“As Elegant as They are Novel”: Exploring Consumption Patterns of Eighteenth-Century Ceramics from Newfoundland and the Northeast

by

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Abstract

A bustling trade in ceramics is amply visible in the archaeological record of the eastern seaboard of North America, though a comprehensive study of ceramic consumption within Newfoundland has yet to emerge. This research will explore the distribution and usage of ceramics in eighteenth-century Newfoundland. Ceramic collections were studied with an eye to exploring analytic variables including domestic vs. commercial and urban vs. rural settings. Two Newfoundland sites were compared with two sites in the Northeastern United States. The four sites are the Ayre's Premises in St. John's, NL, the Goodridge Premises in Renews, NL, the John Tayler House in Stillwater, NY, and The Three Cranes Tavern in Boston, MA. The results form a useful dataset to investigate the consumption patterns between two vastly different geographic regions, shaped by differing political, economic, and social systems.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Terminology

1.1 Introduction

Archaeological excavation and research into ceramic consumption patterns of the eighteenth century, both ongoing and in the volumes of work completed over the last several decades, endeavor to provide insight into consumer choice within a complicated and extensive market of foreign trade. There is a wealth of research in regard to eighteenth-century ceramic consumption along the eastern seaboard of colonial America though a relative dearth of information for sites and collections of the same period in Newfoundland. By way of the analysis and comparison of four ceramic assemblages, it is the goal of this project to provide a base of information on the ceramic consumption patterns displayed by residents of Newfoundland in the mid to late eighteenth century.

The four ceramic assemblages are: the Ayre's Premises of St. John's, Newfoundland, the Goodridge Premises of Renews, Newfoundland, The Three Cranes Tavern of Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts, and the John Tayler House of Stillwater, New York. Analysis of the ceramics from these sites was undertaken in order to gain a level of understanding into how the site function and geographic location associated with these collections affect patterns of ceramic consumption during the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2 provides extensive background of each geographic locale at a municipal level before transitioning to a site-specific history including the deposition of the material culture, and the method of excavation or collection. These histories are meant to orient the research before the ceramic analysis is presented in later chapters.

Chapter 3 explains the theories utilized in the course of this research and the methodology applied during the processing and analysis of each collection. The theoretical narratives delve into the influence of consumption theory upon this project, while the section regarding methodology will explain the steps taken from start (sorting) to finish (photography).

Chapter 4 discusses how the fieldwork was planned and the logistics involved with travel.

Chapter 5 presents a history of ceramic innovation during the eighteenth century, the results of my analysis for each collection, and comparisons between the sites from each geographic region and against each site's regional counterpart in terms of their assigned variables of Urban/Commercial or Rural/Domestic.

Finally, Chapter 6 summarize the analyses presented in earlier chapters through short theme-based discussions and a final conclusion.

1.2 Terminology

This section provides an overview of the terminology employed throughout this project and the reasoning for the use of specific terms. These terms were selected due to their proclivity of use and for general clarity in the field of ceramic study. Any additional terms that require further description will be addressed as footnotes, when necessary, in their appropriate sections.

The term *waretype* refers to the prime identifying classification applied to different variations of ceramics. A ceramic's *waretype* is defined by the distinguishing features of a manufactured *vessel* or *sherd* (Sinopoli 1991:52). These features can and often include the colour of the ceramic fabric, the colour and texture of an applied glaze, and the decoration of a vessel, whether hand-painted, molded, or inscribed. English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware and Creamware are prime examples of two *waretypes* that will be prominently featured in this research.

Vessel and *sherd* are terms that refer to the present state and form of the ceramic artifact(s). V*essel* can refer to either a fully intact ceramic piece or in reference to a ceramic's form as a bowl, teacup, etc. S*herd*, is an individual piece of ceramic regardless of the form of its parent *vessel* that has been broken or separated from a larger vessel. A *sherd* does not have to reference what portion of the parent vessel it belongs to as it functions as a blanket term for an individual ceramic piece or pieces. However, the term may reference a specific provenance if clarification is needed. In this case identification of a *sherd* as a *rim, basal, or body sherd* will occur.

In discussions pertaining to the specific elements that comprise a ceramic vessel, the terms, *paste, fabric, clay,* and *glaze* enter the conversation. *Clay* is a mineral with a structure comprised of individual platelets that when combined with water consolidates into a malleable mass utilized in the formation of ceramic vessels (Sinopoli 1991:9). The *clay* utilized in the production of these vessels is often specifically combined with other minerals and or other clays in order to adjust for the desired qualities of the intended product (Sinopoli 1991:10-11). Such variables may include hardness of the fabric, workability, and colour. *Paste* and *fabric* refer to the clay body of the ceramic vessel and may be used interchangeably.

Glaze is the exterior finish applied to select classes of ceramics that have already seen a primary firing including, select stonewares, and both coarse and refined earthenwares, and is composed of the desired colouring coupled with a glass-forming oxide such as silica (Sinopoli 1991:27). This process of heating the ceramic and subsequent cooling supports the creation of a high-viscosity, glass exterior on the surface of the ceramic where the *glaze* was applied. Various methods exist for applying glaze to vessels that have undergone an initial firing to prepare them for glazing, including dipping, painting, dripping, and others. These pre-fired vessels are known as *biscuits* (Sinopoli 1991:27). *Glaze* serves to seal the ceramic, making it water-tight and provides a finished, decorative surface to the ceramic's exterior.

The process of *firing* a vessel takes place inside a *kiln* and serves to drive the existing chemically-bonded water out of the clay at a temperature of up to 600ºC, (Sinopoli 1991:28) effectively rendering the clay into a finished ceramic vessel. This process is known as ceramic change (Sinopoli 1991:28). The *kiln* in which this *firing* occurs is an insulated box of varying dimensions and provides a controlled space in which to heat the ceramics to the potter's desired temperature. The material used to fuel a *kiln* in the eighteenth century varied once again on the potter's preference and could include wood, coal, oil, or gas.

Stoneware, Porcelain, and Earthenware, are types of ceramics and are fired at different temperatures in a kiln and for varying lengths of time. *Stoneware* is a highly vitrified ceramic that is fired to a temperature above 1200ºC (Sinopoli 1991:28) and as a result, the finished product is watertight without an applied glaze as the internal paste of the ceramic is converted to a glassy matrix through firing. *Porcelain*, similar to *Stoneware*, is also a type of highly vitrified ceramic though is fired at a much higher temperature in the range of 1,350ºC (Sinopoli 1991:28) to achieve the desired glassy finish typical of porcelain vessels. *Earthenware* is a type of ceramic that is fired at the lowest temperature of the three mentioned above, typically below the threshold of 1,100ºC (Sinopoli 1991: 28). This low-firing produces a porous product which then requires an applied glaze in order to produce a watertight vessel.

In regard to Earthenware, potters historically had numerous choices of glaze with which to finish a vessel, with *lead* and *tin glazes* as prime examples. The term *slip* refers to fluid suspension of clay and water applied or poured onto vessels and most often coloured with oxides to achieve a desired colour on the finished ceramic. Ceramic waretypes that feature a characteristic *slip,* utilized as a decorative technique may be known as *slipware*. The chief example of *slipware* I will discuss in this thesis is that of *Bristol Staffordshire slipware*, a waretype consisting of a yellow slipped earthenware body often featuring a design of combed, black lines of contrasting colored slip. *Tin-glazed* vessels are ceramics that have been finished with a glaze containing tin oxide which is typically an opaque white and features a shiny surface upon firing. The white surface provided by the tin oxide is often quite suitable as a background for the application of further hand painted decorations.

Overglaze when used to describe a decorative ceramic technique, refers to the process of applying decoration on the exterior surface of an already glazed and fired vessel. Examples of *overglaze* decorative techniques are hand painted motifs or the application of a transferprint. Alternatively, *underglaze* vessels feature a decorative motif that has a layer of glaze, often a clear coat, applied over the decoration before firing (or second firing). This additional layer of glaze serves to protect the decoration from use-wear during the life of the vessel.

Stoneware vessels, contrary to earthenware, did not require a coat of glaze in order to effectively repel water absorption into the paste of the vessel. However, certain styles of glazing came into fashion that were utilized on stoneware vessels. The prime example discussed in this thesis will be a *salt-glaze, specifically English White Salt-Glazed stoneware*, characterized by thinly-thrown vessels featuring a grey to tan paste and with a pitted exterior surface. This pitting of the glaze is characteristic of waretypes that employ a *salt-glaze* in order to finish a vessel.

Situating the ceramic artifacts discussed in this project on the eighteenth-century cultural landscape requires a certain amount of background information on two regionally-specific geographic areas. First, the Avalon Peninsula, is home to two of the four collections under study and is situated as a peninsula of the easternmost Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The eastern coast of the Avalon as it will be colloquially addressed in this research is situated rather advantageously in terms of proximity to the European trade and travel routes of the eighteenth century. Both of the two collections utilized from Newfoundland are situated along this eastern coast of the Avalon. Furthermore, when the word island is used, I am referencing the island of Newfoundland.

The two collections chosen from the northeastern United States are from two separate locations. The first was excavated in Boston while the second was excavated in New York's Hudson River Valley, a burgeoning hub of commercial activity and trade during the eighteenth century. Boston, was a primary destination for the importation of ceramics into the North American consumer market during the eighteenth century for a veritable wealth of factors. These include Boston's location on the Atlantic coast, occupying a valuable stop on the trans-Atlantic trade routes of the era, and its desirability for ceramic manufacturers and/or exporters as a prominent commercial center due to its proximity to large swaths of the colonial population situated in the northeast during the eighteenth century. The Hudson River Valley is the fertile river valley that extends to the east and west from the banks of the Hudson River and is bounded by Westchester County, New York to the south, and extending north beyond Albany, New York.

Chapter 2: Background History

2.1 Introduction to Trade Networks for Consumer Goods

"The eighteenth century was a period in which practices of everyday life as we now experience them were drawn into a more recognizable shape." (Richards 1999:1) The material culture utilized within the home for regular use is often recognizable when recovered during excavation, with ceramics often one of the most visible amongst them. Varied geographic locales, whether the northern frontier of eighteenth-century upstate New York or the scattered communities perched on the windswept shores of Newfoundland, were dependent upon and engaged in the active trade and consumption of European ceramic goods during the eighteenth century. European-manufactured ceramics were highly desired as these products were utilized in a variety of tasks including the serving, display, and storage of food, and the hygienic maintenance of one's body.

Prior to the reign of Henry VIII, England was a producer of strictly essential and durable goods (Samson 1980:259). Nearly all other consumer goods were imported in order to suit England's needs, including paper, drinking and looking glasses, pins, knives, pouches, and hats (Samson 1980:259). However, by the mid-16th century, three conditions dictated the need for change including a drastic rise in the price of imported goods, increasingly uncertain diplomatic relations, and the necessity to create employment for those residing in England's more rural areas (Thirsk 1978:199). As a result, English authorities publicized the necessity for skilled, foreign craftsmen to relocate their base of production to England as the home manufacture of goods became a priority (Samson 1980:259).

The production of home manufactured goods proved economically beneficial as the lack of quality control regulations in place meant that consumer goods of varying qualities of manufacture were able to make their way into the marketplace. For the first time, citizens belonging to the entire economic spectrum saw goods priced within their means and English-based commerce flourished as a result (Samson 1980:260; Thirsk 1978:201). Peddlers and shops dedicated to the sale of specific wares, ceramics prominent among them, sprung up in the marketplaces in vast quantities, which ultimately signaled the appearance of a mass market for consumer goods (Samson 1980:258). This mass market blossomed as the pace of the British economy picked up drastically, and in turn helped to inform the call for changing tastes in ceramic consumption that found its way to the shores of North America via trans-Atlantic trade networks during the late seventeenth century (Breen 1988:77).

The eighteenth century witnessed the birth of a transatlantic Anglo-American "consumer society" (Breen 1988:77). With the British market economy advancing at an ever-increasing rate, merchants could hardly keep up with the expanding demand and the domestic markets hummed (Miller 1984; Breen 1988:77). People went shopping in force as advertisements in provincial journals fueled widespread consumer desire for the newest wares of the period (Breen 1988:77). North Americans were quickly swept up in this consumer economy as eighteenth-century colonists demanded the latest British manufactures (Breen 1988:8). The North American population was growing at an extraordinary rate during this period with the per capita consumption of British imports rising alongside it as colonists purchased more manufactured goods each year (Breen

1988:78). As a result, ceramic consumption accelerated at a rate never seen before in North America as trans-Atlantic trade networks allowed for all sorts within society to purchase manufactured ceramic goods to suit their needs. These needs included forms necessary for use in cooking, presentation, and in maintaining an appearance of their desired social status.

St. John's role in these trade networks has been important since the 16th century when the cod fishing industry was in its infancy, in contrast to the economic heights it would eventually reach in the centuries to come. During the 16th century, between the coast of Cape Cod and Labrador nothing mattered more to European fishermen than cod (Vickers 1996:92). Newfoundland occupied the middle of this expansive and lucrative fishing ground and with an operational port in St. John's placed prominently on the northeast Avalon, Newfoundland was primed for economic success through engagement in trans-Atlantic trade with Europe and France, England, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain in particular. Fishermen were away from home for months out of the year, in a semi-familiar landscape, though with the establishment of pre-existing cultural norms, these men practiced their craft in an environment that felt increasingly like a second home and eventually becoming one for some. Referred to colloquially in the archaeological community as cultural continuity, these fishermen and settlers would occasionally seek to maintain a certain level of their established and practiced cultural ideologies (Grover 2008:31). Questions involving "migration, adaptation, simplification, and restructuring" (Grover 2008:31) are placed under scrutiny in this project as ceramic analysis will seek to clarify the impact of these factors within the realm of the consumer marketplace.

This dual identity was present in the European colonists of Newfoundland. The island, rather than existing as a remote North Atlantic outpost was instead the bustling hub of a transatlantic trade, fishery, and communication network (Codignola 2005:76). St. John's was often the first port reached by European ships following their approximately two- week journey at sea and was an important trading partner with European countries as a result of the quick turnaround possible between the island and their home countries. Newfoundland's partnership with Portugal in the seventeenth century is an early and prime example of strong transatlantic trade connections that would set the stage for an influx of European ceramics and other goods to Newfoundland in the eighteenth century and beyond (Cell 1969; Morrison 1971; Quinn 1977; Abreu-Ferreira 1995; Casimiro 2013 in Gaulton and Casimiro 2015:10-11).

> *Cured and dried codfish from Newfoundland would be transported annually by English ships to various Iberian and Mediterranean ports in exchange for merchantable goods such as salt, oil, fruit, wine, spices, and in some instances, ceramics.* (Gaulton and Casimiro 2015:10-11)

While the bulk of the items acquired during trade in the Mediterranean would be transported to and unloaded at major English ports, some goods would make its way to Newfoundland as they were traded for cod and other items (Gaulton and Casimiro 2015:11). Thus, the cyclical trade was perpetuated, and other countries would find their way to the trading table, expanding consumer choice of the involved countries through their participation. For example, the fisheries of New England were engaged in a similar trade pattern with Portugal and the resulting Portuguese ceramics have been recovered in New England as well (Pendery 1999; Stoddard 2000; Gaulton 2006; Newstead 2008; Pope 2012 in Gaulton and Casimiro 2015:11). The works cited above provide information pertinent to “ceramic wares, production centers, and port towns frequently associated with this international exchange of “fish into wine” (Pope 2004 in Gaulton and Casimiro 2015:11).

The second half of the eighteenth century would see a decline in Portuguese and Iberian involvement in ceramic trade with Newfoundland as the English took full advantage of two things: their propensity for ceramic innovation, and their close proximity to the island of Newfoundland. Archaeological collections such as the Ayre’s Premises in St. John’s and the Goodridge Premises in Renews, excavated on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula, confirm the presence of predominantly English ceramics, at the very least along the ‘Southern Shore’. The Ayre’s collection in particular, with a terminus *ante quem* of 1779, demonstrates a reliance on English ceramic production (Groover 2008:32) and importation by England’s trading partners. The top four identified waretypes at the Ayre’s Premises, when combined, comprise 95.4% of the total ceramics in the collection and are products of solely English manufacture. These waretypes in order of quantity are: English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, Creamware, Debased Scratch Blue, and Pearlware.

The eighteenth century would bring extensive innovation to the European ceramic industry, and to the English in particular as Josiah Wedgewood industrialized the manufacture of ceramics. Wedgewood's inventions would introduce the world to greenglaze, creamware, and jasper among others and all would make the transatlantic journey to North America. For a colonial American culture in the midst of transition from a "preindustrial way of life to a modern, industrially based society" (Groover 2008:31), the availability of these ceramics represented a cultural transition in the usage and broader availability of material culture.

European trade relations extended west past the ports of Newfoundland to the northeastern and mid-Atlantic seaboards of eighteenth-century colonial America. The similarities between Newfoundland's ceramic consumption and those patterns in the northeastern colonies stem from a reliance on this transatlantic trade with Europe. In the seventeenth century, both Newfoundland and the American colonies had fostered a burgeoning trade with Portugal that the American colonies were also involved in. However, by the early to mid-eighteenth century, England was by far and away the most popular European trading partner with ceramics occupying a valuable position in the consumer market as a chief, and necessary, commodity. However, unlike Newfoundland, the northeastern colonies had suitable clay for the start of a domestic ceramic industry, and production began as early as 1630 (Gallagher et. al 1992:84).

The Parker Harris site in Charlestown, Massachusetts is one such example of an early fixture of the domestic ceramic industry. The site, located on the same street as, and within site of the Three Cranes Tavern was one of several potteries operating in Charlestown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was discovered during archaeological excavation in 1986 (Gallagher et. al 1992:84). These potteries, Parker

Harris included, would have produced a lead-glazed redware, which came to be known as Charlestown Ware, and were the largest manufacturer of redware in New England (MHC 2014). These potters were unfortunately destroyed in the same fiery manner of the Three Cranes when the British swept through Charlestown following the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775 (MHC 2014). During this period of strife surrounding the beginning of the American Revolution, public ceramic consumption was in the midst of changing from the previously favored redware to salt-glazed stoneware (MHC 2014). Following the destruction of the Charlestown pottery industry in 1775, and its subsequent rebuild, only a few ceramic manufacturers chose to continue the production of redware (MHC 2014).

Charlestownware is a prominent fixture in the Three Cranes ceramic assemblage and is representative of the colonial American domestic ceramic industry (Figure 2.1).

(Figure 2.1) Charlestownware Porringer: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

The Parker Harris site is a single example of a widespread industry in the northeastern colonies, as citizens across the eastern seaboard would have varying degrees of access to these local ceramics thus providing another choice in the consumer marketplace. The assemblage from the Tayler House site in Stillwater, New York also contains American stoneware manufactured in the Hudson River Valley. Although not as prevalent in the assemblage as the Three Cranes, domestic ceramics are still visible in the Tayler collection in contrast to the total absence of domestic ceramics in either of the two Newfoundland-based collections in St. John's and Renews. The following chapter will discuss the results of these comparisons and will further elaborate on the ceramic trade partners at each site.

2.2 Historical Background: St. John's, Newfoundland 1500-1798

St. John's, Newfoundland's claims of being the oldest city in North America is the subject of scrutiny though the harbour and its adjacent hillside may well be the oldest city site on the North American continent that was chosen and continuously occupied by Europeans (O'Neill 2003:1). St. John's Harbour, a windswept though sheltered body of water, hemmed in by sloping hills and rough-hewn ridges has seen European activity since at least 1500. Just five years earlier, John Cabot (or Giovanni Cabota), a Venetian under direction of King Henry VII of England was the first European to encounter Newfoundland on June 24, 1497 (O'Neill 2003:2-3; Pope 2004:14). The location of Cabot's landfall on the island is debated as is his exploration of St. John's Harbour, though migratory fisherman from Portugal, France, and England would soon make the harbour a regular rendezvous destination on their trans-Atlantic voyages. By 1527, the harbour had become quite popular with French fisherman and there were summer residents in the harbour, though there would be no evidence of any structure or home intended for private residence until 1605 (O'Neill 2003:2). The name of the harbour and subsequent settlement is likely to have come from a Portuguese explorer, Gaspar Corte-Real during his first voyage to the region in 1500 as the area appears on a Portuguese map from 1519 as Rio de San Jochem (O'Neill 2003:4). Several iterations of the name would follow during the 16th century including: "Haven of St. John (Rut 1527), Sam Johern (Freire 1546), Sainct Johan (Le Testu 1555), St. John's" (Parkhurst 1578; Hayes 1583; Whitbourne 1588) (O'Neill 2003:4; Pope 2004:19). Anthony Parkhurst, an English merchant who completed four voyages to Newfoundland in the 1570s appears to be the first European to adopt the present name of St. John's in its current spelling (O'Neill 2003:4; Pope 2004:19-20).

John Rut, an Englishmen in command of the *Mary Guildford*, one of Henry VIII's wine ships reached St. John's on August 3, 1527 on his way from Labrador to the Caribbean (O'Neill 2003:6). Rut would stay in the waters off Cape Spear for six weeks before departing though in that time would pen a letter to Henry VIII detailing the nations fishing from St. John's, "We found Eleuen [eleven] saile of Normans and one Brittaine [Bretagne] and two Portugal Barks all fishing" (O'Neill 2003:6, 116; Pope 2004:17). Rut's letter specifies that not one of the fourteen ships he encountered in the harbour were of English origin though in the coming decades, the English would enter the

Newfoundland market in both fishing and through exploration and exploitation of the island itself.

By the mid 16th century, England had developed a healthy trade during the summer months with those fishers stationed in St. John's and in the last quarter of the century, Dutch fisherman would find their way to the island as well (O'Neill 2003:6; Pope 2004:33). The Devon county records, located in Exeter, show that in 1560 numerous English ships had made a summer home in St. John's harbour, including many from Topsham, Exmouth, Kenton, and Dartmouth (O'Neill 2003:8). Despite St. John's growing popularity, there are still no recorded permanent European residents in the area during this time. England would stake a formal claim to the island of Newfoundland with the arrival of Sir Humphrey Gilbert on August 5, 1583 (Pope 2004:48). The official date of founding the colony of St. John's is not known though there exists a mention in the Bristol archives dating to 1623. Given the volume of sailors coming into the harbour as part of the fishery, there could have been permanent residents well before the 1620s (O'Neill 2003:15; Pope 2004:40). The earliest recorded permanent resident was Thomas Oxford, a man who was most likely born in town and given his later writings in the 1670/80s, the Oxfords settled in St. John's around 1605 (O'Neill 2003:16; Pope 2004:275, 333, 414). It was also recorded that Thomas Oxford was "married, with three sons and four daughters, four boats, one stage, a bunkhouse for his fishermen, two gardens, a cod oil vat and two flakes. He employed thirteen men and two women" (O'Neill 2003:17). A census taken in 1677 would show a growing population in town with 249 inhabitants residing in St. John's that included twenty-four property owners; all told, Newfoundland was home to 523 settlers scattered across in the island in twenty-eight settlements (O'Neill 2003:17-18). A decade later would see the growth of Irish trade and settlers arriving in Newfoundland in search of a better life (Pope 2004:52-53). Many of these were young Irishmen in search of work and would end up working a Newfoundland season of a summer, winter, and another summer before returning to Ireland (O'Neill 2003:19).

The eighteenth century would bring further growth to St. John's and Newfoundland as trade to and from the island increased, bringing with it an influx of new residents. By 1735, there were forty-two private homes and sixteen taverns operating in St. John's (O'Neill 2003:20). In 1751, the number of homes would more than double with 158 in St. John's and by 1764, there would be 226 individual dwellings and 125 total acres of cultivated land (O'Neill 2003:20), painting a picture of a community that had found its feet and was expanding its roots on the island. In 1766, Sir Joseph Banks of England would visit the community and would remark in his journal that:

> *It is very difficult to compare one town with another tho that probably is the Best way of Conveying the Idea. St. John's, however, Cannot be Compared with any I have seen. It is Built upon the side of a hill facing the Harbour, Containing two or three hundred house and near as many fish Flakes interspersed which, in summer time, must Cause a stench scarce to be supported. Thank heaven we are only there spring and fall, before the fish were come to the Ground and after they were all gone off. For dirt and filth of all Kinds St. John's, in my opinion, Reign unrivalled*

as it Far Exceeds any Fishing town I ever saw in England. Here is no regular Street, the houses being built in rows immediately adjoining to the Flakes, Consequently no Pavement, Offals of Fish of all Kinds are strewed about The remains of the Irish men's chowder who you seek making it and skinning and gutting fish in Every Corner. As Everything here smells of fish You cannot get anything that does not Taste of it.

– Sir Joseph Banks 1766 (O'Neill 2003:20).

Banks' distaste for the filth on public display in town is quite evident in his recollection. During the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, immigrants from France arrived on the shores of Newfoundland following the settling of French claims in North America and it is also within this period that lucrative trade links were solidified between St. John's and Waterford, Ireland (Pope 2004:435). St. John's would continue to flourish with a wave of new building construction in the 1780s and 90s, and in 1798 *The Times* newspaper of London, England would publish the following:

The town of St. John is situated on the west side of the harbour. The houses are irregular and scattered. In the fishing season, which begins in May, and ends in September there are perhaps 5,000 people there; but many return to England annually with the ships, which in time of war rendezvous here to meet the convoy. In the harbour there are some very convenient wharves and keyes, which large vessels may lie alongside to take in their cargoes, few of the ships in this trade exceeding 300 tons burthen. The houses are built of wood, and covered with shingles; should

> *a fire happen, the consequences must be dreadful, The adjacent country admits very little cultivation, on account of the summer being short and the winter very severe; indeed, there is very little open ground, for the country is covered with woods, which are impenetrable, except by beaten paths. The plain land is usually used for pasture, though some little grain is produced; but the crops are generally very thin.*
>
> (Times London, October 14, 1796 in O'Neill 2003:22).

St. John's would continue to expand and flourish into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the present day though as the scope of this project is limited to the eighteenth century, the buildup of St. John's remains more important to the research as opposed to its more recent history.

However, this evolution of the cityscape of St. John's would be severely altered through a series of fires during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The conflagration that destroyed the ceramic shop that provides the primary collection of this project, the Ayre's Premises, occurred in May of 1779 and is summarized further below. While any fire large enough to burn significant sections of downtown St. John's is noteworthy, specific in the context of this research, the fires that swept through town in the nineteenth century (end of sentence missing….???)

The first major fire of the nineteenth century to occur in St. John's began as a house fire at eight in the morning on February 12, 1816 (Pedley 1863:299). The fire spread quickly to the neighbouring house and continued until one hundred and twenty homes were destroyed, leaving approximately one thousand people homeless before the blaze was finally extinguished (Pedley 1863:299). The fire was limited mainly to private homes though two printing offices, and the newly-erected Wesleyan Chapel were also destroyed (Pedley 1863:299). Once assessed, the total damage was estimated to amount to more than £100,000 though within a week following the fire, both merchants and magistrates contributed both private and public funds in order to provide temporary relief to those affected by the destruction of their homes and property (Pedley 1863:299).

The second of three "Great Fires" to raze St. John's in the nineteenth century began at 8:30 a.m. on June 9th, 1846 after a pot of glue heating on a gas stove boiled over and ignited in Hamlin's cabinet shop on George Street located centrally in downtown St. John's (Higgins 2012). Due to the dry weather and strong summer winds, the flames were quick to spread to other parts of town where the closely-built wooden homes acted as kindling for the roaring blaze, as did the numerous vats of seal oil that was stored at several merchants' premises along the waterfront (Higgins 2012). Overall, by the time the fire burned itself out, 12,000 people of the city's 20,491 residents were homeless following the destruction of 2,000 buildings which were a mix of private homes, businesses, and public buildings (Higgins 2012). Among those buildings destroyed were the Anglican Cathedral, the Customs House, the Court House, the Amateur Theatre, and the Colonial Treasury (Higgins 2012). The total damages were estimated to be £888,356 though only £195,000 were paid out by local insurance companies (Higgins 2012).

The Great Fire of 1892, the last of the major conflagrations that razed St. John's in the nineteenth century ignited at approximately 5 p.m. on Friday, July 8, 1892 in a stable at the Timothy Brine property, near the intersection of Freshwater and Pennywell

Roads; an elevated and central location in close proximity to the city's downtown core (Higgins 2007). Due to an ongoing water shortage, hot dry weather, strong winds, and a nearly empty 113,650 litre water tank situated near the ignition of the blaze, the firefighters who responded to the scene were unable to contain the fire and it spread quickly as a result (Higgins 2007). Sparks and flames carried the inferno downhill, consuming homes and businesses in its wake, and by 8 p.m., the blaze had reached the businesses and public buildings on Water and Duckworth Streets, an area that still comprises the downtown core of St. John's today (Higgins 2007). Looting of these shops and businesses occurred as residents on the upper floors of these buildings escaped to safety (Higgins 2007). The fire burnt until 5:30 a.m. the following morning, ultimately causing $13 million in property damage after razing nearly two thirds of the city to the ground and leaving 11,000 residents homeless (Higgins 2007). Rebuilding efforts saw the construction of several buildings that remain standing today, with their flat rooves a diagnostic architectural characteristic that remains widespread throughout St. John's. The city remains a tinderbox due to the prevalence of the practice of adjoining, wooden row house construction in much of the downtown.

2.3 Site Background: Ayre's Premises, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Of the four sites investigated as part of this project, the Ayre's Premises (CjAe-32) property located in downtown St. John's, Newfoundland presents the greatest challenge in regard to ease of accessing historical information. The property records that would have contained information on the owner(s) of the parcel, situated on the east side of Water Street, at the corner of Water and Ayre's Cove, were lost in one of the numerous fires that ravaged St. John's during the nineteenth century. While this presents an obvious hurdle, information on the Ayre's Premises was sourced in large part through email and personal correspondence with Blair Temple, a St. John's archaeologist with Gerald Penney Associates Limited, during April of 2018 (Figure 2.2).

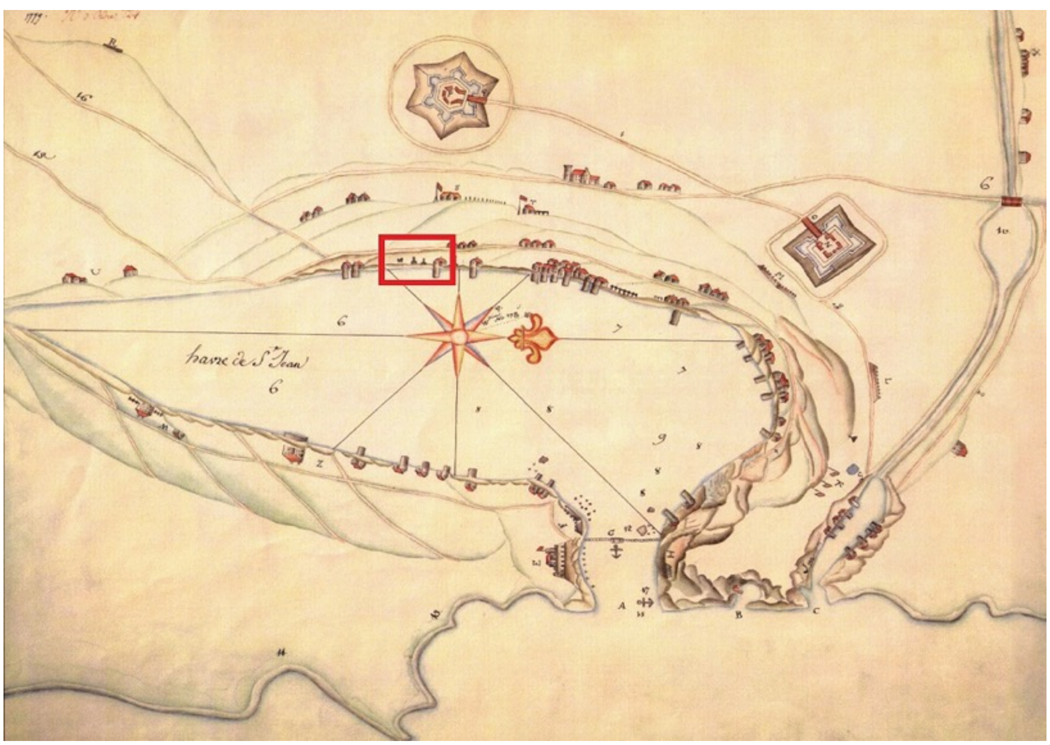
The site of the Ayre's Premises was the location of a commercial storefront dating from between the late third and early fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. As evidenced by the collection recovered from the site, this shop would have sold imported ceramic goods as their chief product, though other inventory would have included glass bottles, and clay tobacco pipes. Determining a date of construction for the storefront remains elusive, though based on the production dates for the ceramic products this shop kept in their inventory, the aforementioned period spanning the late third quarter to the early fourth of the eighteenth century is a solid guideline. The storefront was ultimately consumed during a fire in 1779 that burnt through what would have been the approximate centre of the commercial area in St. John's at this time (Blair Temple 2018, elec. comm.). The following is Blair Temple's transcription of a letter penned by Lieutenant Colonel David Hay that pertains to the fire.

> *My Lord I am exceedingly concerned to inform your Lordship that on the 15th instant[?] about nine in the morning, a fire broke out in a very principle store, about the centre of town and that the troops and sailors together with their engines[r?] very immediately sent to extinguish the flames. The fire rages with such fury, the winds strong at east and the*

buildings old & all of them of wood, made it impossible to put a stop to it, as it baffled all our endeavours, there are thirty five houses and stores consumed which contained great quantities of fish, bread, flour, beef, pork, peas, & butter [illegible] this place already feels that loss, [illegible], as the prices of those articles are doubled. Most of the injured Merchants are leaving the island, and I fear that the [illegible] harbours will suffer greatly, as they all depend on this place for their supplies. The loss is computed by the Merchants to exceed £60,000.

[Remainder of letter concerns bad 1778/79 winter, and construction of batteries, etc.]

[Lieutenant Colonel] David Hay *St. John's May 25th 1779*



(Figure 2.2) 1779 Map of St. John's and the Fire's Location

This letter is further supported by a 1779 French map the depicts a section of the eastern shore of the Avalon Peninsula and includes St. John's harbor, identified as "havre de St Jean".

This map highlights the "maisons incendier" though the map was not completed through survey and thus does not possess the accuracy of a chart or insurance plan. However, the map does display a significant amount of cultural detail that is accurate (Blair Temple 2018, elec. comm.). Further monitoring conducted by Gerald Penney Associates Limited of "excavations in the underground parking lot for the Scotiabank Building expansion did not identify any material or components related to the fire. Likewise, I have not identified any conclusive evidence of the 1779 fire anywhere else in the downtown though this is not surprising, as rebuilding after a subsequent fire (i.e. 1816-19 fires) sometimes removes evidence of the prior." (Blair Temple 2018, elec. comm.).

The Ayre's Premises assemblage, consisting of material culture deposited as direct result of this fire, was collected in September 1985 by Dr. Jim Tuck, then a professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The collection was completed during a salvage operation in advance of the construction of the present-day Scotia Bank Tower on the corner of Water Street and Ayre's Cove in St. John's, Newfoundland. Dr. Tuck was provided a backhoe operator for a single day by the City Council of St. John's with which to conduct test excavations (Tuck 1985:233). These test excavations were centered around the area where the Ayre's building was demolished between Water and Harbour Drive. These tests uncovered timbers from the finger piers once present at the harbourside until after WWII, at which point they were covered over with fill in advance of the construction of Harbour Drive (Tuck 1985:233). Also revealed were ceramics, glass, and kaolin pipes from the mid to late eighteenth century through to the early nineteenth century along with a considerable portion of a brick wall or footing, dating to approximately the late eighteenth century (Tuck 1985:234).

Later the same year in 1985, Dr. Tuck revisited the site once more following excavations completed by construction crews for the footings of a new structure. Upon inspection, a sizable quantity of late eighteenth-century ceramic sherds was now visible on the surface in the northwest corner of the site. Nearby, a further excavation revealed "the source of ceramics to be a layer of nearly pure ceramic fragments, up to 50cm thick in places and originally covering at least 30 square metres. How much of the deposit was lost before our arrival we have no way of knowing" (Tuck 1985:234). Tuck was able to collect seven five-gallon buckets of ceramics from the now exposed profiles over the course of 90 minutes (Tuck 1985:234). "The ceramics, upon cleaning and preliminary analysis, proved to be comprised almost exclusively of creamware and salt-glazed stoneware with a small percentage of 'scratch blue' stoneware, all of British in origin and all dating from the third quarter of the eighteenth century" (Tuck 1985:234). Realizing that this was not an accumulation of household refuse, and upon inspection of the ceramics that displayed many sherds to be burned and or fused as a result of heat from a sizable fire, Tuck reached the conclusion that this deposit represented the contents of a ceramic wholesaler or retailer (Tuck 1985:234). Unfortunately, after collecting the seven buckets of ceramic artifacts, Tuck and his crew were asked to leave the construction site and no further archaeological work, or collection was allowed to continue (Tuck 1985:234).

Through my own analysis and cataloging of the Ayre's Premises collection, it was determined that the collection contains 8,928 artifacts in total, though individual ceramic sherds comprise 8,690 of that overall sum and are split over varying frequencies across 23 separate waretypes.

2.4 Historical Background: Renews, Newfoundland and Labrador

Renews is situated on the east coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, a region that historically was known as the "English Shore" (Mills 2008:3), though today the same area is referred to as the Southern Shore. Named *Hable Rougnouse* by Jacques Cartier during his stopover in the region in 1536, Europeans have known this harbor for centuries as a part of Newfoundland's historically profitable cod fishery and for its abundance of natural resources (Cook 1993:89; Mills 2008:3). During the third quarter of the 16th century, Renews would have likely seen fishing vessels from Spain, France, and Portugal in its waters with English ships joining these ranks in the late 1570s in great numbers (Cell 1969:22-33; Mills 2008:4). Mills' 2008 report on his excavations in Renews contains a passage that sums up the demography of competing nations active in Renews Harbour in 1582, following an act of piracy where two English ships entered the harbour and plundered three Portuguese fishing vessels:

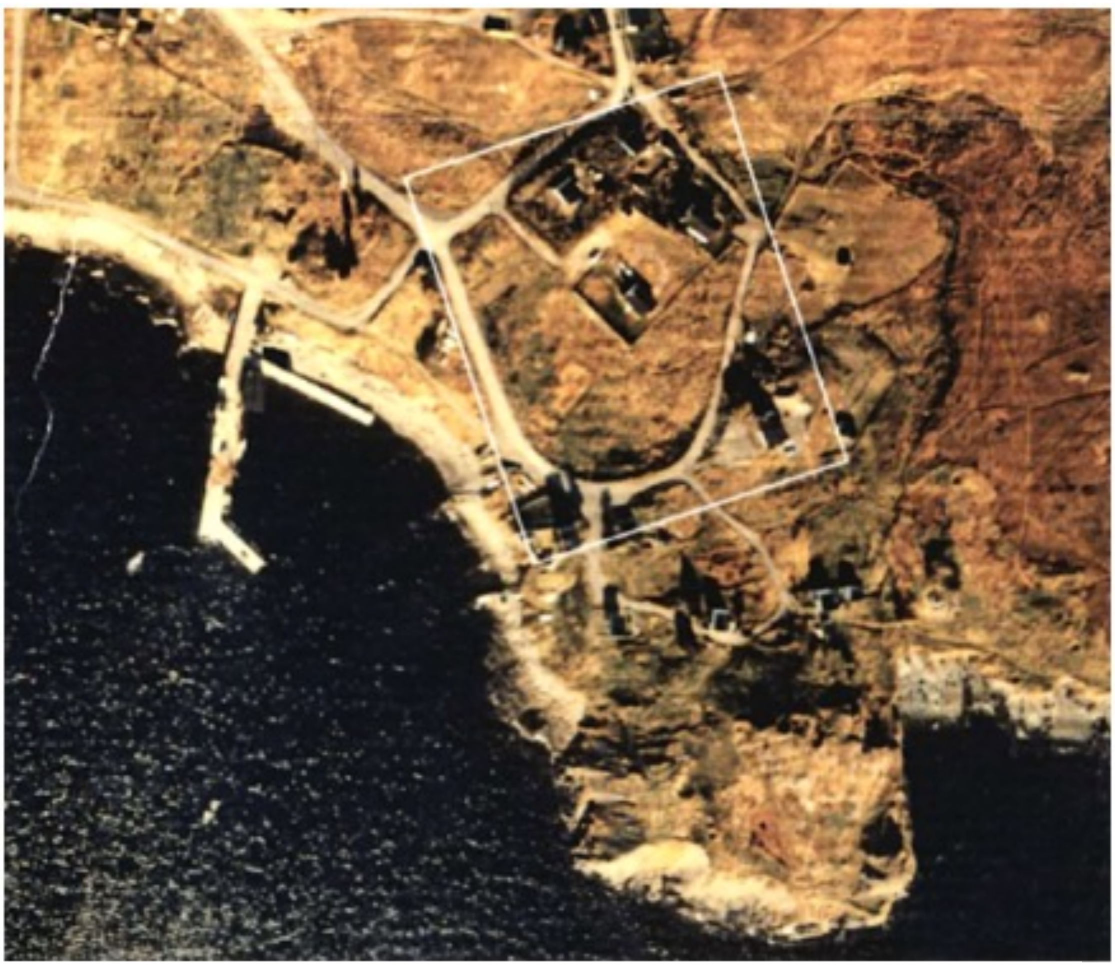
> *English and Portuguese witnesses to this act of piracy testified that in addition to the three Portuguese ships plundered in the harbour, there*

> *were 6 or 7 English ships, 2 "Biskyn" (Spanish) ships and a French Basque ship. The Captain of the French Basque ship was the Fishing Admiral. From these testimonies it was clear that England was not alone in Renews in the latter 16th century…"* (Quinn 1979: 13-20; Mills 2008:4)

During the early decades of the seventeenth century, Renews was viewed by the English as a settlement that would complement the established English colony of Cupids, located on the southwest shore of Conception Bay. In 1612 Henry Crout, a shareholder in the Newfoundland Company spent time in Renews evaluating the area's mining potential (Mills 2008:5). The mining venture fell short but in 1618, Sir William Vaughan, a Welshman, would try again to settle the harbour though his effort lasted just over a year (Cell 1969:84; 1982:13, 23-25). Although a third attempt to establish a community was made under the Viscount Falkland, Sir Henry Cary in 1623, it too was ultimately a failure (Cell 1969:90-91).

As with the seventeenth-century accounts of the colony of Ferryland (Cell 1982:254), and the same from Charlestown (Banks 1968:15; Vogt 1994:9), Richard Whitbourne's writings on the natural beauty of Renews, the surrounding ocean, "its open fields for agricultural potential, bountiful game, and fresh water and wood resources" (Cell 1982:152; Mills 2008:6, Figure 2.3) likely attracted further planters to the area. In particular, Renews harbour was considered a favourable destination by fishermen from the port of Barnstable, in North Devon, England (Poynter 1963:56; Mills 2008:6).

Renews saw sporadic population growth through the seventeenth century and with the lucrative nature of the fishing industry enjoyed further growth during the eighteenth century, peaking in 1790s and continuing until the "Irish provisioning of the Newfoundland fishery ceased in the 1830s" (Head 1976:90; Houston and Smyth 1999:17). In 1753, the permanent residents in Renews numbered 182 with 100 of those being Irish and 82 English, and in 1760/61, 25 families totaling 140 people lived in town (Head 1976:98, 155; Mills 2008:7). Following a decline in the fishing industry during the twentieth century, the population of Renews today hovers around 425 individuals (Mills 2008:7). Although the first settlers to the area hailed from the English West Country and



(Figure 2.3) Goodridge Premises, Renews, Newfoundland

other eastern Newfoundland harbours, those living in the town today are more likely "descendants of Irish immigrants from the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary and Cork who settled on the eastern shore of the Avalon Peninsula between 1770 and 1830" (Mannion 1990:7-8, Mills 2008:7).

The Goodridge Premises site gets its name from the Goodridge family who first settled in Renews in 1807 in order to take part in the Newfoundland fishery (Mills 2008:7). The family's presence grew in 1828 when Alan Goodridge came from Paignton, Devonshire, England to take control of his father's fishing business (Mills 2008:7). The family's land was located on Lord's Cove, described previously in this text as the seventeenth century 'Admiral's Beach'. As of 2008, the Goodridge family continues to occupy the same parcel of land and were gracious in their granting of permission to Stephen Mills and his team to conduct extensive archaeological excavation on their property (Mills 2008:8).

2.5 Site Background: Goodridge Premises, Renews, Newfoundland and Labrador

English Sailor James Yonge sketched Renews harbor as his ship passed through the area in 1663 and labeled a segment of the Renews coastline as the "Amharals Place", meaning the location of the Fishing Admiral's beach, an area of shore that traditionally served as the best area for the drying fish in a harbor (Mills 2008:17). "Amharals Place" was later renamed as Lords Cove, and the area is located within the Goodridge Premises (Mills 2008:17). The entirety of the Goodridge Premises was thought to contain high archaeological potential and was slated for survey in 2001.

The Goodridge Premises (CfAf-19) was recorded by Stephen Mills in July of 2001 during a two-week archaeological survey of the northern shore of Renews Harbour (Mills 2008:3). The following year in 2002, the Goodridge Premises was investigated over the course of a four-week project (July 22nd to August 15th) along with the Aggie Dinn's Cove site (Mills 2008:3). In 2003, a further six-week project (June 30th -August 8th) was undertaken on the Goodridge site and additional areas were included in the survey (Mills 2008:3).

Over the course of the 2002-2003 field seasons, excavations conducted at the Goodridge Premises uncovered 23 cultural and natural stratigraphic deposits (Mills 2008:25). Event numbers were assigned upon the discovery of each layer and cultural deposits were distinct enough from one another (Mills 2008:25). The 12,300 artifacts recovered by Steve Mills and his crew over three years of excavation reveal a mixed deposit spanning three centuries though my focus is on the eighteenth-century deposits that are believed to pertain to a tippling house present on the property. This collection is cataloged and currently housed in the archaeological repository at The Rooms Provincial Museum in St. John's.

2.6 Tippling House Historical Background

There are two types of buildings that would have sold alcoholic beverages in the eighteenth century, and their differentiation comes from the scale of operation. Categorized as tippling houses or taverns they share similar attributes. The similarities are fairly simple in that each structure provided the opportunity for residents and visitors alike to purchase and consume alcohol, often accompanied by the consumption of tobacco and food (Crompton 2000:25; Ingram 2015:15). The primary difference between the purpose of these structures lies in the nature of a tippling house as a small-scale business operated out of a private dwelling (Crompton 2000:25). When examining artifact assemblages from a tippling house context, they tend to present daily household activities as well as public alcohol and tobacco consumption practices and often possess higher concentrations of food preparation and personal goods than assemblages recovered from taverns (Clark 1983; Smith 2008:27-8,66; Ingram 2015:15). The tippling house from the Goodridge Premises (CfAf-19) in Renews, Newfoundland, is a prime example of the size, layout, and activities commonly associated with a Newfoundland tippling or planter house (Ingram 2015:15).

Distinguishing domestic and tavern assemblages from one another may be difficult, as the material culture commonly associated with each structure is not always consistent. Taverns will often bear a large number of tobacco pipes in comparison to an often-large concentration of beverage storage and food preparation vessels; whereas a domestic dwelling whose residents consumed above average amounts of alcohol has the ability to mislead our interpretation (Cotter 1958; Eckholm and Deetz 1971; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; King 1988; Miller 2003; Ingram 2015:19). The existence of tippling houses in colonial North America further complicates the archaeological record of the period, as they constitute both a public tavern and domestic dwelling, harboring artifacts from each context within their boundaries. However, by utilizing a combination of resources including historical documentation, artifact analysis, and spatial distribution, a more definitive interpretation can be obtained.

Both taverns and tippling houses provided a myriad of functions. Each were typically placed within the center of a settlement, and until their operations became more specialized in the eighteenth century, they were the hub for meetings, business transactions, accommodations, and social interactions of its patrons (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:114; Ingram 2015:20). As a result, these different activities are expected and are often recognized within the archaeological record.

While the high percentage of material culture from these sites may overlap in form and function, archaeologists look for higher concentrations of ceramic hollowware and clay tobacco pipes to distinguish a tavern from a dwelling (Smith 2008:27-8). Tobacco and alcohol consumption often went hand in hand at these establishments, as the former was originally believed to subdue the latter (Oswald 1975:3-5; Leskovec 2007:157; Ingram 2015;21). Archaeologists also sometimes refer to smoking pipes as a “little hearth”, as the combination of the two practices was thought to help the Newfoundland population cope with the cold weather in an unfriendly climate (Pope 1989:89; Ingram 2015:21). High percentages of hollowware are an especially definitive clue as these vessels would have constituted drinking and storage vessels for the most part, with typical objects being mugs, jars, and pitchers. When your business is serving alcohol, a large collection of beverage service, consumption, and storage vessels is essential. While artifacts associated with beverage consumption are typical of these sites, alcohol and eating typically go hand in hand, and as a result many taverns and tippling houses would have offered patrons food alongside their alcoholic beverages and tobacco (Salinger 2002:22; Smith 2008:66; Ingram 2015:21). Between the two structures, tippling houses would have been better equipped to offer a greater variety of meals, as they were situated within domestic dwellings with kitchens at their disposal and also occasionally offered accommodations to their visiting patrons. “Rural taverns and tippling houses would have predominantly provided meals along with accommodations; as such, food preparation vessels are more common” (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:118; Ingram 2015: 21).

2.7 Historical Background: Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts: 1630-1775

The coastline of Charlestown first experienced European interaction through commercial fishing activity off the Massachusetts coast during the seventeenth century (Vogt 1994:7). John Smith, an English navigator became the first recorded European to visit the area in 1614 and he explored the coastal region near Charlestown for three months while his crew fished the waters. Charlestown would not see permanent settlement for another sixteen years until 1628, though European crews of fisherman would continue to visit these waters until then (Vogt 1994:7). In 1620, King James would grant this portion of the Massachusetts coast, known at that time as Mishaum, to the Council of Plymouth, where the land would then be granted to Robert Gorges in 1622. Gorges failed to establish ownership over the claim and the parcel was subsequently purchased by the Massachusetts Company, and their members became the first Europeans to establish permanent settlement in the region (Vogt 1994:7).

Charlestown itself was settled in 1628 by two men from the nearby town of Salem, Ralph Richard and William Sprague, who accompanied by three of four men had settled along the shores of Boston Harbor (Vogt 1994:8). The following year in 1629, the first full ship of settlers would arrive from England, including Thomas Graves, the engineer who would later construct the Great House/Three Cranes Tavern. Reverend Francis Higginson, a passenger on this ship described his fellow passengers:

> *There are in all of us both old and new Planters about three-hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihum-kek, now called Salem: and the rest have Planted themselves at Massathulets Bay, beginning to build a Towne there which wee doe call Cherton, or Charles Towne* (Frothingham 1845 in Vogt 1994:7).

Each planter was to be granted a two-acre plot to farm and dwell upon. The settlement would see permanent establishment the following year in 1630 with the arrival of John Winthrop and 1,500 colonists. Initially aiming to join the community of Salem, Winthrop instead joined those at Charlestown after seeing the overall rough condition of those settlers at Salem (Vogt 1994:8).

Similar to Edward Wynne's depictions of Newfoundland in the seventeenth century (Winne 1621 in Cell 1982:254), Thomas Graves wrote similar descriptions of the Charlestown area that were sent back home to England in 1629. These short and favorable summaries were potentially utilized in order to attract more settlers to the region as besides information gleaned from descriptions such as these, the English public had little information on the New World (Banks 1968:15; Vogt 1994:9). Although

Grave's depiction paints the new settlement in a positive light, "*I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: … it is very beautiful in open lands mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, no place barren. It is observed that few or none doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my companie onely by labour."* (Frothingham 1845 in Vogt 1994:9) the reality was far harsher. Due to sickness and a poor understanding of the natural resources in the region, sixty settlers died, and the rest were sick (Vogt 1994:9). The land of Charlestown was small, difficult to farm, and lacked a solid source of fresh water, making it an inhospitable landscape for the sick and living alike (Boston 200 Corporation 1976:1). Bouts of bloody flux, also known as dysentery, and scurvy made their way through town and by April of 1630, eighty residents of Charlestown had succumbed to their illnesses and over the course of 1631, a following 200 would die (Vogt 1994:10). During these epidemics, John Winthrop moved himself into the Great House that would later become the Three Cranes Tavern, while the remaining residents of Charlestown erected wigwam-like abodes, and sailcloth tents (Wood 1969:49; Vogt 1994:10).

As difficult as the first few years were on the inhabitants, by 1639 the colonists were thriving and actively expanding their land holdings in both Charlestown and neighbouring Boston (Vogt 1994:11). As the two cities of Boston and Charlestown were situated at the confluence of the Charles River and the Atlantic, both commercial waterways in colonial Massachusetts, merchants soon made Boston and Charlestown to a lesser extent, their primary port of call (Rutman 1965:164; Vogt 1994:11). Both Boston and Charlestown would be involved in active trade with merchants from the Azores, the West Indies, the Canary Island, the Iberian Coast, England, and other European nations during this period, leading to Boston's role as a key point of call on the trans-Atlantic trade networks active in the mid seventeenth century (Rutman 1965:184). The eighteenth century would bring further improvements to Charlestown as the inhabitants constructed a bridge over the Charles River to Boston, erected a second meeting house in the City Square and in the 1730s, more roads about the town were paved as prior to this only two roads had been paved (Vogt 1994:17). The population grew alongside these infrastructural improvements and a historical account from the 1750s describes Charlestown as

> *…the mother of Boston… much more populous than Cambridge…'Tis said one thousand vessels clear annually from these two towns (Boston and Charlestown) only, more than from all the European colonies in America not in English hands.* (Frothingham 1845; Vogt 1994:17)

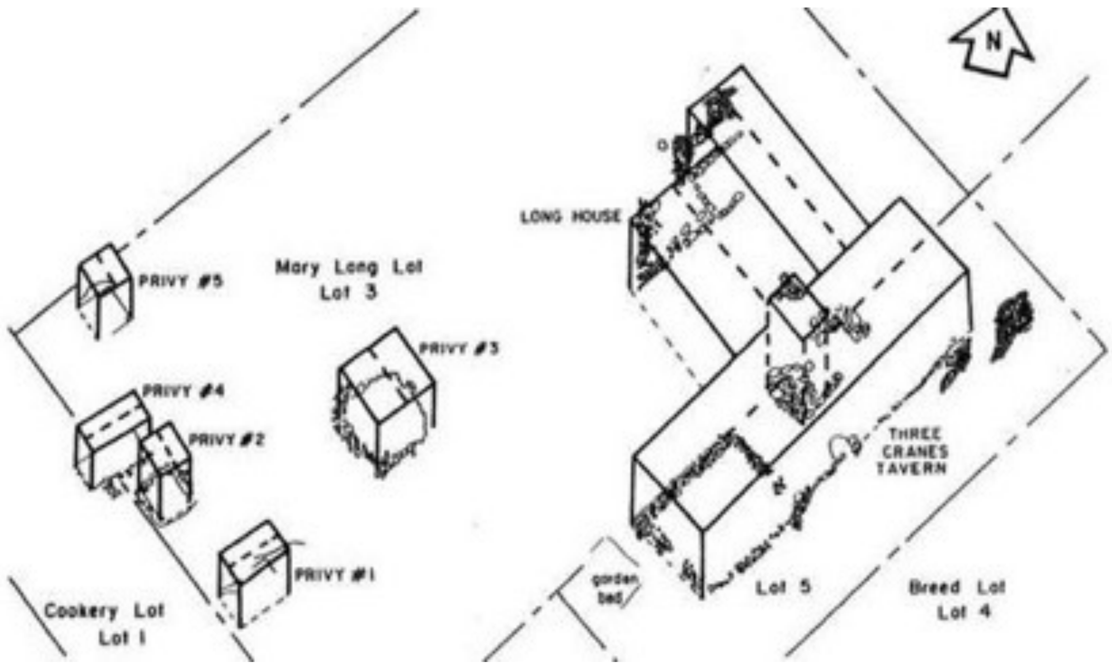
In the 1760s, the town was dealing with harsh tax increases levied on the colonies by England that only served to escalate friction. The organized boycotts of British import goods including tea saw prominent participation from the citizens of Charlestown as those from Boston and both towns had citizens participate with great fervor in the Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773 (Sigler 1972:2). England retaliated with the passing of the Boston Port Bill of 1774 that prohibited all water traffic to Boston until England had received payment for the tea. The outpouring of support for Boston and Charlestown from the colonies as a result of this bill would contribute support for unification of the North American colonies against continued British rule (Sigler 1972:2; Vogt 1994:18).

War would break out in Lexington, Massachusetts on April 19, 1775 and a great deal of Boston and Charlestown were evacuated as a result, though when the British forces landed at Charlestown, the remaining two to three hundred inhabitants were forced to quarter the soldiers (Vogt 1994:19). Tensions would further boil over at the Battle of Bunker Hill that was fought in Charlestown, left 140 American men dead, and sparked the destruction of Charlestown by the British as they fired upon the market place in City Square from their position on Copps Hill (Vogt 1994:19; Gallagher et. al 1994:44). As a result of the artillery bombardment, evidenced by the cannonballs recovered during the City Square excavations, the British shells began to cause fires that soon spread across town, ultimately destroying the Three Cranes Tavern and most of Charlestown (Gallagher et al 1994:44).

2.8 Site Background: Three Cranes Tavern, Boston, Massachusetts

The Three Cranes Tavern site is located within the City Square Archaeological District in the historic Charlestown neighborhood in Boston, Massachusetts. The initial excavation for the purpose of data recovery commenced in August of 1985 and ran until December of the same year, while the removal of the structural elements of the Three Cranes Tavern took place between September and November of 1987 (Gallagher et. al 1994:2). The 1994 edition of the PAL (Public Archaeology Laboratory) report on the City Square District authored by Gallagher et. al, and Christy Vogt's 1994 thesis on the

Three Cranes Tavern (Figure 2.4) material assemblage provided much of the research, historic documentation, and analyses utilized for this project.



(Figure 2.4) Three Cranes Tavern and Associated Privies

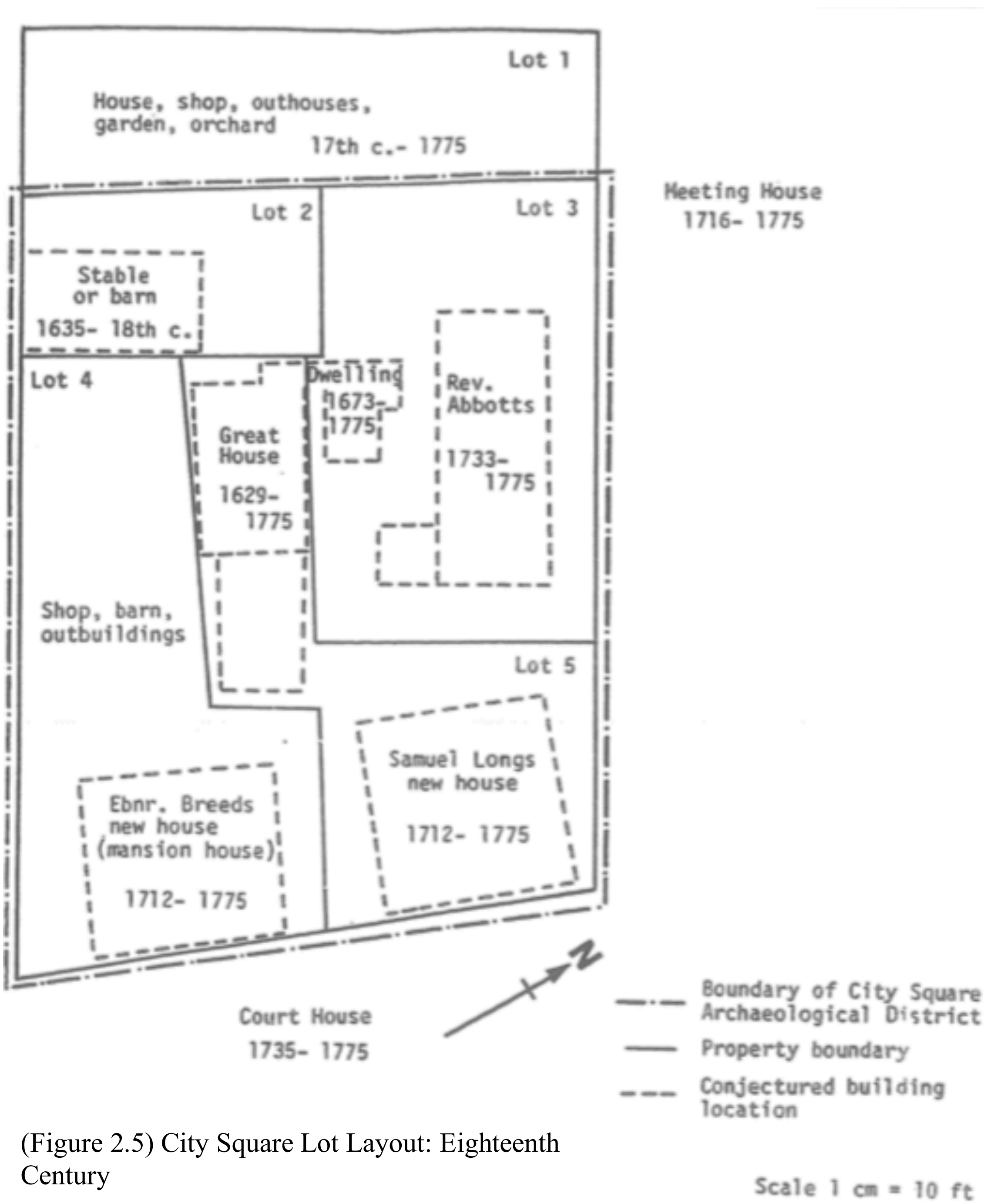
The Great House / Three Cranes Tavern structure (1629-1775) represents "perhaps the most important archaeological link to the period of Charlestown's earliest settlement (Gallagher et. al 1994:19; Vogt 1994). It was the first public building constructed in what would become the state of Massachusetts and was thought to have embodied the rather pronounced characteristics of early seventeenth-century vernacular architecture (Gallagher et al. 1994:19). The site itself is also significant for its transition into the role as the Three Cranes Tavern, which lasted until 1775. The Three Cranes, also known as "Long's Ordinary" and the "Great House" by those Charlestown citizens who frequented the establishment, would have access not only to food and alcohol but to the news and general goings-on about the area as well (Josselyn 1865 in Vogt 1994:35). In 1710, a further six individuals became the proprietors of inns in the area, though none were located in the vicinity of the City Square area, resulting in limited competition for the Three Cranes (Frothingham 1845:245; Vogt 1994:35). The Three Cranes would have also enjoyed a central location in the heart of Charlestown's social, economic, and political hub and was also surrounded by shops, homes, and a community meetinghouse (Vogt 1994:35).

The building that would eventually become the Three Cranes Tavern was built between 1629 and 1630 by the engineer, Thomas Graves, the man who would also lay out the initial network of Charlestown's streets (Frothingham 1845:21; Vogt 1994:36). Much of the building's significance comes from the purpose of its original construction as the home for John Winthrop, though at this time, the structure was known by its original name, the Great House. Following John Winthrop's relocation to Boston where he took the post as the inaugural Governor of Massachusetts, the Great House was sold to the town of Charlestown and was utilized as a meetinghouse both for public use and as a space for religious congregation until Robert Long purchased the property in 1635 for £30 (Hunnewell 1888:114 in Vogt 1994:36). Robert Long, already an experienced innkeeper in his native England, had recently made the trans-Atlantic move to Charlestown from Dunstable, England with his wife Elizabeth and their ten children where he soon established himself as an innkeeper (Vogt 1994:39). Upon his purchase of the property, Charlestown informed Long in 1635 that he was

> *"... granted to have the Great House wholly when we shall be provided of another meeting-house, and to pay L30, and for the present to have the south end, and so much of the chamber as the deacons can spare, and when the congregation leaveth the house, the deacons are to have the plank and boards which lie over the chamber with all the forms below and benches"* (Frothingham 1845:65).

Further details in the town's land records from 1638 describe Long's holdings as "…one roode and a haulfe of ground by estimation" (Middlesex County Probate Court 2:169). A roode is a 16th-century term used to describe English land measurement and equates to roughly a lot size of 16,335 ft^2 (Gallagher et. al 1994:34) The building itself, now an inn and tavern in the mid 1630s, would remain essentially unchanged from its construction in 1629/1630 until its destruction by fire at the hands of British soldiers in June 1775.

The building was locally known as Long's Ordinary by 1638 as recorded by John Josselyn during his first of two voyages to New England (Gallagher et. al 1994:34). An early mention of the sale of alcohol on the property comes from 1640 when the General Court granted Robert Long a permit to draw wine on the property and in 1648, Long "purchased the right to sell retail wines along with five other vintners at a cost of £160 a year" (Frothingham 1845:84, 114). Tavern regulation during the seventeenth century was rather strict as Josselyn reported that patrons of Long's Tavern (Three Cranes/Great House) (Figure 2.5), were not permitted to smoke tobacco, no dice or card games could be played. Also regulated were the prices of food and beverage with six-pence as the highest amount a tavern patron could be charged for food; likewise, a penny for beer was the maximum price lest the owner wished to face a ten shilling fine (Vogt 1994:41).



(Figure 2.5) City Square Lot Layout: Eighteenth Century

According to a 1663 family inventory, the Long family were occupying the full Great House and had converted the remainder of their lot into a complex of smaller, purpose-built buildings (Gallagher et. al 1994:35). In 1663, the tavern was described as being surrounded by gardens, with stables and an open courtyard. While inside the tavern itself, the first floor was comprised of “the Haule” and “the Kitchen”, with “the bedchamber over the haule”, “the room over the kitchen”, and finally “the room above the porch” on the second floor (Cummings 1979:26). In this context of seventeenth-century New England, a “haule” was designated as a multi-purpose room located on the ground floor of a house, while a “chamber” implied a room on an upper floor (Cummings 1979:26).

Upon Robert Long’s death in 1663, the property including the tavern passed into the hands of his son John Long who held possession of the property until his death in 1683, when his widow Mary Long inherited the property and operated the establishment until her death in 1730 (Gallagher et. al 1994:35). During the period of John and Mary’s ownership, a new dwelling house was added that stood adjacent to the tavern itself, and a wine cellar was set up in the cellar of the tavern. In addition, a separate brew house was constructed that contained the brewing copper formerly located in the kitchen during Robert Long’s tenure (Frothingham 1845:156). At the close of the seventeenth century, the Three Cranes Tavern was one of three buildings that stood in the City Square of Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts, with the other two being the Cutler home, and the third iteration of a public meetinghouse in the City Square.

In the early eighteenth century, the Three Cranes was surrounded by gardens, a yard, and a dwelling house and stables. Prior to her death in 1730, Three Cranes proprietor Mary Long would will the tavern to her son Samuel Long who, within a year of his marriage and the gift of the property from his mother, would mortgage and sell portions of the property. Half the tavern was sold to Ebeneezer Breed in 1711 for £200 while the other half was sold to Charles Chambers for £300 in 1712 (Wyman 1879:626, Vogt 1994:43). These sales were completed in order to fund a portion of the cost of building himself a new home that once completed, would front onto the marketplace just adjacent to the tavern (Gallagher et. al 1994:40). Samuel Long died in 1731 at which point the property would pass to his widow, Sarah who in turn would die in 1743, leaving "my House in Charlestown called the Three Cranes in the present possession of Mrs. Jona Gardner" to her husband, George Shore (Gallagher et. al 1994:43). Shore would sell the property to Russell Chambers who would then sell it to Nathaniel Brown in 1746 (Vogt 1994:44). "Despite liens on the Tavern (a 1746 mortgage to Francis Dysert; a 1766 mortgage to the Artillery Company), Brown evidently remained the tavern's owner and occupant for almost 30 years, at least until 1775" (Gallagher et. al. 1994:43).

June 17, 1775 marks the beginning of the Fire of 1775 which by the time it burned out, had destroyed much of Charlestown's built infrastructure including the Three Cranes Tavern and its surrounding outbuildings (including its privies) (Vogt 1994:44; Gallagher et. al 1994:44).

The methodology implemented at the Three Cranes site was the same as that employed in the entirety of the City Square Archaeological District outlined by the

Boston Landmarks Commission, Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975 (Cannizzo et. al 1992). The site was enclosed by fencing in order to isolate the site and a 2x2 meter grid was overlaid on the full CSAD (City Square Archaeological District) once asphalt, sidewalks, a concrete trolley bed and rails were removed (Gallagher et. al 1994:53). Site sampling was carried out through the use of judgmental, random, and systematic sampling techniques and all units selected for sampling were within the 2x2 m grid as $4m^2$ units were opened over high potential areas including foundation locations (Gallagher et. al 1994: 53). In addition, randomly selected units were added to reduce the reliance on historical documentation and covered a total of 3% of the site. Finally, a $44m^2$ sample was taken through the excavation of $50cm^2$ of each southwest corner of each 2x2m grid (Gallagher et. al 1994:53).

Following the sampling of the site, full excavation began by a combination of shovel and machine-assisted labor. Select units that had been excavated as part of the sampling process, were re-excavated in order to determine an accurate stratigraphic record of the site including those layers and deposits pertaining to pre vs. post-Revolutionary deposits (Gallagher et. al 1994:55). The non-relevant fill layers pertaining to post-Revolutionary deposits were removed and shovel-shaving was carried out within the 2x2m grid, resulting in a total excavation of 57 hand-excavated units including 193 distinct features, and 3 machine-assisted units within the CSAD (Gallagher et al. 1994:62).

Of these features, five were positively identified as the privies utilized by the Three Cranes Tavern at different periods in time during its operation and were given priority during excavation due to their high level of significance. This significance is directly derived from the varying “construction techniques, size, and content that have been influenced by changing land use patterns, trade networks, and dietary practices that relate directly to changes in Charlestown’s developmental history” (Gallagher et. al 1994:72). Therefore, in terms of material culture, ceramics in particular, these five privies are an excellent proxy for observing the transforming consumer tastes in Charlestown during the eighteenth century. Each of the five privies falls within a date range between 1680 (Privy 1) and 1775 (Privy 5).

These privies and the material culture recovered from them, is covered in the following chapter in which each of the four sites analyzed in this project are discussed, compared, and contrasted.

2.9 Colonial Taverns Historical Background

Taverns have been fixtures on the North American landscape since the first colonists landed on the eastern shores of North America during the seventeenth century. Known colloquially by those who frequented them as ordinaries, a term ferried across the Atlantic from Great Britain, taverns were widely constructed across most of New England (Gately 2008:127). These communal structures were important on a fledgling landscape as they served as gathering spaces for new communities (Struzinski 2002:29; Thorp 1996:661-688). Taverns also afforded patrons a multitude of services dependent upon the geographic location of the structure. Drinking establishments in the southern colonies that were closer to the frontier were often used as inns and trading posts for those men venturing into unknown lands to settle (Thorp 1996:662). While those in the north, closer towards and more often located within urban centers, supplied a more traditional atmosphere as a public gathering place where a patron might secure a meal and a drink (Thorp 1996:664; Gately 2008:126). The Three Cranes Tavern of Charlestown, Massachusetts and its associated archaeological collection, is representative of this traditional tavern atmosphere.

Taverns in the eighteenth century were able to offer more than accommodation for travelers and refreshments for locals. In villages and rural settlements, meeting at a tavern was often the sole alternative to gathering in a private home (Thorp 1996:663-4). As a result, taverns were the scene of countless public and private functions, often acting as courtrooms, the setting of religious meetings, business transactions, post offices, and trading posts (Thorp 1996:664). In each of these roles, taverns and public houses were important institutions for the establishment and maintenance of cultural norms and their deposited assemblage of material culture reflects that.

Most of North America's earliest European residents established family farms and small plantations in loose, rural villages while others settled in small towns which quickly developed around roads to serve travelers; a linear urban network that characterized backcountry urbanization in the colonial period (Ramsey 1987:173). Taverns present on this eighteenth-century landscape operated as waypoints in this urban network with larger establishments providing rooms available for rent to travelers. Upscale taverns often provided a lounge or great room with a large fireplace, a bar along one wall of the room, and no lack of benches, chairs, and other seating clustered around several dining tables

(Grizzard 2002:269). These higher class of taverns might also offer a separate parlor for women along with good food, cozy beds with fires in each room during cold weather and a general sense of cleanliness. Even whilst traveling the backwoods, spending a night in a potentially dirty tavern was always a more favourable alternative to, and certainly safer than camping along the road side (Grizzard 2002:269).

Several historic taverns have been the subject of reconstruction efforts by archaeologists and local historical societies alike including: The City Tavern in Philadelphia (Graham 1953), Williamsburg's' Wetherburn's Tavern (Noel Hume 1969), and the Fraunces Tavern in New York City (Rice 1983). Reviews of regional case studies of tavern excavations across eastern North America reveal specific research goals commonly associated with these sites. Often, the primary research goal focuses on the identification and overall isolation of a distinct tavern-related pattern of material culture (Gallagher et. al; 1994: 24). In practice, archaeologists on these tavern sites work off the assumption that there exists a unique difference between the depositional patterns exhibited by tavern and domestic sites (Gallagher et. al 1994: 24). These patterns may potentially display differences in the types, quantity, quality, and functionality of the material culture utilized on site before the ultimate deposition of said material. An example that stands apart due to the clarity of this division is Bragdon's 1981 analysis of two sites, the Joseph Howland, and the Wellfleet Tavern sites, "in which a tavern and a domestic assemblage are clearly differentiated." (Gallagher et. al 1994: 24) As previously mentioned, taverns established in urban or rural areas offered a distinct set of amenities to their patrons that are reflected in the material culture. Rockman and Rothschild's 1984 analysis of tavern assemblages gathered from both urban and rural areas, demonstrates the high probability of predictable patterns within each assemblage as reflected by their geographic location (Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Gallagher et. al 1994: 24).

2.10 Historical Background: Stillwater, New York

The area known as "Still Waters" was home to French settlers during the early 1600s, following a move northward from Albany (Town of Stillwater n.d.). The French maintained a mill in the area as Stillwater sits at the confluence of the Hudson and Hoosick Rivers, making it a crossing point for Native Americans traveling to their summer hunting grounds and a natural guide for the formation of the Kings Highway between Albany and Montreal, Quebec in the eighteenth century (Town of Stillwater n.d.). Stillwater would have seen foot traffic by soldiers fighting in the French and Indian War and was home to Fort Ingoldsby, constructed in 1709, and later Fort Winslow in 1756 (Town of Stillwater n.d.). Following the end of the French and Indian War and the signing of the peace treaty of 1759, soldiers were replaced by homesteaders (Town of Stillwater n.d.). The late 1750s and early 1760s saw further settlers with a Congregational Church society from Connecticut and Baptists from Rhode Island establishing their own sections of the fledgling community (Town of Stillwater n.d.).

During this period, Stillwater Village would grow from a northern frontier outpost into a market centre for the more northern settlements along the Hudson River, settlers in the lake region, and those to the east (Town of Stillwater n.d.). By the 1770s and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Stillwater would have gristmills, saw mills, a tannery, an ashery and fuller's work, a brewery, brick kiln, stores, and saloons, all of which contributed to Stillwater's thriving community (Town of Stillwater n.d.). Men in the community enlisted as part of the local militia that would fight with General Horatio Gates at the Battles of Bemis Heights and of Freeman's Farm; collectively the two Battles of Saratoga. The battlefield is on the northern edge of Stillwater and today is Saratoga National Historic Park, under the care of the National Park Service. The Tayler House site is within the boundary of Saratoga National Historic Park. The residents of Stillwater enjoyed access to trade items in the seventeenth century through interactions with the French trading posts that ran north along the Hudson River from Albany. This access and overall consumer choice would only grow as the population swelled, trade routes expanded and became more numerous, and as the Hudson river Valley region itself blossomed into the series of burgeoning communities that it remains today.

2.11 Site Background: John Tayler House, Stillwater, New York

Archaeological work on the Tayler House site was first carried out in 1973 under the terms of a National Park Service Contract as the property lies within the bounds of Saratoga National Historic Park in Stillwater, New York. Fieldwork began in June of that year and lasted a total of 6 weeks as 20 students participating in the SUNY Albany Archaeological Field School worked to uncover the site under the supervision of Dwight T. Wallace, and site director Dr. David Snow (Snow 1974:1).

Nineteenth-century accounts reference a cellar hole that was purported to have been the site of the Tayler House and utilizing aerial photography, Snow's team identified a "depression of about the right size and shape where the Tayler House was suspected to have stood" (Snow 1974:20). Two intersecting trenches were excavated across this identified depression and managed to locate the house's foundation at four separate points (Snow 1974:20). A wealth of ceramic material was also recovered within the boundary of the foundation, leading Snow to remark "those remains clearly date the house foundation to the Revolutionary period, and there is no reason to doubt that we have indeed located the Tayler House" (Snow 1974:20). Although only a small portion of the site was excavated, the high yield of ceramic artifacts suggested that the site remained intact and required further investigation. All told, Snow and his team recovered 1580 ceramic sherds along with brick, pipe, glass, and metal artifacts (Snow 1974:23). 1974 would be Snow's last at the site though he would leave a recommendation stating that "I strongly recommend that the Park Service consider complete excavation of this important site" (Snow 1974:23).

After a decade without further work on the site, excavation was resumed by Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1987 under the direction of Dr. David Starbuck; this further excavation contributing valuable insight about the house's structure (Demers and Starbuck 1989:1). The Tayler House is of importance on the conflict landscape of the Saratoga Battlefield as the mortally wounded British Brigadier-General Sir Simon Fraser was brought here during the second Battle of Saratoga on October 7th, 1777, and where he ultimately died on the morning of October 8th (Demers and Starbuck 1989:1).

Prior to its involvement in the battles of Saratoga, the Tayler property was a portion of the holdings of the Livingstons who were a prominent Albany, New York family in the mid-eighteenth century (Demers and Starbuck 1989:5). In February of 1768, William Bruce and his wife Judith came into ownership of the parcel though on September 18, 1772, the Bruce's sold "farm lot #1, part of lot 17, 229 acres, Saratoga Patent, Albany County to John Tayler" (Starbuck and Demers 1989:5). This lot would become the site of the Tayler farm which included the Tayler house as its focal point, a structure that was constructed following the sale of the parcel, as the record does not mention a house on the property in 1772 (Starbuck and Demers:1989:5).

John Tayler was born in New York City on July 4, 1742 to his parents, Nancy Condit and William Tayler (John Tayler Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, New York State Library). Upon reaching his teen years and still residing in New York, Tayler began his career as a privateer supplier with the army (Barbagallo 2011: 5). As a supplier, Tayler carried supplies north through the Hudson River Valley to British garrisons on Lake George in upstate New York (Barbagallo 2011:5). Following his time in the army, Tayler transitioned to a similar role as a goods courier, utilizing both the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers and the trails that crisscrossed New York in the eighteenth century as he transported goods between New York City and Albany, and between Oswego and settlements in the Mohawk Valley (Barbagallo 2011:5). While the British Army was Tayler's main customer, he also made a living by stocking frontier communities along the Mohawk River, and Native Americans with general merchandise and occasionally farmed produce (John Tayler Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, New York State Library). Following his success west of Albany in the Mohawk Valley, Tayler moved his business to Lake George in northern New York where he would gain esteem in trading circles for completing risky deliveries during the French and Indian War (Barbagallo 2011:5).

While operating upstate, Tayler grew his supply business and further established his own trade routes and by the age of twenty-four, was a leading supplier in the state (Barbagallo 2011:6). From his position as a prosperous supplier and trader, John Tayler was able to make the most out of Albany's advantageous geographic position in eighteenth-century colonial America. During this period, Albany was afforded easy access to the Hudson River, served as the only major port in the region with a direct line via the Hudson to New York City, and was home for a time to the British Army who was in need of a constant supply of goods to maintain their northern campaign.

Tayler wed Margarita Van Valkenburgh when he was twenty-four and although his business had once more moved south to Albany, Tayler and his wife settled in the northern community of Stillwater, New York on a 100-acre farm abutting the west bank of the Hudson River (Barbagallo 2011:7). This advantageous position on the river and the stagecoach route running north from Albany assured the continued success of his company as it afforded viable avenues to ship and receive products from his suppliers in Albany, Boston, London, and New York City (Barbagallo 2011:9). He exported pearlash and potash, lumber, flax, and wheat to his couriers and haulers in these larger ports and also farmed produce on his property which helped to diversify his income as he sold these products as well (Barbagallo 2011:9). Tayler continued his business with the help of bookkeepers, clerks, haulers, boatmen, and letter writers, eventually making the move to politics with his appointment to the Governorship of New York and later to the House of Representatives (Barbagallo 2011:9). There appears to be confusion among local historians in the region as to which John Tayler occupied the property, as in the late eighteenth century there were numerous John Tayler's listed in the New York census. However, a mention in the *History of Saratoga County* published in 1878, helps by identifying the John Tayler on the property as the same John W. Tayler discussed above; successful merchant, a prominent congressman, and later a Governor of New York (Sylvester 1878:248).

As a merchant supplier and shipping magnate during the second half of the eighteenth century, Tayler was aware of the evolving trends in consumer goods, ceramics among them. Based on the archaeological evidence excavated at the Tayler House site, it appears that, utilizing his trade connections, Tayler was able to purchase a wide variety of ceramic vessels for his family's use. This selection includes but is not limited to creamware, pearlware, coarse red earthenwares and salt-glazed stonewares. Although the ceramic consumption patterns displayed at the Tayler House may have been heavily influenced by Taylor's suppliers, it serves the purpose of demonstrating the consumer choices available in the region if a customer were to require/desire a certain waretype.

As part of a 1780 engraving by Assistant Engineer Lieutenant William Cumberland Wilkinson of the British 62nd Regiment of Foot, the Tayler property is depicted as three buildings situated directly north of a bend in the colonial road that cut through the Tayler property (Starbuck and Demers 1989:9). These three structures would have been a house, a barn, and a potential stable or carriage house depending upon which nineteenth-century depictions of the property are to be believed (Starbuck and Demers 1989:12, 13). The house was moved to a location closer to the Hudson River sometime before 1820, where it was turned into a tavern by a Mr. Smith and ultimately demolished between 1844 and 1846 (Starbuck and Demers 1989:11).

Once excavation was resumed in 1987 under Starbuck and RPI, a new series of objectives was undertaken (Starbuck and Demers 1989:15). As the prior excavation had revealed the location of the house, the 1987 excavation was organized in order to:

> *…determine the size and orientation of the house; as well as to assess the condition of the remains, including the foundation… Another objective for this excavation was the acquisition of data for intrasite comparison, especially to compare the interior foundation with exterior areas. Such data would lead to greater understanding of activities at the site for both the occupational and post-occupational periods. This information would also be valuable for comparison to other contemporary farmstead sites in the Hudson Valley*. (Starbuck and Demers 1989:15).

The mention of acquiring data for the purpose of intrasite comparison runs parallel with the overall objective of this project, albeit from a strictly ceramic-based perspective.

The 1987 excavations avoided areas of the site that were previously excavated by Snow's team and units were mapped out with the hope of intercepting the north-south and east-west walls and corners of the dry-laid fieldstone foundation (Starbuck and Demers 1989:16). Units were laid out in both the interior and exterior of the foundation and were successful in recovering a wealth of eighteenth-century material including 1,134 ceramic sherds in addition to the 1,580 sherds from the 1973 excavation (Snow 1974:22, Starbuck and Demers 1989:27). There was no evidence of occupation later than

1815 and despite its temporary use for military function, no direct evidence of the British occupation of the site (Starbuck and Demers 1989:34).

Both collections, Snow's and Starbuck's, have been formally catalogued and are permanently housed onsite at Saratoga National Historic Park.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Approach and Methodology

3.1 Consumption Theory Overview

My research revolves around the distribution and usage of material culture, specifically ceramics, in eighteenth-century colonial contexts. As such, the theoretical approaches employed in this study are rooted in the analysis of the consumption patterning applied to material culture and the examination of the conditions in which these material goods see the heaviest use.

The primary theoretical approach employed in this research is consumption theory, defined as "consumer behavior (is) associated with the acquisition, use and disposal of material culture" (Henry 1991:1). Consumption theory is concerned with the four main aspects of consumer behavior, each associated with separate patterns of consumption: decision to consume, acquisition or procurement, use, and post-use deposition (Nicosia and Mayer 1976; Henry 1991:2). I will be drawing upon consumption theory in order to identify and understand the choices made by consumers purchasing ceramics in eighteenth-century Newfoundland and the northeastern United States. Research suggests that decision-making processes and commodity acquisition patterns utilized by consumers differ depending upon a number of variables, including identity of the decision makers, nature and type of commodity, perceived need for an item, and the surrounding socio-cultural environment (Henry 1991:1). Consumer behavior can be defined as the behavior displayed by consumers in their search for, acquiring, using, evaluating, and disposing of products, services and ideas. (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:6). Consumption theory seeks to investigate consumer behavior based upon the main metrics outlined by Schiffman and Kanuk in addition to the influencing factors that play on consumers, both internal and external. A consumption-based theoretical approach will provide the backbone for this research, ultimately aiding in identifying ceramic consumption patterns on the socio-economic landscape of eighteenth-century Newfoundland.

Consumption theory was applied during this project as a "general model that provides an explanatory framework for archaeological research through a discussion of consumer behavior in general terms, not linked to any specific commodity or population segment" (Henry 1991:1) The generality of this model, in that it remains untethered to specific commodities or economic sectors, affords an overall flexibility that allows for the free examination of the socio-economic factors surrounding the consumption of eighteenth-century ceramics. The socio-economic factors examined as part of this application of consumption theory were utilized within the broader lens of 'market research', a term that encompasses a base of research focused upon the psychological factors that influence consumer behavior, as well as economic behavior in order to identify and influence economic results (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987, Henry 1991:1) Market research in this instance was ascertained through the specific historical and geographical contexts represented in this project, along with the socio-cultural demographics of each locale, and the rate of consumption of ceramics in the same.

Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption (Veblen 1934; Leibenstein 1950; Smelser 1976:132; Henry 1991:2) and Duesenberry's 'demonstration effect' (Duesenberry 1949; Suits 1963:15; Smelser 1976:133, Henry 1991:2) were also utilized in the examination of the socio-cultural factors that inject influence into consumer decisions of the period. Both Veblen and Duesenberry broach a concept known as conspicuous consumption within their discussions and are “concerned with the influence of others on an individual’s expenditures which includes status symbolism” (Henry 1991:2); essentially, consumption decisions made by a consumer(s) in order to maintain social status as material items are viewed in a dual role, both as functional objects and as class markers.

While a majority of ceramic consumption in the eighteenth century may have been driven by the necessity for functional tableware, a segment of the population, typically those belonging to the middle and upper classes would have also considered what these items meant in terms of their own social standing. This type of socially-based consideration when actively considering consumer purchasing is known as the Veblen effect (Veblen 1899; Bagwell and Bernheim 1996:349) and “arises from the desire to achieve social status by signaling wealth through conspicuous consumption” (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996:349). Conspicuous consumption in this instance is the purchase of luxury consumer goods with the express intent and purposes to advertise their wealth. The act of conspicuous consumption is, in effect, the active advertisement of one’s social standing. Veblen effects further arise when consumers openly “exhibit a willingness to pay a higher price for a functionally equivalent good” (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996:349) especially in the presence of a consumer market where equivalent goods are readily available. While income is not an active variable in market research, it does play a role in defining class boundaries (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:42-43).

The pragmatic equivalence within this historical context would be the decision to purchase a set of porcelain tea ware over a set of creamware, when both sets contain the same items though differ drastically in price. The price of an object does not affect a product's functionality or utility but rather individuals crave status and said status is inevitably enhanced through overt displays of material wealth (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996: 350). Factoring conspicuous consumption into the examination of socio-economic variables on the consumer landscape is important as consumer behavior has the potential to influence the types and quantities of artifacts recovered from the archaeological record, specifically in terms of assessing the availability of certain material items in the consumer market during the eighteenth century (Smelser 1976:95; Henry 1991:2).

However, more recent research (Beranek 2004, 2009:180) highlights the complexity we as archaeologists face in the determination of factors that may influence historical consumer choice(s). Rather than examining society as defined by class, profession, ethnicity, or gender, it becomes rather more important to consider the notion of the individual and more broadly, individuality within historic populations (Beranek 2009:180). Approaching the concept of identity through a combination of documentary and material evidence provides a holistic approach when examining the factors that contribute to an individual's association with groups or institutions, personality, and personal preference, both for their peers and their material goods (Kruczek-Aaron 2002:174-175, 183; Beranek 2009:177, 180). Each piece of this evidence relative to identity must be contextualized within the social, commercial, and intellectual worlds of the consumer and is an important facet of "recognizing the complexity of our subjects. It is through the contrasts, disjuncture, and overlaps between the artifacts, the portrait, the house plan, and the tea and tablewares that individuals create meaning and that we begin to grasp the multifaceted, or even jagged, nature of an individual's identity with no single explanation (such as emulation or status display) driving all material choices" (Beranek 2009:181).

Through an analysis of the material record left behind by our historical subjects, a distinct individual identity may emerge. The exploration of identity in relation to cultural contexts affords us the opportunity to connect each individual's particularistic material assemblage to a broader view of society without obscuring the individual themselves (Kruczek-Aaron 2002:174, 183; Beranek 2009:181). Acknowledgment that a household may be comprised of several individuals driven by their own "divergent goals and interests" (Kruczek-Aaron 2002:183), prevents the generalization of material culture usage within an unbounded space. Unbounded in this instance as the aforementioned goals and interests are held by individuals as they continue past the walls and property of the household and into the community.

3.2 Consumption Theory – Aspects of Consumer Behavior and the Consumption Model

While the consumption theory model supports the sale and purchase of goods and commodities, intangible items involving services or credit are not included, nor are the stages of commodity production and manufacture (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:634; Henry 1991:2) These factors scale down the focus of the consumption model onto the item's purchase and use, confirming that this model is relevant when exploring consumer choices through the displayed consumption patterns of a select material type. While the model includes the stages of use and post-use deposition, these stages function as an epilogue to the primary focus of consumption theory, which is the acquisition of consumer goods though monetary transactions (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:634).

"The consumption model is derived from a consumer behavior model that is based upon decision theory (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:634) and is framed from the point of view of the individual consumer / purchaser" (Henry 1991:2). Within this point of view, there exist both external and internal influences that directly affect a consumer's decision-making process and include efforts linked to both marketing strategies and advertisements (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:635). The socio-cultural environment also exerts a strong influence on an individual as they exist "as a collective member of society among other people and is therefore affected by association as a member of this 'group' (Robertson 1970, Henry 1991:3). As a member of a particular 'group', the consumption of material or tangible goods, ceramics in this instance, could potentially act as a signal of membership (Weber 1972, Myers and Gutman 1974, Henry 1991:3). In this action of group participation, lifestyle and consumption are intertwined (Robertson 1970:234). Because the individual is aware of their membership in the group that is their familiar society, they may be influenced by the group(s) to which they belong, and as such, group-based trends can emerge, and such trends may inhabit the space of commodity purchasing and consumption (Myers and Gutman 1974, Henry 1991:3).

The societal influence over ceramic consumption remained present in the eighteenth century. Developments in ceramic manufacturing produced newer and newer products and stylistic trends for consumers to keep up with. As creamware passed its peak of popularity, pearlware rose to overtake it as the newest popular ceramic choice, and public perception followed suit. Wealthier individuals were often quick to adapt and assuming the physical supply kept up with demand, the ceramics of the newest fashion soon adorned their homes. While those of middling or lesser means, would have had to bide their time, purchasing select vessels as they could afford them, if indeed they did desire such objects.

Unlike external influences effecting eighteenth-century consumers, the internal influences of the period are often beyond the realm of archaeological measurement, yet not necessarily beyond archaeological inquiry. These internal influences often involve the individual needs of a consumer, whether acting independently or as a member of a household, in which these needs factor into a broader consideration of material sustenance (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987: 83-86; Kruczek-Aaron 2002:183). There are other needs that feed internal influence and may include internal motivations, personal goals, and perception, whether individual or public. These factors "do not operate in a vacuum but rather are conditioned by the individuals / family experience, expectations, and the socio-cultural environment" (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:221-222, Henry 1991:7).

Utilizing a historic household as an example, it is possible to examine the effects these internal influences may have had on the inhabitants. Each household often desires a minimum standard of consumption in order to maintain its lifestyle (Henry 1991: 8); therefore, household consumption patterns reflect the collective values and decisions made and executed by those persons dwelling together (Deetz 1982: 718, Henry 1991:5). Evaluating the potential decision-making roles and the family life cycles of a historic household are important as they comprise integral components of household consumption. The variables present within the decision-making process offer valuable insight into the personal lives of household members. These variables may include: who is making decisions, availability of product readily present for consumption, and individual purchases versus those made for family-wide use (Henry 1991:5). All of these are further affected by social class, presence or lack of children in the household, and the ethnic background of the family / occupants (Katona, 1960:155, Komorovsky 1970, Robertson 1970, Schiffman and Kanuk 1987, Henry 1991:5; Baugher and Venables 2013:31-32).

3.3 Acquisition, Use, and Post-Use of Consumer Goods

Once a decision was made by a consumer, there existed a variety of means for the acquisition of the good of choice. These avenues included purchasing the item, bartering, gifting, home manufacture of the item, hunting and gathering if the product was able to be sourced from the landscape, and finally, theft of the item. Each means of product acquisition roughly corresponds to the class structures within society during a given time. The upper classes tended to purchase their desired items, while those belonging to the lower income classes effectively utilized any/all means of acquisition (Henry 1991:8; Baugher and Venables 2013:31).

The decision on how to dispose of an item once it had served its purpose, or whether it had outgrown its function in its current state, may have seen items instead recycled instead to suit a separate function, sold to another consumer, or given away at no further cost (Schiffer et al. 1981, Henry 1991:9). Items were also frequently broken, lost, abandoned, or discarded, leading to their deposition into the archaeological record as refuse material (Schiffer 1976, Henry 1991:9). Much like the initial factors that influenced purchasing decisions, discard behavior in the eighteenth century, same as it is today, is further influenced by socio-cultural factors (Deetz 1977, South 1977, Henry 1991:9).

Archaeological research focuses on patterns of behavior associated with material things, rendering archaeological studies into consumer behavior a logical step towards a further understanding of historical consumer choice. Not every used consumer good makes it as far as the archaeological record and therefore, archaeological data represents but a small subset of the overall material culture acquired, utilized, and discarded by a household. A majority of the historic archaeological database is generated by and through the analysis of household sites, as the household itself is the basic unit of analysis (Deetz 1982:717). However, with enough data and documentary evidence, it becomes possible to infer consumer behavior spanning the duration of use of an item until its discard. (Henry 1991:9; Beaudry 2015:2). "Individuals are not often supported by archaeological data unless a household consists of a single entity and even then, motivations, goals, perceptions, personalities, in addition to the process of decision making is virtually impossible to identity in ceramic sherds" (Henry 1991:9).

3.4 Methodology Overview

The fieldwork that was to be undertaken as a part of this project was brought about during discussions with my supervisor Dr. Barry Gaulton. Together, we determined that this project would revolve around the cataloging and analysis of the Ayre's Premises collection which although having been hand-collected as a result of sub-surface construction activity in September 1985, had not yet received proper attention beyond preliminary sorting. The research potential afforded by an analysis of this eighteenth-century ceramic storefront collection was deemed of high importance and would serve to further the knowledge of ceramic consumption patterns and of consumer habits at large during the third quarter of the eighteenth century in St. John's, Newfoundland. The Ayre's Premises collection is housed at The Rooms Provincial Museum.

This thesis relies heavily upon the accurate cataloging and analysis of an immense ceramic collection removed from the site of the former Ayre's Premises property in St. John's, from which conclusions regarding consumption patterns are detailed in subsequent chapters. The results of this analysis and that of another collection from Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, the Goodridge Premises, were compared with collections from the northeastern United States, in order to unpack the contrasting domestic vs. commercial and urban vs. rural consumption patterns between these two temporally-symmetrical though spatially-isolated geographic areas.

The cataloging of the Ayre's collection proceeded first with an initial sorting of artifacts by material type, which at the time were grouped together in large plastic bags. Bags containing ceramics, glass, organic, and metal artifacts were separated from one another, followed by a further sorting of the ceramic material by waretype. Bags primarily containing sherds of English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, the dominant ware type in the collection, were grouped together and all other waretypes by order of descending frequency were laid out in sequence.

The English White-Salt Glazed stoneware was catalogued first. Sherds were sorted by vessel form and then assigned an individual artifact number. They were then placed into an individually numbered, acid-free polyurethane bag. Following the bagging of artifacts, the associated details of each sherd were entered into a digital database, which was the overall product of cataloging the collection. Each waretype was examined and processed in this same order, as were the glass, organic, and metal artifacts. Artifact photography followed the completion of cataloging and the collection was then returned to the archaeological storage facility at The Rooms Provincial Museum and Archives.

The Ayre's collection was recovered as a result of a salvage operation and involved the collection of any and all artifacts found on site, therefore there was a complete lack of stratigraphic control or detailed recording. Therefore, although the collection is presented as being representative of a ceramic shop, there exists the potential for both earlier and later material that exists in the collection that is not associated with the shop itself.

The methodology for examining the other three collections was streamlined thanks to existing site reports and documents related to prior cataloguing and artifact analysis. Collecting additional details either not included or lacking a suitable description within these reports became a primary target during my examination. Analysis of the

Goodridge Premises was primarily focused upon the collection of decorative and form-based details of each ceramic sherd as these were not included within the final reports associated with the site's excavation in Renews, NL between 2001 and 2003 (Mills 2008). MNV counts for the collection were completed by Mills during his initial analysis of the assemblage. The Goodridge material was worked through bag by bag and the total time spent with the collection was three days, though many more hours were spent pouring over the associated digital databases and reports for the site.

The Three Cranes Tavern collection, located in Boston, Massachusetts and housed at the Boston City Archaeology Lab. The material was previously catalogued and sorted following its excavation between 1985-1987. The ceramic sherds were examined first, followed by the complete vessels. This examination was conducted box by box to ensure that no material was missed. Details including form, function, and decoration were noted and select artifacts were chosen as subjects for artifact photography which was completed onsite at the Boston City Archaeology lab.

Analysis of the ceramic collections excavated from the John Tayler House took place between May and June 2017. The collections were analyzed sherd by sherd, with details including vessel form, potential function and decoration noted before proceeding to the next artifact. Ceramic artifacts representative of the collection were chosen for artifact photography and this was completed onsite during three weeks at Saratoga National Historic Park, where these collections are housed.

My MA research did not require additional archaeological excavation as the sheer volume of ceramic material present within each of the four collections precludes the necessity for further subsurface testing. Archaeological excavation is also unnecessary within the context of the research questions which guided this research and further excavation would only serve to inflate the already high artifact count that was subject to scrutiny through collections analysis.

3.5 Comparative Framework

Following the acquisition of the Ayre's Premises collection, additional existing collections were required in order to facilitate a comparative analysis. By employing a comparative framework, one may create a set of variables with which to compare and contrast sites, overtly highlighting the differences/similarities in consumer habits of each locale. Collections from both Newfoundland and the Northeast United States would allow for the opportunity to assess and compare the patterns of ceramic consumption between the island and the mainland during the eighteenth century. This would further afford the opportunity to analyze patterns of ceramic consumption between sites that were influenced by varying site functions, and geographic location. The choice was made to analyze the ceramic collections from 4 distinct sites with the Ayre's Premises material serving as the primary collection, as the cataloging and analysis required to adequately utilize the latter collection was the greatest of the four.

The variables chosen for this analysis were arranged in paired groupings of Urban/Commercial and Rural/Domestic. These categories were chosen due to the setting and nature of habitation at each site. Of the two sites in Newfoundland, one would represent Urban/Commercial while the other Rural/Domestic. The two sites in the

Northeastern United States were divided according to the same variables, providing a comparative framework in which there are two Urban/Commercial and two Rural/Domestic collections; one representing each variable grouping from each region of analysis.

3.6 Populating the Comparative Framework - Newfoundland

The Goodridge Premises, a site with an existing collection spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Renews, Newfoundland was selected as the Rural/Domestic assemblage. The diminutive fishing community of Renews would have been relatively isolated from St. John's during the eighteenth century. Though as they share the eastern coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, there existed no roads between the two settlements at that time. This geographic isolation, however slight, has the intended effect of providing insight into the ceramic consumption patterns present in Renews, without direct overlap or influence from the population living in St. John's during the same period

Unlike the Ayre's Premises collection, the Goodridge collection had been previously sorted and cataloged. Two digital catalogs had been produced that spanned the full length of the survey and excavation that took place on the property and were coupled with the corresponding field reports.

3.7 Populating the Comparative Framework – Northeastern United States

This task mirrored the work already completed in Newfoundland as each collection in the United States had to represent one of the two analytic variables of Urban/Commercial or Rural/Domestic. Locating a second collection that fit the criteria of Urban/Commercial proved difficult. This was due to several factors, chief among them was attempting to inquire about the availability of viable collections. Boston City Archaeologist Joseph Bagley was the first to reply and offered full access to the Three Cranes Tavern collection, housed in the city's archaeological laboratory. The Three Cranes collection fit the Urban/Commercial profile necessary for the parameters of the project and with access to the material granted, the four sites of the comparative framework were established.

3.8 Fieldwork Implementation – Ayre's Premises Analysis

The Ayre's material had received a preliminary, although, incomplete attempt at sorting and bagging prior to my engagement with the collection. The first step involved separating sherds by waretype: ranging from White Salt-Glazed Stoneware to Buckley, and then by size from largest to smallest. This method had the effect of placing the sherds in order from the larger, easily identifiable vessels decreasing in size to sherds ranging in size from 2cm to $<1cm^2$ at their smallest. This afforded a valuable opportunity for learning the specific characteristics of each identified vessel typology, which transferred well for the identification of the smallest sherds, easing the tediousness of processing this large collection.

Sherds were further processed/separated by form (using the POTS typology), and then by vessel portion, and finally by condition, as the majority of sherds had seen varying degree of thermal alteration as a direct result of the fire that consumed the storefront where these vessels were originally housed. A minimum number of vessel count, referred to hereafter as MNV, was ascertained from any basal sherds that retained a minimum of 50% of their circumference, diagnostic rim sherds, and all other diagnostic decorative attributes or unique vessel forms.

Upon the completion of sorting, identification and MNV, each sherd received an individual catalogue number, a new, acid-free, polyethylene bag, and was entered into a digital database based on a modified version of the Provincial Archaeology Office's specimen record form. Modifications included additional descriptive categories within the record form that allowed for further recording of decorative and form-based details from each individual sherd. The digital catalogue itself was constructed and maintained using Microsoft Excel.

Refit of any applicable sherds was conducted following the identification of vessel forms and MNV. Refitted sherds were transported to the Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Queen's College to be adhered. Although no full vessels were identified for refit, numerous mended sherds aided in the overall identification of select vessels.

Artifact photography was the last step in the process of cataloging the Ayre's Premises material and took place in early March 2018. Select artifacts were photographed in order to present an accurate, visual representative sample of the collection. Sherds of each waretype were photographed, as were sherds belonging to the most statistically relevant vessel forms, and those displaying both common and unique decorative motifs. The intention was to demonstrate not only the highly representative forms but to include those sherds considered outliers as well, all work to inform consumer choice and product availability in the marketplace during the eighteenth century.

3.9 Goodridge Premises Analysis

Analysis of the Goodridge material took place in the archaeological laboratory at The Rooms over a period of two days. No attempts were made to refit either the glass or ceramics and thus the collection remains in the form of sherds and fragments.

The collection was analyzed and while the presence of glass artifacts was noted, the ceramics remained the priority. Decorations were noted, including colour pallets and motifs utilized in the application of the decoration. The form and function of the sherds were also identified and further confirmed by the associated field reports. Specific artifacts were selected for photography based on unique decoration or waretype, and if they were distinct from the Ayre's Premises collection. The time necessary to analyze the Goodridge Premises material was dramatically reduced owing to previous research and data compilation completed in years past.

3.10 The Three Cranes Tavern Analysis

Utilizing the existing reports compiled by the Public Archaeology Laboratory, I examined the collection box by box, or privy by privy so to speak as the five represent a temporal lineage of ceramic use on the property. As each privy was filled another was constructed, resulting in a temporally-bound deposition for each. The corresponding dates for each privy will be examined and explained in detail during the course of the ceramic analysis covered in Chapter 5.

The sherds from each privy were examined first and details regarding potential vessel form, function, waretype, decoration, and overall provenience onsite were noted. These details were cross-referenced with existing site reports in order to confirm they were correct. Sherds possessing unique qualities, whether in the form of waretype, decoration, or vessel form received close scrutiny and were examined individually rather than in small batches as was done when analyzing each bag of sherds. These batches were consistently limited to the analysis of 10 sherds at a single time and allowed for the quick examination of several sherds in succession.

The collection had undergone efforts towards vessel-refit during prior analysis by PAL in the mid-1990s and as a result, there are a number of complete, or near complete vessels which served to further my analysis. Vessels were analyzed individually, and further details noted on the form, function, and decoration, specifically in regard to the motif and colour palette employed. A number of vessels that were locally manufactured in close proximity to the tavern during the late eighteenth century were also present and identified by waretype as Charlestownware. The vessels and sherds consist of a red-bodied earthenware and are either glazed or unglazed, though the glazed vessels are often decorated with a base coat of red slip with the further application of varying yellow slips overtop. This was my first experience in handling this particular waretype and it afforded an early indicator of the potential differences between the consumption patterns of those living in the northeast who had access to domestic ceramic production, in direct contrast to other consumers in the eighteenth century who did not.

3.11 John Tayler House Analysis

These collections are currently housed with the National Park Service, at Saratoga National Historic Park. The combined ceramic material from each collection comprised approximately 6 banker's boxes. Each collection was examined in order to ascertain diagnostic decorative details, to collect quantitative data relating to vessel form and function and were checked against their corresponding paper-based datasets.

As with the Three Cranes collection, each of the two collections from the Tayler House had seen prior analysis, however this was limited to a detailed list of the sherds recovered by unit and a breakdown of the waretypes represented by frequency. Information pertaining to the form and function of vessels was absent. As a result, every sherd from both collections were analyzed individually so that a form and associated function could be ascertained. Due to the small size of each collection, approximately 2,000 each, this task went smoothly and was completed successfully by the end of the second week. Unfortunately, neither collection has undergone an effort at refit though both would benefit from such an activity. Following artifact analysis, artifact photography was completed, and final notes were taken.

Chapter 4: Ceramic Analysis

4.1 Ceramic Innovation and Marketing in the Eighteenth Century

This project focuses around ceramic collections that date predominantly between 1760 and 1780 though the Tayler House and the Goodridge Premises do extend past this date; therefore, the ceramic history that covers the second half of the eighteenth century will be the focus of this section. Prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, colonial America was afforded a significant diversity of imported European ceramics including "Dutch delft, French faience, English delft, Westerwald Stoneware, English stoneware, white salt-glazed stoneware, combed slipware, red earthenware, and Chinese and English porcelain" (Miller 1984:2). This diversity, often recognized by historical archaeologists as a hallmark of eighteenth-century ceramic assemblages, became rather more focused in the final quarter of the eighteenth century as English potters, with those in Staffordshire particularly, started to build a controlling majority stake in the sphere of global ceramic production and trade (Miller 1984:2; Miller 1991:1). Staffordshire potteries were home to a ceramic revolution that would form the basis for the invention and subsequent production of the most popular ceramic waretypes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Miller et. al 1989 summarizes the phenomenon quite well: "Developing technology, transportation, introduction of new raw materials, glazes, and marketing culminated in the Staffordshire industry becoming one of the dominant suppliers of ceramics to a world market" (Miller et. al 1989 in Miller 1991:1). The 'world market' that Miller describes is accurate, as English ceramic innovation coincided with a population increase in Colonial America, transatlantic trade routes were well established, and print advertisement was well organized. Colonial Americans along the eastern seaboard were eager to procure the latest European goods and ceramics were often a priority (Breen 1988:77; Miller 1991:1).

The process of ceramic manufacturing itself was changed with "the introduction of calcinated flint, Cornish clays, liquid glaze, plaster-of-paris molds, steam-powered flint mills and clay-mixing equipment, transfer printing" (Miller 1984:2) and perhaps most importantly in regards to ease of trade, a series of canals that linked Staffordshire to the coastal city of Liverpool, a major commercial hub during the eighteenth century. Positions within the pottery were modified from the general job of potter, an all-encompassing job, and were broken down instead into specialties within the larger factories that began to emerge (Miller 1984:2).

Each position functioned as a cog in a ceramic assembly line of sorts, as each potter completed their step of the manufacturing process before handing the vessel(s) off to the next. As waretypes and vessels had attained a level of standardization, leading to the development of a known product without surprises in the form, or colour of a vessel, the manufacturing process was further streamlined (Miller 1984:2). This applied organization of factories, specialization of pottery skills, "and the standardization of vessel and waretypes all led to an economy of scale, which increased production and lowered costs" (Miller 1984:2).

Arguably the first global product to come from this ceramic innovation, was creamware in the early 1760s, also known by its creator Josiah Wedgewood as "useful ware" (Born 1964:291) and later as "Queen's Ware" following its presentation to Queen

Charlotte in 1767 (Born 1964:291; Miller 1991:1). This presentation would subsequently earn him the title of Potter to the Queen later that same year (Born 1964:291; Miller 1984:2). Creamware was a result of experimentation by English potters in Staffordshire to create a lightweight, white, and inexpensive alternative to the more expensive Dutch tin-enameled faience, and the Oriental and domestic porcelains; products often only affordable to the upper classes (Born 1964:2289). The alternative choices available in contrast to these more expensive waretypes were coarse earthenwares, pewter, and wooden trenchers, all of which represented unsanitary options for middling and lower classes (Born 1964:289).

The ware itself is a refined earthenware that has a cream-colored body and a clear lead-glaze, though the color of the finished vessel can range between ivory to beige to straw yellow depending upon the date of manufacture (jefpat.org 2015) Each vessel was fired twice before the finished product was achieved. The first firing transformed the unglazed vessel from a leather-hard form to a bisque, otherwise known as biscuit stage, wherein the vessel could be decorated before finally being glazed for its second and final firing. The biscuit stage firmed the fabric and provided a preliminary rigidity to the unfinished vessel which afforded the applicability of a large selection of decorative techniques (jefpat.org 2015).

Creamware is comprised of a “hard, somewhat porous body, and thin walls. Calcined flint, feldspar, and occasionally kaolin or other local clays were added to the white-firing ball clay” (Kybalová 1989:13) though iron impurities present in both the clay and glaze were the cause of the cream color from which the ware bears its name (Halfpenny 1986:14; jefpat.org 2015). Thanks in part to the solidity of the double-fired final product, creamware was able to be decorated with a variety of different techniques, including: molded rim motifs (Figure 4.1), sprig molding, overglaze enamels, underglaze painting, overglaze printing, and dipped wares (Mankowitz 1980:49; Barker and Halfpenny 1990:36; Noël Hume 2001:211; jefpat.org 2015).

(Figure 4.1) Feather-Edged Creamware Plate Sherds: Ayre’s Premises Collection

To achieve a marketable success, Creamware was a result of decades of ceramic innovation that ultimately paid off. Around 1720, English potters sought to whiten the local Staffordshire clay with additional clay from Devon in the south of England, which possessed a naturally whiter colour, and followed up with the introduction of calcined flint to the clay mixture by John Astbury, whitening the yet unfired paste to a further degree (Born 1964:289; jefpat.org 2015). This mixture was tested by glazing the vessel with the salt-glazing typical of the period and the result produced was the "first commercial English ceramic that could honestly be called white" (Born 1964:289), quite the achievement after two decades of work. Enoch Booth had introduced a cream-bodied refined earthenware in 1740 that was being manufactured by potters across England, including Thomas Whieldon and Josiah Wedgewood (Towner 1957:2; Noël Hume 2001: 204,209; jefpat.org 2015). Although these earlier wares are lumped in with creamware during analysis and identification, they represent a separate facet of English ceramic innovation. Wedgewood would follow this development in 1743 at Tunstall, England, in collaboration with Thomas Whieldon producing what would become known as Whieldon ware (Born 1964:289). This waretype was produced through a double firing technique, wherein following a first firing, the vessels were dipped in a lead glaze and fired once more. This double firing also produced a superior finish in comparison to those vessels fired a single time (Born 1964:289).

While the finish was brilliant, it was also brittle and subject to crazing and chipping if subjected to sudden changes in temperature. The lead glazing used in the second firing was also found to transfer a measurable quantity of lead salts into food that was cooked in a lead glazed vessel, leading to bouts of lead poisoning in the general public (Born 1964:290). This hazard of lead poisoning extended to those potters producing the ware as well, and an update to the ceramic formula was necessary. Such an update came in 1763 as Wedgewood and Whieldon produced a formula that drastically reduced the lead content of the glaze, rendering the ceramic a great deal safer (Born 1964:290; Miller 1991:1). They achieved this formula by making the composition of the fabric and the glaze nearly identical:

> *For the body, flint was mixed with the whitest clays of Staffordshire, Devon and Cornwall. The chalky clay from Cornwall was especially light and fine in texture; it was a variety of kaolin, which had before been used almost exclusively in Oriental and Continental porcelains. Flint and Cornwall clay were also used in the glaze- flint constituting, in fact, the chief ingredient- and the proportion of lead was reduced sharply. The compound was mixed with water, and when the piece, after receiving a preliminary firing to prevent softening, was dipped into the mixture, the water was absorbed into the clay and glaze adhered strongly to the body. A second firing produced a transparent, unbroken finish of high luster.* (Born 1964:290)

Ivor Noël Hume references "the gradual perfection of cream-colored refined earthenware as the most important development in eighteenth century ceramic technology" (Noël Hume 1970:123; jefpat.org 2015). The composition of the clay utilized in creamware manufacture was finer than prior earthenwares, and afforded creamware a greater degree of plasticity and overall strength. This allowed for the ware to be molded into thinner, and as a result, lighter vessel forms which had the added benefit of increased strength during transportation from the manufacturer to the consumer (Born 1964:290). The final glaze composition provided a transparent glaze which allowed the yellowish cream colour of the clay fabric of the vessels to come through, earning the ware the moniker of creamware due to its colour (Born 1964:291). After Wedgewood had perfected his formula for creamware, orders from Queen Charlotte of England and Catherine the Great of Russia for the commissions of vessels in the new ware were made in 1767 and 1773 respectively (Miller 1984:2). Due to these orders and others from the wealthy in society, creamware, although only an earthenware, was able to successfully compete with and take a market stake away from porcelain as a desirable ceramic to own (Miller 1984:2). Creamware represented the first earthenware to be seen as an equal to porcelain as marketing propelled the waretype into site of the consumer looking for their next ceramic purchase, both in England and in North America as well.

Creamware's lower cost compared to that of other porcelains in the marketplace in the 1760s and 1770s made it a formidable choice for consumers and by the end of the century, creamware had essentially displaced the market for several common wares of the period including: delft, faience, and white salt-glazed stoneware (Miller 1984:2). Fanjas de Saint-Fond describes creamware in his accounts of a tour through England in 1784 as a result of "excellent workmanship… beauty and convenience of its form, and the cheapness of its price… and vessels are loaded with it for the East and West Indies and the Continent of America" (Hayden 1952:135-136). This last comment would prove true as creamware found its way in ever increasing quantities to the shores of North America and into the assemblages of each of the four collections that contributed to this project. The ceramic trade between England and North America will be suitably explored, though the chief waretype present in the primary collection of this study must be recognized, English white salt-glazed stoneware.

While creamware represents ceramic innovation in an increasingly industrial, post-1760 England, white salt-glaze stoneware (Figure 4.2) had been a staple ceramic in the English consumer market since circa 1720, though production had begun

(Figure 4.2) White Salt-Glazed Stoneware Plate: Three Cranes Tavern Collection approximately thirty-five years prior in 1685 (Edwards and Hampson 2005:30,34,46; jefpat.org 2015).

English white salt-glazed stoneware was manufactured for approximately a hundred years between 1685 and 1785 though reached its peak of popularity with consumers between 1720-1770 (Edwards and Hampson 2005:30,34,46). The ware gained favor as a replacement for tin glazed earthenware due to its durability and the availability of affordable forms as it represented a cheaper alternative to porcelain (Edwards and Hampson 2005:30,34,46). As a result, English manufactured white salt-glazed stoneware became the "most common dining and tea ware used in England during the mid-eighteenth century, only to be replaced in popularity by creamware in the 1760s" (jefpat.org 2015). With English white salt-glazed and creamware comprising the two most frequent waretypes in the Ayre's Premises collection, the primary collection of this study, they will receive a more thorough background history than other wares in the collection.

Decorative elements and techniques may vary for white salt-glazed wares but includes press molding, slip casting, sprig molding, and engine turning. Incised decoration techniques may also be applied to salt-glazed vessels in the form of scratch blue, debased scratch blue, or scratch brown, with scratch blue in particular enjoying a fair amount of popularity as a decoration on tea wares between the mid-1740s though the end of the Revolutionary War (Noël Hume 2001:206-207). To finish a scratch blue vessel, often floral or lined motifs would be incised into the exterior surface prior to firing and iron or cobalt oxides would then be used to fill and color the lines. Excess powdered oxides would be wiped away which left fine cobalt lines that stood out upon the white surface. Debased scratch blue was a later iteration of scratch blue in which the colored oxide powder would be applied liberally, and the excess would be left on the surface of the vessel during firing, producing the desired patch(s) of cobalt on the finished vessel. This created “amorphous blue areas outside the incised line” (Gusset 1980:28-30; jefpat 2015). There are several sherds in the Ayre’s collection that display floral and incised scratch blue designs, as well as sprig molded GR medallions that appear to have been produced with the intent to emulate Rhenish stoneware as the larger grain size of salt used during firing gives the dimpled surface extra texture and a slight grey tinge (Noël Hume 2001:207-209; Skerry and Hood 2009:106).

With long term manufacture of white salt-glazed, updates and innovation to the production process are expected and as certain decorative designs gain and lose popularity. These manufacturing attributes are dateable as a result and when utilized in combination with vessel forms, it is possible to achieve a narrow range of production for any given vessel or sherd if diagnostic elements are present.

Dipped white salt-glazed stoneware is an early form of the waretype, dating to the 1690s and continuing through to the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Skerry and Hood 2009:97,99). Dipped white salt-glazed vessels typically possess a gray or tan fabric which is then white slipped to give the ware a whiter appearance. These dipped vessels appear as early as the mid 1690s in the Chesapeake region of the eastern seaboard (Noël Hume 1970:114-115; 2001:199; Skerry and Hood 2009:97). Initially thought to have arrived in the area circa 1715, excavations at John Dwight’s pottery in Fulham, England, confirm the possibility of the earlier 1690s date (jefpat.org 2015). A dipped white salt-glazed tankard was recovered in Williamsburg, Virginia with an impressed ale-measure mark that confirms its date of manufacture to between 1700 and 1702, demonstrating the waretype's early arrival in North America (Skerry and Hood 2009:97; jefpat.org 2015). Certain dipped white salt-glazed vessels have a brown oxide edge and have been recovered across the Chesapeake region and north into New England dating through the end of the Revolutionary War (Skerry and Hood 2009:99). Dipped vessels tend to be oriented towards a specific function other than the serving or consumption of food and beverage, instead becoming the preferred method of manufacture for toiletry-related items that included chamberpots and washbasins in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Edwards and Hampson 2005:24). However, more common vessel forms during the entirety of its span of production includes such hollowware vessels as tankards, jugs, and cups (Skerry and Hood 2009:97,99).

Dipped white salt glazed wares were produced through most of the eighteenth century, though post-1720, a different variation of the ware, one that featured a white body, hence white-bodied white salt-glazed stoneware, was the most produced ware in regard to manufactured output (Edwards and Hampson 2005:24; Skerry and Hood 2009:99).

Also introduced around 1740 were standardized patterns for white salt-glazed stoneware plate rims. Examples of these patterns include "dot, diaper, and basket", "bead and reel". "barley", "feathered", and "gadrooned". (jefpat.org 2015). Edwards and Hampson state that "the dot, diaper, and basket, and the barley patterns were manufactured by most of the potters producing salt-glaze between 1750 and 1770" (Edwards and Hampson 2005:215; jefpat.org 2015). Each of these patterns appears on select sherds of English white-bodied salt-glazed stoneware in the Ayre's Premises collection, with dot, diaper, and basket and barley appearing most frequently, though the majority of the collection is undecorated.

Staffordshire and other English potteries had produced new waretypes and had taken great strides in ceramic innovation in the eighteenth century; the efforts undertaken to market these ceramics to a global market are as impressive as the wares themselves. The Atlantic market in particular, with colonial America, the British and French territories in what would become Canada, and England as the major players, was primed for explosive economic growth as Europeans immigrated to the colonies. Creamware, more so than white salt-glazed stoneware, would become the principal ceramic type in the transatlantic and global trade of the period (Miller 1984:3). From a consumer perspective, the ware would come to replace the demand for faience, delft, and eventually, white salt-glazed stoneware (Miller 1984:2), which provides an interesting perspective when dealing with the Ayre's Premises collection, as the sherds represent a time of transition in consumer taste and market viability.

Prior to the expansion of transatlantic trade in the eighteenth century and the specialization of the Staffordshire ceramic industry though industrialization, English potters produced limited quantities of lesser-quality refined earthenware for a limited consumer market (Miller 1984:3). The responsibility of distribution was charged to traveling salesmen who might use carts to display and sell their wares. By as late as 1785, the Staffordshire Association of the Manufacturers of Earthenware sought to protect this sales practice as they petitioned the House of Lords against their proposed abolition of hawkers and peddlers as this action would likely come to harm the overall sales and consumption of their ceramics (Bladen 1928; Thomas 1971; Finer and Savage 1965; Miller 1984:3). However, by the mid-1780s potters possessed the production capacity to overtake what the ceramic market could reasonably bear and as a result, these potters, Wedgewood included, would take on the role of merchant as well, establishing showrooms for their wares in fashionable locations in order to turn over product in a more efficient manner (Miller 1984:3). Prior to this diversification of potter's responsibilities, advertisements announcing the sale of ceramics in the English newspapers of the previous decade proved quite useful in accomplishing the same purpose, as the following selection of advertisements printed between 1770 and 1775 illustrate:

> *"To be Sold by Auction, On WEDNESDAY next, the 6th of June, at the China – Warehouse in Wine Street, opposite the Pithay,*
> *A very large Allotment of Useful and Ornamental CHINA:*
> *Also a large Quantity of all Kinds of Glaze-Ware, Staffordshire and other Stone and Earthen-ware…"*
> (Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, Vol. 19, Saturday June 2, 1770)

> *"CHINA. At the Manufactory in Castle-Green, Bristol, Are sold, various Kinds of The True PORCELAIN, Both Useful and Ornamental, Consisting of a NEW ASSORTMENT. THE Figures, Vases, Jars, and Beakers, are*

very elegant, and the useful Ware exceedingly good. As this Manufactory is not at present sufficiently known, it may not be improper to remark, that this Porcelain is wholly free from the Imperfection in Wearing, which the English China usually has, and that its Composition is equal in Fineness to the East Indian, and will wear well. The English Blue and White, comes very near, and in some Pieces equal the Dresden, which this Work more particularly imitates…"

(Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, Vol. 21, Saturday, Dec 12, 1772)

"… Complete Tea Seta in the Dresden Taste, highly ornamented, 7£ 7s. to 12£ 12s. – Cups and Saucer from 3s. to 5s. 6£ per Dozen. India Patterns, and all other sorts of useful Ware, of which there is now a great Variety, proportionably cheap. The ornamental Ware is very beautiful and the Price low.

(Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal, No. 22, Saturday, Jan 7, 1775.)

Comparisons to products of other nationalities, particularly Germany with the mention of Dresden, and East Indian were a means to communicate the perceived elegance of these wares through advertisement to a wide audience without the consumer having a visual of these English ceramics. The price ranges of the vessels offered were often communicated as well, both for individual vessels and for sets. Some of these enterprising potters would also establish firms in which agents acting on their behalf traveled to other location in Europe and North America in order to extend their selling power to new audiences (Bladen 1928:356-367; Miller 1984:3). The connections built through the more efficient foreign market for Staffordshire pottery were an essential asset for the expanding production capacity of Staffordshire potters though early in the nineteenth century, the disruption of trade caused by tariffs and the Napoleonic Wars would stunt the ceramic market (Bladen 1928:356-367; Thomas 1971:10).

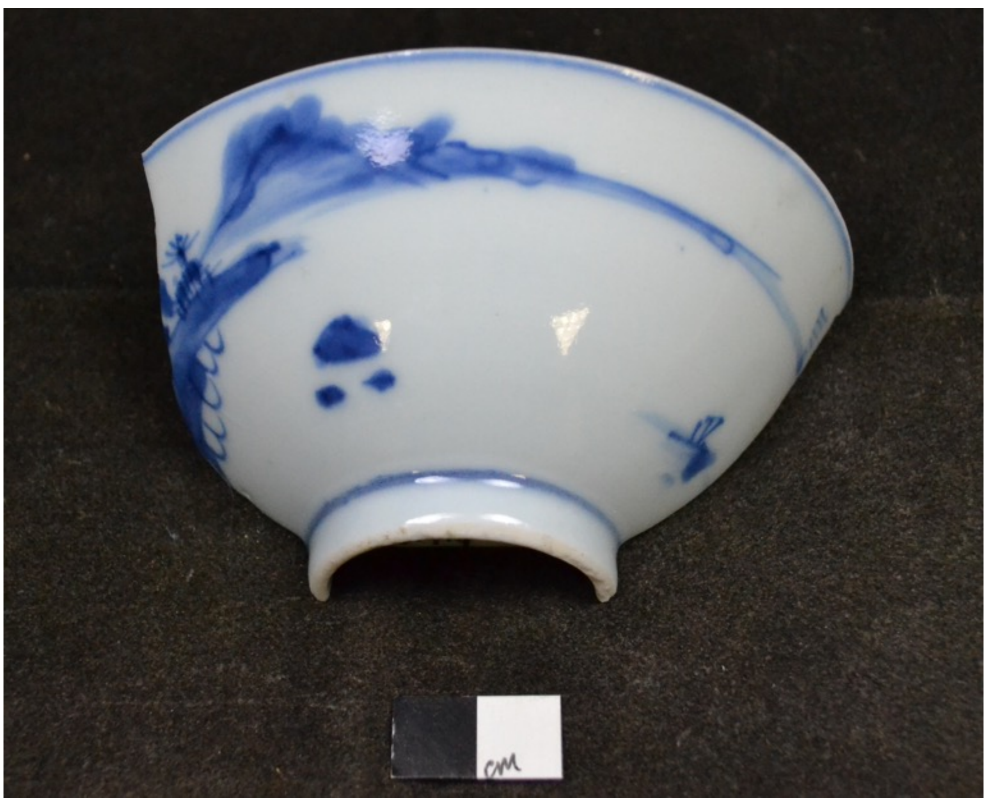
A brief aside, the origins of the American ceramic industry began with European ceramics. In an effort to maintain a familiar environment upon their arrival in New England, these immigrants would have brought personal possessions and utilitarian goods, ceramics included, with them on the voyage (Franco and Montgomery 1984:55). This serves a dual role in that: 1) location aside, household goods, unlike hedonic goods utilized for luxury and pleasure, are a necessity and presumably having already owned these goods in their mother country would have them available upon arrival; and 2) these were known goods existing in a now unknown environment and could have provided a tangible connection to their former life, friends, and family. Ceramics that were decorated or those that were heavily used could have theoretically accomplished the latter role due to personal familiarity with the vessel(s), practice through repeated use, and perhaps through seeing their known ceramics in their new space.

For eighteenth-century immigrants to North America, the importation of ceramics involved navigating the processes of multiple merchants and agents (Miller 1984:4). Merchants, even those in major cities of the period, including Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were not in a position to solely specialize in ceramic importation due to the lack of demand from the smaller populations present in these cities in the mid eighteenth century (Miller 1980:6-8; Miller 1984:4). These merchants instead diversified their portfolios, expanding into the trade of textiles, hardware, and more with ceramics included among them. Miller explains this scenario quite well:

> *"Because these men were importers, their orders responded to the needs of local markets, which are reflected in correspondence with the potters. However, pottery was a minor part of their business, and the attention they paid to it was limited. Interpreting the nature of the local market is also complicated by the fact that importing merchants were often involved in wholesale as well as retail trade. Their wholesale customers were country merchants who ran general stores."* (Miller 1984:5)

These merchants were often employed by larger English firms who would import a wide variety of general goods that they would then trade for raw materials, such as fur and tobacco (Miller 1980:6-8; Miller 1984:5). The Hudson's Bay Company, is the prime example of this type of importation through the establishment of several rural trading outposts (Sussman 1978; Miller 1984:5). Though by the 1760s those importers previously bringing in general goods, consolidated their base of operations in America's urban centers and began to specialize in ceramics and glass and would establish shops and/or warehouses from which to sell these imported goods (Figure 4.3) (Miller 1984:5; Schwind 1984:21). A number of these American importers of British ceramics have been identified through their posting of advertisements in newspapers of the period though other primary information can be scarce on the subject (Schwind 1984:21). However, there are merchants whose sales records have been preserved and Frederick Rhinelander is one such individual. With his storefront based on Burling's Slip in New York City between 1770 and 1786, Rhinelander's imports and transactions are housed in his accounts in the collection of the New York Historical Society (Schwind 1984:21). Also operating in New York City at this time were James Gillibrand, James and Arthur Davis, and George Ball; all imported ceramic and glass (Schwind 1984:21).

Rhinelander paints an interesting picture of the role that political affiliations of the revolutionary period played in the mercantile market as he was a Torrie, loyal to the English monarchy (Schwind 1984:22). He was vocal about his unfriendly views towards Congressional actions and as a result, customers abandoned their accounts with him and sought their ceramics elsewhere, though he remained in good spirits as he was sought out for his imports by other Tories and the royal governor of New York in 1776 (Rhinelander



(Figure 4.3) Chinese Export Porcelain: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

1775; 1776). Prior to the war, Rhinelander imported Chinese export porcelain, stoneware, earthenware, and Continental stoneware that was distributed to clients and shopkeepers in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York (Schwind 1984:22).

While merchants continued the importation of English ceramics into the United States through the eighteenth century, the development of domestic ceramic production in America was underway and was already well established in certain segments of the fledgling country by the 1770s (Franco and Montgomery 1984:56). One such example of established American potteries is Charlestown redware, a waretype that features heavily in the Three Cranes Tavern assemblage, a product of the ceramic industry of Charlestown, Massachusetts that began in the late seventeenth century (Franco and Montgomery 1984:56; Gallagher et. al 1992:84). The ceramic industry at Charlestown was composed of several potteries working in close proximity on the Charles River and who produced a tremendous volume of the lead-glazed redware that would become popular up and down the New England coast and beyond, reaching as far south as South Carolina (Gallagher et. al 1992:84; MHC 2014). Redware production would expand outside of Charlestown and into rural New England, with the Hervey Brooks pottery site in Goshen, Connecticut providing one example (Franco and Montgomery 1984:56).

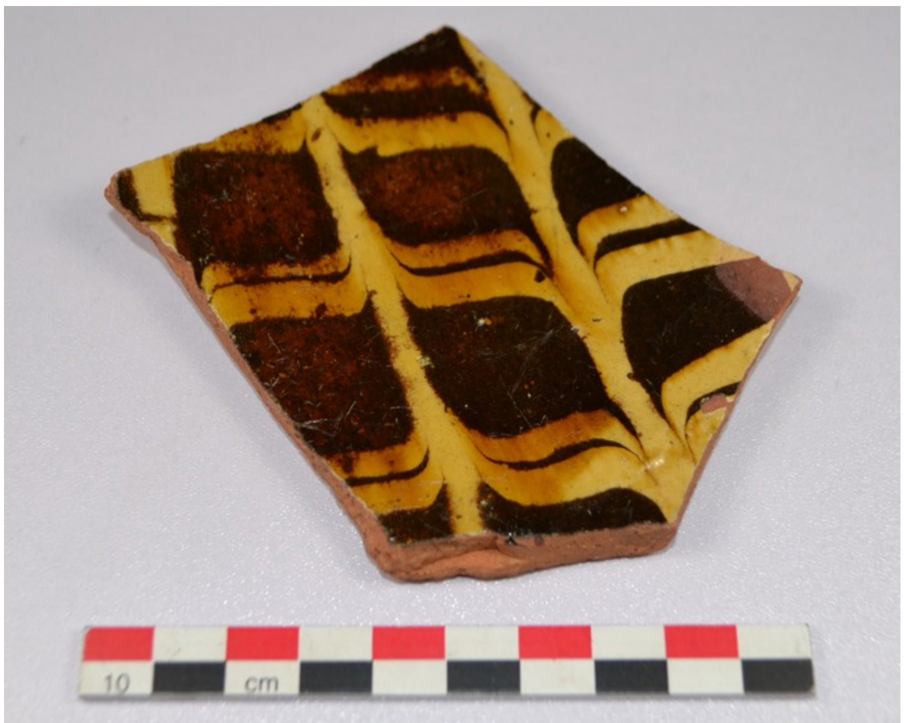
Ceramic consumption varied between households in colonial America and assemblages recovered at these sites allow for the addition of a further variable beyond income and family structure: setting, whether urban or rural. This thematic comparison will arise further in this chapter as it was applied to each site in this project in order to provide a depth of understanding to how socio-economic and geographic factors influence consumer choice in the market setting. In the northeastern United States, urban centers would expand from seaports where both merchants and artisans could maximize the interaction between their suppliers and their customers (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). While in the rural areas of the country outside the boundaries of these urban centers, families were more likely to be self-sufficient, often working in the farm industry to supply their income (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). Through the examination of assemblages from a rural and an urban household, the differences can sometime be readily apparent. The eighteenth-century Wilson family home in Dover, Massachusetts provides a rural component and presents an overall lower volume of ceramics than one would expect to recover in an urban environment. This lower volume could be seen to "illustrate both the conservative taste of rural customers and the more limited selection of goods available 'to the country trade'" (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). Tea ware was present in the assemblage though rather than owning a matched set of vessels or fashionable forms, the Wilson family appears to be content with the set as it is, as utilitarian goods rather than those sought out in order to establish a fashionable piece or social tool in a more urban setting (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). The mismatched ceramics in the home attest to the longevity of the vessels within the household as the Wilsons held onto pieces as they acquired new vessels, rather than exchanging the full set. On the other hand, the Hart-Shortridge House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire provides the urban component. The assemblage is comprised of a variety of imported vessels which were available in the port city (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). John Hart, a rope maker and his family lived in the home and the objects recovered during excavations of their cellar reveal consumer tastes afforded to urban artisan families of the period. In contrast to the Wilson's rural home, the Hart-Shortridge's were keen to keep up with the current ceramic trends as evidenced by a mass single disposal event later in the family's occupation in 1842 (Franco and Montgomery 1984:57). This particular deposition contained full dinnerware sets and confirms the not only the availability but the continued popularity of English produced ceramics during and after the American Revolution into the nineteenth century.

4.2 Prominent Waretype Overview (paste, glaze, decoration)

This project features several ceramic waretypes that will not be explained in the subsequent sections of analysis for the sake of flow. Rather each ware will be identified here with a brief description of diagnostic characteristics. As they were extensively covered in the prior section, both creamware and English white salt-glazed stoneware will be omitted.

Astbury-type is an English thinly potted earthenware with a buff or dull red paste and a red brown lead glaze. The fabric is fine grained and highly fired and the glaze can range in colour from ginger red to light brown. Astbury-type ware represents an excellent temporal marker for red-bodied earthenwares as they typically date between 1720 and drop off following 1750 (Noël Hume 1970:70; jefpat.org 2015). Common forms of Astbury may include though are not limited to teapots, bowls, coffee and teapots, and mugs.

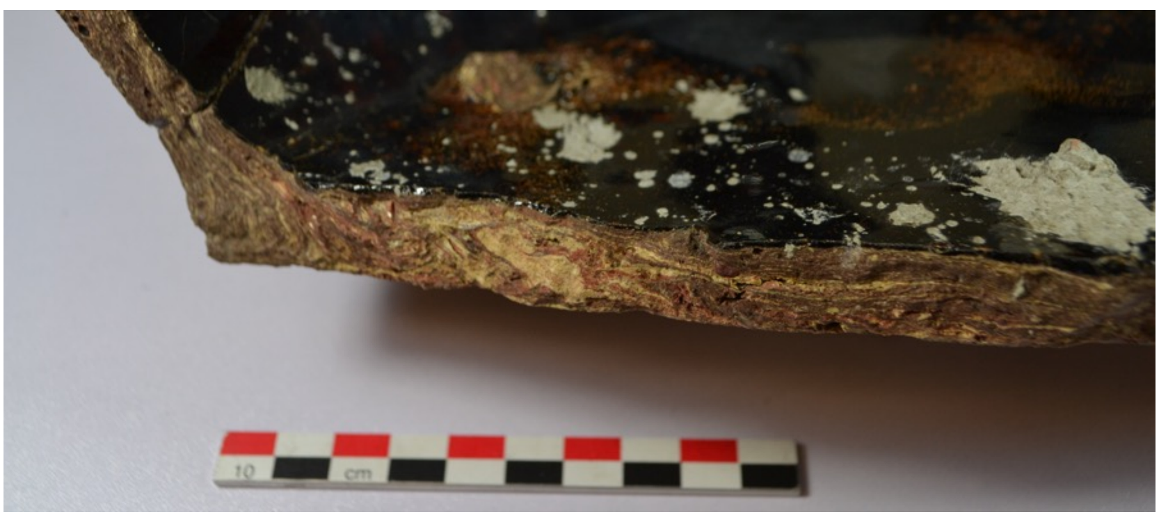
Staffordshire Slipware is an English thin buff-bodied earthenware that is coated with slip in a variety of decorations that include marbling, combing, or trailed (Figure 4.4). The paste is coated with a white slip that is then coated with a clear lead glaze that gives the finished ware a yellow appearance. While the ware has been "traditionally called Staffordshire-type slipped earthenware, the term North Midlands-type more



(Figure 4.4) Bristol Staffordshire Slipware: Ayre's Premises Collection

accurately reflects the broader geographic range of production of these wares" (jefpat.org 2015), as this slipped ware was manufactured in several potteries across the North Midlands rather than strictly in Staffordshire. Staffordshire potters produced the commonly seen trailed and combed decorative slipware in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and would continue through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century (Noël Hume 1970:136; Barker and Crompton 2007:14). The ware was utilized in households of all classes and was a common export to colonial America until its popularity began to wane in the mid 1770s (Barker and Crompton 2007:14).

Buckley is an interesting earthenware as it is easily distinguished by its red, yellow, and occasionally white swirled paste, a simple effect produced by combining clays of each color (Figure 4.5). The ware is generally glazed with a black lead glaze that may appear a deep brown or purple depending on the pooling and location of the glaze. While Buckley originated in Buckley, Wales in the late seventeenth century, it was more commonly produced in Merseyside, England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the sherds in the collections of this project most likely are products of the Merseyside potteries (Davey 1987:1991; Cresswell and Davey 1989; jefpat.org 2015).



(Figure 4.5) Buckley Storage Pot Basal Sherd: Ayre's Premises Collection

Jackfield is a fine earthenware with a paste ranging in color from red to purple to gray coated with a black glaze and those vessels with a red body were likely produced by Thomas Whieldon (Noël Hume 1970:123). The ware was produced between the mid eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, though a later iteration of jackfield manufactured in the 1870s and 1880s with a terra cotta or white earthenware paste is known as jetware (Lewis 1999; jefpat.org 2015). Jackfield was commonly produced in various forms for use in tea and coffee services. The ware is also known occasionally as blackware.

Manganese-Mottled is an English, buff-bodied fine earthenware with a lead glaze that can range in color from a light yellow to a dark red (Figure 4.6). This glaze presents as mottled with darker specks or as vertical streaks and is overall darker in areas where the glaze may pool. The ware first saw production in the potteries of Staffordshire in the third quarter of seventeenth century (Williams 2003:121), though by the eighteenth century, potteries in Buckley, Wales had begun to produce the ware as well (Philpott

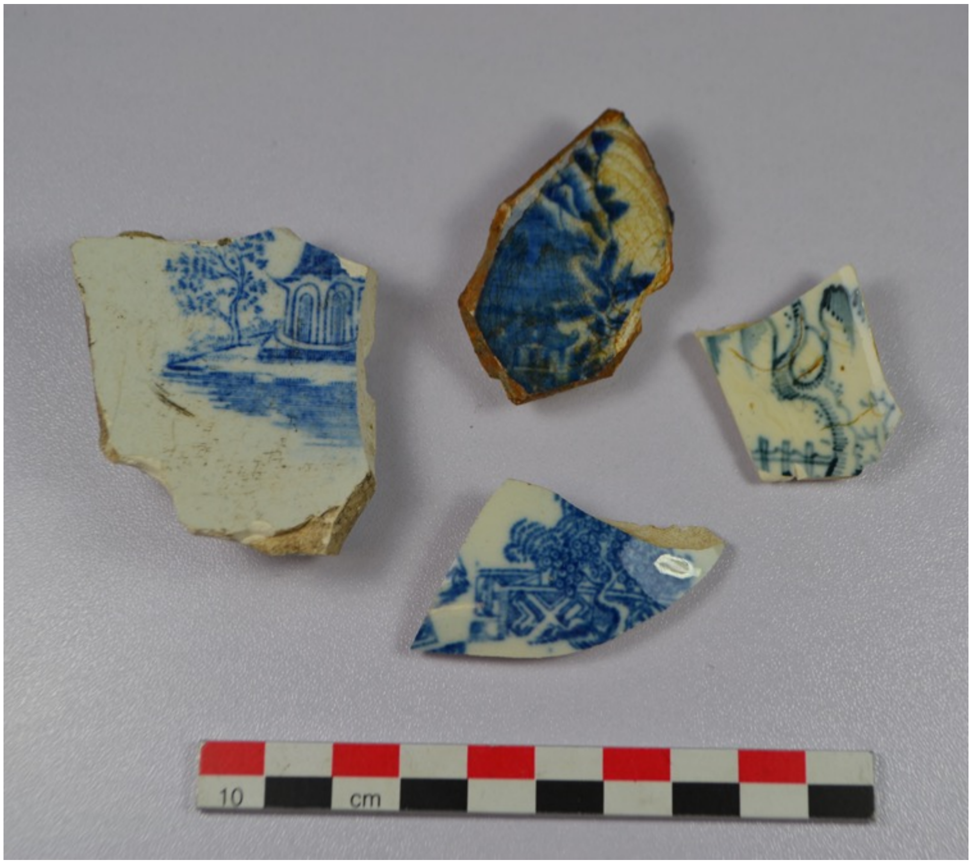
(Figure 4.6) Manganese Mottled Mug Sherd: Three Cranes Tavern

1985:52-53; Elliot 1998:30). Manganese mottled was produced until approximately 1780 in Staffordshire and common forms for the ware include tankards, mugs, and other hollowwares (Philpott 1985:52-53; Elliot 1998:30).

North Devon Gravel is an English, lead glazed coarse earthenware comprised of a red-pink to occasionally orange paste with a gray core that is glazed with a green or yellow lead glaze. The defining characteristic of this ware is the gravel temper and was an addition believed to add strength to the clay (Grant 1983:54). There is also a variation of North Devon that does not contain gravel temper. North Devon gravel was produced between circa 1600 and into the nineteenth century though the ware did not see its peak popularity until the last quarter of the seventeenth century when it was eventually replaced in certain areas as the common utilitarian ware by Buckley (jefpat.org 2015). North Devon gravel was commonly utilized in the production of larger hollowware vessels including tankards, jars, jugs, porringers and milk pans.

Nottingham-type is an English stoneware that was produced between the last quarter of the seventeenth century and continued until the early nineteenth century though its peak of production occurred prior to 1775, at which point, it began to fall out of fashion (Oswald 1974; Oswald et. al 1982:106). Nottingham-type paste is gray and is coated with a brown salt-glaze and was manufactured in several potteries across the north of England including, Liverpool, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire (Noël Hume 1970; Hildyard 1985; Skerry and Hood 2009; jefpat.org 2015). The paste is without inclusions and generally thin in cross-section. Nottingham-type was commonly produced as hollowware vessels including punch bowls, chamberpots, and tankards.

Pearlware is an English refined white earthenware that is present in small quantities compared to other wares in the collections utilized in this project as its date



(Figure 4.7) Transferprint Pearlware Sherds: Ayre's Premises Collection

range of manufacture is between 1790 and 1860 (Hunter and Miller 194:433-434). The ware has a semi-porous white paste that is glazed with a clear lead glaze tinged slightly blue with the addition of cobalt to the glaze. This addition results in a characteristic blue tint to the glaze in areas where it has pooled, especially abutting the basal rim on a vessel and may present itself as blue speckles in an otherwise white field on the body of the vessel. Pearlware was manufactured in a wide variety of different forms and utilizing several decorative techniques from painting, to transferprint, and molded edge patterns (Figure 4.7).

English hard paste porcelain is a variant of the broader European hard paste porcelains that are comprised of a highly vitrified white paste that has been fired twice, the first without glaze and the second, after. Porcelain was manufactured in several forms including decorative pieces that included ink pots, and shaving mugs (jefpat.org 2015). The ware itself is present in extremely limited quantities though merits a mention due to its unique nature in comparison to other earthen or stone wares.

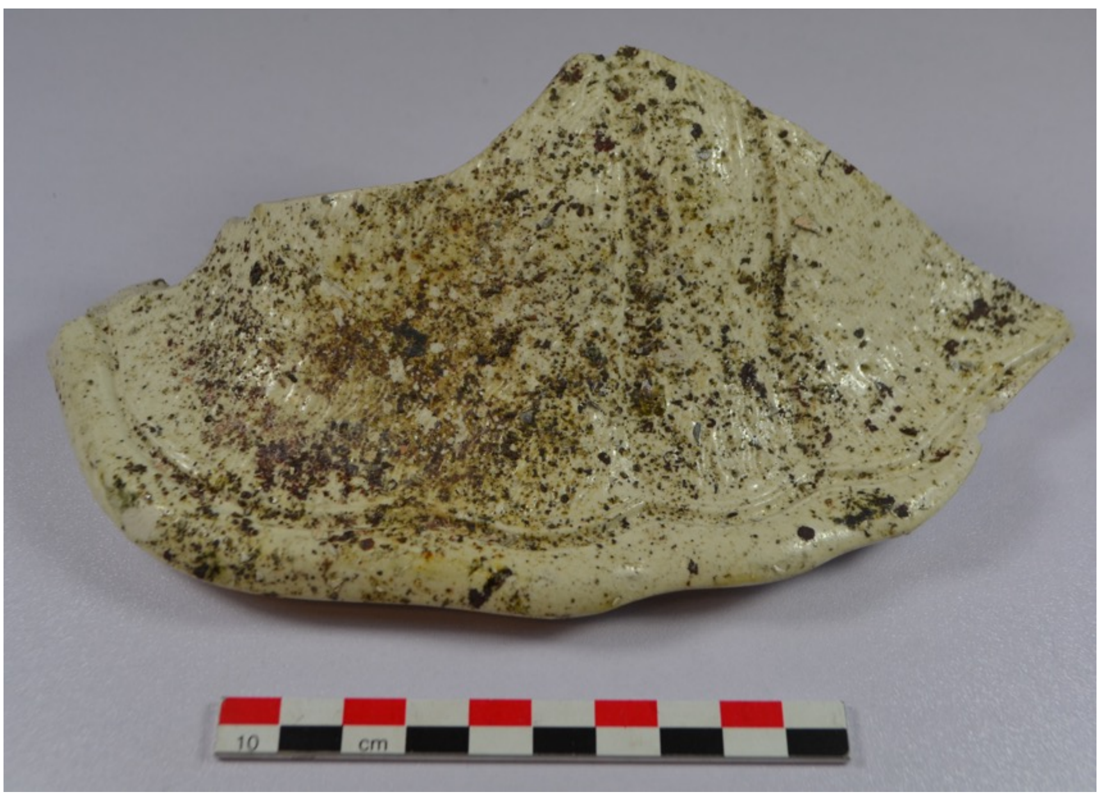
Rhenish Brown and Rhenish Blue on Gray are two varieties of a German salt-glazed stoneware that were manufactured between the mid 16th century and the present day, following a revival of the ware in the 1860s (Gaimster 1997:251, 325; Noël Hume 2001:110). Rhenish brown is a buff to gray-bodied stoneware that is glazed with a speckled brown slip while Rhenish blue on gray is a light gray-bodied stoneware with cobalt and manganese painted decorations using blue and purple pigmentation. The popularity of Rhenish brown peaked earlier than that of blue on gray with the latter maintaining popularity into the 1770s as it was imported into England and America (Gaimster 1997:210-211; Noël Hume 2001:127). Rhenish blue on gray is also known as Westerwald due to its production in the Westerwald region of Germany.

4.3 The Ayre's Premises Analysis

The collection is comprised of 8,928 individual artifacts, of which 8,690 are ceramic, with the remaining 290 artifacts divided unevenly between glass and organic material. Numerical values will be discussed as numerals rather than spelled out in order to keep a semblance of clarity through the summation of the data.

Following the cataloging of the Ayre's material, an MNV, or Minimum Number of Vessel count was determined to be 508 vessels, 492 of which are ceramic and the remaining 16 are comprised of 12 glass bottles, a single wine glass, and 3 kaolin pipes, though the ceramics retain the focus of this project (Figure 4.8). This figure was deduced through the use of basal sherds containing at least 50% of their basal ring, diagnostic rim

(Figure 4.8) Variety of Ceramic Waretypes: Ayre's Premises Collection sherds, and all other diagnostic decorative attributes or unique vessel forms. Each sherd that met these qualifications was counted as a single vessel. Several of these vessels also display varying degrees of thermal alteration due to the fire that ultimately destroyed the shop the ceramics were housed. This damage is visually expressed in melted glaze, ash on the surface, blackened burn marks, overall discolouration, and/or by the presence of fused/melted material congealed into a single mass. Only 74 artifacts displayed no sign of thermal damage (Figure 4.9), 45 show heavy damage with discoloration, 31 have been de-glazed and are fused to other sherds or material, essentially unrecognizable in comparison to the other sherds. These artifacts are among the only objects rated as poor condition within the assemblage. 2,432 artifacts were rated as moderately affected with



(Figure 4.9) Fire-Damaged White Salt-Glazed Tureen Lid: Ayre's Premises Collection the most common alteration expressed as heavy discolouration. A further 6,345 artifacts and the bulk of the assemblage were luckily spared from the worst of the fire and were deposited with only minor damage, mainly discolouration and the presence of ash adhered to the glaze.

The 492 ceramic vessels consist of 21 waretypes with the top 5 represented by 215 English white salt-glazed stoneware, 194 creamware, 21 pearlware, 19 debased scratch-blue stoneware and 10 Bristol-Staffordshire Slipware. Those vessels not within the top 5 waretype frequencies recovered are displayed along with those 5 in Table 4.2. The white salt-glazed stoneware vessels include in descending frequency: 79 bowls, 42 teapots, 35 tea bowls, 21 mugs, 7 soup plates, 7 jars, 6 basins, 6 tureens, 3 saucers, 3 tea cups, 1 tankard, 1 decorative finial, 1 jug, 1 storage pot, and a single unidentified lid. The creamware inventory includes: 39 teapots, 33 bowls, 29 tea bowls, 18 tea cups, 14 mugs, 11 tureens, 9 saucers, 7 tankards, 7 unidentified vessels, 5 basins, 3 jars, 3 soup plates, 3 teapot lids, 2 chamberpots, 2 jugs, 1 cup, 1 dish, 1 pitcher, 1 decorative applique, 1 unidentified lid, and 1 storage pot. The decorative variants included in the above creamware count include 1 engine turned teapot, and 1 transferprinted teabowl. The pearlware inventory includes: 14 bowls, 4 saucers, 1 soup plate, 1 tea bowl, and 1 teapot. 17 mugs and 2 bowls comprise the debased scratch-blue vessels, while 6 Bristol-Staffordshire mugs, 2 basins, 1 bowl, and 1 teapot round out the top 5 waretypes by MNV frequency.

Given the volume of sherds apart from those that provided tallies towards the MNV count of 492, the actual vessel count is much higher. For the further discussion involving first vessels then the sherds of the collection(s), I will be utilizing the Public Archaeology Laboratory's ceramic vessel form/function typology, based upon the POTS typology, as it presents the functionality of the vessels in these collections in clear and accurate groupings (Table 4.1). The Three Cranes Tavern collection was processed and analyzed utilizing this typology and it is in the process of my own analysis of that collection that I encountered this typology.

FOOD CONSUMPTION AND SERVING	BEVERAGE SERVING
Porringer	Jug
Caudle Cup / Pot	Sillabub Pot
Basin	Punch Bowl
Plate	Pitcher
Dish	Ewer
Saucer	Teapot
Platter	BEVERAGE CONSUMPTION
Bowl	Cup
Salt	Drinking Pot
FOOD PROCESSING	Posset Pot
Pipkin	Costrel
Chafing Dish / Brazier	Mug/Tankard/Tyg
Colander	Tea Bowl
Pudding Pan, etc.	Flask

Milk Pan	HYGEINE RELATED
FOOD AND DRINK STORAGE	Galley Pot
Jar	Chamber Pot
Bottle	Wash Basin
Pot-Storage	OTHER

(Table 4.1) Vessel typology categorization: Courtesy of Gallagher et. al 1994: 336

The Ayres Premises vessels identified as functioning within the category of food consumption and serving comprise 37.8% of the collection with 186 vessels, beverage consumption makes up 36.2% with 178 vessels, beverage serving vessels comprise 19.5% with 97 vessels, those vessels functioning as food and/or drink storage make up 3.6% with 18 vessels, vessels in the category of Other comprising either decorative applique's or unidentified vessels comprise 2.2% with 11 vessels, 2 chamberpots in Hygiene-related vessels make up 0.4% , and finally a single milk pan under the heading of food processing rounds out the vessel count as 0.2% of the overall total. Of those totals, white salt-glaze stoneware vessels dominate in every category with the exception of Hygiene as both chamberpots are creamware.

Every vessel in the Ayre's Premises collection was imported from England during the second half of the eighteenth century and more likely, given the waretype and decorative traits of the vessels, this temporal period could be narrowed down to between the late third quarter and the early fourth-quarter of the eighteenth century until 1779 when the storefront was engulfed by fire. Defining the earliest date that the assemblage represents is difficult as the assemblage itself is incomplete and the merchant who occupied the storefront, could well have kept an inventory of older wares for the purpose of display and or variety within the store.

The 8,690 sherds of the collection are split into twenty-three separate and identifiable waretypes and in descending frequency include: white salt-glazed stoneware(4,828) (Figure 4.10), creamware (3,373), debased scratch-blue (296), pearlware (32), Buckley (26), Bristol Staffordshire slipware (24), English hard-paste porcelain (15), tin-glazed earthenware (10), rhenish brown (9), scratch-blue (7), Somerset (5), North Devon gravel (5), Normandy (3), jackfield (3), westerwald (1), astbury (1),

(Figure 4.10) White Salt-Glazed Stoneware Tea Bowl: Ayre’s Premises Collection manganese-mottled (1), Nottingham (1), Derbyshire salt-glazed (1), and transferware (1). The top four waretypes are English white salt-glazed stoneware which comprises 55.5% of the overall sherds of the collection, creamware with 38.7%, then a sharp decline to debased scratch-blue with 3.4% and rounding out the top four is pearlware representing a mere 0.34% of the overall collection. Although there may be twenty-three ceramic waretypes present in this collection, white salt-glazed stoneware sherds are featured prominently.

During the processing of the collection, each sherd was individually analyzed for diagnostic features they may lend clues as to the vessel form they once completed. The subtle curvatures on the majority of these sherds, especially those sherds belonging to the body of a vessel along with the thickness of the paste and the decorative traits present, proved an efficient measure of determination when compared against other vessels present in the lab that were not associated with the Ayre's collection. The resulting breakdown details the inventory of forms these sherds once completed and includes rim, body, and basal sherds. Within food consumption and serving there are 4,820 bowl sherds, 109 soup plate sherds, 95 tureen sherds, 44 basin sherds, 24 plate sherds, and a single dish sherd. Beverage consumption is spread a touch wider across forms and there are 1,001 mug sherds, 804 saucer sherds, 796 tea bowl sherds, 93 tankard sherds, 29 teacup sherds, and 3 cup sherds. Sherds associated with the function of beverage service are made up of 542 teapot sherds, 55 jug sherds, and a single pitcher sherd. Food and beverage storage sherds contained 170 jar sherds and 17 storage pot sherds, and those sherds involved with food processing and dairying were represented by the aforementioned 5 milk pan sherds and the 6 sherds from a chamberpot(s) represent the hygiene category of sherd function.

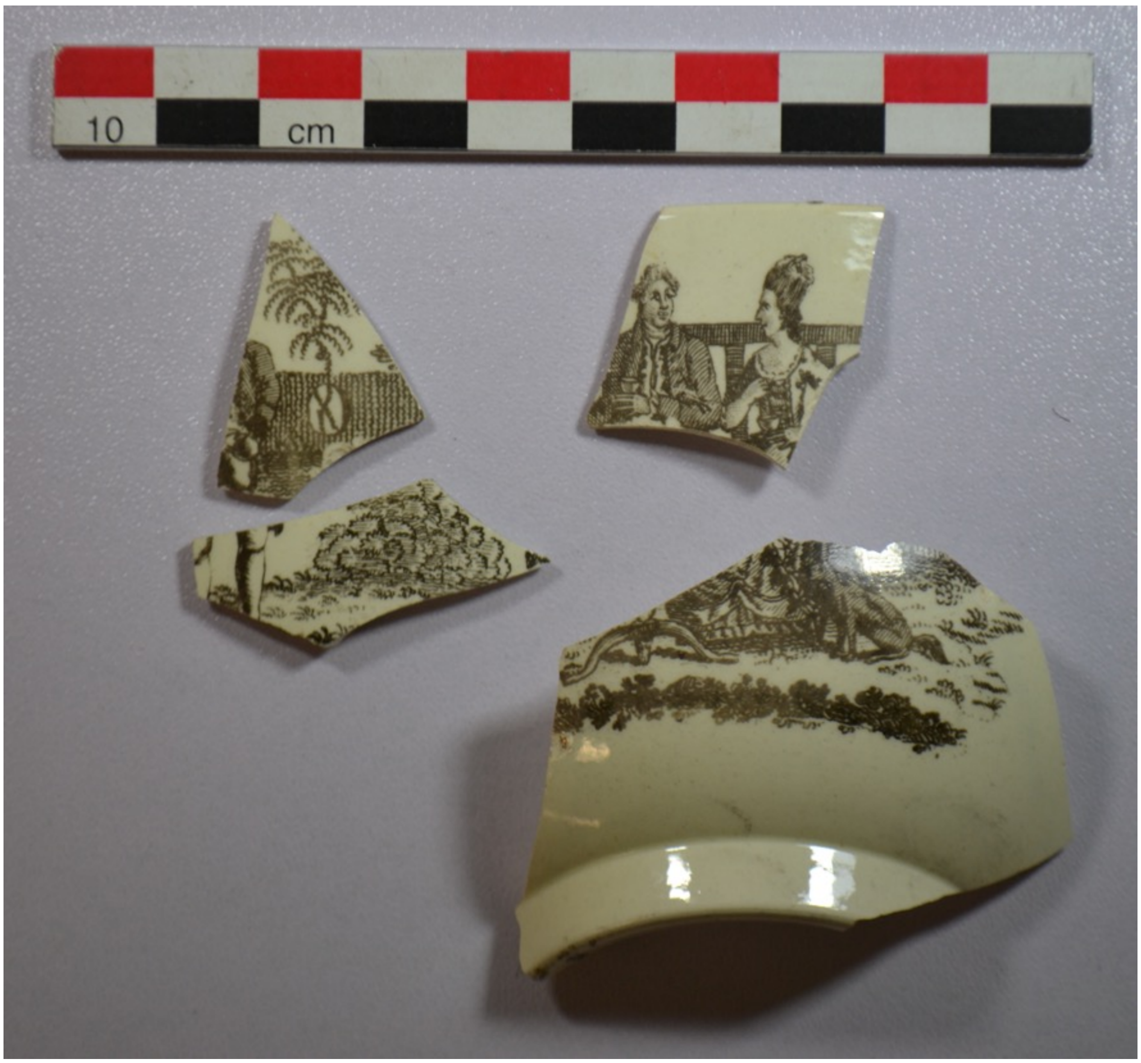
13 sherds remain unidentified in the context of function and 2 of these sherds are portions of decorative appliques, a single sherd each for creamware and white-salt-glazed stoneware. The table below leaves out those vessels whose form remains unidentified and illustrates the identified vessel forms that the sherds of the Ayre's Premises collection that could be determined with perceived accuracy (Table 4.2).

Material	Bowl	Basin	Dish	Plate	Soup Plate	Tureen	Milk Pan	Jar	Storage Pot	Teapot	Pitcher	Jug	Cup	Mug	Saucer	Tankard	Teabowl	Teacup	C. Pot	Dec. App.	Total
Astbury	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
B. Staff Slipware	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Buckley	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Creamware	33	5	1	4	3	11	-	3	1	42	1	2	1	14	9	7	29	18	2	1	187
Debased Scratch Blue	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Derbyshire Salt-Glazed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Engine-Turned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jackfield	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Manganese Mottled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Normandy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
North Devon Gravel	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Nottingham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pearlware	14	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	21
Porcelain	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rhenish Brown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Scratch Blue	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Somerset	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tin-Glazed EW	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5
Transferware	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Westerwald	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
White Salt-Glazed SW	79	6	-	1	7	6	-	7	1	42	-	1	-	21	3	1	35	3	-	1	215
Total	139	13	1	5	11	17	1	15	3	91	1	5	1	64	19	8	65	21	2	2	484

(Table 4.2) Vessel Frequency by Waretype - Ayre's Premises Collection [Excluding Unidentified Vessels]

Select creamware sherds display diagnostic decorative characteristics that set them apart and provide further context into the available consumer choice in St. John's during the 1770s. There are three diagnostic styles of plate present and in descending order of frequency are: the plain edge, the feather edge, and the royal pattern. The plain edge or plain pattern, denotes an undecorated creamware vessel edge and is the most common of the three decorative traits. There are 23 sherds of feather edged creamware plates in the collection which present as 24 molded feathers, arranged around the interior circumference of the plate and was a popular pattern produced between the early 1760's and the late 1770's (Reilly 1995:414). During its production, feather edge vessels became fashionable in the transatlantic trade and sherds bearing the pattern have been recovered across the eastern seaboard and in sites as far south as Jamaica (Reilly 1995:414). The least common pattern with 3 rim sherds is the royal pattern, displaying a lobed border and was manufactured post-1770.

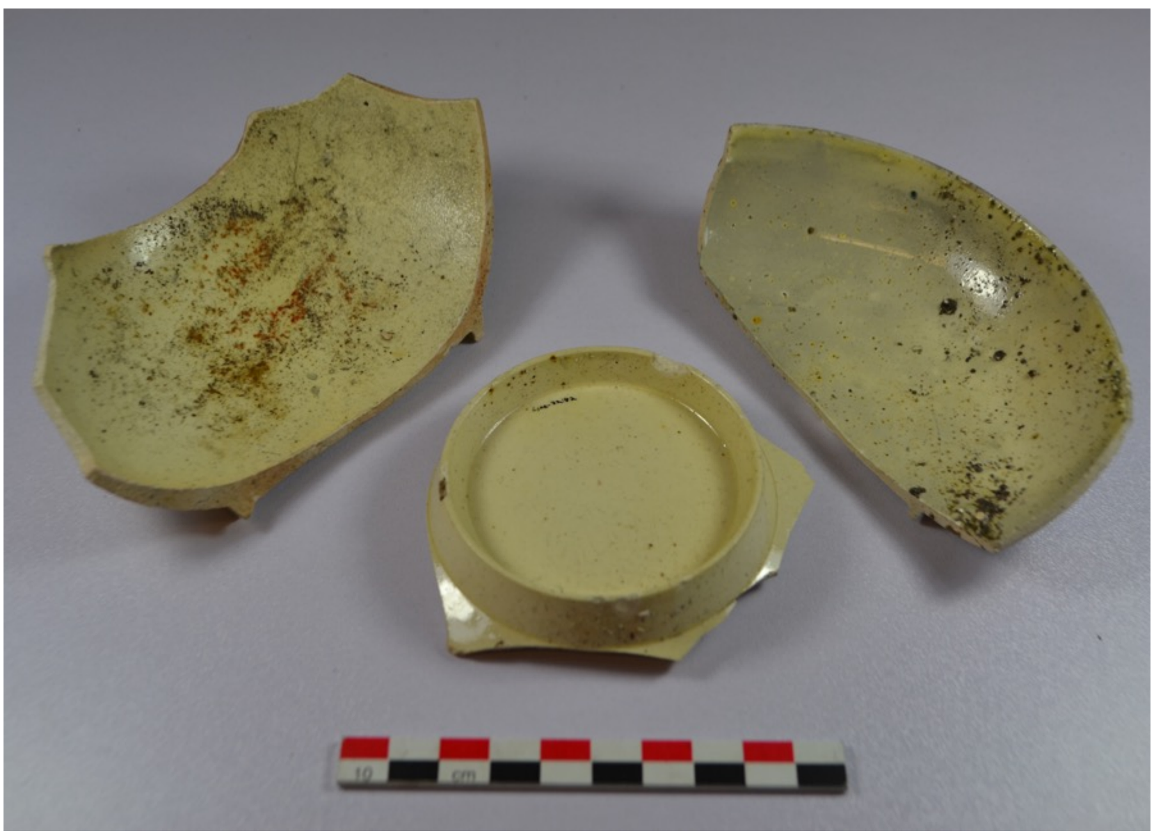
There are two fluted teapot spout fragments datable to between 1775-1785 and were an exclusive design attributed to the potters of Leeds, England (Towner 1978: 193). These spouts were utilized on both tea and coffeepots though given the body sherds present, these spouts were determined to have been parts of teapots. Four sherds of indented loop teapot handles were recovered from the site and match a popular style produced between 1770 and 1782 that is depicted in *Creamware and Pearlware* (Lockett and Halfpenney 1986:66). Smaller versions of this design were produced for use on teacups, and jugs though in this instance, the handle fragments from the Ayre's Premises were strictly for use on teapots. In regard to tea-themed motifs, the tea party design, a popular transferprint design that was especially prevalent during the 1770s, is present on four creamware teabowl sherds in the collection (Figure 4.11). The motif depicts a man and woman seated outdoors at a table enjoying a tea party. Two of these sherds refit while the other two



(Figure 4.11) Tea Party Motif on Creamware: Ayre's Premises Collection

nearly fill in the rest of the design, indicating that these sherds were most likely fragments of the same vessel. Another link to the Leeds pottery industry is the presence of a single, molded, white salt-glazed stoneware paw-foot fragment. This specific fragment would have been a part of a tureen which were typically adorned with stylized feet and this design in particular is depicted as a known example of a mold utilized by Leeds potters (Lockett and Halfpenney 1986:76).

The volume of creamware sherds present in the Ayre's assemblage highlight the popularity of the ware and the decorative traits provide context about the location where these vessels were produced. Following the analysis of the collection, it is apparent that at least a portion of these creamware sherds were manufactured in Leeds between the late 1760s and the late 1770s, more than likely favoring the late 1770s (Figure 4.12).



(Figure 4.12) Creamware Bowl Basal Sherds: Ayre's Premises Collection

Diagnostic elements present in the white salt-glazed plate sherds include a singular plate sherd with a molded dot, diaper, and basket pattern and 55 soup plate sherds revealed several decorative styles, including dot, diaper, and basket, barley, and bead, and reel. These molded styles were quite popular in the consumer market, with some having been introduced by English potteries in 1750 and saw continued production into the mid-1770s (Gusset 1980:86,99). White salt-glazed stoneware production was highest between 1720 and 1770, as was its exportation to North American ports though its peak importation was between 1740 and 1760, perhaps signaling a delay or carry-over in the spread of the ware to St. John's as white salt-glaze is the most numerous ware of the assemblage whose deposition dates to 1779.

White salt-glazed bowl sherds, numbering 3,190 in this assemblage are rarely decorated though a single pattern is present and sees prominent repetition. This pattern is comprised of linear incised lines around the full exterior circumference of the bowl, occasionally up to three in close proximity on a single vessel. Based on the full profile of the bowls that remain, there appear to be three separate sizes of bowls in the assemblage with the smallest of the three offering the highest frequency of sherds.

The bulbous stoneware teapot is the only style present in the Ayre's collection is comprised of plain, undecorated exterior surface with a rounder, bulging body when compared to the standard teapot of the day (Gusset 1980:68). According to Gusset, this bulbous style was not common in comparison to the sites analyzed in *Stoneware: White Salt-Glazed, Rhenish and Dry Body* though given that it was the only stoneware teapot style present in the recovered sherds of the Ayre's Premises, it stands to say the style was at least mildly popular in St. John's (Gusset 1980:68; Simmonds 2000:22). Like the body of the teapot, both the spouts, and the lids associated with these vessels are plain white stoneware as well though a small quantity of three fingered handles, indented three times to allow for three fingers to grip the handle, were also recovered.

Within the assemblage, there is a minimum of 6 white salt-glazed tureens as evidenced by several large sherds of tureen lid and body sherds with dot, diaper, and basket, and barley patterns, although a seventh may be represented by a substantial body sherd that while missing its basal elements, depicts a molded trellis motif quite different than the pattern of the tureen lid. The lids would have paired with elongated tureens which was a style that peaked between 1760 and 1770 (Gusset 1984:125; 1980:111; Simmonds 2000:23). These tureen sherds align with known examples of Staffordshire tureens depicted in Solon, which could indicate that these specific pieces were manufactured in Staffordshire (Solon 1973:185), rather than in Leeds as portions of the creamware sherds may suggest. Solon goes on to relay that the use of tureens was extensive as all sorts enjoyed soup as part of, or as the whole of their meals and therefore, the presence of these decorative, molded tureens, does not necessarily indicate association with a wealthy clientele (Solon 1973:185; Simmonds 2000:23).

Scratch blue and debased scratch blue stoneware were English waretypes first manufactured as an imitation of the German Westerwald stoneware. Sherds of both scratch blue, and its debased cousin are present in the Ayre's assemblage, with the latter represented by 296 sherds to 7 of the former. The majority sherds of scratch blue in the assemblage are representative of type two, otherwise known as debased scratch blue wherein the incisions that form the motif have been incised wider and deeper than type one, also referred to as fine scratch blue, and excess cobalt pigmentation is used which causes clouds of blue across the finished vessel (Gusset 1980:28; Figure 4.13). The

(Figure 4.13) Debased Scratch-Blue Mug Medallions: Ayre's Premises Collection decorations consist mainly of floral motifs, which are more stylized than scratch blue type one and these motifs consist of skinny flower stems surrounded by globular petals and leaves. There are also linear combed motifs consisting of either four, six, or eight incised lines that were applied to the exterior rim and body near the base (Gusset 1980:28). The most conspicuous decoration on the debased scratch blue mugs in the collection, represented by 286 sherds, is that of a molded royal seal that has been applied to the exterior surface of the body. The seals themselves feature the initials "GR" belonging to King George III and were produced in mass quantities between 1765 and 1790, though their peak of popularity was in the early to mid-1770s, right in line with the earlier dated wares of this collection (Gusset 1980:28-29).

When compared to the creamware sherds, the white salt-glazed stoneware immediately stands out as plainer in comparison, with an emphasis on simple forms rather than the more elegant vessels that comprised the creamware portion of the assemblage which included hand-painted and enameled pieces. The quantity of vessel forms present from each waretype also differs as the stoneware bowls and teapots outweigh the same forms in creamware, though saucers and plates were recovered in much greater quantities than those in white salt-glazed.

The Ayre's Premises is a site that displays the transitional nature of eighteenth-century ceramic consumerism in a clear and concise manner. Ceramic innovation was occurring at such a high rate during this period that the transition from stonewares through creamware and pearlware into whiteware occurred in approximately a half century, with each ware experiencing its unique periods of introduction, boom, and a decline into bust. Without a doubt, the ceramics present in the Ayre's assemblage visibly demonstrate a time of transition from English white salt-glazed stoneware to creamware, a known shift that occurred gradually over a span of about a decade between 1765 and 1775 (Edwards and Hampson 2005:30,34,46; jefpat.org 2015). The transition has begun but is not yet in full force as evidenced by the volume of white salt-glazed. In comparison to that of the creamware sherds, where the latter trails by nearly 1,500 sherds though making this determination based upon the sherd counts alone doesn't lend concrete evidence, though a mention of the numerical data remains relevant. However, we don't have the full collection of what was in that ceramic midden uncovered in 1985. The values between those two wares that represent the majority of the collection could realistically sway in either direction. Though in the context of ceramic production during this period, the aforementioned statement remains fundamentally accurate, this assemblage provides an invaluable collection of both white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware sherds that display consumer choice in transition.

The merchant who operated this storefront would have been providing a selection of ceramic vessels at a price point affordable for the middle class, rather than to the wealthy. This is not to say that the wealthier citizens of St. John's shopped exclusively elsewhere, rather, the presence of an overwhelming volume of plain, undecorated waretypes and vessels suggests that this shop was not catering to the upper class. Miller's CC index values (Miller 1991) established a series of monetary values associated with the refined earthenwares produced in the eighteenth century and relates the frequency or dearth of decorated wares or vessels to the owner's socio-economic status or at least to the amount dedicated to their investment in ceramics. This series of values covers the most expensive wares to the least expensive and using this information, the plain, undecorated white salt-glazed stoneware and the occasionally decorated creamware that highlight this assemblage leads to the plausible conclusion that these were not vessels situated on the expensive side of the economic scale. The vessels themselves are utilitarian rather than intricately decorated manufactured to serve a limited variety of roles in the production, serving, and consumption of food and beverage. This is evidenced by the most prominent frequency of sherds in the collection; 3,190 undecorated white salt-glazed bowl body sherds. This is not surprising as the mercantile practice of ordering cheap wares for use in the North American market during the late eighteenth century is well documented. Merchants sought to import ceramics that they knew would sell (Figure 4.14), and therefore brought cheaper ceramic goods that could be utilized by the consumer in a household or commercial setting to meet the immediate practical needs required in such an environment. In 1783, William Gilchrist, a ceramic import merchant requested "a suitable assortment of the lowest and most necessary articles for Philadelphia", following up twice the following year in 1784 for "…the cheapest of the sorts-its for America- and you know that it is usually liked and usually sent" and "…20 crates of common useful earthenware suitable for North American market to be as near the value of five pounds as you can possibly accomplish including crates & carriage to Liverpool…" (Ewins 1997:19, 28). The frequency of plain sherds in the assemblage, both in form and in decoration, makes it quite plausible that this practice was in effect to a certain extent in St. John's in the 1770s.

The consumption of tea rather than coffee in St. John's during this period is suggested through the teapots, teacups, and tea bowls from the Ayres Premises. There are 542 teapot sherds including those sherds pertaining to teapot lids and 796 tea bowl sherds. The addition of 804 saucer sherds lends credence to the popularity of tea and coffee consumption and to tea and coffee drinking as a social practice. There are also 286 mug sherds of debased scratch blue that would have been manufactured to a standardized size (Noël Hume 1969:27). These debased scratch blue vessels when paired with the straight-sided creamware mug body sherds, displays the standardization of vessel forms implemented by the Staffordshire potteries of the 1770s, with those in Leeds following suit soon after (Noël Hume 1969:27; Miller 1984:4).

(Figure 4.14) Profile of a White Salt-Glazed Soup Plate: Ayre's Premises Collection

From a food perspective, soup or stew-based meals were popular with the clientele or at least expected given the prevalence of bowl and soup plate sherds regardless of waretype (Figure 5.15). The bowl as a form utilized in a domestic kitchen setting is able to accommodate the service of several types of meals and in doing so, eliminates the overall need for flatware. The dearth of flatware sherds in comparison to those belonging to hollowware vessels may be explained though the absence of a large percentage of the overall ceramic deposition on site. It is possible that flatware could have been a portion of the deposition that was not collected though this is merely speculation. Without full knowledge of the merchant's inventory, how the shop was arranged, and the pattern or timeline of destructive deposition, it is unwise to assume that

(Figure 4.15) Dot, Diaper, and Basket Decoration: Ayre's Premises Collection certain vessel forms, waretypes, or decorations are not present in the current assemblage. However, following a thorough processing and analysis of the Ayre's Premises ceramics, I can say with reasonable certainty that the merchant who ordered these vessels more than likely catered to a clientele composed of the middle classes of the city. They imported their merchandise from a combination of the potteries of Staffordshire and Leeds during the 1770s and likely received their shipments direct into St. John's via Liverpool as both were trade hubs in their respective geographic jurisdictions during the late eighteenth century (Miller 1984:2).

There is the question of a possible domestic assemblage having intermingled with the ceramic deposition from the shop. The presence of single sherds from several waretypes including: Westerwald, Nottingham, and Manganese Mottled, seem out of context when compared against the predominant volume of plainer waretypes that include white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware. A ceramic merchant would have ordered multiple vessels in order to make the costs associated with the transatlantic shipment of the product worth it from a mercantile point of view. The time frame for a selection of these outliers also implies a collection of ceramics acquired prior to or after the 1770s. The presence of a Derbyshire salt-glazed stoneware mug sherd and ten tin-glazed earthenware sherds represent waretypes that were produced on either side of the temporal timeframe of the 1770's. Once more, without full knowledge of the ceramic inventory of this shop, it is plausible that these sherds were a portion of a separate domestic space prior to their deposition though in context, though it cannot be confirmed. Also of note is that Dr. Tuck and his team collected every artifact found on the site, including the concentrated ceramic midden though artifacts relating to both earlier and later occupations could have been collected as well. The possibility also exists that the collection contains artifacts that were associated with a nearby structure during the eighteenth century and would have been unrelated to the activity and inventory of the ceramic storefront.

Lastly, in regard to waretype, this collection highlights the lack of a domestic ceramic industry in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century. Whether the clay was of too poor quality or the infrastructure for the scaling of a domestic operation(s) to the level required to establish a direct to consumer business was not in place, it becomes difficult to hypothesize why such a necessary industry was not in place. Instead, the ceramics of the Ayre's collection were imported primarily from England as was the general practice of eighteenth century merchants of the North American eastern seaboard.

The ceramics that comprise the Ayre's Premises assemblage provide insight into the selection of the ceramic choices consumers had when purchasing ceramics in St. John's, Newfoundland in the 1770s through the lens of an urban/commercial business. While the Ayre's assemblage represents a partial deposit from a ceramic storefront and is therefore an incomplete collection in terms of the full deposition of information that the uncollected ceramics could have revealed, or reinforced, the collection as it stands is a fantastic example of the benefit of revisiting neglected archaeological collections. It was not possible to recover the full ceramic deposit due to circumstances outside of Dr. James Tuck's control, though what he and his colleagues managed to collect highlights the interplay between choices of supply from the merchant and consumer demand on a municipal scale. The merchant purchased and imported a selection of vessels that they view as potentially profitable with the hope that consumer demand finds the product appealing and is in need of or has a use or want for the vessel(s). These choices lead to the unique collection of artifacts in most any archaeological assemblage though with this collection pertaining to a single ceramic merchant's storefront, the results of these choices are localized and are able to offer valuable understanding into the ceramic consumption patterns of St. John's in the late eighteenth century.

4.4 The Ayre's Premises and the Goodridge Premises: Comparison

The Goodridge Premises (CfAf-19), was chosen as the Newfoundland-based comparative collection to the Ayre's Premises and represents one of two rural/domestic components within the scope of this project. The Goodridge Premises is situated 96 km south of the city of St. John's in the town of Renews, though shares the same coast with the capital city on the eastern shore of the Avalon Peninsula. Renews has been the site of European settlement since the seventeenth century and is perched along the shores of an inland harbour which affords the town with easy access to the Atlantic. The site itself located centrally on the northern shore, on a plot of land known as Lord's Cove, Renews as a community relied upon imported ceramic goods from Europe and the eastern seaboard of New England, much the same as St. John's during the 1770s. The lack of domestic ceramic manufacture in Newfoundland insured that a positive trade relationship was essential between the merchants importing the goods and the sellers and shippers transporting the items across the Atlantic.

From a contextual standpoint, the Goodridge Premises is complicated. With 23 independent events identified onsite by Stephen Mills and his crew over the course of three years between 2001 and 2003 (Mills 2008:67), there is a rich archaeological history to untangle. While this assemblage is utilized as a rural/domestic comparative collection for the purpose of this project, the site also qualifies as a rural/commercial collection depending upon the temporal period as the site was home to a domestic dwelling turned tippling house and later a tavern as the eighteenth century progressed, and the assemblage reflects these functional transitions. As the tippling house business model includes commercial operation located within a domestic environment, the Goodridge Premises collection represents a unique blend of the assigned domestic/commercial variables and lends itself well in regard to an exploration of Newfoundland ceramic consumption.

As the majority of the ceramic sherds in this collection were unidentified in regard to form and/or function, the focus of this collection will remain upon the ceramic vessels identified by Stephen Mills and David Fry, who assigned MNV counts to the sherds. Their methodology for this determination is not explained and remains unknown though due to the pair's experience on the site, their assigned MNV count for the Goodridge collection will be accepted in this study.

Over the course of three field seasons, a total of 412 vessels were identified from 4,975 identified sherds comprising 24 separate waretypes. While there were sherds assigned with a representative MNV value in the 2001 report of archaeological work onsite, the vessel forms were not identified; however, for the final report which covers 2002-2003, the forms associated with the assigned MNV values are present. Therefore, the following counts (included in the table in figure 4.2) only utilize the vessel forms identified during the excavation that took place during the 2002 and 2003 field seasons. These vessels are broken down in descending frequency by waretype as follows: 94 Pearlware, 80 English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, 71 Westerwald (Figure 4.16), 41

(Figure 4.16) Westerwald Mug and Jug Sherds: Goodridge Premises Collection

Creamware, 20 North Devon Gravel, 17 Tin-Glazed Earthenware, 11 Bristol-Staffordshire, 10 Chinese-Export Porcelain, 9 North Devon Smooth, 9 Portuguese Redware, 7 North Italian Marbled Slipware, 7 South Somerset, 6 Rhenish Brown, 5

Manganese Mottled, 5 Transferware, 3 Nottingham, 3 American Redware, 2 Verwood, 2 Iberian, 1 Jackfield, 1 Beauvais, 1 Buckley, 1 Agateware, and 1 Seville olive jar.

These waretypes were identified by Stephen Mills and his team during the course of the excavations and during the processing of the artifacts following the completion of the archaeological recovery onsite. Immediately apparent in contrast to the Ayre's Premises, is the presence of European and Asian ceramics other than the strictly English assemblage recovered in the urban environment of St. John's. The Goodridge collection includes vessels from 8 separate countries including in descending order of frequency: 305 English vessels, 77 German, 9 Portuguese, 7 Italian, 7 Chinese, 3 Spanish, 3 American, and 1 French vessel. The vessels imported from England once again dominate the assemblage with 76% of the overall vessels attributed to English potters. However, with the exception of German vessels occupying 19% of the assemblage, the remaining 6 nations split the other ~5% of the collection with their respective percentages ranging from 2.1% with the Portuguese share to .2% with a single French vessel, which in comparison highlights a diversity in ceramic acquisition simply not present in the Ayre's assemblage. The vessels of each nation are for the most part, limited in form to a single vessel. For example, the North Italian vessels are variations of flatware plates, the vast majority of the German Westerwald vessels are tankards, and three quarters of the Portuguese Redware vessels are bottles, though the English ceramics are mixed across form and function. Table 5.3 displays the breakdown of frequency of vessel form per waretype.

The analysis of vessel form by their associated function serves to bolster the evidence of an eighteenth-century tippling house or tavern's presence on the Goodridge Premises as 47% of the identified ceramic vessels were utilized for beverage consumption, including 70 tankards, 8 cups, 5 mugs, and 4 tea bowls. Vessels associated with the consumption and service of food represent the next highest frequency with 18.3% and include 15 plates, 11 bowls, 4 dishes, and 4 saucers. Vessels not pertaining to the categories of vessel function laid out in figure 4.1 fall collectively under another category, labeled Other and for this assemblage includes 17.2% of the overall count with 29 unidentified vessels, and 1 tile (Table 4.3).

Material	Plate	Dish	Saucer	Bowl	Pipkin	Milk Pan	Jar	Bottle	Pot	Pan	Pitcher	Jug	Teapot	Cup	Mug	Tankard	Teabowl	Galley Pot	Ch. Pot	Un. Id.	Total
Agateware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Am. Redware	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Beauvais	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bristol-Staff.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Buckley	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Creamware	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	15
Iberian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Jackfield	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Manganese Mottled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
North Devon Gravel	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
North Devon Smooth	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
North Italian	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
Nottingham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Pearlware	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
Porcelain	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
P. Redware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Rhenish Brown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Seville	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
S. Somerset	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Tin-Glazed EW	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	9
Totnes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Transferware	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
Verwood	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Westerwald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	2	0	32
White Salt-Glazed SW	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	40	4	6	0	5	57
Total	15	6	4	12	1	1	1	6	16	1	1	2	1	8	5	70	4	11	2	33	200

(Table 4.3) Goodridge Premises Vessel Frequency by Waretype

Food and drink storage is next with 7% and includes 6 bottles, 5 pots, 1 pan, 2 bellarmines, and 1 jar. Continuing to the category of hygiene with 6.4% of the overall vessel count, there are 10 galley pots, also known as ointment pots, and 2 chamberpots. Beverage service vessels account for a mere 2.7% of the collection and include 3 jars, 1 pitcher, and 1 teapot despite those forms under beverage consumption comprise the aforementioned 47% of the overall collection. This appears to be a discrepancy though it is plausible that within a tippling house setting, the alcohol was poured direct from a barrel or from a designated storage vessel which would have been a glass bottle, into a mug or tankard for consumption. This practice could explain the dearth of vessels necessary for the strict purpose of beverage service as the function of these forms would be effectively bypassed. Finally, with 2 total vessels are those involved with food processing and dairying are 1 pipkin and 1milkpan).

The overwhelming majority (>95%) of sherds in the Goodridge Premises assemblage were not identified with an associated form or function and therefore, will be identified though their main diagnostic characteristic of waretype. Only those sherds with an identified waretype rather than a broad categorization (i.e. refined stoneware) will be discussed. In descending order of frequency, there are: 1,194 sherds of Creamware, 1,111 English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware, 623 Westerwald, 398 North Devon Gravel (Figure 5.18), 353 Pearlware, 341 North Devon Smooth, 339 Portuguese Redware, 195 Bristol- Staffordshire, 160 Tin-Glazed Earthenware, 160 Transferware, 45 Nottingham, 22 Jackfield, 12 Buckley, 7 South Somerset, 6 Iberian, 3 Agateware, 2 Rhenish Brown, and 1 Whiteware. While the majority of these identified wares were manufactured during the eighteenth century, there are outliers on either side that were produced during the seventeenth (Verwood) and nineteenth centuries (Whiteware, Transferware).

In order to fully understand the patterns of ceramic consumption, it becomes necessary to establish a narrative of where these patterns of consumption during the eighteenth century transitioned or evolved from, either in function, form, or waretype. With the knowledge of the history of the site, these transitions or consumer choices become rather more visible when the option of a comparison is present, as opposed to extrapolating patterns from the ceramics as an isolated time period, which it was not.

In contrast to the Ayre's Premises in which the functional majority of vessels (37.8%) are associated with food consumption and serving, the purpose of ceramic use on the Goodridge site in Renews is quite clearly linked to the consumption of beverages (47.0%). Where bowls comprised the highest frequency of identified sherds for the Ayre's assemblage, tankards were the most common form recovered from the Goodridge site. When coupled with the glass artifacts of the collection which are mainly bottles linked to alcohol storage, the presence of an eighteenth-century tippling house or tavern seems highly likely. In this instance, the Ayre's Premises assemblage represents the goods that occupants/operators of the Goodridge Premises would have been purchased from; the link between importation of the vessels, and the consumer themselves. The combination of the Ayre's Premises and the Goodridge Premises collections display a path of ceramic consumption from the vessel's manufacture in Europe, their trade to Newfoundland, and the choices that occurred to place them further down-market with the consumer(s) themselves. The comparison between an urban/commercial assemblage of the Ayre's site, and the rural/domestic/commercial assemblage illustrated by the Goodridge collection illustrate that these two sites, when linked with their European origin of manufacture, effectively represent two facets of the same Newfoundland ceramic market in the eighteenth century.

Creamware and English white salt-glazed stoneware vessels typify the two highest frequencies of vessels, the Goodridge assemblage illustrating a prime example of the ceramic options that consumers were able to choose from in order to suit their needs. Although white salt-glazed vessels in the Ayre's assemblage (44%) outnumber those in the Goodridge assemblage (12%), the stoneware still personifies each collection. Both collections also display the transition from the popular stoneware, produced in most any form by English potters, to that of Wedgewood's twice fired creamware that occurred between the 1760s and the 1770s. As the individual(s) responsible for purchasing ceramics at the Goodridge Premises would have dealt with a merchant, the transition from white salt-glazed to creamware was a result of a changing consumer market. This rings especially true when the consumer inhabits a remote island in the North Atlantic that relies upon the trade of European ceramics as Newfoundland lacks a domestic ceramic industry. How much of this transition in a rural environment is a result of a conscious choice to switch waretypes made by the consumer rather than an altered selection of available vessels imported by the merchants remains in question. Though unlike the Ayre's Premises, the frequency of creamware at the Goodridge Premises outweighs that of white salt-glaze, perhaps indicating that this transition between the two wares was further along at the site in Renews than the specific storefront in St. John's.

However, rather more likely is the continued occupation of the site through the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, where the exposure to creamware as the newest popular ware would have been seen through to its full extent, rather than cut short mid-transition by a devastating fire in 1779, as what occurred in St. John's.

The decorative elements of the ceramics (Figure 4.17) at each site is varied in both the style of decorative elements and the frequency of decorated sherds. A primary point of similarity between these two sites is that the white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware sherds bear the same decorative elements. There are stoneware sherds in both collections bearing the dot, diaper, and basket, barley, bead and reel, and incised linear patterns. Creamware motifs also share similar attributes of feather edged, and royal pattern-edged sherds. Bristol-Staffordshire slipware sherds displaying both wide and

(Figure 4.17) Westerwald Mug Sherds: Goodridge Premises Collection narrow combed motifs of brown on yellow are in both collections, as are tin-glazed earthenware sherds with wide hand painted blue motifs. Hand painted underglaze blue porcelain, plain Buckley, molded manganese mottled mug body sherds, and scratch blue floral motifs are also present in both assemblages.

The frequency of these similarities number into the thousands if considered numerically by sherd count and work to define the availability of certain decorative ceramic wares in eighteenth-century Newfoundland. The decorative similarities also help to define which motifs were popular amongst the variety of wares on the market. A primary example of the differences between the two sites is that the Goodridge assemblage does possess an abundance of decorative Westerwald tankards while the Ayre's does not (Figure 5.19). These Westerwald tankards are decorated with several motifs that distinguish them from one another and include checkered blue on grey, incised diamonds alternating blue and grey, florals, and incised lines applied with cobalt. There are several sherds bearing each motif and are visually appealing, standing apart in terms of decorative colour and clarity from much of the overall plainer wares of the Ayre's assemblage.

In regard to frequency of identical vessels, the Ayre's Premises has a higher degree of wares that could have been sold together as matching sets. Vessels involved in this comparison include bowls, straight-sided mugs, tea bowls, and saucers. The Goodridge Premises typifies an alternative to the ceramic storefront of the Ayre's, a space designed to receive large amounts of identical vessels in order to keep a flow of stock in the shop but also to sell matching forms and decorative wares to a somewhat discerning urban clientele. Unlike the merchant of the Ayre's Premises who realistically called on a few separate ceramic shippers based upon the variety of forms and their potential locations of manufacture, the occupants of the Goodridge Premises likely bought their ceramics from multiple entities. Among the mercantile options afforded to rural planters, was the availability of goods supplied by migratory fishing fleets. These migratory fisherman provided an avenue of indirect trade between the manufacturer and the consumer from their home ports in Europe or in North America. That wares from 7 distinct nationalities are present in the assemblage supports this idea, especially when taking the Portuguese, German, and American wares into account. The American redware could have plausibly occupied a separate trade route than the European wares, though this is not fundamentally provable given the small sample size of the American ware and a lack of associated documentation in regard to its acquisition. A unique artifact in the Ayre's Premises does highlight a trade route that would have taken ships north and south along the American seaboard; a single half of a coconut shell.

The lack of ceramics related to the service and consumption of tea is stark when analyzing the Goodridge material especially in comparison to the wealth of tea service vessels from the Ayre's. With 542 teapot sherds, 796 tea bowl, and 29 tea cups sherds, the Ayre's assemblage displays the necessary equipage for the serving and enjoyment of tea by consumers in St. John's. In contrast, and in dealing with vessels rather than sherds, the single identified teapot and 4 tea bowls of the Goodridge collection pale in comparison not only to the vessels associated with tea service in the Ayre's collection, but also to the sheer volume of artifacts, both glass and ceramic, that functioned in the realm of alcohol consumption in the Goodridge collection. It appears beverage priorities in so far as this single property in Renews is concerned, were skewed towards alcohol rather than tea. Though the majority of these vessels would have been utilized in the tippling house/tavern, the lack of tea service in any real capacity points towards a lack of interest or participation in the consumption of tea. Overall, the ceramic assemblage of the Goodridge Premises is one that would have been quite well suited to the clientele of migratory fisherman who would have sought out food, alcohol, and hospitality while onshore.

4.5 The Three Cranes Tavern and the Tayler House: Comparison

Two collections comprise the American components of this research: The Three Cranes Tavern representing the American urban/commercial collection, and the John Tayler House serving as a rural/domestic collection with a possible commercial component. Unless otherwise stated, the term *assemblage,* will refer strictly to the collection of ceramics recovered from the 5 privies rather than the full archaeological assemblage of the Three Cranes site.

The collection that was analyzed is from the five privies on the property of the Three Cranes Tavern, features that would have seen use from the multitudes of patrons served and lodged over its 135 years in operation.

Overall, the material excavated from these five privies represents the second highest number of artifacts recovered from significant features in the immediate area surrounding and including the Three Cranes with a total of 38,767 artifacts recovered from the privy features. Not all of these artifacts are ceramic, and that total comprises 35.7% of all the artifacts excavated from features onsite.

The discussion of the artifacts excavated from the privies will be strictly limited to ceramics. Each privy represents a unique temporal period of use though occasionally these periods overlap.

The terminus post quem (Table 4.4) of each of the 5 are spread across 4 decades with the earliest, 1733 for privy 4, corresponding to the presence of the locally - produced Parker Stoneware. The latest is 1775 for privy 3 as it represents a mixed deposit with a primary deposit too thin to be diagnostic as it blends with the secondary

Privy	TPQ	Sherd Count	MNV
1	1762	352	1
2	1762	1,489	67
3	1775	2,909	32
4	1733	1,741	28
5	1762	370	2
Total	N/A	6,681 Sherds	130 Vessels

(Table 4.4) Sherd and Vessel Counts by Privy: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

and main deposit consisting of fill debris following the destruction of the property in 1775. Privies 1, 2, and 5, all share a TPQ of 1762 which corresponds to the presence of creamware sherds in the assemblage of each. Based upon the TPQ and the waretypes from each privy, the bulk of the ceramics in the overall assemblage were manufactured in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the eighteenth century (Figure 4.18).

The largest frequency of vessels in the assemblage date to 1764, prior to the Revolutionary War with the second largest number pertaining to English vessels from 1733. Also apparent is the absence of any German vessel post-1738, which may be linked to an increased consumer interest for English ceramics, reflected in the assemblage between 1733 and continuing until 1763, reaching a peak popularity in 1764.

(Figure 4.18) Creamware Teapot and Lid: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

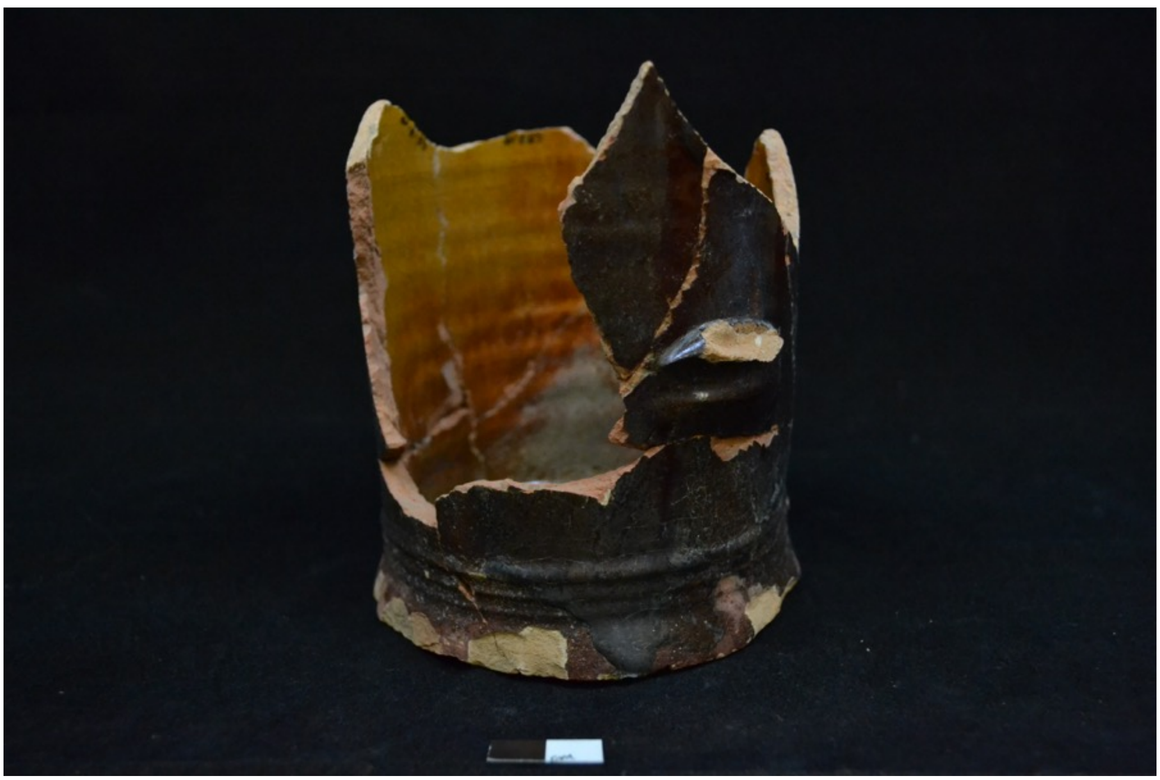
A total of 67 vessels were recovered and analyzed from Privy 2 and include: buff bodied-slip + sgraffito (2 dishes), buff-bodied tinglaze (2 bowls, 1 chamber pot, 1 galley pot), creamware (1 plate, 1 tea pot), English brown (1 mug, 1 pudding pan), westerwald (2 chamber pots), American parker-type (4 jugs, 1 storage pot), scratch blue (1 saucer), white salt-glazed (10 plates, 2 bowls, 2 saucers, 2 mugs, 2 chamber pots, 1 tea bowl), Chinese export porcelain (2 bowls, 4 saucers, 5 tea bowls), red- bodied coarse earthenware (1 bowl, 4 chamber pots, 2 milk pans, 3 storage pots), red- bodied refined earthenware (1 bowl, 1 tea pot), and red-bodied slip + sgraffito (1 bowl, 2 chamber pots, 2 milk pans, 1 washbasin). Functionally, the majority of the vessels from this deposit represent forms utilized during food consumption and serving. In every privy, the majority of vessels were manufactured domestically or imported from England though this privy contained the largest percentage of vessels imported from China. (Gallagher et. al 1994:350).

Thirty two vessels were found in Privy 3: buff -bodied slip + Sgraffito (2 drinking pots), buff-bodied tinglaze (1 bowl, 2 chamber pots, 1 galley pot, 1 jar, 3 plates), red-bodied coarse earthenware (1 chamber pot, 2 mugs, 3 pudding pans, 1 pitcher, 1 storage pot), red-bodied slip + sgraffito (1 bowl, 2 chamber pots, 2 mugs), Chinese export porcelain (1 bowl, 1 saucer), English brown (1 jar), scratch blue (1 tea bowl), and white salt-glazed (1 sauce boat, 2 bowls, 2 saucers). Similarly, to both Privies 2 and 4, the highest number of vessel function were from the category of food consumption and service. The second and third largest categories were beverage consumption (7) and hygiene related vessels (6). As with the other privies, domestic redware (Charlestownware) and English ceramics are the two most represented wares though there is a distinct lack of German wares in this deposit.

Twenty four vessels were recovered from Privy 4: buff-bodied Iberian (1 jar), buff-bodied slip + sgraffito (1 chamber pot, 1 drinking pot), buff-bodied tinglaze (1 bowl, 1 catch pot, 3 chamber pots, 2 plates), red-bodied coarse earthenware (3 bowls, 2 chamber pots, 1 jar, 1 milk pan), red-bodied slip +sgraffito (1 bowl, 1 chamber pot, 1 mug), Chinese export porcelain (1 saucer), English brown (1 bowl), westerwald (1 mug), American parker-type (1 storage pot), and white salt-glazed (3 bowls, 1 pitcher). Vessels utilized for food and drink storage were also present. Only 2 vessels came from Privy 5, a plain English white-salt glazed saucer and a bead-rimmed white salt-glazed stoneware plate.

Ceramics in this assemblage were acquired from several provenance and when examined by country of origin, the inventory of the assemblage is comprised of: 62 English, 42 domestic (Figure 4.19, 14 Chinese, 3 German, 2 Iberian, 1 African, 1 French, and 3 vessels that may have been produced either domestically or in England. Functionally, the vessels are divided in the categories mentioned previously (i.e., beverage consumption, etc.) and are broken down in order of descending frequency as follows: Beverage Consumption (8 English, 6 Domestic, 5 Chinese, 1 French, 1 German), Beverage Service (4 Domestic, 3 English, 1 German), Food Consumption and Serving (37 English, 9 Chinese, 6 Domestic, 1 Iberian, 1 Domestic/English), Food and Drink Storage (6 Domestic, 2 English, 1 African, 1 Iberian), Food Processing (8 Domestic, 1 English, 1 Domestic/English), Hygiene (12 Domestic, 11 English, 2 German, 1 Domestic/English), and finally, Other (1 English, and 1 Iberian). Vessels manufactured domestically or in England dominate each functional category of vessel in this assemblage. Also of note, the domestically-manufactured ceramics present in the assemblage served mainly utilitarian functions that included forms utilized during food processing, food and beverage storage, and hygiene-related activities. Finally, within the overall privy assemblage there are: 23 bowls, 23 chamberpots, 1 catch pot, 1 colander, 1 cup, 2 dishes, 3 drinking pots, 2 galley pots, 4 jars, 4 jugs, 5 milk pans, 9 mugs, 2 pitchers, 16 plates, 3 pudding pans, 2 storage pots, 1 sauce boat, 11 saucers, 7 tea bowls, 2 tea pots, and 1 washbasin.

The 6,681 sherds from the collective privy assemblage coupled with the sherds from the remainder of the Three Cranes property (which amount to 7,104 sherds) were



(Figure 4.19) Lead-Glazed Red Earthenware Mug: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

analyzed by Gallagher et. al during their ceramic analysis of the collection in 1994 in order to aid in the understanding of trade patterns during from the early eighteenth century and up to the Tavern's destruction in 1775. Although North Devon was the primary importer of the seventeenth century ceramics at the Three Cranes, the

Staffordshire potteries began to dominate by the early eighteenth century. This is likely due to the decline of the North Devon pottery industry and the stronger export market that Staffordshire was able to maintain (Gallagher et. al 1994:349). Staffordshire potteries would continue to supply ceramics with ever-increasing demand during the 25 years leading up to the Revolutionary War. Staffordshire's stake in foreign trade continued through and after the Revolutionary War where considerable business was still conducted between a now fledgling America and England (Gallagher et. al 1994:349). Prior to the arrival of English ceramics onsite in the eighteenth century, German vessels were the majority though after 1700, the English ceramic market, led by the Staffordshire potteries, began to replace the German market (Gallagher et. al 1994:349). As a result, by 1750, there are no further German sherds, or vessels deposited onsite at the Three Cranes. "The reason for this shift may be because the German market was boycotted by the English, and therefore, the bay colonies" (Gallagher et. al 1994:349).

In total, 130 vessels were identified from the 5 privies and although the construction of each privy pre-dates 1760, the ceramics recovered from each are more accurately represented by the assigned TPQ aforementioned above as they were deposited at later dates in every case. There were no vessels in the assemblage that pre-date 1712. Also, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, statistical trends can be seen including the steady increase in the frequency of vessels associated with the consumption and service of food. The associated percentage of these vessels rises from 22.2% in 1733 to 33.3% in 1755, 50% in 1760, and finally by 1763 comprise 66.7% of the overall assemblage of the Three Cranes site (Gallagher et. al 1994:352). The above dates were calculated through the use of mean ceramic dating in 1994, and although are not a reliable metric of temporal analysis, they are worth mentioning in order to demonstrate the progress made in ceramic dating techniques.

4.5.1 Tayler House

The John Tayler House site is located on the west bank of the Hudson River in Stillwater, New York, approximately 173 miles north of New York City and 23 miles north from Albany, New York, the state capitol. The site is in an advantageous location in relation to the Hudson River as the waterway provided not only a means of transportation but functioned as a European trade route between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Tayler made a conscious choice to build here: as a merchant he had previously traveled through the area, realizing that access to the Hudson River would facilitate business communication and transactions with his clientele. Although Tayler was in the shipping business, the assemblage recovered from excavations of the site was decidedly domestic in terms of ceramic form, function, and waretype. For this reason, including its geographic location, the Tayler House represents the American rural/domestic assemblage in this project.

During Snow's 1973 excavation, a total of 1,580 ceramic sherds were recovered and identified and consist of: pearlware (501), creamware (837), porcelain (21), westerwald (1), delft (8), white salt-glazed stoneware (27), buff-bodied salt-glazed (3), scratch blue (1), yellowglaze stoneware (6), jackfield (9), slipped + red glaze earthenware (24), red-glazed earthenware (109) unidentified (58), and ironstone (9) from the nineteenth century. There were no vessels identified during the course of either Snow or Starbuck's analysis though during the course of my re-processing of the collections, there are sherds that met the initial minimum requirement of at least 50% of the base or rim remaining in order to assess an accurate MNV value and these sherds were included in a final MNV for the overall assemblage of 67. In reviewing the data, diagnostic fragments present in the assemblage should have been included in order to ascertain a more accurate MNV. However, without access to the digital catalog for the collection, the initial MNV of 67 vessels must reluctantly stand firm.

Fourteen years after Snow, Starbuck's excavation uncovered a total of 1,076 sherds comprised of: creamware (630), pearlware (250), coarse red earthenware (132), slipped red earthenware (16), hard-paste porcelain (12), buff-bodied earthenware (10), white salt-glazed stoneware (8), jackfield (7), gray salt-glazed stoneware (6) and delft (5). In total between the two collections that represent the assemblage utilized in this project, there are 2,656 total sherds wherein the top three percentages are 55% creamware, 28% pearlware, 5.8 % coarse red earthenware, and a mere 1.3% of the overall collection (35 sherds) identified as white salt-glazed stoneware.

When vessels were examined by form and function, those pertaining to food consumption and serving made up 53.7% (36 vessels) of the overall assemblage (Figure 5.23), beverage consumption was second highest with 14.9% (10 vessels) followed by beverage serving (9 vessels) and food and beverage storage (9 vessels) both with 13.4%, and finally 3 milk pans for food processing or dairying at 4.4%. These percentages are attributed in order to descending frequency to: 14 bowls, 10 soup plates, 8 plates, 7 tea cups, 6 storage pots, 4 punch bowls, 3 basins, 3 milk pans, 3 jars, 2 jugs, 1 cup, 1 tea bowl, and 1 mug. When divided by country of origin, the vessels are grouped as follows: food consumption and serving (34 English, 1 Domestic, 1 Chinese Export Porcelain, 1 Dutch), food processing (2 English, 1 Domestic), food and beverage storage (8 Domestic, 2 English), beverage service (7 English, 2 Domestic), and beverage consumption (9 English, 1 Chinese Export Porcelain) (Figure 4.20). In total, there are 4 nationalities represented in the vessels from the Tayler House site.

Overall, the ceramics of the Tayler House reflect a family with money that had access to the English wares that were in fashion for the period (1764 - 1800+) as is evident in the presence of sherds representing the evolution of different waretypes. The creamware is a prime example as the lineage of the refinement of creamware as a waretype is visible: sherds range in colour from the dark yellow of the first creamware vessels, through a lighter yellow, and finally to the pale cream-coloured ware that the

(Figure 4.20) Hand-Painted Overglaze Pearlware Sherds: Tayler House Collection type is known for. Access to and experience in foreign trade afforded Tayler the money and network from which to acquire these wares, even in rural upstate New York, an area that only a decade or so before would have been considered the edge of the northern frontier.

The Three Cranes Tavern in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and the John Tayler House in Stillwater, New York represent the two comparative collections for the United States' leg of this project. Each aligns with an assigned variable pairing with the Three Cranes serving as the urban/commercial and the Tayler House as the rural/domestic assemblage. The contrast between these sites is vast at face value though occasional similarities do appear upon further analysis.

From a geographic perspective, access to trade networks, both foreign and domestic that the Three Cranes was able to enjoy thanks to its central location in Boston provided a consumer atmosphere rife with choice and availability of goods. Domestic ceramic manufacturing that specialized in the production of Charlestownware, a red-bodied, lead-glazed earthenware was located on the banks of the Charles River less than a mile south of the Three Cranes. The factors of access, choice, and availability are reflected in the privy assemblage of the Three Cranes and the collection is large enough that trends in trade relations, both geographically shifting from North Devon to Staffordshire, and ceramic innovation material-wise with the shift in fashionable wares are visible in the ceramics recovered from the Tavern. John Tayler and his choice of ceramic consumption at the Tayler House site also displays access to the imported fashionable wares of the late eighteenth century as evidenced by creamware, pearlware, and in the nineteenth century, ironstone and later palettes of polychrome pearlware. The Tayler House was situated on a direct line to the trade hub of New York City and Albany, to a lesser extent and with his experience in foreign trade, Tayler would have enjoyed access to a known network of merchants who could deliver any ware he desired though perhaps the costs associated with shipping goods north along the Hudson or on land were prohibitive. I am left to speculate as Tayler did not elaborate upon his specific choices regarding ceramic purchasing in the personal or business correspondence that was uncovered during this research. It is apparent that both John Tayler and the owners of the Three Cranes Tavern engaged in both direct and indirect trade in order to acquire (consume) the ceramics desired at each location (Baugher and Venables 2013:32). Direct trade would have occurred between each entity and both the American and British trade market while indirect trade is represented in the Tayler collection with the presence of Chinese export porcelain and in the Three Cranes assemblage with the same Chinese porcelain and the addition of an unidentified African vessel.

It is clear that the residents/occupants of both sites purchased ceramics from their respective domestic ceramic markets and there is a small degree of overlap. A sizable number of the domestic vessels and sherds within the Three Cranes assemblage belong to the local Charlestown and Parker-Type wares, both products of the same Charlestown-based pottery industry. These wares are not present in the Tayler collection though what could be variations of them are. Sherds of both coarse and refined red-bodied earthenware are part of the Tayler collection though rather than most being glazed with a lead-based glaze, these sherds are slipped instead though a select few lead-glazed sherds are present. The Tayler collection also has sherds of what could be considered generic American stoneware typical of the late eighteenth century, difficult to place geographically though the ware possesses a gray fabric, and a slipped exterior and interior surface (Greer 1987: 197). This specific ware constitutes the majority of the storage pots of the Tayler collection.

Unlike the Three Cranes, the ceramics of the Tayler House represent 4 provenance in: the American domestic market and imported English, Chinese, and Dutch ceramics with a definitive focus upon the English wares. The Three Cranes assemblage in contrast has sherds and vessels pertaining to trade with: England, France, Germany, China, Iberia, and the continent of Africa. Apart from waretypes, the Three Cranes represents a wider variety of vessel forms that reflect a more nuanced function. Given the length of occupation displayed by the eighteenth-century ceramics recovered at the Three Cranes site, the presence of a wider selection of both waretypes and forms is to be expected. The inclusion of pudding pans, drinking pots, galley pots, and tea bowls are representative of vessels utilized in order to serve the function required of the consumer. In contrast, the vessel forms present at the Tayler site still reflect wider choice than the most basic wares as punch bowls, and soup plates are in the assemblage though the variety in the Three Cranes assemblage remains greater in frequency.

Functionally, both assemblages display a fondness for vessels pertaining to the consumption and service of food. In the commercial context of the Tavern, patrons wanted or needed sustenance whilst drinking and enjoying their time at the tavern and these vessels would have served them. While at the Tayler House, these vessels represent the daily familial consumption and service of food on the Tayler family's table. Functionally, the vessels of this category (i.e., bowls, soup plate, etc.) serve the same purpose though for different facets of the same activity and environment. Vessels within the category of beverage consumption also share a similarity between these assemblages as forms that include mugs, and tea cups in particular represent a significant portion of each assemblage.

The Three Cranes Tavern in coastal Massachusetts and the John Tayler House in rugged upstate New York represent facets of American life in the mid-to late eighteenth century separated by 190 miles. While the Three Cranes catered to customers and the Tayler House to family nearly 250 years ago, the ceramic choices made by the purchasing parties of each location remain relevant in this study of socio-economic factors and their influence on ceramic consumption.

4.6 The Ayre's Premises and the Three Cranes Tavern: Comparison

In the following sections the four sites are compared against their regional counterpart. The Ayre's Premises (urban/commercial) in St. John's, Newfoundland and the Three Cranes Tavern (urban/commercial) in Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts are both in close proximity to the Atlantic Ocean though do not share a coast. The Ayre's collection is from the rugged northeastern coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, approximately 965 miles northeast of the Three Cranes site.

While the variables of urban/commercial are applicable to each collection, they belong to sites serving a different clientele and overall purpose. The Ayre's Premises encompasses the remains of a ceramic shop located in the heart of downtown St. John's that carried a collection predominantly composed of imported English wares, with white salt-glazed stoneware representing the bulk of the collection with 55.5% total sherds, followed by creamware with 38.7%. The other wares in the collection take a steep dive in numerical frequency as following creamware, the most numerous waretype is debased scratch-blue with 296 sherds (3.4%).

These wares would have been targeted towards a clientele of middle class individuals based upon the prevalence of undecorated vessels and sherds. Hand-painted sherds are rare, instead what decoration is present is often in the form of molding during production of the vessel rather than a later addition by a skilled artist (i.e. dot, diaper, and basket, and barley). The shop stocked wares that were known to sell, and this is indicated in the relatively small variety in forms in the assemblage and by the large number of a select few of these forms including bowls (139 vessels), and tea bowls (65 vessels). It remains important to note however that sampling bias due to the nature of artifact collection performed on site at the Ayre's Premises. Dr. Tuck's team was given a limited window with which to collect visible artifacts and were not able to excavate the site fully, thus limiting the overall ceramic collection. The Ayre's collection as it stands quite possibly only represents a fraction of the shop's total ceramic inventory and other forms may have been stocked as well and likely were. The lack of a domestic ceramic industry in Newfoundland forced merchants to rely exclusively on imported goods, both from Europe and Asia, but also from the Northeastern United States. The Ayre's does not have a single Asian export or American sherd in its collection, instead drawing heavily from ceramics produced by the Staffordshire potteries of England, and potentially by those in Leeds as well. Although St. John's was the trade hub of the north Atlantic for centuries, bringing merchants and ships from several nationalities into the harbour over the course of the city's storied history, these active eighteenth-century trade routes are not represented in the Ayre's assemblage. Harkening back to the shop's perceived clientele, I believe it is because the shop catered to the middle classes and therefore its owner(s) did not desire more expensive costs associated with importing other wares, though this is speculation. A similarity arises between the Ayre's and the Three Cranes regarding identified vessel form however, as both collections have bowls as the most numerous of their forms, 139 for the Ayre's and 23 for the Three Cranes. The collections immediately diverge towards different trends in form following their joint want/need of bowls in their respective industries.

The Three Cranes Tavern assemblage represents the ceramic contents of 5, eighteenth-century privies. Similar to the Ayre's Premises, English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware vessels occupy the highest frequency of identified vessels though overall, comprise a much smaller percentage of the overall wares in the collection. Instead, the presence of domestically manufactured red-bodied earthenware vessels is more indicative of the Three Cranes assemblage.

These vessels were not only produced by American potters, the distance between the Tavern and the potteries was less than a mile, making for a comfortable ease of access at least for the desired utilitarian vessels that would have been used for food processing, storage, and hygiene-related functions. The Ayre's Premises in comparison, would have had to wait upon each imported shipment. Aside from the domestic vessels in the collection, characterized by a lead-glazed exterior surface often decorated with hand-painted yellow slip motifs (Figure 4.21), the Three Cranes assemblage demonstrate the foreign trade networks that were well established in Boston during the eighteenth century. Ceramic vessels and sherds from Africa, China, France, Germany, England, and Iberia are evidence of these forays into foreign trade by Boston merchants, directly and indirectly, during this period. The choice of these imported wares over the domestic

(Figure 4.21) Variety of Domestic Redware Sherds: Three Cranes Tavern Collection

alternatives is likely based upon a combination of decoration, form design, and curiosity. These consumer choices are fueled by human interaction and if a ware is present at the shop or market that a buyer has not seen before, or there is a new waretype on the market or a new design, the likelihood of purchasing it is increased from curiosity alone, let alone the want and need of the consumer. This could explain in part why these imported waretypes, with the exception of English wares (Figure 4.22), comprise a small number of sherds and vessels in the collection in comparison to both the English and domestic wares. This same principle can also be applied to the Goodridge Premises assemblage in regard to the slight percentage of ceramics produced outside of England.

The Three Cranes represents a commercial collection though from a wholly different tact than the Ayre's Premises. While both are customer-based businesses that utilize a wealth of ceramic during the course of their operation and rely upon consumers to spend their money, the shop of the Ayre's Premises sold ceramic goods to businesses

(Figure 4.22) White Salt-Glazed Bowl: Three Cranes Tavern Collection and to consumers whilst the Three Cranes sold food, drink, and lodging. From the perspective of a merchant, the Three Cranes itself is a consumer and the vessel forms that are purchased for use in the tavern are reflected in the needs of the tavern as a business, much the same as the needs of an individual purchasing ceramics for use in a domestic setting. Bowls were the dominant vessel form recovered from the privies, and the quantity and presence of mugs, drinking pots, jars, jugs, pitchers, plates, and saucers all relay the purpose of their purchase, the partaking of food and alcohol in a social setting. As the Tavern's operator(s) was purchasing ceramics for their patrons to use, the emphasis appears to have been placed upon suitable vessel forms with which to outfit the Tavern.

Both assemblages are representative of their industries, their clientele, and their geography. Each is an urban/commercial site though provide a depth of comparison as they exist at different levels in the import and consumption process. The Ayre's Premises is representative of a ceramic storefront; a primary destination for imported ceramics before their sale to public consumers while the Three Cranes Tavern represents a step further from importation as they would have purchased their imported ceramics from a shopkeeper, or merchant. However, the Three Cranes bypasses a traditional merchant and pursues the manufacturer directly in regard to the American produced vessels (i.e. parker-type and Charlestownware). This approach allows for a greater selection of consumable vessels over time present within the Three Cranes assemblage, especially as the site itself saw a longer occupation by several decades, and ceramic deposition during the eighteenth century back to 1733, in comparison to the Ayre's Premises. The businesses on these sites overlapped during their time in operation and met their demise through fire four years apart, the Three Cranes in 1775 at the hands of the British army, and the Ayre's Premises in 1779 following the breakout of a fire in downtown St. John's.

4.7 The Goodridge Premises and the Tayler House: Comparison

The Goodridge Premises and the John Tayler House constitute the two rural/domestic assemblages of this project. Rather than ceramic use in a commercial context, where patrons of the business are the primary focus, these collections represent a separate sphere of material wants, needs, and overall usage, though is not without caveats in the case of the Goodridge Premises, which saw use as a tippling house for a portion of the eighteenth century. The steep increase in the volume of pipe fragments and glass vessels in the early half of the eighteenth century (Mills 2008:25) help supports this segue to a mixed deposit wherein the Goodridge Premises would have supported a customer-based business in addition to domestic use over several decades. In comparison to the earlier event layers identified on site, the sharp uptick in pipe and glass fragments lends significant evidence towards the establishment of a tavern during the eighteenth century.

The Goodridge collection is comprised of 412 individual vessels identified from 4,975 sherds consisting of 24 separate waretypes. In contrast, the Tayler House assemblage is composed of 2,656 sherds representing 67 vessels. Both collections represent collections represent sites that enjoyed access to trade networks, albeit dealing in separate routes between the manufacturers and the consumers. The geography of each region dictated the available trade networks, there existed multiple routes, merchants, and suppliers so that possibilities of consumer choice varied and changed. The Goodridge assemblage, displays a reliance on the trans-Atlantic trade as Newfoundland was not privy to a domestic base of ceramic manufacture during the eighteenth century. Such a reliance does not appear to be restrictive or constraining as the vessels of the Goodridge assemblage represents 8 separate nationalities in: 305 English vessels, 77 German, 9 Portuguese, 7 Italian, 7 Chinese, 3 Iberian, 3 American, and 1 French vessel.

However, unlike the Ayre's Premises and more similarly to the Tayler collection, there are identified sherds of American coarse red earthenware. In comparison to the Ayre's, consumer choice plays a role as these American sherds demonstrate a conscious choice to purchase and utilize a ware from mainland North America rather than relying solely upon European merchants peddling exclusively European wares. As a consumer in a domestic context the expectation of loyalty to a particular supplier is sharply reduced as you are purchasing wares for your own, or your family's usage. Though within the commercial context of a site like the Ayre's Premises, these known business connections may help foster higher profits in the long run and since the merchant is buying in order to resell them, rather than for themselves, they might be more apt to maintain these business connections rather than branching out which may result in a more concentrated inventory of waretypes and vessel forms. This may be personal speculation in relation to the Ayre's collection, though the site's ceramic data reveals a tightly bound collection of wares in comparison to that of the Goodridge, Three Cranes, or the Tayler House. The Tayler assemblage in comparison, did have access to domestic ceramic markets and sherds of American wares including coarse red-bodied earthenware, refined red-bodied earthenware, and buff and gray-bodied salt-glazed stonewares are present in varying frequencies within the assemblage. The assemblage is representative of 4 nationalities overall and in descending order of frequency these nationalities are: English (Figure 4.23), American, German, and Dutch.

The three waretypes with the highest number of sherds in the Goodridge Premises are creamware (1,194 sherds), English white salt-glazed stoneware (1,111 sherds), and Westerwald (623). The top three wares of the Tayler House share a slight though important commonality with the Goodridge assemblage as creamware is also the most prevalent ware (1,467 sherds), though similarities between these collections diverge as pearlware is the second most numerous ware (751 sherds), followed thirdly by domestic

(Figure 4.23) Buckley Storage Pot Lug Handle Sherd: Goodridge Premises Collection coarse red-bodied earthenware (156) sherds. Overall, the sherds of both collections indicate that ceramic consumption on each site continued through the introduction of cream and pearlwares though the presence of transferprint decorated pearlware sherds represent collections that continued into the early nineteenth century. The "Olde Blue" design on select sherds of the Tayler assemblage are a prime example as this motif was only manufactured between 1815 and 1835.

When the vessels of each collection are compared by function, the top two categories represented in the Goodridge Premises are beverage consumption with 47% and food consumption and service with 18.3%. These categories are reversed in the Tayler assemblage with 53.7% of the overall vessels pertaining to food consumption and service while beverage consumption occupies the second highest amount with 14.9%. These percentages are indicative of the practices implemented in the context of storage, preparation, serving, and consumption of food and drink at each location. The high percentage (47%) of vessels related to beverage consumption at the Goodridge Premises represents a high volume of alcohol consumption and is likely evidence of a functioning tippling house on site during the eighteenth century. The forms associated with beverage consumption present in the Goodridge assemblage back this idea and include: 70 tankards, 8 cups, 5 mugs, and 4 tea bowls. The frequency of tankards in comparison to that of the tea bowls speaks volumes in regard to alcohol as the preferred beverage onsite. The activities represented in the Tayler ceramics allude to the domestic preparation and consumption of meals in a domestic, familial context as represented by those vessels pertaining to food consumption and service including: 14 bowls, 10 soup plates, 8 flatware plates, 3 basins, and a single saucer.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The four ceramic assemblages that constitute the sources of data for this project are the Ayre's Premises of St. John's, Newfoundland, the Goodridge Premises of Renews, Newfoundland, The Three Cranes Tavern of Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts, and the John Tayler House of Stillwater, New York. Analysis of the ceramics from these sites was undertaken in order to gain a competent level of understanding into how the varying socio-economic factors associated with each location, affect patterns of ceramic consumption during the eighteenth century.

5.1 Geographic Influence

These collections were sought out specifically for the geographic locale they were excavated or collected from and the activities practiced onsite, i.e., whether they pertained to a commercial enterprise or represented a domestic dwelling. The two geographic regions chosen were the province of Newfoundland and the northeastern United States. Newfoundland is the primary focus of the project and the Ayre's Premises the primary collection while the United Sates provides a set of comparative collections. Comparison of these collections serves to highlight the regional similarities and differences that exist between the rugged, coastal communities of the north Atlantic and those of the greater northeastern seaboard of the United States. The critical impact of ceramic consumption based upon site location that arose during this research is unsurprising. Due to the poor nature of the clay on the island, Newfoundland did not have a domestic ceramic industry in the eighteenth century and as a result, citizens relied upon foreign trade to provide them with material goods, ceramics a necessity among them. Evidence of this indulgence in foreign trade is present in both the Ayre's Premises and the Goodridge Premises though in differing capacities.

The Ayre's collection represents a predominant participation in trade within the English market as the collection is comprised of >95% English waretypes and vessels. This number includes both the sherds and the vessels of the collection. The notion that there was a greater choice of ceramic waretypes in Renews rather than in St. John's is incorrect but rather speaks to the purpose that each site represents.

The Three Cranes Tavern, Tayler House, and Goodridge Premises collections differ from the Ayre's Premises assemblage, in that each counts sherds of American wares in their overall totals. The domestic ceramic industry has existed in the American colonies since the early 1630s with the production of red-bodied earthenware on the banks of the Charles River in Charlestown, Boston, Massachusetts. The occupants of both the Three Cranes and the Tayler sites partook in the consumption of ceramics from foreign markets as well.

5.2 Theoretical Application

The theoretical approach employed during this project centered on the use of consumption theory. This theory was selected in order to explore how it might work in when applied to select ceramic assemblages. Consumption Theory was the primary approach driving this research and centers around consumer behavior and its association with the acquisition, use, and disposal of material culture (Henry 1991:1). Decision-making processes and commodity acquisition patterns utilized by consumers, both in the present and translated back to the eighteenth century, differ depending upon certain variables which may include the identity of the decision makers, the nature and type of commodity, perceived need for an item, and the surrounding socio-cultural environment (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987:6; Henry 1991:1). Within the scope of this research, the commodity is ceramic vessels, and the decision makers are split between the owners/operators of a ceramic shop, a tavern, and tippling house within a domestic space, and the members of a domestic household. Each type of site has a need for ceramics in varying capacities and all are affected by the socio-cultural environment in which they exist. Rather than examining each ceramic assemblage and their associated locations strictly with the broad strokes of class, profession, ethnicity or gender, the individuality of these consumers was also considered so as to recognize the complexity of the subjects involved and who are now linked to these collections of ceramic artifacts (Beranek 2009:181).

Within this research, these individuals are reflected within the assemblages by the choices they made and help to further distinguish how specific ceramic vessels were acquired for use in their respective spaces. These choices concern economic decisions, fashionable trends in regard to waretype and decoration, utilitarian function, consumer choice, access to the wider global ceramic market and more. Ultimately, utilizing Consumption Theory helped to discern what choices may have been made by the inhabitants of each site. The shopkeeper of the Ayre's Premises catered to the middle-class consumer of St. John's in the 1770s as evidenced by their decision to carry an inventory of which English white salt-glazed stoneware vessels comprised the majority. Within this choice lays a second in their selection of forms that would be quick to sell due to their affordability, functional necessity in the home or business, and their lack of decoration in most cases which cut costs on importation in comparison to the more highly-decorated wares available during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, i.e. hand painted creamware and pearlwares.

The Three Cranes Tavern keeper purchased wares through the use of both direct and indirect trade, taking advantage of Boston's considerable connections to global trade in the eighteenth century, and of the city's domestic manufacture of Charlestownware and Parker-Type stoneware. The domestic wares were utilized primarily for food processing, hygiene, and food and drink storage, while those vessels imported from Europe, and Asia were utilized in the consumption and serving of food and drink within the tavern. While running a tavern requires a certain selection of ceramic vessels in order to fulfill the functional requirements of serving, storing, and making food and drink for paying patrons, there are highly-decorated vessels within the Three Cranes assemblage that were deliberately chosen over their available undecorated counterparts. The selection of forms consumed by Tavern patrons' points towards a middle-class clientele. The selection of forms recovered from the site also afford a snapshot of a tavern that served more than just alcohol but processed their own cream and potentially cheese through the use of milk pans and would have served other food to their patrons as well.

The proprietor(s) of the Goodridge Premises chose to purchase ceramics based upon a dual need at their property, their domestic space, and their commercial tippling house which shared a portion of their domestic residence. The assemblage reflects their needs as forms related to utilitarian cooking including bowls, storage pots, and basins were recovered alongside a wealth of mugs, tankards, glass bottle, and clay pipe fragments. There is evidence of direct and indirect trade visible within the assemblage as wares from America, England, China, Portugal, and others are represented.

Finally, John Tayler utilized his known network of trade connections in order to acquire the vessels he desired or needed for his family home in rural upstate New York. Utilizing direct and indirect trade to his benefit, wares from America, Europe, and Asia were consumed and deposited at the Tayler House property. The decision-making process for John Tayler appears to have been based upon a mixture of both want and need as vessels that served a function outside of a strictly utilitarian use were recovered and were often highly decorated.

5.3 Site Function, Geography, and Ceramic Consumption

Variable pairings of urban/commercial and rural/domestic represent the role of that each ceramic assemblage fulfilled in the chain of ceramic consumption between the manufacturer and the public consumer during the eighteenth century. The Ayre's Premises and the Three Cranes Tavern are the two urban/commercial collections, and the Goodridge Premises and the John Tayler House are represented by the rural/domestic pairing. However, these pairing do not actively allude to the specific industries these ceramics were utilized in or the limitations of what may be considered domestic space.

The Ayre’s Premises assemblage consists of ceramic stock from a storefront property in downtown St. John’s. These wares were imported specifically to finance a merchant’s lifestyle and presumed family through the sale of these ceramics in Newfoundland. These vessels were destined for other businesses and the domestic spaces of St. John’s. The clientele of this shop would have been middle class as the large majority of these wares were plain and undecorated, and thus cheaper than other ceramic options in the late eighteenth century. However, as the shop was destroyed in a fire, the collection was deposited in situ which afforded an opportunity to analyze this collection of vessels, frozen in time mid-stream between supplier, merchant, and consumer, and reflect (at least a portion of) what a ceramic shop’s inventory would have included in St. John’s during the year 1779.

In contrast, the Three Cranes assemblage was also a customer-based business though of a different sort. Although representative of a commercial assemblage, the ceramics reflect the consumption of ceramic vessels by a tavern owner(s) specifically for their use in said tavern. Once acquired by the tavern owners these ceramics were not sold on to other citizens of Charlestown but rather served their purpose in the tavern, mainly in the context of alcohol and food consumption. The vessels and sherds of this assemblage, all having been recovered from the 5 privies on the site, relay a pattern of trade, consumer choice, and availability visible in the specific waretypes and forms. Based upon the decoration, vessel form, and overall frequency of the ceramics, the tavern would have served, stored, and aided in the consumption of food and drink for all classes in Charlestown, with an emphasis on the middle class.

The Goodridge Premises presents an interesting comparative collection as the site was mainly utilized as a domestic residence from the seventeenth century onwards and the mismatched variety of ceramic waretypes and forms display that; however, there is strong evidence to suggest that this domestic space was also used as a tippling house and later in the eighteenth century, the presence of a tavern on the property. The functional majority of these vessels pertained to the act of beverage consumption and although tea consumption was gaining popularity through the eighteenth century, the frequency of mugs in the collection amply demonstrate the high volume of alcohol consumption that took place here. As mentioned, these ceramics utilized for beverage consumption, when analyzed in tandem with the pipe fragments and glass bottle fragments recovered from the site lend strong credence to the presence of a tippling house, rather than a strictly domestic space (Mills 2008:25). As with the Three Cranes and the Tayler House assemblage, the ceramics present at the Goodridge site were purchased in order to serve a purpose for the consumer rather than to be resold but unlike the Tayler assemblage, these wares were more likely utilized in a tavern setting during the eighteenth century.

The Tayler House ceramic assemblage is indicative of a rural/domestic dwelling belonging to a family of means in the third and fourth quarters of the eighteenth century (and into the early decades of the 19th century). There are a mix of wares from both the domestic and foreign markets which shows that despite its rural location in upstate New York, indulgence in the purchase of foreign goods was s possible. However, the presence of the Hudson River less than a half mile from the site may skew the situation as it was the primary waterway through New York's Hudson River Valley and would have facilitated an ease of access to material goods, including ceramics, that may otherwise be diminished if the goods were limited to an overland route. It is important to note however that unlike the other 3 sites, the John Tayler House was occupied and actively consuming ceramics into the early nineteenth century, which explains the presence of pearlware in the assemblage.

This research sought to explore the ceramic consumption patterns that were existent in eighteenth-century Newfoundland and the northeastern United States. Prior research on trade between these two regions has been addressed through the discussion of trade and consumption of other commodities including rum, and chocolate (Gay 2009:281). As a result of the analysis undertaken on the four collections that comprise the datasets of this research, details surrounding domestic North American ceramic production, trade networks and importation, ceramic availability, trends in waretype consumption and consumer choice, and foodways of the period have been brought to light. However, a more extensive set of studies is required in order to fully flesh them out.

While consumers in New England and the rest of the American colonies enjoyed an array of choices in the marketplace thanks to a domestic ceramic industry coupled with imported ceramics, Newfoundland by comparison lacked a domestic base of manufacture. The clay in the province remains too poor quality in comparison to what would be necessary to initiate or sustain a viable industry of ceramic manufacture on the island. This led to a reliance by merchants and the public consumer alike, on trade with Europe and the American colonies in order to acquire the vessels they needed or desired.

While this reliance would have limited the availability of select forms due to a natural scarcity that comes with a reliance on trade, it appears that based upon the Ayre's Premises and Goodridge Premises collections that a consumer in Newfoundland enjoyed access to both utilitarian and decorative forms and waretypes during the eighteenth century.

5.4 The Ayre's Premises in Focus

The initial examination and subsequent analysis of the Ayre's Premises collection shed light upon the range and popularity of waretypes, forms, and decorative motifs that were available to consumers in St. John's in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The collection contains 8,928 artifacts in total, though individual ceramic sherds comprise 8,690 of the overall sum and are split over varying frequencies across 23 separate waretypes. Of these 8,690 ceramic sherds, a final MNV of 492 individual vessels was established, spanning 20 identified vessel forms that varied in waretype, size, and decorative techniques/motifs. The forms recovered include though are not limited to: bowls, basins, soup plates, saucers, tureens, a single milk pan, jars, teapots, tea bowls, mugs and tankards, and chamberpots. Among these, English white salt-glazed stoneware vessels were the most common vessel in the assemblage, totaling 215 vessels across 16 of the 19 identified forms with bowls, teapots, and tea bowls representing the three highest frequencies. Creamware in not so distant contrast, was the second most common waretype of the Ayre's collection with 194 total vessels across all of the 20 identified vessel forms in the collection, though with teapots, bowls, and tea bowls still representative of the three highest frequencies; the same as the English white salt-glazed, albeit in a different order.

Of course, it remains entirely plausible (and rather likely) that the Ayre's Premises represents only a partial ceramic collection based upon the brief duration and constraints of the salvage operations undertaken by Dr. Tuck. That said, the collection is one of, if not the largest collections of eighteenth-century English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware in Canada and is perhaps the only collection of its kind within North America recovered from an eighteenth-century, urban storefront context. The ceramics that comprise the Ayre's Premises assemblage provide insight into the selection of ceramic choices consumers had when purchasing ceramics in St. John's, Newfoundland in the 1770s through the lens of an urban/commercial business. While the Ayre's assemblage likely represents a partial deposit from a ceramic storefront and is therefore an incomplete collection in terms of the information that additional unrecovered ceramics could have revealed, or reinforced, the collection as it stands is a fantastic example of the benefit of revisiting neglected archaeological collections.

With this in mind, the 20 forms identified as having been in the ceramic inventory of the storefront at the former Ayre's Premises cover a full range of functional purposes to match most any need, for use in both domestic or commercial enterprises. The variety of waretypes in the assemblage, 23 in all, from Astbury to Westerwald also present a portrait of the healthy ceramic trade that St. John's would have enjoyed during this period. Bearing in mind that the Ayre's may be a partial collection, but also that this assemblage only personifies a single shopkeeper's inventory. Other ceramic merchants and/or importers in St. John’s during the third quarter of the eighteenth century could have been bringing in identical shipments in terms of their selections of waretypes, or vessels forms, though more than likely based upon the expanse of the ceramic market in this century, there were other options available for public consumption not present in the Ayre’s assemblage, notably Chinese export porcelain.

In regard to the foodways of the period, the forms present in the assemblage could have reasonably accommodated most anything an individual or household would have been eating and drinking. The foodways popular in St. John’s during the eighteenth century are still reflected in the cuisine today; from cod to salt beef, all manner of available root vegetables, to coffee, tea, liquor and beer. Sixteen plates, mainly in the form of soup plates are present and coupled with tureens, leads to the opinion that soups and stews were a popular dish. There are an abundance of teapots and tea bowls which clearly demonstrate the practice of tea drinking in St. John’s, though these vessels could just as easily have accommodated coffee as well. The mugs and tankards of the Ayre’s assemblage would have held beer and could have been purchased by taverns operating in the city. Overall, there doesn’t appear to be a distinct lack of one form or another in relation to the known foodways of the late eighteenth century.

The tight temporal span that the Ayre’s Premises presents — a transitional period between the late third quarter of the eighteenth century and the early fourth quarter (1779) when the storefront’s destruction occurred — provides a valuable (albeit likely partial) snapshot of the ceramic selection available to a consumer in St. John’s during this period. The other three sites discussed in comparison to the Ayre’s Premises represent longer periods of activity, some by a century as is the case with the Three Cranes Tavern. Although some degree of collection bias may have occurred during the salvage operations, including the selection of waretypes and forms that existed outside the operations of the ceramic shop, the temporal span that these ceramics reflect affords a rare and narrow view of the consumer ceramic market of eighteenth-century St. John's.

Likewise, the collection reflects the current inventory on hand in this ceramic storefront in an urban context on the day of its destruction in early 1779. That sharp bookend of material deposition provided by such an event, regardless of the small percentage of potential outliers not associated with the shop, is unique and provides an unprecedented dataset from which to examine ceramic trade and availability in a North American context. In 1779, this ceramic shop in downtown St. John's, Newfoundland had in stock: 23 separate ceramic waretypes imported from 2 European nations (England and Germany), 20 separate vessel forms, many with several decorative motifs to choose from, and clearly presents an inventory in the midst of the transition from English white salt-glazed stoneware to creamware. At the time of its destruction, the shop was stocking an inventory composed of 43.6% English white salt-glazed stoneware vessels (215) in comparison to 39.4% creamware vessels (194) within an urban context that relied strictly upon the importation of their vessels from foreign markets. Though of the 23 waretypes recovered, some may represent adjacent properties rather than the storefront.

In regard to consumer taste, the shopkeeper would have been aware of the trends in the English ceramic market as evidenced by the inventory they kept. Extrapolating the waretypes, forms, and decorations of the overall collection, it is a safe assumption that consumers in St. John's were after the latest in ceramic innovation during the 1760s and 1770s. The shopkeeper would have imported merchandise that was known to sell and given the ratio of creamware to white salt-glazed, it appears evident that consumers were familiar with the new (to the period) cream-coloured ware and were asking for it. Teapots and other tea/coffee related paraphernalia seem to have been especially popular in creamware more so than in white salt-glazed; although for bowls, a utilitarian form often utilized for several functions that replaced the need for dedicated flatware forms, English white-salt glazed appears to have still been favored. For the consumption of what were most likely alcoholic beverages, debased scratch blue mugs appear to have been popular as at least 17 are present in the assemblage with both GR medallions and floral motifs available to the discerning consumer.

5.5 Conclusions

The analysis of the Ayre's Premises, Goodridge Premises, Three Cranes Tavern, and the Tayler House collections, conducted in the course of this research are collectively an important contribution to the wealth of current knowledge that pertains to consumption and consumer interaction in the ceramic market of eighteenth-century northeastern North America. Each of these four assemblages allude to a unique collection of individuals, activities, dwellings, and commercial entities that all participated in the international exchange of ceramic goods. When analyzed individually, each assemblage provided insight into these locations through the examination of its ceramic material culture.

The chronological range of these sites is between the mid seventeenth century (Three Cranes) and the early nineteenth century (Tayler House), though in order to remain within the scope of this research, the ceramic assemblages of these sites were limited to wares utilized in the eighteenth century with the exception of the Tayler site where the transition to nineteenth-century ceramics was briefly discussed. In terms of the ware frequency of each assemblage, the Ayre's Premises and the Three Cranes Tavern had more English white salt-glazed stoneware vessels and sherds than any other waretype, while creamware occupied the highest amount of ceramics from the Goodridge Premises and the Tayler House. This is due in part to the temporal span that each site represents. Both the Ayre's and Three Cranes ceased to exist after the 1770s when the transition from white salt-glazed to creamware was in its infancy which explains the higher frequency of white salt-glazed in each assemblage. By comparison, the Goodridge Premises and the Tayler House were each occupied later in the eighteenth with the Tayler House continuing into the nineteenth century, therefore allowing for the consumption of a higher percentage of creamware compared to the earlier white salt-glaze as the transition between the two would have been fully realized during each of the sites' occupations.

Among the four collections, bowls, mugs, plates, and tankards represent the most numerous vessel forms though vessel functionality varies between assemblages. Forms associated with food consumption and service (i.e., bowls, plates) are most prevalent in the assemblages of the Ayre's Premises, Tayler House, and the Three Cranes Tavern though those pertaining to beverage consumption (i.e. mugs, tea bowls) represent the highest frequency of vessels in the Goodridge Premises. The sites investigated would have catered mainly to a middle-class clientele based upon the choice of ceramic wares, decorative frequency, and extravagance of forms purchased for use in the associated spaces.

The overall majority of the ceramic wares were manufactured in Staffordshire, England and imported to North America via existing trans-Atlantic trade routes. Foreign trade is visible in every collection and the Three Cranes has the highest number of domestically-produced vessels. This research was designed to serve as a springboard for the exploration of neglected collections and the impact that forgotten, but important, archaeological assemblages can produce, especially the primary collection utilized in this project, the Ayre's Premises.

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