Re-examining the Lives of an 18th Century Garrison at Admiral's/Fort Point, Trinity, Newfoundland

By

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Abstract

Located in Trinity Newfoundland, the Admiral's Point fortifications were constructed by British forces in the mid 1740s. During the British occupation of the site, it underwent numerous changes, being built and improved during King George's (1744-1748) and the Seven Years (1756-1773) Wars, before being destroyed by the French in 1762. The fortifications were then revived during the Revolutionary period and Napoleonic Wars (roughly 1790s to 1815) before being finally abandoned in the late 1810s. Admiral's Point represents an important part of Newfoundland's military and social history as a key defensive feature within the landscape of British settlement on the island; archaeologically, the site contained a significant assemblage of 18th and 19th century material culture. Despite numerous excavations at the site, a comprehensive study of the archaeological features, landscape and artifact assemblage has never been completed.

This project entails a detailed analysis of the material culture dating to the military occupation of the site, a review of documentary sources and a study of the site's landscape and archaeological features with the aim of creating a more complete understanding of the function that this site played in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Special consideration will be given to the agency of individuals, particularly the enlisted ranks who are often neglected in the sources, both primary and secondary. Consideration will also be given to the often-complex relationship between the civilian and military populations of Trinity. Through this study, our understanding of Admiral's Point will be situated within the larger context of British North America, showing how the garrison participated in the culture and society of their time.

Acknowledgements

Completing a thesis is never an easy task, even under the best circumstances. This last year and a half has been anything but ideal. With all the additional COVID-19 related challenges that we have all become familiar with, I feel that I have quite a few people to thank for going above and beyond in these difficult times and finding the time to help me with my research.

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Table of Contents

Contents

List of Tables

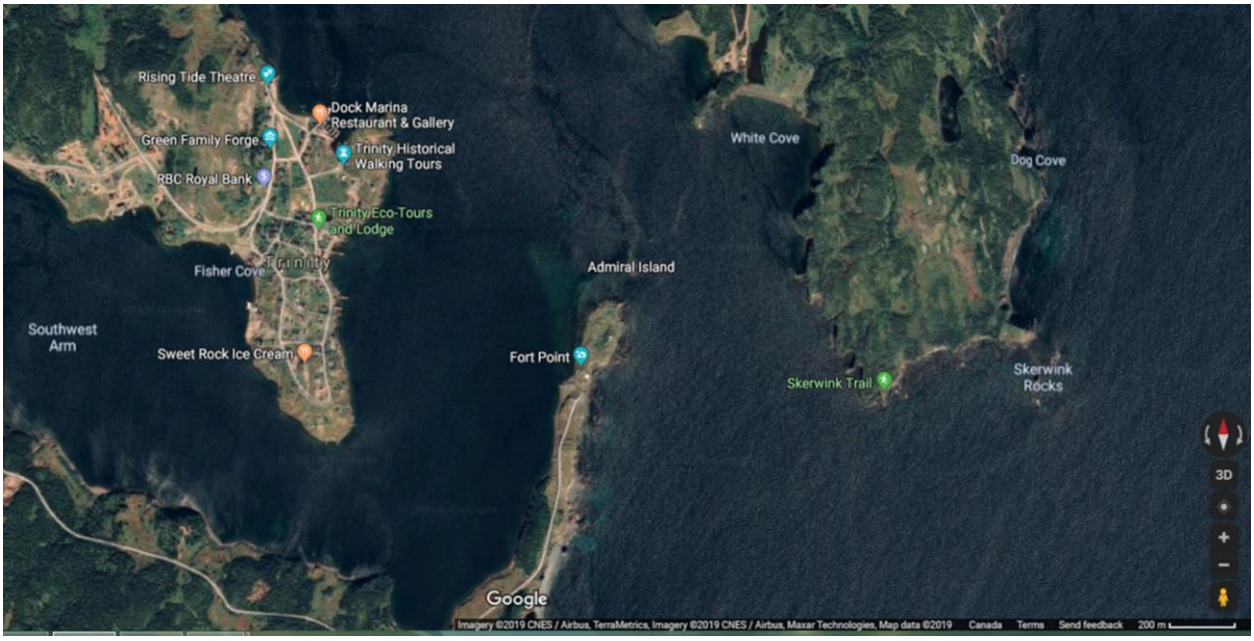
List of Maps

List of Figures

Chapter 1. Introduction

In 1969, Albert F. Bartovics (1970) and a team of archaeologists excavated a site in Trinity Newfoundland, known as Admiral's Point (or Fort Point). As the name suggests, the site was a fortification built by the British military in the mid 1740s to protect the vital community of Trinity and secure their fishing and economic interests in Trinity Bay. The fortifications were occupied until the end of the Seven Years War, when they were destroyed in a French raid. Following this, they remained in a state of semi-abandonment, before being revived during the early 19th century (Skanes 1994:2; Trinity Historical Society 2018a.). Despite uncovering several significant archaeological features and material culture, no further excavations were completed until 1994, and again in 1995 when archaeologists Roy Skanes and Ken Reynolds conducted further excavations. During this fieldwork, additional structures, gun batteries and earthworks were tested, and associated artifacts were recovered. Since then, the artifact assemblage has been housed at The Rooms Provincial Museum, in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador and neither the artifacts nor site has undergone any additional archaeological analysis.

The site is located at N+48 36 59 W-53 34 56, on a narrow point of land separating Trinity Harbour from the bay, providing a safe and sheltered anchorage (Map1.1). Admiral's Point was intended to control ship traffic in and out of the communities' harbour and featured several gun batteries and earthworks facing the sea. The site is hilly with a large promontory to the east, facing the open water of Trinity Bay, while the west side is lower, providing some access to the harbour. Ground cover mainly consists of low-lying thick vegetation and rocks. Admiral's Point is a registered archaeological site with the province of Newfoundland and Labrador under the Borden Number DcAi-1. Today, it is maintained by the Trinity Historical Society and is seasonally open to the public.



Map 1.1 Admiral's Point.
The Admiral's Point site with the community of Trinity to the West (left side) and Trinity Bay to the East (right side). Google Earth.

Admiral's Point represents a significant landmark in the British colonization of Newfoundland and resulted from an important change in their defensive policy, with a greater emphasis on local defense works and land-based fortifications, rather than relying on the Royal Navy (Crowley 1981:167-172; Tincey, 1994:3). Being one of the most important British communities on the Island, it was felt that the construction of the fortifications at Admiral's Point was justified. However, this site was not the exclusive domain of the military, with civilians often taking an active role in the defence of their community. Additionally, there was likely on-going interaction between members of the military and civilian population, as was typical in 18th-century colonial society.

1.1 Research Objectives

Based on the above, this MA research has four main objectives:

1. To survey and document the surviving archaeological features to provide a current assessment of the site's layout to compare with documentary sources.
2. To situate the site within the broader landscape of Trinity Bay and its 18th-and early 19th-century British colonial context. How was the site used to create a zone of control over a broad area and how can theories such as phenomenology, panoptic architecture, tabletop gaming, viewsheds and fortress architecture be used to explain this phenomenon?
3. To explore the use of 360^0 photography as a method for virtual and accessible, low-cost site documentation.
4. To complete a detailed analysis of the material culture assemblage excavated by Bartovics (1970) and Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996), to better understand the daily lives of the garrison. Additionally, this analysis will situate the sites occupants within a larger network of 18th-and 19th-century trade and consumption patterns by way of a comparison with similar sites in Newfoundland and North America.
5. To compare the site's material culture with similar sites in Newfoundland and North America.

Chapter 2. Theory

My project on the Admiral's Point site, will answer questions regarding the nature of the military occupation of the fortifications and surrounding area. This is important because not all military occupations are the same, and as a result the garrison's relationship with the local population, as well as the landscape, will differ in each case. I also hope to better understand the lives of individuals at 18th-century military sites in Newfoundland. Currently, our understanding of the military occupation of Newfoundland during the 18th and 19th century often overlooks the daily lives of the individuals involved such as in D.W. Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* (Prowse, 1895). This is especially the case for the average soldier or officer, who were garrisoned at the various forts and military sites around the island. Like many small garrisons, the men stationed at Admiral's Point found themselves physically isolated from the larger military institutions and in response integrated, to a degree, with the local civilian population's social and economic structures (Lester 1762). Recent research is beginning to expand on this area through the analysis of the artifacts associated with daily life, and the spaces occupied by members of the military (Newcombe, 2018).

2.1 Theoretical approaches

This project is divided into two main components. The first is an analysis of the artifact assemblage excavated by Albert Bartovics (1970), Roy Skanes (1994) and Skanes and Reynolds (1996). The second is the interpretation of the Admiral's Point site and the surrounding landscape. Analysis of the material culture will be guided by agency theory (Bahn and Renfrew 2004; Cole 2019; Emirbayer and Mische 1998) and practice and assemblage theory (Lightfoot et al. 1998). The site and landscape will be studied according to landscape theory, particularly the

scaled approach proposed by Clark (1977). Additionally, I will be focusing on ideas such as viewsheds and sight lines to better understand how the fortifications were planned to create a "zone of control" extending over the landscape (Bender et al 1997; Salemi and Turchetto 2017; Simonsen 1977). These theories will help to answer questions such as: How did the enlisted and commissioned members of the garrison use their space and how is this reflected in the archaeological record at the site? How is the surviving material culture a reflection of the lifestyle and consumption choices of the garrison? How does the site interact with, alter, and function within the surrounding landscape?

By using these theories, it will be possible to better understand the relationship between the garrison and the site, via the relationship between site features and material culture deposition. It will also be possible to understand how the site/fortifications related to the surrounding physical and political landscape of 18th-century Newfoundland. This will be done in a way that considers the views and experiences of the occupants in the context of contemporaneous military theory.

2.2 Artifacts

Agency and assemblage theory will inform the analysis of the material culture associated with the Admiral's Point site. For the purposes of this study, agency theory will be defined as an individual or group's ability and choice to influence and change aspects of their lives within society and their world (Cole 2019; Shapiro 2005). Understanding agency theory in this way, is also dependent on the key concepts of agent, agency and structure. As defined by Cole (2019) and Shapiro (2005), agent refers to the actor or individual, while agency refers to the actions taken by an individual or actor that express their personal power and ability to influence their world. Structure is the system of social relationships, institutions and ideas that influence the

agent and their experience of the world (Cole 2019). These ideas and experiences can be on a large or small scale and will necessarily vary based on an individual's circumstances. As we have no good primary source documents that detail the daily lives of the garrison, the degree of agency will necessarily be evaluated by using material culture as a proxy (Cole 2019; Emirbayer and Mische 1998). This evaluation will be done by comparing material culture at other military sites in Newfoundland, contemporary to the occupation of Admiral's Point, roughly 1740s to the period immediately following the end of the War of 1812 (Bartovics 1970 :26; Rodney 1749a,b,d; Skanes 1994:6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018a,b; Wigmore 1749). By studying the assemblage through the lens of agency theory, the garrison's choices in consumption will be prioritized to determine the degree that the garrisoned soldiers showed personal agency in their daily lives, both in their diet (studied through the faunal remains) and the items related to food consumption (ceramics and glassware etc.) (Bartovics 1970: Skanes 1994, 1996). Where the items were deposited, through the actions of the site's occupants, indicates how they chose to use the site and can indicate where certain activities may have been performed or if they had any preference in where they chose to discard items. For example, excavations in the area known as Admiral's Beach contained a significantly higher number of fish vertebra than any other area of the site (Bartovics 1970; Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994). This could indicate that the garrison was catching their own fish and engaging in activities that were far removed from their normal military duties. It also shows that they were deliberately utilising their space in a way to accommodate these additional activities, cleaning and processing the fish away from the rest of the site and choosing to consume it elsewhere (Armitage 2013; Bartovics 1970; Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994).

Many fortified sites in Newfoundland contemporary to Admiral's Point, roughly 1740s-1820s, were chronically under-manned (Prowse 1895: 181-182 Skanes 1994: 7; Trinity Historical Society 2018a,b). The expense of maintaining fortifications along with the need for troops elsewhere often meant that, when there was not an imminent threat, sites such as Admiral's Point were only garrisoned by enough men to maintain them.

In 1762, the garrison consisted of one corporal, one gunner and four matrosses. This number was roughly equivalent to one gun crew, which could not possibly defend the entire fort; their purpose, therefore, was likely to maintain it. (Skanes 1994:2). At this time, the garrison was also headed by a corporal, rather than a commissioned officer or senior NCO (non-commissioned officer) such as a sergeant. This arrangement would mean that there was less of a social divide between the commander and men, as corporals were promoted from lower ranks rather than having to purchase their rank such as commissioned officers. In other words, they might share a class and social background and not be divided by the strict social divisions that characterized military life at the time (Bahn and Renfrew 2004:3-6). In fact, at the time of the French capture of the fort in 1762, it seems as though the fort may have been briefly under the command of Benjamin Lester (1762), a local merchant. While this detail is only found in his personal account of the event, should it be true it would show an interesting dynamic between the civilians and soldiers, with the civilians more involved in their own defence than would otherwise be assumed and in this case commanding the garrison.

Life in an 18th-century army was often extremely hard for the enlisted soldier. While it is true that many joined the army to escape the poverty and starvation of a rather bleak civilian life, many were unwilling recruits. (Bleckwenn 1978; Candow 2018; Fradkin and Walter 2018; Gilbert 1980; Steegman 1985). Once enlisted, army life was often just as hard as civilian life and

many subsisted on insufficient rations, lived under the close supervision of their officers and NCOs and suffered under severe discipline. Their living conditions were often comparable to that of the poorest civilian classes, but with the added strain of army discipline, it is not surprising that large numbers decided to desert. Life in isolated garrisons such as Admiral's Point, at times when the garrison was in a reduced state such as the 1750s and post Seven Years War period, may have provided a reprieve from the normal structure of military life (Chalmers 1749; Prowse 1895; Skanes 1994). For much of this time, the fort was officially commanded by corporal who was a very low-ranking NCO, often an enlisted soldier who had served for a number of years and been promoted (Skanes 1994:7). While this would not have been a permanent posting for the garrison, it would have allowed the few men stationed at Admiral's Point a much greater degree of freedom in their daily lives.

Even though the 1762 six-man garrison was an extreme case of how colonial fortifications were often under-manned, it is likely that this may have produced a social environment where individuals would have behaved and lived differently from those stationed at the larger more regulated and controlled garrisons such as Halifax or St. John's (Candow 2018; Skanes 1994; Gilbert 1980). However, this behaviour would have required a break with the social beliefs, practices and behaviours that would regulate their actions and make them function within the expectations of an 18th-century military, which would have been present at larger garrisons (Bahn and Renfrew 2004:3-6; Gilbert 1980). Instead, many of the systems that reinforced social control and proper behaviours, such as the presence of officers or higher-ranking NCOs and the presence of other enlisted soldiers all acting according to the same social expectations, were not present to the same degree at least during the late 1750s and early 1760s.

It is important to note that the social situation that existed in 1762 was not present for most of the fort's occupation and instead represents an extreme in the possibilities of isolated garrison life. Through the surviving material culture, we see that the garrison likely interacted with the local civilian population and engaged in activities such as hunting for wild game and fishing. Although it was common for enlisted soldiers during the 18th century to work as day labourers or seek other means of employment to gain an additional income, the small number of men in the garrison, the lack of officer supervision and their close and sustained contact with the civilian population may have influenced this relationship. Additionally, they likely had more free time than if they had been in a larger garrison and correspondingly more agency in determining what they would do with that time. During the period between the withdrawal of the garrison in the late 1750s and the French attack in 1762, the garrison of six soldiers was possibly under the overall command of the local civilian authorities. While there is no official evidence to suggest this, Trinity merchant, Benjamine Lester (1762) states that prior to the surrender of the fort to the French, he had taken over command of the fort from another local civilian dignitary.

While the issue of increased agency as a result of their separation from the official military command structure is purely speculative and based on the assumption that less social control and a separation from the strict social hierarchies of larger garrisons would produce more freedom for the individual enlisted soldier, a comparison will be made between the material culture at Admiral's Point and other sites such as Bois Island in Ferryland, and another contemporary garrison site in North America, in order to determine any significant difference in the material culture present and if this may indicate a greater amount of agency within the members of the garrison. Additionally, the faunal remains will be evaluated in order to determine if the garrison was able to exercise any independence or choice when it came to their diet and if

this indicates any degree of agency in their lives (Bahn and Renfrew 2004: 212; Cole 2019; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Newcombe 2018; Roberts et al. 2012; Starbuck 2010; Tourigny 2018).

2.3 Landscape

The study of the landscape at Admiral's Point will be theoretically guided by the phenomenological ideas of Bender et al. (1997), with a focus on viewsheds, sightlines and the importance of the site's placement within the landscape (Figure 2.1). There will also be a consideration of the lived experiences of the garrison from a phenomenological perspective, in addition to the agency-based study of the artifacts. This will be aided by the application of 360^0 photography. Concepts such as sightlines and fields of view are key to the function of a fortification, were a critical part of its design and often determined where they would be located (Clark 1977; Forsyth 2007:58; Last 1998; Salemi and Turchetto 2017).

Figure 2.1 View towards Trinity Bay from Admiral's Point.

David Clark, (1977) in his paper *Spatial Information in Archaeology*, breaks down the analysis of a site, and the relationship between features based on scale, ranging from micro to macro level (Table 2.1). In Clark's paper, micro roughly equates to the relations that exist within a feature or structure, for example a room in a domestic structure. Macro represents the relationship and connections between sites across a landscape, while in-between these is the semi-micro level which exists within a site, (Clark 1977). The scales that are identified in this paper are arbitrary examples and must be adapted based on the scale of the site being studied.

I believe that this way of understanding the relationship between features is well suited to the Admiral's Point site. The site's purpose as a defensive structure gives it a unique relationship with the surrounding sites, which it was built to defend, such as the community of Trinity, as well as other sites in the bay. It was also common practice for British colonial forts to trade with and in some cases obtain supplies from the surrounding area (Bradley et al. 1994; Owens 2013). These relationships form the macro level for this site (Clark 1977). The site itself was a complex arrangement of different structures, such as gun positions, barracks, earthworks and other buildings (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Cook 1748; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour [Anonymous 1746]; Plan of Admiral's Point [Anonymous 1748]; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13). These individual features related to each other in order to create an effective fortification, as well as an environment in which the garrison operated; this would represent the semi-micro level. The micro level at this site would be within the individual features such as barracks, gun positions and other structures (Map 2.1). Each of these specialised features represent a different aspect of the fort's operation, as well as the lives of the garrison.

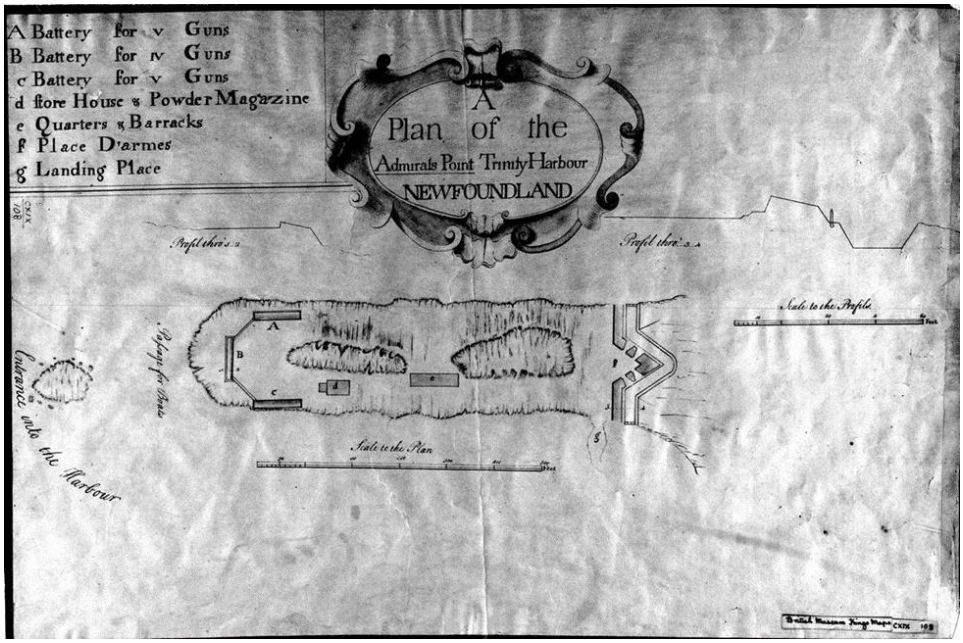
Table 2.1 Clark's (1977) Scaled Approach Applied to the Admiral's Point Site

Scale	Space Within Scale at the Admiral's Point Site
Macro	Surrounding physical, social and political landscape. Including Trinity Bay, British Colonial Network and contemporary social and economic systems of the North Atlantic world in the 18th and early 19th centuries.
Semi-Micro	Admiral's/ Fort Point as a discrete archaeological site and the area of Trinity Harbour.
Micro	Area within a single archaeological feature such as the Main Battery.

When looking at the macro level according to Clark (1977), one can see how the theoretical influence of the fortifications and the garrison could extend far beyond the limits of the immediate area. In his paper, *Beyond Human Proportions: Archaeology of the Mega and Nano*, Matt Edgeworth (2010) explains that archaeology must consider objects and places that are far beyond the proportion of a human, be they much larger or smaller. Though he is referring primarily to objects, it is easy to extend this idea to include landscapes altered by human interaction. In this case, through the strategic placement of a fortified site, the landscape surrounding the fort has been dramatically changed, creating a "zone of control" that emanates from the fortifications (Clark 1977; Edgeworth 2010; Forsyth 2007; Simonsen 1977; Salemi and Turchetto 2017). This idea of a landscape being dominated and altered by the presence of a fortification is entirely theoretical and the reality of the situation shows that the fortifications at Admiral's Point did not always function as intended, hence their capture and destruction in 1762 (Lester 1762; Prowse 1895; Skanes 1994; Trinity Historical Society 2018 a, b). However, this can provide a useful way to understand the intentions behind creating fortifications like this and the decisions that went into their construction.

The above theories will guide the study of the site both in terms of the occupants and their lived experience, as well as the importance of the site itself as a component of the

landscape. Unfortunately, the lives and experiences of individuals are often forgotten to history, either through a lack of documentary evidence or the historiographical focus on the larger trends and most prominent characters (Prowse 1895). Archaeology can serve as one of the ways that the lives of, in this case, the average member of the garrison can be revealed. Additionally, the relationship between the fortifications and larger landscape is often overlooked. Trinity and the Admiral's Point fortifications are a useful case study to explore this relationship due to the surrounding landscape being much as it was at the time of the fort's occupation during the 18th and early 19th centuries.



Map 2.1 Admiral's Point 1746.
Photo Courtesy of Trinty Historical Society and James Miller.

Chapter 3. Previous Research at the Admiral's Point Site

3.1 Historical Surveys of Admiral's Point 1740s-1815

As discussed further in section 4.4 *Ordinance and Possible Arrangement of Batteries,* there were numerous surveying efforts completed over the site's occupation. These included the 1746 and 1748 plans (Plan of the Admiral's Point 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Additionally, there is a plan dating to the early 1750s, likely by the British military found in Prowse's *History of Newfoundland* (1895: 297) and the 1762 plan by Marc Antoine (1762). These all provide reasonably consistent views of the fortifications prior to the 1762 French raid and destruction of the fortifications (Map 3.1).

Map 3.1 Plan of Admiral's Point by Mark Antoine 1762.

All of the pre-1762 destruction plans show the peninsula in varying states of accuracy, ranging from the rather abstracted British 1746 plan, to the much more precise though somewhat embellished 1762 plan by Antoine. Nonetheless, they all show the main features which are currently visible at the site, including the batteries, magazine, suspected barracks, landward earthworks and a reasonably consistent profile of the walls, including rampart and parapet, fire step, ditch and glacis (Last 1998).

Following the rebuilding efforts during the American Revolution (1775-1783) there was a survey completed by the Royal Engineers some time during the War of 1812 (1812-1815) (Amherst 1762; Antoine 1762; Prowse 1895: 297; Skanes 1994: 8; Trinity Historical Society 2018a).

3.2 Archaeological and Historical Research

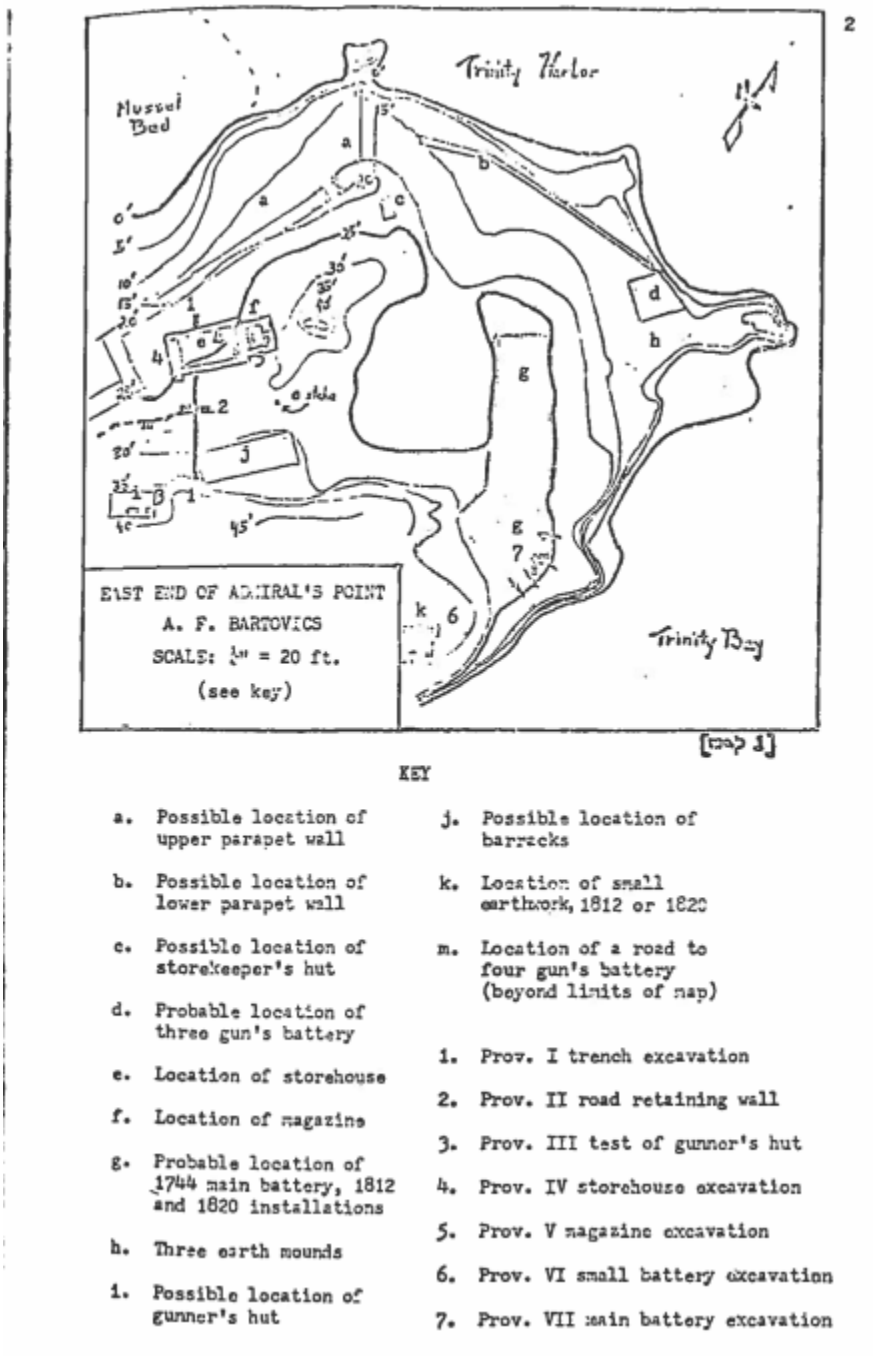
Bartovics 1970

The first archaeological research at Admiral's Point was conducted by Albert F. Bartovics in the summer of 1969 (Bartovics 1970) (Figure 3.1). The main objective of the project was to determine what features remained and to sample them to determine archaeological viability. The surviving features were compared to the 1748 fortification plans which at the time was the earliest known plan of the Admiral's Point site (Bartovics 1970:1). Another objective was to determine the potential for reconstruction. Bartovics (1970) explicitly states that assemblage analysis and the recovery of museum pieces were omitted as objectives for the project.

Figure 3.1 1969 Archaeological Team at Admiral's Point. Photo courtesy of Trinity Historical Society.

The site was surveyed, and the report includes a map depicting the east end of the site, which does not include the defences which faced the land approach to the site, located to the southwest (Bartovics 1970:2). A survey stake consisting of an iron pipe, representing the datum zero point was planted centrally in the site, between the location of what they suspected were the remains of the barracks and the storehouse (Map 3.2). The same location for these structures was also suspected by Skanes (1994) during his work at Admiral's Point in the 1990s. However, the barracks was not located, possibly due to subsequent farming activities at the site obscuring any surface visible traces of this feature. Other visible features were surveyed and recorded by Bartovics including sections of the parapet and the likely locations of the main, three- and four-gun batteries, indicated on the historic plans of the site (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970:26).

Additional structures such as the magazine, storekeeper's hut, storehouse, gunner's hut and possible location of the barracks were all identified.



Map 3.2 Site map showing 1969 fieldwork by Bartovics.

In order to sample these features, excavations were conducted at seven locations around the site. These included a test pit dug at the gunner's hut and larger excavations at the storehouse, magazine, gun batteries, the road leading into the site and a trench roughly northwest of the store house (Bartovics 1970:2). The aim of these excavations was to verify the location of features and to positively identify points of reference in connection to the 1748 fortification plan. A more complete excavation was not possible in the single season project, due to the small team of five excavators and the large area under investigation. However, they did locate and identify a number of features. This allowed existing signs which mislabelled features to be moved. However, Bartovics (1970) recommended that the site should not be reconstructed at the expense of preservation but instead that excavations at the site continue seasonally (Bartovics 1970:27).

While the 1969 excavations revealed a lot of important information and began the archaeological investigation of Admiral's Point, they suffered from several deficiencies, which were acknowledged by Bartovics (1970). The first major issue that Bartovics (1970:1-26) identifies is that they had insufficient resources and manpower to adequately analyze the entire site. This resulted in an excavation limited to test pits and a few small trenches, with the objective of verifying the location of features. The lack of subsequent excavations and insufficient analysis of excavated features, means that there is often little or insufficient information from each provenience (Bartovics 1970). The second issue is the crude surveying methods used resulting in imprecise locations of features and landscape data. Lack of adequate equipment resulted in inaccuracies and poor site maps such as that produced in Bartovics' 1970 report. These deficiencies are acknowledged in the excavation report, and it is likely that he had intended for follow up excavations. A deficiency which he does not acknowledge, however is the focus on only one primary source plan of the fortifications. The entire project is focused on

comparing the archaeological data to the 1748 plan (Bartovics 1970:1, 25-26). He makes no use of other plans such as the 1762 map, or any from the second phase of occupation, i.e., after 1762 (Antoine 1762). This is especially problematic as certain features which may date exclusively to the second phase of occupation were excavated. However, it is possible that he was unable to obtain an adequate source for this period. While the Bartovics (1970) plan does not provide the precise location of features it is nonetheless a useful source for locating and identifying features. While a more accurate and clearly illustrated map would have been nice, no blame should be placed on Bartovics (1970) as he was dealing with a lack of equipment and states his intentions to complete a more detailed survey in a subsequent season.

Skanes 1994

The second series of excavations that took place at Admiral's Point was led by Roy Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Skanes 2018). The objective of the 1994 project was to follow up on archival research on the site during the previous year and to develop the site as an attraction, with walking paths and identified features (Skanes 1994: i.). Additionally, five members of the Trinity community were trained in archaeological field methods and historical interpretation, in order to maintain the site and to contribute to the economic stability of the community. This project deliberately built on the 1969 field work (Bartovics 1970), with the aim to locate additional features and to interpret the findings of the previous excavation. Interestingly, this project led directly to the site being developed as a tourist and historical site, an objective Bartovics (1970) argued against.

Archival and background work was completed over a three-week period in August 1994, followed by a six-week field survey in September and October of the same year (Skanes 1994). The field survey focused on ten areas across the site. This resulted in the identification or re-

analysis of several features, some of which had been previously excavated in 1969 (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994:3). The features which were test pitted during the 1969 excavation were excavated more thoroughly and more precise locations for each feature were determined. These features included the storekeepers hut, the gun batteries, gunner's hut, magazine structure and a stone foundation of unknown function, likely dating to the 18th century. A number of artifacts including ceramic, faunal, metallic, glass and lithics were recovered during the work, with limited interpretation and no large-scale post-excavation analysis being performed. Further discussion of the assemblage excavated by Skanes (1994) will be given in chapter six.

Skanes and Reynolds 1996

Following on the 1994 fieldwork by Skanes, the Trinity Bight Archaeology Project took place over the summer of 1995 (Skanes and Reynolds 1996). The objectives for this project included an investigation of the entire Trinity Harbour area, including the Lester/Garland Premises as well as Admiral's Point. Objectives specific to Admiral's Point were the construction of an interpretative trail around the site and the marking of features identified the previous year, as well as a continuation of the fieldwork. This time the team consisted of 16 individuals, primarily from the Trinity area and took place over a 20-week period from July 25th to December 10th of 1995 (Skanes and Reynolds 1996).

During the 1995 field season, a cross-section trench was dug across the parapet of the main battery. This trench was excavated to bedrock (less than a meter below surface) and determined that the parapet was constructed of layered sod, peat, gravel and stones (Skanes and Reynolds 1996:12-14). Due to erosion, it is impossible to determine the original height. However, they determined that the battery was curved in shape rather than angled as suggested by the 1748 fortification plan (Bartovics 1970:26). Very few artifacts were recovered from the

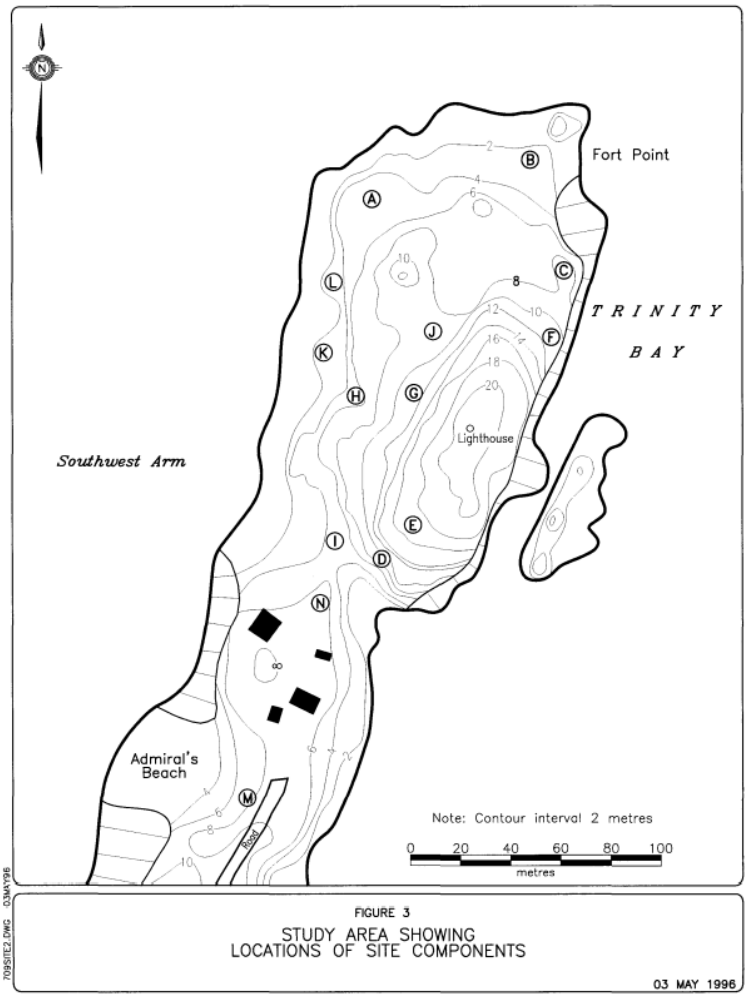
excavation at the main battery, with the exception of iron nails, glass fragments, cannon balls (possibly 6 lbr.) and a Dorset chert scraper. It is likely that these items were included in the parapet as fill, taken from elsewhere, perhaps the Admiral's Beach area.

They also uncovered the remains of a wooden structure, likely a gun platform and a few deteriorated planks, possibly used to support the gun carriages (Skanes and Reynolds 1996:14). Platforms to support the weight of the guns in fixed positions and to allow for easy operation were common during this period (Henry and Delf 2003:17). The Antoine (1762) plan of the fortifications shows what are likely gun platforms located behind the various parapets and Skanes and Reynolds (1996) cite a 1748 document which mentions gun platforms.

Additional, numerous features around the site were excavated, primarily using small test pits. These produced largely 18th and 19th century ceramic and glass artifacts of European origin. There were also a number of Dorset lithic artifacts, primarily located along the west shore of the site, known as Admiral's Beach (Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996). The lithics were often intermixed with the items associated with the 18th and 19th century occupation, possibly due to the area being used as a vegetable garden during the 18th century and a power line being laid across the feature in the late 20th century, resulting in the lithics being removed from their original context (Skanes and Reynolds 1996:17-20).

The 1995 fieldwork further identified and confirmed the location of various features such as the gunner's hut and the gun batteries (Skanes and Reynolds 1996). The excavations produced a limited material culture organised into sub-assemblages and dated many features to the mid-18th century. Additionally, the site was developed as a tourist attraction with the construction of walkways and information plaques. Skanes and Reynolds (1996) concluded that further excavation and fieldwork should be undertaken the following year (summer of 1996). However,

the proposed 1996 field work never took place. The work by Skanes (1994) and Skanes and Reynolds (1996), provides the most recent and in-depth archaeological analysis of the Admiral's Point site. This project also produced a reasonably up to date map which will be improved upon in this project (Map 3.3). While the work of Skanes (1994) and Skanes and Reynolds (1996) examined more or less the same area and features as Bartovics (1970) and produced a much larger assemblage, they contributed little to our overall understanding of the site, outside of developing it for historical interpretation.



Map 3.3 Map of features produced by Skanes and Reynolds 1996.

3.3 Archival and Historical Research and Source Material

Much of the archival and historical research on the Admiral's Point site, has been done by members of the Trinity Historical Society (2018). The documentary sources and historical information sourced by Skanes (1994) and Skanes and Reynolds (1996), was largely collected and archived by the members of this group. Many of the primary source documents are catalogued and summarised in the CO194 lists, while the documents are stored in various archives such as the Library and Archives Canada and The Rooms Provincial Museum.

Many of the documentary sources on the Admiral's Point site, collected by the Trinity Historical Society, have been transcribed and digitised on Virtual Museum.ca, these include documents from the 18th century as well as more recent materials relating to excavations and site development from the 1960s to present. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to visit archives in person resulting in a greater reliance on digitised sources for this project.

Chapter 4. Historical Background

Many of the conflicts relevant to the Admiral's Point site were not isolated events in North America; instead, they were often a theatre of operations within larger wars. Though many of the combatants and military aims in North American contexts were distinctly colonial, they cannot be viewed as isolated events. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be using the North American names for conflicts over the European terms.

This decision is also due to their often being a difference in time span. For example, the War of Austrian Succession was from 1740-1748, while the North American extension of this conflict began in 1744 and ended in 1748. When I use the non-North American term, I will be referring to the conflict outside of North America, or I will be referring to a direct quotation, where that term is used instead of one specific to North America.

4.1 Historical Context

The need for fortifications at the important fishing community of Trinity can be traced as far back as 1697 during King William's War (1689-1697), when the British settlement of Trinity was raided by the French. The community was again raided in 1705. Despite petitions to the Lords of Trade and British Government for the construction of fortifications by the citizens of Trinity, it is unlikely that there were any fortifications in the Trinity area at this time (Merritt 1703a,b; Skanes 1994:6). This was a critical flaw in the British defence of Newfoundland as Trinity was strategically important as the largest community in Trinity Bay and the Bonavista Peninsula as well as one of the main British settlements on the island, along with St. John's Ferryland, Carbonear and, later, Placentia. From Trinity, the British would have a base from which to control the bay and its fishing grounds which dated back to the 1500s (Trinity

Historical Society 2018b.). Additionally, from the 1720s, Trinity hosted an active shipbuilding industry, producing merchant vessels, increasing its importance as a strategic location and centre of industry (Trinity Historical Society 2018b). The lack of fortification can be explained by the British policy regarding colonial defence. Their North American colonies were for the most part located along the coast, and it was assumed that they would be able to defend them adequately with the Royal Navy (Crowley 1981:167-172). It would not be until the middle of the 18th century (ca. mid 1740s) during King George's War (1743-1748) that the fortifications were constructed at Admiral's Point (Skanes 1994: 6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018). This was in part due to lessons learned during King William's War (1689-1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), where the British policy of naval based defence for their colonies was shown to be insufficient (Skanes 1994: 6-8). Instead, it was determined that land-based fortifications, such as those at Admiral's Point, would be required. A policy which had previously been neglected due to the cost and the belief that the navy could intercept any incoming threat. The Admiral's Point fortifications would remain in use until the end of the War of 1812 (1812-1815), when they were determined to be militarily redundant (Skanes 1994: 6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

4.2 Colonial Military Policy in the Early 18th Century

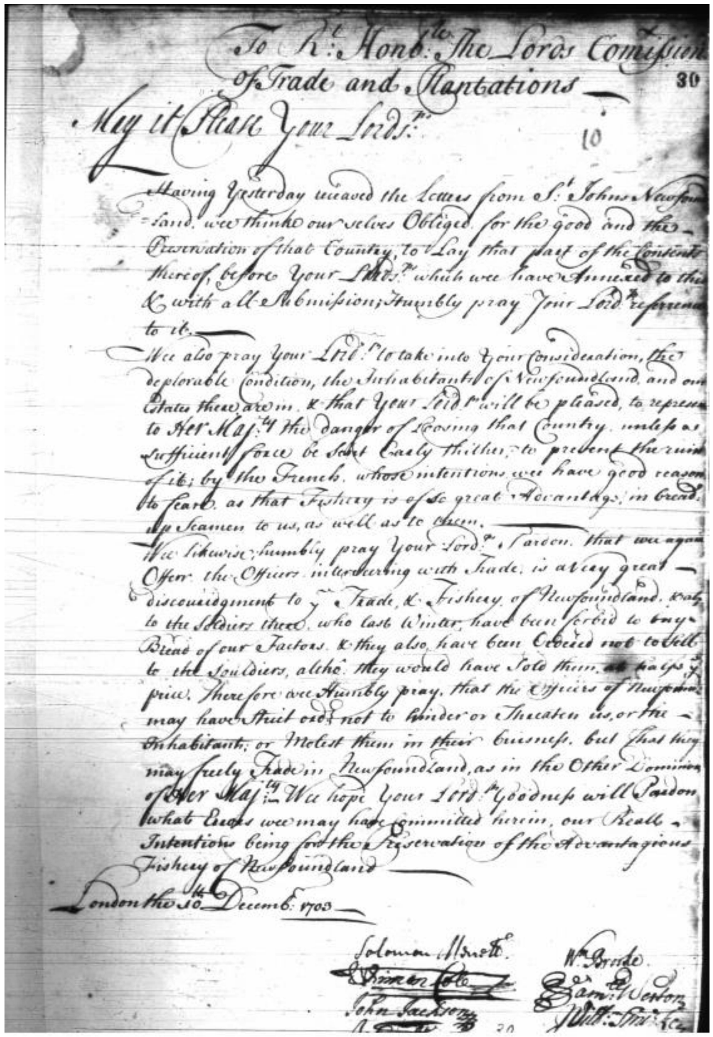
Often colonial military policy was closely modelled on the mother-country's European policy. During much of the late 17th and throughout the 18th century, Britain regarded its navy as far more important than the army. There were multiple reasons for this. First, as an island nation it was critical that they maintain dominance over the sea. Any foreign power looking to invade the island would have to travel by sea to do so, meaning that the navy would be the first line of defence. Additionally, any military action outside of Britain as well as the maintenance of their

growing number of colonies, both required an expanding maritime force (Crowley 1981:167-172; Tincey, 1994:3).

Second, was the complex relationship that existed between the British government and the army. Following the Restoration in the 1660s, the army was disbanded by Charles II and in its place, he raised a small force loyal to the Crown. This was seen by Parliament as a major threat. Nonetheless, a military force was required for national security and as a matter of prestige. Over the latter half of the 17th century, the army grew in size though it was often limited by opposition from Parliament and concern over the cost of maintaining a standing army. As a result, the British army was often seen in negative terms by the government. This often led to a cycle of neglect in peacetime, followed by rapid expansion in times of war (often through raising colonial forces or the hiring of foreign troops such as during the American War of Independence) (Gale 2007).

Third, a small British population of roughly five to six million was small relative to her major rivals. As a result, a large army would not be practical (Floud et al. 2014; Funcken and Funcken 1976:6). This coupled with the realities of being an island nation, the complex relationship between the army and government as well as the high cost of maintaining fortifications meant that fortifying and garrisoning remote colonies was not a priority for the British government. Therefore, extensive fortifications often seen in French colonies, such as at Louisbourg or Quebec, were uncommon in British settlements (Crowely 1981: 167-172). This is especially true in Newfoundland which, in the early 18th century, was still seen as a remote and seasonal fishing post, despite the presence of permanent and successful settlements with year-round occupants such as St. John's, Trinity, Carbonear and Ferryland.

In Newfoundland, through the late 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, petitions and letters concerning defence, troop movements and French raids were common. Figure 4.1 was written by the merchants and prominent citizens of Trinity, headed by Soloman Merritt in 1703. Many of these letters and petitions are from merchants and prominent citizens of Newfoundland to authorities such as the Lords of Trade (the governing body for much of the activities relating to the Newfoundland Plantations) or the military (Moody 1706; Merritt 1703a, 1703b; Brook et al. 1705). These documents provide a valuable source of information regarding the concerns of Newfoundland residents and the responses from the government. What is particularly noticeable is the divergence between the requests and recommendations from the colonists and the response by the government. The colonists often requested that fortifications be constructed, usually citing recent French raids (Bremble et al. 1705; Brooke et al. 1703; Burridge et al. 1710; Merritt 1703a, 1703b; Moody 1706; Sampson 1705). However, the government seems to have responded by sending warships to patrol the coast during the summer months (Bremble et al. 1703). This would seem to be in line with the policy of relying on the navy for colonial defence.


To Rt. Honble. The Lords Comission
of Trade and Plantations 30

May it Please Your Lordsps. 10

Having Yesterday received the Letters from St. Johns Newfoundland, wee thinke our selves Obliged for the good and the Preservation of that Country, to Lay that part of the Contents thereof, before Your Lordsps. which wee have Annexed to this & with all Submission; Humbly pray Your Lordsps. reference to it.

Wee also pray Your Lordsps. to take into Your Consideration, the deplorable Condition, the Inhabitants of Newfoundland, and our Estates there are in. & that Your Lordsps. will be pleased, to represent to Her Majesty the danger of Loosing that Country, unless a sufficient force be Sent Early thither, to prevent the ruin of it; by the French. whose intentions wee have good reason to feare. as that Fishery is of so great Advantage, in breeding Seamen to us, as well as to them.

Wee likewise humbly pray Your Lordsps. Pardon. that wee again Offer. the Officers interfeering with Trade. is a very great discouragement to ye Trade, & Fishery of Newfoundland. ... to the Soldiers there. who last Winter, have been forbid to buy Bread of our Factors. & they also, have been Ordered not to sell to the Souldiers, altho. they would have Sold them. at halfe ye price. Therefore wee Humbly pray. that the Officers of Newfoundland may have Strict ords. not to hinder or Threaten us, or the Inhabitants; or Molest them in their buisness. but that they may freely Trade in Newfoundland, as in the Other Dominions of Her Majesty. Wee hope Your Lordsps. Goodness will Pardon what Errors wee may have Committed herein, our Reall Intentions being for the Preservation of the Advantagious Fishery of Newfoundland

London the 10th Decemb. 1703

Solomon Merrett. Wm. Brode.
Simon Cole Sam. Weston
John Jackson Will. ...

Figure 4.1 Letter to Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Trinity 1703.

In a letter by "Merchants of Pool trading to Newfoundland" (1705), they request that two or three fourth-rate warships (a mid-sized naval ship) overwinter in Newfoundland, in order to protect the settlements of St. John's, Trinity and Ferryland. They also request that 30 or 40 soldiers be stationed in Carbonear until permanent forts are constructed at these settlements (Merchants of Pool 1705). William Harding, the mayor of Weymouth, Dorsetshire, responded by saying that three or four, fourth-rate frigates will be sent to winter in St. John's, Trinity and

Ferryland and that a small number of soldiers are needed in Carbonear to defend Conception Bay (Harding 1705). Nonetheless, it appears that no garrison was maintained in Trinity at this time.

In 1703, a Trinity NL merchant by the name of Solomon Merritt wrote a letter titled *Memorial from the Newfoundland Merchants Relating to Their Fears of the French and other Matters* (Merritt 1703a). Here, he anxiously explains the deficiencies in the British government's defence of Newfoundland: "*my thoughts are that if y soldiers had come directly a north from y West Indies it would have been better than if y officers of y ships of war had been better acquainted wth y nature of this country"* (Merritt 1703a). He goes on to tell of how they had great difficulty landing the ships, due to the officers being uncertain of the shore, yet hostile towards the local pilots and unwilling to listen to their advice. The second portion of the letter explains that deserters from Placentia explained that the French had two ships, one of 50 and another of 56 guns as well as 500 mortar bombs ready for action. To Solomon, the threat to the British settlements was clear as is the anxiety in his letter.

It seems probable that the authorities were aware of the French threat to the English settlements in Newfoundland (Brook et al.1705; Moody 1706). Nonetheless, in late 1705 a French force under Captain de Montigny raided Trinity (Skanes 1994: 6-8). At this point, it seems that there were no defences in place, and it is likely that Trinity remained undefended throughout the remainder of Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) (Skanes 1994). Following the end of hostilities in 1713, the French settlements in Newfoundland including Plaisance, were ceded to the English as part of the Treaty of Utrecht (Crompton 2012:3).

With the French no longer settled on the Island, the threat to British settlements from overland raids was essentially eliminated and so was the need for fortifications to protect settlements against those raids. As a result, the Admiral's Point fortifications were not

constructed until the 1740s with the outbreak of King George's War (1743-1748), also known as the War of Austrian Succession (Skanes 1994: 6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018). However, the main threat to English settlements from the French was now believed to come from the sea as their base at Placenta was in British hands (Crompton 2012; Prowse 1895; Skanes 1994; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

In Newfoundland, the 1740s, saw a major transition in the British defensive policy. A combination of pressure from the colonists and experience gained in King William's and Queen Anne's Wars (1689-1697 and 1702-1713, respectively) showed that the navy alone could not prevent French attacks. As a result, fortifications such as those at Admiral's Point were constructed in order to protect vital harbours on the island (Skanes 1994 6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

4.3 Possible Date of Construction

The exact date of construction of the fortifications at Admiral's Point is uncertain, though Orders in Council dated to 19th July 1744, discuss the need to finish constructing fortifications in St. John's, Placentia, Ferryland and Carbonear, as well as the need to provide fortifications for Trinity at the discretion of the Engineer (Sharpe 1744). In June 1745, a letter by Sharpe and the Council Chamber in Whitehall (1745), to the Lords Justices in Council, discusses the proposed defences for Trinity Harbour as specified by someone named James Wibault. There is also discussion of the cost, personnel and material needed to construct the fortification (Sharpe 1745). Both of these letters would suggest that in 1745, the fortifications were not yet complete. Though in 1748, there is a plan showing gun batteries wall profiles and structures. In 1749, there was a return listing his Majesty's Troops in garrison at Placentia, Ferryland, Trinity and Carbonear (Bartovics 1970 :26; Rodney 1749a,b,c,d). In the same year a list of ordinance stores for Trinity

was also listed (Wigmore 1749). Therefore, it seems as though the fortifications were constructed sometime between 1745 and 1748 (Rodney 1749a,b,c,d; Sharpe 1744, 1745; Skanes 1994:6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018; Wigmore 1749).

Roy Skanes (1994), the archaeologist leading the *Admiral's Point Archaeology Project* suggests that the fortifications were almost certainly constructed in the summer and fall of 1745 (Skanes 1994:7). While the precision of this date is questionable, Skanes (1994) does cite a 1704 letter by Solomon Merritt which states that the inhabitants of Trinity, assisting the military engineers, could complete the fortifications in six to eight weeks (Skanes 1994:7). This is possible, though Merritt could be exaggerating the abilities of the community in order to convince the authorities. Nonetheless, if Merritt's (1704) estimate is accurate, it is possible that the community would have been able to accomplish the task in the same timeframe 40 years later. This would make Skanes' (1994) suggestion that the fortifications were completed in 1745, possible. However, it is also possible that the fortifications were not completed in a single season due to several factors such as the time required to send supplies, personnel and make the necessary arrangements.

Given the lack of documentary sources between 1745 and 1748, it is difficult to provide a certain date for the completion of the fortifications. For the purposes of this project, it will be assumed that construction likely begun after 1745 and was completed by 1748 (Bartovics 1970:26; Rodney 1749; Sharpe 1744, 1745; Skanes 1994:6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018; Wigmore 1749). However, it is quite possible that a more certain date, such as that proposed by Skanes (1994) will be determined through future research.

4.4 Ordinance and Possible Arrangement of Batteries

Exactly what the fortifications consisted of and how they were armed, is unclear. In 1704, Solomon Merrett, requested that 30 eight or nine pounder cannons be sent as well as 100 barrels of powder and 100 small arms (Merritt 1704; Skanes 1994), though as was stated above, the fortifications were not constructed until much later and the ordinance and equipment requested by Merritt (1704) never materialized. There are different possible arrangements of guns and batteries. Skanes (1994: 7) states that when the fort was completed in 1744/1745, the defences consisted of fourteen 24 pounder guns covering the entrance to the harbour and four six pounder guns facing the shoreline and landward approach to the fort. The Trinity Historical Society (2018) states that a 1748 plan shows a 15 gun battery, a three gun battery and a four gun battery (Trinity Historical Society 2018). Prowse in his 1894 history of Newfoundland, shows a plan of the fortifications from the early 1750s, which shows three distinct batteries, though two of them are merged into a single larger battery facing the harbour entrance (Prowse 1895: 297). A 1762 plan by Marc Antoine, a French military engineer, shows what are most likely gun positions grouped into two or three batteries facing the harbour entrance and one or two single gun positions facing the landward approach and the beach (Antoine 1762).

While each of these sources states a different number of guns, in different arrangements, they all agree that the majority were positioned to defend the harbour entrance, while a smaller number of likely lighter guns were positioned facing the landward approach to the fort (Antoine 1762; Prowse 1895: 297; Skanes 1994: 7; Trinity Historical Society 2018). What is interesting to note is that all these sources provide a different date for their proposed arrangement of the guns. It is likely that over time the arrangement of the guns changed, with new guns being added or moved around the fortification and even being taken away entirely. A 1750 letter by Governor

Bradstreet (1750) to the Duke of Bedford states that military stores from Trinity, Carbonear and Ferryland, are being transferred to St. John's (Bradstreet 1750). Therefore, it seems as though military resources were frequently redistributed throughout the region, according to need and perceived threat. This would result in the fort's armaments fluctuating over time as cannons and supplies were transferred to and from other locations, making it possible that each of the sources are representing a distinct phase in the fort's armaments, though it is impossible to determine this with any certainty (Antoine 1762; Prowse 1895: 297; Skanes 1994: 7; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

4.5 The Garrison

Like the cannons and stores, the garrison fluctuated over time, according to the regional military situation. The garrison during King George's War (1743-1748) likely consisted of around 20 gunners and 30 infantry, plus officers (Prowse 1895: 297; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Additionally, the garrison kept and maintained 200 small arms (likely referring to muskets) at the fort for the inhabitants of Trinity to use in the event of an attack (Trinity Historical Society 2018). This would suggest that the garrison could be augmented by a civilian militia if needed. In 1750 an official letter to the Duke of Bedford discusses the company and detachment of artillery stationed at Trinity (Drake 1750 b.). These details could refer to the infantry and artillery crews mentioned above. In 1751, a letter only refers to a detachment of artillery, making it possible that the infantry had been withdrawn at this point (Drake 1751).

The garrison likely remained at the fort through most of the 1750s and the "French and Indian Wars" (1754-1763). However, in 1758, the garrison was withdrawn from the fort, except for six men (one corporal, one gunner, four matrosses) (Skanes 1994:7). These six men would be only able to effectively man a single 24 pounder gun, or possibly two of the six pounders; hardly

sufficient to defend the fort (Henry and Delf 2003). It is therefore likely that these men were left in garrison only to maintain the fortifications as it was assumed that Trinity was no longer under threat from the French.

Following the 1762 raid by the French, the fortifications remained in a state of disrepair and were not re-garrisoned until they were rebuilt in 1780 during the American Revolution (1775-1783) (Amherst 1762; Skanes 1994: 8; Trinity Historical Society 2018). The extent of the rebuilding efforts at Admiral's Point during the American Revolutionary period is uncertain and it is possible that the fortifications were not completely restored. It is also difficult to determine the make up of the garrison at this point due to a lack of sources.

During the War of 1812 (1812-1815), the fortifications were surveyed by the Royal Engineers and a rebuilding project was begun by the Trinity merchant firm Slade's and Garland (Trinity Historical Society 2018). They focused on rebuilding the fortifications and raising a unit of militia volunteers known as the Loyal Trinity Volunteer Rangers (LTVR), consisting of around 50 men to defend the area and garrison the Admiral's Point fortifications (Macbraire 1812; Skanes 1994: 8; 1996:12; Trinity Historical Society 2018). They were accompanied by a company of Royal Marines who trained the LTVR and garrisoned the fortifications. Following the end of the War of 1812, the fortifications were abandoned and left to deteriorate (Trinity Historical Society 2018).

Over the fort's life span, it was garrisoned by a variety of different units. This included British regulars in the form of the Royal Artillery and Cornwallis' Regiment of Foot who occupied the fort during the late 1740s to the 1750s (Anonymous n.d.; Chalmers 1748; Drake 1751; Dorril 1755; Anonymous n.d.; Trinity Historical Society 2018). It is also possible that Hopson's Regiment of Foot, the 40th, was stationed at Trinity around 1755 (Alridge and Drake

1752, 1755; His Majesty's 40th Regiment of Foot, Hopson's Grenadiers 1755-1763 n.d.). In 1762, the fort was briefly occupied by the French (likely Marines) (Amherst 1762; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Near the end of its life, it was garrisoned by the Royal Marines as well as the LTVR (Trinity Historical Society 2018). As a result, this site has been occupied by British regular forces, the French military and the residents of Trinity.

4.6 The 1762 Raid and Destruction

In the spring/summer of 1762, the French launched a seaborn attack on Newfoundland, sailing directly from France (Amherst 1762). After capturing St. John's, they sent a detachment to capture Trinity and the fortifications as well as destroy fishing infrastructure. As was mentioned above, the garrison had been withdrawn in 1758 and the fort was occupied by only six men, likely there to maintain the fortifications rather than to defend them. Defending the fort with a garrison this small would have been impossible and the town was surrendered without a fight (Skanes 1994:2; Trinity Historical Society 2018). The French occupied the fortifications for around two weeks, from July 16th to August 1st. During this time, a French military engineer attached to the naval force that raided Trinity, by the name of Marc Antoine, drafted a map of the fortifications. This map is the most detailed of the historical surveys of the site and clearly depicts topography, structures, defensive works and clearly marks out the gun batteries (Antoine 1762; Prowse 1895: 297; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

Near the end of their occupation of Trinity, the French forces received word that the British had launched an expedition to take back Newfoundland (Amherst 1762; Skanes 1994:8; Trinity Historical Society 2018). They then set fire to the fort's structures, destroyed the fortifications and cannons, then returned to St John's (Skanes 1994; Trinity Historical Society 2018). The survey drawn by Antoine (1762) therefore represents a unique view of the

fortifications prior to their destruction. The fortifications remained in a state of disrepair and semi-abandonment until the American Revolution (1775-1783).

Chapter 5. Landscape and Fieldwork

This chapter will explain the role of the Admiral's Point fortifications in the local landscape. The fortifications, community, and surrounding settlements all played an important role in the broader colonial landscape of Newfoundland during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Fortifications were intimately linked to the landscape and this chapter will explain how the fortifications interacted with the surrounding landscape to create a fortified area where, in theory, a relatively small garrison was able to control an area that extended far beyond the walls of the fort.

5.1 A Scaled Landscape Approach

David L. Clark (1977) proposed a useful theory for understanding the archaeological landscape of a site. According to this approach, a site is studied on three distinct levels, the "micro", "semi-micro" and "macro" scales (Clark 1977:10-16). The micro scale is limited to the relationship between objects and places within a feature, for example the contents of the magazine at Admiral's Point. The semi-micro scale exists on the site level and, in this case is defined as the area contained within the historical site laid out by the Trinity Historical Society. This could be the distinct structures and landscape features, both natural and man made, that make up the fortifications. Lastly, the macro scale is the relationship between the site and the surrounding landscape. For the macro the focus will be on how the fort relates to the harbour, the town of Trinity, Trinity Bay and its importance and role in the English settlement of Newfoundland in the 18th century and early 19th century (Clark 1977:10-16). For a more specific breakdown of the micro, semi-micro and macro scales applied to the Admiral's Point site, see Table 2.1. However, to give an example, micro could be shown through the arrangement of

artifacts within a feature such as the main battery, ie. an analysis of the relative position of the guns at the time of excavation and the surviving earthworks. The semi-micro could be used to study the relationship between the magazine and the central hill feature, which was likely intended as a natural protection for the vulnerable magazine. The macro could refer to a study of the importance of the community of Trinity and Admiral's Point within the larger system of colonial Newfoundland. This would also include an analysis of the role of the Admiral's Point fortifications in relation to other contemporary garrisons such as St. John's, Ferryland and Placentia.

The scales identified by Clark (1977) must be adapted to the site being studied. Nonetheless, it provides a useful framework to better understand a site at three fundamentally important levels of analysis which are especially relevant to the study of fortified sites during the period in question.

5.2 Zones of Control as an Extension of Clark's Scaled Analysis

Macro

The idea of zones of control is not new, in fact it is just a mixture of viewshed analysis, phenomenology and a useful abstraction taken from tabletop gaming (Bender et al 1997; Clark 1977; Salemi and Turchetto 2017; Schofield 2009; Simonsen 1977). Essentially it is a concept used to describe how a site, place, or person can control and observe the area around them. This is affected by whatever actor is doing the observing. For example, a fortification would be intended to militarily dominate a region through its ability to exert force over said region while a person may only be able to observe the same space and not physically dominate it as would a fort. Therefore, the garrison and the fortifications act together, with an increased presence and power to both observe and dominate the landscape given to the garrison by the fortifications.

Fortifications were almost never constructed in complete isolation; they are designed to defend something and do so by being strategically placed within the landscape in order to defend and dominate as wide an area as possible (Forsythe 2007 Salemi and Turchetto 2017; Simonsen 1977:23; Toy 1966: 236-251). Fortifications achieve this by using the landscape to their advantage in order to control an area that is often well beyond the effective range of their guns, which prior to the mid 19th century was only around 900 to 1500 meters at most (Crompton 2012: 165; Henry and Delf 2002). In the case of Admiral's Point, the fort's position overlooking the narrow mouth of the harbour meant that it could, indirectly, dominate the entire harbour despite much of the area being beyond the effective range of its guns. By controlling the only access to the harbour, it did not necessarily matter if parts of it were out of range, a ship would still need to enter their area of direct control. Therefore, due to its strategic placement, its effective zone of control was extended beyond cannon range and viewshed (Figure 5.1; Map 5.1). This shows how the macro scale can be used to describe the importance of the surrounding landscape to the function of the fortifications. Without the natural restricted entrance to the harbour, the Admiral's Point fortifications would not have been effective as a fortification (Forsythe 2007; Salemi and Turchetto 2017; Simonsen 1977:23; Toy 1966: 236-251).

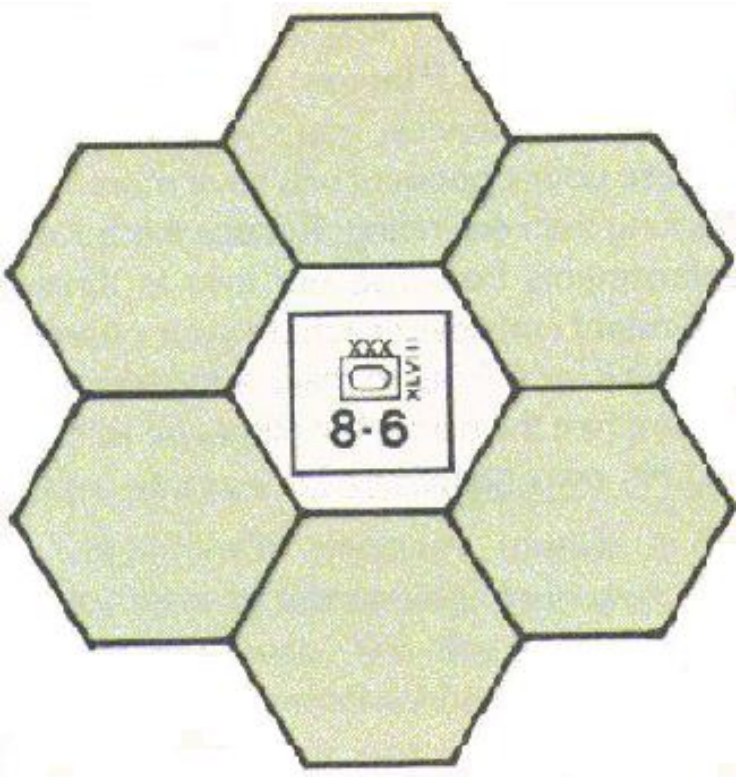
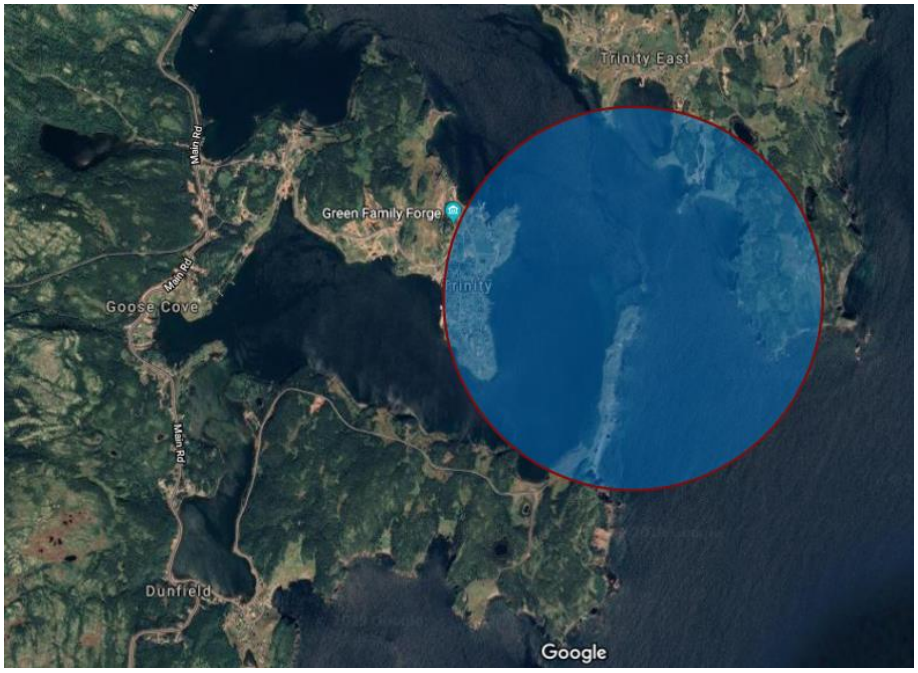


Figure 5.1 Illustration showing the concept of a zone of control as used in tabletop gaming.
The green hex spaces surrounding the central piece show its zone of control extending beyond the single space it occupies. Image courtesy of https://grognard.com/.

Additionally, the fortification was constructed with the intent to defend the strategically and commercially important community of Trinity (Lester 1762; Merritt 1703; Prowse 1895). Trinity was one of the main British settlements on the island and was an important cod fishing centre in Trinity Bay. Because of its importance, the community was attacked on numerous occasions including in 1697, 1705 and finally in 1762 (Lester 1762; Merritt 1703; Skanes 1994).



Map 5.1 Range of fort's guns.
The blue circle represents the effective range of the fort's guns, roughly 900-1500 meters (Crompton 2012: 165; Henry and Delf 2002: 42). Yet the fort can effectively control the entire area of the inner harbour through its control of the limited access to this area. As a result, the fort's zone of control is extended far beyond the range of the guns. Much like image 5.1, the fort extends its zone of control over the surrounding area emanating from the fortifications.

The construction of the Admiral's Point fortifications along with other defensive works in the community (such as the fortifications at Fox Island) created a fortified landscape (Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996). Theoretically, by controlling the key strategic site of Trinity, the fortifications would extend their influence over much of Trinity Bay, denying complete control of the region to an opposing force. While the fort could obviously control the area immediately surrounding it and within range of its guns more effectively than areas further away, its presence is still strategically relevant to the entire region. Therefore, it can be said that the fort had varying degrees of control over the surrounding landscape with a strong control over the immediate area surrounding it, down to a more loose and abstract influence over a much larger

region (Crompton 2012: 165; Forsythe 2007; Henry and Delf 2002: 42; Salemi and Turchetto 2017; Simonsen 1977:23; Toy 1966: 236-251; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

Semi-Micro

The semi-micro scale at Admiral's Point is limited to the discrete area of the site itself and includes the archaeological features discussed later in this chapter. According to this scale of analysis, the relationship between these features forms the archaeological site of Admiral's Point (Clark 1977). As a result, the site can be broadly understood at the semi-micro level through understanding the relationship between the military features and the natural landscape as well as other built features (Clark 1977; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996). Starting at the north end of the site, we see through archaeological and documentary sources a concentration of artillery and defensive features such as earthworks (Map 3.1; Map 3.2; Map 3.3) (Bartovics 1970:2; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996:13). Their precise placement is meant to control the harbour entrance, but also to take advantage of natural rock features that provide additional protection, most notable at the main battery, where the natural rise of the ground to the east provides protection. We also see in period plans of the fortification that earthworks of a sort did extend around the entire site; however, it appears that their complexity increased along the north side of the point (Antoine 1762; Anonymous 1746; Anonymous 1748).

Along the southern and western portions of the site, we see structures that are more domestic in nature such as the possible barracks, magazine structure and storehouse. This portion of the site is largely protected from the most likely direction of enemy aggression and the worst of the wind and weather from Trinity Bay to the north and east by the central hill feature as well as the Eastern Heights. While some of the garrison would have been stationed nearer to the guns, most domestic activity would have taken place in this area as evidenced by the artifact

assemblages and their distribution discussed further in later chapters. The garrison would also have had easy access to their stores, located in the magazine structure as well as the storehouse and access to the water via the Admiral's Beach area (Bartovics 1970; Clark 1977; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996:13).

At the semi-micro level, we see a general trend within the site. To the north, features of a primarily military and defensive function predominate. These include gun batteries and earthworks. A notable exception is feature F, the remains of a house reported by Skanes (1994:9), though it seems as through this structure was abandoned sometime in the mid 18th century during the time of the fort's occupation (Skanes 1994:9; Skanes and Reynolds 1996:13). These features were situated in this area to both maximise their defensive potential as well as to take advantage of the natural landscape which provided additional protection. Towards the south and west of the site, we see more ancillary features such as magazines, storage buildings, habitations and areas likely used for food processing. This location was likely selected due to the relative shelter compared to the north and eastern portions of the site as well as their being obscured from potential incoming fire, which was most likely to be coming from the harbour entrance and bay. As a result, the location of constructed features were determined by the natural topography of the site, anticipated enemy action and the presence of other built features.

Micro

While the macro and semi-micro scales are very useful when studying the Admiral's Point site, Clark's (1977) micro level of analysis is generally located within features and relies on the relationship between in-situ artifacts and features. Unfortunately, little excavation data of this sort is present, except for Bartovics' 1969 excavation, which provided some information, though the artifacts recovered were limited. Additionally, the distribution of artifacts in

excavated units was not recorded for Skanes 1994 and 1995 excavations. As most of the excavated material originates from middens, an analysis of the distribution of artifacts within an area is less productive than a detailed study of the type of artifacts present, and the differences between excavated areas. As a result, this level of analysis will fall between Clark's (1977) proposed micro and semi-micro scales, focusing on the artifacts within features but rather than their distribution within features, the focus will be on their distribution between excavated areas.

This change in analysis from Clark's (1977) initial theory, highlights some of its main limitations. The first limitation is that in order to draw a meaningful conclusion regarding the site's occupants, in this case the mid 18th century garrison, analysis requires a level of preservation not present at the site. The second is that it requires extremely detailed excavation records, which are not always available, especially when data from older projects is being used, or in the case of Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996), a small CRM project. While the detailed records required for the micro scale of analysis is certainly achievable and consistent with good archaeological practice, in situations such as this where the analysis and excavation are being carried out separately, this can become difficult. Nonetheless, Clark's (1977) macro and semi-micro scales of analysis are especially suited to the aims of this project. Artifact analysis and distribution will be further discussed in the following chapter.

5.3 Admiral's Point Fieldwork 2020

The fieldwork component of this research took place in September of 2020. Initially it was intended to occur over five days beginning in the spring though due to COVID-19 restrictions it was necessarily delayed to the fall and shortened to two days. Fall fieldwork was chosen due to it being after much of the ground cover and foliage had died off, and before the

weather would make operating a drone unsafe. Despite the reduction in time, all the primary objectives were accomplished including a detailed survey of all surviving features visible on the surface, a drone survey of the entire site, and site documentation using 360^0 photography. Work was carried out under PAO permit # 20.06 and funded by grants from the J.R. Smallwood Foundation and the Provincial Archaeology Office (Province of Newfoundland and Labrador). Fieldwork was assisted by MUN PhD candidate James Williamson, M.A. candidates Ashley Cameron and Jeffery Speller.

5.4 Current Condition of Admiral's Point (DcAi-1)

The Admiral's Point site is located at N+48 36 59 W-53 34 56 and sits at the mouth of the harbour on a narrow point of land approximately 100m wide. The ground is uneven and rocky with the eastern side, facing towards Trinity Bay, being higher than the low-lying western side facing the harbour and community.

The site is currently being maintained by the Trinity Historical Society and the bounds of the protected area is marked by a fence to the south and landward side, while the rest of the site is bordered by the water. This represented the boundary of the survey and archaeological work undertaken for this project (Figure 5.3). Though there are no standing buildings which date to the military occupation of the site, numerous archaeological features in the form of foundations and the remnants of the earthworks of the main battery are still extant (Trinity Historical Society 2018). Most of the features identified by Bartovics (1970) and Skanes (1994) during their respective periods of work at the site are currently marked out with plaques and linked with a walking trail. Features such as the "Gunners Hut" are not marked due to their poor state of preservation and the "Admiral's Beach" area never contained any sort of structure, though the space itself was consistently utilized by the site's Indigenous and European occupants over the

course of its history (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

Figure 5.3 Surveying the site in fall of 2020. Photo by Ashley Cameron.

5.5 The Survey

The survey focused on documenting the following features:

- The Main Battery, located at N +48.3661054, W-53.3455055.
- The Three Gun Battery, located at N+48.366563, W-53.345836.
- Storehouse, located at N+48.3663425, W-53.3464381.
- Magazine, located at N+48.3660340, W-53.3462951.
- Magazine Storeroom, located at N+ 48.3659698, W-53.3463045.
- Barracks (most likely location), located at N+ 48.365683, W-53.346367.
- Dorset Camp/Admirals Beach, located at N+ 48.365205, W-53.346857.

Each of these features were first identified according to the markers placed by the Trinity Historical Society (2018). Next, their location was confirmed with the maps provided by Skane's and Reynold's 1996 field report. Once each feature was positively identified, as far as was

possible, its boundary was determined by the remains of walls, corner stones and if necessary, ground indicators such as raised earth or changes in vegetation. When the approximate area of the feature was more certain, RTK (Real Time Kinematic) points were taken at key positions such as corners, doors, walls, or any notable human-made component (Map 5.3; Figure 5.4) (De La Plante 2021).

Map 5.3 Location of survey points and archaeological features.

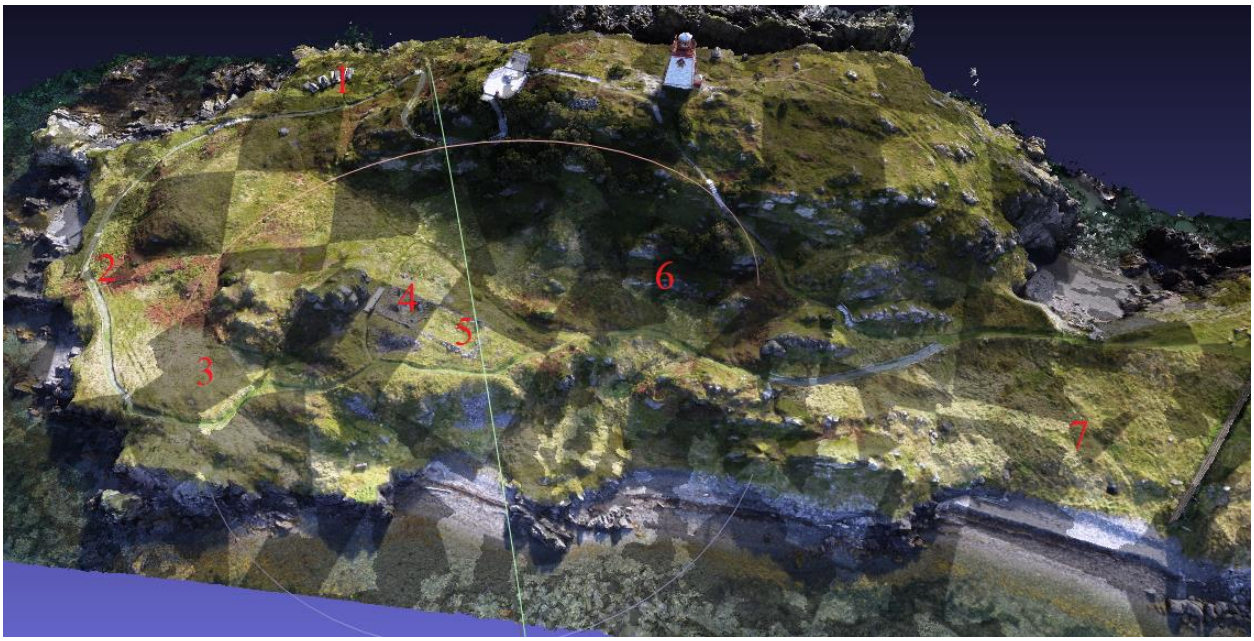


Figure 5.4 Archaeological features plotted on 3D model of site.

The RTK points were then plotted using ARCGIS. Where a feature was not detectable, such as the “three-gun battery”, due to coastal erosion, or the Dorset camp/Admiral’s Beach, due to any traces of the previous occupation being erased by subsequent activity at the site, RTK points were taken at a central or otherwise representative position. Each feature was also photographed and RTK points were taken to map the location of the photographs. No excavations or other invasive techniques were used as they were deemed unnecessary for the purposes of this research, posed unjustifiable risk to the site and adequate archaeological material was already available from previous excavations.

Results from the survey were compared to the historical and archaeological maps of the site. This clearly showed several discrepancies between each of the sources regarding the precise location of features within the site. Each of the seven features identified above, except for the

Dorset Camp at the Admiral's Beach, were all clearly discernible in the survey data as discreet structures and are represented in at least one of the archival sources (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

Each of the following sections contains URLs, linked to 360^0 videos of each feature discussed. Further information on how to view and access this content is available in section 5.13: 360^0 Photography and Documentation.

5.6 The Main Battery- 1

Main Battery 360^0 video- https://youtu.be/PrCXS1ch0M4

The Main Battery (Figure 5.5) feature sits at the extreme northern limit of the site covering the narrow entrance to the harbour. Remnants of the earthworks are visible as a low curved mound. In its current state, the earthwork measures roughly 20m along its front edge. This shape is apparent in the 1748 and 1762 plans of the site, though the 1746 plan suggests that earthworks were straight at that time. It is therefore possible that the earthworks were re-designed numerous times as suggested by an 1812 report by the Royal Engineers which states that the earthworks were being rebuilt and suitable guns salvaged, presumably from the 1762 destruction. Based on this evidence, it is most likely that the current earthworks date to the later occupation of the site and the efforts to rebuild the fortifications during the War of 1812.

Figure 5.5 The Main Battery. Photo by Ashley Cameron.

5.7 The Three Gun Battery- 2

Three Gun Battery 360^0 video-https://youtu.be/nV8qhh0oCjU

In contrast to the Main Battery, the Three Gun Battery (Figure 5.6) is in a poor state of preservation and almost all visible traces of its earthworks have been lost to coastal erosion. Skanes (1994: 8) mentions two round earth mounds measuring five meters in diameter, spaced three meters apart, which he suggests could have been a remnant of the earthworks. However, there is currently no sign of these features. Despite this, the battery is well attested to in documentary sources, with some form of defensive works being depicted in the 1746, 1748 and 1762 plans of the fortifications (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

With no depiction of the fortifications dating to the 19th century, it is difficult to tell if this position was reconstructed along with the main battery in 1812. In this year, a report by the Royal Engineers mentions that they had begun efforts to refurbish a 24 pounder gun which they had found at the site, and it is likely that the site was improved over the following years, though they likely never attained the number of guns that they had prior to 1762 (Antoine 1762; Cook 1748; Royal Engineers 1812). The material culture uncovered at this feature suggests an occupation dating to the mid-18th century. While it is possible that items may have been deposited at this location at a later date, the lack of identifiable 19th-century items suggests that this feature was abandoned following the 1762 destruction (Skanes 1994).

Figure 5.6 Three Gun Battery. Photo By Ashley Cameron.

5.8 Storehouse-3

Storehouse 360^0 video-https://youtu.be/CVmedaMBlzE

Roughly south of the three-gun battery, the storehouse feature (Figure 5.7) is mostly obscured by ground cover, with cornerstones and the south facing wall partially visible on the surface. However, there is an obvious rise in the ground indicating the location of the structure and additional walls are detectable by feel under the surface foliage. The structure is rectangular in shape and measures 10.3 by 5.5 meters, using the probable corner stones. It is oriented length ways, north-west to south-east.

The storehouse was most likely built in the late 1740s, possibly 1746-1748, due to its absence from the 1746 fortification plans. However, the 1748 plans depict a square structure located roughly in the correct area that could be the storehouse feature. In the 1762 map, the feature is clearly depicted in the correct location, however it is labelled as a barracks for three artillery soldiers, meaning that it may have changed function by this time (Antoine 1762; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748). Roy Skanes in his 1994 excavation report states that due to the material culture present, it is likely that the structure was occupied up until 1762, when it was burnt by the French in August of that year (Skanes 1994:8). Based on the material culture and the lack of mention in the primary sources, it is most likely that this structure was not re-built after 1762.

Figure 5.7 Storehouse feature. Photo By Ashley Cameron.

5.9 Magazine- 4

Magazine 360^0 video- https://youtu.be/IKVYUHrjwzc

The forts magazine (Figure 5.8) is the best-preserved feature at the Admiral's Point site. It is a rectangular brick-floored room measuring approximately 5.0 by 6.7 meters attached to the north side of the large central storage building (5.10 described below). The entire structure is located close to the south end of the rocky outcrop that defines the middle of the fortifications and may have served as additional protection for the magazine. The foundation of the magazine walls is extremely thick, measuring over a meter in width and constructed of mortared stone. The floor is unique among the fortification structures as it is paved with brick, while it seems as

though the rest of the buildings, including the attached store building, had earth floors. Magazines and facilities for the storage of gunpowder were often constructed in secure locations, and strongly built in order to minimize the risk of accidents with the extremely volatile stores of gunpowder (Buchanan 2011; Toy 1966: 249-251). It appears the magazine was destroyed in 1762 and not used after the fort's re-occupation (Lester 1762). This feature was excavated by Albert Bartovics in his 1969 work, down to the level of the paved floor. The feature was not excavated any further, including in the 1994 or 1995 excavations in order to preserve the structure, though Skanes in his 1994 report suggests further research into this feature (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994: 11).

The magazine and attached building were most likely built during the initial phase of construction as it is depicted in the 1746 plan of the fortifications. As a secure and functioning magazine was critical for storing the gunpowder required by the fort's guns, it makes sense that it would be one of the first structures to be built along with the attached storage building required to house the necessary supplies for the garrison (Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746). However, a report on *The State and Condition of Trinity, May 10, 1748,* by William Cook Esq. Chief Engineer of Newfoundland, suggests that the magazine may have been built in the summer of 1748, or at least renovated (Cook 1748). He states,

"The foundations of the storehouse and powder magazine are laid and are raised two feet above the floor, and as there is (sic) materials, Artificers and Labourers sufficient on the spot, I make no question it will be finished before the frost sets in" (Cook 1748).

Given that the fortifications seem to have been subject to improvements in 1748 and the magazine was likely constructed at this time, it is possible that the plan made in that year by the Royal Engineers (Plan of Admiral's Point 1748), may represent the state of fortifications at that

time, while the 1746 plan represents a construction plan. Given this report, it is difficult to provide a specific date for the construction of any of the initial buildings beyond 1746 to 1748. It is likely that the fortifications were begun in 1746, though they were improved and completed around 1748 (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Cook 1748; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

Additionally, its placement behind the rocky hill in the centre of the fort is interesting as it shows that the fort's designers were most concerned about enemy fire hitting the structure from the harbour entrance to the north. To the east towards Trinity Bay, the structure is protected by the sloping ground. The only direction in which it is vulnerable is to the west from within the harbour or from the landward approach to the south (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

Figure 5.8 Magazine and storeroom. Photo By Ashley Cameron.

5.10 Magazine Storeroom- 5

Magazine Storeroom 360^0 video-https://youtu.be/vQIlpMIWaIk

This structure is attached to the magazine and is oriented roughly to the south of the Magazine and linked by a door. It is roughly in the centre of the site and like the Magazine, is largely protected by the central hill. Measuring around 6 by 10.5 meters, the single room is oriented roughly northeast to southwest. The walls of this portion of the structure are significantly thinner than the magazine and the floor was most likely made of earth rather than the brick paved magazine. It is probable that this part of the structure was built at the same time as the magazine as they are depicted as a single structure in the 1746 plan. Additionally, the wall foundations of the storeroom are one and the same as the magazine and mortared into each other. This structure would have been critical to the function of the garrison for storing supplies, food and the arms to equip the local militia (Bastide 1750; Skanes 1994: 7). This building was also destroyed by the French in 1762 and it does not appear that the storehouse or magazine were rebuilt following the re-occupation and re-construction of the fortifications (Royal Engineers 1812).

5.11 Barracks- 6

Barracks 360^0 video-https://youtu.be/xzbPmsMdmlw

The feature that is most likely the remains of the barracks (Figure 5.9) are located roughly ten meters east of the magazine building at the closest point. The remains of the structure measure around three meters wide by 43 meters long. However, in its current state, the foundation stones are highly obscured by vegetation and subsequent activity at the site. It is notable that this feature was not excavated by either Bartovics (1970), Skanes (1994) or Skanes

and Reynolds (1996), meaning that it is the least documented of the major features in the fort. Despite the lack of archaeological documentation, the 1746 plan clearly shows a long rectangular structure labelled “Quarters & Barracks” close to the southwest of the “Store House & Powder Magazine” (Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746). While this plan of the fortifications is highly distorted, the relative location of the buildings, at the time of the initial construction are all matching with the archaeological data and known location of the structures today. What is likely the same structure is also depicted on the 1748 plan of the fortifications and labelled as barracks, though the description is unclear (Plan of Admiral's Point 1748). This structure is also shown in the 1762 French plan of the site (Antoine 1762). The fact that it is represented three times in roughly the same location and labelled, strongly suggests that this feature is the remains of the barracks. However, to verify this, it would be necessary to excavate.

The most distinct indication of the structure is the low stone wall running approximately northeast to southwest and the continuation of the stones towards the northeast, though these are at times obscured under the vegetation. While it is possible that this is a later construction, the presence of an opening, roughly the width of a door, halfway along the remains of the wall, with a stone walkway leading up to it suggest that this may have been a structure of some sort. Another distinctive feature of the barracks is the use of the natural bedrock in its construction, with the eastern or rear wall being partially made of the natural stone.

Figure 5.9 Barracks. Photo By Ashley Cameron.

5.12 Dorset Camp/ Admiral's Beach- 7

Dorset Camp 360^0 video- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rtu_tUmk9Mg&feature=youtu.be

The remains of the Dorset Camp and the Admiral's Beach area are located at N+ 48.365205, W-53.346857 at the south end of the site (Figure 5.10). This location provides easy

access to the sea and faces west, into the comparatively sheltered waters of Trinity Harbour. Previous excavation has shown that this area was inhabited by the Dorset approximately 1500 years before present though there are currently no surviving features associated with the Dorset occupation of the site. (Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 12). The lack of surviving features dating from the Dorset occupation is due to the ephemeral nature of Dorset habitations, subsequent historic activity at the site and the use of the Admiral's Beach area as a source for much of the earth used to construct the battery parapets (Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 12, 19). As a result of the decision to use the Admiral's Beach area as a source for earth, many Dorset artifacts were found in the earthworks themselves and scattered around the site. Subsequent farming, fish processing and other activities at the beach have all but erased evidence of Indigenous occupation of the point. Despite this, the 1994 excavations yielded a significant number of Dorset lithic artifacts. Although the lithics were found largely in an 18th-century colonial context, the number uncovered shows that the Admiral's Point site has a deep Indigenous past, which has been overlooked in the current interpretation and presentation of the site (Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Lithic artifacts, both European and Indigenous are discussed further in the material culture section.

None of the fortification plans or accounts (Antoine 1762; Chalmers 1748; Cook 1748; Clinch and Durell 1813; Royal Engineers 1812; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748), mention or depict any structure being present at the Admiral's Beach. However, the presence of a large amount of faunal remains located nearby suggest that this area may have been used for the processing of food by the garrison (Elliott 2020). The faunal remains and relationship between site use and food processing and consumption are discussed further in chapter seven.

Figure 5.10 Dorset Camp at Admiral's Beach. Photo By Ashley Cameron.

5.13 360^0 Photography and Documentation

In addition to the RTK and photographic survey, the use of 360^0 photography was explored as a low cost, accessible and immersive way to document the site. 360^0 images have great potential as an archaeological tool as they allow the viewer to access a realistic view of the site remotely. When uploaded to *YouTube* or other web-based platforms, images can be shared easily, with URLs embedded in publications such as can be seen above in the descriptions of each archaeological feature.

360^0 images are produced when two wide-angle photographs, each facing an opposite direction, are meshed into a single image, displaying the entire area surrounding the camera.

After the correct metadata is attached to the file, an interactive image is produced allowing the viewer to aim the camera in any direction with a similar effect to looking around oneself (Pharoah 2016). Distortion is often minimal if the photographs were taken and processed correctly, and the effect can allow the viewer to understand the space being discussed more effectively than via a traditional flat image. 360^0 images also have the added benefit of a low financial cost, when compared to virtual reality (VR) where the equipment is often considerably more expensive than 360^0 cameras, often costing less than $1,000 Canadian at the time of this project. Additionally, they require less computing power to process into useable images and the resulting file is considerably smaller.

Fig 5.11 The Insta360 OneR Camera. Photo courtesy of Clifton Cameras

The 360^0 photography was conducted during the fall 2020 fieldwork using the *Insta360 One R* fitted with a *Dual-lens 360 Mod* (Figure 5.11). At each feature, the camera was set up so that both the feature and surrounding area were visible. Then, at the precise location of the camera, a survey point was taken in order to geo-reference the final image. After the photographs

were taken, they were processed using the *Insta360* software. Each image/video was then uploaded to a private YouTube channel accessible only through the URLs provided above (Figure 5.12). More information on the process of 360^0 photography as a tool for accessible low-cost site documentation can be found in De La Plante (2020). To view the images, go to the URL link provided, then pause the video. Navigating the image can be done through clicking and dragging or using the navigation arrows at the top left of the image.

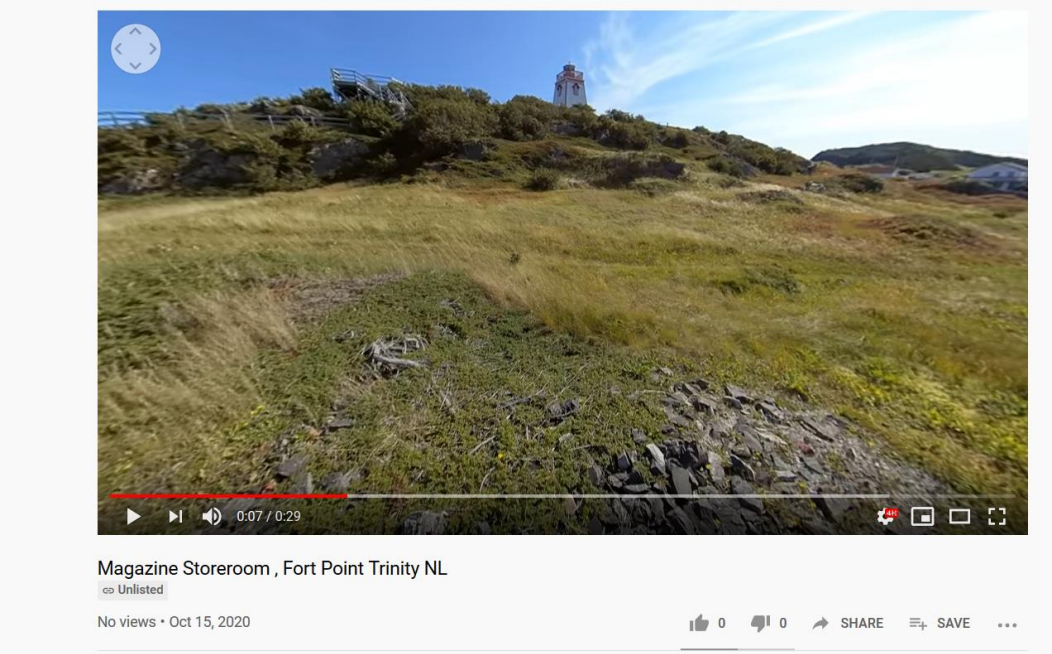


Fig 5.12 Viewing the image on the YouTube channel.

5.14 Drone Survey and Photogrammetric Modeling

In addition to the ground survey discussed above, the fieldwork at Admiral's Point included a survey of the entire site using a drone, the data from this was processed into a series of photogrammetric models and site maps (Figure 5.13). This component of the project was completed with the assistance of MUN PhD candidate James Williamson.

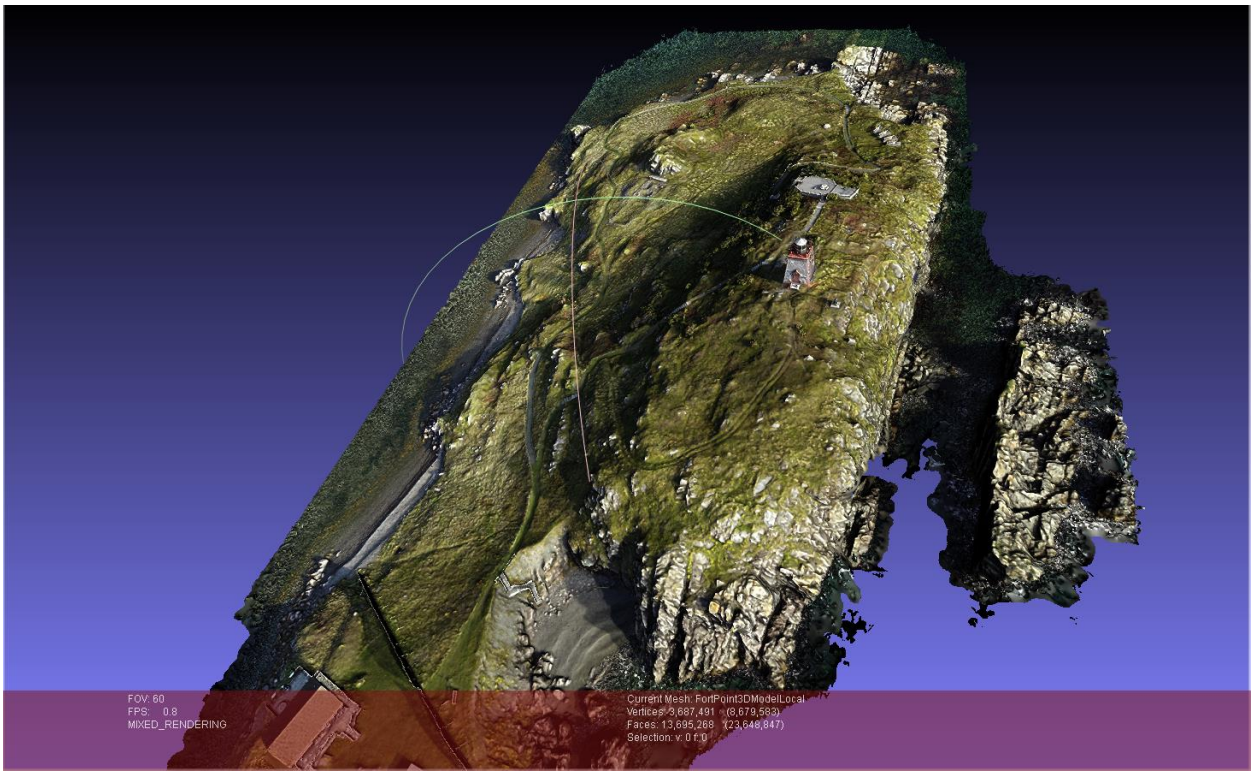


Figure 5.13 Photogrammetric model of the Admiral's Point site facing roughly North-West.

The drone used was the DJI Matrice, belonging to Memorial University's Department of Archaeology. The survey was conducted on the morning of September 25th, 2020. A series of five control points were established in order to aid with geo-referencing. For this, non-archaeological, visible and stationary objects were chosen and a RTK survey point was taken at each (Williamson 2020:4). From these five data points, it was possible to determine the average margin of error to be expected in the final survey results. The following table is taken from the *Metashape Report 3D Model of Fort Point*, compiled by James Williamson (Williamson 2020). The average margin of error is shown in the table below and applies to all surveys and models generated using the data from this survey. A margin of error of this degree and for a site of this size is negligible for the purposes of this study.

Table 5.1 Average Margin of Error Taken from Five Reference Points (Williamson 2020)

Count	X error (cm)	Y error (cm)	Z error (cm)	XY error (cm)	Total (cm)
5	3.2248	1.28986	2.83989	3.47319	4.48643

Table 3. Control points RMSE.

X - Longitude, Y - Latitude, Z - Altitude.

Axis Margin of Error for Each Reference Point (Williamson 2020)

Label	X error (cm)	Y error (cm)	Z error (cm)	Total (cm)	Image (pix)
Point 4	0.255491	0.482044	-3.64905	3.6896	0.163 (60)
Point 7	-1.49596	-1.54248	3.32431	3.9583	0.247 (44)
Point 2	-4.76603	1.76887	-0.283405	5.09159	0.193 (46)
Point 1	0.889049	0.724492	3.10524	3.31026	0.240 (44)
Point 10	5.11741	-1.43294	-2.49709	5.87169	0.213 (41)
Total	3.2248	1.028986	2.83989	4.48643	0.210

Control Points.

X- Longitude, Y- Latitude, Z-Altitude

A series of 309 photos were taken from a height of 61.5m, these were then meshed using Agisoft Metashape 1.6.5. (Williamson 2020). The result was a highly accurate photogrammetric model of the site which has been used as a resource for this project as well as having potential uses for future research on the Admiral's Point site (Figure 5.14).

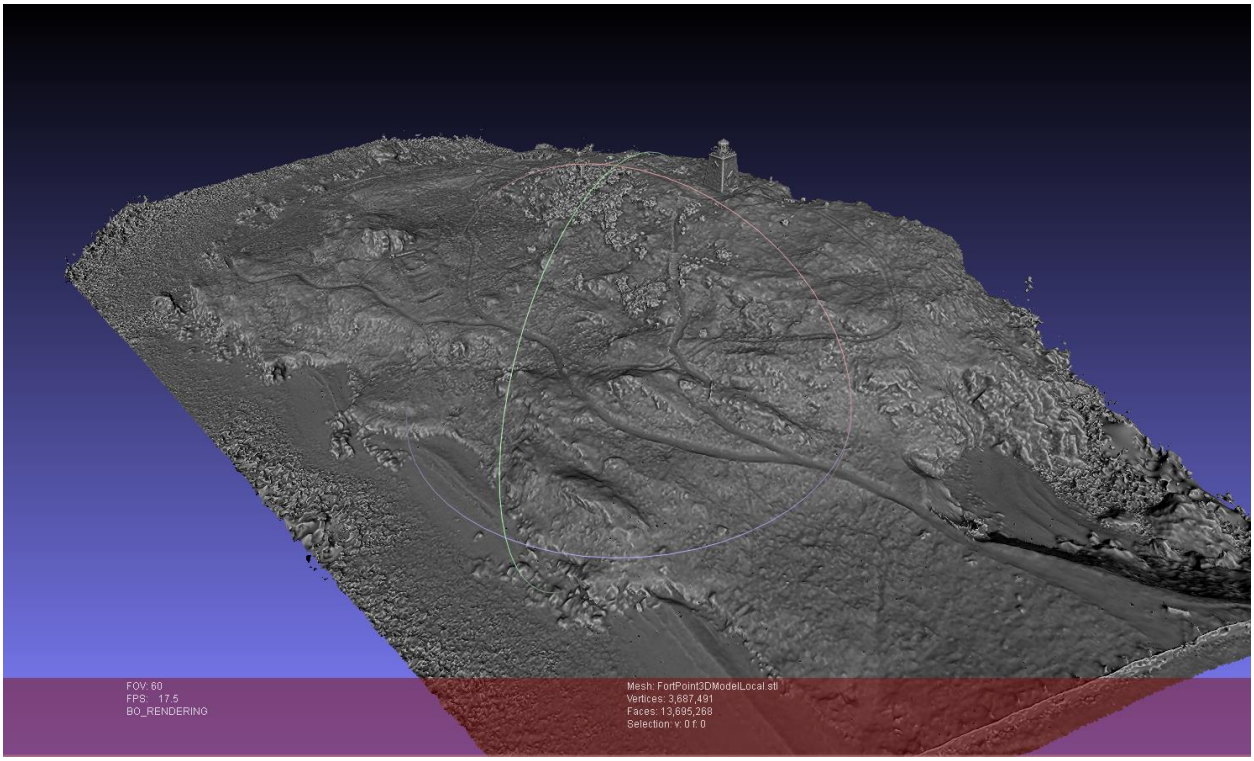


Figure 5.14 Model of Admiral's Point facing approximately North, rendered as an STL file.

Through the analysis of surface models, it is possible to gain a better idea of the site topography and the presence of features which can be made more distinct than site photos. Additionally, the models can be 3D printed to allow for an accurate three-dimensional, physical representation of the site's topography. These models all clearly confirm the locations of each of the features mentioned above. In the case of the possible barracks feature, the line of stones which suggest a wall is visible in the un-coloured model as a distinctly straight and elevated line extending from the visible foundation stones. In person however, this raised line was only detectable through feeling the ground and was obscured by the thick ground vegetation.

On the other hand, the extensive earthworks shown in the 1762 plan are not evident through a study of the model's surface, except for the rampart at the main battery (Antoine 1762). It is interesting to note that the 1746 and 1748 plans showed that the earthworks were

more or less limited to the gun batteries, rather than the star fort depicted by Antoine (1762; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Last 1998; Smith 1994; Toy 1966).

Numerous primary sources discuss the state of the earthworks as early as 1748, the first being a report which mentions that they are eroded and in need of extensive repair (Cook 1748). In 1812, a report by the Royal Engineers says that the parapets needed to be re-built (Royal Engineers 1812). It seems as though the earthworks were often in a poor state of repair and erosion was a major problem in maintaining the fortifications, especially considering that all of the fortification plans and archaeological work confirm that they were located within a few meters of the shoreline. Additionally, the soil at the site is quite shallow, with some areas being only a few inches on top of the bedrock (Figure 5.15) (Bartovics 1970:5). The fact that the three-gun battery and almost all traces of the earthworks have disappeared due to erosion and subsequent activity at the site, is not surprising. Currently it is not possible to confirm the precise layout of the earthworks, beyond what is depicted in the fortification plans and the other documentary sources. However, from what is mentioned in the numerous reports on the state of the fortifications, it is more likely that they resembled the limited ramparts covering the batteries, shown in the 1746 and 1748 plans, rather than the elaborate works shown in the 1762 French plan (Antoine 1762; Chalmers 1748; Cook 1748; Clinch and Durell 1813; Last 1998; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748; Royal Engineers 1812; Smith 1994; Toy 1966).

Figure 5.15 1969 excavation of the Main Battery, showing Queen Ann era 24 pounder gun and the shallow depth of the topsoil over most of the site. Photo courtesy of Trinity Museum, Community Stories.

The landscape of Admiral's Point shows how natural features and man-made fortifications were combined to create a theoretically effective fortification that was able to control and dominate the surrounding area. The layout of the fort was highly influenced by the topography of the site and used natural features such as bedrock, complemented by artificial earthworks. The exposed nature of the site and the uneven ground limited the areas where structures could be located (i.e., towards the southwestern portion of the site) where the flat ground and protection provided by the central hill made it favourable to situate the magazine and other buildings.

It also seems that the site underwent numerous changes from its initial construction in the mid 1740s, to its abandonment by the military in the second decade of the 19th century. Initially

it seems as though the fortifications may have been limited to earthworks and possibly the barracks. By the end of the 1740s, it appears that the magazine building and storehouse were constructed as well as the earthworks being repaired or completed. The fort likely reached its zenith around the early 1750s, before most of the garrison was withdrawn, and following this, the destruction of 1762. The fortifications likely remained in a state of destruction until 1812, though it is possible that some military activity may have taken place in the latter part of the 18th century. However, it seems as though no structures or major improvements were completed until at least 1812. At this time, the batteries were repaired, and a magazine of some sort was put in place, returning the fort to a functioning state. It was likely maintained as an operational defensive work throughout the War of 1812 and remainder of the Napoleonic period, before being finally abandoned some time after 1815, when there was no longer a realistic threat to the community of Trinity (Bartovics 1970; Chalmers 1748; Cook 1748; Clinch and Durell 1813; Last 1998; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Smith 1994; Toy 1966).

The survey completed in the fall of 2020 has provided a highly accurate document of the site's features and digital modelling of the landscape of the point. When compared to period documents, it becomes apparent that the fortifications depicted and the archaeological reality differ in some ways, though the overall impression is more or less accurate in a broad sense. The data collected such as accurate elevation and textured photogrammetric models, as well as survey points and 360^0 images, will enable further research to be completed in a remote and non-invasive manner. Additionally, this data will aid any future archaeological field work and provide a useful update on the current data available from the 1969, 1994 and 1995 excavations (Bartovics 1970; De La Plante 2020; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Trinity Historical Society 2018; Williamson 2020).

Chapter 6. Material Culture

6.1 The Assemblage

The Admiral's Point assemblage was recovered during separate excavations. First, there was Albert Bartovics who conducted an initial survey and excavation of the fortifications in 1969. Decades later, Roy Skanes led a cultural resource management project at the site in 1994 and 1995. Over the course of these excavations, an assemblage consisting of several thousand artifacts was recovered, the vast majority of which were excavated by Skanes (1994). Many of the artifacts such as nails and undiagnostic sherds were documented in bulk and were omitted from this analysis. The artifacts primarily date to the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century, coinciding with the military occupation which began in the mid-1740s and continued, with some breaks in occupation until the late 1810s. Additionally, artifacts associated with the Dorset people who occupied the site roughly 1500 years B.P. are included in the assemblage demonstrating the long duration of Admiral's Point's use and its importance to the people living at and around the area of Trinity Harbour.

Currently the artifact assemblage from both excavations is housed at The Rooms Provincial Museum. For the purposes of this project, analysis of the collection was completed at Memorial University's HATCH Lab in the Department of Archaeology. Analysis consisted of an organization of artifacts based on type and material (i.e., ceramic, smoking pipes, glass ware, metal artifacts, organic materials and lithics). Faunal remains were studied separately and are discussed in a separate chapter. After the organization of artifacts was completed, they were further separated by area of excavation. As the areas excavated by Bartovics (1970) and Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996) were not the same, and due to poor quality mapping and

inconsistent documentation, it was decided to deal with the artifacts from each excavation separately. However, for the purposes of this chapter, they will be discussed together where possible.

Following the separation by area, a minimum number of vessels (MNV) count was completed, and non-diagnostic or unidentifiable pieces were further separated (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Voss and Allen 2010). From this, it was possible to gain a rough estimate of the quantity and type of items being used by the occupants of the site. In addition, diagnostic and dateable artifact types, provided an idea of the approximate date and duration of use for the site.

While this method of analysis was successful overall, there were several challenges. Foremost was the poor state of preservation of many of the artifacts, notably due to extensive burning or heat exposure, which was very common across all artifact types, except for lithic and faunal remains. While this made it impossible to identify and sort many items, it also provided a plausible *terminus ante quem* of 1762, which was applicable across much of the site. While possible that a number of artifacts could have been unintentionally burnt, either through use or disposal, the vast number of items which exhibit consistent and extreme burning suggests that this was the result of a structure fire or other significant burning event. Conveniently, Admiral's Point was, in fact, subjected to such an event at the conclusion of a brief French occupation in 1762 (Amherst 1762; Antoine 1762; Lester 1762; Skanes 1994:6-8).

Additionally, both Bartovics (1970) and Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996), provided only rudimentary site maps with little or no stratigraphic data. While Bartovics (1970) provided limited stratigraphic illustrations, the lack of details in the excavation report makes a thorough analysis difficult. However, this is not the fault of either researcher as limited field

time, equipment and trained staff made detailed documentation challenging. Because of this, it is unfortunately not possible to determine any order of deposition or chronology based on superposition. Where information is available, it will be given, though in the vast majority of cases nothing beyond the broad area of excavation is known.

6.2 Lithic

6.2.1 Indigenous Lithics

Archaeologically, people have been living at and utilizing Admiral's Point for at least 1500 years, though it is likely that humans have been there for longer. The earliest known inhabitants of the site were the Dorset people, who, likely seasonally, occupied the "Admiral's Beach" area, towards the southwest corner of the site. This area would offer easy access to the sheltered waters of the harbour and protect inhabitants from the worst of the weather coming from Trinity Bay to the east of the point. Admiral's Point would have offered much to a maritime people such as the Dorset, including access to shellfish, seabirds and other aquatic food sources. Occupation of exposed peninsulas such as this was characteristic of Dorset settlement patterns on the island (Milne 1999; Milne and Park 2016: 1-6; Pastore 1998; Skanes 1994; Stopp 2016: 2; Wells et al. 2014: 394-407).

Unfortunately, subsequent activity at the site, including the construction of the fort, agriculture and coastal erosion have erased much of the details of this period of the site's past. Nonetheless, the Dorset left behind several lithic artifacts, manufactured primarily out of the local Trinity Bay Chert with its characteristically chalky white surface (Figure 6.1). Though most of the artifacts left behind are in the form of chert flakes, the remnants of the act of producing more complex and specialized tools, there are also several relatively intact "knife" type tools and

a small burin as well as micro blades, both of chert and quartz (Figure 6.2) (Milne 1999: 58-79; Pastore 1998). The minimum number of tools for this lithic assemblage is seven; however, the fragmented nature of the assemblage would skew this number to the lower side.

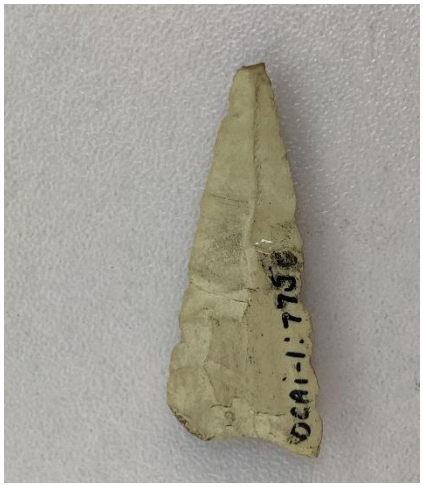


Figure 6.1 Dorset chert point.

It is often difficult to determine the exact area of occupation at smaller Dorset sites, the Admiral's Point site is no exception. When constructing the fortifications in the 1740s (Antoine 1762; Bartovics 1970: 2; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13) it seems that the earth required to construct the various ramparts and bastions was taken from the beach area (Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 14). Consequently, many of the Dorset items were recovered from excavations of the main battery earthworks, a feature which was initially constructed in the 1740s and likely re-built numerous times over the fort's lifespan (Bastide 1750; Chalmers 1749; Cook 1748; Royal Engineers 1812). The excavation of earth from the beach area would have also erased any archaeological evidence of structures or the duration of the Dorset occupation. The artifact distribution was not recorded in detail, with many boxes containing large quantities of flakes intermixed with refined tools labelled as originating from multiple areas. Despite this, the majority of lithics recovered at the site were found in areas A, I and M (the Storekeepers Hut,

Ruined Building and a shore site test pitted by Skanes and Reynolds 1996) with smaller quantities found across the rest of the excavated areas G, J, F and K (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996).

Figure 6.2 Dorset quartz micro-blade.

Despite being out of context, the presence of a small yet identifiable assemblage of chert flakes as well as worked tools, points to a definitive Dorset occupation of the site. With reasonable confidence it is possible to say that this occupation involved tool production, both lithic and non-lithic, suggested by the presence of a burin which may have related to working wood or other materials (Giddings 1956; Milne 1999; Pastore 1998; Skanes 1994; Stopp 2016: 2). Based on the current shellfish beds near Admiral's Point and their proximity to the beach, it is also likely that their occupation involved activities related to food procurement and processing, though no faunal remains that can be dated to the Dorset occupation have been recovered (Elliott 2020). However, this is mostly speculation based on a very small number of out-of-context artifacts, meaning that it is impossible to say anything definitive about the Dorset occupation. Nonetheless, the long though obscure Indigenous history of Admiral's Point is critical to understanding the importance of the site within the history of Newfoundland and reminds us that as a place, it was important long before its military value was realized.

Table 6.1 Indigenous Lithic Artifacts Recovered from Admiral's Point (1994 and 1996)

Culture	Type	Material	Notes
Dorset	Knife	Chert	Bi face: provenance not recorded
Dorset	Burin	Chert	provenance not recorded
Dorset	Micro-Blade	Quartz	Area N
Dorset	Core	Quartz	provenance not recorded
Dorset	Core	Chert	provenance not recorded
Dorset	Scraper	Chert	provenance not recorded
Dorset	Core	Chert	Excavated in 1969, provenance not recorded

The lithic artifacts listed above are the specimens which were identifiable with a specific typological form. The numerous flakes which were recovered in the excavations by Skanes were only given the most basic documentation (Skanes 1994: 6-11; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13-18). However, concentrations were noted in area N, which lies above the Admiral's Beach area, where the quartz micro blade was also uncovered. Although a notable concentration was present, the area was, in later centuries, used as a vegetable garden and a modern hydro line has destroyed any archaeological context that may otherwise have been present (Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 17). This area was also the source for much of the earth used to construct the fortifications in the rest of the site, accounting for the dispersion of Dorset flakes in 18th century contexts. Additional lithic concentrations were found in area K (Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 17).

6.2.2 European Lithics

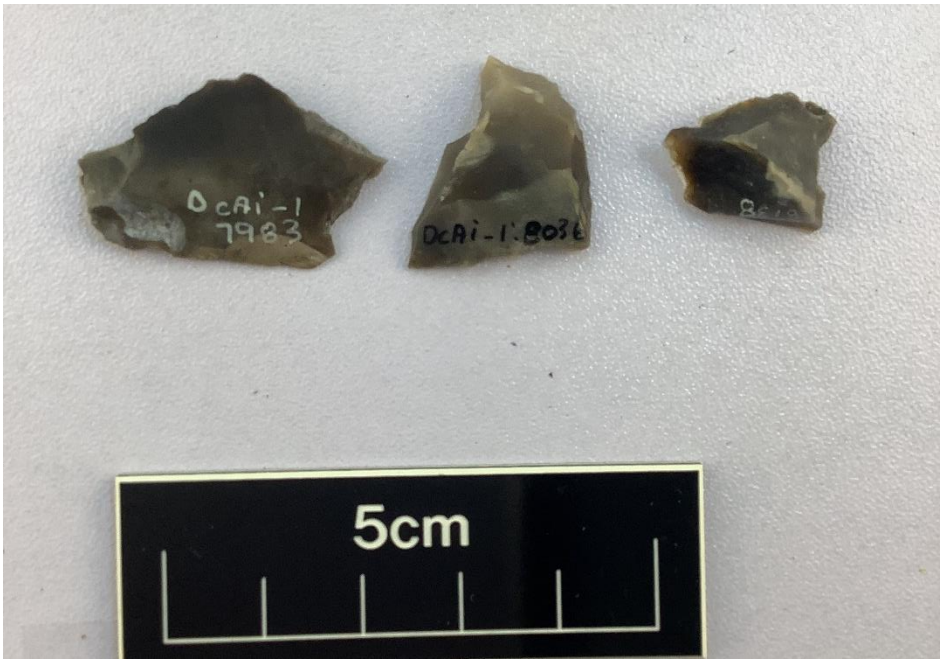


Figure 6.3 Possible British gunflint fragments.

The nine remaining lithic artifacts at Admiral's Point are of European or colonial origin. Most of these consist of flint, likely of British origin due to its dark grey colour, in the form of gunflints (Figure 6.3) and ballast, which likely would have been locally knapped into serviceable gunflints (Kenmotsu 1990: 96). Approximately four distinct gunflints are present in the assemblage, all broken to varying degrees, which may have been a result of their use, where the action of striking against the frizzen (or striking steel) of a flintlock mechanism would have been a source of repeated stress (Bradley et al. 1994: 94; Kenmotsu 1990; Sivilich 2016). The relatively small size of some of the gunflints, approximately 2cm wide in one case, suggests that they may have been used in a pistol or smaller civilian weapon rather than a large military musket, which would have required a gunflint of a larger size. However, the fragmented nature of the remaining flints makes it difficult to determine if they would have been suitable for a

musket. Although there was a consistency in design and component sizing in the musket used by the British military at the time, the "Brown Bess", flints would show a higher degree of variability (Kenmotsu 1990: 95). Nonetheless, the presence of several gunflints is logical considering that this was a military site, which was garrisoned at various times by units which would have carried muskets such as the Royal Engineers, Marines, LTVR, and various regiments of foot. Additionally, muskets and other small arms were kept at the site for use by the citizens of Trinity (Alridge and Drake 1751; Bastide 1750; Chalmers 1749; Cook 1748; Drake 1750; Skanes 1994: 6-8; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

6.2.3 Other Lithic Artifacts

European/Colonial lithic artifacts include a slate pencil recovered in Area I and a slate whetstone which has been broken into two pieces (Figure 6.4). The wetstone shows signs of use and was recovered at the three-gun battery feature, likely associating it with the military occupation, rather than civilian activity in the early 1700s or post 1815 (Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996).

Figure 6.4 Whetstone.

Table 6.2. European Lithic Artifacts Recovered at Admiral's Point

Culture	Material	Type	Notes
European/Colonial	Flint	Gun Flint	Broken
European/Colonial	Flint	Gun Flint	Possible Pistol or "Fowling Piece"
European/Colonial	Flint	Possible Gun Flint	Fragmented
European/Colonial	Flint	Flake	
European/Colonial	Flint	Possible Gun Flint	Small Size
European/Colonial	Flint	Ballast Flint	
European/Colonial	Flint	Ballast Flint	
European/Colonial	Whetstone	Slate	DcAi-1 2123A/B Signs of use
European/Colonial	Slate	Pencil	

6.3 Organic Materials

A small number of non-faunal, organic materials were uncovered by Albert Bartovics during the 1969 excavation. Recovered were three pieces of seemingly worked wood, all exhibiting signs of burning. However, it is not possible to determine their original function, though one piece seems to have been shaped into a crude point, perhaps as Bartovics suggests, functioning as a peg which was recovered at the site of the battery feature (Bartovics 1970: 59). Additionally, a fragment of a shoe sole was recovered which shows signs of stitching around its edges (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Shoe leather.

6.4 Metallic Artifacts

6.4.1 Structural Hardware and Fixtures

A total of nine pieces of structural hardware and fixtures were recovered. Analysis of the metal objects in the assemblage excluded the large number of nails. This was due to the limited amount of information that could be gained from them as well as the time required to sort and analyze them, especially considering that environmental conditions such as salt spray and soil conditions would have rendered many of them undiagnostic. However, the assemblage did include a number of well-preserved pieces of building hardware and fixtures. These include large

hand-forged building staples, a sample of nails, measuring around 3.5 cm in length, as well as various door-related hardware. The door hardware consists of a hasp and latch fragment, which originally was fixed to a structure using one of the above-mentioned staples, all recovered from the storehouse (Bartovics 1970:2, 57). Additionally, domestic objects such as a forged iron hook, possibly for suspending cooking pots was recovered as well as a hook associated with the fishery, possibly for cod jigging or as Bartovics (1970: 56-58) suggests a gaff hook. The largest single artifact in the assemblage is a remarkably well preserved hinge and bracket, which may have been mounted on the door of the magazine/storeroom structure or possibly been part of a box or chest of some sort (Figure 6.6) (Bartovics 1970).

Figure 6.6 Iron hinge and bracket.

6.4.2 Lead Artifacts

Three lead objects were recovered from the Admiral's Point site. These include a lead weight or sounding lead, possibly associated with fishing or other maritime activities as well as a small piece of lead roughly cast into a cylindrical shape, possibly also a form of fishing weight. The third object recovered was the remains of lead that had been melted in the bottom of a bowl-shaped ladle or similar utensil, most likely part of the process of casting, suggesting that lead shot/ammunition or fishing weights were being produced on site (Figures 6-8).

Figure 6.7 Lead sounding or fishing weight.

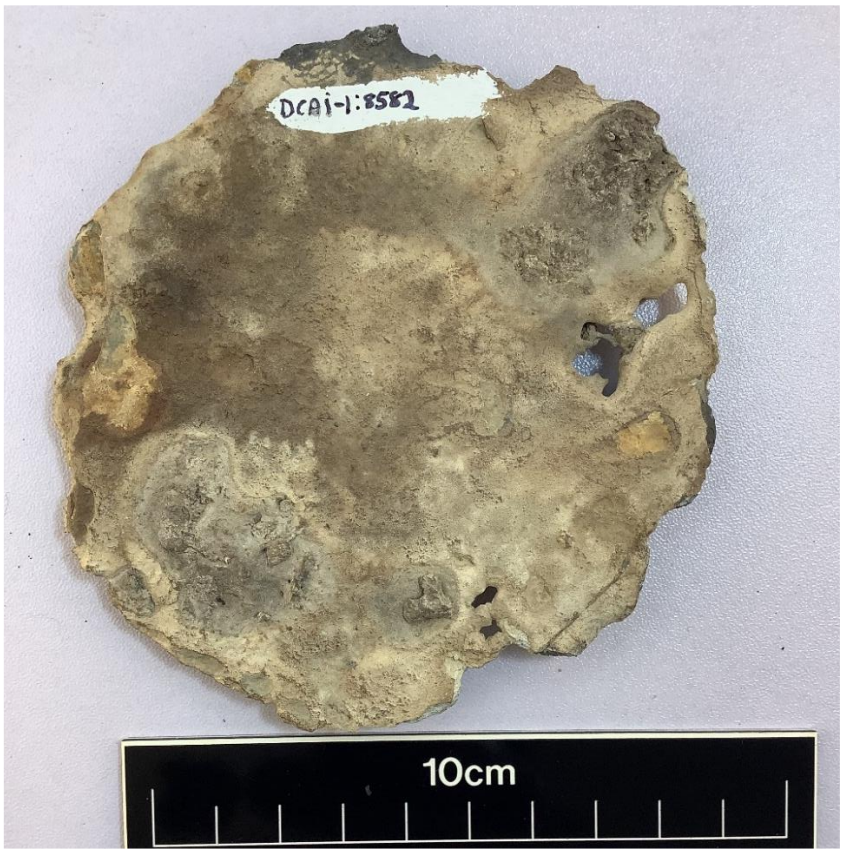


Figure 6.8 Remains of melted lead used for casting.

6.4.3 Buttons

Two buttons were recovered by Bartovics (1970) during his excavation, one of which is datable to the middle of the 18th century and matches the common style of button used by the British military with its distinctive hollow "football" shape (Bartovics 1970: 2, 56; Funken and Funken 1976:19; Gale 2007; May 1974:30). Based on the size (i.e., smaller than those used on a coat) it is likely that this was used on a man's waistcoat (Gale 2007). Notably, it is made of a copper-based alloy, suggesting that it was worn by a member of the Royal Artillery, rather than the regiments of foot that were stationed at the fort such as the 40th who wore "white metal" buttons (Drake 1752; Funken and Funken 1976:19; Trinity Historical Society 2018; Anonymous

n.d.). Additionally, the button was uncovered from the “Gunners Hut” feature, which likely was used as a shelter by artillerymen (Figure 6.9) (Bartovics 1970: 2, 56).

The second button is a concave shape, with generic or undiagnostic decoration on its outer surface. Originally this button may have had a backing made of a perishable material that has since decayed (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.9 Military waistcoat button.

Figure 6.10 Convex button with surface design.

6.4.4 Coins

A single coin is included in the assemblage, though all detail has been lost due to surface accretions (Figure 6.11). A detailed numismatic analysis and possible X ray may provide further information on this artifact.

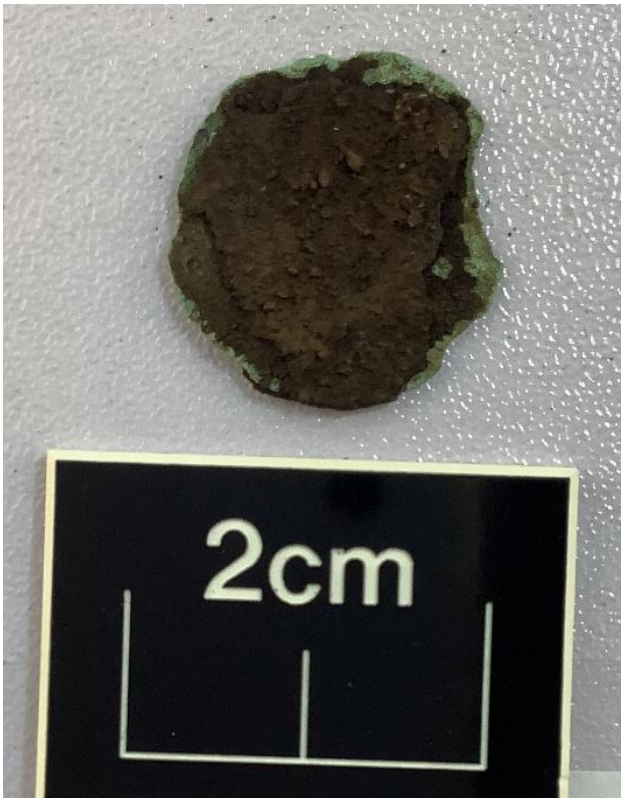


Figure 6.11 Coin.

6.4.5 Ordinance

Two pieces of spherical shot are part of the Admiral's Point assemblage, both of which were excavated by Bartovics (1970). The first is a piece of iron grape shot, measuring 42mm in diameter and 299g/.54lb. Grape shot was an anti-personnel weapon fired from a cannon, consisting of a series of small iron balls contained in a fabric bag and secured to a wooden base. It would be used at relatively short range and when it left the cannon's muzzle, the numerous

iron balls would spread out, much like a giant shotgun. Grape shot such as this piece, was more commonly used by the Navy or against naval targets and contrasts with canister or case shot, more typically used on land, which consisted of smaller projectiles and would have a shorter range (Bradley et al. 1994: 62-66; Sivilich 2016: 92-101). It makes sense that grape shot would be included in the arsenal of a coastal defence site like Admiral's Point, where it would have been effective against ships crews and equipment when fired in the confined waters of the harbour or channel (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.12 Grapeshot.

The second piece is a spherical shot measuring 65mm in diameter and weighing 963/ 2.12lbs. Accounting for material loss over time, it is possible that this may have originally been intended for use with a 3-pounder gun (Bradley et al. 1994: 62-66; McConnell 1988: 92-94). These pieces were common during the 18th century especially in North America, where their small size made them easy to move and use on rough terrain when compared to guns of a larger

size (Henry and Delf 2003: 34; McConnell 1988: 92-94). By the 19th century, guns of this size would have been considered obsolete though were still used when available in fortifications. However, none of the documentary sources list 3 pounder guns among those at Admiral's Point, instead listing 6, 9, 12 and 24 pounder guns (Bastide 1750; Cook 1748; Royal Engineers 1812; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Additionally, a 3 pounder. gun would not have been of much use against naval targets, though smaller guns such as 2-4 pounders. were often used to fire anti-personnel shot while larger calibre guns were used to fire solid spherical shot (Bradley et al. 1994: 62-66; Sivilich 2016 92-101). Nonetheless, it is difficult to tell where this piece came from (Figure 6.13).

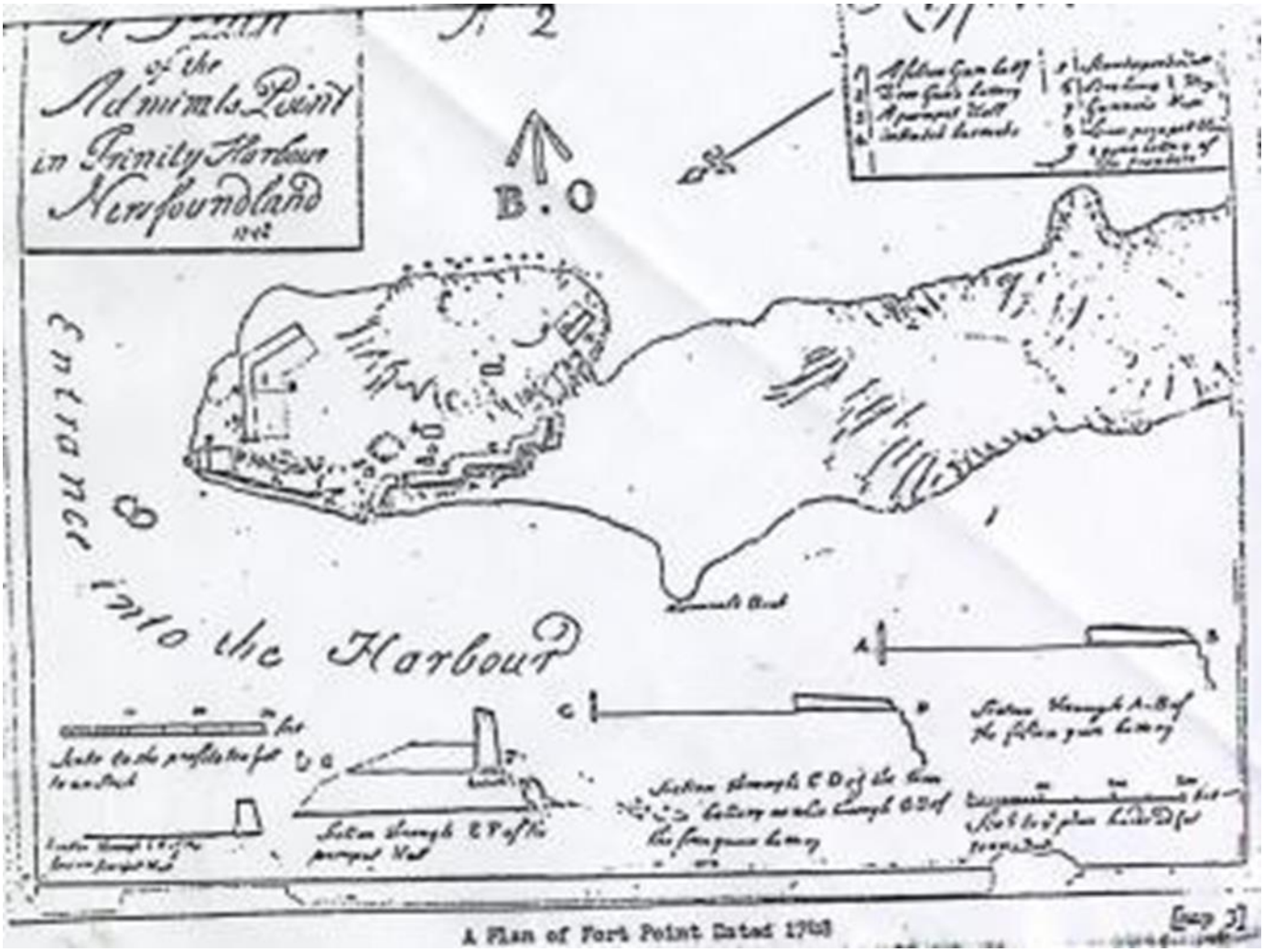
Figure 6.13 3 pounder solid shot.

The ordinance at the fort varied over time as pieces were withdrawn, destroyed, or brought in. There are three main sources on the ordinance present and below is a list of the guns mentioned by William Cook, Chief Engineer of Newfoundland in 1748 (Map 6.1), Marc Antoine, a French Engineer who made a detailed plan of the fortifications in 1762 and a report by the Royal Engineers made in 1812. Archaeological work at the site has also uncovered four 12 pounders dating to the reign of Queen Ann (1702-1707) (Figure 6.14). Obsolete guns such as these were often used in static defences such as Admiral's Point.

Figure 6.14 Queen Ann era 12 pounder gun. Photo Courtesy of Trinity Historical Society.

Table 6.3 Guns Present in the Admiral's Point Fortifications According to Documentary and Archaeological Sources

Source	Guns (Pounder Abbreviated to lbr.)	Total Guns Present	Notes
Cook 1748	14 - 24 lbr 4 - 6 lbr	Total of 18 guns Does not specify distribution	It appears that they were mounted on sea service carriages
Antoine 1762	28 - various sizes 1 - 6 lbr	Total of 29 guns	14 are specified as being distributed among three batteries with the six lbr being on a mobile carriage
Royal Engineers 1812	1 – 24 lbr 2 - Short 12 lbr 3 – long 9 lbr	Six guns are mentioned as being at the Fort	Says that the 24lbr was spiked in 1762 and is being refurbished the remaining guns are also being recovered from those abandoned at the site
Archaeological Work: Bartovics1969; Skanes 1994;Skanes and Reynolds 1996	4 – 12 lbr		Only 4 12lbr guns with Queen Ann Cypher were recovered and are currently mounted at the Main Battery



Map 6.1 A Plan of Fort Point Dated 1748. Map courtesy of Trinity Historical society and Virtual Museum.ca

6.5 Glassware

A total MNV count of 85 glass vessels and panes was uncovered by both Skanes (1994: Skanes and Reynolds 1996) and Bartovics (1970). Glassware is one of the most numerous artifact types in the Admiral's Point assemblage and is present in most of the excavated areas, though roughly concentrated around centres of habitation such as areas A, the Storekeepers Hut, and I, the Ruined Building used as a middening site (Skanes 1994: 8-11). The glass assemblage

consists of items related to food and drink, medicinal purposes, and structural uses like window glass. Notably, a large portion of the glassware has been heavily burnt and melted. As much of it was recovered from structures which are known to have been in use exclusively before the 1762 destruction, it is quite possible that the extensive heat damage is due to the structures being burnt. For the purposes of discussing the glass assemblage, artifacts will be divided by the area in which they were recovered, then they will be divided between artifacts related to food, drink or tableware and window glass. Where artifacts are not able to be placed in either category, they will be dealt with separately. An MNV count was then completed to assess the number of vessels in each area, the results of which are discussed in this section. Non-diagnostic or unidentifiable items were omitted (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 9-14).

6.5.1 Area A

Bottles

Excavations at Area A or the storekeeper's hut produced a MNV count of ten glass bottles and three distinct groups of fragmented window glass. The bottles are mostly of potash glass also known as *Waldglas* or black glass, referring to its dark green, often black colour (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 9-14). Additionally, a lighter coloured soda glass bottle was included in the assemblage.

Overall, six of ten bottles showed signs of being exposed to intense heat, resulting in melting and distortion which made identification difficult (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 9-14). Others showed signs of heavy patination and accretions on the surface. Nonetheless, identification of distinct vessels was possible due to form, or material colour and type. All ten bottles are of the type commonly used for wine and based on diagnostic base "kick-ups" where

present, suggested a date roughly in the middle of the 18th century to the early 19th century (Hume 1969; Jones and Sullivan 1989: 9-14) This date is consistent with the occupation of the fort, though the heat damage suggests that they may date to the earlier part of this date range (i.e., on or before 1762). This assertion is further supported by the fact that the structure that they are associated with, the storekeeper's hut, was destroyed in 1762 (Figure 6.15).

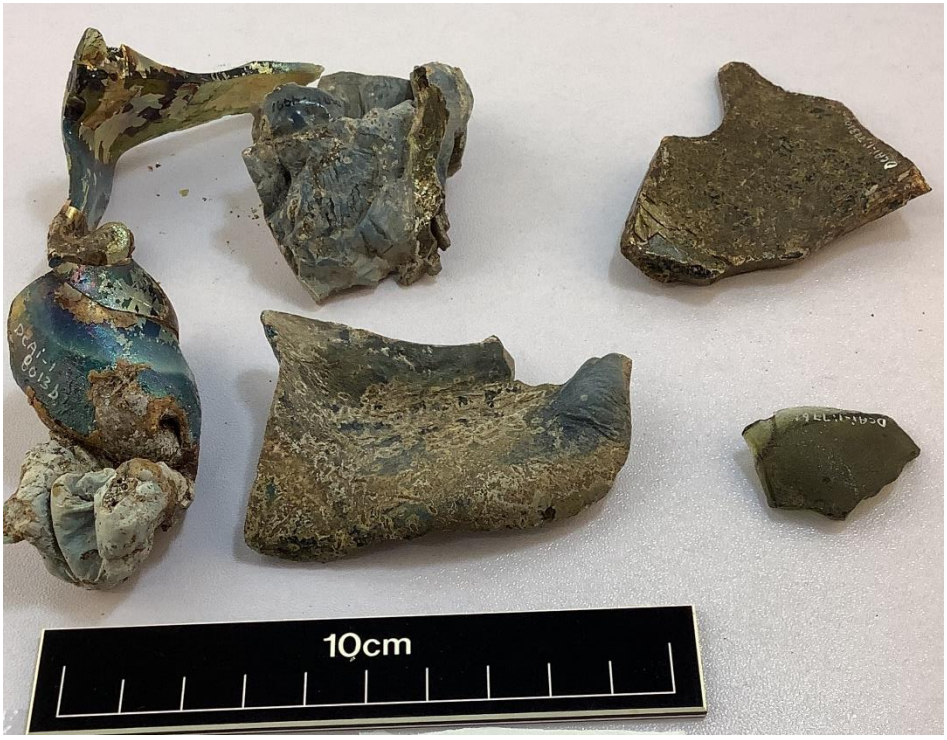


Figure 6.15 Area A glass bottle remains

Table 6.4 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area A

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Fragments	Date	Notes
1	Potash Lime	Wine Bottle			Melted
2	Green Glass	Wine Bottle			Heavy patination on surface
3	Potash	Bottle	Base Fragment		Melted
4	Green Glass	Wine Bottle			
5		Wine Bottle	Base	Mid- Late 18th Century	Heavy patination obscuring metal type
6	Potash	Wine Bottle	Neck and Base	Late 18th to early 19th Century	Heavily patinated and heat distorted
7	Green Glass	Wine Bottle		18th- 19th Century	Melted and patinated
8	Green Glass	Bottle			Melted and patinated
9	Soda Glass	Bottle			Melted
10	Green Glass	Wine Bottle	Base Fragment	Mid 18th early 19th Century	

Flat/Window Glass

Three distinct panes of window glass were also discovered at area A (Figure 6.16). While they were in a fragmented state, it was possible to discern matching pieces through a comparison of width, colour and where possible, cross mends (Hume 1969: 233-235; Jones and Sullivan 1989: 171-172).

Figure 6.16 Flat window glass.

6.5.2 Area B

Bottles

Analysis of the assemblage associated with area B, or the three-gun battery concluded that there are a minimum of seven glass vessels.

Table 6.6 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area B

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Fragments	Notes
1	Potash	Wine Bottle	Base and Body Fragments	
2	Potash	Wine Bottle		
3	Potash	Wine Bottle		
4		Bottle		Thin bottle, possible three different vessels
5	Colourless Glass	Medicinal Bottle	Lip Fragments	Possible medicinal bottle
6	Soda	Bottle		Highly melted
7	Soda	Bottle		

6.5.3 Area C

Bottles

Only one neck of a green potash wine bottle was recovered from area C or the 14 gun battery (Skanes 1994: 9).

Flat/Window Glass

In contrast, 10 distinctly identifiable flat glass artifacts were recovered, most likely window glass. This may have been as a result of deliberate middening and refuse disposal near the battery rather than a structure. It must be noted that each item does not suggest a complete window and instead may represent a single pane of glass. At this tine, manufactured window glass was often shipped to North America from Europe or from glass blowers in North America in the form of sheets to be cut and fitted into windows (Hume 1969: 233-235). It may be possible that glass from a different batch or not precisely matching was used to form panes within the

same window. Additionally, a fragment of what is likely modern plate glass was recovered, possibly associated with the lighthouse (Figure 6.17).

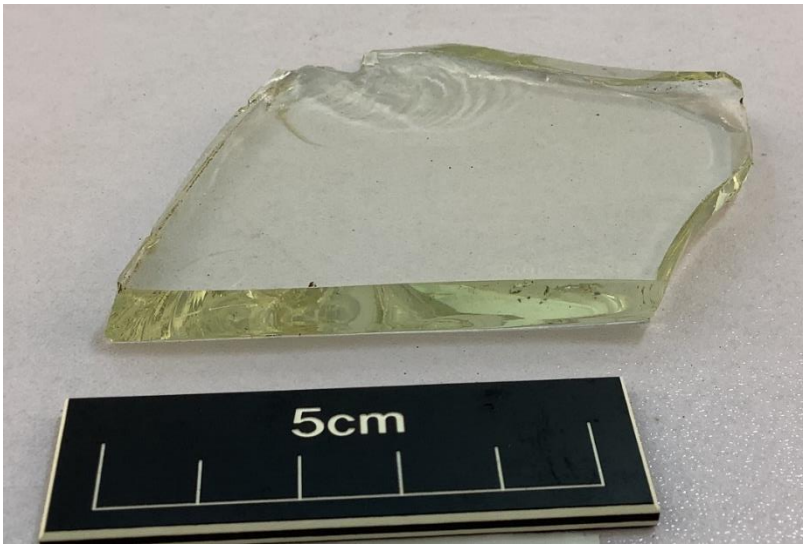


Figure 6.17 Modern flat plate glass.

Table 6.7 Flat Glass Recovered from Area C

Artifact	Glass Type	Colour	Notes
1		Clear	
2	Soda	Yellow Green	10mm thick likely modern glass from Lighthouse
3		Clear	
4	Soda	Clear	
5		Clear	
6		Clear	
7	Soda	Clear Blueish	
8		Clear	
9		Clear	Decorated, though indistinguishable design
10		Clear	

6.5.4 Area D

Bottles

Five bottles were recovered from area D, a small battery located to the south-east of the site (Antoine 1762; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

Table 6.8 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area D

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Date	Notes
1	Potash	Wine Bottle	Bottle neck and lip		Likely English
2	Soda				Clear
3	Potash	Wine Bottle			
4	Soda				Greenish colour
5					Curved light green glass

6.5.5 Area F

Bottles

The area F excavations produced five bottles and one flat glass artifact, a piece of 8mm thick plate glass, likely associated with a modern lighthouse, similar to flat glass artifact #2 from area C. According to Skanes (1994), area F is the remains of a house roughly 3-4m square, which was reportedly in a ruined state at the time of the French attack. The assemblage suggests that this area was used domestically and Skanes (1994:9-10) suggests that based on the number of nails recovered, it is likely that the structure was wooden (Skanes 1994: 9-10).

Table 6.9 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area F

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Date	Notes
1	Potash	Case Bottle			
2	Potash	Wine Bottle	Body and lip		
3		Bottle or tableware			Blue coloured glass
4		Undetermined			Clear glass
5	Soda				

6.5.6 Area G

Bottles

Excavations at the "gunners hut" or area G, produced four bottles and one piece of flat green glass, possibly from a case bottle or decanter.

Table 6.10 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area G

Bottle	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Dates	Notes
1		Bottle			Highly damaged and patinated
2	Potash	Bottle		18th Century	
3	Potash	Bottle			
4		Case bottle or decanter			Possible decanter with flat green glass

Tableware

Two distinct wine glass stems of clear glass were recovered in Area G. Although only small fragments survive, their basic shape (i.e., a stem decorated with bulbous forms) suggest that they may date between the early to mid-18th century and therefore may represent older

tableware which was still in use at the time of occupation in the second half of the 18th century (Hume 1969: 184-191). Notably, the gunners hut was reported as being a dilapidated building constructed out of stones set in mortar with a stone hearth, which was likely repaired and used by the British garrison in the 1740s. It had likely fallen into disrepair prior to the French attack. Due to a possible earlier civilian occupation, these glasses may not be associated with the garrison at all, or they may have been an older form of glass which was still in use (Figure 6.18) (Hume 1969: 184-191; Skanes 1994: 10; Valente et al. 2016).

Figure 6.18 Wine Glass stem.

6.5.7 Admiral's Beach

Bottles

Five bottles were recovered from excavations at the Admiral's Beach area.

Table 6.12 Glass Bottles Recovered from Admiral's Beach

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Dates	Notes
1	Potash	Bottle	Base and body fragments		
2	Colourless Glass	Possibly tableware or medicinal			possibly an ornamental vessel or decorative, has a narrow spout and ridged decoration
3	Light Green (Possibly lime, which would suggest later date)				
4	Potash	Bottle			Pitted surface possibly due to submersion in water
5	Potash	Bottle	Body shards		Patinated

6.5.8 Area I

Bottles

Area I, which was a structure located to the southern potion of the site near the Admiral's Beach area, contained the greatest number of glass bottles with a total of seventeen individual vessels (Figure 6.19). However, the glass items in this area were also heavily damaged by fire, with many of them being melted beyond recognition. Some of these were identified as likely bottles, either because of metal type or shape, albeit, distorted. Many more were left out of the MNV count due to the distortion; this may have resulted in a skewed count with a lower number of vessels being represented proportional to the overall number of glass fragments (Hume 1969: 184-191; Voss and Allen 2010).

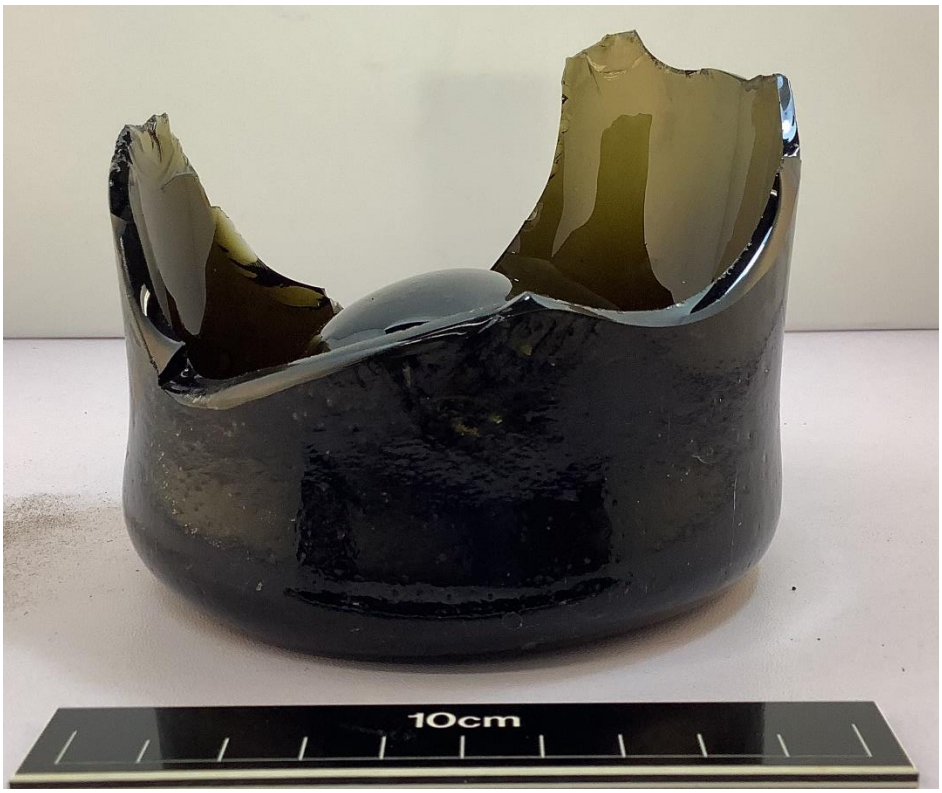


Figure 6.19 Glass wine bottle base recovered from area I

Reportedly, the structure which corresponds with area I was constructed in the 1740s with the building of the fort (Skanes 1994: 10-11). By the time the French surveyed the fortifications, it appears that it may have been in a ruined state, though the dateable artifacts in the assemblage suggest that it was re-occupied in the latter 18th century and may have been in use to the end of the fort's occupation (Antoine 1762; Skanes 1994: 10-11).

Table 6.13 Glass Bottles Recovered from Area I

Bottle #	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Dates	Notes
1	Potash	Bottle	Base fragment		
2	Potash	Bottle	Base fragment		Shows heavy kick-up, also bottle neck base and small fragments to make difficult diagnosis
3	Potash	Bottle	Base	Later 18th C.	Thick high kick up and narrower bottle indicate later date
4	Potash	Bottle	Base kick up		Very thick patination and discoloration possibly caused by heat
5	Potash	Bottle	Kick up fragment		
6	Potash	Bottle	possibly later 18th C.		Heavily patinated
7	Potash	Bottle	Kick up		Shallow kick up, round base, likely an earlier date
8	Potash	Bottle	Base kick up		
9	Potash	Bottle	Base fragment		
10	Potash	Bottle	Complete base	Late 18th C.	Non-patinated and good condition
11	Potash	Bottle			Heavily burnt and damaged, not certain if all fragments represent same vessel
12	Colourless glass	Bottle possibly medicinal or tableware	17.7cm base diameter		
13	Clear green tinted		Neck and shoulder fragments		Table or medicinal possibly
14	Blue soda glass			Possibly later 18th C. or early 19thC.	
15	Soda	Bottle possibly medicinal or tableware			
16	Potash	Bottle	12-15cm diameter	Later 18th C.	Almost complete base though fragmented and highly patinated. Possibly 2 vessels

Tableware

A stemmed drinking glass was recovered in area I. It has clear colourless glass with some etched designs though the fragments are too small to determine a possible date or any identifying features.

Painted Glass

Two fragments of painted glass were included in the area I assemblage. These are the only two instances of painted glass at the Admiral's Point site. Both are clear colourless glass; the first has a brown and white painted design and the second consists of two matching sherds decorated with blue and white paint. Unfortunately, these sherds are too small to determine original form or a possible date.

Flat Glass

Only one type of flat glass was recovered from area I in the form of fragments of soda glass sheet, likely from a window.

6.5.9 Unknown Areas

Bottles

Context documentation for several artifacts has been lost. Included in this are three bottles: one is heavily melted, another possibly medicinal, while the third is a wine bottle. None are dateable (Figure 6.20).

Flat Glass

A single example of flat soda glass, likely from a window, is missing documentation. It matches the window glass fragments found in the rest of the site so may have been recovered in any of the excavated areas.

6.5.10 1969 Excavation

The 1969 excavation by Albert Bartovics (1970) produced a small collection of glass artifacts. Following is a table of the identified vessels. The MNV count for the 1969 portion of the assemblage is recorded separate from the remainder of the collection. The reason for the separation is due to the difference in excavated areas. As there is no consistent overlap in context between the 1969 and the 1994 and 1995 excavations, it was decided to separate the discussion of the artifacts. However, it should be noted that this is the same site, and the area of excavation is often only meters away from where Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996) excavated and do not represent a separate period of occupation or culture.

Table 6.14 Glass Artifacts Recovered During the 1969 Excavation at Admiral's Point

Number#	Glass Type	Form	Diagnostic Elements	Date	Excavation Area	Notes
1	Potash	Wine bottle	Wine bottle lip	mid to late 18th C.	Prov.1 Near Magazine	Likely English, due to quality of lip uniformly fixed around vessel
2	Potash	Bottle	Mouth			
3	Potash	Bottle	Mouth fragment			
4	Potash	Bottle	Mouth fragment			
5	Colourless glass	Possible medicinal bottle	Base fragment 5cm diameter			
6	Green glass	Case bottle	Flat sided with base fragment			
7	Soda		Curved fragment			
8	Soda	Sheet glass	Sheet glass likely used in windows		Prov 1 Trench 1. Prov 2 feat. 1. Prov 3. Prov 4 feat 4. squares E,H,M.	Fragments recovered from various areas of excavation. Representing multiple different windows.

Figure 6.20 Medicinal bottle mouth.

6.6 Clay Tobacco Pipes

More than 50 distinct clay tobacco pipes were uncovered from all excavations at the Admiral's Point site (Bartovics 1970; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996). Like many sites of the colonial period, excavations at Admiral's Point produced a relatively large number of clay smoking pipes, ranging from the plain, cheap and almost disposable, to more ornately decorated examples (Figure 6.21) (Gaulton 1999:25; Hume 1969: 296). During the 18th and early 19th century, smoking was widely practiced with simple clay tobacco pipes available to almost all socio-economic levels of society (Hume 1969: 296). As a result of a high frequency of use, disposal and replacement among tobacco pipes and the relatively clear and dateable changes in their form over time, they provide an excellent method for dating archaeological sites (Bradley 2000; Gaulton 1999: 25-56; Hume 1969: 296-312; Pfeiffer 2006).

Figure 6.21 Assorted pipe stems recovered from area I

6.6.1 Pipe Analysis and MNV Count Method

For the purposes of this project, all available pipe components (i.e., stems, bowls and more complete pipes) were again divided by excavation, either those led by Skanes and Reynolds in 1994 and 1995 or Bartovics in 1969. Stems were then separated from bowls and the bore diameter of stems were measured. Stems were then divided by bore size and in some cases cross-mends identified between stem fragments. After counting the number of fragments (or pipe stems if cross-mends were identified), the bowls were counted, and a minimum number of pipes identified from this number (Hume 1969: 296-312). A count based on the relatively complete bowls was determined to be the most accurate and sure way of identifying individual pipes. Where bowls were incomplete, a pipe could be counted based on the intersection of the bowl and

stem (Figure 6.22). However, it was first determined if this intersection cross-mended with any of the bowl fragments therefore representing the same pipe (Hume 1969: 296-312).

6.6.2 Dating Based on Pipe Stem Bore Diameter

The Binford Formula Use and Potential Problems

In many cases a date range could be assigned to the area based on typology and identified examples of pipe bowls as discussed by Hume (Figure 6.22) (1969), Gaulton (1999), Pfeiffer (2006) and Bradley (2000). This was referenced against the median date of the pipe stems as determined through the Binford Formula (Hume 1969: 298-299; McMillan 2016). This formula generates a median date for a series of pipes based on a general observed trend which shows that the pipe stem bore diameter narrows over time (Hume 1969: 298-299; McMillan 2016). Theoretically, a smaller average bore size should be found in an assemblage that dates later than an assemblage with a larger average bore size. The formula used is as follows:

$$Y=1931.85- 38.26X$$

Y represents the median date of the sample of pipes while 1931.85 is roughly the year that clay pipes fell out of use. 38.26 is the number of years that separate the change in bore diameter, with the trend being a decrease of a 64^{th} of an inch every 38.26 years. X is the median bore diameter of the sample size being analyzed (Hume 1969: 299).

The Binford formula relies on the findings of J.C. Harrington an archaeologist who observed the trend of decreasing pipe stem bore size over time among pipes found at colonial sites in the Northeastern North America (Hume 1969: 298-299; McMillan 2016: 68). However, there are some issues with this formula. First, Harrington did not state how he determined that

the pipes used were English (McMillan 2016:68). Second, in order to get a Y value, a fairly large sample is required, although according to Hume (1969), a small sample can still provide a useful Y value. Among samples that are large enough to provide confident Y values, it is likely that other dateable artifacts will be present. While this technically makes using the Binford formula redundant, additional dating mechanisms are always useful and there is no harm in getting a "second opinion" so to speak. The formula is also only accurate until the 1760s, with later assemblages providing increasingly erratic Y values as they move further from this date (Hume 1969: 296-301; McMillan 2016). The formula also ignores the fact that pipe stem bore diameter was not standardized over the period from 1620-1800. It is perfectly likely that manufacturers were using different size tools because it was what was available, or for other reasons. This is somewhat supported by the results of the analysis discussed.

Being fully aware of the limitations, I nonetheless decided to incorporate the dating formula. Although relative dates were provided through typological dating of the pipe bowls and other artifacts found in the same context, the Binford formula was used to provide additional assurance that the dates provided through other means were somewhat accurate. However, if a date range provided by typological dating of artifacts, documentary sources or other means contradicted the Y value of the Binford formula, then the other date would be favoured. This became apparent after Y values of varying plausibility were produced from wildly varying sample sizes, with no real correlation between a plausible date range and sample size being noticed. The results of the pipe analysis are shown along with the resulting Binford formula Y value for each area.

Table 6.15 Tobacco Pipes Recovered from Admiral's Point

Area	Number of Bowls	Number of Stems	MNV	Binford Y Value
A	3	15	3	1743
B	0	1	1	1778
D	1	3	2	1727
E	3	32	3	1739
F	4	50	4	1703
G	4	16	4	1764
I	22	249	22	1754
J	1	1	1	1740
Admirals Beach	0	35	3	1708
Unidentified Area	1	53	n/a	1747
1969 Excavation	7	73	7	1715

The dates resulting from the formula were sporadic, though most of them fell after 1740, making them plausible for the period of occupation being studied. Nonetheless, in most cases they agree with the dates suggested by the other methods used. However, they noticeably did not suggest any occupation toward the 19th century, which is contrary to the typological analysis of the pipes present and which suggest an occupation dating possibly as late as the mid-19th century, though it would be civilian by this time (Hume 1969: 303; Pfeiffer 2006: 42-43).

Figure 6.22 Pipe stem and bowl fragments.

6.6.3 Area A

Three distinct pipe bowls were recovered from area A. The first and third bowls were decorated with a moulded floral and linear design with masonic motifs, popular among the British military, likely dating to the mid to late 18th century though possibly used into the early 19th century (Figure 6.23) (Bradley 2000: 113; Hume 1969: 303). The second was a plain undatable fragment. All three of these pipes are consistent with the known occupation of the site and show signs of use, though are noticeably later in time than the Binford formula would suggest. Bore diameters consist of seven stems measuring 4/64ths, five measuring 5/64ths, a single measuring 6/64ths and one each measuring 7 and 8/64ths. This variation in stem bore diameter was reasonably consistent across the site with a larger number tending to have a smaller bore size, though a significant minority showed larger bores irrespective of other dateable features.

Figure 6.23 Decorated pipe bowl recovered from area A.

6.6.4 Area B

A single undatable pipe stem was recovered in this area with a bore diameter of 4/64ths suggesting use towards the later 18th century.

6.6.5 Area D

One bowl which could not be typologically identified as well as three pipe stems with bores measuring 5/64ths and 6/64ths of an inch were recovered from area D.

6.6.6 Area E

Of the three identifiable bowls in area E, two were dateable with one being of a possible earlier style while the other had a spur that suggested a late 18th-century deposition (Gaulton 1999: 25-55; Hume 1969: 303). Stem bores measured five with 4/64ths, 25 with 5/64ths and a single measuring 6/64ths.

6.6.7 Area F

Four bowls were identified in area F, three of which were plain and stained with soot. The fourth was characteristic of 18th-century Bristol made pipes specifically for North American export notably lacking a spur and supposedly in imitation of North American Indigenous designs (Bradley 2000: 115; Hume 1969: 305).

6.6.8 Area G

Area G contained four identifiable bowls, one of which had a matching spur and stem dating to the late 18th or early 19th century (Hume 1969: 303). The other pipes suggested an occupation dating to the latter half of the 18th century or were unmarked or did not contain any diagnostic features. Among the pipe stems, ten had bores of 4/64ths while six had bores measuring 5/64ths. Although as previously discussed this is not a sure dating method, the narrow bore diameter does support a date towards the later 18th century.

6.6.9 Area I

Area I, as with glass and ceramics, contained the most artifacts with a MNV count of 22 pipes based on diagnostic bowl, spur and significant cross-mends. The pipes in area I represented a diverse cross-section of the various types present at Admiral's Point, including plain though likely 18th century styles, as well as highly decorated styles likely from the early 19th century, one of which featured reliefs in blue as well as Bristol export pipes (Bradley 2000: 113-114; Hume 1969: 296-301). This diversity may suggest use over both time and socio-economic class, with the relatively abundant cheap and plain styles being used by the rank and file or poorer citizens of Trinity and the more decorative though less frequent pipes being used by officers or

more well-off civilians. However, where it was possible to say, all present types suggested a period of occupation that corresponded to the military occupation of the site i.e., mid to late 18th and into the early 19th centuries.

The pipe stems recovered in this area also tended towards smaller diameters, supporting at least a mid-to-late 18th-century date. Altogether, 93 measured 4/64ths, 152 measured 5/64ths and only four measured 6/64ths. However, many styles with heavily moulded designs characteristic of the period from roughly 1780 to the 1820s, had bore diameters measuring 5/64ths of an inch, which should suggest a date around 1710 to 1750 (Hume 1969: 298). This demonstrates some of the flaws of bore diameter-based dating methods and how if other dates, such as typologically based ones contradict them it is often best to favour the latter. Nonetheless, the additional dates provided by the bore diameter are valuable where little or no diagnostic components are available or as a method of checking and comparing against (Hume 1996: 296-301; McMillan 2016).

6.6.10 Area J

A single pipe stem with an attached bowl fragment was recovered in area J. This piece was marked along the stem with MC DOUGA-[LL], surrounded by braided decoration, placing it as late as 1887-1894 and manufactured by MCDougall of Glasgow (Pfeiffer 2006: 29-30). Curiously, the stem bore diameter measured 5/64th of an inch which shows that bore diameter was not always narrower in pipes of a later date.

6.6.11 Admiral's Beach

No pipe bowls were recovered in this area of excavation however, 35 fragments of pipe stems were recovered, with 15 measuring 5/64ths, 12 measuring 6/64ths and a single with a bore diameter of 8/64ths. This would suggest a date in the 17th century or early 18th. However, this is to early for the fort's occupation although may represent prior activity at the site. Without further diagnostic elements, a more certain date is not possible.

6.6.12 Unidentified Areas

Several pipe related artifacts were either not documented or have lost all contextual documentation. Among these are one non diagnostic pipe bowl and 53 pipe stem fragments, 20 measuring 4/64ths, 15 measuring 5/64ths, and 18 measuring 6/64ths.

6.6.13 1969 Excavation

As was stated above, the areas of excavations chosen by Albert Bartovics during his 1969 excavation do not correspond with those excavated by Roy Skanes in 1994 or when he returned to the site with Ken Reynolds in 1995. As a result, the artifacts excavated by Bartovics (1970) are discussed here, though it must be noted that they do not represent a separate occupation or culture and that their separation from the rest of the assemblage is a result of the archaeological excavations rather than any historically significant difference.

As a rule, the artifacts present in the Bartovics portion of the assemblage are more diagnostic, in better condition or are more archaeologically significant than those in the Skanes and Reynolds portion, despite the significantly larger size of the latter. It is difficult to tell if this is a result of a deliberate choice by the archaeologists in 1969 to only keep the most significant

artifacts or a genuine difference in the material culture present in the units excavated in 1969 verses those dug in 1994 and 1995. However, the smoking pipes were an exception to this rule and followed the same basic trend as the excavations by Skanes and Reynolds (1994; 1996)

The 1969 excavation produced an MNV count of 7 pipes from all areas. Five of these were made from a plain white clay with no visible decoration. One exhibited a clear stamped design suggesting a late 18th century or early 19th century date (Hume 1969: 296-301). Another decorated pipe was stamped with the words "STOCK PIPE" and likely dates to the 19th century. Bore diameters consisted of two stems measuring 4/64ths, a single measuring 5/64ths, three measuring 6/64ths and a single measuring 7/64ths. This produced a Binford date of 1715 which is likely too early and skewed by the relatively high proportion of stems measuring 6 and 7/ 64ths.

6.7 Ceramics

By far the largest portion of artifacts in the Admiral's Point assemblage were ceramics, with an overall minimum number of 226 vessels. Most of them were related to food consumption either coarse storage vessels or tableware such as bowls, saucers, dinner plates or serving vessels. The ceramic assemblage primarily consisted of earthenware both coarse and refined (Figure 6.24). There were also a considerable number of stoneware vessels again, coarse and refined. Additionally, a small number of porcelains, most likely of European manufacture was also present. As would be expected, the vast majority of the ceramics were of British manufacture following the general prevailing fashions of the time such as creamware and pearlware (Bartovics 1970; Coysh and Henrywood 1982, 1989; Feister 1984; Gaulton 2019 a, b; Grant 1983; Hume 1969; Newcombe 2017; Rickard 2006; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996; Voss and Allen 2010; Watkins 1960).

The state of the ceramic's assemblage was varied with some examples of nearly restorable vessels (notably a creamware bowl) to highly fragmented, though otherwise in good condition, diagnostic sherds. On the other hand, many fragments were completely unidentifiable or showed signs of extensive heat damage making identification difficult. A large portion of the sherds were undiagnostic body fragments, meaning that the MNV count is likely skewed towards a far lower number of vessels than are actually represented in the assemblage (Voss and Allen 2010).

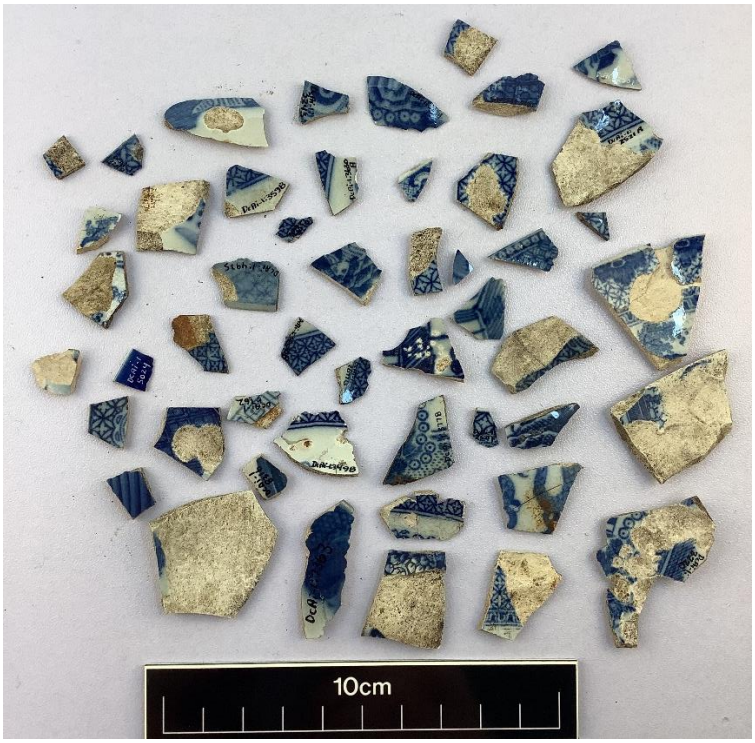


Figure 6.24 Decorated, transfer-printed pearlware.

To conduct an MNV count of ceramic vessels, sherds were divided by area and then by fabric type (i.e., porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware). Non-diagnostic or unidentifiable items, either damaged or fragmented to a degree that would make identification impossible, were then separated from diagnostic pieces or those showing elements of rims, bases, foot pieces, handles,

curvature, or distinct decoration (Sassaman 2009; Voss and Allen 2010). After this was completed, ceramics with a coloured or polychrome glaze were separated from whitewares or uncoloured sherds. This step would help to divide the collection into more manageable portions as well as to create two distinct groups which were most likely to contain discrete vessels respectively, rather than across the two groups (Gaulton 2019 c.: Voss and Allen 2010). Sherds within these two groups were then separated by ware type, then decoration and form (for example, flat wares vs hollow wares) and then to more specific forms when identifiable (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-37; Gaulton 2019 c; Voss and Allen 2010). Non-diagnostic elements were only used to gain a rough idea of the overall size of the collection and were not included in the final count of vessels or ceramic analysis. For the purposes of this chapter, ceramics will be discussed primarily according to fabric and ware type rather than area of excavation.

A minimum of 226 separate vessels were counted from all areas of the Admiral's Point site, both from the Skanes and Reynolds excavations (1994-1996) and Bartovics (1970). Out of the 226 vessels, eleven were excavated by Bartovics (1970) with the remaining being excavated in the 1990s. Below is a list of the ceramics by fabric and ware type.

Table 6.16 Ceramics Recovered at Admiral's Point by Fabric Type

Fabric Type	MNV
Porcelain	8
Stoneware	54
Earthenware	155

Table 6.17 Earthenware and Stoneware Types Recovered from the Admiral's Point Site

Earthenware Type	MNV	Stoneware Type	MNV
Creamware	48	English White Stoneware	30
Pearlware	70	English Brown Stoneware	10
English Brown Earthenware	2	Scratch Blue Decorated English Stoneware	3
Manganese Mottled	2	English Dry Bodied Stoneware	1
Tin Glaze	8	Westerwald	8
Staffordshire Slip	9	Coarse Stoneware (Likely Westerwald)	1
Glazed Coarse Earthenware	8	Rhenish Brown	1
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	15		
French Earthenware	1		
Totnes	3		
North Devon	1		
Whieldon ware	1		
West Somerset	1		
Buckley ware	1		
Mocha ware	2		
Unknown or Unidentifiable	25	Unknown or Unidentifiable	1

Table 6.18 Porcelain Recovered from Admiral's Point

Porcelain Type	MNV
Possible Chinese Porcelain	1
English or European Made Porcelain	8

Table 6.19 Earthenware Ceramic Vessel Forms Recovered from the Admiral's Point Site

Vessel Form	Number
Unidentifiable Hollowware	16
Unidentifiable Flatware	9
Bowl	34
Plate	17
Mug	1
Storage Jar or Similar Vessel	3
Unidentifiable Form	76

Table 6.20 Stoneware Ceramic Vessel Forms Recovered from the Admiral's Point Site

Vessel Form	Number
Unidentifiable Hollowware	13
Bowl	14
Plate	4
Teapot	1
Mug	5
Storage Vessel	1
Unidentifiable Form	18

Table 6.21 Porcelain Ceramic Vessel Forms Recovered from the Admiral's Point Site

Vessel Form	Number
Plate	1
Teacup or Bowl	1
Unidentifiable	6

Table 6.22 Ceramic Ware Types by Area of Excavation

Area	Earthenware	Stoneware	Porcelain	Total
A	35	19	1	55
B	2	4	0	6
C	18	1	0	19
D	4	3	2	9
F	10	4	0	14
M	7	2	1	10
G	6	2	0	8
I	67	18	3	94
1969 Excavation	7	3	1	11
Totals	**156**	**56**	**8**	**226**

6.7.1 Earthenware

Most ceramic artifacts recovered at the Admiral's Point site were earthenware, either coarse utilitarian or storage vessels or more refined tableware. Most of the earthenware vessels were plain creamwares or pearlwares, though a significant portion of the assemblage exhibited decoration of some sort. Most of the decorated vessels were painted creamware or pearlware, though a diverse assortment of other 18th-century ceramic types were present. Almost all of the earthenware ceramics appear to be of English or British manufacture with the exception of a single example of possible French origin (Beaudry et al. 1983; Fallon McMahon 1981; Feister 1984; Gaulton 2019 a, b, c; Goebel 1983; Halfpenny 1993; Miller 1987; Mullins et al. 2013; Nelson 1980; Newcombe 2017: 59-96; Rickard 2006; Voss and Allen 2010).

Creamware

Most of the creamware vessels recovered from all excavated areas were in a highly fragmented state resulting in a MNV count that is likely significantly lower than the number of vessels represented in the assemblage. Creamware, also known as Queen's Ware, was originally developed in England during the 1750s, by Enoch Booth, though it is often associated with Josiah Wedgewood who perfected the process during the 1760s (Halfpenny 1993: 20). Creamware is identifiable by its hard though slightly porous off-white fabric with a fine lead glaze producing the characteristic cream-coloured surface (Gaulton 2019 a.). Throughout its development, Wedgewood refined the colour of the glaze through the reduction of its iron content to produce a purer white colour (Halfpenny 1993). As a result, earlier creamwares often have a slight yellow tint to the glaze, while later examples show a purer white colour. Creamware was sometimes decorated with moulded designs, particularly the scalloped edge seen on many English dinner plates, several examples of which were recovered at Admiral's Point (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25 Creamware bowl recovered from area I.

The assemblage also contains examples of both white, undecorated creamware vessels as well as those showing polychrome designs, often hand painted onto the white background. A small number of transfer-printed pieces were likewise uncovered. Among these are an example showing a nautical theme, with waves and a mariner's compass, likely produced in Liverpool during the later 18th or into the 19th century (Figure 6.26) (Nelson 1980). Many of the creamware vessels are similar small undecorated bowls and may have been part of a matching set.

Figure 6.26 Transfer printed creamware with nautical themes, likely made in Liverpool.

Pearlware

Pearlware is often characterized by its purer white fabric and a lead glaze, sometimes showing a slight blue tint due to the addition of cobalt (Hume 1969: 128; Miller 1987). While pearlware was developed by Josiah Wedgewood in the late 1770s, similar cobalt tinted, lead glazed earthenware, often called "China Glaze" was being produced as early as the 1760s (Hume 1969: 128-131; Miller 1987:83-85). While pearlware was originally produced later than creamware, their usage and popularity overlapped into the first half of the 19th century (Figure 6.27). This is especially so at more remote colonial sites such as Admiral's Point, where new

styles developed in Europe would often take years before becoming popular in North America. Older styles would also be used longer due to a lack of new product being available, particularly in more distant communities such as Trinity. Additionally, a military site such as Admiral's Point would not likely be equipped with the latest fashions.

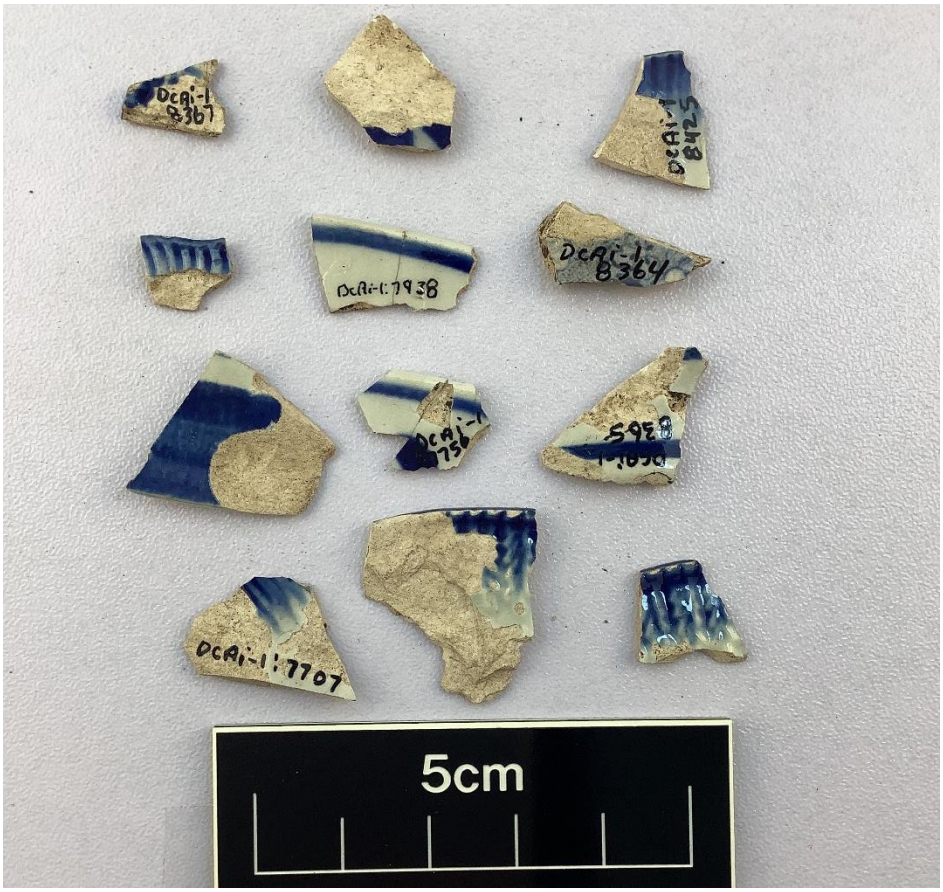


Figure 6.27 Pearlware recovered from area M.

Nonetheless, pearlware was widely available in the late 18th century and its use would have been common among both soldier and civilian. Whereas creamware is often undecorated, pearlware was often decorated with blue under painted designs, sometimes in imitation of Chinese porcelain though other colours were also used. Much like other late 18th-century sites, the Admiral's Point assemblage contained many decorated pearlware vessels. Notably there were

examples of the so called “Willow Pattern”, a British design with an imitation Chinese landscape featuring pagodas, oriental gardens with willow and citrus trees often with a water feature and figures. However, most of the pearlware vessels featured simpler decoration, usually hand painted floral motifs sometimes abstracted. Other common decorations include the common “shell edged” flat ware, with a single colour decorating the rim of the vessel (Gaulton 2019 a.; Cerrato and Cerratto 1981). There is also at least one example of a bowl with a blue dipped bottom and painted floral patterns on the upper half.

English Brown Earthenware

Two examples of brown lead glazed vessels, likely of English origin, were recovered at the site. In both cases, the form is unidentifiable, though they are from separate excavation areas, I and C, suggesting two discrete vessels.

Manganese Mottled

Although manganese mottled earthenware vessels usually date to the late 17th and early 18th century, a single example was recovered. Its condition was too poor to determine the original form although mugs are most common.

Tin Glaze

A much smaller quantity of tin glazed earthenware vessels were uncovered at the site. There are no notable patterns in its distribution as single vessels were uncovered in various areas. This would suggest that they were used in only a small quantity with most of the tableware consisting of creamware and pearlware. The tin glazed vessels are both decorated and plain, mostly consisting of plates or other flatware types. Tin glaze being used on flat ceramics was more common as constant wearing around the lip of teacups or bowls caused the thick tin glaze

to flake off, whereas plates and larger serving dishes usually saw less wear on the vulnerable edges and lasted longer (Hume 1969: 111). It is likely that these tin glazed vessels represent some of the larger tableware at Admiral's Point. However, this is not entirely certain due to the small size of the fragments, though tin glazed recovered at the site generally represent flat wares with a larger rim diameter.

Staffordshire Slipware

A total of nine Staffordshire Slipware vessels were recovered at the site. All except two of the vessels were confirmed to be hollow wares with two being likely bowls and the rest being possible mugs or cups (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-30). Each example showed the characteristic line decoration painted or combed in brown slip on a yellow slip undercoat and covered with a clear lead glaze (Figure 6.28). They are all typical of 18th-century Staffordshire slipware as the combed lines run parallel rather than zig zagged or in panels (Hume 1969: 135). Staffordshire slipware was imported to the North American colonies in large numbers over the 17th and 18th centuries, but their use declined towards the late 18th century (Hume 1969: 134-136; Gaulton 2019 a.). Thus, these items may represent the earlier stage of occupation around the 1740s to the 1762 destruction. Alternatively, they may have been older vessels long out of fashion yet still usable, brought to the fort maybe by the civilian members of the LTVR during the 1790s to 1810s. Interestingly, none of the Staffordshire slipware vessels exhibit any signs of heat damage, a feature of many other ceramic sherds at the site, particularly earlier creamware. This suggests that they were not in use during 1762, with a date of deposition prior to or after the fort's destruction.

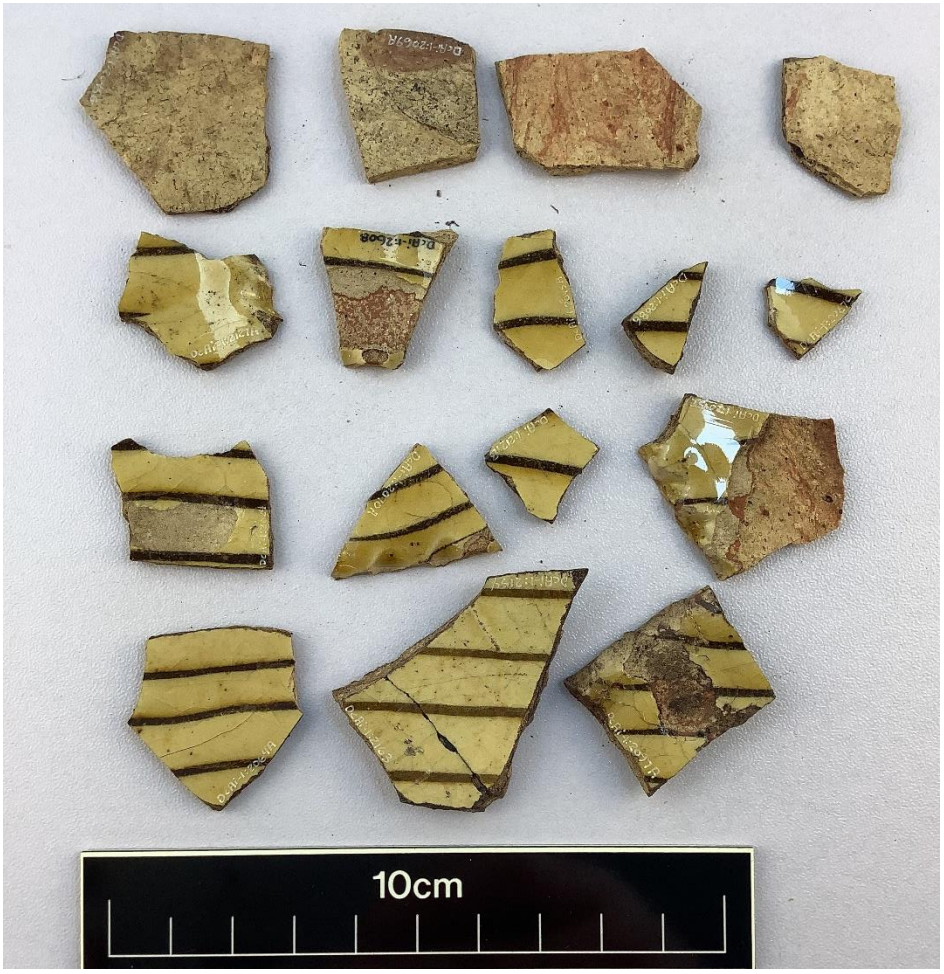


Figure 6.28 Staffordshire slipware.

Glazed Coarse Earthenware

Eight glazed utilitarian coarse earthenware vessels were recovered during the excavations at Admiral's Point. Many of these are in a poor state of preservation making identifying any form or ware type difficult. As a result, they have been grouped together as generic glazed coarse earthenware vessels. Coarse earthenware with an identifiable ware type is discussed separately. However, a large 25 inch in diameter lead glazed milk pan was among the assemblage (Figure 6.29) (Beaudry et al. 1983: 35). Several of these are likely British redware and most are finished with a lead glaze, though one shows signs of a thick lead glaze.

Figure 6.29 Lead glazed coarse earthenware rim fragment, possible milk pan.

Unglazed Coarse Earthenware

A minimum of 15 unglazed coarse earthenware vessels were identified in the ceramic assemblage. Their state of preservation is very poor and some exhibit signs of extensive heat damage, suggesting that they were possibly in use during 1762. The vessel forms which have been identified include a jar, a large mug/drinking pot or similar vessel and a number of large hollow wares, most likely storage vessels or cooking pots or jars (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-37). While most are undecorated or in a state where decoration is no longer visible, a single example with a handle shows incised linear designs, possibly a pitcher, ewer, or jug (Beaudry et al. 1983: 30-31).

French (?) Earthenware

A single vessel recovered in area B is possibly of French origin. However, it is in a poor state of preservation and little identifiable glaze remains. As a result, it is not certain, though the fabric is distinct from English or British earthenware vessels recovered at the site. It is possible that this vessel, if it is indeed French, was deposited during their brief occupation of the community in the summer of 1762 or may have just been a French made vessel in use among the civilian or military occupants of the fort.

Totnes

Three Totnes coarse earthenware vessels were identified among the assemblage. Totnes is an English coarse earthenware manufactured from the medieval period into the mid-18th century. None of the three Totnes vessels have any glaze remaining and one of them shows signs of extensive heat damage. However, their buff coloured coarse sandy yet hard fabric features mica and limestone inclusions typical of Totnes earthenware (Gaulton 2019 a.). None have an identifiable form. The typical date range for Totnes wares and the extensive heat damage suggests that they may have been in use prior to the 1762 destruction. All of them were recovered from area A or the storekeepers hut, which was confirmed to have been destroyed by fire following the French departure (Skanes 1994: 8).

North Devon Earthenware

A single example of lead glazed North Devon gravel-free coarse earthenware was uncovered in area A. This type of earthenware passed out of use around the mid 18th century and its recovery from a likely pre 1762 context suggests that this vessel was in use during the early occupation of the fortifications (Gaulton 2019 a.).

Whieldon Ware

One Whieldon ware vessel was recovered from area A. It is a small fragment but as the decoration and glazing is unique for the site, it was counted as a distinct vessel. Whieldon ware was manufactured during the mid-18th century and this example was uncovered in a pre-1762 destruction context, likely meaning that it was in use by the garrison or garrison's officers during King George's War (1774-1778) or the so called "French and Indian" War (1754-1763).

West Somerset

One West Somerset ware vessel was recovered from area A. While other English or British redware were recovered, this is the only vessel which can be definitively identified as a West Somerset coarse earthenware vessel. Located in the storehouse, it was likely a utilitarian vessel though little survives making it difficult to determine its original shape.

Buckley ware

A single Buckley ware utilitarian earthenware vessel was included in the assemblage. Its state of preservation makes it difficult to determine the original form, most likely a storage jar or pot.

Mocha ware

Two mocha ware vessels were discovered, one identified as a bowl, while the other is a hollowware of unknown form. Mocha ware is a term used to describe a type of British manufactured ceramic produced from the 17th century, to as late as the early 20th century (Rickard 2006).

Both Mocha vessels were recovered in area I. One features yellow and brown marbled slip style typical of 18th-century mocha wares, it is possible that dendritic designs are also included. The other vessel features a rich reddish orange background with prominent dendritic designs.

Unknown or Unidentifiable

Ware type was not identifiable for 25 earthenware vessels.

6.7.2 Stoneware

The second most common fabric type at Admiral's Point was stoneware. Stoneware vessels were uncovered in all excavated areas, though detailed information regarding the exact context of artifacts and their distribution within their original provenance was not recorded in detail by Bartovics (1969) or Skanes and Reynolds (1994; 1996). A diverse assortment of ware types is included in the assemblage ranging from simple white or brown English stoneware to decorated German made vessels such as Rhenish Brown or Westerwald.

English White Stoneware

A majority of the stoneware is English white salt glazed vessels with a total of 30 uncovered across the site. Most of them are hollow wares with many likely mugs and a single salt glazed plate. However, the most notable vessel is the likely remains of a tea pot or colander, represented by a white salt glazed strainer with what looks to be the edges of a spout coming off of it (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-37). White stoneware vessels were commonly used as tableware and at Admiral's Point it seems as though stoneware mugs were likely used alongside the more abundant earthenware bowls and plates used by the enlisted members of the garrison who would have consumed their issued beer, rum and spruce beer from ceramic or tin vessels such as these

while in garrison (Gale 2007: 58-59, 82). Officers on the other hand would more likely have had access to the limited porcelain vessels at the fort as well as the more fashionable glassware for wine and spirits.

Scratch Blue Decorated English Stoneware

Three English scratch blue vessels, one bowl and two plates were recovered. One of the plates shows the characteristic waved or scalloped edge typical of English dinner plates during the 18th century. All show incised designs, in the case of the bowl, floral, embellished with cobalt blue on a white background (Figure 6.30).

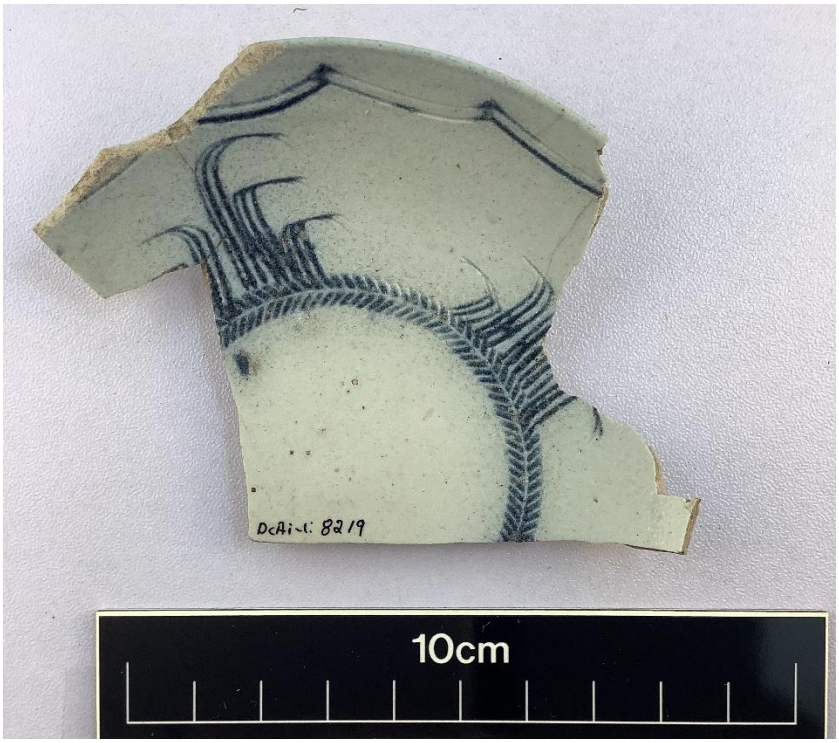


Figure 6.30 Scratch blue stoneware.

English Brown Stoneware

The second most common stoneware vessels are English brown stoneware. For the most part these were decorated with brown, red and tan coloured surfaces on a brown or buff fabric with a salt glaze. A total of ten vessels were uncovered across the site with seven being hollow ware, three identified as bowls and one consisting only of a handle, likely for a drinking vessel or similar tableware. Like the white stoneware discussed above, these were likely a relatively common type of vessel, being used alongside the other vessels. They do not seem to be part of a set, instead being part of the mismatched and eclectic mix of tableware used by the garrison.

English Dry Bodied Stoneware

A single black basalt unglazed stoneware vessel was recovered in area I. This example was decorated with a ribbed pattern on the surface and represents the only fragment of this ware type discovered at the site. English black basalt stoneware was most common during the mid 18th century which matches the date range of the vessels recovered in the same context, though it may have been in service into the early 19th century as the black fabric made it popular with mourners (Hume 1969: 121).

Westerwald

Eight Westerwald stoneware vessels were recovered from all areas of the site and represent the only significant portion of non-British made ceramics in the assemblage. Westerwald stoneware vessels were manufactured in Western Germany exported in large quantities across Europe and the North American colonies. They primarily consist of drinking vessels, usually mugs or other hollow wares. They were decorated with blue cobalt designs often using stencils, mouldings and incised lines on a light grey fabric (Figure 6.31). A characteristic

feature of German Westerwald ceramics is the coarse orange peel effect of the salt glaze which is more noticeable than the smoother English salt glaze (Beaudry et al. 1983: 29-30; Hume 1969:100-101; Lessman 1997: 76-79).

Figure 6.31 Fragment of Westerwald stoneware.

Of the eight vessels recovered at Admiral's Point, two were bowls, three were mugs and three were of unknown form, though one was certainly hollow ware. They all featured the standard blue on grey design, with geometric shapes and patterns or painted lines. As Westerwald ceramics represent the third most common stoneware type, it is likely that they functioned as everyday drinking and eating vessels alongside the English stoneware. As they were found in multiple areas dating to different occupation periods, notably area A, which predated the destruction, it is likely that they do not represent a set or were all contemporary to each other.

Coarse Stoneware

A single coarse stoneware sherd with traces of a cobalt blue glaze was uncovered in area B. It is possible that this fragment is not a distinct vessel but may be a part of a Westerwald mug discovered in the same area. However, a lack of contextual information makes it difficult to determine if the one fragment was excavated in the same strata. As a result, this fragment is tentatively listed as a separate vessel (Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996).

Rhenish Brown

A single Rhenish Brown stoneware hollowware vessel was recovered in area A. It was decorated with a brown slip surface on a dark grey fabric with minor inclusions. No traces of the notable Rhenish masks or medallions remain (Lessman 1997: 14-17). Rhenish stoneware, like Westerwald was produced in Western Germany and the Rhineland from around 1500 to 1800 CE. and exported in large quantities. Common forms include drinking mugs, jugs and bottles commonly used to ship wine, oil, vinegar and other commodities (Gaulton 2019 b.; Lessman 1997: 17). As Rhenish stoneware is commonly found across European and colonial sites, it is possible that this vessel may have been used to store one of these imported goods. Additionally, it was discovered at the storekeeper's hut (Skanes 1994: 8).

Unknown or Unidentifiable

A single stoneware vessel of unknown form or ware type was among the assemblage.

6.7.3 Porcelain

British or Continental-Made Porcelain

A total of nine porcelain vessels were discovered at the site and represent the smallest ware type category in the assemblage. They are distributed between areas I, M, D and A. Their forms are as follows. Area I contained a plate or saucer, a bowl (or more likely a teacup) and an unknown vessel. They are decorated with cobalt blue hand-painted Chinese style designs on a white background. Area M contained a single vessel whose form could not be identified, though it was decorated in a similar fashion to those found in area I. There were a further two vessels recovered in area D, though one consists only of fragments of fabric exhibiting surface glaze, it is distinct from the other vessel. Both are of an unknown form and are highly fragmented. Area A contained a single hand painted blue decorated vessel. The 1969 excavation by Bartovics (1970) produced a single example of hand painted porcelain. Additionally, a fragment of polychrome decorated porcelain was included in the collection, though its context was not documented. This piece includes orange and green in addition to the standard blue. Occasionally, Chinese manufactured porcelains included polychrome decorations such as this, making it possible that this vessel is of Asian rather than European origin. However, this cannot be certain as the fragment is small and there are no additional marks to suggest a place of manufacture (Miller 2005; Newcombe 2017:64).

All the above vessels are likely of European rather than Chinese origin as the fabric is noticeably more opaque and somewhat chalky compared to the semi translucent Chinese fabric (Edwards 2020: 1-6; Gaulton 2019 a.). Additionally, where identifiable, the painted designs follow many of the motifs found in English-made Chinese imitation porcelains, notably the

willow pattern developed by Thomas Minton in the late 18th century and the use of transfer printed images (Gaulton 2019 a.).

Nonetheless, these porcelain vessels form an important part of the Admiral's Point assemblage. Porcelain, even European made examples was a luxury item in the 18th and early 19th centuries and due to cost, would likely have only been available to wealthier members of society. In the case of Admiral's Point and Trinity, this would most likely mean the fort's officers or prominent local merchants (Newcombe 2017: 62). It does not appear that porcelains of European or Asian origin were imported to Newfoundland in any significant quantity during the 18th century, so it is likely that these items were brought over as personal possessions, or specially imported. This would increase their value when compared to the much more common earthenware and stoneware vessels used at the site. There does appear to be one mention in British customs documents in Newfoundland of "China Ware" being brought to the Island in 1738/9 (Miller 2005: 32). It is also likely that small quantities of porcelain for Newfoundland's social elite, would have tricked into the Island from the ongoing trade with Europe and the other colonial ports (Figure 6.32).

Tea service vessels (saucers and cups) such as the ones discovered at Admiral's Point, were the most common forms of porcelain found in North American colonies (Miller 2005:27-32; Newcombe 2017:61-62). Due to the small quantity of vessels and the rarity of porcelain on the Island, it is possible that they belonged to a set, possibly owned by one of the officers stationed at the fort. No doubt the loss of these vessels would have been quite disappointing to their owner.

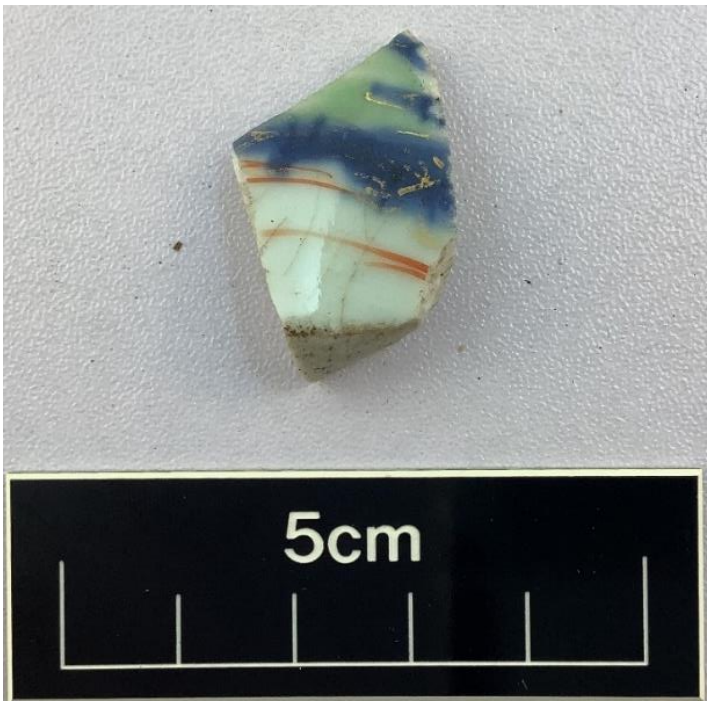


Figure 6.32 Polychrome porcelain fragment.

Chapter 7. Faunal Analysis

7.1 Food, and Consumption Habits in the Garrison at Admiral's Point

Faunal specimens are discussed separately from the rest of the material culture assemblage as the focus will be on food procurement and diet rather than object use. The Admiral's Point assemblage contains roughly 776 individual faunal specimens, weighing a total of 1295.2g (Elliott 2020:2). As a result, they represent a significant portion of the overall collection and give valuable information on the occupant's diet and lifestyle, their potential relationship with the local community and the greater military logistical organisation and their access to local resources. Within the collection are a variety of mammal, bird and fish, as well as a limited number of other classes such as mollusc (Ellliott 2020:2). The variety of different taxa shows that the garrison supplemented their official military diet (containing pork and beef, fresh and in barreled or salted form), with local species such as caribou, seal, duck, gull and tern. Unsurprisingly, the skeletal remains of fish, primarily from the cod family made up a significant portion of the assemblage. This demonstrates that locally caught fish was being eaten at Admiral's Point just as it was in other garrisons in Newfoundland and the rest of the British Empire during the 18th and early 19th centuries (Armitage 2012; Betts 2000; Candow 2019: 27-60; Crompton 2012: 327-329; Elliott 2020:2).

7.2 Livestock, Food, Dinner Parties and Military Occupation, a Documentary Source

In order to contextualise the faunal data, it is useful to briefly discuss a documentary source that provides information on the food and livestock that the citizens of Trinity had access to during the 1760s. Although it does not refer to the garrison specifically, the animals mentioned are all in line with the remains present in the archaeological collection, therefore it

may help us to understand what was being consumed by both civilians and soldiers in the region during the 1760s (Lester 1762). While this account is specifically referring to the period after most of the garrison was withdrawn from the site in the 1750s, it is likely that foodways were somewhat consistent with what was being consumed during the earlier and later stages of occupation.

The diary of Benjamin Lester (1762) a merchant and leading citizen of the community, provides an indication of what livestock may have been present in the community (Figure 7.1). According to his account, on Monday July 19th, 1762, following the French capture of the fort, Lester was given instructions by the French "commanding officer" to provide their men with "six beef, six calves, five sheep and 30 fowl" (Lester 1762: Monday July 19th). As the French officer had previously suggested that they were almost finished in Trinity, Lester thought that this request was a bit beyond reasonable. He then went aboard the French ship to meet with the "commodore", who was in overall command of the force, in order to petition him regarding the quantity of livestock demanded. The "commodore", who according to Lester's account, seems to have been a rather aggressive person, says that he will burn down Lester's house, followed by the entire harbour if he does not comply. He then added that he must deliver the same the next day or else threatened to burn down Lester's house again (Lester 1762: Monday July 19th).

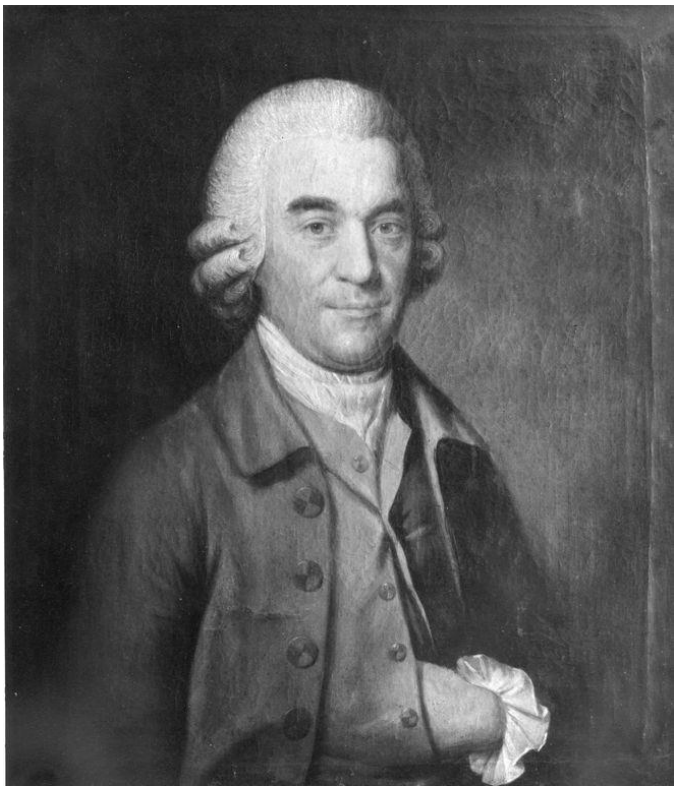


Figure 7.1 Benjamin Lester ca. 1760s.
Courtesy of the Trinity Museum and Archives The Legacy of Fort Point - Military Fortification, Light House and Tourism Haven, Virtual museum.ca

Though the French would stay for another thirteen days, Lester seems to have never fully fulfilled the "commodores" demands, citing the fact that the calves were not available. However, he does mention providing the French with more supplies such as brandy, malt, soap, barreled meat, molasses, bread and flour (Lester 1762). He also mentions being entertained by the French officers and frequently drinking and socializing with them. On Thursday July 29th, 1762, Lester says that Captain Gallaissonere invited him to dinner aboard his sloop, which he accepted, though did not care for the dishes served. He also says that the French officers were unable to promise that they would come to Lester's house for dinner the next day, likely due to it being uncertain when they would leave. This story is interesting as it shows the complex relationship

between the citizens of Trinity (including the garrison) and the occupying forces. It was not unimaginable to share a drink with the French officers or have them to dinner, even after they had spent the day dismantling your fishing flakes and requisitioning supplies.

Lester's account illustrates the fact that the community survived on a mix of imported supplies, such as sugar, barreled meat, alcohol, flour and soap. At the same time, they raised livestock and fished, though the French demands for "six beef, six calves, five sheep and 30 fowl" seem to have been a severe blow to the community's herd (Lester 1762).

Interestingly, the species of animals mentioned by Lester (1762) roughly correspond with the remains found at Admiral's Point. It is therefore possible that the garrison were consuming a significant amount of fresh meat, at least for the officers. This is supported by the fact that the garrison and the citizens of Trinity seemed to cooperate extensively, with Lester actually briefly taking command of the fort on Saturday July 17th, 1762, prior to the French landing (Lester 1762). However, he is not clear as to who is in the garrison and who is a civilian as he simply refers to everyone by name. However, the garrison consisted of only six men at this time and Lester only mentions them once, simply referring to them as the garrison (Lester 1762; Prowse 1895:297; Skanes 1994). So, it is not surprising that the citizens of Trinity were more involved in the fortifications and coincidentally, the garrison may have acquired more of their supplies from the community then if they were a part of a larger garrison. Additionally, some of the cattle remains suggest that they may have been butchered on site, possibly from one of the animals Lester laments providing to the French, who may have butchered it during their stay at the fort (Elliott 2020; Lester 1762). This is, however, purely speculation, as they could have come from salted provisions.

7.3 Analysis

Analysis of the Admiral's Point faunal assemblage was carried out under a Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office grant in November and December of 2020, by MUN PhD candidate Deirdre Elliott in the Labrador Lab at Queens College. This component of the research utilised the Department of Archaeology zooarchaeological reference collection as well as other reference sources (Elliott 2020). The main objective of this analysis was to determine the class of animal (i.e., fish, bird, mammal, mollusc) and in many cases, this identification was possible down to the level of species (Elliott 2020: 1). Once a faunal specimen was identified, it was examined for any signs of butchering, cutting, gnawing, digestion, burning, post-depositional damage or any other unique or telling marks. This data would make it possible to determine what animal remains were being deposited at the site and the possible reasons that they came to be there, either as a part of the diet of the garrison or by other means (Elliott 2020).

The data gained from this analysis will allow us to infer the likely diet of the garrison, at least as far as the types of meat being consumed and in some cases the source of the meat. The data from the faunal analysis will allow for a count of the relative frequency of different species in the garrison's diet as well as any regional variation in the diet.

7.4 Diet and Food Procurement in the Garrison

Though the collection is limited and the duration of military occupation short, it is possible to determine that food was being obtained from multiple sources. The most obvious example is the presence of local species such as duck, gull, tern, seal and caribou, which were hardly a part of standard military rations at the time. Therefore, they were likely sourced locally, either through the local civilian population or quite possibly, hunted by the soldiers themselves

(Crompton 2012: 327-329; Elliott 2020; Newcome 2017: 138-139). Hunting was a common pastime for officers during the 18th and early 19th centuries, though there is much evidence to suggest that it was practiced by other ranks as well. While the lives of enlisted soldiers during this period were often quite restricted, there is much evidence to suggest that many serving in garrisons in Newfoundland enjoyed the freedom to go hunting. Though dating to at least a half century prior to the garrison at Admiral's Point, the French garrison at Plaisance often went hunting and many served as fishing servants to local civilians (Crompton 2012: 377). This would provide soldiers with an additional income as well as a much-needed supplement to their somewhat inadequate rations. At the 18th-century site of Bois Island in Ferryland, bird shot was uncovered in the officer's barracks, suggesting that hunting was likely being practiced to some extent, at least by the officers (Newcombe 2017: 138-139). Fish also played a role in the diet of the Bois Island garrison, which is not surprising due to their relationship with the fishing community of Ferryland (Figure 7.2).

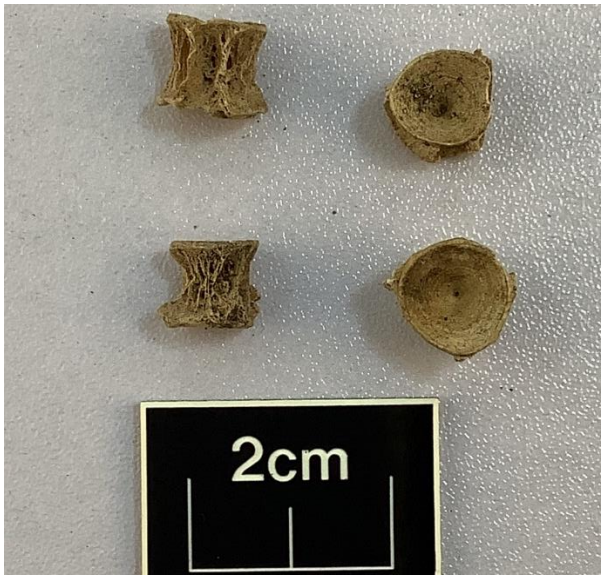


Figure 7.2 Fish vertebra recovered from Admiral's Beach area.

Therefore, it would not be surprising if the garrison at Admiral's Point followed a similar practice, especially considering that they were in an area with many natural food sources including mussel beds conveniently located along the accessible beaches of the peninsula. However, shellfish make up a mere .4% volume of the total faunal assemblage, meaning that they may not have made up a significant portion of the garrison's diet and that fish and meat, both domesticated and wild, were preferred. (Elliott 2020:2).

7.5 Distribution of Faunal Assemblages at the Admiral's Point Site

The vast majority of faunal artifacts were recovered in the 1994 and 1995 field seasons led by Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996) and were concentrated in areas A (Storekeepers Hut), B (Main Battery), G (the Gunners Hut) and I (excavated structure at the south end of the site) (Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994: 8-11; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13). The concentration of faunal artifacts in these four areas suggests deliberate middening, concentrated in peripheral areas, such as the battery and area I. However, in the assemblage, there is no distinct or significant trend between species and area of deposition. Therefore, it is possible that convenience could have played a role in deciding where a particular scrap would be discarded, and that food may have been consumed at various locations around the fort (Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994).

An additional six specimens were recovered by Bartovics (1970) and include a cow (Bos taurus) scapula and rib and a single pig (Sus scrofa) vertebra, a rib coming from either a sheep, goat or caribou, as well as two indeterminate long bones (Bartovics 1970; Elliott 2020). The four identified specimens exhibit signs of butchering as they have been cut or chopped through. The two indeterminate long bones, the sheep/goat or caribou and a cow rib, were recovered from the excavation at what was identified as "the small battery" (provenance 6, feature 4), located a short

distance south of the main battery. This feature was dated by Bartovics (1970 :2) to the last period of military occupation, during the 1810s. The lack of small sized faunal specimens recovered by Bartovics (1970) may be a result of a lack of screening, resulting in an overrepresentation of large components.

The other two specimens the pig vertebra and cow scapula, were recovered from provenance one, trench 1, which was intended to uncover the walls of the barracks and store house. The storehouse Bartovics is referring to is the magazine and storehouse structure identified by Skanes (1994), located roughly in the centre of the site (Bartovics 1970:2,4; Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994: 11).

7.6 Problems with Lack of Documentation and Possible Chronology of Faunal Assemblages

As the excavation reports from Skanes (1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996) do not identify the precise distribution of faunal remains within the middens, it is impossible to say exactly how the artifacts were deposited. Was the garrison merely tossing their table scraps over the rampart, or were they deliberately organizing it in a refuse pile? While Albert Bartovics (1970) provided detailed stratigraphic diagrams of each excavated feature, the limited number of faunal artifacts recovered in this excavation (six in total) makes it impossible to draw any conclusions about distribution or consumption and waste disposal habits of the garrison (Bartovics 1970; Elliott 2020). Additionally, the shallow soil and the length of occupation of the site, around 75 years in all, though not out of the ordinary for military sites, limits the amount of stratigraphic information available. This, combined with the limited site reports makes it impossible to positively associate any diagnostic or datable artifacts with the faunal assemblages. As a result, it is impossible to determine if the consumption or refuse disposal habits of the garrison changed over time.

However, information may be gained through comparing the condition of the individual specimens with the area of deposition. Focusing on the faunal specimens recovered in the 1990s by Skanes, as these represent 99.2% of the total faunal assemblage, a relatively large portion, around 12%, have been significantly burnt to the stage of calcination, indicating exposure to temperatures over 500 ^{0}C for several hours (Elliott 2020:7). Most of the burnt specimens were recovered from areas A (the storekeepers hut) and I (Unidentified structure, reportedly in ruins at the time of the French attack and latter re-occupied) (Antoine 1762; Skanes 1994). It is interesting to note that while the faunal assemblage from these areas both show relatively high instances of burning, 49.4% and 24.0% for areas A and I respectively, it is likely that only area A (the storekeepers hut) was burnt by the French following their departure from Trinity (Skanes 1994).

This is further supported by the fact that the area A assemblage contains burnt wood, whereas none of the others do. The extent of the burning on the wood does not suggest that it was used as fuel. Additionally, the lack of burnt wood in the other areas suggests that the ash was disposed of separately from the food. Therefore, it is likely that this was from the building being burnt, rather than cooking, suggesting that the burnt faunal specimens at the storekeeper's hut predated the 1762 destruction. This means that these bones were likely from meals consumed by the first garrison during either King Georges War (1744-48) or during the French and Indian War (1754-1763).

As for the area I assemblage, it is difficult to determine if the burning was from cooking or the destruction. The lack of accompanying burnt wood and the fact that the structure was likely in ruins at the time of the French occupation means that it is impossible to definitively say what caused the burning. As the structure was already in ruins, and located somewhat away from

the main living areas, the garrison may have used it as a rubbish dump and its lack of military importance means that it was less likely to be a target for destruction (Antoine 1762; Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994). However, several ceramic vessels recovered from area I, have glaze that is significantly burnt. As these are rather delicate mid 18th-century tableware (possibly teacups or small bowls) it is unlikely that they would have been exposed to extreme heat in their regular use. Therefore, they may have been burnt either by accident, or when the French destroyed the fort's buildings. Unfortunately, the lack of stratigraphic data and the short duration of occupation make it impossible to tell the order in which they were deposited. The damage to ceramic vessels was discussed in the previous chapter. Due to the nature of the 1969, 1994 and 1995 excavations, it is quite possible that remains of burnt wood were not collected. The only way to verify this would be through further excavation at the site.

7.7 Discussion of Faunal Specimens Based on Taxonomic Family

Overall, the the diet of the garrison was reasonably in line with what soldiers in similar areas of the British Empire were eating in terms of meat products. This, like in many other garrisons, was supplemented by wild game which added a distinctly local flavour to their diets. (Armitage 2013; Betts 2000:26; Tourigny 2018).

7.7.1 Cod Fish: Gadidae and Herring: Clupeidae Harengus

Fish remains represent the most numerous faunal element in the Admiral's Point assemblage, making up roughly 57% of the total specimen count (Elliott 2020:2). The majority of fish remains were recovered in areas B (Main Battery), I (Structure, possibly the Barracks) and Admiral's Beach, also known as the Dorset Camp (Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996). This makes sense as the beach seems an obvious location for processing caught

fish and the area I structure was in a state of disrepair sometime between the 1750s and 1770s (Skanes 1994:10-11) and used as a dumping ground during this period. Area B, the main battery also makes some sense as it is somewhat separate from the main areas of occupation and it is not hard to imagine years of bored sentries tossing away their scraps here, rather than leaving their post.

The fact that most fish remains are vertebra, says a lot. Usually, when fish were salted or preserved, the heads and most of the spines would be removed, so this suggests that the garrison were consuming locally caught cod fish, perhaps even catching them when off duty (Armitage 2013: 200). However, no head bones have been recovered. Another point of evidence in support of this being fresh fish is that by the mid 1700s salt fish, which had from the 14th to 17th centuries formed a critical part of the British military diet, was no longer being eaten in any significant amount. This was partly due to the belief that salted fish would rapidly go bad, causing illness among the troops (Armitage 2013:196). However, fresh fish when available was still commonly eaten by both officers and enlisted ranks, albeit "unofficially". Armitage (2013) showed that garrisons at the Berry Head Fort located in Torbay, in Devon England, consumed a wide variety of fresh fish, primarily locally caught hake (Armitage 2013: 198). Matthew Betts (2000), in his excavations at Fort George, Ontario, found that wild game and local freshwater fish were present in the garrison's diet (Betts 2000). Despite a decrease in the salt fish being consumed by military personnel, the consumption of local fresh fish, was widely practiced among British garrisons during the 18th and early 19th centuries. This was especially so in Newfoundland, where a thriving fishing industry in the local communities meant that fresh fish was often readily available.

7.7.2 Domestic Mammals: Cow: (Bos Taurus), Other Bovidae and Pig: (Sus scrofa)

The second most numerous group represented in the faunal remains were mammals, making up approximately 33% of the total count. However, they represented the group with the greatest overall mass, making up 1217.9g or 94% of the total weight of the faunal collection (Elliott 2020:2). Speaking specifically of the domesticated species, the most abundant taxa represented are pigs *sus scrofa*, followed by cow *bos taurus* (Elliott 2020). Most domesticated mammal specimens were recovered from areas A (the Storekeepers Hut) and I (structure towards south end of the site), with a small number also being recovered at area G (Gunners Hut) and B (Main Battery) (Elliott 2020; Skanes 1994:8-11). This represents a slight divergence from the fish remains and suggests that there may have been a difference in procurement or consumption habit for meat compared to fish.

Due to the small number of individual specimens, it is difficult to determine the source of the garrison's meat, based on the anatomical components present. However, in the case of pork *sus scrofa*, components from across the animal are present. This is consistent with the way that salted pork was packed at the time, with almost all parts of the pig being included (Betts 2000; Elliott 2020; Tourigny 2018). However, it does not eliminate the chance that it was locally acquired and butchered on site, as both methods would result in a similar distribution of remains.

One of the most distinct specimens is a pig mandible, from the left side of the jaw, with molars still in place (Figure 7.3). This piece is somewhat diagnostic as it suggests that the pig was either butchered on site, or that it was from a cheaper quality of barreled pork, often referred to as "prime pork" which consisted of every portion of the animal, including heads (Elliott 2020; Tourigny 2018:849). It would make sense that meat of an economical, yet still very edible type,

such as this would be supplied to the garrison, possibly shipped in by the military rather than purchased locally. Given the varying ways that militaries of the period supplied themselves, both possibilities are plausible; yet it would require a larger assemblage, with more diagnostic components, to answer this question with more certainty (Armitage 2013; Betts 2000; Candow 2019; Elliott 2020; Ingram 2012; Tourigny 2018).

Figure 7.3 Pig (*sus scrofa*) mandible recovered from area A.

The cow (*bos taurus)* remains were the next most abundant. This is in line with the standard British military diet of the period, where pork was more widely consumed than beef (Armitage 2013; Betts 2000; Candow 2019; Elliott 2020; Ingram 2012; Tourigny 2018). However, the small number of specimens (10 in all, accounting for a minimum of two individuals) makes it difficult to say if they were from meat which was shipped into the site, or from a cow that was butchered on site (Elliott 2020). However, all the bones are located above

the ankle joint, suggesting that they were butchered off site and brought in to feed the garrison. However, there is a single tooth, suggesting that a cow may have been butchered on site, at least on one occasion (Elliott 2020). While both are possible, the small number of specimens overall makes it difficult to draw a conclusion about where the garrison got their beef.

As previously mentioned, other wild mammals such as seal *Phocidae* and caribou *rangifer tarandus* were present in the garrison assemblage. However, in both cases these are represented by only two individual specimens. This suggests that seal and caribou did not play a major role in the diet of the garrison and like other contemporary sites, they relied on domesticated species for their protein (Armitage 2013; Candow 2019; Elliott 2020). It is uncertain if the garrison were hunting themselves, or if they were trading with local civilians for meat.

7.7.3 Birds: Domestic and Wild

Bird meat seems to have formed a far less significant portion of the garrison's diet than fish or mammal (Elliott 2020). Most of the identifiable birds in the assemblage are local wild species of *Anatidae* such as duck/goose/swan, *laridae* such as gulls and terns and other unidentifiable seabirds. For each of these, there is a very small minimum number of individuals present in the assemblage, each species likely being represented by only a single individual (Elliott 2020). The limited number of individuals as well as the diversity of species suggests that the garrison may have been occasionally hunting wild birds, likely as a supplement to their diet. As all of these species can be found in close proximity to the fort, it is possible that they were being casually hunted by the garrison much more frequently than the hunting trips likely required to get a caribou.

The only domestic bird that seems to have been eaten was chicken *gallus* which is still only represented by an estimated two individuals (though it is possible that some of the unidentified specimens are also domestic chickens) meaning that like the wild species, it was not a significant part of their diet (Elliott 2020). One of the identified chicken specimens shows a large well developed metatarsal spur (the large ankle spur, commonly associated with roosters), meaning that this was a mature rooster that ultimately ended up as someone's, quite possibly an officer's, dinner. It may have been the case that chickens were obtained from local civilians, or that they had kept them on site. Due to the limited assemblage, it is once again impossible to tell with any certainty where they got their chickens, though it was almost certainly fresh as chicken was rarely salted or preserved (Armitage 2013; Betts 2000; Candow 2019; Elliott 2020; Ingram 2012; Tourigny 2018).

Despite the small size of the assemblage, the lack of stratigraphic information and the limited number of diagnostic specimens, the faunal remains paint a picture of what the diet of the garrison must have been like. With its reliance on salted barreled pork and beef, possibly supplemented by the occasional freshly slaughtered pig or cow, at least for the officers, it was reasonably in line with what garrisons in other parts of North America were eating during the same time. Fresh fish also served as a significant addition to their diet, which is consistent with other British garrisons during the 18th and 19th centuries (Armitage 2013; Betts 2000; Candow 2019). This is not at all surprising as the community of Trinity was very important in the British cod fishing industry, making fish an abundant food source, even if the fish were caught by the garrison themselves (Armitage 2013; Crompton 2012; Prowse 1895). The presence of wild game, caribou, seal and various sea birds added an interesting local flavour to the diet (Elliott 2020).

Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence for any produce or the consumption of non-meat foods, except indirectly in the form of ceramics and glassware, which was discussed in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, the Admiral's Point faunal assemblage shows us that the garrison occupied a position both as part of the larger British military and Imperial system as well as being members of the local community.

Chapter 8. Comparison Between Admiral's Point and Other Contemporary Sites in Newfoundland and North America

The assemblage excavated at Admiral's Point will now be compared to that excavated at the officer's barracks on Bois Island, Ferryland and to the assemblage recovered from the soldier's barracks at Crown Point, New York (Feister 1984; Newcombe 2017). Both sites reflect the activities associated with a British military garrison dating to the 18th century in Northeastern North America. Additionally, these two comparative assemblages provide evidence for the material culture of both officers and enlisted men, showing the different lifestyles which co-existed simultaneously yet separately within 18th-century European military culture. Often the officers and enlisted soldiers would occupy slightly different areas of a site, such as can be seen by the separation of the officer's barracks from that of the men at both Bois Island and Crown Point (Feister 1984; Newcombe 2017). The material culture from these two areas would often reflect the social differences between the two groups, with officers often having a greater number of decorated or high-quality ceramics, more specialized drinking vessels and access to a wider variety of personal possessions, whereas soldiers would often use more simple items. However, this division is not present in the Admiral's Point assemblage, with no clear separation of occupation or material culture (Figure 8.1). Porcelain tea wares are mixed with common earthenware mugs and there is no clear separation of space, though the assemblage would suggest an occupation by both officers and enlisted men.

Figure 8.1 Decorated Pearlware.

The comparison of these three assemblages will focus on the ceramics though mention will be made of metallic and other artifacts when pertinent. For a break down of the comparison see Appendix A and B, where ceramics from each respective assemblage will be directly compared. The reason for focusing on ceramics rather than other artifact types is due to there being many common ware types across all three sites. Additionally, common vessel forms are also present, meaning that it will be possible to compare the relative frequencies of artifacts between sites as well as significant differences between ware types. On the other hand, glassware would prove difficult as a comparative tool because most glass wares at Admiral's Point were extremely fire damaged. This would introduce needless uncertainty to a comparison. Metallic artifacts, while extremely useful are also problematic due to the small number present in the

Admiral's Point assemblage. The other main consideration is that ceramic artifacts are very thoroughly documented in both the Bois Island and Crown Point reports, meaning that data is readily available for a comparison (Feister 1984; Newcombe 2017).

8.1 Admiral's Point Compared to Bois Island, Ferryland

Much like Admiral's Point in Trinity, the Bois Island site is located in the harbour of Ferryland, Newfoundland and represents a likely officer's barracks. The site was occupied from around 1743 to approximately 1785, therefore representing a contemporary occupation by members of the Royal Artillery, Marines and the 45th Regiment of Foot (Newcombe 2017). It is possible that individuals may have served at both sites as they were contemporary to each other and garrisoned by members of the same regiments (Alridge and Drake 1752; Drake 1750 a. b., 1751; Dorril 1755; Edwards 1758, 1759; Webb 1761; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

As shown in Appendix A, it appears that the assemblages from either site represent a similar occupation, that is, a garrison site with a somewhat common material culture. However, the Bois Island barracks contains a much greater diversity of ceramic ware types than Admiral's Point, particularly, the presence of more non-British made vessels, although both assemblages are predominantly British. Additionally, both sites contain similar quantities of high-quality stonewares such as English scratch blue and Westerwald (Newcombe 2017: 130). However, it must be noted that the Admiral's Point site contained a larger portion of earthenware vessels, varying in quality from utilitarian coarse wares to fine pearlware and tin glazed pieces, with most of the assemblage consisting of creamwares. It seems that many of the creamware recovered at Admiral's Point may have been part of a set, particularity the matching bowls and may have been used by the enlisted ranks for their meals while the more elaborate ware types were used by the officers.

When compared to the ceramics associated with what are assumed to be primarily commissioned officers, due to the expense of the vessels, the Admiral's Point assemblage shows a greater quantity of more common and lower cost vessels as well as less diversity in ware types. Nonetheless, both contain examples of the higher cost ware types such as porcelain and tea service vessels, suggesting that these predominantly upper-class activities were taking place at both sites, though the Bois Island assemblage contained roughly twice the proportion of porcelain vessels than Admiral's Point. However, the mixture of common and upper-class ceramics suggests that the Admiral's Point assemblage represents both officers and enlisted ranks, if the officers and men at both sites had a similar level of wealth, and shared similar consumption habits, both food, tobacco and drink. All these assumptions are based on the relatively close proximity of the two sites, the shared date range, overlap of garrisoned regiments and material culture (Newcombe 2017).

The key difference between these two sites is the level of preservation and end of occupation. Due to the 1762 destruction of Admiral's Point, a great number of the artifacts show extensive fire damage which often makes it difficult to determine the ware type. The Bois Island barracks did not experience such a destructive event, and as a result many of the vessels were more identifiable. Among the relatively large number of unidentified vessels at Admiral's Point, there may be a greater diversity of ceramic types than we are currently aware of, though they are not possible to identify at this time.

While both sites were occupied from the mid 18th century, their dates of abandonment are different. Admiral's Point was abandoned following the French attack in 1762 and reoccupied in the late 18th or early 19th century while Bois Island experienced a continuous occupation until its abandonment in 1785. The reoccupation of Admiral's Point in the late 18th or early 19th century

may explain the presence of the later pearlwares and transfer-printed vessels which are less prominent at Bois Island. Nonetheless, both sites' occupations did overlap, and their similar functions and occupants provide a useful comparison.

8.2 Admiral's Point Compared to Crown Point, New York

The Crown Point fortifications are located on the shores of Lake Champlain, New York. Originally constructed by the French in the 1730s, the fort was captured by the British in 1759, towards the end of the Seven Years War (Feister 1984: 123). A large rebuilding project then took place, and the fortifications were enlarged and improved, taking the form of a five-pointed star fort built of stone and wood. The site was then destroyed by fire in 1773 and came under the control of New York, following the American Revolution (Feister 1984: 124). During archaeological work in 1976, the soldier's barracks was excavated producing an assemblage particular to the enlisted ranks. This assemblage therefore will provide a useful comparison with Admiral's Point, which contains artifacts associated with the enlisted members of the garrison intermixed with those of the officers.

A comparison of ceramics is shown in Appendix B. Note, that for this comparison, ware types listed in *Italics* are the categories used by Feister (1984) and are much broader than those used in the analysis of the Admiral's Point assemblage. As a result, multiple ware types are included in each category to best match, though this may result in a less accurate vessel count than was used in the comparison with Bois Island where the ware type categories were almost identical (Feister 1984: 130; Newcombe 2017: 130).

While both the Admiral's Point and Crown Point assemblages contain common ware types there are several discrepancies in the vessel forms present between the two sites.

Predictably, both sites contain relatively large numbers of plates and bowls, the Crown Point assemblage contains far more "specialised" forms such as tea pots, a coffee service vessel, chamber pots and various cooking wares (Feister 1984: 130). All together, the enlisted ranks barracks at Crown Point, produced five distinct tea pots, compared to the single teapot recovered at Admiral's Point. While Crown Point was at the time of occupation a larger site with a more numerous garrison, the excavated assemblage numbered 110 distinct vessels compared to the roughly 226 recovered at Admiral's Point. Additionally, the Crown Point assemblage contained a number of distinctly identifiable cooking wares such as milk pans and pie plates. Although none of these forms were identified at Admiral's Point, this does not necessarily mean that they were not present, merely being unidentifiable due to the extremely fragmented state of the assemblage. Surprisingly, a small number of porcelain artifacts were included in the Crown Point assemblage, which suggests that although considered a costly luxury item, porcelain was not exclusive to officers.

Shown in Appendix B, the soldiers' quarters at Crown Point contained a degree of variety often not associated with historical accounts of enlisted soldiers of this period. Though the diversity of ceramic ware types is less than at Admiral's Point, it still shows that enlisted ranks could exercise a degree of choice in the ceramics they chose to use in their daily lives. Ware type diversity would also have been a factor of the local market and the soldiers' access to goods, both from suttlers (merchants operating within the military) and from civilian merchants (Gale 2007: 62). The diversity of material culture is more limited than among assemblages associated with officers. The artifacts from Crown Point and Admiral's Point challenge the notion that soldiers had only the most basic items and did not consume the material culture of their time (Feister 1984: 126). While it is true that on campaign, possessions would often be reduced to

only the necessities (a spoon, wooden bowl, fork and knife) many soldiers carried even less (Gale 2007: 62). An account dating to the 18th century describes the 68th foot, "Some had knives, while others had none; as to spoons and forks, we were all in one case, destitute, and no porringers or bowls" (*A Soldiers Journal* 1770; Gale 2007: 62). Eating utensils and tableware were usually not issued and soldiers had to purchase, make or otherwise obtain their own. However, in garrison, enlisted men were often provided with a sum of money to purchase their own utensils for the year (Feister 1984: 126). As a result, soldiers became participants in the local economy and consumers, with the ability to choose what items they wanted for themselves.

As a result, garrison assemblages, as can be seen at Admiral's and Crown Points, would contain a degree of variation and reflect the choices of the soldiers as well as the local economy and available goods. While by no means affluent, or as varied as the officer's tableware, soldiers would have likely had access to the same items as local civilian classes, comparable to what many of them would have used prior to enlisting (Deetz 1977: 145; Reid 1996: 4). When billeted with civilians, they would usually use what was available to the local civilians, while they may not have owned the items they used in their daily lives, their consumption habits would reflect those of the civilians (Gale 2007: 82-85). What must also be considered is that the quantity and quality of material culture does not always reflect the wealth or social status of the owners (Bragdon 1981). It was possible that wealth was not reflected in the items that survive or that the individual may have had simple or extravagant tastes. After all, a wealthy individual can eat off simple plates, smoke from a plain pipe and use mugs and vessels common to inns of the time. On the other hand, as shown in Deetz's (1977: 146-147) explanation of the parting ways site in Massachusetts where the occupants, although quite poor, possessed expensive, hand decorated

creamware, often associated with relatively wealthy individuals. In this case, they likely obtained them second hand or as charitable donations from members of the community.

In the case of Admiral's Point, the relatively high quality of many items may have been a result of the officers but could also have been items obtained second hand from the community or brought to the site by the civilian members of the LTVR. While as a rule, the quality and expense of material culture is a good indicator of social status and wealth, there are always exceptions. Like today, people's choices about their consumption are guided by personal taste, availability of goods and the impression they want to give just as much as by their socio-economic status.

Chapter 9. Discussion

This research set out to better understand both the site, its function within the landscape, as well as to shed light on the lives of the individuals who lived at the fortifications of Admiral's Point. This was done through a detailed study of the documentary sources, a survey, photographic documentation and examination of the site's surviving features and laboratory analysis of the previously excavated assemblage.

9.1 Archaeological Survey Compared with the Documentary Sources

The site that emerged through the archaeological work by Bartovics (1970), Skanes and Reynolds (1994; 1996) and through this project's survey showed many commonalities as well as discrepancies with the documentary record. Although the 1746 and 1748 site plans are somewhat crude, they provide valuable information regarding the overall layout of the fortifications during what was essentially a period of construction. In the 1746 plan, the gun batteries are all shown at the north of the site, though their precise placement is difficult to determine as the peninsula depicted in the plan of fortifications is simplified to a rounded rectangle (A Plan of the Admiral's Point Trinity Harbour Newfoundland 1746). At this early stage in the fort's development, what was likely the main battery, possibly the three-gun battery, the magazine building and the barracks were all built, or at least under construction. An earthwork of some sort was also built across the south of the site, facing the landward approach. What is not depicted is the storehouse or any additional structures suggested in the later plans.

The 1748 plan possibly represents the fortifications in their "finished" state at the end of King George's War. All the structures depicted in the 1746 plan are present, though many of them are shown in a different shape or location relative to each other (A Plan of the Admiral's

Point in Trinity Harbour Newfoundland 1748). The arrangement of the structures is very vague, with size and geographic location being uncertain for many. For example, the magazine is depicted as a different shape, a simplified rectangle with a smaller barracks, though their location relative to each other is more or less correct. The main battery is now shown with an angled earthwork, more representative of its archaeologically detectable form. We now see the storehouse located in a vaguely defined corner to the northwest of the site as well as other structures like area I. The earthworks to the south of the site are now shown in a stepped form, from east to west, more or less aligning to the contours of the land. Cross sections of the ramparts are also provided indicating that although currently eroded, at this time they were a distinctive feature of the site (A Plan of the Admiral's Point in Trinity Harbour Newfoundland 1748; Skanes 1994; Skanes and Reynolds 1996: 13).

The most distinctive plan of the fortifications was created by Marc Antoine, a French engineer in the summer of 1762. His plan of the fortifications is the most accurate and most fanciful depiction of the fortifications. His arrangement of the site's features is accurate and proved to be a great aid during the 2020 fieldwork: all the structures depicted in the previous plans are depicted and labelled and their geographic locations are all clearly shown within an accurate representation of the site's landscape. Additionally, the gun batteries are all shown in detail with positions for individual guns being depicted; there are also cross sections of the ramparts as well as the site's elevation. However, the earthworks and batteries are idealised, with precise angled shapes and bastions, which would have required extensive landscaping of the site, any trace of which has disappeared. These cross sections also contradict the 1748 plan, which although crude, is likely the more accurate depiction of the fortifications. Nonetheless, the plan by Antoine (1762) is highly accurate in its depiction of the site's geography and location of

structures, almost all of which were confirmed during the 1969, 1994, 1995 and 2020 fieldwork. While there are no fortification plans dating to after the 1762 destruction, the documentary sources do suggest that the site had deteriorated and that many of the structures excavated by Bartovics (1970) and Skanes (1994) dated to the pre-destruction period (Macbraire 1812).

9.2 360^0 Photography and Documentation of the Admiral's Point Site

360^0 photography provided a useful method to present and document the landscape and archaeological features of Admiral's Point. Although not as immersive as virtual reality, or as accurate as photogrammetric modeling, its ease of use and dissemination make it a desirable tool for the documentation of archaeological sites. Additionally, these images can be made available online allowing them to be accessed remotely. The URLs for each of the 360^0 videos generated during the 2020 fieldwork as well as instructions on how to view them can be found in chapter 5.14, *360^0 Photography and Documentation.*

9.3 The Site and its Occupants

This site is typical of 18^{th}-and early 19^{th}-century British colonial fortifications yet, has the ability to challenge many of our preconceptions about the function of the military in society and the role of enlisted soldiers and civilians. Admiral's Point is similar to other 18^{th}-century British colonial fortifications in that its life and usage patterns were dependant on political and military contexts. In times of peace or lack of perceived threat, it was often neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair, maintained by only a small garrison. While in times of conflict, the fortifications would be reinforced, improved and maintained. This results in varied occupation patterns where the site was built, maintained, then neglected or abandoned, followed by a rebuilding, occupation and abandonment.

At Admiral's Point we can see this pattern clearly beginning in the mid 1740s, when the site was first constructed. The earthworks, batteries, storekeepers hut, and magazine structure were all bult at this time. The garrison, consisting most likely of a detachment from the 40th Regiment of Foot and the Royal Artillery, numbered around 30 infantry and 20 members of the artillery plus officers. This garrison was by the standards of 18th-century Newfoundland a more than sufficient garrison (Alridge and Drake 1752, 1755; *His Majesty's 40 th* Regiment of foot; Prowse 1895; Trinity Historical Society 2018). It is also likely that the garrison interacted with the community on a regular basis. Based on the documentary sources and survey work at the site, it is unlikely that the suspected barracks could have accommodated the more than 50-man garrison. Instead, it is possible the barracks were intended to house the gunners or only a portion of the garrison, with some being quartered in town. However, there are no records to prove this, though such arrangements were common during the 18th century and may not have been recorded (Gale 2007: 82). Some of the soldiers may have lived with, eaten with, spoken with and worked among the civilian population. It was common that during their time off duty, soldiers in the British army would go hunting, accounting for the remains of wild game animals found in the faunal assemblage (Elliott 2020; Gale 2007: 68). Soldiers would also spend most of their days working, either directly on military projects such as maintaining the fort, guarding the harbour entrance or policing among the civilian population. Often this would supplement their enlisted pay and provide further opportunities to interact with the civilian population (Gale 2007: 66-68). At Admiral's Point, some soldiers likely went fishing, either working with civilian fisherman or on their own. This is shown by the faunal evidence suggesting that cod were processed within the fortifications.

Understanding the garrison, both officers and non-commissioned ranks, as members of the local community, with both a military and civilian function, provides a different image than the often brutal, semi-penal portrayal of 18th-century militaries (Gilbert 1980). While it is true that the life of an 18th-and 19th-century soldier was often brutal and lacked the freedom of a civilian, he was not entirely stripped of agency. At Admiral's Point, the lives of the soldiers potentially took on a distinctly local flavour as they participated in the local economy, hunted and ate local game and interacted with the civilian population. It must also be understood that a man's life as a soldier was often comparable to what he could expect as a civilian, maybe working as a semi transient and unskilled labourer, suffering from a lack of stable employment, low wages and poor accommodation (Gilbert 1980; Reid 1996:4; Steegmann 1985). The army would provide him with a somewhat stable source of clothing, food, shelter, and some pay. While this is perhaps a positive conception of army life during this period, much of the literature has portrayed the British army as a prison-like institution with its members stripped of all freedom. By studying sites such as Admiral's Point this notion is challenged, as we see through the archaeological remains, evidence of the average enlisted members of the army exercising individual agency in terms of their consumption habits, material culture and interactions with the local community. As a result, a more balanced interpretation of the reality of life in the 18th-century British army emerges. While the enlisted man did not by any means live a free and unrestricted life, he was not a convict and in many cases army life compared favourably with what he could expect in civilian life.

Life at the fort continued until 1758, when the garrison was largely withdrawn leading to a period of neglect and semi abandonment (Skanes 1994:7). It seems that a garrison of six enlisted men was left at the site, though many of the stores would have been sent elsewhere. This

period likely left the fortifications in a state of disrepair prior to their destruction in 1762 (Amherst 1762; Lester 1762; Skanes 1994: 7; Trinity Historical Society 2018). Other than the fort's construction, the 1762 French occupation and destruction is the most archaeologically visible event. It has resulted in a great number of the artifacts being extensively burnt and marks a clear divide between the early period of occupation (i.e., from 1745 to 1762 or the King George's and Seven Years War periods) and the later occupation during the American and French Revolutions, Napoleonic Wars including the War of 1812, roughly 1780 to the 1820s (Amherst 1762; Skanes 1994: 8; Trinity Historical Society 2018).

The later period of occupation followed the destruction in 1762 and up until the beginning of the War of 1812 it is uncertain as to exactly how the fort was used or to what extent rebuilding efforts took place. Nonetheless, after 1812, we again see the process of rebuilding, occupation and activity. It seems as though magazines were built, and gun batteries repaired, while members of the Loyal Trinity Volunteer Rangers along with members of the Royal Engineers and Marines garrisoned the fort (Clinch and Durell 1813; Macbraire 1812; Royal Engineers 1812; Trinity Historical Society 2018). This process continued until sometime after 1815, when the fortifications were finally abandoned and military activity at the site ceased.

9.4 Material Culture Distribution

What remains of the fortifications today largely dates to the early occupation including the storekeepers hut, magazine, gunners hut, and the house at area F as well as all the gun batteries, most of which have been lost to erosion or are no longer recognisable (Skanes 1994: 8-11). For this period, we see many artifacts dating to the mid to late 18th century. Area A, the storekeepers hut, features the greatest diversity of ware types such as Totnes, North Devon, Whieldon ware and West Somerset and in these cases, represents the only area where these ware

types were recovered. This is significant because the storekeeper's hut was among the earliest structures built at the site and was destroyed by fire in 1762, not to be rebuilt (Skanes 1994: 8). In its function as a storage structure, it would have seen a significant concentration of vessels, both ceramic and glass, providing a good representation of the material culture of the garrison. Coincidentally, many of the other earthenware types such as creamwares and tin glazed earthenwares were generally of an earlier type than those recovered in areas which saw use in the second period of occupation such as area I and the main battery. Additionally, the glassware recovered from the storekeeper's hut often shows signs of extensive burning, providing a likely *terminus ante quem* of 1762.

Other areas exclusively occupied prior to the destruction such as areas B (three-gun battery), E (another gun battery), F (house abandoned prior to the destruction), G (gunners hut) and H (gun battery where excavation was limited to a single test pit with no artifacts included in the assemblage), also show vessel ware types dating to earlier in the 18th century (Skanes 1994: 8-11). However, areas such as F and G, show significantly less signs of burning than areas which were being used by the garrison in 1762, yet their artifacts show similar date ranges to those exhibiting signs of burning. Areas that saw use by the garrison but contained no structures or permanent features such as Admiral's Beach, do not show any signs of burning, while they do show signs of pitting, particularly glass objects, possibly from exposure to sea water. Therefore, the beach was probably used as an occasional dumping ground for broken or unused items.

Areas which were used in the later part of the fort's occupation include areas C (the main battery) and I (a building) located in the southern half of the site, both of which were re-used by the garrison (Skanes 1994: 8-11). These areas contained artifacts ranging from the mid 18th century to the early 19th century, with several items such as transfer-printed earthenware vessels

most likely dating to the early 19th century. Additionally, area I contained a much larger number of artifacts with more ceramics, glassware and smoking pipes than any other area. This makes sense as it was likely a structure used for domestic purposes and was occupied for almost the entire life span of the fort. Notably, there are artifacts showing signs of heat damage as well as ones which do not. This may be a result of artifacts deposited up until 1762 being more likely to show signs of burning and those deposited after, less likely.

Additionally, area C or the main battery, contained the third largest ceramic assemblage as well as a large quantity of flat glass. However, excavations at area C did not produce any smoking pipes and only one glass bottle. This would suggest that this area was not used as intensively as area I, with little alcohol or tobacco being consumed, possibly suggesting soldiers on duty, where drinking would have been forbidden as well as smoking near the guns and powder charges.

The other areas that were not re-occupied often contain smaller assemblages of glass, ceramics, and tobacco pipes. This suggests that food and drink were consumed at these features but in a limited quantity. Additionally, these may have been used as dumping grounds with the garrison disposing of broken tableware at the batteries. It also seems that the garrison smoked in all areas of the site, with limited numbers of tobacco pipe stems and bowls recovered at all areas except the main battery.

9.5 Artifacts and Consumption Patterns

The assemblage at Admiral's Point is in many ways typical of an 18th-century occupation. Only a small portion of the collection is distinctly military, particularly the buttons, and limited cannon shot. The gunflints, though not specific to military occupation, were present

and common to military sites. It also appears that the garrison or at least the officers enjoyed a reasonably refined lifestyle when it came to their material culture, with a mix of wine and spirits being consumed in fine glassware and tea from porcelain cups. There are also several decorated smoking pipes, with masonic, animal and floral motifs among the larger quantity of generic undecorated ones. It is possible that these were purchased by officers (Leskovec 2007: 157-165; Newcombe 2017: 134).

There were also decorated earthenware and stoneware vessels which due to their relative frequency, may have been used by the enlisted ranks as well as officers. These included Westerwald, pearlware, Staffordshire slipware, scratch blue and other assorted decorated earthenware vessels uncovered across the site. While this cannot necessarily be taken as a sign of affluence in the garrison, it does show that they had access to fashionable contemporary tableware which may have been used as their primary serving vessels or as a substitute to wooden or metal vessels more commonly associated with enlisted ranks (Gale 2007: 82-86). Another explanation for the relatively fashionable and diverse ceramics and glassware at the fort is that a portion of them date to the later occupation when the civilian members of the LTVR may have brought over their own ceramics to use when on duty at the fort. This is especially plausible for the vessels which most likely date to the late 18th and early 19th century. Whether the vessels were owned by the regulars or militia, their diversity and quality demonstrate that at this period, there was often a great deal of overlap between the civilian and military worlds. At a relatively remote site such as Admiral's Point, this is all the more apparent.

Due to a lack of documentation regarding the artifacts in their original context, it is impossible to determine if more expensive or exclusive items such as porcelain were deposited separately from the more common wares such as creamware. However, the wide variety of

artifacts within concentrated areas, particularly areas I and C, suggests that it was part of a midden associated with the main areas of occupation with items belonging to the officers and enlisted men being discarded together.

On the other hand, assemblages associated with areas such as A and F are more indicative of how these spaces were used. In the case of area A, this was a storage structure with a large amount of coarse earthenware, likely utilitarian storage vessels as well as a variety of other ceramics which may have been kept there (Skanes 1994: 8). Also included are wine bottles most of which were damaged by fire indicating that they were within the structure at the time of destruction and therefore still being used. This suggests that even though the garrison had been reduced to six enlisted men at the time of destruction, they still had access to a reasonably varied material culture and associated food and drink.

Area F was likely a small domestic wooden structure which had fallen into disrepair at the time of the French occupation (Antoine 1762; Skanes 1994: 9; Plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour 1746; Plan of Admiral's Point 1748). As a result, it was not burned, and the assemblage suggests a typical domestic occupation, with 14 distinct ceramic vessels, both stoneware and earthenware as well as five bottles one being a case bottle. A small number of pipes were uncovered including one which is typical of 18th-century Bristol made pipes intended for North American export (Bradley 2000: 115; Hume 1969: 305). None of the artifacts in area F suggested any sort of affluence and are typical of 18th-century domestic assemblages (Feister 1984; Hume 1969; Leskovec 2007; Newcombe 2017). This structure could have been occupied by officers or men of the 40th foot or the Royal Artillery as there is no specifically military material culture associated with this area.

While areas A, C, F and I were the primary areas of occupation with the largest middens, small assemblages were present in other excavated areas. There seems to be deposits of ceramic, glass and smoking pipes distributed around the site. Many of the objects are mundane and indicate that broken or unused items would be left or tossed away across the site and that middening and disposal patterns may have been rather haphazard. Clay pipes, all likely English, were discovered in nearly all excavated areas except for the main battery, which was used both pre and post 1762, indicating that smoking may have been forbidden in this area or there was an effort to keep the battery clear of refuse (Leskovec 2007: 157-165). It also must be noted that the magazine/storeroom was not excavated beyond the foundations to preserve the structure for future research.

Chapter 10. Conclusion and Future Research

The Admiral's Point assemblage demonstrates that soldiers had access to a variety of goods often comparable to what was available to civilians and in turn, used the same items in their daily lives. Soldiers in the 18th century smoked from the same pipes, ate from the same vessels, drank from the same bottles and often lived side-by-side in inns and with their billets. Even in a strictly military setting such as a fort, they were not separate from society but occupied a specialized, albeit undistinguished role within 18th-century society. This is evidenced by both the lack of strictly military items and the relative diversity of material culture, which may suggest a degree of agency in choosing what vessels were being used (Gale 2007). Signs of agency can also be seen in the presence of local game, which would have likely been hunted by both enlisted and commissioned ranks (Gale 2007; Lester 1762). While this evidence is blurred and like many archaeological investigations can create just as many questions as answers, it is enough to indicate that soldiers of the 18th and early 19th centuries had a good deal more agency than is often acknowledged.

We should therefore see soldiers and military sites as a part of this system and as participants in their world, as individuals with agency rather than simply as members of a strict military monoculture. Sites such as Admiral's Point serve as a reminder of this. Although not especially unique among 18th-century military sites in North America, the Admiral's Point assemblage shows us that some of the personal choices of individuals, be they enlisted soldiers, officers or civilians, had an impact on the functioning of the site. This may be in their work, their use of space and consumption of goods. Often the role of soldier and civilian could become blurred, with members of the community campaigning for the construction of defences (Merrit 1703 a, b), or taking brief command of the fort and garrison such as Benjamine Lester in 1762

and finally the efforts of the LTVR in the final stages of the fort's occupation. In these cases, civilians took an active role in the military affairs of their community, while soldiers would have worked within the local economy as can be seen through the evidence of fish processing at the fort.

As discussed in Chapter 9, the consumption patterns demonstrated by the garrison of Admiral's Point are quite like those demonstrated by the garrison at Bois Island and Crown Point (Feister 1984; 157-165; Newcombe 2017). Each of these contemporary sites displayed signs that the garrisoned soldiers were able to express a degree of agency in their daily lives, evidenced through their consumption habits. While the 18th century enlisted soldier still lived a highly regulated life, under strict military discipline, the average soldier's ability to shape their life is often overlooked (Gilbert 1980).

Additionally, fortifications like Admiral's Point often performed a critical and necessary function for the communities that they were associated with, as well as the larger colonial aims of their respective powers. They provided a degree of security and protection to the local population, though may also have served as a source of oppression and intimidation. Fortifications served as a centre of intended control over the surrounding landscape, but also as landmarks. No matter if the focus is on the fortifications themselves, as sites and features within the landscape, or their occupants (or adversaries), soldier or civilian, enlisted or commissioned, fortifications like this are key to understanding the society and culture that they existed within. It may, therefore, be necessary to adopt a more flexible and holistic approach towards understanding fortified sites, not as separate entities from the rest of society, but as performing a specialized function within society.

As can be seen in the example of Admiral's Point, fortifications were not always successful in achieving their aims. While necessary to the defence of the community, it nonetheless failed to protect Trinity from a major attack (Merritt 1703; Lester 1762). Nonetheless, we can not discount Admiral's Point entirely as it was not adequately garrisoned or equipped at the time of its fall. After the destruction of the fort, it was decided to re-build the fortifications and establish a more permanent garrison in the form of the LTVR and a detachment of the Royal Marines (Trinity Historical Society 2018a, b.). If it was felt that fortifications were ineffective, it would have been unlikely that the British Military and the Community of Trinity would have gone to the effort to re-build and occupy the site. While their effectiveness was largely due to their state of maintenance and the garrison, fortifications themselves were nonetheless distinct and visible points on the landscape.

Building on Clark's (1977) scaled approach to landscape analysis, the relationship between artifacts at a sub assemblage level and the broader landscape can be understood. Through a scaled analysis, we can see that Admiral's Point was comprised of a series of individual features, all of which played a critical part in determining the overall function of the fortification. However, the function of the fortification was also dependant on the actions of the garrison, which can be seen through their material culture and its distribution across the site. We can therefore establish a direct link between the micro and macro levels of analysis, between the artifacts, the people and the landscape (Clark 1977).

Admiral's Point presents great potential for further research and development. Excavations at the magazine and store building, which have not been investigated thus far, would be a logical next step for further fieldwork. Additional work could also be undertaken at the possible barracks building located close to the southwest of the magazine. Verification of this

feature would greatly aid in our understanding of the fort's function and of the consumption patterns of those who resided there. Unfortunately, features such as the three-gun battery are at risk from coastal erosion, making them a primary concern for future research.

In his 1970 report, Bartovics advocated against the reconstruction of any of the fort's structures as being too great a risk to the archaeological preservation of the site. While these activities could prove potentially problematic for future research, it would have the potential for heritage interpretation and further development of the site as a tourist attraction (Figure 9.1). However, as extensive fieldwork has been completed at the site and extensive material culture recovered, except for the magazine, re-construction could provide a greater benefit than cost to the community of Trinity, provided that an effort to preserve archaeologically important areas and features was made and accurate portrayal was prioritized.

Perhaps the area with the greatest potential for future research would be in the landscape archaeology of the site and surrounding areas both in Trinity Bay as well as the landscape of British settlements in Newfoundland; in particular, the relationship between these sites and their place within the local landscape as well as how these settlements and fortifications interacted with each other. 360^0 photography and the concept of zones of control could provide a useful framework and methodology for this research.

Figure 10.1 Trinity, seen from Admiral’s Point.

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Appendix

For appendix A and B, ware type percentages may vary for the Admiral's Point assemblage. This is due to a difference in how vessels were grouped between Bois Island and Crown Point. In each case, the data from Admiral's Point was organized in an identical way to achieve an equal comparison.

Appendix A. Comparison of Ceramic Assemblages from Admiral's Point, Trinity and Bois Island, Ferryland.

Assemblage information and MNV counts for Bois Island taken from Newcombe 2017 page 130

Admiral's Point				**Bois Island**
Ware Type	**Ware type as percentage of assemblage**		**Ware type as percentage of assemblage**	**Ware Type**
Porcelain	3.40		7.93	Porcelain
Beauvais	0		1.58	Beauvais
English Brown/Fulham	3.80		.79	English Brown/Fulham
Normandy Brown	0		.79	Normandy Brown
Nottingham-Type	0		1.58	Nottingham-Type
Scratch Blue	1.10		1.58	Scratch Blue
English Dry Bodied Stoneware	.30		0	English Dry Bodied Stoneware
Shaw's Patent	0		.79	Shaw's Patent
Westerwald	3.40		2.38	Westerwald
Rhenish Brown	.30		0	Rhenish Brown
White Salt-Glazed	11.00		19.04	White Salt-Glazed
Uni. Stoneware	.38		1.58	Uni. Stoneware
Agateware	0		.79	Agateware
Buckley Ware	.38		.79	Buckley Ware
Clouded Ware	0		1.58	Clouded Ware
Pearlware	32.25		.79	Pearlware
Jackfield	0		.79	Jackfield
Jackfield-Type	0		.79	Jackfield-Type
Manganese Mottled	.77		.79	Manganese Mottled
N. Devon Gravel	0		5.55	N. Devon Gravel
N. Devon Smooth	.38		7.93	N. Devon Smooth
Portuguese Redware	0		3.17	Portuguese Redware
Saintonge	0		.79	Saintonge
Somerset Verwood	0		1.58	Somerset Verwood
Spanish Costrel	0		.79	Spanish Costrel
Spanish Heavy	0		1.58	Spanish Heavy
Staffordshire-Type	3.47		13.49	Staffordshire-Type
Uni. Earthenware	18.53		3.96	Uni. Earthenware
Delftware	0		11.11	Delftware
Faience Rouen	0		5.55	Faience Rouen
Creamware	18.53		0	Creamware
Tin Glaze	3.08		0	Tin Glaze
Uni. French Earthenware	.38		0	Uni. French Earthenware
Totnes	1.15		0	Totnes
Whieldon Ware	.38		0	Whieldon Ware
Mocha	.77		0	Mocha
West Sommerset	.38		0	West Sommerset

Appendix B. Comparison of Ceramic Assemblages from Admiral's Point, Trinity and Crown Point, New York

Assemblage information and MNV counts for Crown Point Taken from Feister (1984)

Admiral's Point				**Crown Point**
Ware Type	**Ware type as percentage of assemblage**		**Ware type as percentage of assemblage**	**Ware Type**
18th Century Red Earthenware (Includes Brown EW and Sommerset)	1.49		8.18	*18th Century Red Earthenware*
Jackfield	0		4.54	*Jackfield*
Lead Glazed Buff Earthenware (Includes North Devon, Manganese Mottled Totnes, Stafford, etc.)	7.83		1.81	*Lead Glazed Buff Earthenware*
Tin Glazed Earthenware	2.98		8.18	*Tin Glazed Earthenware*
Creamware	17.91		23.63	*Creamware*
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	11.19		35.45	*White Salt Glaze Stoneware*
18th Century Grey Salt Glaze Westerwald Stoneware	3.35		5.45	*18th Century Grey Salt Glaze Stoneware*
Porcelain	3.35		12.72	Porcelain
English Brown/Fulham	3.73		0	English Brown/Fulham
Scratch Blue	1.10		0	Scratch Blue
English Dry Bodied Stoneware	.37		0	English Dry Bodied Stoneware
Rhenish Brown	.37		0	Rhenish Brown
Uni. Stoneware	.37		0	Uni. Stoneware
Buckley Ware	.37		0	Buckley Ware
Pearlware	26.11		0	Pearlware
Uni. Earthenware	17.91		0	Uni. Earthenware
Uni. French Earthenware	.37		0	Uni. French Earthenware
Whieldon Ware	.37		0	Whieldon Ware
Mocha	.74		0	Mocha