display an intended meaning. Likewise, through the same process historical attention turned away from everyday, mundane material culture and focused instead on the extravagant items as representative of the whole.

This leads to the third point, that material culture plays a significant role in the negotiation of social positioning. Objects act as markers that display a preferred public perception. In this sense objects can be symbolically malleable in order to give the intended meanings in the proper situations. Clothing and personal affects are the best examples. Furthermore, what on the surface may seem an effortless choice based on personal preference may in fact be based on a complicated calculation of personal and family interest as perceived through the habitus of the individual.

And fourth, the homogenization of the archaeological record due to the proliferation of mass-produced material culture is evident even when people such as the aristocrats have access to goods not readily available to others in the area. On the surface this point equates to common sense when dealing with frontier or colonial situations: settlers of course must make do with what is available to them. But the decisions that have the most to do with social identity may be those in which people are able to act upon their tastes and distinctions. An interpretation of these objects can give us a better understanding of group or individual social identity.

## Chapter 8

### Summary and Conclusions

At the beginning of this thesis I outlined a series of research objectives that I hoped to achieve with the work in this thesis. To reiterate, my goals were to: (1) use archaeological evidence to verify the claims of the enduring stories about the French Counts in historical sources; (2) analyze the social identity of the French Counts; (3) discover if and how this particular archaeological record is shaped by social class; and (4) discover if and how this particular archaeological record is shaped by ethnicity. All of these objectives were explored through the notion of social identity. This thesis illustrated how the social identity of the French aristocrats was constructed through shared practice and experience and how these notions had to be modified in response to the unfamiliar and ever-changing social environment of the Canadian North-West.

Exploration of the first goal, the veracity of historical documents, revealed a series of histories fraught with complicated and often contradictory stories. At the same time, much more research is needed to truly understand the sequence of events undertaken by the French aristocrats and the motivations behind them. A more complete picture of the aristocrats can come from filling in the gaps in their activities in Canada and further exploring their personal histories in Europe, both before and after their Canadian stay. The historical record mentions some of the Counts only briefly, usually in regard to a single economic activity. Many chronologies are incomplete. For most Counts, the full extent of their activities in Canada has not been documented and this is a major obstacle in understanding their motivations.

The social identity of the French aristocrats was explored through the application of practice theory. Practice theorists are interested in everyday habitual practices and how they inform and are informed by a person's habitus. The dispositions of the habitus are formed by past experience and modified by subsequent experience. Dispositions also help people decide

how to interact in any given social situation. Each interaction occurs within a social field. The actions of a person are informed by the social position of each participant as they relate to one another in the social space. Participants are continually negotiating their position, using strategies derived from their dispositions and driven by their interests. Dispositions are also drawn upon to classify one's tastes and preferences. The distinction that arises from these classifications is used not only to separate groups of differing tastes but also to unite groups of similar tastes. In this way common bonds of social identity are formed and perpetuated.

The habitus of the French aristocrats' was never static: it was developed from a complex series of conscious and unconscious interpretations based on the specific temporal, spatial, and social dimensions of their life experiences. Each aristocrat thus had a habitus that was unique, but contained many shared characteristics that gave them a united sense of identity. The research in this thesis showed how ethnic, class, ideological, and gender dispositions all contributed to the formation of the habitus and influenced their behaviour in Whitewood. Some of these dispositions were created and maintained through their specific notions of French ethnicity, nobility, the social hierarchy within and between classes, Social Catholicism and *noblesse oblige*, and honour. The aristocrats keyed in on their doxa (knowledge that is naturalized by society and deemed legitimate) and either took for granted that the doxa they were familiar with was the same in the North-West or deemed any differences as inconsequential. The other settlers, including those also from France, did not always agree. The aristocrats tried to position themselves as notables within the social space and found varying success in the attempt.

Many facets of the French aristocratic social identity are evident in the archaeological assemblage recovered from excavations at Bellevue site. Some of this material was useful in my analysis of how social class and ethnicity shaped Bellevue's archaeological record. Notions of class and ethnicity underscored the very businesses they attempted while in Canada. Class and their associated social activities may have also influenced the faunal record. Items dealing with health and healing were influenced by ethnicity and *noblesse oblige*. Hunting items were chosen based on both ethnic and class connotations. Also vital is the fact that the aristocrats were very active in using material culture in their acts of display. This is most evident in their personal attire and adornment and in the materials they employed for public use. In all, these artifacts give us some insight into the reasons behind the aristocrats' behaviour in Whitewood and the situations that ultimately led them to abandon their dream of a Canadian prairie settlement.

The decision to apply Bourdieu-influenced practice theory to the evidence discussed in this thesis allowed for a thorough and critical analysis of social identity. Approaching the situation through the framework of constantly negotiated social positions within a social space helped me to illuminate some of the interests that motivated the strategies behind certain behaviours. The approach was also useful in highlighting the fluidity of these interests and how they can change over time or be modified in different situations. In this way social interaction can be conceptualized as small constant shifts in behaviour by both parties in which the outcomes are always referenced in subsequent encounters. This results in an ‘ebb and flow’ in social interaction that lends a sense of agency to the actors’ behaviour. The concepts of taste and distinction also gave me a suitable methodology by which to approach the everyday use of material culture and assess the role it plays in the formation and portrayal of identity. There were some limits to what practice theory could offer. Unfortunately, elements of practice theory can lead one into a circular or over-generalized argument in which one’s analytical relevance becomes compromised. As well, practice theory aims to achieve a diachronic form of analysis, but can easily be sidetracked by static representations.

Future research into the French aristocrats who lived along the Pipestone Valley could be extremely productive in terms of a more concise understanding of personal motivation and the methods in which those interests were addressed. More archival research in both Canada and France may illuminate more of the activities and behaviours of specific aristocrats. As well, a larger archaeological assemblage from which to interpret data would aid in a fuller understanding of the role material culture plays in social identity. This could be done through additional excavation at the Bellevue site, excavations at other homes related to the French aristocrats, or even continued efforts to locate objects in the possession of local families or collectors. More information of this nature would also aid further comparative analysis between local settlers or other ethnic block communities, such as Cannington Manor, or even between various Francophone settlements in the area. Comparisons between this community and Francophone communities with Quebec or Métis origins could be particularly valuable.

I believe this thesis was fruitful for a number of reasons. First, it explored the flexible notions of social identity for a group of people in a manner not touched upon by previous historical analyses. Second, it helped sort out the differences between the fantastic elements of historic sources and the mundane aspects of the aristocrats’ everyday life. Third, it explored the

idea that concepts such as class and ethnicity can be seen in material culture, but in less obvious (and perhaps more dynamic) ways than they are usually approached. Finally, this thesis explored how social setting impacts the communal decisions of a group and propels them into a continuous dialectic of action and reappraisal of action in regards to the groups with whom they socialize. The French Counts of St. Hubert were a complex and dynamic group of individuals who struggled to find their place in Whitewood social circles. Despite their varying interests and dispositions, they constructed a shared identity that helped them navigate the social arenas of an unfamiliar society.

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## Appendix A

### List of Known Publications by Rudolph Meyer

Meyer, Rudolph Hermann

- 1871 *Landschaft oder Actien-Gesellschaft - wo ist Hülfe für den Grundbesitz?* [Landscape or Joint-Stock Company - Where is the Help for Those with Property?]. Unknown.
- 1872 *Die Central-Landschaft für die preußischen Staaten und ihr Kritiker Geh. Ober-Reg.-Rath a.d. Noah* [The Central landscape of the Prussian States]. Konigsmann, Berlin.
- 1873a *Die ländliche Arbeiterfrage in Deutschland* [The Question of Rural Workers in Germany]. Unknown.
- 1873b *Die neueste Literatur zur Socialen Frage* [The Latest Literature on the Social Question]. A. Schindler, Berlin.
- 1873 *Was heißt conservativ sein?: Reform oder Restauration?* [What does it mean to be conservative? Reform or restoration?]. A. Schindler, Berlin.
- 1874 *Der Socialismus in Dänemark: Diss. Inaug* [Socialism in Denmark: Discussion]. Ringer, Berlin.
- 1877 *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland* [Political Foundation and Corruption in Germany]. Bidder, Berlin.
- 1882 *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes* [The Emancipation of the Fourth Estate]. H. Bahr, Berlin.
- 1883a *Heimstätten- und andere wirthschaftsgesetze der Ver. Staaten von Amerika, von Canada, Russland, China, Indien, Rumänien, Serbien und England* [Homestead Law and other economic laws in the United States of America, Canada, Russia, China, India, Romania, Serbia and England]. H. Bahr, Berlin.
- 1883b *Ursachen der Amerikanischen Concurrenz: Ergebnisse einer Studienreise der Herren durch die Vereinigten Staaten* [Causes of the American Competition: Results from a Study of the Lords of the United States]. H. Bahr, Berlin.

- 1894 *Das sinken der Grundrente und dessen mögliche Sociale und politische Folgen* [The Decline of the Basic Pension and its possible Social and Political Consequences]. F. Doll, Austria.
- 1895 *Hundert Jahre conservativer Politik und Literatur* [One hundred years of conservative politics and literature]. F. Doll, Austria.

Meyer, Rudolph Hermann, and Gabriel Ardant

- 1887 *La question agraire : Étude sur l'histoire politique de la petite propriété* [The Agrarian Question: a study on the political history of small property]. Morot Bros, Paris.
- 1889 *Le mouvement agraire dans la péninsule des Balkans, l'Angleterre et ses colonies, la Plaine Saxonne, les États-Unis* [The agrarian movement in the Balkan peninsula, England and its plain Saxon, the United States]. Retaux-Bray, Paris.

Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Karl and Rudolph Meyer

- 1880 *Briefe und sozialpolitische Aufsätze* [Letters and Social Essays]. Unknown.
- 1893 *Zur Erklärung und Abhilfe der heutigen Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes* [To Explain and Remedy the current credit need of the land]. H. Bahr, Berlin.

\* This bibliography may be incomplete. English translations of titles by the author.

## Appendix B

### List of Known Pertinent Newspaper Accounts of St. Hubert

Newspaper / Article	Author	Subject
<u>Contemporary</u>		
<i>The Colonist</i> (Winnipeg) January 1891	Anonymous	Chicory enterprise of Brabant and Rouffignac
<i>Le Manitoba</i> (Winnipeg) April 29, 1891	Anonymous	Rolanderie Stock Raising Society
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i> (Winnipeg) November 1890	Anonymous	Sugar beets discussed at public meeting
<i>Ottawa Citizen</i> 1891	Anonymous	Chicory enterprise of Brabant and Rouffignac
<i>Regina Leader</i>		
May 26, 1885	Anonymous	Arrival of Meyer and Hauswirth
April 1, 1890	Anonymous	Report on factory in Whitewood
April 1, 1890	Anonymous	Report on sugar factory
April 29, 1890	Anonymous	Farmers cultivating chicory
December 9, 1890	Anonymous	Sugar beets discussed at public meeting
December 9, 1890	Anonymous	Whitewood learns about sugar beets
February 10, 1891	Anonymous	Farmer's Institute may be formed
October 27, 1891	Anonymous	Annual Agricultural Exhibition
March 22, 1892	Anonymous	Richelieu French Coffee Manufacturing Company

March 29, 1892	Anonymous	Coffee mill sold
April 7, 1892	Anonymous	French farmers to settle
April 11, 1892	Anonymous	French immigrants arrive
June 13, 1892	Anonymous	Chicory factory destroyed by fire

*Whitewood Herald*  
1893

Anonymous	La Rolanderie
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### Historical

*La Liberté et la Patriote* (Winnipeg)

July 1, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
July 29, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
August 26, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
September 23, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
October 7, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
October 28, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
December 32, 1942	Fallourd, Benjamin*	History of the Counts
1958	Frémont, Donatien	History of the Counts

*Regina Leader-Post*

August 28, 1939	Melville-Ness, T.R.	Unrealized Whitewood Industries
May 5, 1954	Hewlett, A.E.M.	History of the Counts
May 6, 1954	Hewlett, A.E.M.	History of the Counts
May 7, 1954	Hewlett, A.E.M.	History of the Counts

*Whitewood Herald*

October 3, 1940	Fallourd, Benjamin	Beginnings of St. Hubert Mission
October 3, 1940	Park, L.W.D.	Early French settlement in Whitewood
1950	Park, L.W.D.	History of the Counts
November 1978	Humphreys, Ruth	History of the Counts

\* These articles were anonymously attributed, but have since been traced to Fallourd (Guitard 1977:11; Léonard 1987:22; Smeets 1980:3).

## Appendix C

### EbMo-5 Excavation Unit Wall Profiles

#### EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile Unit 57N 25E East Wall

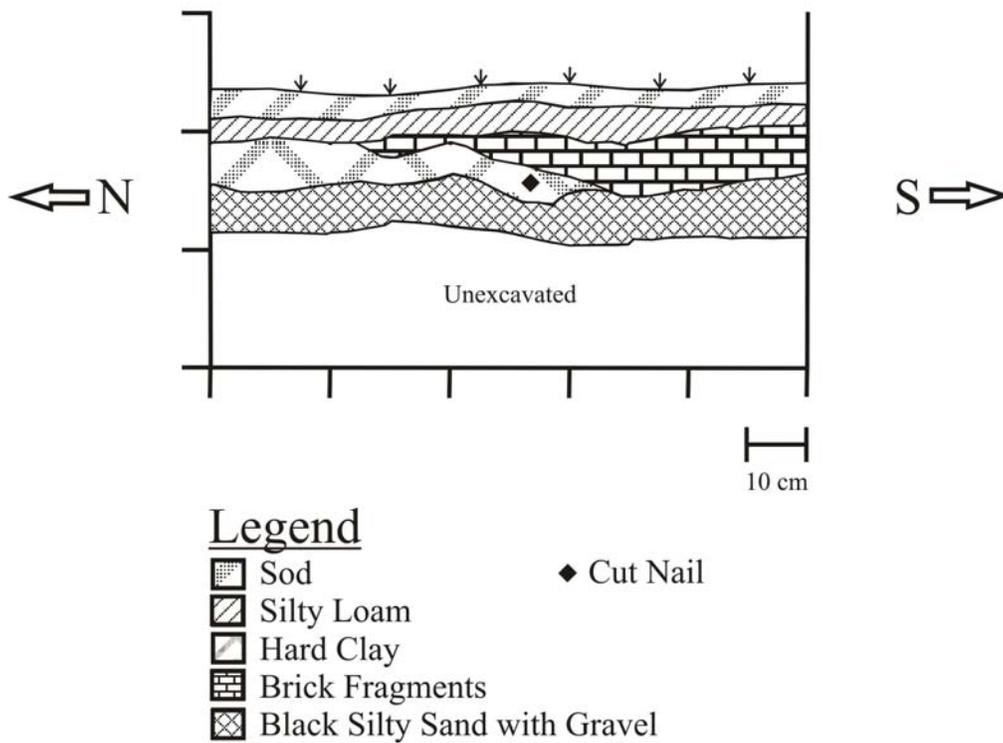


Figure C1: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 57N 25E (East Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 57N 26E East Wall

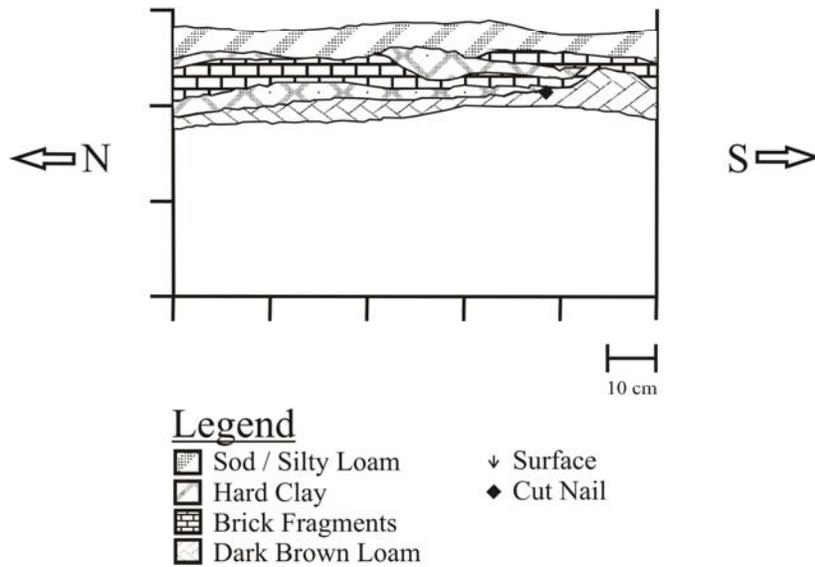


Figure C2: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 57N 26E (East Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 59N 25E South Wall

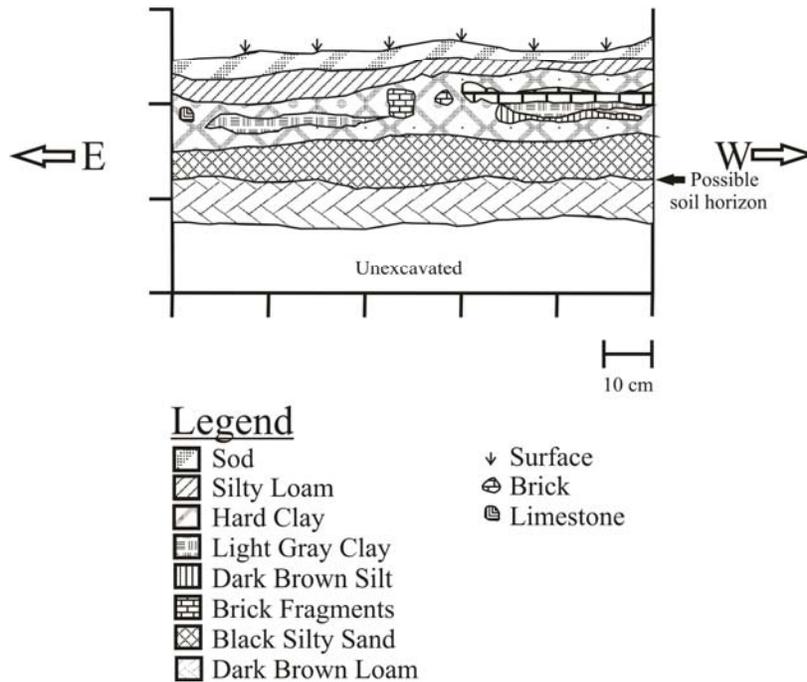


Figure C3: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 59N 25E (South Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 59N33E, 59N32E South Wall

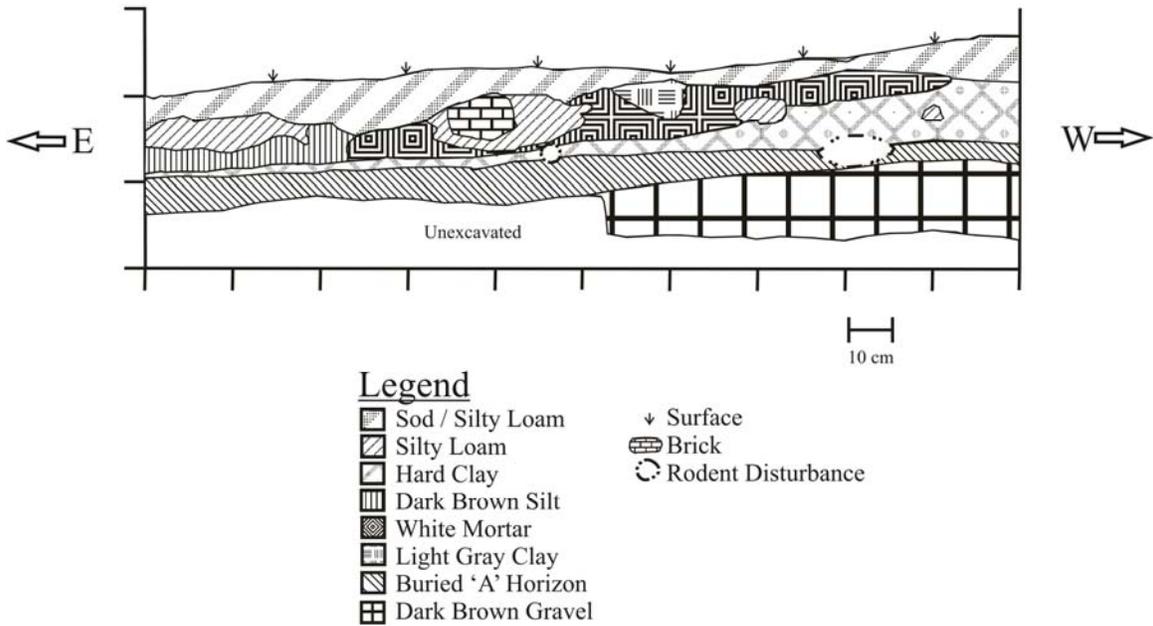


Figure C4: Stratigraphic Profile of Units 59N 33E and 59N 32E (South Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 60N25E (South Half), 59N25E East Wall

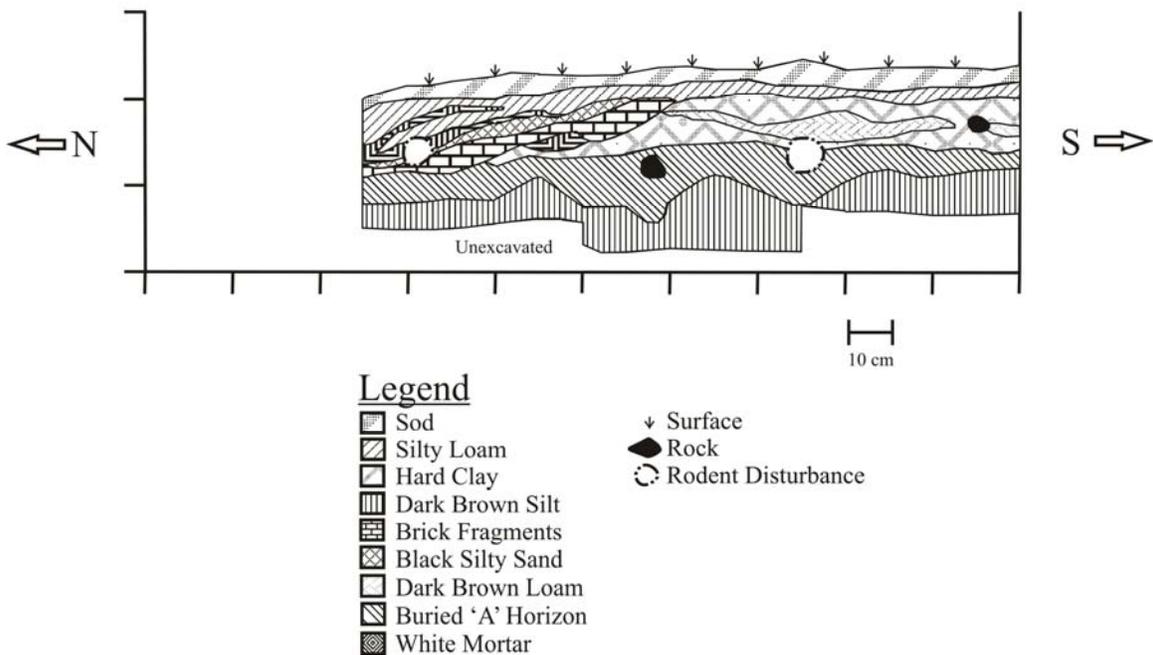
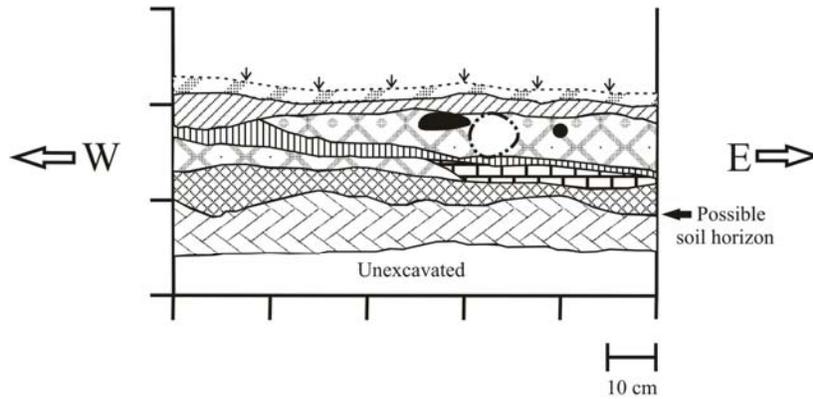


Figure C5: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 60N 25E and 59N 25E (East Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 60N 25E North Wall

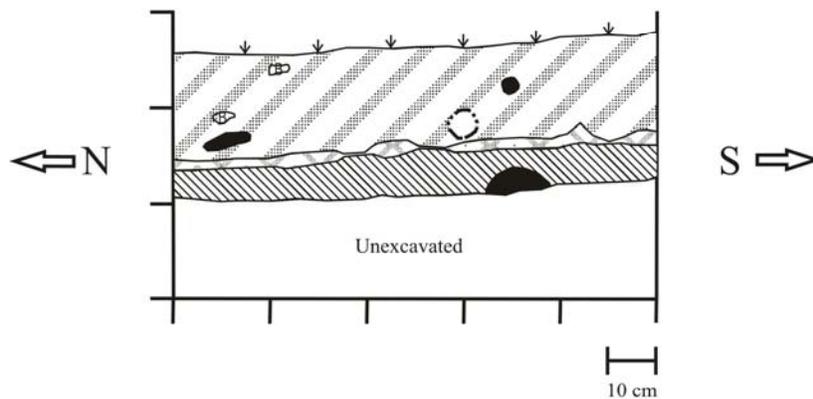


**Legend**

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Sod              | ↓ Surface*                              |
| Silty Loam       | ◆ Cut Nail                              |
| Hard Clay        | ⊙ Rodent Disturbance                    |
| Dark Brown Silt  | ● Rock                                  |
| Brick Fragments  |   |
| Black Silty Sand | *Sod removed before wall was profiled.  |
| Dark Brown Loam  | Surface approximated from level records |

Figure C6: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 60N 25E (North Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 60N33E East Wall



**Legend**

- |                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Sod / Silty Loam   | ↓ Surface            |
| Hard Gray Clay     | ● Rock               |
| Buried 'A' Horizon | ⊙ Bone               |
|                    | ⊙ Rodent Disturbance |

Figure C7: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 60N 33E (East Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 60N33E, 60N32E South Wall

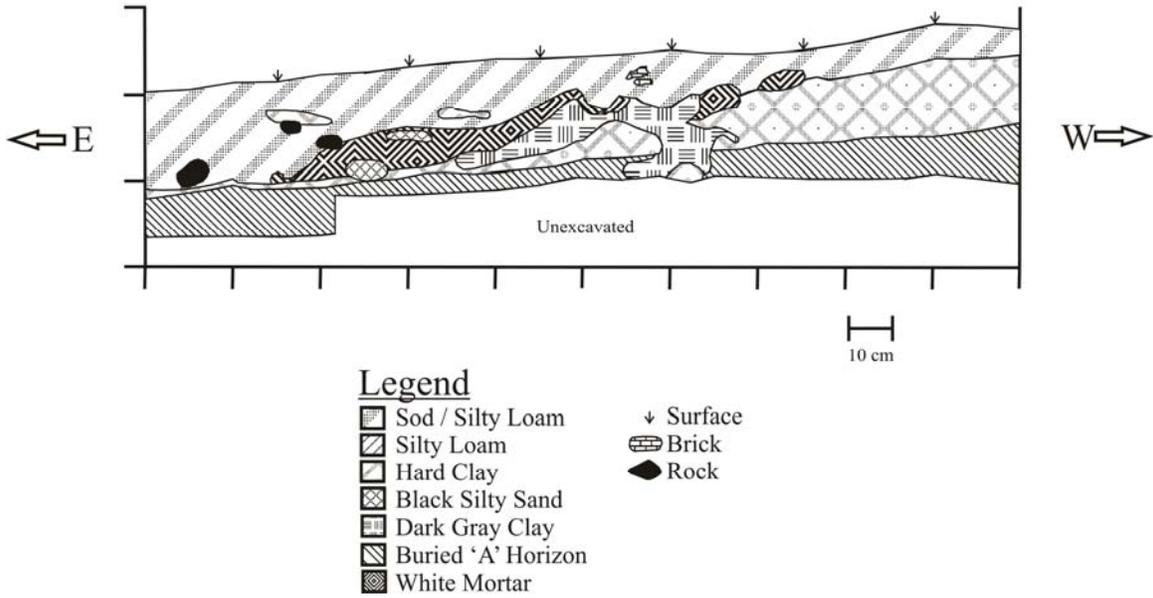


Figure C8: Stratigraphic Profile of Units 60N 33E and 60N 32E (South Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 61N27E, 62N27E West Wall

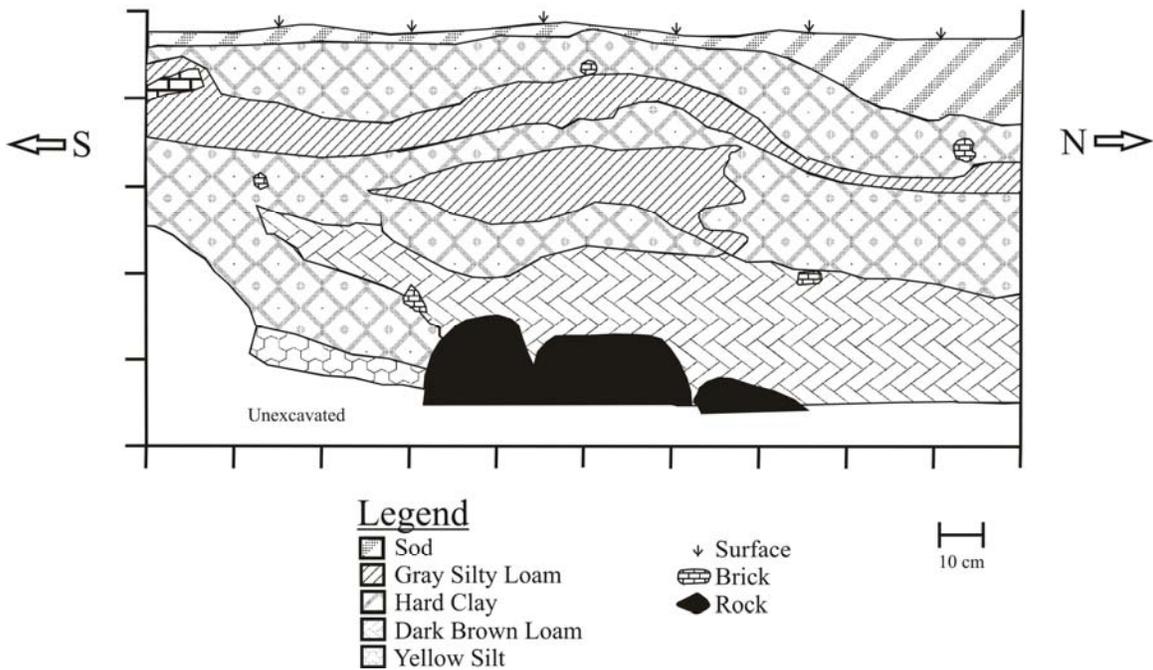
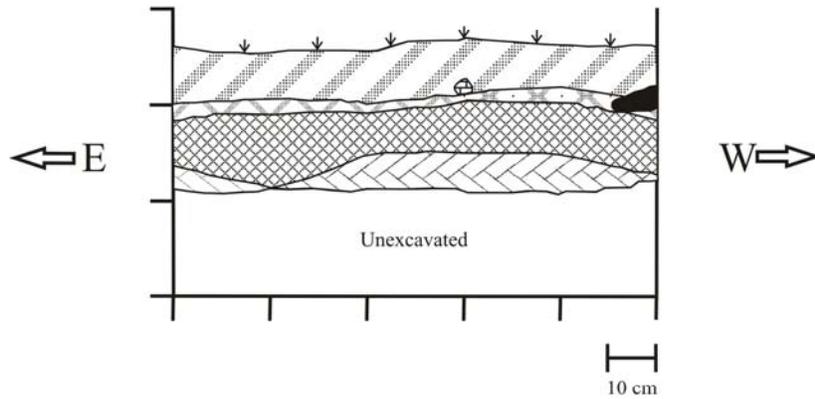


Figure C9: Stratigraphic Profile of Units 61N 27E and 62N 27E (West Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 63N 20E South Wall

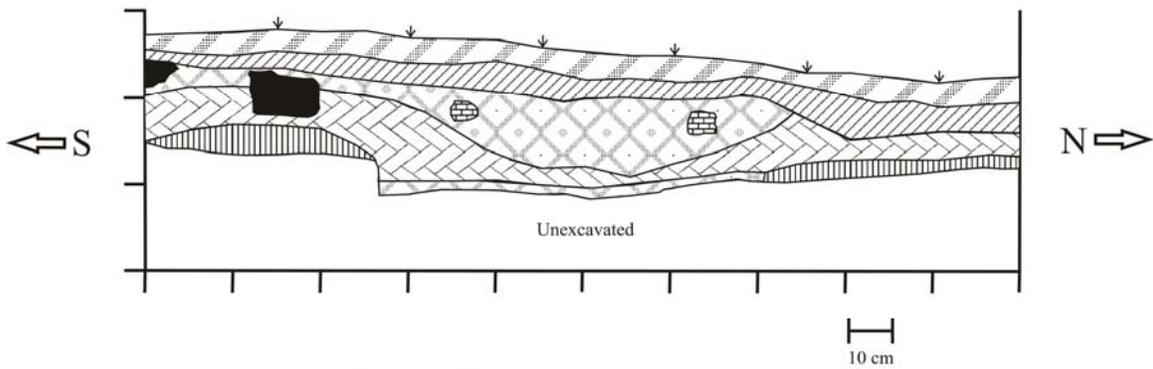


**Legend**

- |                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Sod / Silty Loam | Surface |
| Hard Clay        | Brick   |
| Black Silty Sand | Rock    |
| Dark Brown Loam  |         |

Figure C10: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 63N 20E (South Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 63N20E, 64N20E West Wall



**Legend**

- |                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Sod              | Surface |
| Silty Loam       | Brick   |
| Hard Clay        | Rock    |
| Light Brown Silt |         |
| Dark Brown Loam  |         |

Figure C11: Stratigraphic Profile of Units 63N 20E and 64N 20E (West Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 64N 25E East Wall

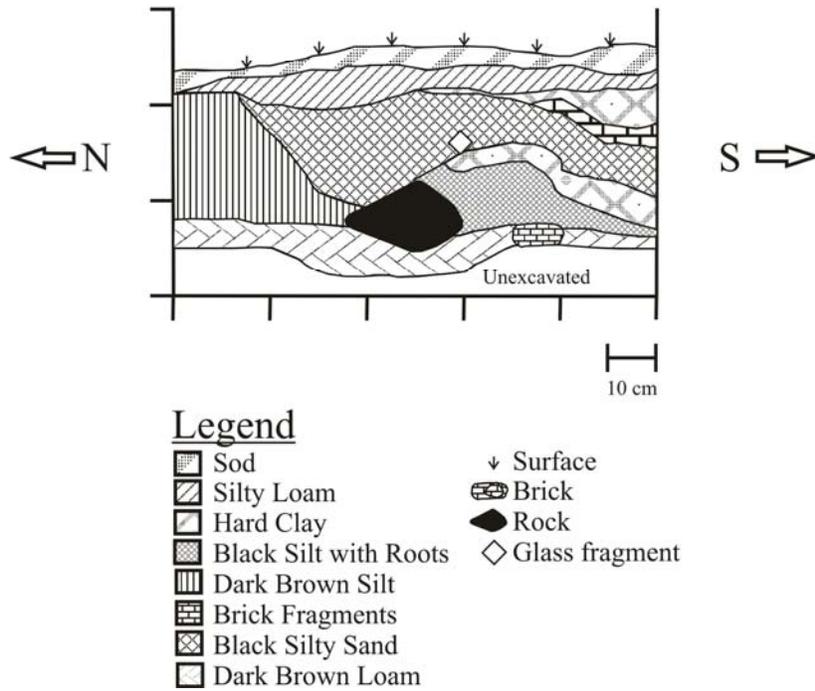


Figure C12: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 64N 25E (East Wall)

EbMo-5 Bellevue Site Wall Profile  
Unit 72N44E East Wall

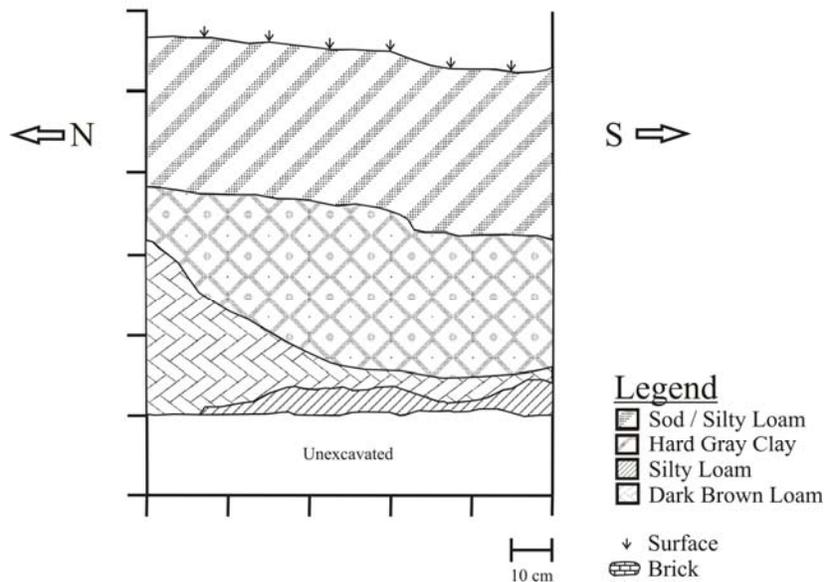


Figure C13: Stratigraphic Profile of Unit 72N 44E (East Wall)