AN EXAMINATION OF MILITARY LIFE IN 18TH-CENTURY NEWFOUNDLAND USING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF AN OFFICERS' BARRACKS ON BOIS ISLAND, FERRYLAND (CgAf-1)

By

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ABSTRACT

Ferryland's significance as a major fishing port, coupled with the threat of French aggression, prompted the English Crown to construct a series of fortifications and buildings on Bois Island in 1743. Situated in Ferryland Harbour with a strategic view of the Atlantic Ocean, Bois Island was occupied by members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the Royal Marines, and the 45th Regiment of Foot who defended the island and Ferryland from French raids of the mid to late 18th century. In 1975, Dr. Robert Barakat of Memorial University conducted a field school on the island centered around one of the barracks. This investigation produced an assemblage of over 5,000 artifacts that remained in The Rooms Provincial Museum in St. John's, Newfoundland. A survey of Bois Island conducted in 2015 documented the remains of this excavation as well as the structural remains of the 18th-century fortifications and its risk from erosion. Through the lens of household archaeology, an analysis of the artifacts revealed details of daily life for the commissioned officers who occupied this barracks on and off between 1743 and 1784. These officers interacted with both seasonal and permanent residents of Ferryland and left behind a fascinating variety of 18th-century artifacts including ceramics, glassware, smoking pipes, decorative pewter spoons, and even an ivory die.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my full gratitude to the following organizations and individuals for their support, advice, and resources. I am especially grateful to my supervisor Barry Gaulton for providing me with this research opportunity and for his unwavering support and assistance throughout the whole process. This project would not exist without him.

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My fellow graduate students also deserve full credit for their support and feedback as my work progressed. Of particular help was Anatolijs Venovcevs who was

invaluable to conducting the survey and mapping portion of this research, Dustin Riley was amazing for his support and help with the survey, Meghan Walley for creating a stunning drawing of the ivory die, and Deirdre Elliot for lending her knowledge towards the faunal report. Adrian Morrison deserves full credit for his help, collaboration, and support on both household theory and the assemblage itself. Also, Chris Thorne was invaluable in providing source material and lending his own expertise.

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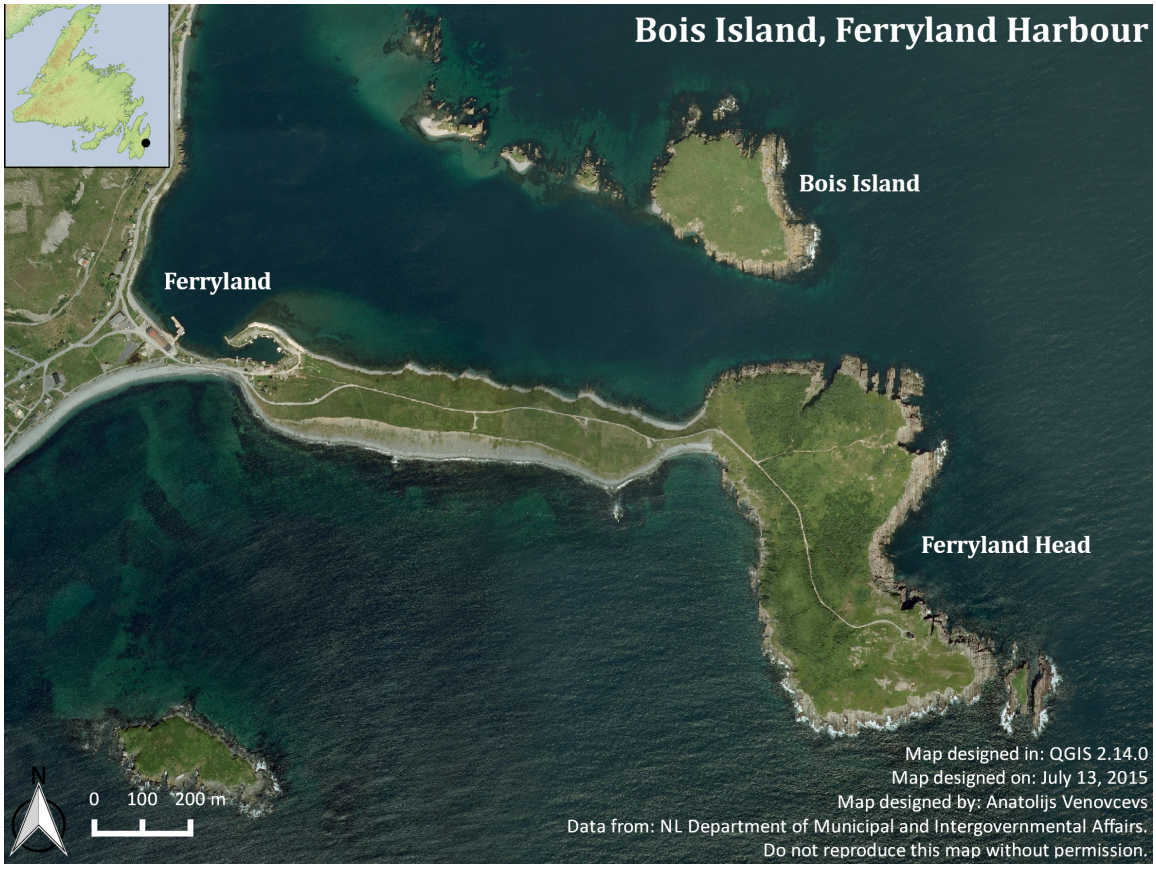
1.1 Introduction

In 1975, Dr. Robert Barakat, then of Memorial University of Newfoundland, conducted an archaeological investigation of a British military site on Bois Island in Ferryland, Newfoundland. Bois Island is known through historical sources to have been used by both the British military and the local residents of Ferryland between 1695 and 1815. Barakat's work focussed on the remains of what was identified as an officers' barracks and recovered over 5,000 objects. The unstudied collection has been in storage at The Rooms Provincial Museum ever since. The purpose of this thesis is to bring this varied assemblage back into the light through the lens of a household archaeology approach.

Fieldwork was limited as the artifacts obtained by Barakat provided more than enough of a resource for commenting on the Bois Island barracks and the men that lived there. The scope of this research focuses solely on Barakat's excavation and excludes the remains excavated by other investigators. Since this study looks at the officers' barracks as a household, the archaeology of the powder magazine and test units on the island has been excluded from discussion.

Bois Island is located in Ferryland Harbour just north of Ferryland Head, Newfoundland. Ferryland itself is on the Avalon Peninsula approximately 76 km south of St. John's. The coordinates for the center of the island are 47^{o} 01'37.0" North, 52^{o} 51'50.1" West (Map 1.1). Most of the island has an elevation between 14 and 19 meters above sea level. The topography gradually slopes down towards the south and east of the

island, but is largely flat and uniform in the northwestern and central sections. The geology of the island is comprised of two formations. These are the St. John's Formation and the Signal Hill Formation that constitute the west and east half of the island, respectively (King 1980). No subsurface work was undertaken so soil conditions cannot be commented on and the only vegetation on the island is grass. Herring gulls appear to be the only consistent animal life to reside on the island while sheep are introduced for the duration of the spring and summer months on an annual basis. The island was designated a Provincial Historic Site by the Government of Newfoundland and carries the Borden designation CgAf-01.



Map 1.1: Bois Island's location in Newfoundland and Ferryland Harbour

1.2 Research Objectives

The following objectives were established at the commencement of this research:

1. To understand the daily lives of the officers within the context of a military "household," including the level of interaction between the soldiers as well as with those living off the island.
2. Place the archaeological evidence indicating the daily activities of the officers within the larger historic, cultural, political, and economic context.
3. Provide insight into British military life in 18th-century Newfoundland. This project will be a first step towards a better understanding of military life in 18th-century Newfoundland as evidenced through the archaeological record.
4. Compare the artifacts associated with the Bois Island officers' barracks with contemporary 18th-century British North American assemblages to determine if they are representative of officers' living conditions. Should a military site be unavailable for comparison then an 18th-century tippling house from Ferryland would be used to provide an intersite examination at the local community level.
5. Determine if household theory can be applied to the study of military outposts.

1.3 A Note on Toponymy

One of the interesting aspects of this research is the evolution of the island's etymology over time. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Bois Island went by a number of different names as seen on maps and documents. The earliest reference to the island is the 1663 map of Ferryland by Plymouth surgeon James Yonge that gives a crude

drawing of Bois Island, labeling it Gull Island (Yonge 1663). Given the prevalence of herring gulls on the island today, and their sometimes aggressive nature, this place name is unsurprising. Table 1.1 provides a comprehensive list of place names from 1663 to present.

Table 1.1: The different names for Bois Island throughout its history

Date	Name	Author	Document
1663	Gull Island	Surgeon James Yonge	Map
1693	Bouy Island	Fitzhugh	Map
1700	Boney Island	John Thornton	Map
1709	Isle of Boys	Joseph Taylor	Ordnance
1715	Boy Island	John Gaudy	Map
1752	Buoy Island	Engineer Edmund Scott Hylton	Map
1758	Bois Isle	Thomas Doble	Grant
1760	Buoy's Island	Captain Walter Ross	Report
1762	Isle of Boise	Master Peter Burnes	Ship's Log (H.M.S. *Syren*)
1762	Isle of Boys	Lord Colvill	*London Chronicle*
1762	Isle of Boij's	Captain Thomas Graves	Ordnance
1762	Island of Buoys	J.F.W. Desbarres	Map
1764	Island of Bois	Governor Hugh Palliser	Letter
1764	Boy's Island	Robert Carter	Record of Sale
1770	Isle of Boys	J. Gilbert	Map
1776	Isle of Bois	Governor John Montagu	Request
1778	Isle of Boyce	Robert Pringle	Fortification Proposal
1815	Isle of Bois	Lieutenant F. Haultain	Ordnance
~1960	Isle of Bois	*Unknown*	Historical Marker
1975	Isle of Bois	Caroline Parmeter	Field Notes

For the sake of consistency, the island will be referred throughout as Bois Island except when historical documentation is directly quoted for background. Given that this collection comes from a British site and modern geographic references to the island have mostly adopted this name, Bois Island seems the prudent title.

It should also be noted that the term “fortifications” is most applicable to the structural features of Bois Island (Robinson 1977:203). Given that there is no evidence

to suggest the parapets enclosed the entire perimeter of the island it would be inaccurate to refer to the collection of structures on Bois Island as a fort. Therefore, the term of fortifications or fortified island is more appropriate and is used throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

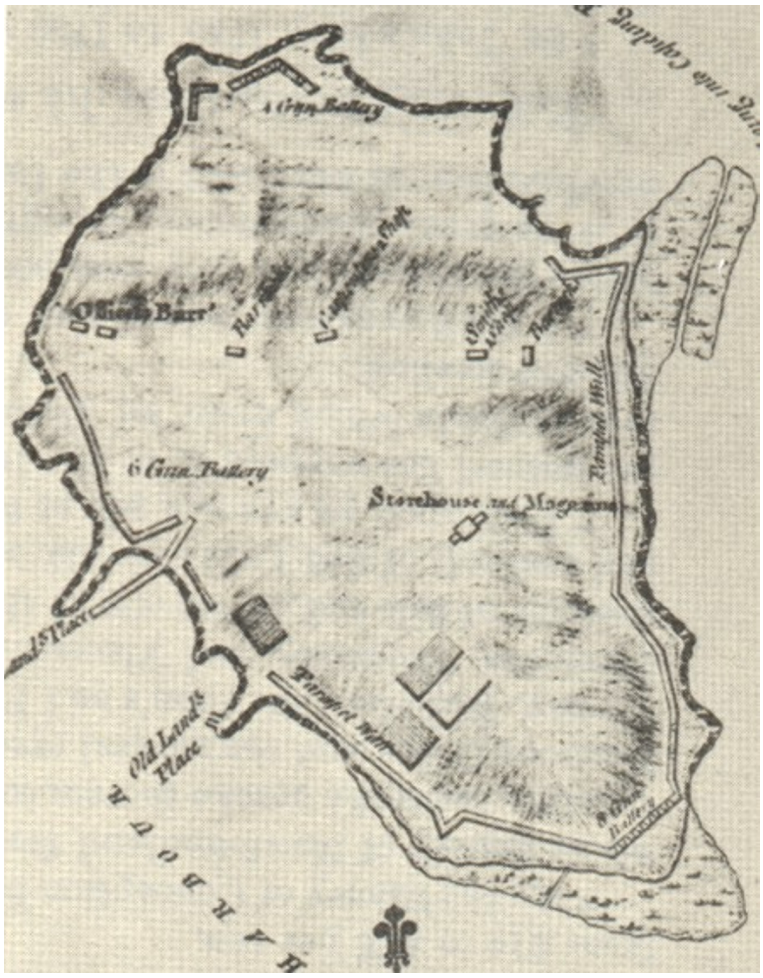
2.1 Historical Approaches

While the material culture recovered in 1975 serves as the focus of this research, primary documentation such as letters, accounts, ordinances, and ship's logs supplemented this investigation. These documents have been used to establish the types of individuals that occupied the site and the sequence of events they may have participated in. The documents also helped explain observations about the assemblage and their relationship to historical events.

Oral histories are non-existent for Bois Island during the 18th century, but they have provided insight into some of the recent activities on the island during the 20th century. This has helped fill in the gaps left prior to the improved standards and practices of more recent archaeology in Newfoundland. The Morry family has a long history with the Ferryland area and there are three living generations with memories of traveling to the island. Alicia Morry was able to provide family photographs, memoirs from her grandfather and great grandfather, as well as family histories compiled by her uncle. All this has contributed to a greater perspective of activities on Bois Island predating Barakat's 1975 excavation including the historical plaques placed by the provincial government.

Historical maps have also been useful for understanding the placement of structures and fortifications on Bois Island. Several maps denote Bois Island with varying degrees of utility and detail; however, given the issues inherent with the use of historical maps, all have been used with caution (Seasholes 1993:92). Maps depicting

Ferryland and Bois Island tend to be more detailed and accurate in the 18th century compared to those from the 17th century, which inclined towards a simple marking of where Bois Island was situated in the harbour (Seasholes 1993:93). Two of the most detailed maps of Bois Island were prepared in 1752, one by an unknown individual (Map 2.1) and one by Engineer Edmund Scott Hylton (Prowse 1972:296-297; Hylton 1752). However, there are discrepancies regarding the number of buildings and their placement on the island. It is tempting to attribute a greater degree of accuracy to Hylton's map because of the fact that he was an engineer and his map depicts Ferryland and Bois Island in stunning detail, including plans and sections of the Bois Island fortifications (Hylton 1752). It should be noted, though, that the map shown in Prowse depicts a larger number of buildings that appear to be more in line with what can be seen on the surface of the island today (Prowse 1972:296-297). While historical maps can be invaluable for discerning the likely function and location of structures while also tracking changes over time, Bois Island only has the two aforementioned maps that exhibit any sort of detail and accuracy (Seasholes 1993:98). Reconciling the variation in the two maps is difficult as it seems unlikely that the number of buildings would change so significantly in less than a year. The changing coastline of the island also makes attempts at map overlays difficult due to the lack of common reference points.



Map 2.1: 1752 map of Bois Island featured in Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* (1972). No cartographer is listed, but it is stated as having been found in the British Museum Archives.

2.2 Historical Context

This chapter outlines the history of late 17th- to early 18th-century Newfoundland, with a specific focus on Bois Island and, by extension, Ferryland. Of particular interest are the social, economic, and military aspects of this history that gave rise to the fortifications on Bois Island and shaped the daily lives of the individuals stationed there.

2.2.1 A Brief Military History of Late 17th-and Early 18th-Century Newfoundland, with Particular Reference to Ferryland

England's declaration of war on France in 1689 led to an escalation of hostilities on the island of Newfoundland. Following the sack of the French settlement of Plaisance

(modern day Placentia) in December 1689 or January 1690 by English privateer Captain Williamson, the French responded with two small raids the next year (Hawkins 1691; Davis 1695; Proulx 1979:24). In 1694 word reached the English privateer Captain William Holman of the *William and Mary* of an impending French attack. In response, Holman restored two forts and constructed a third, known as Holman's Fort, in order to protect the town of Ferryland (Anonymous ca.1694; Davis 1695). Holman then proceeded to move 30 cannons from ships in the harbour (including his own) to the forts, twelve of which were stationed at Holman's Fort (Davis 1695; Prowse 1972:213). The French attack finally came on August 31, 1694, but, thanks in part to Holman's efforts, the French were repulsed by the residents (Davis 1695; Williams 1987:28).

In 1696, the King of France Louis XIV commissioned Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville to eliminate the English occupation of Newfoundland. Ferryland was subsequently attacked on September 21, 1696 by seven warships and two fire ships under the command of Plaisance governor Jacques-François de Mombetonde de Brouillan (Clappe et al.1697). Landing several hundred men, the French seized the colony and demanded its residents pledge loyalty to France (Clappe et al. 1697). The refusal of the residents prompted the French to take 150 captives and raze the local infrastructure. On November 10, 1696, d'Iberville arrived at the ruins of Ferryland with a force of 124 French and First Nations, and proceeded overland up the coast attacking English settlements with de Brouillan (Williams 1987:39-41; Murray 1955:54). Within the span of a year, many of the displaced Ferryland residents returned and rebuilt in many parts of the harbour. There is also evidence to suggest Bois Island was occupied by Ferryland

residents around this time (Lilly 1711). However, continued harassment by the French and Canadian First Nations was beginning to take its toll on the fishery and the inhabitants agreed that something had to be done to protect their interests.

2.2.2 History of Bois Island and Ferryland

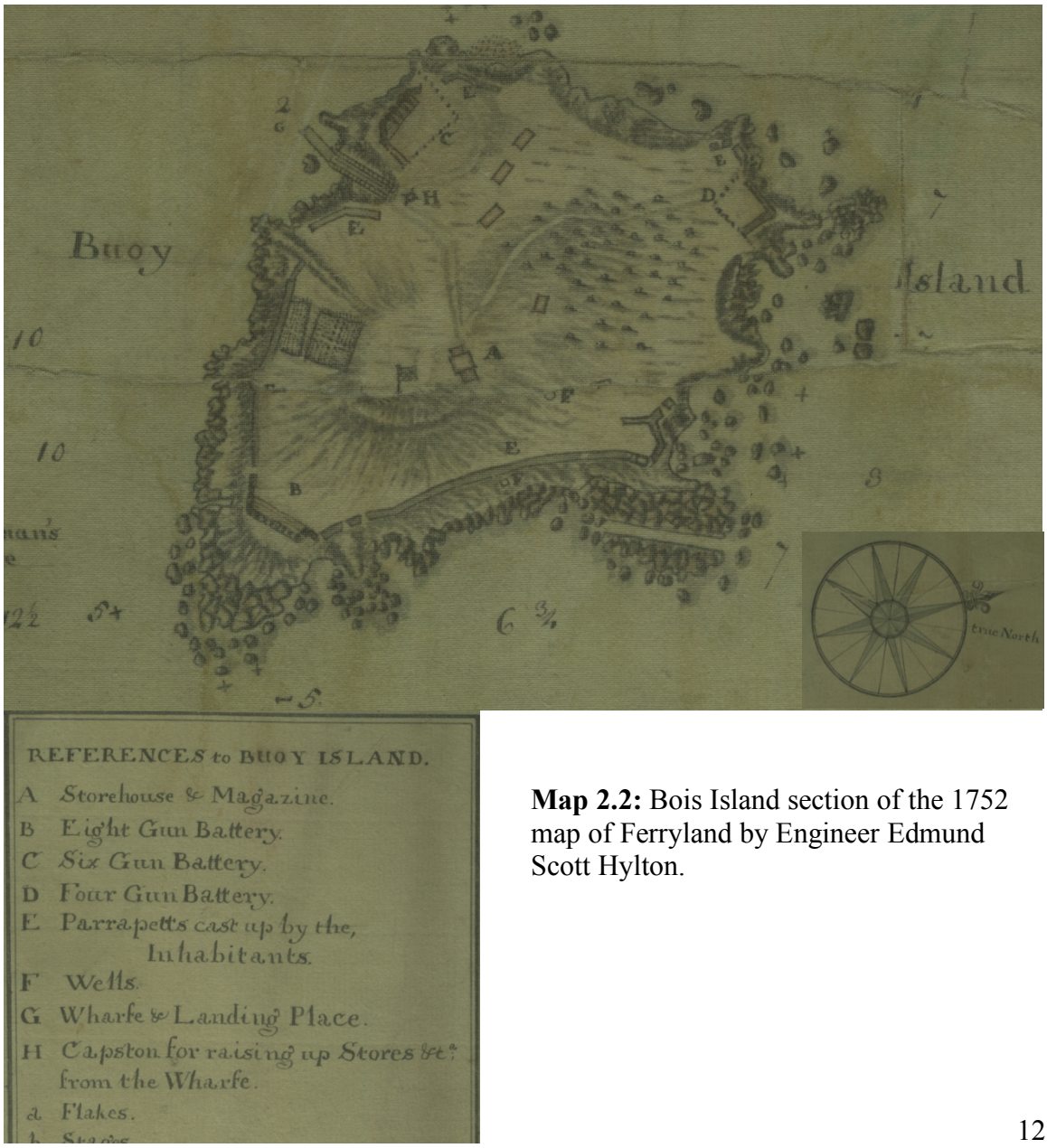
Bois Island has a history as a defensible location since before the construction of the fortifications in question. Residents of Ferryland sought refuge on the island during two separate French raids, even creating parapets at certain areas around the island's perimeter (Amiss et al. 1709; Hylton 1752). Prior to the early 18th century there was still no reliable defense system in place to protect Ferryland despite the devastating French attack of 1696. As a result, Ferryland was attacked again in 1705 by the French, and later that year by affiliated First Nations, suffering significant damage despite efforts from the commander of Fort William in St. John's, Major Lloyd (Moody 1706; Prowse 1972:235, 246). Following an artillery bombardment, the French called for the inhabitants to surrender. Seeing the strength of the French force the Ferrylanders eventually complied (Prowse 1972:266). Despite the capitulation of the residents, Ferryland once again suffered significant damage, reportedly in the amount of £25,000 (Roope 1705; Sampson 1705; Prowse 1972:246). In 1708, Ferryland was attacked once more, this time by Captain Larond, under orders from Mombetonde de Brouillan. However, this attack was less successful (Keen 1708; Cummings 1715; Prowse 1972:249).

Following these attacks, numerous petitions requested the English fishery at Ferryland be protected by either a stationary warship or fortification (Anonymous 1705; Poremble et al. 1705; Whitehurd et al. 1705; Strange et al. 1706; Benger et al. 1707;

Lowe et al. 1708; Bound 1710; Chifton et al. 1710; Seward et al. 1739). This resulted in Bois Island being garrisoned by a small militia force in 1706, but without any fortified structures. The officers in charge consisted of Captain William Short, Lieutenant John Bricker, and Ensign Richard Clog (Underdown 1706). The militia was still garrisoned on the island in 1709, led by First Lieutenant Richard Roberts, Second Lieutenant Henry Rex, First Ensign Thomas Deble, and Second Ensign Anthony White (Taylor 1709). In 1711 British engineer Christian Lilly was dispatched in order to determine the most effective locations to place fortifications at Ferryland (Lilly 1711). However, Lilly's recommendations were disregarded and the British government elected not to fortify the harbour. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought peace to Newfoundland, ceding the island to the British but granting the French limited fishing privileges.

In 1743, out of growing tension and fear of attack from the French, Ferryland's inhabitants once again petitioned for funding to fortify the harbour (Smallwood 1984:56). Governor of Newfoundland Captain Thomas Smith granted the request and, with a sum of £500, construction began on the Bois Island fortifications. This early outpost included six cannons, a powder magazine, and a barracks (Carter 1776; Smallwood 1984:56). Over the following six years, the defences were enhanced with a third battery. Another barracks, officers' quarters, carpentry shop, smithy, and bombproof magazine were also added. Parapets were assembled on three sides of the island and, a few years later, more cannons were added to the island's complement. This is based on examining Hylton's 1752 Map of Ferryland and the Bois Island map in Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* (1972). Engineer Edmund Scott Hylton visited the area in 1750 and drew a detailed map

of Ferryland, including the fortifications on Bois Island, and several adjacent harbours (Hylton 1752, Map 2.2). Hylton also provided section and plan drawings of the eight, six, and four-gun battery on the island (Figure 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). In 1754, a Ferryland merchant by the name of Robert Carter was granted permission to construct fishing flakes on Bois Island (Edwards 1779a, 1779b; Smallwood 1984:56). Following a French assault on Ferryland in 1762, a fourth battery was constructed (Hylton 1752; Graves 1762).



Map 2.2: Bois Island section of the 1752 map of Ferryland by Engineer Edmund Scott Hylton.

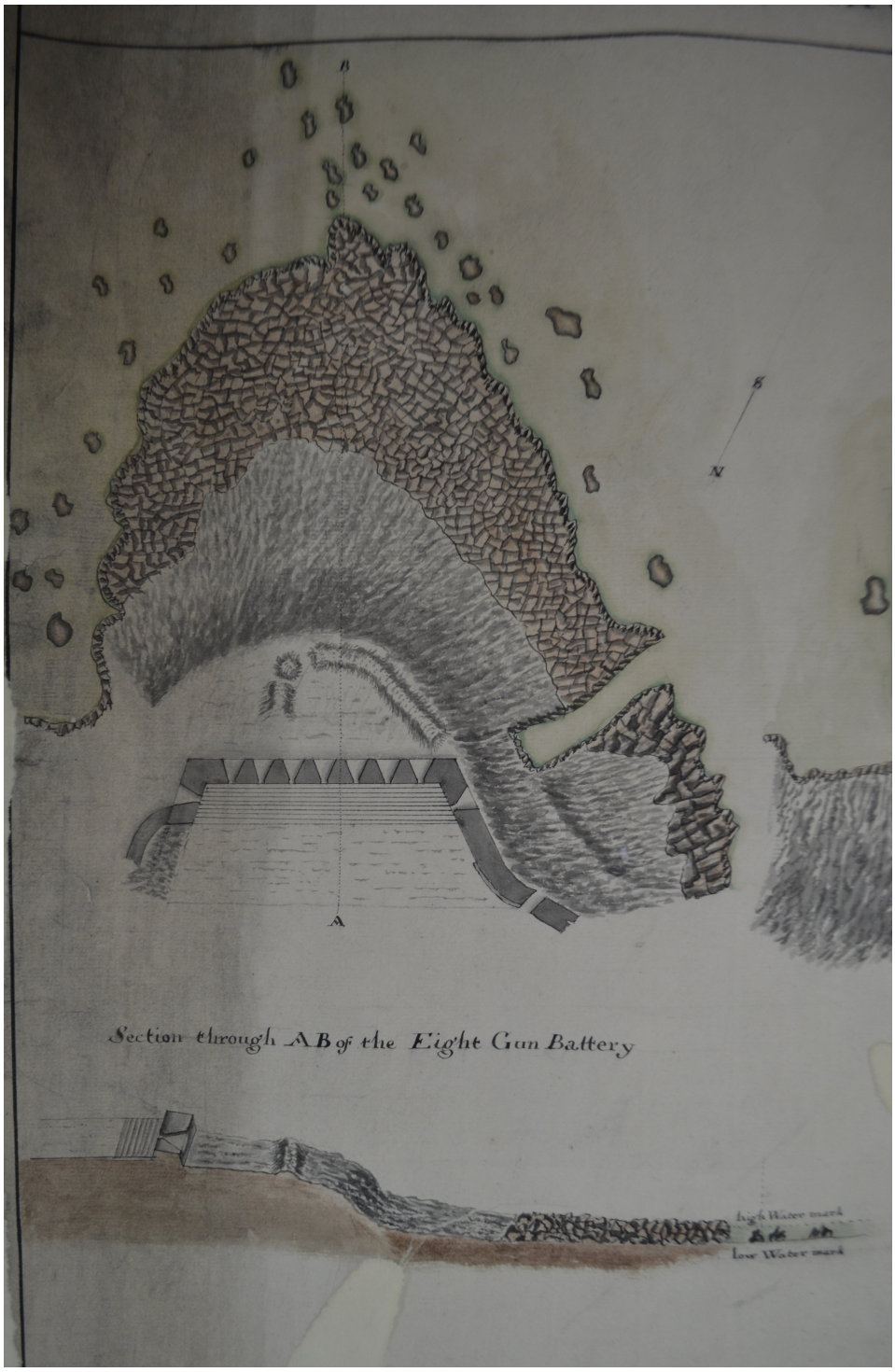


Figure 2.1: The plan and section of the eight-gun battery (known as the South-East Battery) (Hylton 1752). This battery is denoted by a "B" in Map 2.2.

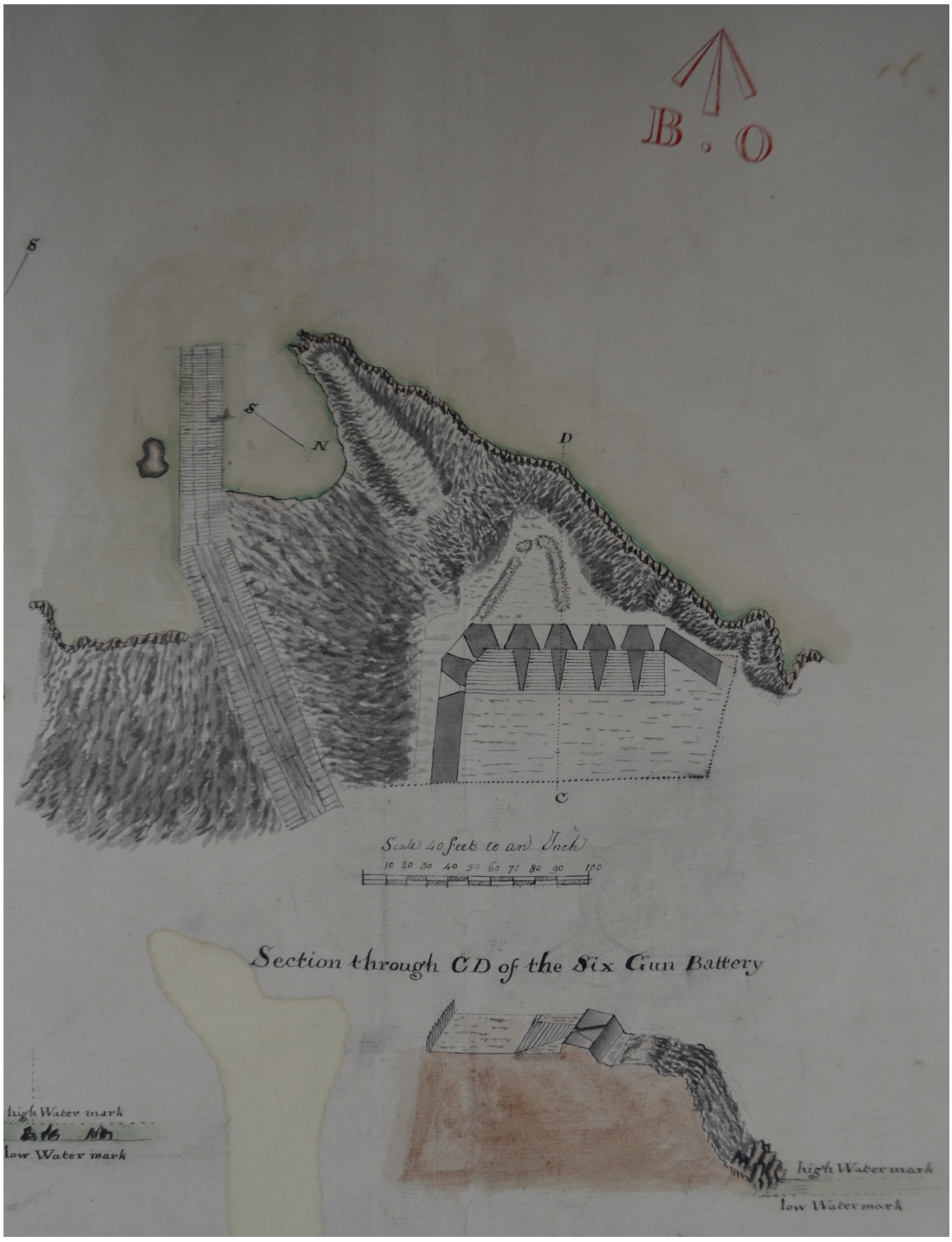


Figure 2.2: The plan and section of the six-gun battery (known as the South-West Battery) (Hylton 1752). This battery is denoted by a "C" in Map 2.2.

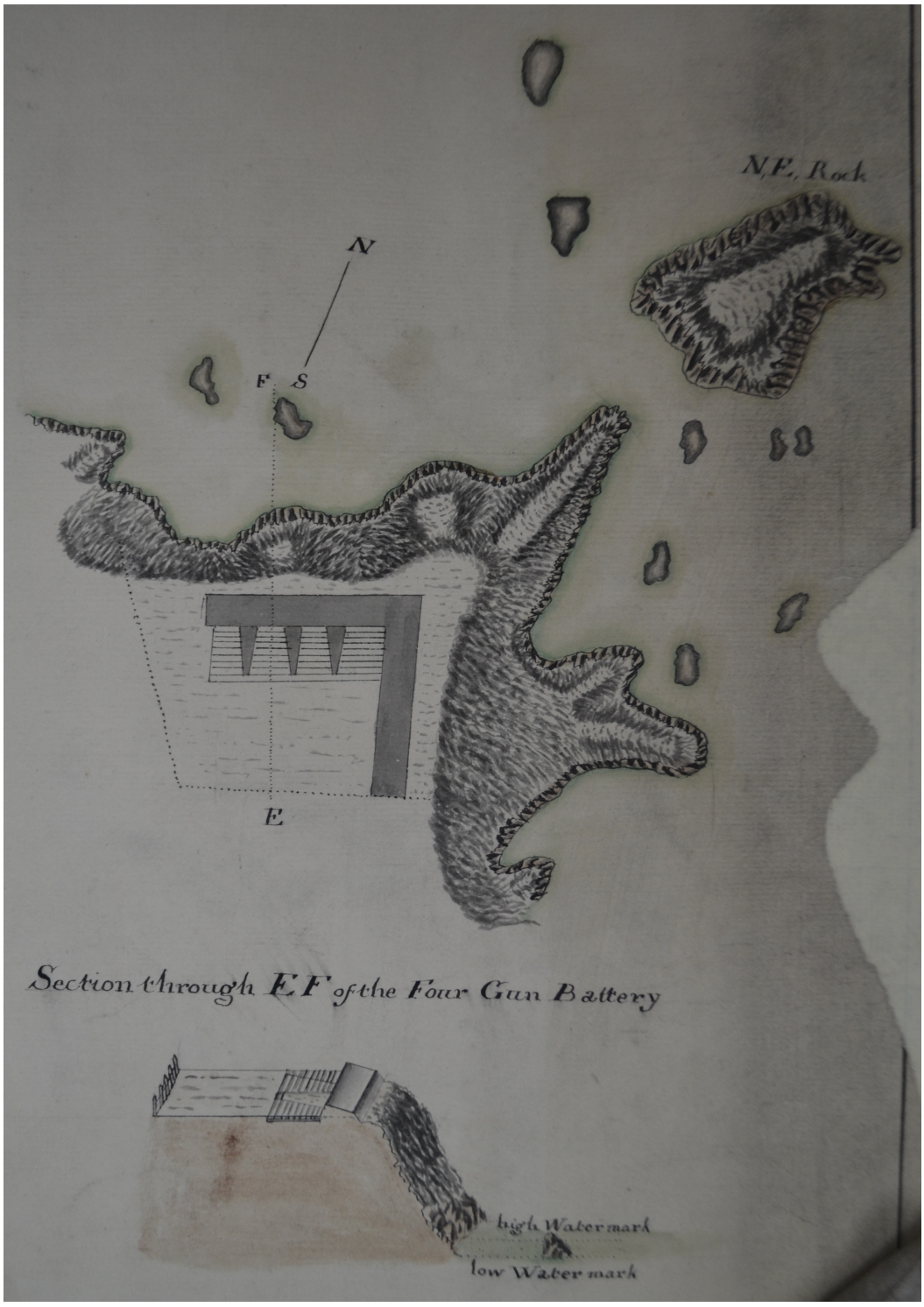


Figure 2.3: The plan and section of the four-gun battery (known as the North-West Battery) (Hylton 1752). This battery is denoted by a "D" in Map 2.2.

There were not a high number of soldiers stationed on Bois Island until the threat of French attack increased during the Seven Years' War. From 1750-1754, the Royal Regiment of Artillery (R.A.) stationed one corporal and one gunner on Bois, and from 1757-1760 there was one gunner (Drake et al. 1750; Bradestreet 1751; Order 1753; Aldridge 1754). In 1763 the corporal and five privates of the R.A. was supplemented by a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer, and twelve privates of the 45th Regiment of Foot (Edwards 1757; Rogers 1758; Ross 1759, Ross 1760a, Ross 1760b; Dover 1762). This was decreased in 1764 to one bombardier of the R.A. and an ensign, corporal, drummer, and eleven men of the 45th Regiment of Foot (Bishop 1763; Dover 1763). The roles only list a single gunner stationed on the island in 1779 (Anonymous 1764; Hay 1778; Edwards 1779a, 1779b; Smallwood 1984:56).

In 1762 the Seven Years' War reached Newfoundland. On June 27 St. John's fell to four ships of war and approximately 700 soldiers under the command of Count D'Haussonville (Hearn 1762; Prowse 1972:305). In response, Governor of Newfoundland Captain Graves dispatched Royal Marines to Bois Island with orders to defend Ferryland from an impending assault (Prowse 1972:306-307; Webber 1984:74). Peter Burnes of H.M.S. *Syren* landed a compliment of Royal Marines on Bois Island and then proceeded to Halifax with a report of the attack on St. John's (Prowse 1972:306-307; Webber 1984:74). Robert Carter–the same individual who had been granted fishing rights on Bois Island–had already organized and provisioned the Ferryland residents on the island and then requisitioned 100 shallops to be outfitted for battle (Smallwood 1984:56; Keough 2001:617). With Royal Marines manning the sixteen cannons on Bois

Island the defenders were well prepared and repulsed the French attackers, inflicting severe damage to two of their ships (Graves 1762; Anonymous 1762).

However, oral tradition gives a slightly different version of events. The alternative story is that Anne Carter, Robert Carter's wife, organized the women of Ferryland to repel the French force with cannon fire while the men set out to engage the French at Bay Bulls (Keough 2001:617). Whatever the case, the war concluded on February 10, 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris shortly after the British retook St. John's. The French retained their fishing rights as stated under the Treaty of Utrecht and also obtained Saint-Pierre and Miquelon off the southern coast of Newfoundland.

Despite their status, life on Bois Island was not always easy for officers. An entry from October 12, 1762 in the muster book of H.M.S. *Antelope* mentions an incident on Bois Island where James Gordon, "a 'sentinel at his post', shot and killed Lieutenant Joseph Watson of H.M.S. *Syren*'s marines on July 8th" (Nicholson 1762). Gordon was subsequently taken in irons back to England and Watson was replaced by acting 2nd Lieutenant Zachamiah/Zacherie Witherden from H.M.S. *Syren* (Burnes 1762; Nicholson 1762). Any suggestion as to the nature of the altercation would be pure speculation, but it is not difficult to believe that tensions could run high in the military post given the isolated nature of Bois Island and the threat of French aggression.

The Ferryland fortifications were repaired and expanded in 1776 and some of the cannons on Bois Island were replaced (Bridmill 1776; Carter 1776; Smallwood 1984:56). Tensions with France rose again in 1780, but the 400 volunteers sent to garrison Bois Island saw no action and the fortifications were finally abandoned in 1784 (Edwards

1780; Smallwood 1984:56). An Ordnance Department survey was carried out by Lieutenant F. Haultain, R.A. on October 7, 1815 and on November 3 the following year by Captain P. Faddy, R.A. Each man gave the same report stating, "[s]ome of the guns on the Isle of Bois are so far buried in the ground and others so much honeycombed and corroded with rust, as to make it difficult to say positively that they may not be of a different nature than what is specified in this return" (Haultain 1815; Faddy 1816). They identified a total of 22 cannons: sixteen 24-pounders, five 6-pounders, and one 4-pounder; each were listed as "apparently unserviceable" (Haultain 1815; Faddy 1816).

After the military abandoned Bois Island it appears to have reverted to–or continued to be–a residence for the Carter family. Journal entries indicate that tea parties were being hosted on the island around 1834 or 1835 (Keough 2001:633). Given the exposed nature of Bois Island, it was likely only used in this capacity during summer months, and the journal entries only reference July and August (Keough 2001:633).

Contemporary documentation seems to indicate that the island was primarily garrisoned by members of the 45th Regiment of Foot, the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and Royal Marines. The R.A. and 45th had a fairly regular presence on the island and it is likely that the cultural remains recovered by Dr. Barakat in 1975 mostly belong to these men (Smythies 1894).

CHAPTER 3: PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND SURVEY

3.1 Previous Archaeological Research

There have been three separate archaeological excavations on Bois Island. The first investigation was a test pitting survey conducted in 1974 by two Memorial University undergraduates Paul Bishop and Michael Foley (Paul Bishop, personal communication, 2016). The survey appears to have resulted in a number of units excavated all over the island and the discovery of a few dozen artifacts. No permit or report was filed with the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO), but the artifacts recovered did find their way to The Rooms Provincial Museum (The Rooms) and were added to artifacts recovered the following year (Stephen Hull, personal communication, 2015). The numerous square-shaped depressions scattered around Bois Island and discovered during the 2015 survey are believed to be from this investigation (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: One of the nine "unit" depressions scattered around Bois Island and recorded in 2015.

Dr. Robert Barakat of Memorial University carried out the first extensive excavation during July and August 1975 as part of a field school. This excavation focused on an area that Barakat purportedly identified as an officers' barracks (Barry Gaulton, personal communication, 2015). Unfortunately Barakat's investigation was

poorly documented and he did not record or publish any results. A faunal report was the only official document to result from the 1975 archaeology. There also exists some doubt as to whether Barakat used screens to sift through the excavated soil. From what little information is available, Barakat appears to have associated the structural and cultural remains with a British officers' barracks dating to the mid-18th century. The only documentation from the excavation were the field notes of then undergraduate, Caroline Parmenter. While her notebook has a number of stratigraphic profiles and plan drawings, these include few details, and when contacted for more information, Ms. Parmenter declined to comment on her experiences or knowledge of the excavation. Barakat's collection represents the vast majority of the cultural material recovered from Bois Island. All told there are over 5,000 artifacts consisting of: ceramic; glass, both window and container; metal, such as nails, hinges, buttons, keys and spoons; faunal material; and miscellaneous, such as gunflints, brick, etc. The artifacts from Barakat's excavation underwent basic lab treatment in the 1970s and have been stored at The Rooms since recovery.

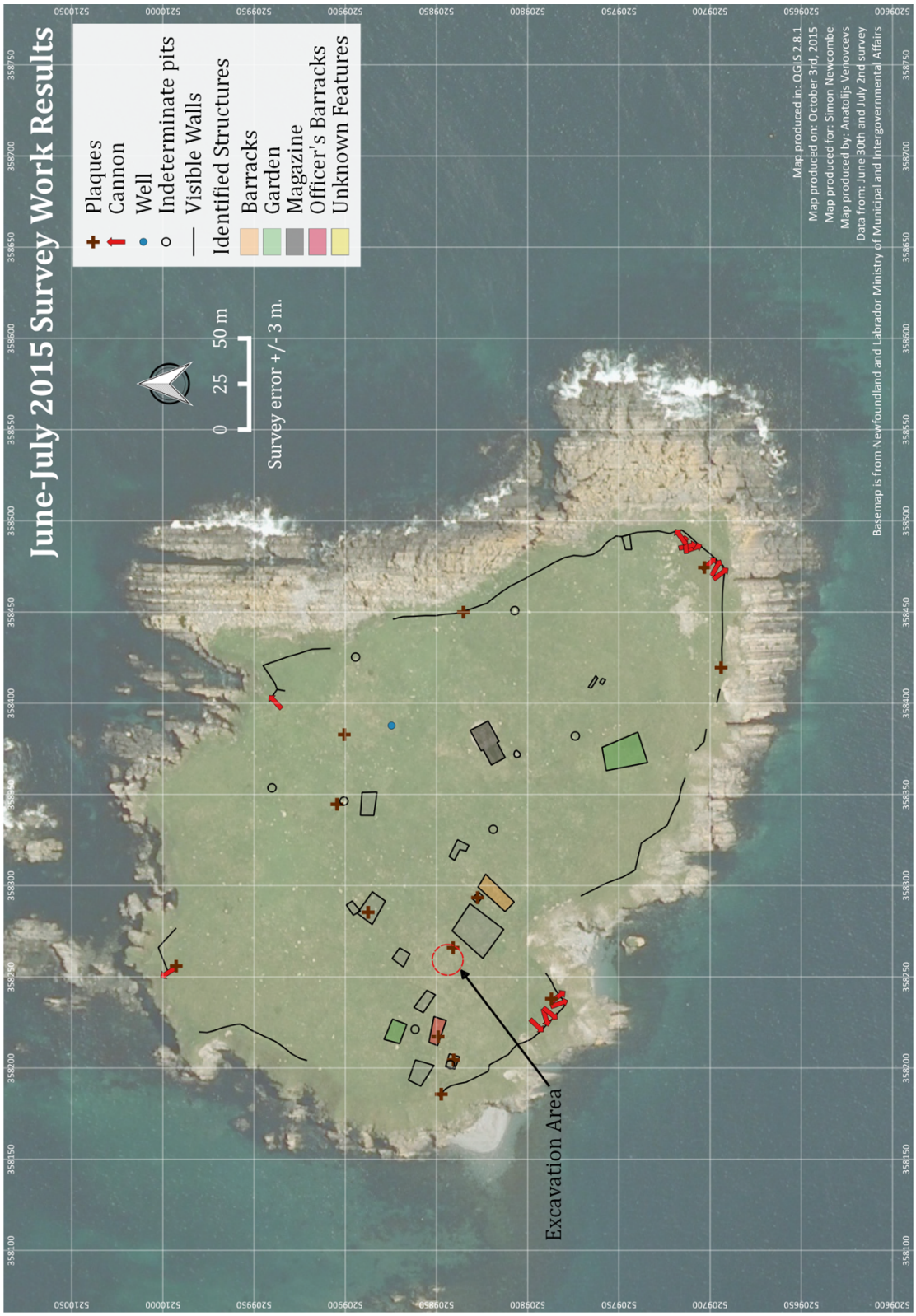
The most recent excavation on the island was directed by Tom Cromwell, an archaeology Ph.D. candidate at Memorial University, who undertook this work as part of a study on the defensive capabilities of Bois Island in relation to other contemporary British fortifications. His investigation took place in 2012 and focused on the powder magazine. The artifacts have yet to be submitted to the PAO, but limited cultural material was recovered from the excavation (Stephen Hull, personal communication, 2016). Cromwell's research is still ongoing.

3.2 Where Seagulls Dare: 2015 Survey of Bois Island

In June and July of 2015 the author conducted an archaeological survey of Bois Island under PAO permit number 15.11. The objectives were to map all visible features of the 18th-century fortification of the island and to re-locate Barakat's 1975 excavations. The survey successfully delineated several structural remains on the surface and found Barakat's study area.

This research marks the first complete mapping of the island and its visible features (Map 3.1). On June 30 and July 2, the author, Anatolijs Venovcevs, and Dustin Riley were transported to Bois Island by Leo Kavanagh, a local fisherman. After ascending the steep remains of the 18th-century landing area on the west side of the island, the site and its state of preservation was assessed with a pedestrian survey on transects (Figure 3.2). This task proved to be difficult as a result of the Herring gulls that nest on the island. The timing of the survey coincided with the hatching of their young and, therefore, it was necessary to proceed with caution (Figure 3.3). Herring gulls are not the only residents on Bois Island: for approximately 200 years, sheep farmers have been carrying out the practice of secluded grazing (Trichur and Connors 2014). Farmers, specifically the Morry family living in the Goulds, load their sheep onto boats every spring and transport them to the island (Trichur and Connors 2014). Here the sheep are left from the spring until the end of the summer (Figure 3.4). Fortunately, despite the best efforts of birds and sheep, all visible features on Bois Island were mapped using a Total Station.

Bois Island offers a unique archaeological experience in Newfoundland by virtue of its relative inaccessibility. There is no visible evidence of looting and it is not under risk of development. However, coastal erosion poses a significant threat to the parapets and gun batteries around the perimeter of the island.



Map 3.1: Satellite image of Bois Island with the results of the 2015 survey overlaid.

Figure 3.2: Location of the 18th-century landing area, which is the only viable ascent to the island. The fence posts were likely put up by shepherds. The South-West Battery is on the left (west) as you ascend.

Figure 3.3: One of the many chicks found across the island. To protect their young many gulls on the island were aggressive.

Figure 3.4: Sheep reside on Bois Island during the spring and summer months. Photo courtesy of Art Clausnitzer.

Fourteen plaques were found during the survey that mark the locations of 18th-century structures (e.g. Figure 3.5). These appear to have been placed on the island by a branch of the provincial government as one large site plaque is marked "Government of Newfoundland and Labrador". Many of these are in a state of disrepair, making them partially or entirely illegible. These plaques are not always associated with visible building foundations and mark more features than any single 18th-century map. This gives rise to questions regarding how the placement of these monuments was informed.

Inquiries at the PAO and The Rooms did not yield any results as to the background of these plaques and their exact origin remains a mystery. An inventory in the David Webber Collection at The Rooms archives, details what was written on each plaque, but gives no hint as to when they were put on the island or what research was done beforehand (Table 3.1). Correspondence and family photos provided by Alicia Morry (of the aforementioned Morry family) revealed that the plaques have been on the island since at least 1962 (Figure 3.6). The poor state of these plaques suggests they have been on the island for decades.

Figure 3.5: One of the many plaques on Bois Island. Each plaque is associated with a nearby structural feature.

Table 3.1: Historical plaques denoting structural features on Bois Island (Webber n.d.)

Date	Heading	Number
1743-49	Barracks	1
1749-84	Barracks	2
1749-84	Officer's Barracks	2
1748	Parapet Wall	3
1749-84	Smithy	1
1749-84	Carpenter's Shop	1
1743-1815	Smith's Battery	1
1743-1815	South-East Battery, Harbour Battery	1
1746-1815	North-West Battery	1
~1960	Isle of Bois	1

Figure 3.6: Red arrow denoting the location of one of the historical markers on Bois Island in 1962. Photo courtesy of Alicia Morry.

3.2.1 Bois Island Fortifications

Many of the visible structures on Bois Island appear to have good archaeological integrity. There is no evidence of looting and most of the structural foundations are clearly visible on the surface (Figure 3.7). There are a few areas on the island interior where steep inclines are starting to erode, but the damage is fairly limited and not near any structural features visible on the surface.

Figure 3.7: One of the visible structural foundations.

The same level of preservation cannot be boasted along the perimeter of the island (Figure 3.8). Coastal erosion has wreaked havoc on the Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, and Southeast batteries. This is made all the more unfortunate given that a number of the cannons remain *in situ* at these locations. Indeed, the ongoing erosion has resulted in the loss of between two and three of the cannons. The 1815 and 1816 Ordnance reports seem to indicate that the cannons were deemed unserviceable and were left behind as a result (Haultain 1815; Faddy 1816). One of these cannons was partially

excavated in 2012 by Tom Cromwell at the South-East Battery and showed a remarkable state of preservation (Figure 3.9). Two marks on the cannon and features such as the vent are still clearly visible (Figure 3.10, 3.11). Each battery and its current condition is described below.

Figure 3.8: The stratigraphy of the South-East parapet wall exposed by erosion. Much of the island perimeter suffers from this sort of erosion. Photo taken facing the south west.

Figure 3.9: Cannon of unknown calibre excavated from the South-East Battery in 2012 by Cromwell. Photo courtesy of Art Clausnitzer.

Figure 3.10: (above) Marker's mark on trunnion. Photo courtesy of Art Clausnitzer.

Figure 3.11: (left) Royal proof mark featuring a crowned Tudor rose. Photo courtesy of Art Clausnitzer.

North-West Battery

The North-West Battery was a four-gun battery, but only one remains. At least two cannons have been lost due to erosion. It is here that erosion appears to be the most severe on the island with the final cannon being seriously threatened of being lost to the water (Figure 3.12). The rapid amount of change being caused is exhibited in Figure 3.13 and 3.14. Figure 3.13 was taken during Tom Cromwell's 2012 investigations and shows part of the North-West battery's parapet. Figure 3.14 was taken in the same place from a slightly different angle just three years later during the 2015 survey. A conservative estimate would be that one meter of ground has been lost over that time.

Figure 3.12: The arrow points to the last of four cannons remaining in the North-West Battery. Much of the parapet in this area has already eroded.

Figure 3.13: The state of the North-West Battery in 2012. The arrow denotes a large rock that has been partially exposed. Photo courtesy of Art Clausnitzer.

Figure 3.14: Close up of the same eroding bank at the North-West Battery in 2015. The exposure of the same large rock (arrow) serves as an indication for how much of the parapet has been lost.

North-East Battery

The North-East Battery was likely also a four-gun battery, but it does not appear on maps, such as the 1752 Ferryland map by Hylton (Hylton 1752). This suggests it was a later addition to the fortifications, possibly during the 1776 repair and expansion of the defences. Today, only one cannon is visible at this battery (Figure 3.15). The erosion does not appear as severe at this parapet indicating that the other three cannons are either buried or were removed at some point in the past.

Figure 3.15: The only visible cannon in the North-East Battery. Its calibre is unknown. While this area is experiencing erosion, the parapet is further back from the edge and has escaped significant damage.

South-East Battery

The South-East Battery was an eight-gun battery and, while erosion is apparent along the parapet, the remains are not in any immediate risk of loss. Seven cannons are

visible on the surface with some being more exposed than others (Figure 3.16). It is probable that the final, eighth cannon is completely buried.

Figure 3.16: The *in situ* cannons along the southeast-facing parapet of the South-East Battery.

The parapet that leads between this battery and the North-East Battery also suffers from erosion. According to the 1752 Hylton map there were two wells on Bois Island, one of which was situated just outside of the parapet, approximately halfway between the North-East and South-East batteries (Hylton 1752). The 2015 survey found no evidence of this well as the encroaching erosion has moved beyond the well's supposed position.

South-West Battery

The South-West Battery was a six-gun battery located near the former wharf and landing area that allows for access to the island. Erosion is also an issue in this area; on the wharf side, one cannon is in immediate risk of loss (Figure 3.17). The rate of erosion

can be determined from comparing a photo from the South-West Battery taken in 1962 (Figure 3.18), with the same location in 2015 (Figure 3.17). This highlights change in the exposure and angle of the same cannon over the past 53 years. In 1962, most of the barrel is covered in soil, but today erosion has exposed the cannon up to its trunnions and the angle of the cannon has increased.

Figure 3.18: The cannon facing the remains of the 18th-century landing area in 1962. Photo courtesy of Alicia Morry.

Figure 3.17: The same cannon today at risk of falling down toward the 18th-century landing area.

3.2.2 Barakat's Excavation

Barakat's 1975 excavation area proved to be more visible than originally anticipated (Figure 3.19). The units had not been backfilled and the standing baulks had not been excavated by the conclusion of the fieldwork. From this it appears that Barakat

made use of the box method of excavation. There were at least five back dirt piles surrounding the excavation area. The information from the artifact database and Parmenter's notes reference multiple trenches, but only one trench was clearly visible (Figure 3.20). The rest of the area was divided into approximately 25 units (probably three feet square since Barakat used the Imperial system) (Parmenter 1975). While a buried foundation nearby was labeled with a plaque that read "Officer's Barracks", the excavation area was marked with a plaque that read "Barracks" (Figure 3.21). This raises an important question: Why was it that Barakat thought he was excavating an officers' barracks when the plaque associated with the excavation area was clearly marked "Barracks"? Since the plaques predate Barakat's investigations it would seem likely that he would have taken them at face value given the lack of research put into the results of the excavation. Unfortunately, much data has been irretrievably lost due to Barakat's lack of recording. The artifacts no longer have any meaningful provenience information, as they are not tied to any strata or unit, but instead are tied to a seemingly arbitrary distance range within "trenches" (e.g. trench 8, 0-7 ft. south).

Figure 3.19: The site of Barakat's 1975 excavation. Most of the work seems to have been done in a grid pattern. The units appear to run 322^{o} off of true North.

Figure 3.20: (above) The plaque that denotes the structure where Barakat undertook his investigation.

Figure 3.21: (left) The only part of the excavation area that was clearly a trench.

3.3 Qualification for Future Research

Apart from the 1975 excavation and eroded sections, the archaeological remains on Bois Island have high potential that warrants further investigation. However, the encroaching erosion threatens the integrity of the archaeological deposits and future investigations should focus on the most vulnerable parapets and gun batteries before they collapse into the sea. Ideally the parapets could be restored to maintain the *in situ* cannons. Such an extensive enterprise would require archaeology with the assistance of the Royal Canadian Engineers to address the two batteries in immediate danger.

Once the parapets have been subjected to salvage archaeology, the most prudent secondary target for research would be Barakat's excavation area. The 2015 survey found that the baulks were not excavated at the conclusion of the work. There is also evidence presented in the faunal report that the excavation itself was not brought to a close, though what exactly this entails cannot be determined (Berg 1978:2). It may be possible to recover some sort of context for the artifacts already excavated if the baulks could be stratigraphically recorded and excavated. It may also be sensible to screen the back dirt piles that surround the excavation area. If Barakat did not make use of screens then there may be a number of missed artifacts.

In order for further research on Barakat's assemblage to be effective, it must have the full support of The Rooms Provincial Museum. Mistakes that were noticed during the course of this project were marked wherever possible, but, without the ability to mend pieces or provide permanent fixes to issues, the effectiveness of this approach was limited.

Should there be an interest in investigating another one of the many structures on Bois Island, the map produced from the 2015 survey can facilitate such endeavours. The survey identified a minimum of nine structures on the island (not including those two investigated in 1975 and 2012). In order to provide context for the officers' barracks assemblage it may be helpful for one of the soldiers' barracks to receive excavation. This would allow for the dichotomy between the common soldiery and the officers on Bois Island to be highlighted and examined.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL, THEORETICAL, AND ANALYTICAL APPROACHES

4.1 Archaeological Approaches

As previously mentioned, the artifacts were not tied to stratigraphic layers by Barakat. Because of this, serious spatial analysis was impossible and the focus will be on quantitative and qualitative research. Examination of the artifacts was undertaken in the Historical Archaeology: Technology, Community, and Heritage (HATCH) lab at MUN by the author over the course of 2015 and 2016. This included identification and quantification along with an attempt to clarify areas of confusion and fixing errors in the original database.

4.2 Analytical and Theoretical Approaches

Household archaeology serves as the theoretical framework that underpins the analysis and discussion of the Bois Island assemblage. The discussion itself will center on the men that occupied the barracks periodically between the fortification of the island in 1743 and the site's abandonment in 1784. This section will highlight the analytical methods employed as well as introduce household archaeology as a new and valid theoretical approach for examining archaeological assemblages from military installations.

4.2.1 Analytical Approaches

The goal of analysis was to comment upon what the material culture indicates about the barracks' occupants as a whole. The collection, excluding the faunal portion,

was subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The faunal report created in 1978 by Deborah Berg was deemed to be a sufficient summary of the faunal assemblage and was therefore only clarified based on more recent scholarship and a more complete knowledge of Barakat's collection methods.

After retrieving the artifacts from The Rooms, the first step was to identify the artifacts and categorize them by material type; particularly in the case of ceramic (ware type), glass, and clay smoking pipe. The diagnostic fragments were then analyzed in order to inform the minimum number of vessels (MNV) count. Those pieces thought to belong to the same vessel were lumped together while the non-descript body sherds were not included in the overall count. Vessel forms were identified as part of the MNV calculations.

The MNV for ceramic and glass was determined using a hybrid quantitative and qualitative method that focusses on diagnostic pieces (i.e. rims and bases), vessel form, and decoration. First the rims and bases were separated by type. If some of these were determined not to come from the same vessel, the group with the largest count provided the MNV. Vessel sherds different from the rims or bases were then added to the MNV count. If there was significant justification to identify a different decoration type among the sherds, this was also added to the MNV (Voss and Allen 2010:1-2). With specific reference to ceramics, MNV calculation began by dividing the sherds into the three major categories: porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware (Voss and Allen 2010:3). As a result of the variety of subtypes, tin-glazed earthenware was discussed separately from the rest of the earthenware.

The vessel form for ceramics was determined using the Potomac Typological System (POTS) developed by Mary C. Beaudry et al. (1993). For vessel forms that could not be specifically identified, the more generic terms hollowware or flatware were used where possible (Voss and Allen 2010:4).

The MNV for smoking pipes was calculated by counting the number of stem-bowl junctions. Since each smoking pipe has one heel or is heelless, totalling the number of junctions in the smoking pipe assemblage provided the MNV for smoking pipes recovered from the island. Maker's marks and bowl form were also examined to determine regional variation between places of manufacture, understanding how the island was provisioned, and *terminus post quem* (TPQ) for the barracks' occupation (Adams 2003:39; Beaudry, et al. 1993:52). Attention was also given to any aftermarket modifications that could be attributed to the user. Things such as personalization, whittling, and engraving fall under this category (Bradley 2000:128).

Nails were given a cursory examination to provide another source to date the occupation of the barracks. Where preservation allowed, the analysis focussed on the form of both the head and shaft. Discussion of the nails was informed by Lee H. Nelson's Nail Chronology article in *American Association for State and Local History Technical Leaflet* (1968).

The range of site occupation was dated through an examination of datable artifacts, their dates of introduction, popularity ranges, association with historical documentation, and, of course, manufacturing dates (Miller 2000:1-5). When determining the likely date for site occupation, particular attention was given to the

concept of deposition lag (Adams 2003:38). The presence of artifacts that date prior to the supposed occupation period of a site is to be expected in archaeology (Adams 2003:38). The manufacturing date for artifacts cannot immediately imply the date of site occupation nor can the manufacturing date necessarily be equated with when it was used (Adams 2003:39, 41). This concept, combined with the historical documentation, allows for a more accurate assessment of the Bois Island occupation.

Other artifacts were analysed according to their respective specialist literature. This includes brick, gunflints, beads, lead shot, buttons, buckles, spoons, window glass, etc. It was initially anticipated that this analysis could be compared with other contemporary military assemblages to assess whether life for the officers on Bois Island was typical of the British military during the 18th century. However, no comparable, published military assemblages from officers' quarters could be identified despite consulting with military archaeologists in Canada and the United States (Emerson Baker, Henry Cary, Leon Cranmer, Joseph Last, Leith Smith, David Starbuck, John Triggs, personal communications, 2016). While the work of Stanley South is extensive in the area of military sites his efforts did not focus on officers' barracks. The Bois Island research thus provides a foundational analysis for future archaeological studies of 18th-century military sites to build upon.

4.2.2 Theoretical Approaches

As part of a new application of household archaeology, the officers' barracks on Bois Island will be examined as part of a household unit. Household archaeology

provides an interesting theoretical perspective from which to tease out aspects of the daily lives of soldiers in a military context.

A shortfall in the study of military archaeology is a tendency towards descriptive investigations as opposed to research-centered inquiry. The reason for this lies, perhaps in part, with a lack of theory from which to approach military sites. Household theory is one type of theoretical framework that can be applied to the examination of military sites where individuals generally lived for a significant amount of time. Such an approach is valuable for drawing attention to fort sites as more than just defensive structures. Through the lens of household theory, artifacts are examined as representations of everyday activities not necessarily pertaining to combat. Household theory also guides research into consumer patterns and hierarchical relationships within the fort. Finally, household theory, when applied to a military context, draws attention to the unique "family" unit that develops among soldiers in a predominantly single-sex environment.

A descriptive approach to military archaeology is by no means universal. Stanley South was an early theorist in the sphere of military archaeology. Battlefield archaeology often makes use of new interpretations and lines of investigation popular in landscape archaeology. This is exemplified in Glenn Foard's (2003-2009) investigation into the location of the Battle of Bosworth Field. Foard divided the area into blocks and conducted a systematic metal detector sweep of a large area surrounding Albion Hill; the traditional location of the battle (Foard 2004). Then, using detailed historical documentation, Foard proceeded by interpreting these finds in light of the landscape (Foard 2004). This information allowed Foard to re-evaluate the location that the battle

was believed to have taken place. Joe Last also used a different approach to his analysis of the Fort Wellington latrine at Prescott, Ontario. Through interpretive and contextual analysis, he examined "how the latrine helped to shape and sustain social order among the garrison" (Last 1996:xv).

Nevertheless, there is a deficiency in theory when it comes to military sites subjected to rescue archaeology (Hicks and Horning 2006:277). The reason for this "atheoretical" approach to military sites can be attributed, in part, to their attraction as tourist destinations. For instance, Gettysburg National Military Park received over three million visitors in 2012 and tourism continues to be an important part of the economy for many countries (Barnes 2013). This leads to sites, such as forts, receiving interpretation that aids reconstruction and site animation in preparation for public consumption (Hicks and Horning 2006:274). While still heavily focused on research, applied archaeology often ignores questions of an anthropological nature. The growing emphasis on private sector archaeology to facilitate development has also limited research to the minimum that is required for site reports. However, more can be learned about fortifications than just the location of buildings within the fort, what their purpose was, and the role they served in relation to conflict. This is where household theory becomes applicable.

In the early 20th century an interest in domestic units manifested itself in the study of family and kinship by anthropologists (Foster and Parker 2012:1). Early efforts sought to generalize the rules that governed families and residences (Foster and Parker 2012:1). Anthropologists assumed that households were not created because of variations in behaviour, but as a result of marriage and residence systems (Foster and Parker 2012:1).

This idea was gradually discarded in favour of viewing the household as a living entity to better draw attention to the economic, social, and morphological changes it underwent (Foster and Parker 2012:1). However, this viewpoint also had flaws. Donald Bender's work was important for identifying the household as a social unit while also seeking to separate problematic terminology such as "family" and "household" (Bender 1967:495). Bender also identifies a number of the issues regarding different interpretations of what constitutes "domestic" (Bender 1967:494-496). Eventually households came to be understood as, "groups of individuals who share both a habitation space and sets of activities centered on the day-to-day necessities of living" (Foster and Parker 2012:2; Bender 1967:496). In archaeology, this often entailed buildings used by a group of related individuals (Brandon and Barile 2004:2-3).

The 1970s saw the first promotion of household archaeology for formal study (Roth 2000:285). At this time, it was based on the notion that a household represented a social and economic unit present in many different cultures and, as a result, must have behaved similarly during the prehistoric period (Roth 2000:285). While theories on the study of domestic spaces had been in use for many years, the term "household archaeology" was first coined by Richard Wilk and William Rathje in their 1982 work of the same name (Wilk and Rathje 1982:617; Foster and Parker 2012:1). Recent study of domestic spaces has dealt with a range of topics such as gender, status, and symbolism (Allison 1999:2, 9, 11).

Studies of domestic sites by historic archaeologists began as a method for seeking information on architecture and furnishings (Beaudry 1999:117). An interest in the

reconstruction of historic buildings was part of what drove such research as the call went out for the preservation of buildings considered to be of historic significance or relating to individuals who were historically significant (Hicks and Horning 2006:275; King 2006:296). However, during the 1970s there was a shift towards looking at artifacts as archaeological evidence of households and the activities that took place within dwellings (Beaudry 1999:117). Approaches to interpreting household activities range from pattern analysis of artifact counts to consumerism attitudes based on the cost of commodities (Beaudry 1999:117). Another focus is geared towards site formation processes and how domestic activities affect artifact deposition (Beaudry 1999:117). With the post-processual movement, approaches have sought to investigate a different perspective of the household: "the structure and layout of domestic architecture relates not only to functional and economic considerations, but also to the cultural and mental life of its users" (Johnson 1993:1).

From the definition of a household provided by Donald Bender, it can be argued that the term household is at least partially applicable to military fortifications (Bender 1967:496). Beaudry mentions the classification of military sites as at least partially domestic in her work titled *House and Household* (Beaudry 1999:117). As well, in their work *Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures* Laslett and Hammel believe that, "it is essential to make comparisons between varieties of domestic groups" (Hammel and Laslett 1974:73). Therefore, the application of household archaeology to military sites is not only viable, but also necessary.

This approach is not entirely unique. Matthew Johnson makes use of a similar approach in his analysis of castles in *Behind the Castle Gate* and in his discussion of traditional architecture in England. Johnson challenges the military-grounded approach to changing architecture in castles stating that developments have been attributed to changing combat techniques (Johnson 2010:192). He then draws attention to the function of these structures as "high-status buildings" and pulls together various works that discuss the architecture of castles being influenced as much by domestic concerns as by military ones (Johnson 2010:193-194). As in his work on traditional architecture, Johnson argues that there is a need to explore what houses (or castles) meant to those who lived inside them. It is not enough to merely describe forms or external factors that may have been behind a change in morphology (Johnson 1993:12).

What sets early modern forts apart from castles is that forts are predominantly single-sex spaces, at least until regulations started to relax in the 18th and 19th centuries. In other words, one must examine the fort from the perspective that it is a household divorced from the typical family unit that tends to dominate household theory. It is important to recognize that, while a large group of enlisted men does not constitute a typical family unit, they still undertake all the activities that a more typical household would on a daily basis. From this perspective an examination of military life in a fort as "domestic" is not unlike the consideration of single-sex spaces within a "normal" household. This is exemplified by Johnson's look at the changing structure of the castle as being influenced by evolving ideas concerning masculinity (Johnson 2010:138). Beaudry discusses a number of other examples, such as the examination of brothels and

religious communities from the perspective of household archaeology (Beaudry 1999:121-122). This "queering" of the household approach serves to frame investigation into the archaeological remains of fortifications and approach specific aspects of military life that would be overlooked if not examined outside of functionality.

It is important to realize that military sites are social as well as martial places. Indeed, one could even argue that a fortification serves greater utility as a living space given that people are residing there for far greater amounts of time than they are fighting. Through the lens of household theory, archaeologists are drawn to key aspects of military life outside the sphere of battle. One approach drawn from household studies is to look at middens associated with domestic activities (Beaudry 1999:117). A subsequent comparison to middens from a typical household would then help to illustrate any differences between daily activities like food preparation in the military (by men) versus in the home (by women). Another application of household theory lies in pattern analysis (Beaudry 1999:118). Comparisons could be drawn between forts of a contemporary nature or forts that have been occupied for similar durations of time. The artifacts could also be examined in light of what they tell us about the lifestyle of the fort's residents or, for example, in terms of consumer choice (Beaudry 1999:119). This can be applied to highlight the dichotomy (or lack thereof) between officers and soldiers, between different regiments, or between different periods.

While somewhat more difficult, household theory could also lend itself to the investigation of family history (Beaudry 1999:120). In the case of fortifications, the "family" would be the regiment posted there and for those forts that were garrisoned by

the same regiment for extended periods of time it might be possible to trace changes in architecture that correlate to changes within the regiment. An example of this could be the addition of soldiers to bolster a garrison or the incorporation of soldiers with a different role, both of which occurred at Bois Island according to documentary sources. Finally, it may also be possible to comment upon the manifestation of ritual within the household as well as folk beliefs (Beaudry 1999:120). Forts must be considered as an area for the domestic and leisure activities of soldiers as well as reflections of military policy, functional design, and economic factors. A cursory look at the assemblage of artifacts from the Bois Island site reveals a number of items that are purely for recreation. Items like an ivory die or even pipe fragments are indicative of a life outside conflict.

4.2.3 Summary

It is suggested that this use of household theory to examine gender roles in historical archaeology is a valid framework for teasing out the nature of military sites as social places. This is particularly true of those sites with a significant "domestic" aspect to their occupation. Furthermore, this approach to the archaeology of military installations is a logical progression of household analysis in archaeological thought. Military forts are more than just installations built for conflict; they are also meant to house and sustain the soldiers who served there. What makes the application of household theory different in this context is the description of the family unit being divergent from what is considered typical. These are sites where soldiers participated in everyday activities necessary for survival while also living under the same roof and the units these men were a part of could be as familial as any mixed sex family.

Household archaeology, together with the accepted analytical methods of historical archaeology will allow for a detailed interpretation of the Bois Island assemblage and the people that produced it. Questions regarding everyday life and the nature of the military in 18th-century Newfoundland are framed within the context of household archaeology. Through an examination of the officers' barracks, it is hoped that this project will encourage application of this approach in other military contexts and contribute to the scholarship of Newfoundland's military history.

CHAPTER 5: ON THE EXAMINATION OF FORGOTTEN ASSEMBLAGES

5.1 Barakat's 1975 Excavation

When dealing with an assemblage of this nature there will always be shortcomings. Part of what made this such a fascinating and long overdue study is that Bois Island has received so little attention from either those who undertook the original investigation or individuals today. However, this lack of attention also contributed to a number of issues in the interpretation of the assemblage. Should this study encourage further research into the forgotten assemblages of Newfoundland and beyond, as is the hope, it is important to be mindful that such efforts can be an exercise in mitigation.

A lot has changed in archaeology over the past 40 years; standards have been established and improved, and the oversight that governs them has also been supplemented. The 1975 Bois Island excavations validate the importance for archaeologists to recognize that a site can only be excavated once. It is therefore integral that as much information be recorded and disseminated if excavation cannot be avoided. While this project demonstrates that artifacts still have value and utility for research when missing some of their provenience information, the importance of this evidence cannot be understated. There are numerous limitations to collections research that cannot rely on provenience to comment on site formation processes because such data is either unclear or nonexistent.

What follows is a discussion of a few of the shortcomings one might encounter when performing research on unstudied collections excavated decades ago. Using Bois Island as a case study, possible solutions to these issues are discussed.

5.1.1 Lack of Recording

Collections excavated prior to the advent of strict standards and guidelines can be fraught with issues concerning gaps in information. Even today corners are sometimes cut in the interest of time and finances, often at the expense of the archaeology. In other cases, these corners were not intentionally cut and gaps in information come as a result of an excavation being unfinished. The 1975 Bois Island excavation appears to fall under both categories. Personal communications between Deborah Berg and Caroline Parmenter that are briefly mentioned in the 1978 faunal report seem to suggest that the excavation was not completed and there was the intention to return to the site at a later date (Berg 1978:2). The unexcavated baulks identified during the 2015 survey corroborate this. The general lack of recording or publication suggests that corners were cut. Unfortunately, there is not much that can be done to address the knowledge shortfall that comes with a lack of recording. Field notes can sometimes help if they are available, but if these are not comprehensive (as is the case with Bois Island) they are of little use.

Depending on how much time has passed since the artifacts were excavated it may be possible to contact either the individual in charge of the site or others who participated in the dig. With especially old collections this can often be difficult as individuals pass away, retire, or get dismissed. If the artifacts were produced by a university-led field school, it may be possible to get in contact with former students who can furnish a researcher with memories of the excavation. Unfortunately, these individuals can be difficult to track down given the attrition rate among archaeology students. Even if these former students are contacted they may be unwilling to discuss

anything about their experience. Such was the case with the Bois Island collection; Caroline Parmenter was contacted for assistance in deciphering some of the excavation processes that were used on site but she refused to discuss anything about her experience. Robert Barakat himself actually passed away in November of 2015 making it impossible to acquire first-hand information on his approach to the Bois Island excavation.

5.1.2 Other Work on Site

A field survey is the best option for anyone attempting to make sense of a decades old excavation. The survey can help identify deficiencies in the researcher's approach and better inform analysis. From the assessment, it also becomes easier to inform any mitigation work that can be done to salvage remaining information from the excavation area; whether this means going through back-dirt piles, completing an unfinished excavation, or the placement of exploratory test pits/units. Given the lack of standardization prior to about 1990, it was not uncommon to conduct excavations without the use of screens. As such, re-excavating a site can yield an abundance of information to supplement the collection. This often becomes the only recourse for researchers when the approaches suggested in the previous section do not yield any results.

The survey of Bois Island was very helpful for identifying where and why there were gaps in certain pieces of information. It also revealed things that had not been known before such as the barracks' exact location in the archaeological and physical environment as well as that of the unexcavated baulks. Of course, a survey is not always an option. If an excavation was performed prior to development or as part of environmental mitigation efforts, it is possible that the site no longer exists and cannot be

surveyed. Should this be the case, the only recourse is to attempt a comparison with a similar site. Whether this means a site with a similar collection, similar occupation, similar location, or all three. Such a comparison to contemporary sites cannot restore lost provenience data, but it can provide a different sort of context to facilitate discussion. Each piece of evidence helps to provide a clearer picture of a forgotten collection. Comparing the Bois Island collection with another contemporary assemblage helped to determine whether the site could be considered "typical" for the period and highlighted any differences.

5.2 State of Artifacts and Catalogue

The artifacts from Bois Island have, unfortunately, fared even worse than the site itself. Poor lab practice from the 1970s has caused irreparable and extensive damage to the collection. While most artifacts were washed after recovery, it is what followed that has caused the greatest issues. A large problem has been that the attempts to mend ceramic, smoking pipe, and glass sherds used inappropriate methods. In many cases masking tape was used when glue proved ineffective (ex. Figure 5.1). This is especially true of the tin-glazed earthenware and coarse earthenware, where the glued pieces have broken, taking some of the sherd fabric with it. Because of the propensity for tin-glazed and coarse earthenware to flake, the masking tape has become a permanent fixture of these pieces lest removal cause further damage to the sherds. Two decorated pewter spoons were also mended with masking tape. Scotch tape was used in the assemblage though usually only on glass.

Figure 5.1: A piece of tin-glazed earthenware mended with masking tape. Scale is 5cm.

The adhesive used has also been problematic. Again, in the case of the coarse earthenware and tin-glazed earthenware, the glue has bled through and visibly soaked into the fabric (ex. Figure 5.2). Many of the larger mended vessels were not allowed to settle while the glue dried, thus resulting in warped profiles and gaps between mended sherds (ex. Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.2: A mended piece of French tin-glazed earthenware. Notice the excess adhesive (red arrow). Scale is 5cm.

Figure 5.3: A coarse earthenware milk pan. Notice the gaps between the mended pieces. Scale is 5cm.

Artifact labeling also proved to be fraught with problems. Lab personnel often forewent the application of a layer of nail polish and instead applied the label directly on the artifact in permanent marker. When a foundation was applied they sometimes made use of correction fluid. As a result of this practice, when mistakes were made with labeling, the error was either scribbled out with marker or physically scratched off the artifact, likely with an x-acto knife (ex. Figure 5.4). The labels themselves are also arbitrary. Frequently the collection contained pieces that are diagnostic, but have no label. There is also consistent duplication of the same catalogue number on a number of different sherds. While this might be reasonable if said pieces belonged to the same vessel and were given an accompanying "a-z" designation, it becomes a less tenable approach when the sherds clearly are not from the same vessel, the same ware-type, or even the same category of artifact. Labels are also frequently partially, or even entirely, illegible making reference to the original database exceptionally difficult. Stored with the Bois Island collection were also a number of artifacts labeled CgAf-02 (i.e. Ferryland). These artifacts were in boxes marked as having been mislabelled, but stated

as indeed belonging to Bois Island. However, an examination of these artifacts by Dr. Barry Gaulton, supervising archaeologist at Ferryland, revealed that the artifacts were actually recovered from Ferryland. The issue was further exacerbated by the discovery of a mended piece where half was labeled CgAf-01 (Bois Island) and half was labeled CgAf-02 (Ferryland) (Figure 5.5). Going through the artifact database of each site resulted in clarification that the CgAf-02 label was applied in error.

Figure 5.4: Two approaches to label removal. Scratched out (left) and scribbled out (right). Both pieces are tin-glazed earthenware. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 5.5: A mended white salt-glazed stoneware plate with the dot, diaper, and basket decoration. Notice the labeling error. Scale is 10cm.

The existing Bois Island database proved to have numerous problems. Entries were entered by catalogue number (CN) in most cases, but the duplicated CNs that refer to the same type of artifact have sometimes been recorded as a single entry. Therefore, a single entry may correspond to numerous pieces. Another issue encountered was the inclusion of 13 artifact entries from sites that are not Bois Island. While these entries list CgAf-01 as the Borden designation and Bois Island under the site heading, the comments section of these entries indicate that they belong to different sites. There are entries from Scott Philips' work at the Prince of Wales Arena in St. John's, James Tuck and Jacob Way's 1970 work at Saglek Bay in Northern Labrador, and Elmer Harp Jr.'s work at Port aux Choix on the Northern Peninsula, to name a few.

As well there were numerous cases of distinct entries with the same CN. This occurred in a total of 77 cases that refer to two or even three different entries. Returning to the original hard copy of the catalogue helped suggest which of these entries likely belong to the Bois Island catalogue, but 14 entries could not be clearly distinguished. Further investigation into the artifacts themselves also revealed discrepancies between the hard copy of the catalogue and the digital copy pertaining to the previously mentioned 77 cases.

Part of the research initiative involved correcting the digital catalogue so that it aligned with the physical collection and the system used by The Rooms. Such a task was done to the extent of this researcher's capabilities and it is hoped that this work will facilitate further corrections to the assemblage.

If a digital catalogue exists for an assemblage excavated prior to the widespread use of computers, it is likely that lab personnel transcribed the hardcopy of the catalogue to a spreadsheet. As such, it can be advantageous to refer to the original hardcopy when discrepancies are noticed in the digital version. Mistakes frequently come about because of transcription error. However, it is important to keep in mind that when dealing with a copy of a copy things will not be perfect. Should time permit, it may prove more helpful for the artifacts to be re-catalogued in a more updated and clear format that better suits the scholar and their research questions. While catalogue numbers often cannot be changed, the entries themselves can be to better reflect modern standards. Thus, the trouble and confusion associated with trying to tie artifacts to their catalogue entry can be circumvented entirely. This only becomes necessary if the catalogue is in such a state of disorganisation as to make it unfeasible to decipher within a reasonable amount of time.

Damage to the collection is to be expected along with seemingly unusual storage, mending, and labeling practices. More recent scholarship and improved standards have changed the way conservators and curators approach the treatment and care of collections. Just as there will always be unidentified artifacts after an excavated collection has been processed, it is to be assumed that more artifacts will be unidentifiable as a result of deterioration. That being said, researchers may find that looking at the material culture in a different way will allow them to recognise and find things that were missed by the original analyst. Whatever the case, it may be possible to improve the condition of the artifacts with sufficient time and resources. Metal is especially susceptible to degradation if not treated properly shortly after excavation and

may be in varying states of decay. Mending of glass and ceramics may have been done with tape and could be fixed if the tape can be safely removed without further damaging the artifact. It should be noted that any modifications or improvements to a collection should only be undertaken with permission from the governing body. In the case of Newfoundland collections, this would be The Rooms Provincial Museum and the Provincial Archaeology Office.

5.3 Summary

This type of analysis forms part of the archaeological process that, ideally, occurs after fieldwork. However, a variety of circumstances can prevent researchers from completing this step, leaving collections to sit in storage for long periods of time after their respective sites have been excavated. Utilising these assemblages for research projects can provide closure to site investigation while also providing an expedient source of material for investigation. Instead of spending the time required for the excavation, cleaning, and cataloging of artifacts from an untouched site in preparation for analysis one can spend a comparable amount of time recovering the interpretive value from a forgotten assemblage. The examination of these sorts of collections makes a meaningful and much needed contribution to the archaeological understanding of the past and is the truest method for fulfilling the mandate of archaeologists as caretakers of our collective heritage. A site is never truly finished until analysis of the artifact assemblage is completed and a comprehensive final report is written.

CHAPTER 6: THE OFFICERS' BARRACKS

6.1 Bois Island Occupation

A number of officers of varying rank lived in the officers' barracks that produced the studied assemblage. As there appears to have been two separate buildings used as officer housing by 1752 it is difficult to say with certainty which one of the two housed what ranks of individuals. Since it was typical for non-commissioned officers (NCOs) to bunk with the rest of the soldiery, usually separated by a curtain to provide privacy for their wife and children, the NCOs on Bois Island would have needed special dispensation to live apart from the regulars (Joseph Last, personal communication, 2016). If this was the case, the NCOs would probably have all bunked together in one barracks separate from the commissioned officers. This means both buildings that are identified as having been used for officer lodging were used for commissioned officers. Junior officers and senior officers often had separate quarters and it would seem that Bois Island was an example of this.

The segregation by rank was typical of the British military mentality during the period and continues today. The location of the barracks is also one of reduced risk to enemy bombardment being on the edge of the island furthest from the ocean (Prowse 1972:296-297, Map 3.1). Officer commissions usually had to be purchased along with their equipment (Gale 2007:107). This means that commissioned officers were often wealthier men and considered themselves to be socially superior to privates and non-commissioned officers who were drawn from the ranks of the lower classes (Gale

2007:107). As such, the separation of the ranks played out in the organisation of camps and sleeping arrangements.

After the construction of the fortifications in 1743, the first available contemporary evidence indicates that a single corporal was the most senior rank stationed on Bois Island from 1750 until 1754 (Drake et al. 1750; Bradestreet 1751; Order 1753; Aldridge 1754). In 1762, senior ranks were increased to two corporals and one sergeant, and the only officer was a lieutenant until 1763 (Edwards 1757; Rogers 1758; Ross 1759, Ross 1760a, Ross 1760b; Dover 1762). This was further supplemented by two lieutenants, an acting 2nd lieutenant (to replace one of the lieutenants), a sergeant, and a corporal all from the Royal Marines in 1762 as preparation for the French attack on Ferryland (Burnes 1762). In 1764 this was reduced to just one corporal and one ensign (Bishop 1763; Dover 1763). The contemporary documentation seems to indicate that officers were only stationed on Bois Island during periods of heightened hostilities with France. During times of relative peace, the number appears to have been reduced to a skeleton garrison led by NCOs.

6.2 Archaeological Evidence: Material Culture

To establish a more defined date range for British occupation of the island, a holistic approach using all artifact types was taken. This includes using ceramic dating, pipe bowl form, maker's mark identification, and nail typology. (Miller, et al. 2000:1). What follows is a breakdown of the 1975 Bois Island artifact collection.

6.2.1 Ceramic Food and Beverage Related Artifacts

While best effort has been made to provide the most accurate and comprehensive identification for the ceramics, it should be noted that many of the sherds are so badly damaged and fragmentary that they may be of a different nature than what is specified in this analysis. All told, the ceramic assemblage consists of 34 ware types and a minimum of 126 vessels, represented by a total of 2,426 sherds. The vessel distribution, MNV count, and general ware type distribution are broken down in the tables below (Tables 6.1, 6.2). Hollowware vessels are the most common, with plates and teacups also making up a significant portion of the collection. The vast majority of the ceramic sherds recovered from Bois Island are classified as some type of earthenware.

Table 6.1: Number of sherds and minimum number of vessels from each general ware type

General Ware Type	Sherd Count	MNV
Porcelain	26	10
Stoneware	225	38
Earthenware	2175	78

Table 6.2: Number of ceramic vessels from each vessel form

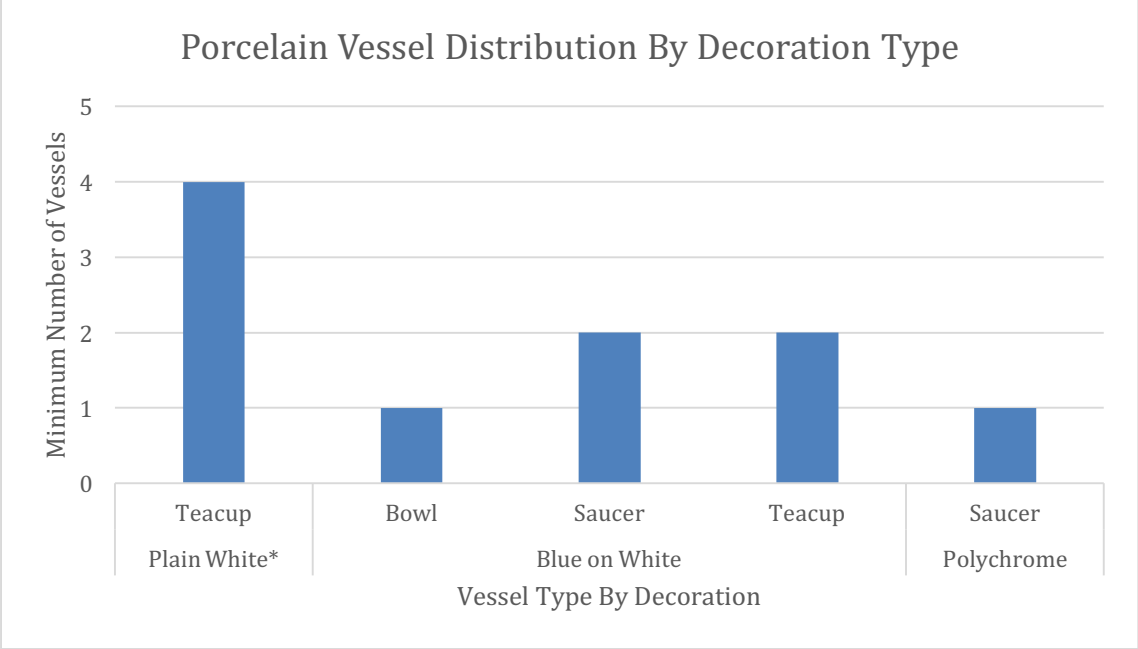
Vessel Form	Count
Bottle	1
Bowl	2
Chafing Dish	1
Chamber Pot	2
Colander	1
Costrel	1
Cup	1
Unidentified Flatware	2
Unidentified Hollowware	32
Jar	2
Jug	1
Milk Pan	1
Mug	7
Ointment Pot	1
Olive Jar	2
Pitcher	1
Plate	16
Platter	3
Saucer	5
Storage Jar	6
Strainer	1
Sugar Bowl	1
Teacup	15
Teapot	2
Unknown	19

Porcelain

Porcelain makes up the smallest part of the ceramic collection. Almost the entirety of porcelain sherds consist of teaware, specifically teacups and saucers. The decoration is mostly blue on white with one polychrome vessel (Table 6.3). There are also a number of plain white pieces, but it cannot be determined whether they are part of the plain white decoration style, or are smaller pieces of a vessel decorated with the other two types. Of the 26 porcelain sherds there are a minimum of 10 vessels consisting of

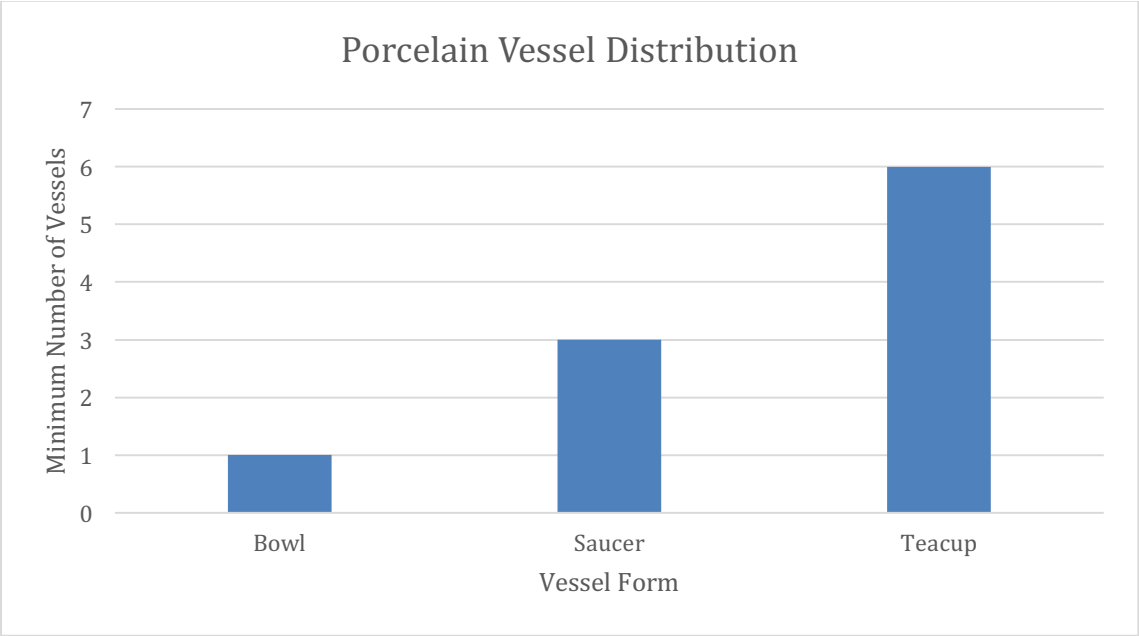
one bowl, three saucers, and six teacups (Table 6.4). All of the porcelain is of Chinese origin. While not universally so, porcelain tends to be indicative of wealthier individuals. As such, it seems unlikely that the soldiery would have had ready access to such items.

Table 6.3: Number of porcelain vessels identified by decoration type



* May belong to either the blue on white or polychrome decoration styles.

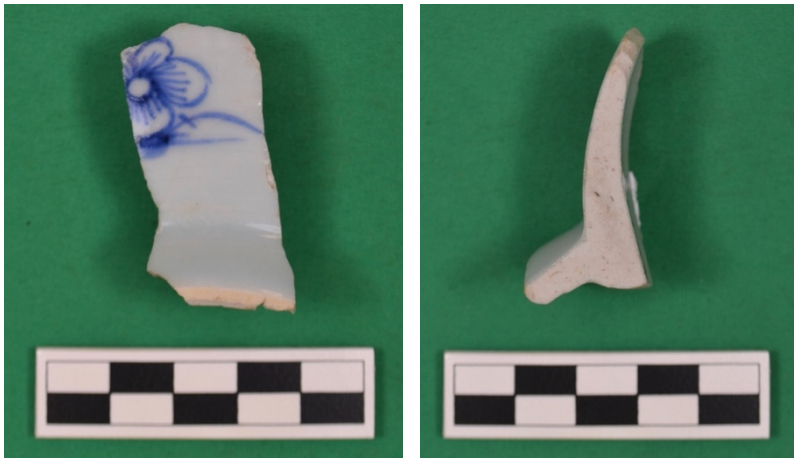
Table 6.4: Porcelain vessel type distribution



Chinese Export Blue-on-White

There are a minimum of five vessels with this decoration type: one bowl, two teacups, and two saucers. The bowl is represented by a very robust base piece believed to come from a half pint bowl (Figure 6.1, 6.2). This assessment is based on the vessel's foot diameter. The only decorative motifs are trellis, floral, and simple geometric in nature (Figure 6.3). Unfortunately, blue-on-white decorated porcelain does not provide a particularly defined manufacturing date range. Due to its popularity, it was manufactured for the long period between 1644 and 1912 (Madsen and White 2011). Tighter date ranges can be provided for certain decorative motifs, such as the trellis pattern (c.1690-1797), but precise dating can be challenging without a specialist (Madsen and White 2011:73). Further information on blue-on-white porcelain can be found in Mudge

(1986), Shulsky (1999), Hume (2001), Deagan (2002), Miller et al. (2000), and Miller (2005).



Figures 6.1, 6.2: A very robust piece of a foot from the base of a half-pint bowl. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.3: Examples of the decorative motifs present on the blue on white porcelain. From a teacup (left) and a saucer (right). Scale is 5cm.

Chinese Export Polychrome

Only two mended base pieces could be determined to belong to this category, exhibiting the characteristic red and gold decoration (Figure 6.4). Based on the profile and base diameter it is believed these pieces are from a saucer. As is typical of this decoration, a floral garden motif is represented (Madsen and White 2011:110-112). Unlike blue-on-white decoration, polychrome porcelain has a fairly tight production date range of 1700 to 1750 (Madsen and White 2011:112). More information on polychrome

decorated porcelain can be found in Carswell (1985), Deagan (1987), Kuwayama (1997), and Miller (2005).

Figure 6.4: The characteristic red and gold present on a polychrome decorated saucer. Scale is 5cm.

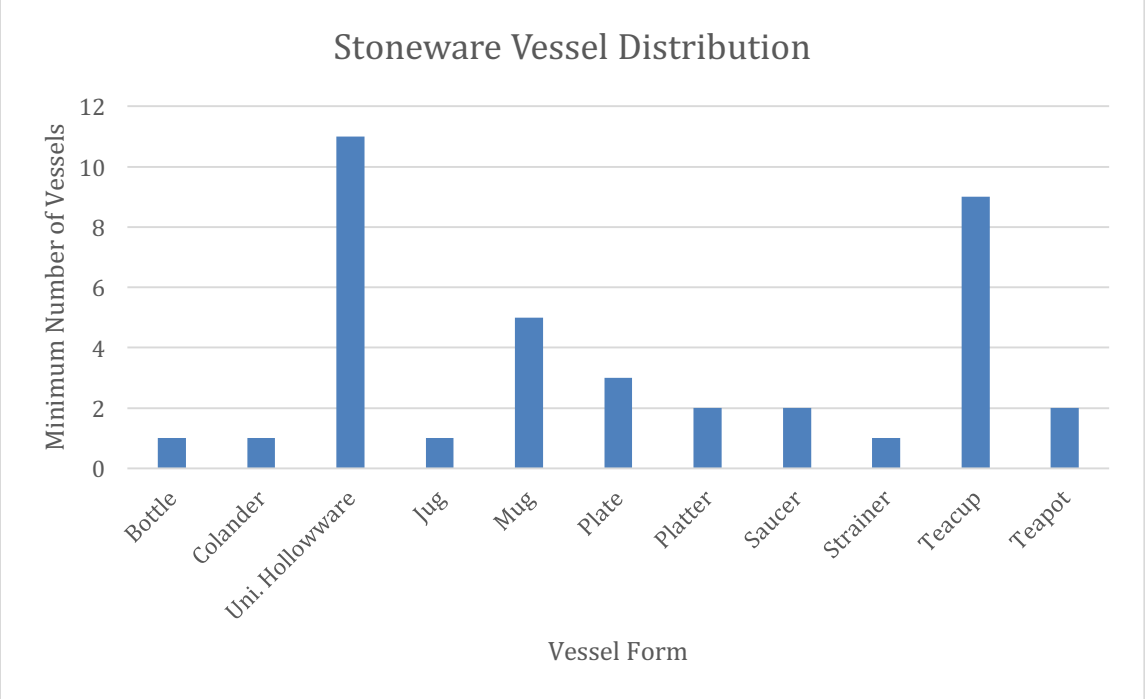
Stoneware

Stoneware constitutes a large part of the assemblage with a wide variety of ware types exhibited. White salt-glazed stoneware is easily the most prevalent type of stoneware in the collection (Table 6.5). The vessel forms identified were also quite varied, but unidentified hollowware was by far the most common. All together there were 225 sherds of stoneware which represent 38 distinct vessels. The breakdown of the vessel forms is as follows: 1 bottle, 1 colander, 1 jug, 5 mugs, 3 plates, 2 platters, 2 saucers, 1 tea strainer, 9 teacups, 2 teapots, and 11 unidentified hollowware vessels (Table 6.6). This is distributed between 10 distinct ware types. While not indicative of a wealthy owner in itself, some of the stoneware was quite refined and could be taken as evidence of affluence.

Table 6.5: Number of stoneware vessels identified by decoration type

Ware Type	Vessel Form	Count
Beauvais	Unidentified Hollowware	2
English Brown/Fulham	Bottle	1
Normandy Brown	Colander	1
Nottingham-Type	Mug	2
Scratch Blue	Mug	1
	Saucer	1
Shaw's Patent	Teapot	1
Westerwald	Jug	1
	Mug	2
White Salt-Glazed	Unidentified Hollowware	7
	Plate	3
	Platter	2
	Saucer	1
	Strainer	1
	Teacup	9
	Teapot	1
Unknown	Unidentified Hollowware	2

Table 6.6: Stoneware vessel type distribution



Beauvais

There are 12 sherds of French Beauvais stoneware representing 2 unidentified hollowware vessels. Given the robust nature of these pieces it is likely that the hollowware vessels were used for some sort of storage as opposed to being tableware (Figure 6.5). While Beauvais is often an unglazed type, stoneware's vitrified fabric makes it impervious to liquids meaning these vessels could have held either dry goods or liquids. As is typical of Beauvais, no decoration was seen on the sherds save for some cording present on the body (Figure 6.6). Beauvais was manufactured during the 16th through the 18th century (Neillon and Moussette 1981:271). More about Beauvais stoneware can be found in Neillon and Moussette (1981), Hurst et al. (1986), Faulkner and Faulkner (1987), Chrestien and Dufournier (1995), and Gaimster (1997).

Figure 6.5: A robust piece of Beauvais from the base of a storage vessel. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.6: Cording decoration used on Beauvais. One can also notice the variation in appearance. Scale is 5cm.

English Brown Salt-Glazed/Fulham

There are eight pieces of a single bottle that have been determined to belong to either English Brown Salt-Glazed or Fulham stoneware types (Figure 6.7). Unfortunately, because the diagnostic medallion is missing, it is difficult to determine with certainty which of these two ware types these pieces represent due to their similarities of appearance. However, both English Brown and Fulham stoneware have a similar manufacturing date range of approximately 1690 to 1775 (Gaimster 1997:309-310, Hume 1969:114). Rhenish Brown also has a similar appearance to the aforementioned types and indeed the Fulham stonewares were an imitation of the German manufactured Rhenish Brown (Green 1999:3, Hume 1969:113).

Figure 6.7: A body and shoulder sherd from a bottle. This appearance is characteristic of both English Brown and Fulham stonewares. Scale is 5cm.

Normandy Brown

A single rim sherd is the only evidence for the Normandy brown stoneware type (Figure 6.8). The piece itself is in fairly poor condition, possibly having been thermally altered prior to being deposited, and the exposed fabric shows a fairly large quartz

inclusion (Figure 6.9). However, the piece is significant as a result of two or three holes that were perforated through the sherd prior to the vessel being fired. As well, the profile of the sherd is unusual in that the rim appears to be flaring up into a spout of sorts. The combination of these two features appear to be at odds with each other as the holes (which would seem to indicate a strainer) are very close to the lip. This would make pouring liquid from that area difficult if one wanted to make use of the strainer. A colander is the suggested vessel form represented by this piece with the flared lip possibly being part of a handle that has since been lost.

Figure 6.8: Exterior of the rim sherd showing the flared lip and the holes that run through the piece. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.9: Interior view of the sherd showing the same complete hole and part of the other. The quartz inclusion can be seen on the right. Scale is 5cm.

Nottingham-Type

Ten pieces representing two mugs are Nottingham-type stoneware. The decorative forms consist of rouletting around the exterior close to the rim, incised lines that intersect, or incised lines that run around the perimeter of the vessel (Figure 6.10). There is also a variation in the brown glaze distribution giving parts of the ceramic a

"dipped" appearance. This type was manufactured between 1700 and 1810. Nottingham-type stoneware is also discussed in Hume 1969; 2001, and Oswald 1974.

Figure 6.10: A number of mended pieces that form part of a mug rim and demonstrate the rouletting decoration. Scale is 5cm.

Scratch Blue

Scratch blue stoneware is represented by 13 sherds. The diagnostic aspects of these pieces provide a minimum vessel count of one saucer and one mug (Figure 6.11). The decoration on the mug is difficult to discern, but the flowing, incised lines could be part of a floral motif. The saucer's decoration is similarly obscured by breaks, but it does appear to also have a floral pattern with a flower, leaves, and vines. An English stoneware, this type was manufactured between 1735 and 1775 (Hume 1969; 2001).

Figure 6.11: The rims of a mug (left) and a saucer (right). Scale is 5cm.

Shaw's Patent

In 1733 a Burslem potter named Ralph Shaw took out a patent in Staffordshire for a new way to decorate stoneware (Skerry and Findlen-Hood 2009:105-106). Using a combination of flint and pipe-clay Shaw covered the ceramic in a thick slip (MacLeod 1988:71; Skerry and Findlen-Hood 2009:105-106). Unfortunately, Shaw was too aggressive in his pursuit of sole rights to all aspects of his patent and ran afoul of his fellow potters who had grown tired of the frequent accusations of infringement while trying to improve on Shaw's formula (MacLeod 1988:71). The issue was ultimately brought to the court in Stafford in 1736 with the claim that previous ceramic innovations had already made use of flint and Shaw did not have sole claim to his formula (MacLeod 1988:71). The court ruled against Shaw's patent and the eponymous ware type was widely reproduced by others for a brief period (MacLeod 1988:71).

A very unique and uncommon ware, this type comes from the slipped stoneware tradition and was only produced for a brief period in the early/mid 18th century. Represented in the collection by 15 pieces that are believed to part of a teapot, this ware type is decorated with raised white sprigs and bands over a dark gray-brown slip (Figure 6.12). The interior is covered in a white glaze and the fabric is vitrified with a dark gray appearance (Figure 6.13, 6.14). As a result of the unique decoration and refined nature of this stoneware the vessel is believed to be another indication of a higher-class owner. References to this ware are hard to come by, but Noël Hume does discuss it briefly in his *Artifacts of Colonial America* (1969:119).

Figure 6.12: The exterior of the Shaw's Patent vessel showcasing the raised sprig and band decoration. A small part of the handle can be seen in the right of the picture. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.13: (above) A profile of this stoneware's fabric. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.14: (left) The interior of the vessel is covered in a fairly thin white slip. Scale is 5cm.

Westerwald

Westerwald, a German stoneware from the Rhine region, is fairly prevalent in the ceramic assemblage with 29 pieces belonging to one jug and two mugs. The mugs have been identified based on rim diameter and the characteristic hole in the handle near the body capable of accepting a lid. The decoration exemplified includes incised lines and flowers, all with the characteristic cobalt blue colouration (Figure 6.15). There is also one sherd that shows evidence of sprig molding. Westerwald was manufactured between 1575 and 1775, but the floral motifs were popular between 1650 and 1725 (Hume 2001:105). A few of the pieces also exhibit the manganese purple that is found on this ware type after 1650 (Figure 6.15) (Hume 1969:281). No evidence of the Royal ciphers that can appear on Westerwald after 1688 was found and it cannot be determined whether these vessels were products of Germany or England. However, it is important to note that the vast majority of this stoneware was made in Germany for the English market (Hume 1969, 2001; Klinge 1996; Gaimster 1997).

Figure 6.15: The gray, cobalt blue, and manganese purple colouring along with incised designs, and molding present in Westerwald stoneware. Scale is 5cm.

White Salt-Glazed

Constituting the largest part of the stoneware collection, white salt-glazed stoneware also seems to represent the largest variety of vessel forms. Of the 134 of sherds representing 24 vessels, many appear to have been from various pieces of tableware used for serving tea. This includes a minimum of nine teacups, one teapot, one saucer, and a tea strainer designed to sit on a teacup (Figure 6.16). At least three plates, two platters, and seven unidentified hollowware containers round out the remaining vessels. The platters were represented by some quite robust sherds which would tend to indicate a platter of significant size.

There is not a wide variety of decoration on these sherds, but potters did occasionally make use of incised lines and the dot, diaper, and basket molding that can often be found on white salt-glazed stoneware plates (Figure 6.17) (Hume 2001). One platter and one plate were decorated using the dot, diaper, and basket molding. There was also a single small body sherd from an unidentified hollowware that had evidence of a brown line applied to its exterior side. White salt-glazed stoneware was produced from 1720 until 1770 with the dot, diaper, and basket design appearing after 1740 (Hume 1969:114-117, South 1977:210-211).

Figure 6.16: A teacup (left) and tea strainer (right) are examples of a number of vessels meant for tea service. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.17: A white salt-glazed plate with the dot, diaper, and basket molded design. Scale is 10cm.

Unknown

In combination with the aforementioned wares there are three pieces representing two distinct hollowware vessels that could not be identified, but were determined to constitute at least two ware types not previously covered. All three were body sherds and lacked sufficient diagnostic attributes to be conclusively identified. One piece was gray bodied with only the barest hint of a white effluvium on the exterior side (Figure 6.18). It was also fairly robust, indicating it was a kind of storage vessel. The second ware type was represented by a relatively thin sherd and exhibited a light yellow-brown mottling with a cream coloured effluvium on the exterior (Figure 6.18). The third piece likely belongs to a vessel base and could be one of the previously discussed stonewares.

Figure 6.18: The robust, gray bodied piece (left), the unidentified base piece (middle), and the yellow-brown mottled piece (right). Scale is 5cm.

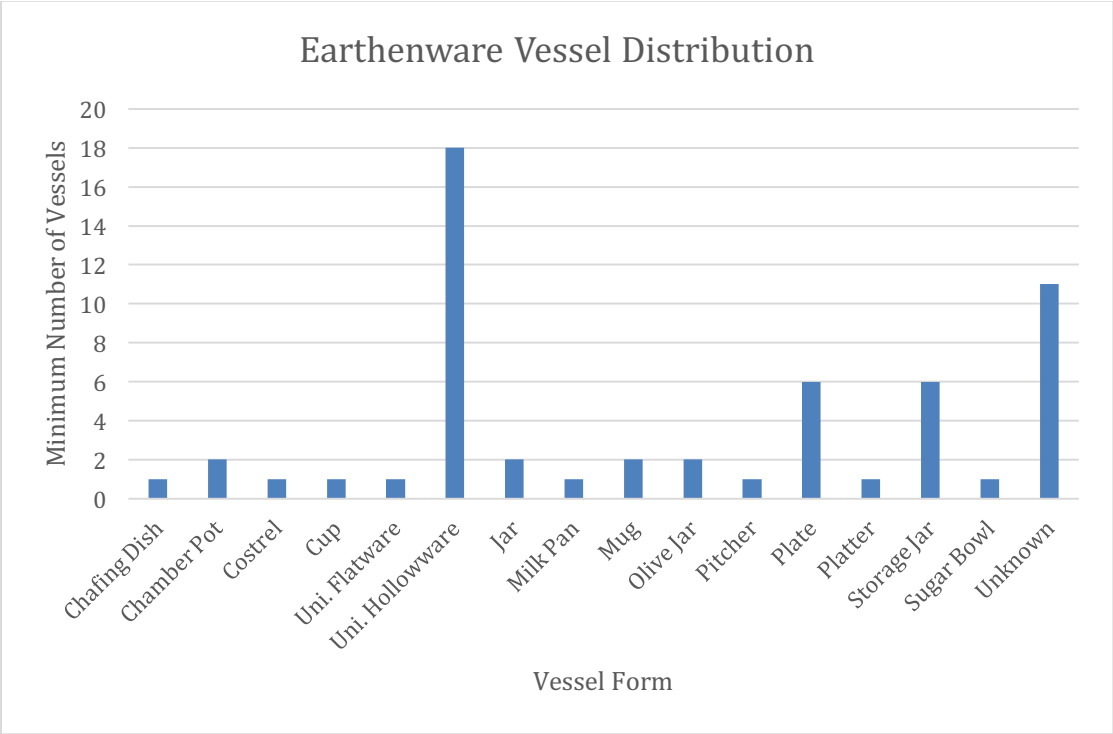
Earthenware

As expected, earthenware makes up the largest portion of the ceramic collection. A variety of types fall under this category, including the ubiquitous tin-glazed earthenware which has been separated to facilitate discussion (Table 6.7). There is a total of 15 distinct ware types within the collection. An MNV of 39 was produced from 1,625 sherds. A chafing dish, 2 chamber pots, 1 costrel, 1 cup, 2 jars, 1 milk pan, 2 mugs, 2 olive jars, 1 pitcher, 6 plates, 1 platter, 6 storage jars, 1 sugar bowl, 1 flatware, 18 hollowware of an unknown nature, and 11 vessels that could not be specifically identified constitute the MNV (Table 6.8).

Table 6.7: Number of earthenware vessels identified by decoration type

Ware Type	Vessel Form	Count
Agateware	Unknown	1
Buckley Ware	Unknown	1
Clouded Ware	Cup	1
	Sugar Bowl	1
Pearlware	Unknown	1
Jackfield	Unidentified Hollowware	1
Jackfield-Type	Pitcher	1
Manganese Mottled	Mug	1
N. Devon Gravel	Unidentified Hollowware	1
	Storage Jar	6
N. Devon Sgraffito	Chafing Dish	1
	Unidentified Hollowware	3
	Plate	5
	Unknown	1
Portuguese Redware	Jar	2
	Unidentified Hollowware	1
	Plate	1
Saintonge	Unknown	1
Somerset Verwood	Unidentified Hollowware	2
Spanish Costrel	Costrel	1
Spanish Heavy	Olive Jar	2
Staffordshire-Type	Chamber Pot	2
	Unidentified Hollowware	10
	Platter	1
	Unknown	4
Unknown	Unidentified Flatware	1
	Mug	1
	Milk Pan	1
	Unknown	2

Table 6.8: Earthenware vessel type distribution



Agateware

One Agateware vessel of unknown form was represented by 12 sherds in the assemblage. The typical mixing of red and white clays on the fabric can be seen on the sherds (Figure 6.19). The decoration occurs on both the inside and outside of the vessel as the red and white clays mingle to create a varied effect and occasionally produce a yellow look. Agateware was manufactured in England between 1740 and 1775 (Hume 1969, South 1977).

Figure 6.19: Three pieces of Agateware showcasing the mixing of red and white clays. Scale is 5cm.

Buckley Ware

Seventeen sherds of Buckley Ware were discovered in the assemblage. Unfortunately, due to damage likely suffered prior to excavation, many are missing their glaze and had to be identified based on the heterogeneous nature of the fabric (Figure 6.20) (Hume 1969:132-133). As such, only one vessel of an indeterminable form could be safely identified. Given the prevalence of storage jars for this ceramic type it would not be unreasonable to suggest that these sherds were part of a storage jar (South 1977:211). What little glaze that remains is the characteristic black. Buckley ware was made in Wales from approximately 1720 through 1775, though similar wares were also manufactured in England to a lesser extent (Davey 1987, 1991).

Figure 6.20: Two pieces of Buckley ware, one without glaze showing the heterogeneous fabric. Scale is 5cm.

Clouded Ware

Also known as tortoise shell or cream coloured, there were six sherds identified as clouded ware. Five of these belong to a cup, but one has an unusual form (Figure 6.21-6.23). This odd profile led to the conclusion that this piece could have come from a sugar bowl, examples of which can be seen to exhibit unusual shapes. Manufactured in England between 1750 and 1775, the pieces in the Bois Island collection exhibit the brown and cream coloured decoration style of the glaze as well as incised lines around the exterior near the rim (Figure 6.24) (Hume 1969:123).

Figure 6.21: View of what is believed to be the interior of the sugar bowl. Scale is 5cm.

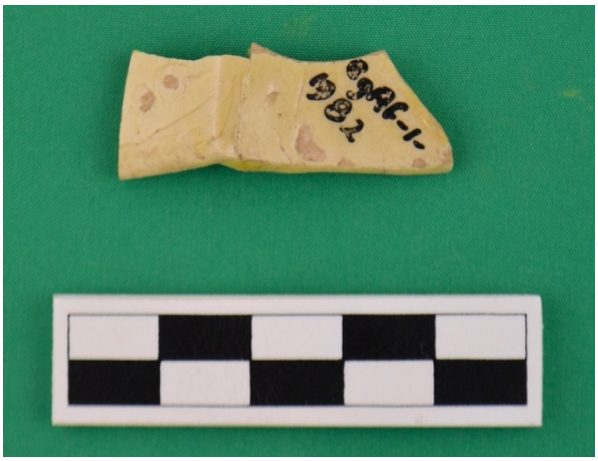


Figure 6.22: View of what is believed to be the exterior of the sugar bowl. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.23: View of the top profile of the sugar bowl. Scale is 5cm.

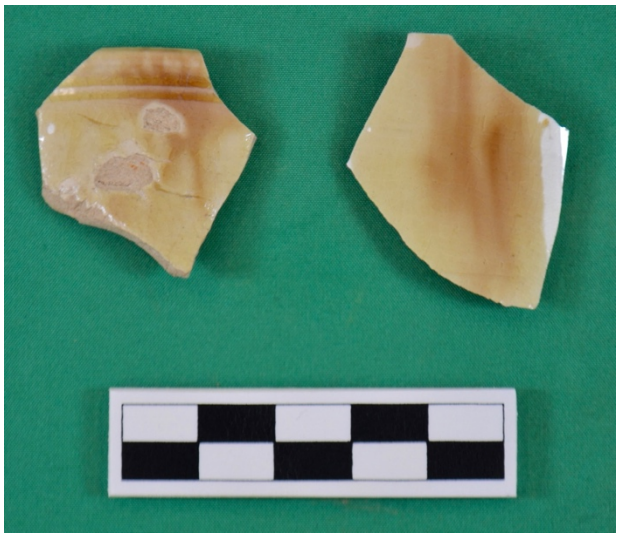


Figure 6.24: Pieces of a clouded ware mug. The style and decoration is typical of the Bois Island pieces. Scale is 5cm.

Pearlware

A single piece of thermally-altered pearlware was discovered in the assemblage (Figure 6.25). It is a base piece belonging to an undetermined vessel form. While the peak occupation of the island is early for the presence of pearlware and many of the artifacts date to the early to mid-18th century, it is suggested that the status of the individuals occupying the officers' barracks could have been sufficient to acquire this ware type prior to its widespread distribution in the late 18th century. It is also possible that this piece came from a more recent stratigraphic layer/deposit. Whatever the case, the presence of a single piece representing one unknown vessel does not change the interpretation of the site, especially given the lack of provenience that is available for the artifacts.

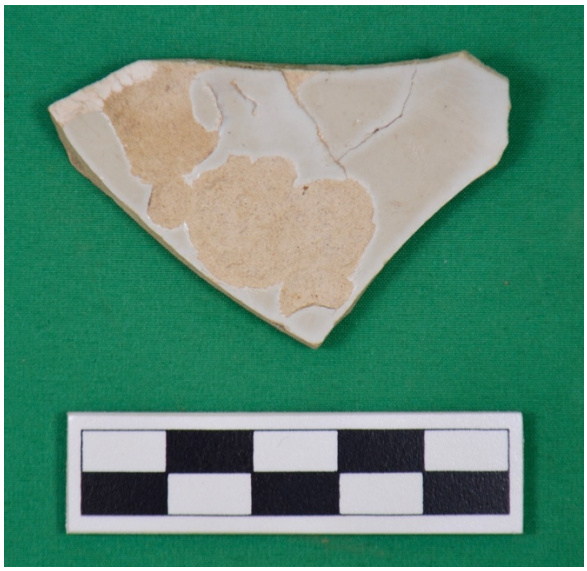


Figure 6.25: The only pearlware piece recovered from the 1975 excavation. Scale is 5cm.

Jackfield

Only one small body sherd was identified as Jackfield ware-type (Figure 6.26). Little information can be drawn from a sherd of this size, but based on its profile it appears to represent a hollowware vessel. As a more refined ware, Jackfield was also commonly used for vessels relating to tea service. This ware type was manufactured between 1740 and 1790 in England (Hume 1969; 2001, South 1977).

Figure 6.26: The piece of Jackfield found in the Bois Island collection. Scale is 5cm.

Jackfield-Type

Only one vessel, determined to likely be a pitcher or a mug, was found to belong to the Jackfield-Type ware (Figure 6.27). These 21 sherds are different from "typical" Jackfield discussed above in that they have a red fabric, do not have quite the same "metallic" appearance to the glaze, and are robust by comparison. The piece is covered in a plain black glaze and the only decoration is the "ribs" that run around the circumference of the vessel below the rim. Other examples of this ware were described by Jeffries et al. (2014:269). The examples shown in Jefferies et al. (2014) are mugs, but the Bois Island sherds could represent a pitcher as a result of the stance suggested by the rim.

Figure 6.27: Rim sherd demonstrating the decoration and style of this vessel. Scale is 5cm.

Manganese Mottled

Twenty-four sherds were identified as manganese mottled, all of which appear to come from a single mug. The sherds exhibit the characteristic dark brown streaks on a light brown glaze as well as shallow horizontal ribbing around the exterior (Figure 6.28). Manganese mottled was produced in Staffordshire and Buckley between 1680 and 1780 with its popularity peaking in the late 17th century and early 18th century (Philpot 1985, McNeil 1989, Elliot 1998, Williams 2003).

Figure 6.28: Pieces of a mug exhibiting the characteristic glaze pattern of Manganese Mottled. Scale is 5cm.

North Devon Gravel-Temper Ware

This is the most common type of earthenware, indeed, the most common ceramic type in the assemblage with 602 sherds present. Many of the sherds are comparatively larger to those from the other ware types. Produced between 1600 and 1800, but declining in popularity after the last quarter of the 17th century, this ware is a robust utilitarian type with a distinct lead glaze as well as the large quartz grains and pebble temper that give it its name (Figure 6.29) (Hume 1969:133, Watkins 1960, Grant 1983). Seven vessels were determined to be represented and can be categorized as six storage containers and one unidentified hollowware.

Figure 6.29: An exterior and interior view of North Devon Gravel. The fabric inclusions are clearly visible in both pieces. Scale is 5cm.

North Devon Smooth Sgraffito Decorated

Another product of the Devon ceramic industry, North Devon sgraffito was produced as early as 1620 and peaked towards the end of the 17th century (Watkins 1960:53-54). However, production of North Devon sgraffito continued into the 19th century (Hume 1969:133). Almost as significant a portion of the ceramic assemblage as the gravel-tempered ware, there were 216 sherds identified as this type. This constituted a minimum of 10 vessels, including five plates, a chafing dish, three unidentified hollowware, and one unknown form. The decoration consists of a white slip coat that is then cut to reveal the contrasting colour of the underlying fabric prior to the application of a lead glaze. The decoration appears as yellow-brown incised lines in a variety of abstract patterns through a white slip background (Figure 6.30). Edge decoration was also employed on a few of the sherds such as incised lines and pie crust edges (Figure 6.31). The colour difference between the two figures is the result of imperfect heat distribution during firing.

Figure 6.30: Sgraffito decoration. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.31: A pie crust edge. Scale is 5cm.

Portuguese Redware

Ubiquitous throughout the ceramic collection, Portuguese redware made up a total of 389 sherds. Two jars, one plate, and one hollowware vessel was determined to be represented by these pieces. This ware type was often difficult to identify within the assemblage given the fragmentary nature of much of the coarse red earthenware. However, mica inclusions are a distinguishing characteristic for this type (Newstead 2008). Decoration is limited on Portuguese redware, but it does occasionally have a thin, white effluvium on the exterior (Figure 6.32) (Newstead 2008).

Figure 6.32: A body sherd demonstrating the mica inclusions helpful for identifying Portuguese redware. Scale is 5cm.

Saintonge

Only two pieces in the collection were determined to be Saintonge. They are not in particularly good condition and may have suffered heat damage before or after deposition (Figure 6.33). The "apple" green glaze can be seen on both pieces, but has been significantly exfoliated from one (Musgrave 1998:1-18). It is believed that they can be classified as 18th-century Saintonge with a white slip coat underneath the glaze (Barton 1977, 1981). It cannot be determined what vessel form these pieces represent given their damaged and fragmentary nature, but they may have been part of a milk pan. However, these pieces do provide another indication that trade between England and France was being conducted despite mutual animosity during the period of Bois Island's occupation and before.

Figure 6.33: A damaged rim piece of Saintonge. Scale is 5cm.

Somerset/Verwood

Manufactured in England, Somerset/Verwood made up a small part of the assemblage with twenty sherds representing a minimum of two hollowware vessels (Figure 6.34) (Temple 2004, Coleman-Smith 1996). Much of the glaze has broken off from these sherds and no decoration is visible. While underrepresented in the assemblage, this ware type represents another commodity being brought to Bois Island from England.

Figure 6.34: Sherds identified as Somerset/Verwood in the collection. Scale is 5cm.

Spanish Costrel

84 pieces in the assemblage appear to have come from a single Spanish costrel. The pieces have unfortunately deteriorated significantly taking on a chalky texture and losing much of the white glaze that covered the interior of the vessel. It was determined that the pieces in the assemblage belonged to this form based on the distinctive handle in conjunction with its similarity to the appearance of tin-glazed earthenware (Figure 6.35) (Hurst et al. 1986). However, it is worth noting that chemical analysis has determined the glaze to be lead (Jelks 1958: 205). Unusual given the supposed period of Bois Island's occupation, costrels have typically been associated with deposits dating between 1619 and 1645 in Virginia. However, it could be that this vessel came from an earlier deposit or was re-deposited. Costrels have also been found in late 17th-century contexts at Ferryland, so its presence could be the result of deposition lag (Adams 2003).

Figure 6.35: The handle from the Bois Island collection exhibiting the form and glaze typical of Spanish costrels. Scale is 10cm.

Spanish Heavy

There were 17 sherds determined to belong to the Spanish heavy ware type. Eight pieces represent one vessel and nine pieces represent another. While both vessels were of the olive jar form, one had the classic "green apple" glaze on the interior while the other had only a white firing effluvium on the exterior (Figure 6.36).

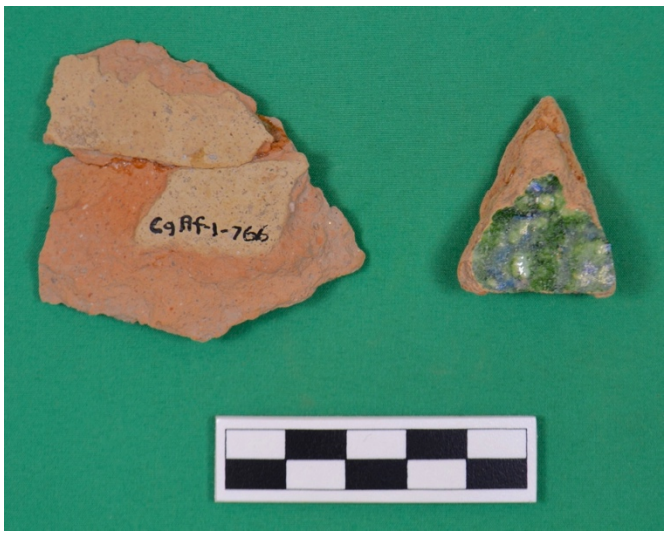


Figure 6.36: Two pieces exhibiting the different glaze seen on Spanish Heavy. Scale is 5cm.

Staffordshire-Type

This ware type is frequent in the ceramic assemblage. There are a minimum of 17 vessels represented by 146 sherds. These vessels consist of 2 chamber pots, 1 platter, 10 of an undetermined hollowware, and 4 of unknown form. Almost the full range of decorative motifs typical of Staffordshire is exhibited with pieces showing pie crust edges, jeweling, combing, marbling, and trailing (Figure 6.37). The majority of the pieces have yellow as the dominant colour with black being used for the various decorative techniques. A few pieces exhibit the inverse of this colour combination, with black serving as the dominant colour and yellow being used for decoration, but only

jeweling can be found with this pattern. The manufacturing range for this ware type falls between 1675 and 1770 (Erickson and Hunter 2001; Grigsby 1993; Hume 1969, 2001).

Figure 6.37: This photo showcases the variety of decorative styles found on Staffordshire Slipware in this assemblage. While difficult to discern, the bottom left piece exhibits a pie crust edge. Scale is 5cm.

Unknown

As is typical in most early modern ceramic assemblages, there are a large number of earthenware sherds that could not be identified because of their fragmentary and damaged nature. One group of 85 pieces were determined to come from a milk pan but the ware type could not be identified due to thermal alteration that damaged the glaze (Figure 6.38). The vessel is also quite robust. In total there were 214 sherds that could not be more specifically identified. This produced a minimum vessel count of one mug, one flatware, the aforementioned milk pan, and two unknown forms.

Figure 6.38: Part of a milk pan made from an undetermined ware type. Another part of the same milk pan was briefly discussed in the previous chapter. Scale is 5cm.

Tin-Glazed Earthenware

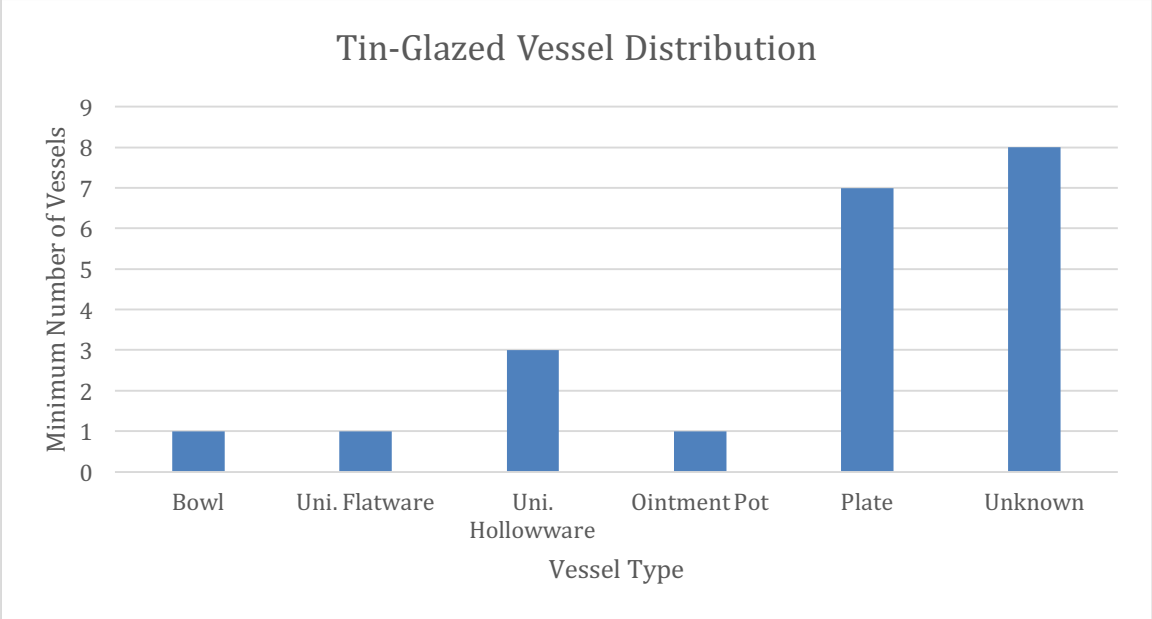
Tin-glazed earthenware is more numerous than any other type of earthenware in the Bois Island ceramic assemblage. They have been separated from the rest of the earthenware to focus on this fact and simplify discussion. Many sherds exhibit the distinctive "dog-biscuit" appearance that is characteristic of this ware type after it goes through taphonomic processes. There were a number of sherds that have lost their glaze entirely making a specific designation impossible. Pieces of detached glaze were also present in the collection. The tin glaze in the collection totaled 402 sherds, which were determined to represent a minimum of 21 vessels (Table 6.9). These vessels were identified as one bowl, one ointment pot, seven plates, one unidentified flatware, three unidentified hollowware, and eight vessels that were too damaged to be definitively identified (Table 6.10). Tin-glazed earthenware is often found in high numbers on sites occupied during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Table 6.9: Number of tin-glazed vessels identified by decoration type

Ware Type	Vessel Form	Count
Delftware Plain*	Plate	1
Delftware Blue on White/Polychrome	Plate	1
	Unknown	1
Delftware (Unknown)	Bowl	1
	Unidentified Flatware	1
	Unidentified Hollowware	2
	Plate	3
	Unknown	4
Faience Rouen Plain*	Plate	1
Faience Blue on White	Ointment Pot	1
Faience Rouen Polychrome	Unidentified Hollowware	1
Faience Guillibaud	Unknown	3
Faience (Unknown)	Plate	1

* These vessels may have had decoration not visible on the sherd(s) that represented it

Table 6.10: Tin-glazed vessel type distribution



Delftware

A better designation for this type of tin-glazed earthenware may be simply "not French". The damage the collection has suffered and the similar manufacturing techniques makes determining a specific region of origin difficult. As such, the 294 sherds determined to represent a MNV of 14 vessels are as likely to come from either England or the Netherlands. There are a few decorations represented, including one or more simple blue lines around the circumference of a flatware vessel, and purple and blue coloured floral and simple geometric motifs (Figure 6.39). The MNV includes one bowl, five plates, one unidentified flatware, two unidentified hollowware, and five vessels of undetermined form.

Figure 6.39: Delftware showing just two of the decorative motifs present in the collection. Scale is 5cm.

Faience

A significant proportion of the tin-glazed collection was determined to have come from France based on the red fabric; a characteristic typical of French tin-glazed earthenware from the Rouen region (Waselkov and Walthall 2002). One hundred and eight sherds were determined to have this attribute. Many of the pieces were of inferior

quality and determined to be an imitation of the "Guillibaud" design (Catherine Losier, personal communication, 2016). Decoration was somewhat limited among the imitation Guillibaud pieces, consisting only of a wavy purple line that ran around the vessel near the rim (Figure 6.40). The vessel also lacks the protective brown lead glaze often present on the underside of flatware from this region. The absence of this brown glaze could be a result of the piece not being meant to be heated like those that do. Finally, there were three small pieces with vibrant decoration that may be linked to the Guillibaud tradition (Figure 6.41). The decoration on these pieces makes use of cross hatching, lines, and floral patterns in red, orange, green, blue, and yellow colouring. The seven vessels can be broken down into one plate, one ointment pot, one unidentified hollowware, and three unknown forms. Unfortunately, these sherds are quite fragmentary, making vessel form difficult to identify.

Figure 6.40: The red fabric marks this tin glaze piece as coming from Rouen. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.41: Vibrant colours are present in the motif for these vessels and stand in stark contrast to the imitation Guillibaud. Scale is 5cm.

Unknown

Many of the tin-glazed earthenware pieces have taken on the "dog-biscuit" appearance typical of this ware type after deposition and unfavourable storage conditions (ex. Figure 6.42). All the glaze has fallen off these sherds. It is therefore impossible to identify these sherds to any level more specific than the generic tin-glazed earthenware. In total, 21 pieces fell into this category with a MNV of one plate being exemplified. More vessels could be present, but the absence of glaze and the lack of diagnostic pieces precludes identifying more vessels.

Figure 6.42: A plate that has taken on the dog biscuit appearance typical of this ware type. Scale is 5cm.

6.2.2 Glassware Artifacts

A number of glass pharmaceutical/perfume containers were present in the assemblage. This glass was quite delicate and clear green in colour. There were 29 shards representing five bottles (ex. Figure 6.43, 6.44). The forms varied but could not be conclusively dated.

Figure 6.43, 6.44: The two most intact examples of pharmaceutical bottles. Scale is 5cm.

Many of the bottles and glassware were for the storage or consumption of alcohol, something closely tied with the next group of artifacts that pertain to leisure (Figure 6.45). Rations of alcohol were distributed as part of the soldier's daily allotment and included rum or spruce beer (Gale 2007:59; Whitfield 1981:43). The officers had greater access to a wider variety of spirits and this is evidenced by a number of glass vessels, including the presence of a Dutch gin case bottle (Figure 6.46). One hundred and fourteen shards of glass were identified as case bottle glass, with two distinct bottles present in the assemblage.

Figure 6.45: Three different wine bottle rims. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.46: The top of a case bottle. Scale is 5cm.

While a high number of base shards were discovered in the assemblage, these were too fragmentary to provide an effective MNV meaning that the rim shards were used instead. The final result was 389 total shards and a MNV of six bottles. Besides the Dutch gin case bottle this count also includes at least one "onion" bottle. Onion bottle forms were popular during the early 18th century (Hume 2001:63).

The presence of wine glasses, tumblers, a shot glass, and decanters also corroborates the suggestion of liquor availability and variety. Four shards of clear glass

came from two tumblers, five shards of clear glass belong to two separate wine glasses, five clear glass shards represented a shot glass, two shards of clear glass belong to one decanter, and nine more shards of a clear green colour represented another decanter (ex. Figure 6.47 and 6.48).

Figure 6.47: Part of the foot from a clear lead crystal wine glass. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.48: Two shards of a shot glass. Scale is 5cm.

Further evidence of an officer occupation can be seen by the acid etching that is present on one of the wine glasses and a tumbler (Figure 6.49). As a more decorative vessel, acid etched glassware is indicative of more than a utilitarian purpose and its use may have been restricted to entertaining guests. Fourteen shards were identified as having acid etched designs with sprigs, zigzags, and cross-hatching being the only identifiable motifs.

Figure 6.49: A few pieces of an acid etched wine glass. Scale is 5cm.

The collection also had seven shards of a highly decorative glass that incorporated white glass into the amber colouring of the piece (Figure 6.50). Three separate vessels appear to be represented by these shards, but it could not be said what type those vessels were. One piece, believed to be part of a wine glass foot, is peculiar in that the white spiral through the amber is only visible when the piece is turned into what would appear to be upside down (Figure 6.51). When positioned with the white design facing away from the viewer no evidence of the decoration can be seen.

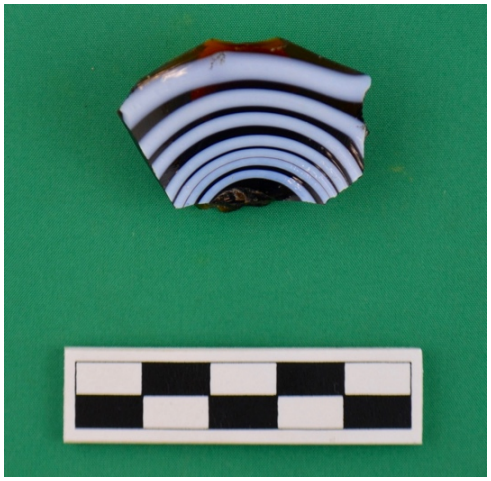


Figure 6.50: The underside of the wine glass foot demonstrating the decoration present on the piece. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.51: The top side of the wine glass foot demonstrating how the piece would sit on a flat surface. Scale is 5cm.

Finally, there were three robust shards of green glass that may belong to a large bowl (Figure 6.52). The glass is folded over itself to form the rim and some of the pieces exhibit blue colouration as a result of exposure to high temperatures. It is possible that these shards came from a punch bowl (Jones and Sullivan 1989).

Figure 6.52: Rim shard believed to belong to a punch bowl. Scale is 5cm.

Bottle Seal

Of particular importance is a bottle seal that reads "Ino Robins 1735" (Figure 6.53). William Robbins is listed as a planter at Ferryland in 1673, but he died prior to 1681. However, the bottle could have come from his wife (listed as a boat keeper) or his son John, who sold fish (Wicks 1998:106). John Robbins seems the more likely candidate given that "Ino" was often used as a short form for "John". This shows that the individual(s) that occupied the barracks were interacting with residents of Ferryland. The wine could have been a gift, part of provisioning, or an indication that some well-to-do residents of Ferryland were visiting and socializing with the officers.

Figure 6.53: The "Ino Robins 1735" bottle seal. Photo courtesy of Barry Gaulton. Seal diameter is approximately 5cm.

6.2.3 Leisure/Personal Artifacts

Coin

A single coin was the only currency present in the collection. Despite suffering from significant wear, the piece is believed to be a George I copper half-penny produced

between 1714 and 1727 (Figure 6.54). This is based upon the barely discernable bust that shows the remains of a hairstyle and indicates a right facing individual.

Figure 6.54: The copper half-penny. Notice outline of the top of the head as it turns into a pigtail at the back. Scale is 5cm.

Keys

At minimum of three keys were identified in the collection (Figure 6.55). This provides another possible indication that officers were occupying the barracks as they would have had chests and lockboxes. However, it is important to note that sailors had their own sea chests and barracks boxes were common in soldiers' barracks. It is also possible that at least one of the keys was for a door.

Figure 6.55: The three iron keys in the collection. Scale is 5cm.

Smoking Pipes

Smoking pipes represent the majority of leisure-related artifacts. Most of the pipes appear to have come from Bristol based on their form and maker's marks. There are 33 maker's marks represented by 10 makers and 3 unknown marks. Of note is the maker's mark of John Wilson, a Bristol pipe maker that is known as one of the only pipe makers to have his cartouche moulded on the left side of the pipe bowl instead of the right (1707-1722, Figure 6.56) (Walker 1977:1509). The other marks present are detailed in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Smoking pipe maker's marks, place of origin, date range, and MNV

Manufacturer	Origin	Date Range	MNV	Reference	Figure
John Wilson	Bristol	1707-1722	1	Walker 1977:1509	6.56
Barnstaple	Devon	1660-1740	3	Grant and Jemmett 1985:451	6.57
Henry Edwards	Bristol and West Country	1700-1780	4	Walker 1977:1493	6.58
Robert Tippet I/II/III	Bristol	1660-1720	9	Walker 1977:1493	6.59
William Manby	London	1680-1740	3	Oswald 1975:80-82	6.60
Hanover	Hanover	1735-1780	3	Atkinson and Oswald 1980:363	6.61
Robert Tippet I/II/III *or* Isaac Evans	Bristol	1660-1701	2	Walker 1977:1426, 1493	6.62
William Tippet I/II	Bristol	1700-1780	3	Walker 1977:1502	6.63
William Nicholas	Bristol	1730-1780	1	David Higgins 2016	6.64
S. Lewes (Samuel Lewis or Susannah Lewis)	Bristol	18th Century	1	David Higgins 2016	6.65

The three Hanover marks provided different dates based upon form and other identifying features. One was determined to have been produced between 1740 and 1780, based on its form and the presence of the Latin words MON DROIT, which is

found on Hanover pipes between 1735 and 1780 (Atkinson and Oswald 1980:363). The second was determined to have been produced between 1750 and 1780, based upon the presence of a crown (1720-1780) and the phrase *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense* in conjunction with the Royal Arms; which is only on Hanover pipes produced between 1750 and 1780 (Atkinson and Oswald 1980:363). The last Hanover mark was dated between 1735 and 1760, based on the bowl form, the presence of MON DROIT, and the design of the lion's tail, which is specific to pipes produced prior to 1760 (Atkinson and Oswald 1980:363). The final identifiable mark reads *S. Lewes* and is believed to be either Susannah Lewis or one of the many Samuel Lewis' operating in Bristol during the 18th century (Figure 6.65) (David Higgins, personal communication, 2016).

Figure 6.56: John Wilson, Bristol, 1707-1722.

Figure 6.57: Barnstaple, Devon, 1660-1740.

Figure 6.58: Henry Edwards, Bristol and West Country, 1700-1780.

Figure 6.59: Robert I-III, Bristol, 1660-1720.

Figure 6.60: William Manby, London, 1680-1740. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.61: Hanover, 1735-1780

Figure 6.62: Robert Tippet I-III or Isaac Evans, Bristol, 1660-1701

Figure 6.63: William Tippet I-II, Bristol, 1700-1780

Figure 6.64: William Nicholas, Bristol, 1730-1780

Figure 6.65: Susannah Lewis or Samuel Lewis, Bristol, 18th century

There are also three bowl pieces decorated with a grapevine (known as a mulberry type smoking pipe), one Dutch pinched stem, and one stem decorated with an unidentified geometric pattern (Figure 6.66, Figure 6.67) (Oswald 1975:96; Duco 1981). A nearly identical geometric pattern is also mentioned in *The Forts of Pemaquid* (Bradley and Camp 1994:102-103, Fig. 5.76; erroneously written as Fig. 7.76). Worthy of special attention is a smoking pipe stem that exhibits evidence of whittling to facilitate continued use after breaking. Based on a stem-bowl junction count it was determined that there is a MNV of 93 smoking pipes represented by 1,983 pieces. The 93 pipes consist of 12 heel-less pipes, 10 with a spur, and 71 with a heel (ex. Figure 6.68). The high number of smoking pipes in the assemblage is not unusual given how popular smoking was during the period.

Figure 6.66: A mulberry type smoking pipe. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.67: Decorated pipe stem (left) and Dutch pinched stem (right). Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.68: The three types of stem-bowl junctions represented in the collection. Heel (top), spur (bottom, left), heel-less (bottom, right). Scale is 5cm.

Ivory Die

Another fascinating artifact is an ivory die (Figure 6.69). An amazing find, this demonstrates activities beyond the sphere of conflict undertaken by the officers, potentially an activity that was discouraged in the British military. Participation in gambling as well as its viewing by soldiers and non-commissioned officers was strictly punished (Gale 2007:67). Given that most of the supervising ranks that served on Bois Island (for which records exist) appear to have been non-commissioned (i.e. corporals

and sergeants), it is possible that the die belonged to one of the few commissioned officers (i.e. lieutenants or ensigns) that were stationed on the island and the rules concerning gambling did not apply to them (Gale 2007:118). Of course, gambling still occurred in the military despite harsh punishment and it is entirely possible that this was one of the few sources of entertainment available on Bois. It is also important to note that officers in the colonies often looked the other way, allowing the men a greater ability to engage in gaming. Alternatively, the die could be associated with a game that did not involve gambling.

Figure 6.69: One side of the ivory die. Despite the crumbling appearance the sides remain legible. Scale is 5cm.

The numbers on the six sides of the die were created by boring holes into the ivory. The arrangement of the numbers is such that opposing faces of the cube add up to seven. This has been the form for a "regular" die since the Roman period with only slight variation during the late Middle Ages (Deagan 2002:292). However, there is often variation in how the dots of the two, three, and six appear. This leads to a die being labeled a "right" or "left" handed die based on how these three adjacent numbers appear in relation to each other (Deagan 2002:293). One can see this when the die is oriented so that the two, three, and six are facing the viewer (Figure 6.70). It is the direction of this

diagonal that determines that a die is one of 16 possible types, outlined by Kathleen Deagan (from Potter 1992 and reproduced in Egan 1997). This makes the Bois Island die a "Left-Hand, Potter Type #2" die (Deagan 2002:294). Unfortunately, since the die is not parabolic in nature–which have only been found in contexts dating between 1725 and 1800–it does not provide helpful chronological information (Deagan 2002:295).

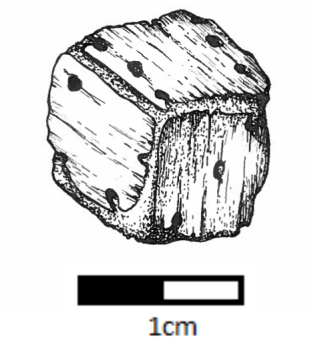


Figure 6.70: Sketch of the die in the orientation that facilitates type identification. One can notice the six on top, the two on the left and three on the right. Drawing courtesy of Meghan Walley.

Inkwell

Among the collection was a peculiar lead artifact (Figure 6.71, 6.72). It is believed that this is an inkwell and is indicative of a literate owner. Literacy was expected of both officers and NCOs.

Figure 6.71: Top down view of the object. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.72: The object pictured from the side. Scale is 5cm.

6.2.4 Clothing-Related Artifacts

Buttons

There were 19 buttons present in the assemblage. Unfortunately, none of them display any sort of legible regimental identifier. Given the prevalence of regimental buttons on 18th-century military sites, it is highly unusual that none were found on Bois Island. Of the buttons 15 were made of copper, two of brass, one of pewter, and one of blue glass (ex. Figure 6.73). Only one button, of copper, could be definitively identified as exhibiting decoration (Figure 6.74).

Figure 6.73: (Above) A selection of buttons from left to right: four copper, one brass, one pewter, one glass. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.74: (Left) A copper button: the only decorated button in the collection. Scale is 5cm.

Buckles

There was also at least 10 buckles discovered, exhibiting a variety of forms and functions (Figure 6.75). Two were determined to be shoe buckles and five were likely from a musket strap or cross-belt. The variety of forms for buckles from the period make

identifying some of the other types difficult, but a few do display decorative motifs. One appears to have been made of a silver alloy, indicating a more affluent owner. Should these buckles have belonged to an officer one would also expect that there would be one or two buckles relating to the carrying of a sword and pistol.

Figure 6.75: A buckle selection including musket strap or cross-belt buckles on the left with shoe or knee buckles next exhibiting two tine chapes. The four on the right half could be shoe or knee buckles. The silver buckle is bottom right. Scale is 5cm.

Glass Beads

Two red glass beads were present in the assemblage (ex. Figure 6.76). They cannot be further identified with any certainty, but it is possible they were part of a rosary.

Figure 6.76: One of two red glass beads. Scale is 5cm.

6.2.5 Architectural Artifacts

Door Hardware

A few metal artifacts were present in the assemblage that can be associated with door hardware. This includes a pintle (Figure 6.77), a door pull or possibly a chest pull (Figure 6.78), and part of the interior of a lock (Figure 6.79).

Figure 6.77: (Left) Iron door pintle. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.78: (Bottom, Left) Iron door pull or chest pull. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.79: (Bottom, Right) Brass door lock mechanism. Scale is 5cm.

Window Glass

The amount of window glass present in the assemblage is surprising given the expense associated with its creation, transport, and installation during the mid-18th century. This provides further evidence of a wealthier individual(s) occupying the building as it is unlikely that the large number of windows would have been installed in the living quarters of the common soldiery. There are 1,479 shards of varying sizes with colour ranging from greenish-blue to olive green to blueish-green (Figure 6.80). Five pieces were discovered that exhibit the telltale "rim" created as a by-product of the crown glass method for creating windows (Figure 6.81). One unusual find in the collection was five shards of glass that are either acid etched or engraved to produce a floral pattern (Figure 6.82). While the application for such a decorative piece of window glass cannot be speculated upon it could be it serves as another indication of affluence among the resident(s) of the barracks. Alternatively, it could have been engraved as a pastime to alleviate boredom after it had already broken.

Figure 6.80: A selection of window glass colours. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.81: Crown glass. Notice the "rim" and ribbing near the top edge. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.82: Pieces of flat, acid-etched or engraved glass. Scale is 5cm.

Brick

A single red brick is present in the collection and, apart from a large inclusion, the brick is smooth and unmarked (Figure 6.83). The brick is hand-made and measures 20cm long, 9cm wide, and 6cm tall. It is possible that it was collected as a representative sample of a larger number of brick pieces discovered during excavation. Caroline Parmenter does denote "brick rubble" in some of her diagrams from Barakat's excavation and it is possible brick was used to construct a fireplace for the barracks (Parmenter 1975). This piece and others were likely brought over as ballast in a similar fashion to the flint used in making gunflints. Sometimes ships would use bricks or other heavy products as ballast for North American voyages and then sell these products to settlers (Gaulton, personal communication, 2017).

Figure 6.83: The brick from the barracks. The inclusion is clearly visible. Scale is 10cm.

Nails

As with any historical period site there is an abundance of nails in a variety of sizes. The vast majority of the nails and spikes are hand-made wrought iron (Nelson 1968). Unfortunately, the nails were not properly stabilized after excavation making a more specific discussion of their number and size impossible. The presence of nails also suggests a wooden structure that would have needed nails and spikes to fasten it together.

6.2.6 Firearms

Gun Parts

Due to a combination of factors, including the deterioration of the metal collection, only one piece could be readily identified as being part of a firearm. Part of the hammer from a flintlock, this piece indicates little beyond the presence of flintlocks (pistol or otherwise) on Bois Island (Figure 6.84).

Figure 6.84: The hammer from a flintlock firing mechanism, missing only the upper clamp to keep the gunflint in place. Scale is 5cm.

Gunflints

A significant amount of flint cores were discovered during Barakat's excavation along with numerous flakes (Luedtke 1998). It is believed that these were brought over as ballast and used in the fashioning of gunflints on the island. This could explain why many of the gunflints appear crudely made. The idea that the cores were brought over as ballast is also substantiated in a report by Joseph Taylor that mentions the state of munition provisioning in Ferryland and Bois Island. At one point Taylor writes: "Flints – One Hundred, out of the Litchfield, beside some from Ferryland, and some in the Inhabitants Custody" (Taylor n.d.). H.M.S. *Litchfield* was a 50-gun, fourth-rate ship of the line in the Royal Navy that saw service in Atlantic Canada during the Seven Years' War.

The flints are all of the gunspall form and range in colour from gray, to white, to honey coloured. Regrettably, flint cores and flakes were stored together making identification of how the flakes were produced difficult. Therefore, only a minimum number of gunflints could be established. There is a total of 19 gunflints, of which 14 are gray, 4 are white, and 1 is honey coloured (Figure 6.85). There appears to be disagreement among scholars as to whether it is possible to determine if a specific gunflint was used in a pistol or a musket based on size. It has been suggested that use-wear analysis can facilitate such discussion given that the smaller strike with pistols means that the flint strikes the frizzen instead of scraping it (Kenmotsu 1990:105). The proposition is that this might result in greater wear on both the top and bottom of the flint than would be seen on those used in muskets and other larger firearms, thus giving the flint a blunt appearance (Kenmotsu 1990:105, 106). However, this can be unreliable as a variety of factors determine the sort of wear gunflints exhibit. The size of the gunflint, raw material, orientation in the lock, firearm type, and the strength of the trigger spring all contribute in varying degrees to the sort of wear a gunflint undergoes (Kenmotsu 1990:111). As a result, the gunflints could only be typed by form and colour.

Figure 6.85: Examples of the gunflints to be found in the collection. Scale is 5cm.

Lead Shot

Unlike the enlisted men, officers were responsible for much of their own equipment and each was responsible for buying himself a sword and pistol (Gale 2007:108, 111). This resulted in a variety of different types of personal armaments being used (Gale 2007:111). A variety of munitions were found in the collection as well; consisting of a variety of different sizes (Figure 6.86). There were 14 musket balls measuring between 0.66 and 0.70 caliber and one indeterminate sized ball that has been warped from impact, but is likely of similar caliber (Sivilich 2016:50-56). Given the period and type of occupation these were likely meant for the British Brown Bess (0.75 caliber), but it is also possible some were for fusils (0.67 caliber). Fusils were smooth-bore firearms that were lighter and of a smaller caliber than muskets; being originally for small game hunting, but later adapted for military service (Sivilich 2016:31; Gale 2007:115). These muskets could be quite ornate. While officers did not carry muskets unless forced to because of supply shortages they did occasionally use them for hunting if fusils were unavailable (Gale 2007:115).

There were 13 balls that measured between 0.55 and 0.59 caliber. This is the typical size for pistol balls, the primary weapon of officers who each carried a minimum of one pistol (Sivilich 2016:31; Gale 2007:111). A number of pistols used by the British military could make use of this caliber of shot including the heavy or regular Dragoon pistol (0.56 caliber), the Scottish Regimental pistol (0.55 and 0.57 caliber), or the Naval pistol (0.58) (Sivilich 2016:31). Given the contemporary documentation for Bois Island,

the Naval pistol is a possible candidate given that officers were transferred from ships and the Royal Marines to the island.

Finally, there were 23 balls measuring between 0.31 and 0.39 caliber (classified as buckshot) and 73 balls measuring between 0.15 and 0.20 caliber (classified as birdshot) (Sivilich 2016:170-171). This is more typical of the caliber of shot to be found in cartridges meant for hunting small game. It is possible this indicates the officers would hunt the local seabirds in their spare time either for entertainment or to supplement their diet. Hunting was a popular pastime for officers.

Figure 6.86: From left to right; two birdshot (0.15-0.20), one buckshot (0.31-0.39), one pistol ball (0.55-0.59), one musket ball (0.66-0.70), and one warped musket ball (likely 0.66-0.70). Scale is 10cm.

6.2.7 Other

Faunal

Deborah Berg, formerly of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, compiled a faunal report of Barakat's assemblage in 1978. This report details Berg's findings regarding the faunal assemblage and is quite comprehensive despite it

being almost forty years old. However, suspect archaeological practice that Berg was likely unaware of does change some of the conclusions reached in the report. More recent scholarship also informs some modifications to the results.

Depending upon the recovery method implemented by Barakat, it is likely that fish and avian bones are underrepresented by the assemblage. Berg makes specific mention of the lack of fish bone in the assemblage and interprets this as indicating fish were a minimal part of the soldiers' diets (Berg 1978:15). However, it is probable that many fish bones were missed during excavation if Barakat did not make use of screens, as is suspected. Also, the acidic nature of Newfoundland soil is not conducive to the preservation of bone, in particular small bones such as those from fish. Given Ferryland's primary function as a fishing village, as well as the cultural and religious observances of the period, it is likely that fish was a much larger part of the diet for the Bois Island garrison than the recovered faunal remains implies. Furthermore, the discovery of a lead line weight and a fishing sinker in the assemblage lends credence to fish being a reasonable, if not significant, part of the officers' diet (Figure 6.87) (Sivilich 2016:140-141). These lead weights could also be used as lead stock for making shot should the need arise. The large number of seabirds present in the area may have also supplemented the diet of those on the island to a greater degree than is evidenced in the assemblage. Many of the recovered faunal remains are also listed as being fragmentary which would further skew the interpretation of the assemblage (Berg 1978:16).

Figure 6.87: A lead line weight (top) with the wire still attached and a lead sinker (bottom). Scale is 5cm.

The calcined bone in the assemblage was also erroneously attributed to cooking. Studies conducted in the 1980s demonstrated that calcination on bone is caused by prolonged exposure (greater than five hours) to high temperatures as opposed to the intentional cooking of bone (Lyman 1994:385-389). This means the calcination could have occurred as a result of accidental or intentional disposal in fire after the meat was removed rather than the bones themselves having been cooked.

Overall, Berg's analysis suggests that the officers in the barracks were consuming the majority of their meat from sources such as domestic pig and cow (Berg 1978:16). What is known about garrison life and diet in the British military during the 1750s substantiates this with soldiers being issued seven pounds of beef or three and a half pounds of pork as part of their weekly ration (Gale 2007:58). It was common for regiments to take animals such as pigs and/or cattle with them during travel to provide fresh meat (Gale 2007:58). Berg also suggests that the hunting of large game was not a common activity on Bois Island (Berg 1978:16). This is unsurprising given the isolated nature of the island, but it is possible that the soldiers supplemented their diet with cuts of

meat purchased from the residents of Ferryland, who could hunt large game in the surrounding area. Finally, Berg states that without a more thorough excavation of the Bois Island military post it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the subsistence patterns of the soldiers posted there (Berg 1978:16).

Food Preparation/Consumption

In conjunction with the faunal collection there were a few artifacts that can be attributed to food preparation. This includes part of a knife blade and the foot from a cast iron pot (Figure 6.88, 6.89). While the foot design is fancy for a pot, cast iron stoves are uncommon for the British during the 18th century and became more common in the 19th century (Gaulton, personal communication, 2017). Furthermore, if the brick in the collection is representative of a fireplace it is less likely that there was a cast iron stove as well.

Figure 6.88: Part of the blade and tang of a knife. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.89: Likely the foot of a cast iron pot. Scale is 5cm.

In the assemblage were also discovered three pewter spoons with intricate engravings on the underside of the bowl (ex. Figure 6.90). Regrettably, pewter does not survive well in most burial environments, which resulted in the pieces crumbling. This problem was compounded through the use of masking tape to keep the pieces together which has obscured the decoration and caused further damage. Nevertheless, the underside of the bowls is decorated with sprigs and vines, very similar to lace-back trefid spoons commonly manufactured in the West Country of England (Constable 2016:407-413). The presence of these decorative spoons is a key piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that officers were residing in this barracks.

Figure 6.90: The underside of a pewter spoon with the most visible decoration. Scale is 5cm.

Miscellaneous

Several artifacts are present in the collection that cannot be conclusively identified. Metal frequently falls under this category as a result of its susceptibility to taphonomic processes and that metal objects are frequently created to be discrete parts of a device. Without the entire mechanism one piece is meant to work with identification

can be problematic. Such is the case with the piece shown in Figure 6.91 and 6.92. One suggestion is that it comes from the cross guard or quillon of a sword, but this hilt form largely went out of use shortly after the Middle Ages in favour of the basket hilt design. The piece is also quite robust, which stands at odds with the lighter blade present in the common rapiers of the period. Nevertheless, there exists great variability among naval melee weapons and since officers were responsible for their own equipment it could be that this piece represents an unusual form. A number of more identifiable metal artifacts were also present in the collection such as the remains of an adze or mattock head (Figure 6.93) and a ferrule (Figure 6.94).

Figure 6.91: What is believed to be a top down view of the object. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.92: What is believed to be a side view of the object. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.93: The eye and part of the head of an adze or mattock. Scale is 5cm.

Figure 6.94: A brass ferrule from an unknown tool. Scale is 5cm.

CHAPTER 7: THE OFFICERS' BARRACKS: AN INTERPRETATION

7.1 An 18th-Century Officers' Barracks

The artifact collection from the Bois Island barracks gives strong indication that it housed officers rather than the common soldiery. A variety of factors contribute to this assessment, but much of the evidence for officers occupying the barracks is drawn from social and economic indicators within the collection.

Military site collections from the mid-18th century have been largely understudied by archaeologists and historians as it is mostly seen as a transitional phase prior to the American Revolution (Janzen 2014). What studies do exist have focussed on architecture and engineering as opposed to the occupants themselves. This is especially true of Newfoundland archaeology where there are a number of 18th-century military sites known, but not excavated and/or fully analyzed. As a result, comparative military sites would have to be drawn from elsewhere in Canada and the United States. This also proved difficult as very few sites suitable for comparison have accessible collections and even fewer seem to have quantified assemblages. Sites, especially those that produced large collections, tend to have their information disseminated in articles or papers about a single artifact type or aspect of the assemblage as opposed to a complete examination as was performed during this research (eg. Green 1999, Allan et al. 2005, Sivilich 2005). Within a Newfoundland context only one non-military domestic occupation was available for comparison, a mid 18th-century dwelling and tippling house in Ferryland analyzed by Barbara Leskovec (2007). Without the ability to compare counts between the Bois Island artifacts and another 18th-century military collection, Leskovec's thesis provides a

contrast between contemporary sites that both served a domestic function. This will serve as a foundational study for future researchers to build upon.

Teawares are the most recognizable indication of affluence among the barrack's residents. The 15 teacups, 2 teapots, 1 strainer, and 1 sugar bowl account for approximately 15 percent of the ceramic vessels. This emphasis on tea service is indicative of individuals with greater status and more free time; something officers would have in abundance relative to the common soldiery. It is also important to note that a large portion of the teawares are made of finer ceramic types. The Shaw's Patent stoneware and the Clouded Ware are high-quality ceramics that would have been difficult for soldiers to afford. Porcelain is also frequently associated with higher status being a more refined and expensive ceramic.

The Westerwald, white salt-glazed, scratch blue, and Nottingham-type are also relatively high quality stonewares and the Jackfield, Manganese Mottled, Agateware, and the Staffordshire Slipware stand out among the earthenwares. However, Westerwald and white salt-glazed stonewares are common types in 18th-century assemblages and cannot always be taken as an indicator of affluence.

Many of the ceramic types in the collection were manufactured from the early to mid-18th century. A study conducted by William Hampton Adams argues that ceramic tableware tends to have a lifespan of 15 to 20 years or more (Adams 2003:38). This fits well with the documented dates of the Bois Island occupation.

The diversity of artifacts related to alcohol consumption also speaks to more affluent occupants of the barracks. While enlisted men received rum or beer as part of

their rations they would not have consumed this in glasses, tumblers, or wine glasses. Some of these vessels are also decorated in a fashion one would expect to find among upper class dining and entertaining; the acid etching on a wine glass and the trailed decoration on two types of glass stand as the most obvious examples. The wine bottles and Dutch gin case bottle are also evidence of alcohol unavailable to lower ranks. It is also unlikely that enlisted men interacted with prominent individuals from Ferryland, as evidenced by the Ino Robins bottle seal. The wine could have been a gift from a migratory fishing captain or a prominent Ferryland planter to one of the officers.

Another luxury item found in the collection are the decorative pewter spoons. Only the mid to upper classes would have had access to such intricately ornamented cutlery. The same can be said for some of the buckles in the assemblage, that have a decorative design and one possibly being made of silver. The foot from a cast iron pot is also more decorative than one would expect from a simple piece of cookware.

If the unidentified lead object is an inkwell, it serves as yet another indication of a mid to upper-class owner. Literacy, being able to both read and write, was a trait far more common among the mid to upper classes during the 18th century (Melton 2001:81-82). Officers were required to be literate in order to fulfill their duties.

While it cannot stand on its own, the presence of significant numbers of lead pistol shot can be linked to officers. Enlisted men did not carry pistols, but officers were required to carry at least one.

The structural evidence also lends credence to an officer(s) inhabiting the barracks. Window glass was costly to produce much less transport and install during the

18th century. The 1,479 shards of glass would suggest a minimum of two windows considering the size of many of the shards as well as the colour variety. This would amount to a greater cost of both time and money than would have been spent on a structure to house regulars.

Finally, the ivory die more likely belonged to an officer given that officers had more free time to indulge in games that would make use of dice. The use of ivory as a manufacturing material also makes the item more difficult to obtain than one of wood or bone.

7.2 Officers' Barracks Comparison

What follows is a comparison of the Bois Island barracks collection with that from the Ferryland tippling house, as reported by Barbara Leskovec. This provides valuable context with regard to archaeological indicators of variability in the daily lives of Ferryland residents. In particular, officers and fishers/tavern patrons can be contrasted. The comparison will follow a similar order to how the artifacts were discussed in the previous chapter. The suspected differences between the two sites in population size, length of occupation, and excavation area are overcome by using proportion of each artifact type instead of numbers.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 details the ceramics found at the Ferryland tippling house alongside those found at Bois Island (Leskovec 2007:86). To facilitate a more direct comparison, the Bois Island data for certain ware types–such as blue on white and

polychrome porcelain–has been combined into a single entry to better reflect the labels used by Leskovec.

Table 7.1: Side-by-side ware type comparison of the officers' barracks ceramic assemblage (left) and the tippling house ceramic assemblage (right)

Bois Island	**MNV**	**%**	**%**	**MNV**	**Tippling House**
Porcelain	10	7.94	7.41	4	Porcelain
Beauvais	2	1.59	0.00	0	Beauvais
English Brown/Fulham	1	0.79	3.70	2	Brown Salt-Glazed
Normandy Brown	1	0.79	0.00	0	Normandy Brown
Nottingham-Type	2	1.59	0.00	0	Nottingham-Type
Scratch Blue	2	1.59	0.00	0	Scratch Blue
Shaw's Patent	1	0.79	0.00	0	Shaw's Patent
Westerwald	3	2.38	20.37	11	Westerwald
White Salt-Glazed	24	19.05	20.37	11	White Salt-Glazed
Uni. Stoneware	2	1.59	0.00	0	Uni. Stoneware
Agateware	1	0.79	1.85	1	Agateware
Buckley Ware	1	0.79	0.00	0	Buckley Ware
Clouded Ware	2	1.59	0.00	0	Clouded Ware
Pearlware	1	0.79	0.00	0	Pearlware
Jackfield	1	0.79	0.00	0	Jackfield
Jackfield-Type	1	0.79	0.00	0	Jackfield-Type
Manganese Mottled	1	0.79	1.85	1	Manganese Mottled
N. Devon Gravel	7	5.56	7.41	4	N. Devon Gravel
N. Devon Smooth	10	7.94	3.70	2	N. Devon Smooth
Portuguese Redware	4	3.17	7.41	4	Portuguese Redware
Saintonge	1	0.79	0.00	0	Saintonge
Somerset Verwood	2	1.59	3.70	2	S. Somerset
Spanish Costrel	1	0.79	0.00	0	Spanish Costrel
Spanish Heavy	2	1.59	0.00	0	Spanish Heavy
Staffordshire-Type	17	13.49	1.85	1	Staffordshire-Type
Uni. Earthenware	5	3.97	3.70	2	Uni. Earthenware
Delftware	14	11.11	3.70	2	Delftware
Faience Rouen	7	5.56	3.70	2	Faience Rouen
Nether Stowey	0	0.0	1.85	1	Nether Stowey
Redware	0	0.0	3.70	2	Redware
Creamware	0	0.0	1.85	1	Creamware
Whiteware	0	0.0	1.85	1	Whiteware
	126	99.99	99.97	54*	

* A minor error resulted in an increase in the original MNV from 53 to 54. This error was present within the white salt-glazed stoneware MNV.

Table 7.2: Side-by-side vessel form comparison of the officers' barracks ceramic assemblage (left) and the tippling house ceramic assemblage (right)

Bois Island	MNV	%	%	MNV	Tippling House
Bottle	1	0.79	1.85	1	Bottle
Bowl	2	1.59	9.26	5	Bowl
Chafing Dish	1	0.79	0.00	0	Chafing Dish
Chamber Pot	2	1.59	0.00	0	Chamber Pot
Colander	1	0.79	0.00	0	Colander
Costrel	1	0.79	0.00	0	Costrel
Cup	1	0.79	3.70	2	Cup
Flatware	2	1.59	0.00	0	Flatware
Hollowware	32	25.40	1.85	1	Hollowware
Jar	2	1.59	1.85	1	Jar
Jug	1	0.79	7.41	4	Jug
Milk Pan	1	0.79	1.85	1	Milk Pan
Mug	7	5.56	25.93	14	Mug
Ointment Pot	1	0.79	0.00	0	Ointment Pot
Olive Jar	2	1.59	0.00	0	Olive Jar
Pitcher	1	0.79	1.85	1	Pitcher
Plate	16	12.70	9.26	5	Plate
Platter	3	2.38	0.00	0	Platter
Saucer	5	3.97	9.26	5	Saucer
Storage Jar	6	4.76	1.85	1	Storage Jar
Strainer	1	0.79	0.00	0	Strainer
Sugar Bowl	1	0.79	0.00	0	Sugar Bowl
Teacup	15	11.90	1.85	1	Teacup*
Teapot	2	1.59	0.00	0	Teapot
Unknown	19	15.08	3.70	2	Unknown
Jug/Mug	0	0.00	1.85	1	Jug/Mug
Bowl/Pitcher/Teapot	0	0.00	1.85	1	Bowl/Pitcher/Teapot
Pipkin	0	0.00	1.85	1	Pipkin
Tall Pot	0	0.00	1.85	1	Tall Pot
Candlestick	0	0.00	1.85	1	Candlestick
Bottle/Jug	0	0.00	3.70	2	Bottle/Jug
Punch Bowl	0	0.00	5.56	3	Punch Bowl
	126	99.98	99.98	54	

* The porcelain vessel identified as a cup by Leskovec has been relabelled as a teacup for the sake of consistency.

The Tippling House would seem to have less unidentifiable vessels than the Bois Island collection. This could be a result of differences in taphonomic processes on the

island versus the mainland. Alternatively, it might be tied with differences in post-excavation care for each collection, with Bois Island having many ceramic pieces fragmented and missing diagnostic attributes. The Ferryland archaeological project is also a more recent and well-established project with numerous skilled specialists involved in all stages of archaeology.

Teawares make up a greater portion of the Bois Island assemblage. While not identified as such, the porcelain cup at the Tippling House is more than likely a teacup, but this still only makes a total of six (possibly seven) vessels geared towards tea service. This is likely the result of a combination of factors, most importantly the difference in the purpose of the buildings and the status of the individuals residing/frequenting there. Wealthier individuals would partake of tea on a regular basis as it was seen as a social and leisurely pursuit associated with the affluent. The high duties attached to the import of tea meant that only the mid to upper class could enjoy it until the latter half of the 18th century when these tariffs decreased (Young 2001:4). The higher number of teawares at Bois Island suggests the presence of higher status individuals - such as officers - living on the island.

The quality of the wares is not as disparate between the two collections as might be expected. Each has comparable proportions of porcelain, manganese mottled, agateware, and white salt-glazed stoneware vessels. Of course, the officers' barracks did produce a few wares not found in the tavern, including Shaw's Patent and Jackfield. More Staffordshire-type was also discovered on Bois Island. On the other hand, the tippling house had significantly more Westerwald vessels than the barracks, but since

mugs were a common form for Westerwald ceramics, their greater presence in the tippling house is not unusual. Because it was a drinking establishment, more of the ceramic collection from the tippling house is geared towards that activity, hence the larger proportion of mugs, cups, punch bowls, bottles, jugs, and pitchers. The tippling house was likely serving higher quantities of beer/ale based on the large number of mugs identified in the collection. There seems to exist a greater diversity of vessel forms in the Bois Island assemblage including several platters and teacups. This is again by virtue of the different purpose of the structure and speaks to the more refined dining practices on Bois Island. The ceramic collection of the officers would have been more versatile to facilitate their daily life which included entertaining, food preparation, and multiple meals a day.

Glass objects relating to liquor consumption make up a greater portion of the tippling house assemblage than the collection belonging to the officers. The variety of wine bottles, wine glasses, decanters, and medicinal phials found at the tippling house is not unusual for a drinking establishment where emphasis on artifacts related to alcohol consumption is expected. A variety of glassware would be required to serve patrons of the tippling house. The key difference between the two sites is in the decorative pieces found among the Bois Island glassware. Acid etching, glass layering, and faceted stems are a few of the decorative techniques not found among the tippling house artifacts. Leskovec observed that 80 percent of the glass assemblage, a total of 16 vessels, were specifically for alcohol consumption (Leskovec 2007:153). This compared with only 47 percent of the Bois Island glass assemblage (7 vessels). One would expect that a building

catering to those wishing to drink would have a greater abundance of drinking vessels on hand when compared with a more private dwelling like a barracks. The same argument can be applied to the greater number of wine bottle seals recovered by Leskovec with a total of three seals present, albeit from disturbed contexts (Leskovec 2007:192-193). Only one seal was recovered from Bois Island.

The smoking pipes from the tippling house collection are comparable to those from Bois Island in that the majority were manufactured in Bristol during the early to mid-18th century. The sole maker's mark from the tippling house is from a Bristol pipe maker, Henry Edwards, whose mark was also found in the officers' barracks collection (Leskovec 2007:159). Since Bristol was a common source for smoking pipes used at both sites it is likely that each was supplied by the same ships and had similar trade routes. More maker's marks were associated with the Tippling House occupation, but they were from a disturbed context (Leskovec 2007:194). These marks included John Horwood (mark: PA/IH) of Barnstaple, Thomas Dorner or Thomas Dennis (mark: TD) of Bristol, Reuben Sydney (mark: SYDNEY) from Southampton, and an unidentified mark of two hearts (Leskovec 2007:194-196). There are also a few pipes from undisturbed contexts identified as being from the Northeast of England and/or Yorkshire (Leskovec 2007:159). A greater variety of maker's marks are found in the Bois Island collection compared with the tippling house collection. It is difficult to lend this disparity much significance, but it may be that there was greater importance placed on "brand name" pipes by officers. Regardless, that both assemblages have an abundance of smoking pipe

fragments confirms the importance of tobacco smoking and its pervasiveness as a leisure activity during the period.

Perhaps an unusual difference between the two sites, the tippling house collection only had a single copper button while a large variety (in both form and material) of buttons and buckles were found on Bois Island (Leskovec 2007:185). This could be explained as representing individuals of a higher socio-economic status residing on Bois Island compared with the owner and patrons of the tavern. Officers would need a greater variety of clothing for their daily lives requiring both practical and ceremonial dress. As well, numerous buckles were a part of the standard uniform for British soldiers. More clothing-related artifacts (including buckles and links) were discovered associated with the tippling house, but they were from a disturbed context (Leskovec 2007:196-197). Metal buttons were also more expensive than those made of wood or bone. The tippling house could have had a comparable number of organic buttons that simply did not survive to the present day.

Leskovec did not focus on architectural remains, mentioning only that the structure was made of wood fastened with nails. There is no mention of window glass or brick having been recovered from the tippling house (Leskovec 2007:ii). This may be an omission as a result of the focus of her thesis, but it could also be indicative of a class disparity between the residents of the tavern compared with the officers' barracks. As was previously discussed, window glass was expensive to produce and transport during the 18th century making its acquisition and installation in a Newfoundland context a luxury only attainable by the well to do. The barracks would seem to have required more

time and money to build than the tippling house based on the brick, glass, and evidence for a stone foundation found on Bois Island, but not in Ferryland.

As is to be expected, Bois Island has a larger number of lead shot present and in a greater size variety when compared with the tippling house. Only six cast lead shot, one musket ball, five bird shot, and a single gunflint were associated with the tippling house (Leskovec 2007:181). Unsurprisingly, a military outpost would have greater need for munitions and gunflints than a civilian occupation.

The faunal collection from the tippling house has a significant number of seal bones that are not found in the Bois Island faunal collection (Leskovec 2007:167; Berg 1976). This could be representative of a difference in provisioning between the officers stationed on the island and the residents of Ferryland. It could also indicate a disparity in seasonal occupation between the island and Ferryland. Leskovec discusses the seal bones as indicating a late winter or early spring hunt, and it is possible seal bones are not present on Bois Island because it was not garrisoned during the treacherous winter months (Leskovec 2007:174). During this time, the soldiers may have been moved elsewhere in Newfoundland or to Ferryland. There are instances where soldiers were housed in civilian accommodations with compensation being provided to the owners (Gale 2007:60). Beside the seal bones, the two faunal assemblages are quite similar with an emphasis on domestic pig and cow and an absence of large game (Leskovec 2007:178-179). Fish and bird bones are underrepresented in both assemblages, but metal objects for fishing are more common in the tippling house assemblage and include barbed fish hooks and a fishing weight (Leskovec 2007:183). This is expected considering

Ferryland's purpose as a fishing village, but also indicates that Bois Island - specifically the officers' barracks - was not frequented by fishermen.

Overall, it seems that the artifact assemblage produced by the officers that resided on Bois Island in the 18th century is analogous to the contemporary occupation of the Ferryland tavern. The provenance of many of the artifacts such as ceramics and smoking pipes, is similar. As is expected, a greater emphasis on glassware and drinking vessels was found in the tippling house assemblage, while a larger presence of military artifacts could be seen in the barracks collection.

Differences between the two sites appear to be related to variances in the socio-economic status and daily activities of the Bois Island officers, and the different roles of the barracks and tippling house. The Tippling House was a residence that also served alcohol to patrons. With the barracks serving the role of an officers' dwelling it had to be a versatile building where the occupants could sleep, dress, prepare food, eat, entertain, and undertake the duties of their occupation.

7.3 Household Economy and Daily Life

Based on the nails in the collection and the lack of brick, mortar, and stone debris on the surface, the Bois Island barracks was likely a wooden structure. The nearby bombproof magazine was clearly built of stone based on the sheer amount of stone still associated with the feature. The officers' barracks was likely set on a stone foundation as suggested by the large stones mentioned in Parmenter's field notes (Parmenter 1975). The 2015 survey identified some of these rocks still visible on the surface. The

significant amount of window glass shards indicates at least two windows that would have provided natural light. Though the notes from Barakat's excavation make determining exact dimensions for the building difficult, measurements taken in 2015 suggests the barracks measured approximately six meters by five meters (approximately 20' by 16'). The brick recovered during the excavation and Parmenter mentioning instances of brick rubble also suggests a fireplace which would have served for food preparation and heat (Parmenter 1975).

The daily routine of the officers included daily duties, regular meals, and social activities - something that is reflected by the assemblage. In other words, the officers were responsible for maintaining a household. The ceramic vessels designed for tea service indicates that they would have partaken of tea at least once a day either alone, with other officers, or with individuals from the mainland. At least one of the officers is shown to have interacted with an individual from the mainland by the "Ino Robins 1735" wine bottle seal. As discussed in Chapter 5, this likely represents either the wife or son of William Robbins, a Ferryland planter.

While there is not a significant amount of artifactual evidence on the specific nature of interaction between Bois Island and Ferryland, a number of assumptions can be made. One would expect at least some of the provisioning at Bois Island to have come directly or indirectly through the town of Ferryland. Cod was one commodity the Bois Island residents likely acquired from Ferryland. Documentary evidence from the period also indicates a small amount of business being conducted between Ferryland residents and Bois Island. It seems that Bois Island, or a structure on it, changed hands a few times

during the mid-18th century. First Ensign Thomas Doble is listed as being granted Great Ship Island in October of 1748 in return for "Bois Isle" implying that he possessed some ownership of the island (Doble 1758). Later, in August of 1764, there is a series of correspondence between Robert Carter (of Ferryland), Governor of Newfoundland Hugh Palliser, and Lieutenant Bowen discussing the terms of sale for a house on the island (Bowen 1764; Carter 1764a). The governor agreed to the sale claiming the island is solely owned by the Crown (Carter 1764a). Another entry from the same date indicates that Officer Bowen purchased the house and Ensign William Miller of the 45th Regiment of Foot lived there (Carter 1764b). The last documentary evidence for interaction with Ferryland comes in July of 1776. Governor of Ferryland John Montagu requested that the grass be cut on Bois Island and sent to him in order to feed his stock (Montagu 1776).

These references to a house could be key in that the officers' barracks may not have been a purpose-built barracks, but was instead an appropriated house. This has implications for the architectural remains but also the size, appearance, personal space, and comfort of the officers compared to the enlisted men. In this sense, theorizing the barracks as a household space is even stronger as the house turned barracks would have been already set up to facilitate the household activities associated with a "typical" domestic structure. Places for sleeping, food preparation and storage, dining, and socializing may have all been built into the house the officers moved into and turned into a barracks.

There is no compelling evidence to suggest that there was a regular female presence on Bois Island. None of the recovered artifacts are exclusively feminine and

textual evidence from the period mentions only a sporadic and often temporary occupation by women. Therefore, the activities of the household were performed by men and the division of work was not based on gender. It is reasonable to assume then that the officers' meals were prepared by a regimental cook, personal batman, or contracted civilian. Enlisted men formed mess groups to cook and cooks for officers were often exclusively men (Cary, personal communication, 2017). Other tasks necessary to maintain the household–such as fetching wood and stoking a fire, collecting water from one of the wells on the island, the cleaning of clothing and the barracks itself, and general maintenance–would have also fallen to men in service to the officers.

The faunal collection shows that meat was a reasonable part of the officers' diet consisting mostly of pork and beef. It can also be speculated that seabirds supplemented the meat supply, based on the presence of buck and birdshot in the collection. The consumption of cod fish is also more than likely considering the nature of Ferryland as a fishing village and religious observances of the period. It would seem that at least some attempt was made to grow food on Bois Island given the presence of two gardens on historical maps (Hylton 1752). This is supported by the 2015 survey of the island which identified two areas that exhibit evidence of furrowing. As one of these gardens appear smaller and is situated closer to the officer barracks, it is possible that it was created specifically for use by the officers. As with the household tasks previously mentioned, the maintenance of the garden likely fell to men drawn from the civilian population or the lower ranks.

Further clues on the officers' diet can be drawn from the vessel forms present in the collection. Apart from the tea service there is an emphasis on hollowware and flatware for serving of various dishes. There is also a significant number of vessels identified as jars used for the storage of dry goods and liquids. Butter and lard would likely have been stored as well as olives, dried fruit, and rice. There are also a few vessels such as a pitcher, a chafing dish, platters, a colander, and a milk pan that are geared towards the serving and preparation of food.

When not performing his duties, an officer would partake of a number of leisure activities. Smoking was pervasive through all levels of 18th-century society and these men were no exception based on the minimum count of 93 smoking pipes. While smoking, officers would have been quite capable of drinking socially based upon the selection of drinking vessels, both ceramic and glass, that were part of the recovered collection. Tumblers, shot glasses, and wine glasses were all represented by the glassware while various mugs and cups were made of a selection of ceramic ware types.

The significant number of artifacts with an English provenance suggests that much of the supplies on Bois Island were originally coming from England. This is not surprising given Ferryland's importance as a fishing establishment to the English. Ships would have frequented the harbour bound both to and from England. However, the number of foreign items cannot be discounted either. Clearly trade was being conducted with China for the porcelain; France as evidenced by the Beauvais, Saintonge, Normandy, and Faience ware types; Spain as shown by the costrel and the Spanish heavy ware types; Portugal as evidenced by the Portuguese redware; the Netherlands based on

the Dutch gin case bottle, the pinched smoking pipe stem, and perhaps some of the Delftware. Trade was also being conducted with Germany, albeit indirectly via the Dutch, if the Westerwald in the assemblage can be attributed to have come from the Rhine region. All told, these artifacts do make up a small portion of the assemblage, but nevertheless represent trade with often hostile foreign powers, specifically France and Spain. It is important to note that this trade would have been predominantly indirect with goods from various nations arriving in Britain and North America via maritime commerce. In turn, fish from Newfoundland was traded to France, Spain, and Portugal in exchange for wine, fruit, and other goods (Barry Gaulton, personal communication, 2016). Trade with these countries is a possible indicator that consumer choice was a strong motivator for the types of goods being acquired for the barracks' household. Certainly, artifacts produced and sold in Britain would have been easier and less costly to obtain, but the officers' desire for commodities that were more exotic and representative of greater affluence informed the provisioning of the island.

7.4 Officers' Barracks Summary

Based on the abundance of expensive/luxury items in the Bois Island collection it is likely that commissioned officers lived in the structure excavated by Robert Barakat in 1975. The significant number of vessels related to tea service, the variety of glassware used for alcohol consumption, and the generally high quality, decorated, and refined items in the collection all point to an individual or individuals of a high socio-economic station. Given that only the mid to upper classes could purchase officer commissions, the

balance of probability is that officers occupied the building. Contemporary documentation lists a few individuals with the rank of Ensign or Lieutenant that were stationed on the island during the 18th century and the artifacts found in 1975 could have belonged to this small number of men. The assemblage is a window on a very small number of people allowing for insights into individual agency and life at a colonial outpost in ways the written record cannot provide.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Ferryland's prosperity as a fishing establishment made it a prime target for reprisals and punitive measures from France. As such, the French sorties of the late 17th and early 18th centuries inflicted severe damage on the infrastructure and fishermen of Ferryland. The threat of French attack coupled with numerous raids led to the construction of the fortifications on Bois Island in 1743. Receiving expansion, repairs, and upgrades the fortifications created a formidable obstacle for anyone attempting to launch a raid on the harbour. Indeed, while unsuitable to prevent a full-scale invasion, the fortifications provided an effective defense against the French attack in 1762.

Contemporary documentation illustrates that, while there was not a consistent significant force stationed on Bois Island, the officers' barracks would likely have had relatively constant occupation from the mid 18th century until the abandonment of the fortifications in 1784. A small number of officers from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the 45th Regiment of Foot, and the Royal Marines likely contributed to the formation of this collection and created an archaeologically significant avenue for investigation.

Bois Island is a site rich in archaeological heritage that has been largely preserved because of its remoteness. It is likely that the 18th-century military history of Newfoundland would benefit greatly from further investigation into the island's archaeology. With the 2015 survey of Bois Island this becomes a much easier proposition.

It is hoped that this project will encourage interest in the study of the forgotten and under examined collections of Newfoundland and Labrador. There are a number of

collections just like that of Bois Island housed at The Rooms in St. John's, Newfoundland that were excavated, but never followed up on. The study and care of these collections is an important avenue of research for students and experienced researchers alike. The protection of cultural heritage should be part of the mandate of all archaeologists, but protection is about more than excavation it is also about knowing when not to excavate.

It is unfortunate that projects that focus on collections that were excavated in the past do not receive as much attention from archaeologists. It is far more glamorous to discover and/or unearth a site that has not been excavated before than to complete the work of a researcher that did not bring their investigation to conclusion with lab work and publication. Nevertheless, the nature of archaeology as a destructive practice suggests that mitigation projects should be the priority of archaeologists wishing to excavate new sites. This is further necessitated by museums, private firms, and other areas of collection storage that are facing systemic problems with the space and care of artifacts. Many places do not have the resources or funding to facilitate the rising tide of cultural heritage being recovered. Adding to this the fact that many of these collections, especially those recovered by the private sector, have not received analysis or pubic dissemination means that collections are excavated, cleaned, catalogued, and often inevitably deteriorate without disclosing the wealth of information to be found inside. The examination of forgotten assemblages is a prime avenue of research for academics and students alike as they often require little funding, but still produce new scholarship. Without the need to excavate, one could also argue that the difficult part (at least logistically speaking) has already been completed.

As well, it is hoped that the utility of the theoretical framework of household theory in interpreting the residents of military fortifications has been demonstrated and will see application on other military sites. While questions relating to warfare are important when studying military sites, the use of household theory provides a new perspective to approach fortifications. Through this perspective, archaeologists can learn a great deal about the daily life of soldiers regardless of their rank, the period they lived, or where they were stationed. Armed with this viewpoint, questions pertaining to conflict may be refined and clarified to better reflect the individual motivations of those participating in and contributing to the creation of military structures.

This project serves as a much-needed investigation into an understudied, yet significant, period in North American military history. With the results of this research and the ability for other archaeologists to compare and contrast their own findings with those of Bois Island, it becomes possible to begin determining what can be considered "typical" for this point in time. Much more than that, this project provides much needed insight into the past life of a few individuals at a remote colonial post.

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