“by which so much happiness is produced”: An Analysis of the Seventeenth-Century Kirke Tavern at Ferryland, Newfoundland

by

© Sarah Joy Ingram

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Archaeology

Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 2015

St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract

The arrival of David Kirke and his family in 1638 marked a decided change in focus at the Ferryland colony. It evolved from a colony attempting to monopolize primarily on the fishing industry, under the direction of Lord Baltimore starting in 1621, to one focusing on trade, provisioning, and the fishery (Pope 2004). The seventeenth-century site of Ferryland, Newfoundland represents an opportunity for a large-scale archaeological study of life in colonial Newfoundland, as it is one of the earlier colonies in North America. One aspect of the colony that has yet to be closely examined is the seventeenth-century tavern operated by the Kirke family. There is potential to learn not only about how David Kirke operated this important part of the family business, but also more about the merchants, sailors, and colonists that frequented the establishment. It is also an opportunity to learn about how this tavern relates to others in comparable contexts across North America during the seventeenth century.

My research will explore how the archaeological remains associated with the Kirke tavern can reveal information regarding tavern activities, the proprietors behind them, and the Kirke tavern's place in a tradition of taverns and tippling houses in seventeenth-century British North America. Artifacts typically uncovered in these contexts indicate that taverns were not just a place of drinking, but also one of social interaction, networking, and relaxation (Crompton 2001). The clay tobacco pipes, gaming pieces and cooking and serving vessels reveal that other activities were present at the Kirke tavern. The glass bottles and ceramics help archaeologists distinguish what

types of wares would have been used in a tavern setting, and to some extent where they originated from, helping to determine the social interaction, socioeconomics, and the trading networks behind these consumption patterns.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Barry Gaulton, for all of his advice, patience, and guidance throughout the course of my graduate degree. I would also like to thank him for allowing me the experience of working with him both at Ferryland and Sunnyside over the past couple years. The skills and knowledge I acquired throughout this entire process have made me into a confident archaeologist. I would also like to thank the entirety of the Archaeology Department at Memorial University for input, support, and encouragement during the two years of courses, presentations, and proposals. I am also indebted to the Provincial Archaeology Office for providing funding to help me in my analysis, which would have been next to impossible without that support.

I also want to thank my graduate class cohort, who helped to keep me sane and reassured that this whole thing wasn't a mistake at all. To Cameron Milner, Christina Robinson, Adrian Morrison, Kelly-Ann Pike, Michelle Davies, Chandra Young Boyle, and Andrew Collins: thanks for the late nights, and long weekends, and commiseration. I couldn't have asked for a better cohort during graduate school, and will never forget the great memories we share. I would also like to thank Arthur R. Clausnitzer Jr. for all his help while sharing a tiny office. I may have gone a little insane without your help identifying, finding words, and taking me for Bitters breaks at the most stressful of times. You were my most reliable shoulder, and I definitely could not have done this without you. Many thanks also go out to Bryn Tapper, who is responsible for the amazing GIS maps and distributions in my thesis – I would have been utterly lost without his help, and the figures wouldn't have looked even remotely as close to as wonderful as his turned out.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank my family for everything. Mom and Dad, you pushed me to follow my passion and educate myself, and never once tried to steer me away from my archaeology dreams at a young age. You made sure to keep on me whenever I felt like I was slacking, and cheered for me when I met my deadlines. Thank you for always being there (both emotional and financially) and being excited and proud about what I was doing, even when you didn't really understand what I was talking about. Finally, I owe everything to my husband, Tony. Having two people in the house both working and in graduate school was never easy, but I was glad to have someone who knew what I was going through, and could keep me motivated when I struggled. I love you so much, and this is for you.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter One: Introduction

The archaeological work carried out at Ferryland over the last two decades has provided important insight into early colonial life in British North America. Although George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, initially founded the colony in 1621, it was his predecessor, Sir David Kirke that helped it grow. An affluent wine merchant, Kirke was a man who understood economics and trade, and used that to enhance the economic viability of the colony, both through the fishery and the trade relationships that it fostered. He added many new structures to the settlement, increased the revenue flowing through the colony, and even owned possibly the first stand-alone tavern in Canada. This tavern is the focus of my graduate research.

Taverns were key social fixtures in early modern settlements, and a carryover from English traditions, as they were both places of business, leisure and gathering. By understanding the function and role of the Kirke tavern, a more holistic view of the seventeenth-century Ferryland settlement can be obtained. As well, insight into the lives of the colonists and the prominent Kirke family can be better understood. This will be achieved by examining the archaeological remains of the structure itself, the products and services offered at the tavern, and the social relevance it held for both the colonists, as well as visiting merchants and seamen.

This thesis has four distinct goals, which have been formed into research questions. They include 1) understanding the tavern structure; 2) what the artifacts can reveal about clientele, business practices and other activities inside the tavern, as well as those who worked and lived in the tavern; 3) how the Ferryland tavern compares to other seventeenth-century taverns and tippling houses in British North America; and 4) what this can tell us about David Kirke's business operations in Newfoundland. The thesis is comprised of eight chapters; four focus on background and methodology, three address the tavern and a comparative analysis of other taverns and tippling houses, and the final chapter will present a discussion and conclusion.

Chapter 2 presents a brief history of seventeenth-century Ferryland. It will address the colony's origins as a European fishing station and the transition to a permanent settlement in 1621 when Sir George Calvert purchased the land. I will look at how the colony layout changed with the arrival of Sir David Kirke in 1638, and will be focusing on the Kirke family, the changes they made to the structure that became the tavern, and how this is reflective of changes in the economics of the colony.

Chapter 3 takes a look at the tradition of taverns in both seventeenth-century England and contemporaneous taverns in British North America. This chapter will focus on both consumption activities as well as the other activities inside taverns and tippling houses, the types of artifacts typical to these structures, and how the artifacts and activities related to the colonies and communities they were a part of. It will also discuss the importance and commonality of alcohol consumption in the seventeenth century, both for its perceived safety versus water and health benefits, as well as the social aspects associated with it.

Chapter 4 will discuss my research questions, methodology, and theoretical approach. I will also discuss how I will compensate for different methodologies in my comparative analysis.

Chapter 5 presents my analysis of the Kirke tavern's architectural features, including details on the structure, and its location at the site. I will also discuss how these features relate to other taverns and tippling houses, and how architectural traditions were either adapted to fit a new climate and different materials, or changed entirely to follow a more vernacular development.

Chapter 6 focuses on my artifact analysis. All objects from the tavern were divided into the following categories: ceramics, glass, clay tobacco pipes, small finds, iron and other. I will use several different typological and methodological techniques to identify the artifacts in each category. I will also use the artifacts to determine a chronology for the building, from its construction to destruction, and identify the busiest time periods.

Chapter 7 will compare my tavern assemblage to other contemporaneous examples in Renews, NL, St. Mary's City, Maryland, Williamsburg, Virginia, Wellfleet, Massachusetts, Jamestown, Virginia, and Ferryland Area D. This comparison will highlight how the Ferryland tavern is similar to or different from these taverns and tippling houses. It will also discuss some of the vernacular changes that are present in the Ferryland tavern and what these reveal about its role at Ferryland.

Chapter 8 will be a discussion of the Kirke tavern's place in seventeenth-century Ferryland, what it meant for the settlers and visiting fishermen in terms of socio-political interactions, how it relates to the rest of the Ferryland community, and what role it played in the economic successes of Sir David Kirke and his family.

The Kirke tavern at Ferryland is one of the best-preserved seventeenth-century taverns or tippling houses from seventeenth-century British North America. Because it was owned by Sir David Kirke, an affluent merchant, the availability of wine consumption in a social setting that typically could not afford more expensive alcohols became distinctive. Likewise, Kirke controlled the licensing of other tippling houses in the colony, therefore he held control of the officially sanctioned liquor consumption that occurred. As such, the Ferryland tavern offers a unique and important view into the role of a tavern in a colonial setting.

Chapter Two: Historical Background

2.1 Settlement Origins and Calvert

European fishermen were first attracted to Newfoundland by the abundance of Atlantic cod off the coast (Pope 2004:13). By the later sixteenth century fishing vessels, both large and small, came by the hundreds and set up on the shores in order to process and dry their catch. A lucrative fishing industry grew, as nations took advantage of "the land of the cod" (Pope 2004:15). Ships arrived in the spring and remained until fall, and fishermen lived and staged in temporary cabins each season; these cabins and associated cookhouses were then left to the elements at the end of the season. Some of these activity areas have been found near the coastline, and the associated artifact collections suggest that Breton and/or Basque fisherman were present early in the sixteenth century (Tuck 1996:28).

Considered a "vernacular industry" (Pope 2004:30), the fishery expanded as demand, interest, and capital markets grew globally. Newfoundland was considered a "central node in an international network" of trade, and was not isolated (Pope 2004:80). It was this industry that both facilitated and drove the need for the trade patterns and relationships to develop between Newfoundland, England, and Southern Europe. This triangular pattern of trade was more of "two streams and a trickle", as only a fraction of the trade was redirected to Newfoundland (Pope 2004:91). As this increased, the presence of fisherman and support workers wintering in seasonal constructions became more common. By staying, they guaranteed the safety of their fishing premises from looting and damage during the months they typically were unattended. As this practice became more commonplace, the presence of families also began to occur (Pope 2004:41). The fishery was the key to expansion into North America, and as fish became a mass-produced, globally traded commodity, the demand helped the spread of colonization into the New World which in turn expanded the industry (Gaulton 1997:9).

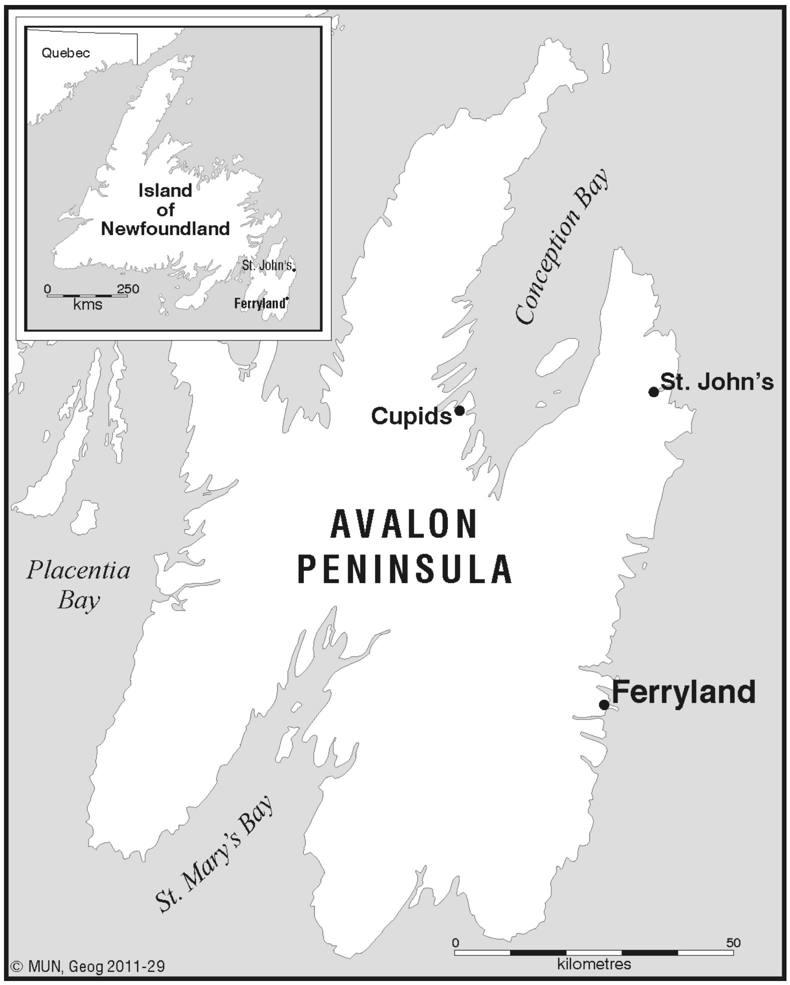

Figure 1: Map of the Avalon Peninsula with specific reference to Ferryland

Permanent settlement around the Avalon Peninsula began in the early seventeenth century (Pope 2004:40). The English dominance in the area led to early attempts at colonization in places like Cupids, Renews, and Bristol's Hope (Gaulton 1997:10). Originally appearing on early sixteenth-century maps as 'Farilham', Ferryland became a hub for many European migratory fishermen (Gaulton 1997:8). Ferryland is situated along the eastern shore of the Avalon Peninsula, approximately 80km south of St. John's (Figure 1). The natural inlet (the Pool) in Ferryland's inner harbour made a good location for a permanent settlement.

The Ferryland colony was first established in 1621, when George Calvert, later the first Lord Baltimore, purchased a small parcel of land from Sir William Vaughan and attempted settlement at the site (Pope 2004:4). From an economical standpoint, Ferryland was an ideal location to begin a colony. The harbor and Pool were defensible, and the beaches were easily able to accommodate cod drying racks (Gaulton and Tuck 2003:188). Calvert believed that this purchase would be a profitable colonial venture, as well as a future home for himself and his family. He employed Captain Edward Wynne as a governor to manage the colony, and he arbitrated on his behalf. Wynne brought 11 settlers with him on the initial voyage to begin construction at the Ferryland colony. The first structures built included a forge, well, wharf, tenement, and a 44 by 15 foot house with an attached kitchen. After requests for more supplies and settlers, Wynne also built a brewhouse, established a quarry site, and brought in more people - raising the number of settlers to 32 (Wynne 1622).

Calvert was an absentee landlord of sorts, carrying on his business through Captain Wynne. Wynne left Ferryland in 1625. For fear of leaving his property unattended for too long, Calvert decided to visit his colony in 1627 (Cell 1969:93). Lord Baltimore was pleased with the state of his investment, and seemingly wanting to be more personally involved, moved his family and 40 additional settlers there the following year under the pretenses that it would be permanent (Gaulton 1997:11).

However, after residing in the colony for an entire year Baltimore was unhappy with the surprisingly harsh Newfoundland weather; for this and other reasons, he abandoned Ferryland the following spring. The Calvert family retained ownership of the colony maintaining its operations through a governor, Captain William Hill (Cell 1982:45-56). It was not until 1638, when ownership was passed onto Sir David Kirke, that the proprietor of the colony would permanently reside in Ferryland (Tuck 1993:296).

2.2 Kirke Family Changes

David Kirke, a wealthy wine merchant, gained proprietary rights to the colony in 1638 from Charles I, shortly after being named the Governor of Newfoundland (Pope 2004:59, Gaulton 2006:26). These rights were granted to Kirke and his consortium as a reward for several campaigns he led against the French on behalf of Charles I (Gaulton 1997:12). David Kirke worked on restructuring the colony and its economic viability. He brought with him close to 100 settlers, and after expelling the colony of Calvert’s previous governor, moved into the large mansion house (Gaulton 2006:27).

David Kirke had a different approach to his proprietorship of Ferryland than the Calverts; he “set out to establish a profitable node in a trading network, not to sponsor a corporate colony” (Pope 2004:55). This is in part why the colony saw continued structural growth and trade expansion under Kirke’s direction. David Kirke intended to profit from this venture; the fishery was his primary focus. Kirke was granted permission by the Crown to tax any fish caught by foreign fishing ships (Howley 1979). By placing levies on foreign fishing ships, as well as collecting fishing room rents and charging for tavern licenses, he continued to increase his monetary gain from the colony (Pope 1986:24-5; Gaulton 2006:27).

As a merchant, David Kirke would have understood the trade and mercantile opportunities these New World settlements held, and taken full advantage of moving codfish, wine, and other commodities transatlantically. Kirke saw the potential the cod fishery had on a global scale, especially in terms of what he could move via sack ships, ships designed solely for freight, and did what he could to exploit the resource (Pope 2004:90-3). He literally tried to turn "fish into wine" through trade (Pope 2004:92).

Many of the new additions made during Kirke's control were both for economic gain and in support of permanent residency. The structures were "built by Sir David Kirke at his own proper cost and charge" and were described through several letters from Ferryland to John Kirke (Pope 2004:137). Archaeological excavations have revealed there was significant change to the colony in the two decades following Sir David Kirke's arrival. One such addition was a group of semi attached and connected buildings (Figure 2), which served some of the domestic needs of various members of the Kirke family (Gaulton 2006). These buildings were south of the colony's cobblestone street and directly adjacent and to the east of the mansion house. Originally believed to be a part of the Kirke house, the "tavern room", at the west end of this house, has now been more clearly identified as a separate building and presumably served as David Kirke's tavern, "which did draw and keep ship masters, fishermen, and others from their fishing employments" (Cruse 1667).

Figure 2: Aerial view, looking east, showing the archaeological remains of the seventeenth-century settlement in the lower left. Location of the Kirke house and tavern is circled.

Trouble struck for David Kirke when political unrest and civil war broke out in England in 1642 (Gaulton 1997:12). As a royalist, he was inadvertently drawn into the issues in England, and in 1651 returned to London to deal with legal issues pertaining to the administration of the Ferryland colony (Cell 1969:117). He was subsequently imprisoned, and forced to forfeit his property and lands, including the colony, to the Commonwealth (Gaulton 1997:12-3; Pope 2004:59-60). David Kirke died in England in 1654 while dealing with these allegations. Although for a brief time a Commonwealth appointed manager, John Treworgie, managed the colony, the Kirke family regained it when Charles II ascended to the throne in 1660. Technically the Calverts now had legal claim to Ferryland, but the Kirke family remained (Pope 1998). Sir David's wife Sara Kirke continued to prosper in the colony along with their sons George, David, Phillip and Jarvis. Sara Kirke petitioned to the crown for a governor to be appointed at Ferryland to "maintain a government", and suggested her eldest son George "as … the desire of all the inhabitants" (Kirke 1660). When Sara Kirke died in the early 1680s she had been managing the Ferryland plantation for nearly 30 years, and her sister Lady Francis Hopkins, her sons and their families continued on in her place (Gaulton 2006:28-30). Lady Kirke has been called "North America's first woman entrepreneur" based on the control that she maintained in her husband's stead (Gaulton and Tuck 2003:209). Despite the fact that they technically no longer held any legal claim to Ferryland, they maintained their position while competing with the Calvert family, and remained until the destruction of the colony in 1696 (Pope 1986:30; Gaulton 1997:14; Pope 2004:408).

2.3 Destruction

In September of 1673 Dutch warships "plundered, ruined, fired and destroyed the commodities, cattle, household goods, and other stores" of the Ferryland colony (Pope 1993:110). The colony was rebuilt under the guidance and support of Sara Kirke after the Dutch raid (Tuck and Gaulton 2003). The colony remained safe from danger until the French attempt to take Ferryland in 1694; they were repelled by the colonists and left (Leskovec 2007:8). They returned two years later however, on the 21st of September, when a French fleet and land forces set out to destroy all the English settlements in Newfoundland. In 1696 they sailed into Ferryland Harbour with around

700 soldiers and destroyed the colony, imprisoning the settlers when they refused to swear loyalty to the French king (Gaulton 1997:14). The remaining members of the Kirke family, including several of Lady Sara's remaining sons, were among those imprisoned. The entire colony was ransacked and burned and prisoners were taken to Placentia or sent back to England (Pope 1993:151). Some colonists did return the following year, including David Kirke II's wife, Mary, although the focus of settlement moved towards the mainland and away from the inner harbor or Pool (Gaulton 2006:30). The other Kirke family members, including David Kirke's sons George, David and Phillip, all perished by 1697.

Chapter Three: Tavern Culture in the Seventeenth Century

3.1 The Importance of Alcohol Consumption

Alcoholic beverages have been an important part of daily life for many cultural groups, dating back as far as the late Prehistoric China (McGovern 2005:250). Although the specific beverage of choice varies depending on resources, knowledge, or religion, throughout world history alcohol consumption has typically been associated with ritualistic and social events (Smith 2008:1). Historical anthropologists recognize the dichotomy of alcohol consumption in terms of its “escapist and integrative function” (Smith 2008:59). It was escapist in that alcohol consumption could both ease troubles and distract the mind, and integrative by bringing social groups and communities closer together. It therefore is recognized that there are “complex meanings that societies attach to alcohol” (Smith 2008:59). While the idea that drinking is a ritualistic and social event still remains true today, it is now more regulated, and controlled by specific laws stating where it can be served or distributed from and who is allowed to drink. However, it was not always so prohibited and controlled, and was enjoyed by every age and social group.

Ale was the primary alcoholic beverage throughout English history; however, it was much different from the types available today (Clark 1983:24). It could be murky and sweet, and the taste and quality varied with the brewer. There were other types of alcoholic beverages available, including ciders and mead, which were more readily available to the entire population, albeit regionally exclusive to West England. There was also wine, brandy, rum and gin, which was more costly and therefore represented the more affluent and was consumed more frequently by the upper classes (Clark 1983:96), and beer, which up until the seventeenth century was considered a foreigner's drink and "only fit for the healthy" (Sambrook 1996:135). These claims did not inhibit the growing popularity of beer, however, and it soon became one of the most frequently consumed beverages. Beer was superior to ale for a couple of reasons. It was cheaper to brew, had a noticeably longer shelf life, and more volume could be created from the same amount of malt. As the cost of grain went up, the economic gain to be made from beer became increasingly desirable (Sim 1997:56). There were some disadvantages to brewing beer, namely it was a more involved process and required specialized equipment; these complications to brewing beer in the private home are what led to its eventual shift to a commercial process in the form of a brewhouse (Sim 1997:52). By the end of the seventeenth century, ale had been extensively replaced by beer owing to the expansion of the commercial market.

Most brewing for daily consumption was conducted at home, as it was consumed in place of water or other liquid and used as a food or beverage source and not for alcohol content; however, taverns and other establishments still existed for the social and public consumption of alcohol (Clark 1983; Sim 1997:51). Throughout history, sumptuary laws were enforced in different areas to control the frequency and volume of alcohol consumption. In seventeenth-century England, beer and spirits were becoming the primary beverages consumed by all social standings and people of every age. Wine was also extensively consumed, but throughout most of England it was restricted to those of a higher social status (Clark 1983; Smith 2008:63).

In Ferryland, the availability of alcohol would have been an important aspect of colonial life. Fishing crews would have needed to supply themselves with alcoholic beverages daily for their fishing expeditions, and would have needed a source to fill their personal storage vessels with beer, brandy, rum, or wine (Pope 2004:384). Either a tavern or a tippling house could provide a public source for visiting fisherman and merchants that could not brew their own.

Alcohol was the primary beverage for daily consumption for the assumed benefits it held. Drinking solely water was perceived as unsanitary and unsafe, as there was a general distrust of drinking water during that time (Sambrook 1996:2); primary documentation from the early decades of the seventeenth century supports this sentiment (Wynne 1622 in Pope 1993). Other beverages such as tea and coffee had not yet been introduced to the majority of households in the seventeenth century (Sambrook 1996:4; Sim 1997:46). Comparatively, beer and wine were considered clean and sanitary, and so taverns, tippling houses and brewhouses were commonplace both in England and in English colonies (Sambrook 1996:2; Smith 2008:95). Additionally, it was believed alcoholic beverages and smoking tobacco were in fact nutritious and good for your health, providing relief from depression, curing colds and broken bones, and relaxing the mind and body (Sim 1997:57; Salinger 2002:4). While some did drink water or milk, beverages with an alcoholic content were preferred. The Ferryland settlement was first equipped with a brewhouse; one that was originally built during the Calvert occupation but was destroyed soon after the Kirke family arrival to make room for the Kirke house (Clausnitzer 2011:50).

Although alcoholic beverages were the primary beverages of choice, there was controversy in the laws and licensing surrounding taverns as the public localization of its consumption (Clark 1983:24-5). Higher social classes believed that the presence of these establishments degraded the social fabric of the community; promoted sexual promiscuity, drunken disorder, and were a distraction from the responsibilities of the servants and the working families (Clark 1983:24-5; Smith 2008:64). Early attempts to legally regulate tavern and tippling houses were unsuccessful in the fifteenth century. By the early seventeenth century the Acts of 1603 and 1606 began to strictly regulate both the cost of alcohol, the need for licensing and the level of drunkenness tolerable in public (Leskovec 2007:16,18). These acts eventually included additional statutes, which cited official tavern and tippling standards, more expensive licenses, and limiting patronage on religious holidays (Wrightson 1981; Clark 1983).

Taverns played an integral role in community interactions during the early modern era (Clark 1983:151). Taverns were most certainly present in English colonies, as they were both an important element to cultural interactions and served as a social center. They represent one of the only secular meeting places, and allowed for both formal and informal activities, consumption services, and occasional accommodations for travellers and tradesmen (Rice 1983:107; Leskovec 2007:203; Smith 2008:68). Because of these, they can provide a window into colonial life, and its varied social and cultural interactions. They reveal public and social cultural norms, import and exportation traditions, and played a central role in socialization, politics, and relaxation in the colonies (Salinger 2002). Taverns were also a prominent fixture in any colonial settlement; they represented the second most affluent industry in seventeenth-century

Newfoundland, second only to the fishing industry (Pope 1989:90, 2004:59,80; Leskovec 2007:206).

The fact that there is a tavern present at Ferryland is no surprise. Not only was alcohol consumption a staple in the colonial diet, but it also was a major source of income for David Kirke. He held a monopoly on the issuing of tavern licenses, forcing anyone who wished sell alcohol to purchase one. Kirke also owned and operated a tavern adjacent to his own residence (Gaulton 2006:184). As the settlement expanded, so did the need for increased amounts of alcohol and tobacco, and so the Kirke tavern would have been supplemented with tippling houses in some planters' private dwellings (Pope 2004:140).

3.2 Tippling Houses, Taverns and Ordinaries

There are two types of buildings that would sell alcoholic beverages, and their differentiation comes from the scale of operation. They are categorized as tippling houses and taverns, and both have differences and similarities. The similarities are simple: both structures provided the opportunity for residents and visitors alike to purchase and consume alcohol, typically but by no means, always accompanied by the consumption of tobacco and simple foods. The differences lie in the dedication of these buildings to this practice.

A tippling house would not have been used solely for the purpose of alcohol consumption. These businesses were small scale, and operated in a private dwelling (Crompton 2000:25). Artifact assemblages from these contexts present daily household activities and public alcohol and tobacco consumption practices; tippling houses typically have heavier concentrations of food preparation and personal goods than those found in taverns (Clark 1983; Smith 2008:27-8,66). The tippling house from Renews, Newfoundland, is a local example of the size, layout, and activities associated with a Newfoundland tippling or planter house (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Renews tippling house drawing (courtesy of Stephen Mills)

A tavern (or ordinary) was a public building dedicated entirely towards alcohol and tobacco consumption. The material culture in a tavern is heavily biased towards glass and ceramic storage vessels, beverage and food consumption, and clay tobacco pipes. While less likely to offer accommodations overnight to visiting patrons, there are usually some personal artifacts associated with a manager or servant for the tavern who lodged there, sometimes in the back or on the second floor.

There is a difference in the description of public and domestic spaces and artifacts in this thesis, which should be briefly described. A public space is a building whose main purpose is to accommodate public use of an area through providing either goods or services, and sometimes both. As an example, a tavern or meeting hall would be considered public spaces. Likewise, public artifacts are the types of artifacts associated with these activities. In the case of the tavern, this would include serving and large-scale storage artifacts; public artifacts in this analysis also include artifacts that could be used in either a private or domestic setting, but are present in large quantities. As a tavern example, this would include a high quantity of pipe fragments as compared to what is present in a dwelling.

Domestic spaces, on the other hand, are private spaces, that are not open to the public, like private dwellings and servant quarters. Domestic artifacts are qualified as personal items, including watches, clothing, buttons and other personal effects, as well as pipes, religious personal items, and the like.

The distinction between domestic and tavern assemblages can be difficult to ascertain at times, as the material culture is not always consistent. Some taverns bear a small number of tobacco pipes or a large concentration of storage and food preparation vessels, whereas a domestic dwelling whose residents consumed above average amounts of alcohol can mislead one’s interpretation (Cotter 1958; Eckholm and Deetz 1971; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; King 1988; Miller 2003). The existence of tippling houses in colonial North America further complicates the archaeological record, as they constitute both a public tavern and a domestic dwelling. However, using a combination of historical documentation, artifact analysis, and spatial distribution, a more definitive interpretation can be obtained.

There is ample archaeological evidence that Newfoundland planters had tippling houses in their own homes during the seventeenth century (Mills 2000; Crompton 2001). In the early years settlements would have been small; it is expected then that some structures developed dual purposes to compensate for the missing elements of the community before a dedicated structure could be constructed (Clark 1983:66,75; Leskovec 2007:205). However, the Ferryland tavern is the first dedicated tavern discovered from seventeenth-century Newfoundland. There are several distinctions that make this evident in both the structural analysis (Chapter 5) and the artifact analysis (Chapter 6). There were taverns in seventeenth-century colonies further south in what is now the United States; however, only examples of tippling houses have been found in Canada outside of the Ferryland example.

3.3 Activities

Taverns and tippling houses served a myriad of functions. They were typically located within the center of a settlement, and until their operations became more specialized in the eighteenth century, they were the place of meetings, business transactions, accommodations, and social interactions (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:114). As such, different activities are expected to be recognizable within the archaeological record. Material culture representing different activities in a tavern or tippling house can reflect the public nature of the building, and the different functions it served to the community. It can also help to differentiate between public buildings and private dwellings with a dual purpose.

Traditionally, taverns are compared to domestic buildings to differentiate them archaeologically. While much of the material culture is the same, archaeologists look for higher concentrations of ceramic hollowware and clay tobacco pipes to identify a tavern from a dwelling (Smith 2008:27-8).

Drinking and Food

Drinking alcohol and eating typically go hand in hand, and many taverns and tippling houses would have offered patrons simple foods alongside alcoholic beverages and tobacco (Salinger 2002:22; Smith 2008:66). Tippling houses would have been better equipped to offer more complex meals, as they were situated within domestic dwellings and also offered accommodations to visitors and travelers. Rural taverns and tippling houses would have predominantly provided meals along with accommodations; as such, food preparation vessels are more common (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:118). In contrast, the urban tavern artifact assemblage would be characterized by the predominance of drinking artifact vessels, due to the dedicated nature of its function.

Certain alcoholic beverages were often associated with different socioeconomic groups; the choice of beverage and vessel reflected a conspicuous display of one's wealth and status in the community (Salinger 2002; Smith 2008:21). For example, ales were much more common as an everyday drink than more expensive wines and spirits.

Tobacco smoking was an activity closely associated with alcohol consumption, as it originally was believed to augment the effect of alcohol consumption (Oswald 1975:3-5; Leskovec 2007:157). Archaeologists also sometimes referred to it as a "little hearth", as the combination of the two was thought to help people cope with the cold weather in an unfriendly climate (Pope 1989:89). They were typically sold simultaneously in taverns and tippling houses, and are sometimes found still in the shipping crates, which would show the tavern received the pipes in bulk (Clark 1983:228).

Lodging

Many drinking establishments in the seventeenth century served more than one purpose, and many offered lodging along with selling and serving alcohol and tobacco. Tippling houses are buildings that served alcoholic beverages, simple foods, and tobacco to patrons like taverns did, however instead of being in a dedicated tavern it was in a private dwelling (Clark 1983:5). Larger scale inns were also found, and became more popular in eighteenth-century British North America (Smith 2008:68-74). While not necessarily accessible by visitors, taverns sometimes had second story domestic spaces for a manager, owner or servant of the tavern (Smith 2008:68). However, this was not their primary function, and so it was unlikely that visitors were gaining lodging from the structure.

Political, Trade and Social Transactions

In the seventeenth century, taverns represented one of the few public buildings accessible to the majority of the general public. Urban taverns were more likely to serve as a social centre than rural locations, and hosted activities such as auctioning, political meetings, and other business transactions (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:113). Elevated numbers of clay tobacco pipes and serving vessels, both glass and ceramic, can suggest these types of activities (Rockman and Rothschild:114). Gaming and relaxation were also activities in some taverns, represented in the material culture as pipes and gaming pieces such as marbles or dice (Clark 1983:147,155; Smith 2008:69).

Some taverns and ordinaries in the seventeenth century were associated with specific social groups, and, therefore, limited the clientele that were allow to patron specific establishments (Rice 1983:33-5). Such structures would be culturally demarcated as limited to specific social groups, and as such would have had different social and political activities associated with them. In colonies where multiple taverns were present, one might be designated for the gentry's political events and elite parties, whereas others were casual, less expensive, and did not limit their clientele (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:113).

Different social groups were associated with varying consumption patterns and occasionally different establishments as well. The gentry represented those with the most expensive and affluent taste; the poor were at the bottom of the social ladder (Rice 1983:34). Between the gentry and the poor were the middling sort, whose financial position allowed them to afford some imported goods, embellishments and decorative elements for the household, and other items not necessary for survival. Their acquisition patterns helped to influence what was socially acceptable for different classes, which is what the theory of conspicuous consumption helps to explain. The types of alcohol they were consuming would have been one such example (Smith 2008:63-4). Typically, the more affluent middling sort would consume wine and distilled spirits, as they were more expensive and more difficult to acquire in colonial North America. Beer, mead and cider, on the other hand, were more closely associated with the poor, laborers, and servants (Clark 1983:95; Smith 2008:75,81). However in Newfoundland, high wages and ready access to wine and spirits meant that these usual markers of the gentry's class and affluence were no longer the same (Pope 2004:260; Leskovec 2007: 219).

Women

Women have always played a role in the public realm, and had many different work opportunities from the later Middle Ages into the sixteenth century. They were integral in occupations that required little skill, were low paid positions, and were easily incorporated into childcare and domestic management. As an example, many women worked in brewhouses, as they would have also performed these duties for home use as well; they also were often owned and operated by women (Clark 1983:225; Leskovec 2007:207-8).

This did not decline during the early modern period. The presence of women in seventeenth-century colonial taverns is one that is recognized, albeit still debated in terms of both the extent of their involvement as well as the overall acceptance of their presence. They seem to have been important as managers and business owners, though their role as patrons remains unclear (Leskovec 2007:207-8; Smith 2008:73-4). Women and children would have consumed beer on a regular basis, as it was decidedly safer than water; however, in order to frequent the tavern, social reformations would have necessitated women to be accompanied by a male or a group (Clark 1983:225).

3.4 Conclusion

The public tavern or tippling house was a prominent fixture in a colonial settlement, both for utilitarian and social purposes. Its function varied from a domestic dwelling that also provided food, beverage and lodging to visitors in the community, to a dedicated public structure that served the poor or affluent a myriad of wines, beers, and distilled liquors. The activities that were present within the tavern can be identified through the archaeological record, and used to determine its various functions, and how it served the settlement as a whole.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

4.1 Theoretical Background and Approach

The main theoretical approach to my research project is consumption theory. Consumption theory is the study of human behaviour through the consumption of goods, and the patterns that are created in their material things (Spencer-Wood 1987). It draws many elements from the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics and attempts to reconstruct the four stages of consumption: decision, acquisition, use, and disposal (Henry 1991:3). It holds that people purchase or acquire goods, services and ideas to satisfy both their real and perceived needs, and that these needs are unique to them and determined by their identity (Weatherhill 1996:14). As archaeologists, we have access to the stage of disposal, and to some extent use, and must then extrapolate to determine decision, acquisition and the full extent of use. “Because consumer behaviour is linked directly to the archaeological deposits, consumption theory provides a bridge to understand the ambiguities in the archaeological and documentary records” (Clausnitzer 2011:36).

Equally important is the idea of innovative consumption. Innovative consumption is the idea that there was “a radical reform of meaning in the social and material world of late medieval Western Europe” (Pendery 1992: 62-3). During the seventeenth century, status competition pushed individuals to consume more and of higher quality in order to compete with the fluid movement of sorts and the extravagant consumption by nobility. No longer was the inheritance of goods from previous generations alone acceptable to maintain appearances and exude dominance and social hierarchy; new and more varied types of goods were required to distinguish yourself from the other (Pendery 1992:63). As was the case in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Stone 1970; Deetz 1977; Pendery 1986,1987), mariners, merchants and sea captains were the drive behind innovative consumption in the colony due to their maritime experience and income. Despite the fluidity, there was still a basic outline of social hierarchy that was understood as ‘sorts’: depending on familial lines, occupation, and social standing, one could be considered of the “better”, “middling”, or “poorer” sort (Wrightson 1986: 191).

The way in which consumption occurs in the archaeological record can be revealing in terms of information about colonial life. The idea behind ‘conspicuous consumption’, the acquisition and display of expensive and rare goods as symbols to display a high social status and affluence, as well as innovative consumption, are reflected in a household’s or individual’s material culture in different ways. These meanings can easily change based on location, opportunity, or availability of traditional status markers. By looking at what represented status to a community or culture, and how it can fluctuate to accommodate changes in environment, archaeology can help to reveal the social interactions that created these symbols.

Although consumption theory focuses on the acquisition, use and disposal of goods associated with a household, these ideas can be expanded to accommodate a building like the Kirke tavern. The artifacts associated with the Kirke tavern at Ferryland play an active role in explaining the motivation of the proprietors of the tavern as well as its clientele. While not a domestic dwelling, the tavern is closely linked to the Kirke house, and the activities centered inside it would have produced use and deposition patterns that consumption theory can help explain. By comparing the tavern artifact assemblage to taverns from contemporaneous sites, similarities and differences will become evident to better detail the role of the structure in the colony, and help make clear why the tavern was an important fixture in the community.

Consumption theory provides a better understanding of the consumption practices and the kinds of clientele at the tavern, as well as any other previously unrecorded activities that took place. This could include evidence to suggest that this building also served as living quarters, or that the assemblage was in fact largely dominated by consumption vessels, indicating a single function. Finally, I will compare patterns of consumption to other contemporaneous taverns and tippling houses in Newfoundland and elsewhere in British North America. This will allow me to determine how the consumption patterns fit into a seventeenth-century tavern tradition, and what this reveals about the business practices of the Kirke family.

4.2 Research Questions

My research will interpret the architecture and material culture of the seventeenth-century Kirke tavern excavated at Ferryland, in an effort to understand consumption patterns, the clientele, and any other activities associated with the space. In order to guide the project it is necessary to define a set of research questions. My proposed research questions are:

1. What are the architectural features of the Kirke tavern?

Excavation of the Kirke tavern revealed a variety of architectural features, which will help me determine the building's dimensions, the date and method of construction, the internal layout and the internal and external features. Understanding the structure, its placement in relation to other seventeenth-century buildings and its interior layout will assist in analyzing the artifact patterns and determining the different activities within the tavern.

2. What does the Kirke tavern:

a) reveal about consumption patterns throughout the building's occupation?

b) tell us about the clientele?

c) tell us about other unrecorded activities?

It is important to understand what functions the Kirke tavern served for the colony's residents and seasonal visitors alike. While the main focus of the building was the sale and consumption of alcohol, there is the potential that the artifacts can tell us information about the clientele and staff present in the tavern, as well as other activities conducted under the same roof.

3. How does this tavern assemblage compare with other contemporaneous tavern or tippling house sites in Newfoundland and in other parts of British North America?

Being a dedicated tavern building in British North America, the Kirke tavern has the potential to tell us about its importance in the community, the role it played in the Kirke's mercantile endeavours, and the functions that a tavern or a tippling house performed on a daily basis. By conducting a literary review of other contemporaneous taverns in colonial North America, the Kirke tavern can be better understood for both its similarities and differences, and what this tells us about its role at Ferryland.

4. What can this research tell us about the Kirke's business operations at Ferryland?

Sir David Kirke was first and foremost a businessman, and the tavern was a way to diversify his business operations and possibly a way to strengthen his contacts and relationships with ships' captains and visiting merchants. In order to better understand his motivations I will use the literary review, artifact and structural analysis, and comparison to other contemporaneous sites to understand what the Kirke tavern can reveal about the economic goals and business operations of the Kirke family.

By answering these questions, my research will reveal more about the socio-economics of the colony of Ferryland than was previously understood. This research will therefore be valuable to the ongoing SSHRC-funded project at Ferryland that is looking at the archaeological manifestations of social and economic change between the Calvert and Kirke eras. Using a combination of historical and archaeological evidence, I will attempt to understand the activities of the tavern, its layout and use, what types of people frequented it, and why they went there.

Chapter Five: The Ferryland Tavern

The structure referred to in this thesis as the Kirke tavern was erected adjacent to Sir David Kirke's personal residence, sometime in the 1640s (Figure 4).

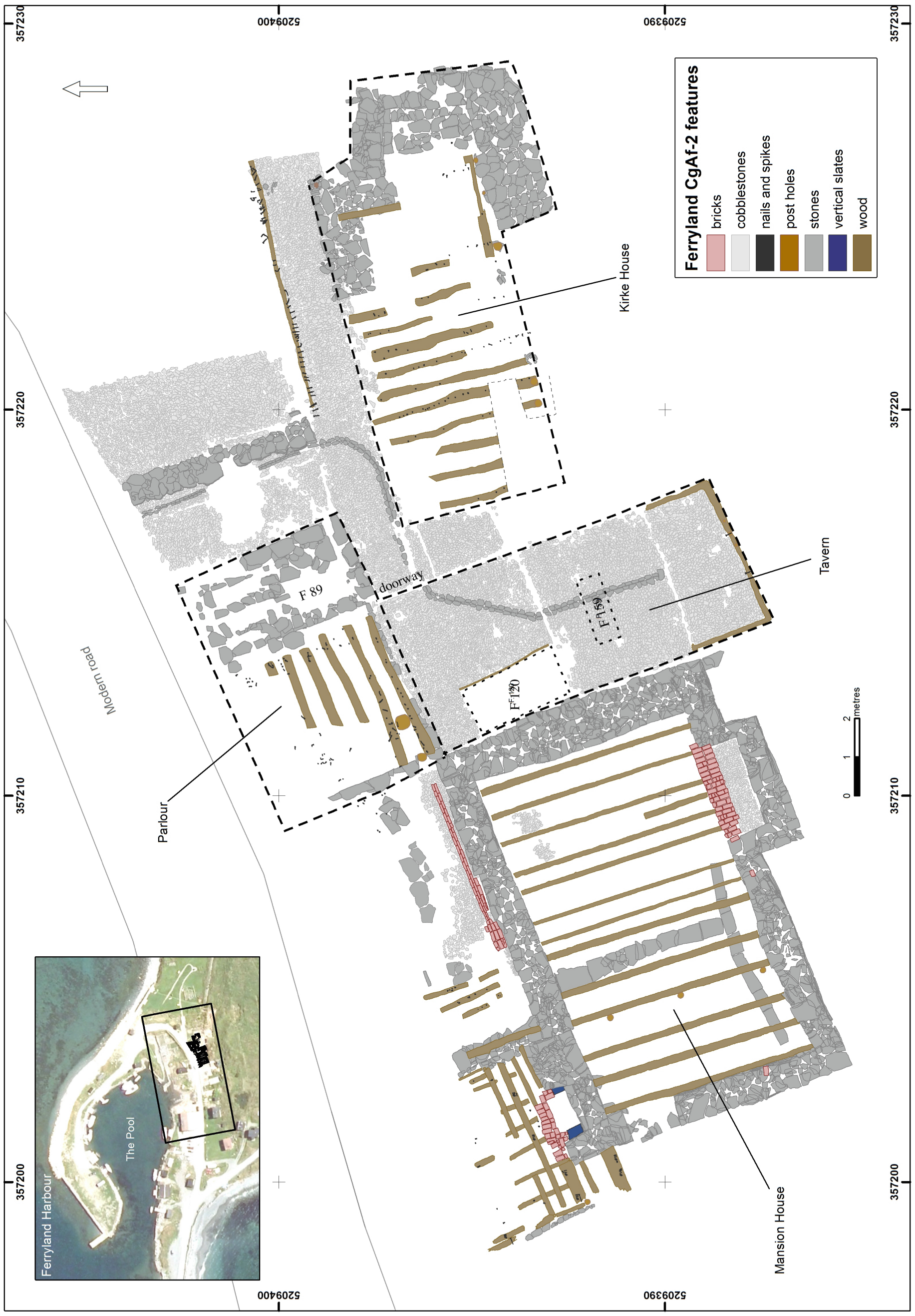

Figure 4: Site plan: mansion house, tavern, and Kirke house

The building was set over the ruins of a stable originally constructed during the Calvert era, and located to the east of the stone mansion house.

Upon its initial discovery in 2000, it was believed the tavern was part of the Kirke house (Gaulton 2006); however, as excavations proceeded it was realized that a cobblestone pathway, three feet in width running along the side of the Kirke house in fact ran between the two buildings, and was not a division within one structure. An analysis of the partially excavated tavern had been conducted presuming it to be a part of the Kirke house (Gaulton 2006), however the entire structure and its associated artifacts have yet to be properly analyzed as a separate entity.

In order to approach my first research question pertaining to the structural features of the tavern, the field reports, maps and photographs from the tavern excavation were examined. These describe the structural remains, building dimensions, and possible methods of construction. Structural artifacts such as hinges and nails were also taken into consideration when they are present.

5.1 Historical Documentation

Historical documents tell us that the taverns and tippling houses of Ferryland had access to “wine, beer, brandy and tobacco” (Cull 1667) as well as rum (Buckley 1693). There is as yet no direct documentation regarding the construction of new buildings or repurposing of previous Calvert-era structures upon the Kirke family’s arrival in Ferryland. However, there are several instances in the historical record of the Kirke family that can help create a timeline of their arrival and the subsequent construction and reorganization initiated during their residency. Depositions taken in 1652 explain that Kirke had "planted or placed himself, his lady and family …" in the Calvert mansion house when he arrived in 1638, which means that construction on the Kirke house and tavern began after this date (Pratt 1652).

While there are no primary documents associated specifically with the tavern, or its operations, there are references to David Kirke's tavern. In 1667 Thomas Cruse stated that "Sir David Kirke himself did keep a common tavern in his own house, which did draw and keep ship masters, fishermen, and others from their fishing employments" (Cruse 1667). We know that David Kirke left Newfoundland in 1651, and so the tavern must have been completed and functional before his departure and before his death in 1654. This suggests a basic timeline for construction, beginning sometime after 1638 but before 1651. This also suggests that the building directly associated with the Kirke house is his tavern. There is further mention of the Kirke tavern and its operations in the form of grievances written by disgruntled Ferryland planters. These depositions mention that some people saw taverns as a place that "occasions the greatest debauchery of seamen, to the misspending of their time, embezzling of the proprietors' goods, and … [does] entice many seamen to spend their voyages, whereby they are engaged to remain there, to the utter ruin of their families at home" (Cull 1667). Although this does not solely target the Ferryland tavern, it must have been one of the examples referenced in the deposition.

5.2 Kirke Tavern Excavations

All of the fieldwork that pertains to my research project has been previously completed in past field seasons funded through Memorial University of Newfoundland

and a federal-provincial agreement with the Colony of Avalon Foundation. Standard Canadian archaeological field techniques were applied. One-meter units were individually excavated following natural and cultural layers. The different layers and features were recorded, mapped and photographed and each excavated unit has been documented in field notes and site reports (Tuck 1993). The entire site was mapped at a 1:10 scale on vellum, some of which has been digitized. Photographs were taken of all features as they were excavated and removed. All excavated soil was dry sifted using a ¼ in. mesh. When deemed appropriate, some cultural strata were wet sifted using a 1mm screen.

The excavation of the tavern occurred in the early to mid 2000s, during which four features were identified: three on the interior and one on the exterior. Feature 120 and 121 are a hearth feature on the western wall of the tavern. Feature 159, a low stone wall near the southern end of the tavern, was removed from the interior to fully expose and map the cobblestone floor. The tavern's cobblestone floor was then also removed almost entirely to reveal the original Calvert-era structure laying underneath. The artifacts found on the floor of this early structure were used to confirm a *terminus post quem* for the tavern construction. For posterity and future comparison, a two-foot wide section of the Kirke tavern floor was retained along the back southern wall on top of the Calvert era cobblestones.

5.3 Structure

The Kirke tavern structure is centrally located within the Ferryland settlement, south of the main cobblestone street and between the Kirke house and the original Calvert mansion house (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Excavation photograph of the tavern, looking south

As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, taverns were often centrally located in colonial settlements, both in England and in British North America, and so the Kirke tavern shares this commonality. Its placement alongside his own house allowed Sir David Kirke and other family members to easily supervise the daily operations of this business venture, and demonstrated to colonists and visitors alike that this tavern was maintained and affiliated with the Governor of Newfoundland.

Excavations revealed several structural elements associated within the Kirke tavern, including: a cobblestone floor, a hearth feature (120) along the western wall, the wooden sill beams of the structure (121), and a 3-foot (0.91m) wall feature (159) (Figure 6).

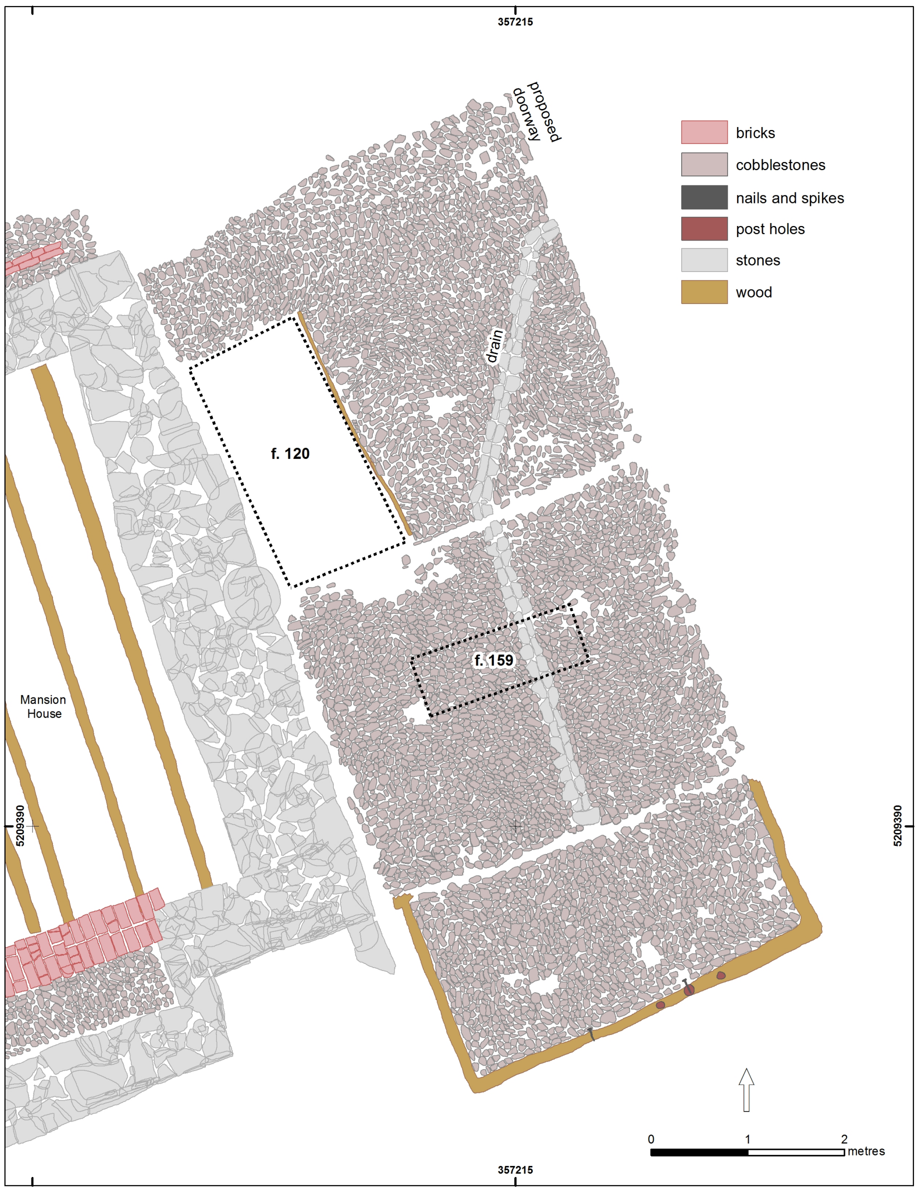

Figure 6: The Kirke Tavern and its features

The remnants of the wooden sill beams and cobblestone floor demonstrate that this building measured 12 feet wide by 30 feet long (3.66 x 9.14m). It shares its western wall with the mansion house, and the front, or northern, wall is shared with the mansion house parlour. The back, or south, wall is built into the hillside, and a 3-foot (0.91m) cobblestone pathway separates the tavern from the neighboring Kirke house to the east.

The tavern was built for David Kirke as a means to make money, and seems to have been constructed first and foremost with cost in mind. As will be discussed later, the features and drainage on the interior of the tavern were completed as inexpensively as possible, based on the type of construction used and the simplicity of the hearth features. This was a timber-framed building set onto the ground without a proper stone footing. The lack of footing and the style of fireplace certainly tell us something about the nature of the building – it was constructed somewhat expediently and without the same effort sometimes seen in domestic buildings. Cost savings may have been a factor in deciding how to build this structure, but its non-domestic function was likely another factor as well (Gaulton 2013:280).

Approximately 9000 nails were associated with the interior of the tavern alone, which represents a large percentage of the artifact assemblage. High concentrations of nails are common on historic sites, and confirms that the primary material used in the tavern construction was wood. Many nails around the sill were found still in an upright position suggesting the use of box-frame construction (Gaulton 2006:67). Box-frame house construction is a vernacular style of house building, and was adapted to fit the materials and limitations of the settlement it was used in (Brunskill 1997:78). To build a structure in this manner, pre-fabricated timber-framed walls were raised parallel to each other and then attached together with beams. These walls would then be fastened to horizontal timber braces along the base of the structure. This type of building construction is similar to other techniques used both in England and British North America in the seventeenth century (Deetz 1977, Brunskill 1997).

It appears that the exterior walls of the tavern were covered in wooden clapboards. This method both mirrors what Sir David Kirke was using on other buildings in the colony at the time, and reflects the bountiful expanse of timber resources the colony had access to (Gaulton 2006:72-4).

It is impossible to determine the original height of the structure from the remaining features and architectural elements, and so estimates must be made based on comparable examples. In a comparison to the Kirke house, it is likely that the tavern had a second level. This second floor could be a full second story, or as simple as a loft. A second level would have made better use of limited space within the colony and could have been used as lodgings for the tavern manager or servants, or potentially also for storage. There is also the potential that a second floor in the tavern could have been used as accommodations for tavern patrons, providing another potential income for the Kirke family.

While no evidence of a second floor remains, it is likely that there was at least some type of second level in the building. Box-frame houses and buildings typically had a second level, either as a full floor or as a loft area accessible from the ground floor (Brunskill 1997:83-4; Gaulton 2006:94). This can be ascertained by the presence of a staircase in the form of postholes or other remnants left in the soil; however, no such evidence was found in the Kirke tavern (Gaulton 2006:82). The Kirke house to the east of the tavern had a second floor, and because they were both constructed simultaneously and built by the same family, it is likely that the tavern also had a second floor. This also makes sense in terms of providing lodgings, either for a tavern manager or patrons at the building.

5.3.1 Footing and Roof

The underlying Calvert stable was built of wood with stone footings. However, the construction of this later building, atop the ruins of the stable, used a ‘sill-on-grade’ construction technique, where the foundation was set directly on the ground (Gaulton 2006:65). While not entirely understood why this choice would be made, it is likely that it was chosen for its expedited nature; David Kirke may have been opting for the most cost-effective and expedient construction options. The absence of a stone footing is more common for domestic construction in the Chesapeake and in Newfoundland than contemporaneous seventeenth-century English buildings; stone footings seemed to be something not valued as important or necessary in colonial North America (Carson et al. 1981; Gaulton 2006:65-6).

In the seventeenth century there were a variety of commonly used roofing materials, including wooden shingles, slate and thatch (Brunskill 1997:178). Ferryland buildings bear examples of both wood shingles and slate tiles, each associated with a different proprietary occupation. Thatch was an unlikely choice, as Newfoundland did not have the right plants to grow a proper thatch for roofing. Calvert’s early colonists appear to have favored slate roof construction. The first governor, Edward Wynne, requested that Calvert send him slaters and quarrymen (Wynne 1622 in Pope 1993). The

Calvert era structures that have been studied archaeologically, including the mansion house, brewhouse, forge and waterfront storehouse, were all roofed in slate (Gaulton 1997:93, Clausnitzer 2011:56). While early structures in the colony were roofed with slate, there is no archaeological evidence that slate was used as a roofing material during the Kirke period.

For the tavern construction, it is most likely that the frame of the roof had "a system of tie beams, rafters, collars and purlins" (Gaulton 2006:74). It was also potentially gabled, as this technique was used in the Kirke house construction. Wooden shingles were the most likely choice to cover the roof, as they would help to partially explain the abundance of nails in the artifact assemblage. Shingles were the material used to roof the Kirke house, and it is therefore likely that these buildings, constructed simultaneously, were built in a similar fashion (Gaulton 2006:74-5).

5.3.2 Door and Windows

The door into the Kirke tavern is likely located along the most northern section of the east wall, in the grid units E73 N5-6. This is based on the fact that the south wall was dug into the hillside, the west wall was against the mansion house, and the north wall of the tavern was attached to the southern side of the mansion house parlour. Furthermore the 3 foot wide cobblestone path or alleyway between the Kirke house and tavern would have been too narrow to facilitate a functioning entranceway. A cobblestone pavement that comes off the main street and forks towards both the Kirke house and the Kirke tavern provides further support for the door location. This path splits east and west to lead towards the tavern, ending against the tavern structure at E73

N5-6. Several hinges were associated with the tavern; one of which was found near the northeastern corner, where the door most likely was located. It also seems possible based on the placement of the door hardware, that there was a door between the tavern and the Calvert-era parlour; however no other physical evidence exists to corroborate this theory.

A collection of refuse situated outside the Kirke tavern on the cobblestone walkway/alleyway laying between it and the Kirke house, is associated with two different cultural strata (Events 460 and 464). This deposit lay in the area of cobblestones to the right of the proposed door, and against the exterior of the Kirke house. Because this midden deposit could be associated with either the Kirke tavern and/or the Kirke house, careful consideration was given to which artifacts would be included in this analysis. The refuse is most likely a combination of material related to both the tavern and the Kirke house, and so the spatial relationship of these artifacts in relation to those found inside the tavern structure was incredibly important to consider during this analysis. The location of the midden provides further support for the tavern door being located along the NE wall. As the only entrance and exit to the building, the door at the northeast would have provided the only convenient way to remove refuse from the tavern.

If the Event 460/464 midden is associated with the tavern occupation, it would presumably contain a large occurrence of drinkware, glass bottles and communal use ceramics, but this was not the case. It is possible that this walkway/alleyway was kept clear for a reason, potentially to access buildings above or behind the tavern; however, nothing definitive was uncovered in this analysis. The low artifact counts could be attributed to trampling outside the entranceway to the tavern, or the presence of another associated midden nearby, which has been noted elsewhere in the colony (Crompton 2000:7).

The single midden associated with the tavern is too small to be the solitary source of refuse for both the tavern and the Kirke house, and so there must be a second disposal site. This could have been one used solely by the tavern occupants which has yet to be found, or is potentially located underneath the modern road. The tavern also could have shared a communal midden site with other buildings – such as the Kirke house - and so would contain a mix of tavern and domestic refuse. Either way, it is recognized that the tavern assemblage is incomplete, and therefore percentages represented in the vessel use categories must be considered as such. This is why distribution analysis is an important factor in my subsequent analysis – although the vessel forms and quantities may be underrepresented, their location within the tavern will shed light on the activities within during its use, and will provide a valid representation of the structure during its occupation.

Glass windows were present in buildings constructed during the Kirke era. There were a large number of window glass fragments uncovered from the Kirke house; 2055 glass and 122 lead caming fragments (Gaulton 2006:80). Of these, approximately one-third were located in the Kirke tavern strata. The presence of window glass in the artifact collection suggests that windows were installed in the tavern. However, their positioning within the structure proves to be a puzzle, as there is little wall surface that would have been exposed to the outside. The spatial distribution of the window panes does not easily suggest where the window or windows may have been located either.

However windows were most likely along the eastern wall (E72-3, S2-N4), because the northern, southern and western walls are all enclosed or abutting other buildings.

The other possible location for a window would be in a potential second story. If there had been a second floor or even a small loft there would have been other places for potential windows. It also would have provided more light in the tavern; there would have been little light in the structure as it was surrounded on three sides by other buildings. This adds more evidence for a full second story, or half story. The presence of glazed windows on the second story also suggests that people were likely living there, or that there were accommodations for tavern patrons. Visiting merchants and ship captains could find reasonable accommodations at the Kirke tavern, as opposed to cramped conditions on board ship.

5.3.3 Floors

The tavern floor was constructed of cobblestones placed into a layer of sand and clay bedding. The tavern cobblestones were set on top of the debris associated with the Calvert period stable. These cobblestones were completely removed during excavation, with the exception of the southernmost two feet, in order to reveal the stable cobblestones below as well as retrieve any artifacts that were sealed underneath the tavern floor. Several pre-tavern events were examined as part of this research. Pipe bowls were discovered in between the two occupation floors, which range in date from 1610-1680, with the majority of pipes dating to the 1640-1660 time period. The importance of this will be discussed later during the artifact analysis, but helps to determine an appropriate construction date for the Kirke tavern. It is likely that the stable was demolished at the same time the Kirke house was being built, and the space used to build the adjacent tavern (Gaulton 2006:64; Clausnitzer 2011:105). The fact that the structure was originally constructed with a cobble pavement strongly suggests that it was initially built as a non-domestic structure.

The tavern floor also exhibits a drainage channel built of cobblestone. The drainage channel begins almost to the back southern wall of the tavern, runs underneath feature 159 (discussed below), and then turns towards the door on the east side 20 feet at a 45 degree angle. The drain is comprised of elongated cobblestones abutting one another and angled so as to form a slight V-shaped depression (Figure 7).

Figure 7: V-shaped cobblestone depression, looking south

There are two reasons a drainage channel would have been important in the tavern. The first is due to its location on the site. The tavern lies at the base of a steep hill, and so any rainwater and runoff accumulating in the building could be redirected outside. The other reason, and likely the most important one, is related to the activities of a tavern. Spills and accidents would be commonplace in a tavern, a structure whose main purpose was the consumption of alcohol in large quantities. It would be inevitable that alcohol, food, bodily fluids or otherwise would end up on the floor and need to be easily and quickly cleared away. The drainage channel through the center of the tavern floor would have allowed for cleaning to be done efficiently and quickly.

For these reasons, a cobblestone floor is ideal compared to all other choices. An earthen floor would have been incredibly muddy, and a wooden floor would quickly rot with the high volume of liquid it would come into contact with (Allan 2006:261). A cobblestone floor is strong, durable, impermeable to liquids and easy to clean. What it lacks in comfort, it makes up for in practicality.

5.4 Features

There are four main features associated with the tavern: Features 120, 121 and 159 on the interior, and Feature 87 on the exterior entranceway. Feature 87 is a wall feature. Feature 120 is a hearth located along the western wall of the tavern. It contains traces of wooden walls (Feature 121) along its sides, which would have likely served as the firehood. Feature 159 is a low rough rock wall running east-west near the back of the structure.

5.4.1 Exterior Feature 87

Feature 87 is located northeast of the tavern entrance and east of the mansion house parlour in area E72-3 N6-9 (Figure 8). It is approximately 1.5 feet (0.46m) wide and 5 feet (1.52m) in length. This wall feature served to separate and distinguish the tavern entrance from the Kirke house entrance. It is situated on top of the cobblestone pathway that leads off of the main road, and would have identified the entrances to both the tavern and the Kirke house.

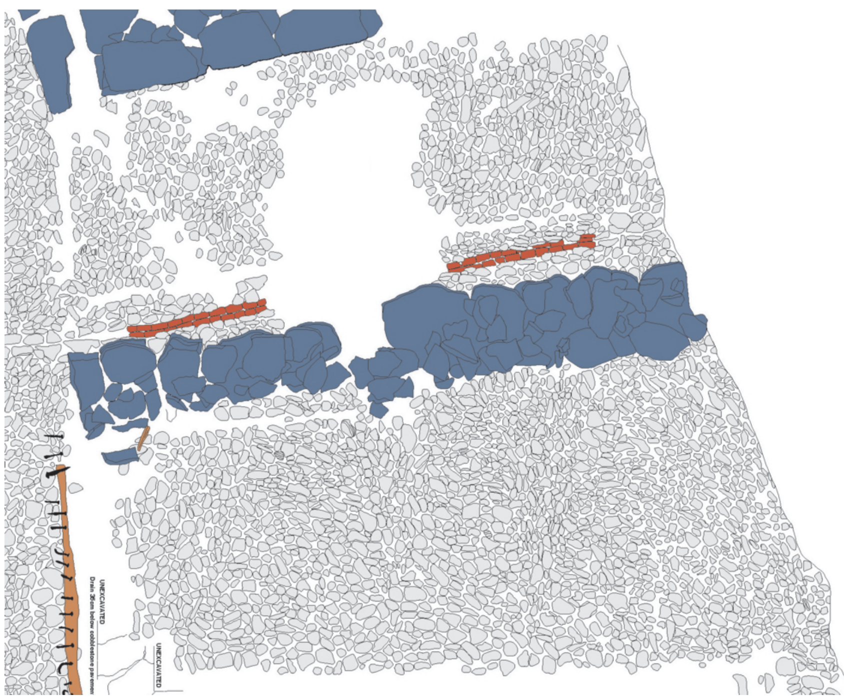

Figure 8: Feature 87 (centre-top), oriented north-south

Although not part of the main tavern building and not an interior element, this feature is still an important element in this analysis. It provided a marked pathway off of the main road towards the tavern entrance. It also would have been a potential area for refuse deposition, as it was near the only doorway. As such, both the feature and any associated artifacts in its direct vicinity are an important addition to the overall analysis.

5.4.2 Hearth Features 120 and 121

Hearths were a necessary feature of both public and private structures. The most typical uses for a hearth were for heat, food preparation, and as a center for leisure activities (Churchill 1984; Mills 2000:65). Typically hearths were situated along the gable end of single room buildings; however by positioning them centrally they improved heat circulation as well as space (Barley 1961:49). The public function of the tavern meant that the importance of heat and leisure were accentuated; the Ferryland tavern hearth served to keep the room warm, provide a open central area in the structure for socialization and public activities, and possibly heat up a simple pottage or porridge in an iron pot for serving to the patrons.

Figure 9: Feature 120, tavern fireplace, looking west

Feature 120 is a central hearth feature in the tavern (Figure 9). It is situated alongside the western lateral wall, the same side built against the mansion house, and begins approximately 3 feet (0.91m) south of the front walled shared with the parlour. It consists of stacked slate stones, constructing a back wall for the hearth, measuring approximately 9 feet in length. The presence of scorched and cracked cobblestones in front of the hearth and on the rocks of Feature 120 confirms its function, and indicates there were long periods of burning and use (Gaulton 2006:71). The hearth is offset several feet from the proposed door location. This would be expected, as it would be placed to be both central in the room to heat the largest expanse of space, and also avoid drafts from outside that could disturb the flames or the ash.

The style of the hearth is comparable in size to other fireplaces in Ferryland. The large area of the building would have been difficult to keep warm, and so would have required a large fire, especially so if there was a second floor. However, when you consider that the tavern was built alongside the mansion house, the parlour, and dug partially into the hillside, it may have been a little easier to heat this building compared to others in Ferryland of the same size. There also may have been a smaller hearth on the second floor as well, sharing the same chimneystack as the ground floor hearth.

Also associated with this feature are two wooden radial arms (Feature 121) that extended 7 feet (2.13m) from the back wall of the hearth (Gaulton 2006:70). These arms would have served to enclose the sides of the hearth. The narrow wooden side walls would not have been capable of supporting heavy cooking vessels, and most likely represents the remnants of a smoke hood. Although this is the first example found in Newfoundland, smoke hoods were common in England in the seventeenth century, and have also been found in the Smith's Ordinary in St. Mary's City, Maryland (Figure 10), as well as in other places like Virginia and Maine (Smith 1975:267; Gaulton 2006:71).

Figure 10: St. Mary's City, Maryland smoke hood

The smoke hood would have been constructed with wooden walls, and wattle and clay daub on the interior to prevent it from catching fire when the hearth was lit. The hood would have provided a way to direct and radiate the heat from the hearth out into the room. It also would have created coverage over the hearth, which would have contained and directed the smoke upwards through the chimney. The presence of collapsed bricks within the central area of the Kirke tavern hearth suggests these would have been used to line the chimney upwards towards the ceiling, which would have delivered some fire protection. Alternatively, these bricks may also represent the remains of a small brick hearth that was once on the second floor of the tavern, which collapsed when the tavern was destroyed.

Figure 11: Feature 159, looking north

5.4.3 Wall Feature 159

The final interior feature of the tavern is a low-lying slate stone wall near the rear of the tavern, approximately 11 feet (3.35m) from the back wall, in units E68-70 N0-1 (Figure 11). It was built of stacked slates and measures 9 feet long, 2 ½ feet wide and 2 feet high (2.74 x 0.76m), a similar measurement to the hearth (Feature 120). The feature was built atop the drainage channel that was set into the cobblestone floor, suggesting that it was added after the initial planning and construction of the tavern.

There are two potential interpretations for this feature. It is possible for this feature to be a dividing wall to separate the front tavern area from a back area demarcated for storage space. This makes sense when looking at the spatial distribution of all the material culture for the tavern, as many of the heavier storage earthenware vessels and a metal spigot was located in the back section of the structure behind this low wall. It is also possible that this feature was a supplementary hearth added sometime later so as to provide an additional heat source for the tavern. If it were an addition to the structure to supplement the original hearth feature, this would explain why it was discovered on top of the drainage feature, and why there were scorched areas on the rocks along its north side.

5.5 Discussion

The structural remains, documentary evidence and historical traditions from comparable buildings in the seventeenth century can inform a description of the Ferryland tavern. The tavern was approximately 12 feet by 30 feet in size and between one to two stories in height. It was set directly on the ground without a prepared footing and built using a box framing technique with a wooden shingled roof. The door was located along the eastern wall, within proximity to the colony's cobblestone street. One hearth was located centrally along the western wall, equipped with a smoke hood extending outward about 7 feet. Another stone wall structure, possibly a secondary hearth and/or dividing wall, was oriented east-west approximately 11 feet away from the southern wall. The floors were cobbled, and set with a drainage channel oriented to the exterior of the building. The structure would have had paned or shuttered windows, either on the first or second floor to allow for lighting and ventilation.

There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that the Kirke tavern was an elaborate or decorated structure. The lack of a stone foundation and the use of a wooden smoke hood instead of a full stone fireplace indicates that David Kirke constructed the tavern quickly and with function in mind. The size of the tavern in comparison to other sites such as Renews, suggests that the Kirke tavern was intended for a greater number of clientele including merchants, fishermen, and visitors rather than a dwelling, which also served as a tippling house.

Chapter Six: Material Culture of the Ferryland Tavern

The Ferryland tavern provides an opportunity to observe social behaviors and organization common in England and her North American colonies during the seventeenth century. A quantitative analysis of the different artifact types associated with the Ferryland tavern will allow for comparisons with contemporaneous sites in England and other British North American colonies.

My second research question requires a focus on the artifact collection from the interior of the tavern. While in some cases the artifacts from the exterior of the tavern will be mentioned, these will be addressed individually when deemed important to the analysis, and the circumstances surrounding these decisions will be explained. For the majority of the project, however, I will be considering the artifacts solely excavated from events associated with the interior of the tavern. I have chosen this approach to avoid cross-contamination from other events. The Ferryland colony had buildings in close proximity to each other. Several artifact deposits surrounding the exterior of the tavern most likely contain material culture from both the tavern and the parlour, mansion house or Kirke house that border it. For example, the Kirke house and tavern shared a three-foot passage on the eastern edge of the tavern. There are large refuse collections in this space, most likely associated with a shared midden deposit, and so the inclusion of artifacts from this area and the associated events has been carefully considered. When appropriate, a general description of the midden deposits in these shared areas is included and referenced, and when determined to be a relevant inclusion, the artifacts are counted as part of the tavern material culture.

From my interpretation and analysis of the remaining structural elements of the Kirke tavern a multi-layered map was created (Figure 6) that details the structure, features, alignment of the tavern, and the proposed location of the entrance from the main street. It will be used in the following chapters to chart the artifact distribution of the diagnostic pieces and fully inform my artifact analysis. This map will aid in identifying artifact distribution patterns of the artifacts as well as provide an understanding of the space as a whole.

The Artifact Collection

Over 10,000 artifacts (not including nails) from the tavern were cleaned, measured, labeled and catalogued following their excavation in the mid 2000s. I assembled all diagnostic artifacts from the different layers associated with the Kirke tavern and separated them by type, form and function. The three main artifact types in the assemblage are ceramic, glass and clay tobacco pipes, and each will require a specific method of analysis. There are also other artifacts categorized under the heading 'small finds'.

For the ceramic collection, I first identified all ceramics according to their ware types, and established an MNV (minimum number of vessels) based on rim, handle and base fragments, and other diagnostic pieces. Ware type is determined by looking at the fabric and inclusions, glaze, and decorative embellishments and categorizing them based on the standards each is known to have. In cases where there are similar fragments that do not physically join but were more likely than not to be part of the same object, I considered them to be part of the same vessel. While this may cause an underestimate in my collection, it is consistent with previous analyses at the Ferryland site. I then applied the Potomac Typological system (POTS) to the ceramic collection to identify the specific forms and functions of the ceramics (Beaudry et al. 1983). POTS was created in order to standardize the vessel form analysis of historic colonial sites. The POTS system is an appropriate analytical approach because of the shared cultural heritage between the colonists of the Chesapeake and those of Newfoundland (Pope 1989).

The clay tobacco pipe assemblage was analyzed by separating diagnostic bowl, heel and stem fragments (as was done in previous pipe studies) and detailed typologies were then used to determine the date range, country of origin and evidence for modification/reuse (Atkinson and Oswald 1969). I also used comparative literature from Ferryland to identify markings, stylistic similarities, and trade relationships (Gaulton 1997, 1999, 2006; Mills 2000; Crompton 2001).

I utilized previous research on glass bottles and other glass vessels to assist me in identifying and dating the glass artifacts, as well as determining their function (Charleston 1984; Wicks 1999a; Wicks 1999b; Willmott 2002).

I also looked at the various copper, lead and iron artifacts, coins and tokens, and flint artifacts that were excavated from the tavern, and attempted to classify those that have not yet been identified. In order to do this, I employed various sources for the identification and classification of historical copper, iron, lead and flint artifacts as well as compared items to those previously recovered at Ferryland (Noel Hume 1970; Avery 2002).

All of these artifacts will help answer my questions relating to consumption at the Kirke tavern, and I will reveal more about the socio-economics of the colony of Ferryland than was previously understood. While it is known that the Kirke tavern was erected after the arrival of Sir David, a more precise date as to its erection is yet undetermined. I will also use the artifact assemblage to determine a more finite chronology for the Kirke tavern occupation, and identify spatial use through artifact distribution patterns. Once identified, the artifacts were plotted on several distribution maps, using a GIS generated Kirke tavern map. This distribution will tell me whether specific activities were localized in certain areas of the tavern, and what that might mean to the organization of space within the tavern.

6.1 Ceramics

Ceramics constitute one of the most frequently discovered artifact types on historic sites. Due to the commonality and variability of the artifact type, much can be learned from a ceramic collection, both in terms of the types of people who used them and their socioeconomic status, as well as trade routes and use of space. There are many different ware types and decorative techniques used on ceramics, and by analyzing these decorative processes and recognizing differences a vast amount of information on manufacture, acquisition, use, trade and economic status can be ascertained from a ceramic assemblage. By further looking at distribution patterns of ceramics over a site, activity areas based on use and function can be identified, and spatial use differences and concentrations within a building could be noted for comparison and analysis.

The Ferryland tavern events contained 6,349 ceramic fragments, of which 119 diagnostic rim, base, handle and body fragments were separated for further analysis. This group of diagnostic ceramics were broken down into two categories: coarse earthenware, and stoneware. There was no refined earthenware in the tavern assemblage. When appropriate, un-joined artifacts were combined to represent one vessel. This was done when the fabric, inclusions, glaze, size and vessel type were similar enough to assume they were from the same vessel.

Ware Types

6.1.1 Earthenware

Earthenwares represent a high frequency of both utilitarian vessels and more expensive and delicate forms of tableware. This ceramic type can be further divided into two subtypes: coarse and refined earthenware. This is defined through the manufacturing process, and relies on the number and size of inclusions, and the firing process, which will be explained below. In the tavern collection, only coarse earthenwares are represented. The majority of earthenware vessels found at Ferryland originated from southwest England due to frequent trade with Newfoundland. Most of these come from Devon as the majority of the migratory fishermen travelling to the Avalon came from ports in North and South Devon (Pope 2004).

Coarse Earthenware

Coarse earthenware is typically fired at temperatures below 1000 degrees Celsius and is sometimes identified by large, rough inclusions or a porous texture. Glazes and/or slips are common on these types of ceramics in order to make the porous vessels waterproof. Because these were the most inexpensive to acquire or manufacture, they hold a wide variety of utilitarian uses.

The Ferryland tavern contained a large number of coarse earthenware in its collection, which is to be expected from a public building that would have required durable storage and serving vessels. Of the 69 identified ceramic vessels, 61 (88%) are coarse earthenware. The forms include pans, storage jars, pitchers, dishes, a pot, and unidentifiable holloware, which will be discussed in full detail below.

North Devon

Figure 12: North Devon Gravel tempered pipkin handle

There are two types of North Devon earthenware: Gravel-tempered (Figure 12) and Smooth (Figure 13) (Watkins 1960; Pope 1986:101-2). Both are commonly found in British North American colonies. In the Ferryland tavern, North Devon gravel types include milk pans and various sized storage jars. The North Devon Smooth fragments are represented by tall pots, a vessel form common for the storage of goods. There are at least 28 North Devon vessels: 15 are North Devon Smooth, and 12 are North Devon Gravel, including 8 pans of varying size, 3 jars, and 1 pipkin.

Figure 13: North Devon Smooth tall pots

Sgraffito

While technically North Devon Smooth, the North Devon Sgraffito vessels are being addressed separately due to their unique and easily identifiable decoration, as well as the varying vessel forms. Sgraffito decorated earthenwares are found across the Ferryland site, typically in the form of large dishes and plates. The Ferryland tavern contained at least 5 different vessels, and all were dishes (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Sgraffito plate fragment

Exeter Coarse Sandy

Produced in Exeter, this earthenware is identifiable by coarse its fabric and brick-like color, and brownish or greenish glaze (Pope 1986:106). Typically uncommon in areas outside of Exeter, its appearance in Ferryland could be attributed to a potential direct link to the colony (Crompton 2000:31). Inside the tavern there is only 1 Exeter Coarse Sandy vessel fragment, the remnant of a small pot, possibly a chamber pot.

Tin Glazed Earthenware

Figure 15: Tin glazed Earthenware

There are examples from Ferryland of tin glazed earthenware from the Netherlands, Portugal, France, and England, and many serve as imitations to Chinese porcelain (Pope 1986; Stoddart 2000:51). These ceramics are soft and chalky, and range in color from buff to pink. Tin glaze does not withstand heat like heavier coarse earthenware, and are represented in vessel forms for serving, cold storage, or as decorative pieces (Stoddart 2000:58). On colonial sites, these are highly represented, especially throughout the seventeenth century when true porcelain was at the height of its popularity (South 1977).

There are 18 different tin glazed earthenware vessels present in the tavern assemblage. There is an even mixture of both decorated and undecorated examples; all those with decoration are detailed in hand painted blue designs or motifs inspired by nature (Figure 15). These forms include 9 plates or dishes, 2 gallipots, 1 pitcher, 1 salt or candlestick, 1 complete ointment jar (Figure 16), and 4 unidentifiable vessels, which are some form of hollowware.

Figure 16: Ointment jar

Portuguese Redware

Portuguese redware, formerly called Merida or Merida-type, are hard and sandy earthenwares with a lot of mica inclusions (Hurst et al 1986:70; Newstead 2008:48). If glazed, it was on the interior only, and held a green-yellow color. Due to the frequent trade between Portugal, England and Newfoundland, it is not surprising that some examples of this redware are present.

There are 7 redware vessels from the tavern assemblage. These vessel forms include 2 pitchers, 1 bottle or costrel, 3 milk pans, and 1 colander

Fine Portuguese Redware

Figure 17: sprig moulded face, Fine Portuguese Redware

Fine Portuguese redware (sometimes referred to as Portuguese Terra Sigillata) is a thin, hard bodied redware from Portugal, which contains small amounts of mica and quartz inclusions. These vessels were unglazed, and decorated using a burnishing technique, which gives them a matte finish. This was a rare and expensive form of ceramic, produced in Portugal for only those in the highest social standing (Gaulton and Mathias 1999; Gaulton 2006). These pieces were delicate and intricately decorated, which indicates they were display pieces rather than for everyday use.

There are two examples of fine Portuguese redware in the Ferryland tavern: 1 unidentifiable piece of hollowware, and 1 sprig-moulded face decoration (Figure 17) which would have been affixed to a bottle or costrel. It is more than likely that these fragments are associated with the nearby Kirke house rather than a vessel used in the tavern. The event it was recovered from (463) is one that includes material culture from both the tavern and the Kirke house, and considering its rarity and function would serve no utilitarian purpose for the Ferryland tavern. There have been almost a dozen other fine Portuguese redware vessels uncovered within the Kirke house, which further supports the notion that it is an inclusion from the Kirke house rather than something used in the tavern (Tuck and Gaulton 2002).

Saintonge

Saintonge comes from the Saintonge region of southwest France. It is comprised of an off-white or sometimes orange colored fabric containing mica and hematite inclusions. It is typically glazed in yellow and green, though sometimes a brown glaze is also found, and occasionally has a white slip (Hurst et al 1986:76-99).

The tavern has 2 different vessels made of Saintonge: a chafing dish (Figure 18) and a pan.

Figure 18: Saintonge chafing dish handle

Porcelain

True Chinese porcelain was a rare commodity in Colonial North America in the seventeenth century. Due to its rarity, it was more of a social status indicator than a utilitarian coarse earthenware vessel, especially at a time when acquiring it would have been costly and difficult (Miller 2005:132). Porcelain was an important socioeconomic marker in England, and so bringing it to the North American colonies showed that English ideals were being brought with them (Miller 2005:136).

In the tavern only one fragment of Chinese porcelain bowl was found. As an artifact attributed to Event 467, one associated heavily with tavern/ Kirke house intermingling, there is a high chance that this solitary rim fragment is better linked to the Kirke house rather than the tavern. The specialized function that porcelain served would not be something expected in a colonial tavern frequented by the mixed social standing of the patrons.

6.1.2 Stoneware

Stoneware was fired at high temperatures, upwards of 1400 degrees Celsius, which made the vessel waterproof and ideal for storing liquids. While glazes were unnecessary to prevent absorption into the fabric, they were applied for decorative purposes (Hume 1970:114; Pope 1986:117-121). Either a salt or ash glaze was used; salt glazes produced a finish that resembled the pits of an orange peel, while an ash glaze created a variety of brown colors on the vessels (Pope 1986:120-1). As only certain clays could withstand the high temperatures of the manufacturing process, the production centers of stoneware were often located near appropriate clay sources. Major areas of manufacture included the Rhineland in Germany, which produced the popular Rhenish stoneware and Westerwald styles (Brandon 2006:21). These types of vessels are commonly found on English and colonial sites in the seventeenth century. They would certainly be expected in association with a tavern, as they are most often correlated with the storage of acidic wines, and ale or beer drinking vessels and mugs.

Rhenish Brown Stoneware

Called by many names, Frechen, Rhenish Brown, Bellarmine bottles or Bartmann bottles, these stonewares were produced in Frechen, Northwest Germany. Rhenish Brown ceramics are almost exclusively in the form of bottles, and are clearly identified by the brown, mottled glaze, grey non-porous fabric and the common bearded man motif sprig-moulded to the neck (Pope 1986:119). These were common seventeenth-century vessels found in both domestic and public contexts.

Figure 19: Rhenish Brown bottle fragment

The Ferryland tavern has 6 Rhenish Brown bottles (Figure 19) in its assemblage. It is expected that there would be a high quantity associated with the tavern, as the social and economic contexts of the tavern would include the storage and serving of alcohol from Rhenish Brown bottles.

Westerwald

Another common vessel in seventeenth-century contexts is Westerwald stoneware, which was produced in Northwest Germany. This ceramic type is salt glazed with a hard blue-grey body and cobalt blue decorations either incised and traced or stamped (Pope 1986:120). Typical decorative motifs include flowers, incised lines, and stamped designs.

Figure 20: Example of Westerwald mug

There were also sometimes stamped or applied medallions on the exterior, adorned with the initials of an English monarch (at least on those made for export) or a generic design such as a heart. Common Westerwald vessel forms are mainly hollowwares, including mugs, jugs and chamberpots (Figure 20).

One Westerwald mug base and one rim were found in the Ferryland tavern assemblage. While there would have been the need for a generous number of stoneware drinking vessels like Westerwald, it is likely that they were broken and discarded in a midden over the course of the tavern's uselife. It is also possible that Westerwald was not as popular as it was on eighteenth-century sites.

Normandy Brown

French-made Normandy Brown stoneware is a hard and smooth stoneware ranging in fabric color from dark purple/black to red/brown, and has scattered quartz inclusions. It is produced in areas of Lower Normandy, Northern France (Pope 1986:121). Vessel forms are most frequently hollowware, and usually for storage, and were mainly unglazed and undecorated.

There is 1 unidentifiable Normandy Brown base in the tavern assemblage. The base diameter is small, and is assumed to represent a small storage form, such as a jug or pot.

6.1.3 Analysis and Distribution

A total of 69 vessels have been identified from the tavern assemblage; this MNV is based on the lumping of similar fabric, glaze and decoration together in conjunction with minimum counts of rims, bases and handles (Appendix A). These vessel types were further analyzed based on their function and distribution across the tavern. The POTS typology divides vessel forms into five different categories, each associated with specific functions. These include Food Processing (cooking and dairying), Food and Drink Storage, Beverage Consumption (individual, communal, or serving), Food Consumption (solid or liquid) and Health and Hygiene. Out of the 69 vessels from the tavern, 60 could be categorized according to the POTS typology.

Analysis

Food Processing

This category represents vessel forms that are typically used in the preparation of food, including cooking and dairying. These forms include pipkins, pans, bowls, and colanders. Pipkins were used to prepare foods like porridge and other thick liquids; pans and bowls were used for collecting milk, cooking and mixing; colanders were used for making cheese and rinsing vegetables. These are almost exclusively made from coarse earthenware, as they were purely utilitarian.

There are 14 different vessels in the Ferryland tavern that fall into this category: 2 pipkins, 11 pans, and 1 colander. This represents 20% of the vessels present in the assemblage, which is average in comparison to the analysis of other buildings across the settlement (Clausnitzer 2011:79). These numbers seem high for an establishment that focused solely on alcohol sales and consumption. The pipkins were most likely used to prepare and serve simple foods to the patrons, a practice not uncommon in taverns of the seventeenth century (Smith 2008:24). The small number of vessels reflects that this was usually a secondary activity to alcohol and tobacco use. Pans and bowls could have been used for storage as well as food preparation, which the tavern would have needed a lot of. Therefore, it is possible that some of these vessels could be categorized under food storage.

The milk pans and colander were found in association with the back wall and Feature 159, which is presumed to demarcate a storage area in the back of the tavern. There are also a high number of milk pans found across the Ferryland site, which have been identified with having many different uses outside that of dairying, like food production. For example, the brewhouse potentially used pans in its production process (Clausnitzer 2011:81). It is also possible that these milk pans also served as washing basins (holding water and soap) to clean tables, benches, and to wipe up spills and other messes in a tavern setting.

Food and Drink Storage

Forms in the storage category include pots, jars and bottles, all of which were used to store both liquid and solid products. Jars and bottles are commonly used for the storage of wine and beer (Smith 2008:7). These forms are typically in glazed, utilitarian style coarse earthenware and stoneware. These could be used for both storage and serving, especially in a tavern setting, such as the Rhenish Brown stoneware bottles.

The Ferryland tavern has 25 storage vessels (36%) present in its collection, a high percentage of the entire assemblage, which would be expected from an establishment dedicated to purveying beverages to its patrons. This percentage is similar to other domestic buildings at Ferryland (Nixon 1999; Crompton 2001; Gaulton 2006; Clausnitzer 2011). The vessel forms include 3 pots, 15 jars, 6 jugs and 1 bottle. These types of vessels are common in seventeenth-century taverns and would serve to distribute and store alcohol. The activities of the Ferryland colony support the need for a high content of storage vessels across the site. The settlers were focused on the fishing trade, and so food production in the actual colony came second to the fishing industry (Pope 2004:59,80; Leskovec 2007:206). This forced them to rely more on imported foods, and so the need for numerous storage containers was necessary, even in a tavern setting.

It is possible that one or more of the pots was in fact for consumption rather than storage; however based on the large rim diameter of those in the collection, I have chosen to include them in my storage counts. The large rim diameters would have made consumption out of them messy; however, they could have also functioned to serve food and drink to the customers of the tavern.

Beverage and Food Consumption

Beverage consumption vessels come in many different forms: cups, mugs, jugs, footed bowls, pots, flasks, pitchers, or ewers. These include various sizes for individual or communal consumption, or serving. Food consumption vessels also include both individual and serving vessels, and include porringers, plates and bowls, basins, dishes, saucers and salts. These vessels are found in both earthenware and stoneware, and would have been common in a tavern context, especially those used for beverage consumption. In the seventeenth century it would have been likely that many vessels were for communal rather than individual use. There was also a significant demand for wines and other alcoholic beverages in the colony (Pope 1989), which was something David Kirke was well aware of and would have used to his advantage. As such, there is expected to be a large number of beverage service vessels found in the artifact assemblage.

There are 20 ceramic vessels (29%) in the Ferryland tavern associated with consumption: 4 for beverages and 16 for food. This percentage is consistent with other buildings across the site (Nixon 1999; Crompton 2001; Gaulton 2006). The beverage forms include 1 mug and 3 pitchers, and the food consumption vessels are plates, dishes, 1 bowl and 1 salt. While the vessel counts seem low for a tavern whose primary function was the sales and consumption of alcoholic beverages, it is almost certain that many more vessels were discarded elsewhere on the site. This will be discussed further in the distribution discussion of the ceramic assemblage.

It is also likely that some types of consumption vessels are absent from the archaeological record, such as wood, leather and pewter. In buildings focused on utilitarian or propriety functions that served the middling sorts, it was common for wooden vessels to supplement those made from ceramic or pewter (Nixon 1999; Crompton 2001). Likewise, pewter was a common material used to make cups, mugs, and other consumption vessels, but pewter vessels are often absent from the archaeological record (Smart Martin 1989). There are comparable buildings in the Ferryland colony and in other Newfoundland settlements, like the tippling house at Renews, that reflect the same patterns of ceramic consumption (Nixon 1999; Mills 2000; Crompton 2001).

Health and Hygiene

The final typological category is health and hygiene. These include both large and small galley pots, chamber pots, and basins, as well as specific types of jars related to medicinal storage and ointments.

The Ferryland tavern has 3 ceramic vessels (2%) that is linked to health and hygiene, a very small tin glazed earthenware ointment jar and 2 gallipots. This is a trend expected from a public building, especially when compared to domestic dwellings. The jar seems to be associated with personal use rather than communal use, as its size is very small. It was discovered in close proximity to the parlour, the structure that lies to the north of the tavern. Due to its close association to the parlour, and the fact that it comes from an event that produced artifacts from both buildings, it is possible that the jar in fact comes from the parlour assemblage and not that of the tavern. However, it is also possible that it was a part of someone's personal effects that resided in the tavern on a more permanent basis, like a servant or tavern keeper.

Unknown

There are 9 ceramic vessels (13%) in the collection that are not clearly identified using the POTS typology, and so are not included in the above analysis. While they could not be confidently identified with the POTS typology they were all identified as hollowware. As they were more delicate wares compared to the heavy storage and food preparation vessels, it is likely that these were either for serving or consumption, which could bring the vessel percentages up to a more expected place for a tavern (42%) which publically served a large amount of beverages.

Distribution

The consistent and repetitive use of the same space over time creates special purpose areas that are dedicated to a singular activity or social group; using the POTS typology for this ceramic analysis helps aid in identifying activity areas. A spatial use analysis can reveal what these use patterns and activity areas were, which further aids in understanding the types of people that frequented the tavern, and what they did while they were there. In order to better visualize the distribution patterns of the ceramics, a multilayer distribution map of the ceramic assemblage was created (Figure 21). Each POTS category is assigned a different color, so that the spatial distribution of the vessels can be analyzed through both spatial use and categorical distribution of the ceramics. Overall artifact distribution is also present on the maps as sherds per unit.

By mapping the ceramic fragments on the distribution map it becomes clear that the heavier coarse earthenware vessels made for preparation and storage are located in the rear of the tavern behind Feature 159. This suggests that this area was dedicated to the storage of provisions, including those contained in ceramic vessels.

There is another collection of vessels, this time in the northwest corner of the tavern next to the hearth. These ceramic vessels are smaller storage and serving vessels, suggesting there was a secondary storage area for the serving vessels, easily accessible by either the patrons or the manager of the tavern, or an area of heavy usage. These could have been contained in a cupboard or similar piece of furniture placed in this area, which would allow an employee or servant to access wine and alcohol, as well as drinking vessels, for the tavern patrons. The frequency of sherds in these areas supports this theory.

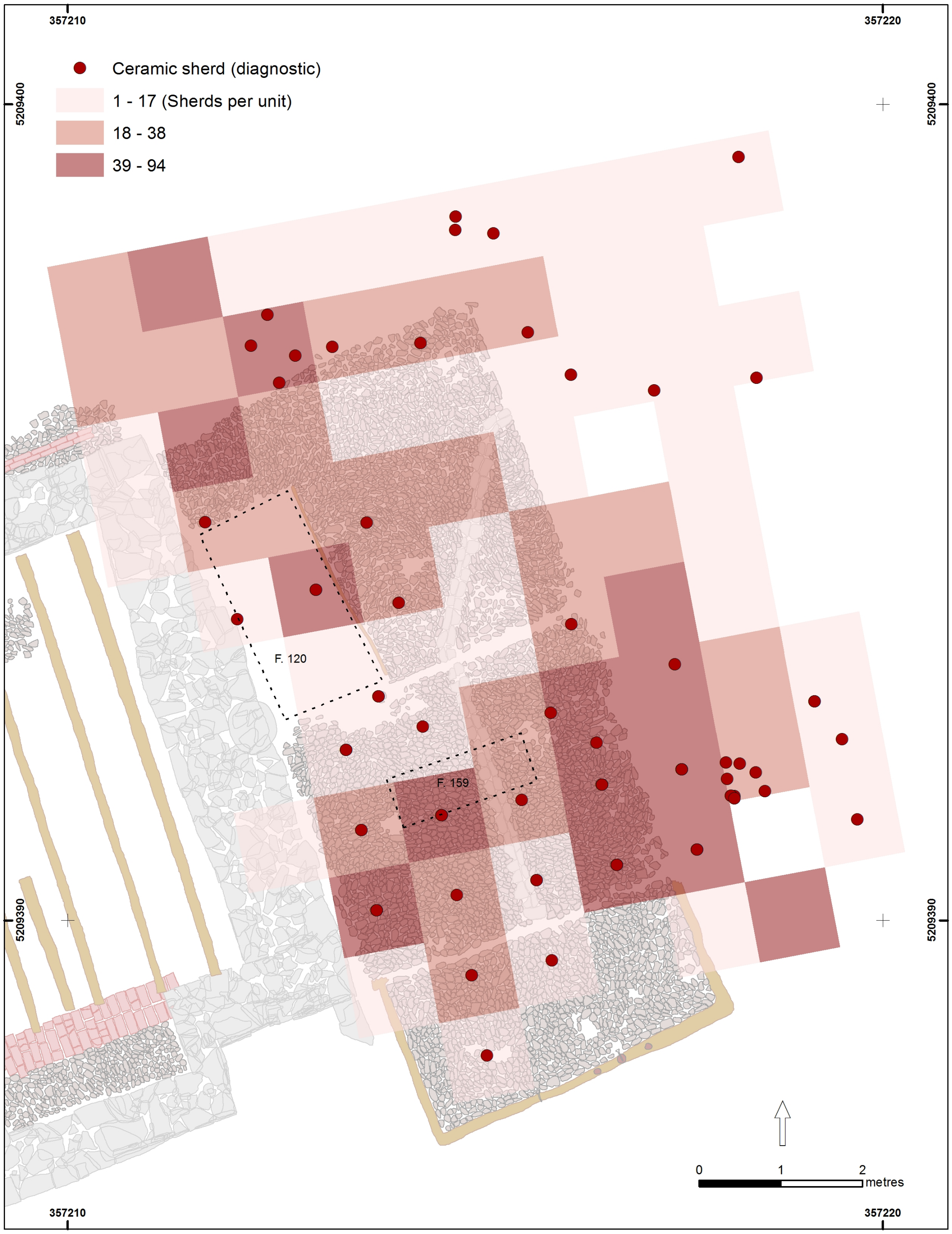

Figure 21: Ceramic distribution and frequency map

6.2 Smoking Pipes

Clay tobacco pipes are very common on seventeenth-century sites, and the Kirke tavern at Ferryland is no exception. They were cheap, fragile and disposable, and found in mass quantities, especially in midden deposits (Bradley 2000:104). Tobacco smoking was both a popular pastime and an activity assumed to be positive for ones health, and was often sold in conjunction with alcoholic beverages frequently as they were both leisurely and social activities. Pipes provide a wealth of information for understanding trade patterns and site use, as they are incredibly varied from region to region and went through frequent stylistic changes during the seventeenth century (Hume 1970:303).

Due to frequent stylistic changes, pipes are an excellent tool for dating sites. Pipe bowl typologies have been created by recording the variations in pipes from different manufacturing areas, both in pipe bowl shape and size (Atkinson and Oswald 1969). Because pipes were considered disposable, they were discarded once broken, so they were quickly deposited in the archaeological record not long after thier use. To further increase the accuracy of dating with pipes, maker's marks are used: these are often matched to a specific manufacturer which could further narrow the proposed date for the pipe and its associated context.

Changes in the stem bore diameter have been used in the past to determine the date range of a site. First developed by Harrington (1954), who recognized that the diameter of the bore in the pipe stem decreased through time, and could be measured with drill bits. This could provide an estimated date range for a site. Harrington's idea developed into a regression formula to calculate the mean occupation of a site (Binford 1961). I have decided to forgo a stem bore analysis on the Ferryland tavern pipe stem collection for several reasons. This method has been proven to be ineffective after 1780 and before 1680; therefore discounting much of the tavern occupation. It also can become skewed by the presence of Dutch pipes, which tend to exhibit the opposite trend from what Harrington proposes in his equation (Harrington 1954). Previous analyses of stem bore diameters from Ferryland have proved to be inaccurate and contrary to other datable materials (Gaulton 2006:42).

Figure 22: selection of pipe bowl fragments from the Kirke tavern

Of the 5,306 pipe fragments in the tavern assemblage events, 369 were set aside for further analysis (Appendix B). This included 33 marked or decorated stems, 178 heels and spurs, and 150 complete or partial bowls - 53 of which were recovered from the Calvert period stable. In order to determine the minimum number of pipes (MNP), I included full or partial bowls with the heel intact, and heel and spur fragments. I chose to rely solely on heels to determine my MNP in order to keep my numbers consistent and avoid the problem of counting one pipe multiple times. There were 289 partial or complete heels and spurs in the Ferryland tavern assemblage. This included both partial and complete heels, spurs, and heelless pipes, when the entirety of the base section was present (Figure 22).

The pipe bowl forms present in the Ferryland tavern assemblage and in the Calvert period stable below range in date from 1610-1710. I analyzed the assemblage in order to better understand why these dates are represented, which dates are most likely to represent the periods of intense occupation, what the outliers are, and what this tells us about the tavern uses and activities. The artifacts were first divided into tavern and pre-tavern occupations. I decided to look at only the pipe bowls from the Calvert-era stable to determine a date range for its occupation, and have not included these numbers in the MNC or in the pipe fragment artifact counts. I then used the Atkinson and Oswald (1969) pipe bowl typology to identify the general date range for each pipe and group them accordingly. Once subdivided into date ranges, each pipe was further identified, when possible, by region of manufacture. There are several identifiers to look for, including bowl form, decoration and sometimes fabric color and inclusions.

Manufacturing dates represent a rough guide for each shape and style of pipe bowl. Taking these dates and creating a graph can ascertain the general time period of the occupation of the tavern. From there, a more detailed analysis can be done, by including the maker's marks, as well as any diagnostic decorations. Finally, the pipe fragments were plotted to determine the areas of smoking activity within the tavern.

6.2.1 Pipe Typologies

Pre-tavern Calvert-era Stable

The 53 pipe bowls associated with the Calvert stable were first examined as they pre-date the Kirke tavern and can be used to provide an approximate date for the dismantling of the former and building of the latter. The general date range for the underlying stable structure was 1610-1660, based on the Atkinson and Oswald typology (Table 1).

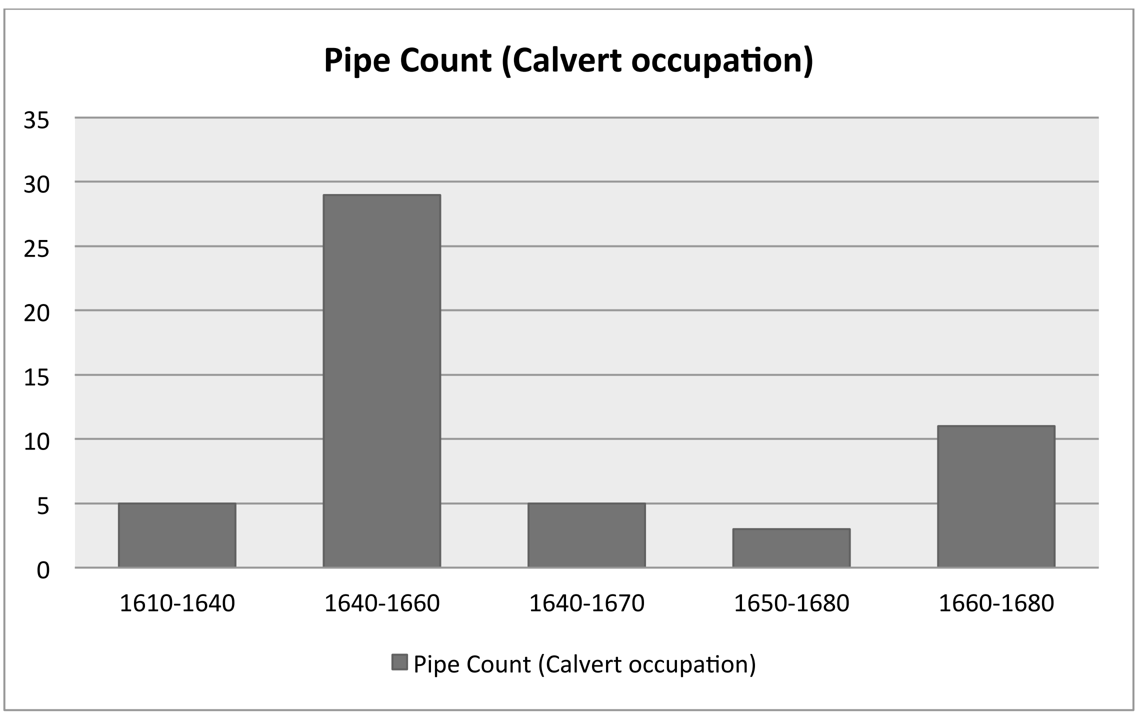

Table 1: Calvert occupation pipe dates

Forty-four of these pipes were found as part of Event 613, which was a deposit found directly above Feature 119, the early cobblestone pavement of the Calvert stable. This date range fits well with previous archaeological analysis, as the Calvert mansion house complex, including the stable, is believed to have been built in the mid 1620s, and the Kirke house sometime in the 1640s.

There were 4 maker's marks represented on the Calvert occupation pipes; one 'RC' and three 'EF' marks, all in relief on the heel of each pipe. The 'RC' mark is attributed to one of three potential pipemakers in London that were manufacturing between 1640-1670, and is on a 1640-1660-style pipe. The three 'EF' marks are on West Country pipes, with characteristics similar to those produced in 1650-1680 (Gaulton 2006:338). This later date for pipes found in the Calvert occupation layers might also suggest a slightly later date of construction for the tavern than the Kirke house, which was constructed in the 1640s. There were also several 'RC' and 'EF' pipes found on the floor of the tavern.

Kirke Tavern

The Kirke tavern pipes include 97 complete bowls. Once the assemblage was identified according to the Atkinson and Oswald typology, the pipes were further identified based on place of manufacture (when possible) and maker's mark. This revealed a general date range for tavern occupation. Of the 97 pipe bowls, seven date from 1610-1640; nine from 1640-1650; 29 from 1640-1660; three from 1640-1670; 17 from 1660-1680; 30 from 1680-1710; and two from 1700 onwards (Table 2). This puts the median date between 1640-1680; a date range consistent with what would be expected at the tavern. All were manufactured outside of North America, with the exception of one American-made red clay octagonal bowl fragment of Chesapeake manufacture; however the fragment was too small to date with confidence. There are nine examples of export pipes in the Ferryland tavern assemblage.

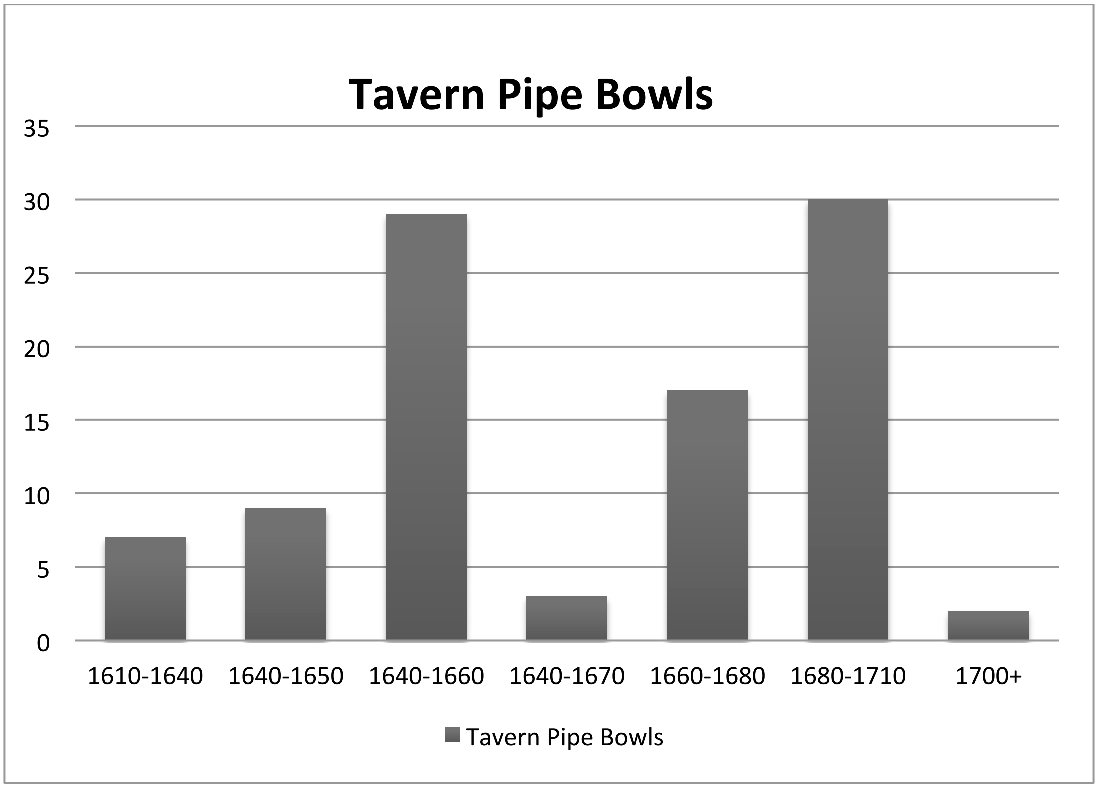

Table 2: Tavern occupation pipe dates

There were 23 makers' marks on the pipe bowls and stems from the Kirke tavern events. The makers' marks included two 'PS', nine 'RC', five 'BA RVM', two 'EF', one 'WM', one 'RP' or 'PP', one wheel stamp, one floral stamp, and one 'X'.

Seven of these maker's marks are attributed to Devon manufacture (Figure 23). There are five 'BA RVM' maker's marks (which represents the Latin abbreviation for Barnstaple) date from 1660-1740, and the two 'PS' maker's marks (which represent

Peter Stephens, a pipemaker working from 1620-1660) are all from the Barnstaple region (Gaulton 2006:339).

Figure 23: ‘BA RVM’ maker’s mark

The nine ‘RC’ marks (Figure 24) are attributed to one of three possible London pipemakers (Richard Cole, Roger Clare, Richard Coxe) who were producing pipes between 1640-1670 (Lawrence 1979:69, Gaulton 2006: 335-6). Four of these maker’s marks were on complete bowls.

Figure 24: 'RC' maker's mark

The two 'EF' relief marked pipe bowls have West Country characteristics that resemble 1650-1680 pipe styles (Figure 25), although there are no 'EF' recorded pipemakers during this time in the English West Country.

Figure 25: 'EF' maker's mark

The wheel stamp was found on a West Country pipe bowl, typologically dating to 1660-1680 (Figure 26). The wheel stamp design itself is similar to other pipe stamps from 1650-1680, particularly those made in Barnstaple between 1660-1720 (Gaulton 2006:126). It is also similar to other wheel stamps found across the Ferryland site, and the tippling house in Renews (Mills 2000:157).

Figure 26: Wheel stamp

The floral stamp is a four-petal flower with a circular center (Figure 27). It could not be matched to any other examples of floral motifs found on pipe heels; however, the pipe bowl dates from 1640-1660 and is a West County form.

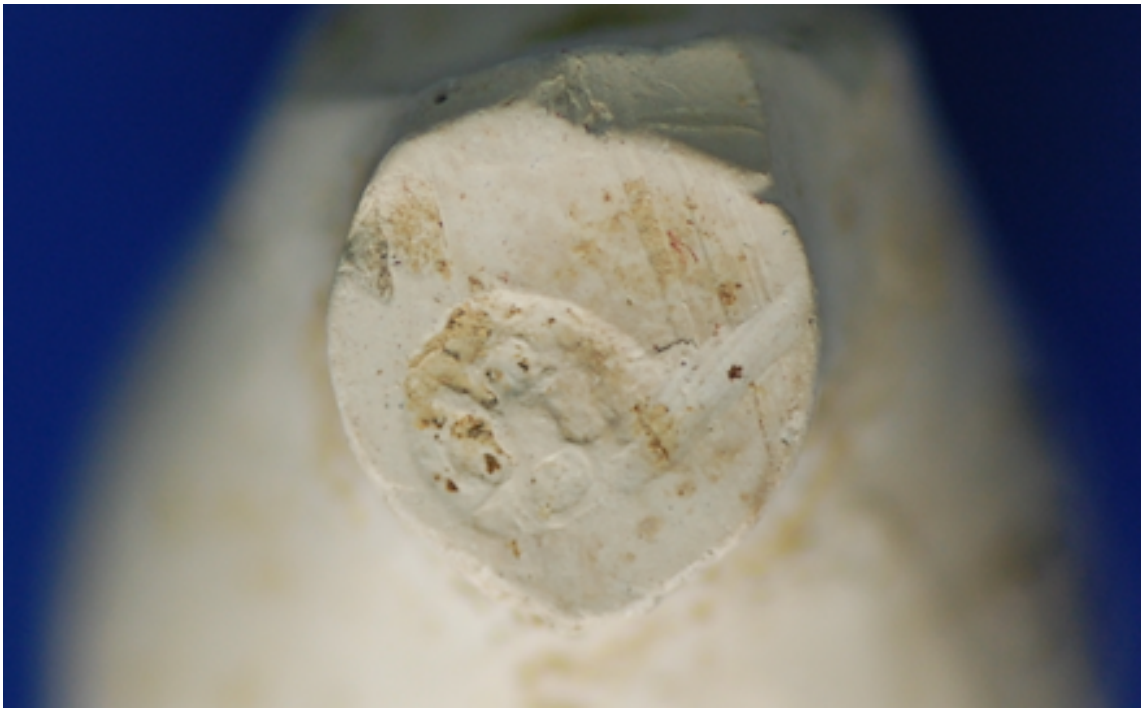

Figure 27: Floral stamp

Three of the examples were either unidentifiable or deemed to be intrusive from a later occupation. The ‘RP’/’PP’ makers’ mark, located on the heel of the pipe, is incredibly worn and so cannot be confidently identified. The ‘WM’ makers mark was located on a heel fragment only, however the mark is attributed to William Manby, a mid to late eighteenth-century pipemaker (Gaulton 1999). As such, this heel is deemed to be intrusive from a later occupation. The incised ‘X’ found on a pipe heel will be discussed below.

6.2.2 Decoration

A small number of decorated pipe fragments were identified, and the majority are found on the pipe stem. Three forms of stem decoration are present: stamped fleur-de-lys in varying patterns, bands of rouletting, and examples of both combined together

(Figure 28). The third decorative element is a stamped triangular pattern in a band around one stem. The majority of the pipe decorations were made using a stamping technique, with all of these being in relief. This is a commonly noted seventeenth-century pipe decorative technique (White 2004).

Figure 28: Fleur-de-lys and rouletting pipe stem decoration

The fleur-de-lys pattern was found in varying formations on eight of the pipe stems, with and without rouletting. The stamped fleur-de-lys motif was common on seventeenth-century tobacco pipes from the Netherlands (Gaulton 2006:129). There are four distinct patterns associated with fleur-de-lys stamping. The first two are called a "four-on-diamond" because four fleur-de-lys are positioned within a diamond, one with and one without rouletting (Miller 1991:80). The others are more crude and abstract, the latter of which also dates from 1670-1690 in Gouda (Gaulton 2006:129).

Rouletting was a popular decorative technique, found on both pipe stems and the rims of pipe bowls. A rouletted pattern was created by running a rouletting wheel or similar device across the surface of the formed clay pipe prior to firing. There were three pipe stems that had rouletted bands as the exclusive decorative element. Rouletting also appears on two of the fleur-de-lys decorated stems, the same decorative pattern was associated with a Dutch rosemark bowl, produced in Gouda between 1670-90 (Gaulton 2006:130).

One pipe had a hand-carved 'X' into the heel (Figure 29). This was unlikely to be a decoration, however, and likely was an individual's way of marking his personal property from other generic pipes.

Figure 29: Incised 'X' mark

6.2.3 Regional Variation

The shape of a pipe bowl is also useful in determining provenance. Regional variations can be recognized through bowl shape, fabric color and makers' marks. For example, some pipe bowls can be identified as coming from Central/Southern England by the prominent 'chin' shape of the bowl; some London bowls can also be recognized in the artifact assemblage by the 'barrel' shape of the bowl (Atkinson and Oswald 1969).

Once the pipe bowls were dated by typology, they were further classified by regional origins. Of the 97 pipe bowls, 57 could be identified by region: 43 were of West Country origin, 7 were from London/ South England, 5 were from Bristol and 2 were identified as being of Dutch manufacture.

6.2.4 Analysis and Distribution

Both the makers' mark and pipe bowl data suggest a mid to late seventeenth-century date for the Kirke tavern, coinciding with known historical events associated with the Kirke occupation at Ferryland (1638-1696). The decorative elements found on the pipe stem fragments coincide with this date range as well. While there are some pipe bowl examples from 1610-1640, these could be explained potentially as intrusions from the mansion house, Kirke house, parlour, or underlying Calvert stable occupation. They could also be associated with the early occupation of the tavern, as its construction began around the end of this time period.

When looking at the Ferryland assemblage, it is clear that some trade relationships with specific places of manufacture existed. The fact that 42.3% of the identified pipes originated from the West Country highlights the strong connection between this region and Ferryland. It was common for broken or old clay tobacco pipes to be discarded rather than reused, as they were common, inexpensive, and abundant.

This should be reflected in the spatial distribution of the tavern artifact assemblage (Figure 30).

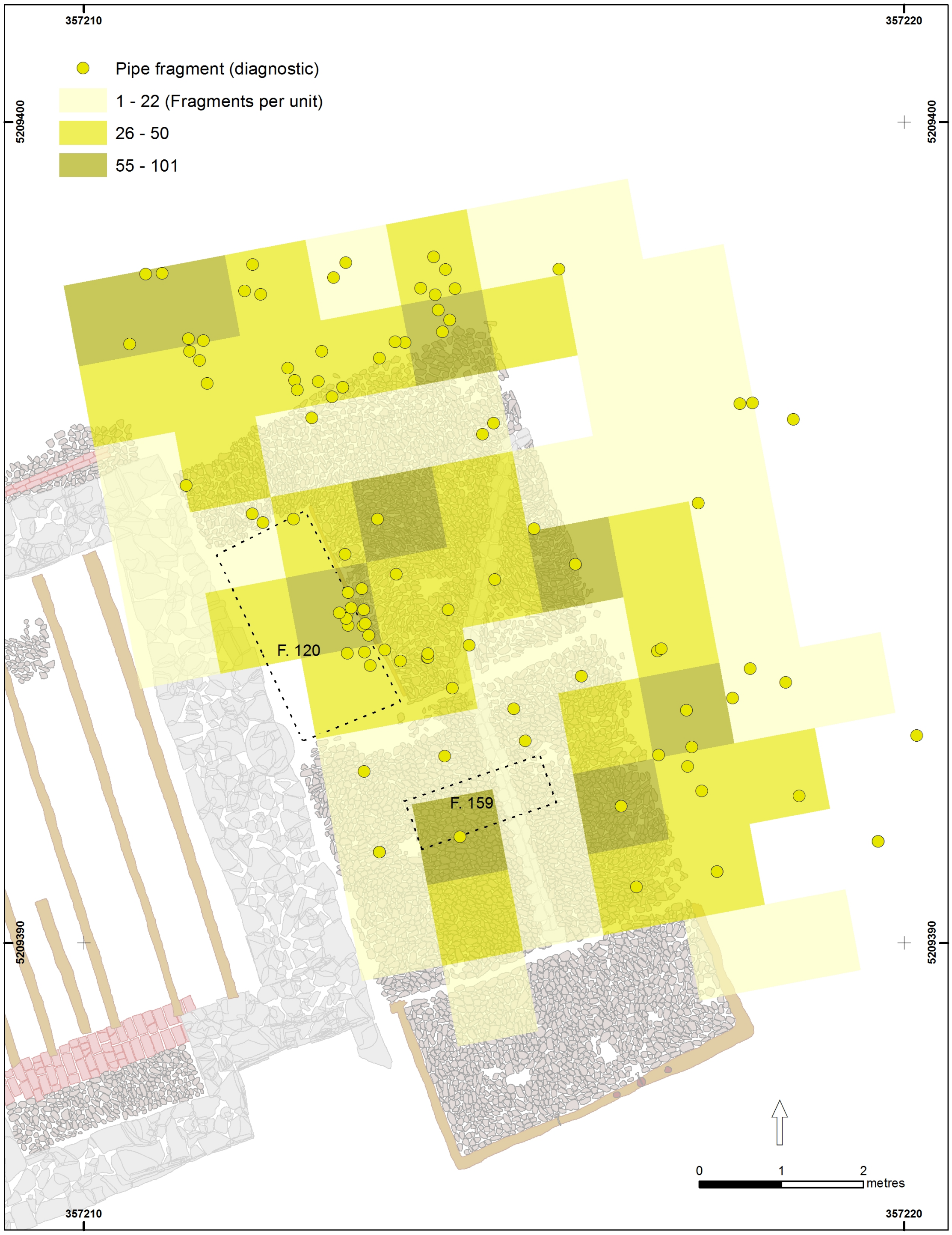

Figure 30: Pipe distribution and frequency map

Two very clear areas of concentration/use are apparent: inside and directly in front of the hearth and in a tavern related deposit immediately north of the tavern. Due to the replaceable nature of the pipes, once one broke it was thrown away and a new one was purchased and used. The hearth is a common place to find broken pipes as it was a central fixture within the tavern, and many activities were centered around it. The midden deposits outside the tavern door also contains a heavy concentration of pipe fragments, many of which could be attributed to either the periodic cleaning of the tavern or to smoking, which took place directly outside its door. This is evident in both the diagnostic and non-diagnostic pipe artifacts.

Several trends are apparent between the spatial distribution of the Ferryland pipes and what is typically found in other British North American taverns. Concentrations of pipe fragments in the hearth and outside the door suggests a similar pattern of discard. It also suggests that the hearth was a central fixture within the tavern, surrounded by people, and would have been an easy place to toss a broken pipe, or a common location of accidental breakage when lighting a pipe or removing ash.

6.3 Glass

While not as frequent on colonial sites as ceramics or tobacco pipes, glass fragments are still a common find that can aid in determining patterns of consumption and spatial use patterns. Some forms can also aid in the dating process. There were several different types of glass artifacts found in the tavern assemblage, including wine bottles, case bottles, stemware, and windowpane. As the window glass has previously been discussed (Chapter 5.3.2), it will not be addressed in this section. Of the remaining artifact types, diagnostically relevant pieces were identified as rims, bases, finishes, necks, and stems. As with the ceramics, these were then sorted into vessels. Once the vessels were identified a minimum vessel count (MNV) was obtained.

Several different sources were used to analyze the glass assemblage from the tavern. For the wine and case bottles, I utilized the dating model created by John Wicks (1999b). I also used similar glass analyses from the Ferryland site when necessary (Gaulton 2006; Clausnitzer 2011). For glass stemware, I relied primarily on well-known publications by Bickerton (1996) and Willmott (2002).

6.3.1 Wine Bottle Glass

Wine bottles are a common find on seventeenth-century sites. Like pipe bowls, the shape of wine bottles changed over time. Because of these specific changes, wine bottles can be identified and dated within certain typological parameters (Wicks 1999a, 1999b). Seals that were sometimes affixed to wine bottles could further be used to identify both the bottle form and the date ranges for each vessel (Wicks 1999b:39). Wine bottles were often reused, and so potentially functioned as more than just a storage vessel for wine, dependent on the context; some have even been found to contain milk, or were used in the production process of beer and other alcohols (Kelso 1984:157; Jones 1986:17; Wicks 1999b:55-8). As an example of this reuse, wine bottles were found in the Ferryland brewhouse assemblage (Clausnitzer 2011:92).

There are 6 identified wine bottle types (A-F, dating from 1652-1721) identified by Wicks in his graduate thesis (1999b). This vessel typology is based on material from Ferryland and therefore will be used for my wine bottle analysis. Forms were identified based on several different measurable parameters, including the length of the neck, the width of the base, the width of the points that rest on the table (resting point diameter), or the push up height (Wicks 1999b:44-7).

There are 23 wine bottle fragments in the tavern assemblage, which represents a minimum vessel count (MVC) of 12 different vessels. Of these 12, 6 could be narrowed down to a specific date range based on measurements relating to the Wicks' bottle typology, and two more could be partially identified. There were no complete bottles and no neck or lip examples, so all identifications are based solely on measurements of the resting point diameters and indent heights in the assemblage. As such, the results are not as accurate for dating purposes, but can reflect the quantity of wine bottles within the assemblage. Five of the 6 different wine bottle forms are potentially represented in the Ferryland tavern assemblage, some identified more confidently than others. There were also two examples that could not be confidently identified at all.

A collection of bottle fragments make up one complete shaft and globe wine bottle base in the collection, identified as either Type A or B in the Wicks typology (Figure 31). As only the pushup and resting point diameter (70mm) could be measured, it is impossible to distinguish between the two. This dates the vessel from 1652 to 1675. There is at least one Type C bottle identified based on the indent height (17mm), dating from 1670 to 1688.

Figure 31: Type A/B wine bottle base

Figure 32: Type D wine bottle base

Two Type D wine bottles (Figure 32) were present based on the resting point (105mm) and indent height (24mm) of one, and the indent height (28mm) of the other. They range in date from 1689 to 1700.

Two of the vessels have been identified as onion bottles (Type E) based on the fact that both had an indent height of greater than 20mm. These vessels date from 1682 to 1705. Two vessels could not be narrowed down completely. Based on the available measurements, the first fragment could be Type C, D or E, (dating from 1670 to 1705) while the second could be either Type D or E (1689 to 1705).

Four artifacts in the tavern wine bottle glass assemblage could not be identified. Two were small base fragments not attributable to any one bottle type. Of the remaining two, one was certainly a wine bottle base, however the narrow base and the steep indent height (45mm) make it a form outside of the pre-cylindrical chronology developed by Wicks. The second is a glass bottle base, with a low indent height and a narrow width.

The approximate date range of the glass wine bottles suggests that they were present and used in the tavern from the 1650s until its destruction in 1696. The fact that the same types of bottles were present in different contexts over a 50 year span between their manufacture is also to be expected, as glass bottles would have been consistently reused from the point of acquisition until they were damaged enough to warrant discard. The same phenomenon is seen with both ceramic storage vessels and case bottles.

The lack of any squat onion bottles in the tavern assemblage is not surprising, as the date range in which they were manufactured, 1698 to 1721, is outside the expected occupation of the Ferryland tavern.

6.3.2 Case Bottle Glass

Case bottles were another common vessel form in the seventeenth century. As a popular glass vessel, case bottles can be seen in many different seventeenth-century paintings, which depict tavern scenes as well as household and professional settings like a dentist's office.

Figure 33: Case bottle types A and B

Case bottles were commonly used for distilled alcohols, but also reused for different reasons after their initial acquisition (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:232). Tall, square bottles, case bottles were formed in a mold to be easily packed in a case and transported overseas to minimize the chances of breakage. They ranged in size from a pint to over a gallon, and are distinguishable by their squared sides, flat bases, and short necks (Wicks 1999b:19-20).

The case bottle typology identified by Wicks (1999b) will be used for the Ferryland tavern assemblage. These are identified as two different typological categories: Type A and Type B (Figure 33). Type A is a pale green bottle with straight thin sides, a base measuring around 70 or 90mm, and a 700 to 2000ml capacity. This type is identified as being of Dutch manufacture, and is most commonly found between 1625 and 1675. Type B case bottles are a darker, thicker green glass bottle with tapered walls, of English manufacture, and date after 1650. They most likely replaced Type A forms sometime between 1673 and 1696 in the Ferryland colony (Wicks 1999b:21-22).

The tavern assemblage contains 12 case bottles including both Type A and B. Of these 12, seven are the earlier Type A case bottle, and five are Type B. Case bottles constitute 43% of the tavern glass assemblage.

The near equal presence of both Type A and Type B bottles shows that the occupation of the tavern was quite active from the 1650s onward, which is what should be expected from a Kirke era structure. When considered in conjunction with the glass wine bottle dates, all dating post 1650, this further suggests that the Kirke tavern was entertaining more patrons during the second half of the century, congruent with the assumed construction period of the building.

6.3.3 Stemware

Glass stemware is another example of an artifact type that can be dated based on changing decorative elements (Bickerton 1996; Willmott 2002). These vessels were more for the display of affluence than daily use, and so the decorative elements would change as style changed. Certain types of glass stemware could be related to these different uses, as they were fragile and more expensive than ceramics (Bickerton 1996:25; Willmott 2002:21).

Figure 34: Tavern stemware

The Kirke tavern assemblage has seven diagnostic stemware fragments, which represents a MVC of four based on the existence of four different stems (Figure 34). The stylistic elements of the stems are typical of late seventeenth-century upper class glass stemware goblets (Bickerton 1996:5-9). The exact forms could not be clearly identified, but they do resemble English lead crystal glass, and one appears to be a moulded Venetian style wine glass (Gaulton 2006:141).

Up until the late seventeenth century, glass stemware was an imported good in England. Both the cost of transport and the fragility of soda glass deterred glass stemware from being commonly used in British taverns, as well as colonial taverns (Bickerton 1996:3). The cost of these more delicate vessels would also not be something expected in a tavern setting, as the preference for cheaper and more utilitarian vessels would be necessary for the constant public and communal use. It is possible that these could be used for fine wines or when serving important clientele, like ship captains, visiting merchants, or other. It is also possible that some of these fragments are intrusive from the surrounding mansion house, parlour or Kirke house, as will be discussed below.

6.3.4 Analysis and Distribution

The tavern glass assemblage is comprised of storage and serving vessels, along with a few decorative or special occasion vessels. As it was a public tavern that was serving patrons for several decades, it is assumed that there would be a large percentage of utilitarian glass vessels. It would also be unexpected for many to be personal drinking vessel forms, as these types of wares would have been costly and a poor choice for the public tavern setting. The date range of both the wine bottles and the case bottles further suggest that they were used and likely reused as both storage and serving forms.

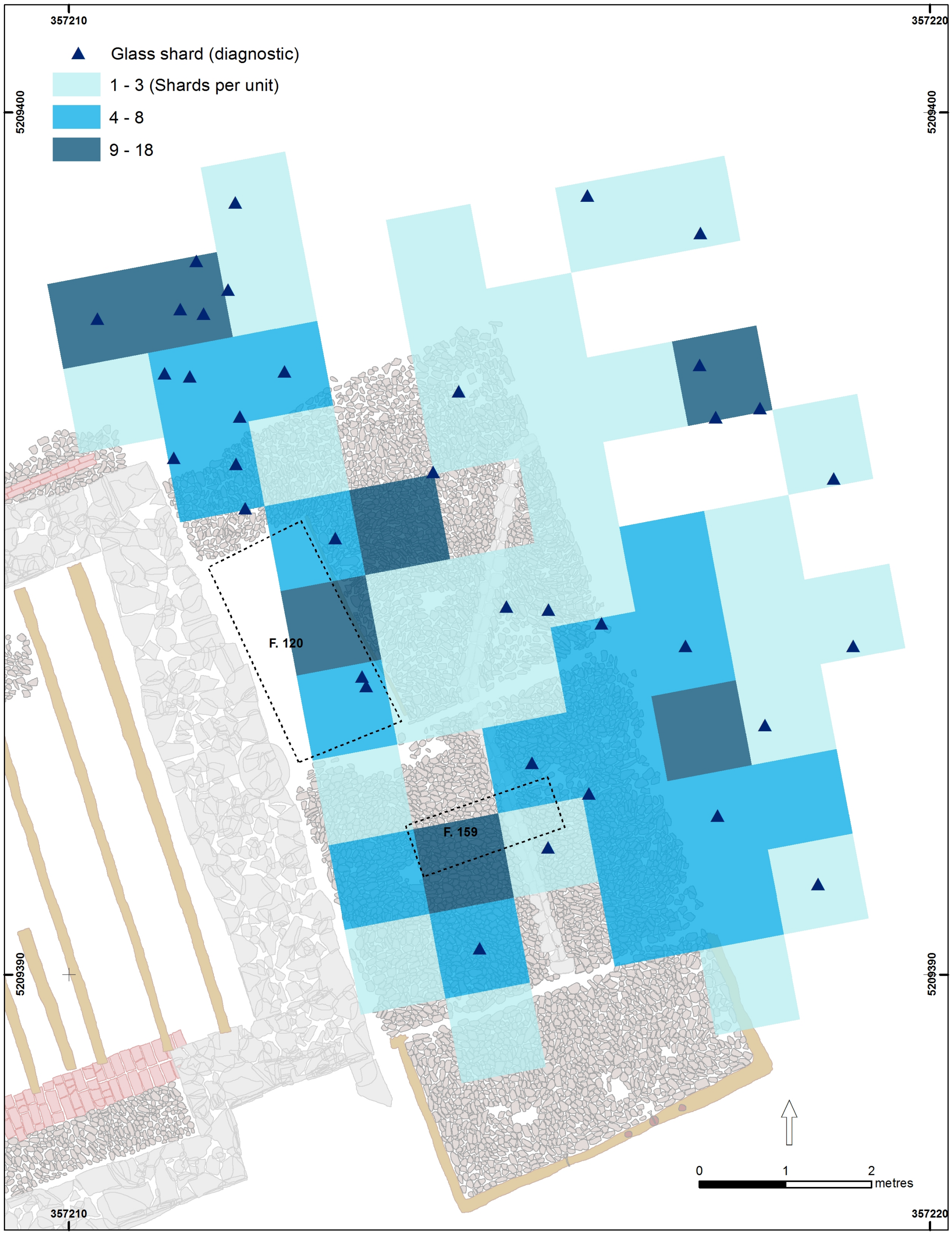

Figure 35: Glass distribution and frequency map

The fact that the glass is overwhelmingly storage and serving related is common to other North American sites. The percentage of glass artifacts representing storage and serving bottles in the Ferryland tavern assemblage is 86%. When this glass assemblage is compared to other tavern and tippling houses it becomes clear that this is mirrored in other taverns as well (Rockman and Rothschild 1984). Ceramic, pewter and wood vessels would likely have been preferred as drinking vessels, so it is not surprising that there are few glass drinking vessels associated with the tavern assemblage. This is supported by the fact that fancy glass stemware was relatively expensive and likely reserved for special occasions or certain clientele. The presence of other forms of glass artifacts, especially the more expensive Venetian stemware, would have been uncommon in the tavern setting.

The distribution of the glass artifacts helps to determine their use in the tavern (Figure 35). When the wine bottle, case bottle, and stemware artifacts from the Kirke tavern are plotted over the tavern map, potential activity areas are identified. The stemware glass assemblage is mainly concentrated in the north-west corner of the tavern area, next to the hearth and against the wall the tavern shared with the parlour. It is possible that this area was reserved for more prominent guests to the tavern. The limited inclusion of this type of glass shows that it was not common, but something necessary for the tavern to carry. The majority of the case bottle fragments are segregated to the south of Feature 159, which is proposed to be a dividing wall separating public space from storage space. There are also two clusters of case bottle glass outside the door to the south. This represents one vessel count with two joins, and so likely was discarded outside the doorway when it was broken. Although not representative of diagnostic artifacts, the frequency of glass artifacts is also high both in front and to the north of the hearth and behind the proposed Feature 159 dividing wall. The cluster to the north of the hearth could be related to the tavern area deemed to be for prominent guests, and the high frequency of artifacts behind Feature 159 coincides with the storage area.

There are fewer areas of wine bottle concentration compared to other glass artifacts, but some evaluations can be made. The fragments found on the exterior of the tavern outside the doorway represents two discarded vessels. There are a few vessels located behind Feature 159, which would be expected considering this is believed to be the storage area. There is a cluster of wine bottle glass in the northwest corner of the tavern, to the right of the Feature 120 hearth. This could represent an alternate storage area within the structure; by comparing this to the distribution of the other artifacts, a clearer idea of spatial use can be seen, as discussed below in Chapter 6.6.

The relative distribution of the different glass artifacts shows three concentrations related to use and disposal patterns: the storage area behind the Feature 159 wall; a potential area in the northwest corner used for storage or serving; and the refuse area outside of the door. It is likely that the utilitarian and storage bottles were stored in the back area of the tavern, and some discard occurred outside the door. The potential for a second storage or serving area near the front of the tavern next to the hearth will be better understood when the spatial distribution of the material culture as a whole is considered.

6.4 Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous category includes currency, lead and other non-ferrous metal fragments (such as fishing equipment and ammunition), and any other small finds that are of a personal nature. These can be very informative finds with regards to what can be told about the unrecorded or unknown activities in a public structure. This aspect of the material culture will be most helpful in understanding the other activities of the tavern that are unknown from the historical documentation and the cursory analysis of the tavern.

6.4.1 Currency

Coins can be one of the most revealing archaeological finds. The style and inscription alone can reveal a specific date of manufacture, reigning monarch, and country or town of origin (Berry 2002). This can be important in providing supporting evidence for the date of occupation. It can also aid in identifying trade relationships, as coinage circulated widely and between countries in this period, as well as socioeconomic status, though in rare cases. Conversely, the fact that coins can be in circulation for long periods or time, can mean that they end up in contexts decades after their initial minting.

The Ferryland tavern assemblage contained five different coins, all of which were made of copper. Two coins could not be clearly identified or dated. A concreted nail obscures one, and the other is severely degraded. The three remaining coins were identifiable by the country of origin and potential date of minting. The first has been previously identified as a copper Louis XIII *double tournois*, similar to those found in the construction phase of the Kirke house, and identified as being minted in the 1640s (Gaulton 2006:136). The last two coins are the most telling in terms of when the tavern ceased to be used. They were recovered from on top of the cobblestone floor, and based on their size and/or values were likely abandoned without the chance of recovery (Gaulton 2006:137). One is a copper William III half-penny, issued between 1695-98; the second, and smaller of the two, is a William and Mary copper farthing, dating between 1690-94 (Figure 36).

Figure 36: Half penny (R) and farthing (L) (From Gaulton 2006:138)

The former coin suggests that the tavern was still in use up until at least 1695. This is important, because it indicates that the tavern was open to the public and likely serving patrons until its destruction in 1696.

6.4.2 Utilitarian Finds

Two non-ferrous metal finds in the tavern assemblage served a utilitarian purpose. The first is a brass spigot, found in the rear of the tavern behind Feature 159. This was likely at one point attached to a keg or cask, and would have been used for decanting alcohol into smaller vessels for serving and consumption.

The second is a copper cauldron fragment with a lug hole. This likely was where the handle once attached. It was located near the central hearth area and most likely used for food preparation.

6.4.3 Ammunition and Firearms related artifacts

There are several ammunition and firearms-related artifacts in the tavern: flint and lead shot. As some sprue was found near the hearth, it could have been manufactured in the tavern for personal use. It is also possible that these were discarded during the 1696 French attack and left behind in the destruction. There is also some lead shot still attached to the sprue, discovered near the Feature 120 hearth. Of the six fragments of flint in the assemblage, there is one partial gunflint present. A grey ballast flint, it is likely a spall-type gunflint, based on the wedge shape.

6.4.4 Small Finds

Clothing was one of the most apparent demonstrations of conspicuous consumption in the seventeenth century. Because of this, there is diversification in the different clothing worn, both the style as well as the fabric (Demos 1970:54-5). Clothing is typically lost through deterioration over time, and so archaeologists rely on the decorative elements on the clothing, such as beads, buttons and buckles. The materials they are made from reveals social status: gold, silver, brass and glass was worn by the affluent or middling types; copper, iron, pewter or wood were used by those who were poorer (Gaulton 2006:218-221). There are various different metal artifacts in the tavern assemblage that are closely associated with the individual, including buckles, buttons, beads and pins. These were uncovered in various quantities and from different areas of the tavern.

Figure 37: Buckles

Four buckles were found in the tavern; two tin plated copper buckles and two silver plated buckles (Figure 37). One silver buckle is a composite of silver, copper and iron, and is identified as a late seventeenth-century style (Gaulton 2006:220). This buckle likely was a part of a man's shoe or breeches. The second is another shoe buckle, which dates to approximately 1660 and is silver-plated copper. Both of these silver buckles would have belonged to someone of the middling sort.

Five buttons were also found; one each of pewter, silver and glass, and two copper. Both copper buttons are tin-plated and have incomplete shanks; one is cast and the other is moulded (Figure 38). The glass button is round with an opaque white and brown swirled pattern. The silver button is a round hollow button, with no shank and a smooth surface. The pewter button is small and moulded, but is fairly corroded.

Figure 38: Copper buttons

There are 11 glass seed beads associated with the tavern (Figure 39). All are varying shades and opacities of blue, and some are cylindrical. All were core wound. Some were clustered near the rear wall, while the others were dispersed more openly in the public area of the tavern.

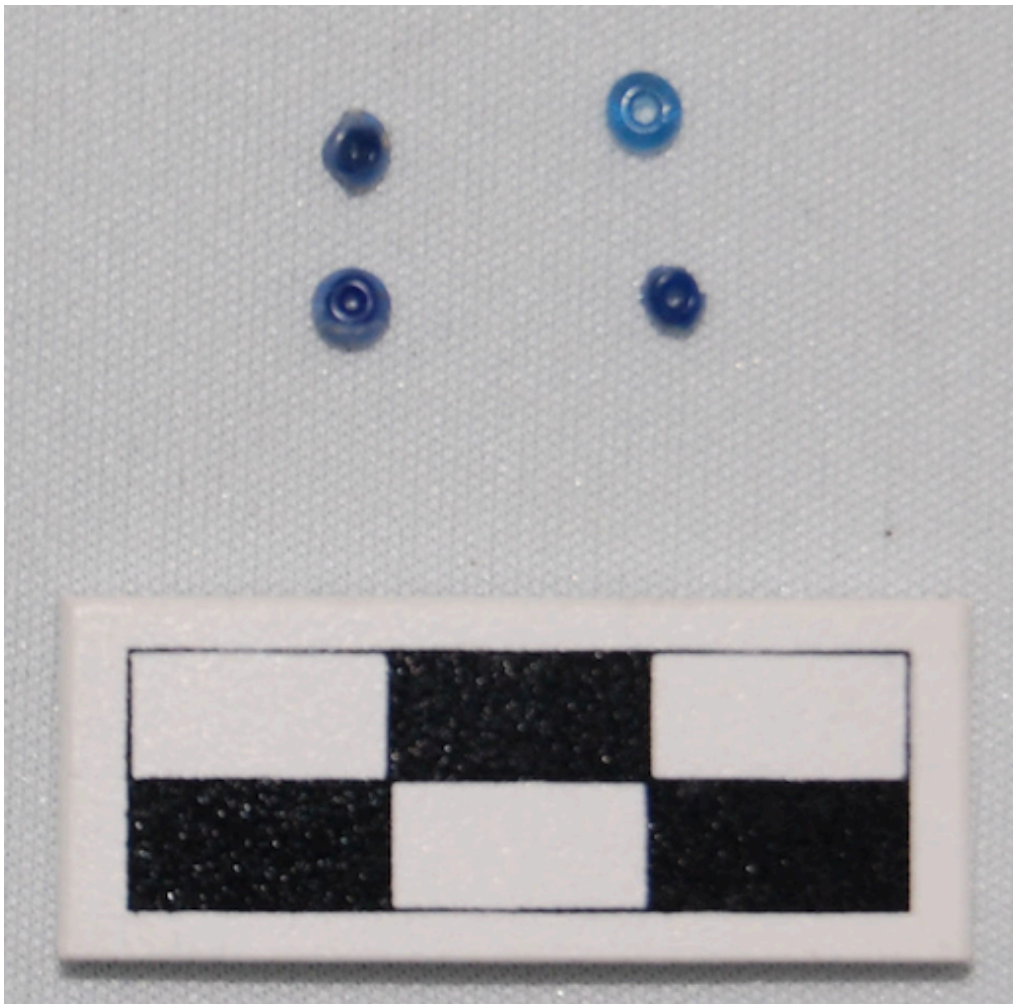

Figure 39: Blue beads

Finally, 10 tin-plated copper pins were all found in the rear of the tavern, as well as a two copper rings (Figure 40). These rings have been interpreted as curtain rings, which could have been used to create a partition between the back storage area and the public area of the tavern. Their location in the southern area of the tavern supports this theory.

Figure 40: Tavern curtain rings

6.4.5 Analysis and Distribution

By looking at the miscellaneous finds present inside the tavern, a better view of the different activities, people and spatial use patterns can be understood. The artifact assemblage contains items associated with the middling sort and the wealthy as well as the poor, and so people of all walks of life likely frequented the tavern.

All miscellaneous artifacts have been plotted spatially, and their locations reinforce the already identified activity areas from the other artifact types in the assemblage. Both of the utilitarian small finds were uncovered in areas of activity that would have suited their function. The cauldron fragment was found near the hearth and the spigot was found near the rear of the tavern, where casks or kegs were likely to be stored. It is also likely that there was some type of food preparation within the tavern with the discovery of a copper cauldron found in the vicinity of the hearth. While other ceramic preparation vessels could have served multiple purposes within the tavern, a copper cauldron would have been acquired specifically for cooking (Gaulton 2006:163).

The ammunition was mostly found nearby the hearth. The location of the ammunition is revealing about the spatial use of the tavern. Heat was needed to melt lead, and so the presence of lead ammunition and waste near the hearth is not surprising. Likely, people would occasionally manufacture lead shot at a hearth, and the tavern atmosphere would have accommodated that.

Many of the personal effects are concentrated near the rear wall, including one copper buckle, both copper buttons, and all 10 pins. In contrast, the buckles and buttons more associated with the middling sort or the affluent are dispersed more within the confines of the tavern walls. This suggests more than accidental deposition, and the possibility that there was a servant(s) not only working in the back section of the tavern but likely living there as well. The glass beads are also dispersed between the open tavern area and the back wall behind Feature 159, suggesting that there were personal items frequently present in both areas.

6.5 Chronology

While there is ample historical documentation detailing the arrival of the Kirke family in Newfoundland, there is almost nothing that specifically discusses the construction and patronage of the tavern. In 1667 Thomas Cruse wrote that the Kirke tavern "did draw and keep ship masters, fishermen, and others from their fishing employments" (Cruse 1667). This references a time when Sir David Kirke was present at the colony, which means the tavern construction must date after 1638 but before 1651, when he died. Historical documents also tell us that the taverns and tippling houses of Ferryland had access to "wine, beer, brandy and tobacco" (Cull 1667) as well as rum (Buckley 1693). However, little is known as to when construction began and ended, what the length of occupation was, and whether his building served exclusively as a tavern or changed purpose over time. Looking at the entirety of the artifact assemblage, and combining that with the structural analysis and the identification of the features, the activity areas associated with the tavern structure can be better understood and a more finite chronology can be determined.

The Kirke family first arrived at Ferryland in the late summer of 1638. Archaeological analysis of the Kirke house determines its date of construction beginning around 1640 (Gaulton 2006). This represents the earliest possible date for the tavern. It appears that the tavern was constructed around the same time as the associated Kirke house. The consistent presence of pipe bowls from 1640-1700 suggests that the tavern was used in some capacity for the majority of the Kirke residency at Ferryland, and was open for business in the early 1640s. The currency from within the tavern helps determine the latest date at which the tavern was occupied. The discovery of two copper coins, dating to 1690-94 and 1695-8, shows that the tavern structure was functioning in some capacity at least up until 1695. Most likely, it was utilized up until its destruction by French forces in 1696.

6.6 Discussion

An analysis of the tavern material culture helps to bring a better understanding to the tavern and its uses. By constructing a multi-faceted image of the past, a better understanding of how the tavern functioned within the colony becomes clear. The artifacts represent not only trade networks, but also the spatial use of the tavern by both the patrons and those who managed it, and this can be revealed by looking at where the artifacts were found. The date of construction, combined with the types of artifacts present in the interior of the structure, confirms this to be the Kirke tavern mentioned by Cruse and Cull in the mid to late seventeenth century. The high frequencies of glass and tobacco pipes dating to the 1650-1680 period suggests that this was the busiest time in the uselife of this building. This also coincides with the time in which Lady Sara Kirke would have been managing the business. Women often managed taverns and tippling houses, especially as widows, in order to maintain their husband's property under their own control. Tied with the fact that pipes are found dating to the turn of the eighteenth century, there was most certainly some level of activity in the tavern right up until the time it was destroyed by the French.

The artifact assemblage as a whole affirms its function as a public gathering place and reveals the different activities within it and the roles that it played in the community. It was a place that served alcoholic beverages and likely tobacco and occasional meals. The ceramic and glass artifacts represent the various storage, serving, and food and beverage consumption activities that were the most important function of the tavern. For example, 62% of the ceramic and glass artifacts from the tavern was associated with these uses. The higher presence of serving and storage vessels compared to individual vessels further reinforces its public function in serving alcoholic beverages and simple foods. It should also be considered that alternative vessel types, such as wood or metal were used as serving and consumption vessels but are no longer present in the archaeological record (Clausnitzer 2011:81).

As discussed previously, there is the potential for intrusive material from the three surrounding buildings in the tavern assemblage. By removing the potentially intrusive ceramic material from the vessel analysis, it slightly changed the distribution. This takes some emphasis away from the ceramic food service vessels, taking it from representing 78% to 57% of the food and beverage consumption vessels and from 24% to just 10% of the overall identifiable assemblage. This represents a better balance in consumption vessels that would be expected from the ceramics of a tavern assemblage. There is another possibility that accounts for the vessel numbers. The tavern building could have served as a domestic building or dwelling toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, which would account for some of the vessel percentages. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

In terms of alcohol consumption, it seems likely that the focus was on wine and distilled alcohol, and not on beer. When the glass beverage vessels are compared to the ceramics, it is clear there is more focus on wine consumption and serving. As David Kirke was a wine merchant, it makes sense that his tavern would benefit from the trade relationships he held. This also would be typical in a colony where there were many visiting seamen and shipmasters making high wages and having little to spend it on while in the colony fishing (Pope 1989). One of the only available platforms of conspicuous consumption would be the type of alcohol one could afford.

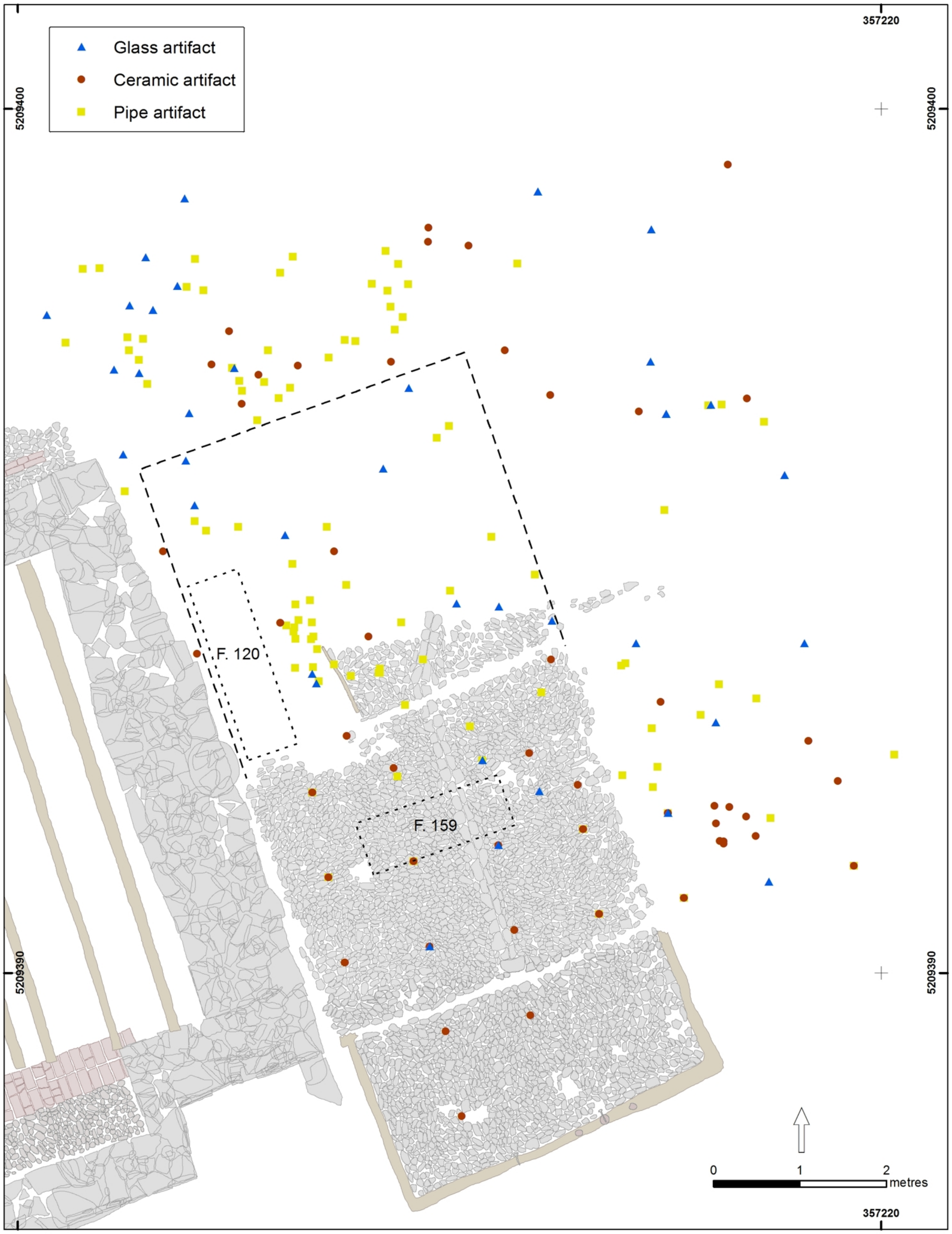

Figure 41: All diagnostic artifacts distributions

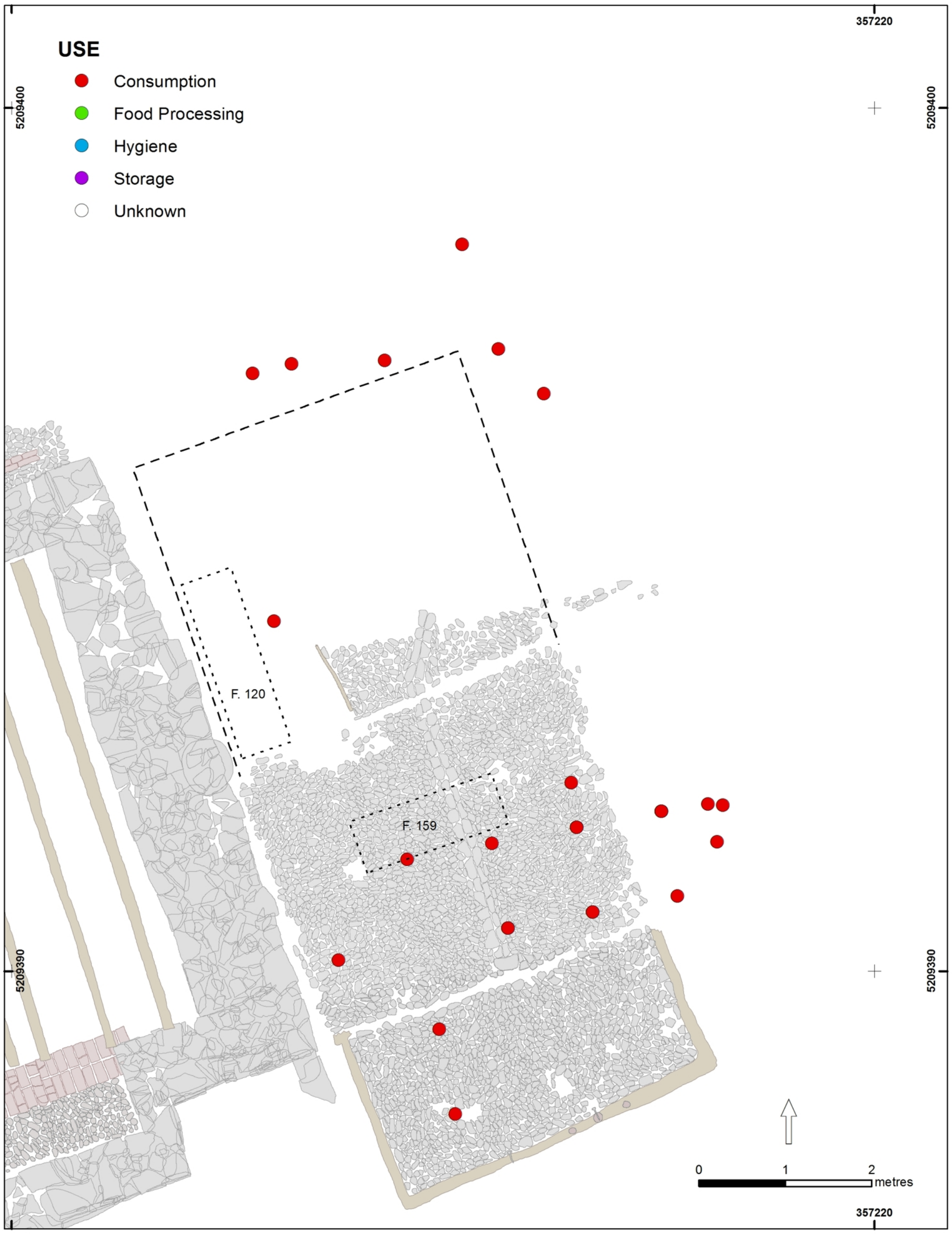

Figure 42: Consumption diagnostic artifacts distribution

By looking at the distribution of the artifact assemblage as a whole a more accurate representation of the structure during occupation and use becomes clear (Figure 41). The distribution of the artifacts across the site helps to reveal specific activity areas that are not visible through structural remains and not mentioned in historical records. These spatial use patterns are crucial to understanding how the tavern functioned during its use life (Figure 42, 43, 44).

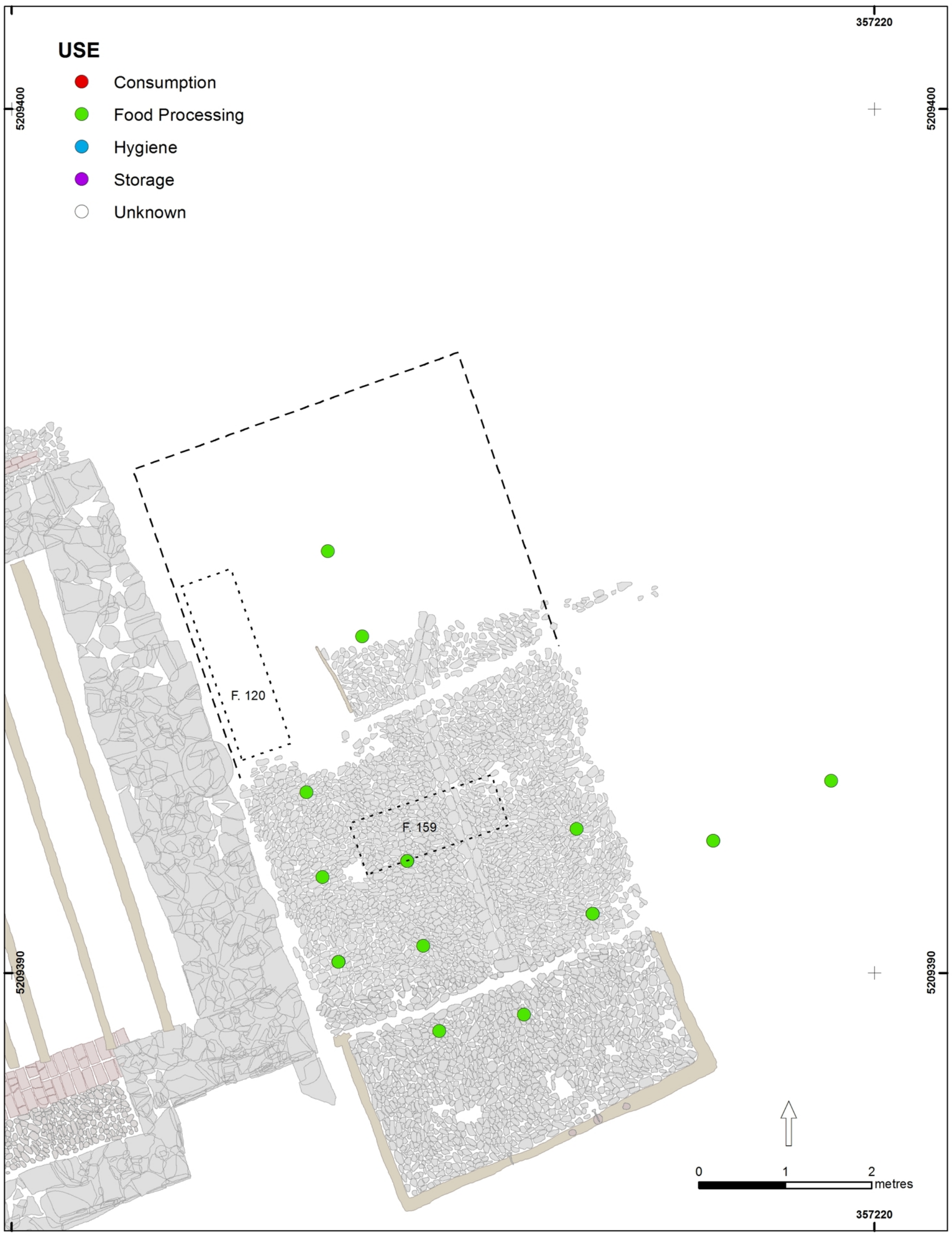

Figure 43: Food processing diagnostic artifacts distribution

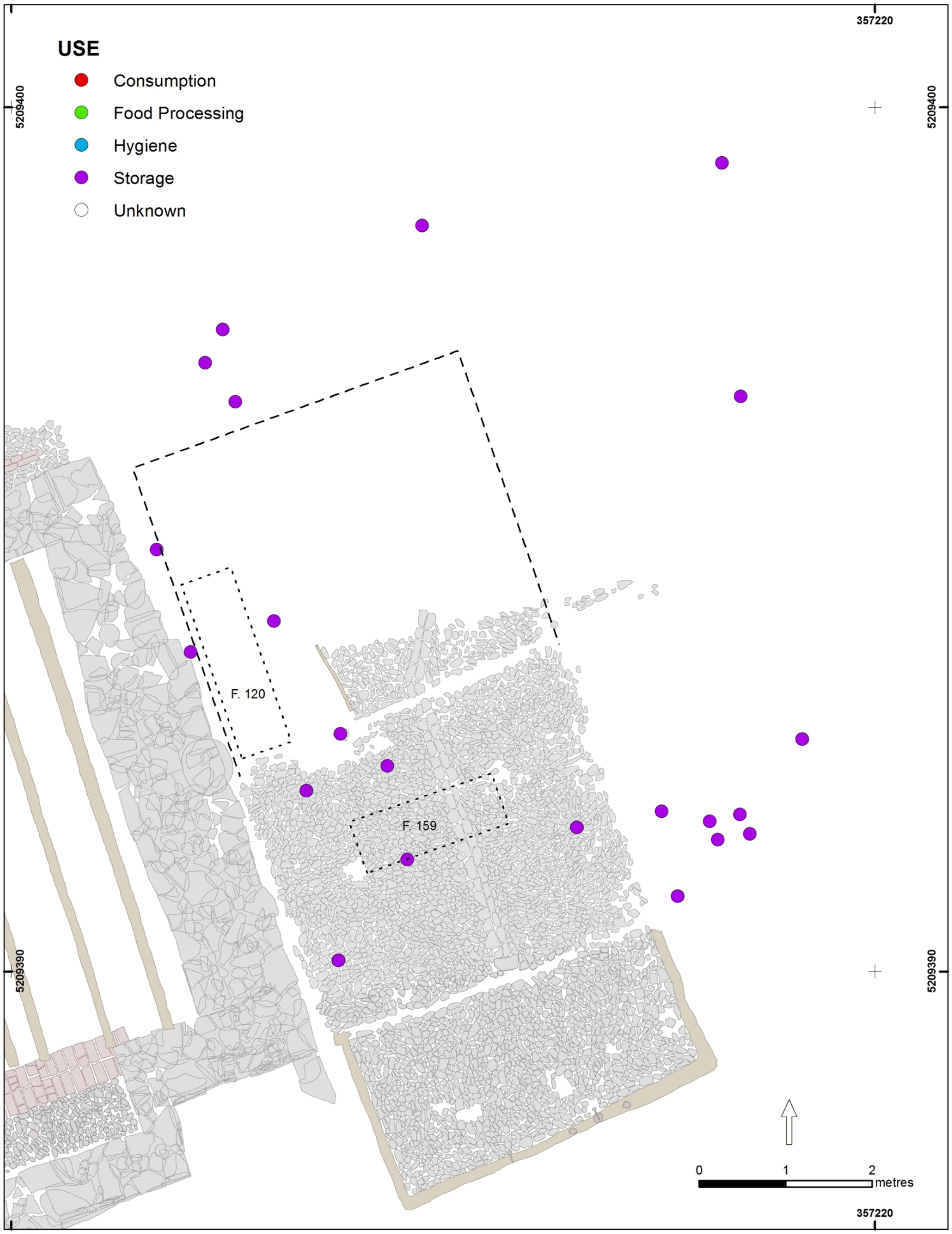

Figure 44: Storage diagnostic artifacts distribution

The central area of the tavern was where the most activity happened, centered on the hearth as well as near Feature 159. The scant artifact clusters from the center area, in combination with the mass of tobacco pipes collected within the hearth itself, suggests that this was the focal point in the room, and the majority of socialization and activity occurred around it.

There is at least one midden associated with the tavern, located outside and to the south of the main entranceway. Middens were typically found outside of doorways, as it was a common location to discard garbage in the seventeenth century. The midden was identified by the large concentration of artifacts, both from the tavern and the neighboring Kirke house. This is further reinforced when looking at the distribution of all artifacts, not just the diagnostic ones.

There is a heavy concentration of ceramic and glass storage vessels in two areas of the tavern: the southern wall behind Feature 159, and in the northwestern corner of the tavern alongside and on the same wall as the hearth. These areas both represent locations where the tavern beverages and other commodities were stored and readily accessed during daily operations. The heavy coarse earthenware are still concentrated in the back, suggesting that this area was where the large storage vessels were kept; the northwestern section is predominately glass storage vessels and lighter earthenware jugs and vessels, which suggests this area was for serving and more accessible for servants.

Many of the copper personal affects are concentrated near the rear wall, including one buckle; 2 buttons and all 10 pins. This suggests more than accidental deposition, and that there was likely a servant residing in the back section of the tavern. The fact that these items were found in close proximity to each other implies this deposition was associated with a specific activity. As previously mentioned, the copper rings likely belong to a curtain that separated living quarters or a storage area in the back of the tavern from the public area at the front of the tavern. As there was also a large concentration of storage vessels in the same area, it is probable a tavern resident was on a second floor above the main tavern floor. Likely, stairs or a ladder was located in this area to access the loft.

By considering both the entirety of the tavern material culture and the structural remains, it is clear that the building erected by the Kirke family was predominantly used as a functioning tavern in the Ferryland colony until its destruction by the French in 1696. The coins help determine that the building was in use until its destruction. That this structure was a tavern and not a tippling house is based on the predominance of ceramic and glass storage, serving and consumption vessels, and the high number of tobacco pipes. However, it also seemed to have functioned as a residence for at least one person. The discovery of clothing items focused in one specific area suggests that someone was living in the back, southern end of the building, or possibly up in the loft on the second floor. This person was potentially managing the building. By turning to the full artifact assemblage and combining it with the structural remains and primary documents, a clearer understanding of its spatial use and the services it provided become better defined. This will aid in a comparative analysis with other contemporaneous buildings in seventeenth-century British North America.

Chapter 7: Comparative Sites

One of the main goals of this research is to compare the Kirke tavern to other synchronous taverns from the seventeenth century. By looking at other examples it should become clearer how the Kirke tavern functioned within the Ferryland settlement, and how it compares to other tavern sites of the same date.

There are six excavated taverns or tippling houses from seventeenth-century British North America with enough archaeological and historical documentation to allow for a valid comparison. The first four examples come from the United States, and date from the mid-to-late-seventeenth century. The final two examples are a seventeenth-century tippling house from Renews, Newfoundland, and a planter's house from Ferryland. These examples will provide a comparison between what was typical in Newfoundland at the time of the Kirke tavern, and how it related to the urban taverns that became more common towards the turn of the century. Comparisons will be drawn from historical records, archaeological analysis and the spatial distribution of the material culture, as well as the structural remains and its placement within the landscape.

7.1 Wellfleet, Massachusetts

The Wellfleet Tavern was first excavated in 1969-70 by Erik Ekholm and James Deetz, and is located on a peninsula near Wellfleet Harbor (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:115). While identified as a tavern and not a tippling house, it comes from a rural setting and so likely offered food and accommodation for boat travellers. The tavern was used by whalers in the late seventeenth century, likely as a waiting spot for the whales to be sighted and then driven to shore (Ekholm and Deetz 1971:53). This is supported by the discovery of large amounts of whalebone in the material culture, granting the tavern the nickname “the Whaler’s Tavern” (Ekholm and Deetz 1971:53,56).

The material culture suggests activity and use patterns congruent with the tippling house or rural tavern. There is a higher instance of diagnostic ceramics associated with food preparation and consumption (69.4%) than beverage consumption (6%), and the inclusion of clay tobacco pipes is far lower than found in contemporaneous tavern assemblages (24.1%).

Based on the artifacts and the location of the Wellfleet Tavern, it more easily fits the description of a tippling house; however, due to its rural location, it is likely that this was a tavern that also had accommodations, rather than a dwelling with an alternative purpose. The fact that there were over 9,000 pipe fragments (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:118) potentially suggests more of a public than domestic use, typical with tippling houses and rural taverns, and the historical documentation supports the idea that this was in fact a facility used almost exclusively by whalers.

7.2 St. Mary’s City, Maryland

St. Mary’s City, Maryland was the colony that the Calvert family founded in 1634, a few years after George Calvert left Ferryland (Miller 2003:225). This colony had two structures within it that are comparable to the Ferryland tavern, the first being Smith’s Ordinary (Miller 2003:245). This structure (Figure 45) was built after “the Plundering Time” in St. Mary’s City, when several episodes of political unrest and civil war led to the interruption of regular activity (Miller 2003:238). Stability returned in 1660, at which time both trade and immigration increased, leading to the need for new public buildings. William Smith began building Smith's Ordinary in 1667, and it was completed in less than a year (Miller 2003:245). However, after a decade of use it was destroyed in a fire, and never rebuilt.

Figure 45: Smith's Ordinary reconstructed (from Miller 2003:247)

A 20 by 30 foot multi-story vernacular structure, Smith's Ordinary contained a smoke hood and hearth, and exhibits cost-effective construction choices, such as the smoke hood and earthfast construction. This was a typical construction style in the Chesapeake. With a comparative artifact assemblage to that of the Wellfleet tavern in Massachusetts and the Kirke tavern in Ferryland, Smith's Ordinary had 34% of its diagnostic artifact collection dedicated to beverage service and 28% of the artifacts associated with food preparation, cooking, and storage. It also had fewer clay tobacco pipes than expected in contemporaneous tavern assemblages, with only 804 compared to over 9000 at the Wellfleet tavern.

Smith's Ordinary is similar in size to the Kirke tavern, and also includes a smoke hood over the hearth, something found in English taverns and tippling houses as well as those found in both Maryland and Ferryland. This type of hearth feature was likely ideal for the purposes of a tavern in North America, as it functioned to heat the room and keep the smoke out.

The second relevant structure at St. Mary's City is the St. John's Inn, located on the northern edge of the town. A one and a half story house, first used as a tobacco plantation, was leased to several innkeepers from 1668 until the 1690s who provided food, accommodations and stabling to visitors of the colony, as well as a domestic space for the innkeeper and family (King 1988). As the colony became more urban, so did the St. John's Inn, and through renovations in the 1670s, was able to create more space to accommodate visitors. It is believed that the inn was operating until approximately 1695 (King 1988:37).

As expected, the St. John's Inn contains both domestic and public-related artifact assemblages. During excavation, middens were uncovered relating to specific occupations, so only the inn occupation deposits will be addressed here. The ceramic vessel forms are typical of what would be expected from a tavern, representing mainly food and beverage storage and beverage consumption vessels (79% of diagnostic ceramic vessels). When the ceramics are compared to the tobacco pipe assemblage, a high ratio of pipes (70% to 30% ceramics) suggests a specialized public function centered on alcohol and socialization in a public space (King 1988:27-31).

Henry Miller (1988) recognized that the town design of St. Mary's City was not unplanned, but rather aligned with a baroque-designed city. The fact that the Smith's Ordinary was centrally positioned and the St. John's site was more on the perimeter of the city further differentiates between their functions. The Smith's Ordinary, dedicated solely to the public function of a tavern, would need to be centrally accessible to the colonists, as it was an important element of the urban landscape.

The St. John's site, however, had both tavern and lodging facilities, and served a more rural function, based on its location and stables, as well as the artifact assemblage (King 1988). It is possible, however, that the St. John's site represents the increasing importance of inns by the end of the century, which began to replace tippling houses within domestic dwellings. This is noticeable not in the types of artifacts uncovered, but the quantities. Inns in the archaeological record would contain very similar material culture to that of a tippling house, however on a larger scale, because of the similar use patterns: as an example, the St, John's Inn had around 9 beds, meaning the material culture would be similar to that of a tippling house, but with more people present inside the building (King 1988:21). The St. John's site had quantifiably more material culture when compared to a tippling house, such as that in Renews.

7.3 Jamestown, Virginia

There were several different taverns and tippling houses in seventeenth-century Jamestown, however for this comparative analysis the most similar to the Ferryland tavern in terms of size and date of construction were chosen. These structures (19A and 19B) were excavated in the 1930s and later analyzed by John Cotter in 1958. They have been identified as taverns based on the artifact assemblages, and date to the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Cotter 1958). Historic documents mention a 'Woodhouse Inn' in Jamestown in 1694; structures 19A and 19B are likely its remains (Cotter 1958:56).

Based on the Jamestown tavern analysis, it is evident that it served as a public structure. This is based on the proportions of the storage and preparation ceramics compared to the pipes in the artifact assemblage. Unlike the rural Wellfleet tavern, the accumulation of pipes was much higher, representing almost an equal percentage to that of the ceramics (43% pipe to 57% ceramic fragments). Its function as a tavern suits its location, for seventeenth-century Jamestown was a more urban location, and resembled something more urban rather than a rural town. As such, it would need several taverns to accommodate the various planters and their social needs.

Both of the Woodhouse Inn structures are centrally located within the colony, further suggesting they were both public taverns and reinforces the importance they had in the colonial urban landscape (Cotter 1958:46,53-7). When their location within the colony is considered with the ratio of artifact types, it becomes clear that this defines them as public taverns.

7.4 Renews, Newfoundland

The Renews tippling house is a comparable example found in Newfoundland (Figure 46). Located on the Mount, on the north shore of the harbor, the Renews house is a seventeenth-century dwelling that dates from approximately1660 to 1680. It was a 14 by 20 foot structure with a gable ended hearth and one entranceway.

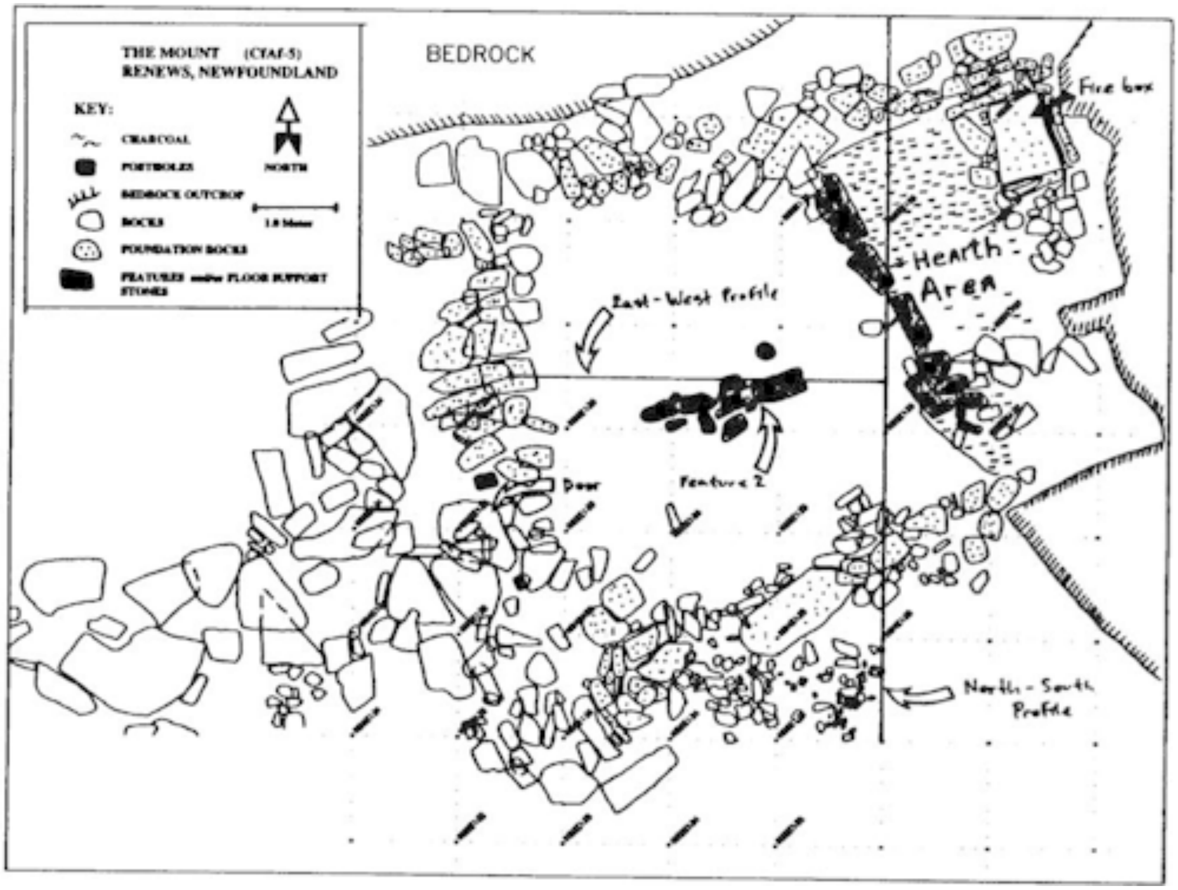

Figure 46: Renews tippling house (Mills 2000:167)

The Renews tippling house hearth was of a typical style to seventeenth-century buildings in Newfoundland, including the large hearth also found in the Ferryland tavern. It occupied one third of the dwelling interior, and was found in association with food preparation and consumption ceramics, smoking pipes, and case bottle glass (Mills 2000:55,65). The combination of both domestic material culture, some of which was associated with the middling sort and the working class, and a high occurrence of serving and consumption vessels and tobacco pipes, suggests that the Renews house was a tippling house, serving a dual purpose in the harbour as both a domestic house and a place for food, potential short term lodging, and alcohol consumption.

In order to compare the Renews pipe assemblage to the Ferryland collection, the pipes were recounted in the same manner as the Ferryland pipes, focusing on the presence of heels as a basis for quantification. This shifted the Renews minimum number of pipes (MNP) counts from 95 to 74. The slight decrease in the MNP is more congruent with what would be expected from a tippling house operated from a domestic dwelling. When compared to the ceramic collection, there seems to be a high inclusion of pipes to ceramics, more congruent with a tavern than a tippling house (39% ceramics to 74% pipes). However the overall size and material culture of the Renews dwelling coupled with its location clearly identifies this as a tippling house.

7.5 Ferryland, Newfoundland

In 2001 Amanda Crompton analyzed the material culture from a seventeenth-century planter's house at Ferryland, Newfoundland in Area D for her M.A. thesis (Figure 47). This timber-framed structure was built in the second half of the seventeenth century, had wooden sills, a large stone fireplace, and glass windows, and based on comparisons to other site structures, had a second story (Crompton 2001:285). The distribution of the artifact assemblage within the dwelling suggests different areas of use despite the lack of internal divisions, one of which is that of a tippling house. It was clear that there was a food service area by the fireplace and several beverage service areas split between the dwelling (Crompton 2001:284).

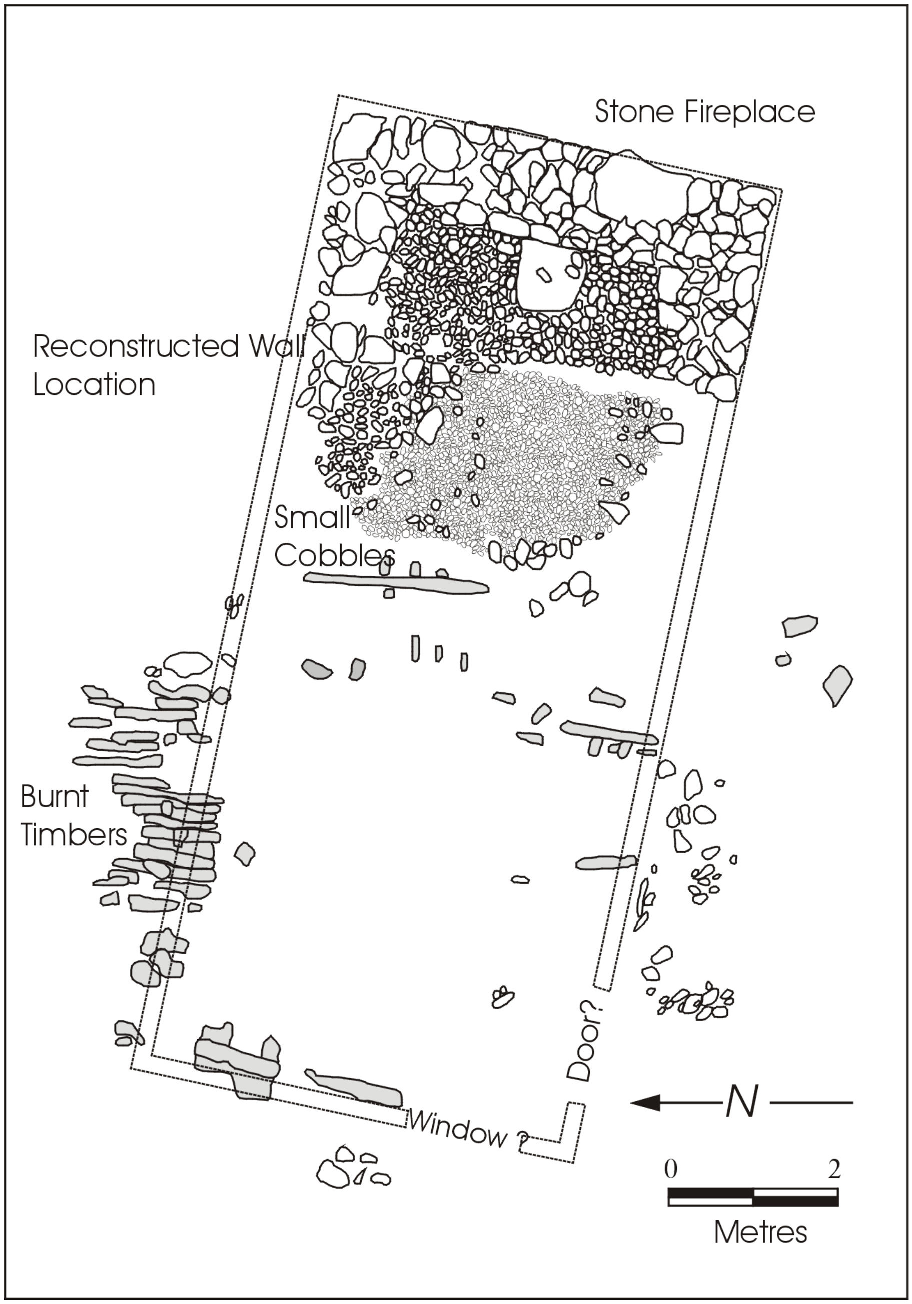

Figure 47: Map of Area D dwelling (courtesy of Amanda Crompton)

Crompton attributed this artifact distribution to that of service areas. The food serving vessels near the fireplace were likely there as part of a service center on a centralized table that would have been easily accessible to servers. The two beverage service areas were split throughout the structure, which would have made them more easily accessible to servers and patrons alike looking for a beverage (Crompton 2001:285).

The collection of artifacts from the Area D dwelling was attributed to those of the middling sort. The ceramic, glass and small finds suggest that the inhabitants lived comfortably, and possessed a small number of luxuries (Crompton 2001:287). While the dwelling was first and foremost a year-round home, Crompton also identified that it would have also operated as a tippling house during the summer months when the population increased with migratory fishermen (Crompton 2001:288). This example of a tippling house in Ferryland provides a great example of the differences between a tippling house and a tavern in the settlement. Of the ceramic assemblage, 60% were associated with the kitchen and cooking, whereas only 38% were associated with food and beverage service (Crompton 2001:146). Based on the beverage and food service percentages between the Area D dwelling and the Kirke tavern (Table 3), it is evident that the Kirke tavern was primarily dedicated to food and beverage service year round, as opposed to a private dwelling that had the secondary function of serving as a tippling house for certain periods of the year.

7.6 Comparison

The importance of a public tavern in a British colony is reflected in their placement within the townscape (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:112). The Jamestown tavern, Maryland taverns, including the Smith's Ordinary, and the Ferryland tavern were all centrally located in the colony. This is similar to urban layouts in England as well, and reiterates the public importance for a secular meeting place. The fact that the

Ferryland tavern is centrally located suggests that this was the most frequented tavern; its close proximity to the harbor would have also increased its revenue and patronage.

Despite the differences, there is much homogeneity between these examples, which become relevant when looking at the Ferryland tavern. This makes them appropriate comparative sites, which suggests that despite regional differences and adaptations, there is a basic function to taverns and tippling houses in British North American colonies.

In terms of the artifact collection from the comparative tavern sites, the buildings can be situated on a gradient scale, running from the rural, domestic centered tippling house to the fully dedicated public tavern. In order to identify a structure as one or the other, the relative frequencies of ceramics and pipes must be considered, and then compared to the rest of the artifact assemblage. It must be kept in mind that deposition, destruction and abandonment all have different effects on the artifacts which are left behind. Where available, historical documentation and comparative site analyses should also be done to further confirm the buildings intended function.

Tippling houses and rural taverns are identified by a higher instance of ceramic vessels related to food preparation, fewer tobacco pipes, and the presence of material culture related to domestic occupation. While inns may also seem to have similar material culture, the difference between them lies in their scale, in terms of the size of the house, and the number of pipes and vessels found within (Table 3).

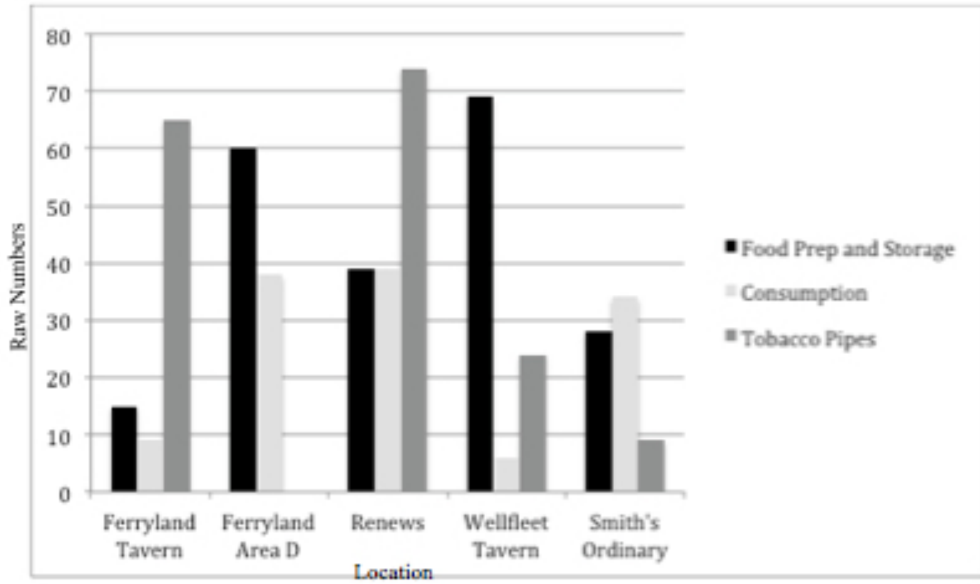

Table 3: Comparative sites chart

Taverns, on the other hand, have high percentages of tobacco pipes and serving and consumption vessels in their assemblages; this is compared to lower instances of personal items. When looking at the clay tobacco pipe and ceramic assemblages from each example it is clear that urban taverns have a higher presence of pipe fragments to ceramic vessels in their collection than the more rural tavern and the tippling house examples. This is most likely due to the fact that taverns were consistently used as a place of drinking and socialization, and they also typically sold tobacco and pipes along with alcohol. When the Ferryland serving and storage vessel types and pipe collection are compared to that of the urban Jamestown tavern, there are definite similarities. This too, however, is case-by-case dependent. As we have seen in the Ferryland tavern, it is likely at least one person resided within.

The Ferryland tavern is clearly a tavern and not a tippling house, based on a comparison between the urban and rural functions of taverns, and the Renews tippling house and Ferryland Area D structure. The high ratio of public to domestic use items as seen in other comparable tavern sites, its location within the colony, and the layout and spatial use analysis of the material culture and features uncovered during excavation all point to a tavern. Its architectural features (including the cobblestone floor, drain and smoke hood) are also important attributes.

Into the eighteenth century the tradition surrounding taverns and tippling houses began to change. With the increase of permanent settlers in the North American colonies stricter social and economic cultural rules began to form. Taverns became dedicated to a specific social standing, and tailored its beverages and foods available according to these rules. Tippling houses became strictly associated with the rural, and urban taverns grew bigger to be taverns or inns, a culmination of the tippling house function in a more prosperous and busy setting (Hume 1969; Smith 2008).

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

The analysis of the Kirke tavern began with the outlining of four specific research goals: 1) to identify all the architectural elements of the structure, including the interior and exterior features; 2) to understand the consumption patterns, clientele, and associated activities within the tavern through the material culture; 3) to compare the Ferryland tavern to other British North American colonies; and 4) to relate this to the Kirke's business operations as a whole.

Structure

Based on archaeological excavation the Kirke tavern was 12 feet wide by 30 feet long (3.66 x 9.14m), with a surface drain on the cobblestone floor and a large hearth with a smoke hood centrally located on the west wall. It was a timber-framed earthfast structure with a northeastern door, a second level (possibly a half or full story), and glazed windows. The walls and the roof were likely covered in clapboard or wooden shingles, due to the nature of the resources available in Newfoundland and the large number of nails found associated with the tavern. The construction process was vernacular and cost-effective, and with the available resources would have been finished as quickly as possible to make the tavern operable. The Ferryland tavern also has features common to many seventeenth-century buildings in colonial North America, including a central hearth with an open activity area and a smoke hood, functional for smoke protection but not capable of supporting regular food preparation vessels, similar to the Smith's Ordinary. This was typical for domestic buildings in the Chesapeake as well.

The hearth size found in the Kirke tavern, Renews tippling house and the Area D tippling house suggests that the need for a large hearth in a publicly used structure was necessary for a Newfoundland context. The weather was cold for long periods of the year, and heating a structure from only one hearth would have been difficult. The structure of the Kirke tavern hearth did not allow for extensive food preparation, and so food would have either been prepared elsewhere, or a simple pot or cauldron would have been placed within the hearth. The construction of the structure itself also speaks to its use. A cobblestone floor is common in buildings with non-domestic functions, as seen in the stable, cowhouse and brewhouse/bakery at Ferryland. This is also evident in the lack of cobblestone flooring in domestic spaces at Ferryland, such as the Kirke house, mansion house, and the dwellings at Areas B and D.

Taverns were an important social center in the seventeenth century, most easily recognized by their placement and organization within the settlement. Taverns were centrally located and accessible to all, usually occupying a prominent place in the center of town. This phenomenon is recognized in both England and the British colonies (Miller 1988; Smith 2008). The Jamestown tavern and the St. Mary's City ordinary are both centrally located within the colony, and the Ferryland tavern shares a similar place in the landscape. Colonies with multiple taverns typically had different social connotations: specific buildings for specific people in a cultural group, consuming socially specific things. Typically, the wealthy and middling sort had access to wine, distilled spirits and beer, while the poor were limited to the cheaper beers and ales (Smith 2008:61,75).

Chronology

Based on historical documentation and material culture, the Kirke tavern was used primarily during the second half of the seventeenth century. The historical documents that describe the tavern activity and the detriment it caused within the colony do not date any earlier than 1667, but refer back to activities that took place when David Kirke was present at Ferryland. The artifact assemblage also helps to determine the timeline of occupation for the tavern. The glass wine bottle forms date after 1650; the clay tobacco pipe collection also date primarily to the second half of the century. The currency discovered on the tavern floor reveals that the tavern (or in the very least the building) was operational at least until 1695, and was most likely open until its destruction by the French in 1696. This in combination with the structural similarities to the Kirke house further reinforces its construction date shortly after the 1638 arrival of the Kirke family. As such, this structure is one of the earliest examples of a public tavern so far excavated in colonial North America.

Consumption Patterns

The artifact assemblage from the Ferryland tavern is reminiscent of both a rural and urban tavern assemblage (Rockman and Rothschild 1984). There is a substantial amount of food preparation, food and beverage consumption vessels, and various storage vessels in the assemblage, similar to what is expected from the rural tavern;

there is also historical documentation that reveals the Kirke tavern "did draw and keep ship masters, fishermen, and others from their fishing employments" (Cruse 1667). This, coupled with the high numbers of clay pipes and both glass and ceramic serving and consumption vessels means it was also serving the general public, reminiscent of an urban tavern, but Ferryland lacked the urban environment to support other taverns. It did however support many tippling houses, as shown by the licenses issued by David Kirke, including the presence of a later seventeenth-century tippling house (at Area D) at Ferryland. The analysis of this artifact collection is, however, based largely on what was found inside the tavern. Without a large undisturbed midden, much of the material culture associated with the tavern is no longer available. Therefore, the analysis is based on a segment of the material culture, in association with the architectural remains. It should be noted however that during the excavation of the Kirke house (Gaulton 2006:120-22) artifacts were found on the cobblestones outside of the proposed entrance to the tavern, including stoneware bottles, jugs and half a mug, glass wine bottles, and numerous pipe bowls. Due to the fact that the majority of the cobblestone was disturbed in the twentieth century while a well was being installed, these very obvious tavern associated artifacts do lend some support to the location of one possible associated midden.

The Kirke tavern is more representative of what would have been common in an urban settlement in colonial North America, where these buildings are reminiscent of a combination of both rural and urban taverns (Rice 1983). This could be a reflection of the shift taverns underwent as they changed from English to colonial American contexts. The early North American settlement period was a time of transition. Taverns would have been one representation of conspicuous consumption reflecting socioeconomic standings. When the early colonies were established these standings would have changed, as Old World social status distinctions would have been harder to enforce than before in England (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:119).

The architectural and artifactual remains associated with the Kirke tavern could also reflect the rapid growth and importance of the Ferryland colony under Sir David Kirke. This explains why the Kirke tavern was in fact a separate building from the house, and not one run from the Kirke family dwelling. It was also common for the tavern keeper, representative of an occupation reliant on commerce, to both work and live in the building, typically in the loft or second floor (Rice 1983; Smith 2008:68). This is consistent with the presence of lower and middling sort personal effects in the artifact assemblage behind Feature 159, as well as the assumption that there was a second floor to the structure.

The presence of only coarse earthenware drinking vessels reveals that David Kirke and the patrons of the Ferryland tavern did not often drink from delicate or expensive ceramics like porcelains. The inclusion of these materials within the tavern assemblage are either from the Kirke house to the east, which shared a midden and was excavated simultaneously, or from the use of the building as a domestic space (Gaulton 2006:209). Likewise the small occurrence of stoneware shows that they were most likely reserved for storage and serving, and therefore served a more communal purpose, which is reflected in the artifact assemblage.

The limited porcelain fragments could raise the possibility that porcelain and decorative wine glasses may be indicative of some of the tavern clientele. It creates a colorful image of ship captains, merchants and Sir David Kirke, sharing a drink from their porcelain cups and fancy glasswares at the taverns: maybe even a private area near the front of the tavern. This also reflects the idea that innovative consumption, driven by the merchants and sea captains who passed through the colony, was something that affected societal organization (Pendery 1992: 64).

The large number of clay tobacco pipes clearly shows there was a prolific amount of smoking in the building. Based on the several decades of use, the public nature of the building, and the relationship between alcohol and tobacco it is expected for there to be a high number of pipes present in the assemblage. This most likely represents the sale of tobacco and pipes in conjunction with alcohol, as was common in other colonial taverns in British North America (Smith 2008). It would have also encouraged patrons to linger longer, consume more alcohol and spend more money, all while socializing and playing games (Flower 2006:24).

One interesting element of the Ferryland tavern artifact assemblage is the high concentration of glass and ceramic artifacts associated with wine consumption when compared to other contemporaneous taverns in British North America. The ratio of glass storage vessels (24 vessels) to ceramic storage and beverage consumption vessels (23 vessels) suggests that there was an equal presence and consumption of both wine and distilled alcohols to beers and ales. Typically in the seventeenth century, beer and ale were commonly consumed by all customers, while wine was deemed as more of a luxury item for mass consumption. It has been suggested that fishermen in the North Atlantic region were consuming higher percentages of luxury beverages because it was one of the few items available for them to spend their wages on (Leskovec 2007:213).

This could, however, also be an effect of innovative consumption changing the ways in which societal hierarchy was expressed in the colony to that which was traditional in England at the time and when the colonists first left Europe (Pendery 1992).

One would expect to see a higher percentage of beer and ales in a rural tavern, however the opposite seems to be true in Ferryland. The high percentage of wines and alcohols like brandy and rum is due to the presence of many merchants trading cod for wine (Pope 2004:93). When taken into consideration with the rest of the ceramic storage, consumption and serving vessels, it also shows how prevalent expensive alcohols were in the colony: 55% of the beverage storage, serving and consumption vessels were glass.

Activity Areas

By considering the layout of the tavern features and the artifact assemblage, activity areas can be identified and then compared to those within other taverns and tippling houses in the seventeenth century. The storage, serving and consumption vessels were readily available to serve patrons of the Kirke tavern. There was a storage area near the back wall behind Feature 159, based on the high quantities of coarse earthenware sherds in this location. There was also a probable storage area for serving and consumption vessels in the northwest corner near the hearth as the majority of wine bottles, as well as the smaller ceramic pots and jars, were found here. This could have been something as simple as a piece of furniture (like a table or a cabinet), which housed some of the serving and consumption vessels. Having some vessels out in the open and not behind in a dedicated/restricted storage area would make some vessels more easily and quickly accessible to servants or patrons. This layout is very similar to the tippling house in Area D of the Ferryland colony, which had a central food service area near the fireplace and two beverage service areas split within the structure to make everything easily accessible (Crompton 2001).

The Kirke tavern was also a center for socialization and relaxation. The large number of pipe fragments and some drinking vessels around the hearth suggests that the hearth provided a central gathering place for patrons, to socialize and relax, which is paralleled with the Renews tippling house. Taverns have also been known to function as meeting rooms, as they were one of the only secular public buildings in a seventeenth-century colony. This was a known use of the St. John's Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland (King 1988:20). While not found within the Ferryland tavern context, some taverns include gaming pieces within their assemblages, and so it is possible that games were also played while men drank, spoke about politics, laughed and relaxed after a long day. A pewter die was found in Ferryland, as well as a bone die on nearby Bouys Island, demonstrating the presence of gaming in the settlement (Flower 2006:27).

One final use of the tavern was that of a permanent or semi-permanent residence for a manager or servant(s). The Ferryland tavern revealed various personal items within its assemblage, both of the middling sort and the poorer sort. What is interesting about its distribution across the site is that the copper items are all grouped in the rear of the tavern, behind the proposed dividing wall. This fits the idea that there was an upper floor at least partially dedicated for sleeping or living quarters. This is similar to the Jamestown tavern and the St. John's site, which also accommodated the domestic needs of the proprietors.

It should be considered whether or not the tavern continued to function as such after the departure and death of Sir David Kirke. Based on the artifact assemblage, there is a strong presence of personal items as well as food preparation and storage ceramics amongst the serving vessels. This was earlier interpreted as the possibility that a servant or manager lived in the tavern while it was being used, and was probably the continued case after the death of Sir David Kirke. Lady Sara Kirke took over control of the family business after his death, and likely intended to continue to run the building in the same manner as her husband. Wives of merchants frequently assisted their husbands with their businesses, including keeping accounts while they were absent or managing the household, and so Lady Sara would have already been acclimatized to the business of her husband before his death (Sexty 2000:2). She remained single and never remarried, which adds to the idea that she meant to maintain control of the family enterprise in Newfoundland. As a widow she had all rights to his property and enterprise: if she ever remairried, they would be handed over to her new husband (Sexty 2000:5).

The fact that, after the death of Sir David Kirke, Lady Sara Kirke continued the proprietorship of the tavern as a public space (as evident through the artifact analysis and distribution) seems highly likely, and that it was a male-dominated profession at the time, shows her resolve to continue operating the tavern at least in some capacity. She had the opportunity to remarry or go back to England, but made the conscious decision to stay in Newfoundland. Other women in her family had also made conscious decisions to lead households and even participate in merchant activity upon the death of their husbands, and census records showed that Lady Sara Kirke successfully managed the estate that she was now responsible for, increased the number of boats in the colony, and was even listed as a planter in 1676 independently of her sons (Sexty 2000:5).

This being said, the capacity at which the tavern was used still remains completely clear, with the artifact analysis seeming to point to a shift in function to one slightly more mixed with domestic and public use, which could be tied to the changing needs of the colony, economic turmoil, or a shift in managerial approach.

Clientele

In seventeenth-century colonial North America there were three social groups: gentry, planters and servants (both skilled and unskilled). However, because of the relative transience of the population throughout the fishing season, and the early stages of its social development, these social group lines did not become more formally established and recognized in Ferryland until later in the eighteenth century (Leskovec 2007:8). In the seventeenth century, there was a heavy presence of merchants, mariners, and ship captains throughout periods of the year, many of whom left for the winter months, greatly affecting both the population and the diversification of the social hierarchy. This is also reflected in the lack of diversification of alcohol consumption or patronage at the tavern in the seventeenth century. This is not typical of other comparable North American taverns in the seventeenth century. Typically, there were several taverns within the settlement, each associated with different social groups that served different beverages. This difference is likely due to the size of the colony. Ferryland did not have a large and stable population like that of Jamestown or St. Mary's City, and so did not need the support of several dedicated taverns to accommodate the population. Furthermore, the tavern was not the only licensed building for serving alcohol.

The Ferryland tavern served more wine than any other comparable drinking establishment, likely because David Kirke was a wine merchant and the fisherman had few other commodities to spend their money. Expensive alcohol and tobacco was therefore a popular luxury. It is likely then, that the Kirke tavern was patroned by all.

The presence of women in taverns is still not fully understood, in terms of their role and their acceptance within a male-dominated structure. While women managed and served in taverns and tippling houses, it is unlikely that they were patrons, as there is both little artifactual or historic proof that they were accepted as customers (Tlusty 1997; Murdock 1998). Historical and archaeological evidence further suggests that women were consuming alcohol in the privacy of the home while men were in public places. This could account for some of the alcohol-related artifacts in a domestic dwelling that is not thought to have also been a tavern or tippling house (Smith 2008:73-4).

While there is no archaeological evidence of women as patrons in the Kirke tavern, Lady Sara Kirke continued to be the proprietor of the plantation after Sir David Kirke was called back to London for legal issues. Even after his death in 1654, she was most likely in charge of the colony up until her own ‘retirement’ in the last half of the 1670s (Pope 2004:408).

Kirke Economics

The artifacts from the Kirke tavern highlight specific trading relationships within the colony. The majority of import and export was done through the service of sack ships, which moved between colonial North America, Portugal, Spain, and London (Pope 2004), as well as migratory fishing ships in the area.

There are several historical shipping lists which detail the fishing ships travelling to and from Ferryland harbor; these included where the ships originated from, the name of the shipmaster, and what they were carrying. The most common ports of origin include North Devon, Bristol, and Plymouth; Bordeaux and Lisbon are also common European harbors that are represented on these manifests (Berry 1675; Wyborn 1676a, 1676b, 1676c). Many of these ships carried quantities of wine, brandy, rum and tobacco, as well as grains such as barley and wheat. Those vessels traveling from Ferryland harbor across the Atlantic were carrying large quantities of dried codfish. There is also evidence of colonial trading; David Kirke had mentioned in letters relationships with "our next neighbouring plantation [Massachusetts Bay]" (Kirke 1639).

David Kirke was shipping Madeira and Canary wine back to England, along with Virginian tobacco and other consumables (Kirke 1648). The presence of large transportation ceramic vessels in the tavern as well as case bottles, which were the same that would have been associated with rum and brandy, indicates that these were also being consumed within the colony. As a wine merchant who both imported and exported goods, and ran a tavern in a busy port colony, it is not surprising that Kirke was providing his tavern with the same type of wares he was transporting trans-continentally.

Kirke took every advantage to increase the prosperity of his colony. He encouraged fisherman to stay for the winter (Cull 1667), putting both lodging and tavern money into his own pocket. Kirke and his ‘favorites’ would have access to the optimal fishing stages, and controlled which fisherman took which berth, a change from the ‘first come first served’ tradition before his proprietorship (Cull 1667). This behaviour “entice[d] many seamen to spend their voyages, whereby they are engaged to remain there, to the utter ruin of their families at home, merely upon the assurance of having a choice fishing place the next ensuing season” (Cull 1667). Some fishermen even claimed that Kirke would take their fishing stage by force if it suited him (Pitcher 1667). This sometimes caused the fishing season to carry on longer than usual, increasing Kirke’s income from supplies, permits and rent. Depositions from 1667 show that there were little resources in Newfoundland, so the inhabitants were forced to obtain “their supply from the fishing ships and others that come there yearly” (Cruse 1667).

The many taverns and tippling houses Kirke had issued licenses for, and consequently made money from through supplying them with alcohol, tobacco and charging licensing fees, were frequented often by those who did not remain in the colony year round: they were away from their families with disposable income and little to do. Some saw this as a practice that kept fishermen from returning home, as they had huge debts to repay at the taverns before they could return to their families. The monopoly that Kirke held on certain commodities, especially alcohol, allowed him to charge for goods at an inflated price. He used the contacts he already possessed through his successful mercantile ventures to further expand the hold he had in the trade market, by monopolizing those relationships as well (Pope 2004; Gaulton 2006:184).

It is possible that with a change in proprietorship the function of the tavern changed to a more domestic one as well. With Sir David Kirke gone, his economic goals would no longer be the driving force behind the success of the colony, and so the need to support a fully dedicated tavern might not have been ideal for Lady Sara Kirke and her sons. As stated before, there is a strong presence of personal items as well as food preparation and storage ceramics amongst the serving vessels, which could potentially point to a shift in function of the structure from that of a tavern to one of a domestic dwelling at some point in the seventeenth century.

It is clear, through the historical documentation, structural remains and the archaeological analysis, that David Kirke was a man who was focused on economic gain. He used building techniques that were cost effective, manipulated the fishing berths to his advantage, and controlled the entirety of the alcohol licensing and importation for the Ferryland settlement. He held fast onto a colony that he legally did not own after a 1651 legal conflict with the Calvert family; even after his death in 1654, his family remained at Ferryland until its destruction in 1696.

Conclusions

The Kirke tavern is an important addition to the current knowledge surrounding seventeenth-century colonial taverns in British North America, and specifically the overall development and operation of the Kirkes Pool Plantation at Ferryland.

Excavations in Area F revealed a tavern constructed by the Kirke family during the 1640s, not long after their arrival in 1638. A structure measuring 12 feet by 30 feet (3.66 x 9.14m), it was either an open one room structure, or two rooms with a partition, and either a partial or whole second floor. It was directly adjacent to the Kirke house, separated by a 3 foot wide cobblestone walkway/alleyway. The Kirke tavern was constructed directly over the Calvert-era stable, it had a cobblestone floor, a central hearth, and either another later hearth or a dividing wall near the exterior of the tavern. The entranceway was near the northeast corner of the tavern, the closest point to the main Ferryland street. Both the presence of a cobblestone pavement and the type and placement of its fireplace suggests that at the time of construction the function was intended to be non-domestic in nature.

Archaeological research suggests an occupation from c.1640 until the destruction of the Ferryland settlement in 1696. The artifact assemblage further suggests that the building was most actively used during the 1660 to 1680 time period. This tells us that the activities at the tavern were at their peak during this time, likely due to increased traffic across the seas and trade within the colony and surrounding areas.

The artifact assemblage suggests that the tavern served both domestic and public functions, most likely functioning as an urban style tavern, which also served small and simple meals and housed a servant or manager within the same structure. The ceramic and glass storage and consumption assemblages reflect the public aspect of beverage consumption; the large quantities of tobacco pipes reflect the social nature of the structure and the importance of public interaction. Similar to the function of a rural tavern, the food preparation ceramics and personal items reflect the more domestic function of the Kirke tavern, signifying the duality of its use between the rural and urban usage. It is also possible that the structure's function changed sometime after the death of Sir David Kirke to include domestic activities, potentially serving as a tippling house.

In contrast to other seventeenth-century taverns in British North America, the patrons of the Kirke tavern were more inclined to consume expensive wines and spirits than their counterparts in other colonies. This is likely due to the fact that David Kirke was an affluent wine merchant, and so was moving lots of product through the colony. The limited resources for goods acquisition in the colony at the time led to different consumption patterns of alcoholic beverages than typically expected, as the tavern was one of the few places for migratory fishermen to spend their wages. In the future, comparative research between the Kirke tavern and the eighteenth-century tippling house at Ferryland, Area E (Leskovec 2007) would provide insight into the similarities and differences between their operations and activities.

The majority of the material culture from the Kirke tavern comes from England, both in Bristol and North Devon, which coincides with the known frequency of West Country sack ships and fishing ships travelling to Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. The few ceramic vessels from other contexts are typical in the trade system that existed in the seventeenth century between London, Portugal, France and Spain, and Newfoundland. This helped support the relationships David Kirke was known to have and how he managed to maintain and grow his colony in British North America. Even after his death in 1654, his wife and family continued to thrive in Ferryland until its destruction in 1696. Despite the damage caused by the French raid, Ferryland was rebuilt and continues to be an active fishing community.

References Cited

Primary Sources

Berry, Sir John

1675 *extract from "A List of ships making Fishing voyages; with Boatkeepers…"* 12 September 1675. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Buckley, Joseph

1693 *extract from "Ledger 1693"* 1693. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Cruse, Thomas

1667 *Deposition [taken at Totnes, before commissioners appointed by the Privy Council]* 27 November, 1667. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Cull, John

1667 *Deposition [taken at Totnes, before commissioners appointed by the Privy Council]* 27 November, 1667. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Kirke, David

1639 *[Sir] David Kirke Letter to Archbishop Laud [from Ferryland]* October 2, 1639. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

1648 *David Kirke and Nicholas Shapley Invoice of Goods shipped aboard the DAVID of Ferryland* September 8 1648. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Kirke, Sara

1660 *[Lady] Sara Kirke Letter to Charles II [from Ferryland]* 1660. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726; a textbase including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Pitcher, Thomas

1667 *Deposition [taken at Totnes, before commissioners appointed by the Privy Council]* 27 November, 1667. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Pratt, James
1652 *Examination [in Baltimore vs. David Kirke]* 12 March, 1652. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Wyborn, John
1676a *"An Account of the Sack Ships Trading to Newfoundland between Trepassey and Bay Bulls, 1676"* 7 December, 1676. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

1676b *"An Account of the Sack Ships Trading to Newfoundland between Trepassey and Bay Bulls, 1676"* 7 December, 1676. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

1676c *"From Bonavista to Trepassey, the Names of the English Inhabitants, with the Number of Boats and Men, and their Wives and Children"* 7 December, 1676. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993.

Wynne, Edward
1622 "*Letter to George Calvert [from Ferryland]*" 17 August, 1622. In *Documents relating to Ferryland 1597 to 1726: a textbase, including original transcriptions* by Peter Pope, 1993

Secondary Sources

Allan, John
2006 The Excavation of a Brewhouse at Buckland Abby in 2005. *Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings* No. 64:241-265.

Atkinson, David R. and Adrian Oswald
1969 *London Clay Tobacco Pipes*. The Association: London.

Avery, Paul G.
2002 *How Many 9-Penny Nails Can You Buy for a Dollar?: Using Wire Nails as a Dating Tool for Historic Sites*. Paper presented at the Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Mobile: AL.

Barley, M.
1961 *The English Farmhouse and Cottage.* Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.

Beaudry, Mary C., Janet Long, Henry M. Miller, Fraser Neiman, Gary Wheeler Stone
1983 A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System. *Historical Archaeology* 17(1):18-43.

Bennett, Judith
1996 *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters*. Oxford University Press: London.

Berry, Paul
2002 Numismatics of Ferryland. *Avalon Chronicles 7.* Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Bickerton, L.M.
1996 *English Drinking Glasses 1675-1825*. Shire Publications Ltd.: Buckinghamshire.

Binford, Lewis
1961 A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Samples. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter* 9(1):19-21.

Bradley, Charles S.
2000 Smoking Pipes for the Archaeologist. *Studies in Material Culture Research*, Karlis Karlins, editor, 104-134, The Society for Historical Archaeology, California, PA.

Brandon, Nicole
2006 *Rhenish, English and French Stoneware, 1550-1800, from the Ferryland Site (CgAf-2), Newfoundland and Labrador.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.

Brunskill, R.W.
1997 *Houses and Cottages of Britain: Origins and Development of Traditional Domestic Buildings.* Victor Gollancz in association with Peter Crawley: Great Britain.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone and Dell Upton
1981 Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies. *Winterthur Portfolio* 16:135-196.

Cell, Gillian T.
1969 *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660.* University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

1982 *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonization, 1610-1630*. The Hakluyt Society: London.

Charleston, R. J.
1984 *English Glass and the Glass Used in England, circa 400-1940*. Allen and Unwin: London.

Churchill, E.A.
1984 A most ordinary lot of men: The fishermen at Richmond Island. Maine, in the early seventeenth century. *The New England Quarterly (June)*, pp.184-204.

Clark, Peter
1983 *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830*. Longman Group Limited: London.

Clausnitzer, Arthur
2011 *"As well as any beere": The Seventeenth-Century Brewhouse and Bakery at Ferryland,Newfoundland*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.

Cotter, John L.
1958 *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia.* Archaeological Research Series no. 4. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service.

Crompton, Amanda
2000 A Planter's House at Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Avalon Chronicles* 5. Colony of Avalon Foundation.

2001 *A 17th-Century Planter's House at Ferryland, Newfoundland (CgAf-2, Area D).* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.

Deetz, James
1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life.*

Demos, John
1970 *A Little Commonwealth, Family Life in Plymouth Colony.* Oxford University Press: London.

Eckholm, Erik and James Deetz
1971 Wellfleet Tavern. *Natural History* 80(7):49-56.

Faulkner, Alaric and Gretchen F. Faulkner
1987 *The French at Pentagoet 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier.* The Maine Historic Preservation Commision. Augusta: Maine.

Flower, Abbey
2006 *All Work and No Play?: An Archaeological Analysis of Simple Pastimes in Early Modern Newfoundland.* Honour's Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

Gaulton, Barry
1997 *Seventeenth-Century Stone Construction at Ferryland, Newfoundland (Area C).* Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

1999 Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Marked Clay Tobacco Pipes from Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Avalon Chronicles 4.* Colony of Avalon Foundation.

2006 *The Archaeology of Gentry Life in Seventeenth-Century Ferryland*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

2013 The Commercial Development of Newfoundland's English Shore: The Kirke Family at Ferryland, 1638-96. *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands.* The Boydell Press: Woodbridge.

Gaulton, Barry and Cathy Mathias
1998 Portuguese Terra Sigillata Earthenware Discovered at a 17th –Century Colonial Site in Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Avalon Chronicles 3*. Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Gaulton, Barry and James A. Tuck
2003 The Archaeology of Ferryland, Newfoundland until 1696. *Avalon Chronicles 8.* Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Harrington, J.C.
1954 Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Clay Tobacco Pipes. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* 5(4):10-14.

Henry, Susan L.
1991 Consumers, Commodities, and Choices: A General Model of Consumer Behavior. *Historical Archaeology* 25(2):3-14.

Howley, M.F.
1979 *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland.* Mika Publishing Company: Belleville, ON.

Hurst, John G, David S. Neal, and HJ.E. van Beuningen
1986 *Rotterdam Papers VI. A contribution to medieval archaeology. Pottery produced and traded in north-west Europe 1350-1650.* Museum Boymans-van Beuningem, Rotterdam: Netherlands.

Jones, Olive R.
1986 *Cylindrical English Wine and Beer Bottles 1735-1850.* National Historic Parks and Sites Branch: Ottawa.

Kelso, William M.
1984 *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia.* Academic Press: Orlando.

King, Julia
1988 A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 22(1):17-39.\

Lawrence, S.
1979 York pipes and their makers. In *The archaeology of the clay tobacco pipe: I Britain: the Midlands and Eastern England,* edited by Peter Davey, pp.67-84. BAR British Series 63: Oxford.

Leskovec, Barbara
2007 *A Rural Drinking Establishment in Ferryland: Life in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Memorial University.

McGovern, Patrick, Anne P. Underhill, Hui Fang, Fengshi Lang, Gretchen Hall, et al.
2005 Chemical Identifications and Cultural Implications of a Mixed Fermented Beverage from Late Prehistoric China. *Asian Perspectives* 44; 249-75.

Miller, Henry M.
1988 Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake. *Historical Archaeology* 22(2):57-73.

1991 Tobacco pipes from Pope's Fort, St. Mary's City, Maryland: an English Civil War site on the American frontier. In *The archaeology of the clay tobacco pipe: XII. Chesapeake bay,* edited by Peter Davey and Dennis J. Pogue, pp. 73-88. BAR International Series 566: Oxford.

2003 Lord Baltimore's Colony of Maryland and its Capital of St. Mary's City 1634-1695. *Avalon Chronicles 8.* Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Miller, Aaron
2005 *The Far East in the Northeast: An Analysis of the Chinese Export Porcelain Excavated at Ferryland, Newfoundland.* Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.

Miller, Aaron F., John D. Krugler, Barry C. Gaulton, James I. Lyttleton
2011 "Over Shoes Over Boots": Lord Baltimore's final days in Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Journal of Early American History* 1:1-16.

Mills, Stephen
2000 *Seventeenth-Century Life in Renews, Newfoundland: Archaeological Analysis of an English West Country Planter's House*. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

Murdock, Catherine Gilbert
1998 *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940.* John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Newstead, Sarah
2008 *Merida No More: Portuguese Redware in Newfoundland.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

Nixon, Douglas A.
1999 *A 17th-Century House at Ferryland, Newfoundland (CgAf-2, Area B).* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University.

Noel Hume, Ivor
1969 *Archaeology and Wetherburn's Tavern*. Colonial Williamsburg: Williamsburg, VA.

1970 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America.* Knopf: New York.

Oswald, Adrian
1975 *Clay Pipes For The Archaeologist*. British Archaeological Reports: London.

Pendery, Steven R.
1986 Artisans and Merchants in Colonial Charlestown, Massachusetts. *Archaeology* 39(3):64-77.

1992 Consumer Behavior in Colonial Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1630-1760. *Historical Archaeology* 26(3):57- 72

Pope, Peter E.
1986 *Ceramics from Seventeenth Century Ferryland, Newfoundland*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

1989 Historical Archaeology and the Demand for Alcohol in 17th century Newfoundland. *Acadiensis* 19(1):72-90.

1993 *Documents Relating to Ferryland 1597-1726.* Report on file at the Archaeology Unit, Memorial University: St. John's.

1998 Baltimore vs. Kirke: Newfoundland evidence in an Interregnum lawsuit. *Avalon Chronicles* 5:49-98.

2004 *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*. University of North Carolina Press: Virginia.

Rice, Kym S.
1983 *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers.* Regnery Gateway: Chicago.

Rockman, Diana and Nan A. Rothschild
1984 City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites. *Historical Archaeology* 18(2):112-121.

Salinger, Sharon V
2002 *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*. Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Sambrook, Pamela
1996 *Country House Brewing in England, 1500-1900.* The Hambledon Press: Rio Grande OH.

Sexty, Robert
2000 *Lady Sara Kirke: Canada's First Female Entrepreneur or One of Many?* ASAC-IFSAM 2000 Conference, Montreal: Quebec.

Sim, Alison
1997 *Food and Feast in Tudor England.* St. Martin's Press: New York.

Smart Martin, Ann
1989 The Role of Pewter as Missing Artifact: Consumer Attitudes toward Tablewares in Late 18th Century Virginia. *Historical Archaeology* 23(2):1-27.

Smith, Frederick H.
2008 *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking.* The University Press of Florida: Tallahassee.

Smith, Peter
1975 *Houses of the Welsh countryside: A study in historical geography.* Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales: London.

South, Stanley
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology.* Academic Press: New York.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne
1987 Introduction. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Suzanne Spencer-Wood, pp. 1-17. Plenum Press: New York.

Stoddart, Eleanor
2000 *Seventeenth-Century Tin-Glazed Earthenware From Ferryland, Newfoundland*. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.

Stone, Garry Wheeler
1970 Ceramics in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Inventories, 680-1775; A Preliminary Study, with Diverse Comments Thereon and Sundry Suggestions. *The Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers 1968* part 2:73-90. Columbia: South Carolina.

Tlusty, Beverly Ann
1997 Gender and Alcohol Use in Early Modern Augsburg. In *The Changing Face of Drink: Substance, Imagery and Behaviour*, edited by J.S. Blocker and C.K. Warsh, pp. 21-42. Les Publications Histoire Sociale/ Social History: Ottawa.

Tuck, James A.
1993 Archaeology at Ferryland. *Newfoundland Studies* 9,2:294-297.

1996 Archaeology at Ferryland, Newfoundland 1936-1995. *Avalon Chronicles* 1:21-41.

Tuck, James A. and Barry Gaulton
2002 Terra Sigillata from a Seventeenth-Century Site in Newfoundland. *Ceramics in America Volume 2.* Robert Hunter, editor. Chipstone Foundation: Hanover and London.

Walker, Iain C.
1977 *Clay Tobacco Pipes, With Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry.* Parks Canada: Ottawa.

Watkins, Malcolm
1960 North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th Century. Contributions from *The Museum of History and Technology: Paper 13.* Smithsonian Institution: Washington.

Weatherhill, Lorna
1996 *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760.* Routledge: New York and London.

White, Susan
2004 *The Dynamics of Regionalisation and Trade: Yorkshire Clay Tobacco Pipes c1600-1800.* BAR British Series 374; Archaeo Press: Oxford.

Wicks, John
1999a Dating Pre-Cylindrical English Wine Bottles from Ferryland. *Avalon Chronicles* 4:96-108.

1999b *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Bottle Glass From Ferryland, Newfoundland*. Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Willmott, Hugh
2002 *Early Post-Medieval Vessel Glass in England c. 1500-1670.* CBA Research Report 132: Council for British Archaeology.

Wrightson, Keith
1981 Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660. *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*. Eileen and Stephen Yeo, editor. P.1-27. Harvester Press, Sussex and Humanities Press: New Jersey.

1986 The social order of Early Modern England: Three approaches. In *The world we have gained: Histories of population and social structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his seventieth birthday,* edited by Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrightson, pp. 177-201. Basil Blackwell: Oxford; New York.

Appendix A:
Ceramic Vessel Lots from the Kirke Tavern

Vessel Number: 1
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 513324a-d
Events: 464
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 2
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 487521,388834
Events: 464, 462
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 3
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 388685
Events: 464
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 4
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 385485, 388683
Events: 462
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 5
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 562364
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 6
Ware Type: Westerwald
Catalogue #s: 560152, 385822
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Mug

Vessel Number: 7
Ware Type: Rhenish Brown
Catalogue #s: 560160, 394861, 568028
Events: 467, 463
Vessel Form: Jug

Vessel Number: 8
Ware Type: Sgrafitto
Catalogue #s: 560055a-b, 388731a,c
Events: 467, 478
Vessel Form: Dish

Vessel Number: 9 Events: 475
Ware Type: Sgrafitto Vessel Form: Dish
Catalogue #s: 392719

Vessel Number: 10 Events: 475
Ware Type: Sgrafitto Vessel Form: Dish
Catalogue #s: 392719

Vessel Number: 11 Events: 475
Ware Type: Sgrafitto Vessel Form: Dish
Catalogue #s: 392715a-c

Vessel Number: 12 Events: 461
Ware Type: Sgrafitto Vessel Form: Dish
Catalogue #s: 483877, 385689a-d

Vessel Number: 13 Events: 467, 654, 757
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Pitcher
Catalogue #s: 480059, 560057, 597687

Vessel Number: 14 Events: 654
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Milk Pan
Catalogue #s: 579839

Vessel Number: 15 Events: 747
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Colander/ Chafing Dish
Catalogue #s: 582549

Vessel Number: 16 Events: 461
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Pitcher
Catalogue #s: 484557

Vessel Number: 17 Events: 654
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Milk Pan
Catalogue #s: 579364, 519187a-e, 519188, 559560, 567541, 518827a-f, 567541, 559560, 515849c

Vessel Number: 18 Events: 461
Ware Type: Portuguese Redware Vessel Form: Bottle/ Costrel
Catalogue #s: 385734

Vessel Number: 19 Events: 461
Ware Type: Terra Sigillata Vessel Form: Hollowware
Catalogue #s: 487351

Vessel Number: 20 Events: 463
Ware Type: Terra Sigillata Vessel Form: Unidentifiable
Catalogue #s: 386464

Vessel Number: 21 Events: 654
Ware Type: Saintonge Vessel Form: Pipkin/ Chafing Dish
Catalogue #s: 560162

Vessel Number: 22 Events: 561
Ware Type: Saintonge Vessel Form: Pan
Catalogue #s: 481124

Vessel Number: 23 Events: 467
Ware Type: Porcelain Vessel Form: Bowl
Catalogue #s: 566815a-c

Vessel Number: 24 Events: 654
Ware Type: Exeter Coarse Sandy Vessel Form: Pot
Catalogue #s: 513658

Vessel Number: 25 Events: 474
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware Vessel Form: Plate
Catalogue #s: 398299

Vessel Number: 26
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 560088
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Plate/ Dish

Vessel Number: 27
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 401124, 567555
Events: 481, 467
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 28
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 510172
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 29
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 395059, 582539
Events: 477, 747
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 30
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 559551a-f
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 31
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 513276 (multiple pieces)
Events: 655
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 32
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 480992a,c, 560120
Events: 461, 654
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 33
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 388594
Events: 465
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 34
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 400311, 388020
Events: 474, 477
Vessel Form: Pipkin

Vessel Number: 35
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 568446
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 36
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 512891
Events: 464
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 37
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 509778
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 38
Ware Type: North Devon Gravel
Catalogue #s: 510439
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Milk Pan

Vessel Number: 39
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 479537a-b
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 40
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 511026
Events: 655
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 41
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 481506
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 42
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 510171
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 43
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 482985
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 44
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 483178, 483250a
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 45
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 567556b
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 46
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 559554
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 47
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 511026
Events: 655
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 48
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 579666
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 49
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 394031
Events: 481
Vessel Form: Tall Jar

Vessel Number: 50
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 397543
Events: 481
Vessel Form: Jar

Vessel Number: 51
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 560121
Events: 654
Vessel Form: Hollowware

Vessel Number: 52
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 398953
Events: 464
Vessel Form: Hollowware

Vessel Number: 53
Ware Type: North Devon Smooth
Catalogue #s: 567939
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Hollowware

Vessel Number: 54
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 512931
Events: 655
Vessel Form: Pitcher

Vessel Number: 55
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 570643, 559628
Events: 467, 654
Vessel Form: Salt/ Candlestick

Vessel Number: 56
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 371895a-e
Events: 462
Vessel Form: Ointment Jar

Vessel Number: 57
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 510220
Events: 655
Vessel Form: Gallipot

Vessel Number: 58
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 387759
Events: 461
Vessel Form: Gallipot

Vessel Number: 59
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 562551a-b
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Dish

Vessel Number: 60
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 562885, 562552d, 559625
Events: 467
Vessel Form: Plate

Vessel Number: 61
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Catalogue #s: 559133, 481000
Events: 654, 461
Vessel Form: Plate

Vessel Number: 62
Events: 654
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Plate
Catalogue #s: 562197

Vessel Number: 63
Events: 461
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Plate/ Dish
Catalogue #s: 480069

Vessel Number: 64
Events: 654
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Dish
Catalogue #s: 559621a

Vessel Number: 65
Events: 654
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Plate
Catalogue #s: 511051a-b

Vessel Number: 66
Events: 655, 654
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Hollowware
Catalogue #s: 512290a-b, 563057, 510208

Vessel Number: 67
Events: 655
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Hollowware
Catalogue #s: 512362

Vessel Number: 68
Events: 655
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Hollowware
Catalogue #s: 511040 (15 pieces)

Vessel Number: 69
Events: 467
Ware Type: Tin Glazed Earthenware
Vessel Form: Hollowware
Catalogue #s: 570644

Appendix B (Part I):
Clay Pipe Bowls from the Kirke Tavern

Catalogue #s	Event	Description	Date	Notes
398436	474	Bowl	1650-1680	Wheel Relief Stamp
481320	464	Bowl	1640-1660	RC Heel Mark
559295	654	Bowl	1640-1660	RC Heel Mark
395097	475	Bowl	1640-1660	RC Heel Mark
521159	484	Bowl	1640-1660	RC Heel Mark
401771	474	Bowl	1660-1680	EF Heel Mark
388205	475	Bowl	1640-1660	Floral Relief Stamp
460429	461	Bowl	1640-1660	RC Heel Mark
397569, 400463	495	Bowl	1660-1680	BARVM Heel Mark
558820	467	Bowl	1640-1670	RC Heel Mark
422447	465	Bowl	1640-1660	
477151	564	Bowl	1660-1680	
566082	655	Bowl	1640-1660	West Country
388053	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
390786	475	Bowl	1640-1660	
397979	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
395942	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
385710	462	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
395351	475	Bowl	1640-1660	
388585	461	Bowl	1640-1660	West Country
559407	467	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
558699	467	Bowl	1640-1660	
387775	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
395262	475	Bowl	1640-1660	
398398	475	Bowl	1660-1680	Dutch
390020	465	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
388036	475	Bowl	1660-1680	
397775	478	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
406126	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
477876	474	Bowl	1700-1770	West Country
388034	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
480463	461	Bowl	1640-1660	West Country
392050	475	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
397778	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
398493	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country

477850	474	Bowl	1660-1680	
483231	464	Bowl	1640-1660	
388223	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
583022	655	Bowl	1640-1660	
395941	478	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
477112	561	Bowl	1660-1680	West Country
512552	654	Bowl	1610-1640	Bristol
400841	474	Bowl	1660-1680	West Country
400095	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
388030	464	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
395397	497	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
395964	462	Bowl	1660-1680	West Country
397982	464	Bowl	1640-1670	West Country
564580	467	Bowl	1640-1660	West Country
395387	474	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
371487	463	Bowl	1610-1640	
395590	464	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
398396	462	Bowl	1640-1660	Bristol
477142	561	Bowl	1660-1680	Dutch
558610	461	Bowl	1610-1640	Dutch
504610	461	Bowl	1660-1680	
398509	477	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
478117	461	Bowl	1660-1680	West Country
398303	494	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
398312	464	Bowl	1700-1740	
559395	467	Bowl	1610-1640	
509574	654	Bowl	1610-1640	
559396	467	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
386193	463	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
400557	474	Bowl	1640-1660	Bristol
512438	654	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
579465	654	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
400846	654	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
521184	461	Bowl	1640-1660	
398434	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
482515	464	Bowl	1660-1680	West Country
388031	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
478111	478	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
481311	464	Bowl	1640-1660	
509583	654	Bowl	1640-1670	Bristol

579466	654	Bowl	1610-1640	Dutch
565489	655	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
394983	475	Bowl	1640-1670	West Country
560726	467	Bowl	1610-1640	
398385	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
422218	465	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
386136	463	Bowl	1640-1650	London/ Southern England
480462	464	Bowl	1640-1660	Bristol
392226	475	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
484405	461	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country
401774	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
400564	474	Bowl	1660-1680	
400552	474	Bowl	1660-1680	
398782	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
398784	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
398783	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
422437	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
422434	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
397474	474	Bowl	1640-1660	
484833	461	Bowl	1680-1710	West Country

**Appendix B (Part II):
Makers' Marks from the Kirke Tavern**

BA RVM mark
Barnstaple
1660-1740

RC mark
one of three possible London
pipemakers (Richard Cole,
Roger Clare, Richard Coxe)
1640-1670

EF mark
West Country
1650-1680

Wheel stamp
West Country
1660-1680

similar to other pipe stamps from 1650-1680, specifically resembling wheel stamps that came out of Barnstaple from 1660-1720

Floral stamp
West Country
1640-1660

Appendix C:
Glass Vessel Lots from the Kirke Tavern

Vessel Number: 1 Events: 464, 654
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 400650, 513279

Vessel Number: 2 Events: 461
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 489188, 386383

Vessel Number: 3 Events: 467
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 559777, 559751

Vessel Number: 4 Events: 464, 478
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 395202, 483556

Vessel Number: 5 Events: 465
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 402654

Vessel Number: 6 Events: 463
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 387088

Vessel Number: 7 Events: 349
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 292498

Vessel Number: 8 Events: 467
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 559750, 559779

Vessel Number: 9 Events: 464
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 398004a-c, 402809a-b

Vessel Number: 10 Events: 655
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 582918, 582919

Vessel Number: 11 Events: 461
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 507888

Vessel Number: 12 Events: 461
Vessel Form: Case Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 506725

Vessel Number: 13 Events: 464
Vessel Form: Type A or B Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 395005, 395009a

Vessel Number: 14 Events: 461
Vessel Form: Type C Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 385236

Vessel Number: 15 Events: 464, 462
Vessel Form: Type D Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 386671a-d, 406350

Vessel Number: 16 Events: 462
Vessel Form: Type D Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 395463, 395450

Vessel Number: 17 Events: 462, 478, 481
Vessel Form: Type E Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 397395, 401177, 388414

Vessel Number: 18 Events: 462
Vessel Form: Type E Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 397574

Vessel Number: 19 Events: 461, 467
Vessel Form: Type C, D or E Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 482270, 559749

Vessel Number: 20 Events: 478
Vessel Form: Type D or E Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 398917

Vessel Number: 21 Events: 349, 481
Vessel Form: Unidentifiable Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 265318b-c, 398404

Vessel Number: 22 Events: 655
Vessel Form: Unidentifiable Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 582638

Vessel Number: 23 Events: 464
Vessel Form: Unidentifiable Wine Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 506724

Vessel Number: 24 Events: 349
Vessel Form: Unidentifiable Bottle
Catalogue #'s: 241943