Historical Meals, Archaeobotanical Foodways: Expressions of Colonialism and Nationalism in Quebec City

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Abstract

Between 1542 and 1867, Quebec City area (Quebec, Canada) was briefly occupied by French explorers, colonised by French settlers and conquered by English forces about a century before becoming part of the Dominion of Canada. My thesis explores the emergence and development of colonialism and nationalism in the region following these changing social, political and economic circumstances. Instead of focusing on discourse, I draw attention towards lived experience by addressing these ideologies through the ways they were intertwined with local foodways, as reconstructed on the grounds of archaeobotanical data dating between 1542 and 1867. More specifically, I investigate how the social and biological biographies of consumed plants bound colonial communities to Europe, the Native world, and local wilderness through time, and in doing so expressed and contributed towards sustaining colonialist and nationalist ideologies. This approach sheds light on the lasting attachment of local colonists to Old World traditions and on how this predilection impacted the selection of wild local plants consumed. It further reveals a widespread disregard for Native populations whose foodstuffs were scantly, if at all, consumed. It is also possible to document the mechanisms which guided the introduction of wild indigenous plants into local menus and the tightening grip of the community over regional environments. The discussion finally underlines how these different propensities paved the way for a homogenisation of culinary habits decades before the publication of the first regional cookbooks and the birth of the nation.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Antiquity
AAAG	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
AAS	Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences
AD	Archaeological Dialogues
AGH	Agriculture Handbook
AH	American Anthropologist
AMM	Archéologie du Midi Medieval
ARA	Annual Review of Anthropology
CA	Current Anthropology
CD	Cap-aux-Diamants
CGQ	Cahiers de géographie du Québec
CHR	Canadian Historical Review
CJA	Canadian Journal of Archaeology
CJCFC	Cuizine: The Journal of Canadian Food Culture
CJPS	Canadian Journal of Plant Science
CM	Culture et Musées
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
CX	Cahiers des dix
EA	Environmental Archaeology
EC	Environment Canada
ÉL	Études littéraires
ER	Environmental Review
FF	Food and Foodways
FCH	French Colonial History
FCS	Food, Culture and Society
FHS	French Historical Studies
FNAEC	Flora of North America Editorial Committee
GPQ	Géographie physique et Quaternaire
HA	Historical Archaeology
IJHA	International Journal of Historical Archaeology
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JAMT	Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory
JAR	Journal of Archaeological Research
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JCS	Journal of Canadian Studies
JMEMS	Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology
LC	L'Esprit Créateur
PMA	Post-Medieval Archaeology
RAMCHA	Report of the Annual Meeting of Canadian Historical Association
RBG	Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew and Missouri Botanical Garden
RHAF	Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française
RPP	Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology
RS	Recherches sociographiques
SH	Social History
THT	The History Teacher
TI	Terrae Incognitae
TMA	The Missouri Archaeologist

TSCJ	The Sixteenth Century Journal
VASCAN	Database of Vascular Plants of Canada
VHA	Vegetation History and Archaeobotany
WA	World Archaeology
WMQ	The William and Mary Quarterly

Setting the Scene: Food, Plants, Colonialism, Nationalism, Archaeology, History and Quebec City

While travelling abroad and introducing myself as a Quebecer and a Canadian, most people either ask why French is my first language or what my position is on the separation of the province from the country. Both questions call into being the rich history of the land I am from, which was successively colonised by the French (1534) and the English (1760) crown before becoming part of Canada (1867), a country where tensions between 'French' and 'English' descending communities have been at the heart of political debates for over two centuries. Throughout this period, political discourse often relied on stereotyped and partial pasts which permeated popular memories and the historical sciences alike. While historians have become aware of their partisan practices in recent decades, reconstructed and 'popular' histories do not keep pace with their critiques. It is on these premises that the current study has been designed to explore the emergence and development of colonialism and nationalism in Quebec City. Instead of focusing on discourse, it rather emphasises lived experience by addressing these ideologies through the ways they became perceptible in local foodways, as reconstructed on the ground of archaeobotanical data dating between 1542 and 1867. By providing an alternative perspective over expressions of colonialism and nationalism in the region, this thesis simultaneously contributes to our understanding of key components of the context in which Quebec City's past is investigated.

Nowadays considered as the cultural province of French Canada, Quebec City was the first permanent European outpost established in the country's territory (1608) and was long the centre of the colony before it became the capital of Quebec province (1867). In 2008, the city lavishly celebrated its 400th anniversary, an event which prompted the publication of several historical compilations and motivated major investment in the excavation of famous archaeological sites. This conjuncture hence not only provided an excellent opportunity to think about contemporary ties between the region's past and politics but also to collect and analyse hundreds of archaeobotanical samples dating to the historical period. The archaeological material gathered, which included some 40,000 plant macro remains, dated from 1542 onward. This date marked the first attempt at colonisation of the area by France. The chronological cut-off for the research was 1867, a turning point in the history of the region which saw the birth of a nation with the creation of the Canadian Dominion. This time span hence saw early colonial efforts

maturing into an assumed colonialism, the clash of French and English empires in the New World and the emergence of nationalist aspirations in the colony. Associated with popular funding myths (Cartier-Roberval's site and Champlain's Farm), famous battles (Champlain's Farm and Brave's Park) or revered seats of power (Intendant's Palace and St. Louis forts and castles), the sites selected for the current project (Figure 1.1.) are remembered for playing a central role in these events.

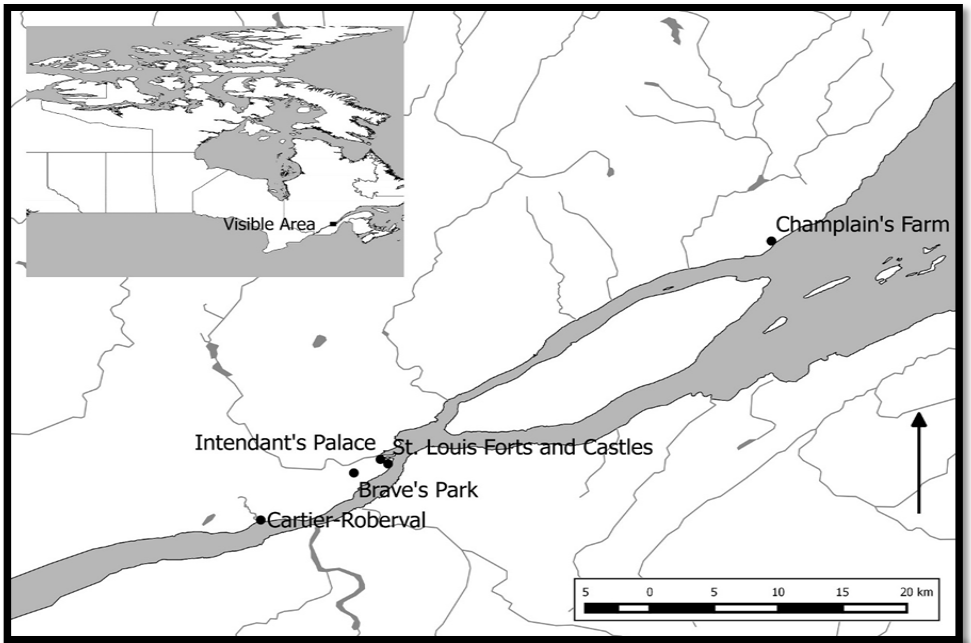


Figure 1.1. Location of the archaeological sites selected for the project. *Adapted from Geogratis, Natural Resources Canada by Craig Dickens.*

In the last decades, the colonialist and nationalist baggage of collective memories (e.g. Hobsbawn 2006a and 2006b), commemorated past (e.g. Labadi 2007) and historical sciences (e.g. Diaz-Andreu 2007) have widely been recognised. While discussions of the present and past impacts of these ideologies remain largely disjointed, definitions of colonialism and nationalism have multiplied and their sense has lost its specificity. For the purpose of this project, it was considered that both doctrines emphasised shared ancestry, ethnicity or cultural ties to foster a sense of superiority and patriotism within a given social group and justify its empowerment over a specific territory. While the unique character of the population is pushed forward in both ideologies to make a land an independent state, the boundaries defended by nationalism tend to be less flexible than those imposed by colonialism which is animated by a will to conquer, subordinate and annex new territory. When such territories thereafter become independent, the shift from colonialism to

nationalism henceforth implies a redefinition of their boundaries and of their social standards of reference, as local populations' identity must become homogeneous, unique and superior. Written documents are central in the articulation and enactment of colonialism and nationalism and it is generally on their basis that they are studied. Those are nevertheless more representative of the discourses of an upper class than the lived experience of a commoners' majority. Further, with time, documents tend to cumulate histories that can become inherent to the understanding of their contents. To go beyond these pitfalls, this thesis uses archaeological evidence to reconstruct past foodways and explore how they relate to colonialist and nationalist ideologies.

Although the origins of the concept of "foodways" are unclear and its definitions manifold (Adema, 2012), it has increasingly been used to acknowledge that more than a succession of activities aimed at fulfilling the imperative to eat, a mere combination of ingredients, or a bundle of calories and nutrients, food is inherently social. As such, eating can be conceptualised as the physical and metaphoric incorporation of places, people and practices. It is argued in this thesis that this statement of appropriation calls into mind the biographical pathways of the different foodstuffs consumed to create, maintain and transform rich, nuanced and changing social relationships. The resurgence of repetitions, similarities or patterns in the face of such multiplicity can also prove an excellent indicator of the emergence and development of local traditions. The expression and transformation of colonialist aspirations through foodways in Quebec City and province have until now been chiefly addressed in missionary contexts in order to reconstruct the dynamics of encounters with local Native populations (e.g. Briand 2008; Côté 1991). Based on early travel literature, those studies have notably highlighted the potential of these writings which often include several comments on food and foodways but to date have not been subjected to sustained analysis from this perspective. The vast majority of historical publications on the subject are indeed rather grounded on probate inventories taken after death, documents that listed, for those who could afford them, their valuable goods and chattels for inheritance (e.g. Audet 2001; Lafrance and Desloges 1989). Useful to build statistical overviews, these documents are widely recognised for their tendency to ignore fresh foodstuffs coming from the garden or gathered in the wild. Despite those pitfalls, it became current to use them to write contemporary cook books aimed at revalorizing 'traditional' and highly stereotyped French Canadian tastes (e.g. Bizier and Séguin 2004; Soulard 2008). This practice seems in line

with early publications on the matter which alluded to hazily defined old French culinary traditions preserved intact through centuries due to religious conservatism (Barbeau 1944; Rousseau 1967). While the nature, origin and development of such a tradition is still debated, few studies have dwelt on the relationship between nationalism and foodways. Exceptions include the thorough analysis of Coulombe (2005) who argued that the emergence of a national cookery was comparatively recent on the basis of historical cookbooks, leaflets and other publications. It is however noteworthy that these sources represent more a suggested course of action than its outcome and tend to homogenise culinary practices (Cheek, 1998: 153), some gaps that archaeology can greatly assist in overcoming.

Several studies have attested to the potential of archaeological data to investigate questions related to foodways across the world (e.g. Curet and Pestle 2010; Twiss 2007, 2012). Not only does it enable us to address the domestic and the quotidian but also to track change and continuity over centuries. From the humblest household to the richest palace, archaeological evidence has the potential to provide information about the foodways of all the strata of a society. Once contrasted with the historical record, it can allow us to explore the gaps between discourse and practice, idealised reality and lived experience. Despite this significant potential, up until relatively recently, Quebec archaeology was overall little concerned by foodways beyond a few scattered comments and the establishment of cooking material typologies (e.g. Blanchette 1981). Some geographically and chronologically sparse archaeozoological studies have nonetheless successfully investigated questions related to economy, social status and creolisation since the turn of the 21st century (e.g. Côté 2002; D'amour 2002). In comparison, archaeobotanical studies remain rare throughout the province and the few reports and publications available (e.g. Fortin 1989, 1990) tend to simply list species and contextualise their use solely on the grounds of historical evidence. It is argued here that the study of archaeological plant remains has a much greater potential to reconstruct foodways and investigate questions of colonialism and nationalism. For instance, in a range of early European colonial contexts they have been used to address matters of social identity (e.g. Trigg 2004), creolisation (e.g. Gremillon 2002) or power relationships (e.g. Jamieson and Sayre 2010). It is here proposed to use a slightly different approach that emphasises the landscapes consumed plants were associated with in order to explore how they were called upon to translate colonialist and nationalist perspectives.

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate how colonialist and nationalist ideologies contributed to and were maintained through foodways in Quebec City between 1542 and 1867 as reconstructed from archaeobotanical evidence. To reach this goal, the current project took place in three stages. Given that archaeobotany had only scantly been practised in the region and that the resulting studies had little concern for methodological issues, the first stage involved the collection and analysis of as much archaeobotanical data as possible. The second stage involved the documentation of the finds in order to put them in their wider archaeological, historical and ecological context. Using the information gathered, the dataset created was then statistically assessed in a third stage in order to identify patterns and recurrences, continuities and changes and relate them to colonial and national ideologies.

More specifically, individual objectives of the project were to:

• Gather archaeobotanical samples from different historical sites of the area and recover, isolate, identify and quantify the plant macro remains they contained.

• Bring together information on the different landscapes the identified species may have been related to using their ecological preferences (e.g. geographical origins, edaphic conditions and climatic requirements) and historical documents (e.g. when they are mentioned and in which context).

• Determine the nature of the archaeological formation processes which led to the presence, preservation and recovery of the identified remains.

• Explore statistically how the different landscapes the remains were associated with intersected in daily meals through time.

• Assess how the changes and continuities observed might relate to colonialist and nationalist ideologies and contrast the results with local popular and scientific discourses about the past.

By fulfilling these objectives this thesis aims to provide answers to the following questions: What is the role of foodways in reproducing, maintaining and transforming colonialist and nationalist ideologies? Can foodways reveal the role of colonised landscapes and populations in this process? How did expressions of colonialism evolve in the Quebec City area between the mid-16th to the mid-18th century? What were the impacts of the conquest by another European power over the region? Can colonialism and conquest pave the way for

nationalism? Can nationalism appear prior the emergence of a nation?

In order to fulfill these objectives and explore answers to these questions, the current thesis has been structured as follows: Chapter 2 provides a background to Quebec City histories and landscapes and on the role currently played by archaeology in their reconstruction. Chapter 3 provides a history of colonialism and nationalism in the region and beyond, discuss their relationship to sciences of the past and provides a theoretical framework aimed at enabling the investigation of their past manifestations while accounting for their present impacts. The transition between these conceptual concerns and pragmatic matters is made in Chapter 4 which discusses how foodways can be used in order to address social relationships and how they can be reconstructed using archaeobotanical data. This leads on to a methodology chapter that provides a detailed account of the techniques and rationale pushed forward through the project. After a short overview of the results gathered, Chapter 6 accounts for the statistical analysis performed in order to delineate the effects of methodology, taphonomy, preservation and depositional origins on the studied archaeobotanical assemblages. These sources of variation set aside, the results obtained are contrasted with historical evidence about local foodways in Chapter 7 which explores how the biographical pathways of the species consumed intersected at meal times and have contributed to the perpetuation and transformation of colonialist and nationalist ideologies between the 16th and 19th centuries. Finally, Chapter 8 offers conclusive thoughts on the relationships between foodways, colonialism and nationalism, the way these ideologies were written about and experienced, and the way they became manifest in Quebec City's past and are reproduced through the sciences used to reconstruct them.

Quebec City: Building up Histories, Picturing Landscapes, Talking Archaeology

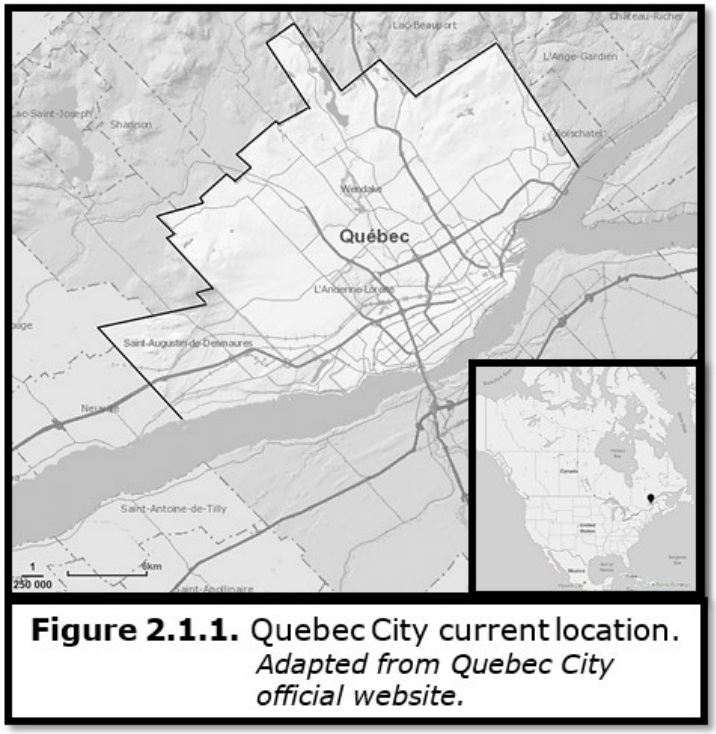


Figure 2.1.1. Quebec City current location. *Adapted from Quebec City official website.*

Labelled under a name of Native origin, Quebec City first appeared on maps in the course of the 16th century, where it is depicted on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence River at the height of St. Charles River. With the evolution of cartography, the city, situated roughly 98m above sea level, came to be more specifically located at the intersection of parallel 46.81° N and meridian 71.22° W. While its layout and size varied through time, it currently extends over a territory of approximatively 484 km^2 (Figure 2.1.1.). This seemingly static point has been subdivided in various ways and has formed part of multiple larger geographical entities. This chapter first aims to explore the state of research on these overlapping spatial frameworks with a particular emphasis on the way they were built during the historical period, collectively remembered and scientifically investigated. A chronological narrative has been adopted for the sake of clarity as well as to simultaneously address issues related to the investigation of specific periods. The first part of the chapter relies mostly on the use of colonial tools for the definition, description, classification and validation of "facts", a widespread practice whose shortcomings are also highlighted. The post-colonial critiques related to this traditional approach are thereafter taken into account in the second part of the chapter, which intends to provide an alternative historical picture of the region using the notion of landscape as a starting point. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting the role of archaeology in the reconstruction of the region's past and how the studied sites relate to the histories presented in the first two sections.

2.1. Quebec City: the History of its spaces

During the last glaciation, Quebec City area was fully covered by a thick ice sheet, which, when it melted, created the Champlain Sea that at least partly submerged the territory until about 9600BP (Pagé 1999:367-369). The human geography and history of the region started shortly after the water's withdrawal (Parent 2001a:36). From this point on, Quebec City's spatiality took flexible social connotations, which impacted daily experiences and the way they were commemorated and reconstructed. This section provides a chronological overview of these changing references and the way they have been related to specific time periods and populations.

2.1.1. Native's Land: Pre and Post-colonial Kebehk

Quebec City's territory was first colonised by nomadic-hunter gatherer populations, referred to as 'Native' throughout this thesis. Scattered until at least 1000AD, their temporary occupation in the area seems to have been shaped by the changing levels of water (Gates St-Pierre 2009:110). The region was then a stop within annual rounds, which are yet poorly understood (Clermont 1999:66). At a provincial level, the ephemeral nature of Native occupation, along with the comparatively late withdrawal of ice, has been in fact used to explain the rather thin archaeological evidence dating prior to 6000 BP (Pintal 2008:55). As a result, those populations have been described, classified and understood through the complex exchange systems that related them to the generalised and generalising Native cultural spheres of Eastern North America (Moussette 2008) (Figure 2.1.1.). While increasingly investigated since the 1960s (Mouhot 2002:143), Quebec's prehistory still suffers from a scarcity of publications, the lack of engagement with and by English-speaking audiences and the absence of interinstitutional cooperation (Mackie 1995:185). These shortcomings hamper our understanding of the

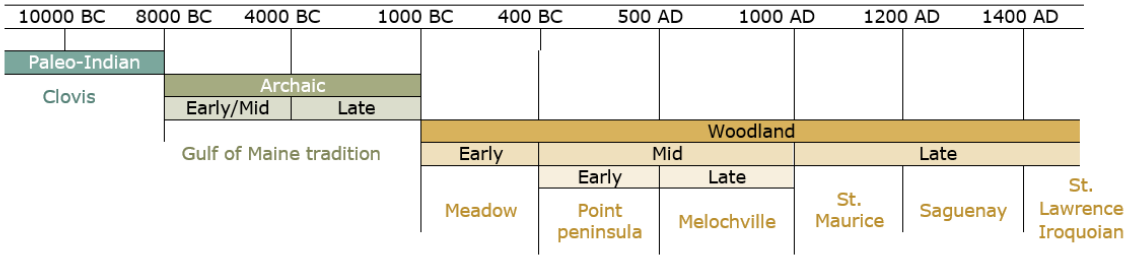


Figure 2.1.2. Native cultural spheres of northeastern North America and related traditions in Quebec City area.

region's past prior to the arrival of the first European explorers in 1534.

While the validity of the scant evidence for the first occupation of Quebec City is still actively debated, it is generally accepted that human populations first reached the region towards the end of the Paleo-Indian period around 8000 BC (Pintal 2002). The archaeological record however suggests that the area was only periodically visited well until the very end of the Archaic (Clermont 1999:66). By 1000 BC, small groups of hunter gatherers seems to have more recurrently used the location as a meeting point within seasonal rounds that are yet poorly understood (Parent 2001a:34). With time, the size of these nomadic populations' settlements increased and it is believed that they engaged more extensively in local resources exploitation, notably lithic and fish (Pintal, 2008: 55). Although their relationship to their predecessors and their successors remain debated, it is held that by 1000 AD larger and more sedentary groups consuming maize were established in the vicinity of current Quebec City (Gates St-Pierre 2015:25). The style of the ceramics they used relate them to northeastern America Owascoid but suggests an important regionalism, hence their labelling as St-Maurice tradition (Gates St-Pierre 2009:121). The unique character of local communities' productions do not seems to have faded in the following centuries but by the 1200s, they started to share more with those of Native groups of current day Ontario (Gates St-Pierre and Chapdelaine 2013:71). Evidence for the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoians across the region dates to some two hundred years later (Pendergast and Chapdelaine 1993). Better known through historical evidence, it seem likely that these groups were belonging to Huron and/or Mohawks tribes and lived in longhouses sheltering 500 to 800 people in the largest villages (Plourde 2008:11).

The apparent patchiness of our knowledge about Quebec City's prehistoric past has been tentatively attributed to historical disruption of early archaeological layers in the urban agglomeration (Moussette 2000). However, given that the current inventory of archaeological sites in Quebec province (ISAQ) lists over 900 sites dating prior to 1534 in the area, historically oriented research agendas are probably to blame as pointed out by Kelley and Williamson (1996:11). Given the lack of archaeological findings and the rejection of Native oral history as a means to learn about the distant past (Nabokov 1996:20-23), Natives are mostly remembered through the writings of the first European explorers and settlers (Jaenen 2002:269). Although they attest to the continuous presence Native populations across the city

territory from the 1600s, they are far vaguer as to their tribal affiliation or their lifestyle (e.g. Frontenac 1956:25; Melsheimer 1776:165). Exceptions includes more specific comments about the few Huron families that settled in the first Native reservations of New France located to the North of Quebec City (e.g. Franquet 1889:105; Samson 1817:121). Nowadays, it is rather the sudden disappearance of St. Lawrence Iroquoian in the early decades of the 16th century (Gates St-Pierre and Chapdelaine 2013:71; Trigger 1968:430-431) that draw public attention. In academia, it is widely accepted that few mixed weddings took place in the region and that contact with the Native population became less frequent with time (Dumont et al. 1992:33). Regardless, all the measures taken to assimilate them seem to have failed: Natives were considered a distinct minority group in regional 19th century textbooks (Brosseau 1992:420), a tendency that still endures to this day (Sioui 1991:46).

As outsiders to mainstream national identities, the Native historical past was the object of little attention up to the 1960s (Trigger 2002:275) even if their lasting technological and linguistic legacies were remembered (Rousseau 1964:58-61). Historical investigations have ever since tended to overlook their existence beyond the so called 'contact period', an ambiguous label addressing times when European and Native relationships were shaped by fur trade (Clermont 1999:74). Those have nonetheless shown how the myth of the "Noble Savage" was reinforced and influenced by early writings about the region (Peace 2006:15), and conversely how the Native's 'barbarity' was used to both emphasise the heroic nature of early colonists (Berthiaume 1975:82) and justify the Natives' conversion and dispossession (Brazeau 2009:28). In this perspective, it can be pointed out that the lasting tendency to address the Native past along with natural features of the landscape in general publications keep this colonial tradition alive (Trigger and Swagerty 1996:349; e.g. Lacoursière et al. 2001). Likewise, the fear of 'going wild' through sustained contact with Natives permeates the historical record (Banks 2003:129); this seems to have impacted the collective memory, for the subject of creolisation tends to be altogether ignored, a situation that strongly contrasts with United States scholarship (Mouhot 2002:128-129).

The Quebec City and province's Native prehistory and history have become a popular subject of inquiry since the 1960s, a moment when questions about national and provincial identities became central (Berger 1986:259). Ever since, these pasts have been investigated by different specialists from distinct disciplines. As argued by

Lightfoot (1995) while addressing American scholarship, this practice has favoured the idea that the contact with Europeans has rapidly and deeply transformed Native populations' lifestyle (e.g. Devens 1991). It is yet to be demonstrated that the division between history and prehistory is not artificial and how it might have shaped research, especially as oral history proposes a completely different perspective over the events (e.g. Vincent 1991). Similarly, a strong colonial background and the political emphasis put on a socially homogeneous French past (Bouchard 1994:476) have probably had a part to play in the definition of Native as an exclusive and stereotyped group (Delâge 2009:17). In terms of spatiality, Native Quebec(s) seems to go from an aggregate of sparsely and temporarily visited areas to firmly controlled reservations beyond the borders of which Natives existence has been overlooked.

2.1.2. "A Kingdom of Wild Beasts": discoveries and explorations from the 11th to the 17th century

In the path from Europe to the Quebec City region stood an Ocean, a Gulf and a River. The earliest evidence for the successful crossing of the Atlantic at the City's northern latitude is provided by the Viking Sagas (Allen 1992:503). Initially contested, the narrative enabled the discovery of an 11th century Norse settlement on Newfoundland's coast in the 1960s (Wallace 2003). Ever since, excavations have revealed the presence of Viking artifacts in the Arctic, and along the Atlantic coast down to Maine but nothing definitely indicating Norse presence in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence (Park 2008). Still freshly incorporated into the realm of collective memory, Norse presence in Canadian territory seems to have fostered more touristic activities than actual commemorations, more speculations than scientific interest (Springer 1999). After the brief Norse incursion in the New World, several centuries elapsed before Europeans ventured crossing the Atlantic towards Canada again (Figure 2.1.3.). By then, Viking experience was part of legends circulating across western coastal communities, which suggested the existence of lands towards the west (Vigaré 1992:478). It is in this context that Old World fishing boats started to seasonally visit the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, possibly as early as 1490 (Dickinson 2008:59). Poorly documented, their recurrent presence that stretched well up to the 18th century (Escribano-Ruiz and Azkarate 2015:239) has left several archaeological traces at the coastal areas where the fish were prepared for the European markets (Turgeon 1998). It also explains why some natural features in the littoral already bore French names by the time they were 'first' discovered (Bidaux 2006:32). Early

fishing activities in the Gulf are also believed to have shaped the attitude of local Native populations towards the first official European expeditions sent to the region as they were eager to trade fur for Old World goods (Allen 1992:508). While there is no evidence of fisheries in Quebec City surroundings as yet, it has been suggested by Moussette (2008) and others (Vallieres et al. 2008a:100) that these are awaiting discovery.

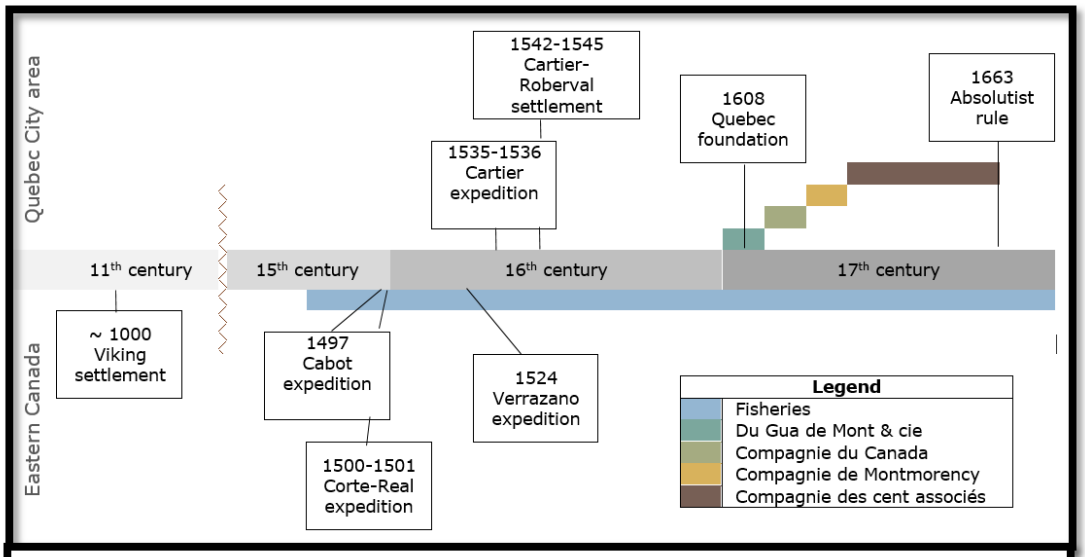


Figure 2.1.3. Early European expeditions, French settlements and monopolies in Eastern Canada and Quebec City area.

The official exploration of the Northeastern North American coast probably started with the trip of John Cabot in 1497. Sponsored by the English Crown, the scantly documented voyage aimed at finding a passage to the riches of the East (Allen 1992:506-508). While the exact location of its landing is still heavily debated (Pope 1997), the voyage and its leader have been widely commemorated in English Canada (Rudin 2003:6). In comparison little is known or remembered of the few Portuguese expeditions which visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence a few years later and gave its name to Labrador (Escribano-Ruiz and Azkarate 2015:241). French Canada rather celebrates the travels of Giovanni Verrazano (1524) and Jacques Cartier (1534, 1535-1536, 1542-1544) who were both sailing west for French interests and in the hope of finding Cathay (Rudin 2003:6). The first is believed to have discovered Newfoundland's coast and was renowned for expanding the European influence over the western Atlantic coastline down to Florida (Codignola 1999:30). He is also credited for the first use of the term "New France" (Brazeau 2009:13), a name that was transposed into royal cartography in 1525 (Trudel 1962:477). The second captain's explorations inspired a

massive amount of publications, celebrations and monuments on both sides of the Atlantic (Robert 1984). Contrary to his predecessors, Cartier found the St. Lawrence Estuary, navigated west along the river up to the present day location of Quebec City and ascribed its name in History (Figure 2.1.4.). He is the first European to have described the landscape and populations of the region where he spent the 1535-1536 and the 1542-1543 winters (Allen 1992). His experiences are comparatively well documented through five travel logs (Cartier et al 1843), a Spanish spy report (De la Roncière 1912) and the archaeological excavation of his last encampment site (Fiset et al. 2007). While commemorated for generations, Cartier's history has been written and rewritten in conflicting but largely positive retellings even though his enterprise was rather seen as a failure and was quickly forgotten by his contemporaries (Zecher 2008:111).

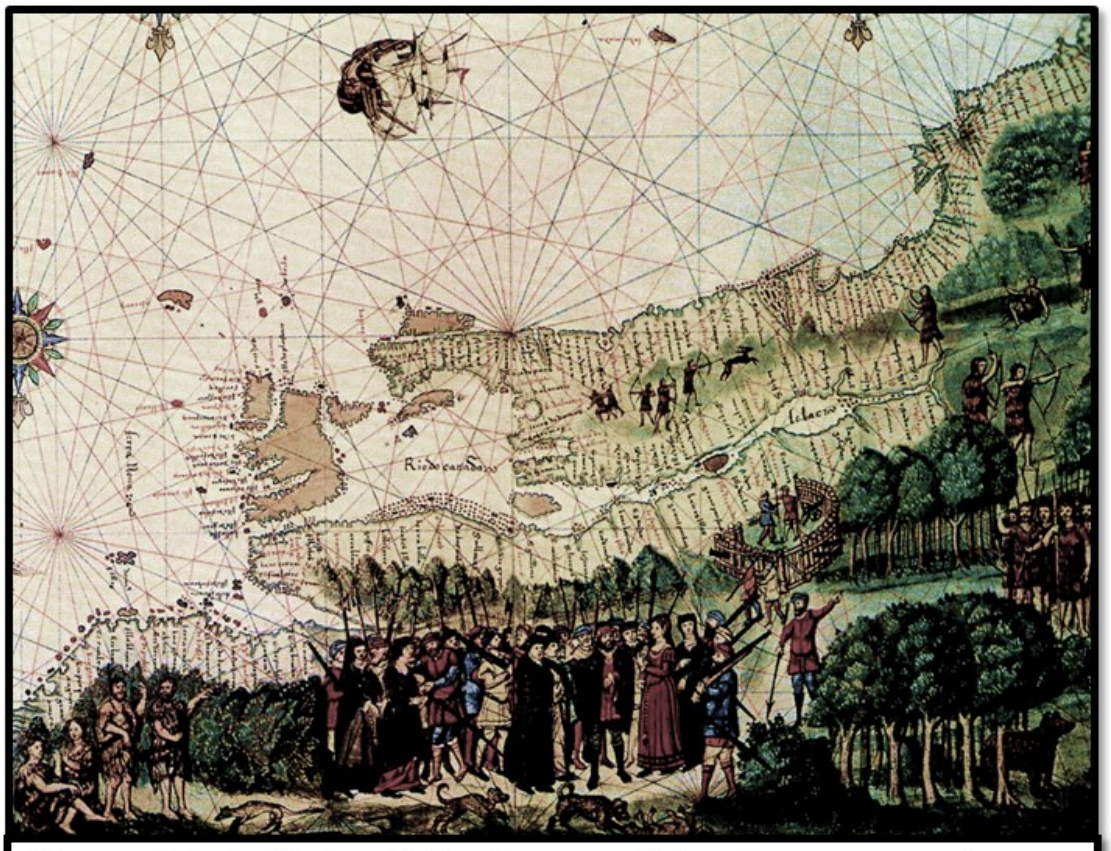


Figure 2.1.4. Nicolas Vallard's map of French voyages and explorations in Canada (1547).
Huntingdon Library, San Marino, HM29F9.

Cartier's expeditions are remembered in Quebec and in Canada as founding national events (Gordon 1999) whose unique character is emphasised by the sixty years that elapsed before European powers attempted to establish settlements along the St. Lawrence River again (De Waele 2008:105). From an Old World perspective, they



Figure 2.1.5. French colonial attempts in the Americas prior 1608.

mark the beginning of a wider French colonial movement towards the Americas (Figure 2.1.5.) whose outcome is generally considered as disastrous for no colonies achieved permanency prior to 1608 (Brazeau 2009:7). As a result, the French crown's claims to the New World until then took the form of liberal cartographic representations where the territory was parcelled out in a geography of named places (Desbarats and Greer 2011:49-50). In order to ground its pretention over the land, France, inspired by other European powers, eventually turned to private funding sources (Dolan 2008:92). Hence, on paper, French companies and individuals were granted titles giving them authority over some oversea territories and the monopoly on the exploitation of their resources until 1663 (Choquette 2007:118). In practice, these documents were based on vague geographical descriptions, were highly contested across the kingdom and tended to give overlapping rights to different bodies (Barbiche 2004:29-32). It is thus at the intersection of competing agendas and wishes to settle, convert, profit and/or gain power (Confer 1964; Meyer et al. 1991:53-54) that the first permanent French American settlement was founded in Quebec City in 1608.

Some 5000km away from the motherland, Quebec was at the outset an isolated outpost in a yet to be explored and settled New France. It was strategically located for this task at the westward limit of transatlantic navigation on the St. Lawrence River (Rouleau 2009:209), the gateway to the interior of the continent through its tributaries (Turgeon 1998:598). Hence, guided by European thirst for riches, and most specifically fur, the conquered territory expanded in all directions from Quebec City during the French Regime and took the form of a network of dispersed trading post stretched along rivers (Figure 2.1.6.; Jaenen 2001:156). In such settings, Quebec was

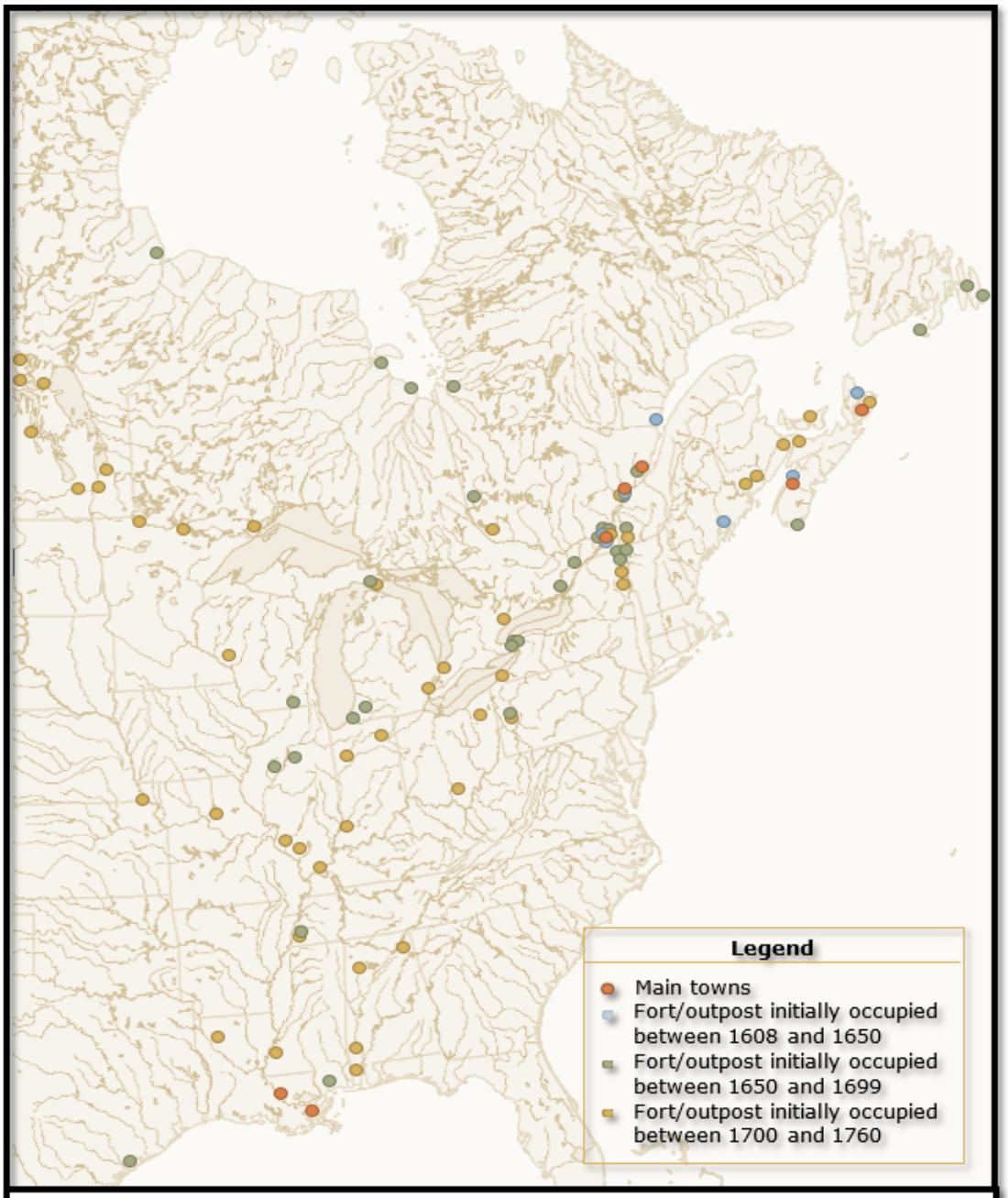


Figure 2.1.6. Location of the French forts, outposts and towns occupied at one point between 1608 and 1760.

raised as the point of encounter, contact and exchange between the Old and New Worlds (Vallières et al 2008a:23) and daily life fell into a rhythm of activities that took place elsewhere. It was the port where the French administration instructions were received and the political, commercial, religious and military centre where those commands were adapted to colonial reality and spread across New France (Drouin 2001:47). For instance, several religious orders established communities in Quebec that remained under the supervision of a leader in France whose commands, notably in terms of conversion, were given to missionaries who travelled across the colony to spread

the Catholic faith (Palomino 2012; Scalberg 2002). Likewise, it was the centre from where supplies were shipped across the colony and Quebec's existence also relied on scattered fur trading endeavours that made it valuable to France and determined who were allies (Algonquian tribes) and enemies (Iroquoian tribes and English traders) while shaping ship cargoes and impacting demographics (Delâge 2009:21). Accordingly, by 1663 Quebec's population was small in comparison to colonial settlements established by the English and Spanish crown in the Americas (Lacoursière et al. 2001:61), mostly masculine (Dumont et al. 1992:27) and primarily composed of indentured servants who went back to France after their few years contract (Bates 1989:160).

As the first French permanent settlement in North America, Quebec's development was deeply impacted by its varied functions (Richardson 1963:31). Soon, the St. Lawrence River Banks (Lower City) became devoted to commercial and industrial endeavours while the overlooking cliff (Upper City) sheltered the political and religious authorities of New France (Gaumont 2004:17). In contrast to these transitory roles, few locally oriented activities took place in the area with the exception of agriculture which was sparsely practiced in dispersed farmsteads organised in a loose seigneurial fashion along the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers (Courville 1983:419). Their production remained insufficient to supply the town and the colony, which still relied on food periodically imported from France (Lachance 2004:134). These farmsteads' presence arguably encouraged the association between Quebec and the civilized world as they were contrasted with the surrounding forested, 'barbarian' and 'ungodly' wilderness (Brisson 2006:165). In this context, agriculture took an important place in the way 17th century Quebec was perceived and depicted (Forster 2000:240). Yet beyond representation, the French crown grew concerned with the colony state and abolished private companies monopolies in 1663 hoping that a direct rule would increase the population and insure the 'proper' cultivation of the land (Banks 2003:22).

2.1.3. The consolidation of French power 1600s - 1760

The permanent occupation of Quebec marked the beginning of the French Regime in North American French possessions, a celebrated period which lasted for over a century and a half (Waselkov 2009:617). While it is possible to see some continuity through this time span, notably regarding the general economic orientation of the settlement and its functions as an administrative and religious centre

(Fyson 2008), some changes were initiated in 1663 following the return to absolutist rule (Gauvreau 1993:6). This shift indeed brought about a complete restructuring of the colony's institutions and authority (Dickinson 2008:63). In the motherland, the control of all French overseas territories came under the jurisdiction of the Marine Ministry which rapidly expanded (Pritchard 2004:233). While this reform should have favoured a global attitude towards the study of French colonies in modern scholarship, every colony tends to be considered independently and to even be further fragmented to correspond to contemporary boundaries (Desbarats and Greer 2011:33). Communication between the state and these entities has nonetheless become a key aspect of many of these studies (Harrison 1997:95; Pearson 2011:50). Accordingly, several researchers have emphasised how decisions related to the colonies relied on complex networks of exchange, entailing official, religious, commercial and personal sources on both sides of the ocean (Bosher 1988:444). Their work emphasized how the perils of Atlantic navigation and the overstretching of New France to the west hampered the management of the colony (Banks 2005). For instance, while Old World wars were partly carried on in the Americas (Table 2.1.1.), all news and formal orders concerning them took months to reach Quebec from where they then had to be slowly dispatched across dispersed but multiplying forts (Figure 2.1.6.) (Chartran 2008). In this context, communication issues were blamed for the 1759 defeat of the French crown troops against the English army in Quebec City (Banks 2003:38). They alternatively have been celebrated for giving the necessary freedom for a colonial identity to emerge (Berger 1986:33) and paradoxically creating discords between French and colonial forces (Belmessous 2004:529-535).

Table 2.1.1. European wars and associated conflicts in colonial North America.

Date	European War	North American conflict
1689 – 1697	War of the Grand Alliance	1st Intercolonial War – King William's War
1701 – 1713	War of the Spanish Succession	2nd Intercolonial War – Queen Anne's War
1740 – 1748	War of the Austrian Succession	3rd Intercolonial War – King George's War
1754 – 1763	Seven Year's War	4th Intercolonial War – French and Indian War

In addition to dealing with outdated intelligence, the Marine ministry had to record, digest and act upon a massive amount of information including dispatches, testimonies and samples (Lamontagne 1960:510). In the latter case, the collection of American botanical, faunal and mineral resources relied onto colonial officials and enthusiastic amateurs from the early 17th century (Duchesne

1985:14-15). Along with some observations these were sent to France where they were to be labelled, described and understood before knowledge about them was to be diffused and fed back to the Ministry and the colony (Wien 1999:73). These activities were central to the establishment of scientific societies in the motherland, which by the mid-18th century started to send specialists into New France to gather more knowledge (McClellan and Regourd 2000:31). This process relied on several contributors (Mathieu 1998:209) to whom were added a large number of administrators with sometimes competing allegiances (Banks 2005:26). In this context, coherence was difficult to achieve and so was the distinction between facts and fallacies (Banks 2005:26). These deficiencies seem to have been exploited by colonial elites wishing to get royal approval (Vallières et al. 2008a:293-295). Hence, for instance, cartographic and graphical representations of New France remained liberal (Dubé 2005:34; Moogk 2003:3-4) while the recorded population in the census was recurrently boosted (Charbit 2006:5).

From the colony's standpoint, the return to absolutism brought political transformations through the implementation of a royal council in Quebec (Chénier 1991:82). Directly under the Marine ministry's authority, the Conseil souverain was to deal with colonial affairs and justice (Melançon 2005:280-283) as well as to rule over the lords among whom New France's territory was divided in a feudal manner (Grenier 2006:22). While including a few elected members, the council was really led by a governor, an Intendant and a bishop from the motherland (Choquette 2007:125). Their prominent role in the colony has been a major field of investigation in local history and has contributed towards raising many of them to the status of heroes in collective memory (Ruggiu 2008:446). The governor embodied the king in New France and was in charge of its commercial, agricultural and demographic development as well as of relations with Native groups and military actions (Pritchard 2004:242). His jurisdictions were closely intertwined with those of the Intendant who was responsible for the colony's finance, police and justice as well as for the distribution of supplies and outposts' maintenance (La Grenade-Meunier 1992:23-25). Their status and power, however, depended on clergy cooperation which was led by a bishop whose roles included the spread of the Catholic faith, the protection and expansion of missions, the collection of tithes in the parishes and the expulsion of any unconverted visitor (Jaenen 1985:12-13). Specifically defined on paper, the functions of these three leaders overlapped in reality and their competition for power lastingly impacted Quebec City's architecture and layout as they fought for visibility and to display

their grandeur (Mercier-Méthé 2012). It also tremendously limited their individual influence and weakened their grip over local populations (Forster 2000:243) which started early on to refer to themselves as "habitant" rather than mere "peasant" (Andrés 2001:477-478).

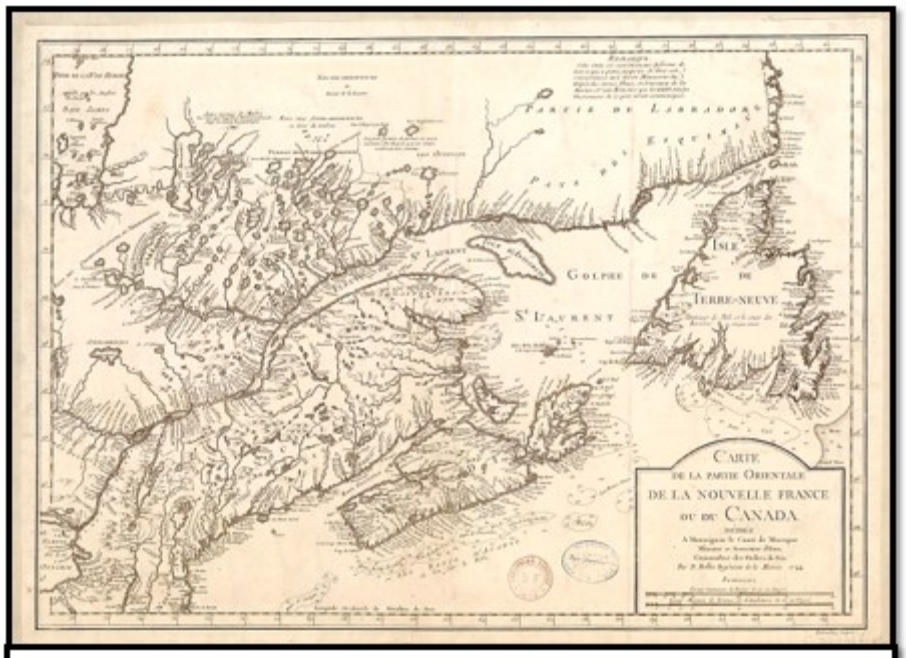


Figure 2.1.7. Creating places: the eastern portion of New France following Bellin in 1744.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-2987 (8581).

The challenges encountered by the Marine ministry and the royal council made the application of state policies difficult, especially given the size of the colony. Hence, current restrictions in the motherland preventing commoners from hunting would never be efficiently implemented in New France (Delâge 2006:133). Despite those difficulties, the colony remained valuable to the crown as it elevated it to the level of the growing competing European empires, such as Spain, Portugal, Holland and England. In this perspective, blank spaces across New France maps became rarer and names acknowledging a French catholic heritage multiplied (Figure 2.1.7.) (Chaffray 2005:29; Desbarats and Greer 2011:55). By then, simply claiming the territory did not seem to have been enough, given the efforts France made to populate its colony through the creation of programs favouring the immigration of women, early weddings and multiple childbirths (Bates 1989:160). Nonetheless, not everybody was desirable on colonial grounds: from 1627 only Catholics were admitted and the property of any stranger who died in the colony went back to the state (Grégoire 2009:46). The occupation of the population also seems to have been dear to France, who recorded

this information in the multiple censuses conducted during the French Regime (Davis 1974:77). The crown indeed seems to have been prone to encourage the practice of agriculture against the one of fur trade as highlighted by edicts and administrators' complaints (Courville 1983:419). However, in economic terms the fur trade was much more profitable to the state, especially after its adherence to mercantilism (Clément 2009:102). Following this doctrine, the colony was to be used as a means to gather raw resources unavailable in the motherland and to become a market for produce manufactured there (Pritchard 2004:190-191). While technically implemented from 1663 onwards, the state economic policies were not always respected in New France: documents attest to frequent smuggling between American colonies (Banks 2003), several Intendants attempted to implement colonial industries and local craftsmanship developed steadily especially in Quebec City (Piédalue 2009:48-50).

Brazeau (2009:2) has argued that the name of "New France" as used in early writings conveyed the hope for a renewed and idealised "Frenchness" in the colony, an idea also defended by Trudel (2003:57). According to this perspective, New France was to be forged by and for French will through policies and institutions. Both have been perceived as sources of cohesion between Old and New World even if, as pointed out earlier, there always seems to have been gaps between intent and application (Bouchard 1997a:18). Continuities and the elite who technically ensured them have nevertheless taken a central importance in the way the period has been commemorated (Hamilton 1988:17). In the 1970s, for instance, a complete quarter of Quebec City was "reconstructed" to emphasise its French colonial roots (Faure 1992; Noppen 1986). In the resulting elitist surroundings, protected by UNESCO (Moss 1990:14), annual popular celebrations of "French origins" are taking place nowadays (Berthold and Verreault 2006). Meanwhile, in local history books, the figures of New France tend to be referred to as a homogenised "us" following French Regime policies excluding otherness (Greer 2010:709) but having no genetic grounds (Bouchard and DeBraekeleer 1990). The unravelling of the origins of the colony's settlers has also been a prominent subject of investigation in local history (Mathieu and Gouger 1988:337) and of particular interest to amateurs tracking back the genealogy of their families (St-Hilaire 2010). There is thus a tendency to understand the relation of France to New France to contemporary Quebec as one of continuity (Bouchard 2001:105). Within this general overview, some degree of discontinuity between France and its colony is nonetheless acknowledged and even celebrated as the origins of French Canadian

identity (Courville 1983:418). Beyond these wider concerns, little is known of daily life in New France or of the struggles of commoners through the French Regime (Dessureault 1987:374). In addition to being heavily stereotyped and homogenised (Perin 1993:118), the histories of these communities are generally assumed to be in complete contradiction of the ones of English colonists settled elsewhere in America (Robin 1994:216).

2.1.4. Conquered lands, nascent nations: the English Regime

Throughout the French Regime Quebec City had been the centre of an ever-expanding colony. The ownership of the sparsely populated piece of land had however fostered constant squabbles with the English (Vaugeois 2002:59) and led to the temporary seizure of Quebec by English troops in 1629 (Choquette 2007:121). In the middle of the Seven Years War, in 1759, Quebec was taken again after an epic battle on the city's heights but this time the Conquest would last. This event has taken central importance in the writing of Canadian and Quebec history, where it is respectively presented as a nation-founding event and as the end of an idealised past (Cook 1966:70; Milobar 1996:364). Yet, the state of the colony afterwards and its development until the mid-19th century have been scantly studied (Ouellet 1984:225). During this period of a little over a century, the status and boundaries of the territories that Quebec City was officially part of changed six times (Figure 2.1.8.). To add to the

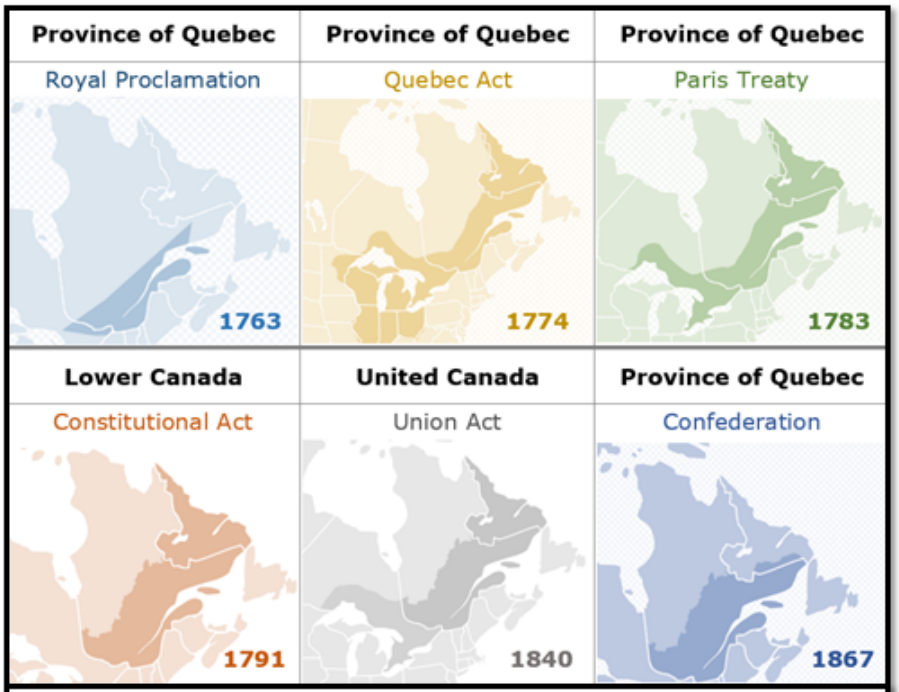


Figure 2.1.8. Quebec changing political boundaries between 1763 and 1867 and related edicts.

challenge, this time span was characterised by multiple political and cultural tensions, punctuated by several economic outbursts and crises while animated by the clash of conservatism and progressivism.

Following their victory in Quebec, it took an additional year for the English troops to conquer what remained of New France (Lawson 1989:3), over which they enforced a military regime until 1763. During this transition, Quebec Upper City, which had been spared by the battles, sheltered important military contingents as well as the quarters of their officers that acted as the colony's temporary government (Parent 2001b:120). As such, they had to deal with the destruction of about a third of the colony and a worried population for which demonstrations of good will were not sufficient (Lamonde 2007:19). It is, however, on the other side of the Atlantic that the fate of New France was negotiated (Lawson 1989:9-12). Several historians have pointed out that France did not hold tightly to the colony, as relationships with Canadians had been deteriorating for decades (Kellman 2013:2). English officials indeed reported how the local populations were prone to critique the ancient regime and blame their former rulers for the conquest of the colony (Brunet 1958:179). Regardless of their allegiance, the treaty of Paris officially and permanently put New France territory under English rule, while redefining the geography of Quebec City that became the political capital of a territory known as the province of Quebec (Harvey 2008:253) (Figure 2.1.8.). The annexation of Quebec City took on a symbolic importance for the English public but quickly revealed an administrative puzzle due to the legislative gaps between English law and French custom (Zoltvany 1971) and the tensions between Catholics and Protestants (Parent 2001b:117). These challenges, combined with the American Revolution War (1775-1783), pushed English authorities to modify the status and the boundaries of the province of Quebec in 1774 and 1783 (Figure 2.1.8.). Less than a decade later, the massive immigration of American colonists loyal to the crown to the western part of the province brought about its subdivision between a more or less English Upper Canada and a predominantly French Lower Canada (Figure 2.1.8.) (Lamonde 2007:18). For the occasion, both colonies were given the right to elect a legislative assembly and form a parliament (Vallières et al 2008b:771) that nonetheless remained under the authority of an executive council chosen by the crown (Parent 2001b:116).

In the first third of the 19th century, Lower Canada's constitution increasingly raised debates, since the measures voted by the colonial

legislative council were frequently denied by British executive authorities (LaRue 1991:529). The resulting tensions, combined with discriminative actions against French Canadians (Paquet and Wallot 1988:17-18), led to the creation of a patriotic party aiming to preserve French Canada. Its propaganda (Fontaine 2004) encouraged the quickly subdued popular rebellions that took place in 1837 and 1838 in Montreal region where French and English populations were more intensively interacting (Greer and Robichaud 1989:345). Following these events, the Lower Canada constitution was suspended (Morin 1998:298-299) while a report suggesting that the troubles had racial rather than political origins was sent to the British crown to whom it recommended the assimilation of French Canadians (Ducharme 2003:358). In 1841, this directive was followed through with the union of Lower and Upper Canada within the United Province of Canada (Gallichan 2007:1) (Figure 2.1.8.) This new political setting did not, however, improve the situation as, for example, the new territory was represented by the same number of French and English elected members even though the former population was far greater (Morin 1998:299). The centre of power was moved towards the west and only periodically came back to the Quebec City area between 1852-1856 and 1859-1866 (Fyson 2008:174). In 1867, the neighbouring colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were combined with the provinces of Quebec and Ontario under the banner of the Dominion of Canada (Figure 2.1.9.), which was granted the status of independent country within the British Empire (Ferguson 2009:137-138). The capital of the new nation was then permanently established in Ottawa located in the former Upper Canada (Harvey 2008:259-261). The same year, Quebec City officially became the capital of the province of Quebec.

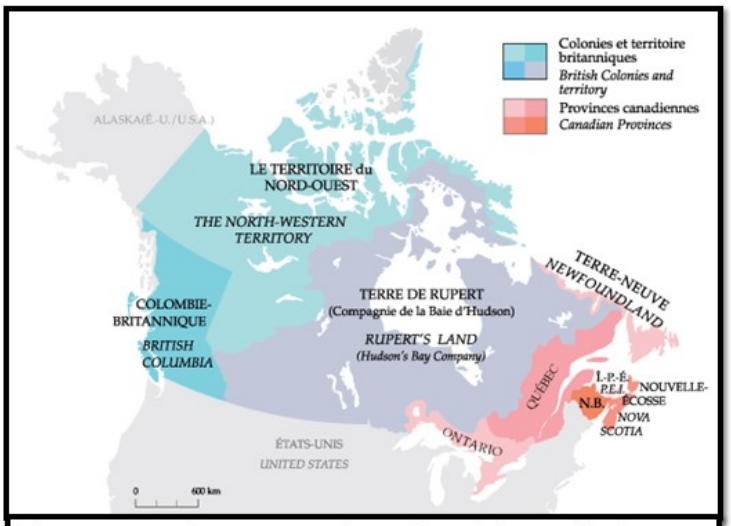


Figure 2.1.9. The Dominion of Canada as delineated by the 1867 Confederation.
Canada Geogratis, 2006.

Despite the increasing tensions that followed the shift of power of 1763, English migrants seem to have been relatively well accepted in Quebec Province as the occurrence of mixed weddings and peaceful exchanges demonstrate (Trudel 1953:10). Through the following decades, such occasions multiplied as Quebec City, then encompassing 8000 French catholic inhabitants, quickly and steadily grew with the flows of Irish, English and German migrants (Harvey 2008:253). They were attracted to the province by the better life conditions (Paquet and Wallot 1988:4) notably promoted through the diffusion of picturesque and peaceful sceneries (Crowley 2005:1-2). Not only did these newcomers enhance the city's wealth (La Grenade-Meunier 1991:41) but eventually came to represent up to 40% of its population (Verrette 1985:63). The integration of the former colony to the British Empire also stimulated the city's economy by providing a market for local productions and timber (Vallières 2008b). It however weakened its commercial ties with France as heavy taxes were imposed on any French importation (Williamson 2004:18). The burgeoning commercial activity across Quebec province fostered new social relationships based on the market economy, capitalism and an emerging consumerism (Paquet and Wallot 1988:8). By the end of the 18th century, most of the province population nonetheless remained engaged in agriculture and scattered among rural areas (Paquet and Wallot 1986:552). Later on, the agrarian character of Quebec province and Lower Canada was celebrated for enabling the perpetuation of French Canadian identity and conversely blamed for an assumed backwardness in terms of development (Milobar 1996:365).

At the turn of the 19th century, the population of Lower Canada was growing quickly while villages and towns were multiplying in old seigneuries (Courville 1984:25, 41). Until the mid-19th century, this demographic outburst was also fuelled by immigration, which brought over 4 000 000 migrants into Quebec City (Ferguson 2009:136). While most of them eventually settled elsewhere, the port city was especially popular as a first point of entry into the New World because boat travel to the destination was among the cheapest available (Pâquet 2008:143). During the first half of the century, the growing population of Lower Canada fostered the emergence of an internal market for food surplus which helped raise living standards (Piédalue 2009:52). During those decades, houses' inventories attested to the presence of an increasing number of modern improvements (Paquet and Wallot 1983:39-43). Their popularity further prompted the industrialisation of Lower Canada and the development of complex capitalist relationships (Ouellet 1996:162). Hence, while the naval

and timber industries ensured the wealth of Quebec City until the end of the century (Little 2012:16), it also prompted the establishment of communities away from the St. Lawrence River and closer to heavily forested areas, kept the loggers away from home most of the year and increased their demand for marketable produce (Séguin and Hardy 1981:51, 55). These financial relationships were sustained by the circulation of English capital and the pressing needs of the crown then engaged in the Napoleonic wars (Séguin and Hardy 1981:51). By the end of these conflicts, England eventually abandoned its protectorate of colonial trading activities, fostering a reorganisation of economy in Quebec City's surroundings that turned to the textile, clothing and shoe industries (Harvey 2008:262). After permanently losing its centrality in north-eastern American British politics, Quebec City's English population constantly decreased and eventually became statistically insignificant (Piédalue 2009:58). By then, political shifts attracted the English population away from the city while the rural population turned to the urban centre notably due to the decreasing accessibility and productivity of arable land (Greer and Robichaud 1989:346). Decreasing yields made Lower Canada dependant on cereal importation by the end of the century (Wampach 1988:183) and were later considered as the source of the political and social crisis that characterised the century (Dessureault 1987:406). While it is now accepted that this cause to effect relationship obscures a more complex reality, agricultural failures were pushed forward to justify the assimilation of French Canada well up to the 20th century (Paquet and Wallot 1988:16).

A century earlier, setting aside differences, the French population of Quebec City had quickly bent the knee to the conquerors even if they were suspected of secretly acting in favour of a return under the French flag (Lamonde 2007:20-21). Unlike commoners, many members of the French elite however chose to go back to France in the following years (Belmessous 2004:538) creating the necessary vacuum for the status of locally born gentry to raise (Andres 2001:483). Their power was consolidated by the maintenance of the Paris custom, the catholic church and the feudal system which were all eventually sanctioned by the Quebec Act in 1774 (Brodeur and Caulier 2001:124). At a daily scale, the perpetuation of these structures contributed to foster a feeling of continuity among French Canadians (Claval 1980:36) which tended to leave in relatively isolated communities (Courville 1990:22) where unique traditions had been evolving for decades (Richardson 1963:33). Following the tensions with motherland authorities towards the end of the French Regime and the current cohabitation with former enemies, the

populace engaged with the development of a repertoire of songs, myths, legends and artistic productions celebrating a distinct French Canadian identity (Andres 2008:78). The inauguration of the first printing press in Quebec City in 1764 provided them additional means to express their feeling of belonging (Galarneau 1983). The development of those ties with the New World is accounted for making the conquered population reluctant to engage in European conflicts and adopting what has later been labelled as a "passive resistance" towards the authorities (Greer 2010:706). For instance, French Canadians are believed to have supported the American troops that attempted to take over Quebec in 1775 and destroyed a part of the Lower town in doing so (Desloges 2001:151).

The events preluding the birth of United-Canada and the assimilationist aims of the crown fostered indignation and resistance among the French Canadian population. For the elite, becoming increasingly conservative, the survival of Quebec was believed to rely on its institutions and especially the Catholic Church (Codignola 2007:719). In order to ensure the preservation of its cultural heritage the council of the province multiplied laws for patrimony protection and the creation of state parks and archives (Harvey 2000; Mortimer-Sandilands 2009). It is also during this period that patriotic literature emerged and the first local history book written by a French Canadian, Michel Bibaud (1844), was published (Bouchard 1994:476). The latter both emphasised the French, rural, traditional, Catholic and homogeneous nature of French Canada (Bouchard 1995:20) and tracked its origins back to the travel of Jacques Cartier (Bouchard 1993:19). Following the same perspective, events putting forward the French roots of the population were organised across Quebec through the 19th century and "I remember" became the official motto of the province (Destrempes 2009). Quebec City was at the centre of these celebrations and was elevated to the rank of cultural capital of French Canada (Harvey 2008:263). In popular discourse the City was associated with continuity (Dutour 2006:51; Villeneuve 1981) and was represented as such in contemporary artistic productions (Little:2012:21). After 1867, the architectural style of the buildings constructed within Quebec City even started to reflect French rather than English classical fashions (Harvey 2008:262). It is in this context that the first scientific societies emerged in the province and the city (Jarrell 1981:147; Savard 1962:191). Their works were impregnated with the politics and ideologies of their time but remained the ground on which knowledge was produced well up to the 1960s (Berger 1986:2).

2.1.5. Modern Quebec: colonial legacies and epistemology

At the turn of the 20th century, Quebec province was engaged in an important urbanisation and industrialisation process (Rouillard 1998:23). The population tended to elect conservative parties which reiterated the centrality of the Catholic Church, who had almost unlimited power within the fields of education and health (Dépatie 2003:22). At school and in popular productions its traditional, rural, Catholic and French character were still emphasised (Pomerleau 2003:47) and the belief that French Canadian identity could only be maintained through homogeneity was widespread (Brosseau 1992:419). Such models, however, were questioned following the 1930s' economic crisis and the Second World War which brought about a modernisation of old paternalistic structures (Bédard 2007:223-224). These critical views over the province's government and development grew into a "Tranquil Revolution" wave that is believed to have affected all aspects of Quebec's social life in the 1960s (Denis 1988:5-6). In parallel to these wider social and cultural changes, historians slowly started to erode the French Canadian identity myth (Bouchard 1993:24). However, at the same time, the public was prompted to recognise the unique character of Quebec society with the creation of separatist movements while the simultaneous diminishing birth rate and increasing immigration kept the threat of assimilation alive (Bédard 2007:224).

Over half a century later, the results of these opposing tendencies are the apparently divergent popular and academic perspectives over Quebec's past (Rudin 2003:3). Several studies have demonstrated the important gaps between what is now academically accepted, what is taught and how the province's past is remembered, the latter being closer to early 20th century ideologies (Létourneau 2006; Lévesque et al. 2013). The persistence of such disparities can be partly attributed to the representation of history whether in provincial museums (Ruddel 2005:158) or in political reconstructions (Noppen 1986:14), that both erase and mute "unsuitable" histories. Alternatively, it is also supported by the writing of provincial history itself, which tends to adopt a narrative rather than a critical form and suggests a direct continuity between the New France era and contemporary Quebec (Greer 2003:16). Further, admittedly or not, many historians still tend to emphasise the unique character of Quebec (Rudin 2002:236), to depict its population as homogeneous (Fitz 1997 134; Rudin 1997:216) and in opposition to the "English" (Bouchard 1994:477). These tendencies are highlighted by the professional protestations that followed the introduction of the

concept of diversity in the historical provincial teaching program in 2006 (Éthier et al. 2008:73). It hence seems that after all, however deconstructive and revolutionary it might claim to be, Quebec's history cannot be written outside its context of production.

At the turn of the 21st century, Quebec City remains the cultural heart of the province, the theatrical scene of multiple popular commemorations and the political capital of French Canada (Courville 1993:76). Very few attempts have been made to produce a comprehensive literature review of the studies devoted to its pasts (Vallières et al 2008a:13) as they are both multiple and fragmented (Bouchard 1997b:245). Since the 1970s, the cultural history of different sectors of the city has been investigated (Wien 1998:5) and archaeological work on its expanding territory has multiplied (L'Anglais 1994). The data produced have nevertheless rarely been considered in a wider perspective and the way the phenomena they describe may relate to larger territories is under theorised (Charest 1994:74). In contrast, research about New France does generally address the Quebec City area due to its centrality throughout the period. However, the changing frontiers of the colony came to encompass several parts of North America now falling under the jurisdiction of other Canadian provinces and the United States, where research has been carried out independently on the subject (Kelly and Hardy 2001:1; Sayre 1997:5). While there have been some efforts to bring together some of the related knowledge (Moussette 2002; Walthall and Emerson 1992; Waselkov 1997), these studies remain disconnected and disparate. Further, they tend to use different approaches and to put emphasis on different themes in relation to specific areas such as creolisation in America (e.g. DiPaolo Loren 2005; Scott and Dawdy 2011) or the fur trade in western Canada (e.g. Klimko 1998; Nassaney 2008).

To this plurality must be added the vast literature produced on early modern France, its rivals in Europe and the Roman Catholic empire. When concerned with colonial matters, these generally focus on politics, the marine ministry or Atlantic ports and tend to be disconnected from colonial realities (Marien 2009:189). The dialectic of exchange between the motherland or Europe and New France is nonetheless increasingly addressed following a growing interest in Atlantic histories (Kellman 2013:2). As for Quebec province or Lower Canada they seem to be mostly an object of study in Canada where the heroes and events celebrated and investigated diverge in different provinces (Milobar 1996:364-365). These multiples perspectives over the area's past are further rarely considered in a

comparative perspective (Fitz 1997:133). This can be partly related to the haziness of their boundaries which only stand clearly on maps after 1760 (Demers 2009). Nevertheless, the "French solitude" of Quebec province among North American territories also proved to be an important barrier that has hindered academic exchanges with English Canada, America and England (Shore 2002:4).

2.2. The Biography of Quebec City's Landscapes

It is said that in "new nations", especially when the "founding act" is subject to debate, national identity is created around a recollection of the landscape that gives a sense of stability and continuity (Berthet 1992:138; Hobsbawn 2006b:279). Used as social benchmarks, some landscape features then become closely associated with common practices and traditions, hence creating a feeling of belonging (Layton 1999:24). In this process, these landmarks become somehow immutable while giving rhythm to daily experience. Four such geographic entities or social conceptualisations are recurrent in the scientific, political and popular discourses about Quebec City and its related territories: the St. Lawrence River (hydrology and hydrography), the shapes of the landscape (geomorphology and glaciology), the climate (climatology) and the vegetation cover (biogeography). The following discussion is built around these main geographical and social axes.

Successively a Gulf, an Estuary and a River, St. Lawrence is one of the geographical features of Quebec that had the most profound impact on the collective perception of space as suggested by 19th century local geography books (Brosseau 1992:413). For any newcomers, St. Lawrence indicated the end of the Atlantic, of Europe or "the known" and the beginning of a wild and strange world, the colony (Banks 2003:70, 76). It also marked the entry into hazardous waters only navigated by day and from May to November in good years (Frank 2000:14). Even once known, the perils of St. Lawrence proved costly to European insurance companies (Bosher 1988:448) but efficiently repelled enemy troops aiming for Quebec City on several occasions (Walker 1720:131). The hazard of the river also inspired the name of several features of the region (e.g. "Cap Tourmente", or "Sault Saint-Louis") while encouraging boats to follow a similar itinerary along which unique local traditions emerged (Furst 2012:124 127). It is from boats sailing the St. Lawrence that the landscapes along its course were first observed, positioned, described and made sense of (Querrec et al. 2014:51) and Quebec City was no exception to this rule. This tendency remained noticeable through the

prevailing fashion of depicting the city as viewed from the River (Crowley 2005:4) (Figure 2.2.1.). Such a perspective was common as through most of their history, the St. Lawrence's banks were heavily forested and the development of alternative routes of transportation has been slow (Brisson and Mathieu 1987:19). Further, using the river to travel was strategic (Chaffray 2005:29) as it is the most important navigable channel in northeastern North America and it is connected with most water routes of this part of the continent. As such, St. Lawrence has long remained the privileged way to create and maintain social relationships, a passage along which information, populations, supplies and goods were constantly moving (Pearson 2011:50). Through those movements, the nature of St. Lawrence made Quebec City an obligatory halt and ensured its wealth: from this point, the changing currents made it impossible for transatlantic boats to sail further west on the river (Rouleau 2009:209). Its narrowness at this point also made the City a position from which a large portion of the North American continent, otherwise inaccessible before the mid-nineteenth century, could be controlled (Lasserre 1980:137).



Figure 2.2.1. A perspective view of the city of Quebec, the capital of Canada (Anonymous, 1761).
Montreal City Archives, CA M001 BM007-2-D09-P011.

St. Lawrence, crucial in terms of transportation and fresh water supply, was the axis along which farmland was distributed throughout the French Regime (Furst 2012:128). Accordingly, all colonists were allotted a rectangular piece of land perpendicular to the waterway

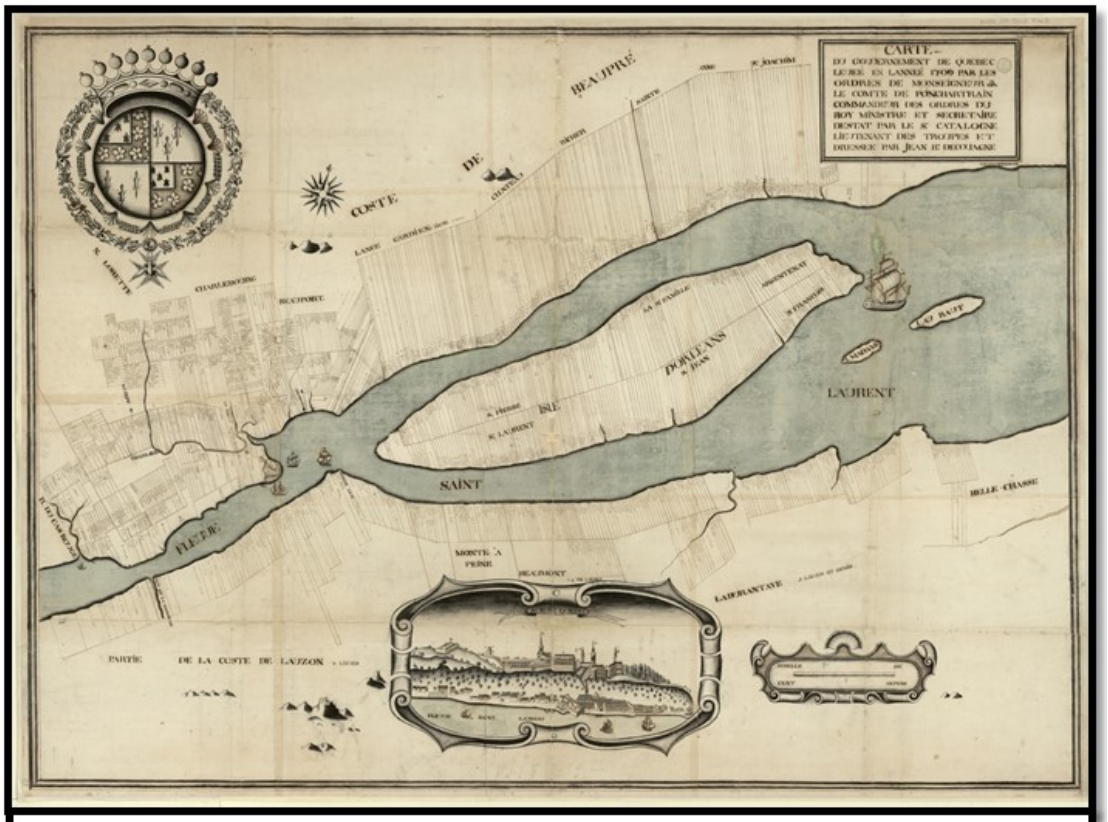


Figure 2.2.2. De Catalogne's map of Quebec City region in 1709 with allotted plots of land.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE SH 18 PF 127.

(Figure 2.2.2.), a practice that favored the establishment of dispersed but more densely populated settlements along its course (Greer 2010:702). This tradition made the area more difficult to protect (Whitbeck 1915:587) and still impacts the management and the structure of the territory nowadays (Berthet 1992:130 144; Hamelin 1993). Along with cartography, it further contributed towards making the river a symbol of constancy and continuity, a stable entity with well-defined contours (Worster 2006:55). Such representations, however, diverge from more practical concerns: the level of the stream varies on a daily basis due to tides that can reach up to 5m in Quebec City as well as to seasonal variations in temperature and rainfall (Morneau 1986:4). These changes were sometimes important impediments: the thick ice covering St Lawrence during winter for example prevented and delayed exchanges with Europe for almost six months of the year (Bosher 1988:450). Nonetheless, it also provided a natural bridge between the river's north and south shore and was a source of ice to keep stored food longer through the summer (Delâge 2006:136). The strong tides gave the impression that any waste could be washed away (Cloutier 2009:234), the reputed purity of its water the one thing that could not be soiled (Furst 2012:130). Yet the habit of throwing debris in the river

considerably modified its contours through the centuries especially at Quebec's height (Gaumont 2004:16). The possibilities and limitations associated with St. Lawrence hence seem to have remained a matter of perceptions that diverged between individuals and groups, but also according to events (Given 2004:18). It is the presence of the stream that allowed the arrival of friendly or enemy troops, dignitaries, women, products and news long expected for. In short, it can be argued that everyday life in Quebec was closely tied to the pace of St. Lawrence, a waterway that was far from corresponding to the rigidity of mapped lines.

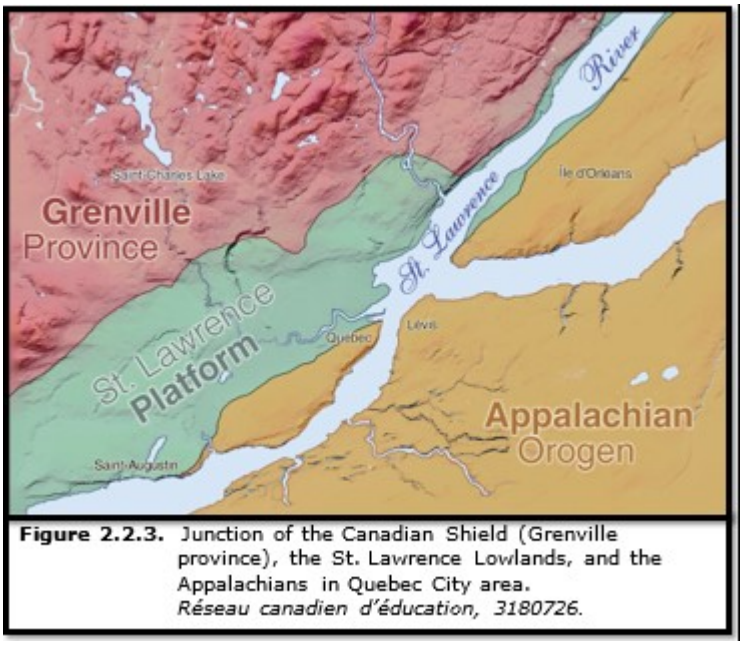


Figure 2.2.3. Junction of the Canadian Shield (Grenville province), the St. Lawrence Lowlands, and the Appalachians in Quebec City area.
Réseau canadien d'éducation, 3180726.

The shapes of the landscape along St. Lawrence have been, like the river, the object of diverging perspectives. From a scientific point of view, they are geo-morphological structures and are particularly diversified near Quebec City, which is located at the intersection of three of them (Morneau 1986:3): the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the Canadian Shield and the Appalachians (Figure 2.2.3.). Seemingly static on paper, these formations have undergone major changes during the last glaciation (from 85,000 B.C. to 7000 B.C.) mostly due to profound erosion. Overwhelmed by the Champlain Sea, the lower portions of the territory were additionally covered with alluvium, which later promoted their fertility (Pagé 1999:367-369). Although transformations have been ongoing ever since, their slow rate often made them imperceptible or negligible for local communities according to whom the landscape remained unchanged (Rousseau 1967:183). There are, however, some exceptions, when wind, water or anthropogenic activities led to massive erosion (La Grenade-Meunier 1991:42), to deadly landslides (Lambert 2006:33), earthquakes (Coates 2000:7) or drastic accumulations of drainage water (Moussette 1994a:31). For instance, the English traveller Lambert (2006:33) concluded in the early 19th century that Quebec's cliffs were actively being eroded after several deadly accidents were reported to him. While such specific events are easy to relate to particular geomorphological features, it is generally

harder to associate them with historical descriptions of Quebec's surroundings. For instance, the "beautiful and good lands" noted by Champlain (2004:149) and Lahontan (1990:71) in the Quebec City area probably correspond to the St. Lawrence Lowlands, given that such expression alludes to flat lands suitable for agriculture and covered with useful trees (Morisset and Fortin 1990). Likewise, references to the Canadian Shield remained vague up to the development of romanticism and tourism at the turn of the 19th century that prompted detailed descriptions of the hills north of Quebec (Crowley 2005:22). As for the Appalachians, there is virtually no reference to them until much later except for one of their formation which took a real mythical symbolism: the Quebec cliff, the legendary Cap Diamant (Gaumont 2004).



Figure 2.2.4. Johnston's Diamond Cape and the social structuration of space in Quebec City.
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, B.2002.5.

Overlooking St. Lawrence, Cap Diamant is a social anchor that stands as a natural border in the spatial fluidity of the Quebec City area. Generally described and recalled positively, it offered valuable strategic opportunities: any defensive outpost, given its height, was hard to take from the river (Laberge 2008) and the banks at its base were large enough to establish a port able to accommodate numerous vessels simultaneously (Melsheimer 1776:158). To these practical considerations more conceptual ones were rapidly and lastingly added, as the cliff became a "natural" frontier, socially structuring the space between the Lower and the Upper Town (Figure 2.2.4.). In the

Lower town, the port and related trading activities favoured the establishment of a merchant bourgeoisie which was quickly outnumbered by a working population of commoners (Douville 1970:41). As early as the 17th century, it is described as a crowded, smelly and dirty place (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:317), a position that was common up to the revival of the area in the 1970s (Faure 1992:321). In the Upper town, from the beginning of the colony onwards, most administrative, religious and prestigious edifices were built on the top of Cap Diamant (Brisson and Mathieu 1987:19). As a result, following the medieval principles relating power to visibility and height, the Upper town, better protected, was the seat of authority in the area (Ogden 1799:18). More carefully planned and ordered to create a pleasant place, the Upper town further offered particularly valued views over the area, which earned countless romantic descriptions and were a major attraction for visitors from the 19th century on (Crowley 2005; Little 2012). Despite its numerous and recognised roles in Quebec City, Cap Diamant is at best relegated to the background in almost all studies about the region. Moreover, just like any other shape of the landscape, it is addressed in such a way as to constantly appear immutable and completely external to any kind of social interaction. Yet it has been modified, eroded and landscaped by human effort over four-hundred years of continuous occupation.



Figure 2.2.5. Krieghoff's representation of the Canadian winter (1857).
Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, nº 9012.

Quebec's climate has taken a much more important place in collective imagination. When Europeans first faced the winter during the 15th and 16th centuries, its coldness came as a shock: it was then believed that places located at the same latitude should share the same climate (Brazeau 2009:24-25). As a result, the coldness was for a while considered as anomalous before being accepted as a fact (Desbarats and Greer 2011:40). By then, it was perceived as a barrier to colonial progress (Chaffray 2005:48) and an explanation for the wildness of the continent and the 'barbarity' of its occupants (Brazeau 2009:28). In Quebec, the climate acquired legendary status for its wide variations (average monthly temperatures range from 19.2 °C to -12.8 °C), its marked

seasonal cycle (during which approximately 3m of snow covers the territory), and its effect over soils that remain frozen solid for nearly half of the year limiting plant growth according to the data collected locally since 1871 (EC 2001+). These impediments and their related side effects made the long-term colonisation of the region a great challenge (Wien 2004:265-268). As such, "the cold" became the explanatory cause of any actual or alleged backwardness (Hamilton 1988:35). Despite these negative effects, and although responsible for famines and even popular uprisings (Bougainville 2003:243), the climate of Quebec is not only commemorated for its harshness. The ability to cope with the conditions came to foster pride:

> "One must admit that only French hard labour could have made something of such a country." (Translated from: Le Beau 1738:79-80).

It was also credited for the good health of the population (Brosseau 1992:415) and its longevity (Le Beau 1738:63) while snow became an ally in times of war as the adoption of snowshoes enabled people to travel across long distances quickly (Back 2003). As such, the climate eventually became closely related to the folkloric representation of the local "habitant" (Figure 2.2.5.; e.g. Palmer 1998:192; Provencher 1996:17).

While the cold took a prominent place in discourses about Quebec's climate, its wide variations also attracted some attention (Worster 2006:52). Not only did seasonal rhythms shaped daily lives, but also sprinkled the calendar with opportunities to meet, exchange and celebrate (Figure 2.2.6.) throughout the year such as the dispersal of ice on the rivers (Saint-Pierre and Pouliot 1990). Nevertheless, the cycle of seasons was accompanied by several complaints about floods, droughts and too often, cold or snowy winters. Contrary to the Little Ice Age, which seems to have left no traces in historical records (Clermont 1996), several documents entails comments on climate changes that have no scientific basis. They are generally suggesting a general warming (Lambert 2006:99), a situation that is not unique and was reported elsewhere in the American continent. Golinski (2008:161) argued that such perceptions are the result of the association between colonial



Figure 2.2.6. Newspaper's clipping: crowd waiting for the dispersal of ice in Quebec (April 1887). *Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, 0000162885.*

progress and the rise of temperature, a relationship which further contributed to territorial appropriation and assimilation. Despite the recognition of the importance of climate in the development of Quebec's nationalism, it remains, just as other aspects of the area's geography, rarely considered as a subject or as a principal axis of investigation in academia (Chaffray 2005:11).

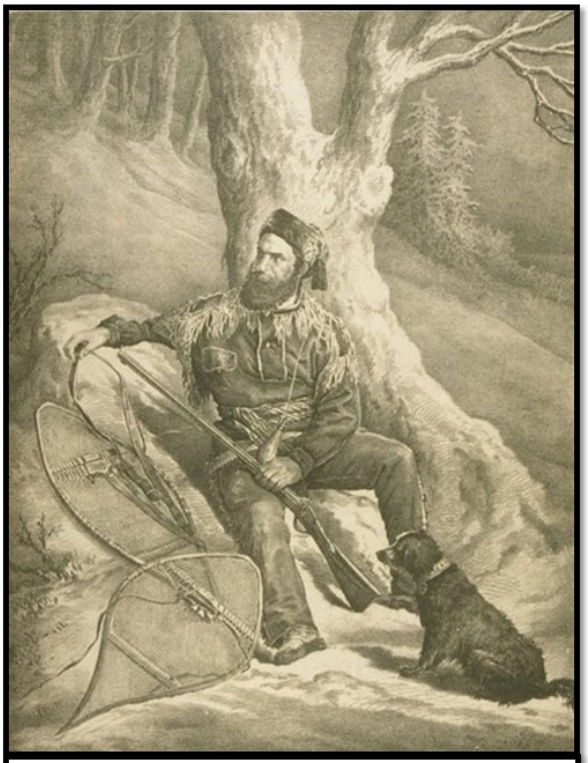


Figure 2.2.7. Newspaper's clipping: famous French Canadian traveller (October 1871). *Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, 0000164483.*

Like the coldness of the winter, the wild character of Quebec City area quickly, recurrently and lastingly fostered comments among European travellers. They brought along with them prejudices about wilderness, a tendency to associate it with savageness or barbarity and a propensity to conceptualise it in opposition to civilisation, order and holiness (Brisson 2006:167). As a result, it is only by the 19th century that Quebec wilderness really came to be praised and to inspire artists (MacKay 2011:7). Meanwhile, the wild was described as a fearsome enemy still to conquer in local literature, songs and myths, where it was nonetheless celebrated for giving rise to a distinct national identity (Crowley 2005:28) (Figure 2.1.7.). It is in this perspective that the maple leaf was first used as an emblem in the early 19th century (Vachon 2011). As a symbol, the leaf also evoked the existence of close ties with Europe notably due to the numerous similarities between its floras and the one of Quebec's surroundings (Clark 2014:579). These resemblances facilitated the appropriation of the land whose vegetal cover had a familiar appearance, enabling comparisons and are believed to have favoured the reproduction of European traditions in the colony (Dickenson 2008:29). They also encouraged colonists and visitors to use Old World names for the New World species they encountered and were keen to describe and sample for the crown (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:XXXI). Not all plants seem, however, to have been worthy of mention in their writings, which tend to focus on trees and

other vegetation that had an economic potential or ornamental qualities (Morisset and Fortin 1982).

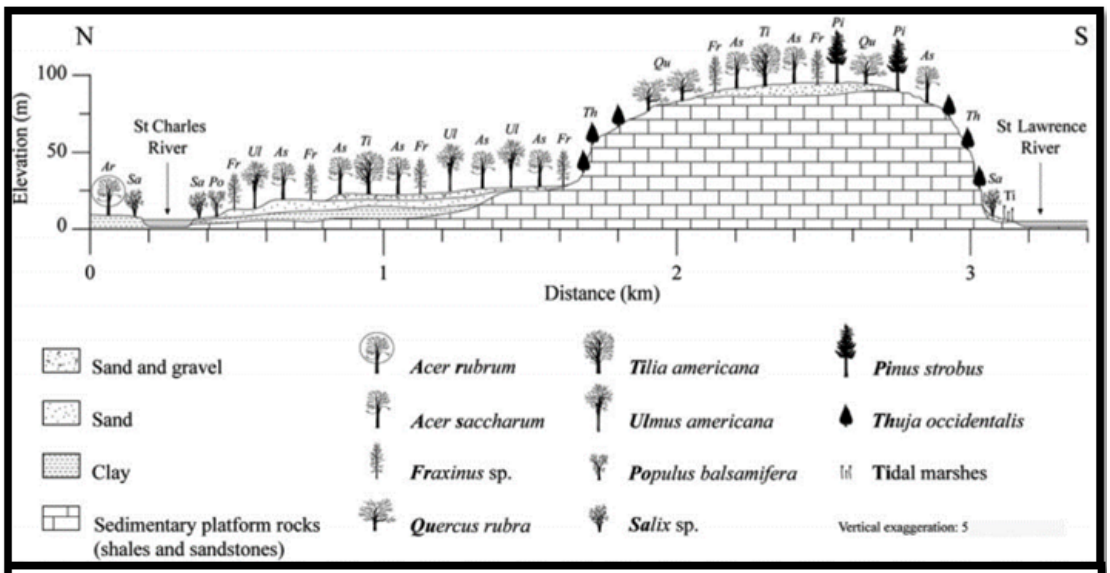


Figure 2.2.8. Vegetation cover in pre-colonial Quebec City area. *Filion et al. 2009:23.*

While early writings about the Quebec area include several references to local plants, it is difficult to associate them with specific taxa as they tend to be hazy. Canadian botanical folklore indeed entails European labels wrongly associated with New World plants as well as phonetic approximations of Native names or invented designations for which contemporary equivalents remain uncertain (Querrec et al. 2014:51). From the mid-18th century on, the region nonetheless started to be visited by botanists who used the Latin binominal system of Linnaeus to designate the species they encountered (Boivin 1977:289). Their writings, which generally lacked context beyond botanic characteristics, provide a ground for comparisons that is yet to be exploited, for environmental history is a field still in its infancy in the region (Castonguay 2006:23). Nonetheless, paleo-geographic studies have already established that naturally, the region is at the intersection of the Laurentian maple forest and the yellow birch forest (Filion et al. 2009:23). This location, as well as the presence of fresh water tide, is generally held accountable for the diversity and uniqueness of the vegetal environment of Quebec City (Rousseau 1967:199) (Figure 2.2.8.). In such explanations, the fact that Quebec was an important port transiting international merchandises for centuries, however, tends to be obliterated like the possibility that the Native populations that occupied the area for millennium could have induced any environmental change. This propensity is related to the tendency to only address the natural vegetal environment prior

to any European disturbance (Poitras 2006:111). The impact of colonisation over the region's landscape could generally be understood by comparing these portrayals with the work of Baillargeon (1981) who fully recorded the species present across the Quebec City area in the 1980s. While such an enterprise is still to be accomplished, more is also to be done in order to understand Quebec's vegetation as an agent of transformation rather than an inert canvas to be changed at human will (Clark 2014:582).

To science, Quebec City's landscapes have been forged at the intersection of environmental forces which shaped the St. Lawrence River, the land morphology, the regional climate and the local vegetation. Those elements have been well studied, measured, calculated and categorised but through this process they became reduced to inert variables. They tended to endorse a similar role in popular memory and history where they were nonetheless recognised for fostering a collective sense of belonging. The recursive ways in which these features were defined by daily experiences while grounding them in the past however tend to be overlooked. Environmental history is slowly attempting to fill this gap but archaeology, a discipline considered as the study of the quotidian, is yet to engage with the subject beyond concerns of resource availability and waste disposal.

2.3. Quebec City's past and archaeology

Whether related in a traditional fashion or explored more critically, it seems significant that archaeology plays a rather limited role in the reconstruction of Quebec City's past. While the discipline is called upon more frequently to investigate the region's pre-colonial history, this period tends to be overlooked in scholarship and by the public at large (subsection 2.1.1.). As for the events that took place after the arrival of the first explorers in the region, they largely remain discussed on the ground of historical evidence alone. This section paints a brief portrayal of archaeological practice in the Quebec City area and emphasises the particularities that may hamper its impacts over scientific and popular understanding of regional history. This overview further situates the sites studied within local archaeological practice before to draw relationships between the remains they entailed and the written histories evoked in the previous sections.

In Quebec City, archaeological activities are carried on under the supervision of two distinct governmental bodies which operate on different scales. The first, Parks Canada, is a federal agency which

manages historical sites of national significance (Desrosiers 1994) such as Champlain's Farm and St. Louis Forts and Castles. The organisation has its own archaeological teams and facilities across the country, promotes bilingualism, and encourages inter-provincial exchanges (Cloutier P. 1999). In a context where French and English archaeologists tend to move in different circles and rarely communicate (Mackie 1995:185), the agency projects offer opportunities to collaborate beyond provincial boundaries and increase archaeological practice coherence on a national scale. Parks Canada aspirations are, however, plainly turned towards the public and are openly nationalist:

> "The protection of these sites is linked closely to our ability to help the public connect with these places of discovery and help them enjoy countless opportunities to experience them, whether alone or with family and friends […] Our work—when you go right to the heart of it—is at the very core of what used to be called 'nation-building.'" (Latourelle 2010:139)

While the impact of such orientations has never been criticised or investigated, the effects of the agency's policies over the Canadian public have been surveyed by scholars in the first decade of the 21st century (Lea 2008; Pokotylo 2002). The results revealed that most Canadians attribute importance to national patrimony and visit protected historical sites annually. A majority of respondents nonetheless poorly understood the role of archaeology in the reconstruction of these protected areas' history. This flaw, as well as a general lack of engagement in publication (Dorosenko 2009:509) and a low concern for epistemology and theory altogether (Wright 1985:426), also characterise other archaeological endeavours in Quebec province (Gates St-Pierre 2009:125).

Outside Parks Canada's lands, the practice of archaeology in Quebec City is regulated and managed by Quebec province's Ministry of Culture and Communication (Lapointe 1992b). The governmental organisation notably grants compulsory permits, keeps written evidence of any excavations on the territory and provides facilities to store, study and preserve all uncovered artefacts (Saint-Pierre 2007:132). Whether in the public or private sector, the requirements of the ministry greatly contribute towards homogenising regional archaeological practice (Desrosiers 1994), a consistency further prompted by the Association of Quebec Archaeologists' (AAQ) ethics code. As a result, not only did the discipline come to develop a regional vocabulary of its own, but it became impermeable to outsiders for whom it is very difficult to excavate in the province

(Kelley et Williamson 1996:11). Of the 300 archaeologists working in the province of Quebec in 2010, about 60% worked in the private sector and a vast majority only held temporary jobs, some figures that are relatively close to what is observed in Europe (Zorzin 2010). These demographics can be partly blamed for a tendency to invest most of a project's time and budget in excavation rather than on analysis, interpretation or publication (Drouin 1983:35-36). As a result, not only is archaeological work poorly disseminated, but when it is it rarely expands over the limit of a single site (Drouin 1994) and synthesis are nonexistent (Zorzin 2011:123). The lack of involvement in analysis and interpretation is generally compensated through the recourse to numerous regional typologies developed since the 1980s (e.g. Décarie 1999; Hamel 2009) that were initially created as a tool but quickly became an end. While the interest for archaeometry in the 1990s improved the situation (Moussette and Desrosiers 1999-2000:15), it also made questions of technology and provenience more central to the field than past social significance (Mathieu 1995:15). Despite the multiplication of large multidisciplinary projects in the 21st century, Quebec archaeology with its impenetrable terminology and limited scope remains more used to illustrate history than to write it (Desrosiers 2010).

Despite its pitfalls which hamper the use of its results in a wider perspective in research, a distinctive feature of Quebec City archaeology is its dedication to the public whether at a federal or a provincial level (Forth 1994). In fact, the subject has become in the last few years one of the most frequently discussed theme in local publications which highlight many initiatives from an archaeology month with its familial talks and activities (Caron 2007), to mock excavations (Cloutier G. 1999), excavations open to the public (Gaudreau 2007:14), reproductions' sales (Miville-Deschênes 1990), touristic circuits (Moss 1999), interactive exhibitions (Pothier 1996) and even an archaeology hotel (Émond and Ette). To explain why this involvement is not sufficient to insure a role for archaeology in the creation of collective memory, the wider context in which these activities are taking place is important. It has been estimated that 80% of archaeological work in Quebec province is financed by public funds (Zorzin 2010; 2013:123). Raising the interest of the local population and tourists has hence become a means to secure funding for archaeological projects (Bournival 2000:14; Desrosiers 2010:37). As those tend to massively invest in excavation, the narrative they use to address the public is generally almost completely based on already known facts that archaeological finds illustrate (Pothier 1996:20-22). Further, the people directly addressing the public are

often tour guides, journalists, museologists and amateurs who use criteria of their own to select what is relevant to display (Desrosiers 2011; Nadon 1994). Finally, archaeological activities are often oriented towards a single site, a situation making more difficult the integration of what is new with what is already known about local history (Mathieu 1989:2; O'Bomsawin 1994).

The archaeological projects that took place in Quebec City area between 2006 and 2011 at Cartier-Roberval site, Champlain's Farm, Braves' Park, Intendant's Palace and St. Louis Forts and Castles (Figure 1.1.) complies in many ways with the tendencies outlined above. They were all invested in public activites, more prone to finance excavation than research and intrinsically related to celebrated national heroes and events. They however stood out as, to the exception of Brave's Park site, they were all the object of articles aimed at an international audience in a special issue of *Post-Medieval Archaeology* dedicated to the city 400th anniversary in 2009. Although unevenly spread within this time span, they, as a group, yielded evidence dating from early European explorations to the Confederation (Figure 2.3.1.). They entails remains of the first French settlement in North America (Cartier-Roberval site), of some of the

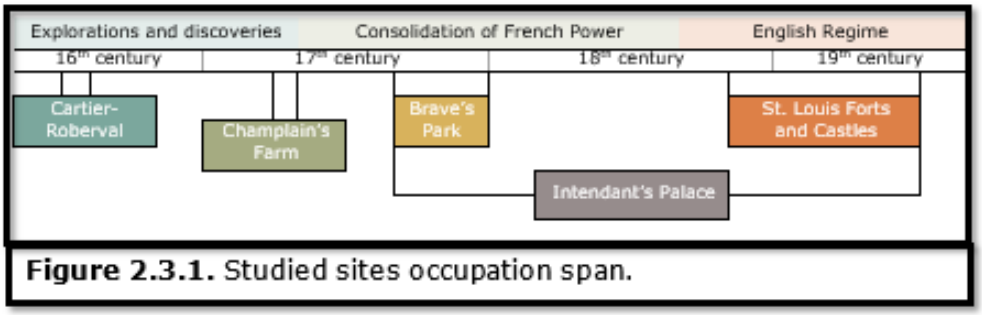


Figure 2.3.1. Studied sites occupation span.

first farmsteads (Champlain's Farm) and industries (Intendant's Palace shipyard and brewery) of New France as well as evidence of squabbles between French and English (Champlain's Farm and Intendant's Palace), and buildings occupied by countless governors and officials (Intendant's Palace and St. Louis Forts and Castles) from which a vast territory was ruled, military troops were dispatched and supplies sent to distant outposts (Intedant's Palace King's Store). It is as such that the archaeology of those sites have captured the public attention while providing countless images to illustrate local history books. These nation building parts of their occupation however casted shadows on the no less rich histories of the hundreds of people who daily crossed those sites, of the way they interacted with local landscapes that went from an unknown wilderness to a fully managed town, and of the clash of Old World traditions with New World realities. To shed light on these histories, the archaeological evidence

gathered at those sites must be assessed from a different perspective that theoretical approaches developed abroad can greatly contribute to develop.

Whether in local scholarship or in collective memories, Quebec City's archaeology has a limited impact on narratives related to the region's past even though it greatly contributed to raising awareness of archaeological heritage and the importance of its protection. If the discipline cannot escape the context in which it takes place, it can certainly benefit from conceptual and technical advances made abroad to achieve its fuller potential. In doing so it can fill the gaps highlighted in the first two sections of this chapter. Archaeological evidence can be an excellent means of addressing the daily life of commoners beyond celebrated events, the dynamics of exchanges between culture and nature beyond a set of immutable conditions, and the experience of colonialism and nationalism beyond discourses. In doing so, the discipline may provide an alternative to a sequence of commemorated events which, like the documents used to reconstruct them, have come to accumulate a politicised baggage. In order to reach such a goal, it seems relevant to explore how colonialism and nationalism evolved in parallel with the development of sciences before dwelling further on critical theoretical approaches aimed at overcoming their partisan effects.

Colonialism and Nationalism: from History to Theory in Quebec City and beyond

From early human colonisation to the establishment of a European colony and the birth of a nation, Chapter 2 has provided a historical and geographical background of Quebec City. It also touched on how histories imprinted collective memories and sciences of the past alike and henceforth contributed towards shaping their own reconstruction. The current chapter further expands on notions of colonialism and nationalism by exploring how these ideologies have evolved abroad in the last centuries and were investigated in other colonial settings. It simultaneously addresses the pervasive impacts of these doctrines over the formulation of different theoretical approaches in humanities at large and historical archaeology in particular. This portrayal paves the way for a discussion focused on recent conceptual venues that account for the colonialist and nationalist heritage of sciences. Those are thereafter weaved into a single conceptual framework adapted to the practice of archaeology.

3.1. Colonialism: between discourse and experience

The word colonialism is used through this thesis to refer to an ideology ratifying the dominance of one realm, state, kingdom or political group over another on the basis of asserted social inequalities that are central to its maintenance and enactment (Silliman 2005:59; Jordan 2009:32). Defined as such, the doctrine is neither typically European nor specific to the Early Modern era as pointed out by Lyons and Papadopoulos (2002) or Dietler (2010) for instance. Given the scope of the current project, this section focuses on colonialism in Western Europe and its colonies over the last Five centuries. In this context, colonialism is closely intertwined with the rise of nationhood and capitalism as well as the creation and development of administrative tools aiming to sustain social inequalities (Croucher and Weiss 2011:4; Paynter 2000:202). It is through these relationships that this section explores western colonialism from the 15th century AD to the present, from a lived experience to an investigated reality, from a set of contingencies to an articulated discourse.

3.1.1. Colonialism and nationhood

Nationhood is considered here as a social bond bringing a population together on the grounds of shared traditions which are used to

demonstrate its superiority, justify territory ownership and dominate other peoples (Watts 2009:141). In Western Europe, nationhood was notably prompted by the discovery of the Americas and the will to own its lands, resources and inhabitants (Waswo 1996:743-744). For example, Roman custom was pushed forward to deprive Natives living in complete ignorance of the Bible and by alien norms of their land (Harris 2004) and to take over American territories already claimed by rival European powers (Elliott 2006:184). The close management of conquered landscapes (Oslund 2011:1) and the reproduction of Old World lifestyles and institutions in nascent colonies (Rogers 2005:334) were held as justifications of a rightful rule. Different strategies were deployed to assimilate native populations such as the implementation of programs to re-educate their children in Spanish (Elliot 2006:206) and French (Charbit 2006:6) holdings or their confinement to small territories under the control of missions imposing labour on them (Silliman 2001:379). Edicts strictly restraining Others' liberties on the basis of ascendency, appearance and beliefs were adopted (Rushforth 2003:780) and went as far as imposing diet, clothes and occupations (Jamieson 2005:215).

Whilst measures were adopted to insure Western Europe rule abroad, conquests were celebrated in the homeland (McNiven and Russell 2005:51). Along with rediscovered and reclaimed glorious Roman and Greek ancestry (Dietler 2010:28) they further fuelled a feeling of superiority (Melzer 2012:18). In comparison, Native lifestyle was considered primitive (Gosden 2004:133) and their behaviour infantile (Thomas 1994:134). As such, it was long considered impossible for the ancestors of North American tribes to have built the large mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, for instance (Pauketat and Diapolo-Loren 2005:8). Progressively, the belief that humankind was naturally hierarchized spread (Jones 1997:41) to eventually become science in the course of the 19th century with the formulation of the theory of evolution (Harris 2004:171). It is in this context that anthropology emerged as a means of studying the development of humanity through a series of evolutionary stages (Rowlands, 2006:473-474). Others became object of curiosity that could be used to illustrate earlier stages of European civilisation (Welz 2001:4862). These perspectives notably permeated archaeology through the formulation of Cultural History (Renfrew 1984:7). Popularised through the work of Gordon Childe and Gustaf Kossinna (see Shennan 2006:4), this paradigm proposed investigating human evolution through a succession of well-defined societal types associated with specific traits (Hodder 2007:23). This body of work led to a

widespread recourse to typologies to track the level of complexity of past societies through time (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:14). Following these principles, it became current practice to associate primitive objects with colonised and more sophisticated ones with colonisers (Trigger 2002:276).

The idea that colonisers were superior to colonised was also sustained in colonial archaeology following the conceptualisation of inter-cultural exchanges through the acculturation theory of Redfield and his colleagues (1936). Their model pushed forward the notion that sustained exchanges between different cultures inevitably led to adjustments (Herkovits 1938:2-6; Quimby and Spoehr 1951:108) and that when the societies in contact were not of the same complexity, the inferior group was inevitably assimilated (Cusick 1998:128-129). It is in this perspective that the ratios of primitive Native to complex European artefacts were used in historical archaeology to investigate cultural exchanges in the colonial context, for example (Lightfoot 1995:206). A similar perspective about the asymmetrical character of colonial inter-cultural exchanges is also found in the World System model initially formulated to explain the origins and development of capitalism (Wurst 2008:1606). In short, the model classified economic systems as core, semi-periphery or periphery knowing that cores were seen not only as centres of power but also as the source of any change or innovation (Champion 1989:6). It was notably used in historical archaeology to understand the nature of the relationship between European powers and their American colonies (Orser 2009:259-262).

Like Culture Historical archaeology and the theory of acculturation, the World System favoured a top-down approach which lacked concern for individual agency. These conceptualisations also tended to depict colonial exchanges as unidirectional and unavoidable, some ideas that have been heavily criticised in archaeology in the last decades (Russell 2011:47). For instance, the influential work of Deagan (1983, 1998) highlighted how Native women married to Spanish colonists impacted colonial daily life by introducing new culinary habits, re-empowering colonised women. Manifold studies also demonstrated that colonisers' societies were transformed by New World environments and through sustained contacts with colonised populations (Ewen 2000:36). It is in this perspective that Dawdy (2000) for example tracked objects' provenance among successive generations of colonists in Louisiana. Attention have also been drawn towards frontiers which were considered culturally creative in-between spaces (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). More

recently, the process through which the creation of new ethnic affiliations occurs in multicultural colonial settings became an object of interest (e.g. Voss 2005). The resulting studies have emphasised the fluidity of ethnic boundaries but also how in a colonial context, ethnicity is in constant negotiation between individual agency and colonial structures (e.g. Voss 2008b).

3.1.2. Colonialism, social inequalities and science

Nationhood provided justifications and arguments to sustain Western Europe expansionism and colonialism. Beyond discourses, the efficiency of these forms of empowerment rested on the imposition of structures enforcing social demarcation. Written documents and science strongly contributed towards cementing those categorisations that fostered inequalities considered inherent to colonialism. At a time when the label of 'unknown' provided a motivation for conquest (subsection 3.1.1.), it was imperative to give familiar or at least, recognisable, names to the conquered (Pluskowski 2013:46). To insure their permanent incorporation into the Western European realm, it was further crucial to make sense of them through analogies and categorisations anchoring their subordinate character (Garcia et al. 2010:15). Achieving such a task felt on an educated elite competing for multiplying and highly regarded administrative positions in expanding European polities (Watts 2009:148). In the course of the 15th century, the invention of printing accented the centrality of written texts in claiming and maintaining power (Brotton 2002:78-79). Printed documents were more widely available and were as such used as tools of propaganda (Lewis 1990:840-841) creating issues regarding their accuracy. In this context, ancient Greek and Roman texts became canons to understand the unfamiliar and the ability to cite them a proof of education and integrity (Diaz-Andreu 2007:32; Dietler 2010:28). The recurrent use of the same comparisons contributed to the creation of stereotypes (Halon 2000:488-490): Others were not acting like the barbarians Ancient Greeks and Romans had fought against; they were barbarians. Those generic labels in turn proved particularly useful to simplify and manage the complex situations rising out of colonialism in Western Europe polities (Wagoner 2003:784). In those circumstances, administrative papers became essential tools to mediate the relationship between political authorities and their subjects (Given 2004:69). Maps, census and taxation records provided intelligence to rule but also contributed towards enforcing social categories over daily lives (Lucas 2006:9).

The accumulation of knowledge for administrative purposes progressively contributed to the emergence of different fields of speciality such as botany or geology, for instance (Bray 1993:303). Within these rising disciplines, specialists frequently distinguished themselves from amateurs through their affiliation with nascent scientific societies (Roche 1996). Multidisciplinary, these communities, which included the English and French Royal Societies, brought approval, prestige and funding to their selected members (McClellan 2003:89). They further encouraged exchanges and the adoption of a writing style insuring objectivity (Henry 2009:48-49). These orientations contributed to widespread adoption of 'neutral' observation, experimentation and reproducibility as the basis of scientific inquiry (Thomas 2004:29). In compliance with the context they emerged from, early sciences were also strongly engaged in the discovery of the organic and "natural" categories enabling the explanation and classification of any observed phenomenon (Said 1979:119-120). In this perspective, any element was seen as representative of the category it was assigned to and conversely (Stoler and Cooper 1997:1). As a result, any studied object was considered outside its social context to be scientifically reintroduced into European consciousness in typically western terms and on the basis of standardised observations and measures (Thomas 1994:37-38). This practice contributed towards permanently fixing some categories in western thought and henceforth to prompt specific legal, practical and scientific approaches to time, space and social experience (Loomba 2007). These practices progressively erected impermeable distinctions between men and women, people and nature, white, black and other, or rich and poor (McClellan and Regourd 2000:32).

The assumptions and approaches of early sciences were kept lively through the manner in which knowledge was recorded, validated and accumulated despite technical advances. In archaeology, early scientific heritage is notably perceptible in 'New Archaeology', a paradigm that emerged in the 1960s and was rooted in recently developed scientific tools such as C^{14} dating (Salmon 2008:1815). By and large, positivists, the adepts of 'New Archaeology', indeed advocated for a widespread recourse to the scientific method developed centuries earlier (Johnson 2008:1895). They emphasised the importance of identifying methodological bias through experimentation (Johnson 2006:121) and developed means of characterising site formation processes (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:5). Heavily relying on evolutionism, some of the supporters of New Archaeology (e.g. Dunnell 1991) suggested explaining changes

in the archaeological record as the result of natural selection (Shennan 2006:7). Alternatives included Binford's (1962) processualism which relied on ethnographic analogies for model building and saw culture as a mean of adaptation (Hodder 1992:14). New Archaeology and emergent sciences hence shared their strong reliance on the idea that there were such things as natural categories and that those could be ordered from simple to complex using universal laws (Preucel 1995:148).

The top down approaches prompted by New Archaeology and their search for universal categories were by no means unique to the paradigm. They were, for instance, instrumental in contemporary structuralism popularised through the writings of Levi-Strauss (1958). Inspired by the work of Saussure (1916) in linguistics and of Radcliffe-Brown (1922) in anthropology, Levi-Strauss was interested in deciphering the language of things, or how objects communicate overarching ideologies (Rowlands 2006:475). In order to uncover their nature, he suggested a cross-cultural and comparative approach positioning every material behavior within multiple sets of binary oppositions accounting for their form, style and function (Preucel 2006:38). As such, he described different cooking styles through a set of fundamental oppositions, such as raw/cooked/rotten or boiled/roasted which he then transposed into more general arenas like water/fire or culture/nature to try to uncover "[…] how the cooking of a society is a language in which it unconsciously translates its structure […]" (Levi-Strauss, 1997:35). Whilst this outlook was further promoted by the writings of Douglas (1966), structuralism had a limited impact on archaeology (Hodder and Hutson 2003:45) where it is mostly acknowledged for inspiring the work of James Deetz (1963, 1977).

In archaeology, post-processualism rose from the critics of processualism and structuralism but was no more immune to colonial stereotypes. The paradigm was grounded in the work of Hodder (1982) and his students (e.g. Miller 1982), who emphasised the importance of investigating questions related to social meaning and of adopting approaches taking into account individuality (Preucel 1995:147-148). This body of literature drew attention towards identity or the processes through which an individual is affiliated to different social groups following its race, gender, class and/or ethnicity (Clark 2008:1156). However, despite promising auspices, social identity tended to be perceived as unified and monolithic in post-processual studies (Jones 2007:44). This is exemplified by a body of work focusing on consumer behaviour in historical

archaeology (e.g. Spencer-Wood 1987). Considering economic power as determinant over consumption choices (LeeDecker 1994:348), these studies attempted to determine the socio-economic status of households by calculating the value of the objects they used (Gibb 1996:9). These measurements facilitated comparisons but were criticised for reducing the complexity of observed reality to categories (Brandon 2009:7).

Approaches to social identity have ever since broadened considerably and have raised awareness towards the issues related to the projection of recent social demarcations on the past (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:2). They have also encouraged the conceptualisation of individual identity as fluid and changing (Joyce and Wilkie 2008:1484) whilst emphasising that race, gender, status and ethnicity are inextricable (Insoll 2007:10). They tremendously contributed towards enlightening the process of social affiliation in a colonial context (e.g. Mrozowski 2006a; Voss 2008c) but also the ways in which institutions and stereotypes operate at the individual level. Focused on power, many studies have indeed taken inspiration from the work of Foucault (1995) who investigated the role of architecture in controlling and disciplining prisoners' bodies (Thomas 2005:14). In historical archaeology, this outlook fostered research on colonial landscapes and the way they were used to promote and reinforce social hierarchy in Maryland city plans (Leone et al. 2005) or Edwardians and Victorian Irish public parks (Brück 2013) for instance. In the same perspective, Given (2004) explored how colonial administrative tools impacted the daily life of the colonised but also how they were resisted. The critique and study of capitalism also played a key role in this re-empowerment of the colonised.

3.1.3. Colonialism, capitalism and daily lives

Early Modern Western Europe colonialism is rather unique as it is closely intertwined with the emergence and development of capitalism (Loomba 2005:10). As pointed out by Croucher and Weiss (2011:4), the definition of capitalism is, however, an object of debate. Capitalism is understood here as a set of social relationships sustained through the exchange of capital (McGuire 2006:126). As a system, capitalism rests on the ability of production means owners to accumulate wealth by paying a labour force less than the value its work adds to the produce they sell (Mrowzowski 2006a:126). This labour force in turn tends to grow dependant on this retribution to gain access to the necessities and trivia of daily life henceforth creating a market for a wide range of produces whose consumption contribute to the wealth of production means owners (Paynter

2000:172). Although often associated with urbanisation, industrialisation and globalisation, there is little agreement as to when exactly capitalism supplanted tributary and kin relationships (Paynter 2000:172) even if its structuring power over colonial experiences has been extensively documented (Crowell 1997:2). Capitalism made the accumulation of capital a goal which gave rise to a propensity to take people and landscapes as commodities (Thomas 2005:13). As such, it is considered instrumental in the development of slavery (Sweet 1997:143) and a major impediment in shaping plantation activities (Croucher and Weiss 2011:7). Likewise, it oriented the life of a labour force to whom schedules and normative behaviours were imposed (Casella 2005:165), notably through built environments specifically designed to constrain daily activities towards efficiency (Branton 2009:55). Concomitant to a growing urbanisation and industrialisation (Mrozowski 2009:381), capitalism encouraged the conceptualisation of nature as a bundle of resources and had as such especially destructive effects over it (Mrozowski 1999:155). Whilst imprinting mindsets in Western Europe and its colony, capitalism increasingly raised movements of critique and protestation from the 19th century. For example, environmental destruction and pollution played a role in the rise of romanticism (Cronon 1992:50) and of concerns for health and sanitation (Crane 2000:21). Meanwhile, feminist movements and Marxism challenged the capitalist order and were in doing so contributing to re-empowering the individual in daily life and research (Loomba and Orkins 1998:3).

In the course of the 19th century, women's rights movements condemned the idea that women were inferior to men at any level (Wall 1994:9). According to some of their assertions, capitalism greatly contributed towards making women subordinate to men as the former were generally bound to domestic unpaid work whilst the latter held the economic power of the household (Spencer-Wood 2013:397). More recent work tended to support their claim and illustrated how the imbalance between men and women came to alter gender relationships among the colonised (Stoler 1989:135) especially in traditionally matriarchal communities (Devens 1991). These studies also built on arguments pushed forward by the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Stig-Sørensen 2004:17). Those suggested gender was a social construction created and maintained through discourses and institutions (Conkey and Spencer-Wood 1998:13) and could henceforth be contested and resisted (Spencer-Wood 2004:248). As such they drove attention towards the micropolitics of power at the

household level (Johnson 2006:96), an orientation upon which feminist discourse intersected with Marxism. As initially formulated by Marx, this tradition argued that society was constructed through the tensions, conflicts and contradictions emerging from the relationships between the ruling elite and labouring force (McGuire 2006:124). Combined with feminism, this standpoint contributed to the emergence of post-colonialism and a wave of criticism towards the muting effect of grand narratives (Gosden 2007:165).

Post-colonialism emerged in decolonised nations after the Second World War and notably encompassed conceptual stances challenging the idea that individuals are powerless (van Dommelen 2006:105). Advocates of post-colonialism generally use the term agency to refer to individuals' capacity to act (Dobres and Robb 2000) and refute the validity of global theories (Loomba 2005:20). They rather argue that history should be reconstructed from below and is unlikely to be accurately reconstructed from a single voice (Gullapalli 2008:37). Their stand point is well exemplified by the influential work of Bhabha (1984, 1985). Bhabha used mimicry to refer to the multiple ways that the colonised manipulated colonial structures to create ambivalences to their advantage (Fahlander 2007:29). In archaeology, the concept of mimicry has inspired detailed studies on the daily life of single individuals who were often outcast and whose identification relied on historical documents (e.g. Pezzarossi 2014). As for post-colonial research at large, studies were criticised for attributing too much agency to individuals (Shanks and Tilley 1987:68) and producing rather disparate accounts of the past (Symonds 2013:312). However, they managed to provide a concrete ground for post-colonial theories generally considered too abstract (Liebman and Rizvi 2008:10). Such an achievement rested on the recourse to the theory of structuration.

Theory of structuration generally refers to the work of Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977) who were both inspired by Marxism in arguing that social meaning is actively created through the interplay of individual agents and overarching structures (Rowlands 2006:477). Only existing as long as they were perpetuated through daily activities, the social structures they referred to were constantly reworked and negotiated, as repetition necessarily entails a risk of transformation (Barrett 2000:26). Within this framework, Giddens focused on how power flowed between individuals and structures (Johnson 2006:98), making his work particularly popular among post-colonial archaeologists interested in the mundane (Cornell and Fahlander 2007:7). Bourdieu rather emphasised the concept of *habitus* that he defined as an inherited set of dispositions and

practical knowledge transmitted informally and unconsciously (Jamieson 2008:1031). Favouring homogenisation whilst in constant negotiation, the habitus was, for him, essential in mediating the relationship between individuals and structure (Lazzari 2005:197). The notion was notably compelling for archaeologists due to its material dimension (Jones 2010:305-307). At a practical level, structuration theory, however, proved elusive notably in determining the exact nature of social structures and gave rise to debates as to whether groups could have agency and agency necessarily entailed intentionality (Dobres and Robb 2005:162).

From recent conceptualisations to historical economies, capitalism had an undeniable impact on the expansionist and colonial pasts of Western Europe and the way they have been studied and reconstructed. Whilst discussed here independently from nationhood and administrative tools sustaining social inequalities, capitalism was closely intertwined with both for the last centuries and as such it contributed to the rise of what tends to be referred to as Early Modern colonialism. Whilst reviewing key comparative studies in the study of colonialism, this section also highlighted influential theoretical stances over colonial pasts that overall remain dissatisfying in one aspect: they fail to provide an alternative to the use of colonial labels as an analytical tool.

3.2. Nationalism: Present Past and Past Present

In a colonised country such as Egypt, nationalism has been perceived as a mean of resistance to colonialism (Hassan 1998:200). The exact nature the bonds between both ideologies, however, remains debated, just like the definition of nationalism itself (Palmer 1998:177). Commonly associated with patriotism, nationalism is nonetheless recurrently related to the idea that humanity is naturally divided in nations, and that those are the only type of legitimate government (Diaz-Andreu 2007:5). As such, nationalism shares common ground with a colonialism resting on nationhood, a will to impose social order and a commitment to progress and improvement. In fact, the legacies of both ideologies tend to be addressed simultaneously in multiplying studies concerned with the epistemological foundation of scientific claims (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:20-21). Archaeology is not an exception to this pattern even if it has arguably shown relatively low interest in the manifestations of nationalism in the archaeological record themselves (exceptions include Wood 2014). This section explores the relationship between

archaeology and nationalism, and how it came to be acknowledged and studied.

Histories of archaeology often begin with the emergence of curiosity cabinets such as the Rudolf II's Kunstkammer in Austria or the Asmolean collection in England (Thomas 2004:13). Stemming from the habit of accumulating art and riches (Bennett 1995:213), these cabinets displayed exotics prized for their strangeness or aesthetics for selected audiences at the dawn of the early modern period (Kenny 2006:53). Objects, however, only really started to be associated with a distant past following the rediscovery and glorification of classical Greek and Roman writing, art and architecture (Schnapp 1982:764). In the course of the 18th century, this interest slowly spread towards the investigation of histories and materials related to locally celebrated ancestors such as the Celts in France (Trigger 1996:89). Meanwhile, the increasingly popular habit of undertaking 'World tours' among the elite and bringing back souvenirs cemented the relationship between owning objects and a mastery over distant places, times and people (Yoffee and Fowles 2011:35). Following the French Revolution and the rise of a will to democratise knowledge and make the past accessible, the use of old objects to create historical narratives slowly became a science with incredible political potential (Diaz-Andreu 2007:45-49; MacDonald 2003:2-4). As a result, whether in Europe (Kohl 1998:227) or North America (Paynter 2000:170), early archaeological endeavours aimed at uncovering objects illustrated histories of nationalistic value. As such, the discipline played an important role in the creation and articulation of nationalist traditions that multiplied between the late 19th – early 20th centuries (Hobsbawn 2006b:279).

The issues related to a politicised archaeology were plainly measured when prehistoric artefacts were used to justify Nazi supremacy and territorial claims prior to and during the Second World War (Arnold 1996). In the decades that followed the end of the conflict, processualism emerged as an attempt to make the discipline more objective and less speculative through the adoption of a rigorous scientific method (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2004:3; subsection 3.1.2.). Roughly at the same time, concerns over subjectivity were raised in other fields in the Humanities (Hodder 1989:68-70). The subject was notably brought to the forefront through the influential work of Foucault (1970), Barthes (1968), Derrida (1967) and Ricoeur (1984), whose works are considered the cornerstones of post-structuralism (Preucel 1995:154). As a theoretical stance, post-structuralism emphasises that meaning is always plural: there are

multiple ways to account for reality and to understand the resulting descriptions (Shanks and Tilley 1987:102). There is, however, an agreement that narratives must be communicated following certain rules despite a general acknowledgement that their understanding depends on context (Hodder, 1993:269-270). On this basis, post-structuralism encourages deconstructivism or the investigation of the silenced aspect of shared experience (Alexander 2008:785). The popularity of post-structuralism fostered a surge of interest for epistemology and the widespread recognition that the past is constructed in the present (Trouillot 1995:116-117).

The post-structuralist wave took some 20 years before reaching archaeology where, combined with post-colonialism, it fostered the formulation of post-processual archaeology (Bauer 2002:39; subsection 3.1.2.). Within this paradigm, their influence is notably perceptible in the contextual approach of Hodder who emphasised the importance of taking the past and present contexts of archaeological findings into account for their interpretation (Funari et al. 2005:2; Guarinello 2005:20). A general interest for the history of the discipline followed as exemplified by the widely influential publications of Trigger (1996), Diaz-Andreu (2007) and Thomas (2005). Those drew attention to the multiple social and political networks that archaeology had been part of and their overall impacts on the discipline (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008:8). On a smaller scale, several studies also highlighted how the archeological approaches to specific sites changed through time and following different historic contingencies (e.g. Horning 2006). Notably influenced by the seminal work of Said (1979), others proposed reflections on the conceptual, public and political weight of some geographical, temporal and social labels used in archaeology (e.g. Borgstede and Yaeger 2008). Examples include the work of Bahrani (1998) who discussed the assumptions underlying the recourse to labels such as ‘Mesopotamia’. A growing body of archaeological literature further expands on the responsibilities of archaeologists working in areas that are actually at the centre of ethnic conflicts where each side is calling for tangible manifestations of their legitimacy (e.g. Abu El-Haj 1998; Insoll 2005).

Whilst raising an awareness of the politics of archaeological practice, the above mentioned studies generally focused on the context of production of archaeological knowledge in the past. Very few, however, managed to articulate current archaeological case studies with these concerns and as such there is a generalised tendency to address these topics in different publications. Exceptions include the

work of Dawdy and Weyhing (2008) who documented how contemporary American perception of New Orleans' 'Frenchness' came to act as a pressure in the interpretation of the archaeological assemblages discussed. On this basis they make nuanced and open conclusions which are far from the expectations of a public looking for 'indisputable' facts and narratives (Smith 2006:130). This issue is particularly relevant in an archaeology that embraces pluralism to counteract the politicised use of its findings (Wurst and Mrozowski 2014:215), and increasingly define its role as the champion of heritage, tourism and minorities (Jones 2010:303). In this perspective, recent studies have drawn attention to the way archaeological knowledge is communicated to wider audiences (Bintliff 1996:246). This led to the development of new means of approaching the public (e.g. van Dyke 2006) but also to reflections on the role of archaeological objects in museums (e.g. Harrison 2006), and of archaeology in the protection of world heritage (e.g. De Cesari 2010). Archaeology has also been considered as one of the multiple forms of social agendas projected into the past (Buchli and Lucas, 2001:82). As such, Shackel (2002) showed how different aspects of the history of Harper Ferry (USA) were emphasised through time, resulting in disjointed narratives of the past in public representations, archaeological finds and historical documents.

Multiple agendas, plural voices. Political pressures, public expectations, scientific traditions. The study of nationalism in archaeology has enabled a better understanding of the nature of archaeological knowledge and definition of the professional role of the archaeologist. An important gap, however, remains as to how to relate this awareness with archaeological findings and interpretations. The rather abstract theories of post-structuralism, post-colonialism and post-processualism only provide scant clues as to how to apply related approaches to the past. This situation is rather frustrating since all these theoretical stances come with vocabulary and assumptions of their own and tend to call for multiple other conceptualisations to explain and situate their view point. Getting acquainted with this baggage is a rather lengthy task which at the end of the day is more informative about what archaeology should not be doing.

3.3. Colonialism, nationalism and materiality

Archaeology is devoted to the study of ancient objects valued for their durability and their ability to conjure the past in the present (Tilley et al. 2006:2). Sometimes perceived as a neutral form of evidence (Thomas 2005:15), and at other times subjects of politicised debates (section 3.2.), archaeological materials have increasingly been conceptualised as a mere reflection of past social behaviour since the 1980s (Dobres and Robb 2000:1). At the turn of the 21st century, new perspectives stemming from different fields, however, contributed to nurturing new approaches to the study of archaeological objects. Sometimes referred to under the banner of 'Materiality' (e.g. Miller 2005) or 'Pragmatism' (e.g. Preucel and Mrozowski 2010) it is argued here that some of them have the potential to bridge the gaps between post-structuralist, post-colonialist and post-processualist deconstructivist critiques and the actual interpretation of archaeological assemblages. Four of these theoretical stances are reviewed in this section where they are amalgamated into a single research framework. Through the discussion, the words 'objects' and 'things' are used as synonyms to broadly refer to 'non humans'.

3.3.1. Meaning-full objects

Until relatively recently, there was a tendency to take symbols as the cornerstones of meaning in the Humanities (Keane 2005:182). This propensity raised challenges in archaeology as the relationship between symbols and their significance is arbitrary, hence the difficulty in investigating meaning from objects (Preucel and Bauer 2001:92). Since the turn of the 21st century, Peircean semiotics, also known as pragmatics, are increasingly used as an alternative to conceptualise the role of things in the creation of meaning (Bauer 2002:39). Pragmatics push forwards the idea that symbols are only one type of signs, in a taxonomy that also includes icons and indexes (Layton 2003:447). Icons bind objects and/or concepts on the basis of their resemblance (Nash and Children 2008:2-3). As such, an object carries possibilities but only becomes an icon when an interpreter makes associations between the object and something else (Keane 2003:415). Chains of signification are, however, endless as a single thing can possibly and simultaneously stand as an icon to a multiplicity of other objects, according to context but also through its colour, shape or texture for instance (Alexander 2008:782). Objects tend to be an index to a much more limited number of things

as this type of sign refers to a cause and effect relationship (Keane 2008:231). For example, a turning weathervane is an index of wind and conversely, like smoke and fire are indexes of one another (Bauer 2002:39-40). Indexes thus technically exist regardless of whether they are called upon by an interpreter or not (Watts 2008:194).

Peircean semiotics use icons, indexes and symbols to explore how meaning is circulating between people and objects through signs (Watts 2008:192). This process, known as semiosis, suggests things offer iconic, indexical and symbolic potentialities that are drawn upon on the basis of historicity, experience and knowledge of conventional representation to foster meaning (Lele 2006:50). Pragmatism hence grounds signification in the material world whilst emphasising the importance of context in its articulation (Layton, 2006:30). The power of 'making sense', however, tends to be attributed to people alone even if the essential character of objects in this process is acknowledged (Preucel and Bauer 2001:88-89). This imbalance notably rests on the frequently debated idea that meaning necessarily entails intentionality.

3.3.2. Things in action

Since the 1980s, the role of objects in the creation of meaning tended to be understood through the principle of materialisation in archaeology or the idea that things fix social meaning and are hence mere reflections of social identity (Meskell and Preucel 2007:125). Pragmatism nonetheless granted them more power as it is their material essence that carried the potential for signification. The influential but widely debated work of Gell (1998) went even further in this direction by arguing that objects had an agency of their own (Pinney 2005:257). The starting point of his reasoning is that art should not only be assessed through style but also according to its social impacts (Gosden and Knowles 2001:18). As such, he conceptualised art as a means for an artist to exert and perpetuate his/her agency by enchanting people across time and space, a process known as distributed personhood (Harrison 2006:63). Gell then pointed out that this distributed agency often goes beyond the artist's initial intentions to suggest that as such art has its own agency (Hoskins 2006:76). Gell's perspective was extended to other types of objects in archaeology (Buchli 2007:185) where publications about the effects or aesthetics of things have multiplied (Rowlands 2006:478).

The idea that objects have agency notably inspired studies about how the sensory experience of things conjured emotions and generated

memories (Harrison 2011:62). It was expanded upon by Knappett (2004, 2005) who suggested objects also invited specific courses of action. For example, a chair is recognised in virtue of its iconic resemblance to other chairs and is then indexically associated with the action of sitting as a result of experience and knowledge: a chair therefore calls or affords to sit (Knappett 2004:44). Following a similar perspective, Miller (2005) further argued that objects are traditionally denied agency as their potential signification is taken for granted in daily life, a situation he refers to as the *humility of things*. Both Miller and Knappett stressed that social action is derived from the interactions between humans and non-humans as mediated by a social baggage which is not without remembering the *habitus* of Bourdieu (subsection 3.1.3.). Whilst people contribute to the maintenance and transformation of this baggage, so too do objects, a notion intersecting with studies concerned with the social life of things.

3.3.3. Objects in motion

The idea that archaeological objects could accumulate histories is not new: some fifty years ago, Leroi-Gourhan (1965) used the concept of *chaîne-opératoire* to address morphological changes that things went through from their production to their discard (Trigger 1996:464). Likewise, Schiffer (1987) drew attention to the different processes transforming objects from the moment they were integrated into the archaeological record to their recovery. It is, however, only recently that the social character of archaeological material biography became a popular subject of inquiry (Bailey 2007:208). This interest stemmed from the work of anthropologists engaged in Marxism, focusing on capitalism and exploring the concept of material value (Symonds 2013:311). Beyond these broad orientations, Appadurai (1986) was interested in the exchangeability of objects in different contexts (Gosden and Knowles 1999:174). He pushed forward the idea that the value of things increased if they resisted possession but also varied through their social life (Meskell 2005:53). On this premise he suggested that objects should not only be considered in light of the imperatives that guided their production but also in view of their motion through their extended life (Hoskins 2006:74-75). Kopytoff (1986) reached a similar conclusion following the observation that some objects are recognised as a commodity by some people and not by others (Rainbird 1999:214). On this basis, he argued that things cannot be understood by focusing on a single moment of their existence through which they are impregnated with different meanings (Gillings and Pollard 1999:179).

The work of Appadurai and Kopytoff inspired a special issue dedicated to the social life of archaeological material in World Archaeology (Gosden and Marshall 1999). The related articles did not, however, track the pathway of a single thing but rather emphasised the multiple meanings taken by a category of objects, such as standing crosses (Moreland 1999), pearls (Saunders 1999) or carved stone balls (MacGregor 1999) through time and space. The concept of object biography is a promising starting point to investigate past and present social networks from the archaeological record.

3.3.4. Material and social networks

Meaning is anchored to the material world through objects' iconicity and indexicality. Objects are neither mute nor passive in the process of signification where their agency partly relies on their biographical pathway. These ideas are all coherent with the agent network theory developed by Latour (1999, 2005) as a means to go beyond deconstructivism (Pinney 2005:257). According to Latour, meaning is situational and resides in a dense web of networks which are the inevitable outcome of interactions between humans and non-humans, both designed as agents (Watts 2008:188). A multitude of networks are thus created across time and place at any given instant but none of them is isotopic (bounded to a single place), synchronic (restricted to a defined time scale) or syntopic (involving only one agent) (Thomas 2005:15). Their significance does not emanate from their existence but rather stems from the interest of an interpreter through which they become enmeshed with yet other networks (Harrison 2011:60). In archaeology, the investigation of social networks has notably been used as an alternative to the study of bounded social categories (Cornell 2007:105), a practice that has inspired the theoretical framework pushed forward in this thesis.

In light of the different theoretical stances addressed in this chapter, the archaeobotanical dataset studied in this thesis is conceptualised as a web of networks. Its components have been brought together on the grounds of their indexical relationship to a specific time span (1542-1867) and geography (Quebec City) whilst made significant through current networks of knowledge in archaeology and beyond. They are at once an index of a succession of techniques that enabled their transposition on paper and of taphonomic and depositional processes, all of which are part of their biographies. Whilst all inherent to their study, these networks are here only draw upon to explore how the iconical and indexical potential of what is now called archaeobotanical remains intersected in different social contexts of

consumption prior to their deposition. More specifically, attention has been given to aspects of their biographies that might have encouraged their association with specific social landscapes, henceforth making their ingestion a form of empowerment over land and people particularly potent to reflect and perpetuate colonialist and nationalist ideologies. Whilst this approach is rather unique, the close relationships between ideologies, foodways and social landscapes have long been investigated as pointed out in the next chapter.

Consuming Landscapes: Colonialism, Nationalism and Archaeobotany

As defined in this chapter, landscapes do not formerly correspond to the lands and territories that Western European expansionism, colonialism and nationalism turned into measurable units of space and bounded to specific geographic locations on maps (Brückner 2006:4). Yet, they are somewhat closer to what these ideologies aimed to gain control over: networks socially binding people and things to space (Preucel and Meskel 2007:219; Thomas 2001:175). Through their social life, foodstuffs become part of multiple landscapes, an idea pushed forwards decades ago by Goody (1982) and Gummerman (1997) who emphasised food should be understood as a process. As such, food consumption notably socially situates eaters by enmeshing them within these landscapes (Farquar 2006:147). The current chapter reviews studies that have commented upon this process in colonial and national settings with a particular emphasis on those which have focused on Quebec City and related territories. The discussion follows a thematic approach and focuses in turn on the environmental, traditional and political bonds between foodways and landscapes before concluding with a brief introduction to the underpinnings of archaeobotany. The term "foodways" is used through this chapter to refer both to food-related activities and their social dimension (Hastorf 2008:1389).

4.1. Food and environment

Branton (2009:52) convincingly argued that landscapes are social constructions of space encompassing both natural and built environments. Food is biologically bound to such environments and crosses many others on its pathway to consumption (Shanahan 2002:7). This section provides an overview of studies addressing the relationships between foodways and landscapes through the way they use the notion of environment. Whilst in some disciplines environment still tends to be relegated to a mute and static background for social action (Hardesty 2009:67), in the last decades it became increasingly referred to as something in motion, a subject to and motor of, changes (Sluyter 2001). As such, environments are considered in turn as the result of transformations brought about by dietary choices and for their transformative power over foodways.

As pointed out in section 3.1., the maintenance of power over conquered lands in post-medieval Western Europe partly rested on

the ability to exploit them properly. The implementation of towns and farmlands was central in this process which had important impacts over seized territories' ecologies. In fact, the devastating consequences of overgrazing, deforestation and soil impoverishment raised concerns early on in colonial societies (e.g. Grove 1994; Smith 2010:58). It is, however, only following the seminal work of Crosby (1986) on *Ecological Imperialism* that they became more commonly studied from a historical perspective (Clark 2014:582). In his book, Crosby argued that Western expansionist successes rested on the introduction of Old World microbes, plants and animals in colonised settings since those eased colonists' adaptation (Fernandez-Armesto 2001:188-189). Whilst the introduction of these taxa was not necessarily intentional, such as in the case of weeds, Crosby (1986:148) highlighted that European practices ensured their dispersal notably by devastating indigenous environments. He, for instance, demonstrated in an earlier paper (Crosby 1984:229) how European colonists' reliance on domesticate animals favoured large scale husbandry which in turn destroyed Canarias' ecosystems and impacted wild resources availability. Documented from a biological viewpoint by Weiskel (1987), the dynamic of changes induced by Old World colonists' interactions with New World environments were closely tracked in regional studies focusing on California (Preston 1998) or New England (Cronon 1983), for instance. Such undertaking has as yet been hampered in Quebec due to a lack of concern for historic environments (Poitras 2006:111) and a propensity to focus on the reconstruction of pre-colonial ecologies (e.g. Allard and Séguin, 1992; Garneau, 1997; Filion et al., 2009; Querrec et al., 2013). Those studies can, however, be used as a starting point to assess the scope of the transformations fostered by European colonisation.

Ecological imperialism was not unidirectional: sustained interactions with New World environments did not leave European landscapes unchanged (Andrews 1993:194). However, the changes they brought about have mostly been studied from a social rather than ecological perspective. The whereabouts of foodstuffs from the Americas such as cacao (Coe and Coe 1996), potatoes (Hawkes and Francisco-Ortega 1993) or maize (Janick and Canevas 2015) have been widely documented. As pointed out by Mintz (2008:517), a common aspect of their historical trajectories in the Old World is that most of them crossed the Atlantic without references to the names, techniques of cultivation or culinary practices they used to be associated with in the New World. The reinvention of these foods in Europe and their integration into more familiar frames of references might have

contributed to their adoption, as too much novelty is known to biologically create anxiety (Ferrières 2002:117). Confusion as to their exact geographical origins might also have favoured their consumption given the low esteem in which anything labelled 'colonised' was generally held (Dickenson 2009:32; Rousseau 1967:17).

Before to make their way to colonial and European kitchen, New World foodstuffs had to become part of the "known world" (Rockman 2003:5). Dickenson (2008:29) suggested that in temperate settings such as New France, this process was guided by the similitudes between Old and New World flora and fauna that eased analogies, an idea also supported by Janowitz (1993:14). Alternatively, many studies accented the role of Native populations in introducing colonists to the edible landscapes of the Americas in general and of New France in particular (Côté 1991:30; Gremillon 2002:127). For instance, Scott (2007:255) proposed that the French consumed more wild food than the British during their successive occupation of an isolated outpost in Michilimackinac due to a greater rate of mixed weddings. Like in the Old World, the association of specific foodstuffs with Native groups might, however, not always have prompted their consumption. Rodriguez-Alegria (2005) demonstrated how the charge of "eating like an Indian" was a severe offence in Spanish colonies but nonetheless pointed out that it was not sufficient to fully prevent the consumption of their food (Rodriguez-Alegria 2005:558). In fact, many studies propose that a taste for Native foods emerged in times of scarcity.

Regardless of the environmental setting, the implementation of Old World domestication in the New World seems to have been a challenge almost everywhere (Blanton 2003; Capparelli et al. 2005; in New France: Armstrong 1989:114). Likewise, irregular shipping supplies seem to have been common place in colonial Americas (Cuellar 2013:152; Wilk 2008:101; in New France: Audet 2001:130; Mathieu 1987:181). In these circumstances, foods scarcities were recurrent and diet diversification is a strategy commonly used to deal with such issues (Gremillon 2011:80). Colonial ventures were not an exception to this general pattern: from a remote French outpost in Michilimackinac (Scott 1985:204-205), to isolated Spanish villages in the Magellan Strait (De Nigris et al. 2010) and early Spanish (Reitz and Scarry 1985) and English (Reitz and Honerkamp 1983) settlements in North America, a greater reliance on New World food such as maize and potatoes has been documented archaeologically at times when famines were reported historically. Hunger and rates

of mixed weddings cannot, however, fully or systematically account for the integration of New World products in colonial diets. Indeed, neither were frequent in Dutch colonies where maize and New World wild game nonetheless became part of daily meals (Rothschild 2003:158-160). It henceforth seems likely that changing perspectives over the environments they were extracted from might have also impacted their consumption (Bouchard-Perron 2017).

From wonder to apprehension and disgust, travel literature shows through the centuries a broad range of reactions towards New World environments even in single accounts (e.g. Cartier et al. 1843; Palmer 1818). Those changing perspectives can be related to equally diverse colonialist discourses about nature (Sluyter 2001:421). From a mystical perspective, the improvement of nature was a duty to God, and its wild state a threat to civilisation and a potential source of degeneration (Lazzaro 2007:17). In capitalist terms, nature was a commodity that could be owned and sold for profits (Mrozowski 1999:154-155). European states were prone to financing early scientists to produce extensive catalogues listing all potentially profitable resources (McClealand 2000:41) and enabling them to gain a grip over those resources by controlling their insertion into Old World frames of reference (Bleichmar 2008:229). They notably took a particular pride in growing exotic species in naturally unsuitable environments, an achievement that attested to their power (Schiebinger 2004:5-6). With the rise of romanticism, nature became valued for its aesthetics, but also for the profits it brought while attracting tourists (Cronon 1992:50-58). These nuanced outlooks over colonial natural environments are especially well documented in Quebec City and related territories.

Using early narratives and cartographic evidence, Dickenson (2008) addressed the process through which geological, zoological and botanical samples were collected in New France and studied in the metropolis. On this basis, she argued that nature was considered in utilitarian and economical terms during early colonial ventures in Quebec (Dickenson 2008:45). Chaffray (2005) made similar conclusions and showed how decontextualizing the colony environments eased their appropriation whilst favouring their use as a means of propaganda (Chaffray 2005:52). Mackay (2011) tracked changing perspectives over Canadian landscapes from early colonial efforts to the 20th century as displayed in artwork. She pointed out that artists initially drew attention to the uncivilised character of the land before to successively turn to the idealised attributes of rural life, the successful improvement of the territory and its national

character (Mackay 2011:4-11). She also noted a tendency to define Canadian wilderness against agrarian landscapes which was further documented by MacLaren (1989), who studied early colonial art and written productions. Crowley (2005) rather suggested that after the conquest of Quebec by England, depicting peaceful agrarian landscapes was a means of emphasising the similarity between the kingdom and its colony. It was according to him also that it was a way to downplay the violence of the conflicts which had led to Quebec's seizure and to attract tourists (Crowley 2005:52). By looking more closely at contemporary touristic guidebooks, Little(2012) proposed the city landscapes were depicted as to give an impression of historical continuity and to appeal to romanticist aesthetics (Little 2012:23). Interestingly, whilst these studies suggest that perspectives over Quebec landscapes changed with time, they all point out a lasting propensity to delineate savage wilderness as the complete opposite to civilised farmlands. Arguably, this opposition still shapes current day perspectives over colonial foodways which are often considered as the thorn between wild novelties and ordered traditions. I have further explored the extent to which contrasting perspectives over wilderness and agricultural lands impacted Quebec City's foodways in a forthcoming publication (Bouchard-Perron 2017).

4.2. Culinary homelands

In 1997, Bell and Valentine persuasively argued that food consumption situated eaters by creating physical and social bonds between them and spaces of different scales. Their work contributed to the development of Food Geography, a field concerned with the consequences of globalisation and addressing issues of sustainability and food security (see reviews by Shanahan 2002 and Mandelblatt 2012). The relational conceptualisation of food adopted in these studies intersects with the one generally advocated in a large body of literature focusing on food traditions. Inspired by the seminal work of Levi-Strauss (1964) and Douglas (1966), those studies focus on the social dimension of foodways and often investigate identity-related questions (Meigs 1988:341; Messer 1984:223). This section reviews some of them which have addressed more thoroughly the relationship between food traditions and social landscapes in colonial or national contexts.

Eating is a daily activity whose repetitive character conjures images of the familiar and may as such foster an impression of continuity (de Maret and Geyzen 2015:6). Often associated with memories, it

situates the eater in a historicity of culinary practices generally transmitted through households (Twiss 2007:52). In this perspective, food and foodways are often considered central to social constructions of "home" (Ashley et al. 2004:123-128). Associated with the habitual, this elusive space was uprooted and transported kilometers away by colonists who made their way to the Americas. Contemporary studies have documented how such displacement fostered a nostalgia of familiar tastes and smells among members of the diaspora (e.g. Holtzman 2006:367). They also have pointed out a propensity to turn to comfort food evoking familiar times and places in such circumstances (e.g. Locher et al. 2005:287). In a colonial context, New World environments and shipping issues have been considered as major impediments in the recreation of a sense of culinary homeliness (e.g. Blanton 2003). Pavao-Zuckerman and Diapolo-Loren (2012) have argued on the basis of archaeological evidence that isolated Spanish colonists in Presidio Los Adaes (Texas) found an impression of familiarity by sticking to Old World plates and manners. Williamson (2004:17) rather suggested that colonists of early New-France evoked images of the familiar by holding on to spices commonly consumed in Europe. For Côté (1991), French missionaries desperately attempted to evoke comforting memories by trying to reproduce familiar cooking techniques whilst living in distant missions. Overall, these studies highlight that different aspects of culinary traditions can be called upon to foster a sense of homeliness but tend to depict any change as the result of external pressure. Yet, culinary traditions are more static in souvenirs (Fajans 1988) than in essence since they are subject to fashions (Boudan 2004:235) and sensitive to technological advances such as canning, for instance (Capatti 1999).

In addition to creating bonds between people and homes, food consumption cements ties among broader communities (Twiss 2012:364). Karsky (1986) pointed out that it was common practice among neighbours of pre-industrial America to share food in times of hunger. As illustrated by this example, the cohesion of communities is generally encouraged by spatial proximity (Bell and Valentine 1997:93) and reinforced through commensality (Hastorf 2008:1389). In this perspective, food sharing during Nipmuc communal gatherings at Sarah Boston Farmstead (Massachusetts) has been understood as a mean of resistance, enabling the perpetuation of the community traditions by Allard (2015). Her interpretation rests on a large body of literature which emphasises the political character and performative dimensions of public food consumption (e.g. Grieco et al. 2006; Van Derwarker et al. 2007). Those were also drawn upon

by Wall (1991) who investigated changing perspectives over hospitality and gender roles in 19th century New York and Ferland (2005), who rather focused on alcohol and sociability in New France. Elsewhere, it is shared dispositions towards specific types of food rather than shared meals that attracted attention. Voss (2005), for example, argued that the relative homogeneity observed among the foodways of the recently established multiethnic town of El Presidio de San Francisco (California) was the result of an effort to foster cohesion. Trigg and Leasure (2007) noted little difference in the food plants consumed across Sylvester Manor's plantation in New York and argued that their acquisition created bonds between slaves, their masters and local Native groups. A relative homogeneity in middle-class colonial diets in Quebec City was related by Barbeau (1944:14) and Desloges (1991:155) to the influence of nuns over girls' education. As illustrated by these examples, food sharing occurs and shared culinary habits emerge on multiple occasions and can foster cohesion on different scales.

Food is cohesive and summons up images of the familiar but can also create links between geographically distant communities that have otherwise little in common (Wilson 2006:21). According to Mintz (2006:4), such relationships were mostly created through the consumption of exotic spices before the mid-17th century. Enmeshed with multiple social landscapes through their long-distance voyage to Western Europe, spices did not necessarily evoke specific geographies (Alabala 2003:16). Their consumption rather seems to have called upon imaginative constructions of the exotic as extraordinary landscapes lying at the end of long pathways peppered by epic obstacles (Freedman 2005). As the expansion of European trade networks across the globe gave access to new exotics and prompted the development of new images of exoticism, it also provoked a widespread delocalisation of food (Mennell et al. 1992:76). This is notably illustrated by Wilk (2008) who investigated Belizean colonial community foodways and highlighted how they lived off imported supplies associated with the "homeland" that had in fact much more diverse geographical and social origins. This lack of congruence is what the field of food geography investigates and critiques in contemporary settings whilst putting a greater emphasis on the webs of power underpinning such dissonances (Morgan et al. 2006).

4.3. Food politics and ideological landscapes

Food at once biologically interacts with environments and creates social bonds between people, communities and landscapes (Graesch et al. 2010:212). Its relational character combined with its material essence makes food an especially potent arena for power negotiation and display in colonial and national contexts (Dietler 2007:218). This section reviews studies that have shed light on how food can be used as a mean to assert control over territories, subjugate otherness and sustain political discourses by fostering a sense of belonging.

Consumption has notably been conceptualised as an act enabling the physical and metaphorical incorporation of food's tangible and socially constructed baggage (Twiss 2007:2). Such a conception is widespread in contemporary studies addressing culinary tourism. For example, Turgeon and Pastinelli (2002) noted a propensity among tourists visiting Quebec City to choose restaurants and consume plates they stereotypically associated with the town, a tendency they explained by a will to get a grip over the place and its culture. Following the same perspective, Caldwell (2005) suggested that it is the possibility of making theirs an exotic geography that attracted clients to Russian ethnic restaurants. From the vantage point of communication studies, Elliots (2008) proposed that exotic food labelling operated in similar ways to seduce customers. The symbolic incorporation of food geographies can become political statements in some settings. This idea is well illustrated by the work of Lewis (2007) who looked at archaeological and historical evidence from early historic Arabia. On the basis of these lines of evidence, she proposed that the King of Saba expressed and reinforced his domination by repeatedly and publicly consuming food offered as gifts by communities from different parts of his kingdom. In a completely different context, after scrutinising Canadian official diplomatic menus, Jacobs (2009) pointed out that they offered a wide variety of wild resources specific to different areas of the country which were scantly if at all consumed by Canadians. He explained such choices by a will to use food to express the country's control over its resources, its sophistication and uniqueness (Jacobs 2009). These case studies provide different outlooks on the multiple ways that food consumption can be used to gain control over landscapes and manipulated to express power over them.

Foodways are central to the manner in which people represent themselves and understand others (Charrons and Desjardins 2011). As such, whether rhetorical or physical, the imposition of food

behaviours is a powerful form of subjugation. For instance, Suranyi (2006) noted the propensity, in 17th century English travel literature, to depict very similar cakes as disgusting when consumed among colonised Irish, and delicacies when eaten by Turks rather considered 'civilised'. Chambers (2007) argued that recurrent comments suggesting Native groups practiced cannibalism were not grounded in reality and that their aim was to provide a justification for the dispossession and enslavement of these populations. Beyond discourses, Cushing (2007) documented how maize recurrence in Australian prisoners' meals was considered as part of their punishment and fostered a generalised avoidance of the plant among other colonists. Whilst slaves were also subject to strict dietary restrictions, Thomas (1998) showed how in the Hermitage plantation (Tennessee), they resisted their owners and status by incorporating wild food into their menu. Briand (2008) has similarly addressed foodways as an arena where power is constantly negotiated and renegotiated. She suggested shared meals were occasions for French missionaries and Native groups to impose their practices and convert the other (Briand 2008:220). These examples notably illustrate how colonial macro politics were in constant negotiation with the micro politics of daily experience.

A large body of literature explored how social and spatial bonds created through food consumption could be manipulated and called upon in conflicts and to sustain the rise of nations (Ashley et al. 2004:81). In this perspective, Keeley (2016) pointed out that food access was often a motive for war whilst destroying army supplies and creating food insecurities were common military strategies. From a different stand point, Barthes (1961:984) argued that food is a daily reminder of nationalism that can be called upon in troubled times to maintain cohesion. For example, propaganda associated with the Second World War depicted canning as a patriotic act, a strategy making everyone part of the war effort according to Wood (2014:280). Contemporary laws for the protection of culinary patrimony have likewise been taken as a means to foster pride and unity around local culinary products (Csergo 1999; DeSoucey 2010) and give historical depth to such feelings (Bérard and Marchenay 2002). Food can also be a testimony of wider political tensions: Notaken (2002) drew a direct relationship between the emergence of national cuisine in Romania, Slovakia, and Greece and rivalry around land owning. Likewise, Avieli and Grosglik (2013) saw competitions between Lebanon and Israel to be designated as the country of hummus as a transposition of wider religious and territorial confrontations.

Appadurai (1988:3) emphasised how in such contexts, national cookbooks can be used as a testimony to a high level of achievement and as a means to prompt unity by encouraging the homogenisation of culinary practices. Both Coulombe (2005) and Desloges (2011) related their emergence and that of a national cuisine in Canada to the confederation of the country. Scholiers (2002) argued that national restaurants were used for the same purposes as cookbooks in nascent states such as 19th century Belgium whilst the participation in universal expositions was considered as a means to get national culinary traditions recognised by Cooke (2009:6). In this perspective, Bergeron (1987:443) and Keanneally (2009) both suggested that a propensity to accent Quebec foodways' French origins in contemporary local cookbooks (e.g. Bizier and Séguin 2004; Soulard 2008) is used as a means for Quebec sovereigntists to resist national integration. These different case studies exemplify the multiple ways in which food consumption and representation can be used to ground national imaginary communities into daily experience and materiality.

4.4. Landscapes, foodways, and archaeobotany

Plants are biologically bounded to specific environments which provide clues as to the social landscapes they crossed on their pathway to consumption. Following food-related activities, the remains of some of them are deposited only few of which are preserved and even less are retrieved. Archaeobotany provides a set of techniques and approaches to allow the recovery of preserved archaeological plant remains and unravel their cumulated biographies from the growth of the plant they come from to their observation under the microscope. This section provides a brief introduction to the discipline and its underpinnings.

Archaeobotanical assemblages are the basic unit of analysis in archaeobotany. They refer to all plant remains identified within a specific archaeological context. Intelligence as to their location in respect to on site structures and to the material culture they were found alongside contributes to the interpretation of their contents (Hastorf 2008:1790). Interpretations are also guided by the co-occurrence and proportions of plant remains sharing similar environmental and social backgrounds among their contents (Pennington and Weber 2004:13). The association of plant remains with specific environmental conditions relies on analogies with current day floras and follows the principles of phytosociology and/or autoecology (Dincauze 2000:340). The first approach attempts to determine under which natural conditions the species present in an

assemblage grow together (Gee and Giller 1991:3). It has chiefly been used to unravel past agricultural practices (Jones 2002:186), notably to investigate the impact of husbandry over the co-occurrence of weeds (Jones 1992). As illustrated by this example, the use of phytosociology comes with an important pitfall: taxa associations naturally changes and evolves with time and this undermine the validity of projecting contemporary observations in the distant past (Hastorf 1999:71-72; Hillman 1992:28; Ruas 2008:29). This pitfall has encouraged a greater reliance on autoecology which rather rest on correlations made on the basis of taxa ecological preferences in terms of soil texture, humidity, or light for instance (Butzer 1982:177). Scantly varying through time, taxa ecological preferences tend to be different in distinct geographical locations. This does not prove an issue in Europe where they were extensively documented by Ellenberg (1988) but is more problematic in North America where they have not been investigated systematically (e.g. Humbert et al. 2007; Jobidon 1995). Environmental reconstructions based on archaeobotanical assemblages have commonly been used to investigate the impacts of anthropic activities over local vegetal cover (Brooks and Johannes 1995:69; Mercuri 2010:860). Autoecology has notably been used by van der Veen (1992) to document changing agricultural practices over centuries in England. Overall, phytosociology and autoecology have mainly been used to explore the management of cultivated landscapes (e.g. Bogaard et al. 2005; Bogaard et al. 2001; Jones and Halstead 1995) but have also contributed towards the documentation of the impacts of anthropic activities such as lumbering or farming over past environments (Brooks and Johannes 1995:69; Mercuri 2010:860).

A wide range of activities can simultaneously contribute to the formation of archaeobotanical assemblages (Voigt and Pearsall 1986:1). Ethnological analogies and experimentations are generally used in combination to identify their nature (Lyons and Orchard 2007:40). For example, the different processing activities that cereals go through from the field to the kitchen (e.g. winnowing, threshing) were extensively documented to relate them to specific weed types and vegetal by-products to enable their identification from the archaeological record (Dennel 1976; Hillman 1984; Jones 1984). The same has been done for other edible plant categories such as nuts (e.g. Hosoya 2011), fruits (e.g. Margaritis and Jones 2006) and pulses (e.g. Valamoti et al. 2010). Following similar reasoning, Hall and Kenward (2003) have identified plant, insect and animal categories likely to be found in association when textile manufacture

or the production of wax, resin, pitch and tar took place in a given setting.

Beyond relating archaeobotanical remains to specific activities, archaeobotanists have increasingly been engaged with the investigation of their social significance (see Morehart and Morell-Hart 2012; van der Veen 2008). In order to address such a question, most studies turned to large datasets enabling the tracking of the occurrence of given taxa in well-known social settings (e.g. Bakels and Jacomet 2003; Livarda 2008). For example, Hastorf (1996) looked at different Sausa assemblages from Peru to compare their contents before and after the Inca conquest. She concluded on their basis that food-related activities became restricted to the domestic sphere after the event and therefore suggested that the social role of women was more strictly bound after the conquest (Hastorf 1996:478-479). From a different stand point, Livarda and van der Veen (2008) tracked the presence of condiments across Western European Medieval and Roman sites. They suggested on this basis that their consumption was almost completely abandoned after the collapse of the Roman Empire as condiments were strongly connected with Roman identity and economy. The interpretative potential of archaeobotany has fostered multiple studies in North America but very few of them focused on historical settings as highlighted by the reviews of Deagan (2008), Hardesty (2009) and Mrozowski (2006b).

Whether deposited naturally or following anthropic activities, plant remains are only preserved under specific conditions whose impacts over assemblages' composition are differential (Green 1982:41; Wilson 1984:201). In short, in order for plant remains to be preserved, the activity of microorganisms responsible for decay must by hindered by a lack of water, oxygen or organic material (Crawford 2008:1593; Luck and Goldblith 1977:443). In temperate climates, the availability of oxygen is tremendously reduced in water or in tightly sealed deposits (Murphy and Wiltshire 1993:1-2). In such conditions, botanical remains, with the exception of cultivated cereals and pulses, are preserved in a waterlogged state as long as conditions are stable (Kenward and Hall 2008; Tolar et al. 2010:54). Waterlogged remains keep their appearance and morphology (Green 1982:42) and are hence difficult to distinguish from their modern counterpart, a situation that may led to dating issues in an unclear archaeological sequence (Miller 1989:50-57). In comparison, the aspect of plant remains preserved by carbonisation is much more distinctive (Wilkinson and Stevens 2003:183). Carbonisation is the most commonly investigated preservation means in archaeobotany

(Fuller 2007:906). It occurs when botanical remains are turned into carbon skeletons following their exposure to fire (Wilson 1984:201). The preservation and state of *carbonised* remains relies on their likeliness to be in contact with fire, charring conditions (e.g. oxygen availability, temperature) and their characteristic at the time of exposure (e.g. sturdiness, oil contents, humidity) as widely documented experimentally (Boardman and Jones 1990; Braadbaard 2008; Hubbard and al Azm 1990; Kislev and Rosenweig 1985; Smith and Jones 1990; Stewart and Robertson 1971; Wright 2003). Carbonisation is a permanent state that leaves remains rather fragile but enables them to be deposited and redeposited away from the place they were charred (Pennington and Weber 2004:14-15). This last characteristic highlights that carbonised and waterlogged remains generally follow different depositional pathways even when they are part of the same deposit (see van der Veen and Jones 2006). This disparity and the differential impact of both preservation means over different plant categories (e.g. cereals and pulses) highlight the importance of considering their contents independently before to make interpretations on their basis (van der Veen 2007).

From their deposition to their recovery, archaeobotanical assemblages cumulate a taphonomic history (Gasser and Kwiatkowski 1991:200; Pearshall 1988:97). Experimentations and observations on the field have demonstrated that a wide range of anthropogenic activities, such as tillage, irrigation, and drainage, may lead to the displacement and destruction of archaeological plant remains (Borojevic 2011:840; Keepax, 1977:225; King and Miller 1989:37). For example, concentrations of carbonised rye grains were systematically associated with important amounts of bricks in medieval Romsey (Hampsire), a combination that led Pelling and her colleagues (2015:93) to suggest that the bricks were made out of sediment entailing much earlier archaeobotanical material. As with other types of archaeological evidence, archaeobotanical assemblages can also be altered by natural phenomena such as: animal predation and burrowing (Canti 2003), water percolation, erosion, and freezing-thawing cycles (Hilton 2003). In order to determine if such mechanisms might have affected archaeobotanical assemblages, Lyons and Orchard (2007:41) suggest comparing their contents with those of off-site samples and to take into account principles underlining plant reproduction. This can be done on the grounds of an extensive literature on seeds' natural dispersal means (e.g. Cappers 1993; Stiles 2000) as well as on specific taxa seed shadow (e.g. Willson and Traves 2000) and banking habits (e.g. Benvenuti 2007; Thompson 2000).

From a methodological stand point, archaeobotany involves the collection and processing of samples as well as the isolation, identification and quantification of archaeological plant remains (Crawford 2008:1598). Through the years, several techniques have been developed to carry out the different stages of archaeobotanical analysis (see White and Shelton 2014). Experimentations have demonstrated that different methods were often better adapted to different contexts but also that methodological disparities hampered direct comparisons between assemblages' contents (Badham and Jones 1985:15; Wright 2005:21). Discussions on sampling strategies have emphasised the importance of sample representativeness whether at the context (Lennstrom and Hastorf 1995), site (van der Veen 1984) or region (Jones 1985) level. Generally advocating a systematic approach (e.g. d'Alpoim Guedes and Spengler 2014:78), studies have explored the divergences fostered according to how samples were collected (Lennstrom and Hastorf 1992) as well as to sample size (Lee 2012; van der Veen and Fieller 1982). Their processing, in order to reduce the amount of material scanned through, has mostly been considered in term of efficiency (Bending 2005; Tolar et al. 2010) and representativeness (De Moulins 1996; Steiner et al. 2015). For example, Keeley (1978) and Wagner (1988) demonstrated that sieving was generally faster than flotation but that the latter considerably lessened the quantity of material to look at and was less likely to damage fragile remains. The isolation of plant remains from processed samples is rather straightforward (see Fritz and Nesbitt 2014). To speed up the analysis, remains can nonetheless be quickly and roughly identified without being removed from the sample and their abundance can be assessed following a relative scale of abundance (Toll 1988). As for identifications, there is a general agreement that those are much more accurate when done on the basis of comparisons with reference collections than with pictures and drawings (Crawford 2008:1595; Pearsall 1989:145). Issues regarding the establishment of valid identification criteria, especially for cultivated species, have also been discussed (e.g. Hubbard 1992; Kühn 1991). Finally, several techniques have been pushed forward to quantify plant remains fragments including counting special features (Jones 1991:65) or aggregating them roughly to have the equivalent of a complete remain (Antolin and Buxo 2011:56).

Making sense of archaeobotanical assemblages is a tricky task that requires to take into account of the preservation conditions, taphonomic processes and methodological decisions that contributed to forge their contents as well as the social baggage plant remains accumulated prior deposition (Gallagher 2014:29). To disentangle

these trajectories, multiple tools have been developed. They include measurements enabling the contrast of the contents of assemblages otherwise not comparable such as density, ubiquity and diversity (Miller N. 1988). Those are respectively used to correlate the contents of samples of different volumes, to assess the frequency of a taxa across a given space, and to contrast samples' biodiversity (Marston 2014; Miller N. 1988). Likewise, several statistical approaches have been explored in order to enable the analysis of large datasets (VanDerwarker et al. 2014). Among them, the most popular are different types of multivariate analysis. Those make it possible to graphically summarise the contents of datasets, to discover structure in their composition, to classify samples and species on their basis and to identify outliers (Smith 2014:182). Their use is, however, challenging since they require proper formatting of the dataset and the understanding of the complex mathematical principles behind such analysis (Green 2009).

The Study of Colonialism and Nationalism in Archaeobotany: A Methodological Approach

Beyond a recent paper by Kim (2014) who discussed nationalist pressures on the identification of rice in the archaeobotanical record of Korea, archaeobotany has scantly addressed questions related to nationalism. Likewise, with a few exceptions (e.g. Jamieson and Sayre 2010; Trigg 2005), the discipline has been more widely used to investigate colonial material (e.g. Dudek et al. 1998; Lopinot 1988; Meyers 2011) than to explore matters of colonialism. Archaeobotany can nonetheless contribute towards a better understanding of how both ideologies were experienced in daily life. Indeed, as pointed out in Chapter 4, consumption builds relationships between eaters and the biographical pathways of consumed foods. Those can in turn be pushed forward and manipulated for political and ideological motives. By exploring how the historical pathways of plant remains intersect in given archaeological settings, it is hence possible to get a glimpse of the articulation of colonialist and nationalist ideologies through time. The current chapter addresses the methodology employed to recover and disentangle the social histories of archaeological plant remains dating between 1542 and 1867 and found in the Quebec City area.

5.1. Writing archaeological biographies

At the outset of the current project, few archaeobotanical analyses had been carried out in Quebec province as a whole, and the results of even fewer had been published (Fortin 1989, 1990). Those studies were all conducted by the self-trained botanist Catherine Fortin, who examined plant assemblages from about 30 historical archaeological sites through her carrier. Her pioneering work attested to the presence of preserved remains across the territory and contributed towards promoting the practice of the discipline in the province. The results she produced are, however, impossible to reassess as there is no record of the methodology used, a lack of contextual evidence and issues relating to the distinction between ancient waterlogged plant remains and contemporary seed bank. It was hence decided to produce a new archaeobotanical dataset. The archaeobotanical remains under study here are thus all bound by the last chapters of their social lives which were written between 1542 and 1867 in Quebec City's immediate vicinity where they were recovered centuries later between 2006 and 2011. This section draws attention

towards the motives and challenges related to the excavation of the archaeological sites where they laid, and recounts how those were selected for the archaeobotanical analysis.

Between 2006 and 2008, teams planning to excavate historical sites in Quebec City's immediate vicinity were contacted to enquire about the possibility of collecting archaeobotanical samples during their field season. The idea fostered mixed reactions but luckily several projects were planned during this period in preparation for the town's quadricentennial. The main concern formulated was related to a generalised fear of reducing the excavations' speed and efficiency. To ease this apprehension, I consented to join the excavation teams with volunteers if and when sampling activities proved too time consuming. To prevent the accumulation of a large volume of sampled soil in temporary shelters, I further proposed to visit each site at least once a week. Those stopovers were presented as occasions for adjusting the sampling strategy but also to communicate preliminary results obtained on the basis of samples collected earlier during the season. More importantly, small artifacts recovered during the analysis - and often missed during the excavation such as needles, beads and buttons - were returned to the site during these meetings, easing anxieties related to the loss of archaeological material. These measures enabled the collection of archaeobotanical samples from eight sites, half of which were eventually excluded from the current project due to the paucity of remains they yielded (Abraham Height's Blockhaus, Quebec's General Hospital, Cap Tourmente's Small Farm) or a lack of contextual evidence (Couillard Street). In 2011, the results obtained from another site (Brave's Park) were finally added to those from the Cartier-Roberval site, Champlain's Farm, the Intendant's Palace and St. Louis Forts and Castles (Figure 1.1.).

The broad settings in which the five sites selected were excavated and the techniques used in this process might have contributed to the introduction of similarities and divergences among the studied assemblages. Importantly, their excavation teams used the same unit of analysis, the 'lot', which represents a single layer or deposition event in an excavated area. The sites were also bounded by their spatial proximity and temporal overlap as well as their contemporary association with celebrated heroes as highlighted in section 2.3. Champlain's Farm, Brave's Park and the Cartier-Roberval site are further all situated in relatively isolated areas in public parks or natural reservations. In addition, they were never intensively occupied and the archaeological evidence present covered relatively

limited surfaces. On the contrary, St. Louis Forts and Castles and the Intendant's Palace are both situated in touristic areas at the heart of Historic Old Quebec City. Intensively occupied since the 17th century, the deposits they entailed tended to crosscut one another, leading to interpretive challenges and patchy overviews of the activities taking place on these sites at any given period.

With regard to logistics, the excavation of the sites selected were part of larger projects managed by public organisations engaged in public outreach although to a different extent. Entailing 16th century evidence of European occupation, the Cartier-Roberval site excavation was constantly interrupted for political visits and television shows. As a result, the large excavation crew appointed by the National Capital Commission was under considerable pressure, especially as they were burdened by unclear stratigraphic sequences and the management of several specialists without experience in archaeology. At the Intendant's Palace, a sense of urgency was developed among the multiple excavation teams directed by Quebec City municipality and Laval University due to the constant presence of bulldozers building up a new museum over the site. Whilst open to the public, visits and events were less frequent than at St. Louis Forts and Castles where they occurred on a daily basis. Located in the touristic centre of the city, the site, managed by Parks Canada, reunited some 20 archaeologists but also tourist guides and workers refurbishing the area to make it an open air museum. In comparison, the excavation at Champlain's Farm and Brave's Park were much humbler undertakings aiming to gather information for an eventual public display. Whilst the first was an initiative of Parks Canada, the second was rather managed by the National Battlefields Commission.

The divergences related to the selected sites' excavation led to methodological adjustments but might also have impacted the collection, identification and interpretation of the archaeological material used to contextualise the archaeobotanical findings. It is, however, on the grounds of their similarities that the methodological approach advocated was articulated.

5.2. Creating archaeobotanical biographies: a rationale

Whilst investigating the past using archaeological plant remains assemblages, archaeobotany becomes part of their contemporary biography through a sequence of actions that unavoidably alter their contents. The methodology created was followed rigorously and designed to be efficient while insuring the assemblages retrieved

were both representative of the context they came from and comparable between one another. To achieve these goals, all samples were subsampled to assess their contents interpretive potential which determined whether they would be fully analysed and how so, an approach summarised in Figure 5.1. and outlined below.

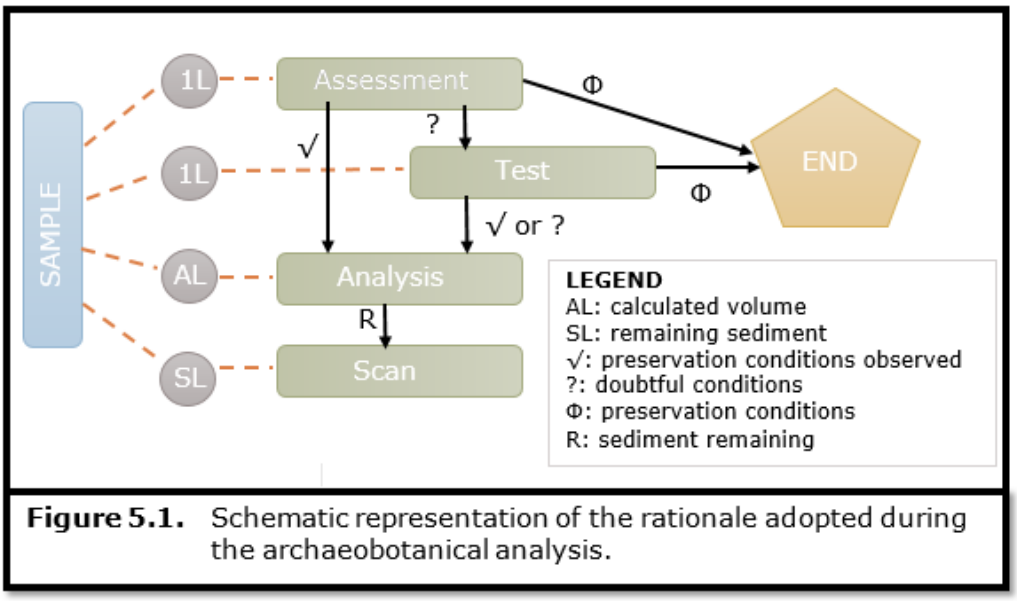


Figure 5.1. Schematic representation of the rationale adopted during the archaeobotanical analysis.

The analysis of all collected samples started with an assessment of their content by processing, sorting, roughly identifying and quantifying the contents of a 1L sub-sample. The 'assessment' provided an opportunity to determine the potential of a given sample on the grounds of features indicating whether conditions favouring the preservation of plant remains existed in the associated deposit. Whilst the identification of plant remains was considered indicative at this stage, it was taken with caution when those had a modern aspect. In such instances, the reproductive strategies of the taxa recognised were taken into account along with the presence of other organic elements of modern appearance such as insects remains, ostracods, arachnids, daphnia and sphagnum mosses. Contextual evidence and preliminary interpretations were also used to confirm that anaerobic conditions might have prevailed. When nothing indicated that carbonised material could have been deposited or anaerobic conditions were present, the analysis of the sample was ended. The remaining soil was returned back to the site it came from to be disposed of or screened for small artefacts when relevant. This strategy allowed to avoid losing time on the processing of samples of little archaeobotanical value and fostered preliminary results quickly. It was also advantageous in comparative terms since it implied that the results obtained for the assessment of every sample were directly comparable as performed over subsamples of the same volume. The

assessment process was nevertheless not always straightforward. When 1L of sediment was not sufficient to determine the potential of a sample, one more litre was subsampled and analysed using the same rationale. This additional step, referred to as the 'test', was ended either by the rejection of the sample or its reintegration into the analysis sequence, which was automatically granted in case of further doubts.

Samples positively assessed or tested were further investigated for the 'analysis'. The volume of soil processed at this stage relied on the density of remains entailed in a sample according to the assessment. It was indeed adjusted as to ensure the recovery of approximately 500 botanical remains, as suggested by the statistical approach of van der Veen and Fieller (1982). Thus, if 50 remains were observed during the assessment, for example, 9 litres of sediment were further processed for the analysis. This strategy notably avoided the loss of time with the processing and sorting rich subsamples, such as those coming from privies that commonly entailed several thousand remains per litre. In these instances, the soil remaining after the analysis was processed to perform a 'scan'. This step aimed to identify rarities present in such low densities that they were unlikely to be found during the assessment, the test or the analysis. The steps carried out for each sample are outlined in Appendix A.

5.3. Collecting samples

Sampling is a necessary procedure of selection aiming to find the best possible balance between time and financial constraints on the one hand and the non-renewable character of excavated evidence on the other (Chenhall 1979:4; Cherry 1978:394). The approach adopted must also and simultaneously be flexible enough to adapt to new and unexpected finds, while being sufficiently consistent to produce regionally comparable datasets (Redman 1979:147). In order to reach such a fragile equilibrium, the sampling strategy adopted unfolded in two interconnected stages. The first is much closer to the idea of sampling as conveyed in archaeology at large and is related to the choices made in the field about the deposits to be sampled, the manner to sample them and the quantity of sediment to collect. The second took place later in the laboratory and entailed the subdivision of the samples for the purposes of the assessment, the test, the analysis and the scan.

At the beginning of each field season, I gave the excavation crews involved in the project short training on the art of sampling in

archaeobotany. I also gave them written guidelines listing research questions archaeobotanical analysis can contribute towards answering in different archaeological settings. The guidelines also provided hints as to where to expect the presence of preserved plant remains, that is, in almost every cultural deposit, with the exception of field and gardens, for example. It was, also pointed out that the archaeobotanical content of disrupted layers is of limited interpretive value. Overall, as it was recommended to collect an extensive number of samples across space and depths, the approach advocated corresponds to what is referred to as a 'blanket' sampling strategy (see Hastorf 2008:1791) and known to insure maximum representativeness at the site scale (Jones 1985:115; Renfrew 1973:22).

On a smaller scale, the samples had to be collected in a manner which ensured their contents faithfully represented those of the lots they were extracted from. Accordingly, the sediment collected had to be gathered using tools previously cleaned using water or cloth and to be stored in properly identified brand-new plastic bags (doubled to insure airtightness) or unsoiled sealed plastic containers. Artefacts could be removed from sampled sediment by sight but hand picking visible plant remains was forbidden. The selection of the portion of a lot to sample was guided by three principles. First, regardless of the circumstances, it was always recommended to collect pinch or scattered samples by picking random sediment across a lot (Popper and Hastorf 1988:6). Second, in addition to these samples, it was suggested to take column samples in large cesspits to assess remains distribution across these structures (see Jones 1991:58). Finally, when lots were deeper than 10cm and/or wider than $1m^2$, the excavation crews were asked to subdivide them roughly into smaller sections and to collect different pinched samples in all of them to enable the study of the spatial distribution of the botanical remains.

The trickiest part of the sampling strategy was determining the volume of soil to collect in every context. When those were small, such as the contents of a hearth for example, all the sediment present could be collected without creating issues in terms of excavation efficiency, archaeobotanical analysis length or storage space availability. Those instances were, however, rare and it was otherwise recommended to collect no less than 3 litres (1 bag) of sediment per sampling unit. The relationship between the volume of the samples and the quality of the archaeobotanical results obtained was, however, made clear. Thus, the samples' volume relied on a context based assessment of a sampled unit's interpretive potential as well

as of the space and time available for their storage and collection. Decisions on this matter were notably oriented by weekly discussions with the excavation crews. This approach induced a wide variability among sample size that ranged from one to several hundred litres. The methodological rationale adopted, however, partly compensated for these disparities by ensuring that random 1L sub-samples were assessed for every sample.

After about a year, the sampling strategy adopted at the Cartier-Roberval site was adjusted to account for raising contingencies. The samples analysed until that point clearly indicated that the only condition of preservation prevailing at the site was carbonisation. Carbonised remains were as yet only recorded in exceptionally low densities and were as such rarely present within assessment sub-samples. Despite their low numbers, the analysis of these botanical remains was judged valuable given the unique character of the site they were extracted from. In these circumstances, especially large samples were taken during the excavation and all were directly processed in totality for the analysis. The volume of the samples collected relied upon the presence of carbonisation traces: when numerous, the sediment was collected in totality; when less marked, about half of the sediment was pinch sampled; when scant or in potentially disturbed settings about 15 litres of sediment were pinch sampled. This system relied on a subjective appreciation of the amount of carbonised material present during the excavation, a situation that might have led to inconsistencies, especially as a large team was involved in the excavation.

As discussed on a weekly basis, the excavation crews were not asked to provide detailed information about sampling unless they did not follow the strategy outlined above. At the end of the field season, copies of the excavation forms were requested. Whilst their format varied, they included a description of the excavated lots (e.g. soil type, inclusions, artefacts) as well as their precise location and depth, their relationship with other lots (e.g. tentative Harris matrix sequences) and preliminary interpretations. Those details, used to contextualise the archaeobotanical findings, have been summarised in Appendix B1.

The sampling strategy followed throughout the current project was systematic, flexible and enabled direct comparisons at the assessment level. Beyond willingly introduced divergences at the Cartier-Roberval site, which were taken into account throughout the analysis, some subtle inconsistencies might have impacted sample collection. Sampling was indeed carried out by many individuals

whose experience, motivation and understanding of the procedure probably differed. This situation might have led to some imbalance, especially as sample collection rested on their quick assessment of the nature of every lot. Such issues are, however, hardly avoidable in any archaeobotanical endeavour.

5.4. Processing subsamples

Sample processing aims to reduce the amount of material to look through when the time comes to isolate archaeological plant remains (Greig 1989:43). Different techniques have been created in this perspective but their rate of efficiency depends on context and they have differential impacts over the assemblages' contents (Keeley 1978:182). Wet-sieving is, for example, a relatively quick procedure in itself but it leaves lots of material to sort through and tends to destroy brittle remains (Tolar et al. 2010:66). Whether manual or mechanical, flotation is much gentler over plant remains and enables a tremendous reduction in the amount of material to sort through (Renfrew 1973:21). It is in this perspective that the technique was retained for the current project. Its underpinnings are rather simple: organic material tends to float contrarily to inorganic material. By submerging a sample in water it is thus possible to split its organic components, so called light fraction, from its inorganic elements referred to as its heavy fraction. Flotation can be performed either manually or with mechanical assistance, two variants that entail biases of their own (Pennington and Weber 2004:16; Wright 2005:22). Whilst the former is more time consuming, especially when high volumes of soil are processed, the latter is much faster but is far less soft on the remains and entails higher risk of cross-contamination. After considering those strengths and pitfalls, it was decided that all assessments, tests and analysis or scan of less than 3 to 5 litres would be processed manually. Larger subsamples were, however, to be systematically processed using a flotation machine. This dual approach was applied so that any loss during mechanical flotation could be evaluated on the basis of the assessments.

Regardless of how it was carried out, sample flotation took place inside so as to avoid contemporary contamination, especially by wind-dispersed seeds (see Kenward et al. 1980:14). Before being processed, the samples were kept refrigerated if they had the potential to entail waterlogged remains, and at room temperature otherwise. Unfortunately, in some instances, cooler settings were full and samples possibly containing waterlogged plant remains had to be stored at room temperature. In these circumstances, at least one

subsample of one litre from every lot was stored in cool conditions. The storage conditions were closely monitored so as to observe how they might have impacted the assemblages' contents. It notably provided an opportunity to assess the potential effects of the delays between the excavation and delivery of St. Louis Forts and Castles site samples at the processing facilities.



Figure 5.2. Manual flotation: separating light and heavy fractions.

Prior to undertaking their flotation, observations about sub-samples' sediments (e.g. soil type and inclusions) were recorded on a standardised form, a process repeated during the treatment. Once the volume of soil to float was noted, it was measured using a plastic metric container. At this stage, the methodological sequence pursued depended on the type of flotation performed. When hand flotation was carried out, the measuring container was emptied out and rinsed in a plastic dishwashing container using hot water. This container was then filled with water up to about ¾ and gently stirred to increase organic matter suspension. Most of the water and the floating material was then poured into a stack of sieves up to the moment the heavier portion of the subsample was about to fall in (Figure 5.2.). This procedure was repeated as long as small sediment particles and organic material kept floating when the container was shuffled around. This method was not, however, sufficient to separate the light and heavy fractions of some very organic or clayish subsamples. In those instances, 5ml of baking soda was added to the dishwashing container (following Bending 2005:90) which was then filled ¾ full with hot water, covered with a plastic pellicle, left soaking for a week and floated again. Whilst this procedure was reported as inefficient elsewhere (De Moulins 1996:154; Vandorpe and Jacomet 2007:210), it proved very effective during the current project where it prevented the unintended crushing of fragile material as well as sieves clogging and overflow.

After the flotation, the material remaining in the plastic dishwashing container - the heavy fraction - was dried out to be later bagged. The

material accumulated in the sieves, the light fraction, was subdivided so as to facilitate the isolation of plant remains using the microscope by separating particles by size. The sieve aperture used at this stage had no documented impact except for the smallest one which needed to be big enough to avoid the accumulation of clay and silt but sufficiently small to enable the recovery of tiny remains (Wagner 1988:20; Wright 2005:24). In this perspective, three sieves of respectively 1mm, 500 µm and 250 µm were routinely used. When large organic items were observed, an additional sieve of 5,6 mm was added to the stack. Once accumulated in these sieves, the light fraction was gently cleaned using a low flow of water to get rid of any remaining soil particles. The contents of each sieve were then concentrated and gently poured into a glass container using a spoon and/or a washing bottle filled with a solution of ethanol at 95%. This chemical was used to insure the long-term preservation of waterlogged remains if present, and is not known to have any destructive impact on other types of material (Köber-Grohne 1991:5). The light fraction held in every sieve was bottled and labelled separately before being stored in a cool environment.

The mechanical flotation of subsamples larger than 3 to 5 litres was carried out using the same sieves and techniques of dispersion, concentration and storage. The apparatus initially used in this process was constructed using a metallic barrel in accordance with the plan that is known as a modified Ankara style flotation machine (French 1971). Taking inspiration from these blueprints, taps were installed at the bottom of the machine to evacuate its contents and in its upper third to let water in (Figure 5.3). Once in the machine, water was dispersed at low velocity through small holes drilled in an intricate system of pipes. When the barrel was full, water overflowed through a spout along with the floating material and fell through a stack of sieves. To avoid cross contamination or the loss of small seeds which would not have floated, the upper half of the machine was covered with a removable mesh cloth with a controlled aperture of 250 µm to retain the subsample's heavy fraction. Whilst promising in principle, this device proved heavy and overall inefficient because the subsamples' organic contents tended not to float. It was thus rapidly replaced by a new model built from a very large aluminium cooking pot (Figure 5.4.). As well as being lighter, the main advantage of this machine was its star shaped water dispersal system which favoured the flotation of larger portions of the subsamples.



Figure 5.3. First flotation machine used during the project: general overview and water dispersion system.



Figure 5.4. Second flotation machine used during the project: general overview and water dispersion system.

Mechanical flotation was initiated by putting the mesh cloth in place and connecting the machine to a water source. Once water overflowed, the subsample sediment was gradually poured into the tank. The process was considered over when no more soil particles or organic matter floated in the apparatus. Whilst the light and heavy fractions of the subsamples were then generally processed using the techniques described above, light fractions associated with lots where no evidence of waterlogging had been observed during the assessment were rather dried. In those cases, the contents of every sieve were emptied out in fine cotton cloths and hung to dry at room temperature. This procedure eased sorting and storage but may have led to an accented fragmentation of carbonised remains (see Crawford 2008:1594). It is noteworthy that to speed up the processing and sorting of 'scan' subsamples, the smallest sieve used in those instances had an aperture of 500 μm. It was validated using the principle according to which plants producing small seeds generally produce them in higher quantities (Leishman et al.

2000:34). As such, smaller sized rarities were more likely to already have been identified during the assessment and the analysis.

The processing procedure was altered in two instances to account for some deposits' unique character. First, a change of approach was implemented at the Cartier-Roberval site after one year of intensive work. Given the large size of the samples collected and that those only entailed carbonised material, their flotation was henceforth carried out on site. Due to the high concentrations of small roots in the samples, which constantly led to sieves overflowing, it was also decided that the smaller sieve aperture used would be from then on of 500 µm. Made for the sake of efficiency, this change was also supported by the complete lack of remains smaller than 500 µm in all the samples previously analysed. Second, at the Intendant's Palace, privies (labelled PM and PN) whose contents were under the water table revealed outstanding preservation conditions. Whilst the structure was sampled, it was decided to further wet screen all the sediment it entailed to enable the recovery of rarities and small artefacts. This operation was considered as an exhaustive scan for which mesh cloths of roughly 1mm and 5,6mm aperture were used. The results obtained during this step of the analysis are by no means comparable to those obtained using different processing techniques.

At a technical level, the separation of the organic and inorganic components of the subsamples analysed was operated in a fairly standardised manner. The nature of the deposits sampled and the volume of the subsamples nevertheless lead to the introduction of some discrepancies which were controlled so it was possible to evaluate their differential impact across a single sample. When the effects of such alterations were more difficult to tackle or isolate, such as in the Cartier-Roberval and the Intendant's Palace privy cases, they were kept in mind through the interpretation process. In addition to these particularities, divergences in the procedures might also have been fostered unintentionally, especially as many undergraduate students participated in the sample processing. Their rigour, skill and understanding unavoidably varied and might as such have introduced bias in the dataset. A record of their participation has been kept with the hope of statistically investigating if they might have had differential impacts over the results.

5.5. Sorting light and heavy fractions

Sorting is a lengthy but relatively straightforward process which was systematically conducted inside. It involves the examination of

processed fractions to extract all vegetal remains present and record any information enabling the contextualisation of these finds. Sorting light and heavy fractions does not involve the same apparatus and degree of meticulousness, as the latter are unlikely to entail plant remains if the flotation process was efficient. Accordingly, heavy fractions were observed quickly using a macroscopic lamp which doubled the size of the items observed. In order to do so, the heavy fraction was poured on one side of a flat plastic container and gradually moved away using a small brush. Through this process, other elements that had the potential to enlighten assemblages' depositional origins such as animal remains or wood fragments were documented. Appendix B2 summarises the information gathered at this stage of the analysis. Once the sorting was completed, the heavy fractions were disposed of on the site they came from.

The different portions of the light fractions were sorted successively using a stereo microscope at a 2x to 40x magnification. In order to do so, about a spoonful of material was dropped off on a glass petri dish and was carefully scrutinised. When the material was dry, it was moved from one side of the petri dish to the other using a soft brush. If it was kept in ethanol, a cross was drawn at the bottom of the petri dish to keep track of the sorting process, and the material dispersion was accented by adding a little more of this solution. Once the particles were more or less evenly spread, the contents of every quadrant were slowly scanned to avoid displacements. Regardless of the state of the material examined, all the vegetal remains noticed were isolated in glass vials (previously filled with ethanol unless the material was already dry) using soft metallic tweezers. The remains were simultaneously rapidly identified and roughly quantified on a form. This record also documented the presence and relative quantity of other organic elements which were not isolated but had interpretive potential such as ostracods, gastropods, fly puparia, arachnids, daphnia, bryozoan as well as insect galls, fungus (*Cenococcum* spp. and *Hypoxylon* spp.) and sphagnum mosses (*Sphagnum* spp.). An overview of the elements identified in every light fraction is provided in Appendix B3. Admittedly, the ability to identify and comment upon the presence of those elements constantly increased during this project. Once fully sorted, the light fractions were dried out at room temperature in fine cotton cloths to later be bagged and stored so that it would be possible to go back to them if needed.

After applying the sorting technique described above for about a year, some changes were implemented for the sake of efficiency. For

example, it was noticed that less than 2% of the light fractions portion smaller than 500 µm entailed botanical remains (also observed by Crawford 2008:1595 in different settings). Given that their examination was by far the most time consuming, when five spoons of material were explored their sorting was abandoned if they had not yielded any botanical remains. Contrarily, the sorting of the light fractions extracted from some privies revealed to be time consuming as they entailed exceptionally high densities of remains. To speed up the process, the collection and quantification of remains belonging to the same taxa was halted once 500 specimens had been isolated. In addition to these potential sources of disparity, the sorting process might have been less consistent as it was carried out by many students. Whilst they all received brief training and their work was frequently and randomly verified, their visual acuteness as well as their level of attention, understanding and motivation could all have had some impact over the results. Once again, in order to try to assess the extent of such a problem, the names of the participants were recorded to be later statistically analysed.

5.6. Identifying and quantifying plant remains

The plant remains isolated from all subsamples' fractions were formerly identified and quantified at the end of the project to ensure consistency. I was the only person involved in this stage of the analysis through which archaeobotanical finds were made part of wider scientific frames of references developed in botany and archaeobotany. This section outlines this process and provides essential clues to fully understand the results as presented in Appendixes D and E and discussed in the following chapters.

Identifications were carried out using a stereomicroscope at magnification between 2x and 40x with the goal of associating each remains with the most specific plant taxon (or taxonomical rank) possible. In this process, the shape and texture of the remains as well as the presence and location of particular features, such as attachment points, grooves, hairs and hooks were taken into account (e.g. see Ford 1979:307; Pearsall 1989:145). In general, at least one of these characteristics is relatively constant amongst most genus of the same family and even more are present amongst species of the same genus. There are, however, several exceptions where interspecies variation overlaps with intraspecies variation (Marinval 1999:113). It is notably the case for the species belonging to the bramble genus (*Rubus* sp.) which are especially difficult to distinguish on the basis of seeds. In such instances, the identifications were not

pushed beyond the genus level. This did not, however, systematically prevent their association with more specific plant groups, although those are recognised in common language rather than on a taxonomic basis. For example, while the species belonging to the *Prunus* sp. genus are difficult to differentiate, their seeds size enable their association with different fruits: plums, cherries and small cherries. Those distinctions, which do not have a taxonomical ground, were nonetheless considered valid.

Regardless of their taxonomical level, identifications were confirmed through comparisons with a reference collection entailing modern seeds identified by botanists. The collection used entailed some 500 taxa and was created during the current PhD project with the support of Agriculture Canada, Montreal Botanical Garden, the VanDusen Botanical Garden and Prof. Marijke van der Veen (University of Leicester). When the taxa recovered were not amongst the collection, specialised books comprising seed descriptions, illustrations and photographs were used (Bell et al. 2010; Bojnanský and Fargašová 2007; Bonner and Karrfalt, 2008; Cappers et al. 2006; Castner, 2004; Davis, 1993; Fishel and Bradley 2005; Hillman et al. 1996; Hubbard 1992; Jacomet 2006; Jones et al. 2004; Kühn 1991; Martin and Barkley 1961; Neef et al. 2012; Renfrew 1973; Schoch et al. 1988; Schopmeyer 1974). At this stage, specialists from Agriculture Canada, the University of Massachusetts Boston, the University of Boston and the College of William and Mary were also consulted to try to identify remains still unknown. When, despite these attempts, uncertainty subsisted, the abbreviation cf. was added before the name of the concerned taxon, a standard practice in archaeobotany.

The identification process associated the remains with Latin designations following the Linnaeus nomenclature system that provides a universal and conventional language for specialised discussions. Within this system, the labels used correspond to those pushed forward in the 3rd edition of *Flore Laurentienne* (Victorin 2002), a publication focusing on Quebec province's vegetation. For plants exotic to the area, the labels employed were those of *VASCAN* (Brouillet et al. 2010+) or of the *Flora of North America* (FNAEC 1993+). It is also on their basis that the common names used through this thesis (Appendix C) were selected. In a comparative perspective, only the synonyms and equivalents recognised by *VASCAN* (Brouillet et al. 2010+) or the Plant List Database (RBG 2013) were employed.

Once identified, the remains extracted from every subsample's fractions were quantified using a method known as "total count" (see Green 2009:3; Hastorf 2008:1792; Jones 1991:65). Following this technique, every complete remain was counted as one. As for fragments, they were reunited to create the equivalent of a whole remain and then calculated as one. However, if the fragments assembled entailed specific features (e.g. attachment points), suggesting more than one remain was present, it is those that were quantified instead. All remains belonging to the same taxon were simultaneously rated on two semi-quantitative scales so as to express their general state of preservation and fragmentation (see Antolin and Buxo, 2011:54; Birks 2014:311; Brinkkemper 2006; Hubbard and al Azm 1990:103; Popper 1988:66; Vandorpe and Jacomet 2007:209). Relative and subjective, these measurements rested on the observation of pre-determined characteristics inspired by those proposed by Green (2009:4). Those are summarised in Table 5.1. whilst the state of fragmentation and alteration observed among the taxa of every assemblage are respectively provided in Appendixes F to I.

Table 5.1. Characteristics used determine remains' relative state of fragmentation and distortion.

	Fragmentation criteria	Distortion criteria
1	less than 5% of the remain missing	no alteration
2	5 to 10% of the remain missing	5 to 40% of the surface altered
3	10 to 40% of the remain missing	about 50% of the surface altered
4	50 to 80% of the remain missing	over 50% of the surface altered
5	more than 80% of the remain missing	barely identifiable due to alterations

Whilst comparatively more consistent than other steps of the analysis, identification and quantification were limited by my knowledge. This situation probably engendered a positive bias towards the recognition of well-known staples and weeds but a negative one against the identification of taxa with restricted ecological niches and little recognised anthropogenic uses. The choices made during this process also had a major impact over the diffusion of the data, which are much more readily understandable by a local botanist than by an international audience. Likewise, the way results are presented in Appendixes C and D is subjective. According to an unspoken tradition, archaeobotanical quantitative results are generally presented in tables where one axis is dedicated to the list of taxa identified and the other to the samples, lots, structures, areas, operations or sites they were extracted from. The

order in which this information is enumerated nevertheless sometimes introduces certain assumptions. For instance, the tendency to organise the taxa following their presupposed function (e.g. food, fodder, building material) not only denotes a certain level of interpretation but also binds taxa to a single use. To avoid such problems, most archaeobotanists rather organise their finds in the taxonomical order proposed in a local flora. Here, this practice was taken on using Victorin's *Flore Laurentienne* (2002). Other assumptions impacting data presentation are related to the use of sample provenience as an organisational principle. Indeed, some samples can entail differentially preserved remains which are likely to have followed different depositional pathways (see Green 1982; van der Veen 2007). As such, it was decided here to further subdivide sample contents on the basis of their means of preservation, each portion of which is referred to as an 'assemblage'.

Given the large dataset created following the methodology outlined above, some measurements easing comparisons between assemblages' contents are provided alongside the results in Appendixes E and D. Those include density, a measure making it possible to rapidly contrast remains' abundance in assemblages extracted from samples of different volumes. It is calculated by dividing the total amount of remains identified by the sampled volume. Frequency or ubiquity, refers to the prevalence of a taxon within a given dataset and is determined by dividing the amount of assemblages a taxon was identified in by the total amount of assemblages considered. This comparative technique must however be used with caution as it does not take into account the direct relationship between sample size and richness. The last measurement used is known as diversity and commonly used to assess different habitats biodiversity in biology and to investigate assemblage's depositional process in archaeobotany. Several formulas have been employed in the discipline in this perspective but none seem to be adequate for every situation (see Marston 2014:168; Popper 1988:66-67). In the current context, the formula used is referred to as the Simpson's Reciprocal Index of Diversity (1/D). It has been selected because it can deal with assemblages where low quantities of remains are present and also accounts for evenness. This last characteristic implies that even if they include the same quantity of species, two samples would not be rated equally if one or two taxa dominate the assemblage in one sample but remains are more or less evenly distributed among taxa in the other. In such circumstances, the second sample would be taken as richer. Simpson's Reciprocal Index of Diversity (1/D) is calculated using the

following formula, where 'n' refers to the total number of remains of a given species and 'N' designates the total number of remains of all species: $D = \Sigma(n/N)2$. Despite the recourse to measurements such as density, diversity and frequency, the amount of data collected made the identification of patterns especially challenging. It is in this perspective that it was decided to turn towards correspondence analysis, a type of multivariate analysis increasingly used in archaeobotany.

5.7. Unraveling plant remains biographies

Following the application of the methodology described in the previous sections, a very large amount of data was produced. In order to enable the identification of patterns in the dataset, the results were appraised using correspondence analysis. This section provides an introduction to the technique and its underpinnings and highlights the approach followed through the analysis as well as its strengths and weaknesses.

Multivariate analyses have been used in archaeology since the 1960s (Djindjian 2015:67-68; Hurst 1978) in order to enable the open-ended investigation of archaeological data's multifaceted dimensions and identify otherwise obscured patterns (Baxter 1994:2; Hodson 1969; Smith 2014:181-182). The visual dimension of multivariate analysis renders their outcome accessible to a reader with average knowledge of statistics (Lockyear 2013:4744) and has ensured their popularity in the discipline (e.g. Alberti 2013; Baxter and Cool 2010; Clouse 1999; Cool and Baxter 1999; Peeples and Schachner 2012; Ringrose 1992). Archaeobotany has not escaped this trend and in the last few years, studies reviewing the application of these techniques and their pitfalls have multiplied (Green 2009; Smith 2012; VanDerwarker et al. 2014). Among them, correspondence analysis (CA) has become routinely used to address archaeobotanical remains' spatial distribution or to relate those finds to specific crop processing activities and husbandry regimes (e.g. Bogaard 2004; Charles et al. 1997; Kreuz and Schäfer 2008). The widespread recourse to this statistical technique is concomitant with the development of the program CANOCO which is specifically designed to deal with biological data. Detailed accounts of this program's operating process (Leps and Smilauer 2003; ter Braak and Smilauer 2012) and of the mathematical underpinnings of CA (Clausen 1998; Greenacre 1984; ter Braak 1987; Yelland 2010) are available in specialised literature.

The goal of CA is to shed light on the mathematical relationships existing between the discrete variables (remains' quantities in this case) figuring in the rows (taxa) and columns (assemblages) of a contingency table (results table). In order to do so each variable is converted into a statistical mass by dividing it by the sum of all variables in the same row. Using these measurements as coordinates the row is then represented in a multidimensional space where each column stands for one dimension. The Euclidian distance between two rows in this space represents the amount of variation existing between their contents. Their global overall distance to the center of their mass is referred to as total inertia (TI) and quantifies the extent of variation present in the dataset: the greater this measurement is the more heterogeneous is the dataset. Two axes selected on the basis of the greatest variation present among columns are then developed using the center of row masses as an intersection. This produces a two-dimensional space where all the row points can be projected in the function of their Euclidian distance: the closer they appear in this space the more similar their contents are. Through this process some lesser dimensions of the variation in the dataset are inevitably lost, a reduction whose magnitude is expressed in terms of proportion of the represented total variance (RTV). When the RTV is relatively low and the total inertia is comparatively high it is worth attempting to identify the main sources of variability in the dataset, subdivide it accordingly and perform independent CAs on the resulting 'sub'-datasets. This procedure enables the identification of further significant but otherwise obscured sources of variation.

Contrarily to other statistical methods the identification of mechanisms behind dataset variation using CA is made on a visual rather than a purely mathematical basis. In order to do so the points representing the variables on the plots are replaced by symbols standing for specific groupings (e.g. site context, plant origins, plant use). If a majority of symbols from the same category cluster together, it can then be proposed that this grouping is meaningful and recurrently associated with a specific form of variability within the dataset. The clearest and tightest a cluster is, the more limited are the effects of the source of variation tested. Similarly, the greater amount of point it encompasses, the more widespread its impacts are. It must, however, be kept in mind that clusters can be the result of the combined action of several sources of variations which may further co-vary (e.g. context and preservation in this dataset: privies assemblages tend to be waterlogged while remains associated with fire debris are generally carbonised). The explanatory value of the analysis is thus partly constrained by the ability of the analyst to test

meaningful and diverse potential sources of patterning. For instance, the nature of the groupings tested may prove too specific or too general to reveal any coherent patterning. Hence multiple groupings following similar categorisations are often required to pinpoint the origins of variation and this renders the analysis a time-consuming process. Despite this pitfall CA remains rewarding as it enables the testing of the significance of row categorisations on column plots and vice versa. In order to do so the variables are replaced by pie charts reflecting the proportions of every row category present or their overall value within a single column. For example, sample points can be replaced with the function of the proportion of exotic and locally grown produce they entail. To obtain promising results it is, however, important to properly format the analysed dataset prior to the CA, notably by eliminating potential sources of duplication. Similarly, rare species and poor samples have to be excluded as they tend to produce extreme variations. Even so, supressing outlier species and samples may prove essential during the analysis when the variation introduced by a species or sample is so great that it obscures the recognition of any clustering in the CA plots. The practical implications of these imperatives over archaeobotanical datasets have been described in length by Jones (1991) and van der Veen (1992).

In preparation for the CA and in compliance with the above mentioned principles, a contingency table entailing 331 samples and 120 taxa was produced. Once outliers were removed, the analysis of the dataset (1A) revealed its heterogeneous character whose calculated total inertia was of 9.38. Only 27% of this variance could be represented on the CA plots. As pointed out earlier, this suggested the co-existence of multiple mechanisms behind assemblages' variability and encouraged the subdivision of the whole dataset. In total, this operation was repeated five times and fostered ten distinct CAs as illustrated in Figure 5.5. Among these it seems remarkable that the smaller the analysed dataset was, the lower its total intertie was. This increasing homogeneity suggests that the criteria used to subdivide the datasets were mathematically significant. Contrarily, the represented proportion of the total variance tended to increase with every separation, indicating a decrease in the amount of significant sources of discrepancy. The inverse relationship of total inertia to represented total variance can be expressed by a coefficient of correlation of -0.8. This highlights how a multiplication of mechanisms fostering variability systematically produced more heterogeneous datasets.

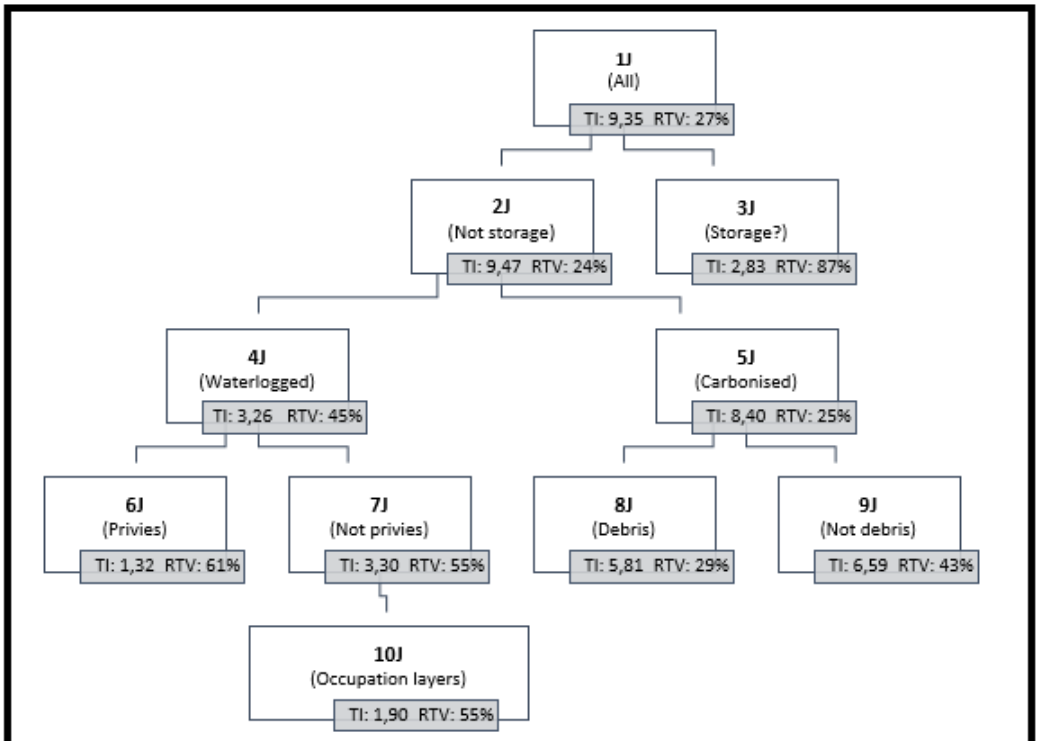


Figure 5.5. Schematic representation of the correspondence analysis process with the total inertia (TI) and the represented proportion of total variance (RTV) for each dataset.

The subdivision of the datasets analysed rested on the identification of the main mechanism(s) fostering variation within them. In order to recognise those sources of discrepancies, the variables represented in the plots were substituted by symbols representing their affiliation with different groups. Those groupings were made on the basis of 28 attributes selected so as to reflect the archaeological, methodological and archaeobotanical biography of the assemblages on the one hand (Appendix J1.) and the archaeobotanical material, ecological, popular and scientific biography of the taxa on the other (Appendix J2.). The assignation of assemblages to a specific archaeological, methodological or archaeobotanical category was made on the basis of the observations recorded during excavation (Appendix B1.) or sample processing (Appendix A) and analysis (Appendixes B2, C2, D and E) and was a rather straightforward process. The same lines of evidence were used to assign taxa to a given group of frequency and material attributes. Their distribution among groups following other attributes nonetheless required more extensive documentation.

The ecological trajectories of the taxa were reconstructed using contemporary studies given that their preferences are unlikely to

have drastically changed in the past 500 years. Their status in Quebec City was hence established using a regional flora (Victorin 2002) and the *VASCAN database* (Brouillet et al. 2010+). The information gathered allowed to distinguish between indigenous species naturally present in the area and introduced species currently growing in the region but originating from abroad, ephemeral cultivar only resisting to local conditions when cultivated, and imports. Classifying the taxa according to their more specific ecological preferences in terms of soil or humidity was much more challenging given the paucity of publications on the subject. As a result, many taxa could not be categorised. The others were classified using an extensive botanical survey of Quebec City vegetation (Baillargeon 1981) as well as published horticultural observations (Dumont 2005a; 2005b) and punctual studies focusing on single taxa (e.g. Francis et al. 2011; Hawthorn 1974). The work of Baillargeon (1981) also conveniently listed when the species identified were first collected and mentioned by botanists, along with some information used to determine when they were introduced in the scientific world.

Popular biography of the taxa have notably been based on travel narrative dating between 1542 and 1867 (Boucher 1970; Bougainville 2003; Brébeuf 2000; Cartier et al. 1843; Champlain 2004; Douville 1970; Franquet 1889; Frontenac 1956; Lahontan 1990; Lambert 2006; Le Beau 1738; Leclercq 1999; Lejeune 2009; Lescarbot 1968; L'incarnation 1934; Long 1810; M'Donald 1823; Perrot 2004; Rousseau and Bétune 1977; Sagard 1998; Samson 1817; Talon 1970; Tocqueville 1973; Tolfrey 1979; Walker,1720; Weld 2006). This time-consuming procedure was challenging as to the exception of Pehr Kalm (Rousseau and Bétune 1977) all travelers referred to plants using ambiguous common names often hard to correlate with specific taxon. This issue is commonly encountered by archaeobotanists working on the grounds of historical material (King 1994:194). Further, the selection of these documents heavily relied on the availability of electronic copies in open archives. It should be noted that their authors are men from the upper strata of society and as such their viewpoints cannot be considered fully representative of their populations. As a result, the use made of identified taxa in the two first local cookbooks published in the region (Anonymous 1840; Caron 1878) was also taken into account. Once again, these documents represent more what might have been suitable to eat rather than what was consumed, especially as they were commonly used for nation-building as pointed out in the previous chapter.

Table 5.3. Origins and occupations of the authors of the travel literature consulted.

Authors	Time frame	Origins	Author's occupation
16th century			
Cartier	1541-1543	French	Explorer and captain
Roberval	1541-1543	French	Nobleman
Jean Alphonse	1623-1624	French	Captain
17th century			
Champlain	1604-1611	French	Lieutenant general
Lescarbot	1606-1607	French	Lawyer and author
Sagard	1623-1624	French	Récollet friar
Lejeune	1634	French	Jesuit missionary
Brébeuf	1635-1636	French	Jesuit missionary
Boucher	1635-1664	French	Officer and governor
L'Incarnation	1636-1641	French	Nun
Talon	1665-1672	French	New France Intendant
Frontenac	1672-1698	French	New France Governor
Lerclerq	1675-1691	French	Recollect friar
Lahontan	1684-1690	French	Interpreter and military
1700-1760			
Sarrasin	1708	French	Surgeon
Walker	1720	English	Military officer
Le Beau	1738	French	Parliament lawyer
Kalm	1749	Swedish	Botanist
Franquet	1752-1754	French	King's engineer
Bougainville	1756-1759	French	Military officer
1760-1867			
Melsheimer	1776	German	Soldier and preacher
Weld	1795-1797	Irish	Traveler and author
La Rochefoucault-Liancourt	1795-1799	French	Author and politician
Ogden	1799	American	Clergyman
Lambert	1806-1808	English	Traveler and painter
Tolfrey	1816-1820	English	Military officer
Samson	1817	American	Author
Palmer	1817-1818	English	Traveler and author
M'Donald	1823	Scottish	Immigrant
Bourne	1824-1829	American	Abolitionist clergyman
Tocqueville	1831-1832	French	Politician and philosopher

Testing the significance of the groupings made for every aspects of assemblages' biography among the different datasets fostered the production of over 1500 plots. Even if significant clusters were recognised in only about 32% of them, the number of graphs to take into account for interpretations was rather overwhelming. To ease discussion, a condensed version of the results obtained for each dataset was developed. They are available in Appendix K where they are used to highlight how some attributes' groupings tended to co-vary. These graphs are further employed in the next chapter to unravel the more recent biographical histories of the assemblages recovered.

Unraveling Archaeobotanical Assemblages' Histories

The methodological approach advocated in order to investigate daily expressions of colonialism and nationalism in Quebec City between 1542 and 1867 led to the analysis of 629 samples from five local archaeological sites. Those yielded 376 assemblages composed of some 40,000 carbonised and waterlogged plant remains. This chapter provides an overview of these results whilst discussing the role of food-related activities, preservation and methodology in the assemblages' formation processes. In this perspective, the archaeobotanical evidence gathered is first contextualised and used to enlighten different aspects of the history of the archaeological sites they come from. The archaeobotanical assemblages recovered are then considered globally using correspondence analysis (CA) to assess the impact of methodological decisions, differential preservation and depositional processes over their composition.

6.1. Contextualising and contextualised evidence

Archaeological plant remains, their state and the taxa they belong to only become significant when situated within a site, a deposit, and an assemblage. At the site level, the remains' horizontal and stratigraphic position, their association with occupation phases and dating, as well as their co-occurrence with other artefacts and ecofacts provide grounds for comparisons and a basis to make them part of wider regional histories. Within a sample, observations and small finds situate archaeobotanical remains among activities and practices that took place at the moment of their deposition. At the assemblage scale, density and diversity, taxa history and ecological preferences provide a closer perspective over their depositional pathways. This section hence draws relationships between recovered plant remains and these multiple and intersecting contexts.

6.1.1. Cartier-Roberval site

After several exploratory assessments in 2006 (Bouchard-Perron 2006), 314 samples were collected at the Cartier-Roberval site between 2007 and 2008. They were all taken from the southwestern tip of the Cap-Rouge cliff where the evidence relating to a 16th century occupation was localised (Figure 6.1.1.). The majority of samples more specifically came from the southern portion of this zone, where multiple traces of carbonisation were observed. All related to the same phase of occupation, none of the deposit sampled

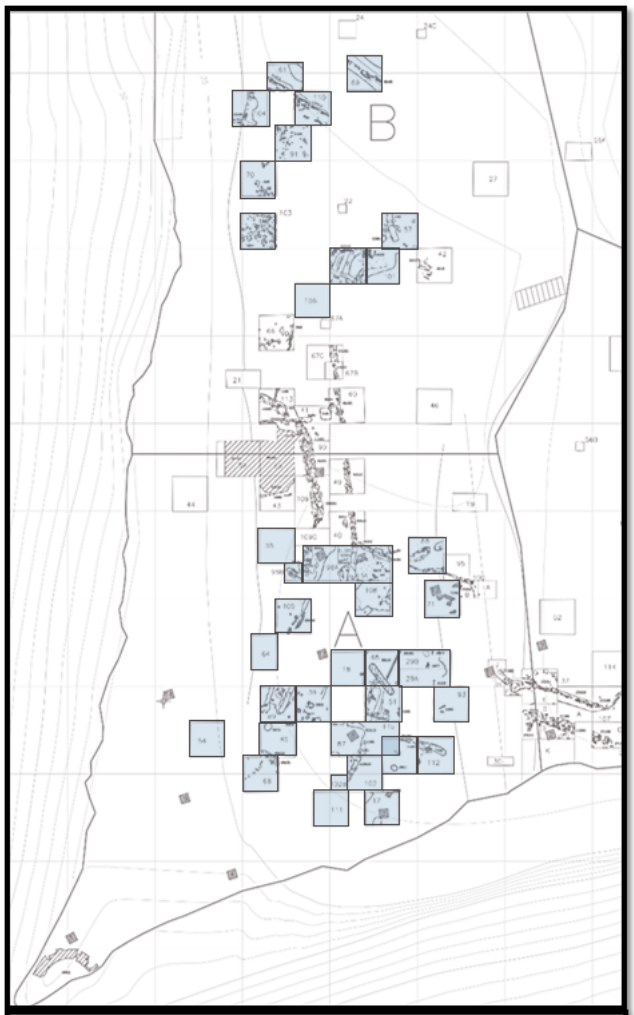


Figure 6.1.1. Archaeological units sampled at Cartier-Roberval site (in blue). *Adapted from National Capital Commission.*

was excluded from discussion even when they did not yield any botanical remains. Beyond hypothetical 'built areas', the exact layout of the site is as yet unknown (Fiset and Samson 2009:53-60), making the contexts the samples were extracted from rather hazy. It was, however, clear that 236 samples were collected from fire debris dating between 1541 and 1543, 25 came from contemporary occupation layers, 41 were collected in areas entailing disturbed 16th century material and 12 were sampled in deposits entailing a mixture of natural and 16th century material (Appendix B1). Regardless of their dating and context, all the plant remains identified were carbonised.

Contrary to the heavy fraction (Appendix B2), the light fraction of the samples revealed the presence of several organic elements in addition to carbonised wood (Appendix B3). Among them featured carbonised spruce (*Picea* sp.) and carbonised balsam fir (*Abies balsamea* (L.) Mills.) needles as well as carbonised fragments of a fungus (*Hypoxylon* sp.) towards the northwest. The southern portion of the site further yielded insect galls, an abnormal growth produced by insect larvae on tree trunks and some unidentified coniferous cones. All these elements may equally be related to the forested cover of the site at the time of the fort's establishment or to the extensive use of wood as timber and fuel during its short occupation. Other noticeable components of the light fractions included common wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) rachis found along with grains of the same species (respectively samples CTbc and CYa3i). Their scant presence suggests those cereals were

not processed onsite. A fragment of mustard (*Brassica* sp.) pod was likewise identified in a sample (CKbc) from a sector where this spice was found in high concentrations. The presence of some maize (cf. Zea) cob fragments was also noticed in the northern (Cdbi) and central (CZa1i) portions of the site. Grains of this taxa were nonetheless absent from samples collected nearby.

The archaeological plant remains from the Cartier-Roberval site showed extremely varied states of preservation. Despite this heterogeneous character, it is possible to observe a more important and generalised state of fragmentation among remains coming from samples CAa to CAd (Appendixes F1 and H1). Those were collected from the same test pit in the southern part of the site where a flag pole had been installed in the course of the 19th century. In this perspective, it is noteworthy that none of the samples extracted from other deposits that were altered by 19th century activities displayed markedly higher fragmentation rates. In terms of distortion, assemblages from the northern portion of the site and those coming from accumulations near test pit CB had a propensity to entail higher proportions of remains markedly altered by fire. This tends to suggest the intensity, length and conditions under which the conflagration took place varied spatially. It is, however, difficult to interpret this divergence further without more specific contextual information.

Carbonised assemblages from the Cartier-Roberval site were characterised by very low densities of remains. Those were nevertheless slightly higher in the contiguous test pits CK, CP and Ca. Among them, CK assemblages entailed by far the highest density of remains observed onsite due to the presence of hundreds of mustard (*Brassica* sp.) seeds. Those were, however, completely absent from tests pits CP and Ca which rather yielded small concentrations of cultivated grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.). This particularity suggests a more partitioned use of space in the northern portion of the site where lower diversities of remains were also recorded. The range of taxa identified in assemblages from the southern part of the site tended to be broader, especially nearby test pits CA, CB and CO. It was not possible to identify further patterns in this area across which taxa seem to be distributed randomly.

Cupules of red oak nuts (*Quercus rubra* L.) were recurrently identified in low quantities across the site even if nut shells were strikingly absent. The taxon, still commonly growing on site, was already present in the area according to 16th century explorers' testimonies (Cartier et al. 1843:73). With the exception of those nuts, the vast majority of the species identified at the Cartier-Roberval site were of

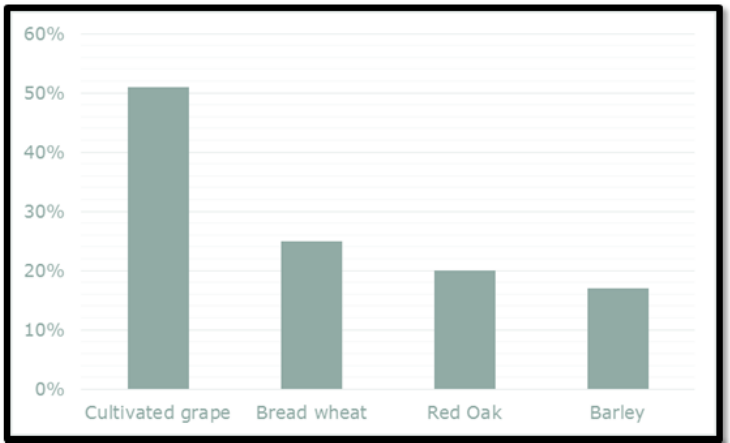


Figure 6.1.2. Frequency of the most commonly identified plant taxa across the Cartier-Roberval assemblages.

European origins and of economic value. Among them, cultivated grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.), common wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.) and common barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) were the most commonly identified taxa (Figure 6.1.2.). In general, the remains of Old World plants were present in higher density and diversity towards the north (CE, CK, CP, Ca) and in the south (CA, CB, CI, CT). Rather scarce, the remains of plants cultivated by local Native populations (e.g. sunflower, maize and beans) were randomly distributed across the site but were slightly more common nearby test pit CI.

6.1.2. Brave's Park

Excavations at Braves' Park were a relatively humble undertaking aiming to unearth a small two-roomed house built during the first half of the 17th century and burned down before the 1700s (Figure 6.1.3.). Towards the end of the field season, carbonised plant remains were noticed and handpicked in an accumulation of fire debris (BAaO7L) above the occupation layer. It was only after this discovery that samples were collected within almost completely excavated lots. It was nonetheless possible to sample the deposit where the remains had been identified (BAa) at different depths as well as another layer (BBa) for comparative purposes. The first deposit was located in the southwestern room near to a

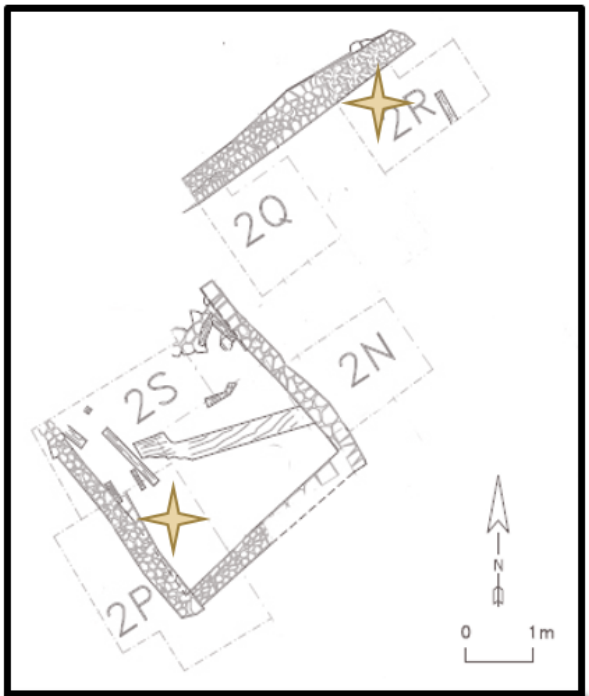


Figure 6.1.3. Layout of the 17th century house excavated at Braves' Park and location of the sample collected. *Adapted from National battlefields Commission.*

stone fireplace and the second was situated in the house's northeastern room (Figure 6.1.3.). Given the small size of the site and the limited number of samples collected, all of them, along with the remains handpicked by the excavation crew, were considered for the analysis.

The analysis did not reveal the presence of any plant remains in the sample from the northeastern room even if there was evidence of carbonisation amongst its contents. In the absence of faunal remains, this tends to suggest that this part of the house, further away from the fireplace, was not commonly used for food-related activities. It cannot, however, be ruled out that the fire characteristics were markedly different in this room leading to the destruction of the botanical remains present. Contrarily, large carbonised assemblages were identified in all the samples from the southwestern room (Appendix D2). Comprising high densities of remains, those nonetheless encompassed very low diversities of taxa. These assemblages, coming from samples taken immediately above 20cm or 30cm over the occupation layer were systematically dominated by several hundred remains of peas (*Pisum* sp.). This particularity, combined with their spatial distribution, strongly suggests that peas were stored in a high place nearby the fire place, where they could stay dry at the time of the conflagration. Thus, the remains would have spilled down as parts of the building collapsed during and after the fire. The peas that fell immediately over the occupation layer would have then been mixed up with domestic waste already laying there following domestic activities, explaining the slightly higher diversity of taxa in the bottom sample. In this perspective the presence of a few common wheat grains (*Triticum aestivum* L.) 20 to 30cm above the occupation layer suggest that the taxa might also have been stored in the room at some point.

6.1.3. Champlain's Farm

The excavation at Champlain's Farm only covered a few square meters and aimed to gather further evidence about a farm house built in 1626 and burned down two years later during an English attack (Guimont 1996:57-58). Archaeological activities were more specifically focusing on the southern room of the building believed to have been used for food storage (Figure 6.1.4.). The occupation layer of the room was roughly subdivided to explore the spatial distribution of the remains before being collected in totality. An additional sample (FAb) was taken among the accumulation of carbonised debris located immediately above (Appendix B1). Given the small scale of

the excavation and the well documented chronological sequence, the numerous remains handpicked from fire debris located several centimeters above the floor (FAc) were also taken into consideration whilst arguably of lesser interpretive value.



Figure 6.1.4. Layout of the room sampled at Champlain's Farm and pictures taken during the excavation. *Adapted from Guimont 2009.*

Several carbonised elements were identified in low quantities in Champlain's Farm samples including cloth, leather and straw (Appendix B). It is, however, what was scantly found in them, namely faunal evidence, which stood out given the function associated with the room by the excavation team on the basis of material evidence. Such a paucity also characterised carbonised archaeobotanical assemblages which entailed low densities of remains if at all (Appendix D3). Nearly or fully absent from the eastern portion of the room, the few remains identified were nonetheless generally found whole and in an excellent state of preservation (Appendixes F3 and Appendix H3). They were present in slightly higher diversity towards the west of the room where economic taxa such as apple (*Malus* sp.), vetch (*Vicia* sp.), and pea (*Pisum* sp.) were identified. It was rather challenging to interpret their origins beyond the idea that their deposition stemmed from food-related activities until a closer look was given to the handpicked carbonised remains.

Coming from a single lot (FAc), the 85 handpicked remains were all identified as carbonised vetch (*Vicia* sp.) seeds after examination. Whilst it is impossible to assess their density in the deposit, the fact that they were noticed in such high numbers during the excavation seems

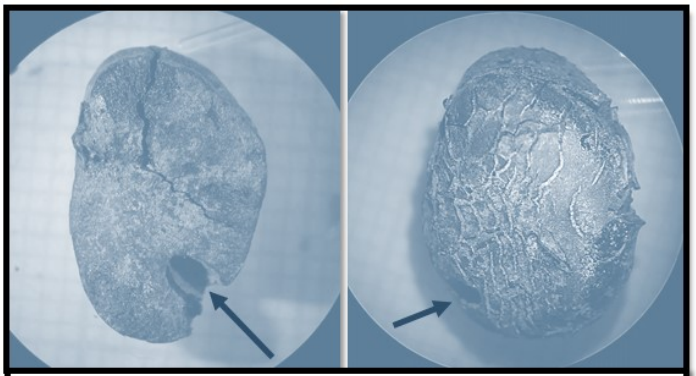


Figure 6.1.5. Carbonised vetch remains from Champlain's Farm entailing circular cavities made by insects.

coherent with the idea that the room was used as a storage area. In this perspective, their paucity in the occupation layer assemblages could be seen as the result of a propensity to store dried food such as cereals and pulses at height to avoid moisture. This practice was not uncommon in Quebec City during the 17th and 18th century according to detailed house inventories (see Saint-Pierre et al. 1993). Archaeoentomological evidence tends to give weight to this hypothesis. Indeed, two vetch remains entailed circular cavities (Figure 6.1.5.) characteristic of legume seeds infected by pests of the Curculionideae family and remains of a pea leaf weevil (*Sitona* sp.) were observed in one of the samples from the occupation layer (FAb). This possibility raises new interrogations: as vetches remains were rather rare in the occupation layer it seems conceivable that the storage of other equally sparse economic taxa was also taking place in the room. These unanswered questions highlight the importance of sampling for seeds up above occupation layers when facing important accumulations of carbonised debris.

6.1.4. Intendant's Palace

The extensive excavations that took place at the Intendant's Palace between 2006 and 2009 enabled the collection of 230 samples. During the analysis, 129 of them were eventually excluded due to an absence of remains, their association with natural deposition events or a lack of contextual information. A few of the remaining samples came from the northern portion of the site where massive buildings are still standing (Figure 6.1.6.). This imbalance was further prompted by historical changes in local environmental conditions: until the 18th century, a river was flowing over the northern part of the site. With time, accumulations of waste pushed back the riverbank and enabled the occupation of previously submerged land while progressively raising the level of the site (Bain et al. 2009:185). As a result, even if always related, both parts of the site tended to be used in different manners. From the 17th century, a brewery, the 1st Intendant's Palace and the King's Store successively occupied the southeastern portion of the site while a 17th century shipyard and modest domestic occupations were reported to the southwest (see Moussette 1994). Comparatively, no traces of occupation dating prior to the 18th century were found in the northern portion of the site where the 2nd Intendant's Palace was eventually erected and turned into British military barracks (Bain et al. 2009:187-188).

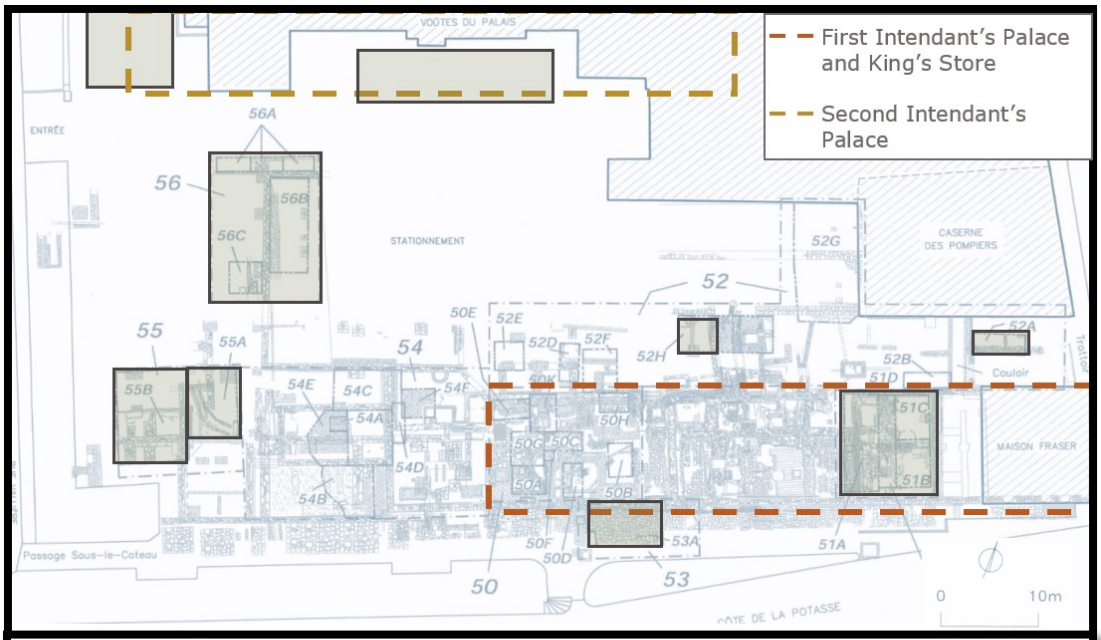


Figure 6.1.6. Areas sampled at the Intendant's Palace (in green).
Adapted from Simoneau 2012.

The carbonised and waterlogged assemblages analysed from this site document some 300 years of continuous occupation and come from a wide variety of contexts including privies, storage facilities, occupation layers and carbonised debris (Appendix B1). It is noteworthy that whilst intendants succeeded one another onsite across seven decades, none of the assemblages analysed came from deposits directly associated with their presence. The only exceptions to this pattern are privies PM/PN which were connected to the building occupied by the personage and his family. They, however, only lived on one floor of the three-storey building where countless workers were also lodging and several administrators and militaries were working daily (Mercier-Methé 2012:50). After identifying and studying the provenience of the material uncovered in the privy, Gaudreau and Taschereau (2006:84) concluded that the structure was used by the Intendant and his relatives but also by servants and officers.

Despite the differences in context and dating, the heavy and light fractions of all the samples analysed contained some faunal remains (Appendixes B2 and B3) suggesting they might all have entailed some food-related refuse. Those more specifically coming from privies also included a wider variety of organic remains, such as coleopteran, fly puparia, arthropods, gastropods, daphnias, and fungi, and even occasionally some complete waterlogged fruits from the Rosaceae (cherry) family. They further frequently yielded organic

elements that could have potentially been used as toilet paper such as cloth offcuts, newspaper pieces, mosses and coniferous cones or twigs (Appendix B: Tables 2B. and 3B.). If this hypothesis is correct, the presence of more than one type of 'toilet paper' in most structures attests to a generalised heterogeneity of hygienic habits. It also seems indicative that the light fractions associated with the King's Store occupation and destruction systematically entailed remains of wheat weevils (*Sitophilus* sp.) suggesting infested cereals were commonly handled in the building (see Bousquet 1990:98).

Carbonised assemblages were recovered from all context types and across the occupation span (Appendix D4). The recurrent presence of cereals and pulses, generally wheat (*Triticum* sp.) and peas (*Pisum* sp.), among their contents hence attests to their widespread and lasting use at the site. Contrarily, carbonised coffee beans (*Coffea arabica* L.) were especially sparse and only identified within privy PN assemblages. Whilst it is tempting to see them as a testimony of the status of the privy users due to their exotic origins, it is worth pointing out that they were only recovered when the totality of the privy contents was screened. Further, as Williamson (2004:17) highlighted:

> "For the Canadians, coffee and chocolate were not imported delicacies but rather familiar consumables that travelled between contiguous French territories."

Whether rare or common, overall, the carbonised remains displayed heterogeneous degrees of fragmentation and distortion especially in middens and privies (Appendixes F4 and H4). This variability hints towards multiple deposition episodes in the last contexts.

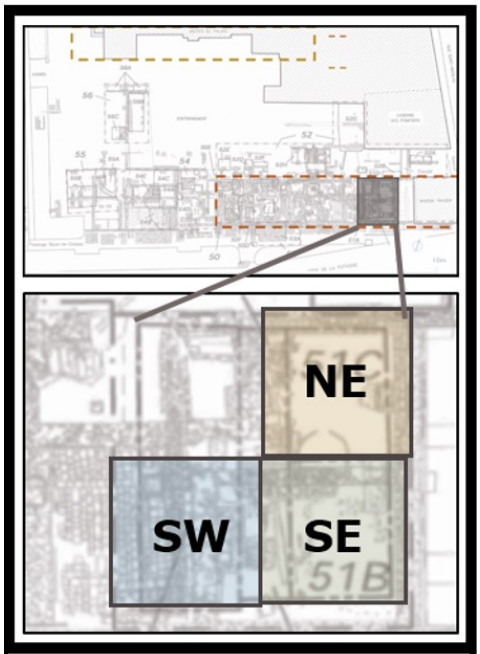


Figure 6.1.7. Rooms successively associated to the First Intendant's Palace, the King's Store and the squatters' occupation.

A majority of carbonised assemblages came from two successive buildings burnt at a 47-year interval and sharing the same layout: the 1st Intendant's Palace and the King's Store. It is possible to explore further the use of space in those edifices. At ground level, three rooms, here referred to as the NE, SE and SW rooms, entailed successive deposits associated with the 1st Intendant's

Table 6.1.1. Types of economical plants recorded in waterlogged and carbonised assemblages from the same occupation layers.

	Waterlogged	Carbonised
Cereals		x
Wheat		x
Pulses		x
Pea		x
Fruits	x	x
Hawthorn	x	x
Red wild cherry	x	x
Bramble	x	x
Cultivated grape	x	x
Red elderberry	x	x
Strawberry	x	
European elder	x	
Common elderberry	x	
Fig	x	
Spices	x	
Coriander	x	
Dill	x	
Cucurbits	x	
Pumpkin	x	
Vegetables	x	
Celeri	x	
Other	x	
Hemp	x	

Palace, the King's Store and the re-use of building by squatters after the second fire (Figure 6.1.7.). Assemblages from the SW room yielded the highest densities but the lowest diversities of remains across both buildings. They were also characterised by small concentrations of pulses, respectively beans (*Phaseolus* sp.) and peas (*Pisum* sp.), another similitude that seems to indicate some continuity in the usage of this place. Greater divergences were, however, noticed amongst the contents of the other rooms. In the 1st Intendant's Palace, the SE room yielded low densities of peas (*Pisum* sp.) whilst the NE room rather comprised cereals including barley (*Hordeum* sp.). Overall, the 1st Intendant's Palace assemblages hence suggest that food-related activities oriented around the use of different edible taxa took place in distinct rooms of the building. Contrarily, the SE and NE room of the King's Store both entailed low densities of vetch (*Vicia* sp.), peas (*Pisum* sp.) and wheat (*Triticum* sp.), insinuating a less partitioned use of space in terms of food-related activities. Whether in regards to taxa or spatial distribution, the assemblages associated with the King's Store shared much in common with those related to a later occupation of the building by Squatters. Given that the related deposits were difficult to distinguish during the excavation, it is likely that their contents attest to the same event. This raises the possibility that the carbonised remains associated to the Squatters come from higher up in the room or from the upper level of the building. This hypothesis would notably explain their less partitioned distribution and why their contents diverge so strikingly from those of the waterlogged assemblages extracted from the same samples (Table 6.1.1.).

Waterlogged assemblages were present in deposits related to all context types across the site occupation span (Appendix D1). The vast majority of them comprised bramble (*Rubus* sp.) seeds in relatively high density as well as some strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.)

remains. Whilst their recurrence can be explained by their popularity, both are probably overrepresented against other species as their fruits entails hundreds of seeds (Figure 6.1.8.). In comparison, only 30% of the samples contained locally available introduced plants, such as apple (*Malus* sp.) or cherry (*Prunus* spp.). Plants that could have been locally cultivated in the area, such as for instance pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* L.) or hazelnut (*Corylus avellana* L.), were also identified in about a third of the assemblages. In contrast, over 65% of the samples included imports like cultivated grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.) and fig (*Ficus carica* L.).

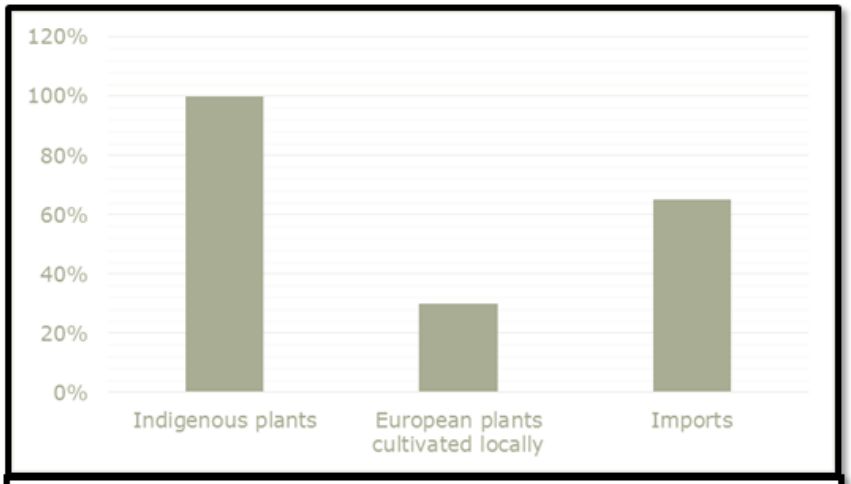


Figure 6.1.8. Frequency of different plant types across the waterlogged assemblages of the Intendant's Palace.

According to their general characteristics, waterlogged assemblages can be divided into two broad groups: the assemblages associated with privies and the others. Extracted from privies or of a drain potentially used to evacuate urine from one of these structures (PPa), the first group stood out due to the high densities of remains it entailed which ranged from a few hundred to more than a thousand per litre (Appendix E1). The vast majority were edible and came from taxa whose fruits are consumed with the seeds (e.g. figs and strawberries). The remains they entailed further tended to be more fragmented (Appendixes G1 and I1), probably following their passage through the digestive track. Whilst generally present, weed remains tended to be in low densities in those deposits with the notable exceptions of privies PM/PN and PQ. Several factors, such as the nature of the material rejected (e.g. animal guts comprise weeds taxa) or of the hygienic practices followed (e.g. privies' emptying) may explain this discrepancy.

The material from privies PM/PN further stood out as including several imports (hazelnut, sweet chestnut, English walnut, almonds, cultivated grape, olive, rice and fig), indigenous plants, growing several miles south and west of Quebec City (butternut and shagbark hickory), spices (mustard, dill and coriander), herbs (mint and vervain), vegetables (parsnip and carrot) and cucurbits (pumpkin,

watermelon and cucumber). It would, however, be hasty to grant this diversity to the status of their users. These privies were indeed the only ones located below the water table, suggesting the botanical material they entail benefitted from exceptional preservation conditions. Further, their assemblages were characterised by comparatively high proportions of large sized remains, suggesting the structures were also regularly used to dump kitchen waste and/or table leftovers. Finally, most of the above mentioned taxa were not extracted from the samples but rather only identified when all the privies' remaining sediment was wet screened. These particularities also impacted the character of the zooarchaeological assemblages from the structure which notably entailed unusually high proportions of bird remains that Bernard (2013:64) rather grated to the status of the users.

The second group of waterlogged assemblages shared diverse origins. They were generally dominated by bramble (*Rubus* sp.) remains but entailed greater proportions and diversities of weeds than assemblages associated with privies. Among this group, late 17th century deposits associated with a brewery (PBl, PCq, PDh) stood out for the wider range of plants of economic value they entailed. They were also the only assemblages within this category that yielded olives (*Olea* sp.), lettuce (*Lactuca* sp.) and hop (*Humulus* sp.) remains. The presence of the latter taxa, which was only found in deposits from the brewery, seem significant as it is commonly used to flavour beer (Victorin 2002:172). Assemblages from the eastern room of the King's Store also comprised several economic species found nowhere else except in the contemporary privies PM/PN: flax (*Linum* sp.), celery (*Apium* sp.), mustard (*Brassica* sp.) and coriander (*Coriandrum* sp.). As pointed out earlier, their contents also strikingly diverge from those of the carbonised assemblages extracted from the same building. This disparity and the fact they escaped carbonisation can tentatively be explained by their depositional origins. They might be the results of incidental spillages gradually embedded into sediment. At the time of the conflagration, their stratigraphic position would have protected them, whilst the different species currently used in the building were more exposed to fire. The fire might alternatively have affected the first floor of the building, whose contents fell into the ground floor, and were henceforth mixed with the waterlogged remains already present there.

6.1.5. St. Louis Forts and Castles

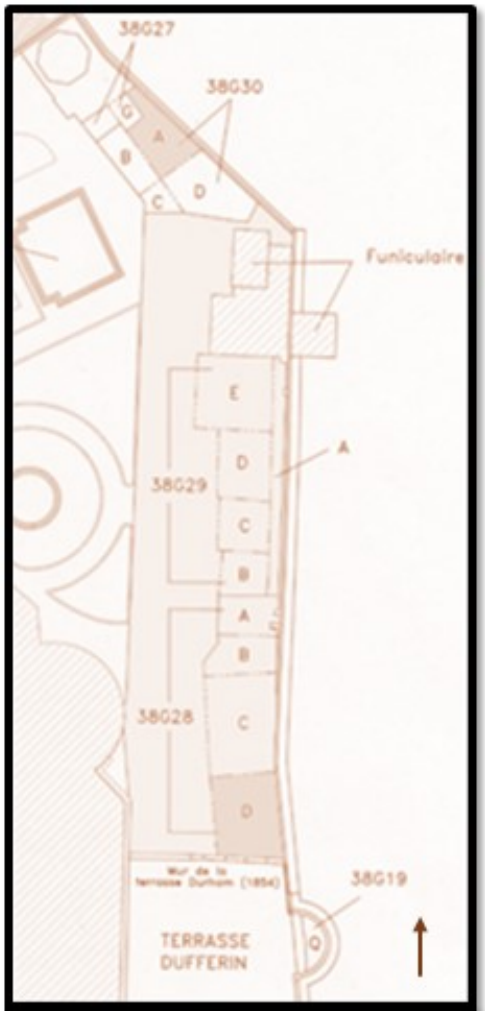


Figure 6.1.9. Layout of the excavations at St. Louis Forts and Castles and of the zone where samples were collected (in red).

Between 2006 and 2007, 74 samples were collected at St. Louis Forts and Castles site for archaeobotanical analysis. The vast majority of them (87%) did not yield any plant remains or evidence of preservation conditions. The ten samples remaining were all dated between the late 18th and the early-mid 19th century (Appendix B1). During this period, the site was occupied by administrative buildings notably known to have housed the colony governors until they burned down in 1834 (Cloutier and L'Anglais 2009:110-112). Five of these samples were taken from the successive layers of a privy (SBa to SBe), four in drains (SAa, SAb, SAd and SAe) and one in a carbonised residue accumulation (SAc). The privy was located in the northernmost portion of the site whilst the other deposits were rather excavated from its southernmost tip (Figure 6.1.9.). Neither the structure nor the deposits could be associated with certainty to the few members of the elite dwelling onsite rather than to the multitude of commoners who carried out activities there on a daily basis (Élie 1990).

The samples where plant material were recorded all comprised a wide variety of faunal remains including mammals, birds and fish bones, fish scales, eggs and oyster shells (Appendix B2). Their presence highlight that all the deposits they were extracted from entailed food waste. It is also noteworthy that insect remains were only observed in the privy deposit where whitewash had not been recorded during the excavation (SBa). This correlation suggests that the produce was efficient to repel insects even though it seems to have been harmless to botanical remains whose state scantly varies across the privy (Table 3B). The presence of a coral (*Acropora* sp.) fragment in one

of the samples (SBc) from the structure is outstanding and attests to the as yet undocumented exchanges with tropical regions such as the Caribbean during the early-mid 19th century.

The seven carbonised archaeobotanical assemblages from St. Louis Forts and Castles (Appendix D5) yielded low densities and diversity of remains which tended to be whole but quite distorted (Appendixes F5 and H5). The assemblages were all dominated by cereals and most specifically barley (cf. *Hordeum*) and wheat (*Triticum* sp.). Their low density suggests that they were probably accidentally carbonised during cooking events and their recurrence that they are likely to have been frequently used in the kitchen. The different contexts in which they were found in turn highlight the coexistence of different approaches to the management of carbonised waste such as its bulk disposal in open space and its rejection in privies. Both practices may have in turn fostered the presence of carbonised remains in the drains following either water or urine percolation.

The nine waterlogged assemblages from St. Louis Forts and Castles site were either identified in a privy or in drains (Appendix B1). Their preservation is probably due to the lower availability of oxygen in these structures and to a quick rate of sediment accumulation. All the waterlogged assemblages comprised several edible species and relatively high densities of taxa whose seed is generally consumed with the fruit such as strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.), bramble (*Rubus* sp.) and fig (*Ficus carica* L.) (Appendix E2). These particularities are characteristic of faecal matter and hence contribute towards explaining the poorer state of these species remains as they would have gone through the digestive track. They also confirm the privy function and suggest the drains were notably used to evacuate waste. The concomitant presence of relatively high densities and diversities of weeds such as goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp.) or purslane (*Portulaca oleracea* L.) in the drains, however, indicates that they also probably conveyed drainage water. As for the privy, given the absence of larger plant remains, it seems unlikely that the structure was frequently used to dispose of kitchen waste. The few remains of hemp (*Cannabis* sp.) and red juniper (*Juniperus* sp.) recorded nonetheless indicate that food-related by-products were occasionally thrown into the structure. It is noteworthy that regardless of their depositional origins, samples dating to the late 18th century comprised a much wider range of taxa and lower densities and proportions of imports than samples dating to the 19th century. These disparities hints that a shift in culinary habits took place at the turn of the 19th century.

6.2. Disentangling intersecting biographical pathways

Whilst the archaeological plant remains studied are formerly dating between 1542 and 1867, their history unfolds well beyond a specific date. Indeed, they are part of assemblages that became the subject of scientific inquiry in the last few years following the application of successive archaeobotanical techniques. They had until then been persistently ignored in archaeological deposits for centuries and their longevity was allowed by specific conditions. They crossed the path of preservation means following depositional processes related to the multiple ways that plants and people interacted between 1542 and 1900. Disentangling and reconstructing these historical trajectories is a complex undertaking as a large quantity of intersecting and overlapping variables must be taken into account. It is in this perspective that correspondence analysis (CA) is used in this section to explore the archaeobotanical assemblages recovered as a whole.

6.2.1. Matters of methods and methodologies

The archaeological plant remains assemblages studied were brought into existence by the practice of archaeobotany. The different decisions taken and techniques used throughout this process did not, however, leave their contents unchanged. Knowing their impact is thus essential to correctly interpret these assemblages especially when a comparative perspective is advocated. Their potential effects are explored in this subsection by observing whether different methodological choices produced distinct clusters on the CA plots and if those overlapped with the clusters formed by other assemblages and taxa groupings, such as the seed size and the sturdiness of remains for example.

As highlighted in Chapter 5, the rationale adopted aimed to reduce as far as possible sources of methodological discrepancy. Whether for the sake of efficiency or representativeness, axes of divergences were, however, willingly introduced in specific situations. Their insertion was nonetheless made so that their expected effects would overlap with those inevitably fostered by differential preservation and context. The CA plots suggest that this strategy was efficient (Appendix K). For example, the clusters produced by different preservation means (carbonisation and waterlogging) overlapped with those associated with differences in storage conditions (respectively: dried/room temperature, ethanol/refrigerated). Likewise, context-based clusters (e.g. privies and occupation layers)

matched with those in relation to sampling technique (respectively bulk and pinch sampling). These multiple convergences suggest that overall, the methodology followed did not introduce further axes of variation in the dataset although it could have arguably emphasised or downplayed already existent disparities.

Whilst globally limited, the impacts of methodological discrepancies were more marked in two instances. The first was among waterlogged privy assemblages where St. Louis Forts and Castles stood out (Appendix K6.1). Contrary to other privy assemblages, those were the object of scatter rather than bulk sampling, stored at room temperature rather than refrigerated and a portion of their light fraction was stored dry rather than in ethanol. None of these choices are ideal for waterlogged assemblages as illustrated by the greater rate of remains' alteration observed among their contents. This correlation is coherent with the results of experimental studies that recorded the measurable effects of methodological choices over remains' fragmentation and surface erosion/distortion (Jones et al. 2007; Murphy and Wiltshire, 1993). Whilst having a direct effect over the state of uncovered remains, the set of techniques used to recover St. Louis Forts and Castles privy assemblages did not seems to have altered their composition. It is indeed remarkable that not only did these assemblages not stand out when larger datasets were considered, but they systematically clustered with contemporary assemblages (Appendix K).

The second instance where CA plots suggested that methodological discrepancies might have had a distinctive impact over the assemblages is related to the use of mechanical flotation and of a 500µm rather than a 250µm sieve at the Cartier-Roberval site (Appendixes K2.1 and K.2.2). The CA graphs indeed suggest that their use is associated with higher proportions of large and hard coated seeds. These correlations are consistent with the results of experimentations demonstrating that mechanical flotation is more harmful to brittle remains than manual flotation (Wagner 1988:23) However, carbonisation is also recognised for its propensity to destroy brittle remains (Pennington and Weber 2004:14-15) and the Cartier-Roberval site is overrepresented among carbonised assemblages. As the association of the site with hard coated seeds vanishes when only considered amongst carbonised assemblages (Appendixes K5.1 and K5.2), their congruence within the whole dataset seems to reflect issues of preservation rather than methodology. As for the sieve, it is an already documented paucity of small remains that justified a modification of its aperture.

Beyond the above mentioned patterns, neither remains fragmentation nor remains distortion rates did produced recognisable clusters (Appendix K). This absence seems significant as both tend to be associated with the recourse to inappropriate techniques (see Vandorpe and Jacomet, 2007). This seems to indicate that the methodology used was overall consistent and well adapted to the assemblages' conditions. It is also noteworthy that no correlations between assemblages' diversity and sample size were observable in any of the CA plots. This suggests that their widely acknowledged co-variance (Jones 1991:58; Plog and Hegmon 1993) was successfully broken by adjusting samples' volumes to remains densities.

Additional clues in terms of sampling strategy can be drawn from the absence of clustering associated with layer disturbance (Appendix K). This category encompassed spoil heaps from the Intendant's Palace and the contents of 19th century trenches dug across 16th century layers at the Cartier-Roberval site. In the latter case, the absence of a distinction between disturbed layers and in situ ones suggests that the 19th century trenches were filled back using 16th century deposits. As for the spoil heaps, it seems remarkable that their contents systematically fell into the cluster formed by the Intendant's Palace occupation layers. The recurrent overlapping between these two categories suggests the related assemblages are likely to have followed similar depositional pathways. This idea is supported by the lack of clear distinction between their contents' ecological preferences, origins and use. It is thus likely that despite the exogenous character of the deposits they were extracted from, spoil heap's assemblages are the result of an in situ deposition. These conclusions suggest that disturbed deposits can be of value for archaeobotanical interpretations given specific circumstances and that they should not hence systematically be disregarded for sampling.

The CAs were performed over datasets where the results obtained during the assessment, the test and the analysis of every sample were combined. They hence did not allow the recognition of two other patterns related to methodology. Indeed, it is noticeable that within a single sample, the subsample assessed generally yielded higher densities of remains than the subsample analysed (Appendixes D and E). Rather frequent, this discrepancy could not be related to any of the processing techniques used and was too systematic to be the effect of chance. It seems more likely that it is the result of an unconscious propensity to select the richest portion of a sample for assessment. This phenomenon, also observed elsewhere (van der

Veen and Fieller 1982), seems to only have had consequences in terms of efficiency, such as prompting the analysis of samples whose contents were insufficient to sustain any interpretation. In addition to this tendency, it was also possible to note that far higher diversities of large sized botanical remains were identified during the scans. This direct relationship is likely to reflect wider biological plants' adaptation strategies following which the amount of seeds produced by a fruit is inversely proportional to their size (Leishman et al. 2000:34). This notably highlights that large seeded-remains are likely to be comparatively underrepresented in the archaeobotanical record and the importance of avoiding making direct comparisons between the contents of scan subsamples and those of assessment, tests and analysis subsamples. It also emphasises that the collection of large samples is essential to get a representative overview of the range of plants consumed.

6.2.2. Issues of preservation

The conditions which ensured the preservation of archaeobotanical assemblages through centuries physically bound the current study with the remote past it attempts to reconstruct. They are, however, known to have differential impacts over archaeological plant remains. Distinct preservation means are also generally associated with different depositional pathways, hence the widespread tendency to discuss them independently. Simultaneously considering carbonised and waterlogged assemblages for the first CAs performed nonetheless provided important hints as to the specific effects of preservation over the dataset currently investigated.

The successive CAs carried out demonstrated that preservation is a primary mechanism of variation among studied archaeobotanical assemblages. Its fundamental role concurs with what has been documented in other settings (e.g. Dincauze 2000:334-339; van der Veen 2007). Observations and experiments have for instance demonstrated that fire tends to destroy fragile remains whilst waterlogged conditions allow the preservation of almost all remains (Jones et al. 2007; Wilkinson and Stevens 2003:162). Beyond supporting these general observations, the clusters observed in CA plots enabled the identification of several patterns associated with preservation issues. In this perspective it is noticeable that waterlogged and carbonised assemblages produced markedly different clusters but also that those overlapped with distinct archaeological biographies (Appendixes K1.1 and K1.2). This correlation notably highlighted an important imbalance which must be accounted for: while most carbonised assemblages come from

16th century fire debris excavated at the Cartier-Roberval site, most of the waterlogged material was extracted from 18th century privies and occupation layers at the Intendant's Palace site. The effects of this unevenness can be assessed by looking at how preservation clusters overlapped with other assemblages and taxa biographical pathways.

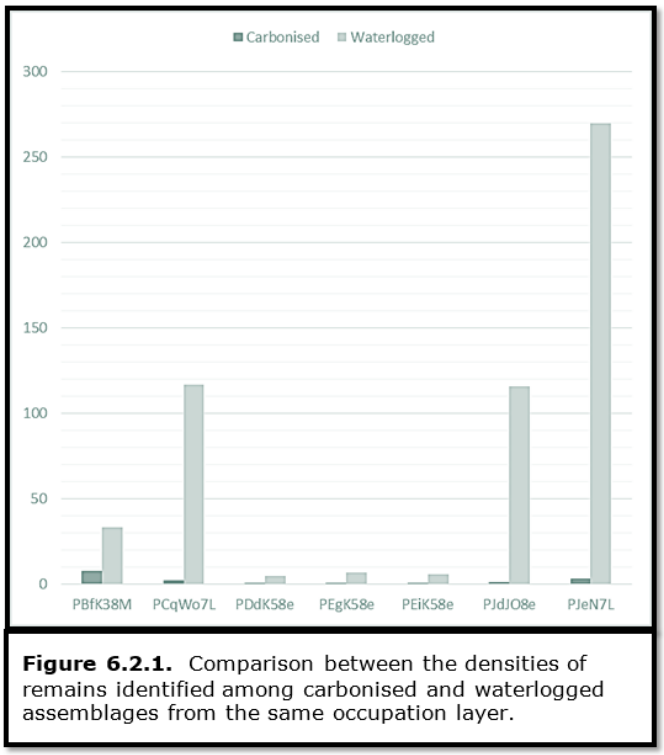


Figure 6.2.1. Comparison between the densities of remains identified among carbonised and waterlogged assemblages from the same occupation layer.

The first CAs performed established a close relationship between differential preservation and remains density, the latter generally being much higher in waterlogged settings (Appendix K1.1). This congruence has not been documented in other settings and seems to be here partly attributed to context-related discrepancies. Most carbonised assemblages indeed came from fire debris. Their contents hence notably reflected fire conditions but also depended on the functions of the burnt spaces and their occupation length. Contrarily, the high number of waterlogged assemblages coming from privies are rather the result of repetitive practices over a longer time span. In those contexts, the accumulation of higher densities of remains can further be prompted by the fact that human waste is likely to comprise fruit seeds. Differences in terms of context cannot, however, ever explain everything: a similar process lead to the accumulation of carbonised and waterlogged remains in occupation layers, yet the latter were still systematically present in higher densities (Figure 6.2.1.). This indicates that carbonised remains generally only represent a small fraction of the botanical material accumulating in archaeological deposits.

In order to determine what might be systematically missing from carbonised assemblages, van der Veen (2007) compared their contents with those of desiccated assemblages extracted from the same Egyptian middens. On this basis, she concluded that less than 20% of the different plant types deposited on these sites were likely to get carbonised. Following this reasoning, the contents of carbonised and waterlogged assemblages coming from the same

occupation layers were compared in a similar fashion (Table 6.1.2.). The exercise revealed that carbonisation and waterlogging tended to play for and against the preservation of different types of economic plants. Cereals and pulses were only recorded among carbonised assemblages whilst spices, cucurbits, vegetables were only identified in waterlogged assemblages. Fruits were found preserved in both conditions even though found in much higher densities and variability in waterlogged assemblages. This disparity can be related to a propensity to consume some fruits raw rather than cooked, an explanation that can also hold for spices, cucurbits and vegetables. The absence of pulses and cereals from the waterlogged record is however harder to elucidate especially as wheat weevils (*Sitophilus* sp.) were frequently found among them suggesting cereals were handled nearby.

6.2.3. Depositional puzzles

Although altered by methodological choices and preservation means, the archaeobotanical assemblages studied were initially brought into being by specific depositional processes. Some of those were identified on the basis of contextual evidence in the first section of the current chapter. There were, however, instances where the nature of these processes could not be circumscribed due to a lack of intelligence. This subsection attempts to further document these otherwise hazy processes using CA.

The distinction between different methodological approaches or diverging preservation means is more straightforward and less subjective than establishing significant context classification. Several possibilities were hence tested on the CA plots to determine which categories produced statistically significant clusters. For example, assemblages were grouped on the basis of their association with households, administrative buildings or economic compounds. Following this process, three broad types of context were eventually identified: waste accumulations, carbonised debris accumulations and occupation layers. On the basis of these categories, it is possible to document further the depositional processes at play behind the formation of archaeobotanical assemblages coming from less specific archaeological contexts.

Assemblages associated with waste accumulations came from contexts either identified as privies or middens during their excavation. When considered amongst the whole dataset, they produced a tight cluster on the CA plots indicating the comparatively higher degree of homogeneity of their contents (Appendixes K1.1,

K1.2, K2.1 and K2.2). This relative similarity might have been fostered by their general association with later steps of the food process: cooking, eating, and digesting. By then, the seeds more likely to be deposited are those that are either eaten whole without further transformation (e.g. no crushing, pounding, or milling), discarded prior to fruit cooking/consumption or consumed along with the fruit they come from. As the remains' accumulation in such a context is progressive, the recurrence of activities favouring a specific type of plant remains over others is more likely to foster a greater homogeneity among related assemblages' contents. Interestingly, the assemblages from privies PM/PN, which stood out due to exceptional preservation conditions and their potential affiliation with the elite (subsection 6.1.4.), nonetheless systematically clustered with other privy assemblages and contemporary material.

As a broad category, occupation layers produced a rather loose cluster occupying a transitional position between waste and carbonised debris clusters with which they slightly overlapped. Their relative location on the plots is probably attributable to their mixed origins but also to the fact that they were accumulated following a wide range of repetitive activities. The pre-eminence of weeds among their contents additionally points out that several of them probably entailed naturally deposited remains as well. It is noticeable that carbonised debris from Brave's Park overlapped with this category of assemblages. With the occupation layers from the storage room of Champlain's Farm they are distributed toward the upper part of this cluster (Appendix K1.3). As their carbonised contents are believed to have come from higher up in this building, it seems significant that the assemblages from what was labelled as a reoccupation of the King's Store by squatters overlap with both, rather than with other King's Store assemblages. This gives weight to the idea that the carbonised remains they entail are associated with the same event and come from higher up in the room or from the upper level of the building. In this perspective, they can be seen as a testimony to a differential use of vertical space (subsection 6.1.4.).

The category of carbonised debris regrouped assemblages whose contents were altered by fire and located above occupation layers, the vast majority of which came from the Cartier-Roberval site. The way this cluster overlapped with other dimensions of assemblages and taxa biographies may provide clues as to the context they were extracted from. A first possibility is that all or some of them were a result of secondary deposition. This hypothesis would explain a general lack of congruence between the contents of assemblages

from adjacent samples as well as why they did not part on the CA graphs from assemblages coming from deposits altered by 19th century activities. Arguably, the divergences observed between adjacent samples can alternatively be related to the way buildings might have collapsed. The second possibility is that these assemblages are *in situ*. In this instance, their stratigraphic position indicates that their contents were located above the occupation layer/floor at the moment of the conflagration. As such they are likely to be a testimony to storage activities although at a small scale, and probably at a time when resources were depleted following the low densities of the remains.

Regardless of their exact origins, the recurrent presence of imported edible exotic plants in Cartier-Roberval debris accumulations clearly indicate their contents were related to foodways. More specifically, the CA plots highlight that these assemblages were characterised by the predominance of edible taxa of European origins (Appendix K1.4). They were also associated with the presence of economic cereals, pulses and exotic fruits commonly stored dry, a practice attested to by historical evidence (see Audet 1990:152-154; Rousseau 1983:210). This particularity might have favoured their consumption during the 16th century expedition as it made them suitable for long-distance transportation across the Atlantic.

6.2.4. Promising venues

The CA plots enabled the assessment of the impacts of methodological disparities, differential preservation and diverging deposition processes over the contents of the studied archaeobotanical assemblages. It simultaneously highlighted clusters which were independent from all these potential sources of variation. All of them pointed out the importance of dating in introducing variation into the dataset (Appendix K). Those suggest that more marked changes in dietary habits took place between the 16th and the early 17th century, between the late 17th and early 18th century, as well as after 1760. This tends to demonstrate that behind the shortcomings related to the dataset studied, it is relevant to use this data to document changes in dietary habits between 1542 and 1867.

Edible Landscapes, Consumed Ideologies: Colonialist and Nationalist Foodways in Quebec City

The assemblages analysed through this project are related to multiple temporalities. They are an index to past depositional events, more recent preservation conditions and 21st century archaeological and archaeobotanical practices. They are also a testimony to bygone food-related activities themselves ascribed in a historicity of culinary practices whilst dependent on contemporary contingencies and remembered for different purposes. The current chapter explores these last historical trajectories using a combination of archaeobotanical and historical evidence. Through the discussion, consumption, whether physical or rhetorical, is further taken as a form of empowerment over the social landscapes that food is associated with through its social life (Chapter 4). It is in this perspective that reconstructed foodways are used to investigate expressions of colonialism and nationalism in the Quebec City area between 1542 and 1867. Given the cumulative character of food biography, the archaeobotanical data gathered is addressed chronologically, taking into account the broad periods delineated on the basis of the correspondence analysis (CA): the 16th century, the 17th century, 1700-1760 and 1760 to 1867 (subsection 6.2.4.).

7.1. Nationalism and early colonialist diets (1542-1545)

A simple story: a new territory, current day Quebec City area, disclosed to Europe following the travels of the explorer Jacques Cartier who wintered in the area in 1535-1536 (subsection 2.1.2.). A royal plan to colonise the region entrusted to the command of a nobleman, Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval (De la Roncière 1912:297-300). A company divided into two detachments: the first, led by Cartier, reached Quebec in late August 1541 and henceforth began the implementation of a settlement that would be abandoned by early June 1542 (Hakluyt, 1599:146-154). A second company, commanded by Roberval, landed in Quebec in July 1542 and occupied an outpost for a year before leaving (Hakluyt 1599:156-168). Years turned to decades and accumulated for over half a century before this distant land was settled by Europeans again (Champlain 2004; Lescarbot 1968). The tale of the 16th century French colonial efforts in Quebec City area, however, did not end when Roberval's party set sail for the Old World. The history of these events cumulated—a biography of its own as rewritten and reinvented through centuries

whilst becoming part of colonialist and nationalist discourses. This section provides an overview of the multiple ways that this early colonial venture was recalled through time and their role in the discovery and interpretation of the archaeological site that the explorers settled for two years. Archaeobotanical evidence is then used to shed a new light on these events and their changing social significance.

7.1.1. From a colonial venture to nation-building events

Cartier, Roberval and their crews short stay in Quebec City area prompted the formation of archaeological and archaeobotanical assemblages on the one hand and the creation of historical tales on the other. While both endured through the centuries, neither reached the present in a pristine state: the former were forged by depositional processes, preservation conditions and methodological choices (section 6.2.) and the latter were shaped by the context in which they were recalled (subsection 2.1.2.). After evolving independently for centuries, these sets of evidence came to intersect again following the discovery and excavation of a site related to the 16th century events. This subsection provides an outline of the different histories developed around the early French colonial attempt in Quebec City in order to contextualise further the social and political concerns raised by the excavation of the Cartier-Roberval site.

The earliest historical document addressing the Cartier and Roberval enterprise in the New World is a 1541 Spanish spy report describing different aspects of the expedition preparation (De la Roncière 1912). The document notably advocates that the goal of the French enterprise was to find a passage to the East Indies and to seize as much gold, silver and riches as possible on the way (De la Roncière 1912:297). These objectives concur with the ones of earlier Western Europe expansionist activities (section 3.1.) and so did the military character of the undertaking which is addressed in length in the account (De la Roncière 1912:297-300). The spy dispatch also highlighted that the expedition was carrying supplies for three years as well as all the necessary equipment to reproduce French lifestyle such as milling gears (De la Roncière 1912:299-300). These details must, however, be taken with care, as the spy message was probably grounded on second hand evidence and emphasised intelligence believed useful to the Spanish crown.

In the few years that followed the abandonment of the Cartier-Roberval site, three travel narratives were published about the unfolding of the 1542-1544 events (Cartier et al. 1843). Respectively authored by Cartier, Roberval and Jean-Alphonse (Roberval's captain), none of them proved a commercial success and original copies of these manuscripts have been lost (Mathieu 1993:186). The expedition was, after all, considered as a failure in Early Modern France as it was neither successful at establishing a permanent foothold in the New World nor at finding riches (Brazeau 2009:7; Confer 1964:357). It is as such that the expedition was mainly remembered through an expression tinted with bitterness, "as false as Canadian diamonds" (Lanctot 1934:46).

The unravelling of the Cartier and Roberval 1542-1544 ventures is mostly known through the words of Hakluyt (1599), an Englishman who struggled to gather evidence about them only half a century later. In letters addressed to Hakluyt, Cartier's nephew indeed pointed out that even after thorough searches, he found scant details about his uncle's travels (Hakluyt 1599:154-156). Despite this paucity, Hayklut managed to publish recollections of Cartier, Roberval and Jean Alphonse's accounts whose degree of faithfulness to the originals is hard to assess. Several elements of Hayklut's narratives nonetheless suggest that that beyond an historic interest, he also had a politicised agenda. For example, he emphasised the itinerary followed by the expedition and provided several landmarks to locate the territory claimed by the French crown:

> "And you must passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the chanel: and in the middest runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable." (Hakluyt 1599:161)

Whilst general locations were essential to establish ownership at the time, specific details were rarely disseminated to protect overseas colonies and cargoes shipping there (Sandman 2008:32).

Taking into account the conquest rhetoric developed in expansionist Western Europe (section 3.1.), the impartiality of Hayklut (1599) writings also seems doubtful. For instance, it is noteworthy that in all the accounts, he reports mention of the implementation of a fort, which was probably considered as a statement of ownership by his contemporaries. Nevertheless, they also make clear that it was left abandoned and accordingly that the territory was open to seizure.

Likewise, his recollection of Cartier's venture entails an anecdote where the captain is offered a valued leather crown by local Native populations (Hayklut 1600:148). This suggests that these groups were willing to be governed by European powers. The crown they offered to the Frenchman was, however, made of a perishable material and given back to them: this might well be a rhetorical reference to the short lived French experience in the New World. Hakluyt further emphasised that the land was cold because it was not properly used (1599:162) and yet full of resources (e.g. Hakluyt 1599:158), arguments generally used to justify conquest in Early Modern Western Europe (subsection 3.1.1.). Whilst Hakluyt might well have framed information so as to motivate a potential takeover of the French holdings by the English crown, its intentions are difficult to assess without the explorers' original texts. Regardless of how the contents of those might have been altered, Hakluyt's (1599) narratives played a determinant role in the way the Cartier and Roberval enterprise was later remembered and commemorated in Canada.

Despite not fulfilling its goals, the Cartier and Roberval expedition remained useful to the French crown as an argument to justify its claim over a large portion of North America. For example, Thévet (1558) praised the value of the resources found by Cartier and Roberval whilst emphasising the barbarian character of local Native populations. He as such paved the way for future French colonial efforts. Likewise, accounts of the expedition were used to produce maps stating French ownership over the explored territories; some of them went as far as depicting European-looking villages across the area (MacKay 2011:19-20). Following the establishment of a permanent outpost in Quebec City, the travels of Cartier, Roberval and their crews were used by the town founders to legitimise the colonisation of the region (Champlain 2004:151-152; Zecher 2008:108). They even sent detachments to locate the ruins of the Cartier-Roberval encampment so as to physically ground their assertions (Champlain 2004:137-140). This renewed interest in the venture was, however, short lived (Mathieu 1993:186) and in the following centuries only a few publications would briefly point out that Cartier first discovered and attempted to settle the Quebec City area (e.g. Franquet 1989:10; Warkentin 2010:84).

Recollections of the 1542-1544 French expedition only became the object of pride and celebration during the second third of the 19th century (Destrempes 2009:91; Mathieu 1993:187). They were then notably used to unite the French Catholic population of Lower Canada

by rooting it in a shared and glorious past (subsection 2.1.4.). It is in this perspective that the figure of Roberval, a Huguenot, would completely fade against the one of Cartier, a Catholic, and would be blamed for the failed colonial attempt (Robert 1984:299). Whilst the narratives of the expedition published by Hakluyt (1599:161) were translated, edited, published and republished several times (e.g. Cartier et al. 1843; Cartier 1863), biographies of Cartier multiplied (Destrempes 2009:91) just like the number of pages dedicated to the captain in local history books (Berthiaume 1975:82-83; Robert 1984:299). At the eve of the 300th anniversary of Cartier's first visit to Quebec, nascent archaeology was asked for a contribution to locate the site of his landing (Destrempes 2009:105) and an authentic portrait of him was located (Mathieu 1993:188). Ever since, the heroic figure of Cartier has figured on several stamps (Fontaine 2004:209) as well as countless monuments and statues (Destrempes 2009:103). His patronym also has been recurrently given to public infrastructures (e.g. Jacques Cartier market, 1845; Jacques Cartier bridge, 1925; Jacques-Cartier National Park, 1981) and natural features (e.g. Jacques Cartier river, 1829) (Robert 1984:299).

As years passed by, versions of the Cartier 1542-1544 venture in Canadian territory multiplied following discrepancies in source selection, a more or less critical approach to their contents, and the clash of historical evidence and popular perception. Regardless those differences, the captain became a symbol of the French origins of the Quebec province population, an index of its rightful territorial ownership and an icon of its early heroic hardship and tenacity. The tale of Cartier's 16th century travels hence took an important role in nation-building. It is in this context, and only in a few years prior to Quebec City's 400th foundation anniversary that a site closely related to this adventure was finally located and excavated, writing the last chapter of an already long history.

7.1.2. Reconstructing colonial tales in a nationalist context

The discovery of the Cartier-Roberval outpost was first announced in 2005 by provincial and national governmental instances along with a massive investment to ensure the site excavation, protection and public display (Fiset et al. 2007a:10). The news immediately raised curiosity amongst local media but also fostered enthusiasm amongst wider international audiences. For the first time in over four centuries, two historical trajectories were intersecting: the evolving tales built around the 16th century events and their preserved material manifestation. This section discusses how both became

intertwined during the site excavation and to influence subsequent archaeological interpretations.

In preparation for Quebec City's quadricentennial, new infrastructures were to be built at Cartier-Roberval Park on the edge of a cliff overlooking Cap Rouge River (Fiset et al. 2007b:27). Prior to the beginning of the construction project, a rescue archaeological intervention was carried out in 2005 and inadvertently came across what seemed to be 16th century ceramic sherds (Fiset et al. 2007b:28). Within a year, the age of the site was confirmed by radiocarbon dating and the land conceded to Quebec National Capital Commission, a provincial body created in 1995 to promote, commemorate and embellish Quebec City (Samson and Fiset 2011:65). The governmental organism quickly put in place the multidisciplinary team which was to excavate the site for the next three years. The goals of the archaeological project were to provide visual support to illustrate 16th century testimonies in museums, to determine the layout of the settlement, whether it was fortified and socially stratified as well as its occupants' interactions with local environments and Native populations (Samson and Fiset 2013:34-36).

After three years of excavation, the archaeological team had unearthed several thousand artefacts (Côté 2011:84) and positively identified a few architectural features such as building trenches and post holes in an area of about 1500m^2 (Samson and Fiset 2011:67). The numerous traces of carbonisation observed on the material from this zone suggested that this part of the site had burned down (Fiset et al. 2007b:29), an event that was mentioned nowhere in historical documentation. Beyond this general overview, the interpretation of the material unearthed at the Cartier-Roberval site quickly proved challenging: there was no comparable site in the region, the artefacts uncovered did not figure in local typologies and their archaeological context was at best hazy (Côté 2011:90). Further, the crew was under the constant gaze of the media and political authorities and composed of specialists with little knowledge of archaeology and of archaeologists struggling to understand the specialised results they produced. All of them were, moreover to produce, analyse and interpret data quickly as their results were to be pushed forward during the 400th anniversary of Quebec City in 2008. It is those rather unique circumstances that the archaeological narrative of the 1542-1544 events was constructed, can be understood and deconstructed.

Beyond maps produced well after the events (MacKay 2011:20) and the accounts reported by Hakluyt (1599:165), little is known about

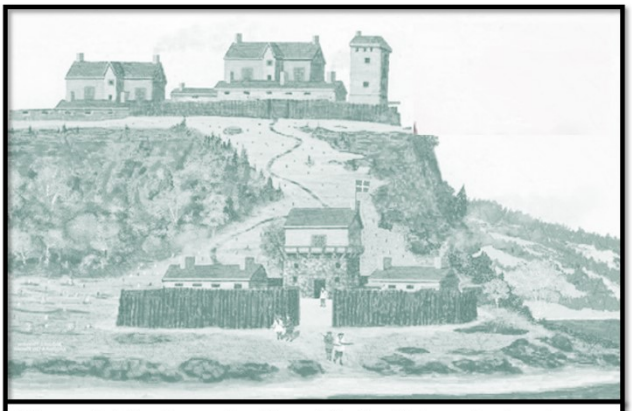


Figure 7.1.1. Reconstruction of Cartier-Roberval outpost based on historical documentation. *Adapted from Robert (1984:279).*



Figure 7.1.2. Plan of Cartier-Roberval outpost according to Samson and Fiset (2013:260)

the size and layout of the outpost established in the Quebec City area during the 16th century. The images depicted in the former and the recourse to the term 'fort' in the latter nonetheless suggested the presence of fortifications and defensive structures (Figure 7.1.1.). Evidence for such constructions at the Cartier-Roberval site is, however, lacking: nothing clearly indicates the presence of ditches (trenches), enclosures (walls) or fences (successive postholes) in a radius of 22 km^2 around the settlement. Accordingly, it seems that the reconstructions proposed by Samson and Fiset (2013:258), which include both a defensive ditch and an enclosure (Figure 7.1.2.), rely more on historical than archaeological evidence. Likewise, historical comments suggesting that fields were put into culture during the explorers' stay seems to have had a key role on their estimation of the outpost size which lies at an impressive 21 716m^2, making of it the largest compound of the type yet known in North America (Fiset and Samson 2009:44). Indeed, layers clearly dating to the 16th century have been solely identified in an area covering about 7% of this surface (Samson and Fiset 2011:67). This gap is explained by the assumption that an area of about 16 000m^2 to the north of the site was cultivated during the 16th century. This hypothesis has been supported using the analysis of scattered soil samples and phytoliths that confirmed the sector was cultivated in the past (Samson and Fiset 2013:256). Neither the deposits they were extracted from nor their contents were, however, dated due to an absence of artefacts, ecofacts and clear stratigraphic sequence. The results fostered by those analyses were tentatively associated to

the 16th century as iconographical evidence clearly showing the area had been cultivated more recently was not found (Samson and Fiset 2011:367).

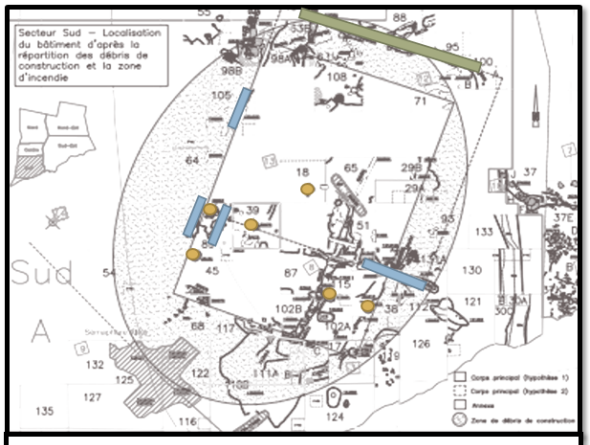


Figure 7.1.3. Layout of the southern tower following Samson and Fiset (2013:116) with emphasis on rock alignment (green), burned beams (blue) and postholes (yellow).

A tower, a kitchen, two cellars and a mill are a few of the structures Roberval's reported to have built on the top of Cap Rouge hill according to Hakluyt (1599:165). Identifying these building in the archaeological record was however challenging at the Cartier-Roberval site: few trenches, rock alignments, carbonised beams or postholes were recorded and their position and orientation tended not to seem coherent (Fiset and Samson, 2009:37). As a result, the excavation crew initially only delineated "building areas" that were later to be associated to building plans (Fiset et al. 2008:28). As illustrated by the tentative outline of a structure identified as the "southern tower" (Fiset and Samson 2009:51), building evidence is so scarce that several layouts could have equally lead to the patterns observed onsite (Figure 7.1.3.). In the case of the tower, the identification of the building essentially rested on the thickness of the 16th century carbonised debris layer in the vicinity that reached up to about 60cm. Historical documents aside, the accumulations observed can equally result from the widespread recourse to large amounts of clay for the erection of walls for instance, an alternative concurring with the construction technique that the archaeologists believe was used within the settlement (Fiset et al. 2008; Fiset and Samson 2009:47).

Assumptions concerning the outpost's size and the presence of a tower are supported by and reinforce another key theory of the project, according to which the 1500m^2 entailing 16th century remains was for the exclusive usage of a ruling elite (Fiset et al. 2007a:11; Côté 2009:68). This interpretation is also grounded in the unearthing of some high value items in the sector including a set of four engraved knives, Italian ceramic shards and Faenza glass fragments (Côté 2011:94). Most of these objects were either associated with the elite or used for ritual purposes in France (Côté 2011:95) and were found at the Cartier-Roberval site among an overwhelming majority of common and unidentified material (Fiset et

al. 2008). As these last artefacts reflect a wide range of activities including metallurgy, food preparation and consumption, their presence has been explained by the team as a testimony of a multifunctional area where commoners were working under the close control of a ruling elite (Côté 2009:68). Accordingly, it has been concluded that the settlement was heavily stratified (Côté 2009:67; Samson and Fiset 2011:73). However, the mixed distributions of highly and poorly valued items can alternatively suggest the opposite: a lack of strict geographical boundaries between different socio-economic groups. In this perspective, the presence of some expensive items within the excavated layers seems insufficient to support the claim that the fire which destroyed the outpost took place after Roberval's stay as he held a higher status than Cartier (Samson and Fiset 2013:352). The idea according to which Roberval intentionally set fire to the outpost just before leaving is also hard to support archeologically (Fiset and Samson 2009:46). The presence of pricy objects such as a complete set of knives and the important amount of small objects and sherds uncovered rather hints towards an unintended event. This hypothesis also accounts for the thickness of the carbonised debris layer, and the rather random distribution of artefacts and ecofacts as the ruins could have been scavenged to recover what could be saved.

In addition to the outpost's layout and social stratification in daily activities, the archaeological crew also aimed to get a glimpse of the nature of the relationships between the explorers and local Native communities. While no evidence for the existence of a Native settlement prior to or after the expedition has been uncovered onsite, several objects clearly associated with St. Lawrence Iroquoian tribes have been unearthed (Samson and Fiset 2013:400). Those include several ceramic shards whose presence has rightly been considered as a testimony to exchanges between both cultures (Côté 2011:63). While found among objects of European origins, these artefacts cannot, however, stand on their own as a proof of the existence of peaceful and harmonious relationships between these groups as suggested by Fiset et al.'s (2008) conclusions. As for the relationships between the newly arrived settlers and local environments, the selection of construction material indicates that they were willing to use resources from the immediate vicinity of the outpost (Samson and Fiset 2011:74). The same does not, however, seem to hold true in terms of foodstuffs.

Very few animal bones were found across the site, a scarcity that has not yet been explained (Côté 2009:61). They represented both

European and American species, most of the latter coming from the St. Lawrence Gulf area (Samson and Fiset 2013:180-182) which was already frequently visited by European fishing boats at the time (subsection 2.1.2.). As pointed out in Chapter 6, very few archaeobotanical remains identified were of indigenous origins and the vast majority of them were probably deposited unintentionally (subsection 6.1.3.). Yet, the accounts published by Hakluyt (1599) praise local grape (*Vitis riparia* Michx.) and this led Samson and Fiset (2013:372-373) to believe that the grape seeds identified among the site assemblages are local rather than European. Such an idea is nevertheless in contradiction with the archaeobotanical analysis results as well as those of an independent expertise (Godbout and Filion 2009), which both concluded they belonged to the European taxa (*Vitis vinifera* L.). This illustrates well the disproportionate weight given to historical narratives in the interpretation of Cartier-Roberval site archaeological evidence.

7.1.3. Colonialism, nationalism and archaeobotany

The circumstances in which the Cartier-Roberval project took place had several impacts over the archaeobotanical analysis of the samples collected at the site. The lack of clear indications about the 16th century outpost layout or about the depositional history of related finds notably led to adjustments in the sampling strategy (section 5.3.). This relative haziness further added a level of complexity to the interpretation of the plant remains recovered. In this perspective, the fact that all the assemblages dating to 1542-1544 were dominated by remains of edible plants of European origins, that strongly suggested their contents were associated with food-related activities (subsection 6.2.3.), was used as a starting point for discussion. The results obtained using CA were also taken into account in order to assess how food consumption might have contributed socially, spatially and temporally situate the explorers through their ventures in Quebec City area.

The CA highlighted the distinctive character of 16th century assemblages from the Cartier-Roberval site among the dataset (Appendix K). These assemblages indeed constituted the vast majority of the carbonised material analysed, were recovered using slightly different techniques and chiefly extracted from carbonised debris accumulations (subsection 6.1.1.). None of these mechanisms can, however, account for the statistical association between assemblages from the site and higher proportions and diversities of cultivated and exotic remains (Appendix K: Figure 1K.4.). Both categories encompassed taxa coming from the Old World but

respectively comprised taxa that could and could not be grown in the Quebec City region. This distinction revealed some 23% of the remains found belonged to exotics, a situation hinting that the climatic conditions of the area were wrongly assessed. Alternatively, the statistical weight of these taxa can attest to a strong will to reproduce familiar foodways.

Beyond the above observations, the distinction between exotic and cultivated species of European origins can be misleading as it is unlikely that the latter could have been grown during the expedition. Both parties only reached their landing point in late summer/early fall: the limited time left before winter, especially during the Little Ice Age, would not have enabled any plant to mature given that winter crops tend to fail in the region (i.e. Bougainville 2003:65). It is, however, impossible to rule out the possibility that Roberval's party harvested what was sown by Cartier's detachment prior its departure in late May/early June 1543 as argued by Samson and Fiset (2013:367). Yet the presence of several European weeds, such as clover (*Trifolium* sp.), sun spurge (*Euphorbia helioscopia* L.) and corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago* L.), among the assemblages where cereals have been identified tend to suggest that they were not harvested locally. Whilst attempts to cultivate the area are mentioned in the narratives reported by Hakluyt (1599:150, 163), it seems unlikely that these initiatives contributed towards feeding the explorers. In this perspective, it is probable that the agrarian qualities of the region were praised as a rhetorical strategy to attest to the explored territory's value. This idea is notably supported by several comments reporting the presence of natural fields of wheat and peas in the region (Hakluyt 1599:151, 163), for both are not only of European origins but they cannot reproduce without human assistance in the Quebec City area (Vascan, 2010+).

In contrast to plants of European origins, less than 0,01% of the remains found at the Cartier-Roberval site belonged to edible indigenous taxa. Some of these species like bramble (*Rubus* sp.) and strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.) produce hundreds of seeds per fruits. They were, though, represented by less than 10 remains scattered across the site. Given that the indigenous plant species identified all have similar ecological preferences and that those concur with those of red oak, Canada yew and dwarf cornel which are unlikely to have been consumed, their presence in the assemblages is probably incidental (Bouchard-Perron and Bain 2009:96). Whilst it cannot be excluded that the consumption of indigenous plants took place elsewhere on site or only after the fire, historical comments tend to suggest that

living off the local supply was never intended. For instance, the Spanish spy report specifies that the expedition brought along a large amount of provisions (subsection 7.1.1.) whilst Hakluyt's (1599:166) narratives point out that foodstuffs were immediately secured upon arrival and that the boat sent back to France requested that the outpost be supplied regularly. Whether grounded in reality or not, these comments highlight the importance given to the consumption of familiar food during expeditions abroad. This may reflect a strong association between barbarity and wilderness and a growing fear of becoming "wild" by eating savage food in Early Modern Western Europe (Lazaro 2007:17; Padgen 1983:27). Whilst their consumption was apparently disregarded, the vegetal resources of the Quebec City area were nonetheless praised in the accounts published by Hakluyt (1599: 152-153). It is, however, mostly tall trees that draw admiration for their economic potential. They might also have been valued as following contemporary rationale, the height of trees made them closer to the sky and hence to God (Grieco 1991; Laurioux 2006:133), a characteristic that made them more appropriate for the description of a blessed land.

The range of New World species identified across the Cartier-Roberval site also encompasses plants cultivated by local Native populations. Indeed, a few remains of maize (*Zea mays* L.) and common bean (*Phaseolus* sp.) were found among assemblages dominated by Old World staples. Despite their low numbers and scattered distribution, it is likely that their deposition stems from food-related activities as both species are ephemeral, or cannot reproduce beyond a few generations without anthropogenic assistance. As such, their presence also indicates that exchanges were taking place with local populations. In fact, following the accounts published by Hakluyt (1599), the expedition seems to have recurrently been offered food by Native groups. These gifts were, however, not always welcomed and the disdain expressed toward Native foodstuffs can tentatively explain why maize and common beans represent less than 1% of remains recovered. Whilst other expeditions such as the one led by Columbus (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:44) and Lery (Whatley 1984) were also prone to scorning Natives' foods, a constant state of hunger seems to have encouraged their integration into daily meals. Interestingly, while the consumption of such foodstuffs does not seem to have been particularly frequent at the Cartier-Roberval outpost, globally, the assemblages from the site are those amongst which Native plants are the best represented in the archaeobotanical dataset as a whole.

Archaeobotanical and historical evidence seems to indicate that the explorers attempted to reproduce familiar foodways while occupying their outpost in the Quebec City area. By contrasting their diet with culinary habits documented in contemporary French settings, it is possible to have further insights as to how the expedition imperatives might have shaped their meals and to find clues as to how they socially situated themselves through foodways. In this perspective, it is noticeable that the most frequently identified taxa across the site (Figure 6.1.2.) - bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.), hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) and cultivated grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.) - have been considered as the pillars of southern medieval French diet by Ruas (1998:187) on the basis of archaeobotanical and historical evidence. She also highlighted that, while rarely mentioned in early modern French documents, the popularity of the two cereals was such that they tended to dominate all the Mediterranean archaeobotanical assemblages of the period (Ruas 2006:305). As for cultivated grape, even if its remains become less pre-eminent during this time span, historical references suggest that its consumption was still very common (Ruas et al. 2006b:182).

The status of these three taxa inland seem to also have ensured their widespread consumption onboard ships during the Age of Discovery (Morineau 1970:100-104; Super 1984:69) despite the fact that cereals posed several preservation issues due to their sensitivity to humidity. In this perspective it is noteworthy that none of the cereal remains identified showed evidence of sprouting, suggesting that they were kept in proper conditions in the settlement and throughout the trip across the Atlantic when they were first imported. This is a remarkable achievement given that the Columbus expedition greatly suffered from such spoilages some forty years earlier (Deagan and Cruxtent 2002:54-55) and that in the following centuries considerable proportions of the staples shipped across the New France would systematically be lost to moisture (e.g. Archaembault 1967:37; Carter-Edwards 1989:46; Turgeon and Dickner 1992:234). Naval accounts also attest to the frequent consumption of pulses and more specifically peas and beans by ships' crews (Ibid). The secondary character of legume on naval menus concurs with their occurrence in late medieval and early modern French archaeobotanical assemblages (Ruas 1998:187,193; 2006:307; 2009:25) and across the Cartier-Roberval site. In all instances, a preference for peas (*Pisum sativum* L.) over vetch (*Vicia* spp.) and lentils (*Lens culinaris* Medick.) is observed. Overall, it seems that the recurrence and proportions of cereals, pulses and fruits within Cartier-Roberval are congruent with the contents of contemporary

French archaeobotanical assemblages but also with the relative importance given to these different staples on the land and at sea, according to historical documentation. These similarities suggest that the expedition generally attempted to keep to French traditions in terms of plant consumption, a choice that could have potentially been facilitated by the popularity of the concerned staples in the maritime world.

In spite of the general tendencies outlined above, a few remains of Old World edible plants found at Cartier-Roberval stood out as belonging to species less commonly found and mentioned in France. This is seen, for instance, in the case of olives (*Olea europea* L.), which were identified in very low quantities across the site. This paucity concur with the rarity of the fruit among contemporary 16th century French archaeobotanical assemblages (Ruas et al. 2006b:181; Ruas 1998:187). Nonetheless, whilst the availability and accessibility of olive seems to have varied from region to region (Ruas et al. 2006a:202), several historical comments suggest that the fruit was relatively frequently used in early modern kitchens in southern France (Bouby et al. 2012:81). These nuances highlight that the status of the fruits varied in different contexts. Contrarily, the standing of date (*Phoenix dactylifera* L.) is less equivocal. Evidence for the consumption of the fruit in 16th century France is indeed especially scarce (Ruas et al. 2006a:202; Scully 2002:59). During the Middle Ages, dates seem to have been imported from the Maghreb and available to the wealthy in the markets of southern France (Ruas et al. 2006a:203). In these circumstances, it is the context in which the taxon was identified, a 16th century deposit disturbed during the 19th century, and the fact that it was only represented by a single carbonised seed, which suggests caution. Further, even combined, olive and date remains represent far less than 0,01% of the edible European plant remains identified. Finally, their global distribution across the site is random, just like the one of the potentially high status artefacts identified (subsection 7.1.2.).

The remains of a few spices were also uncovered among Cartier-Roberval site assemblages within specific locations. Hundreds of mustard (*Brassica* sp.) remains were indeed identified in a very restricted area of the northern portion of the site. While not figuring among the most popular spices at the time (Hyman and Hyman 2005:139-140), mustard was easily accessible as it grew naturally in high densities in nearby settlements (Scully 2002:58). Its availability might have prompted its relatively common use in French cooking (Scully 2002:60) and its occasional appearance among ship supplies

(Turgeon and Dickner 1992:231). Given a lack of references to this spice, it seems that fenugreek (*Trigonella* sp.), whose presence is attested by a few specimens identified in a small area at the center of the site, was far less popular in the metropolis. As for two remains potentially related to tarragon (*Artemisia* sp.) in the southern portion of the site, it is equally difficult to comment upon them in the absence of more precise identification. It is nonetheless possible that the partitioned distribution of these more or less popular spices reflect individual preferences.

Overall, the archaeobotanical assemblages from the Cartier-Roberval site suggest that the expedition vegetal diet had much in common with the one of inland France and more specifically the south of the kingdom. This similarity probably stems from the way the boats were provisioned prior departure and can have further been prompted by the resemblance between these culinary habits and the ones adopted onboard ships engaged in long-distance travelling. The presence of members of the elite among the detachments and individual preferences possibly contributed towards the introduction of the differences observed as to the consumption of olives, date and spices. Beyond these small discrepancies, the strong correlations observed amongst the archaeobotanical record and contemporary French diet seems to be at odds with the widespread idea that the expedition suffered hunger (Samson and Fiset 2013:7). Whilst, arguably, scarcities could have taken place after the conflagration, until that point there is no evidence for the substantial integration of less familiar foods to daily meals as should be expected in such a context (section 4.1.). Arguably, it is impossible to rule out that some members of the expedition would have chosen to starve or to turn to the consumption of meat in such circumstances.

Overall, the foodways at the Cartier-Roberval outpost seem to attest to a formidable will to overcome adverse conditions in order to implement a specific set of desired practices in a distant setting. Not only could about a quarter of the taxa consumed during the expedition not have been cultivated in the region, but most of them were poorly adapted to transportation by sea across long-distances. Likewise, the incorporation of a few Native foodstuffs amongst an overwhelmingly European diet is not without remembering the assimilationist strategies deployed against otherness in recently conquered settings (section 3.1.). As for the vegetal resources surrounding their encampment, the explorers seem to have been more prone to praising and exploiting them than to consume them and grant them any transformative power.

7.2. Old and new flavours in 17th century Quebec City

Whilst leaving bitter recollections, the brief venture of Cartier, Roberval and their crews paved the way for the permanent colonisation of the Quebec City area which was finally achieved in a different social context some 65 years later (subsection 2.1.2.). During the next century, over 15,000 Europeans crossed the Atlantic to reach New France (Bates 1989:260). As time passed by and they mingled with the first generations of settlers born in the New World, notions of home and homeland probably became more nuanced. Meanwhile, prolonged interactions with local environments and Native populations were favouring the accumulation of knowledge about a territory conquered more on paper than in reality. In this perspective, this section explores how foodways contributed towards bonding the town dwellers with indigenous environments, local Native populations and the Old World through the 17th century. The discussion is based on the contents of contemporary archaeobotanical assemblages from Champlain's Farm, Braves' Park, and the Intendant's Palace. The evidence gathered is also contrasted with discourses held about regional culinary habits in 17th travel literature. Whether written by missionaries or colonial leaders, the accounts of this period were often used as means to recruit colonists, gain prestige and the French crown's favour (Coates 2000:3). Given these oriented agendas, the fact that these narratives recurrently refers to food and foodways highlights how both were intertwined with colonial discourses of power through the century.

7.2.1. Craving for home in early Quebec City

It is noticeable that none of the 17th century archaeobotanical assemblages analysed dated to the second third of the century. Despite this gap, and the fact that they were underrepresented against 1542-1544 evidence amongst the dataset, they formed recognisable, although loose, clusters on CA graphs (Appendix K: Figure 1K.2.). The results of the analysis highlight that the similarities between 17th century assemblages' contents are due to comparatively higher proportions and diversities of cultivated plants of European origins (Appendix K: Figure 1K.4.). This section explores the roles of these cultivars in the Quebec City area settlers' diet and their social implications.

Like 16th century assemblages, 17th century assemblages were all dominated by Old World edible plants although scantly entailing imports poorly adapted to the colony's climate such as dates or

olives. This divergence might well have stemmed from more prolonged interactions with Quebec City's landscapes. Indeed, like his predecessors, Champlain showed concerns for the protection and preservation of the European supplies he brought with him, thereafter ensuring their safe and regular delivery from the metropolis, and for quickly putting them in cultivation (Champlain 2004:32, 73, 105, 130-132). He also, like his contemporaries (Douville 1970:39; Lescarbot 1968:45; Sagard 1988:146), praised the land's fertility, and accented its similarity with France (Champlain 2004:30 42 140), two strategies which justified the French claim to the territory (section 3.1.1.). Yet after a few years, it became more difficult to maintain the illusion that the colony could ever become a mirror image of France (Dickenson 2008:32; Gourdeau 1994:68). For instance, cultivated grape did not survive the colony's harsh climate while winter crops failed to produce any yield (Champlain 2004:144). The lasting occupation of the Quebec City area, however, enabled adjustments and within a few decades, writings about the region started to entail detailed information about what could be grown where and when (e.g. Douville 1970:45; Lahontan 1990:265). These generally listed European plants which could successfully be cultivated locally (Boucher 1964:82; Champlain 2004:194), such as cereals and pulses but also vegetables (e.g. sugar beet, turnip, carrots, onions) and herbs (e.g. parsley, chervil, sorrel).

Only very few of the above mentioned taxa were, however, identified in early 17th century assemblages from Champlain's Farm, the first establishment implemented with the goal of supplying the Quebec City outpost (Moussette 2000:34-35). Arguably, given that vegetables and herbs are generally not collected or consumed along with their seeds, it was less likely for their remains to be deposited following food-related activities. Likewise, the diversity of species uncovered might have been lessened as the conflagration that destroyed the building took place in July according to historical documents (Guimont, 1996:57-58). Indeed, most of the European plants cultivated in the region are harvested between September and October (Provencher 1996:323-330). Despite these issues, the archaeobotanical assemblages from the site yielded remains of cereals, peas, marsh broad beans (*Vicia faba* L.) and apple (*Malus* sp.) (Chapter 6). Given the context in which they were found, these taxa were probably amongst the first to have been cultivated in the colony. The presence of cereals and peas among them is hardly surprising as both were central components of Early Modern Western Europe's diet (Flandrin and Hyman 1986:223; Plouvier 2003:69; Rivière 1982:205; Ruas 1992a:310). In fact, according to Boucher

(1964:81-82) the main concern of recruited colonists before crossing the Atlantic was to ensure they would be able to eat wheat bread on a daily basis.

Contrary to cereals and peas, the popularity of marsh broad bean was short lived in Western Europe where it seems to have been more commonly consumed onboard ships according to historical documents (Armstrong 1989:116; Gade 1994:141). The presence of the taxon hence tends to support the hypothesis of Niellon (2009:210), who suggested that early 17th century Quebec City menus were very similar to naval diets after investigating historical and archaeological evidence related to Champlain's outpost. The identification of marsh broad beans infested by pests also concurs with the testimony of Boucher (1964:82), who complained that these pulses were often destroyed by insects even before harvest. Likewise, the presence of apple in Champlain's Farm assemblages coincides with the idea that it was the first fruit tree species grown in the colony (Douville 1970:55). Overall, the complete absence of exotic remains also tends to suggest that expectations about what could be cultivated were better adapted to regional circumstances. Despite the progressive accumulation of knowledge about agrarian conditions, historical evidence indicates the nascent colony remained long dependant on supplies shipped from France to appease its craving for familiar foodstuffs (Niellon 2009:209).

Some 60 years after the foundation of Quebec City, local settlers' were still keen to reproduce familiar culinary traditions. Those who could afford them indeed strongly relied on French cookbooks for preparing daily meals (Williamson 2004:18). More generally, bread wheat and peas seem to still have been held in high esteem by the settlers. Frequently identified among late 17th century carbonised assemblages, their popularity in the region was commented upon by the traveller Lahontan (1990:265), who granted their status to their centrality in French cooking. Marked preferences for bread wheat and peas did not made their cultivation easier and inventories after death indicate that both were partly supplied from France well until the 1700s (Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:123). Meanwhile, the objectives of the French crown tinted the correspondence of Talon (1970), one of the first intendants of the colony. He notably reassured his superiors that the colony was in no time going to yield more wheat than could be eaten and enough vegetables to feed everyone (Talon 1970:22, 37). He further expressed his hope to harvest flax and hemp in sufficient quantities to establish an industry as well as plenty of barley and hop to start beer exportation (Talon 1970:22, 28). The

archaeobotanical assemblages associated with Talon's brewery seem to concur with this vision. Indeed, not only were exceptionally rarely preserved remains of prickly lettuce (*Lactuca* cf. *serriola*) identified, but those were associated with hemp (*Cannabis* sp.), hop (*Humulus* sp.) and dill (*Anethum graveolens* L.). While it is impossible to determine whether they were intended for, or resulted from, cultivation in the Quebec region, their presence definitely attests to a will to strengthen the colony's agrarian economy through diversification. Attempts to reorient the colony's economy and stimulate agriculture also seem to have had lasting impacts on regional landscapes: for the first time, European weeds likely to have grown locally were identified in important numbers and diversity in the assemblages. Those include black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.), sun spurge (*Euphorbia helioscopia* L.), prostate knotweed (*Polygonum aviculare* L.) and common plantain (*Plantago major* L.). Their presence around fields and settlements might have, in turn, contributed towards giving local landscape a more familiar aspect. Whilst creating a feeling of homeliness, these taxa were not considered worthy of mention and their identification in the archaeobotanical record constitutes the earliest evidence of their introduction in the region.

The development of agriculture in Quebec City area combined with the perils of transatlantic navigation that included piracy, storms and treacherous waters (Bosher 1988:447-448), might have contributed to lessen the access to and the reliance on European food plants imports by the Late 17th century. In fact, according to the testimony of Lahontan (1990:610) any trading boat entering Quebec port was immediately surrounded by an animated crowd wishing to obtain imported supplies. A nun even proposed different strategies to her correspondent to ensure she would receive long craved-for European exotics such as grapes and olives (L'Incarnation 1934:201). Despite these difficulties, late 17th century archaeobotanical assemblages attest that both taxa were successfully imported although not regularly consumed. Although grape was routinely figuring on the menu in France, olives were a speciality of Southern France (Laurioux 2006:104) that was rarely mentioned in contemporary cookbooks except as oil (Ruas et al. 2006a:200). Their presence in the archaeobotanical record may be incidental and reflect individual preferences. The import most commonly identified in late 17th century assemblages was, however, hazelnut (*Corylus* cf. *avellana*). Surprisingly, the taxon seem to have left scant traces in the historical record on both sides of the Atlantic even though frequently present in contemporary archaeobotanical assemblages from France (Ruas et

al. 2006a:199). This may indicate a discrepancy between what was considered good to eat and believed worthy of mention. Regardless of their popularity ashore, raisins, olives and hazelnuts were well adapted to transportation by sea as they could be preserved for long time periods in dry settings.

The reliance on plants of European origins in the Quebec City area bound the region to contemporary colonial endeavours across North America. For example, wheat was equally valued in early Spanish colonies according to historical and archaeobotanical evidence (Ruhl 1997:38). Written documents further attest that measures to ensure these colonies' self-sufficiency were taken during the second third of the 17th century (Ruhl 1997:38), like in New France. In terms of imports, olive and grape remains were also identified in low quantities in contemporary assemblages from Boston (Dudek et al. 1998:66) and New Mexico, where hazelnut was additionally found (Trigg 2004:228). These resemblances highlight that there was overlapping in the range of plants consumed across North American colonies where similar challenges had to be overcome to reproduce familiar foodways. Such similarities do not, however, erase the unique character of these enterprises and of the related culinary behaviours. In this respect, there is scant evidence for the consumption of marsh broad beans or the marked popularity of peas elsewhere as exemplified by the compilation produced by Lopinot (1986:77). Further, attitudes towards the incorporation of Natives cultivars and indigenous wild plants to colonial diets seem to have tremendously varied (section 4.1.).

7.2.2. Native foodstuffs: between fear and disgust

While plants of European origins were increasingly cultivated in the Quebec City area through the 17th century, nothing indicates that they might have been grown along with Native cultivars. Further, evidence for the consumption of such foodstuffs is rather scant. Following the results of the CAs (Appendix K) this paucity does not correlate with any discrepancy in terms of preservation, taphonomy, methodology or context and hence rather seems to be associated with past social behaviour. This subsection explores this hypothesis by contrasting the limited archaeobotanical findings with a more substantial body of historical documents (Table 5.2.) displaying 17th century attitudes towards Native foodstuffs.

A carbonised common bean (*Phaseolus* spp.) and four waterlogged pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* L.) seeds, all associated with the last third of the 17th century and recovered from the Intendant's Palace,

constitute the only evidence for consumption of Native cultivars gathered for the period. This relative paucity concurs with the lack of historical evidence attesting to their consumption by settlers of the region (Lafrance and Desloges 1989:16). Arguably, by the time Quebec City was founded, the area was not occupied anymore by Native groups practicing agriculture and this might have played a role in the integration of plants traditionally cultivated by them (subsection 2.1.1.). Yet, during the following century, missionary activities and fur trade both encouraged sustained contact with Native groups living further away from the Quebec City outpost and practicing agriculture (Jaenen 2001:156; Thérien 1986:54). Easily transportable and highly calorific, missionaries and fur traders further seem to have chosen to live off a maize-based diet while travelling but not necessarily otherwise (Brébeuf 2000:11; Sagard 1988:195). Meanwhile, archaeobotanical and historical evidence suggests that maize, common beans and pumpkin were making their way to Western European kitchens where they were increasingly employed (Dickenson 2009:32; Giorgi 1999:345). In these circumstances it seems unlikely that a lack of knowledge or accessibility can account for the scarcity of those taxa in the 17th century archaeobotanical record.

The writings of French missionaries who lived among Native groups during the 17th century provide additional clues as to why the cultivars associated with them seem to have been disdained in Quebec City kitchens. When addressing Natives' foodways, those generally highlight how their plates were disgusting, their lack of proper manners savage, their uncleanness revolting and their feasts not worthy of the leftovers of Europe (Brébeuf 2000:198; Leclercq 1999:282-304; Lejeune 2009:91-101; Sagard 1998:196). Such discourses had different rhetorical functions: by emphasising the inferior character of Natives, their conversion, subjugation and dispossession was justified (subsection 3.1.1.). For example, by pointing out their improper use of local edible resources the missionary Sagard made the seizure of their land a sacred duty:

> " […] there is likewise grape and raisins which could be used to make very good wine in the Huron country if they knew how to cultivate and prepare them but they don't have this science and must hence be satisfied with eating the raisin and its fruits raw."(Sagard 1988:312)

Regardless of their motivations, these repeated negative allusions to Natives' foodways are likely to have permeated popular perceptions over their foodstuffs. Similar discourses were also held in early Jamestown (Blanton 2003:195-196) and 16th century Mexico

(Rodriguez-Alegria 2005). However, these negative perspectives did not prevented the consumption Native cultivars, such as maize, in these towns.

Through the 17th century, Quebec City was the political and religious centre of the colony and one of the places where these authorities' power was more manifest (subsections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.). It is from the outpost that they controlled a large territory occupied by comparatively low numbers of colonists, an imbalance making the assimilation of Natives all the more pressing (Grégoire 2009:48). It is hence with the greatest displeasure that Governor Frontenac (1956:25) reported in 1627 that he could not manage to force the Natives visiting the settlement to speak French. In fact, neither the implementation of the reservation system nor the active work of the missionaries managed to fully erode their traditions (Trudel 2003:116). Worst, some colonists, generally involved in fur trade, adopted a Native lifestyle to the horror of local clergy and governmental representatives (Banks 2003:129). To prevent the settlers from "growing barbarian", several measures were taken to constrain and police their interactions with Native groups (Scalberg 2002:102). Those notably discouraged mixed weddings, limited the number of traders authorised to make exchanges with them and regulated how long settlers could spend among Native tribes (Belmoussous 2004:521 526-527). In other colonial contexts, continuous contact between colonists and Natives has been considered crucial to the adoption of some Native foodways (section 4.1.). Those were potentially less frequent and more closely overseen in the Quebec City area where colonists had comparatively more access to Old World supplies than anywhere else in New France. Indeed, it was the settlement where agriculture had been practiced for the longest period and the most intensively (sub sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.). Further, the town was the first port of entry for European foodstuffs and the point from which they were redistributed through the colony often at great loss.

7.2.3. A bite of wilderness

A reliance on Old World plants and a disdain for Native cultivars did not prevent the Quebec City area colonists from incorporating wild vegetal resources into their diet. Using a combination of archaeobotanical and historical evidence, this subsection explores the ecological and social factors that might have guided the inclusion of local indigenous taxa on regional 17th century menus.

The earliest archaeobotanical evidence for the consumption of indigenous plants after Quebec's foundation dates to 1628. The assemblages associated with the occupation layer of Champlain's Farm (Chapter 6) indeed yielded remains of riverbank grape (*Vitis riparia* Michx.) and common elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis* L.). Their stratigraphic position as well as their presence among equally low densities of edible plants of European origins suggests that their deposition resulted from food-related activities. Riverbank grape and common elderberry are still found in the site's immediate surroundings and have similar preferences for scantly forested areas along rivers (Baillargeon 1981:76-95; Dumont 2005a:366-368). Their habitats concur with the environment described by Champlain whilst visiting the area in 1623 (2004:169) and might further have favoured their consumption. Indeed, the fear of turning savage by interacting with wilderness was widespread in the colony (subsection 2.1.2.) and may have contributed towards making open landscapes comparatively less threatening than densely forested settings. Further, waterways were the main channels of exploration, communication and transportation in the colony (subsection 2.2.). As a result, the vegetal resources found on their edges were probably among the first to take a familiar aspect for newcomers. This process of acquaintance might have been accelerated for riverbank grape and common elderberry are very similar to fruits figuring on French menus at the time (Bouby et al. 2012:84; Ruas 1992b:14; Ruas and Dietsch-Sellami 2006:44).

The remains of common elderberry from Champlain's Farm constitute the earliest testimony to their inclusion in colonial meals, since no references to the taxon dating prior to the mid-18th century were found in local historical documents (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:560). Comments concerning riverbank grape are, on the contrary, abundant in early 17th century literature. When mentioned in landscape descriptions, the taxon is systematically given positive appraisals (e.g. Champlain 2004:151 157): its presence was associated with Christian civilisation (Côté 1991:78) and seen as symbol of the mystical value of the colonised territory (Brazeau 2009:28). Yet in culinary terms, riverbank grape was generally scorned for its poor gustative and wine-making qualities, for example by Boucher (1964:55). From this perspective, its identification in the early 17th century archaeobotanical record in a context suggesting it was meant for consumption may denote a propensity among colonists to first go towards relatively familiar-looking plants regardless of their taste and other properties. A bite does not constitute a meal,

however, and together edible indigenous taxa represented less than 3% of the edible remains identified at Champlain's Farm.

By the end of the 17th century, local plants seem to have taken a greater place on local menus, as they were recovered in 60% of the assemblages analysed and represented on average 20% of their contents. In addition, the range of species identified considerably expanded to encompass three broad categories of taxa. Among them still figured edible species growing on riverbanks including common elderberry, red elderberry (*Sambucus pubens* Michx.) and vervain (*Verbena* sp.). Their presence attests to sustained interactions with riverine landscapes and of a growing exploitation of their vegetal resources. As neither red elderberry nor vervain bear resemblance to Old World taxa, their incorporation may further denote a gradual shift of perspectives over local environments. Initially chosen because of their familiarity to the European eye, riverine edible plants became increasingly selected for a familiarity ensuing from repetitive experiences of local landscapes. Attitudes towards the consumption of these taxa are nonetheless unlikely to have been unilateral as illustrated by the assemblages from Braves' Park site were indigenous plants were absent all together.

Whilst consumed early on, wild taxa growing on river edges were outnumbered in late 17th century assemblages by another category of indigenous species encompassing bramble (*Rubus* sp.), strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.), wild red cherry (*Prunus pensylvanica* L.), plum (*Prunus* sp.) and hawthorn (*Crataegus* sp.). What further contributed to the popularity of those taxa is that their propagation is stimulated by disruption as they are among the first species to re-colonise devastated landscapes (Dickinson 1985; Jensen and Hall 1979:772; Victorin 2002:319-327). As such, they naturally thrived in every piece of land torn away from wilderness to be 'civilized' and further gave occupied lands a familiar aspect: all these species had very similar counterparts commonly cultivated and consumed in Early Modern France (Bouby et al. 2012:84; Ruas 1992b:14; Ruas and Dietsch-Sellami 2006:44). The resemblances were widely commented upon in colonial travel literature (e.g. Boucher 1964:85; Brébeuf 2000:97; Champlain 2004:149; Sagard 1988:146) where the natural abundance of these taxa was used as an argument to attract new colonists (Dickenson 2008:28; Douville 1970:54). Further, by emphasising the natural similarities between the colonising and the colonised territories, these writings provided ground to justify French control over the Quebec City area (Brazeau 2009:4-28).

Neither common on riverbanks nor in disturbed landscapes, wild sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.) is the only indigenous plant identified in late 17th century assemblages which did not match the patterns described above. Growing in rather shady wooded areas, this taxon had no known equivalent in the Old World and was probably initially perceived as unusual by the Europeans who came across it. Its unique aspect might have prompted interest among colonists, as not only were exotic plants fashionable (Launay 2003:43-44; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:XXXIII) but they raised the hope of finding miracle cures and making profits (Dickenson 2008:37). This search for wonder was partly channelled through early botany as attested by the first botanical treatise dedicated to the region (Cornuti 1635). Written from abroad, the booklet displayed species not so much for their provenance - a few of them are ironically exotic to Canada - as for their unique character and medicinal properties (Mathieu 1998:123).

The potential value of newly colonised flora also encouraged France to order its colonial officers to find, describe and collect specimens to be sent to Paris to be named and classified (Dickenson 2008:43; Warkentin 2010:96). Through this process, the kingdom and occidental science held their grip over the colony's wilderness by accumulating knowledge about it and by controlling its official labelling. It seems likely that this procedure prompted the consumption of wild sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.) in the Quebec City area. The taxon was indeed called after a valued Old World plant (*Smilax* sp.) notably used to cure gout and syphilis (Soubeiran 1874:66) even if their appearance and properties had little in common. As a result, wild sarsaparilla quickly became a central element of colonial pharmacopeia in the region (Asselin et al. 2016:18-19) and its use was, for example, highly recommended by local doctors such as Sarrasin (Boivin 1977:239). In these circumstances, it seems plausible that settlers were more prone to consume wild plants from forested settings when they were believed to have medicinal properties, a propensity also observed in other colonial settings (e.g. Dickenson 2008:35; Schaefer 2013:48). Otherwise, they seem to have been keener to incorporate plants with a recognisable appearance growing in frequently encountered habitats at the edges of wild forested landscapes.

As illustrated by the example of wild sarsaparilla, the integration of wild plants into a familiar frame of references seems to have played an important role in the integration of local vegetal foodstuffs in Quebec City area menus through the 17th century. This process of

incorporation was not, however, systematically mediated through science. Daily interactions with indigenous landscapes contributed towards making plants growing in open environments along rivers common sights, known resources and occasional additions to settlers' menus. Meanwhile, ties with homeland culinary traditions were kept lively through the cultivation of Old World staples. Although overall well adapted to the regional climate, these European cultivars in turn led to the introduction of European invasive weed species in the colony. Natural habitats were also disturbed by sustained interactions with colonists which favoured the spread of some indigenous species over others. Close in appearance and taste to plants cultivated in France, those taxa were given a growing importance in colonial diets. They also, along with European weeds and cultivars, contributed towards giving the Quebec City area an Old World look among an ocean of otherwise intimidating wilderness. Overall, the growing place given to wild indigenous vegetal food in settlers' diets contrasts with their apparent lack appetite for Native cultivars. As such, whilst physically incorporating the local landscapes on a daily basis, the colonists denied the colonised any role in their experience of the conquered land.

7.3. Culinary geographies in 1700-1760 Quebec City

At the turn of the 18th century, the Quebec City area had been continuously occupied for about a century. Knowledge about the region, its resources and populations as well as the challenges of daily life in a distant colony was slowly accumulating. This gradual process was paralleled by progressive changes in the archaeobotanical record between the 16th and early-mid 18th century. Cultivated plants of European origins were taking a growing place against imports, and the range of edible indigenous species consumed was rising along with their overall contribution to local menus. Those changes notably contributed towards making archaeobotanical assemblages dating between 1700 and 1760 produced clusters on CA graphs (Appendix K). Arguably, their distinctive character might have been related to the higher proportions of waterlogged assemblages among them. Yet, the above mentioned patterns were also observed amongst the contents of carbonised assemblages. Likewise, the wider range of species recorded could have been related to the comparatively higher quantity of assemblages related to the early-mid 18th century. Once again, however, this seems unlikely as this pattern was also observed among the average diversity of single assemblages. It is also noteworthy that the assemblages of the period all came from the

Intendant's Palace. This site is nevertheless a contemporary unit of analysis: between 1700 and 1760 it was synchronically and diachronically used for different purposes by multiple people, only very few of whom were part of the colonial elite (Chapter 6). In this perspective, the current section explores continuities and changes in the role of indigenous plants, Old World supplies and Native cultivar in early-mid 18th century Quebec City area foodways. Through the discussion, archaeobotanical evidence from the region is contrasted with historical documents generally written by European travellers who commented upon what they observed whilst they visited the town (Table 5.2.).

7.3.1. European tastes and cooking economies

The first 60 years of the 18th century were marked by an intensification of trading activities between the Quebec City area and mainland France (Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:1). Those were guided by mercantilist principles, following which the colony was used to the profit of the kingdom as a market to sell its productions (Banks 2003:17). This strategy accented the development of capitalism (subsection 3.1.3.) around Atlantic ports (Marien 2009) and in the Quebec City area (Vallières et al. 2008b:113-122). Despite the increasing rate of exchanges between the town and France, shipping remained irregular, fostering the emergence of a local market for regional productions (Piédalue 2009:48). In this context, apart from exotics which still could not be grown locally, determining the provenience of European vegetal supplies in the Quebec City region is rather challenging. This subsection henceforth addresses the multiples roles of Old World cereals, pulses, spices and fruits in early-mid 18th century Quebec City foodways and explore how they might have been related to their geographical origins.

Plouvier (2003:81) argued that cereals and bread were the pillars of the Western Europe diet through the 18th century even if this overreliance frequently led to hungers. The same seems to have been true in contemporary Quebec City area, where cereals, flour and bread were by far the most commonly mentioned food items in written documents (Audet 1990:167). Every aspect of their production, transformation and consumption were heavily regulated (Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:124) but none of these measures prevented scarcities which seem to have been relatively frequent between 1700 and 1760 (Banks 2003:36; Vallières et al. 2008a:156). Through this period, bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.) was the primary source of food in the colony and any shortage accordingly tended to foster popular protests and upraises (Archambault 1967:19; Franquet

1889:180). Kalm reported that the cereal was grown in abundance everywhere around Quebec City (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:119, 304). The marked preference for bread wheat has left traces in the archaeobotanical record where it was the most common cereal as found in 33% of the carbonised assemblages. Given the popularity of bread wheat, the overall occurrence of the taxon nonetheless seems low. It is possible that a propensity to keep the cereal as flour rather than as grains led to its underrepresentation. This idea tends to be supported by the recurrent presence of wheat weevils (*Sitophilus granarius* L.), a pest associated with the cereal (Bousquet 1990:98), in carbonised assemblages where wheat grains were absent. Keeping bread wheat as grains generally favours its long term conservation (Rousseau 1983:148), whilst processing it on bulk and rather storing it as flour speeds up its preparation in the short run. The more or less low occurrence of bread wheat in 1700-1760 assemblages may in this context reflect a concern for ensuring cooking efficiency, which was, for instance, documented among contemporary Chesapeake households (Yentsch 1994:150-152).

In addition to bread wheat, the presence of barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) was also recorded in an assemblage dating to the early 18th century (PFa0I8E). Whilst it cannot be ruled out that this paucity could be related to its use as flour, it seems to concur with the testimony of Kalm (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:150). The traveller indeed pointed out that the cereal was scantly grown in the Quebec City area where it was chiefly consumed as a substitute to bread wheat in times of scarcity (Audet 1989:42; Rousseau 1983:150). Likewise, very few references to rice (*Oryza sativa* L.) have been found in contemporary historical literature (Bougainville 2003:118) and only one grain of the taxon has been identified in an assemblage from privy PM (PMaP8e). This paucity, its status of import in the region and its presence in a context potentially associated with the elite, raises questions as to the social value of the cereal. In this respect, it seems likely that rice was available across New France throughout the 18th century as produced and exported by Louisiana (Usner 1987:182). There is further evidence that colonial authorities attempted to take advantage of this situation in times of scarcity when the cereal was distributed to hungry crowds (Archambault 1968:17-22). Rice revealed itself to be so unpopular in the Quebec City area that its consumption eventually had to be enforced by law (Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:124). This example notably illustrates how direct association between staples' provenance and their social standing can sometimes prove misleading.

It was suggested in subsection 7.2.1. that the widespread consumption of pulses through the 17th century was a distinctive characteristic of Quebec City area foodways. The assemblages dating to the early-mid 18th century suggest that pulses, and most specifically pea, had not lost their popularity in the following decades. After bread wheat, pea was indeed the most commonly identified taxon in the carbonised assemblages of the period. Frequently consumed as soups according to historical documents (Armstrong 1989:114), peas were additionally recurrently mentioned in lease payments and notarised acts (Audet 2001:42; Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:129), probably indicating that the pulse was particularly esteemed. The valorisation of peas might have been further encouraged following favourable economic conditions: they were sold at the same price as wheat but failed less often (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:456, 482), they were bought in bulk to supply soldiers in garrison (Bougainville 2003:116, 244) and routinely exported to other French colonies (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:520). This may have contributed to the cultivation of pea everywhere around the city (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:217-225). Neither vetch (*Vicia* sp.) nor vetchling (*Lathyrus* sp.) seems to have benefited from such a degree of popularity. The second taxon was only recorded in one waterlogged assemblage (PBhK38E) and no historical comments about it have been found. In comparison, vetch was somewhat better represented as recovered in very low densities in three unrelated carbonised assemblages. Sporadically mentioned among local garden produce, vetch was mainly consumed on fasting days according to Kalm (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:225, 299, 338).

In comparison to cereals or pulses, spices are less likely to be identified in the archaeological record unless belonging to species valued for the taste of their seeds such as fennel. Early-mid 18th century assemblages from Quebec City reflect well this imbalance, since all the spices they encompassed belonged to taxa esteemed for their seed flavour: dill (*Anethum graveolens* L.), coriander (*Coriandrum sativum* L.) and mustard (*Brassica* sp.). Dill was only identified in very low densities within privies PM/PN and none of the historical documents consulted made any mention of it. These combined particularities hint that the use of dill as a seasoning was rather rare. In contrast, both coriander and mustard were recorded in several assemblages taken from privies and occupation layers, indicating that they were more frequently used in regional cooking. This idea is further supported by their systematic presence in local merchant inventories (Lapointe 1992a:22; Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:132) where it is occasionally pointed out that they were

imported from abroad (Williamson 2004:15). This detail seems significant as both can easily be grown in the Quebec City area, providing hints as to why they were valued over dill. According to Williamson (2004:17-19), spices played a key role in French colonial foodways where they were used to give familiar flavours to New World foodstuffs. It seems possible that, combined with their taste, their importation from the homeland accented feelings of homeliness.

Geographical provenience also seems to have played a role in the place given to fruits on Quebec City menus between 1700 and 1760. The archaeobotanical record indeed suggest that exotic fruits were much more frequently consumed than fruits of European origins that could have been grown locally. As such, imported grapes (*Vitis vinifera* L.), figs (*Ficus carica* L.) and olives (*Olea europeae* L.), where amongst the most common identified taxa among assemblages of the period. The popularity of cultivated grape and olive is supported by local historical literature where they considered as the most regularly imported foodstuffs (Desloges 1991:146-151). Whilst cultivated grape seems to have been widely accessible to commoners and was even used to supply the crown's troops (Lafrance and Desloges 1989:33; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:415), olive consumption seems to have been less common (Lafrance and Desloges 1989:33; Lapointe 1992a:22; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:244). This disparity may have contributed to the shape of the archaeobotanical record, where their presence was respectively recorded in 78% and 27% of the assemblages. Contrarily, whilst fig remains were identified in 65% of the assemblages and present in a broad range of contexts, there is scant historical evidence attesting to their consumption in the Quebec City area (e.g. Rousseau 1983:132). It is possible that the much higher quantity of seeds entailed in a single fig might have contributed to its overrepresentation in the archaeological record. Alternatively, fig cultivation yielded much better results than that of olive or grape in Louisiana (Dawdy 2010:396-397): they could as such have been obtained within New France, explaining why they did not figure more prominently in ship cargoes and exotic ordering lists. Regardless of their exact origins, grape, fig and olive were well adapted to long distance travel, a particularity that might have favoured their consumption year-round, their presence in contemporary colonial settings such as Boston (Meyers 2011:16), as well as their bulk production and exportation.

A relatively restricted range of Old World fruits adapted to cultivation in the Quebec City area have been identified in early-mid 18th century assemblages. Only present in relatively low densities, their

waterlogged remains were exclusively recorded in privies, suggesting these fruits were more frequently consumed raw. Remains of gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.) tended to be found in comparatively higher densities and were the most commonly recorded, followed by cherry (*Prunus* sp.) and apple (*Malus* sp.). Their frequency does not, however, necessarily attest to their popularity as it is inversely proportional to their seed size: it might hence rather reflect their likeliness to be consumed along with the fruit they came from. This may well explain why their occurrence in the archaeobotanical record does not seem to concur with historical evidence. Indeed, historical documents report that the first apple orchards were implemented in Quebec City during the period, that apple trees were common sights in local gardens (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:244 338) and that the taste of the town's apple was particularly praised (Bougainville 2003:79). On the contrary, the scant references to cherries or gooseberries hinted that their consumption was only occasional in the region (Audet 2001:105; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:188). Overall, in comparison to what has been observed for cereals and pulses, it seems that Quebec City dwellers were less prone to focus on a single fruit taxa and seem to have adopted a more flexible approach to their consumption. Mostly consumed as sweet (see Rousseau and Bétune 1977), fruits were after all only adding variety to the meal without being one of its essential constituents.

Archaeobotanical evidence dating to 1700-1760 suggests that the vast majority of Old World nuts consumed in the Quebec City area were imported. Found in low numbers scattered across the assemblages, their remains were only preserved by waterlogging. Consumed since the 17th century (subsection 7.1.3.), hazelnut (*Corylus avellana* L.) was the most commonly identified taxa among them and the only one not to have been exclusively recorded in privies. With the exception of almond, hazelnut is also the only exotic nut whose consumption is attested in the historical record, although only mentioned on an occasional basis (Rousseau 1983:132; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:298). No mentions of chestnut (*Castanea sativa* L.) or English walnut (*Juglans regia* L.) have indeed been recorded in consulted historical documents. As their remains were only present in extremely low densities in privies PN/PM, it seems likely that their consumption was rather sporadic. In contrast, while almond (*Prunus amygdalus* L.) was equally rare in the archaeobotanical record, there is a wealth of information about it in contemporary documents. Those indeed attest to the consumption of its nuts on special occasions (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:244, 298) and that they were relatively frequently ordered (Rousseau

1983:132). Even so, their consumption, like that of all the nut species identified, seems to have been rather exceptional. While easily transportable over long distances, it is possible that none of these nuts were exported in large numbers to the colony, decreasing their availability and inflating their price.

A few taxa of edible European plants identified in the archaeobotanical record did not belong to cereals, pulses, spices, fruits or nuts. This is notably the case for cucurbits, both producing fruits and growing at ground level like vegetables. Despite their ambiguous status since the Middle Ages (Grieco 1991:144-145), a few remains of cucumber/melon (*Cucumis* sp.) and watermelon (*Citrullus lanatus* (Thunb.) Matsum. and Nakai) scattered among occupation layers and privy deposits were identified. Present in about half of the waterlogged assemblages dating to the early-mid 18th century, their consumption seems to have been relatively frequent. Historical data tends to support this hypothesis: cucumbers, melons and watermelons are among the most commonly mentioned plant food in contemporary documents (Armstrong 1989:146; Audet 2001:105; Bougainville 2003:79; Desloges 1991:146) and were frequently grown next to dwellings according to Kalm (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:217-254). As for "real" vegetables, their preservation in the archaeological deposit is rather exceptional as their root is generally not harvested with their seeds. The presence of a few remains of parsnip (*Pastinaca* sp.), carrot (*Daucus carota* L.), broccoli/cabbage/turnip (*Brassica* sp.) and celery (*Apium* sp.) scattered amongst analysed assemblages is thus rather exceptional even though historical evidence suggests they were commonly cultivated in the Quebec City area (Audet 2001:105; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:330, 338). Their presence may be seen as a testament to the development of horticulture in the town surroundings. As for the low numbers of hemp (*Cannabis* sp.) and flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.) remains present among the assemblages, it is difficult to associate them with food-related activities as, although edible, no historical evidence for their consumption could be found. In contrast, the status of the last Old World plant of economic value identified in 1700-1760 assemblages, coffee (*Coffea arabica* L.), is far less ambiguous (subsection 6.1.4.). There is indeed ample historical evidence that coffee was popular in France (Flandrin and Hyman 1986:246-247), drunk by French diasporas abroad (Parker 2013:74) and commonly consumed in New France (Franquet 1889:106).

7.3.2. Eating like Natives in 1700-1760 Quebec City

In 1749, the botanist Kalm visited Lorette Native reservation nearby Quebec City and reported that maize, common bean, pumpkin and sunflower were commonly cultivated there (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:167, 265-267, 474-475). His comments, like those of his contemporaries (e.g. Franquet 1889:105), further suggested these taxa were still commonly associated with Native groups in the region. This section contrasts archaeobotanical and historical evidence to document the role of Native cultivars in Quebec City dwellers' diet between 1700 and 1760.

Three Native cultivars were identified in the archaeobotanical record of the early-mid 18th century: common bean, pumpkin and maize. Retrieved along with other edible remains, the contexts in which they were found suggested they were all part of the town dwellers' diet. Evidence as to the frequency with which they figured on local menus is, however, more equivocal. For example, although recorded in relatively high densities, carbonised common beans were only identified in one assemblage from the First Intendant's Palace (PBkI38E). Like the fire which destroyed the building, their presence and preservation seems to be rather incidental, especially as they are absent from contemporary assemblages where food waste is accumulated gradually. As a result, their consumption seems to have been at best occasional, a conclusion difficult to contrast with historical evidence. Indeed, whether in French or English, the New World bean tends to be designated by the same name as the Old World vetches, making their distinction hard to make from the historical record. Nonetheless, given that vetch was identified in 14% of the carbonised assemblages it seems a more likely candidate for the bean sometimes mentioned in inventories and lease payments (Audet 2001:103; Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:129).

Represented by two carbonised kernels, maize was found in two otherwise unrelated assemblages encompassing gradual accumulations of food-waste. This can suggest that the taxa was only occasionally cooked and consumed or that it was mostly used and stored as flour. A lack of popularity, however, seems to better concur with historical testimonies: according to Kalm (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:217, 266), the taxa was scantly grown in a relatively wide radius around Quebec City except in the Native reservation of Lorette (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:266). Maize is also practically absent from contemporary local inventories after death, lease payments, bills and orders (Audet 1989:42; 1990 86; 2001:105; Rousseau 1983:152; Saint-Pierre et al. 1993:22 129). This can indicate that it

was not attributed a high monetary value and/or that it was not frequently included in the menu. On this basis, several historians have concluded that maize consumption tended to be scorned in the Quebec City area (Audet 2001:103; Lafrance and Desloges 1989:16).

Archaeobotanical evidence tends to suggest that pumpkin was more frequently figuring on Quebec City area's menu than maize or common bean, as the taxa was present in half of the waterlogged assemblages analysed. However, a single pumpkin entails hundreds of seeds but no assemblages yielded more than two of them. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to determine if the cucurbit is overrepresented or underrepresented in the archaeobotanical record. The first option nonetheless seems more probable as pumpkin is scantly mentioned in early-mid 18th century historical documents (Audet 1989:42; 2001:105). Yet according to Kalm, the plant was grown in the gardens of most houses in the Quebec City region (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:217-225, 413).

Overall, while definitely consumed on an occasional if not rare basis, products associated with Native populations do not seem to have been especially popular in the Quebec City area whether as a group or as single taxa. This seems rather singular because by then, maize, beans, pumpkins and sunflower had made their way into daily meals in North American English colonies (Karsky 1986:56; Meyers 2011:42; Miller N. 1988:79) and even in Europe (Albala 2003:25-26). Further, these products had become staples in contemporary French outposts located in present-day Ontario and the United States (Blake 2001; Grange 1987:190-191; Gremillon 2002; Scott 1985:205; 2007:246; 2008). Such a discrepancy can be related to the fact that both maize and beans tended to be associated with long distance travel during which they were considered as a food of choice (Delâge 1992:199; Fournier 2004:124; Lafrance et Desloges 89:8). While travellers, fur traders and Natives often constituted the main population in distant outposts LeBeau (1738:65) argues that few lived in the Quebec City area where they were disdained. He even goes as far as granting Canadian flaws, such as their vengefulness, in their interactions with Native populations (LeBeau 1738:64 68).

Strongly associated with two despised social groups, the above mentioned Native products might have been scorned at the table to keep distance from them. This idea is supported by several discussions reported by Kalm in which Quebec settlers openly mocked English colonists for eating products such as sunflower or potatoes (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:330-338). In these circumstances, it seems likely that if those products were grown, stored and cooked in

the region, it was mainly to be consumed elsewhere, notably as ingredients of the sagamite esteemed among travellers (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:266). Sagamite was indeed especially well adapted to long distance travels while the European supplies sent across the colony from the King's Store were more prone to spoilage.

7.3.3. Indigenous culinary landscapes and wilderness

Between 1700 and 1760, the population of the Quebec City area quadrupled, stimulating urbanisation (subsection 2.1.4.) and putting additional pressures on local habitats. Neither the phenomena nor the arrival of some 15,000 newcomers, however, seems to have hampered local indigenous plant consumption. Present in all assemblages analysed, their density and diversity were indeed generally markedly higher than what had been observed among 17th century assemblages. This subsection highlights similitudes and discrepancies between the archaeobotanical record dating to each period and discusses the mechanisms that might be at their origins.

With the exception of vervain, all the edible indigenous taxa identified in 17th century assemblages were also present in early-mid 18th assemblages where they were generally better represented. This tends to indicate that once introduced in the diet, local plants tended to be continuously and increasingly consumed. Further, whilst very few of these species were previously found carbonised in contexts where food waste had progressively accumulated, a majority of them were in the 1700-1760 archaeobotanical record. As such, it seems that with time, indigenous plants were more often consumed, cooked and hence incorporated into local culinary traditions. In comparison, none of the species for the first time identified among early-mid 18th assemblages were found carbonised. The integration of wild indigenous plants into local menus hence seems to have been a progressive process where they were first consumed raw before eventually being used as ingredients in more elaborate recipes. The role and value granted to them nonetheless seems to still have depended on the landscapes they were associated with.

Towards the late 17th century, indigenous plants found in disturbed settings such as bramble (*Rubus* sp.), strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.), wild red cherry (*Prunus pensylvanica* L.), plum (*Prunus* sp.) and hawthorn (*Crataegus* sp.) were taking an increasing place in colonial diets. In the first sixty years of the following century, their popularity seems to have been increasing according archaeobotanical evidence. Attested to in higher frequency and density in 1700-1760 assemblages, these taxa were also more commonly addressed as

produces and ingredients of local dishes such as jellies (Bougainville 2003:79; Rousseau and Bétune 1977:188) than as resources (Brébeuf 2000:97; Douville 1970:54; Lahontan 1990:78) in contemporary travel literature. Still widely accessible without the hardships of cultivation due to thriving in anthropic settings, their fruits had a familiar appearance to European visitors and colonists alike, some particularities that probably encouraged their consumption. They were also frequently sighted in agrarian landscapes whose proper exploitation was considered a duty to God and provided tangible evidence of the French crown's control and legitimacy (e.g. Le Beau 1738:78-79). As a result, it seems likely that despite their geographical origins and wild character, they were mostly valued for their association with Old World fruits and agrarian landscapes.

Already consumed during the 17th century, common elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis* L.) and red elderberry (*Sambucus pubens* Michx.) were more commonly present on local menus through the early-mid 18th century according to archaeobotanical evidence. Whilst not as popular as indigenous plants stimulated by disturbance, they seem to have occasionally been cooked and were even mentioned for the first time in historical literature (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:248). As both elderberry species are growing along sunny river edges, the recurrence of their remains tends to suggests that these landscapes were increasingly exploited. This idea is further supported by the identification of remains from a wide range of edible riverine species scattered across the assemblages. A majority of them, including choke cherry (*Prunus virginiana* L.), riverbank grape (*Vitis riparia* Michx.), American mint (*Mentha canadensis* L.) and viburnum (*Viburnum* sp.), were identified among the contents of privy PM/PN, potentially used by members of the elite. Historical testimonies nonetheless suggest that if the bourgeoisie occasionally consumed these fruits (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:244, 298), their taste was generally not appreciated (Bougainville 2003:79), and they were also served on humbler tables (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:188, 337). As such, their presence seems more to denote an increasing knowledge of and control over landscapes along waterways than of the potential status of the privy users. Similarly, the relatively common presence of blueberry/cranberry (*Vaccinium* sp.) remains among 1700-1760 assemblages seems to indicate sustained interactions with yet another type of open wet landscape: peatlands (Dumont 2005a:309; Victorin 2002:441-442). Given the species was not very well known in Western Europe, its consumption seems to

hint towards a growing openness towards the consumption of fruits with unfamiliar looks for the Europeans.

Despite an apparent will of empowerment over Quebec City area landscapes, nascent European states admitted that much was still to be learnt and potentially gained from them. Indeed, France, Britain, Germany and Sweden all sent botanists across the Atlantic to take control over and make order in this vegetal richness (Boivin 1977:289). The discipline enabled the metropolis to strengthen its grip over the colony and the local nobility to affirm its status (Wien 1999:78). Between 1700 and 1760, several documents would even be presented to the French crown to plead for a greater exploitation of its unique vegetal resources hoping to gain easy profits (Lafitau 1718; Boivin 1977). It indeed seems to have been commonly held that those were poorly known in the colony itself, as pointed out by the officer Bougainville (2003:80) towards the end of the period. This statement nonetheless strongly contrasts with the relatively wide range of indigenous plants consumed in Quebec City as testified by archaeobotanical evidence. A potential explanation for this discrepancy is that there was an implied division between unknown plants from the wild that attracted botanists and profit seekers and known ones found outside the wilderness now belonging to the realm of the mastered. While the latter were rather positively perceived as argued previously, the status of the former was far more mitigated. Indeed, they were found in 'savage' settings depicted as an obstacle to proper and independent agricultural production, blamed for the still frequent hungers and condemned for driving colonists away from their sacred duties (Bougainville 2003:41; Franquet 1889:179). These negative connotations may explain the scarcity of archaeobotanical remains of edible indigenous plants found in densely wooded areas in assemblages dating to the early-mid 18th century. In fact, a single taxon associated with such settings has recurrently been identified: wild sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.). Consumed since the 17th century, this taxon was believed to have medicinal properties (Boivin 1977:239), a characteristic which made it comply with the colonial search for wonders. As such, its incorporation into the diet, as limited as it might have been, might have been considered as justified and overall acceptable even if it was associated with poorly understood and very much untamed wild landscapes.

Wilderness evoked both promise and fear, and the French colony was deeply engaged in its exploration whether in search of fur, new sources of enrichment or souls to convert (subsection 2.1.3.). By the

1700s, it had stretched over a vast territory going up to Saskatchewan to the west, the Gulf of Mexico to the south and northernmost Labrador to the north, which was supplied from Quebec City. Early-mid 18th century assemblages entailed the first evidence that these exchanges were not unidirectional: remains of red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), butternut (*Juglans cinerea* L.) and shag-bark hickory (*Carya ovata* (Mill). Koch.), were solely growing several hundred kilometres to the south and west of the City (Victorin 2002:138, 158-159) in privy PM/PN. The fact that those products were obtained from relatively important distances suggests they might have been valued at colonial tables. However, either silent about these resources or equally associating them with meals in households of different status (Rousseau and Bétune 1977:244), the contemporary historical documents consulted do not provide further insights into their interpretation. They nonetheless testify to a diversification in the habitats from where edible vegetal foodstuffs were extracted to be consumed, an act which incorporated them along with the landscapes they were extracted from into the realm of colonial control, orderliness and authority. In fact, overall, the assemblages dating between 1700s and 1760s all attest to a greater rate of assimilation of indigenous landscapes. From the edge of wilderness, colonial power had expanded its reach to the forested and 'savage' centre whose produces were increasingly consumed, an act that in turn fostered a sense of belonging into a long tradition of 'savageness tamers'.

Overall, the archaeobotanical record highlights varied and multi-layered attitudes towards the consumption of vegetal foodstuffs in Quebec City between 1700 and 1760 when combined with historical evidence. A marked preference for wheat despite supplying issues, for instance, seems to translate into a strong will to retain Old World culinary habits. The attachment to French traditions is also perceptible in the fondness for spices imported from Europe that could have been grown locally. This also hints towards a belief in the motherland superiority that could have encouraged disdain for Native cultivars. The expression of such feelings of nationhood in local menus was in turn enabled by the integration of the colony in wider capitalist networks. The town population indeed seems to have benefited from dynamic trading activities which gave them access to imports from Louisiana and Europe. The demand for produce such as grape might in turn have encouraged their bulk production and exportation across the colony and the Atlantic to the profit of France. These economic relationships might have added to the popularity of pea in the region whose production might have been seen as a

potential source of income. Foodways also transformed local environments through extensive cultivation, the introduction of European weeds and by prompting the multiplication of some indigenous species over others. The resulting landscapes were closer in appearance to those in France, a similarity that seems to have encouraged the consumption of the wild fruits they sheltered. This statement of mastery over local habitats in turn seems to have prompted the incorporation of a wider variety of wild indigenous plants growing in an ever expanding range of ecologies.

7.4. Colonial and national cuisines in Quebec City 1760-1867

After about 150 years of French rule, the Quebec City area fell into British hands in the middle of the Seven Years' War. Following the event, the town dwellers' status went from colonisers to colonised whilst the region welcomed increasing numbers of newcomers with different religious, cultural and political affiliations (subsection 2.1.4). In the next century, the government of the city and of the political entities it belonged to changed four times before their permanent integration into the dominion of Canada in 1867 (subsection 2.1.5.). In local literature about foodways, those troubled times are often conceptualised as a transitory period through which a strong conservatism enabled the survival of early French settlers' culinary traditions (i.e. Audet 1990:3). Whilst a growing number of studies rather suggest this time span marked the invention of French Canadian cooking traditions, they generally only point out what they take as English contributions to already existing local menus as, for example, the consumption of potatoes or the habit of drinking tea (i.e. Armstrong 1989:118; Lafrance and Desloges 1989:26). In this perspective, this section explores changes and continuities between the contents of archaeobotanical assemblages dating from 1700-1760 and 1760-1867 and discusses how they might be related to the wider social and political transformations undergoing the Quebec City area. The archaeobotanical record is further contrasted with contemporary historical evidence, most specifically local cookbooks and travel accounts (Table 5.2.), in order to look at how culinary habits might have contributed towards binding the town's inhabitants with the Old World, Native populations and local wild landscapes. Before dwelling on those relationships, the evidence gathered is addressed globally to highlight general patterns and investigate their possible origins.

7.4.1. A global outlook over 1760-1867 evidence

The archaeobotanical assemblages associated with the 1760-1867 period come from privies, occupation layers and middens excavated either at the Intendant's Palace or St. Louis Forts and Castles. None of these contexts were clearly related to people of a specific standing. Despite their different origins, the 1760-1867 assemblages stood out due to the few taxa they entailed and for their rather similar contents (Appendix K). The CA plots suggested those particularities were not related to discrepancies in terms of methodology, preservation or context. They also provided several clues as to their interpretation. For example, the CA graphs showed clear overlapping between 1700-1760 and 1760-1867 assemblages and as such highlighted the existence of several similarities between their contents (Appendix K: Figure 1K.1.). This suggests a certain degree of continuity between the two periods and that the English take over and the following political shifts did not lead to sharp discontinuities in local foodways.

Contrary to early-mid 18th century assemblages, those dating to 1760-1867 formed a very tight cluster on the CA plots (Appendix K), suggesting a high degree of homogeneity among their contents. It seems noteworthy that this uniformity occurred at a time when religious institutions became increasingly involved in the education of young girls, as their teachings are believed to have contributed towards fostering unity and keeping French colonists' culinary traditions lively (Barbeau 1944:14; Audet 2001:209). These efforts were followed in the next decades by the emergence of the first local cookbooks in the region (Anonymous 1840; Caron 1878). This timing seems significant as those publications were widely used across the world as tools to foster cohesion and sustain nationalist aspirations (Chapter 4). In Quebec City, the *Cuisinière Canadienne* (Anonymous 1840) and the *Directives de la révérende mère Caron* (Caron 1878) specifically targeted French Canadian audiences and proposed several alternatives to adapt recipes to different budgets. However, like classes on the art of becoming a good housewife, cookbooks had the power to recommend but not to impose.

In addition to their high degree of similarity, 1760-1867 assemblages were also distinctive due to the low diversity of taxa they entailed. Globally, the range of taxa identified in the archaeobotanical record for the period represents less than half of the variety of plants observed between 1700-1760. This drastic diminution can tentatively be related to a change in discarding habits. Indeed, the decrease observed is contemporary with the rise of concerns over Quebec City's sanitary conditions and the adoption of laws restricting the

rejection of waste in public and private urban areas (Lachance 2004:194-200). It is, however, admittedly only by the 1900s that these apprehensions started to leave timid traces in the archaeological record, notably following the implementation of better sanitation systems (Savard and Duguay 1992:106). Further, like in other North American towns (Crane 2000:20; Geismar 1993:61-65; McCarthy and Ward 2000:125; Stottman 2000:41-44), these laws only became part of concerted efforts to ameliorate urban health in the course of the late 19th century (Coulombe 2013:521; Dumont et al. 1992:204). Until then, travelers continued to complain about the city's smell and filthiness (Lambert 2006:32; Samson 1917:66; Tocqueville 1835:90; Weld 2006a:232). There hence seems to be a gap of at least a century between the development of anxieties about the city's hygienic state and the implementation of measures dedicated to its amelioration. Accordingly, a progressive change in discarding habits can hardly be used to explain the rather rapid decrease observed in the archaeobotanical record.

The relatively low range of edible plant taxa present in 1760-1867 assemblages seems at stake with the multiple innovations that characterised the period, leading to the improvement of local agricultural techniques (Courville 1988:238) and to the development of more efficient transportation (i.e. steam boats and trains; Williamson 2004:19) and conservation means (i.e. hermetical conservation; Aubé 1996:44 63; Coulombe 2005:52). Indeed, these novelties could have contributed to the consumption of a much wider range of species accessible. Yet, it is also possible that they enabled a greater reliance on a limited range of valued vegetal foodstuffs. Although made by an educated elite, recurrent comments pointing out that Quebec City markets were poorly provisioned and offered only a very low variety of rather "dull" produces (McDonald 1823:27; Melsheimer 1891:162; La Rochefoucault-Liancourt 1799:321), tends to support the last hypothesis. In this perspective it seems significant that the general diminution of the range of species present in the archaeobotanical record does not seem to have impacted different plant categories in a similar fashion. These discrepancies provide clues as to the origins of this phenomenon.

7.4.2. Nascent culinary traditions and European foodstuffs

The social and political changes that took place after 1760 seems to have entrenched the distinction of consumed plants of European origins on the basis of their provenance. Indeed, a restructuring of long distance trade prompted exchanges with other British territories

by imposing heavy taxes on goods of any other origin (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt 1799:316). As a result, from the Late 19th century, travellers reported that local produces and imported supplies were increasingly sold in distinct places (Lambert 2006:38; Tolfrey 1979:132). They further more currently designated food using geographical labels such as Montreal's pears or Yorkshire ham (Tolfrey 1979:54). The names they used hint that Quebec City was part of large trading networks expanding across the continent and the Atlantic (subsection 2.1.4.). They also attest to the development of a taste for fresh local produces. For example, several accounts praise the fruits and vegetables grown on Orleans Island which is located in the northeastern portion of current day Quebec City agglomeration (Ogden 1799:49; Palmer 1818:229). This subsection explores how these different propensities and rising contingencies might have contributed towards the forging of attitudes towards the consumption of food plants of European origins.

Comparisons between the contents of 1700-1760 and 1760-1867 assemblages suggests that the consumption of Old World cereals was an axis of continuity through the period. Indeed, bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum L.*) remained the most commonly identified taxa among carbonised assemblages after 1760. Its prominent place in the archaeobotanical record can be associated with its central role in 19th century cookbooks where it is used to thicken soups, cook meats and prepare all kinds of breads and desserts, and as such figures in about 60% of the recipes proposed (Caron 1878; Unknown 1840). Those, however, only recommended the use bread wheat as flour, a practice that could hardly have led to the deposition and carbonisation of its grains. Such an incongruence could have stemmed from the storage strategy adopted: bread wheat can have been kept as grain and progressively processed in small quantities throughout the year. As cereals preserve longer as grain than as flour, this practice might have enabled the dwellers to deal with their periodical scarcity in urban markets (Dumon et al. 1992:116). Such shortages were indeed considered a major issue and never failed to raise popular protestations in the city's streets (Aubé 1996:46). Bread was, after all, not only considered a staple, but as the cornerstone of civilisation, as illustrated by romantic descriptions of Quebec City agrarian landscapes where wheat fields are praised for their aesthetics, loved for their familiar looks, and considered as symbols of a successful government (Tocqueville 1973:88; Unknown 1760:8-9; Weld 2006:251). Like in earlier assemblages, the 1760-1867 archaeobotanical material also reveals that two other cereals seem to have had a secondary role in the Quebec City menu: barley

(*Hordeum vulgare* L.) and oat (*Avena* sp.). Historical evidence suggests that both were indeed increasingly used to feed animals in the region during this time span (Audet 1989:42; Delage 2010:304). Their lesser status is also obvious in early cookbooks where they are mentioned in less than 1% of the recipes which nonetheless pushed forward the use of their grains for the preparation of some soups and porridges (Anonymous 1840:8, 105; Caron 1878:18, 153). As these plates are generally cooked, they might have ensured the preservation of these cereals in the archaeobotanical record.

Since the 17th century, pulses had occupied an important place in carbonised assemblages where they were the second most frequently identified European plant category. Assemblages dating between 1760 and 1867 are not an exception to this trend as they were present in low densities in about a third of them. The vast majority of the pulses encountered belonged to peas (*Pisum sativum* L.) but the presence of a few specimens of vetch (*Vicia* sp.) and vetchling (Lathyrus sp.) was occasionally noted. As such the complete range of species present in 1700-1760 assemblages was recorded in fairly similar proportions. While no references to the consumption of vetchling were found in regional cookbooks, those listed vetch as an ingredient of soups, salads and marinades (Caron 1878:156-162; Unknown 1840:10, 108). Even if represented in equally low numbers in contemporary cookbooks, peas were on the contrary mostly associated with recipes for soup and meat (Caron 1878:23-24, 34, 158; Unknown 1840:11, 22), which required cooking and increased their likeliness to be carbonised. Beyond these favourable odds, there also seems to have been a matter of preferences because not only are peas recurrently mentioned among the supplies consumed (Lambert 2006:75; Melsheimer 1776:155) but descriptions of rural landscapes often refer positively to the presence of pea fields (Unknown 1760:8-9). Accordingly, it seems likely that cultivated pea fields contributed towards the creation of feelings of familiarity among travellers.

Following historical accounts, orchards do not seem to have been common sights in the Quebec City vicinity (Lambert 2006:74), while Old World fruits cultivated locally were rare in the town markets (Bourne 1829:115). Melsheimer (1776:163) associated this paucity to the low profits yielded by their sale. Whether a matter of price or availability, it is noticeable that the range of these locally grown European fruits in the archaeological record slightly decreased after 1760. Apple (*Malus* sp.) and cherry (*Prunus* sp.) were nonetheless still identified among the contents of the 1760-1867 assemblages and

their recurrence in the archaeobotanical record even increased. Both were mentioned in 19th century cookbooks where apples were more commonly used than cherries (Anonymous 1840; Caron 1878). Recommended as an ingredient to prepare poultry, puddings or pastries, it seems noticeable that apple was only found in waterlogged assemblages. This may suggest that their pips were removed prior to cooking or that they were more often eaten raw than cooked. Figuring amongst the contents of carbonised and waterlogged assemblages, the recurrence of cherry in the archaeobotanical record suggest that the fruit, whether fresh or cooked, was consumed regularly. This tends to disprove the allegations of Lambert (2006:84), according to which cherry trees only grew in the richest household gardens and were scantly available otherwise.

> "Oranges and lemons are imported from England, and are always extremely scarce; for the damage which they sustain on the voyage, renders them a very unprofitable article for sale (Lambert 2006:92)."

According to this comment, transport issues can explain the pre-eminence given to grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.) and almonds in 19th century cookbooks which nonetheless make a few references to the use of lemon, peach, orange or pineapple. Indeed, grape, figs and nuts can be transported over long distances in a dried state. Their recurrence in the archaeological record between 1700 and 1867 further seems to indicate that they were widely available and accessible to Quebec City dwellers. This idea tends to be supported by cookbooks which suggest substituting exotic fruits for grape in recipes labelled as 'economical' (Unknown 1840:5). The same might have been true for figs which, if they did not figure in any ingredient list, were nonetheless identified in 81% of the waterlogged assemblages analysed. The fact that they were apparently scorned in 19th century cookbooks may attest to their low status as potentially available to everyone. However, it seems more likely that they were commonly consumed uncooked, a hypothesis also explaining their absence from carbonised assemblages. The same reasoning may apply to hazelnut (*Corylus avellana* L.) which was only rarely recorded in waterlogged assemblages and also absent from cookbooks.

Whilst abundantly mentioned in 19th century cookbooks, spices left no traces in the archaeobotanical record between 1760 and 1867. This contrasts with what has been observed in the 1700-1760 assemblages; remains of dill (*Anethum graveolens* L.), coriander

(*Coriandrum sativum* L.) and mustard (*Brassica* sp.) were observed although in very low densities. Their absence might be the result of changing preferences, as those spices figured in less than 1% of the recipes proposed in 19th century cookbooks. Those rather heavily relied on a combination of pepper or nutmeg, both praised for their seed taste, which were, however, also absent from the archaeobotanical record. It is rather difficult to circumscribe the mechanisms that might have hampered their consumption, preservation or deposition given the lack of archaeobotanical evidence.

Beyond cereals, pulses, fruits and nuts, very few taxa of European origin were present in the 1760-1867 assemblages. Only very low densities of cucurbit remains belonging to cucumber/melon (*Cucumis* sp.) were identified. Hard to distinguish from one another, these two taxa, whose fruits could be consumed raw, had different uses according to cookbooks: the first as an ingredient in salads and marinades and the second as the main component of jam (Caron 1878:40, 135, 160-161; Unknown 1840:85,106-107). Finally, there is no historical evidence that the last edible Old World plants identified, flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.) and hemp (*Cannabis sativa* L.), could have been consumed rather than used as textile fibre, making any further interpretation on that ground difficult.

7.4.3. The politics of forgetfulness and Natives' cultivars

Unique within New France, the status of Native populations and their foodstuffs were to be redefined after the settlers that colonised them were conquered. Up to then segregated and going through sustained attempts of assimilation, these communities had been forced to settle, adopt agriculture and a more 'civilized' lifestyle. If their position in other colonies were not necessarily better (i.e. Pavao-Zuckerman 2010; Silliman 2001), from Europe to North and South America their cultivars had benefited from a far higher degree of acceptance almost everywhere outside Quebec City (i.e. Mintz 2008:517). This subsection investigates how the consumption of plants associated with Native groups evolved after 1760 and how this may reflect the way these populations were perceived in the region which was then animated by colonialist discourses and rising nationalist aspirations.

The archaeobotanical evidence for the consumption of Native cultivars in Quebec City between 1760 and 1867 can be summarised in one word: scant. Assemblages of the period are indeed characterised by a complete absence of maize (*Zea mays* L.) and

common bean (*Phaseolus* sp.) remains. In fact, the sole Native foodstuff which left traces in the record, pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* L.), was identified in very low densities in a privy dating to the very beginning of the time span. In the case of maize and beans, such a paucity can potentially be explained by the low proportions of carbonised assemblages dating to 1760-1867 analysed, given that both taxa tend not to be preserved in waterlogged conditions. In addition, following the recipes proposed in early regional cookbooks (Caron 1878; Unknown 1840), maize was mainly used as flour, a practice which played against the deposition of its grain in domestic deposits. Beyond matters of preservation and depositional pathways, the representation of Native cultivars in 19th century cookbooks (Caron 1878; Unknown 1840) is also particularly low. Indeed, in those publications, even combined they are listed as ingredients in less than 1% of the recipes proposed. In comparison, wild indigenous species figured in 8 to 9% of the preparations suggested. This relative indifference concurs with the ignorance that Native groups were subject to in a nascent historical tradition (Jaenen 2002:271; Mouhot 2002:124), unless standing as a fierce enemy emphasising the heroic character of French settlers (Dickinson 1982:31; Lüsebrink 2007:51). After all, Native foodstuffs were only occasionally recommended in 19th century cookbooks to add variety to a predominantly European meal.

The reluctance to incorporate Native foodstuffs into daily meals in Quebec City during the century following the Conquest might have had several origins. For instance, as pointed out earlier, religious communities played a key role in girls' education and in the homogenisation of culinary practices. Yet, these institutions have also been acknowledged for their resistance to the consumption of any Native cultivar (Williamson 2004:23). While such an attitude might not have favoured the integration of maize, beans or pumpkin to the settlers' diet, it is argued here that the discourses held by British authorities and travellers might have had an even greater dissuasive role. For troops posted in New France, Natives were a common sight, for they took an active part in the French-English conflicts (Unknown 1760:164) but once the battles were over, they seem to have become real 'curiosities'. Accordingly, not only did several travellers report visiting the Native village in the reservation near Quebec City (Long 1810:276; Ogden 1799:21), but it was advertised as a tourist destination by 1829 (Bourne 1829:50). Interestingly, many visitors who describe their adventure, if they acknowledge the perpetuation of some customary uses especially in terms of clothing, state that the Natives encountered were very similar to French settlers (Melsheimer

1891:165; Samson 1817:121). In fact, Melsheimer (1891:155-161) even goes further and designates both groups as 'Native'. Being compared or, worse, considered almost equal to Native groups long considered as inferior was certainly not likely to please Quebec dwellers. In this perspective, it is possible that they chose to avoid Natives' foodstuffs at meal times to mark their distinction from these 'Savages'. Available in urban markets according to historical testimonies (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt 1799:321; Long 1810:277), Native goods seem to have had in the nascent cooking tradition a social position rather similar to the one of groups they were associated with: inferior to Old World supplies, segregated to the margin of the meal and only occasionally used to add variety.

7.4.4. Local pride, wild appetites

The battle that sealed Quebec City's destiny in 1759 did not take place in a fully unknown land to British troops. Not only had the area been attacked and seized before (e.g. Walker 1720), but maps and accounts describing it and its resources in detail were published in English and widely available (e.g. Lahontan 1990). The territory they conquered was further not as 'wild' as the one that French settlers had faced some 150 years earlier. Local landscapes had indeed been explored and transformed during their continuous occupation but also tamed and imbued with multiple social meanings (subsections 7.2.3. and 7.3.3.). This subsection explores how perspectives over these landscapes might have evolved following multiple shifts of power, the arrival of new colonists and the rise of nationalism on the grounds of indigenous plant consumption. Related culinary habits are also reconstructed from archaeobotanical and historical evidence and further contrasted with discourses held about the region's wilderness in travel literature.

In addition to the diminution of the range of edible indigenous plants observed in the 1760-1867 archaeobotanical record, the frequency of waterlogged indigenous species, with the exception of bramble (*Rubus* sp.) and wild red cherry (*Prunus pensylvanica* L.f.), declined by 20 to 30% in all context types. In order to circumscribe the origins of the changes observed, the consumption of indigenous plants associated with different types of landscapes is next going to be contrasted with the transformations those habitats went through according to historical evidence.

When Quebec City fell into English hands, the city barely comprised 3500 dwellers, a population that doubled by the turn of the century and reached 90,000 souls 50 years later (Vallières et al. 2008b:353

691). In order to be granted their lot of wilderness, the 30,000 migrants who settled in the rural sectors of the region during this time span had to engage in the reproduction of familiar European agrarian landscapes through deforestation, cultivation and husbandry (Palmer 1818:232). It is likely that the demographic expansion prompted the spread of indigenous species favoured by disturbance, such as hawthorn (*Crataegus* sp.) and bramble (*Rubus* sp.), in less densely populated areas. Yet in the city centre, houses were becoming crammed and green spaces relatively rare (Lambert 2006:32; Weld 2006:232), a situation that might have hampered the spread of these species. While possibly less readily accessible in these urbanised areas, indigenous plants thriving in disturbed settings remained available at low cost in local markets according to historical testimonies (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt 1799:321; Melsheimer 1776:155 163; Tolfrey 1979:119; Weld 2006:235). In this perspective, the availability of these fruits does not seem to have been deeply altered by local environmental changes especially as the density, diversity and frequency of their remains dwindled prior to them. Further, the landscape transformations documented seem to have been gradual and unidirectional, a pattern which does not concur with the unfolding of changes in culinary habits. Indeed, indigenous plants stimulated by human activities like strawberry (*Fragaria* sp.) registered a sharp decrease in the 40 years following the Conquest but the occurrence of the majority of them slowly rose in the early 1800s before finally stabilising.

Like urban settings, riverine landscapes underwent major changes from the 1760s. During this period, so much waste was thrown into the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers that their banks were progressively pushed forward several metres (Cloutier 2009:234; Goyette 1999:116). The impact of these practices is visible in contemporary archaeobotanical assemblages extracted from the Intendant's Palace initially located at the edge of St. Charles River. By the late 18th century, those encompass ever decreasing proportions and varieties of naturally deposited weeds generally found in wet settings which are replaced by their European counterparts thriving in well drained disturbed soils. In addition, historical evidence suggests riverine landscapes were increasingly becoming managed. Following the Conquest and the integration of Quebec in the English mercantile system (Vallières 2008b:187), historical conjunctures favoured the exportation of important quantities of wood that made the city's harbour flourish and expand well up to the mid-19th century (Little 2012:16). The implementation of several infrastructures along both rivers probably contributed to

the destruction of the habitats of the indigenous plant communities found on their banks and might well have reduced the availability of their fruits. This can, for instance, account for the drastic diminutions noted in the frequency of common elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis* L.), red elderberry (*Sambucus pubens* Michx.) and riverbank grape (*Vitis riparia* Michx.) among archaeobotanical assemblages and the complete disappearance of viburnum (*Viburnum* sp.) and choke cherry (*Prunus virginiana* L.). Arguably, gradual environmental changes seem unlikely to have fostered the rapid changes observed in the archaeobotanical record from 1760. In this perspective, it seems significant that none of these taxa have been mentioned among the fruits sold in Quebec City markets. Lambert (2006:33-34) nonetheless reports that plum (*Prunus* spp.) and blueberry/cranberry (*Vaccinium* sp.), two taxa commonly found in wet settings, were sold across the city. Both were found in the archaeobotanical record although in lower frequency that what has been observed among the 1700-1760 assemblages. As a result, the degree of integration of indigenous plants growing on river edges into daily diets seems to have been more a matter of choice and preferences than of environmental and economic pressures.

The transformation of Quebec City landscapes and their growing urbanisation and industrialisation fostered pride among travellers fond of progress (Palmer 1818:229) and even led to the conviction that burgeoning activities improved the climate of the region (Lambert 2006:49). By 1835, changes were so pronounced that Tocqueville (1973:88), while visiting the area, stated that there was no more wilderness to conquer. The progressive disappearance of forested spaces in the city's vicinity can partly account for the diminution observed in the consumption of the only indigenous plants associated with deeply forested areas found in local menus: wild sarsaparilla (*Aralia nudicaulis* L.). Yet once again the decrease observed seems to unfold much more quickly than the environmental transformations mentioned. In this perspective, it seems relevant to wonder if a change in the perception of different indigenous landscapes could have led to a devaluation of the consumption of their resources, making their habitats less useful and more readily destroyable. This hypothesis concurs with the capitalist glance that many travellers gave over the local landscapes, which appeared promising in terms of timber and miracle cures (Melsheimer 1776:164) but not worth the investment otherwise (Samson 1817:140). These utilitarian perspectives were, however, counterbalanced by a rising romanticism at the turn of the 19th century which praised wild landscapes and natural scenes (Long

1794:5; Mackay 1797; Mackay 2011:46-63; Palmer 1818:222 229). Sold as a pristine land, it made Quebec an attractive destination to European tourists (Crowley 2005:22; Little 2012:23; Bourne 1829:31, 42-43), who tended to inaccurately add the label "from the wood" to the name of the indigenous vegetal produce tasted (Lambert 2006:32; Samson 1817:117; Weld 2006:252). While romanticism can have contributed to the revalorisation of Quebec's indigenous landscapes and their resources, it nonetheless seems unlikely that capitalist thinking spread so quickly among the city settlers that within a generation they started to abandon the consumption of wild vegetal foodstuffs.

In addition to their capitalist and romanticist orientations, depictions of Quebec City landscapes in 1760-1867 travel literature were also imbued with colonialist ideologies related to social inequalities and nationhood (section 3.1.). For instance, Ogden (1799:19-20) argued that the city's natural features had invited English conquest and made of the victory battleground a beautiful place for commemoration of the event. Seemingly poetic, these words legitimised the empowerment of England over the territory by suggesting it was a natural outcome. In addition to such reasoning, several authors at the turn of the 19th century pointed out how French settlers had failed at improving the land due to their laziness, lack of knowledge and interest, a negligence justifying their conquest (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt 1799:314; Melsheimer 1776:164; Weld 2006:211). Such an argument was not new and had been widely used by European nations since the late Middle Ages to dispossess 'barbarian' populations of their territory (section 3.1.). This principle, which necessarily made the colonized 'savage', was well known to Quebec City settlers as they had been using it for over a century to validate the rightfulness of their claim to the land they occupied at the expense of Native groups (subsection 7.2.2.). In this perspective, it seems possible that to avoid being labelled as inferior barbarians, the town's inhabitants chose to focus their activities and diets around the civilising practice of agriculture. Such a shift could have further been encouraged by religious leaders who were always suspicious of the wilderness (Bouchard 1994:477; Scalberg 2002:108-109).

By the 1900s, comments condemning French agriculture slowly disappeared, to be replaced with expressions of proudness towards the way the region had been colonised, cultivated and improved (Lambert 2006:99; Tocqueville 1973:88). Helped by the discourse of Romanticism and the growth of tourism (subsection 2.2.), the wild character of the land became celebrated as the source of the local

population's uniqueness like in many former colonies emerging as a state (Dunlap 1993:26). At the same time, some of the indigenous plants overlooked in the previous decades regained some of their popularity. The renewed interest for these species did not prompt the integration of new taxa on local diets but rather seems to have been manifested through the more frequent consumption of a low range of indigenous species that had been figuring on local menus for some 60 to 150 years.

In sum, the political shift that took place in 1760 and the following changes seem to have been paralleled on Quebec City menus by a propensity to focus on a low range of vegetal produces that had been consumed in the area for at least 60 years. The consumption of these foodstuffs hence situated local populations in a historicity of interactions with the homeland in France, Native populations and regional landscapes. However, it seems that not all these ties were equally valued after 1760, as local menus were rearticulated around a relatively limited selection of produces consumed between 1700 and 1760. Among them figured bread wheat and peas whose apparent recurrence in regional cooking may denote a strong attachment to traditions that tied the population to civilisation and the Old World. In contrast, any foodstuffs associated with Natives, long considered inferior and savage, was scorned. It is possible that the different attitudes towards these vegetal foodstuffs stem from a collective resistance to the label of 'colonised' and the negative connotations associated with it. Further, the emphasis given to the consumption of bread wheat and pea encouraged the formation of landscapes which attested Quebec City dwellers' ownership over then land. Meanwhile, the apparent homogenisation of culinary habits might have contributed towards fostering cohesion among the town inhabitants at a time when local productions became praised and fostered pride. These different particularities seem to hint towards the emergence of local culinary traditions at a time a French elite growingly encouraged cohesion and unity to insure the maintenance of their power and the survival of French Canada (subsection 2.1.4.).

Archaeobotany, culinary habits, colonialism and nationalism in Quebec City 1542-1867

"The 400th anniversary of Quebec City is a grandiose celebration of **our** city and **our** culture. The fascinating history of our culinary traditions **has always been deeply influenced by our region's natural resources**. The wealth of local products combined with **European influences**, have enabled the development a **unique and creative gastronomy** that can still be enjoyed today." (Soulard 2007; emphasis added)

These few lines introduced a cookbook written by a well-known French chef established in the Quebec City region for a few decades, who aimed to contextualise and reintroduce local historical culinary traditions. From the occasion it was published for, to the assumptions it was grounded in and the ideologies it contributed to perpetuating, the resulting cookbook summarised remarkably well popular perspectives over Quebec City's past while offering a glimpse of the context that the current thesis was written in and of the discourses it aimed to overcome. Indeed, not only did it highlight the relationship between nationalism and culinary traditions through the repetitive use of the elusive and unifying 'our', but it emphasised how both were grounded in territoriality and ancestry and could be woven together to foster pride. Further, by eluding to the role of local Native communities in the development of regional culinary traditions and recommending the use of ingredients which would have hardly been available to the vast majority of the population (e.g. truffles and lemons), the book perpetuates colonial inequalities. In this sense, the publication seems more faithful to colonial legacies than to the colonial menus it aimed to recollect. The current project was built in an attempt to avoid such pitfalls whilst investigating past manifestations of colonialism and nationalism in the Quebec City area between 1542 and 1867. Emphasis was given to experience rather than discourse by using archaeological plant remains to reconstruct past foodways and the way they bound people to different social landscapes whilst expressing and sustaining colonialist and nationalist ideologies. The current chapter reviews the conclusions drawn at different stages of this process.

8.1. From plant remains to archaeobotany

Colonialism and nationalism have been grounded in materiality throughout this thesis using archaeological plants remains as

testimonies of consumption activities, socially enmeshing eaters and the multiple social landscapes tied to consumed plants' biography. Following this approach, the archaeobotanical remains found in the same assemblages were tied by their archaeobotanical, archaeological, taphonomic and depositional trajectories which had to be disentangled in order to explore how their ecological and social history contributed towards making them intersect during food-related activities. Unravelling these trajectories highlighted several correlations between specific methods, preservation conditions, depositional pathways and the contents of archaeobotanical assemblages that are of relevance to archaeobotany at large.

Through the current project, 629 samples from five historical archaeological sites located in the Quebec City area were collected, processed and analysed, a process that allowed the identification of some 40 000 archaeobotanical remains. Those constitute the largest collection of the kind in Canada, and one of the largest archaeobotanical datasets related to historical North America. Correspondence analysis (CA) has proved an especially useful tool to identify patterning among the huge amount of data gathered and identify mechanisms introducing variation in archaeobotanical assemblages' contents. In this perspective, it was confirmed that the greater axis of divergence in the archaeobotanical record are preservation and context. It was more specifically possible to determine that three broad types of context systematically foster distinctive assemblages' contents: waste accumulations, occupation layers and debris accumulations. In short, the first is characterised by high proportions of plant that was consumed fresh, whose seeds are discarded following cooking activities or among faecal matter. The second is rather generally entailing greater diversity of taxa deposited following natural processes and/or a potentially wide range of activities. The third tended to have outstanding contents, representing a snap shot of the plants present at a specific moment rather than a gradual accumulation process. In terms of preservation, the analysis demonstrated that the differential effects of carbonisation and waterlogging respectively tended to favour the representation of different cereals, pulses, cucurbits and spices. Whilst there seems to be yet unidentified mechanisms beyond the quasi-absence of economic cereals and pulses in waterlogged conditions, the lower representation of fruits and spices in carbonised assemblages rather seems to depend on their likeliness to be in contact with fire.

In addition to providing insight into the impact of preservation and context over assemblages' contents, CA was used to test the validity of several assumptions on the effects of different methodological choices on archaeobotanical material. For example, the analysis revealed that disturbed deposits can entail botanical remains deposited *in situ* despite their exogenous character and that the study of their contents could enlighten otherwise unnoticed aspects of the sites' history. This demonstrates that sampling such deposits can foster meaningful results, as argued by Latalowa and her colleagues (2003). Likewise, the CA confirmed the hypothesis, according to which by adjusting samples' volume to the density of remains present in a 1 litre sub-sample, it is possible to break the direct relationship between sample size and diversity. However, it also highlighted that large seeds such as those of olives or plums were more commonly identified in samples over 50 litres. This particularity emphasises the importance of collecting, processing and analysing large volumes of soil.

8.2. From archaeobotany to foodways

Consumption has been conceptualised throughout this thesis as an action which socially situates the eater notably in relationship to colonialist and nationalist ideologies. Multiple consumption events become foodways when they foster recurrences that bind eaters together, and culinary traditions when those recurrences relate eaters sharing a given territory through time. The reconstruction of consumption events in the Quebec City area between 1542 and 1867 using archaeobotanical remains has revealed several as yet undocumented aspects of local foodways and culinary traditions.

Apart from a few scattered comments found in a Spanish spy report written prior to the expedition, and historical narratives written several decades after the events, the foodways of the Cartier-Roberval crews during their short lived colonial attempt (1542-1544) remained largely unknown. The analysis of archaeobotanical material coming from the site where they established an outpost revealed that they had been chiefly living off European supplies until the fire that destroyed their encampment. The supplies they brought with them correspond to what their contemporaries were eating back in France at the time; that is, a combination of cereals, more specifically bread wheat and barley, pulses, chiefly peas complemented by some lentil and vetch, and cultivated grape. Whilst the presence of some Native cultivars such as maize and common beans attested to exchanges with local Native populations, nothing indicates that their foodstuffs

or any wild plant growing near the settlement were consumed on a frequent or even occasional basis.

Colonial foodways in the first century following the foundation of Quebec City in 1608 are mostly known through missionaries' accounts and the historical documents left by a ruling elite, who used their writings as a means of propaganda. Using archaeobotanical material, it was possible to determine that early colonists regularly consumed cereals and pulses but that European imports were incorporated only relatively rarely on their menu, with the exception of cultivated grape. Scantly mentioned in historical documentation, the archaeobotanical assemblages revealed that several local wild plants were incorporated into daily meals during the first century of French rule. Using their ecological preferences, it was possible to suggest that their integration into local diets tended to rest on their similarity with known Old World plants (e.g. bramble and strawberries), their association with landscapes frequently encountered in the colony (e.g. riverbank grape and common elderberry), or their unique character and properties (e.g. wild sarsaparilla). The archaeobotanical assemblages dating to the 17th century also highlighted that, contrary to what has been observed in other colonial settings, Native cultivars (e.g. pumpkin and common bean) were only rarely included on local menus.

Gathered archaeobotanical evidence revealed that an especially wide range of foodstuffs were incorporated into the 1700-1760 Quebec City area diet. Their presence attested to an as yet undocumented regional exchange systems (e.g. shag-bark hickory and butternut) and that the town was part of trading networks expanding across the Atlantic (e.g. olive and almond) and the colony that possibly expanded down to Louisiana (e.g. rice and fig). By demonstrating that cultivated grape was widely accessible and routinely consumed among local colonial populations, the archaeobotanical analysis also highlighted how the development of capitalism, bulk production and exportation undermined traditional associations between food provenance and its economic value. The archaeobotanical assemblages dating to the early-mid 18th century also attested to a growing openness towards the inclusion of wild regional resources into the menu. This incorporation seems to have followed a two-step process, whereby they were first consumed raw before being integrated as ingredients of cooked plates. The wide variety of wild plants identified suggests sustained interactions with agrarian (e.g. wild red cherry), riverine (e.g. choke cherry and viburnum), peaty (e.g. blueberry/cranberry) and forested landscapes (e.g. wild

sarsaparilla). Despite creating bonds with an increasing range of landscapes, it is manifest that Quebec City colonists avoided building ties with local Native groups as attested by the paucity of Native cultivars (e.g. maize and pumpkin) in the archaeobotanical record.

In local historical literature, the culinary impacts of the English Conquest and of the related social and political changes tend to be limited to the introduction of new foodstuffs (e.g. tea and potato) to an otherwise unchanged French colonial diet. Archaeobotanical evidence dating to the 1760-1867 period provides a much more nuanced portrayal of Quebec City area foodways during the century that followed the power shift. The archaeobotanical record indeed suggests a greater reliance on a much smaller range of food, all of which was already frequently consumed between 1700 and 1760. This decrease occurs at a time when multiplying innovations (e.g. hermetical conservation and steam boats) and growing globalisation could have possibly granted access to a much wider variety of foodstuffs. Contrarily, these novelties seem to have rather allowed a homogenisation of culinary habits well before the first local cookbooks were published. Meanwhile, demographic growth, urbanisation and industrialisation seem to have fostered environmental changes that altered the availability of wild resources. As a result, it is possible to observe a growing dependence on wild plants thriving in environments deeply altered by colonial activities, such as bramble and hawthorn, and a drastic diminution in the consumption of vegetal resources found in wet settings (e.g. blueberries/cranberries). The archaeobotanical assemblages analysed also highlighted that in this context the limited selection of produces remaining on local menus tended to be tied to the Old World. Indeed, imports (e.g. hazelnut), cultivated European cultivars (e.g. bread wheat and pea) and wild plants with a close resemblance to species consumed there (e.g. bramble) constitute the vast majority of the foodstuff consumed during this period.

8.3. From foodways to colonialism

Consumption creates relationships between people, places and things but is also simultaneously an act of empowerment over the biographical pathways of consumed food and is inherently transformative as making these trajectories part of the body. It was argued through this thesis that as such, consumption, foodways and culinary traditions are closely intertwined with colonialism because they reflect and sustain nationhood, social inequalities and territorial ownership. This approach highlighted the relevance of food-related

studies to bridge the gaps between colonialism as a discourse and as a reality.

Archaeobotanical assemblages from the Cartier-Roberval site highlighted how the 1542-1544 expedition retained the dietary habits typical of their homeland. Despite the short span of the undertaking, it is remarkable that the explorers managed to consume almost exclusively Old World foods, especially given the challenges related to their transportation across the Atlantic. After the foundation of Quebec City, new foods started to be incorporated into colonial menus, yet plants of European origins, whether imported or grown locally, remained central to local culinary habits well until 1867. This is notably illustrated in the prevalence of Old World staples such as bread wheat and peas among carbonised assemblages which were deposited progressively following repetitive food-related activities. Further, when the time came to select what to cook among the produce of the surrounding wilderness they quickly and permanently favoured fruits very similar to the ones figuring on contemporary French menus (e.g. strawberry and bramble). Their consumption, along with that of Old World plants, bound the town's colonists to their European origins, a tie which seems to have been especially dear to them. Neither hungers, nor exchanges with local Native groups, the constant arrival of new migrants, the agricultural challenges, the irregular shipping or the accessibility of less familiar wild resources ever managed to lessen the importance of these foods in daily meals between 1608 and 1867. The value granted to European staples and more specifically to imports was profitable to France and then England as it created a market for their productions. This demand might have encouraged bulk production and exportation which in turn made some foodstuffs such as cultivated grape more widely accessible in the Quebec City area.

Like the way that the consumption of Old World plants sustained relationships between Quebec City area colonists and their homeland, the incorporation of local wild indigenous plants bound them with the territory they settled between 1608 and 1867. In this respect, the archaeobotanical assemblages analysed demonstrate that the town settlers were more prone to interact with European-looking indigenous plants thriving in the agrarian and urbanised landscapes they were engaged to create. Those at once provided supplies and contributed to the justification of their claims to the territory, two factors that encouraged their multiplication. Closely managed and relatively open, these settings were at odds with the dark wilderness surrounding them. Praised for its resources yet feared for its

transformative power, it seems that its fruits were scantly consumed with the exception of wild sarsaparilla. The familiar name given to the species along with its medicinal properties seems to have granted the taxa a timid place on colonial menus. Contrary to wild sarsaparilla or European looking plants, a few indigenous plants (e.g. common elderberry and riverbank grape) seem to have been integrated to the local diet through the years, not so much for their place in a European framework of reference as for their familiar aspect, stemming from sustained interactions with local environments. Found along rivers, which were the main axis used to parcel the land and to travel, their regular consumption seems to reflect the colonists' acquaintance with riverine landscapes. Until 1760, a growing variety of them were incorporated into local menus along with plants growing several miles away from the town, attesting to an increasing mastery over colonised landscapes.

As reconstructed on the grounds of archaeobotanical data, the culinary practices in Quebec City area between 1608 and 1867 seem to have been imbued with social inequalities inherent to colonialism whilst actively contributing towards maintaining them. It is indeed noticeable that although better adapted to cultivation in the region than most cultivated Old World plants, Native cultivars such as maize, common bean and pumpkin left scant traces in the archaeobotanical record. In fact, it seems that through the period, they were the plant category which was by far the least represented in archaeobotanical assemblages where they were generally outnumbered by Old World produce. Assimilated amongst a predominantly European diet, they seem to have been excluded and ignored like the population they were associated with. These marked propensities reflect the discourse held in travel literature where Native foodways are described as disgusting and barbarian. It may result from a constant fear among religious and politic authorities that colonists would adopt a savage lifestyle and escape their control. It is possible that the measures taken to avoid such a problem had a greater impact in Quebec City, which was the seat of power in the colonies and could afford to maintain a disdain towards Native produce as benefitting from a better developed agriculture and being the landfall for supplies from Europe.

8.4. From foodways and colonialism to nationalism

Several studies have emphasised how national cuisine often emerges in times of conflict, where it is actively used to foster cohesion. In this perspective, it is remarkable that a generalised homogenisation

of consumption habits was observed in the archaeobotanical record following the English Conquest and the political and social changes it brought about. The resulting cuisine relied more heavily on a small range of foodstuffs which had been consumed at least for a few decades. These produces tended to emphasise the colonist ties with the Old World and its agrarian landscape, to leave no place for Native groups and only a timid one for wild landscapes whose resources had been identified through experience. As such, it seems that local foodways celebrated the colonists' relationships with the territory-managed landscapes rather than its natural features. At the eve of confederation, French Canadian identity hence kept being defined through European systems of value. The question is, did this propensity last after the birth of the Country?

8.5. Future work

Through this thesis, archaeological plant remains' biographical pathways were reconstructed using a combination of historical and ecological evidence which in some instances (e.g. rice and fig) lacked specificity. In this perspective, this research can be built upon by using strontium isotope analysis to determine the exact provenience of the plant remains recovered. This would further shed a new light on the networks of exchange in place in North America and Europe between the 16th and the 20th century.

The current project explored the ties that bound Quebec City's dwellers to local landscapes, Native populations and Europe between 1542 and 1867 through plant consumption. By adopting a similar approach, the analysis of zooarchaeological assemblages from the region can reveal different dimensions of these relationships and document further how daily lives were forged by, and contributed to reinforce, discourses of colonialism and nationalism during the colonial period.

As highlighted in the last chapters, the avoidance of foodstuffs associated to Native communities seems to be a distinctive characteristic of historical foodways in Quebec City. To understand the underpinnings of this avoidance more work need to be done on local Native groups' foodways themselves. Further, the study of archaeobotanical assemblages from outposts supplied from the city would help to determine the circumstances that favoured the adoption and the rejection of Natives culinary practices.

On the basis of the archaeobotanical material analysed it was concluded that foodways in colonial Quebec City reflected different level of interactions with local landscapes such as the wilderness, the cultivated plot or the river edges. It would be pertinent to investigate whether these multilayered attitudes also prevailed in other colonies where communities of European descent were faced with different types of environments such as those found in Louisiana, the Caribbean or Guyana.

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