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'THE PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS ARMY':
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN
CULTURAL VARIABILITY ALONG THE SEVEN YEARS'
WAR FRONTIER

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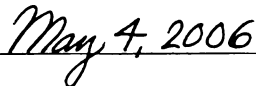
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**'THE PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS ARMY':
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURAL
VARIABILITY ALONG THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR FRONTIER**

By

Andrew Stephen Farry

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

2006

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'THE PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS ARMY': AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURAL VARIABILITY ALONG THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR FRONTIER

By

Andrew Stephen Farry

This dissertation proposes an archaeological model of colonial military frontiers. Frontier contexts have long held the attention of scholars, even to the point that specific forms of frontier settlement have been identified in minute detail. Military frontiers are included among this number, but unfortunately they have not often been the settlement type of choice among frontier scholars. More often than not these contexts have been deemed analytically uninteresting, suitable only for “drum-and-trumpet” efforts to study battlefield tactics, describe the minutiae of military life, or re-fight old battles. This study advocates a very different perspective on military frontiers. Such contexts are seen as integral to the larger process of colonization, representing the means by which colonial states expanded their physical presence into new regions and maintained an effective core policy in peripheries. At the same time, military frontiers are also seen as important loci of cultural contact between diverse frontier military populations. Such contact was not experienced across the large-scale spatial and temporal contexts tying periphery to core, but rather within more restricted, face-to-face contexts and in the daily practices of frontier communities. In short, this study recognizes the multi-scalar issues involved in military frontier contexts and presents these in the form of a comprehensive military frontier model.

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This multi-scalar frontier model serves as the basis for a series of specific archaeological hypotheses and material expectations, each of which is tested against Anglo-American archaeological data relating to the Seven Years' War in northeastern North America (ca. 1754-1763). The Seven Years' War signaled the final struggle between the colonial empires of England and France for North American hegemony, one that ultimately defined the imperial character of the Atlantic world and shaped the colonial trajectory of North America. Begun in earnest in the remote forests of the Ohio Valley, the war would eventually spark conflict across the global colonial landscape and culminate into what some have called the first true world war. But while the conflict itself was a global-scale event, it was still played out in small-scale spatial and temporal contexts: individual frontier military settlements incorporating groups of diverse cultural backgrounds that were united in overall political aims but divergent in many other respects. Thus, while a focused examination of these military settlements cannot be divorced from their larger, external political contexts, such broad contexts must in turn not obscure the more localized processes of cultural diversity and interaction characteristic of all peripheral military environments. It is the intent of this research to understand the nature of such small-scale cultural diversity as existed between imported British regulars forces and their indigenous American provincial allies along the Seven Years' War military frontier, as can be observed archaeologically.

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A number of people have helped in the completion of this work. First and foremost, Ken Lewis served as mentor, friend, and committee chair throughout the long process. His sage advice and constructive commentary provided much needed clarity to this study. Helen Pollard provided important feedback and served as a source of inspiration and encouragement. Lynne Goldstein and Chris Daniels also served as important members of my graduate committee. Bill Lovis and Jodie O'Gorman provided the initial impetus behind this research. Many of the ideas were also developed in conversation with Rob Cook during our tenure as graduate students at Michigan State University.

Chuck Fisher provided access to Fort George collections held at the New York State Museum, and his pioneering archaeological work at Crown Point stands as an inspiration behind much of these pages. Lois Feister of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) graciously provided access to Fort Gage data. David Starbuck provided data and information on occasions too many to count, and has been the primary impetus behind much of the Seven Years' War archaeological fieldwork conducted in northern New York to date. Ed Curtin provided a supportive and stimulating working environment during much of the writing process.

But most of all, thanks and much more are due to Cathleen Catalfamo, the one person without whom this dissertation could not have been finished, and the one who is most glad that it finally is.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

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Dissertation Introduction

In simplest form, this is an archaeological study of colonial military frontiers. Its focus centers on those extended, remote areas in which expanding colonial states claimed or defended sovereignty through military settlement. Frontier contexts have, of course, long held the attention of scholars, even to the point that specific forms of frontier settlement have been identified in minute detail. Military frontiers are included among this number, but unfortunately they have not often been the settlement type of choice among frontier scholars. More often than not these contexts have been deemed analytically uninteresting, suitable only for “drum-and-trumpet” efforts to study battlefield tactics, describe the minutiae of military life, or re-fight old battles. In these pages a very different perspective on military frontiers is advocated. Such contexts are seen as integral to the larger process of colonization, representing the means by which colonial states expanded their physical presence into new regions and maintained an effective core policy in peripheries. At the same time, military frontiers are also seen as important loci of cultural contact between diverse frontier military populations. Such contact was not experienced across the large-scale spatial and temporal contexts tying periphery to core, but rather within more restricted, face-to-face contexts and in the daily practices of frontier communities. In short, this study recognizes the multi-scalar issues involved in colonial military frontiers. It recognizes that military frontiers were obvious manifestations of core-periphery contact, but that they also served as much more restricted arenas of cultural interaction between specific colonial groups. While such a multi-scalar approach

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Dissertation Research Problem: Overview

Archaeological approaches to the nature of social organization among frontier communities have been critiqued as being too “colonizer-centric” in their treatment of peripheral settlements (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Stein 1999; Farry 2005a:16-17). As a result of a single macro-scale perspective in which peripheries are linked to their structural position in global economic systems, such settlements have inevitably been portrayed as passive recipients to core influences. This pluralist critique has also highlighted the implicit assumptions of frontiers as areas defined by crisp ethnic boundaries dividing relatively homogenous populations. These issues have prompted a re-conceptualization and a re-definition of frontier communities as active “zones of cultural interfaces in which cross-cutting, segmentary groups can be defined and recombined at different spatial and temporal scales of analysis” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:474).

With this critique in mind, this dissertation examines the role of such segmentary group dynamics in frontier military contexts, as expressed through material evidence. Its central theme rests upon the argument that small-scale processes of cultural diversity and interaction must come to be recognized as a defining feature of the colonial frontier experience, even among those frontier settlement types for which large-scale external influences may seem paramount

(i.e. military contexts). Attention is drawn to the category “colonizer” to understand how actual cultural variability implicit in this label is manifest among small-scale spatial and temporal contexts, and how this variability might change among larger scales of analysis. If indeed the effect of a large-scale structural perspective on frontier settlements has been to dichotomize them into homogenous categories of “colonizer” and “colonized,” a more refined level of resolution is likely the appropriate venue in which cultural variability and segmentary groups can be observed. This poses the general question: are the behaviors reflective of differing group identities or ethnic boundaries (those frontier communities which define the variability within the designation “colonizer”) clearly visible in the archaeological record within small-scale spatial and temporal contexts? Alternatively, are such identities indeed redefined or recombined if observed within ever-larger spatial or temporal frames of reference? In attempting to answer these questions, this dissertation presents a scalar model of military frontiers which is then explored along the British military frontier of northern New York during the Seven Years’ War. While the model is multi-scalar in its design, archaeological testing of the model is confined primarily to exploring the archaeological evidence for small-scale cultural variability in frontier military environments, in part due to data availability. The manner in which larger spatial contexts serve to reconfigure cultural boundaries is examined, but primarily as means to suggest future research questions.

Frontier research has benefited from a core-periphery framework that has revealed the large-scale external networks or non-local influences present

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among peripheral settlements. At the same time, this framework has failed to notice the diverse social groups occupying colonial environments or how such diversity shaped the fabric of colonial societies. While other researchers have raised these very same concerns for the archaeological study of frontiers in general (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Cusick 1998; Wells 2005), this dissertation proposes to apply such thinking to the archaeological study of functionally specific military frontiers.

A fundamental assumption of this analysis is that clear cultural boundaries will in fact be reflected in the archaeological record, particularly based on the nature of interactions between frontier populations and on the contexts within which these occur. If cultural groups do recombine at different scales it would then seem likely that within a single frame of reference or scale of analysis clear boundaries would be observed. The active “overlapping” and “cross-cutting” nature of cultural margins may be manifest in the processes through which these small-scale bounded categories are redefined or restructured among different or ever larger scales. The existence of such sharp boundaries is therefore not rejected (cf. Lightfoot and Martinez 1995); they are rather recast as malleable units subject to reconfigurations in different scalar contexts.

Military frontiers offer a unique perspective on the frontier experience. Created primarily to establish and maintain political control over a region of peripheral settlement, such settlements are necessarily closely linked to external concerns and to the dictates of the parent state (Lewis 1984:286). A large-scale “colonizer-centric” approach would thus seem most appropriate, as such

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settlements represent the most direct extension of a core state's power into peripheral regions. Acknowledging the effect of scale, however, enables a balanced approach that recognizes both the larger external concerns of military settlements as well as the more localized processes of cultural interaction characteristic of all frontier environments. This is not to underestimate the role of military settlements within an expanding colonial system, but rather to provide for "both the important role that core-periphery interactions play in frontier studies, as well as the socially charged arena of intercultural or interethnic interactions in frontier contexts" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:487). This further emphasizes the pluralist critique of interpreting peripheries solely from a core-dominated perspective, particularly instances (i.e. military settlements) in which external influences served a fundamental role.

Archaeological data relating to sites of British military expansion along eastern North America during the Seven Years' War serve as a case study for this discussion (Farry 2005a, 2005b). The Seven Years' War (ca. 1754-1763) signaled the final struggle between the colonial empires of England and France for North American hegemony, one that ultimately defined the imperial character of the Atlantic world and shaped the colonial trajectory of North America. Begun in earnest in the remote forests of the Ohio Valley, the war would eventually spark conflict across the global colonial landscape and culminate into what some have called the first true world war (e.g., Todish 2002). But while the conflict itself was a global-scale event, it was still played out in small-scale spatial and temporal contexts: individual frontier military settlements incorporating groups of

diverse backgrounds that were united in overall political aims but divergent in many other respects. Thus, while a focused examination of these military settlements cannot be divorced from their larger, external political contexts, such broad contexts must in turn not obscure the more localized processes of cultural diversity characteristic of peripheral military environments. It is the intent of this research to understand, at least in part, the nature of such small-scale cultural diversity among Anglo-American military populations (imported British regulars and indigenous American provincials), as can be observed archaeologically.

Relevance of Research

The significance of this dissertation can be distinguished in terms of theoretical and practical applications. Its theoretical relevance lies in its participation in an important recent critique within the field of frontier archaeology. The critique points out certain problems with long-held core-periphery assumptions, most notably that their large-scale perspective precludes any real consideration of the inherent cultural diversity within frontier environments. The critique argues instead for more restricted scales of analysis so as to examine the character of culturally diverse communities and how these were expressed archaeologically. This dissertation voices a similar concern, but in doing so it does not require the overt rejection of core-periphery assumptions. Instead, it recognizes the multi-scalar issues involved in the colonial frontier experience. Whereas a core-periphery emphasis provides insight into the large-scale networks present within frontier contexts, an emphasis upon cultural interaction

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recognizes the small-scale issues also present. While each particular emphasis leads to different lines of frontier research, both must at least be recognized, especially- as is argued here- when considering military frontiers. Thus while this dissertation is not unique in its particular theoretical perspective, it is in modeling its application specifically to the archaeological record of colonial military frontiers.

This dissertation also participates in an important theoretical discussion concerning the complex relationship between artifacts and social identity. By redefining the frontier experience so as to focus upon cultural diversity, scholars have shed light upon the implicit assumptions underlying most archaeological interpretations of how cultural groups expressed affiliations through the manufacture and use of material items. Rather than assuming a direct, one-to-one correlation between identity and material culture (as acculturation suggests), or even that cultural groups can be broken down into a series of trait lists or “ethnic markers,” more recent scholarship has embraced the complicated relations between identity and artifacts. Now favored are contextual approaches that view the concept of identity as subjective and selective, as a process that occurs in the context of social interaction or in relation to others, and as a process that is expressed in the patterned practice of day-to-day living (and is therefore very much a concept that has material implications). This research thus emphasizes a complex, relational, but certainly archaeologically visible, concept of social identity to better understand the complex character of frontier military populations.

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The more practical relevance of this research lies in its attempt to “open up” the archaeological study of the Seven Years' War. It is an unfortunate if undeniable fact that much of what is presently understood about the conflict owes very little to the discipline of historical archaeology, beyond its providing physical examples of British material culture or architectural details. This rather harsh indictment is not meant to suggest that archaeology has ignored the conflict, or even that important studies do not exist in the literature; a summary review of Seven Years' War archaeological research provided below (Chapter 4) proves both of these statements false. It is rather a measure of the extent to which archaeological research has moved beyond a site-oriented and particularist framework, a move that is defined by employing a broad range of theoretically informed research questions and by incorporating the on-going discussions of colonial historians. If this measure is cast against the large amount of British military archaeological data collected to date, the conclusion must be drawn that, as a whole, the archaeology of the Seven Years' War remains relatively understudied (Crabtree et al. 2002:21).

The theoretical and practical relevance of this research is, of course, interrelated. The very fact that such theoretical questions and concepts can be explored using Seven Years' War archaeological data reinforces the fact that future research of the conflict can and must move beyond descriptive and particularistic frameworks. The data-gathering endeavors that have characterized the majority of Seven Years' War archaeology to date have helped provide a complex database that is appropriate for application in theoretically

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Dissertation Organization by Chapter

Chapter 2 begins the discussion by first outlining the basic theoretical concepts and perspectives involved in this study. Given that much of the theoretical groundwork for the interpretation of frontiers lies in the discussion of world systems or cores and peripheries, this macro-scale topic is treated first. Priority is also warranted given that the topic serves as the subject of critique among more recent frontier theory. Wallerstein's (1974, 1980) concepts of *core*, *periphery*, and *semi-periphery* are introduced, as is the character of their relationship to one another in this historically based model of political economy and colonization. Frank's (1966) concepts of *metropole* and *satellite* are also mentioned here given their similarity to Wallerstein's model. Frontier colonization concepts developed among historians and archaeologists are also introduced, which focus attention to how particular economic emphases among peripheral colonies shaped their relations with the core and the character of their settlement along the frontier. These include concepts such as *interacting links*, *insular settlement*, and *cosmopolitan frontiers*.

Micro-scale theoretical concepts are introduced next, which serve as a point of comparison and critique to the previous discussion. Within historical archaeology this "pluralist" critique derives largely from the frontier theoretical discussions of Kent Lightfoot and colleagues (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot and

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Martinez 1995, Lightfoot et al. 1998), though prehistoric archaeologists and anthropologists (e.g. Wolf 1982; Stein 1999) voice similar positions. The critique focuses attention to the concept of scale, arguing that micro-scale analyses of frontier settlements should be pursued that examine the character of cultural diversity and interaction. Indeed, the very concept of *frontier* is critically re-examined and re-defined to include small-scale processes of cultural interaction. From this perspective, frontier settlements are not merely the distant appendages of a far-flung economic system but rather “socially charged places” in which heterogeneous cultural groups interact and exist. They are, ultimately, the “front line in the creolization or syncretization of cultural constructs in culture contact situations” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:472).

Also discussed here is the concept of *cultural identity* and how frontier scholars working under the pluralist critique have begun to investigate it from an archaeological perspective. Addressing this concept is a necessary precondition given the re-definition of frontier contexts as culturally diverse places (Wells 2005:50). Assumptions based largely upon the concept of acculturation are no longer tenable as explanations for understanding cultural dynamics in these contexts, and the means by which active agents demonstrate certain affiliations over others via material culture is now understood as a complex and subjective process. Theoretical concepts such as *daily practice* and *ethnogenesis* become relevant here, as these speak to how archaeologists can observe processes of social identification and cultural change within heterogeneous frontier societies through the use of material culture.

Chapter 2 continues with an outline of the basic historical setting for this study. Colonial historians of the Seven Years' War have been instrumental in recognizing the multiple scales of analysis involved in frontier research, and they have proposed that a heterogeneous and active cultural environment characterized British military settlements. Fred Anderson (2000:xx), for example, makes the point that British frontier settlements during the conflict were small-scale "theatre[s] of intercultural interaction," and has approached this diversity in terms of its expression among imported British regular troops and indigenous American provincial forces. These were allied Anglo-American groups who were united in their defense of the British Empire and subjects to the same king, but at the same time cultural strangers with very different martial experiences. A summary review of Anderson's research on this issue of American provincial and British regular cultural diversity offers a very detailed, contextual and historically based framework for the archaeological study of small-scale cultural dynamics within specific frontier military contexts.

With the theoretical concepts and historical framework presented, Chapter 3 then integrates both into a scalar model that identifies the salient characteristics of colonial military frontiers and, in turn, provides the basis for developing a series of archaeological hypotheses to be tested in Chapter 5. A pervasive point throughout this study is that the large and small-scale theoretical perspectives introduced in Chapter 2 do not form clearly opposing or mutually exclusive positions on the fundamental character of frontier environments (in general) or military contexts (in specific). To the contrary, the various concepts

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can be included to form a comprehensive and multi-scalar approach or model, one that recognizes both macro-scale external influences and micro-scale cultural dynamics at play within all frontier contexts. The scalar model outlined in Chapter 3 thus draws directly upon the various theoretical concepts outlined in Chapter 2, and the model is situated in terms of the historical context of Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War.

As a whole, the model presented in Chapter 3 demonstrates the complex character of military frontiers as a significant component of eighteenth-century British North America. The model argues that, when viewed from the perspective of small-scale spatio-temporal contexts, a diverse mix of cultures characterizes military frontiers. Expressed in terms of the historical framework, significant material variation distinguishes small-scale provincial occupations from those of British regulars. Such variation is hypothesized as a series of archaeological patterns that derive from the complex historical relationship of Anglo-American forces as established by colonial historians. The control afforded by the historical framework suggests a number of possible material manifestations of Anglo-American cultural diversity which in turn form the basis for archaeological testing.

The model further argues that such patterns of diversity may correlate or conflict with those observable from broader spatial or temporal scales of analysis. That is, clearly defined categories of provincial and British may not be as clear as when viewed from a greater spatial or temporal frame of reference. This aspect of the model recognizes that cultural identity is a complex and often relational concept; individuals can and do actively alter their perceived identities or

affiliations, particularly in diverse cultural situations. As previously mentioned, the active and overlapping nature of cultural margins within frontier environments (cf. Lightfoot and Martinez 1995) may be revealed in how these categories are restructured or reconfigured among ever-larger scales. The model also recognizes that large scales of analysis are ideal for observing core-periphery influences, and that among them the resolution likely becomes too coarse to shed direct light upon cultural dynamics or Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War. At such scales, processes of cultural diversity are likely masked by the larger political or economic networks within which frontier military settlements served, and hypotheses may be geared towards examining these influences.

Chapter 4 provides a summary review of British Seven Years' War archaeology, including those sites later employed as data sources for archaeological testing. This discussion is introduced here prior to testing the model and its hypotheses in order to provide comment on the data used in this dissertation and on the general archaeological context of the present study. The vast majority of Seven Years' War archaeology (and indeed, military sites archaeology in general) has tended to be very particularistic and descriptive in scope. Theoretically informed analyses that incorporate the work of colonial or social historians are relatively rare in the literature, with most studies geared towards gathering artifactual or architectural details for site reconstruction. This general pattern is substantiated by a brief review of a number of British military sites and their respective archaeological investigations. While the explicit

purpose of Chapter 4 is to introduce the sites and data used in this study, its implied purpose is to demonstrate the theoretical and analytical potential of Seven Years' War archaeology.

Chapter 5 subjects the model and its various archaeological hypotheses to testing with Seven Years' War archaeological data. The data derive from a number of British Seven Years' War settlements, though the sites tend to be restricted spatially to northern New York. This spatial restriction has no analytical significance other than the fact that this area- an overland portage area lying between the Hudson River and Lake George (Figure 2)- saw a dense clustering of British military occupations throughout the war, many of which have been subjected to intensive archaeological investigation. Testing primarily concerns the micro-scale hypotheses in the model, though discussion of the macro-scale hypotheses and data do suggest future directions for research. Unlike the chapters previous, Chapter 5 does not include a chapter summary because this forms the first discussion section of Chapter 6. Chapter 6 summarizes and evaluates the testing results, and explores the implications of this study for future Seven Years' War archaeological research. One obvious conclusion of this study is that the field of Seven Years' War archaeology is fertile and open ground for continued research, whether or not the particular analytical perspective advocated in this study is pursued or another advocated.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter Introduction

The goals of this chapter are twofold: first is to introduce the key theoretical concepts employed in this study, second is to present its basic historical context and framework. The first goal involves discussion of the relevant theoretical literature within frontier research, both within and beyond the field of archaeology. Presentation of this material is according to scale of analysis, as this aspect serves as a point of contention between two dominant theoretical perspectives in the study of colonial frontier contexts. Macro-scale core-periphery concepts are discussed first, in particular Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974, 1980) world-system model and Andre Gunder Frank's (1966) metropole-satellite dichotomy. Also included here are frontier colonization concepts developed among historians and archaeologists. These latter concepts focus attention to the manner in which particular economic emphases among peripheral colonies shaped their relations with the core and the character of their settlement along the frontier.

Micro-scale "pluralist" concepts are introduced second, the strongest and most recent statements of which derive from the work of Kent Lightfoot (1995; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998) within historical archaeology. These latter theoretical statements challenge long-held core-periphery assumptions, and force attention to issues of cultural dynamics such as interaction and change as defining features of the frontier experience. They also highlight the complex means by which material items are incorporated into the on-going process of cultural identification and affiliation within heterogeneous

contexts.

As discussion of the two theoretical perspectives make clear, no one scale of analysis can exhaust the research possibilities of colonial contexts, a fact that is particularly relevant to this dissertation given that research is directed towards military frontier environments. Above all other types of frontier settlement, military frontiers demonstrate the strongest connections to large-scale external influences. Indeed, they have been defined as “the [frontier settlement] type linked most closely with the parent state because they represent one of its agencies. The components of such a frontier represent direct control by the core state in areas where its expansion is threatened either by aboriginal groups or other colonial states” (Lewis 1984:267-268). At the same time, much more immediate and localized processes of cultural interaction and identification are also at work within military environments, which emphasizes the point that not all aspects of military frontiers are necessarily revealing of the larger external networks within which they participate. These smaller-scale issues take precedence in this dissertation research, but this is hardly because the large-scale core-periphery issues are no longer considered relevant or useful (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Farry 2005a).

The second goal of this chapter is to introduce the historical framework of this study. Historians of the eighteenth-century British colonial empire in North America have been instrumental in recognizing the multiple scales of analysis involved in frontier research, and their discussions provide a useful point of comparison to the theoretical concepts and perspectives introduced in the first

part of this chapter. Among their discussions is a renewed appreciation for the role peripheries served in what typically has been interpreted as a metropolitan story of colonial conquest and empire building. "Scholars who study the [colonial] frontier," historian Patrick Griffin (2003:179) writes, "are now claiming that the process of cultural negotiation in the backcountry was central, not marginal, to American social development". Among Seven Years' War historians, Fred Anderson (1981, 1983, 1984, 2000; see also Rogers 1974, Leach 1986a, 1986b; cf. Agostini 2002) has been prominent in investigating small-scale cultural negotiations among British frontier military populations, particularly between imported British regular troops and indigenous American provincial forces. Anderson's work strongly argues the point that the Seven Years' War colonial frontier was an important site of intercultural relations in which Anglo-American groups came into intimate and prolonged contact with one another for the first time. "The war," Anderson (1984:111) writes, "offered [provincials] and Britons [regulars] a chance to take each other's measure with an intimacy and on a scale unprecedented in colonial history. Such intercultural contact- for that is what it was- largely took place through the operation of the British military justice system, and it gave the colonial soldiers an unflattering, disturbing impression of their comrades in arms".

Anderson's detailing of the historical relations between allied Anglo-American groups during the war is, of course, but one perspective on the shaping influence of small-scale cultural diversity and interaction within British military populations. Other scholars, for example, have begun to recognize the diverse

and important character of allied Indian groups (Jennings 1988; Steele 1990; Shannon 1996; Ward 2003), while others have focused upon the heterogeneity within the American provincial forces themselves (e.g. Shy 1963; Anderson 1983, 1984; Ferling 1986; Selesky 1990; Titus 1991; Ward 1995, 2003; Knoblauch 1997; Staudt 1999). Anderson's provincial-regular dichotomy does represent, however, a significant and influential first attempt to understand the Seven Years' War frontier as a multi-cultural arena of contact and interaction. Even more importantly, his discussion of the relations between the two groups- in tandem with the theoretical concepts- provides the basis for a multi-scalar social model with archaeological test implications. Discussion of the model and the archaeological hypotheses derived from it is presented in Chapter 3.

Macro-Scale Theoretical Concepts

Trans-Atlantic Core-Periphery Perspectives

An important context within which colonial settlements have been interpreted is in terms of their participation in the development and expansion of European economic hegemony during the post medieval and modern periods. From this trans-Atlantic perspective, individual frontier settlements- military or otherwise- are inextricably linked to and enmeshed within complex and extra-local networks that are relevant far beyond the confines of immediate circumstances. Frontier settlements are thus not perceived as remote outposts along an isolated fringe of settlement, but rather as integral components of a large-scale economic structure that continually incorporates new areas and

markets through colonial expansion.

Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980) has been a very influential proponent of this perspective, and he has defined an elaborate trans-Atlantic model of economic interdependence that details the rise of the modern capitalist world since the late-fifteenth century. Wallerstein (1974:347) conceives of this process as analogous to an organic system, with a specified set of relationships existing between individual components that, taken together, comprise a coherent and functioning structure. And it is a structure that is truly defined by the sum of its parts in that individual components cannot exist in isolation. The structure is broadly termed a world-system, the two varieties of which Wallerstein distinguishes are world-empires and world-economies. The difference between the two largely involves the nature of political influence within the system: world-empires have a single overarching political power, while world-economies, given their scale, do not. The idea that the system is a “world” system is not meant to convey the idea of the entire planet, but rather to emphasize the point that the network is far larger than any of its constituent political units (Wallerstein 1974:15; Stein 1999:10).

Prior to Europe’s trans-Atlantic explorations and colonization of the New World, world economies were highly unstable structures that often reverted in form to world-empires or tended to disintegrate. “It is the peculiarity of the modern world-system,” Wallerstein (1974:348) argues, “that a world-economy has survived for 500 years and yet has not come to be transformed into a world-empire”. Such peculiarity Wallerstein (1974:348) attributes to “the political side of

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the form of economic organization called capitalism". As a mode of production, capitalism fostered continuous expansion of the modern world-system because economic factors operated within an environment much larger and more extensive than that which any single political entity could control. Capitalism developed increasingly efficient and flexible technologies of production, thereby maximizing production and ensuring the opening of new markets and raw material sources through colonial expansion. On this point, Wallerstein (1974:15) argues that

It is the social achievement of the modern world, if you will, to have invented the technology that makes it possible to increase the flow of surplus from the lower strata to the upper strata, from the periphery to the center, from the majority to the minority, by eliminating the 'waste' of too cumbersome a political superstructure.

The continued penetration of foreign, non-capitalist economies such as those of the New World was the inevitable result of this achievement. (Lewis 2002:5).

The modern-world economy is based primarily upon a functional division of labor between the system's components, a division that is also expressed geographically and temporally. Core states form the geographical center of the model, which in turn are bounded by semi-peripheries and peripheries towards the system's colonial fringe. Peripheral areas essentially serve as sources for raw materials not found within the core areas, as well as important markets for core-manufactured goods and services. Core areas and peripheries are linked by a system of "unequal exchange" and trade in which "high-wage (but low-supervision), high-profit, high-capital intensive" goods are produced in the core and are then exchanged for "low-wage (but high-supervision), low-profit, low-

capital intensive goods” produced in the periphery (Wallerstein 1974:351; Wolf 1982:22). Semi-peripheries fall geographically and functionally between the two extremes; they serve to integrate the economies of core and periphery, while at the same time act as buffers to deflect pressures away from the core (Wallerstein 1974:350; Lewis 1984:15; Champion 1995a:6). Although each of the components of the world-economy is functionally dependent upon the others, their relationship is an explicitly hierarchical one. Core areas “dominate[] the world-system,” and stand at the head of an unequal power relationship in which surplus and benefits are siphoned off from peripheral and semi-peripheral areas and are directed upward towards the core (Paynter 1982; Stein 1999:11). Mere surplus extraction from periphery to core, however, does not define the full extent of the asymmetrical relationship, and control by the core pervades into other realms such as the organization of peripheral labor and political structures (Stein 1999:13). The synchronous division of labor across space that is Wallerstein’s model can also define a diachronic developmental scheme, with peripheral and semi-peripheral areas eventually taking on the role of core areas.

Andre Gunder Frank (1966) offers a very similar formulation to Wallerstein’s world-system model, particularly in terms of the asymmetrical relationships linking core to periphery. Frank essentially portrays capitalism as an expansive and penetrating force, one that spreads outward from metropolitan centers (cores) and continually subverts newly incorporated areas into dependent satellites (peripheries). The exploitative relationship is maintained through time by explicitly structuring satellite economies to produce and supply

surplus upward towards the external metropolises. Development of satellite areas is thus “distorted and thwarted” over time in that all production is geared towards meeting the particular needs of the metropole, despite any long-term negative effect on peripheral regions. As core subjugates periphery in an unequal economic relationship, so too does metropole subjugate satellite, thereby forming a large-scale economic structure of increasingly ranked components.

These basic tenets of the traditional core-periphery framework have been very influential among scholars, including those studying pre-capitalist or non-western world systems (see e.g., Schneider 1977; Blanton and Feinman 1984; Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989; Woolf 1990; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Champion 1995b; Urban and Schortman 1999). Notable examples within the historical archaeology frontier literature include Lewis’s (1984) analysis of the South Carolina agriculture frontier, Paynter’s (1982) study of the Connecticut River Valley’s role in the British world-system, and Crowell’s (1994, 1997) study of the Russian fur trade frontier in America. Williams (1992) applies Wallerstein’s model specifically to a military frontier context, in this case to the military frontier of New Spain during late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The core-periphery model has offered an important spatial and temporal framework for the uneven pace of development between the western and non-western worlds since the late fifteenth century, one that is certainly more effective than appeals to differences in social evolution (Champion 1995a:4).

Nevertheless, as defined by Wallerstein, the core-periphery framework has not been without its critics. Critical attention has been drawn, for example, to the

framework's over-emphasis on asymmetrical relations and the methods by which the core subjugates periphery. Such a choice, Eric Wolf (1982:23) argues, necessarily leads one to "omit consideration of the range and variety of [peripheral] populations, of their modes of existence before European expansion and the advent of capitalism, and of the manner in which these modes were penetrated, subordinated, destroyed, or absorbed". Others have pointed out that the framework erroneously assumes the primacy of core dominance in shaping all aspects of peripheral societies; that in fact the 'passive' periphery as described by Wallerstein is actually a dynamic and active area not subject solely to the whims of the core states. As Stein (1999:16) points out, such traditional assumptions of core dominance tend to "eliminate or minimize the roles of polities or groups in the periphery, local production and local exchange, and internal dynamics of developmental change". Fuller treatment of these and other critiques are provided below in discussing small-scale theoretical concepts.

Frontier Colonization

Scholars interested in the colonial frontier have expounded upon the core-periphery perspective favored by Wallerstein and Frank by examining specifically how the economic emphases of colonization and core expansion were manifested physically along the periphery. The relationship, it is argued, was a direct one, in that differing economic pursuits in the periphery necessitated distinct production strategies and encouraged distinct forms of colonial frontier settlement (Lewis 1984:17, 2002:5). As production strategies and requirements

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differed among peripheries, so too did their particular relationships with the core, thereby determining the number and type of interacting links between core and periphery. The true nature of such links had a direct impact upon the degree to which peripheral regions were (or were not) insulated from core influences, which, in turn, “governed the degree of change experienced by a colonial society” (Lewis 2002:5). Scholars have distinguished two distinct types of colonial frontiers based on the degree of insularity existing between core and periphery.

Cosmopolitan frontiers are defined by an overall lack of insularity, meaning that their particular economic emphases- though often varied- ensured strong links with states in the system’s core. These emphases were extractive, specialized, and often short-term economic pursuits, and were directly influenced or controlled by external (core) policies. In addition, any and all change experienced in the political, social, or economic realms of cosmopolitan frontiers was modal rather than fundamental. Steffan (1980:xi) defines modal change among frontiers as merely a surface alteration of a given practice or belief whose “conceptual foundation remained essentially the same,” while fundamental change “involved the replacement or significant alteration of the very assumption upon which given practices were based”. As cosmopolitan frontier change was in direct response to the external economic system within which it was enmeshed rather than the immediate circumstances of the local environment, cosmopolitan settlements also tended to exhibit a degree of cultural uniformity or standardization by importing much of the core state’s material culture (Lewis 1984:264; Ostrogorsky 1982). Economic activities falling within the cosmopolitan

model include lumbering, mining, cattle ranching, and trading (Steffan 1980; Lewis 1984).

Military frontiers are also included within the cosmopolitan category, despite the fact that their establishment is not necessarily geared towards exploiting or extracting the economic potential of a peripheral region. Military frontiers act to support cosmopolitan frontier expansion by ensuring that there exists a strong core presence in peripheries, providing both offensive and defensive capabilities as new areas are explored and settled. Because by definition there exists no single political power within the modern world economy, core states inevitably dispute the right to extract surplus from (or market commodities within) certain peripheral regions. Military settlements thus act to defend such rights from both aboriginal and other colonial states' threats. Lewis (2002:5) describes this uniquely cosmopolitan role of British military settlements in the colonization of the American interior:

The successful operation of the world economy relied on the establishment of political domination over foreign territories as well as routes of trade and communication, and Great Britain's substantial investment in its American provinces, backed by naval and military power, provided the stability required to protect settlers and nurture colonial economic development. British authority underwrote production and insured the availability of commodities crucial to the operation of its far-flung economy. State political influence made possible the settlement expansion that accompanied the economic penetration of the American interior.

Often cosmopolitan settlement marked the initial stages of expansion into peripheral regions (Lewis 1984:269). Meinig (1986:65-76), for example, outlines a generalized scheme of colonization that emphasizes increasingly intensive

settlement of colonial peripheries, the early stages of which can be defined as cosmopolitan in nature. Initial and “accidental” colonial contact in Meinig’s (1986) scheme gives way eventually to increasing penetration of peripheral regions through gathering, barter, plunder, and the establishment of commercial outposts. These early, cosmopolitan-type endeavors involving extractive economic pursuits and information gathering provided regular points of contact between core and periphery. They also established a firm core presence or entrepot in colonial regions and provided the knowledge base for continued penetration (Lewis 2002:6). If conditions permitted, cosmopolitan settlement could develop into the establishment of imperial imposition through formal claims of colonial territory and, eventually, the planting of permanent, intensive agricultural settlements.

Such intensive settlement- termed insular frontiers- stands at the opposite end of the spectrum to cosmopolitan frontiers. Insular frontiers are defined, over time, by rather weak or indirect links with the core area, and they possessed much more diverse economies rather than relying on specialized production for export. Local circumstances played a much greater role in their success, and settlements often reinvested surpluses locally, thereby lessening their dependence on external support and further weakening their links to the core area. Compared to modal change among cosmopolitan frontiers, insular settlements experienced fundamental changes in political and social forms, which could often bring about competition with the core. Lewis (2002:6) describes succinctly this process of change experienced on insular frontiers:

“Permanent settlement, accompanied by economic diversification, indigenous institutional development and reinvestment, and expansion into new territories, brought a shift of social, economic, and political interests from the homeland to the colony and fostered the region’s potential for independent development”.

Micro-scale Theoretical Concepts

Cultural Diversity and Interaction

A more recent perspective in the study of colonial contexts is one that gives primacy to the socially dynamic nature of frontier communities. From this “pluralist” standpoint frontiers are redefined so as to underscore their culturally heterogeneous character and emphasis is placed upon micro-scale processes of culture contact, diversity, and interaction rather than solely upon links to large-scale external networks. By and large this theoretical perspective grew out of critiques of the traditional core-periphery framework, and it is distinguished by a much greater emphasis upon smaller scales of analysis. It should be stressed again, however, that its application does not necessarily require the overt rejection of core-periphery assumptions. As discussed previously, the two contexts approach the frontier experience from very different, but not necessarily conflicting, analytical scales. Taken together they offer multiple analytical frames of reference on the frontier experience, a multi-scalar framework that has been described as “a balanced perspective that recognizes both the important role that core-periphery interactions play in frontier studies, as well as the socially charged arena of intercultural or interethnic interaction in frontier contexts” (Lightfoot and

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Martinez 1995:487). If it is true, then, that military frontiers must be recognized for their cosmopolitan attributes, it is also true that they must come to be recognized for their inherent cultural diversity.

Recognizing the latter is not an entirely new phenomenon (Rice 1998). Horvath (1972), for example, makes the case for a behavioral model of colonialism that is focused specifically on the nature of colonial-indigenous cultural interaction along the frontier. In this scheme colonization of frontier regions is characterized as a form of social domination, and Horvath (1972) offers a model of “probable behavioral outcomes in situations of power domination” characteristic of colonial-indigenous frontier interactions. The model is composed of a matrix of colonization “types” distinguished between manner of domination (colonialism or imperialism, defined by the presence or absence of settlers) and the nature of colonial-indigenous relationships (extermination, assimilation, or relative equilibrium). While Horvath’s model deals explicitly with large-scale processes of colonization and imperialism, they are processes that are manifest through small-scale colonial-indigenous frontier interactions (see also Bartel 1980, 1985).

Arguably the most influential effort to recognize the macro-and micro-scale issues involved in colonial contexts has been Eric Wolf’s (1982) *Europe and the People without History*. While a severe critic of certain world-system assumptions, Wolf (1982:23) nevertheless appreciates the large-scale analytical context it provides and the fact that the model “points to wider linkages that must be investigated if the processes at work in the periphery are to be understood”.

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Wolf is therefore able to examine the growth and spread of European influence since the late-fifteenth century in terms of general processes of mercantile and capitalist development. At the same time, he brings into sharp relief the micro-populations along the periphery affected or penetrated by such development. His study thus recognizes that, while useful, a world-system perspective invariably forces one to omit consideration of the cultural diversity present in peripheral contexts, and analyses must therefore constantly move between the scale of the encompassing system and the scale of individual communities (Wolf 1982:23).

Integral to Wolf's (1982) critique of the world-system model is the fact that the model conveys a sense of closure or boundedness to the system. While Wallerstein's model clearly rejects the notion that individual nations or societies exist in isolation, the model nevertheless argues that a world-system "is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence" (Wallerstein 1974:347). To Wolf, such internally homogenous and externally distinctive or bounded entities- irrespective of their scale- convey a false sense of reality (Horvath 1972:50). They disassemble into discrete and component parts what is in fact an interconnected "temporally and spatially changing and changeable set of relationships, or relationships among sets of relationships" (Wolf 1982:6). His emphasis upon how European colonial expansion was manifest among peripheral micro-populations is thus intended as a means to "open up" the large-scale system and identify the significant interactions that occurred along its porous frontier fringe.

Within the discipline of archaeology, recent scholarship has attempted to incorporate this idea of “open” systems into how colonial or frontier contexts are interpreted. Green and Perlman (1985), for example, recognize the difficulty of examining “open social process” within the limitations of closed or bounded analytic models. As an alternative, the authors distinguish between a frontier and boundary approach (Green and Perlman 1985:4). In this view, frontiers represent the peripheral fringe of an expanding society, and frontier research involves understanding the processes of political or economic expansion into these regions, an approach very much akin to Wallerstein’s (1974) world-system model. Boundaries, on the other hand, refer to the interactions that occur within frontier contexts, with research focused on the various factors that guide or structure interaction between frontier populations. An analogy can be drawn between this perspective and the more recent core-periphery critiques.

The strongest assertion within the theoretical archaeological literature for multi-scalar approaches to frontier contexts, however, is that of Lightfoot and Martinez (1995). These authors argue that advances such as that of Green and Perlman’s (1985) frontier-boundary distinction simply do not do enough to promote frontiers as arenas of inter-cultural contact (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:474). Because of this, they argue, most archaeological research of colonial contexts continues to be stuck in a colonialist or “colonizer-centric” framework of core-periphery relationships, and as a result, continues to rely solely on macro-scales of analysis (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:474; Farry 2005a). The authors call instead for a reconceptualization of frontiers as socially charged arenas of

culture contact where the creolization or syncretization of new cultural forms occurs among diverse and active communities. Their discussion enumerates three central problems with relying solely upon traditional core-periphery frameworks in the archaeological study of colonial contexts (see also Stein 1999:16-26). In enumerating these critiques, the authors define a new model for the archaeological study of frontier contexts, one that places a decided emphasis upon cultural dynamics and more restricted spatio-temporal contexts.

The first problem has been the tendency to apply an insular view of culture change, with any and all cultural transformations proceeding within the system from core to periphery. The character of the interacting links that serve to connect the system's components thus determine the type and degree of change experienced by a colonial society (Lewis 2002:5). This is a very top-heavy model that ultimately denies an active role to frontier cultural interaction or diversity as an important source of innovation or change. The assumption of core dominance becomes all-pervasive in that it does not allow for any sort of agency on the part of peripheral regions. As a result, "The peoples of the periphery," Stein (1999:19) argues, "are treated as passive victims of the core's dynamic expansion" (Wolf 1982; Rowlands 1998). This assumption also perpetuates a closed or bounded view of the world-system model, the notion being that internal ("closed") homeland-colonial relationships are more important than external ("open") colonial-indigenous interactions (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:476).

The second problem identified by the authors has been the over-reliance on large-scale analyses in investigating colonial frontier contexts. The authors

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point out that, at least since the 1970s, frontier studies have increasingly broadened their spatial perspectives to include multiple settlements, regions, and pan-regions. While no doubt useful, this tendency has nevertheless been carried out at the expense of more restricted spatial scales of analysis focused on processes of cultural interaction along the frontier itself. Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) do not reject the use of such large-scale models; in fact, they praise their use in elucidating the organizational structures linking colony to homeland. They simply make the point that “most core-periphery models are not fine grained enough to consider interethnic interactions along frontiers” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:477). Again, the authors strongly promote an explicitly multi-scalar approach- both spatial and temporal- that allows for synthetic research into how a world-system is mediated at the local level amidst diverse colonial populations.

The third problem has been the assumption within core-periphery approaches that frontiers delimit a sharp boundary between relatively homogenous colonial and indigenous populations. This assumption misleads, they argue, in that more often than not material culture traits tend to blur or merge at the margin of social units (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:479). This fact brings into sharp relief the truly complex relationship that exists between one’s cultural affiliation or identity and how such an identity is expressed through material culture within diverse settings (see below). The authors argue that archaeologists studying the colonial frontier experience should not over-simplify this complex process, but instead should embrace the “noise” commonly found in

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the archaeological record of frontier contexts. If, as they argue, frontiers do represent the front lines in the process of blending or creating new cultural constructs, assuming the presence of sharp boundaries will only serve to perpetuate the false reality of tightly bounded cultural units.

These arguments put forth by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) and others (e.g. Stein 1999) act as reminders of the fact that not all aspects of frontier settlements- military or otherwise- are the direct result of external influences; nor are they necessarily revealing of the larger arena within which such settlements served. Equally important as the links between core and periphery are the micro-scale issues of culture interaction and change within diverse frontier communities (Farry 2005a). Scholars such as Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) do accept the concept of frontiers as cosmopolitan in nature, with all that this implies in terms of a core-periphery perspective, but they also accept the full definition of that term, including “composed of persons, constituents, or elements from all or many parts of the world” (Merriam-Webster online dictionary). A mix of cultures and their processes of interaction thus become a hallmark of the frontier experience, not just how settlements connected to or functioned within metropolitan networks.

Cultural Identity

In attempting to untangle and understand this diverse mix of cultures within colonial contexts, frontier scholars working under the pluralist archaeology paradigm have found it necessary to deal explicitly with the link between material items and identity. This link becomes paramount, of course, when one accepts

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the perspective that culture heterogeneity and interaction define the frontier experience. The link also becomes paramount given the fact that, more often than not, archaeological studies of pluralistic settings have tended to simplify the “culture-artifact” relationship by assuming a one-to-one correlation (Jones 1999:221). For much of the history of culture contact studies, individual cultural groups were assumed to possess particular suites of material culture, and identifying the archaeological remains of all or part of one suite suggested the presence of the corresponding cultural group. Any adoption of alternate material culture- such as those of neighboring or encroaching cultural groups- signaled culture change, and could physically be measured by the relative loss of traditional materials to the gain of newer ones. Such an approach has long served as the means to understand indigenous New World culture change resulting from European colonial contact. This process, better known as acculturation, modeled cultural identity as a trait list of artifacts and cultural change as a zero sum game in which the inevitable adoption of newer European materials or behaviors coincided with the loss of native ones (see e.g., Redfield et al. 1936; Spicer 1961; Fontana 1965; Fitting 1976; Cusick 1998). Thus, from an archaeological perspective, the “proportion of European goods in Native American contexts was viewed as a direct reflection of the degree of culture change that had transpired over time as native peoples assimilated into the material world of Europeans or European Americans, while the proportion of traditional native materials was viewed as a proxy of cultural conservatism” (Lightfoot et al. 1998:200). Acculturation has since been challenged on a

number of grounds as an inappropriate model for the archaeological study of heterogeneous contexts, both within and beyond frontier settings (see e.g. Rubertone 1989; Howson 1990; Ferguson 1992; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Lightfoot 1995:206-207)

As a more recent alternative, scholars interested in the pluralistic character of frontier contexts have favored contextual and practice-oriented approaches. These concepts draw upon an ever-growing body of theoretical work that focuses attention to the study of daily practices- those “little routines people enact, again and again, in working, sleeping, and relaxing, as well as little scenarios of etiquette they play out again and again in social interaction” (Ortner 1984:154)- and how these practices reflect or reveal different peoples’ worldviews, cultural meanings, and social identities (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201; see also Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979, 1981; Miller and Tilley 1984; Ortner 1984; Sahlins 1985; Wilson 1993). The basic premise of this concept is that even the most mundane of daily tasks, such as the disposal of refuse, the manufacture and use of tools, or the ordering of domestic space, reveal underlying organizational principles and fundamental structural categories- one’s “culture”. Bourdieu (1977:72) termed this the *habitus*, a system of “durable, transposable dispositions” that are unconsciously inculcated within individuals from birth and are manifested in their day-to-day behaviors and practices. Individuals thus repeatedly enact and reproduce their underlying cultural affiliations, belief systems, and organizational categories through the patterned performances of routine tasks.

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One's cultural identity, however, is not simply passively reflected through daily practice, particularly within culturally heterogeneous contexts such as found along colonial frontiers. As Lightfoot et al. (1998:201) remark, "Cultural categories and values are not simply reproduced in daily practice, rather they are creatively modified during encounters with others. In the process of culture contact, people will reconstitute and reinterpret cultural practices in ways that both make sense of "others" and best suit their own interests". This is akin to Sahlins's (1985:xiv) structure of the conjuncture, or the practical realization of cultural categories in specific historical contexts that can either lead to social reproduction or cultural change ("failed reproduction"). Others have termed this concept ethnogenesis or syncretization, or the "emergence of a new cultural form with multiple origins and multiple active agents (Ferguson 1992; Deagan 1998:23; see also McGuire 1982; Jones 1999). The means by which individuals broadcast certain cultural affiliations are thus dependent, at least in part, upon the presence of a heterogeneous cultural environment, which in turn can lead to the emergence of new cultural forms and new daily practices.

Concepts such as daily practice and ethnogenesis provide archaeologists interested in a pluralist archaeology with the means to understand how individuals and communities express cultural affiliations, as well as how such affiliations may be observed within the archaeological record of frontier contexts. The focus on the "little routines" people enact day to day as an expression of their cultural identity, for example, is very much suited to archaeological analysis. Indeed, it is these types of routines that produce much of the material culture

recovered from the archaeological record (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). Continuous practices and behaviors such as the disposal of trash, the preparation of meals, or the structuring of domestic spaces result in patterned accumulations of material culture, much of which is commonly found within the archaeological record. The concepts thus provide both an important theoretical basis for understanding the notion of cultural identity, and an important methodological tool for observing it in the archaeological record.

The application of these concepts to specific cases in the archaeology of frontier contexts has been most noticeable among eighteenth and nineteenth-century fur-trade settlements spread across western North America, particularly at the northern California Russian trade outpost at Fort Ross (see, e.g., Lightfoot et al. 1991, 1993, 1997, 1998; Schiff 1994; Martinez 1994; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Woodhouse-Beyer 1997). It comes as no surprise that- as probably the most vocal proponent of a pluralist approach to the archaeology of frontier contexts- Kent Lightfoot and his colleagues have also been the most active in applying such an approach to frontier archaeological data. Their long-term investigations at the cosmopolitan frontier site represented by Fort Ross explicitly attempt to implement a multi-scalar “archaeology of pluralism” by investigating the material manifestations of cultural diversity and interaction, while they operationalize many of the arguments made in their more theoretical statement on the archaeology of frontier contexts (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995).

Historical Framework: Pluralist Perspectives on the Seven Years' War

A common theme to both theoretical perspectives just discussed is that of interaction. It is found within the macro-scale core-periphery perspective by the fact that frontiers are defined in terms of their interacting links to external networks. Within the micro-scale "pluralist" perspective advocated more recently, the theme is stressed by reworking the concept of frontiers to include cultural diversity and processes of inter-ethnic interaction. Recent discussions among historians of the Seven Years' War appreciate the relevance of both perspectives by arguing the point that small-scale interactions between diverse British military populations played an integral rather than peripheral role in the prosecution of the war. Even more broadly, such interaction is given a trans-Atlantic reach, ultimately playing an important part in the larger process of British colonization of North America. "Above all," Anderson (2000:xx) argues, the Seven Year' War was "a theater of intercultural interaction, an event by which colonists of New France and British North America came into intimate contact both with metropolitan authorities- men who spoke their languages but who did not share their views of the war or the character of the Imperial relationship- and with Indian peoples, whose participation as allies, enemies, negotiators, and neutrals so critically shaped the war's outcome". Because of this fact, the Seven Years' War presents an interesting case study for the investigation of cultural heterogeneity and interaction within small-scale spatial and temporal contexts, one that is clearly embedded within a much larger, trans-Atlantic context of core and periphery.

By recognizing the various multi-scalar issues involved, historians of the Seven Years' War have begun to emphasize the decidedly multi-ethnic character of British military populations and the fundamental role such heterogeneity played in course of British imperial policy. From this perspective, colonial empires are no longer cast as rigid institutions imposed from above, a very "top heavy" model in which metropolitan influence dictates peripheral response (e.g. Gipson 1936, 1961-1970). Rather, they are portrayed as negotiated and mutable processes contingent upon the varied cultural groups involved in their development. Now favored are synthetic approaches that can combine a social history emphasis on "multivalence, specificity, and texture" with an Atlantic perspective on how disparate groups and regions are linked together into a structural whole (Anderson and Cayton 1993:300; Griffin 2003). Scholars have come to appreciate the "messiness" of empires in the sense that a diversity of peoples- both within the metropolitan center and along the colonial periphery- are involved in and can influence its development. As Eric Hinderaker (1997:xii) has argued on this issue, "If we regard empires as cross-cultural constructions that were shaped by the opportunities, constraints, and crises facing the people who participated in them, we can understand them as organic systems instead of abstracted, ideal forms".

This is precisely the definition of empire employed by Fred Anderson in his recent grand-scale narrative of the Seven Years' War (Anderson 2000:xix). In *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, Anderson adapts Hinderaker's definition of empire as a

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negotiated system of intercultural interaction, one in which the imperial designs of the British and French metropolises were played out and shaped by a heterogeneous colonial populace on the margins of empire. Among this diversity, Anderson highlights the cultural distinctiveness and interaction of two groups in particular: American provincials and British regular soldiers (Anderson 1984, 2000; see also Leach 1986a, 1986b; Rogers 1974; cf. Agostini 2002). Anderson's (2000:288) research emphasizes the point that the British army of the Seven Years' War was a key locus of intercultural contact; a zone of cultural interface between Anglo-American populations in which "tens of thousands of American colonists [provincials] encountered the British cultural and class system as refracted through the prism of the regular army". Anderson's research also makes the point that such cultural divergence was experienced beyond the more obvious (though equally important) categories of French/ English or Anglo-American/ Native American. The analysis of the interactions between allied provincial and regular troops thus offers a fine-grained examination of Anglo-American communities that all too often have been treated as a single, monolithic cultural unit.

Anglo-American Cultural Diversity During the Seven Years' War

Although "British" in their political aims, frontier military settlements were seldom composed of strictly British military populations; by necessity, manpower was augmented through the raising of American provincial troops in the colonies and the use of Native American allies (Farry 2005a). At one level, the distinction

of Native and Euro-American populations within such military settlements offers an important line of research into aspects of cultural diversity and interaction. Recognizing the diversity of Native groups, however, can have the unintended effect of normalizing the character of Euro-American populations: “the effort to recover the past from perspectives other than that of British Americans has tended to homogenize the colonists/conquerors and reduce them to a single cultural stereotype” (Cayton and Tuete 1998:9). Addressing a provincial/regular dichotomy thus offers an explicit recognition of the variable and diverse character of these military groups: equally English within the larger political arena, contact among imported British regular soldiers from the parent-state and indigenous provincial troops raised from the American colonies represented the extended (and often hostile) interaction of two very different cultures (Anderson 1984:111).

Through the use of soldiers’ diaries, correspondence, and enlistment and service records, historical research has framed a basic disjunction between these two groups during their course of joint service against the French in the Seven Years’ War. Leach (1986a), for example, portrays the disjunction as an underlying psychological gulf between the two groups. In this framework colonists (provincials) personify a prior dissatisfaction with the British homeland and a preference for the colonies, a feeling that is expressed in their movement to the periphery and subsequently reinforced and justified as they come into close contact with the British regular command. Similarly,

the homelander [regular], now enrolled in His Majesty’s forces serving in America, felt compelled to justify his continuing attachment to Old England by flaunting the superiority of its people and way of life. How easy and natural it was for the

colonist to view with a certain disdain those who appeared to be willing adherents of that which he himself had abandoned, how easy and natural for the true Briton in uniform to scorn the colonist as one who, having failed to measure up at home, had opted out for a crude existence in the wilderness (Leach 1986a:5-6).

Notwithstanding the possibility of such a psychological divergence between those who had left and those who had remained in England, a more practical distinction serving to structure provincial and British interactions was likely the differing perceptions both cultural groups had on the nature of their roles within the overall military framework (Anderson 1981, 1983, 1984, 2000). Contrary to the experiences of the professional British military, the locus of authority for provincial soldiers was a form of contract-based soldiery in which annually negotiated contracts of enlistment clearly laid out both the terms and lengths of service (Anderson 1981, 1984:167-195). Such contracts unambiguously defined the terms of service and duties expected of provincials, and were mutually agreeable to all parties involved. Provincial soldiers often emphasized the business-like nature of these agreements, framing their enlistment negotiations and daily military service in quasi-legal terms. The long-established practice of combating the French sans British assistance also instilled a sense of autonomy throughout the New England provincial forces, the and it was clearly “not the King’s say-so [which] specified the service [a provincial soldier] would render and the care and compensation he would receive in return” (Anderson 1984:195). Anderson locates the provincial notion of an autonomous and contractual military force within the framework of New England society at large- a “society fairly steeped in covenants”- and by so doing provides a logical

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relationship between military behavior and cultural context; Massachusetts provincials (who formed the largest contingent of provincial troops fielded during the war) were simply acting according to long-standing social experiences, a fact that seemed to be lost on their British allies.

A dispute over the imposed subordination of provincial officers relative to that of equally ranked British regular officers during the early years of the war stands as a good example of this contractual mentality among the Americans. Concerning this dispute, American officer John Winslow remarked “they [provincial officers] were universally of opinion they could not give up [their rank and command compared to the British], as the army was a properly organized body; and that they by the several governments from whom these troops were raised were executors in trust, which it was not their power to resign” (Anderson 1984:172). Referring to the same dispute and employing similar phrasing, Governor Thomas Fitch of Connecticut pointed out that “It therefore seems necessary that these [provincial] troops be continued under the same command and employed agreeable to the design of their enlistments; otherwise the contract between them and their constituents ... may be broken and their rights violated” (Anderson 1984:178). Combined with similar but more numerous journal accounts among the provincial enlisted, the idea of a contract-based soldiery reads like a constant theme among the provincial armies (Anderson 1981:402-411, 1984:167,185-195).

Alternatively, while the provincials perceived themselves essentially as laborers- civilians temporarily obligated to the colonies in which they had been

raised- the British professional military drew upon experiences of discipline, obedience, and subordination to royal authority as the proper organization for an army, typified in one British commander's response to the provincials' "seditious" remarks quoted above: "I hope the king has a better opinion ... than to imagine that they could ever think they had a right to refer his majesty's commands, to be debated in a provincial council of war" (Anderson 1984:176).

A further distinction between the two communities was each group's persistent disagreement over the authority vested in provincial armies. Prior to 1756 both British and American politicians tacitly accepted a "separate but equal" footing for provincial troops relative to the British (Rogers 1974:70). This policy secured the use of both groups in furthering the war effort and, to the provincials, ensured that their contracts for enlistment did not suffer interference from royal authority. The practical necessity of merging colonial and British forces as the war progressed, however, inevitably guaranteed a subordinate role for the provincials. British disregard for provincial equality is evident early in the war, as the Royal Proclamation of November 1754 made clear:

We are hereby pleased to declare, It is Our Will & Pleasure, that all Troops serving by commissions signed by Us, or by Our General Comanding [sic] in Chief in North America [regulars], shall take Rank before all Troops which may serve by Commission from any of the Governors or Councils of Our Provinces in North America [provincials] (Pargellis 1936:44).

"This order," Anderson (2000:140) comments, "reduced the most experienced colonial military leaders, colonels and generals not excepted, to a level below that of the newest pimpled ensign in the regular army". The less-than-equal relationship of rank was partially modified through the course of the war to

improve the status of provincial officers serving jointly with British regulars: Lord Loudon's Rule of 1755 ranked provincial field officers and generals as "eldest captains" when in joint service, while William Pitt in late 1757 ordered that "provincial majors, colonels, and generals would enjoy a status equivalent to their counterpart ranks in the regular army, ranking as juniors only to the regular officers of comparable grades" (Anderson 2000:145, 214). Nevertheless, the fact that such orders were issued, even if to improve the relative status of provincials, indicates the overall disdain British commanders had for their American counterparts. Yet despite such an explicit lack of confidence by the British command, provincials maintained a sense of equality for themselves throughout the course of joint service (Anderson 1984).

The kin-based structure of many provincial units also distinguished them from the rigidly hierarchical rank structure characteristic of the British military. A sampling of six Massachusetts regiments enlisted for the 1756 expedition demonstrates 104 cases of two or more men in the same provincial company sharing surname, birthplace and place of residence at time of enlistment, 65 of which included officers or noncommissioned officers (Anderson 1984:42). As these men would have been very active in enlisting soldiers to fill unit ranks, kinship ties were often employed to meet recruitment needs, thus resulting in a very unique understanding among the provincials as to the officer-soldier relationship.

Writ large, this officer-soldier relationship resulted in an army structure quite unlike that of the British command. Where the British functioned under an

idealized arrangement akin to a human pyramid- a hierarchically organized body of status and rank positions bound together through chains of command and often brutal discipline- provincial forces combined to form a loosely knit network of kinship ties and personal loyalties (Anderson 1984:48). Sharp distinctions between lines of rank were often blurred among provincials, and the necessary maintenance of discipline relied more often on entreaty and solidarity than on terror. "The process of [provincial] enlistment," Anderson (1984:44) concludes, "thus created unusually close ties between the army's leaders and its rank and file- ties incomprehensible to regular soldiers like the redcoats, who understood that a virtually unbridgeable chasm separated officers from other ranks". Such community and kinship-oriented relationships among the provincials, unlike the "draconian discipline in a system that discouraged [British] officers from even learning their men's Christian names," may have provided more of a sense of shared identity within American units as well as less of a sense of distinction across lines of provincial rank and hierarchy (Anderson 1984:44; Leach 1986a:108).

To suggest a stronger sense of regional identity among all provincials, however, may confuse a range of variability within this group. In contrast to the kin-related regiments of New England, provincial units raised in other colonies often demonstrate much greater heterogeneity in their social composition. Muster rolls for the colony of New York during the 1760 campaign indicate only about a third of the men enlisted for service were native-born New Yorkers; the majority were either migrants from other colonies or from various parts of Europe

(Knoblauch 1997). Data from the Virginia Regiment size rolls for the years 1756 and 1757 reveal an army almost equally divided between native and foreign-born soldiers, while in Pennsylvania muster rolls indicate that less than 20% of provincial forces were native to that colony (Ferling 1986; Ward 1995:89-90, Table 4). These patterns contrast sharply with regiments from Massachusetts, over 80% of who were born within the colony (Anderson 1984:232, Table 13).

A uniquely temporary character of military service also clearly differentiated provincials from British regulars. American terms of enlistment ensured that the provincial army “was never a permanent body ... Men enlisted not for a term of years or for the duration of the war, but for a campaign that they understood would last eight months. By law, none of the enlisted men could be compelled to serve longer than twelve months” (Anderson 1984:50). This discontinuous character of American service meant that, from year to year, its army was essentially a new creation, clearly distinguished from the British army’s reliance upon long-term enlistments among an experienced enlisted and officer corp. This no doubt resulted in a provincial military force wholly unfamiliar with the prescribed rules and regulations governing even the smallest and most mundane of soldiering duties such as was outlined in military manuals like Humphrey Bland’s (1746) *Treatise of Military Discipline*. Conventional practices as described in such a manual were standard procedure for the British army, but not so for the American forces (Anderson 1984:77). The temporary nature of provincial service also served as a constant source of friction during British and American joint expeditions, where provincial plans to return home at the end of

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A comparable level of military training also clearly set apart the provincial and British ranks, with the provincials simply lacking an equivalent experience in formal (i.e. European) tactics of war. As a result, provincial units were disproportionately employed in manual labor tasks, or as the British would characterize it, merely suited “to work our Boats, drive our Wagons, to fell Trees, and do the Works that in inhabited Countrys are performed by Peasants” (Shy 1965:100; Rogers 1974:67; Leach 1986a:132). Provincial officers were not immune to such contempt from their British counterparts, as William Johnson’s remarks concerning the provincial forces under his command at Lake George in September 1755 made clear: “In short there is not through the Troops in general due Subordination kept up. The officers are most of them low weak People, who have neither the ability nor Inclination to maintain a necessary Superiority. Some of them I believe are sorry Fellows & rather join with than restrain their Men” (Sullivan 1922:7). In fact, the characterization of provincial forces as merely suited for “peasant work” was not wholly accurate (Anderson 1984:81). While provincials were often employed in such manual labor tasks as cutting firewood, clearing and repairing roads, escorting supply trains, and digging entrenchments, they also represented a pool of skilled labor unmatched among the British ranks. Given their status as temporary or part-time soldiers, many among the provincial units- carpenters, smiths, masons- provided the supportive skills and services necessary for maintaining an effective military force that were simply lacking among the British professionals. The comparative lack of reliable infrastructure

and the various physical challenges posed by the American frontier environment found the British army ill-suited towards certain skilled tasks, and reliance on Americans was inevitable. Among members of Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment, for example, were a large percentage of skilled woodworkers who were employed in building fortifications, bridges, outbuildings, and a large number of maritime vessels at forts Edward and William Henry (Kemmer 1997).

Taken together these historical sources of British-American relations suggest that the interaction of native- and foreign-born soldiers served as a significant organizational feature among colonial military settlements. While status and military rank were, by definition, integral factors to the structure of these settlements, the distinction of provincial or British likely cut across lines of rank to define a broader cultural division within these military populations. Such a division was clearly recognized by the communities themselves, as both provincial and British accounts attest to the influence of this dichotomy in structuring the behavior of either group during joint occupations. As real differences between the two were, over time, combined with imagined and even exaggerated differences, the regulars and provincials ultimately "came to have a poor opinion of one another" (Rogers 1974:60).

These accounts also suggest that significant interactions occurred within British colonial military frontiers in addition to the organizational structures tying periphery to core. While inextricably linked to a larger political arena, peripheral military settlements evidence important processes at the local level: "the

dynamic interplay that takes place between colonial and indigenous populations, an important source of culture change” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:487).

Chapter Summary

The historical framework of Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War provides an ideal case study for the application of the various theoretical concepts introduced earlier in this chapter. As a cosmopolitan military frontier, British settlements of the Seven Years' War were necessarily embedded within metropolitan networks, networks that extended the reach of British colonial power and linked disparate components into a large-scale trans-Atlantic system of core/periphery relationships. But these same settlements were also active arenas of culture contact, interaction, and change. Equally important were the small-scale contexts of contact between American provincial and British regular populations. Cultural dynamics between Anglo-American populations were thus significant influences at these settlements, equally so as were the political directives of the core state. Ultimately, then, what is needed is a scalar model to help integrate the various threads into a coherent and encompassing framework, one that defines the basic components of colonial military frontiers and outlines how these might be observed archaeologically among Seven Years' War British contexts. This is the subject of the subsequent discussion.

CHAPTER 3:

THE COLONIAL MILITARY FRONTIER MODEL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES

Chapter Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to synthesize the various topics discussed in Chapter 2 into a coherent and scalar model of colonial military frontiers. The model is presented first in terms of its basic assumptions. These basics help to define clearly the salient characteristics of colonial military frontiers, in part by incorporating many of the theoretical concepts discussed in the first part of Chapter 2. These basic assumptions are abstracted from any one historical context and apply to colonial military frontiers in general. The model is also presented in terms of the historical framework presented in the latter part of Chapter 2. This helps define application of the model to real-world contexts, and helps to determine exactly how certain hypothesized patterns might be observed against the archaeological record of British military settlements. Taken together, the basic assumptions of the model demonstrate the importance not only of the military frontier as a social phenomenon of eighteenth-century British North America, but also of the multi-scalar issues involved in colonial frontier contexts. In many respects the model is similar to that advocated for frontiers in general by pluralist scholars, but applied here to the functionally specific context of military frontiers. In this sense the various components of the model have already been discussed at length, with further discussion serving only to assemble and consolidate the salient points. It is hoped that this chapter provides such a succinct review prior to testing the model against British military data.

The model and its derived archaeological hypotheses offer a theoretically informed and historically contextual approach to the general study of colonial

military frontiers. While the various hypotheses and expected material patterns are specific to Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War, the processes at work and the behavior being modeled are characteristic of a much wider audience. As such, they provide the means to comment on the broader issue of colonial frontier cultural dynamics, and how the issue of scale plays an important part in observing and studying such dynamics. From a more practical perspective, the model also provides a specific framework to help structure future archaeological research into British military settlements of the Seven Years' War.

Colonial Military Frontier Model

The model of colonial military frontiers may be best enumerated as a series of basic assumptions. First and foremost, a fundamental assumption of the model is that **colonial military frontiers are multi-cultural arenas in which groups of varied backgrounds coexist and interact**. This fact is true for cosmopolitan and insular frontiers in general, a point reinforced by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995), but it is one that until only very recently has gone unrecognized for its analytical importance. Diverse frontier military populations can include, but are not limited to, imported homeland armies, locally raised colonial troops, and allied indigenous forces. When viewed in terms of competing colonial empires, these varied cultural groups necessarily take on a more homogenized identity; thus, for example, the "British" fought against the "French" in North America during the Seven Years' War.

But when viewed from the perspective of the frontier itself and within more

restricted contexts, such large-scale appellations serve only to reduce the true complexity of the cultures present. Thus the “British” army was comprised of imported British regular troops, locally raised volunteer American units, and allied native groups, among others, with their French foes equally varied in character. Observing and examining this varied character is therefore integral to a fuller understanding of the military frontier experience, in part because it is a topic that has not garnered adequate attention by frontier scholars over the years.

A second assumption of the model is that **examining military frontiers from restricted spatial/temporal contexts- for example, small-scale domestic contexts- will help reveal the character of this culturally diverse environment.** This assumption implies that the traditional large-scale perspective common among frontier scholars is not adequately suited to understanding cultural diversity in military contexts. It also implies that it is in the day-to-day, private, small-scale contexts such as domestic occupations that we might best observe how individuals and groups express their shared cultural behaviors in opposition to others and in varied cultural environments. In acting out daily, repetitive, even mundane tasks- the preparation and consumption food, the use of tools or other accoutrements, the disposal of trash, even the construction and maintenance of domestic spaces- individuals reinforce (but also potentially reconfigure) cultural affiliations, particularly within heterogeneous contexts. Examining small-scale domestic contexts may thus offer a useful perspective into the character of cultural diversity as was experienced by frontier military populations.

The fact that **clear cultural boundaries will be observed when viewed within small-scale domestic contexts** is a third assumption of the model, though such relatively bounded categories are conceptualized as neither fixed nor absolute. This aspect serves as an important point of divergence from the more general pluralist frontier perspective espoused by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995). Here the authors argue that cultural margins are in general quite “fuzzy” in heterogeneous frontier contexts because individuals continually alter their cultural affiliations as established practices are recast in novel social environments. Thus the authors decry the existence of sharp cultural margins while at the same time they celebrate the cultural “noise” of frontiers in which there exists a complex and ever-shifting mosaic of crosscutting segmentary groups (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:474). This perspective is valid in a theoretical sense, but it is an assumption that proves very difficult to operationalize for archaeological testing. It also represents an assumption that the authors themselves found very difficult to maintain in practice, and brief mention of this is in order.

In their study of the cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic Fort Ross colonial outpost in California (Lightfoot et al. 1998), the authors implicitly observed clear cultural margins among inter-ethnic households. The authors were able to define Native Californian (female) behaviors and practices within the scale of individual households. Female Kashaya Pomo wives reproduced their traditional daily practices of food preparation and refuse disposal as evidenced by patterns seen in the domestic artifact assemblages they left behind. At the scale of individual

neighborhoods and in the alignment of multiple inter-ethnic households, however, it was clear that their Native Alaskan husbands' conventions were employed. Male Alutiiq hunting conventions were observed through the placement of villages along marine terraces that afforded an unobstructed view of the ocean. In this case the inter-ethnic Kashaya Pomo and Alutiiq households changed their overt cultural affiliations depending on the spatial scale under consideration. And at the scale of the overall colonial outpost, the imprint of Russian managers was evident in the segregation of discrete neighborhoods based on class, status, and ethnicity.

What these patterns suggest is a clear identification of cultural boundaries by the authors, boundaries that are entwined with the concept of scale. While a strict reliance on such sharp cultural boundaries is no doubt an over simplification of reality, they are nevertheless analytically necessary and in turn seem apparent in the archaeological record. The authors' strong claim against any kind of rigid cultural boundary in frontier contexts thus confuses what is ultimately a scalar issue: such boundaries are fluid and changeable in the manner in which they reconfigure among different spatial/temporal contexts, but within any single context they are necessarily visible.

Cultural margins may indeed be "noisy" or "fuzzy" in frontier contexts, but such noise is the result of reconfigurations across different spatial or temporal scales. The overlapping or crosscutting nature of cultural margins as advocated by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) is therefore not rejected in the present model, despite the claim for clear cultural boundaries within small-scale spatial and

temporal contexts. Rather, cultural margins are recast as malleable units subject to reconfigurations in different contexts. That is, the crosscutting nature of cultural boundaries- the noise celebrated by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995)- may be manifest in the processes by which these categories are redefined or restructured among different spatial or temporal scales.

This line of reasoning leads to a fourth basic assumption of the colonial military frontier model: **patterns in the diverse fabric of military frontier cultures which are observable within small-scale contexts may correlate or conflict with those patterns observable within much broader spatial or temporal frames of reference.** This aspect of the model recognizes that one's cultural affiliation or identity is not something that is strictly enacted or simply reproduced through cultural practice. Rather, it is an aspect that is often actively and creatively reconfigured in response to new situations, particularly during encounters with others. Frontier military populations- as among all types of frontier settlement- thus participate in the ethnogenesis of new cultural practices and forms, and these may be expressed and observed across different scales of analysis. Ultimately this represents part of the larger process of culture change. As the relevant spatial scale moves from individual domestic spheres to larger, more public spaces, colonial military populations may actively modify their cultural affiliations by adopting new practices or adapting old ones. Behaviors and practices that serve to distinguish certain populations within small-scale contexts may, when viewed from larger contexts for example, serve as a means for blurring or altering cultural boundaries depending on the nature of the

historical relationship between the groups. And as the temporal scale moves from single points in time to spans of years or longer, groups may shift affiliations as they come to incorporate new ideas and behaviors over a period of time.

A fifth and final assumption of the colonial frontier model is that **such settlements functioned within large-scale metropolitan networks that were relevant far beyond the immediate concerns of the local cultural environment.** This assumption recognizes, as do Lightfoot and Martinez (1995:487), the need for a balanced perspective to frontier studies, one that accepts the important influence of core-periphery relationships as well as the fundamental role of micro-scale cultural dynamics. If it is true that not every aspect of frontier environments is revealing of the larger external connections present, it must also be true that not every aspect is necessarily revealing of processes of cultural diversity, interaction, and change. As the scale of analysis ever increases to include multiple settlements across a regional colonial landscape or across spans of years, the larger political and economic influences at work within military settlements certainly become relevant, and to the expense of micro-scale cultural dynamics. At these large scales, the diverse frontier military populations likely exhibit a much more homogenous character overall as they begin to assume the role of a specialized cosmopolitan frontier carrying out the dictates and will of their parent state. While this last assumption on the importance of external influences is no doubt true for all types of frontier settlement, it is particularly relevant when considering colonial military frontiers.

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Archaeological Hypotheses

Application of the model's theoretical assumptions to the historical framework offers the opportunity to develop the model more fully by placing abstract concepts in real-world contexts. The result is a model of Anglo-American behaviors across variable scales, behavior that likely involved material culture and is reflected in the archaeological record. Application thus involves the development of a series of archaeological hypotheses, and the theoretically informed and historically contextual general model enjoys a detailed application to a specific archaeological case study. Expressed in terms of another historical context (or even in terms of another type of cosmopolitan frontier settlement), the specific archaeological hypotheses and material implications would, of course, be different. But the processes they seek to observe- the means by which diverse frontier cultures exist and interact on a daily basis within diverse contexts- remain valid in every colonial frontier military environment.

It is important to note that the archaeological hypotheses explored in this study derive only from the application of relevant frontier theoretical concepts to the particular historical circumstances of Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War. Archaeological data are not used to develop the hypotheses, but instead represent an independent line of evidence with which to explore and evaluate the nature of cultural diversity as was experienced by frontier populations. In this way, the archaeological record adds an equally valid line of evidence to the historical record and to the study of colonial frontier settlement.

Small-Scale Spatio-Temporal Contexts

A fundamental assumption of the colonial military frontier model is that significant material variation will in fact clearly distinguish diverse frontier populations within small-scale contexts. While it is true that, by definition, reducing one's scale of analysis to ever smaller contexts will necessarily bring to light greater variation, it is the fact that such variation takes the form of a clear Anglo-American distinction that is relevant (Farry 2005a:18). It is thus assumed that material variation will clearly distinguish small-scale spatial and temporal contexts of American provincial or British regular occupations (for example, provincial huts/tents and regular barracks structures).

The nature of this Anglo-American material culture diversity likely assumed various forms based on the historical relationship of provincials and British regulars. What, for example, are the material correlates of a community defined by an autonomous martial tradition, a temporary and contractual basis for wartime service, and an army structure consisting of informal relations between relatively inexperienced troops? Further, how would these patterns compare or contrast with those associated with an allied community defined by a rigidly hierarchical rank structure, strong central command, and a highly disciplined corps of seasoned troops? Again, hypotheses derived from this historical relationship focus upon Anglo-American cultural differences in small-scale contexts because it assumed that such contexts offer the best perspective on frontier cultural diversity. The means by which cultural margins change or become blurred is explored among larger spatial and temporal scales.

The control afforded by Anderson's detailed historical framework means that a number of possible archaeological hypotheses and material implications might be suggested to help understand small-scale diversity between British and American forces during the Seven Years' War, including:

Hypothesis 1: British and provincial material assemblages from small spatio-temporal contexts will likely reveal differing degrees of material culture standardization.

From a broad perspective, this hypothesis assumes that Anglo-American groups differed significantly in their participation in a "professional" military culture. It posits that, at any specific point in time, specific British contexts will likely reveal a comparatively professional-looking martial identity manifested by standardized materials. The British military was long practiced in the tactics of formal European warfare and was quite familiar with how to adequately supply and arm its forces, particularly in the use of similar weaponry and other accoutrements to ease replacement and help standardize fire. The American provincials, to the contrary, could not draw upon such a lengthy or professional martial tradition, even those numerous New England forces among the ranks that were all too familiar with colonial warfare. As a result, provincial forces were unfamiliar and likely unable to similarly supply and arm their troops as were the British regulars. American provincial contexts will thus likely reveal a lack of standardized materials as befitted a professional fighting force. Based on the general historical depiction of the colonial forces conveyed by Anderson (1984),

one can almost picture the rather “motley” looking appearance of the provincials in comparison to the dress and discipline of the British regulars.

Specific archaeological test expectations derived from this hypothesis could cover a wide spectrum of material items because the concept of standardization is not limited to any single item or artifact category. For example, it could be expected that British regulars employed a uniform weaponry, most likely using the “Brown Bess” as a standard issue musket while the provincials did not. It is documented that the acceptance of the flintlock musket among warring European nations during the first half of the eighteenth century led to the eventual standardization of military weaponry, as Brumwell (2002:194) points out: “This union of firepower and cold steel [represented by the innovative flintlock musket] revolutionized warfare: uniformity of armament simplified drill, enhanced the scope for manoeuvre, and rendered infantry less vulnerable to prowling cavalry”. Neumann (1967) makes a similar argument, stating that acceptance of the flintlock musket eventually led to the rationalization of military firepower across Europe and to the adoption of the standard issue Brown Bess musket by the British in the mid-1720s. “Prior to this time,” Neumann (1967:16) argues, “most European governments had bought arms from individual contractors, letting them arrange the details of manufacture. As a rule, only the barrel length and approximate bore size had been specified. Now the complete pattern, including the stock and furniture, was being given standard dimensions”. Provincial forces, by comparison, likely employed whatever weaponry was available, including any and all muskets that were issued to them or that

individual American recruits brought with them during the initial gathering of forces. Indeed, Kemmer (1998:46) notes that it was often common for individual American colonies to offer bounties to provincial soldiers who could supply their own working musket.

And as the mustering of provincials started anew each year, this would suggest that from year to year provincial weaponry remained non-standardized compared to the British regulars. Contemporary sources during William Johnson's 1755 campaign against the French at Crown Point, for example, note the general's disdain that provincial armaments- those of officers and soldiers alike- were a variable mix "of diff't. Bores and sorts" (Lauber 1939:206). Again, the motley appearance of the unprofessional and amateur provincials comes to mind in relation to the regulars.

Other categories of materials, such as items of military dress or even the architectural designs of individual dwellings, may also demonstrate differences in the degree of standardization (Farry 2005a:22). Concerning the latter, Anderson (1984) argues that the design and construction of domestic structures used by the soldiers was one of the most obvious and public points of divergence between Anglo-American forces. Anderson (1984:92) quotes at length the description given of the provincial camp at Lake George in 1755, the author of which wondered whether it was indeed possible to

describe the various accommodations and conveniences of living used in this place? In one part you might behold rows of habitations appearing like whites sepulchers...in another part you might see a cave or hole in the rocks; some huge poles of brush and dirt served to fend off the cold and rain- others had long rows of buildings that much resemble meeting-house

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And given mention of the fact in contemporary accounts that provincial uniforms often consisted of the civilian clothes that they brought with them on campaign, a lack of standardized uniforms could be hypothesized for American contexts compared to the standardized redcoats of the regulars (see Anderson 2000:410-411). Musket ball diameters could serve as a proxy for measuring weapon standardization among British and provincial assemblages, while button types could do the same for measuring the “uniformity” of colonial and British uniforms. The specific architectural features or patterns of British and American domestic structures could also help evaluate differences in standardization among Anglo-American architecture.

Hypothesis 2: Colonial assemblages may reflect the temporary character of provincial military service, while in comparison, British regular assemblages may reflect a much more long-term military service.

This hypothesis explores the uniquely provincial attribute of a temporary and contractual-based military service, one that was quite at odds to the experience of the professional British military and its reliance upon long-term enlistments. As soldiers under contract for only a single campaign or year of service, provincial ranks were never a permanent body. While a number of provincial soldiers might (and did) reenlist during the course of the war, and while a number of provincial officers might be recommissioned (and often were) year after year, the provincial army during the Seven Years' War was a perennial re-

creation. "Any continuity it enjoyed," Anderson (1984:51) writes, "was accidental".

That being the case, it is worthwhile to suppose that temporary military service will be reflected in some manner in the composition of provincial assemblages, while in comparison, long-term military service will be reflected in the composition of British regular material assemblages. Temporary military service among the provincials, for example, might involve a comparative lack in the range or amount of material items used, which might suggest that certain categories of materials were considered unnecessary or unneeded baggage given the impermanent character of provincial service. In effect, provincials may have brought (or bought) less items than the regulars given their short tours of duty. Similarly, provincial domestic structures may demonstrate an impermanent character compared to more substantial and long-term British regular structures.

Hypothesis 3: Small-scale Anglo-American assemblages may differ significantly in the degree to which they reflect a hierarchical order of military rank and status positions.

This hypothesis posits that British regular contexts will demonstrate much greater evidence for status and rank divisions within the military hierarchy as compared to American provincial contexts. The hypothesis is, in one sense, a continuation of the earlier idea that British regulars were a much more "professional" military force compared to Americans. In another sense, however, the hypothesis draws upon the discordant military structures underlying both

armies. As Anderson (1984:48) argues, provincial forces functioned under a unique officer-soldier relationship compared to the British ranks, resulting in two very different military arrangements among the Anglo-American allies:

We can understand the apparently erratic behavior of provincial armies in the field only by first recognizing that intense personal loyalties and expectations of reciprocity between men and officers suffused the process by which these armies were created. In its institutional ideal, a provincial army was a human pyramid, hierarchically organized and held together with chains of command, authority, and obligation, extending from the commander in chief at its peak down to the individual soldiers at its base. But the reality of recruitment gave the lie to the superficial orderliness of the provincial armies' organization. Rather than a uniform hierarchy of officers and men, a provincial army was in fact a confederation of tiny war bands, bound together less by the formal relationships of command than by an organic network of kinship and personal loyalties.

The "institutional ideal" Anderson references was very much characteristic of British regular forces, representing an ideal that was constantly enforced and ingrained upon the regulars through the workings of a brutal military justice system.

Because of this "war band" structure and the many kinship and personal ties within provincial units, it can be assumed therefore that provincial material assemblages will look much the same across lines of rank. That is, excepting only the most obvious and necessary distinctions of military status (e.g. officer insignia), provincial assemblages will likely not reveal significant differences in terms of rank differentiation. The construction techniques of individual provincial domestic structures as well as their associated material assemblages, for example, might exhibit a degree of similarity in terms of status and rank. It may

also be the case (as explored above) that a variety of construction techniques were used to construct provincial officer and enlisted dwellings alike, such that no one technique or building material could be distinguished along lines of military rank (Farry 2005a:23). By way of contrast, the artifactual assemblages and architectural details associated with British regular occupations are assumed to reflect the presence of sharp distinctions of military rank.

These expected patterns of Hypothesis 3, however, do require one important caveat. While the notions of a loosely knit network and a war band-like structure describe well the numerous New England provincial forces, forces drawn from other American colonies demonstrate a social composition much like that of the British army. This suggests that certain provincial assemblages might reveal patterns that are very similar to British regular contexts in terms of status distinctions. Deviations from Hypothesis 3 might therefore be expected in certain instances as not all provincial units derived from New England or were composed of men related through kinship or community ties (Ferling 1986; Ward 1995; Knoblauch 1997).

Hypothesis 4: Provincial and British domestic contexts may be distinguished in terms of their familiarity with orderly encampment behaviors, evidenced by very different patterns in the manner in which domestic trash is disposed.

Implicit in this hypothesis is, again, the notion that British regulars were a much more professional military force than the provincials and that they were

much more familiar with the basic daily tasks involved in maintaining a dense military settlement. Provincial soldiers, unaccustomed to life in compact urban settlements (which in terms of sheer population density is what British military settlements of the period were) or to the military regulations regarding sanitation, may have followed less-than-ideal practices of trash disposal or camp cleanliness (Anderson 1984:95-98; Chet 2003:127). This was certainly the conclusion drawn by British Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Burton after his visit to the New England provincial encampment at Fort William Henry in 1756: "The [provincial] camp nastier than anything I could conceive. Their necessary houses [latrines], kitchens, graves and places for slaughtering cattle, all mixed through the encampment" (Anderson 1984:95). Burton's visit also brought him to William Henry's sister settlement to the south at Fort Edward, where he found a slightly better situation but one still deficient in the eyes of a British officer: "At Fort Edward about 2,500 men, between five and six hundred sick. Bury daily from five to eight men, and officers in proportion. Their camp much cleaner than at Fort William Henry, but not sufficiently so to keep the men healthy" (Anderson 1984:96).

At the Fort Edward settlement official orders were issued to ensure a degree of camp order and cleanliness among provincial encampments, as Phineas Lyman noted in his orderly book at Fort Edward in 1757: "It is Major Fletcher's orders that the commanding officer of the different corps, see that the streets of their respective encampments be swept clean every day and that an officer of a company visit the men's tents in order to see that they are kept as

clean as possible" (Hill 1929:119). But the fact that such orders were often re-issued (as Major Fletcher's were only two days later [Hill 1929:119]), raises questions as to how carefully official policy was actually put into daily practice by provincial soldiers (Farry 2005a:24). Reference to numerous other orderly books in which daily orders issued to the provincial troops were recorded finds a number of edicts on camp cleanliness (see, e.g., Henshaw 1759; Lyman 1899:32,34-35; Hastings 1911:25; Moneypenny 1970:435,444).

Material manifestations of provincial "slovenliness" might include the random or indiscriminant disposal of refuse immediately among huts or tents or in public spaces surrounding domestic structures, as Burton's remarks suggest. This might result in the accumulation of debris within a sheet midden layer rather than within specialized refuse areas or pits. By contrast, British barracks may evidence cleaner, if not more regular, procedures for removing domestic refuse into specialized areas.

The concept of professionalism is a recurrent theme through all of the hypotheses just discussed, and as such, it deserves special mention prior to discussing subsequent large-scale archaeological hypotheses. As Anderson (1984:viii) points out, "Judged by timeless standards of military professionalism, the provincials seem merely to be what the British said they were: bad soldiers". But while it is true that American forces subscribed to notions of military service that were wholly at odds with their British regular allies, to evaluate them simply as deficient, unprofessional, or "bad" because of these tendencies misses the

underlying cultural distinctiveness of American and British forces during the Seven Years' War. "To judge the provincials only as deficient versions of professional troops, without reference to the provincials' shared values and their beliefs concerning war and military service, would be to misunderstand the actions and motivations of eighteenth-century New Englanders at war" (Anderson 1984:ix). Thus the various material differences hypothesized for regulars and provincials in small-scale spatio-temporal contexts are not simply a measure of which group was more professional or which was better at soldiering; they are an attempt to measure the fundamental cultural diversity that existed among historically situated groups in a specific frontier military context.

Large-Scale Spatio-Temporal Contexts

Broadening the spatial scale of analysis beyond domestic contexts to include troop encampments, entire military settlements, or multiple settlements across a regional landscape may suggest even more complex relations between provincial and British populations. Broadening the temporal scale beyond single points in time might also shed light on Anglo-American cultural interaction and diversity. Archaeological patterns evident within small-scale domestic contexts (e.g. huts and barracks) that likely clearly demarcate provincial and British groups may either correlate or conflict with those patterns observable among, for example, troop encampments or whole settlements. The same may be true for broader temporal spans. This aspect reinforces the idea that the clear cultural margins hypothesized for restricted scales of analysis are neither fixed nor

absolute; they may be reinforced or changed as the spatial/temporal scale is expanded. It also reinforces the idea that one's cultural affiliation or identity can be actively reproduced but also actively reconfigured in different contexts. These larger scales of analysis can also help reveal the cosmopolitan character of colonial military frontiers and the external trans-Atlantic networks within which they participated.

Hypothesis 5: Over a broad spatial scale, the design or layout of British and provincial troop encampments may differ in the degree to which either reflects a hierarchical order of military rank.

Hypothesis 5 is actually a version of Hypothesis 3, but projected at the spatial scale of entire encampments rather than individual structures. That is, as the construction techniques and associated material assemblages within provincial and British regular domestic structures have been hypothesized to exhibit very different patterns of military rank (Hypothesis 3), a similar arrangement may be observed when dealing with the use of space between such structures (Farry 2005a:24). Again, Hypothesis 5 assumes that the significant difference will likely be a lack of rank divisions within provincial contexts compared to a clear delineation of rank within British contexts.

The historical record is very clear in its portrayal of British regular encampments as a perfect expression of the army's hierarchical ideals. The physical space among British encampments functioned as a sort of "geometry of rank" that embodied the sharp divisions separating officers from men. This

geometry was well entrenched in the professional British military culture and was spelled out in minute detail in contemporary military manuals such as Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline* (Bland 1746). Anderson (1984:90) provides a succinct summary of how British regular encampments were designed to reflect military rank:

Laid out in a grid composed of rectangular battalion areas each a hundred yards wide and three hundred yards long, the regular camp separated officers and men, allowed easy movement along avenues that intersected at right angles, and located sanitary facilities well away from troop kitchens. Within each battalion block, the arrangement of tents replicated the pyramid of command. The Colonel's quarters stood in the heart of the area, at the apex of a broad triangle of officers' tents. Below the baseline formed by the subaltern's billets, the enlisted men pitched their tents in a compact rectangle, along parallel company streets. Shelters reflected the rank of the occupants. Common soldiers slept five to a tent in tents that measured about seven by nine feet; captains lived individually in tents of about nine feet by ten (see Figure 23).

Provincial encampments were, as Anderson (1984:90) argues, "chaotic by comparison" and never approached the geometrical order demonstrated by their regular allies. Given their lack of familiarity with proper camp conventions and their networks of kinship and community ties, entire provincial encampments may therefore evidence little or no distinctions in the use of space to mark status or military rank. This might include a complete lack of order in the placement of huts and tents within provincial encampments, compared to the orderly placement of British regular structures per military manual orders.

Alternatively, consider the fact that provincial units may have purposefully adopted a traditional and fixed spatial arrangement of troop encampments, mirroring the hierarchy of (and therefore indicating an affiliation with) the British

command. This represents an alternate version of Hypothesis 5, one that considers it possible that- at the scale of troop encampments- provincial forces may have consciously adopted a much more British character in their use of space to mark status positions. Given the visible and public nature of its expression, this message would have been communicated to the largest possible audience and may have served to demonstrate the equal position provincials perceived for themselves- unprofessional or not- throughout their service with the British. This possibility is suggestive of the fact that provincials may have actively conveyed different affiliations depending on context: conforming to the norms and rules of the British military in outward appearance (encampments) while maintaining a sense of distinction within their own domestic spheres (huts/tents).

Hypothesis 6: Multiple British and provincial encampments within a single military settlement may differ significantly in terms of their overall configuration.

This hypothesis assumes that when a single but entire military settlement is considered- that is, the central fort and its surrounding troop encampments and smaller fortifications- the distribution of Anglo-American forces might reflect the fundamental cultural differences that existed between British and provincials. If, as has been hypothesized, the professional British ranks served chiefly in a martial capacity during the war given their level of training and skill, it may be hypothesized that such units were specifically deployed within individual

settlements to reflect this specialized role. That is, British forces may have been positioned within settlements such that they could defend the settlement perimeter or quickly and efficiently mobilize forces for an attack. This might suggest that British forces tend more often than not to be positioned along the periphery of individual settlements, or along those strategic and fortified strong points (e.g. redoubts) that ensured the security and safety of the settlement.

The low relative fighting value the British command held for their American allies might suggest that provincial encampments tended to be located within the confines of British regular encampments. They might also be positioned along those areas of the settlement in need of construction or repair given the supportive function of many provincial units. On the other hand, provincial encampments might have been placed as buffers around a military settlement by the British command, thereby forcing the Americans to serve as a sort of cushion or “shock absorber” against any surprise attacks. On this last point, for example, British Colonel James Montrésor noted the obvious discontent among provincial forces at Fort Edward in 1757 that were ordered to set up their encampment north of the fort and “on the same side of the river that the Ennemy [sic] was on, and so could not so conveniently run away” (quoted in Leach 1986b:131).

Hypothesis 7: Over a broad temporal scale, provincial and British assemblages might demonstrate similar patterning as either group adopted specific behaviors or practices during their course of joint service.

Hypothesis 7 attempts to understand the nature of provincial and British

cultural diversity and interaction over a span of time, with the assumption that such diversity may have been more pronounced during the early years of the war as compared to the later years. While the general intent of this hypothesis is to suggest that either group may have adopted behaviors of the other, this issue might be best approached in terms of the extent to which American provincials adopted the martial practices of the British regulars. At least in terms of such characteristics as the use of standardized materials, familiarity with encampment conduct, or the display of rank divisions, it seems more logical that the provincials would draw from their British allies rather than vice versa. There is, of course, no doubt that the British army altered its basic composition in response to the unique challenges posed by the American theatre of war, for example in their development of mobile Light Infantry scouts akin to the provincial Ranger units. But the British army in North America by the end of the war was much the same as it was in the beginning, due in part to the careful application rather than fundamental innovation of European martial conventions (Russell 1978; Ward 1997; Brumwell 1998, 2002; Chet 2003). As a result, provincial contexts likely provide the best source for observing any evidence for change over a time scale that encompasses the entire conflict (ca. 1754-1763). It would, nevertheless, be quite enlightening to come to find that an expected British standard through time was in fact lacking in archaeological evidence.

It may be hypothesized that provincial domestic contexts dating to late in the war will demonstrate much greater standardization in material items compared to earlier contexts. It may also be the case that over time American

forces gained a degree of skill in soldiering that actually prompted the British command to use them in a more martial capacity. This might suggest that early provincial assemblages which demonstrate a secondary, supportive role will be distinguished from later, more martial-looking provincial assemblages. A similar temporal pattern might be hypothesized for the degree to which provincial artifactual or architectural assemblages reflect clear distinctions of rank, or the degree to which they demonstrate familiarity with proper camp behaviors. In terms of trash disposal from domestic contexts, for example, similar disposal patterns among Anglo-Americans towards the end of the war may reflect a greater provincial understanding and acceptance of conventional camp practices. A provincial perception of equality relative to that of the British regulars, despite the latter's explicit disagreement, may have served as a motivating factor among Americans to adopt strict camp regulations or other British practices over time. Anderson (1984:77) hints at this possibility in remarking that, "Procedural directives tended to become less frequent [among provincial units] as campaigns progressed, a fact that suggests they were becoming less necessary and that...provincials had become more or less habituated to life in camp". Hypothesis 7 thus juxtaposes the first 5 small-scale hypotheses with the factor of time, suggesting that the various expected Anglo-American cultural differences may in fact be muted when viewed across a broad temporal scale.

It should be mentioned that the discussion of a broad temporal scale in Hypothesis 7 refers to a relatively short span of years (ca. 1754-1763). Such a time frame may be considered large, however, in that it based on the entire span

of the war. And based on evidence gleaned from the later Revolutionary War, the time frame should allow for observation of any and all patterns of change among provincial contexts. Seidel's (1984) study of the Revolutionary War, for example, discusses documentary and archaeological evidence that reveals an increasing sophistication among the Americans in terms of their design of troop encampments over the course of the war. If similar patterns did exist among provincial contexts, then, they have the potential to be archaeologically visible.

Hypothesis 8: The establishment, deployment and expansion over time of multiple settlements across a large-scale region of military settlement will likely assume a more homogenous "British" character, with Anglo-American diversity playing less of role at this scale compared to the political directives of the British core state.

Hypothesis 8 expands the scale of analysis to its largest spatial extent, and recognizes that at such a scale external core-periphery influences likely played a much more influential role than issues of Anglo-American cultural diversity and interaction. Multiple military settlements spread across a region are assumed to reflect the spatial pattern of an expanding colonial power in peripheral areas. As the purpose of the British military frontier during the mid-eighteenth century was to counteract the expanding presence of the French and secure a strategic foothold to the continental interior, the overall patterning of military settlements would necessarily conform to meeting these military needs. In this large-scale context, the "echo" of provincial units would be silent in that the

determining factor in settlement pattern and expansion would strongly reflect the external dictates of the core and the nature of the perceived threat, not the cultural conditions of the local peripheral military environment (Lewis 1984:286-288). Distinctions of provincial and British communities would thus not be as clearly visible, and the overall social fabric of military settlements would likely assume a more homogenous "British" character in response to external influences and connections.

Material implications might be observed as a dendritic and efficient pattern of settlement linking functionally related and specialized military sites (Farry 1995). This pattern would ensure a direct link to the core state and the rapid infusion of any and all military directives, a necessary condition if the colonial frontier settlements are to fulfill their military objectives. The functional connections between settlements might include larger, more accessible central locations well within the region of colonial settlement to serve as supply depots and points of departure that are linked to smaller sites positioned to protect strategic transportation routes and the movement of supplies. These might connect with even more distant military strongholds protecting the extreme frontier fringe.

What this suggests is a large-scale functional system of British military settlement, with specific locations and settlements serving different roles to ensure a strong colonial military presence. Settlement function might be discerned based on sheer size, with the more central depot sites much larger than the fringe strongholds. It might also be inferred based on the materials

present at each sites, with the larger central settlements demonstrating storage activities and the pooling and distribution of materials while fringe settlements demonstrate a concentration of martial items. These large-scale functional relationships spread across space might also be observed through time, such that more diversified “behind the lines” supportive roles may develop as settlements are caught farther and farther behind the expanding frontier. This is analogous to Lewis’s (1984) colonization gradient concept among insular frontier settlements (see also Casagrande et al. 1964). Overall, settlement pattern and expansion at this scale is a decidedly British endeavor, regardless of Anglo-American interactions.

Chapter Summary

A scalar model of colonial military frontiers has been proposed. The basic assumptions of the model focus attention to issues of cultural diversity, interaction, and change in frontier military environments and how these were expressed among variable spatial and temporal scales. Expressing the model in terms of the historical relationships that existed between Anglo-American groups during the Seven Years’ War has allowed for the development of a series of specific archaeological hypotheses. These hypotheses explore how frontier cultural dynamics were actually manifested among diverse populations in real-world contexts, and further how these dynamics might be observed through material culture. Small-scale spatio-temporal contexts have been emphasized as these likely represent the best venues with which to observe hypothesized

patterns of diversity. Larger-scale contexts have also been discussed, particularly in terms of how they reflect (or fail to reflect) those patterns of cultural diversity observed within more restricted contexts. What remains now is a brief review of relevant archaeological sites, followed by the careful application of the model to British archaeological data to explore the veracity of the assumptions and the hypothesized archaeological patterns.

CHAPTER 4:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE RESEARCH CONTEXT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Chapter Introduction

The underlying intent of this chapter is to introduce briefly the specific archaeological sites and data used to test this study's model and hypotheses in subsequent chapters. While a site-by-site description would be sufficient (and is employed), presentation of the material is framed more broadly in terms of evaluating the state of Seven Years' War archaeological research and this study's placement within it. In doing so, this chapter includes discussion of a number of sites and data, not all of which is later employed in archaeological testing in Chapter 5.

Much of the archaeological data associated with Seven Years' War sites derive from what can be termed descriptive or typological approaches. Such approaches and their respective sites and data are discussed first, and these are found to comprise the bulk of "traditional" Seven Years' War archaeological research. One benefit of these approaches has been the amassing of a large and complex data source, some of which will later be employed in testing the archaeological hypothesis outlines in Chapter 3. The small number of analytical studies that do exist in the literature are discussed second, and they are offered as evidence that the complex data source represented by British military material culture of the Seven Years' War remains a relatively under-utilized resource by frontier scholars. Their data are not ignored in this study, with certain patterns re-examined in light of this study's assumptions and offered as evidence in the evaluation of the material expectations.

Discussion of these analytical studies and their respective sites (again,

some of which are later employed in archaeological testing) is followed by a summary review of Seven Years' War archaeology and this study's relationship to it. One conclusion to be drawn is that the predominance of descriptive, data-rich and site-specific studies of the Seven Years' War must not come at the expense of more theoretically informed and historically based analyses. Particularistic reconstruction excavations have provided important benefits to Seven Years' War archaeology, but there is much to be gained by employing such archaeological data in the creation of theoretically based models informed by relevant historical scholarship. In so doing, the archaeological record of British military sites becomes an important source of knowledge about the colonial military frontier, one that is independent and as equally relevant as the historical record. It is therefore hoped that the following discussion- while intended as means to introduce specific sites and data later used in this analysis- will also help to define the theoretical and analytical importance of Seven Years' War archaeology in general and this study's placement within it.

Archaeological data introduced here and again in Chapter 5 include both published and unpublished data sources. These data derive primarily from excavations conducted at a number of British frontier settlements located along the overland portage route lying between the Hudson River and the Lake George-Lake Champlain Valley in northeastern New York (Figure 2). This portage served as a key lynchpin in the imperial designs of both French and British forces during the war: to the French, control of the portage allowed a direct route to Albany and points south; to the British, control provided a direct

Figure 1: The northeast colonial frontier in North America during the Seven Years' War, showing select British and French settlements

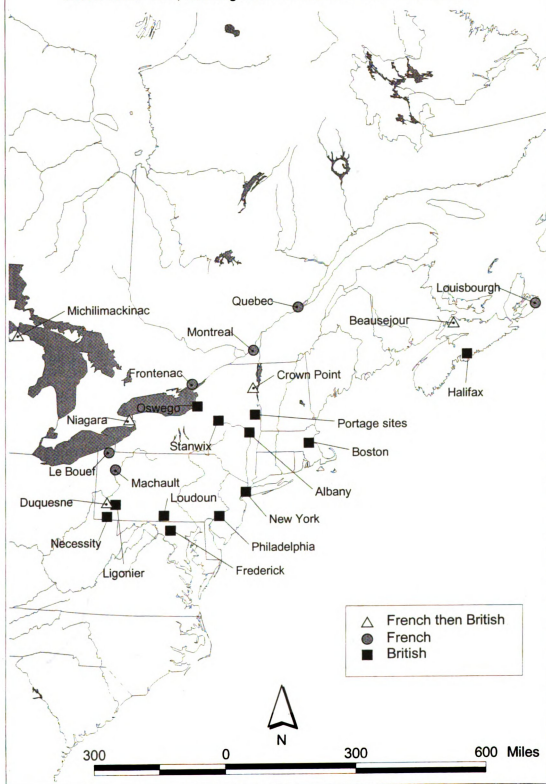
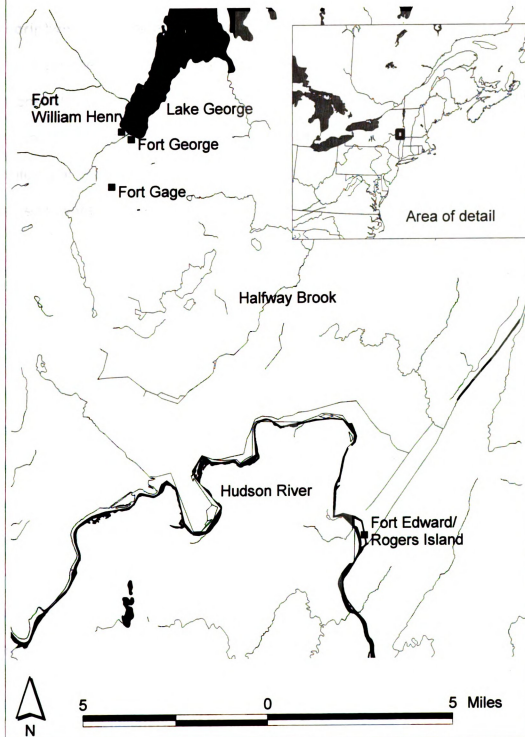


Figure 2: Detail of portage sites in northeastern New York.



route into Canada. Other British military settlements discussed in this chapter include sites in Michigan, Nova Scotia, and Pennsylvania (Figure 1).

Descriptive/ Typological Approaches

Even the most cursory review of Seven Years' War archaeology demonstrates an unfortunate if undeniable fact: much of the work conducted to date has consisted of data-gathering endeavors intended to provide artifactual or architectural details for purposes of site reconstruction. Where research was not directed towards aiding reconstruction, approaches have tended towards the development of detailed artifact typologies or to producing descriptive summaries of excavations that simply add to or "fill in" the existing historical record.

Clearly, the value of such research is not in question. Detailed typological studies such as Hanson and Hsu's (1975) study of Fort Stanwix artifacts or Grimm's (1970) typology of Fort Ligonier artifacts provide the basic formal, spatial, and temporal properties of a British frontier settlement during the Seven Years' War. At the same time, it is in establishing some degree of control over these properties that should allow for more in-depth analytical research, a pattern that is found lacking overall in Seven Years' War archaeology. This has no doubt prompted scholars such as Crabtree et al. (2002:21) to remark that, despite the amount research conducted to date, the "archeology of the French and Indian War remains relatively understudied".

The overall tenor to Seven Years' War archaeology matches that attributed to Revolutionary War archaeological research by Seidel (1987). Seidel

(1977:26-29) cites Robert Schuyler's (1977) five-stage evolutionary scheme for the development of historical archaeology in general, a scheme that assumes that the discipline begins as an aid to restoration efforts and only later develops into an independent means of researching and understanding the past. Seidel (1987:27-28) describes Revolutionary War archaeology as still struggling to emerge from Schuyler's hypothetical Stage III of development:

The archaeologists by this time [Stage III] realize that the [artifacts] themselves and the information they hold are at least equal in importance to the goal of restoration...Here the architectural information is generally combined with that obtained from the artifacts, in order to obtain a slightly more analytical understanding of the site. In general, however, artifacts are used merely as a convenient means of illustrating the site's past or to extract technical information to aid reconstruction efforts.

Unfortunately, much of this assessment by Seidel holds equally true for the archaeology of the Seven Years' War.

Notable sites for which descriptive or typological approaches have been the norm include Forts Necessity and Ligonier in western Pennsylvania; and Fort Stanwix, Fort William Henry, Fort Edward, Fort George, and Fort Gage in northern New York. Select data from all of the New York British military sites discussed below are employed later in archaeological testing.

Fort Necessity, PA

Situated in western Pennsylvania at the Great Meadows, Fort Necessity was the scene of extensive archaeological excavations, first conducted during the 1930s for the purposes of site reconstruction and then again during the early

1950s to correct many of the initial mistakes. The fort, consisting of a small stockaded post surrounded by embankments, was a hastily constructed strong point that was witness to the opening salvo of the war. A young George Washington's task of reinforcing the advance British post at the Forks of the Ohio changed when word spread of the surrender of that settlement to the French in 1754. Washington's immediate response was to fortify the Necessity site as a main camp and supply base for the construction of a new British fort at Red Stone Creek, now intended to oppose the French presence in the Ohio Valley. Following a brief skirmish between advance guards, the French attacked Washington's force of Virginia provincials and a South Carolina Independent Company and forced a quick surrender. Washington's brief and failed military encounter signaled the beginning of formal hostilities during the war and made very clear the competing desires between British and French interests over control of the Ohio Valley.

Excavations were conducted very briefly at Fort Necessity in 1901, and again in 1931 for the purposes of reconstructing the stockaded post. Excavations were resumed in the early 1950s under the aegis of the National Park Service (NPS) and the direction of J.C. Harrington (1952, 1953, 1977, 1978) to locate certain entrenchments outside of the reconstructed stockade, as suggested by historical documents. This latter project unintentionally recovered architectural details of the stockaded post that proved the original reconstruction to be in serious error. The supposed stockade uncovered during the earlier excavations was in fact a series of earth embankments that originally lay some

distance beyond the stockaded post. The actual stockade was round, within which lay a small log storehouse, and its discovery prompted the NPS to expand the scope of the excavations and eventually rebuild the park according to these more accurate standards.

As a cautionary tale on the hasty reconstruction of a fort site, Harrington's work is an important contribution. His discovery and confirmation of a round stockade surrounded by a diamond-shaped earthwork laid to rest a debate on the actual shape and design of the fort, a debate that raged for years and argued at various times for a triangle or a diamond-shaped stockade. The result, of course, has been the "re"- reconstruction of Fort Necessity as an educational exhibit, one that accurately reflects the original design of the encampment and provides the public with a rare opportunity to experience life on the military frontier. But the public education aspect of Fort Necessity National Park was intended as but one of the site's contributions. On this point, Harrington (1978:131) remarked that

The one consolation, in addition to knowing that thousands of people will derive a great deal of pleasure from their visit to the site, is that all, or any part, can be done over at any time...another archaeologist may come along and question the reconstruction or the adequacy of the exploration. If he decides to explore a little further, he may find some additional evidence, and, if this evidence warrants, a different reconstruction will be conceived. Or possible, by then, reconstructions will be out of style.

It is an unfortunate fact that little interpretative analyses have since been published on the Necessity data, and Harrington's optimism for future contributions remains an important reminder of work yet to be done.

Fort Ligonier, PA

Also found in western Pennsylvania is Fort Ligonier, an advance post built during General John Forbes's 1758 expedition to the French stronghold at Fort Duquesne (modern Pittsburgh). Situated along Loyalhanna Creek, the Fort served as the base for an unsanctioned and preemptive attack (also unsuccessful) against the French at Duquesne prior to Forbes's arrival in mid-November of 1758. By the time Forbes's army reached Fort Duquesne on November 25th, the French had abandoned their post in smoldering ruins and effectively ceded their control of the strategic Ohio Valley. Following attacks during the pan-tribal uprising known as Pontiac's War in 1763, Fort Ligonier lost its military importance and was decommissioned by 1766.

Excavations of the site began in 1947, following the incorporation of the Fort Ligonier Memorial Foundation and the commission of Charles Stotz, an architectural historian, to research and locate contemporary plans of the fort for purposes of reconstruction (Stotz 1974). Despite the fact that these early excavations uncovered some 17,000 square feet, the seemingly random placement of features that were encountered prevented the identification of the original footprint, thereby precluding a completely accurate fort reconstruction. Grimm's (1970) more extensive excavations during the years 1960-1965 ultimately revealed a number of fort features and their similarity to original fort plans, and enabled the complete reconstruction of the fort by the late 1960s. In describing his appreciation for Grimm's archaeological work, Stotz (Grimm 1970:6) commented that the rebuilding of Fort Ligonier proved "a model for any

project involving a cooperative effort between historical archaeologist and restoration architect”.

Grimm’s (1970) published report of the excavations offers a very detailed listing and descriptive account of the features and artifacts recovered from Fort Ligonier, providing an important comparative typological collection of mid-eighteenth century British military material culture. In many ways the collection is unrivaled by other colonial military sites in the degree of artifact preservation, which includes large and intact fragments of leather shoes, wooden barrels, and floral/faunal remains (Stotz 1974:39-40). In his concluding remarks, Grimm (1970:175) commented that given the fort’s short occupation period and the amount of material recovered in excavation, the artifacts would “therefore serve as benchmarks in comparing artifacts from other excavations of the Colonial period”. Benchmarks they have served, and served well (Hanson and Hsu 1975), but the detailed Ligonier assemblage seems to be limited to this role given the lack of subsequent analyses that have since employed the data. It seems equally possible that the Fort Ligonier artifacts could be compared to other site assemblages not for the items they represent, but for the cultural behaviors that produced and used them.

Fort Stanwix, NY

Located in western New York, the construction of Fort Stanwix ensured British control over the Mohawk River-Wood Creek portage, a lynchpin in the overland travel route between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic. The fort was

built in 1758 by troops under Brigadier General John Stanwix, at a time when the fortunes of war were beginning to shift towards an ultimate and inevitable British victory. With the decrease of hostilities by the early 1760s the fort became less important and would eventually be deactivated from duty, with the barracks known to have burned down in the fall of 1774 (Hsu 1972; Hanson and Hsu 1975:21). In 1776 Continental troops occupied and re-enforced the aging settlement in preparation for a British attack, which came in August of the next year. St. Leger's 1777 invasion through the Mohawk Valley ended in the British abandoning the siege of Stanwix and returning to Canada, a move that helped ensure Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga two months later. The fort continued to be occupied until a 1781 fire destroyed most of the wooden superstructure, and eventually, the city of Rome was built atop and around the fort grounds. By the late 1960s, the grounds were purchased, cleared, and donated to the Federal Government, after which the National Park Service prepared a master plan for the site prior to its reconstruction (Hanson and Hsu 1975:1; Luzader et al. 1976). The reconstructed Fort Stanwix remains open to the public as a National Monument site and a museum.

To facilitate the fort's reconstruction, National Park Service archaeologists excavated approximately one-third of the site (Hanson and Hsu 1975). A complex series of structural features was encountered relating to the continued military occupation of the site during both the Seven Years' War and the later Revolutionary War. Unfortunately, either component could not be distinguished via stratigraphy, resulting in a date span between 1758 and 1781. The end result

of the excavations was twofold: (1) the assembly of a comprehensive dataset of architectural details which allowed for the accurate reconstruction of Stanwix, and (2) the publication of these details and their associated artifacts in a comprehensive final report authored by Lee Hanson and Dick Hsu (Hanson and Hsu 1975).

The Hanson and Hsu (1975) report provides a meticulously detailed typology of artifacts that is similar in form to Grimm's (1970) Fort Ligonier report. Although each of the reports offers summary conclusions on British military life, their intent is clearly the descriptive presentation and dissemination of the artifact assemblage for future researchers. The Stanwix report lacks any inter-site comparisons, in part due to data availability given the lack of similarly detailed typologies at the time (excepting Grimm; see Hanson and Hsu 1975:48). In fact, the Stanwix typology is explicitly designed for others' use in the level of detail presented, as the authors felt that "a less detailed description along strictly functional lines might not meet the needs of future researchers" (Hanson and Hsu 1975:48). Unfortunately, it would seem that such needs have not been forthcoming, and the Hanson and Hsu (1975) report more often than not serves as an artifact identification tool rather a comparative data source (cf. Farry 2005a). As with the public education afforded by the reconstructed fort, this role is not an unimportant one, but it a regrettable fact that such a detailed dataset remains relatively underutilized.

Fort William Henry, NY

Foremost among New York Seven Years' War sites in the historical consciousness of America, Fort William Henry served as the frontline British post in the Hudson-Champlain Valleys between 1755 and 1757. William Johnson secured the location following his victory at the Battle of Lake George. The fort remained in British hands through the next year and into the late summer of 1757, finally destroyed by the French under Montcalm following a protracted, European-style siege. The retreating British and provincial forces also suffered a violent, if brief, attack by French-allied Indians who felt betrayed by the terms of capitulation. The fort attack and subsequent 'massacre' was immortalized in American history by James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, a piece of American literature that, more often than not, is recognized for its "literary offenses" over its historical reality (Twain 1856; Devoto 1946; Steele 1990:169-170). Little of the actual fort grounds was disturbed into the nineteenth century beyond the installment of walking paths for tourists (Gates 2004) until plans were developed in the early 1950s to reconstruct Fort William Henry to its full and original specifications. Excavations under Stanley Gifford (1955) were conducted to locate the original footprint of the fort, and in conjunction with contemporary plans, allowed for the very accurate rebuilding of the fort's walls and interior buildings. By 1955, a fully reconstructed Fort William Henry was open to the large resort community during the spring and summer months.

While the resulting angles and distances of the reconstructed fort were of the highest standard, the same cannot be said of the excavations prior to the

rebuilding. As project archaeologist, Gifford published a short history of the fort (Gifford 1955), including a brief description of the excavations, but no summary report of his work exists. Aside from photographs, a few field records, and plenty of unprovenienced artifacts, no detailed account exists as to where Gifford dug or what was found. No doubt the poor excavation techniques were the result of leapfrogging just ahead of construction in the attempt to locate very quickly the needed structural details.

More recent excavations were conducted between 1997 and 2000 in the attempt to re-locate Gifford's trenches and to sample possible intact areas. Field school students participated in the excavation of numerous fort features, including the east and west British regular barracks, the parade ground, exterior moat trash deposits, the original well, and the fort cemetery (Bradfield 2000; Starbuck 1991, 1993, 1999, 2002; Farry 2000). The barracks within the fort were originally home to surprisingly few of troops stationed at Lake George, probably no more than 500, with the majority encamped on the rocky knoll to the southeast that would eventually become Fort George. Occupants included Colonel William Eyre's contingent of regulars and later soldiers in Colonel Munro's 35 Regiment of Foot (Starbuck 2004:8). Stratigraphic information revealed heavily disturbed upper levels resulting from the fort's reconstruction and subsequent use as a tourist site, a fact that is tempered by the very short lifespan of the original fort and the identification of deeper intact architectural features.

The primary publication from these more recent excavations is Starbuck's

(2002) *Massacre at Fort William Henry*, a popular-style book that provides a descriptive overview of each of the field seasons and a series of vignettes on various topics of archaeology and eighteenth-century military life. Tabulated data showing artifact totals per excavation context (barracks, well, dump, etc.) are included in the short book, though these are clearly intended for others given that they are rarely referenced in the text and are only provenienced at the level of site number. Intra-site comparisons of the artifact data between different parts of the fort, or inter-site comparisons with other fort sites, are not offered in the discussion, and a technical report detailing the artifacts and features for use by professionals has yet to be published (Babits 2003:116). As with Gifford's, then, no detailed final report exists for the more recent excavations, and it is difficult to assess what knowledge has been gained of the site. Indeed, it may even be argued that without at least the widespread publication of a detailed and descriptive final report(s), information has in fact been lost in the sense that the data are not being put to use or made available to others. This is an unfortunate fact given the size of the assemblage and the very tightly dated time span (less than two years) of the British military component at Fort William Henry.

Fort Edward/ Rogers Island, NY

A similar argument could be advanced for the work conducted at William Henry's sister settlement Fort Edward. Located some 15 miles to the south along the banks of the Hudson, Fort Edward represented an important behind-the-lines supportive settlement where troops would mass prior to their advance

north to Lake George or Lake Champlain. The area marked the northern-most point of water travel along the Hudson River, thereby forming the southern control point of the strategic overland portage route to Lakes George or Champlain. From the loss of Fort William Henry in August 1757 to Abercromby's 1758 advance to Lake George, Fort Edward served as the frontline settlement standing guard against possible French attack. No siege ever came, and the fort and its adjacent island (Rogers Island) served primarily as a rallying point for troops and material moving north. Following the war, surrounding settlements grew increasingly dense through time as the fort grounds became part of the village of Fort Edward. Unlike William Henry, the settlement was never reconstructed, and undeveloped portions of the island saw rather intensive pot-hunting from the early 1960s into the late twentieth century (Stott 1986; Starbuck 1994a:247-251). Dredgings unearthed from the adjacent Hudson River channel during the early twentieth century- much of which was dumped on the island at variable depths- have served to protect large portions of the archaeological deposits. The lack of post-occupation disturbance to many portions of the island is reflected, for example, in the recovery of hut structures still composed of traces of their wooden floors with floor nails and sills in situ (Farry 2005a:26).

Sanctioned looting of the island officially ended with transfer of ownership, and beginning in 1991 summer field schools conducted excavations across the island and adjacent fort grounds. Excavated contexts were diverse, including portions of the British barracks complex, a possible storehouse, the smallpox hospital, numerous Ranger or provincial hut sites, large segments of the original

fort and its moat, and a sutler's site. The island barracks (and those within the fort proper) housed British regular units such as the 42nd Highland regiment, the 48th Regiment of Foot, the 55th Regiment of Foot and others (Starbuck 2004:14-15,18). The primary publication on these modern excavations is Starbuck's (2004) *Rangers and Redcoats on the Hudson*. Similar to the William Henry summary (Starbuck 2002), this publication does provide tabular and graphic data on artifacts counts from separate excavation contexts, but exploration and discussion of any and all patterns within the data are for the most part missing in the text. A single technical report (Starbuck et al. 1992) exists for the first year of excavation on Rogers Island, but the remaining field seasons are only briefly discussed amid a number of limited circulation publications or public presentations (De Angelo 1994, 1995; Jarvis 1997; Starbuck 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1996, 1997a; 1999:54-82; Romeo 1994). Many of the remaining field records have also been dispersed among numerous sources and separated from the artifact assemblage, making detailed data acquisition difficult. Overall, then, the Fort Edward/ Rogers Island excavations still lack an accessible summary report(s), a regrettable fact given the density of Seven Years' War archaeological deposits so far unearthed.

Fort George, NY

Subsequent to the loss of Fort William Henry in 1757, the head of Lake George lacked a formal, Vauban-style fortification until British General Amherst's ultimately successful campaign two years later. The rocky prominence upon

which Fort George stood did, however, serve a military purpose long before the massive stone fort was begun in 1759. William Johnson's provincial forces held the ground in 1755 during the Battle of Lake George, and the grounds would serve as an adjacent entrenched camp throughout the Fort William Henry occupation. During 1758, Abercromby also fortified the area prior to (and after) his failed attempt to take Ticonderoga. General Amherst's decision to re-fortify the Lake George area with a permanent fortification came as the tide of the war turned to the British. His 1759 campaign saw the construction of a number of fortified sites along the Hudson River-Lake George portage area, including forts along the shores of Lake Champlain as the French retreated north and ceded control of the valley. With British control of northern New York solidified by the stout walls at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the strategic value of Fort George lessened, and aside from a massive stone bastion, the fort was never completed. A small contingent of British troops garrisoned the site through the 1760s and 1770s.

In 1898, the State of New York purchased the grounds for the purposes of commemorating the 150th anniversary of Johnson's victory at the Battle of Lake George. During this time, the still-visible stone bastion was reinforced and stabilized. The grounds encompassing Fort George- labeled "Battlefield Park"- have since been managed by New York State under the auspices of the Department of Environmental Conservation. The site currently serves as a public picnic area for seasonal visitors to Lake George, with interpretive signs spread across the site to alert visitors to the site's rich military heritage.

Modern excavations were initiated at Fort George in the summer of 2000. Initial testing during the archaeological field school concentrated on two large British regular barracks buildings first identified on a 1758 map of Abercromby's entrenchments (Fraser 1758; Bellico 2001:73). Subsequent testing during the 2001 field school expanded to various features across the Fort George site, including the fort's single bastion. Very little of the information gained through these excavations, however, has been made public by way of published reports. The field school excavations are briefly mentioned in Starbuck (2002:104-105) and Vandrei (2001:26-28), but no technical report(s) detailing the various features and artifact assemblages has yet been published. Limited circulation "gray literature" exists for cultural resource management studies that have been conducted on or near the park grounds (Nelson, Curtin, and Padeni 2001; Hartgen et al. 1998), but these are limited in scope to Phase 1A and Phase 1B presence/absence surveys. Again, the lack of widely accessible and detailed publications on the extensive Fort George work is regrettable, similar to the situations at Fort William Henry and Fort Edward.

Fort Gage, NY

Within a year of the fall of Fort William Henry in 1757, British troops reoccupied the head of Lake George in their continued attempt to dislodge French occupation of the Champlain Valley. Under the leadership of General Abercromby, a combined provincial and regular army some 16,000 strong sailed north to finally overwhelm the French at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The

intended victory turned quickly into a rout, and the remains of Abercromby's army retreated south and "dug in" at the south end of Lake George. The heavily fortified camp integrated various detached guards and stockades, including a map-documented provincial outpost south of the camp and along the military road leading to Fort Edward. This fortified post- termed Fort Gage- was only occupied between July and October in 1758, essentially the length of time between Abercromby's defeat at Ticonderoga and his ultimate abandonment of the Lake George area that fall. Through the remaining war years and later Revolutionary War, the site was apparently left unoccupied. Disturbance in the early twentieth century by railroad construction and in the 1960s by highway construction impacted approximately 10 percent of the site (Feister and Huey 1985:12). By 1975, the expanding tourist economy of the Lake George region prompted development (and ultimate destruction) of the site as a seasonal motel.

Exploratory excavations were conducted by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) at Fort Gage during the initial stages of development to determine the integrity of the archaeological remains. The picture conveyed from relevant documentary sources suggested a brief occupation by provincial forces, which if intact, offered a rare glimpse at a single-component military settlement. As was the case with the majority of colonial military sites, individual locations were recognized by succeeding armies for their strategic importance and were occupied again and again, often producing intrusive or mixed deposits. Fort Gage, however, offered very tight temporal control over any existing deposits down to the month of occupation.

Some 2,800 square feet of the fort site was excavated in 1975, which identified such features as the moat, a bastion, hearths, refuse pits, postholes, and original and disturbed occupation surfaces. Because immediately prior to excavations portions of the site were illegally bulldozed, a majority of excavation units identified ground disturbance down to and below subsoil. The excavations also recovered thousands of mid-eighteenth century artifacts, including such functional groups as food remains, military items, architectural fragments, and a range of personal items. One bit of negative evidence was the total absence of ceramics from the collection, a very unusual trait even among enlisted or low-rank contexts.

The sample produced by the Fort Gage excavations clearly indicated the presence of an important military site that, despite considerable disturbance, maintained a degree of integrity. Nevertheless, prior to full-scale salvage work, the site was completely bulldozed when the development plans were altered slightly so as to bypass any and all agency review. This destroyed the integrity of the site and precluded the recovery of larger artifact samples or more detailed investigations of the site's spatial organization. The exploratory work, field records, and its descriptive published report (Feister and Huey 1985) thus remain the only record of the site.

Analytical Approaches

Beyond restoration projects, typological studies, or impact assessment investigations, a small number of analytical studies employing British military site

data also exist in the literature. While these studies do not limit themselves to a purely descriptive framework, they do still tend towards site-specific analyses. As with the discussion above, then, these approaches are presented in a site-specific format. Data and patterns from the last site discussed- Fort Crown Point along the shores of Lake Champlain- are employed later in this study.

Fort Ligonier, PA

As an alternative to descriptive and particularist studies like Grimm's, Stanley South's (1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1978b) artifact pattern studies from Fort Ligonier helped explore the means by which historical archaeology uncovers quantitatively based "deep patterning" within the archaeological record of past cultural systems in the effort to reveal universal cultural laws. South employed the Fort Ligonier data in his definition of the Frontier/Architectural Artifact Pattern. The pattern is defined by the relative frequencies of artifacts that have been classified within specific functional groupings. Eight groups are defined in all, but it is the relative frequencies of artifacts within the Kitchen (food-related) and Architecture groups that are most relevant, with architectural items such as nails, brick, and window glass predominant. To define the pattern, some forty to sixty percent of the entire assemblage should consist of architecture items, followed by approximately twenty to thirty-four percent food-related artifacts (South 1978a:230). So constituted, the ratio represents an inverse of the Carolina Artifact Pattern common to domestic contexts. South explained this patterning as possibly the result of sampling error: very little data was excavated from the

moat (where refuse is often discarded) in any of the sites, thereby favoring the assemblage towards non food-related items.

Alternatively, South argued the pattern may be reflective of frontier military or trading post settlements, definable site types that are remote from sources of supply and characterized by a high concentration of architecture within the bounds of a relatively restricted space (South 1978b:43). It has also been argued that the particular relationship of the kitchen and architecture artifact groups might reflect the virtual absence of ceramics (artifacts which typically compose the bulk of the Kitchen group) among enlisted men stationed at frontier military posts (South 1978b:47). The utility of South's patterns and the means used to derive them from archaeological data have, of course, come under more recent scrutiny (e.g. Beaudry et al. 1996, Pena and Pena 1988), and one might even question the explanations offered for such patterns. Nevertheless, in the context of Seven Years' War archaeology, South's analyses represent an innovative use of data that was intentionally designed to move away from particularist and descriptive frameworks like that reported by Grimm (1970).

Fort Beauséjour, NB

Originally a French fort, Beauséjour (later Fort Cumberland) was captured by Monckton in the only "bright spot" of the 1755 campaign (Anderson 2000:112). In the same season that saw the defeat of Braddock along the Monongahela and the stalling of Shirley and Johnson in the forests of New York, Monckton's New England forces successfully laid siege to the French post along the Chignecto

isthmus in Canada, a move that would represent one of the few military victories enjoyed by the British during the early years of the war. The British remained at the fort until 1833, including two brief abandonments, and since 1926 the partially restored site has been interpreted by Parks Canada as a national historic site (see publications in Parks Canada 1998).

In the course of stabilizing and partially restoring the site, Parks Canada has produced a number of published reports on the excavations, including Wilson (1969), Herst (1970), McNally (1971), Cunningham (1971), and Snow (1975). Among the various publications, Sussman's (1974, 1975, 2000) work on the British ceramics at Beauséjour stands out as an innovative approach to Seven Years' War archaeological data. Her analyses, in particular Sussman (2000), examine the degree to which British military ceramics evidence homogeneity in comparison to other, non-military domestic assemblages. Her hypothesis states that, based on the unique circumstances of frontier or remote regions, ceramics likely demonstrate a high degree of uniformity or standardization in ware type and decorative categories. This is derived from certain assumptions of frontier military settlements, such as the primacy of British transport efficiency, the desire among certain frontier groups to maintain and display formal dining habits, and the need to easily replace broken items (Sussman 2000:52-53). The combined result of these factors, Sussman argues, is a homogenous ceramic assemblage; tableware that displays high counts of identical or very similar decorations and very low counts of different ceramic wares. In the course of her analyses, the Fort Beauséjour ceramics "confirmed

beyond expectation the phenomenon of low variability” throughout the entire period of British occupation (ca. 1755-1833) (Sussman 2000:45).

In one respect, Sussman’s (2000) analysis does confuse the issue of ceramic use across lines of rank. As does South (1978b), Sussman assumes ceramic use was the sole purview of the officer class, a notion that comparable analyses (e.g. Feister 1984b) have proved wrong. Her perspective on the institutional workings of the British military and its expression in ceramic use, however, has continued relevance in Seven Years’ War archaeology. The hypothesis of low variability is similar to that proposed by this study, though Sussman does not approach the question as one of cultural diversity. The Beauséjour analysis is not geared towards a comparative understanding of small-scale standardization among British and American contexts, but only to how such standardization would be manifest among the British regular army across a long temporal span.

Fort Michilimackinac, MI

As a fortified colonial outpost, Fort Michilimackinac boasts an occupational history that stretched long before (and after) the eruption of the Seven Years’ War. The palisaded settlement was originally established ca. 1715 along the southern shore of the Straits of Mackinac, a strategic pass linking Lakes Michigan and Huron. For the French, the settlement at the Straits served two primary roles: a Jesuit mission site and a regional distribution center for the fur trade characterized by a culturally heterogeneous population (Majewski and

Noble 1999:302; Scott 1991:42). The French settlement greatly expanded through the early and mid-eighteenth century, such that the original palisaded area grew to approximately three times its original size (Maxwell and Binford 1961:12). Following the loss of Quebec to the British in 1759 and Montreal in 1760, French involvement in the North American theatre of the Seven Years' War effectively ended, and Michilimackinac was ceded to and occupied by British forces in September of 1761. Much of the French inhabitants of Michilimackinac remained at the fort during the British occupation. The fort remained under British military control through the 1760s and 1770s, until its removal across the Straits to the better-defended Mackinac Island area in 1781. During Pontiac's War in 1763, Chippewa Indians killed or captured much of the British garrison, and as a result the fort was for a short period of time under the de facto control of a French inhabitant, Charles Langlade.

It should be noted that, compared to other military sites discussed in this chapter, the British occupation of Fort Michilimackinac technically post-dates the Seven Years' War. The British took control of the fort subsequent to the loss of Montreal and the effective end of French power in North America, though peace was not officially signed until the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Ultimately, then, Michilimackinac represents a British military post for which the traditional French threat in North America was greatly reduced or non-existent, and the site did not factor significantly in the events of the war. Nevertheless, the site is included in the present discussion for two primary reasons: (1) the British garrison of Michilimackinac represented a functionally specific military post by the early

1760s, one designed above all else for military purposes despite the reduced French threat (Stone 1974:354); and (2) the fort has been subject to a long-standing program of archaeological research which has produced a large corpus of publications.

The body of research that has resulted from Michilimackinac archaeology covers a wide spectrum, covering both the French and British periods of occupation. Categories of publications include descriptive site reports of specific field seasons (e.g. Maxwell and Binford 1961; Binford 1962b; Stone 1973; Heldman 1978; Halchin 1985; Heldman and Grange 1981; Brown n.d.); detailed artifact typologies (e.g. Stone 1974; Miller and Stone 1970); discussions of the French occupation (Heldman 1991), the British occupation (Shapiro 1978), and comparisons of both (Binford 1962a; Stone 1974: 349-356; Cleland 1977); remote sensing investigations (e.g. Williams and Shapiro 1982); and artifact-specific analyses (Brown 1971; Heldman 1980; Hamilton and Emery 1988; Majewski and Noble 1999), to name but a few. Because of Michilimackinac's limited role in the events of the Seven Years' War, very little of the published work actually relates to the specifics of the conflict, though the immediate post-war occupation of the fort certainly offers a picture of a functionally specific British military settlement during the early 1760s.

Crown Point, NY

Some of the most innovative Seven Years' War archaeological investigations of British military sites have been conducted by OPRHP

archaeologists at the Crown Point State Historic Site along Lake Champlain. Originally a French post (St. Frederic) dating to the early 1730s, the small peninsula at Crown Point had been the intended goal of many a British campaign during the Seven Years' War, including Johnson's in 1755, Loudon's in 1756, and Abercromby's in 1758. The area served the French and their allies as an important platform from which to conduct devastating raids, and their construction of the post clearly signaled French regard for British land claims in the Champlain Valley (Farry 2003:7; Bellico 1995, 1999, 2001:17-18). None of the British attempts to dislodge the French were successful until General Amherst's in 1759. It was Amherst's decision to leave the smoldering St. Frederic in ruins in favor of a new stone and timber fortification, one that would forever lay to rest which European nation could truly lay claim to the Champlain Valley and northern New York in general. Within three years the massive fort was completed, though the elimination of the ever-present French threat subsequent to the war's end meant a much-reduced role for the fort. With the reduced military function came an expanded civilian settlement to Crown Point (Fisher 1995:67).

Since the early twentieth century, New York State has owned the fort and its grounds, which have been stabilized as interpreted as ruins. In 1968 the National Park Service designated the area as a National Historic Landmark, and since that time, any and all work at the site has been preceded by archaeological testing by OPRHP archaeologists (Feister 1984a:103). Excavations of various parts of the fortification have been conducted on an as-needed basis to prevent

any adverse impacts on the site (Starbuck 1999:167-173; see also Huey 1996).

OPRHP investigations have produced valuable analyses of the British military occupation at Crown Point. Feister's (1984a, 1984b) work in and around the massive Georgian-style stone barracks buildings, for example, embodies some of this more innovative research. Feister details both the structural (1984a) and artifactual (1984b) features associated with these still-standing British officers' and soldiers' domestic sites. Because historical sources provided unambiguous control over the two structures' occupants, Feister's exploration of archaeological patterning along lines of military rank provides a valuable comparative data source, particularly when viewed in terms of this study's model and hypotheses. Fisher's (1993, 1995) published accounts of the survey of a proposed maintenance building at Crown Point also demonstrate a valuable analysis and offer an important source of Seven Years' War archaeological data. Fisher details the architectural and artifactual patterns associated with three distinct officers' hut sites beyond the walls of the fort. The locations of sites matched the placement of Colonel Nathan Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment as shown on contemporary plans of the fort. This fact allowed Fisher to examine the archaeological patterns in terms of a relatively rare context: a series of three, spatially related and historically documented provincial officers' sites. As with Feister's data, when viewed in terms of the colonial frontier model presented here, Fisher's research offers an invaluable source of comparative information.

Chapter Summary and Assessment

Excepting a small number of individual studies, it can be argued that the use of archaeological methods and data to elucidate the Seven Years' War remains a relatively underdeveloped field of research, particularly in the context of comparable colonial military and social historians' discussions. Again, this is not to say that important archaeological work has not been conducted, only that much is to be gained from moving beyond site-specific and particularist frameworks. Such a move involves embracing a range of theoretically informed research questions, and participating in the on-going debates of colleagues who study the same historical event but do so with different forms of primary data (Farry 2005b). It is an unfortunate fact that very little cross-disciplinary discussion is reflected in the literature (to be fair, in either direction), and the archaeology of the Seven Years' War would do well to become more involved and more informed.

Archaeological studies that explicitly address topics in the historical literature or that investigate historical models with archaeological data are relatively few in number. This is regrettable considering the wealth of recent scholarship on the war and the sophisticated historical arguments and models archaeologists have at their disposal. Archaeologists have been primarily concerned with refining artifact typologies, providing architectural details, and assembling comparative type collections. The benefits of these pursuits are not in question; what is whether or not such pursuits represent the full analytical potential of Seven Years' War archaeological research.

It can also be argued that much of the research reviewed above has been site-oriented, narrow in scope, and very particularistic, focusing on the smallest of details within a single site to the expense of inter-site comparisons. The narrow scope is of course the inevitable consequence of research that has been predominately concerned with gathering architectural and material culture details for site reconstruction. Such a pursuit has been the impetus behind much of the initial excavations at Seven Years' War sites. Among the sites discussed in the text, large-scale reconstructions include Fort Necessity, Fort Ligonier, Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Stanwix, and Fort William Henry. The publications for these sites essentially exist in isolation; each is cited by the others, but primarily for aid in identifying artifacts rather than as a means for drawing inter-site comparisons.

A clear benefit of the various reconstruction efforts has been public education, both in the physical setting of the reconstructed forts and in the publication of detailed site reports (e.g. Waddell and Bomberger 1996). Indeed, the goal of fort reconstruction seems to be integral to the widespread publication of archaeological site reports, given that excavations conducted at a number of non-reconstructed sites have yet to make comparable work available (e.g. Fort Edward/Rogers Island; Fort George). Fort William Henry remains the only reconstructed site discussed above for which detailed site reports do not exist. Published works the likes of Harrington's (1952, 1953, 1977, 1978) for Fort Necessity, Stone's (1974) for Michilimackinac, Grimm's (1970) for Fort Ligonier, and Hanson and Hsu's (1975) for Fort Stanwix provide very detailed data on

these extensive excavations. Taken together the reports provide a veritable mine of comparative data that, surprisingly, has not been adequately tapped. Given the destructive nature of excavations, future work should concentrate on employing as much of these data as are appropriate to a range of research questions.

This is the intent of the subsequent chapter, which examines the various archaeological hypotheses presented in Chapter 3 against certain portions of the archaeological data presented in Chapter 4. For the purposes of this study, domestic contexts of provincial and British occupation are the relevant units of analysis, and where possible, are isolated in the existing Seven Years' War archaeological data base. Numerous British regular barracks occupations have been subjected to excavation, particularly at Forts Edward, William Henry, George, Crown Point, and Stanwix. Provincial domestic occupations of huts/tents had much less impact on the archaeological record and are much more rare, but a number have been identified at Forts Edward (Rogers Island), Gage, and Crown Point. The archaeological data from these domestic occupations are not all equal in their level of detail, but they nonetheless represent suitable and relevant sources from which expected material patterns might be sought.

CHAPTER 5:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING

Chapter Introduction

Chapter 5 begins application of the frontier model to British military archaeological data of the Seven Years' War. All of the data to be considered derive from the various excavations reviewed in the preceding chapter, with different combinations of sites and data used for different hypotheses. The data include those compiled from previously published sources as well as raw data from excavations not yet incorporated in any descriptive or analytical accounts. The data are comparative in nature in that numerous settlements are tapped to help explore archaeological patterns. The geographical scope of these sites, however, tends to be restricted to the overland portage route separating the Hudson River from Lakes George and Champlain (Figure 2). Compared to other frontier military regions of the Seven Years' War, this area was host to a number of formal British military occupations during the entire course of the war, and the author has been involved in many of their respective archaeological excavations.

While Chapter 3 outlines a comprehensive and multi-scalar model of Anglo-American cultural diversity during the Seven Years' War, full exploration of each of the 8 hypotheses is not the intent of this chapter. The present focus is primarily upon the small-scale hypotheses discussed in the model (1-4), or on how the perceived Anglo-American cultural differences were manifested archaeologically within restricted spatio-temporal contexts. Published and raw data are discussed in exploring the large-scale hypotheses, particularly among Hypotheses 5 and 7, but patterns in general remain speculative at this level of resolution until future research can provide more adequate samples for study.

The structure of the hypothesis testing mirrors that of Chapter 3, with attention drawn first to small-scale hypotheses and then large-scale hypotheses. Discussion of each archaeological hypothesis is structured such that the hypothesis is reintroduced. The particular material expectations are outlined and then examined against provincial and/or British regular archaeological data, with evidence for either cultural group discussed separately except in Hypothesis 8. Discussion also includes a brief review of the conformance between expected and actual archaeological patterns.

Archaeological Hypotheses: Small-scale Contexts

The primary focus of Chapter 5 is on understanding the degree to which the hypothesized artifact patterns for small-scale spatial and temporal contexts accurately predict provincial or British artifact assemblages. The first four hypotheses suggest significant differences between the two cultural groups, and that such differences will be clearly identified within the archaeological record. The archaeological model thus proposes a direct link between the material record of Anglo-American troops and the cultural diversity which characterized their ranks. Each of the anticipated archaeological patterns are a logical outgrowth of the dichotomous model proposed by Anderson, and the specific material expectations are possible only because of the control afforded by his detailed historical framework. Following a brief discussion of the analytical methods employed, the first four hypotheses are evaluated in terms of available archaeological data.

Where data manipulation is required in this study, it is consistently minimal and limited primarily to exploratory data analysis and recoding variables among different analytical classes to aid in various comparisons. Statistical significance of certain patterns is formally measured through chi-square contingency tests, but the analysis relies most often on simple descriptive data displays or metric distributions. For certain hypotheses, these distributions serve as very useful and easily compared summaries for different sets of artifact data. As has been argued, such exploratory techniques provide simple but effective methods for understanding fundamental patterns or “shape” within data, including archaeological data (Goldstein 1986). All data comparisons are conducted between British regular and American provincial analytical units, which is to say between British barracks assemblages and American provincial hut or tent assemblages. Data requirements for many of the hypotheses are rather stringent, which serves to limit what is available for study particularly as the spatial and temporal scale of analysis is broadened.

An important exploratory technique that is employed in this study is Correspondence Analysis (subsequently CA). With a long but relatively inconspicuous history, CA is a relatively simple multivariate technique that has recently gained favor among scholars (Hill 1974; Greenacre 1984; Greenacre and Hastie 1987; Higgs 1991; Beh 2004). This fact has become increasingly true among archaeologists, with a growing number of discussions and applications of CA in the literature (see Bolviken et al. 1982; Bertelsen 1988; Ringrose 1992; Clouse 1996, 1999; Duff 1996; Farry 2005a). This exploratory or descriptive

statistical technique allows for the transformation of frequency data contained in two-dimensional tables into a more readable graphical display (Farry 2005a:26; Clouse 1999:96). It intends a graphical representation of both the rows and columns in the original data matrix in terms of as few dimensions as possible such that cluster of variables among analytical units can be observed (Hoffman and Franke 1986:215). From a practical perspective, this permits a better sense of what artifact variables (table columns) distinguish or cluster among the provincial or British domestic contexts (table rows), at least better than that determined from the original matrices alone.

As Bolviken et al. (1982:41) argue, CA provides a promising exploratory tool for archaeologists in part because of its ability to handle the inevitable zero cells common to archaeological frequency data tables. The data requirements of CA are not stringent and only require non-negative entries in the data matrix and that row and column totals not equal zero; zero entries for individual cells are acceptable (Hoffman and Franke 1986:213; Weller and Romney 1990:72). The technique thus provides an appropriate tool given the data at hand, but it is a tool that is decidedly non-deterministic. That is, CA provides the means with which data may be reduced and viewed across geometric space, but its function remains exploratory rather than confirmatory. CA simply provides an additional technique with which to explore the fundamental “shape” of the archaeological data, which in turn may shed light on any and all material culture differences separating British regular and American provincials.

Overall, the use of CA in this study is very similar to Clouse’s (1996, 1999)

application of the technique to archaeological data associated with the nineteenth-century American military frontier at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Clouse compiles detailed tabular data on the various structural contexts within the fort site identified by excavation, which ultimately consists of artifact counts per archaeological feature/ structure. The numerous artifact types are grouped by Clouse (1999) into fewer functional categories, and the frequency of artifacts per functional group for the various structures are graphed with CA to observe differences or similarities between the structures. No one single master table of data is used in the present analysis in favor of smaller, more numerous and versatile data, but the application of the statistical technique is still very much the same as Clouse's application to the Fort Snelling context and data.

Hypothesis 1: Small-scale British and provincial domestic contexts will likely reveal differences in the degree of material culture standardization.

The first hypothesis to be examined contends that an important point of cultural divergence between Anglo-American forces during the Seven Year' War was in their use of a homogenous material culture. Broadly speaking, this hypothesis rests upon the assumption that provincial and British forces differed significantly in terms of their participation in a professional military culture. It posits that, as a much more experienced and practiced military force, the British army employed a suite of standardized accoutrements to adequately and efficiently equip its troops in the field. Standardized materials among the professional ranks allowed for uniformity in military drills, eased the supply and

replacement of items, and helped rationalize the production of weapon projectiles (Brumwell 2002:194). Such standardization has also been historically documented among the British army- at least in its use of weaponry- through the adoption of the Brown Bess musket during the early eighteenth century (Neumann 1967:16). In comparison, the relative inexperience among the provincial forces concerning the mobilization and supply of novice troops likely resulted in a lack of standardized materials. While it is likely that some provincials were supplied with or were able to obtain material items similar to that of the British regulars, many more likely did not and had to rely on personal belongings or personal firepower (Kemmer 1998). Again, one might conceive of the “motley” (read: non-standardized) appearance of the provincials compared to the uniform appearance of the professional British military.

Overall, analysis of musket ball diameters reveals expected patterns of standardization among British contexts. Comparable measurements associated with provincial huts, however, do not fully support the model's expectations. While variability is noted among one provincial domestic occupation, another reveals unexpected patterns of standardization. This suggests that, while standardization may indeed be associated with British regulars, variability may not always be associated with provincial occupations. Clear cultural differences in material culture standardization may thus not always distinguish Anglo-American forces, though this pattern could be confused by the factor of time. Resolving this issue of standardization is examined among provincial musket ball and button assemblages across broad temporal scales in Hypothesis 7.

British Regular Test Implications and Data

The specific archaeological test implication of Hypothesis 1 for British regular contexts posits the use of standardized musketry among the British regulars. The most likely candidate is the British Brown Bess musket, and it is expected that British domestic contexts will demonstrate consistently high frequencies of this musket type rather than a variable range of different makes or models. Unfortunately, few archaeological assemblages include complete musket barrels for analysis, which requires that a proxy be used to help measure this attribute among British weaponry. Musket balls (measured by their diameter) fill this need quite well given that they were cast to fit the barrels of specific musket types and tend to be ubiquitous in the archaeological assemblages of British military sites (Calver and Bolton 1950:74-75). The expected material pattern for British contexts thus involves comparatively high frequencies of those musket ball diameters specifically designed to fit a Brown Bess musket, thereby lending support for the use of this weapon type among the British and helping to reveal their tendency for standardization.

More specifically, British musket ball assemblages are expected to demonstrate a unimodal or single-peaked frequency distribution of diameters most likely at .69-.70 inches but peaking in general between .65-.74 inches. The expected caliber range is that associated with the large .75-caliber Brown Bess musket, particularly once the effect of *windage* is accounted for (Peterson 1956; Neumann 1967:14; Ferguson 1977:59). Windage refers to the difference between the barrel diameter and the ball diameter. By necessity, musket balls

were cast substantially smaller in diameter than their respective weapon barrels to allow for the build up or fouling of black powder on the inside of the barrels after repeated use. The bore-loaded weapons required that musket balls be rammed down prior to each firing, a difficult task as black powder began to increasingly cake the interior of the weapon. A ball cast at a consistent size smaller than the barrel was thus employed to account for this fouling process, with differences typically ranging between .05-1.0 inches (Neumann 1967:14; Farry 2005a:27). Though unimodal, the expected distribution shape of any single British assemblage will be asymmetrical and peaked towards the higher Brown Bess calibers and therefore skewed to the left along decreasing numbers of smaller ball diameters.

To evaluate the British component of Hypothesis 1, musket ball data were culled from a number of existing barracks assemblages (Table 1). These included Rogers Island, Fort William Henry, Fort George, and Fort Stanwix (Farry 2005b:459-463). Assembling the Rogers Island collection required consultation with previous excavators who provided musket ball metric data for both the barracks and available provincial huts. Data were also collected from available Rogers Island artifact catalog sheets. Fort William Henry counts were tabulated from individual artifact catalog sheets, while the Fort George data were pulled from the existing digital artifact catalogs now on file with the New York State Museum in Albany. Both barracks buildings 1 and 2 at Fort George are combined in Table 1 as sample sizes for each were small and their individual distributions similar. The Fort Stanwix assemblage was easily compiled with

reference to Hanson and Hsu's (1975:79, Table 12) detailed report of their excavations. All diameter measurements were compiled to 1/100ths of an inch, with the data range restricted between .47-.74. A number of archaeological discussions of musket ball diameters employ this general range for different musket and pistol weapons types (see Hanson and Hsu 1975; Poirier 1976; Ferguson 1977; Feister and Huey 1985; Sivilich 1996; Farry 2005a). Smaller bird or buckshot lead projectiles with diameters less than .47 inches are thus excluded from consideration from all sites.

Temporal control is not the same for each site, though each was constructed and occupied during the Seven Years' War. The Fort William Henry west barracks building offers the tightest date range at 1756-1757. This structure was ordered to be built opposite one for officers after a 1756 inspection of the frontier fort found it wanting in certain respects (see Bradfield 2000:40-43). The barracks would serve as home for the 274 "Regulars fit for duty" Major William Eyre commanded in the spring of 1757, as well as for the troops of the 35th, 44th, and 48th regiments commanded by Colonel Munro just prior to its destruction (Bradfield 2000:50-51; Bellico 2001). The post-1757 Rogers Island barracks complex was largely abandoned by 1766, and it seems unlikely that the wooden barracks once home to the Scottish Highland regiments, the 55th Regiment of Foot and others would have remained intact enough or survived the Island's seasonal floods to be again occupied by the small American garrison there in 1775-1777 (Fitch 1968: 41; Starbuck 1999:70, 2004:14-15, 18). The Fort George barracks immediately post-date the William Henry occupation as the

buildings didn't exist until after the French destroyed Fort William Henry. It is not clear that the Fort George barracks structures were occupied long after their construction during the Seven Years' War, though their use of stone for construction might suggest a longer life span. Fort Stanwix dates to 1758, with the British barracks known to have burned down by the fall of 1774 (Hanson and Hsu 1975:21). Though of a much shorter duration, the later American occupation during the Revolutionary War ca. 1777-1781 could not be distinguished in the archaeological record of the site as a whole (Hanson and Hsu 1975:48).

Figures 3-6 show the frequency distributions of each of the barracks contexts based on the Table 1 data. Overall they demonstrate concordance between the expected and actual musket ball distribution patterns. The Rogers Island assemblage (Figure 3) peaks between the .66-.70-inch caliber range, while both the Fort William Henry (Figure 4) and Fort George (Figure 5) distributions peak between the .65-.70-inch diameter range. The Stanwix distribution (Figure 6) measures most frequently at .69-inches diameter, with a few examples at .66 and .67 inches. Each one of these ranges falls within that expected for the Brown Bess musket, and indeed, the predominance of .68 and .69-inch musket ball diameters is what was expected for the .75-inch caliber weapon. All four figures illustrate a skewed distribution anchored along the high calibers with decreasing numbers of smaller caliber musket balls. The Fort William Henry assemblage evidences a slightly more diverse distribution, with much smaller peaks between the .55-.61-inch diameter range. The .65-.70 inch

Table 1: Musket ball diameter counts per British and provincial contexts.

Musket Ball diameter. (in.)	British Barracks				Provincial Huts	
	Rogers Island	William Henry	George	Stanwix	RI Hut 6	RI Hut 1
0.47	0	0	0	2	0	0
0.48	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.49	0	0	0	0	0	0
0.50	0	0	0	0	0	1
0.51	0	2	0	0	0	0
0.52	0	1	0	0	2	0
0.53	0	1	0	3	0	0
0.54	1	1	0	0	2	0
0.55	0	3	0	3	1	0
0.56	0	2	1	4	1	1
0.57	1	3	0	0	1	0
0.58	1	1	0	0	2	0
0.59	0	0	0	1	1	0
0.60	0	3	0	0	0	0
0.61	0	3	0	1	7	1
0.62	0	1	0	0	1	3
0.63	0	2	0	4	1	1
0.64	1	2	0	3	1	1
0.65	0	4	1	0	0	4
0.66	3	4	1	4	0	0
0.67	2	8	2	3	1	1
0.68	2	10	3	0	2	3
0.69	6	12	7	25	3	37
0.70	1	4	1	0	4	16
0.71	0	1	0	0	1	0
0.72	0	1	0	0	0	1
0.73	0	0	0	0	1	1
0.74	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	69	16	53	32	71

Figure 3: Distribution of Rogers Island barracks musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005b:464).

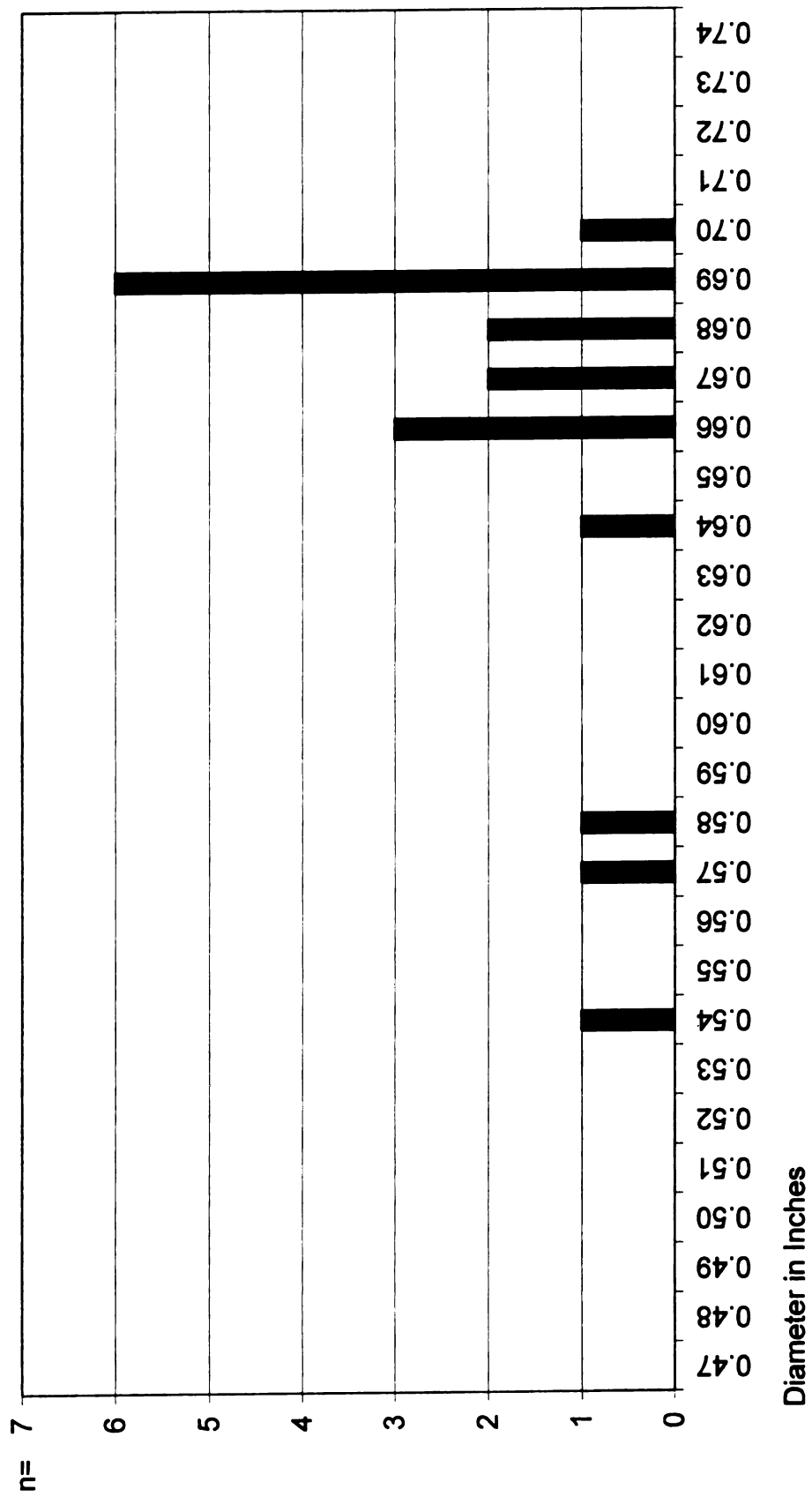


Figure 4: Distribution of Fort William Henry west barracks musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005b:464).

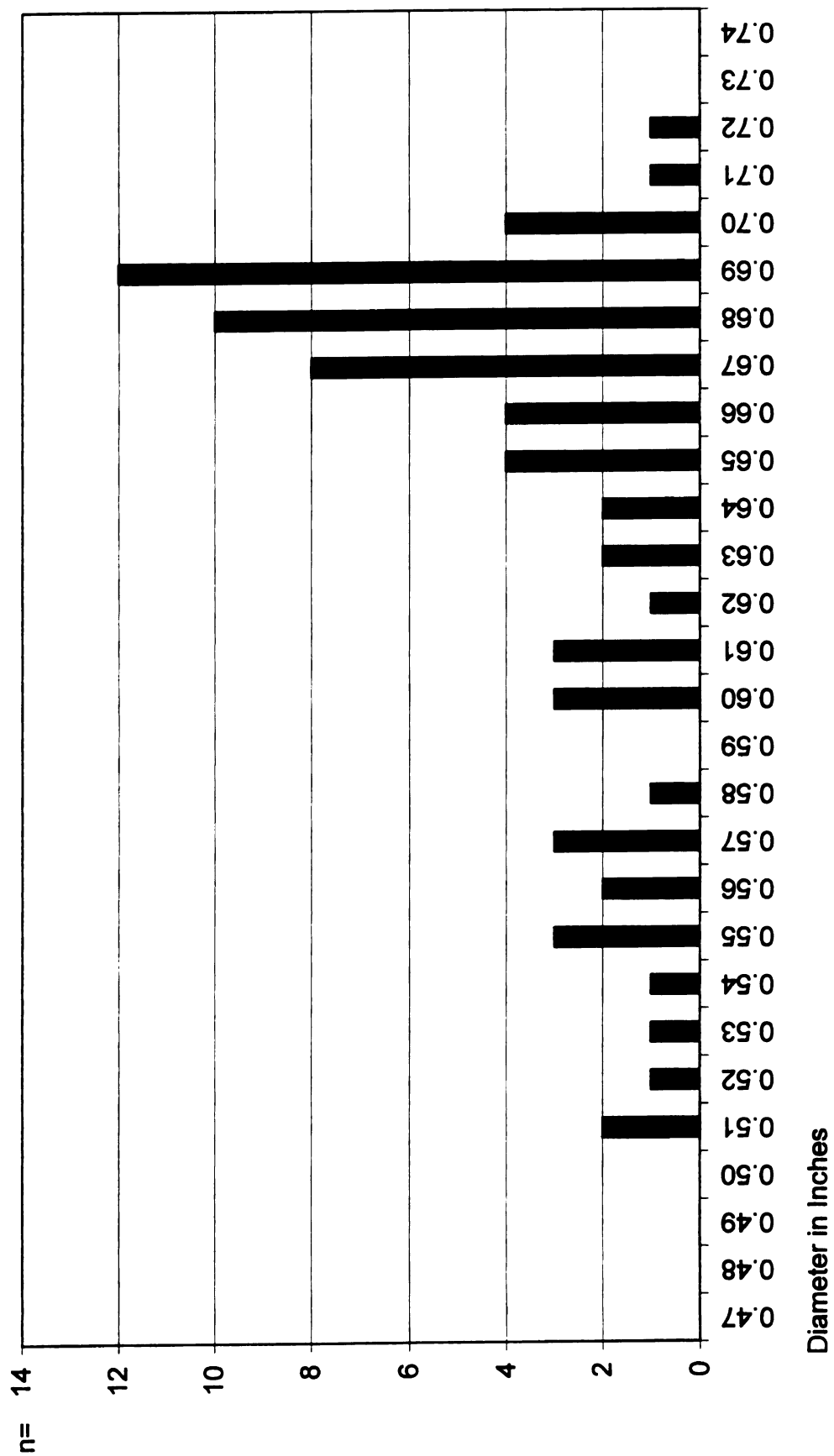


Figure 5: Distribution of Fort George barracks musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005b:465).

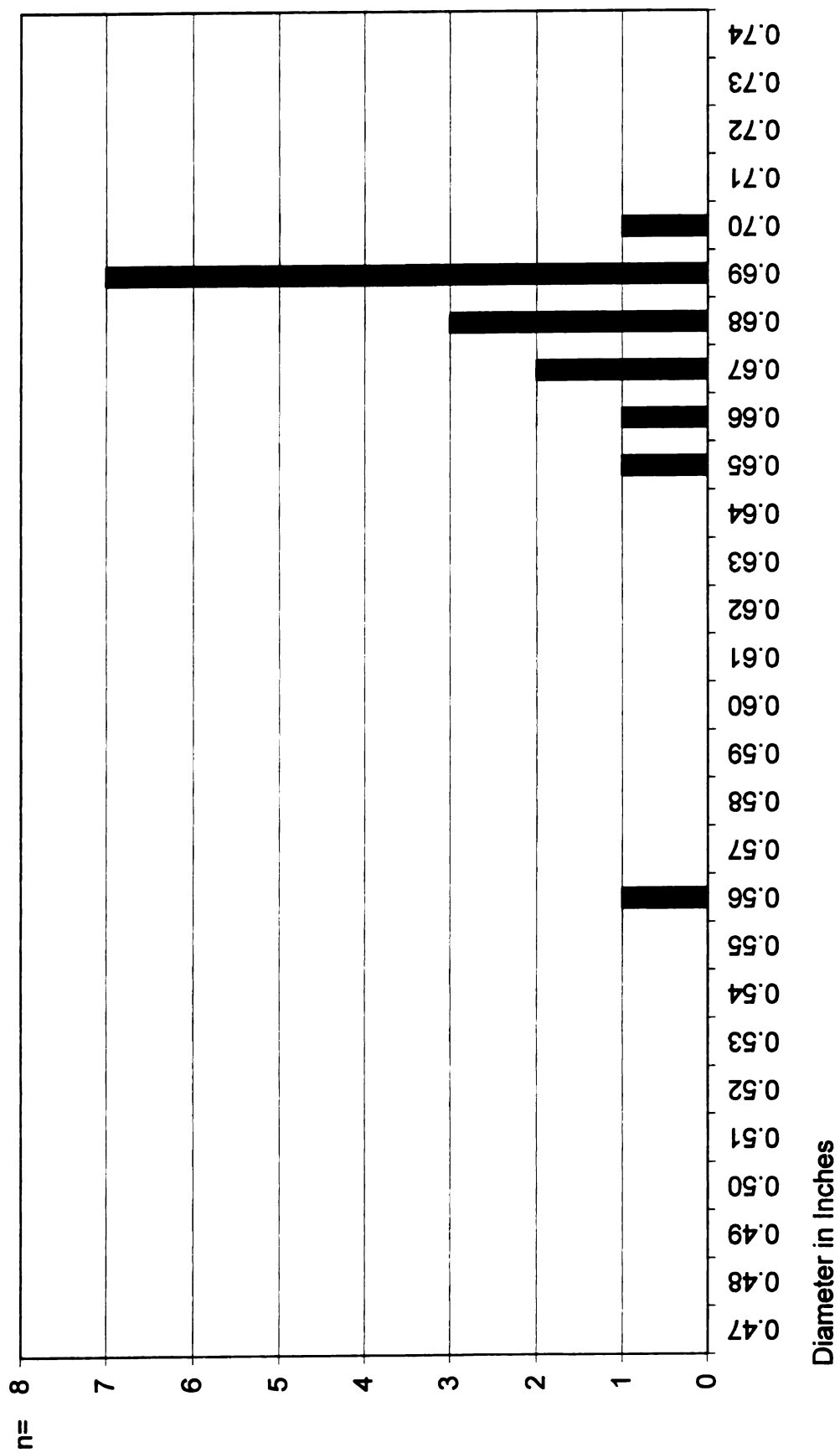
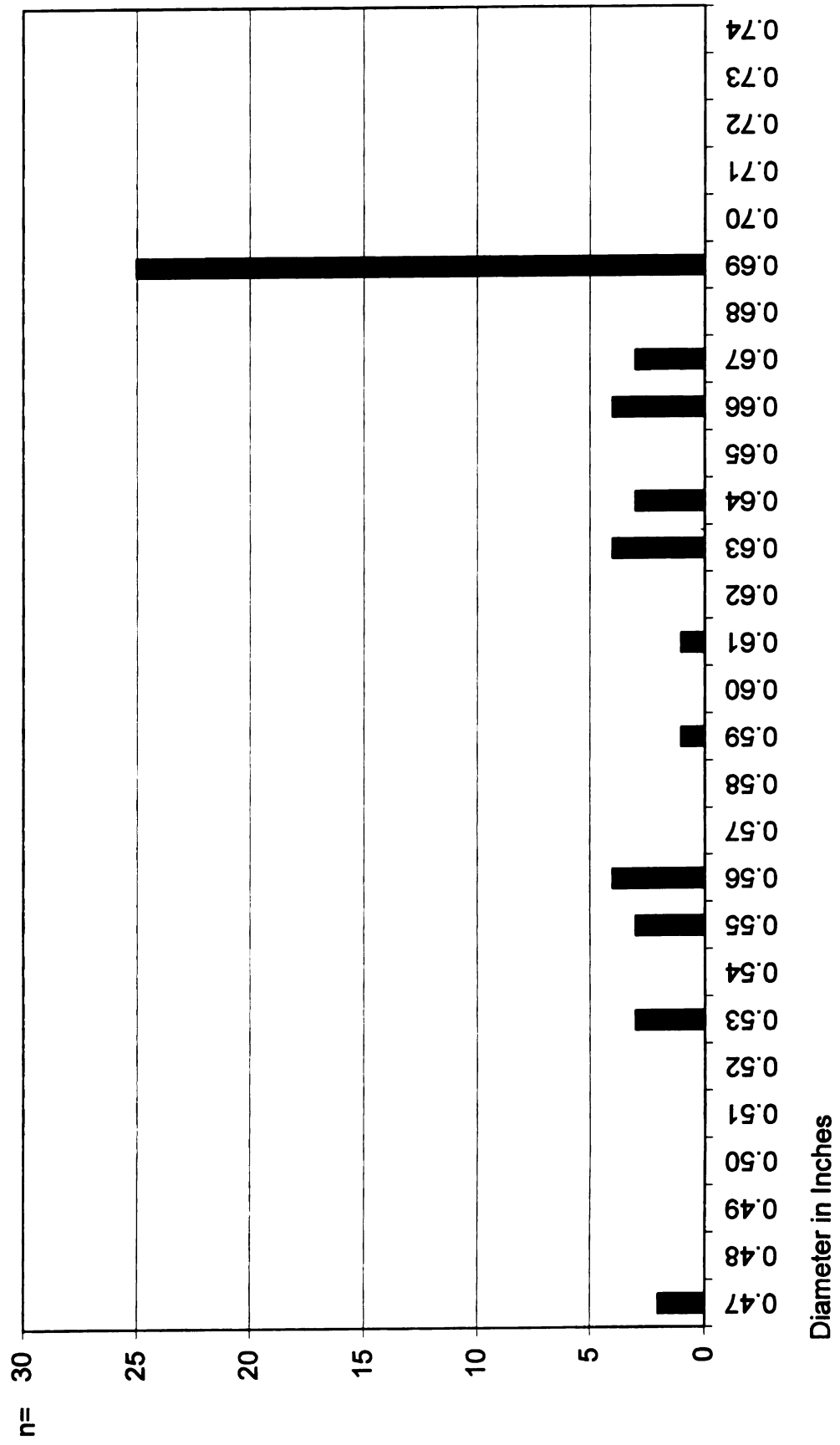


Figure 6: Distribution of Stanwix barracks musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005a:27).



peak, however, clearly dominates the distribution, and as a whole each of the barracks assemblages resemble a standardized collection of musket balls. Based on the data presented, then, the hypothesis of standardized materials manifest as uniform weaponry among British regular contexts appears valid. That is, nothing in the various barracks distributions conflicts with or refutes the expected metric patterns, and the archaeological data appear to support the claim that British regular forces maintained a standardized weaponry comprised of the Brown Bess musket.

Provincial Test Implications and Data

The specific archaeological test implication of Hypothesis 1 for American provincial assemblages posits the lack of standardized musketry among these contexts. No one single weapon type like the Brown Bess is assumed for the Americans, though use of this weapon is not precluded among the provincials. The expected material pattern for American contexts involves comparatively wide distributions of musket ball diameters intended for use in a number of different musket types, thereby bolstering support for the claim of material culture variability among the provincial forces. Compared to a dominant .65-.74-inch range expected among the British, provincial diameters will likely fall anywhere along the .47-.74-inch continuum of possible musket ball diameters. A unimodal distribution is not expected, with multiple clusters of diameters defining the whole of the provincial distribution. Relevant provincial assemblages with which to test these hypothesized patterns come from hut excavations conducted at the

provincial encampment on Rogers Island.

As Starbuck (2004:18) notes, while “British soldiers lived within massive barracks buildings on Rogers Island and within the fort...provincial soldiers, rangers, and some officers lived in rows of small huts, houses, or tents”. Reference to such temporary shelters is common in provincial soldiers’ journals, such as Jabez Fitch’s account of his stay on Rogers Island during the fall and winter months of 1757-1758 (Fitch 1968). Fitch mentions, for example, setting up camp on the island and even adding a chimney to his tent in October of 1757, no doubt an attempt to winterize the dwelling before the full onset of the season (Starbuck 2004:48). By December of the same year Fitch refers to his “Hous” and later “my Hutt”, suggesting the dwelling took on even more permanent architecture as the season progressed. There is little doubt that the various temporary shelters or huts that have been excavated on Rogers Island mark the remains of Fitch’s and other provincial soldiers’ dwellings. Actual musket ball diameter data from two of these structures were available for comparison against expected patterns and those seen for the barracks assemblages (Table 1). The hut features lack very tight temporal control beyond the ca.1755-1766 occupation date for the Fort Edward settlement as a whole. As Starbuck (2004:67) has remarked, it was difficult to “date any of the [provincial huts] precisely, so it is impossible to say whether [they] were constructed before, during, or after the massive barracks buildings went up on the island”.

Figures 7-8 display the distribution of provincial musket ball diameters as listed in Table 1. The first structure (Figure 7) does indeed demonstrate a

Figure 7: Distribution of Rogers Island hut 6 musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005a:27).

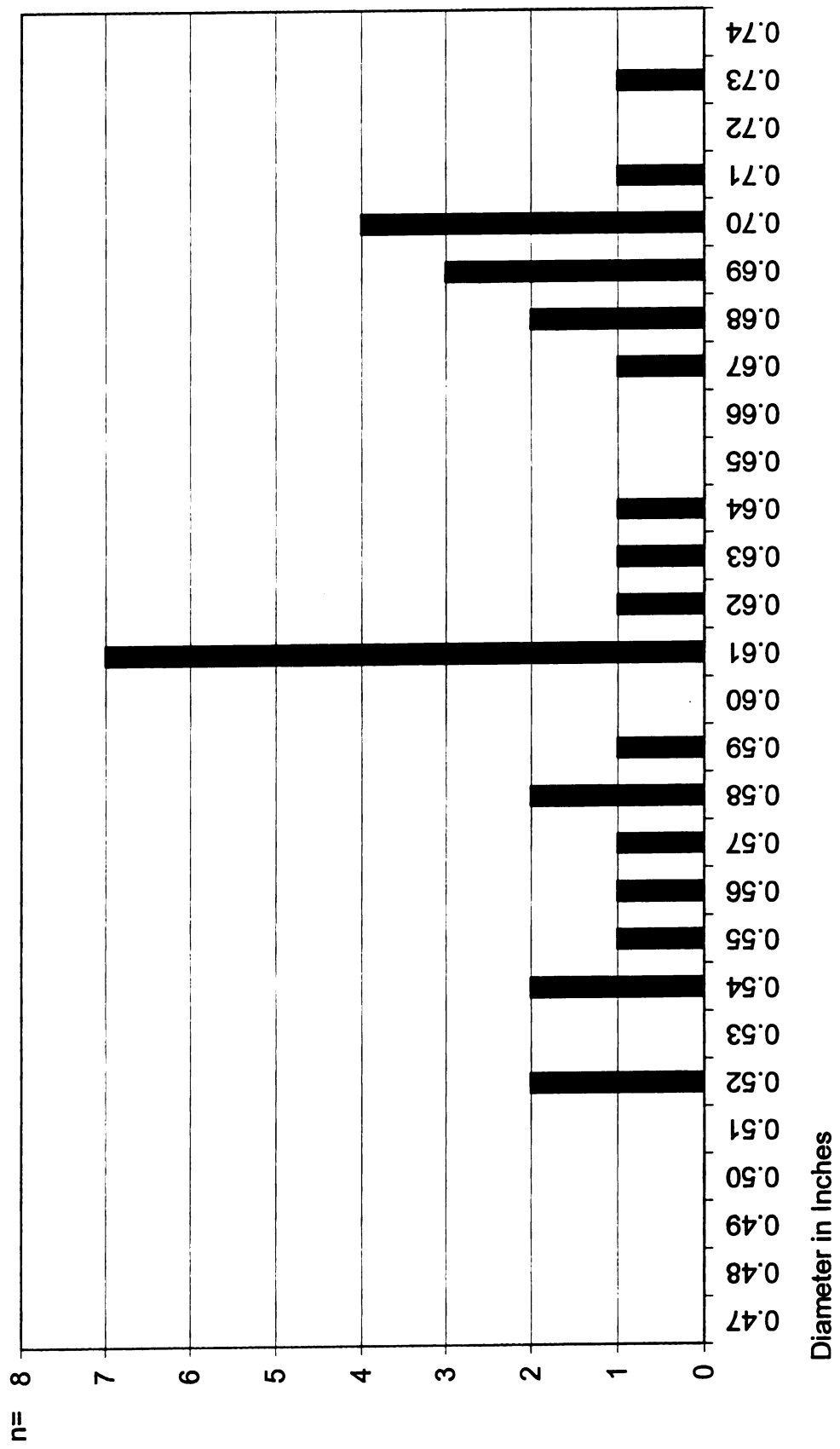


Figure 8: Distribution of Rogers Island hut 1 musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005b:467).

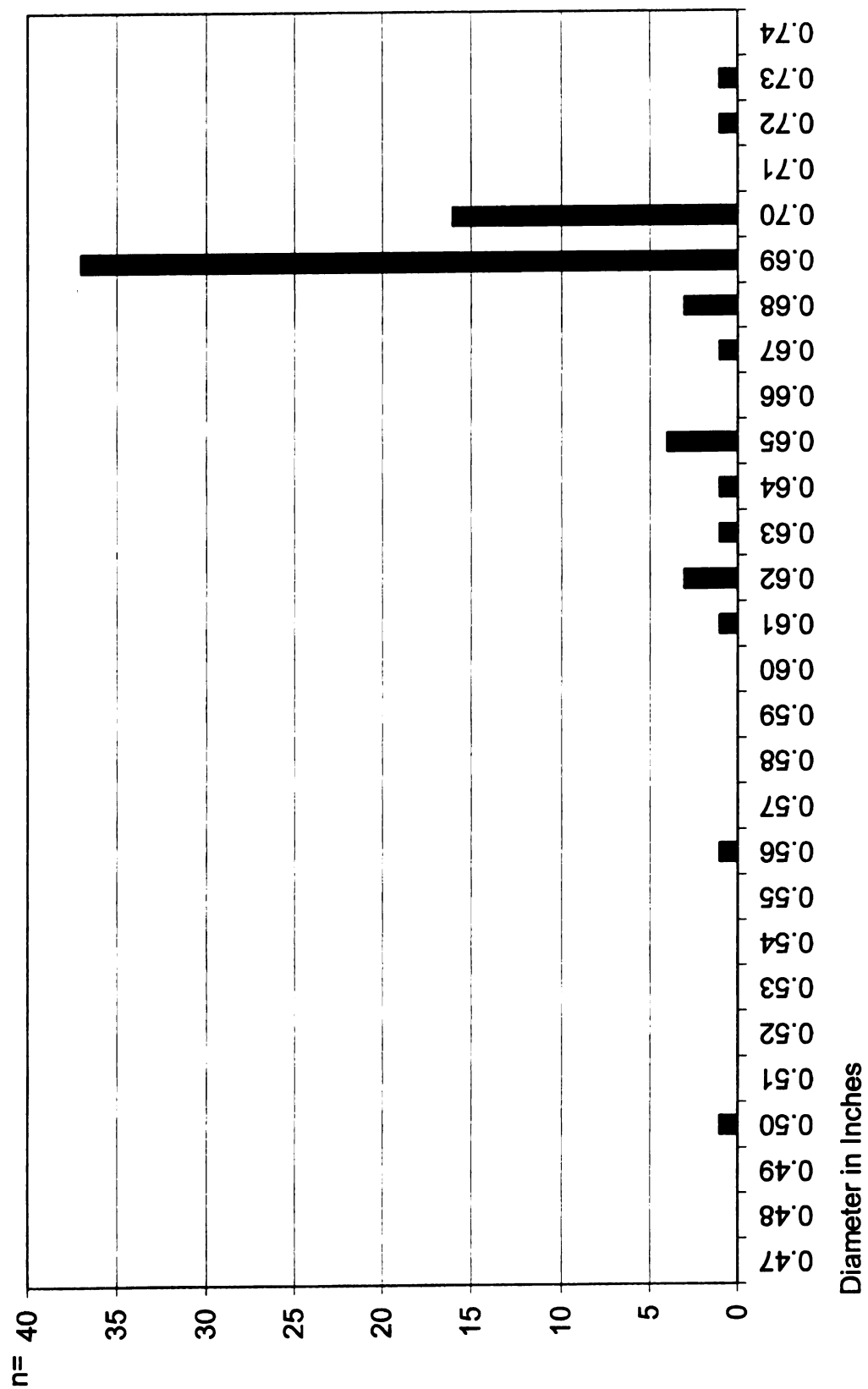
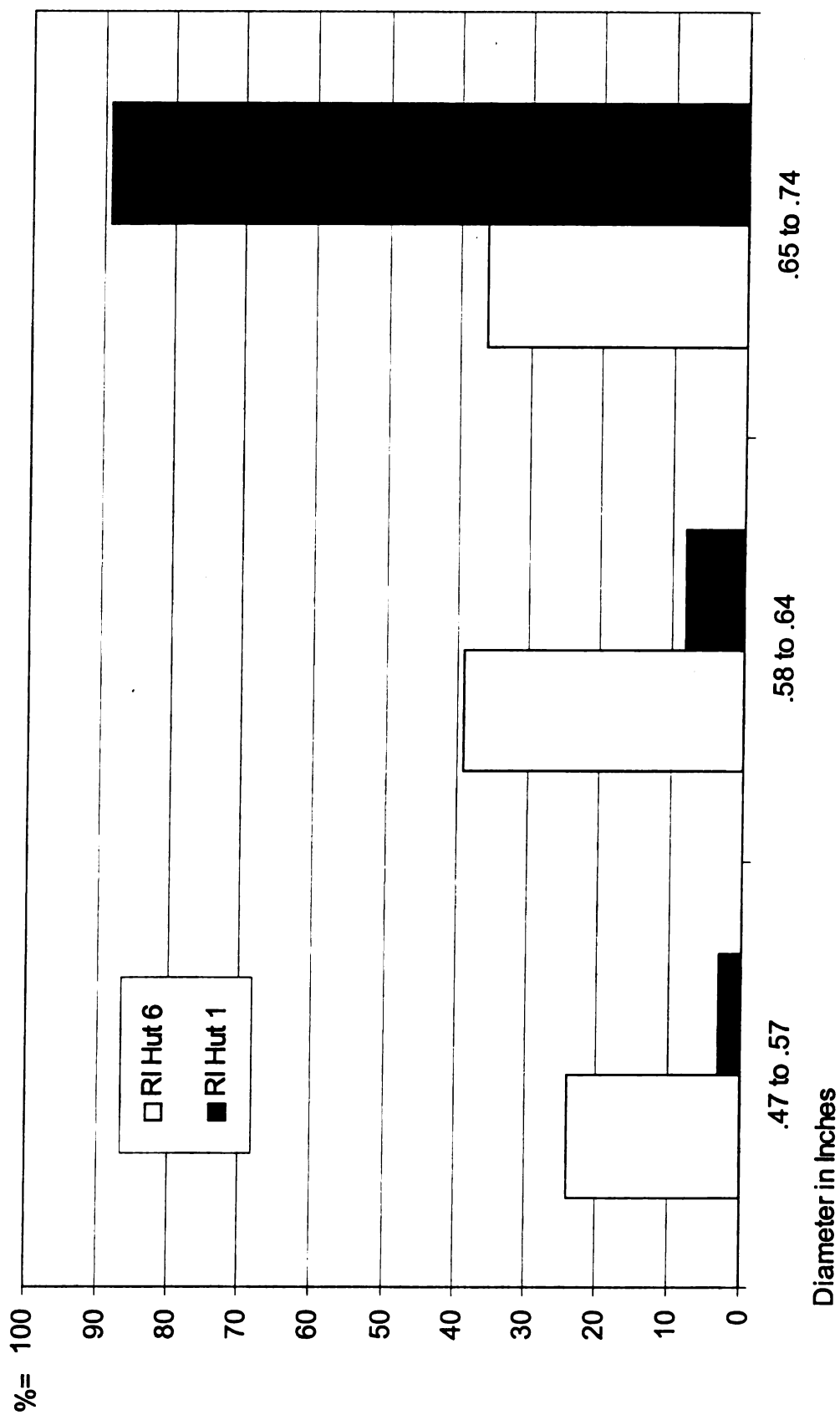


Figure 9: Categories of lead shot based on distributions shown in Figures 7 and 8.



comparatively dispersed distribution, with a dominant peak at .61-inches and another smaller one between .67-.71-inches in diameter. The latter peak suggests that the larger-diameter Brown Bess musket was not the intended weapon for the majority of the musket balls left behind at this dwelling. Overall this distribution confirms the expectations of Hypothesis 1. The second hut's distribution (Figure 8), however, is clearly that associated with use of a single weapon type with the overwhelming number of diameters measured at .69-.70 inches. The shape of its distribution matches very closely that seen among the British barracks contexts, and as a result it disputes the expectations of Hypothesis 1.

Reclassifying these two provincial distributions by weapon categories provides an even better perspective on their shapes (Figure 9). The diameter ranges used in the process of reclassifying are the same as those used by a number of other scholars to group musket ball diameters, including Hanson and Hsu (1975:80), Poirier (1976:48), Ferguson (1977:58-59), and Sivilich (1996:103). Three separate categories of weapons are recognized: .47-.57-inches in diameter (including such weapons as American-made rifles, pistols, etc.); .58-.64-inches in diameter (including the British fusil, Dragoon carbine, etc.); and .65-.74 inches (including the Brown Bess musket). The percentages of lead shot in each weapon category for both huts shown in Figure 9 is clearly different, again highlighting the unexpected pattern seen in the second structure's musket ball assemblage. The first structure's percentages are much more widely and evenly distributed, and although all three categories are

represented among the second provincial hut, large-caliber shot likely used in the standard-issue Brown Bess musket clearly predominates (Farry 2005a:27). A statistical comparison based on the chi-square test of association of the data shown in Table 1 and Figure 9 demonstrates a significant difference in their distributions: $\chi^2 = 59.249$, df 2, $p = 1.362 \times 10^{-13}$. This test measures whether or not there exists a relationship between the percentages of the different weapons categories and the hut contexts from which they derive; in short, if the structures' distributions are the same or not. Such a high chi-square value provides evidence against the null hypothesis (which assumes no association), and it identifies a significant difference between the musket ball distributions of the two Rogers Island huts. The first hut's dispersed percentage distribution has been similarly distinguished from those of the British barracks contexts. In comparison to the Stanwix assemblage, for example, a chi-square test of association demonstrates a significant difference in their distributions: $\chi^2 = 14.658$, df 2, $p = .00065$ (see Farry 2005a:27-28).

What these patterns suggest is that, contrary to expectations, provincial contexts do evidence standardized musketry very similar to that demonstrated for British barracks contexts. At the same time, at least one provincial context did marshal evidence for significantly greater heterogeneity among American weapons and confirmed the test expectations. Taken together, the data suggest a greater degree of variability among multiple provincial occupations, but a possible lack of variability when viewed within individual provincial contexts. In terms of this study's hypotheses, the standardized hut assemblage on Rogers

Island may in fact represent a late occupation during the war, suggesting an expected adoption of standardization among the provincials. This fact cannot be evaluated since it requires a known (and hopefully restricted) occupation date during the war, and none of the provincial huts on Rogers Island could be more accurately dated between ca. 1755-1766 (Starbuck 2004:67). It can at least be concluded that, while British regular barracks assemblages reflect their use of standardized weaponry, provincial data only partially confirm their lack of standardization.

Hypothesis 2: Colonial assemblages may reflect the temporary character of provincial military service when compared to assemblages associated with the British regulars.

Hypothesis 2 posits that the unique and temporary character of military service among the provincials can be observed in their respective archaeological assemblages, and that this will clearly distinguish them from comparable British regular assemblages. Provincial terms of enlistment were decidedly different than the long-term service among the British ranks, with provincials typically signing on for an eight-month tour of duty. This fundamental difference in the structure of military service may have had material correlates, and these may have had a demonstrable effect upon the material record left behind at former British and provincial occupations. Observing and examining this effect on the material record can thus serve to identify the actual means by which provincials and British regulars differed from one another, and Hypothesis 2 anticipates what

such material correlates or “demonstrable effects” might have been. Anticipated patterns, in turn, are evaluated against British barracks and provincial hut archaeological data.

Overall, the observed archaeological patterns support expectations of diversity between provincial and British contexts, but the actual material expressions of such diversity are not necessarily those that were anticipated. Analysis focuses upon the category of ceramics, with anticipation that provincials may have tended to avoid such items given their temporary terms of service compared to the British. Contrary to this idea, however, a provincial hut context from Rogers Island demonstrates an equally wide range of ceramic types and forms as do comparable British barracks contexts. The true character of either archaeological assemblage, however, is demonstrably different, and this highlights certain patterns of diversity in ceramic use between British and provincial domestic contexts.

British and Provincial Test Implications and Data

The discussion of British and provincial archaeological patterns relevant to Hypothesis 2 are combined. This is due to the fact that expected patterns for each group are examined among the same category of materials (ceramics), and that the tabular and graphic data for each are presented together. Provincial material expectations project a general lack of ceramic items compared to the British ranks if, again, these items were considered unnecessary to fulfilling provincial terms of service. Certain categories of ceramics may have simply

been avoided by provincials stationed in the field who may have been wary of having to carry extra baggage during their journeys. This may have resulted in a much more restricted or smaller provincial ceramic assemblage compared to the British. Fort Gage provides a certain perspective on this question, with a complete lack of ceramics reported for the short provincial occupation at the site. The authors recognize the uniqueness of this situation, with no similar examples reported of eighteenth-century Anglo-American military sites lacking ceramic artifacts (Feister and Huey 1985:51). It is thus analytically more useful to suggest that provincials will probably lack the same range or amount of ceramic vessels as compared to British contexts, rather than anticipate a complete lack of such items. British ceramic assemblages, by contrast, should demonstrate a diverse and wide range of ceramic vessels reflecting the widespread, common, and long-term use of these items among the British ranks while in the field (cf. Ferguson 1977; Sussman 2000:45).

Relevant archaeological data with which to examine these patterns is provided by the ceramic assemblages of Fort Stanwix and Crown Point (British barracks), and Rogers Island (provincial hut). The data consist of sherd counts as well as minimum vessel counts, the latter distinguished across a range of different forms and wares. Occupation periods of these sites are not the same, though there is considerable overlap. The Rogers Island provincial hut ceramic assemblage is the earliest and dates to ca. 1755-1766, or the general date during which the settlement as a whole was occupied during the war (Farry 2005a:26). Tighter temporal control is not possible for the hut feature (Starbuck

2004:67), and in fact multiple occupations are suggested by certain architectural clues and the large number of unique ceramic vessels associated with the feature. The plan view of the hut indicates that an original hearth area was cut into by a shallow wall trench with vertical wood boards, which in turn likely housed a brick fireplace. Another hearth feature cuts into this trench, suggesting the dwelling may have been reconstructed for continued occupation over a period of time and through various seasons on the island (Figure 14). Evidence for similar construction episodes in provincial huts on Rogers Island is documented in Jabez Fitch's (1968:28) journal, where he indicates that he "Built a Chimney to our Tent" in early October in anticipation of the oncoming cold season. Fitch was winterizing his dwelling on the island for occupation through the fall and winter months at Fort Edward, and the apparent multiple construction episodes at the provincial hut are likely evidence for similar practices. Thus, while the exact occupation period of the Rogers Island provincial hut is not known, there is evidence to suggest that it was not limited to a single campaign season.

Comparative British barracks ceramic data derive from Crown Point and Fort Stanwix. The Crown Point barracks date between 1759-1773, the latter date the time at which the fort as a whole is documented to have burned down. As Feister (1984b:125) argues, the "Soldiers' barracks at Crown Point represent tangible evidence of life in the British army in the third quarter of the 18th century," and its associated ceramic assemblage provides a useful and comparative data source to the provincial hut assemblage. The post-1758

Stanwix barracks assemblages derive primarily from wood-lined cellar hole features in both the east and west barracks at the site (Hanson and Hsu 1975:21-27). These barracks features likely date through to the end of the British occupation period at 1774, but again, they could not be clearly distinguished from the later American occupation during the Revolutionary War ca. 1777-1781. All British barracks and provincial hut data used in the discussion of Hypothesis 2 were culled from ceramic data presented in Hanson and Hsu (1975:118, Table 23), Feister (1984b:130, Table 1), and DeAngelo (1995:103, Table 2).

Table 2 provides a summary of the number of ceramic sherds and the number of identified vessels for each excavation context. Inspection of the ratios between number of sherds recovered and number of vessels identified at each site reveals a surprising pattern. The provincial hut on Rogers Island produced the fewest number of ceramic sherds of all the structures (n=299), which might be expected given their relative sizes, presumed number of original occupants, and their respective excavation limits. But while the total frequency of sherds is low, the number of identified vessels within the assemblage is comparatively high. Of the 299 sherds, a total of 76 vessels were identified across 13 different vessel forms suggesting that on average a unique provincial ceramic vessel could be identified among every four ceramic sherds. This contrasts sharply with the sherd:vessel ratios seen among the British barracks assemblages, which collectively could identify a ceramic vessel out of every 8-10 ceramic sherds. This suggests that, while small, the assemblage associated with the provincial hut includes a comparatively high number and wide range of vessels, which

Table 2: Sherd and vessel counts per British and provincial structures.

	Sherds n	Vessel n	S:V ratio
RI Hut 1	299	76	4:1
CP barracks	1048	103	10:1
Stanwix West	569	71	8:1
Stanwix East	403	47	9:1

contrasts with that expected for a temporary military force. While the pattern could simply be the result larger overall sherd size among the provincial ceramics allowing for better identification of vessel form, it might also suggest that provincials utilized a large and complex ceramic assemblage during the Seven Years' War, one at least as equally large and varied (or more so) as among the more permanent British ranks. This preliminary inspection of the data therefore does not lend much support for an obviously restricted ceramic assemblage among provincials.

More in-depth examination of the data, however, provides clear evidence for differences in British and provincial ceramic use. Table 3 provides a summary of the frequency of vessel forms tabulated for each excavation context. For each site's vessel assemblage, individual vessel forms were tabulated and compiled into a single display to aid comparisons. Upon initial inspection, and when viewed in context with the British assemblages, the provincial hut ceramics again demonstrate a wide and diverse range of vessel forms, with more vessel categories identified among the provincial context than two of the three barracks contexts (n=13 compared to n=9 and n=10, respectively). But the frequency distribution of different vessel forms in the hut context is clearly different than that

seen among the barracks assemblages, and this pattern is graphically represented in Figure 10. The Figure displays the CA plot of the vessel form data in Table 3. These differences suggest that, indeed, provincials and British groups were using ceramics differently, though not as was anticipated in Hypothesis 2.

The CA plot clearly displays two clusters of structures defined by an overall spatial division between provincial huts on the right and British barracks on the left, with a degree of variation with the barracks cluster (Farry 2005a:29). The first axis accounts for almost 80% of the spatial variation or inertia evident in the plot, and it is along this axis that the barracks and hut are clearly distinguished. The second axis accounts for an additional 17% of the spatial variation in the plot, which seems to distinguish the Crown Point barracks from those at Fort Stanwix. While such a clear distinction between the provincial hut and British barracks is anticipated in the model, it is the exact form such a distinction assumes among ceramics that was unanticipated. The provincial contexts are distinguished from the British not by relative amounts or diversity of ceramics but by relative types, with numerous categories of different vessel forms found in both contexts. The specific vessel forms which cluster among the provincial hut context include small bowls and posset cups, chamber pots, storage crocks/jars, bottles, and drug jars. While posset cups, small bowls and chamber pots are almost exclusively found among provincial contexts, stoneware storage vessels comprise the single largest vessel form category. Among the barracks, a small amount of site variability appears to distinguish the two Stanwix

Table 3: Ceramic vessel form frequencies per British and provincial structures.

	ceramic vessel form:																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
RI hut 1	1	8	0	18	3	8	0	2	5	1	0	8	8	3	6	5	76
CP barracks	2	33	1	3	1	5	1	0	0	20	4	1	2	6	11	13	103
Stanwix West	7	10	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	5	17	16	71
Stanwix East	5	11	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	6	1	0	3	3	11	5	47
Total	15	62	1	22	4	19	2	2	5	34	8	9	13	17	45	39	297

Vessel Form Key:

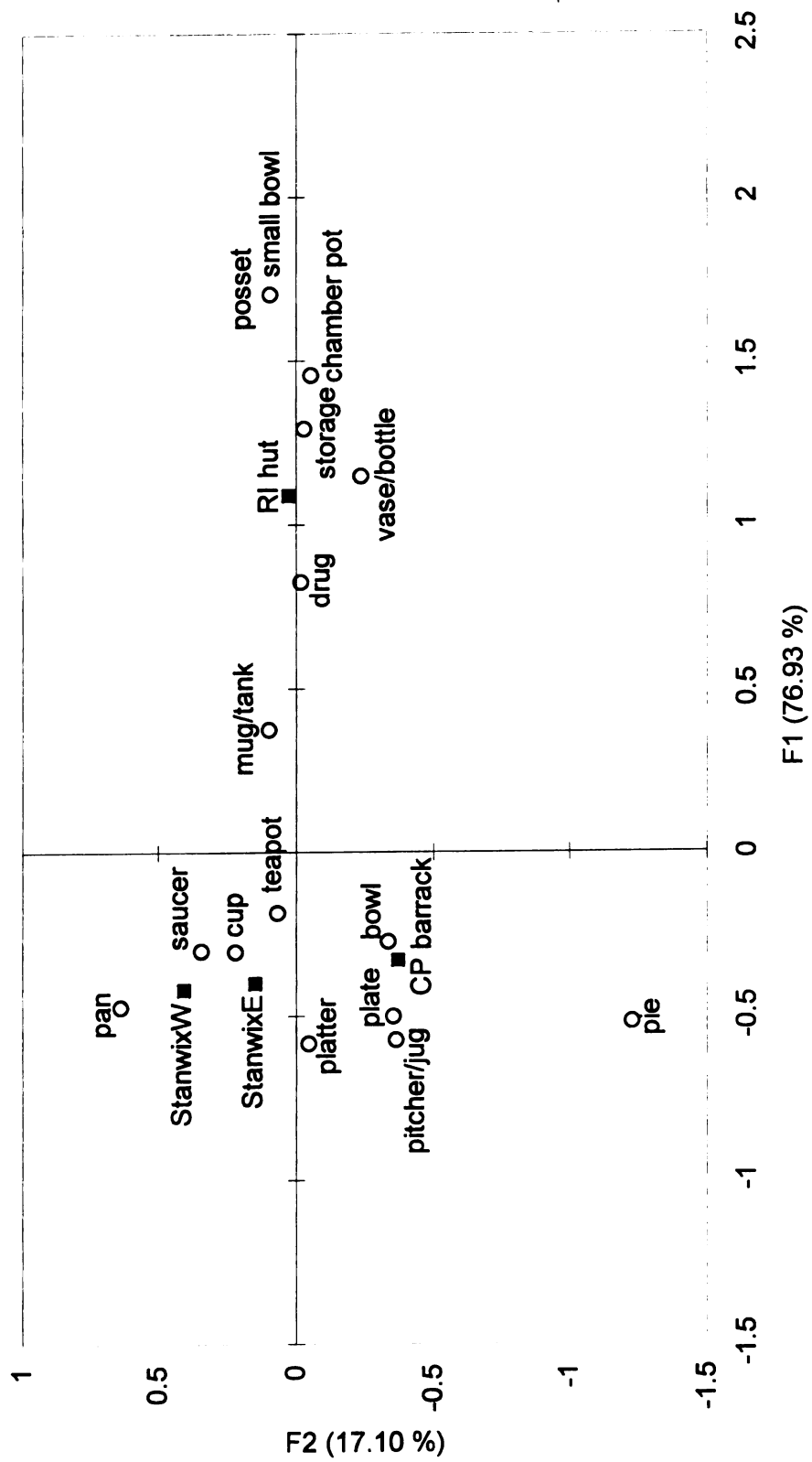
1: pan	9: small bowl
2: bowl	10: plate
3: pie pan	11: platter
4: storage crock/jar	12: chamber pot
5: vase/bottle	13: drug jar/ointment pot
6: mug/tankard	14: tea/coffee pot
7: pitcher/jug	15: saucer/teabowl
8: posset cup	16: cup

barracks slightly from the Crown Point assemblage, but the three are clearly distinguished from the hut context. The saucer, cup, and teapot vessel forms appear to cluster among the Stanwix barracks, while plates and bowls cluster among the Crown Point barracks. The mug/tankard category seems relatively equally distributed except among the east barracks at Fort Stanwix. The pitcher/jug, pie pan, and platter categories are only represented in the three barracks contexts, but these are not similarly distributed among each and are represented overall in relatively low numbers.

Before meaningful patterns were fully examined among these various differences in vessel forms, the data in Table 3 were recoded according to a

functional vessel typology to help facilitate inter-assemblage comparisons. In their own applications of Correspondence Analysis Bolviken et al. (1982:46) argue that for CA “it was found that the use of a reduced type list [column variables] proved to be entirely adequate and that an extended type list produced a great amount of noise which was difficult to interpret”. Re-coding the ceramics in terms of functional classes helps to evaluate whether observed formal differences between the hut and barracks vessels are indeed significant of different activities, or instead simply indicative of different vessels used for the same basic purposes. Specific ceramic vessel forms for each structure (Table 3) were re-coded and re-grouped according to vessel function, which was assigned based on an established classification system (Farry 2005a:28). Classification was based upon the POTS (Potomac Typological System) formal-functional scheme, a system that employs probate inventories and emic categories of vessel use in colonial Chesapeake “as clues to where breaks of possible functional significance occur along the continuum of formal variation” (Beaudry et al. 1988:53). Derived primarily from seventeenth-century sources, an additional tea category is included to account for the popularity of tea drinking in the mid-eighteenth-century and for the prevalence of such ceramics among the sites examined in these pages (see Feister 1985b:129-130). The intentions behind the use of the POTS classification system were simply to utilize an established and accepted typology for which specific vessel forms are explicitly assigned functional categorization, rather than assign such categories arbitrarily or inconsistently (Beaudry et al. 1988:Table 1). Table 4 presents the same data as

Figure 10: CA plot based on Table 3 vessel form frequencies.



in Table 3, but re-coded according to the functional typology, while Figure 11 displays the corresponding CA plot of the functional grouping.

The CA plot (Figure 11) makes the same basic distinction as seen in Figure 10, with the provincial hut clearly distinguished to the right and apart from the cluster of British barracks. The provincial-British distinction revealed in Figure 11 lie along the first principle axis (F1), which accounts for over 87% of the spatial variation seen in the CA plot. Ceramic categories of Health/Hygiene, Storage, and Food Consumption (stews) cluster among the provincial context at Rogers Island, while the Tea Service, Food Processing, and Food Consumption (solids) vessels cluster among the barracks. As with the mug/tankard vessel form category, the Beverage Consumption and Beverage Serving categories fall spatially intermediate between the hut and barracks buildings, though based on sheer frequency they have a tendency towards the provincial context. The second principle axis accounts for just over 10% of the plot's total inertia, and seem to distinguish the three barracks structures from each other. Certain of the ceramic patterns shown in Figures 10 and 11 may indeed reflect the temporary character of provincial service as compared to the British ranks. Other patterns are considered as specific to the data at hand, and may possibly reflect the broader issue of site function. Still other patterns may suggest unanticipated differences in ceramic use between the British and provincials. As to the first issue, one obvious characteristic of the plot is the association of the Tea Service category among the barracks buildings (Farry 2005a:30). This category is composed of such ceramic forms as handled cups, teabowls, saucers, and

Table 4: Ceramic vessel function counts per structure (Farry 2005a: 28).

	Ceramic vessel function:								
	FP	S	BC	BS	FC-st	FC-so	HH	T	Total
RI hut 1	9	21	8	2	5	1	16	14	76
CP barracks	36	4	5	1	0	24	3	30	103
Stanwix West	17	1	5	0	0	10	0	38	71
Stanwix East	16	0	1	1	0	7	3	19	47
Total	78	26	19	4	5	42	22	101	297

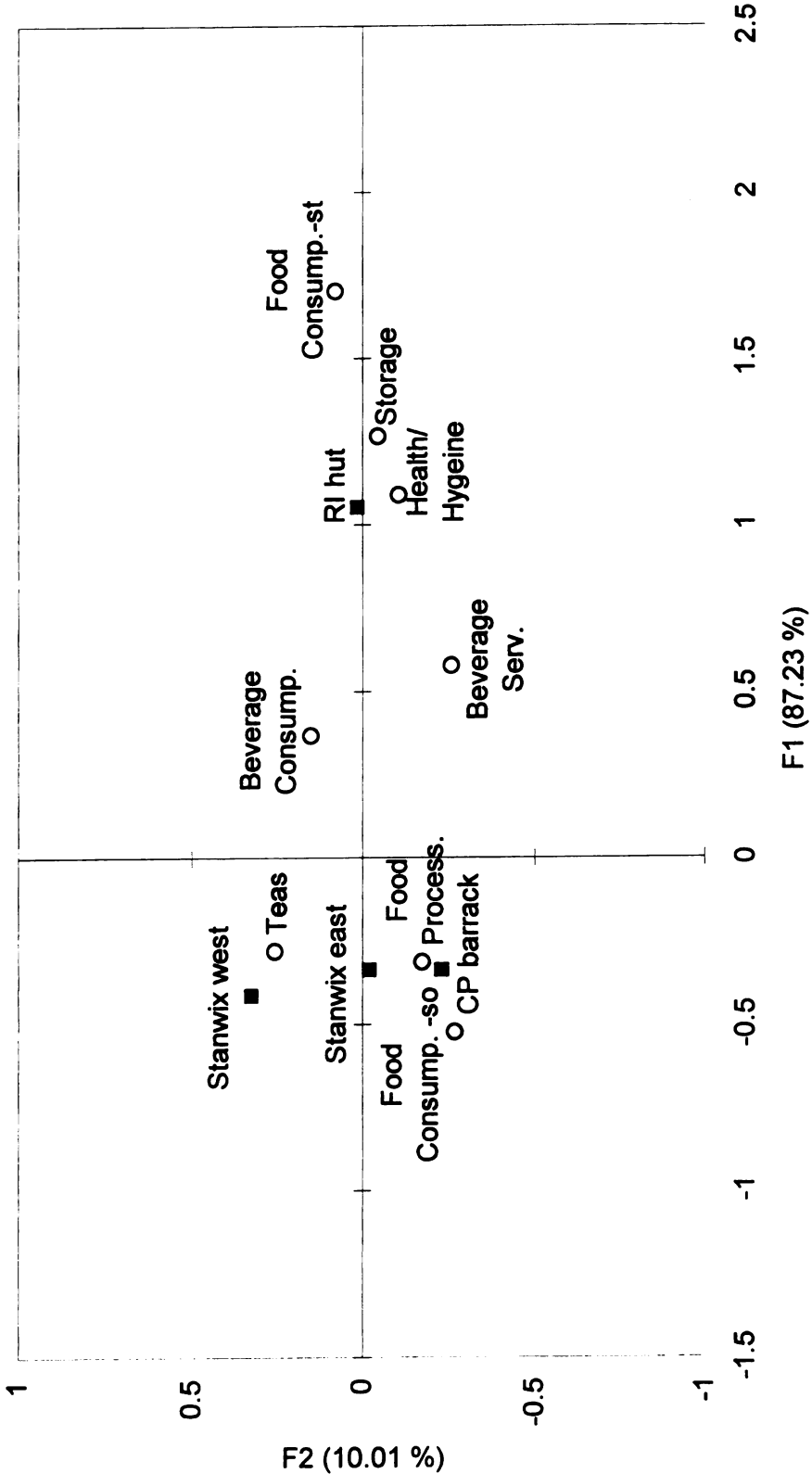
Vessel function Key:

FP: Food Processing FC-st: Food Consumption- stews
S: Storage FC-so: Food Consumption-solids
BC: Beverage Consumption HH: Health/ Hygiene
BS: Beverage Serving T: Tea Service

coffee or teapots. The association of such ceramic forms among certain contexts but not others cannot be the result of status or rank differences, as the Crown Point barracks are documented to have been occupied by enlisted British regulars (Feister 1984a, 1984b). Tea Service ceramics are indeed present in the Rogers Island hut assemblage as white salt-glazed stoneware and porcelain vessels, but their distribution in comparison to British assemblages might suggest that provincials enjoyed less access to these vessel forms. Given the prevailing attitude among provincials as to their temporary status as soldiers, restricted access to tea consumption materials could have been by choice as provincials may have deemed such extra items unnecessary baggage for their limited duration of enlistment (Farry 2005a:30). In comparison, British regular forces may not have viewed tea items in such a manner given their longer enlistment periods and they may have enjoyed the use of such ceramics more often.

But if provincials did indeed deem tea service ceramics unnecessary

Figure 11: CA plot based on Table 4 vessel function frequencies (based on Farry 2005a:29, Figure 5).



baggage for their haversacks, the same was clearly not the case for stoneware storage crocks and jars. These vessels are very well represented in the Rogers Island hut assemblage, and overwhelmingly so when compared against the Crown Point and Stanwix barracks. Understanding this pattern, however, may have more to do with the overall site function of the Fort Edward settlement rather than some indication of Anglo-American differences. Consider that in their quest to dislodge the French, British expeditions in 1755, 1758, and 1759 utilized Fort Edward as a supply depot and base of operations to mount offensives against forts Carillon (Ticonderoga) and St. Frederic (Crown Point). The role was a natural one given that the settlement lay at the northern-most point of water travel on the Hudson River and along a natural fork in the north-south travel through New York, with British military expedition after military expedition stopping off here prior to heading north to attack the French. If such a role did in fact apply to the settlement, one in which it served as a sort of supply nexus within a large-scale settlement system, then the prevalence of utilitarian storage wares across all archaeological contexts might be anticipated at Fort Edward (Farry 2005a:29). The high frequency of these ceramics in association with the provincial context might therefore be dismissed in terms of how they reflect any significant differences in Anglo-American ceramic use.

The close association of different Food Consumption vessels to the barracks and hut contexts, however, are not so easily dismissed. Neither is the clustering of Health/Hygiene vessel forms. Concerning the Food Consumption associations, these vessel categories distinguish the consumption and serving of

solid and stew-like foods, with the latter clustering around the provincial huts and the former around the British barracks (Farry 2005a:30). In fact, reference to Table 4 indicates that the Rogers Island context includes all of the FC (stew) vessels (comprised of small bowls) and only a single vessel for solid food consumption (plates), while the plates are well represented in the barracks contexts. This pattern might be indicative of fundamental differences separating British from provincials, in this case the less formal and more communal relationships within provincial ranks based on their kinship structure and apparent lack of rank divisions. That is, the association of FC (stews) vessels with the provincial context may suggest differently prepared meals for the Anglo-American allies, with more communal dining practices among provincials compared to the individual consumption of solid foods by British soldiers. Plates for individual consumption clearly dominate the assemblage at the Crown Point barracks, though they are found in smaller numbers at Stanwix. By comparison, small bowls associated with consumption of stew-like foods are non-existent among the barracks occupations. Provincials may have thus been preparing communal meals more often within their ranks with the intent that consumption be shared and public. By comparison, the British ranks appear to have continued to individually proportion the meals their soldiers were to enjoy, with less intention that they be prepared communally and then shared among the ranks.

As to the association of Health/ Hygiene vessels, this too might represent an unanticipated expression of underlying cultural differences separating the two

groups. These vessels are equally divided within the hut context between gray salt-glazed stoneware chamber pots and white salt-glazed stoneware drug jars or ointment pots. Such a high incidence of medicine-related ceramic vessels in provincial contexts, with a corresponding lack in barracks contexts, might suggest the possibility of different health care practices among the two groups. Is it the case, for example, that British regular health care was managed within specifically designed hospital contexts while provincials remained in their own domestic contexts when sick, thereby ensuring a spatial separation of the two groups? This would produce ceramic patterns similar to that just described, with British regular medicinal vessels only associated with functionally specific hospital contexts but not barracks and the opposite pattern for provincial domestic contexts. Hospital space could not have been at more of a premium at Rogers Island than any other settlement given the large smallpox hospital constructed there in May, 1757 (see Fitch 1968:3; Rozell 1995). Therefore the resulting patterns cannot be dismissed as reflecting differential access to hospital facilities between the sites. Could it also be the case that provincials more often than British regulars brought medicinal supplies with them from home? The stoneware drug jars and ointment pots thus may not have been considered unnecessary baggage, but rather important home remedies for the provincial soldier on campaign. British regulars, by comparison, could not have relied on a similar source of home remedies and medications to cart around with them, and would therefore not likely demonstrate a similar use of health/hygiene vessels in domestic contexts as did the provincials.

Taken together, the data suggest significant differences in the use of ceramics between provincial hut and British barracks contexts, which supports the model's general expectation for cultural differences in small-scale spatio-temporal contexts. Not all such ceramic differences as were observed, however, were necessarily anticipated in the discussion of Hypothesis 2. While the provincial data do suggest a comparable lack in the amounts of certain vessel types (teawares), as expected, the same assemblage demonstrates a large number and wide range of ceramic vessel forms, as was not expected. The data are nevertheless clearly distinguished between British barracks and provincial hut ceramics, and the exact form these ceramic differences assume are instructive in terms of Anglo-American relations.

Hypothesis 3: Small-scale Anglo-American assemblages may differ significantly in the degree to which either reflects a hierarchical order of military rank and status positions.

Hypothesis 3 posits clear evidence for status or rank divisions as recognized within the military hierarchy for British contexts, compared to a lack of such divisions within American provincial contexts. Such reasoning draws upon the discordant military structures underlying both armies, and again, upon the fact that either group participated differently in a professional military culture. Compared to the pyramid of rank and discipline of the British army, sources indicate that the provincial forces demonstrated a much more informal "war band" structure composed of multiple kinship ties. This structure, it is assumed, drew

upon but also instilled quite a different officer-soldier relationship than that within the British ranks that resulted in an overall hypothesized lack of material differences between officers and the provincial enlisted, at least among the numerous New England forces. That is, excepting only the most obvious and necessary distinctions of military status (e.g. officer insignia), provincial archaeological assemblages are not expected to reveal significant differences in terms of rank differentiation. The construction techniques of individual provincial domestic structures will also likely exhibit a degree of similarity in terms of status and rank, or it may be the case that a variety of construction techniques were used to construct provincial officer and enlisted dwellings alike such that no one technique or building material can be distinguished along lines of military rank (Farry 2005a:23). By way of contrast, the artifactual assemblages and architectural details associated with British regular occupations are assumed to reflect the presence of sharp distinctions of military rank, or as Anderson (1984:44) aptly put it, that “virtually unbridgeable chasm” separating British officers from the enlisted.

Overall, the available archaeological data provide limited support for the model's expectations concerning British rank distinctions. Published details of excavations conducted at known British officer and enlisted contexts at Crown Point (Feister 1984a, 1984b) did thoroughly record each groups' artifactual and architectural patterns, but the differences between the two are far more subtle than that expected from the model. Slight architectural differences contrast with a complete lack of artifactual differences between British enlisted and officer

contexts. Patterns seen among raw data associated with the pair of British barracks at Fort George mirror those at Crown Point, with little to no architectural differences and even fewer artifactual. Patterns among provincial data concentrate upon architecture over artifacts, as the latter does not appear to be a reliable indicator of differences in military rank, even among British regulars.

British Regular Test Implications and Data

The data requirements for examining this hypothesis and its material expectations require control over the variable of rank. That is, officer or enlisted contexts must be known independently to allow comparison of their archaeological differences, and this limits the available data. Among British regular contexts, Feister's (1984a, 1984b) excavation of the two barracks buildings at Crown Point provides data that meet the analytical requirements. Historical documents and maps provide numerous references to the officers' and soldiers' stone barracks at Crown Point, and with the buildings still standing in their original footprint, considerable control over this variable is provided. By understanding Feister's (1984a, 1984b) original data in light of this study's expectations and hypotheses, the patterns take on new meaning in terms of Anglo-American cultural dynamics. They also serve as a point of comparison to similar patterns noted more recently among the British barracks occupations at Fort George.

The specific test expectations of Hypothesis 3 for British contexts includes clearly defined architectural and artifactual differences between officer and

enlisted occupations. Architecture associated with occupation by officers is assumed to have been larger and more elaborate compared to that associated with the enlisted. British officers are assumed to have enjoyed restricted access to certain items or luxuries by virtue of their rank, wealth, income, standing in society, or any combination thereof. It is assumed this would result in obvious artifactual differences between the officers and enlisted, manifested as a greater variety of items among the former, or possibly an assemblage of superior quality or price. Officer contexts, for example, might be characterized by less common ceramics than the enlisted, suggesting the presence of unique wares or expensive decorative motifs. In either case, enlisted and officer assemblages are expected to look very different from one another based on the variable of rank.

First, in terms of architecture, Feister's (1984a) data support the model's expectations, but only to a limited extent. It would seem based on the building exteriors and their overall design that both Crown Point barracks demonstrate a high degree of formal similarity. Both buildings were of mortared stone construction and consisted of four attached 2-story Georgian-style dwellings (Feister 1984b:126, Figure 2). Two rooms were attached across a smaller central room or "hallway" with doors at either end, and four of these 2-room blocks joined end-to-end composed the length of each barracks buildings at Crown Point. The stone for both was laid immediately atop bedrock within the fort proper, with timber construction used in door and window framing and in the upper flooring. Thus from the outside, and even in the basic design of the inside

building footprint and elevation, the officers and soldiers shared occupation of two very similar buildings at Crown Point (Feister 1984a:106). The absolute size of both dwellings was the same, despite rank, though it is unclear if the officers enjoyed more living space through occupation by fewer men.

What unambiguous architectural differences that did exist were observed in the construction materials used on the interiors of both buildings. Inside the officers' barracks, Feister (1984a:104) uncovered a series of square, dry-laid ceramic tiles laid in a pattern in relation to the outside edges of the barracks rooms. This type of flooring was limited to the first floor, and was more intact along the outer edges of individual rooms due to less foot traffic. The officers' building also demonstrated above-floor red brick fireplace construction on top of cut limestone hearth foundations. By comparison, in the soldiers' building Feister (1984:104) found only dry-laid red brick floors (no tiles) and complete cut limestone fireplace construction above and below ground (no brick).

There seems little doubt that the different construction materials were the result of the different occupants. Sourcing analysis of the tile and brick flooring materials indicated that the bricks were locally made while the tiles were likely imported, possibly from Albany. Contemporary sources also price the per-square-yard cost of tile flooring at over five times that of brick flooring (Feister 1984a:104). Clearly, the British officers at Crown Point enjoyed access to imported and more expensive tile flooring and brick hearths that were otherwise denied to the enlisted, as expected in the model. But at the same time, these interior architectural differences are hardly clear manifestations of rank

differences as existed within the British army and as expected archaeologically. The differences are too subtle and limited only to those areas internal to the buildings and on the first floor, with the exteriors and overall design of the buildings much more similar than had been anticipated. The expectation of obvious or clear material distinctions of rank in Hypothesis 4 thus appears too strongly conceived, at least in terms of its architectural expression and visibility in the archaeological record. Architectural correlates that have been observed appear to have been less public and more subtle than anticipated, and limited only to the most immediate architectural features of the Crown Point buildings.

In terms of artifactual evidence, Feister's (1984a:106) data provide even less support for the model's expectations, going so far as to argue that "the material culture of the two groups [officers and enlisted] was essentially the same". Either group, it would appear, had access to essentially the same items, suggesting that whatever items officers might have seemingly enjoyed exclusive access to or had been able to bring with them, the enlisted were more than likely able to get their hands on. Contrary to certain long-held assumptions ceramic use was not the sole purview of the officer class (e.g., Ferguson 1977; Sussman 2000), and the soldiers' assemblage included such items as porcelain bowls and plates, refined earthenware teawares, and a stoneware chamber pot, all similar in ware and form to those found in the officers' context (Feister 1984b). In its many expressions, the soldiers' artifact assemblage as a whole resembled that associated with the officers' barracks, with no discernable differences in form or function (Feister 1984a:106). On their artifactual similarity, Feister (1984b:131)

points out that the Seven Years' War saw the full weight of the British military's power and supply network link even the most remote and distant of frontier settlements to a rapid infusion of increasingly mass-produced items. Any possible artifactual patterns expressing divisions of rank might therefore be masked by rapid saturation of the frontier market with goods available to one and all, despite rank, and therefore be much less archaeologically visible. These issues speak to the large-scale external networks within which military frontier settlements served, and are discussed in relation to Hypothesis 8.

Keeping Feister's (1984a) Crown Point data in mind, British material expectations were also explored in architectural and artifactual data from the Fort George barracks. During the 2000 field season at Fort George, internal excavations were made of the two buildings that shed light on the basic forms of their construction and that sampled a comparative archaeological assemblage from each building (Figure 12). Documented control over the two parallel barracks buildings' occupants is not nearly as tight as at Crown Point, with contemporary sources failing to provide independent evidence for rank differences between the two buildings. Contemporary maps indicate the placement of separate officers' and soldiers' barracks within the Fort George settlement (see Starbuck 1999:120), but linking these to actual buildings on the ground have not been successful. A single diagnostic piece of archaeological evidence, however, might be employed to control the variable of rank at these two buildings and thus allow additional examinations of any and all material differences between the two structures. The southern building (Barracks 2)

recovered a single, 6-inch long fragment of gold braiding as worn by British officers (Starbuck 2002:105). Assuming then that Building 2 represents an officers' context while Building 1 does not, the assemblages can be explored for any and all possible rank differences. To do so is not to draw upon the same level of independent control as Feister (1984a) has at the Crown Point barracks, but the distinction is a valid one.

First, in terms of the architecture, both barracks buildings demonstrate very similar construction techniques, materials, and design. The (assumed) officer status of Building 2 does not correlate with any unique or even any subtle architectural features as was observed at Crown Point, and indeed, those that are noted suggest Building 1 was the home of high-ranked individuals. Both buildings demonstrate foundations of mortared blocky limestone locally quarried and laid directly atop exposed bedrock. In Building 2, larger-sized rubble limestone blocks with drill bore marks were noted at the very bottom of the structure and were likely deployed as a means of improving drainage or possibly to level the slope; similar cut blocks were not noted beneath Building 1. Maxwell and Binford (1961) observed comparable dolomite rocks beneath the British barracks building at Michilimackinac, but the scattered rocks at Fort George do not line up down the long axis of the building as in Michilimackinac suggesting supports for roof beams. Neither barracks at Fort George demonstrated significantly different patterns in terms of flooring, with hard-packed clay floors serving to level out an irregular limestone bedrock surface at both buildings (cf. Grimm 1970:42). Wooden planks and sleepers may have been placed on top of

Figure 12: Plan view of Fort George barracks buildings showing exposed foundations, observed building outlines, and excavation limits.

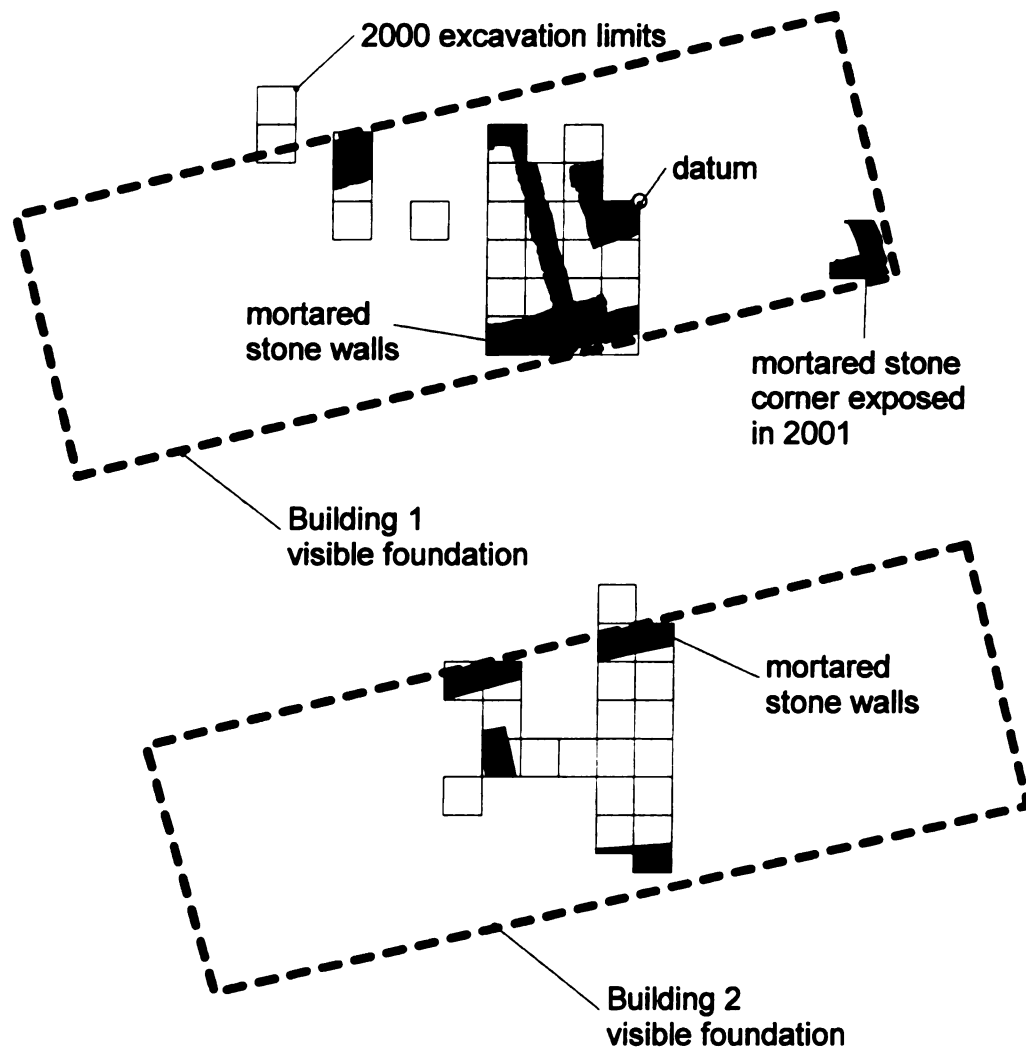
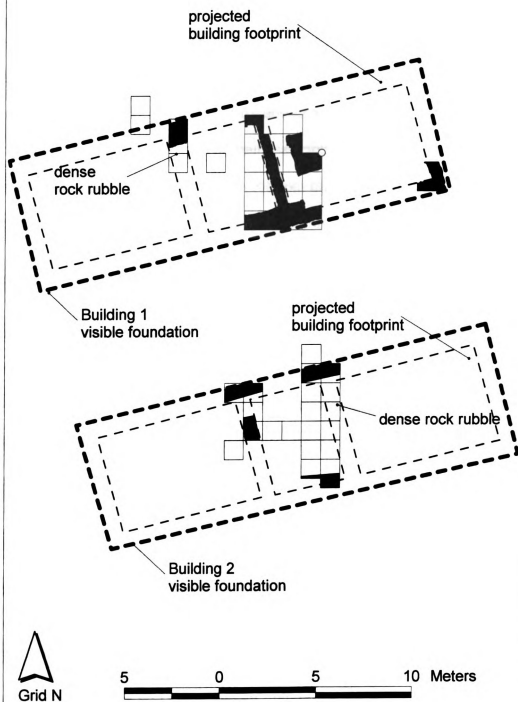


Figure 13: Plan of Fort George barracks showing projected building footprint.



this packed clay surface, similar to that seen in the Fort Stanwix and Michilimackinac barracks buildings, but neither Fort George barracks building produced definitive evidence for this practice. (Maxwell and Binford 1961; Hanson and Hsu 1975:21-22; Feister 1984a:105).

It is not known if either barracks buildings had upper floors, though the sheer size of the footing stones- 4 ft wide in certain sections- would suggest it likely, as would the high numbers of rosehead and T-headed wrought nails associated with each building. The nail assemblages are similarly sized, which suggests similar wooden construction for both buildings. Building 1 does have considerably more 4d nails (4penny, 1 ½ inch) than Building 2, but much of this discrepancy is explained by the very high numbers of unmeasurable nails in the Building 2 assemblage (1,279 out of 1,638 were not measurable at Building 2, compared to only 615 out of 1,481 in Building 1). Overall, the wooden construction for both buildings- either in the flooring, framing, or clapboarding- was likely very much the same based on the available nail evidence.

Brick fireplace construction was inferred for both buildings based on the sheer amounts of brick fragments, including many whole but unassociated or scattered bricks. No complete or intact fireplaces were identified within either building, though a probable fireplace support base of mortared limestone was exposed within Barracks 1 along its eastern end and towards the center of the building (Figure 12). Brick weights recorded per excavation unit in each building also spike toward the interior long axis of both buildings, suggesting an internal line of brick fireplaces and chimneys for both buildings. It is not clear if Building 2

also employed a mortared limestone fireplace base or if it used complete brick construction throughout.

In addition to the similar-sized exterior foundation walls (visible as two, parallel rectangles of low mounds of rock), interior walls were excavated in both buildings. The interior walls ran perpendicular to the foundation walls, and they suggest a similar overall building footprint for both structures, especially when considered in relation to the Crown Point barracks buildings (Figure 13). In Building 1, the interior wall was found approximately 9 meters west of the eastern-most edge of the building; In Building 2, a similar wall was found 13 meters to the west of the eastern-most edge of that structure. The level of integrity of the walls was slightly better in Building 1, but the projected extensions of the interior walls in both buildings were inferred amidst a dense jumble of limestone rubble. These data suggest that both barracks buildings were constructed according to the basic same design: two rooms, each approximately 9x7 meters in area (30x20 ft), joined by a central room approximately 4x7 meters in area (13x20 ft). Along their exterior visible edges, both buildings measured approximately 22x7 meters in size (70x20 ft). These measurements resemble those recorded for the Georgian-style Crown Point barracks, with the Fort George structures differing in absolute size but basically designed as one-quarter of the Crown Point barracks. Rather than a 4-block configuration of 2 rooms joined by a central room or hallway, the Fort George barracks consist of only one block each; thus if both barracks at Fort George were joined end-to-end, they would match one-half the overall design of the Crown Point barracks. In the

eastern-most room of Building 1 at Fort George, heavy amounts of mortar and plaster were also observed during excavation. Building 2 did not record similar deposits within the structure, suggesting an interior wall architecture common only to this building and room.

The architectural data from Fort George do not demonstrate any major architectural differences between the two barracks buildings. Admittedly, the variable of rank is not well controlled in this context, but the recovery of the gold officer's braid from Building 2 provides logical and sufficient evidence with which to posit it was an officers' barracks. If this assumption is made, the architectural data do not support the material expectations of Hypothesis 3. The two buildings are basically identical in outward appearances, with mortared stone foundations on bedrock serving as the base for a probable two-story wooden superstructure. Hand wrought nails comprise very similar percentages of each buildings' artifact assemblage (85.7% in Building 1; 85.2% in Building 2), as do aqua flat glass sherds, and both architectural sub-assemblages are very similar in form across buildings. The floor plan for both structures reveals what was likely the same basic design and one similar to that seen for the stone barracks built at approximately the same time at Crown Point. What differences were noted cannot be correlated with rank. Building 1 had clear evidence for plastered interior walls, at least along its eastern half, which conceivably would be a trait associated with officers rather than the enlisted. The stone foundation in Building 1 also expands from 2 to 4 feet in width in certain revealed sections, though how this could be related to an inferior rank is difficult to imagine.

Table 5: Ceramic sherd counts for Fort George barracks buildings.

Ware	Type	Decoration	Barracks 1	Barracks 2
Stoneware	gray salt-glazed	undecor.	5	3
		blue painted	41	2
	white salt-glazed	undecor.	20	34
		molded	1	12
		scratch blue	13	10
	brown salt-glazed	undecor.	1	0
Porcelain	hard-paste	undecor.	3	3
		blue painted	10	11
		polychrome painted	5	6
Earthenware	buff-bodied	undecor.	6	2
		slipped	0	12
	redware	lead-glazed	13	11
		slipped	0	1
	tin-enameled	undecor.	24	12
		blue painted	20	6
	creamware	undecor.	31	3
	pearlware	undecor.	1	1
	whiteware	undecor.	3	14
	yellowware	undecor.	0	2
Total			197	145

Artifactual comparisons between the two Fort George buildings also demonstrate very similar assemblages. That is, expectations of artifact differences based on rank as outlined in Hypothesis 3 are not observed within the British regular archaeological data at Fort George, and in this they mirror the Crown Point data (Feister 1984b). As the assumed high-rank context, Building 2 does not demonstrate, for example, exclusive access to expensive ceramic wares or decorations. Table 5 provides a summary demonstration of this fact, displaying the sherd frequencies for each of the barracks buildings distinguished

by ware and decorative motif. The sherd counts for the different wares are basically the same across both buildings, with major differences explained by differential sherd breakage. The high relative frequency of gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds in Building 1, for example, derives from a single but very fragmented chamber pot, while the large frequency of molded white salt-glazed stoneware sherds in Building 2 consists of conjoined plate rims. Building 2 does include all of the slip-decorated buff earthenware sherds, but 8 out of the 12 sherds conjoin to form a single handled pot fragment. Building 1 includes a high relative frequency of creamware sherds, but this fact might simply suggest a longer period of occupation compared to Building 2. The sherds likely accumulated ca. 1762-1768, the terminal date suggested by the almost complete lack of numbered military buttons in either building's button assemblages (Calver and Bolton 1950:96; Olsen 1963:552; Maxwell and Binford 1967:91; Grimm 1970:62; Stone 1974:47). Even disregarding this fact, the lack of a significantly higher frequency of pearlware sherds in the Building 1 assemblage suggests that its occupation does not post-date that of Building 2 for very long, with such ceramics found on British military sites as early as 1778 (Ferguson 1977; Babits 1979; Fisher 1987). And the higher counts of whiteware at Building 2 are insignificant as this post-1820 ceramic clearly dates to after the occupation of both structures, likely deposited by nineteenth-century tourists picnicking at the site. As a whole, both buildings' ceramic assemblages consist of roughly equal amounts of molded white salt-glazed stoneware plates and teawares, blue- and polychrome painted porcelain vessels, tin-glazed wares, and at least 1 gray salt

glazed stoneware chamber pot each.

Neither do the two barracks buildings at Fort George demonstrate significant differences in terms of their respective button assemblages. It might be inferred, for example, that Building 2 would reflect unique button attributes based on the assumed rank of its occupants, either in the materials used or in their designs or methods of manufacture. But the data displayed in Table 6 (Hypothesis 7, see below pp. 237) suggest just the opposite conclusion. Both barracks buildings are dominated by the same button type: a plain, brass 2-piece button (Type A3) with an attached wire shank and hollow body. The only noticeable difference lies in the amount of bone buttons, with all of them ($n=3$) recovered from Building 1. It might be expected that lower-ranked contexts would include such inferior quality buttons, but the fact that the difference is only 3 total buttons makes this a difficult conclusion to rely on. The lack of substantial difference between the button assemblages suggests that while certain clothing insignia (i.e., gold braid) may have demarcated rank distinctions, other clothing materials did not.

Taken together, the artifactual and architectural data from both Fort George and Crown Point suggest a surprising conservatism among the British ranks in terms of expected status distinctions. The various sources of British barracks data do not provide much support for clear demarcations of rank as expected in Hypothesis 3. At least based on the British Crown Point and Fort George data, then, it would seem that artifactual expressions of rank were not a distinguishing characteristic of the British army, at least as can be observed

archaeologically, and that this aspect did not serve as a significant point of cultural divergence between the British and provincials. At the same time, architectural expressions of rank were a distinguishing characteristic of the British army, as was observed archaeologically, but the manner of such expression was much more subtle and muted than anticipated.

Provincial Test Expectations and Data

If, as has been observed archaeologically, artifactual differences associated with rank were not characteristic of the British army, it follows that this practice cannot serve to distinguish British and provincials. It may be the case that artifactual manifestations of rank among the British were limited to items that simply did not survive well in the archaeological record, as the relative rarity of excavated gold braiding suggests. In either case, the anticipated artifactual evidence is lacking among British regular contexts as compared to architectural evidence. Although hardly overwhelming, the British regular archaeological patterns suggest that it is architectural data that may be most sensitive in terms of rank differentiation. Among provincial contexts, expectations include a lack of obvious architectural differences associated with rank, though it is recognized that such differences were not nearly as overt among the British as expected.

Abundant provincial hut architectural data with which to explore these expectations have been published for Rogers Island (Starbuck 2004). These various provincial dwellings spread across the island, however, suffer from a lack of independent control over rank similar to that of the Fort George barracks. That

is, among the various provincial huts it is not known as to which ones were home to officers and which ones to enlisted based on independent information, and it is therefore impossible to associate any unique architectural features with known rank (Starbuck 2004:47-67). Documented officer occupations among provincial architectural features are only reported for Crown Point (Fisher 1993:57;1995), which includes three officers' dwellings associated with the 2nd Connecticut Regiment lead by Colonel Nathan Whiting. The huts as reported by Fisher (1993, 1995) demonstrate wood framing with wooden sleepers resting on packed soil, and dry-laid limestone fireplaces connected to clay-chinked chimneys (Fisher 1993:Figures 4 and 5). These are the only archaeologically known architectural features that can be reasonably associated with occupation by provincial officers, and while the lack of similar control at Rogers Island prevents rigorous evaluation, comparisons of the two sites' provincial data do suggest some interesting patterns.

Figures 14-19 provide overall plan views of the Rogers Island huts, each one displayed at the same scale to facilitate comparisons (see Starbuck 2004:53-63). Clearly Dwelling 5 stands out as the largest and most elaborately constructed (Figure 18). It also resembles in certain architectural aspects the Crown Point officers' huts, particularly in the use of wood flooring and in the overall size. Fireplace construction in Dwelling 5 consists of a rather substantial mortared brick hearth adjacent to, but offset from, the wall center, with the scatter of loose brick and mortar obvious candidates for chimney construction. The framing and roof were also likely wood, in evidence by the rotting wood planks

Figure 14: Rogers Island provincial hut 1 (based on Starbuck 2004:54, Figure 5.8).

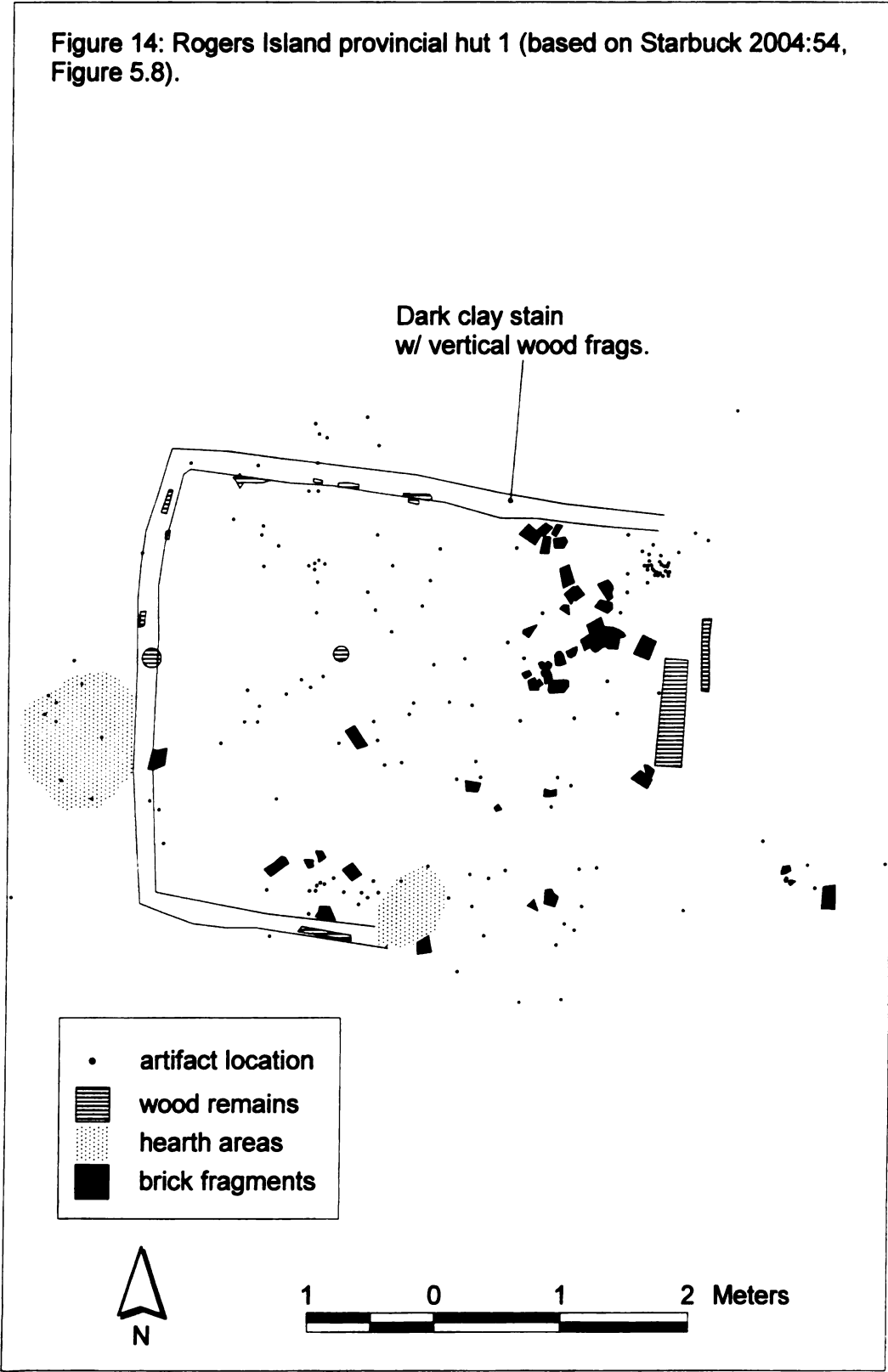


Figure 15: Rogers Island provincial hut 2 (based on Starbuck 2004:55, Figure 5.10).

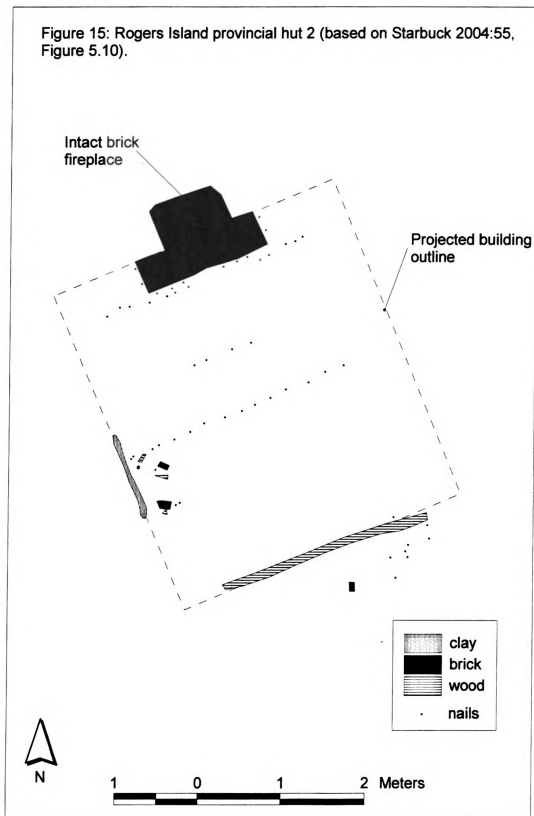


Figure 16: Rogers Island provincial hut 3 (based on Starbuck 2004:57, Figure 5.13).

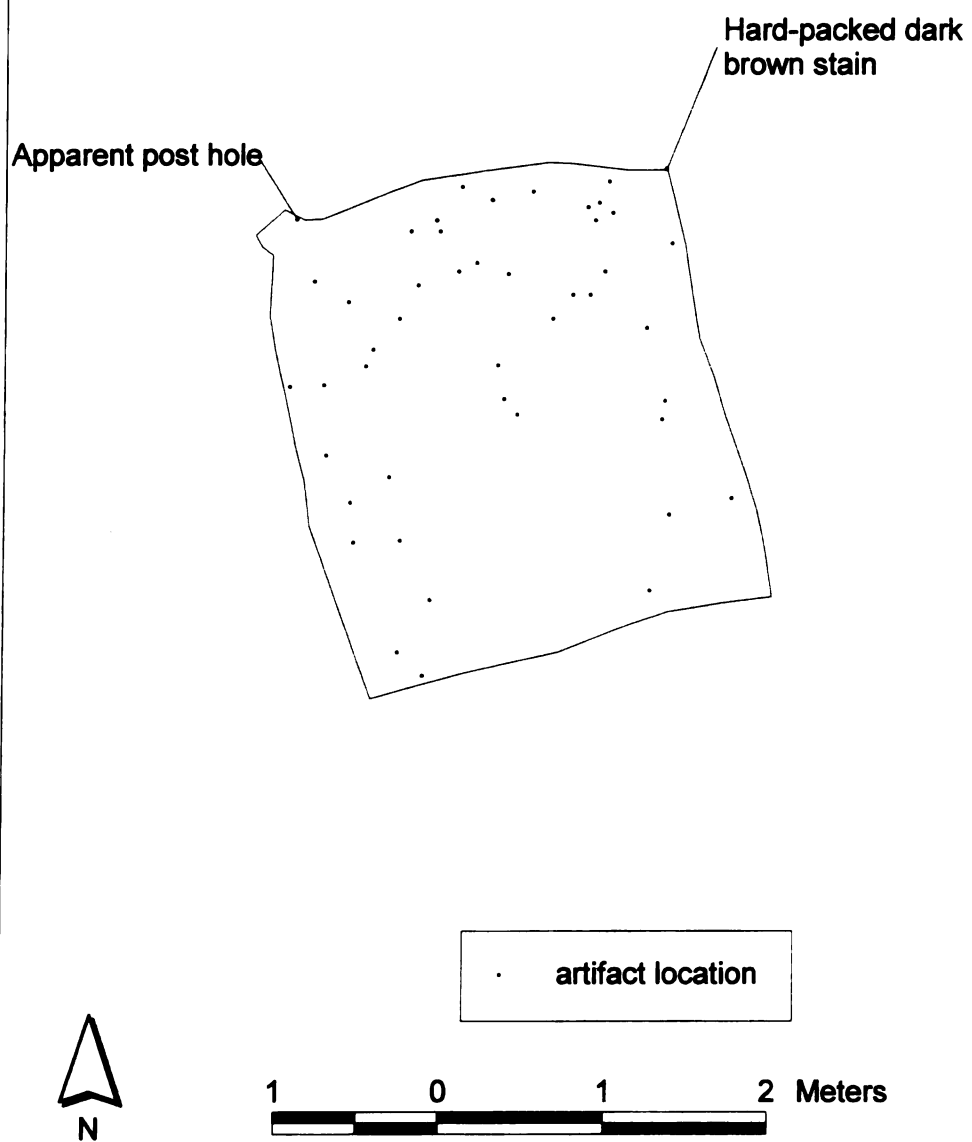


Figure 17: Rogers Island provincial hut 4 (based on Starbuck 2004:58, Figure 5.14).

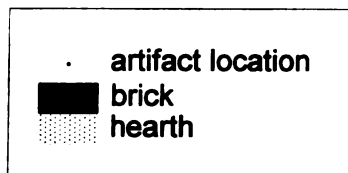
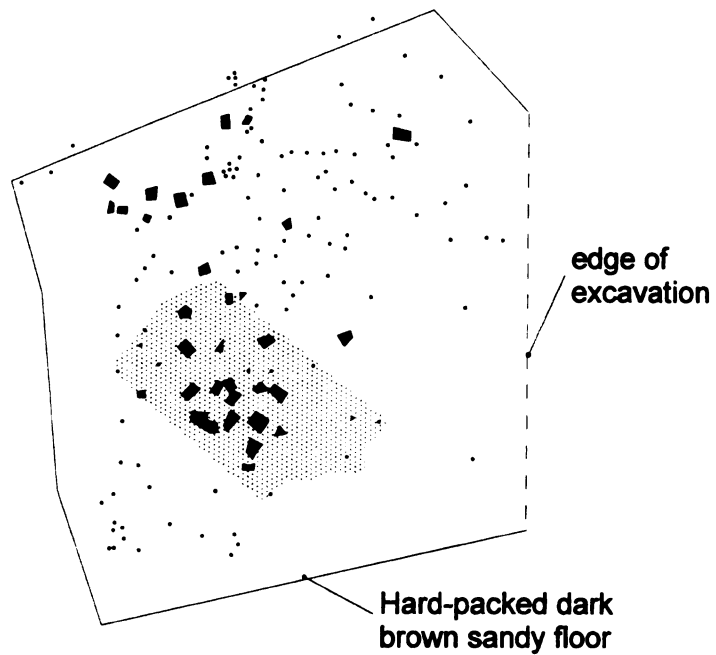


Figure 18: Rogers Island provincial hut 5 (based on Starbuck 2004:61, Figure 5.19).

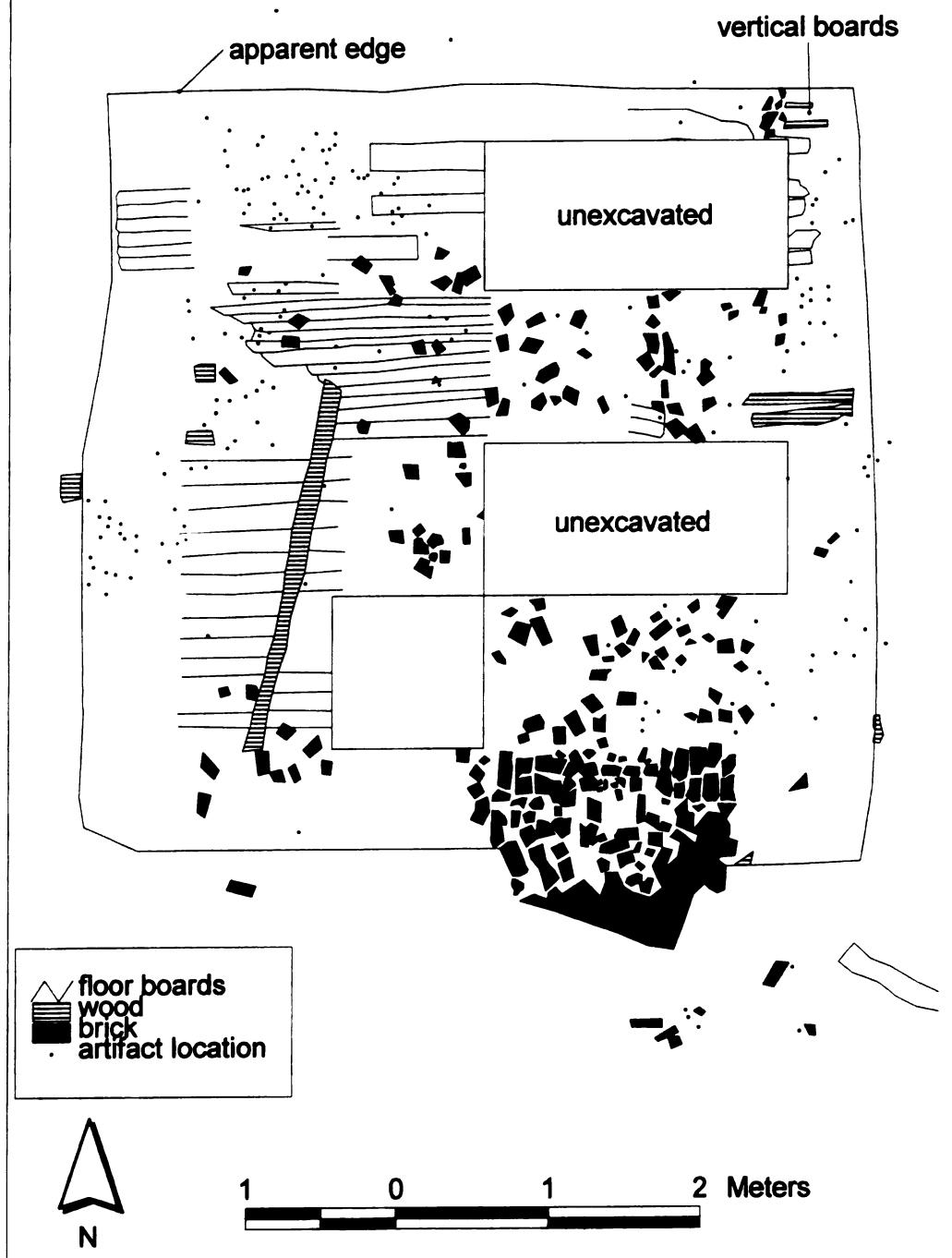
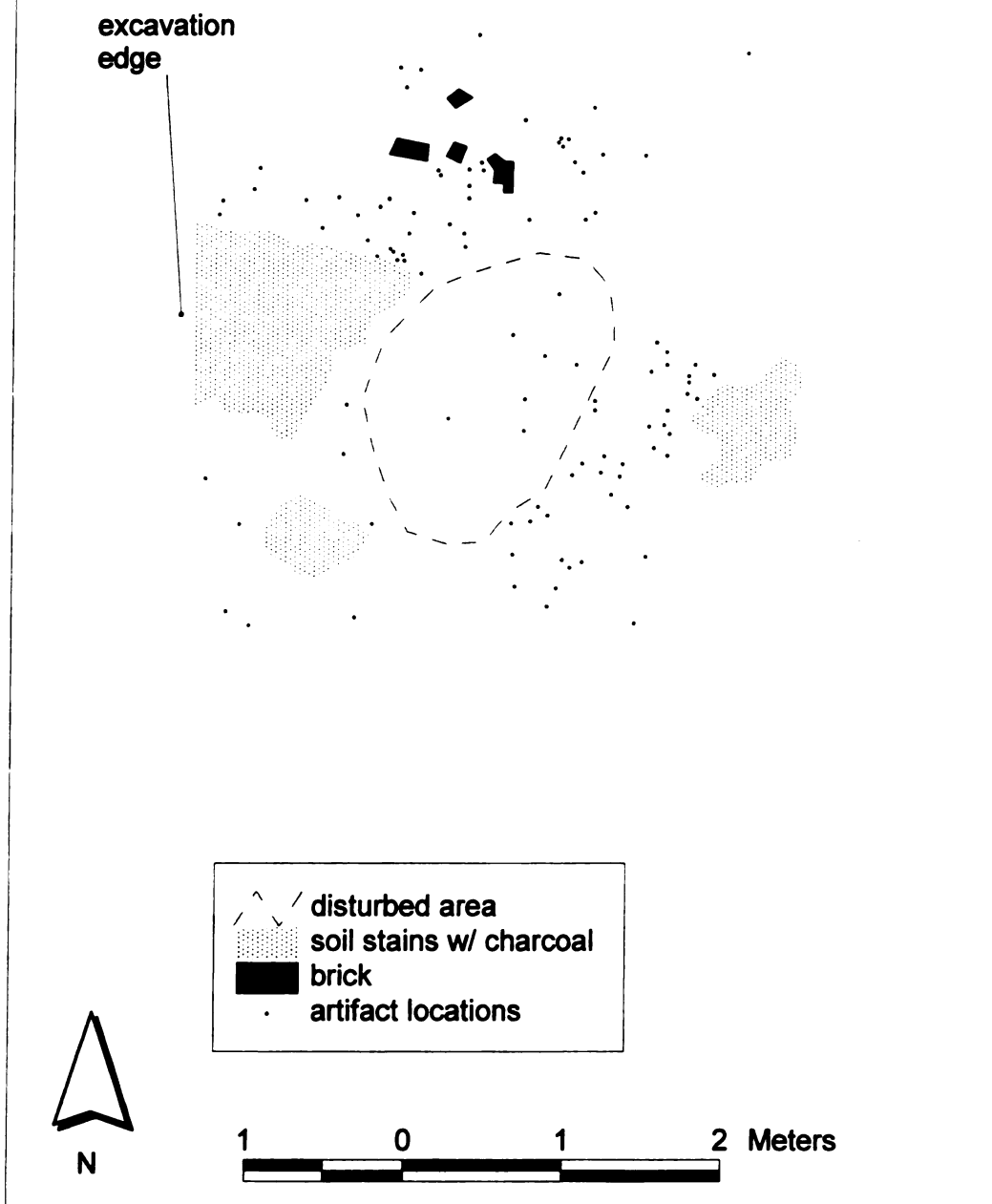


Figure 19: Rogers Island provincial hut 6 (based on Starbuck 2004:63, Figure 5.22).



found atop the wooden floor molds. Dwelling 2 can also be included among those with wood floors, observed as remaining rows of nails formerly connecting floor boards to joists below, with a mortared brick hearth atop a fieldstone base (Figure 15). Dwelling 2 also consists of a partial baked clay apron along the dwelling's western edge, similar to the more substantial clay apron surrounding the British barracks building at Fort Michilimackinac to help draw water away from the building base (Maxwell and Binford 1961:73). Interestingly, Dwelling 5 is the only provincial hut feature to have recovered fragments of gold braid, suggesting a probable officer occupation (Starbuck 2004:88-89, Figure 7.13).

The remaining hut features demonstrate a varied mix of architectural features, which again, cannot be linked to any independently known rank information for the provincial occupants. All evidence hard-packed dirt floors, but the probable superstructures for each are different. Dwelling 1, for example, includes wood planks set vertically into a clay-filled perimeter trench, which may have served as a relatively strong base for a fabric tent site or a rather weak base for a wooden hut site (Figure 14). Multiple occupations of Dwelling 1 are suggested by the sequence of hearth areas. Dwellings 3 and 4 consist of packed earthen floors but no substantial wood construction, while Dwelling 6 likely demonstrates a very short tent occupation, with limited long-term architectural evidence (Figures 16, 17, and 19).

These data suggest a variety of construction techniques among the provincial hut features. The only dwellings which share multiple attributes are Dwellings 2 and 5, including wood flooring, mortared brick fireplaces, and

probable wooden superstructures similar in form to the Crown Point hut features. Their sizes and fireplace bases, however, are not the same. The other, earthen-floored dwellings on Rogers Island employ a range of fireplace construction techniques, ranging from relatively substantial dry-laid brick features (Dwellings 1 and 4), to reddish soil stains suggesting open-air fires (Dwelling 6), to none at all (Dwelling 3). Dwelling size among these also ranges from 8x8 feet to almost 12x12 feet. Clearly, a range of construction choices were made, in different combinations, but it is unclear how this might (or might not) correlate with provincial military rank. What can be said, and it contradicts the material expectations of Hypothesis 3, is that the flooring of a documented provincial officer occupation at Crown Point is similar in form to an undocumented but possible provincial officer occupation at Rogers Island (Dwelling 5). Dwelling 5 on Rogers Island in turn recovered probable officer insignia, which might suggest a positive relationship between wooden flooring, substantial fireplace construction, and provincial rank. The data simply remain too ambiguous to provide enough support for this correlation, and the true relationship between provincial rank and the archaeological record remains unclear.

Hypothesis 4: Provincial and British domestic contexts may be distinguished in terms of their familiarity with orderly encampment behaviors, including knowledge and practice of prescribed methods for the orderly disposal of domestic trash.

As with the other small-scale hypotheses, Hypothesis 4 posits in general

that the British regulars were a much more professional military force than were the provincials and that they were much more familiar with even the most mundane daily tasks involved in maintaining a dense military settlement during the Seven Years' War. One such daily task was the proper disposal of domestic refuse, a routine but nevertheless important task if military settlements were to maintain a degree of cleanliness and the men their health. British forces are assumed to have strictly adhered to prescribed military conventions regarding the orderly disposal of trash within specialized pits and the continued maintenance of sanitary living arrangements, such as outlined in contemporary military manuals (e.g., Bland 1746; Anderson 1984). Provincials, to the contrary, are assumed to have been unfamiliar with such conventions and to have maintained their own civilian patterns of trash disposal. Most likely, the areas in and around provincial hut or tent structures were repositories for American domestic refuse, demonstrating their comparative inexperience with proper camp cleanliness. On this point Anderson (1984) remarks that provincial regimental orders were repeatedly issued to instruct the Americans in proper sanitary practices, while similar orders were comparatively absent among the British regulars. Clearly, such matters as the proper disposal of encampment refuse "would have been controlled by custom, habit, or standard procedure in a professional military organization," but possibly not so among the unprofessional American ranks (Anderson 1984:77).

Overall, the provincial data conflict with the model's expectations. Such is not the case, however, if the data are cast within a broader temporal perspective,

a point returned to in the discussion of Hypothesis 7. The British data support the model's expectations and demonstrate a practiced and patterned disposal of trash among barracks contexts, though it is of an unexpected form.

Provincial Test Implications and Data

The specific archaeological test implications of Hypothesis 4 for provincial contexts posits the accumulation of an artifact-rich sheet of refuse or midden layer immediately in and around domestic structures, thereby demonstrating a degree of "messiness" and an overall lack of concern for the ordered disposal of trash away from living spaces. Artifact categories comprising such refuse could include, for example, food debris in the form of animal bone fragments, or the ceramic and glass vessels also used in food preparation and consumption. These items would have been used and discarded with much greater frequency than many other categories of materials and would therefore most likely comprise the bulk of domestic refuse assemblages. Archaeological implications might also include the complete absence of any and all sub-surface features or pits immediately around provincial structures that could have been used for the specialized removal of such domestic refuse. Relevant archaeological data with which to examine these testable material implications come from Fisher's (1993, 1995) excavation of provincial officer huts at Crown Point and Feister and Huey's (1985) excavation of the provincial encampment at Fort Gage. A re-examination of original data from these sites in light of this study's model and hypotheses provides for a number of interesting and revealing archaeological patterns.

At Fort Crown Point, Fisher's (1993, 1995) excavation of two separate provincial officers' huts provides the best small-scale view of the use of space in and around individual provincial domestic structures during the Seven Years' War. The huts were originally identified as low mounds of rock during a 1985-1988 archaeological survey of a proposed maintenance building intended along the south side of the entrance to the Crown Point State Historic Site. Reference to contemporary maps of the Crown Point encampment during the British occupation indicated that the survey area and the identified huts corresponded very well with the location of Colonel Nathan Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment of provincials (Anonymous 1759; Fisher 1995:77). Intensive excavation of the two provincial huts (designated Huts 1 and 2) and their immediate surroundings was conducted during the surveys, and a third hut was identified but not excavated (see Fisher 1993:13-57, Figures 4 and 5). Interestingly, the archaeological test expectations of (1) an accumulated layer of bone, ceramic, or vessel glass domestic refuse and (2) the absence of trash pits around provincial huts that are posited in Hypothesis 4 are not completely supported by the Crown Point excavation data. Conversely, the test expectations are not completely refuted by the data, suggesting a situation somewhere in between the careless discard of refuse in and around buildings by the provincials on one hand and the organized disposal of refuse into special areas on the other.

In terms of the first material expectation, it appears that midden accumulation was relatively restricted spatially to the immediate areas around

hearths inside the Crown Point huts. Close examination of each of the huts' artifact inventories indicates that between 60-70% of the 1,327 artifacts recovered from Hut 1 and the 474 artifacts from Hut 2, consisted of calcined animal bone. These heated bone fragments were very small and fragmentary and were not identifiable beyond classification as mammalian. Within both hut contexts, the overwhelming majority of this dominant artifact category was recovered in the immediate vicinity of the fireplaces within the estimated building outlines (a single fireplace was identified within each hut). This demonstrates that the bulk of both the Hut 1 and Hut 2 artifact assemblages consisted of food garbage that was located proximal to a hearth area. Both the burning of the bone and its proximity to the fireplaces suggest that these artifacts were involved in food preparation and consumption, but it also suggests that the food refuse was not indiscriminately tossed within or outside either hut feature. Rather, the food was likely prepared, consumed, and ultimately discarded within the same relatively restricted area inside both dwellings. This suggests an unexpected degree of camp cleanliness, and that the provincial occupants of both huts did not haphazardly discard debris in or around the whole of their living quarters. While faunal debris and various other material categories (i.e., ceramics and vessel glass) did accumulate in and among the huts, overall their numbers were very low, leading Fisher (1993:70) to conclude that "only a few small items were disposed of as sheet refuse". In short, the hypothesized "messiness" of provincial domestic spaces was not in evidence across each hut feature as a whole, with only limited amounts of faunal debris, ceramic sherds, or vessel glass

fragments discarded as sheet refuse beyond hearth areas.

In terms of trash pits among the Crown Point provincial dwellings, the data are conflicting and suggest an intermediary position between organized and unorganized disposal practices. The excavation of the immediate area surrounding both dwellings did in fact reveal the presence of pit features. At Hut 1, for example, 5 spatially discrete and man-made subsurface features associated with the dwelling were recorded and excavated, though two of these likely represented the southern and western edges of the hut while a third pit resembled a possible support pier for the building (Fisher 1993:17-18, Figures 8-10). Fisher argues that the remaining two pit features (Features 1A and 1B) were likely originally dug for sources of chinking clay for fireplace construction or possibly as privies, and that only later did they serve as receptacles for domestic trash. Feature 1B, for example, contained burned soil, mammal teeth fragments, colorless lead vessel glass, and tin-glazed earthenware sherds, with additional ceramics, charcoal, and calcined bone in the topsoil immediately above the feature. Based on its character, the material within and above the Feature 1B fill soil

appears to be redeposited fill, because the charcoal concentration is below the burned clay. This pit was excavated not to contain trash but possibly for use as a privy or clay source, similar to Feature 1A. The material objects were in the pit fill and possibly relate to a secondary use of this feature.

And at Hut 2, a pit feature similar to Features 1A and 1B was excavated beyond the north wall of this dwelling. The feature was filled with a dark brown clay soil with charcoal, wood fibers, burned clay, rocks, and 16 dark green wine bottle

sherds. As with the Hut 1 pit features, Fisher (1993:45) argues that "This pit [Feature 2B] was not excavated originally for the deliberate disposal of trash but for some other purpose. The material present here was contained in the pit fill and was related to the secondary use of this feature".

Concerning these three trash pit features, Fisher (1993:70) makes the important point that the "use of pits to contain trash contrasts with trash pits, which were deliberately constructed to contain trash". Functionally specific pit features designed to receive domestic refuse, Fisher argues, are thus significantly different than pit features intended for some other use but then subsequently employed as trash receptacles, an important distinction when considered in terms of the Hypothesis 4 test expectations. The provincial pit data thus conflict with but do not necessarily refute the expected material patterns. That is, the data seem to suggest an intermediate position or a process of change from an initial and casual discard of refuse to the eventual use of trash pits (Fisher 1993:70). Provincial soldiers at Crown Point, as expected, were not utilizing specialized areas for the removal of their domestic refuse- at least not initially- and much of this material was initially discarded in and among hearth areas. At the same time, these soldiers were not allowing the indiscriminate build up of garbage all around their living areas and ultimately did utilize existing pits for trash disposal.

The fact that such ambiguous evidence for trash disposal behaviors was found among provincial occupations that date to late in the war is of no small account. As mentioned in the Chapter 4 site discussions, the British occupation

of Crown Point post-dates General Amherst's successful 1759 campaign to dislodge the French presence in northern New York and thus represents a relatively late British settlement of the Seven Years' War. Ambiguous data suggesting a possible change from one form of provincial refuse disposal to another thus might be expected in such a temporal context, as provincial soldiers slowly began to adopt more professional martial behaviors associated with their Anglo-American allies towards the end of the war. These temporal implications of culture change among the provincials are explored in the discussion of Hypothesis 7.

Additional data to explore provincial disposal practices derive from scrutiny of Feister and Huey's (1985) excavation data on the provincial redoubt at Fort Gage. Situated on a small hill south of Lake George and adjacent to the military road leading south to Fort Edward, Fort Gage was constructed after Abercromby's failed attempt to take Ticonderoga from the French. The construction of the small redoubt and its protection of the vital military road no doubt reflected the continued danger felt among the British for continued attacks by the French and French-allied Indians (Feister and Huey 1985:41). The small fort is identified on Andrew Fraser's "A Map of the Retrenched Camp at Lake George in 1758" as the site of the "Provincial light Infantry" (Fraser 1758; Feister and Huey:42, Figure 1). The archaeological work conducted at Fort Gage was intentionally designed to leave a major portion of the site unexcavated in the hopes that the initial sample could guide more thorough and complete excavations (Feister and Huey 1985:41). Unfortunately, immediately prior to

public disclosure of the archaeological sampling the site was completely destroyed by bulldozing for a motel specifically re-designed to bypass Adirondack Park Agency review. As a result, the excavations failed to unambiguously identify or fully excavate undisturbed provincial domestic structures similar to that encountered at Crown Point. While the data are thus not comparable in the same level of detail as the Crown Point hut excavations, careful inspection of that which remains nevertheless identifies relevant archaeological patterns concerning the disposal practices of American provincials.

Put simply, the Gage data refute the material expectations for provincial contexts. Similar patterns to Crown Point suggest a limited accumulation of sheet refuse beyond that discarded immediately adjacent to hearth areas and probably within individual dwellings. Evidence was also recovered suggesting that a substantial amount of the Fort Gage assemblage was specifically deposited within specialized sub-surface trash pits. This fact contrasts with the more subtle pattern at Crown Point, and it clearly refutes the notion that provincials did not intentionally bury domestic trash.

Concerning the first material test expectation, much of the Fort Gage site was found to consist of disturbed (previously bulldozed) soils described as brown and yellow mottled sand full of unassociated eighteenth-century artifacts. Of the 28 10-foot grid squares excavated in a checkerboard pattern across the site, 22 were disturbed down to and sometimes below the top of the yellow gravelly sterile subsoil. The remaining six grid squares, however, revealed a sandy

brown undisturbed and original occupation surface some 6-8 inches in thickness that also included a large number of artifacts. In addition, while no clearly defined hut features were identified during the excavation, a number of jumbled and relatively indistinct stone concentrations likely representing the walls of individual structures were observed in the central portion of the site. On this point the authors noted that when "the Bureau of Historic Sites archaeologists visited the Fort Gage site a few years before bulldozing occurred, the types of depressions left in the ground seemed to be those of hut sites" (Feister and Huey 1985:53).

These various factors, when considered in tandem with artifactual evidence, suggest limited evidence for the presence of a refuse midden layer strewn across portions of the Fort Gage site. Such accumulation or indiscriminant discard as was allowed seems to have been restricted to hearth areas within former dwellings, thereby defining a much more spatially conservative pattern of refuse discard than has been hypothesized. Consider that of the 3,129 period artifacts recovered from the site as a whole, some 1,594 artifacts (51%) derived from the disturbed bulldozed soils. An additional 706 artifacts (23%) derived from the undisturbed original occupation surface (the remaining 26% of the assemblage was found in sub-surface features, including apparent trash pits). While there is no doubt that a portion of the unassociated artifacts found in the disturbed soils were uprooted from the identified trash pit features, much of the disturbed assemblage likely came from bulldozing the original occupation surface rather than the deeper, sub-surface pit features.

Thus it is likely that a much greater percentage of the entire artifact assemblage (greater than 23%) was originally located within the undisturbed brown sandy occupation surface prior to the bulldozing, though of course how much greater is a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, this line of reasoning suggests that a substantial portion of the Fort Gage assemblage was contained within a thick sandy brown occupation layer that was full of artifacts, which on its own would suggest a relatively widespread level of indiscriminate discard on the part of the provincial occupants. But consider also that among the undisturbed occupation surface contexts, those areas that had the greatest density of artifactual material “were located near the remains of stone walls close to the center of the excavation area, and one was directly associated with a hearth feature” (Feister and Huey 1985:45).

This suggests a pattern very similar to that observed among the Crown Point provincial huts. That is, a substantial portion of the Fort Gage artifact assemblage (at least 23% and likely much more) accumulated within a general occupation layer rather than being deposited in specialized sub-surface pit features. And the majority of this refuse (at least 62%) consisted of calcined animal bone fragments. Such accumulation, however, was not evenly distributed horizontally across the Fort Gage site but seemed to cluster alongside or within former dwellings and hearth features. Thus, much like the Connecticut provincials occupying the Crown Point huts, the Fort Gage troops do not appear to have haphazardly discarded or failed to dispose of domestic food debris, at least in locations beyond hearth areas. In this sense, their discard of food

garbage cannot be considered “messy” as it only occurred within spatially restricted areas surrounding fireplaces. This conclusion, of course, is tempered by the lack of clearly defined boundaries among the stone concentrations, which conceivably could represent features other than that of provincial domestic structures. Again, obvious demarcation of hut features as seen at Crown Point were simply not found at the Fort Gage site.

Concerning the second test expectation, it has already been noted that trash pit features were identified and excavated across the Fort Gage site. Indeed, excavators identified some 37 individual pit features which together produced 829 historic artifacts (Feister and Huey 1985:45-46, Table 1). Unlike the Crown Point pit features, however, the authors do not question the intended function of these pits and they unambiguously label them as specialized receptacles for domestic refuse: “Most of the pits at the Fort Gage site were undoubtedly dug for the disposal of garbage and other camp refuse” (Feister and Huey 1985:51). As previously mentioned, some 26% of the Fort Gage artifact assemblage was contained within these pits, and of this percentage the most numerous artifact category was calcined animal bone: “Faunal material was by far the most ubiquitous type of artifact found in the 37 Fort Gage pits that contained remains” (Feister and Huey 1985:49). That a specialized function of trash disposal could be attributed to even one of these features meant that all 37 functioned as such, given the fact that artifact frequencies within each were essentially the same (Feister and Huey 1985:57). Such a high number of specialized trash pits across the site does argue against the expectations of

Hypothesis 4 among provincial contexts. Clearly, as the authors point out, there was an obvious attempt at Fort Gage to keep the site clean (Feister and Huey 1985:45).

Overall, the patterns that emerge from a re-analysis of the Fort Gage data provide less than convincing evidence or support for the expectations of Hypothesis 4. The general accumulation of provincial trash was not nearly as spatially extensive as was expected in the model, and provincial “messiness” seems to have been very limited spatially to the immediate areas surrounding fireplaces within dwellings. At the same time, pit data similar to that expected for British regular contexts was observed. Revaluating both sites’ data in terms of the present model identifies patterns that call into question the notion that provincials lacked the ability to adopt professional British military practices regarding the burying of domestic refuse. Placing these patterns within a broader temporal frame of reference, however, may demonstrate that such change as was experienced by the provincials occurred only as they became more and more familiar with conventional martial practices and actively adopted them during their terms of service. Again, this notion of change over a broader temporal scale is explored directly in Hypothesis 7.

British Material Implications and Data

The specific archaeological test implications of Hypothesis 4 for British regular contexts posits a corresponding lack of accumulation of an artifact-rich sheet of refuse or midden layer immediately in and around domestic structures,

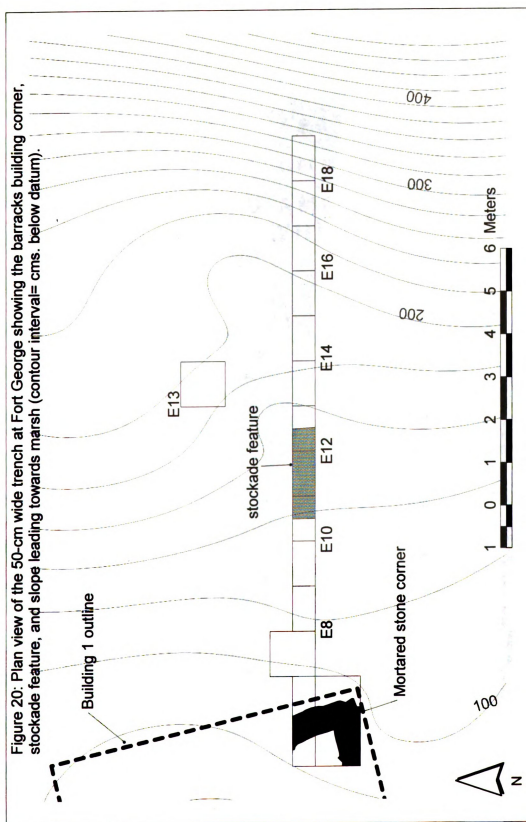


Figure 21: Profile of the 50-cm wide Fort George trench showing the stockade feature. View north.

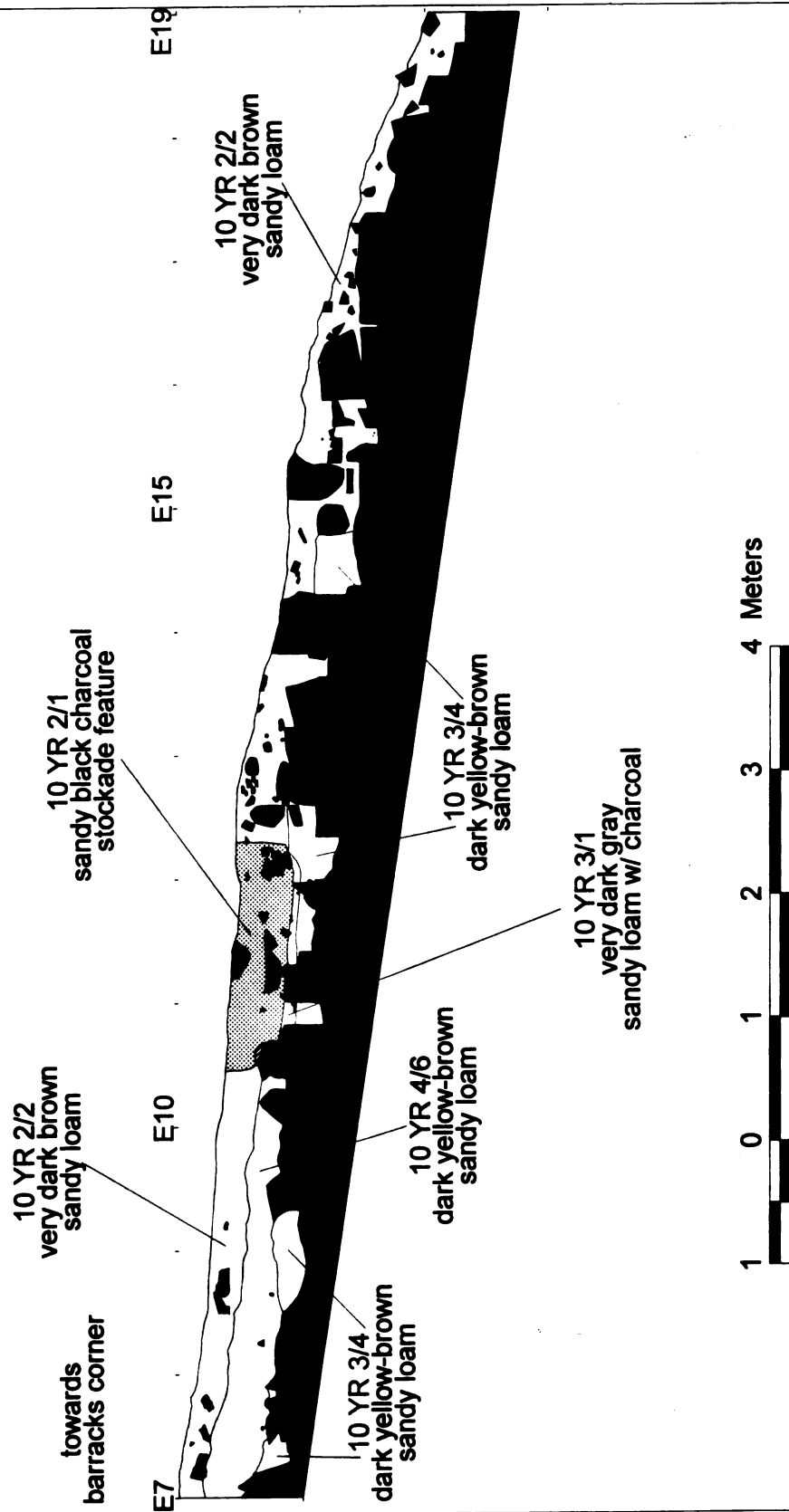
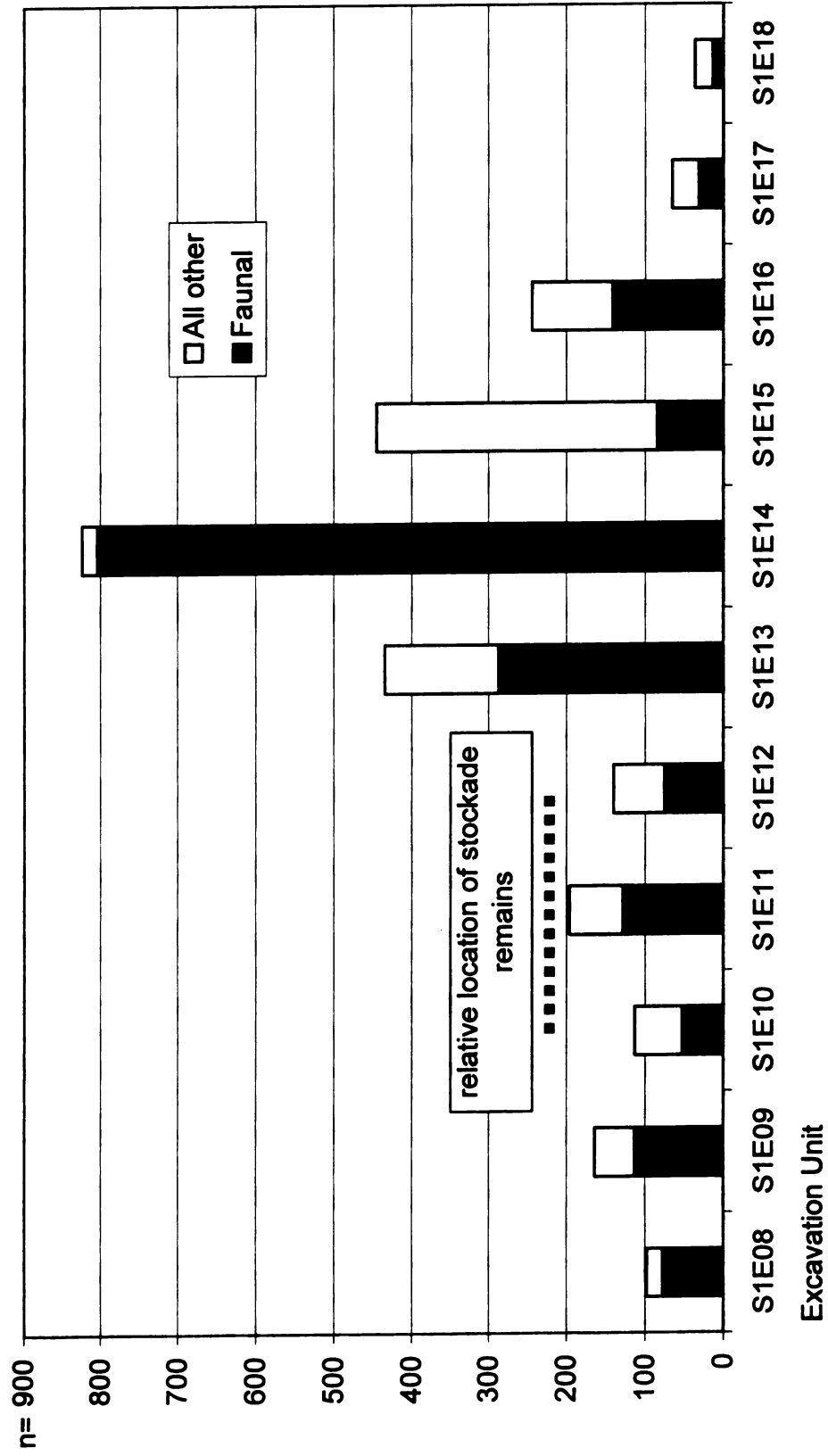


Figure 22: Artifact counts along the 50-cm Fort George trench



thereby demonstrating a degree of cleanliness and an obvious concern for the ordered disposal of trash away from living spaces. Artifact categories comprising such refuse would remain the same as those hypothesized for provincial contexts (e.g., faunal debris, ceramic materials, vessel glass, etc.). Archaeological implications might also include the presence of sub-surface features or pits immediately around British barracks structures that could have been used for the specialized removal of domestic refuse. Relevant British barracks archaeological data with which to examine these testable material implications derive from excavations conducted at Fort George in 2001 in which the author was involved.

Situated along a rocky prominence overlooking the headwaters of Lake George, the two parallel British barracks at Fort George were constructed within a three-bastioned stockade after Abercromby's army licked its wounds following its unlikely defeat at Ticonderoga. The stockade and barracks buildings are noted on a number of contemporary maps of Fort George and Lake George, and Henry Skinner's 1759 "A Perspective View of Lake George" provides probably the most detailed drawing of the stockade architecture (see Bellico 2001:84).

One of the primary goals of the 2001 excavations at the site was to identify this stockade in relation to the two barracks structures. To accomplish this, a 50-cm wide trench was hand excavated that began at the eastern edge of the northern barracks building (Building 1) and extended east and down slope away from the buildings, thereby intending to intersect any remaining traces of the stockade. The trench was limited in its width to 50cm so as to reduce the impact on the site while still providing an adequate means with which to identify the feature and its

archaeological character. The resulting trench extended 14 meters beyond the eastern building's stone foundation wall (Figure 20). At a distance of approximately 4 meters, and extending at least another 2 meters to the east, a very dark black feature thick with charcoal was encountered, which matches very well with the location of the wooden stockade shown on period maps. Profiling revealed the feature lay atop two thin and seemingly prepared layers of very dark gray and dark yellowish brown clayey soil serving as the base above limestone bedrock, and fragmentary pieces of wood were observed in the dark black charcoal matrix. The east and west edges of the feature were very indistinct, but as a whole the feature itself was clearly distinguished from the surrounding dark brown loamy soil on either side (Figure 21). The feature as identified stratigraphically is interpreted as the remains of the bastioned stockade based on its character, inclusions, and location (Farry 2005c). When considered in relation to artifactual evidence gleaned from the trench, the feature provides important data with which to evaluate the British material expectations of Hypothesis 4.

Overall, The Fort George trench data support the first expectation by demonstrating very little accumulation of sheet refuse within the immediate surroundings of the two barracks buildings. Such a form of deposited refuse, however, was identified at a distance from the buildings. This does not necessarily call into question the disposal habits of the British regulars, as posited, but it does suggest that certain areas proximal to domestic structures were allowed to become comparatively "messy". Conversely, the trench data do not support the second material expectation of specialized trash pits. This lack of

confirmation, however, is no doubt affected by certain physical conditions at the site as well as sampling error, and the negative evidence is not thought sufficient refute the second material expectation.

Interpretation of the data in terms of the first expectation (lack of sheet refuse) requires that an analytical distinction be made between those artifacts recovered from inside and outside the stockade limits. Excavation units deployed to the west of the stockade would have fallen within the wall's limits and immediately adjacent to the two barracks buildings. Units to the east would have fallen increasingly outside of the stockade and towards a sharp slope leading down to the marshy banks of Lake George. Figure 22 displays the raw artifact counts for each of the 50-cm wide excavation units along the length of the trench while maintaining their correct spatial relationships to one another. The relative location of the stockade is also shown on the bar graph to allow comparisons to be made with the frequency of artifacts per excavation unit. The x-axis of the graph thus mimics the actual placement of units along the trench if viewed from the south, with the area to the left of the stockade line representing the interior and the area to the right the exterior. Each unit's raw artifact count total is distinguished between the relative amounts of faunal debris and all other artifact categories combined.

As is clearly shown, the raw counts remain below 200 per unit to the west of the stockade feature and immediately adjacent to the northern barracks building. At 1 and particularly 2 meters to the east and outside of the feature, however, the raw counts spike at over 800 artifacts per unit. Beyond this to the

east and further outside of the stockade, the counts remain high for at least 2 meters before they fall off at the trench's eastern edge. The distribution remains the same if the raw unit counts are converted to percentages of the trench's entire eighteenth-century assemblage. This overall distribution is interpreted to represent a "toss pattern" of domestic refuse- particularly faunal debris- over and beyond the stockade walls. As this edge of the stockade faced the sharp rocky slope leading down to the marshes alongside Lake George, the troops were not just tossing their garbage outside of the immediate stockaded area but effectively beyond the edges of the Fort George encampment as a whole. To do so, of course, meant that the British regulars recognized this distinction between space within the stockade and space without, thereby ensuring that interior space alongside domestic structures remained relatively free of domestic refuse. Such garbage does occur within the stockade, but the relative amounts are such that there must have been a clear difference between the interior and exterior contexts.

But if the toss pattern gives weight to the notion of relative cleanliness among British regular domestic contexts, it does not support the second material expectation that garbage was carefully buried in specialized receptacles. Indeed, the barracks occupants were disposing of refuse in a sheet midden as would be expected among the provincial forces; they simply ensured that the midden accumulated beyond the sights of their barracks and the walls of their fortification and away from their immediate domestic contexts. The trench did not uncover any clear evidence for subsurface features, though the restricted width and

coverage of the trench, and the density of blocky limestone fragments in the soil, made for very uneven pit floors and reduced visibility. Small refuse pits either within or outside of the stockade might therefore exist but still await discovery, though seven 1x1-meter excavation units spread around the northern, eastern, and southern barracks buildings did not recover any evidence.

From a more practical perspective, the bedrock limestone is very near the surface across this site which has resulted in only a thin accumulation of soil in certain areas. Conceivably, this might have precluded the digging of any sub-surface features or at least required that they be located elsewhere and in deeper soils. Ultimately, then, while the trash pit evidence is lacking, it is not clear that this is not simply the result of sampling too small an areal extent around the buildings or a result of the thin and rocky geology of the site, or both. The negative evidence is not considered sufficient to disprove the model's expectations, and it might not necessarily correspond with a lack of such disposal practices among the British ranks at Fort George.

The Fort George data do not refute the British regular test implications of Hypothesis 4. The data demonstrate that trash disposal behaviors were being carried out that ensured a relatively clean living area. British occupants of the barracks building were evidently removing debris from their immediate domestic contexts, though it is not clear if they removed the garbage into specific trash pits. It is known that they were removing at least portions of their domestic refuse over and beyond the immediate limits of their enclosed stockade. While this resulted in a seemingly uncharacteristic accumulation of sheet refuse, the

accumulation was located well beyond the occupied portions of the Fort George settlement and strewn along the rocky slope towards Lake George and well beyond the confines of the encampment as a whole. In one sense, such a location- though not a clearly defined pit- might be conceived of as its own specialized trash receptacle, one that was at least partially removed from the domestic quarters and living spaces of the British forces.

Archaeological Hypotheses: Large-Scale Contexts

The various data marshaled as evidence in Hypotheses 1-4 do provide support for material culture differences between British regular and American provincial archaeological assemblages, as anticipated. But while certain expected patterns were revealed in the data, others were not, suggesting that either the archaeological record is not suited to measuring such differences or that such differences did not exist. Expectations for rank distinction, for example, were not nearly as pronounced among the British as expected, suggesting that this was not an overt cultural practice which served to distinguish them from the Americans, at least in terms of architecture and even less so in terms of material items. Provincial trash disposal behaviors were also much more “British” in form than that anticipated in the model, although this pattern may have temporal implications beyond that considered in Hypothesis 4. Either group can be distinguished archaeologically, however, if standardization of weaponry or use of ceramic vessels is considered, as was expected in the model.

The remaining sections of Chapter 5 focus on how the perceived cultural

differences observed in restricted spatial or temporal contexts either correlate or conflict with those patterns examined in broader contexts. Data at these scales of analysis, however, are not nearly as abundant, particularly given the stringent data requirements. As a result, certain discussions of the large-scale hypotheses involve identifying what data are lacking and what this means in terms of future research. Published and raw data are examined against the expected archaeological patterns, particularly in discussions of Hypotheses 5 and 7.

Hypothesis 5: The design or layout of British and provincial troop encampments may differ in the degree to which either reflects a hierarchical order of military rank; and Hypothesis 6: Multiple British and provincial encampments within a single military settlement may differ significantly in terms of their overall configuration.

Hypotheses 5 and 6 are condensed for discussion, in part because the expectations of both require archaeological data at such a spatial scale that few if any assemblages meet their analytical requirements. Unlike the multiple intact American cantonments of the Revolutionary War, many of which have been subjected to detailed archaeological study of broader spatial patterns (e.g., Seidel 1987; Fisher 1982, 1983b, 1987), similar numbers of intact provincial or British regular encampments from the Seven Years' War are extremely rare. Data consisting of multiple structures tend to be isolated, with little known concerning their basic spatial or temporal relationships; witness the Rogers Island provincial hut assemblage (Starbuck 2004:67). The only existing data that

do meet certain of the requirements derive from the provincial huts excavated at Crown Point (Fisher 1993, 1995). These data represent historically documented and brief occupations across a spatially extensive study area. The data are nevertheless limited in certain detail, and observed patterns must remain suggestive rather than definitive for both hypotheses. The Rogers Island provincial huts provide similar but not sufficient data for testing Hypotheses 5 or 6. Comparable British archaeological data are wholly lacking at this scale.

The basic assumptions behind Hypotheses 5 and 6 are complex in that the dichotomous patterns proposed for small-scale spatio-temporal contexts in Hypotheses 1-4 may either correlate or conflict with those observed at ever broader spatial scales. The initial assumption is that, as expected for restricted contexts, Anglo-American encampments will continue to demonstrate clear cultural differences. The marking of provincial rank would thus not be expected in the layout of multiple dwellings or in the use of space between these dwellings, as would British regular encampments. At the same time, such broader spatial contexts may have provided the arenas within which new cultural practices and identities were adopted among allied Anglo-American groups, particularly among the American provincials. Provincial rank distinctions, for example, might therefore have been specifically manifested and defined across broader spatial scales, possibly in the attempt to adopt conventional practices or even to convey certain messages. Similar patterns of change as reflected in the archaeological record are not assumed for British ranks, which likely maintained strict adherence to codified principles and practices regardless of spatial scale and throughout it

tenure in North America (Chet 2002). Patterns alternate to that anticipated for British contexts would nonetheless be enlightening, though few are expected among this cultural group.

Overall, expected patterns of change are observed in the available provincial archaeological data, but a critical analysis of the spatial data for Hypothesis 5 suggests that strict encampment practices were not adhered to in every manner or form. Though limited, the provincial encampment data suggest an overall conformance to British standard practices, but not in every specific detail or nuance. How much of this pattern is reflective of a broader temporal scale rather than a spatial one, however, is not clear; the late occupation date for the huts at Crown Point already anticipate change among the Americans towards conformance of the British standard, as outlined in Hypothesis 7.

In terms of Hypothesis 6, the data offer limited evidence for differential placement of British and provincial encampments within individual settlements, though this is no doubt a result of the type of data required and the subsequent lack of sufficient data. Hypothesis 5 requires data pertaining to contemporaneous, multiple, and short-term provincial or British occupations, while Hypothesis 6 requires ever larger scales of data including multiple provincial and British regular encampments. The Crown Point provincial hut data meet certain of these requirements, and in this they stand alone.

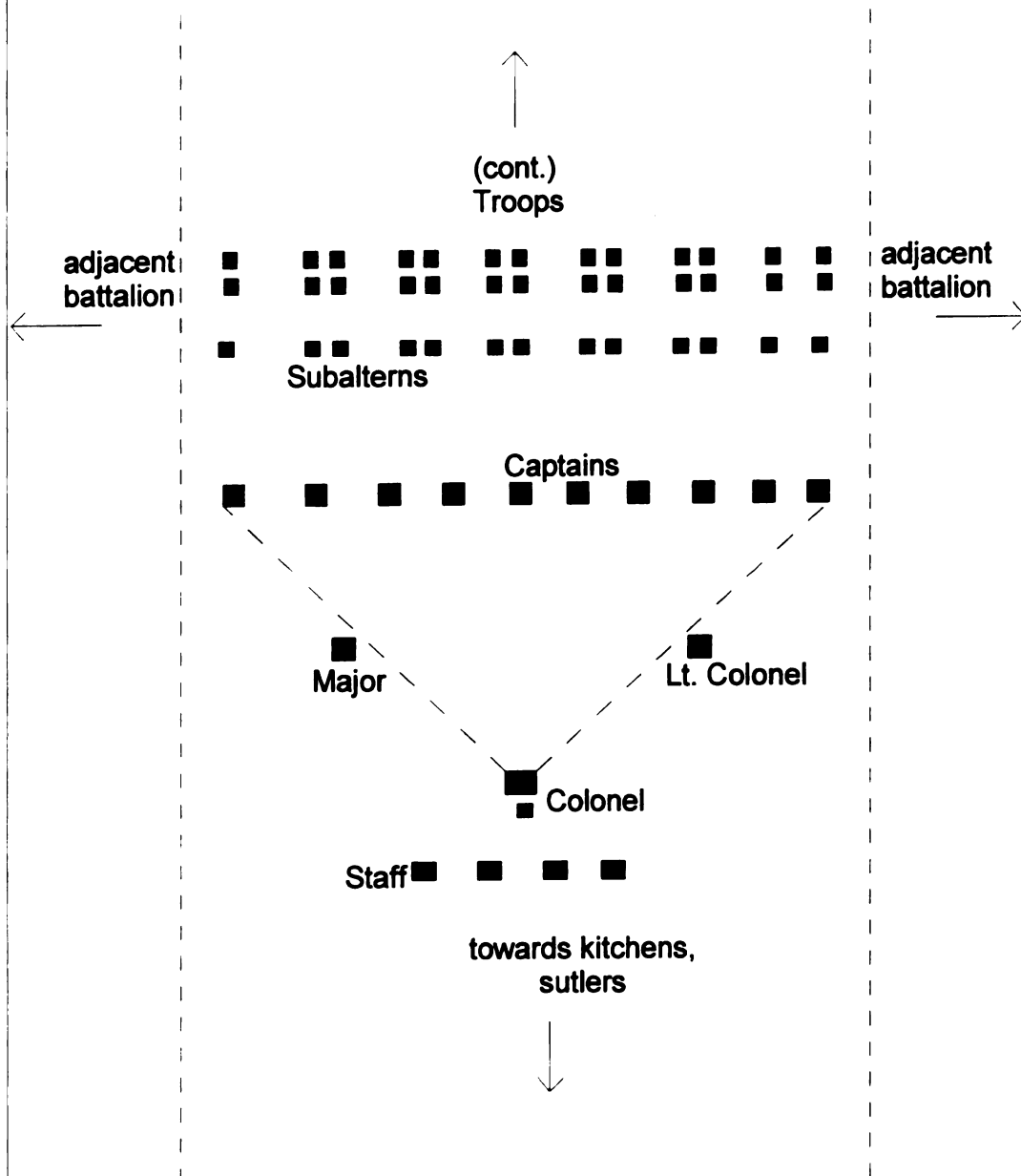
Provincial Test Implications and Data

The initial material expectations of Hypothesis 5 for provincial contexts

rest upon the assumption that the lack of status distinctions hypothesized for individual dwellings will be similarly reflected in the manner in which such dwellings are deployed across space; in other words, that provincial encampments will lack an ordered and specific topology between the enlisted and officers' structures, with various dwellings spread haphazardly and in no necessary spatial relationship to one another. At the same time, the model recognizes the capacity for change, and that across different spatial scales a provincial-British dichotomy may have taken on different forms of material expression. How this might have occurred draws directly upon the control offered by Anderson's (1984) detailed historical framework.

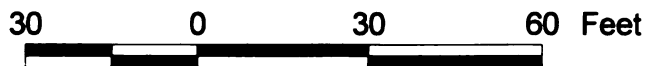
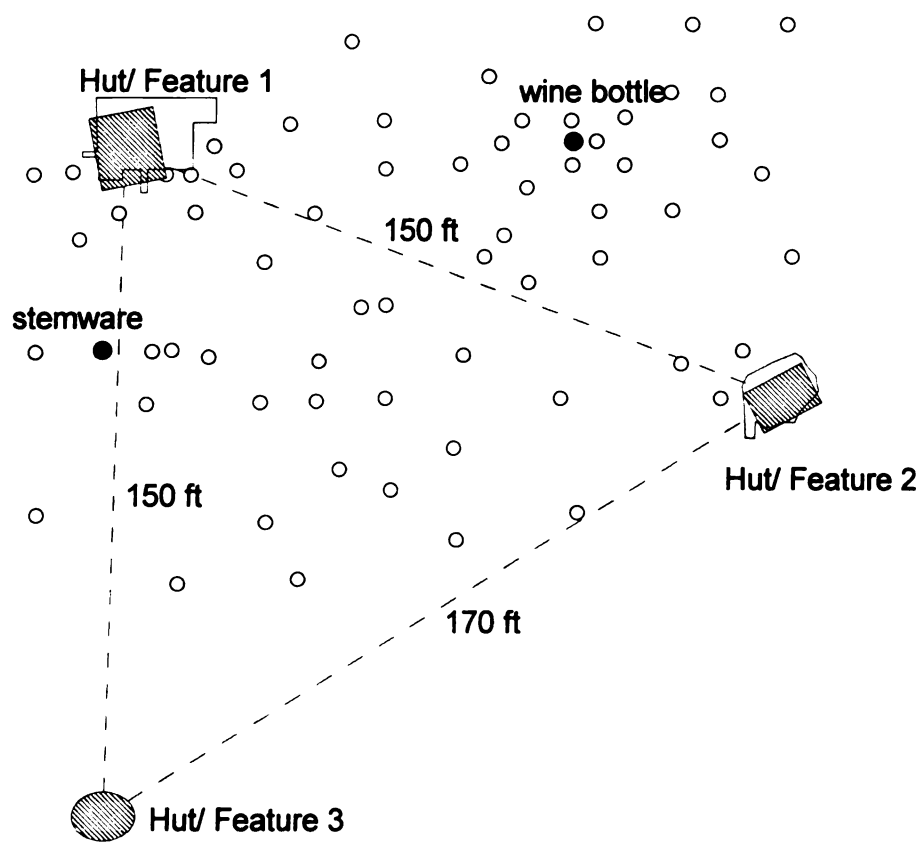
It may be the case, for example, that the provincial troops employed a professional encampment appearance to ensure that equality with the regulars was a message that reached the widest possible audience. Both groups are known to have quarreled over the exact military relationship between the two forces, among various other issues, with the British actually having to publicly decree the relative equality of the Americans towards the end of the war (Anderson 2000:145,214). In short, the provincials may have actively adopted an uncharacteristic "British" appearance by laying out their encampments in such a manner as befitted a professional European army, with all that that intended. This would have been expressed in a very public arena, involving the use of space and architecture in a very prescribed fashion such that all could see. The rules by which this occurred were available in contemporary sources, and presumably visible in the deployment of their allied British regular encampments,

Figure 23: Detail of Humphrey Bland's "Layout of a Regular Battalion Area" (based on Anderson 1984:91).



50 0 50 100 150 Feet

Figure 24: Overview plan of Crown Point huts discovered by OPRHP archaeologists (based on Fisher 1993:Figure 3).



with the physical locations of encampment dwellings specifically detailed in relation to military rank (Bland 1746; Anderson 1984). Figure 23 shows a detailed view of how these rules were to be expressed spatially in the form of an ideal British encampment taken from contemporary sources (see also Fisher 1993:Figure 15).

While the material expectations of Hypothesis 5 for provincial contexts do initially involve a tendency towards chaotic and unordered encampment designs, regularly spaced structures intentionally deployed to reflect military rank might also be expected at this spatial scale. This pattern of change might be intimately linked to temporal considerations, such that the delivery of any provincial message of equality via encampment design would likely have occurred as the war progressed and only as their ranks became more familiar with British practices. Patterns of regular encampment design among provincials would thus be more likely among sites that date to later in the war than earlier, though the effect of time is tested in its own right with other archaeological data in discussions of Hypothesis 7.

Thus the expected layout of provincial structures may not be haphazard at all, but according to those conventional rules concerning the proper arrangement of military forces in temporary shelters. Provincial encampments may, in effect, resemble that prescribed in contemporary military manuals for the British regulars (Figure 23). These archaeological expectations recognize the malleable nature of cultural affiliations, and that provincials were capable of maintaining distinctive cultural practices in certain contexts and not in others. While this

process most likely occurred later than earlier, testing of this additional hypothesis awaits subsequent discussion.

It is very possible that the nature of provincial service and the men that it employed prevented the adoption of any conventional camp behaviors, particularly within larger spatial scales. The material expectations of Hypothesis 5 nevertheless include the factor of cultural change, including expectations of order, symmetry, and coherence with contemporary sources in the layout of multiple provincial dwellings, particularly later in the war. This allows for intent among the provincials (though not among the regulars), and for their ability to incorporate the practices of those around them into their own daily habits, for various reasons.

Unfortunately, the provincial hut data on Rogers Island do not bear on resolving this issue because it cannot be known if they share some special spatial-temporal relationship to one another or none at all. None could be dated precisely or distinguished as early or late in the war, and each could conceivably represent concurrent or consecutive provincial occupations of the island with temporary shelters (Starbuck 2004). Spatial relationships cannot be inferred or otherwise known if the structures cannot be determined as contemporaneous within individual years. If the Rogers Island hut data did ever pass analytical muster, however, the only conclusion to be drawn is a chaotic dispersion of dwellings “built just about everywhere” and spread among other buildings, including the barracks complex on the Island (Starbuck 2004:67). Fisher’s (1993, 1995) excavation of the Crown Point officers’ huts thus provides the only existing

data source on multiple provincial dwellings known to have been occupied simultaneously and that maintain their original spatial relationships, and a rigorous re-analysis of their patterns in terms of this study's hypotheses is necessary.

Fisher (1993, 1995) details the excavation of two separate provincial huts, but a third, unexcavated hut was also recorded, mapped, and subsequently untouched (Figure 24). As mentioned, the huts' locations matched that of a 1759 map of Crown Point in which Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment were visible along the edge of an obvious ridge of bedrock. General Amherst himself mentions the lodging of provincial officers on the outside of the newly constructed fort in this general area during the fall of 1760, and it appears these are the same huts found during survey (Fisher 1995:77-78). Occupation of the structures appears to have been very brief, with a documented move of the 2nd Connecticut regiment closer towards the fort proper by 1761 (Grant 1761; Fisher 1995:78). Excavation of numerous test pits between the three hut features revealed only two small finds: an olive-green wine bottle fragment and a sherd of glass stemware, both widely scattered across a seemingly unoccupied and open area. Based on the contemporary references, the large size of the structures, and various artifacts they contained, Fisher (1995:77) interprets them as occupied by officers from Whiting's regiment. More importantly, Fisher also argues that the three hut features demonstrate patterned spatial relationships similar to that prescribed for British regular units. He notes that hut Feature 1 lies approximately 150 feet from hut Features 2 and 3, both of which lie 170 feet from

one another, and that the “broad triangle formed by these three features suggest the field officer portion of the battalion layout recommended by Bland [1746] for a British regular encampment” (Fisher 1993:59).

The most compelling aspect of Fisher’s recognition of spatial pattern is not so much the large size of the structures or the artifacts associated with each; rather, it is the almost complete lack of material culture or similar features found in-between the three structures. If, as the historical record suggests, the three features were occupied at the same time and only briefly by officers of Whiting’s regiment, then the lack of material culture or features in between the contemporaneous buildings suggests the intentional maintenance of large, empty spaces around the structures. This pattern does not suggest a tightly packed encampment, even if said encampment were deployed haphazardly and according to no rules at all. If it was not known that the huts were contemporary, then the lack of cultural material in between the features could be dismissed. Instead, the negative evidence actually supports an ordered use of space among the provincial dwellings, most likely by officers, and therefore by definition suggests that codified rules were being followed in provincial encampment design. As such, Fisher’s (1995:77) claim that the triangle formed by the features matches that advocated for British field officer encampments seems warranted, and the patterns he observes provide support for the material expectations predicted in Hypothesis 5.

But critical re-analysis of the Crown Point spatial data employing scaling techniques suggests a more complex picture. The re-analysis does not refute

Fisher's conclusions; in its overall design, the provincial encampment revealed at Crown Point does indeed suggest concordance with British patterns. What the examination instead brings to light is the detail to which provincials employed this prescribed encampment design, revealing that in certain important respects the provincial encampment at Crown Point does not at all convey an ordered encampment deployed according to strict rules.

Re-analysis of the spatial data required scaling both the modern archaeological maps of the hut features (Figure 24) with contemporary plans on British military encampment design (Figure 23). Bland's (1746) *Treatise* offers such designs, providing the necessary documented standard against which the provincial reality can be compared. To aid in this endeavor, CAD software was employed in digitizing the modern maps and Bland's (1746:244) encampment plan (see also Anderson 1984:91). The original figures were scanned, imported into the CAD program, and then traced over or digitized for their significant details. The resulting line drawings were next configured to the same scale, an easy task given the graphic scales on the original figures and the capabilities of the CAD software. Scale factors were computed for each drawing, and the drawings were then combined into a single, layered figure. This allowed for the plan of the hut features to be shifted around in various orientations to see how it compared in the smallest of details of angle or distance to Bland's (1746) plan. The different orientations resulted in a number of possible spatial overlays between the hut features and the encampment plan, each one suggesting different alignments and different degrees of encampment order. Lastly, the

overlays were imported into a GIS software program for easier presentation of the spatial data.

Figures 25-28 display the resulting spatial overlays. For each map, the 3 archaeological hut features in Figure 24 are shifted across Bland's encampment plan (Figure 23) to evaluate compatibility. The archaeological test units excavated between the hut features are shown to help visualize the open areas in between; the two locations of recovered vessel glass are also shown. This helps to understand where projected structures lie according to the particular alignment. The first overlay shows the alignment of the Crown Point hut features as if the largest hut (Hut Feature 1) corresponded with the location of the *Colonel's* dwelling on Bland's map (Figure 25). Conformance between the two plans is suggested by the sheer size of Hut Feature 1 (16x16 ft). It is also suggested in the general alignment of Hut Features 2 and 3 near the line of *Captains'* tents (though the distances between them and the *Colonel's* tent are off by over 20 feet), as well as in the location of the vessel glass proximal to the hypothetical location of the *Major's* dwelling. The numerous other empty archaeological test units might be expected in such an alignment as they do tend to fall in-between the suggested locations for structures. The largest discrepancy between the two plans, however, is in the angle alignments of each of the structures, suggesting a clear lack of parallel dwellings (alignment of Hut Feature 3 was not determined). The deployment of Hut Features 1 and 2 indicates a 17 degree difference in their wall angles, and the alignment shown in Figure 25 suggests that a considerable discrepancy in angle was allowed between these

Figure 25: Spatial Overlay of CP Feature 1 with Colonel dwelling.

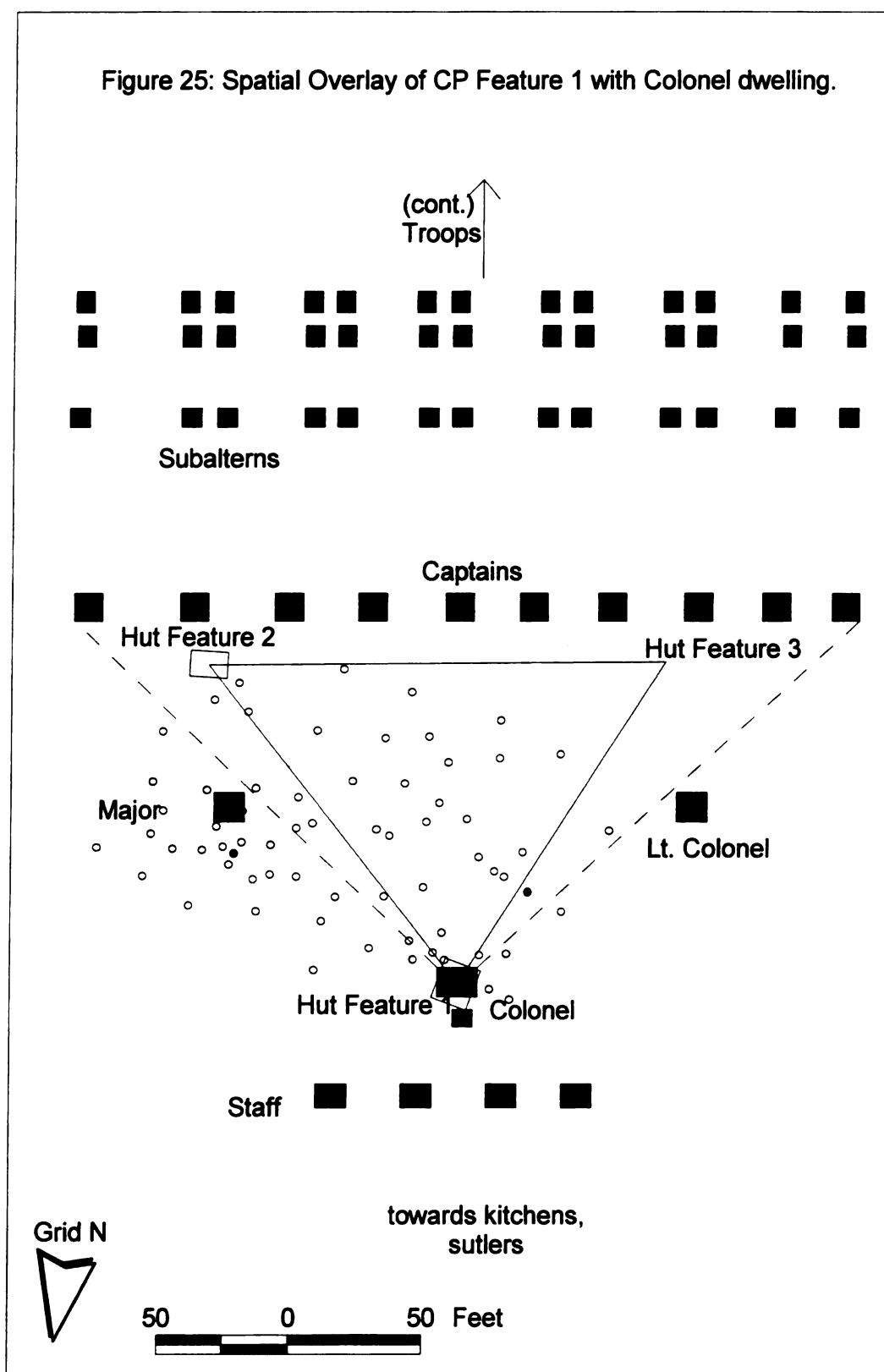


Figure 26: Spatial Overlay of CP Feature 2 with Colonel dwelling.

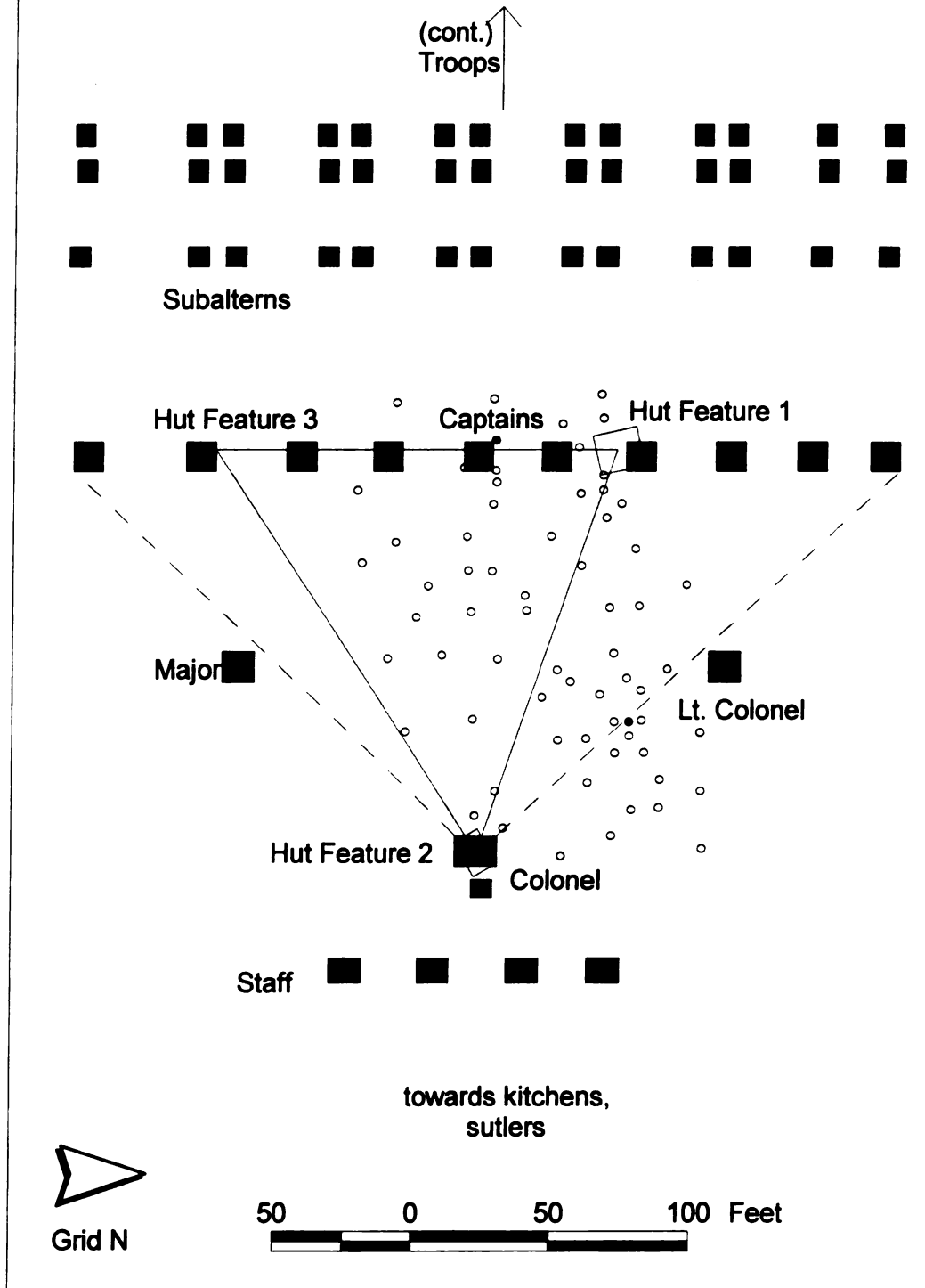


Figure 27: Spatial Overlay of CP Feature 3 with Colonel dwelling.

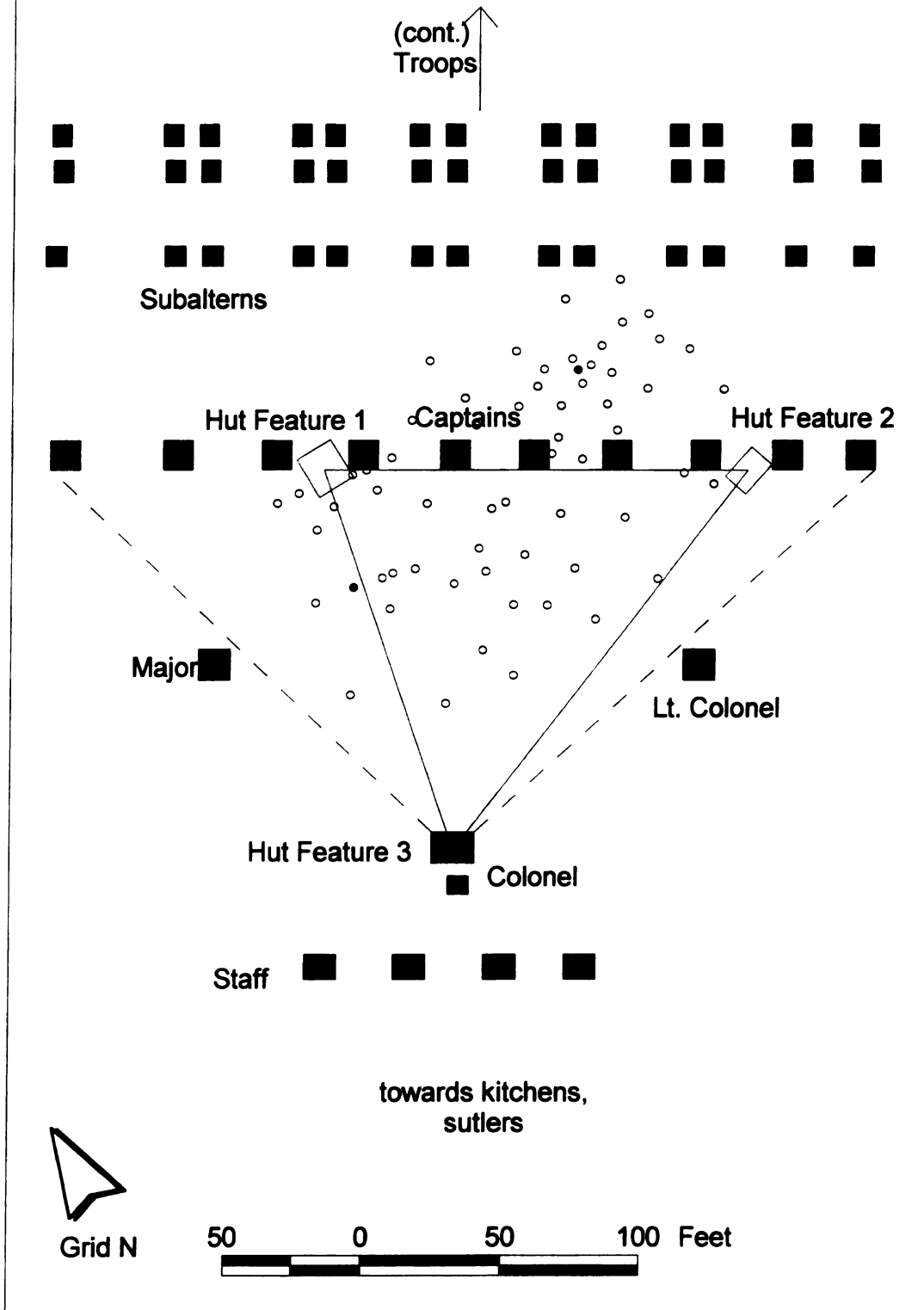
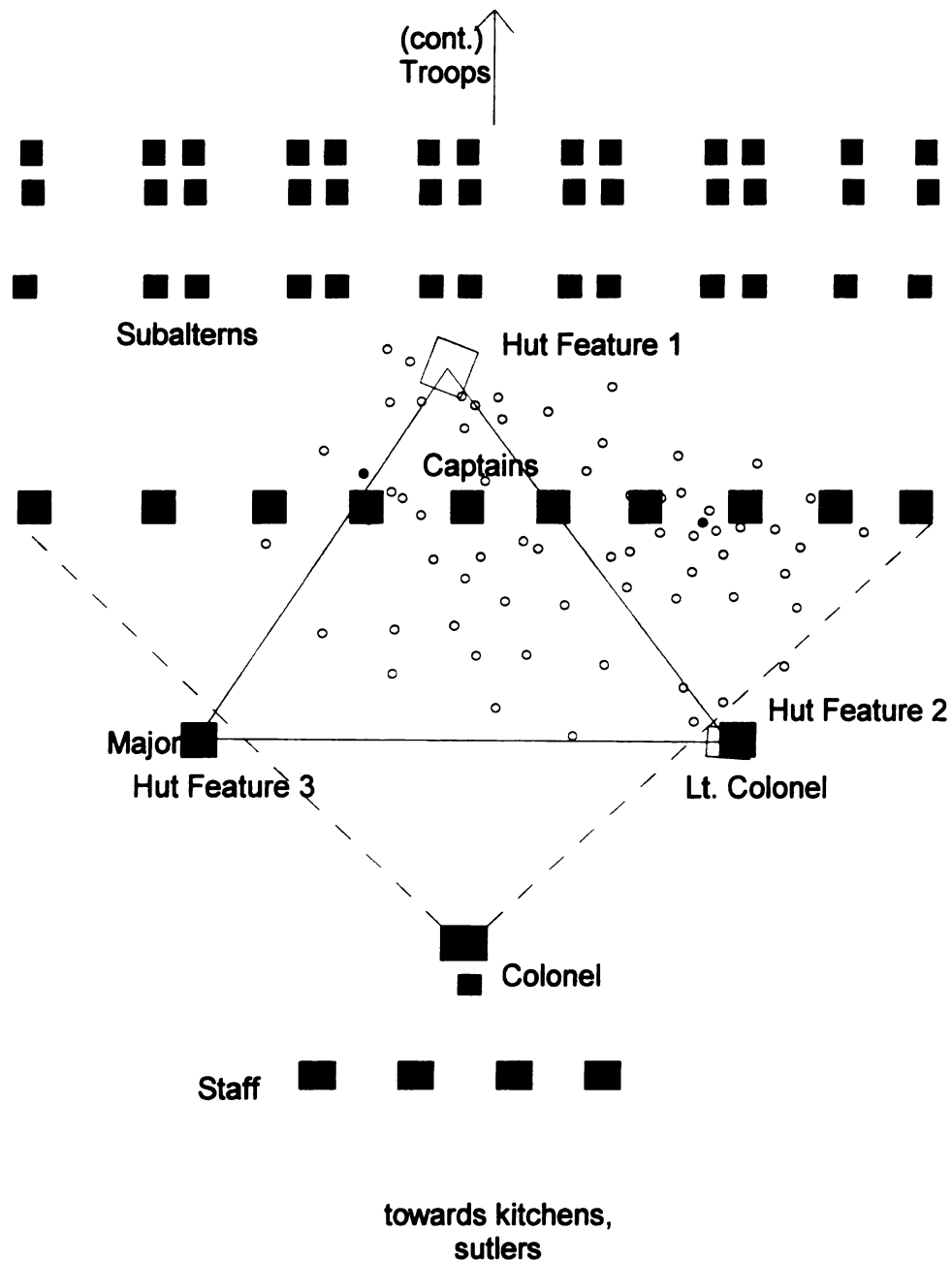


Figure 28: Spatial Overlay of CP Feature 2 with Lt. Colonel dwelling



Grid N



contemporaneous structures. This discrepancy persists through all of the various overlays, and it seems unlikely to imagine that this provincial encampment could have been described as ideal if such “ordered miss-alignment” continued across all of the encampment dwellings.

Figure 26 next shows the alignment of the archaeological features if Hut Feature 2 at Crown Point corresponded with the *Colonel's* dwelling. This scenario indicates a perfect match in distance between the *Captain's* dwellings and Hut Features 1 and 3. The location of the two vessel glass fragments corresponds in general with the location of other *Captains'* tents and the *Lt. Colonel's* tent. The angle alignments between Hut Features 1 and 2 are off by 16 degrees in this scenario, but the matching distances between the two maps are intriguing, suggesting even better conformance than seen in Figure 25. Figure 27 displays unexcavated Hut Feature 3 in the location of the *Colonel's* tent, and as just observed, the distances between it and the other huts matches the distances to the *Captains'* tents perfectly. Here the angle discrepancy between how parallel the two buildings were is 18 degrees, and the location of the vessel glass fragments seem to fall in what should otherwise be empty spaces. If this scenario were correct, it would seem unlikely to have recovered so little evidence from the test units for additional occupations between Hut Features 1 and 2, considering where the test units seem to fall in relation to the *Captains'* dwellings.

Figure 28 displays the last alignment, and it supposes that Hut Features 2 and 3 at Crown Point match the locations of the *Major* and *Lt. Colonel's* dwellings

shown on Bland's map. If this is correct, the distances between the two are exact, though again, a discrepancy of 17 degrees in wall angle is noted. This scenario also projects Hut Feature 1 in an odd spatial location in relation to Bland's map, though the positive test units do correspond well with the projected locations of the *Captains'* dwellings. The lack of additional structural evidence in the test units, however, does not match the projected location of the *Captains'* dwellings.

Each one of the spatial overlays contains information which suggests its own particular alignment may indeed match Bland's deployment of officers' structures. Fisher (1995) does not suggest exactly how the three hut features may have aligned with the officers' portion of Bland's encampment plan, though his identification of pattern in the encampment layout seems warranted particularly given the presence of such large and open spaces. Fisher's observed patterns support the hypothesized expectations of order among provincial encampments across larger spatial scales, but a closer look at how such patterns exactly match expectations suggests that a British-like order in encampment design was not absolute. No matter which overlay is chosen, the angles between the two buildings' walls are off considerably, suggesting that while overall encampment order was incorporated by the provincial occupants, they still failed to maintain a truly ordered encampment consisting of perfectly or nearly aligned structures. Indeed, it seems difficult to imagine how an encampment consisting of multiple angle discrepancies of 16 or 17 degrees would look ordered but from the widest of perspectives.

Taken together, these patterns suggest at least the likelihood that among larger spatial scales (and/or possibly across broad temporal scales, a factor that cannot be controlled), provincial forces were adopting prescribed British practices of military campaigning. The spatial relationships of the three relatively large buildings suggest that some overall degree of order was followed in how these were deployed, if not right out of the British Army playbook, and that provincial encampments purposefully reflected the spatial designs of a professional military force. In this respect, Fisher's (1995:84) claim that the "regularly spaced clean camp identified archaeologically fits Anderson's [1984:90] description of the British regular encampments" is warranted. But at the same time, more refined spatial analysis suggests that variation from the prescribed theme was also followed, seemingly to the point where the encampment might not be considered so orderly. It might be concluded that the larger-scale encampment data show that processes of change were at least active among the American provincials across broader spatial scales; that the small-scale cultural differences separating Anglo-Americans were transcended and reconfigured in more public contexts, at least in terms of encampment design. Such change among provincials, however, was not absolute or exactly enacted.

As to Hypothesis 6, expected provincial patterns would likely reveal separate encampments spatially distinguished from British regulars within individual settlements. It is difficult to hypothesize the actual spatial relationships as might be encountered archaeologically because contemporary sources suggest provincials could have been relatively "hidden" in the center of

settlements or otherwise excluded to the extreme boundary of settlements, both the result of the supposed inferior quality of the Americans compared to the British allies. At the same time, provincial forces may have actively played a role in choosing which location to encamp upon, and may have simply chosen based on such qualities as level soil, drainage, proximity to water, etc. The same Crown Point data just discussed are relevant to this hypothesis, but again, the strict data requirements limit the available data and the conclusions derived from them. The archaeological data at Crown Point do bear witness to the deployment of Whiting's Connecticut provincials in a specific location in relation to the fort proper and seemingly separated from British regular encampments, one that also seems to match very well that shown on a 1759 map of the settlement (Anonymous 1759; Fisher 1995). From this coherence Fisher (1995:78) projects that "The main feature of this camp is the separation of the Provincial regiments from the British regulars. The Provincial camps are also enclosed, or surrounded, by the regulars who are camped along the edges of the peninsula," with the author concluding that "The British regulars are positioned to protect the point of land and the Provincial troops from attack. This may indicate the low relative value of the Provincials as fighting soldiers in the minds of the British military establishment that designed the encampment".

While such a large-scale dispersion of forces is expected archaeologically in terms of Hypothesis 6 reflecting the continued differentiation of provincials and British across various scales, the archaeological data do not in fact convey such an image. The conclusions Fisher draws are ultimately based only upon the

archaeological identification of a single provincial unit in relation to the fort Crown Point proper and the settlement boundary; the archaeological evidence says nothing about the true location of British regulars in relation to Whiting's provincials. That is, Fisher projects a particular pattern for the settlement as a whole based on a single coherence between map and archaeological data, between Whiting's identified location on the map and the actual location on the ground. Similar coherence has not been observed for the various British regular units indicated on the map, and Fisher's claims of a weak provincial center defended by a strong British regular (or provincial Ranger) perimeter is not supported archaeologically within the Crown Point settlement.

In fact, the evidence only indicates that the provincials were located relatively close to the fort grounds, a similar pattern as that seen at Fort Edward. The identification of provincial huts across various locations on the adjacent Rogers Island encampment places provincials proximal to the fort proper at this settlement just as at Crown Point. Surrounding British regular encampments, however, have not been identified archaeologically, though the provincial huts clearly lie in the immediate vicinity of and mixed among the large British regular barracks complex on the island. This is an intriguing spatial relationship, but again, patterns can only be inferred as the exact temporal relationships between the huts and the barracks on Rogers Island remain known only in broad strokes. The evidence of provincial encampments archaeologically distinguished from British regular encampments is thus lacking in terms of material expectations of Hypothesis 6. Expectations may simply require too fine a temporal resolution

over too large a spatial scale, thereby limiting the data available to examine the models' expectations.

British Regular Test Implications and Data

Comparative patterns of material expectations among the British regulars have already been discussed in relation to provincial test expectations for both Hypotheses. In terms of Hypothesis 5, and despite the fact that small-scale evidence provides limited support for clear material manifestations of rank, a clear officer-enlisted distinction is projected for larger spatial scales among British encampments. In terms of Hypothesis 6, British regulars are also expected to be clearly distinguished from provincial encampments, though in what manner is not clear. What is lacking, ultimately, is an adequate source of spatially extensive British encampment data with which to test the model's hypotheses and expectations. British occupation data during the Seven Years' War is limited to barracks data, with encampment data basically non-existent. Again, data similar in form and scale to the various Continental cantonments of the Revolutionary War simply do not exist for Seven Years' War, or simply may be too archaeological fragile to be observed properly.

Hypothesis 7: Over a broad temporal scale, provincial and British assemblages might demonstrate similar patterning as either group adopted specific behaviors or practices during their course of joint service.

Hypothesis 7 introduces the factor of time in an attempt to better

understand the nature of provincial and British cultural diversity and interaction. Its basic assumption is that such diversity may have been more pronounced during the early years of the war as compared to later, particularly as American provincials incorporated certain British practices and martial behaviors despite their limited terms of service. That assumption in turn rests upon even broader ones concerning the reconfiguring of cultural affiliations within diverse social contexts and across multiple scales of analysis. Hypothesis 7 juxtaposes the first four hypotheses with the factor of time and suggests that the various expected Anglo-American cultural differences may in fact be muted when viewed across a broader temporal scale. The process being modeled is thus one of cultural change over time, with provincial contexts anticipated as the most likely to provide evidence for the adoption of new behaviors. At least in terms of the behaviors and material correlates of the first four, small-scale hypotheses, British contexts are not assumed to have changed and are unlikely to reveal archaeological patterns similar to that anticipated for early provincial occupations.

Evidence so far gleaned from earlier hypothesis testing suggests that the late date of certain provincial occupations may indeed be one of the reasons behind observed artifact patterns. In Hypothesis 4, for example, the known late dates at Fort Gage (post 1758) and Crown Point (post 1759) were suggested as possible factors behind the trash disposal patterns of their provincial occupants. Rather than failing to support the test expectations of diversity among small-scale spatial contexts in Hypothesis 4, the disposal data from both sites may have actually supported one of the possible material expectations of Hypothesis 7.

Also remember that in the discussion of Hypothesis 5, the observed patterns of change within the Crown Point provincial encampment could not necessarily be distinguished between the effect of a broader spatial scale and the effect of a broader temporal scale. Even the lack of tight temporal control over the structures on Rogers Island suggests that various years of the conflict are in evidence and that this may account for why one of the provincial hut musket ball distributions showed patterns of standardization. Taken together, the evidence so far examined gives at least nominal support to the notion that, among American provincial contexts, late occupations seem to demonstrate change towards the adoption of certain British army practices and behaviors. That is, the later provincial archaeological assemblages seem to look much the same as that predicted for British regular archaeological assemblages, at least in terms of certain trash disposal behaviors and overall encampment design.

Additional archaeological evidence designed to test this temporal hypothesis, however, needs to be addressed before conclusions can be drawn. In an attempt to do so, previously unexamined musket ball and button data were culled from the Fort Gage assemblage to help measure the degree of artifact standardization among this late provincial occupation. Barracks button data were also culled from existing collections at Fort George to provide a comparative British button assemblage for analysis. Comparative musket ball distributions from a number of British barracks sites were introduced in Hypothesis 1 testing and are shown in Figures 3-6.

Overall, the data confirm expectations of provincial standardization, but

not equally so across both artifact categories. Musket ball diameters clearly demonstrate standardization in measurement and resemble British barracks distributions, which suggests that by at least 1758 provincial forces were being supplied with and were using a standardized weaponry. Button data, however, reveal only an ambiguous degree of standardization among provincial clothing (cf. Feister and Huey 1985:57), which may in turn be the result of the sample size. The patterns suggest that while evidence exists to support the adoption of British martial practices such as material culture standardization, this practice did not pervade equally all aspects of provincial soldiers' material lives, even towards the end of the conflict, and that not all expected provincial artifact patterns necessarily need to reveal consistent change over time towards a British standard. Instead, provincial soldiers appear to have adopted certain British behaviors but not others, thereby creating a unique blend of British and American material traits.

Provincial Test Expectations and Data

The specific test implications of Hypothesis 7 contend that provincial material assemblages dating to late in the war may look much the same as British material assemblages. The various hypothesized cultural differences explored in Hypotheses 1-4 are recast within a broad temporal perspective, with anticipation of standardization, rank differentiation, or conformance with camp behaviors, etc. among these later provincial contexts. Just as Hypothesis 5 suggested concordance between British and provincial encampment layouts

given the large spatial arena, Hypothesis 7 anticipates a degree of change among the provincials given the long time scale involved. It anticipates that that, when viewed from the broad perspective of time, provincials incorporated martial practices of their Anglo allies such that the obvious differences seen in small-scale contexts might be reconfigured or blurred when viewed from this much broader vantage point. Archaeological patterns already noted among later provincial contexts suggest that these occupations were indeed following prescribed methods of trash disposal and encampment design, and were thus similar in many respects to patterns associated with British regulars. Hypotheses 4 and 5 make mention of this fact, but these analyses were not intended to specifically test the factor of time. Hypothesis 7 thus confronts this suggested pattern directly with an archaeological analysis of its own. Analysis focuses upon additional archaeological evidence from the Fort Gage provincial assemblage in terms of the variable of standardization, with anticipation for a relatively high degree among different provincial artifact categories.

The testing of any anticipated provincial archaeological patterns in Hypothesis 7 first requires control over the variable of time, and the particular data requirements restrict that which is suitable for study. Among provincial contexts, the Fort Gage data reflect a historically documented and very brief occupation, and thus provide the best data source for measuring aspects of change late in the war. The Crown Point provincial data provide similar control over time, but the associated artifact assemblages for both provincial huts are relatively small in number compared to the Fort Gage data, which itself is small

within certain artifact categories. Comparable sites with temporal control that date to *early* in the war, however, are completely lacking. One of the provincial huts on Rogers Island did demonstrate clear variability in musket ball diameters, but once again, the precise temporal span of this structure is not known and an early date can only be presumed, as for all of the hut contexts on the island. Evidence for Hypothesis 7 thus technically only measures the degree to which later provincial contexts evidence material culture standardization or resemble British regular assemblages, rather than comparing early versus late provincial occupations. This is due to the fact that no data exist that can be confidently attributed to an early provincial occupation with which to provide a solid baseline. With these limitations in mind, Hypothesis 7 is tested through an examination of Fort Gage musket ball and button data, and Fort George button data. While standardization is hypothesized for the entire Fort Gage assemblage, multiple categories are employed to understand the actual material contexts within which provincials may have (or have not) employed a standardized material culture.

Fort Gage data collection required consultation with original field records maintained at the New York State Historic Preservation Office, with access provided by Lois Feister. Excepting the published site report (Feister and Huey 1985), these data sheets represent the only remaining data source from the Fort Gage excavations after the artifacts were returned to the owner upon full site development. Metric diameter musket ball measurements were culled from the catalog; for the buttons, all qualitative and quantitative variables as were entered on the original data sheets were recorded to help with classification. Original

Figure 29: Distribution of Fort Gage musket ball diameters (based on Farry 2005b:469)

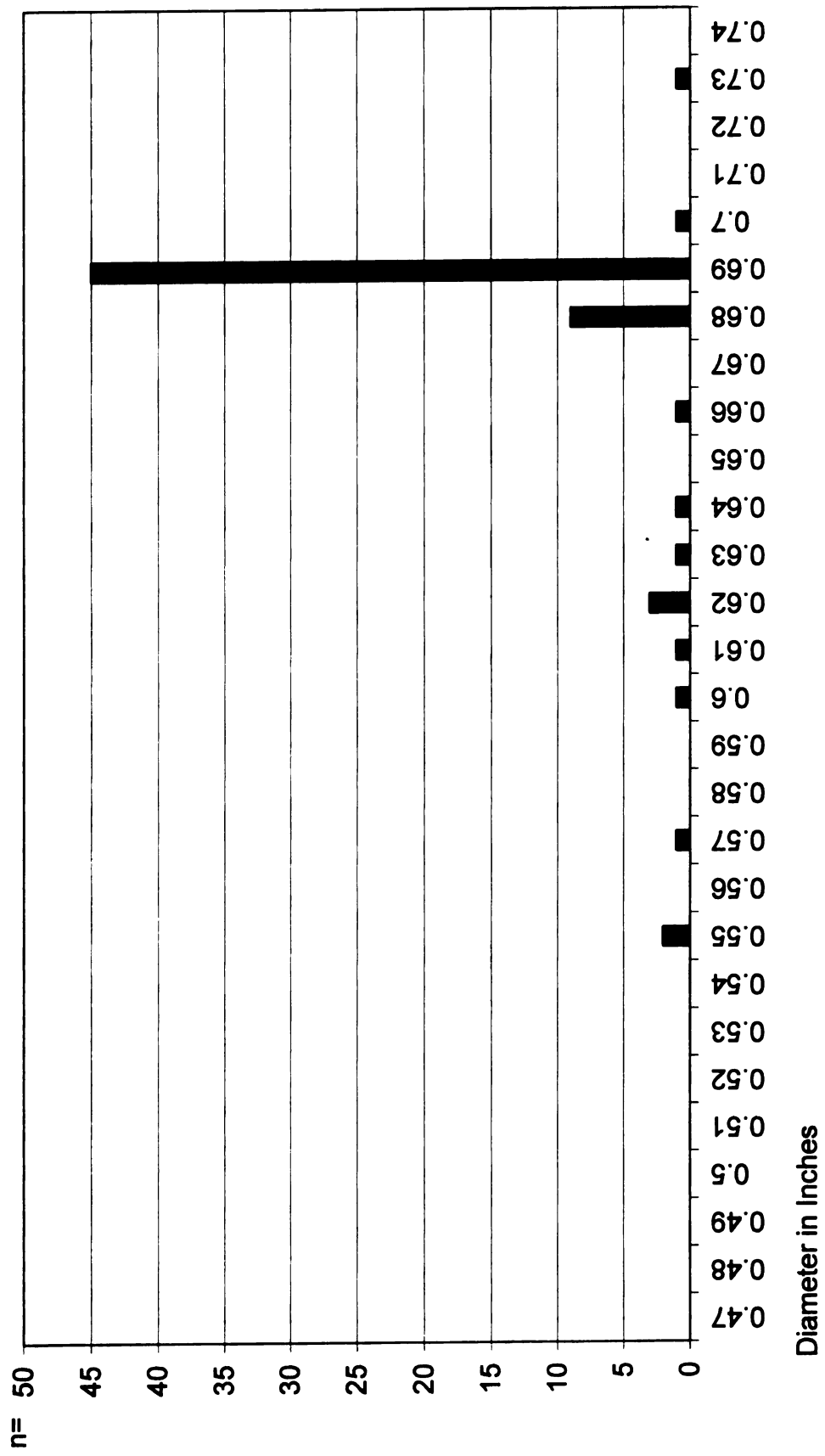


Figure 30: Categories of lead shot among British barracks and Fort Gage

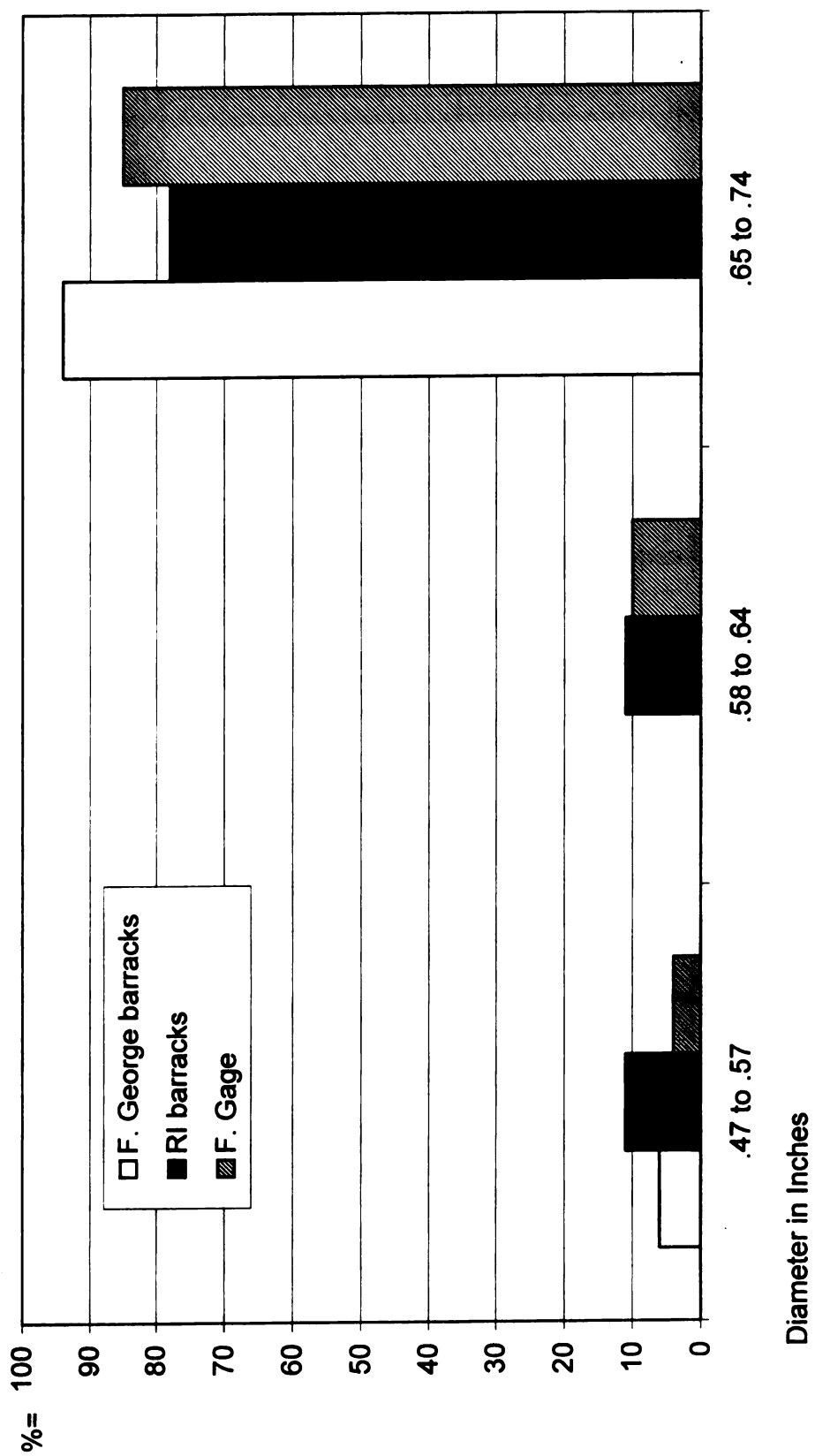
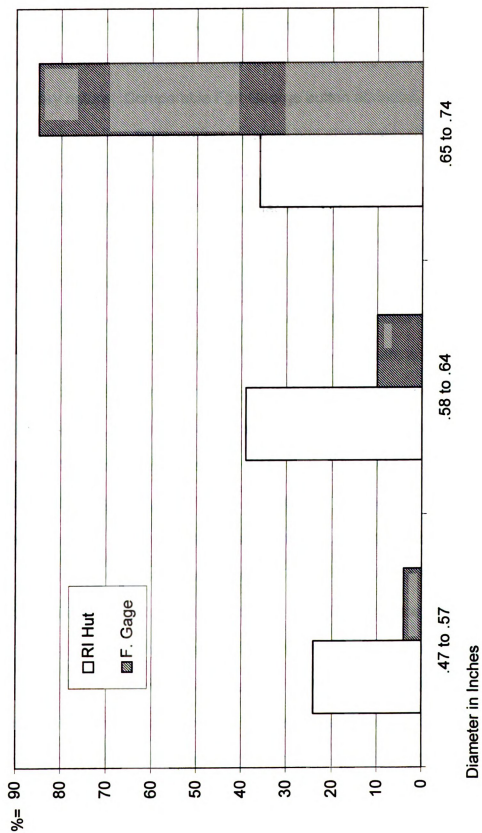


Figure 31: Categories of lead shot among Rogers Island Hut and Fort Gage



cataloging of the buttons did not involve measuring a standard suite of attributes from each sample, so attributes are unequally represented across the sub-
assemblage, a situation confounded by the few numbers of buttons (n=11) and their fragmentary nature. Comparable Fort George button attributes were extracted from the existing digital artifact catalogs and also observed through physical inspection of the collection at the New York State Museum. Though small in size compared to the Fort George collection, a critical analysis of the Fort Gage button database does allow for certain conclusions to be drawn from the observable archaeological patterns.

The specific test expectation for the musket ball data involve the same as that predicted for British barracks contexts. These include, again, a single-peaked distribution centered most likely on .69 inches but nevertheless ranging between .65-.74 inches, with fewer numbers of smaller diameters trailing off to the left of the peak. This expectation assumes that provincials would have adopted the use of standard issue weaponry if and when it became available, either through the auspices of their own colonial support systems or those of the British. This would have resulted in less reliance on individually obtained or supplied muskets and in later-dated provincial assemblages looking much the same as that associated with the British regulars. Figure 29 displays the frequency distribution of the Fort Gage musket ball diameters. The Fort Gage data are not spatially associated with any single provincial structure as are other musket ball data, but they can nevertheless be grouped for analysis considering that the site as a whole was occupied solely by provincial forces and for a very short period of

time (Feister and Huey 1985). It is at least clear from the distribution that any grouping in the assemblage does not result in a more variable distributions than could be expected among more spatially restricted contexts.

The Fort Gage distribution is as expected, with a single-peak centered on .69 inches in diameter (Figure 29). Of the 72 balls in the measured assemblage, over 60% are measured at .69 inches in diameter demonstrating that an overwhelming majority were likely used in the British Brown Bess musket. Reclassifying the distribution according to the 3 weapons categories serves only to clarify its skewed shape and its tendency towards the large-caliber Brown Bess calibers (Figure 30-31). The percentage distribution of the Fort Gage weapons categories is shown in relation to the Fort George and Rogers Island barracks assemblages (Figure 30), as well as in relation to the dispersed provincial hut on Rogers Island (Figure 31). The first comparative distribution demonstrates the similarity of the Gage assemblage to those associated with British regulars; the second shows its dissimilarity to another provincial context. Again, it is not possible to determine if the Island's provincial hut distribution shown in Figure 7 represents an early occupation of the site, but the two contexts are clearly different, a fact that is supported by a chi-square test of association: $\chi^2 = 51.2919$, df 2, $p = 7.279 \times 10^{-12}$.

The musket ball data from Fort Gage support the notion of a standardized material culture among the provincials in terms of their weaponry, at least by the end of 1758. Although only four years into the war, this date can be considered relatively late given that major fighting in North America was over by 1760. It

appears that in terms of weaponry, later provincial occupations employed a material culture very similar to that of the British regular.

Provincial button data from the same site, however, convey much more ambiguous archaeological patterns. The specific test expectations for provincial clothing late in the war involve standardized or “uniform” uniforms among the provincials. As with expected patterns of standardization among weaponry, the clothing provincial forces donned are expected to have changed during the course of the war towards a British-like standard, at least in character if not in exact form. This certainly would have provided the provincials with a very public and visible context within which to demonstrate their adopted martial behaviors and presumed equality with the British, as has been hypothesized for broad spatial encampment contexts (Hypothesis 5). Buttons serve as a useful proxy for this test, with anticipation of few button types and a relatively similar-looking assemblage demonstrating homogenous provincial clothing. Analysis also involves comparison to a similarly dated British button assemblage, with anticipation for the two to look much the same. This comparison is necessary given the lack of comparable provincial data dating to early in the war. The barracks button data were compiled from each of the post-1758 Fort George assemblages.

Maxwell and Binford (1961:91) point out that a “plain, hollow, pewter button, pierced at the back with two holes to allow hot gases to escape in the manufacturing process...is regular British Army issue from 1750 to 1768” and that a similar “plain, brass button is also British Army from 1750 on”. The years

1767 or 1768 mark the date after which military buttons included numbered regimental decorations or embossing, and the almost complete lack of such buttons in the assemblages examined here confirms their pre-1768 association (Olsen 1963:552; Maxwell and Binford 1967:91; Grimm 1970:62; Stone 1974:47; 2 of the 59 Fort George buttons were marked with regimental numbers and are excluded from study). The specific test expectation of the provincial button assemblage would thus consist of few button types and a clear majority of these plain brass or pewter two-piece buttons, the same as would be expected among British regular occupations.

To help address these expectations using the Fort Gage provincial and Fort George British button data, the assemblages were first classified into a useful typology to aid comparisons. Similar to other button typologies (e.g. South 1964; Stone 1974:45-68; Hanson and Hsu 1975:82-90), the Fort Gage buttons were distinguished based upon methods of manufacture (1-piece or 2-piece), material types (brass, pewter, bone, etc.), and types of attachment (attached wire shank or cast as one). The same was done to the Fort George barracks button assemblage for both Barracks 1 and 2. These structures did recover considerably more intact buttons than at Fort Gage (n=29 and 26, respectively, compared to n=11), but they nevertheless provide useful comparative British assemblages that should, ultimately, meet the same material expectations. The exact categories used in the comparative button typology are specific to the data at hand, though the categories are essentially the same as that defined by others (Maxwell and Binford 1961; South 1964; Grimm 1970; Stone 1974; Hanson and

Hsu 1975). Only Classes (manufacture method/shank type) and Types (material) are defined; more refined varieties within the types are ignored or condensed as their attributes are too limited to define analytically useful button styles. The categories of the typology are tailored to reflect the range of button types included within the two Fort George and the much smaller Fort Gage assemblages. Among the three assemblages, the typology defines a total of 11 different types distinguished across 5 different classes (Table 2). Briefly described, the typology categories and their respective button attributes include:

Class A: Two-piece button with attached wire shank

- Type A1: 2-piece pewter button with separate wire shank attached; shape is hollow with rear air holes for escaping gasses during manufacture; plain; George1=0; George2=0; Gage=2.
- Type A2: same for white metal buttons; George1=0; George2=0; Gage=2.
- Type A3: same for brass buttons; George1=15; George2=16; Gage=1.
- Type A4: same for copper buttons; George1=1; George2=1; Gage=0.

Class B: One-piece button with attached wire shank

- Type B1: 1-piece white metal button with separate wire shank attached; plain; George1=0; George2=0; Gage=2.
- Type B2: same for brass buttons; George1=4; George2=4; Gage=1.
- Type B3: same for pewter buttons; George1=2; George2=3; Gage=0.

Class C: One-piece metal button with cast shank

- Type C1: 1-piece pewter button cast as solid piece, including shank; shape is flat, plain front; George1=3; George2=1; Gage=2.

- Type C2: same for brass buttons; George1=0; George2=1; Gage=0.

Class D: One-piece bone button, no shank

- Type D1: hole attachment; George1=3; George2=0; Gage=0.

Class E: One-piece metal button, no shank

- Type E1: hole attachment; George1=1; George2=0; Gage=1.

Table 6 provides a summary of the frequencies for each button type as listed in the typology, and Figure 32 displays the CA plot of the matrix table. Upon inspecting the tabular data, it is clear that both Fort George assemblages consist primarily of Class A, Type 3 buttons, or brass 2-piece buttons with an attached wire shank, hollow body and 2 rear air-holes. The CA plot confirms this in the clustering of type A3 buttons among both barracks contexts. That button type constitutes between 50-60% of both barracks' button assemblages, and is precisely the type of button Maxwell and Binford (1961:91) identify as standard issue among British regulars between 1750 and 1768, with pewter versions more numerous at Fort Michilimackinac. A few Class B, Type 2 buttons are noted among both barracks, but clearly it is the Class A 2-piece types that comprise the overwhelming majority of the Fort George button assemblages. The British regular contexts thus confirm expectations of standardization by demonstrating only very few abundant button types and a predominance of the 2-piece metal buttons common among British ranks during the Seven Years' War.

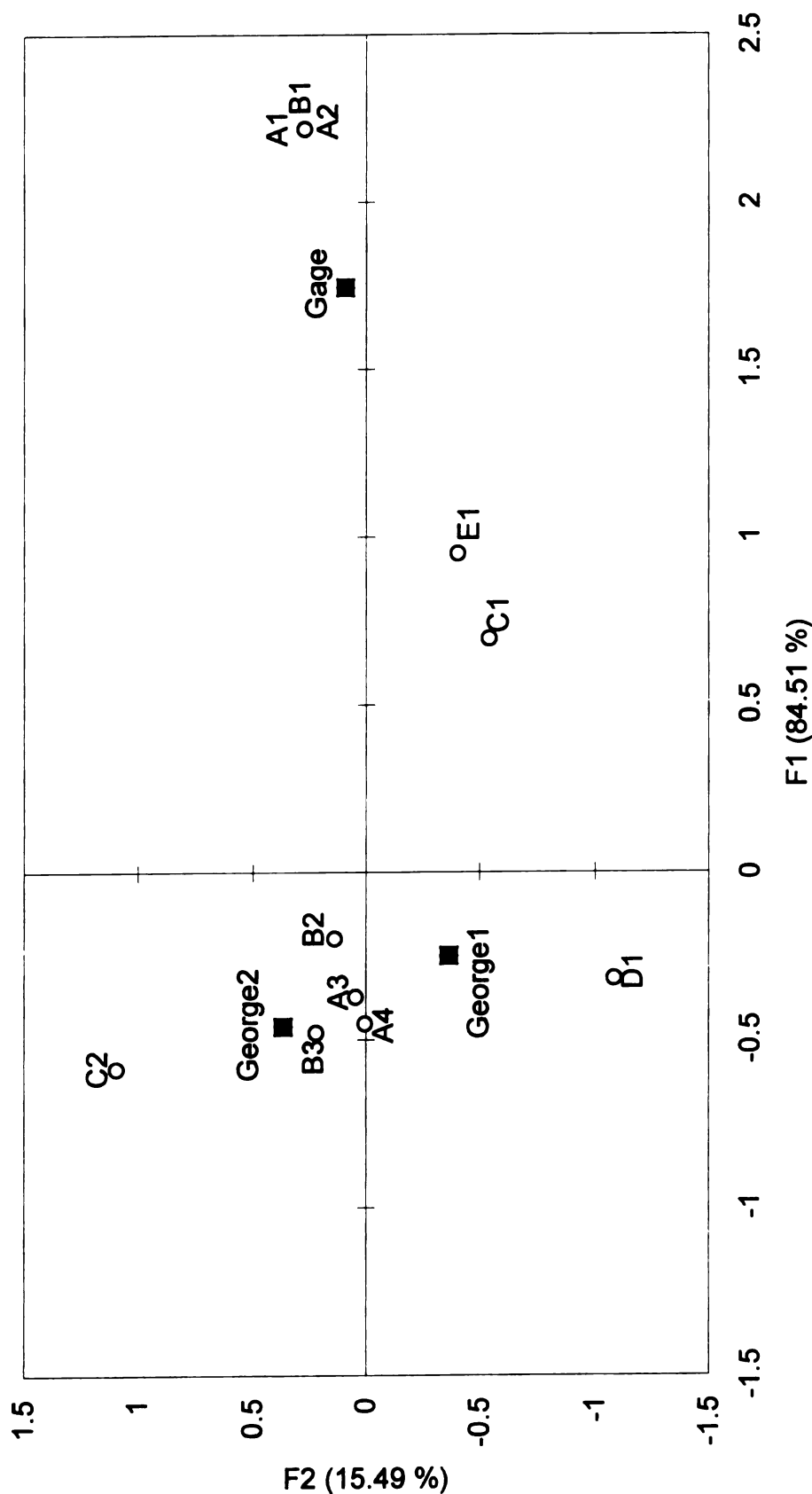
As for the provincial Fort Gage button assemblage, Feister and Huey (1985:57) suggest that one of its most obvious features is its variability: "Although only 11 buttons were found, their variability should be noted. The buttons varied

Table 6: Button type frequencies at Fort George and Fort Gage

	Class A				B			C		D	E	Total
	Type 1	2	3	4	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	
George1	0	0	15	1	0	4	2	3	0	3	1	29
George2	0	0	16	1	0	4	3	1	1	0	0	26
Gage	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	1	11
Total	2	2	32	2	2	9	5	6	1	3	2	66

as to type, material, and size". This pattern is born out by inspecting the frequencies of button types represented in the typology, with examples spread among 7 different types and 4 different button classes. Materials varied predominately between white metal and pewter, with brass and iron in smaller numbers. This might suggest that clothing standardization was indeed not a feature of later provincial occupations (Feister and Huey 1985:57), but in fact the data patterns are even more ambiguous than this. Consider that of the 11 Fort Gage buttons, no small percentage of them (45.5%) were identified as Class A buttons, distinguished from the barracks assemblage only by the different types of metal used in the 2-piece buttons. While the large percentage is tempered by the very small assemblage size, it does at least suggest that a significant number of provincial buttons at Fort Gage were very similar in manufacture and form to those being worn by British regulars at the same time, different only in the materials used. The CA plot (Figure 32) locates these two types (A1 and A2) proximal to Fort Gage. Pewter and white metal comprise the main material categories among these Class A buttons at Fort Gage, while at Fort George brass is the overwhelming metal of choice for the two-piece plain buttons. Diameter measurements of the Fort Gage button assemblage show that most

Figure 32: CA plot of Table 6 button types at Fort George and Fort Gage



cluster between 1/2"- 6/8", which suggests that they were limited to use in waistcoats and possibly knee bands (Hanson and Hsu 1975:82; Feister and Huey 1985:57). At Fort George, the diameters cluster within the same general range and suggest the same function, though larger regimental coat or pant waist buttons are also noted.

But if British regular waistcoat and knee band buttons are well represented among the admittedly small Fort Gage provincial button assemblage, so too are button types that have been specifically attributed a non-military or civilian affiliation. Note that 2 of the 11 Fort Gage buttons (18%) consist of Class C, Type 1 buttons, or pewter buttons cast as a single, integrated item. Similar buttons recovered from Fort Michilimackinac prompted Stone (1970:162; 1974:47) to suggest that, because of contexts within which they were found and "their absence in both early French and British military structures...that they were in use at the fort between approximately 1740-1745 and 1780 and that they may have been used by civilian rather than military personnel". This would be a type of button expected among provincial contexts that were not relying on the standardized supply of uniforms, with soldiers providing their own clothing materials. Their presence in the Fort Gage assemblage might then suggest that a certain segment of the provincial occupants were not using the same buttons as the British regulars, despite their now consistent use of similar weaponry. Class C, Type 1 buttons were recovered in association with both barracks buildings at Fort George, but they constitute only approximately 7% of the entire button assemblage compared to 18% of the Fort Gage collection.

The patterns discerned from the provincial buttons are tempered by the very small size of the collection. The overall percentages of button classes found at Forts George and Gage are essentially the same, with the only noticeable difference being that Class C buttons are represented about twice as much in the Fort Gage assemblage than in the Fort George collection. This relatively large percentage, however, may be inflated due to the very small sample size at Fort Gage thus making definitive conclusions difficult. The CA plot clearly distinguishes the Gage and George assemblages, but it does not appear to be due to the significant presence of type C1 civilian buttons; this category falls squarely in-between the barracks and Fort Gage, and in fact appears more closely associated with Barracks 1 at Fort George. The CA plot seems to strongly distinguish the two sites based only on the different materials used in the Class A buttons, or those noted as British standard issue. This would lend support to the idea that the two button assemblages are essentially the same in form. In the plot, types A1 and A2 cluster around Fort Gage while types A3 and A4 cluster between the two barracks structures. Again, this reflects the predominance of white metal and pewter among the provincial buttons and brass among the British buttons. This would support the claim that the Gage assemblage does in fact reflect a degree of standardization, or at least concordance with expected button types associated with the British military, and that the provincials by 1758 were adopting the use of such clothing. At the same time, provincials also appear to be relying on civilian clothes most likely supplied by themselves, though the small sample size and the patterns seen in the CA

plot require caution on this conclusion.

The ambiguous button data conflict with the obvious standardization among the musket balls. They also conflict with the conclusion that the Fort Gage assemblage is characteristically varied rather than standardized (Feister and Huey 1985). It might be said that, while the provincials were clearly relying on standardized weaponry late in the war, evidence for such standardization among their clothing is less convincing. Taken a step further, the provincials may have enjoyed uneven adoption of British-like material culture traits, demonstrating a creative blend of Anglo-American martial practices.

British Test Expectations and Data

Again, patterns of change are not anticipated among British contexts over time. While this aspect of the model is not specifically tested, the data already examined do suggest continuity. The musket ball distributions at Fort William Henry (Figure 4) and Fort George (Figure 5), for example, both demonstrate a degree of weaponry standardization among the British regulars between ca. 1755-1759, the effective length of major operations in North America. Notice also the concordant button evidence among the Fort George barracks buildings, as well as the concordant patterns of intentional trash disposal at the site. Sussman (2000) has also demonstrated a long-term pattern of standardization among the British army's ceramic assemblages at the settlement at Fort Beauséjour, Canada. Between the years 1760-1820, Sussman demonstrates a low degree of variability among the ceramics used by the British regiments

stationed at the fort. Each of these data sources suggest that the hypothesized patterns of British behaviors (and their material correlates) likely remained unchanged during their course of service in Seven Years' War.

Hypothesis 8: The establishment, deployment and expansion over time of multiple settlements across a large-scale region of military settlement will likely assume a more homogenous "British" character, with Anglo-American diversity less significant at this scale compared to the political directives of the British core state.

Hypothesis 8 expands the scale of analysis to its broadest spatial and temporal extents, with the assumption that at such scales the effect of a provincial-British cultural dichotomy will play far less of an important role than will external core-periphery influences. As such, the dynamics of interaction between the two groups will have a far less significant effect in shaping the archaeological record at these scales. By comparison, the particular politico-economic factors behind the settlement, expansion, and ultimate abandonment of the British colonial military frontier through time are anticipated to play a significant role in shaping large-scale archaeological patterns. The expectations of Hypothesis 8 are intended to serve as reminders of the important macro-scale external networks within which British military settlements ultimately served, and how these might be identified archaeologically across large spatial and temporal scales of analysis.

Relevant archaeological data at such scales are not complete. Discussion

does concern those data that do exist and that do bear on the topic, but much of the attention in Hypothesis 8 is drawn to future research in the form of large-scale archaeological pattern expectations. As such, the overall intent of Hypothesis 8 is intended more as means to systematize continued research into large-scale questions concerning the British military frontier.

Anglo-American Archaeological Test Implications and Data

As attention broadens from individual domestic contexts to multiple British or provincial contexts, multiple encampments, and eventually to multiple settlements across a frontier region of space or broad span of time, the relevant factors structuring the archaeological record are not the same, with external core-periphery influences likely much more relevant at the broadest analytical scales. That is, the Anglo-American dynamic likely played a marginal role in the deployment of multiple settlements across a region of British settlement, or in the long-term development and elaboration of individual British settlements. From these broad points of view, the cosmopolitan character of British military settlements likely becomes the relevant analytical perspective. It can be assumed, for example, that the overall military settlement pattern will conform to the nature of the perceived threat and to the specific political objectives of the core state, not to the specific cultural conditions of local frontier environment (Lewis 1984:286-288). This suggests order, efficiency and structural connections between strategically placed (and possibly functionally specialized) military settlements. These assumptions have material implications, and would likely be

reflected in how settlement ruins are spread across specific regions and the nature of their former connections.

Expectations of cosmopolitan military settlement might include an idealized functional hierarchy of sites spread across and throughout the entire region of military settlement (Farry 1995). This idealized settlement hierarchy would be comprised of those settlements types that would foster the efficient and effective military conquest of a region. These might include, for example, larger and more accessible central depot settlements well within the region of military settlement that are connected to more distant waypoints designed to secure strategic locations and funnel supplies to even more distant strongholds protecting the frontier fringe. The spatial sequence of ideal types might also be projected through time in that individual frontier settlements assume different functional roles as the fringe of military settlement expands or contracts. The settlement tendency among all functional types, however, would necessary be according to strategic locations such as embarkment or disembarkment points, points of alternate routes, or areas proximal to the perceived threat, based on the local physical geography. These locations may often fall alongside earlier aboriginal routes of travel. Again these material expectations can be evaluated against the location and available archaeological data of known military settlements, to asses conformance to the model's expectations.

Material expectations of functionally distinct settlements might include a tendency for behind-the-lines supportive settlements to evidence storage activities while more extreme frontier settlements evidence a higher

concentration of martial activities. Such a clear functional division between sites would be tempered, however, by the hypothesized temporal changes in site function and by the fact that “storage activities” would have included storing those same martial items used eventually along the frontier fringe. Ceramic evidence previously discussed in Hypothesis 2 might bear on this issue, with the CA plot shown in Figures 10 and 11 demonstrating a cluster of salt-glazed storage ceramics among the Rogers Island provincial hut assemblage. This might be expected for the Fort Edward settlement given its behind-the-lines role during much of the conflict, with high frequencies of storage vessels in all contexts at Rogers Island and Fort Edward (Farry 2005a:29). Conclusions must remain unconfirmed because it is not yet clear, for example, if martial items are more densely distributed at frontier sites than at Fort Edward, but the patterns of ceramic use are nonetheless suggestive.

Specific material expectations of efficient settlement patterns might be anticipated in the amount of time lag demonstrated by frontier military artifact assemblages, the difference serving to measure the speed and ease with which materials reached even the most distant of colonial frontier military settlements. If cosmopolitan military settlements are in fact positioned according to efficient points of travel to ensure constant connections to external networks, then it can be expected that even the most recent material items would be found at distant frontier military sites with very little time lag. Put another way, the material assemblages of colonial frontier military sites should look much the same as other, non-frontier settlements, indicating that frontier regions enjoyed access to

the same material items as other, more settled regions despite their obvious remoteness. This would lend support to expectations of efficient lines of travel and communication existing between cosmopolitan military settlements, thereby ensuring a continued line of contact between periphery and core and the continued application of the colonial military policy.

The Fort William Henry west barracks ceramic assemblage provides an interesting perspective on this test expectation and offers some preliminary conclusions. The ceramic assemblage represents a very tightly dated context between 1756-1757, with subsequent disturbance of the site limited only to modern times. Following the destruction of the fort in 1757 by French forces, British occupation of the Lake George area continued through the late 1750s as attempts were made to challenge French authority in northern New York, but the ruins of the original fort remained relatively unscathed with settlement confined primarily to the heights around nearby Fort George. The items found in association with the British west barracks at Fort William Henry thus offer a snapshot view of British material culture during the mid-1750s at the extreme frontier fringe of military settlement.

Included in this snapshot is a significant number of stoneware ceramics: just under 40% of the west barracks ceramic sherd assemblage at William Henry consists of white salt-glazed stoneware vessels (239 sherds out of 604 total), many of which demonstrate a “scratch-blue” form of decoration on teawares (Starbuck 2002:119). Noël Hume (1969:117) provides the most authoritative description of this ceramic ware, including a date range: “In the mid-eighteenth

century white saltglaze stoneware began to be decorated with incised ornament that was filled with cobalt before firing, great care being taken to brush off all excess color so that the result would be patterns of thin blue lines. This technique has come to be known as "scratch blue," and the bulk of it was confined to the third quarter of the century... The ware is fairly common on late colonial sites and is a valuable dating guide". More recently, Mountford (1971:48-51) and Miller et al. (2000:10) have refined Noël Hume's date range only slightly, placing decorated white salt-glazed wares between 1744-1775. Based on this date range, the Fort William Henry assemblage demonstrates the very latest in decorated stoneware vessels. This suggests that British frontier military settlements during the Seven Years' War did enjoy use of the same ceramics as those of other, non-frontier sites, and that the spread of cosmopolitan frontiers ensured a relatively quick dispersal of manufactures through an efficient settlement system. This matches expectations of Hypothesis 8 and lends support to the notion that military frontier settlements were deployed such that interconnectedness remained high and core military policies remained in effect at the frontier (Majewski and Noble 1999).

But this pattern only takes on meaning if considered in terms of multiple settlements; that is, a single site demonstrating contemporary materials with non-frontier sites is compelling but not definitive proof for Hypothesis 8, and similar patterns should be in evidence at other frontier military sites. Consider, then, the temporally sensitive ceramic and button evidence from nearby Fort George. As touched upon in discussion of Hypothesis 7, the button assemblage from both

barracks at this site demonstrates an overall lack of embossed regimental numbers. In fact the vast majority of the sub-assembly reveals little or no decoration with only 5 of the 59 total buttons showing evidence of a stamped, geometrical face design and only 2 showing numbered regimental buttons. This suggests an end occupation date for the barracks buildings sometime around or not long after the inception of numbered regimental buttons by the British military ca. 1767 or 1768 (Calver and Bolton 1950:96; Olsen 1963:552; Maxwell and Binford 1967:91; Grimm 1970:62; Stone 1974:47). The presence of creamware ceramics at the Fort George barracks further suggests a post-1762 date, or the date after which Josiah Wedgwood perfected the manufacture of this ultimately very common ceramic ware (Noel Hume 1969:125; Miller et al. 2000:12). This date is only three years after the documented construction date of Fort George (1759). Together these data suggest that the creamware ceramics at Fort George were imported to the site within a relatively short span of time following the inception of this particular ware type, again suggesting a rapid infusion of materials through a very efficient system of settlement. Even at Crown Point, Feister's (1984b:131) ceramic data revealed that the "presence of British-manufactured earthenwares that is a characteristic of 18th-century domestic sites in North America is also a characteristic of the Soldiers' Barracks at Crown Point". This too suggests a rapid infusion of material items through the cosmopolitan British military frontier of the Seven Years' War.

Ultimately, Hypothesis 8 posits its own model of military frontiers, one simply tailored to large-scale cosmopolitan patterns in the archaeological record

and beyond those which apply to Anglo-American cultural dynamics. It anticipates that the macro-scale settlement pattern of frontier military sites will necessarily conform to certain factors, including: (1) the nature of the perceived colonial threat, (2) the specific political objectives behind the military settlement, (3) the most efficient routes of communication and transportation, (4) a perceived settlement hierarchy based upon functional specialization, and (5) existing lines of aboriginal transportation. The specific material expectations derived from these factors could be developed along a number of different lines, only a few of which have been explored here. Additional processes of military expansion and even ultimate abandonment might also be developed and their expected material patterns outlined (see Farry 1995), again demonstrating the breadth of research potential of Hypothesis 8.

CHAPTER 6:

OVERVIEW, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Chapter Introduction

The goals of this final chapter are threefold. First is to provide an overview of the hypothesis testing presented in the previous chapter, a necessary step given the amount of information presented and the spatial and temporal scales traversed. The intent is to cull only the most salient aspects from the much more detailed testing discussions in Chapter 5 into a condensed and accessible summary for each hypothesis. The summaries are structured such that each hypothesis is broken down and briefly reviewed in terms of: (1) fundamental assumptions; (2) expected material patterns; (3) relevant data used for analysis, including data limitations; (4) observed archaeological patterns; and (5) conformance to hypothesized expectations. As was seen in the previous chapter, certain of the expected patterns were reflected and observed in the archaeological record while others were not; still others await sufficient data with which to be adequately evaluated and thus remain suggestive rather than definitive.

The second goal is to provide further comment and to draw conclusions on the analytical significance of the testing results, both in terms of the proposed model and the historical context. Whereas the first goal demonstrates in summary form how the results speak to the immediate expectations of the hypotheses, this second takes one step back to consider how the results speak to the underlying assumptions of the frontier military model and to Anglo-American cultural dynamics. As the model represents application of the pluralist perspective to military contexts, the discussion also speaks to this more general

frontier theoretical perspective. Discussion of Hypothesis 8 is geared towards how the results address issues of cosmopolitan frontier settlement and core-periphery connections. Ultimately, this second section is as much a review as is the first given that many of the salient points have been touched upon through the course of archaeological testing presented in Chapter 5.

The third and final goal is to outline the research implications this study has brought to light for the continued archaeological study of the Seven Years' War. A recurrent if secondary theme of this study has been to emphasize the analytical promise of the Seven Years' War and that archaeological data associated with the event offers important insights into the broader study of colonial military frontiers. It is hoped that this final section serves as an important point of departure for future archaeological research, and for the continued development of analytical models for use with the existing Seven Years' War archaeological database.

Summary of Testing Results: Small-scale Hypotheses

A fundamental assumption underlying the first four hypotheses presented in the military frontier model has been that clear cultural boundaries should distinguish the archaeological record of American provincials from that of British regulars during the Seven Years' War. This reflects the underlying pluralist perspective of this research and that restricted spatial or temporal frames of reference provide the proper perspective for observing the diverse cultural fabric of military frontier settlements. It also reflects the detailed historical context of

this research, which on the one hand emphasizes the documented cultural distinctiveness of the two groups during their course of joint service and on the other provides the means with which to predict how these differences might have been expressed through material culture. Domestic contexts have been considered appropriate small-scale archaeological units of study with which to explore anticipated patterns of diversity, in part because they provide one of the best sources for those routine and even mundane behaviors reflective of underlying cultural affiliations or identities; in short, those behaviors and practices that culturally distinguished American provincials from their British regular allies and that are visible in the archaeological record. Other pluralist frontier scholars similarly advocate such contexts as appropriate small-scale units of analysis (Lightfoot et al. 1998). From a more practical perspective, domestic contexts such as British barracks assemblages or those associated with a provincial huts or tents offer the smallest spatial context within which meaningful archaeological patterns can be observed in terms of sheer sample sizes. And in certain cases even these domestic contexts lack sufficient artifactual data with which to draw comparisons or conclusions, as seen in the very sparse artifact assemblages at the Crown Point provincial huts. The overall intent of Hypotheses 1-4 has been to predict Anglo-American material culture differences for domestic contexts and to identify them in the archaeological record of Seven Years' War settlements.

Detailed exploration of Hypotheses 1-4 revealed patterns of material culture differences between British regular and American provincial archaeological contexts, as predicted by the model. At the same time, certain

patterns were not revealed in the data, which suggests that either the archaeological record is not a suitable indicator of the expected material patterns, the archaeological data at hand do not provide adequate samples for study, or even more fundamentally, that such differences did not exist between the two groups. In terms of differences in rank distinctions (Hypothesis 3), for example, British and provincial archaeological data do not provide much support for anticipated patterns. The same might be said of provincial trash disposal behaviors (Hypothesis 4), although this latter pattern may be correlated with the factor of time and therefore actually lend support to Hypothesis 7. In terms of standardization of material culture (Hypothesis 1) and ceramic use (Hypothesis 2), provincial and British contexts demonstrate expected (and unexpected) patterns of divergence.

In all cases additional data would help to better evaluate the model's hypotheses, an unavoidable if unfortunate fact given the inconsistent character of the archaeological record. Ideal archaeological data sets consisting of multiple, detailed, and fully excavated provincial and British domestic contexts are simply not available, particularly as relate to provincial occupations. Those data that do exist have also been inconsistently excavated and reported, and even original artifact assemblages enjoy different levels of availability and completeness. Nevertheless, the provincial and British domestic context data represent an imperfect but important source for understanding Anglo-American cultural dynamics, and the detailed patterns observed in Chapter 5 are summarized and discussed below.

Hypothesis 1 Summary

- **Assumptions:** Differential participation among the allied Anglo-American forces in a professional military culture, manifest as a standardized British material culture and a variable provincial material culture.
- **Expected material patterns:** British standardization is anticipated across all material categories, as is provincial variability. Among weaponry, a single-peaked British musket ball diameter distribution is expected corresponding to the standardized use of the large caliber Brown Bess musket. By contrast, a multi-peaked provincial musket ball diameter distribution is expected corresponding to multiple musket types or a lack of standardized weaponry.
- **Data/ limitations:** Musket ball data derive from British barracks occupations at Rogers Island, Fort William Henry, Fort George, and Fort Stanwix, and from two provincial hut occupations at Rogers Island. The Fort Stanwix British barracks data predate 1774, though a later American occupation ca. 1777-1781 cannot be distinguished archaeologically. The available provincial data set is also small, with only 2 musket ball assemblages of adequate size.
- **Observed patterns:** British barracks data reflect the standardized use of the Brown Bess musket, and this is seen in comparisons of bar-chart frequency distributions. A single provincial dwelling reflects a multi-peaked distribution of musket ball diameters; a second provincial dwelling, however, reflects the standardized use of Brown Bess musket. Chi-square contingency tests confirm a significant difference between the standardized and dispersed distributions based on percentages of weapon categories.

- **Conformance with pattern expectations:** British data patterns conform to the model's expectations. So too do provincial data, though only among 1 of the 2 provincial contexts. The standardized provincial assemblage observed on Rogers Island lacks tight temporal control and may represent a relatively late provincial occupation, as anticipated in the discussion of Hypothesis 7.

Hypothesis 2 Summary

- **Assumptions:** The unique and temporary character of provincial military service may be discerned in the archaeological record, and this may serve to distinguish provincial contexts from comparable British regular contexts and their reliance upon long-term enlistments.
- **Expected material patterns:** Provincial assemblages may demonstrate restricted or much smaller ceramic assemblages compared to diverse and much larger British ceramic assemblages. Certain categories of ceramics may have been deemed unnecessary baggage given the limited terms of provincial enlistment and their shortened tours of duty.
- **Data/ limitations:** Ceramic vessel assemblage data were culled from British barracks at Fort Stanwix and Crown Point, while comparable ceramic data were culled from a provincial hut at Rogers Island. The data consist of the minimum number of different vessel forms per ceramic ware for each barracks or hut structure.
- **Observed patterns:** The provincial hut assemblage demonstrates a small relative sherd sample size but a very large relative vessel sample size. Two

CA plots of the tabulated counts for ceramic vessel forms and vessel functions per structure demonstrate clear distinctions between the Anglo-American contexts in terms of their use of ceramics. The provincial occupation, for example, demonstrates a general lack of tea service ceramics compared to the British barracks. Both occupations also demonstrate an inverse relationship in terms of food consumption vessels, with plates predominant among the barracks occupations and small bowls more frequent among the American occupation. This suggests a tendency within provincial contexts towards the communal preparation and consumption of stew-like meals while the British barracks enjoyed the individual preparation and consumption of solid meals. The Anglo-American contexts can also be distinguished based on the predominance of health/hygiene ceramic vessels among the Americans. This might reveal a tendency among provincials to remain within their existing domestic contexts during a sickness while British regulars were removed to specialized hospital facilities. Their predominance might also suggest that provincials considered ceramic medicinal supplies anything but extra baggage and often brought such items with them from home.

- Conformance with pattern expectations: The comparable lack of provincial tea service ceramics conform to the model's expectations, but the range and diversity of the provincial vessels do not. It appears that the provincial assemblage differs from the British barracks assemblage not in terms of the range of ceramics present but in the exact vessel forms and functions

represented. Although unanticipated, these differences in ceramic use are revealing of Anglo-American cultural dynamics during the Seven Years' War.

Hypothesis 3 Summary

- **Assumptions:** Anglo-American forces can be distinguished by fundamentally different military structures, resulting in very different officer-soldier relationships manifest as different material patterns of rank distinctions.
- **Expected material patterns:** British officer and enlisted domestic contexts are anticipated to reflect obvious rank distinctions in terms of artifactual and architectural expressions. By comparison, American officer and enlisted domestic contexts are not.
- **Data/ limitations:** Barracks data include artifactual and architectural patterns associated with separate British officer and enlisted buildings at Crown Point. Artifactual and architectural data associated with separate barracks buildings at Fort George are also examined. The provincial data focus on architecture, and include provincial huts excavated at Crown Point and Rogers Island. Unlike the Crown Point barracks data, both the Fort George barracks and Rogers Island hut data lack independent control over the documented rank of each building's Anglo-American occupants.
- **Observed patterns:** At Crown Point, the two British barracks buildings demonstrate a lack of artifactual differences, but architectural differences were noted in the form of differential flooring and chimney construction. At Fort George, higher rank was assumed for Building 2 based upon the

recovery of officer insignia (gold braid), but this distinction fails to correlate with any unique architectural or artifactual patterns. Documented provincial officer occupations at Crown Point demonstrate similar architectural features with another (possible) provincial officer occupation on Rogers Island. The diversity of architectural traits across the different hut features on Rogers Island, however, precludes any definitive rank-architecture relationship within provincial contexts.

- Conformance with pattern expectations: Overall, the British and provincial data fail to support the model's expectations. Only subtle architectural differences were observed among the Crown Point British barracks, with a total lack of artifactual differences; even less support was gained from the analysis of the Fort George British barracks. As a result, Anglo-American groups cannot be distinguished in terms of differences in rank distinctions, at least in terms of its expression in the archaeological record.

Hypothesis 4 Summary

- Assumptions: Anglo-American groups differed in terms of their familiarity with daily encampment behaviors and practices as prescribed in contemporary military manuals. Provincials, for example, were likely unfamiliar with such practices as the ordered removal and disposal of domestic refuse compared to the British regulars.
- Expected material patterns: Provincial occupations will evidence: (1) an accumulated sheet of domestic refuse spread throughout and among their

immediate living areas, and (2) a lack of purposefully dug trash pits. British occupations should evidence specialized trash pits but not the haphazard accumulation of a refuse midden across domestic contexts.

- **Data/ limitations:** Provincial data include the officer huts excavated at Crown Point and the settlement at Fort Gage. British regular data include the barracks buildings at Fort George.
- **Observed patterns:** Provincial assemblages from Crown Point and Fort Gage demonstrate relatively ordered patterns of refuse disposal. At Crown Point, provincial officers appear to have reduced the indiscriminant discard of domestic refuse only to those areas immediately surrounding hearth areas within dwellings. Sub-surface pits were also used for the disposal of kitchen refuse, although these features were apparently dug for some other original purpose. At Fort Gage, sheet refuse accumulation also appears to have been limited only to hearth areas where meals were likely consumed and small debris inadvertently discarded. Multiple specialized trash pits were used across the Fort Gage provincial encampment, suggesting a British-like conformance to established disposal practices. At Fort George, British patterns of trash disposal suggest that domestic refuse was purposefully disposed of away from the immediate area surrounding the barracks buildings and beyond the limits of the site's wooden stockade.
- **Conformance with pattern expectations:** The British barracks disposal data at Fort George support the model's expectations, though in an unanticipated form. The lack of sub-surface trash pits at the site is probably influenced by

the small archaeological sample and by the shallow, rocky geology of the site which likely precluded their use. The British troops instead disposed of kitchen refuse by tossing it down slope and beyond the stockaded limits of their barracks buildings. This is not the ordered disposal of trash as anticipated in the model, but it is ordered disposal nonetheless. The provincial disposal data at Crown Point and Fort Gage do not support the model's expectations, at least in terms of Hypothesis 4. The sites' conformance with patterns expected for British regulars, however, may be a factor of their late occupation dates, as anticipated in Hypothesis 7. The provincial data considered in this discussion might therefore support Hypothesis 7 rather than disprove Hypothesis 4.

Summary of Testing Results: Large-Scale Hypotheses

A fundamental assumption of the military frontier model is that the obvious cultural boundaries anticipated for restricted spatio-temporal contexts may correlate or conflict with those patterns observed from broader frames of reference. This assumption reflects the underlying pluralist perspective of this research, and the idea that the active "overlapping" and "cross-cutting" nature of cultural margins may be manifest in the processes through which these small-scale bounded categories are redefined or restructured among ever larger spatial and/or temporal scales. It also reflects the detailed historical context of this research, which again, provides the means to predict how these dynamics may have been expressed through British and provincial material culture. The

assumption further reflects the realization that as the analytical scale moves to broader spatial or temporal extents, the influence of Anglo-American cultural dynamics plays less of a shaping influence over the archaeological record compared to cosmopolitan influences and external core-periphery issues. Exploration of Hypotheses 5-8 is not nearly as detailed as for the small-scale spatio-temporal contexts, which is a reflection of the limited archaeological data at these scales. Data analyses nevertheless suggest patterns of change within provincial contexts towards a more professional British identity when cast in broad spatial or temporal perspectives.

Hypothesis 5 Summary

- **Assumptions:** Same as for Hypothesis 3: Anglo-American forces can be distinguished by fundamentally different military structures resulting in very different officer-soldier relationships and manifest as different patterns of rank distinctions. At the same time, the broader spatial arena considered in this hypothesis may have prompted a change in provincial behavior such that the Americans purposefully adopted British practices on how to lay out brigade and regimental encampments. This assumes that a provincial cultural identity was neither fixed nor absolute but was in fact a malleable configuration that may have been restructured across multiple spatial and temporal scales. It also assumes that provincial forces employed encampment design as a means to broadcast a professional military appearance and a perceived equality with their fellow British allies.

- **Expected material patterns:** Based on the assumption of cultural change for provincials across broader spatial scales (and a similar lack thereof among the British), Anglo-American encampments are expected to look much the same and are expected to conform quite well with contemporary and established methods for setting up regimental encampments.
- **Data/ limitations:** The Crown Point provincial officer hut data represent the only relevant provincial archaeological data source with which to evaluate Hypothesis 5. The three hut features represent documented provincial officer occupations that are contemporaneous and very brief, and thus represent the only known encampment-scale provincial data. Comparative British data exist in the form of contemporary plans for the proper layout of British encampments, which provides the ideal encampment standard against which the provincial spatial reality can be compared and evaluated. The effect that the late occupation date of Crown Point (1759) might have had on the observed archaeological patterns cannot be distinguished from the effect of the broad spatial scale under consideration.
- **Observed patterns:** The provincial huts do seem to suggest, as Fisher (1993, 1995) argues, that the 2nd Connecticut Regiment's encampment plan at Crown Point was similar in overall design to that prescribed in British military manuals. The three huts seem to suggest the triangle-shaped officer portion shown on contemporary British encampment plans, particularly given the large and culturally sterile areas in-between these contemporaneous hut features. Comparisons designed to explore this similarity were facilitated by

digitizing plan views of the excavated hut features at Crown Point and the idealized British encampment plan provided by contemporary sources. After projecting both plans to the same scale, spatial overlays of the two data sets could then be performed with ease and according to various possible alignments. In certain alignments the three excavated hut features match very well the overall encampment design for British regiments, but not in every detail. Most noticeably, the wall angles of the three structures are off by at least 17 degrees.

- Conformance with pattern expectations: The overall pattern that Fisher (1993, 1995) describes supports the expectations of Hypothesis 5. That is, the deployment of provincial huts as revealed by the excavation at Crown Point suggests that Americans were adhering to and adopting British conventions regarding encampments, at least in overall design. But the detailed spatial analysis reveals that such change was neither absolute nor fully enacted in every minute detail; there existed an overall ordered design to the provincial encampment, but it was one betrayed by an underlying variability. It is not clear if such cultural change as experienced among the provincials was due to the larger spatial arena within which it occurred (as anticipated in Hypothesis 5) or was due to the broader temporal context (as anticipated in Hypothesis 7).

Hypothesis 6 Summary

- Assumptions: At the scale of whole settlements, the deployment of Anglo-

American encampments might reflect the fundamental cultural differences that existed between British and provincials during the Seven Years' War.

- **Expected material patterns:** Because of their differing martial capabilities and skills, British regular encampments are anticipated to be deployed separate from American provincials, though the exact form such separation took is difficult to anticipate. It may be the case that British encampments are deployed along the periphery of individual settlements so as to position the most skilled fighting force closest to the potential point of attack. On the other hand, the low relative value the British held for provincial forces might have resulted in their placing Americans along the periphery of individual settlements to act as a sort of shock absorber or early detection system against enemy attack. Documentary evidence suggests evidence for both scenarios. Provincials may have even attempted to exert their perceived equality by choosing on their own what areas they would encamp on within settlements. These expectations may be best suited as a series of alternate possibilities or hypotheses that can be evaluated against archaeological data.
- **Data/ limitations:** Adequate archaeological data are lacking at this scale of entire military settlements. Data consisting of multiple British or provincial encampments have not been as easily identified in the archaeological record, certainly not to the same extent as have later Revolutionary War settlements, making comparisons difficult and conclusions impossible. Historic maps of individual settlements abound, but these do not represent an independent archaeological data source and the two must not be confused.

- **Observed patterns:** The Crown Point and Rogers Island provincial hut excavations reveal the presence of American units very close to the center of both settlements and proximal to the fort proper, but comparable British encampment data are lacking. It is thus impossible to determine, based solely on archaeological data, the exact spatial relationships between Anglo-American encampments within single settlements or how these may correspond with hypothesized patterns.

Hypothesis 7 Summary

- **Assumptions:** Over a broader temporal scale, provincial assemblages might demonstrate patterning similar to that of the British regulars as the Americans adopted specific British behaviors or practices over their course of joint service. The underlying assumption here is, again, that broader scales of analysis will likely reveal restructured Anglo-American cultural affiliations, with the clear distinctions hypothesized for restricted contexts tending to blur when viewed from broader perspectives. It is also assumed that provincial contexts provide the most likely source for culture change, with the British army unlikely to have altered its basic form based on its experience of joint service during the Seven Years' War.
- **Expected material patterns:** In terms of material culture standardization, provincial contexts dating to late in the Seven Years' War are expected to look much the same as British regular contexts. Because artifact standardization among the British army is assumed across all material

categories, so too is it for later provincial contexts. Provincial weaponry should demonstrate the standardized use of the British Brown Bess musket, while clothing should reveal a uniformity of button types similar (in character if not exact form) to that observed for British regular contexts.

- **Data/ limitations:** Musket ball and button data were culled from the excavations of the 1758 Fort Gage provincial occupation to measure their degree of standardization. The provincial button assemblage is very small, making definitive conclusion difficult. Data associated with a known provincial occupation dating to early in the war are not available for temporal comparisons. Because of this, button data were also compiled from the Fort George British barracks occupations for comparative purposes.
- **Observed patterns:** The Fort Gage musket ball data demonstrate a restricted diameter distribution very similar in shape and form to those distributions associated with British regular occupations. This suggests the standardized use of the Brown Bess musket among the Americans rather than muskets “of diff. Bores and sorts” (Lauber 1939:206). The Fort Gage button data demonstrate that a significant percentage of the sub-assemblage is very similar to the standardized button types associated with Fort George British barracks buildings (Class A buttons), differing only in the materials used to make the buttons. At the same time, a smaller but still significant percentage of the Fort Gage sub-assemblage consists of button types that have been attributed to use by civilians rather than the British military. A CA plot of the Fort Gage and Fort George button data suggest that it is in the types of

metals used to construct the Class A buttons that distinguishes the two occupation contexts, not the presence of these civilian or other button types at Fort Gage.

- Conformance with pattern expectations: The musket ball data conform very well with the expected pattern, which suggests that towards the end of the war American provincials were using standardized weaponry similar to their British allies. The same appears to be true for provincial clothing, though the evidence is less convincing given that the very small data set precludes any definitive conclusions.

Hypothesis 8 Summary

- Assumptions: At the broadest spatial and temporal scales of analysis, Anglo-American cultural dynamics likely play less of a shaping influence as do core-periphery influences and issues of cosmopolitan settlement. The establishment, deployment and expansion over time of multiple settlements across a large-scale region of military settlement will therefore likely take on a much more homogenous “British” character, with issues of provincial and British interactions less significant compared to the political directives of the British core state. The fundamental assumption in Hypothesis 8 is that frontier settlements- particularly military frontier settlements- were inextricably entangled within macro-scale networks relevant far beyond the immediate cultural environment of frontier regions.
- Expected material patterns: Expected patterns concerning the cosmopolitan

nature of frontier military settlements could be developed along a number of different directions, only a few of which are explored in these pages. The cosmopolitan aspect of frontier military settlement could represent a comprehensive analytical model in its own right, capable of producing a range of archaeological hypotheses. It is expected, for example, that military colonization of frontier regions utilized a specific settlement pattern consisting of functionally specialized settlement types spread throughout the region of military conquest. Efficiency in transportation and communication must have been paramount if frontier settlements were to fully enact military policies. It might thus be expected that settlement locations would be proximal to speedy routes of travel, or that material items would reach the frontier fringe with relatively little time lag.

- **Data/ limitations:** Ceramic data from Fort William Henry, Fort George, and Fort Crown Point provide evidence to measure the speed at which material items reached the military frontier. At Fort William Henry, scratch-blue decorated salt-glazed stoneware vessels provide temporally diagnostic information, while creamware and plain buttons provide the same at Fort George.
- **Observed patterns:** All three sites demonstrate up-to-date ceramic materials that suggest a relatively rapid infusion of items. Scratch-blue decorated stoneware vessels, for example, were a very popular English ceramic ware during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (ca. 1744-1775), and are present among the northern-most point of British military settlement (William

Henry) in North America as early as 1755. The creamware assemblage at Fort George appears to have been deposited within the first few years that this ceramic type was manufactured and popular (ca. 1762-1768), again suggesting relatively little lag time in the speed at which such ceramics reached the military frontier fringe.

- Conformance with pattern expectations: The temporally diagnostic ceramic data support the idea that the settlement of the British military frontier occurred along a very efficient pattern designed to facilitate the movement of men, material, and information relatively quickly between core and periphery. As much of the discussion of Hypothesis 8 is intended to spark future research, the patterns were only subjected to preliminary examination with archaeological data.

Evaluations and Conclusions

Compared to the hypothesis summaries, this section specifically considers the testing results in light of the frontier military model's basic assumptions and in terms of Anglo-American cultural dynamics. In many ways, much of this discussion has already been spread throughout Chapter 5, with the present discussion serving to consolidate and highlight the main points.

As stressed throughout these pages, the fundamental core of the frontier military model consists of three inter-related assumptions: (1) colonial military frontiers are multi-cultural arenas in which groups of varied backgrounds coexist and interact; (2) micro-scale archaeological contexts such as domestic spaces or

structures provide the proper scale of analysis with which to observe the character of this multi-cultural arena; and (3) obvious cultural boundaries will be observed when viewed within micro-scale domestic contexts. These are essentially the same assumptions of the more general pluralist frontier perspective. Indeed, the fundamental intent of this study has been the application of a pluralist frontier theoretical perspective to a specific form of colonial settlement- military frontiers- and to the specific historical context of Anglo-American relations during the Seven Years' War. The archaeological patterns revealed through testing Hypotheses 1-4 speak to these three basic pluralist assumptions of the frontier military model, and they suggest a number of important conclusions.

First and foremost, the archaeological patterns do suggest significant differences in the use of material culture between British and provincials. The use of standardized weaponry, for example, clearly distinguishes known British barracks occupations from a provincial hut occupation, as expected. Use of ceramic vessels also clearly distinguishes British barracks from another provincial hut occupation, though all of the exact expressions were not as anticipated. That in both hypotheses the analytical units were so clearly distinguished between British barracks and provincial hut contexts does support the idea of two very different cultural groups visible within small-scale archaeological contexts. Control over possibly confounding factors, particularly occupation time of the structures, varies, but the differences clearly fall along Anglo-American cultural lines.

Despite these patterns, caution is warranted in terms of the basic assumption concerning clear cultural boundaries in the archaeological record. Consider that in discussion of Hypotheses 1 and 2 it is the same provincial hut from Rogers Island (Hut 1; Figure 14) that reveals on one hand a very British-like musket ball assemblage and on the other a very provincial-like ceramic vessel assemblage (See Figures 8, 10, and 11). The weapons used by the hut's provincial occupants were clearly the same as used by the British regulars, while the ceramic vessels associated with the structure were not, suggesting a combination of provincial and British material patterns within the same American domestic context. This is contrary to the assumption that within restricted spatial and temporal contexts clear cultural boundaries will be reflected in the archaeological record, but technically only in the sense that the same pattern should remain constant across different (or all) artifact categories.

This suggests a second important conclusion: that Anglo-Americans can indeed be distinguished in the archaeological record of small-scale spatial and temporal contexts, but that such a distinction may not be consistently found across every material category. Taken a step further, this suggests that provincials enjoyed a blending of uniquely American and uniquely British material traits reflecting a complex process of cultural change among their ranks. Why such a change was associated with arms-related artifacts but not food-related is not immediately clear. It may be the case, for example, that given the very real war-time conditions under which these settlements were occupied American soldiers were tempted to adopt the better British weapons if and whenever the

opportunity arose, while a similar urgency for adoption of British ceramic patterns was not as strongly felt. Thus any and all patterns of change among the provincials towards adoption of British behaviors or practices may be more common among arms-related artifact categories than any other. What is clear is that any assumptions concerning obvious cultural boundaries in the archaeological record must at least recognize that not all categories of materials may have been equally involved in distinguishing provincials from the regulars, and that the provincials could selectively adopt British practices and behaviors.

Of course, these conclusions are tempered by the fact that it is difficult to ascertain exactly when this particular provincial hut on Rogers Island was occupied during the ca. 1755-1766 general occupation date range. Tighter temporal control is not known for the structure, and successive construction episodes do imply an occupation that spanned more than a single season. Conceivably this could mean that the hut's ceramic and musket ball data represent completely separate provincial occupations. But it is equally possible that the ceramics and musket ball data are contemporary, suggesting the differential adoption of British behaviors and their creative blending with distinctly American practices. In short, the variable of time is not well controlled in this case, and its possible effect on any interpretations is recognized.

Provincial archaeological data from the tightly dated Fort Gage settlement support the idea that patterns of change among the Americans were at least partially a function of time, a third conclusion of this study. In contrast to those basic assumptions concerning frontier cultural diversity in small-scale contexts

enumerated above, an additional assumption of the military frontier model suggests that it is within broader spatial and temporal contexts that small-scale patterns may be reconfigured or restructured, and archaeological patterns revealed through testing provide support for this fact (over time if not just across space). Thus it is with the late provincial Fort Gage musket ball data, which demonstrate a very British-like distribution similar in form to that seen for the provincial hut on Rogers Island. Such a standardized distribution, however, stands alongside a much more ambiguous button assemblage at Fort Gage. Feister and Huey (1985:57) argue that the assemblage, though small, demonstrates a high degree of variability; more recent analysis, however, suggests that the buttons differ from an obviously standardized British army button assemblage only in the metals used to construct the buttons. If the point made by Feister and Huey (1985) is accepted, then additional support is drawn for the uneven adoption of British practices among the provincials, in this case late in the war. A variable button assemblage at Fort Gage suggests a very different cultural affiliation for the settlement compared to the musket ball assemblage, and again, patterns of change correlate with arms-related items. The presence of the civilian-type buttons in the Fort Gage assemblage support Feister and Huey's (1985) conclusion, though their numbers are very small overall.

On the other hand, if the button assemblage is deemed more standardized than anything else (as suggested by the CA plot), then it may be the case that provincial adoption of standardized material culture applied to an increasing

number of items as the war progressed. Culture change as experienced by the provincials thus may not have been limited solely to arms-related material culture, especially late in the war, and in fact may have included a range other British practices and behaviors beyond material culture standardization. On this point the archaeological patterns revealed in Hypotheses 4 and 5 become relevant, with evidence to suggest that later provincial contexts such as at Crown Point were incorporating British trash disposal practices and British encampment designs. The encampment data patterns could of course result from the larger spatial arena considered, though distinguishing the temporal and spatial effects was not possible. The patterns suggest, nevertheless, that among broader temporal and (possibly) spatial scales American provincials experienced cultural change by increasingly incorporating British army practices. The specific practices adopted are not limited to martial items, and include disposal practices, encampment designs, and possibly a wide range of standardized material items. Overall, the archaeological patterns reveal a complex process of cultural interaction and change between the Anglo-American allies during their course of joint service.

This complex process of change seen among colonial provincial contexts actually anticipates patterns of change that have been observed for later Revolutionary War military settlements, a fact that bears some discussion and is a fourth conclusion of this study. As was mentioned in an earlier chapter (see pp. 79), archaeological studies of Continental Army cantonment sites have demonstrated a temporal pattern of change in American regimental encampment

designs. Revolutionary War archaeologists have observed a clear change from rather haphazard encampment layouts early in the war to quite sophisticated and ordered encampments later in the conflict. Luckily, intact encampment-scale data abound for Continental Army cantonment sites, and these data can even be distinguished on a year-by-year basis through most of the conflict. Research at the first major American cantonment at Mount Independence, Vermont, ca. 1776-1777, for example, demonstrates a haphazard deployment of numerous clustered American huts that were quite variable in chimney construction and hut designs (see Starbuck et al. 1990, 1991, 1993; Howe 1991, 1995, 1996; Howe et al. 1994; Starbuck 1999:124-159). The succeeding year's cantonment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania was equally haphazard, with hut placement, orientation, and dimensions seemingly enacted at random (Seidel 1987:60-74,114; see also Cotter 1972, Hall 1972, Parrington 1976, 1980; Parrington et al. 1996). By the time of the 1778-1779 cantonments at Camp Reading, Connecticut (Poirier 1976) and Middlebrook, New Jersey, (Seidel 1987:115), however, greater regularity in encampment design can be seen, a pattern that appears to have continued in the subsequent 1779-1780 cantonment at Morristown, New Jersey (Rutsch and Peters 1976, 1977; Seidel 1987:75-97) and the 1780-1781 cantonment at New Windsor, New York (Fisher 1981, 1983a, 1984, 1986; Seidel 1987:98-113). These latter occupation sites, particularly New Windsor, demonstrate much more ordered and homogenous American encampments in terms of hut placement, design, orientation, and construction, and are very similar in form to those advocated in contemporary military treatises. As Seidel (1987:118) points out,

"The greater sophistication in hutting [towards the later years of the war] reflects the greater expertise and professionalism of the [Continental] troops, and the greater order is consistent with tighter discipline."

This pattern is consistent with that advocated for provincial forces during the Seven Years' War. While the later Continental data is much more extensive and intact, the provincial data examined here suggest a comparable change in American encampment designs towards the end of the Seven Years' War. This parallel trend might have no analytical significance if not for the fact that many of the provincial soldiers in service during the Seven Years' War were eventually to serve as senior officers in the Continental Army. George Washington is no doubt the most obvious and best example of this: a novice, even inept, officer during the Seven Years' War, Washington would eventually draw from these earlier experiences and specifically mold the new American Army into a professional fighting force during the Revolutionary War. What this suggests is that, while the Continental Army patterns of change are undeniable, they in fact represent only an *extension* of a pattern of ethnogenesis that first becomes apparent during the Seven Years' War. This earlier experience of joint service with the British no doubt instilled a tendency among the American forces towards accepting formal martial practices and behaviors. And just as American provincials may have adopted British behaviors as a means of actively conveying a sense of equality towards their Anglo allies, so too did the Continental forces perceive an equal footing for themselves, this time towards their Anglo enemies.

A fifth and final conclusion of the archaeological testing necessarily relates

to the last basic assumption of the frontier military model. Above all other types of frontier settlement, military frontiers participate in wider exchange networks linking periphery to core, and these networks play a crucial role in shaping the large-scale temporal and spatial patterns of military frontiers. While hypothesized archaeological patterns and material expectations could be developed for this theme in a number of different directions, preliminary evidence suggest the means with which to identify these networks in the archaeological record. The presence of ceramic types at distant frontier posts that could just as easily be found on any other colonial site at the same time, for example, confirms an efficient transportation and supply system at the scale of multiple settlements across a colonial region of conquest. Clearly, British military settlements dating to the Seven Years' War in North America have an important story to contribute towards understanding large-scale processes of colonial settlement and expansion, only a few of which are examined in this study. Rather than a single hypothesis in the current model, this aspect of Seven Years' War frontier research represents a comparable model of its own.

Seven Years' War Archaeology

It is hoped that this study prompts a critical reevaluation of traditional research goals as practiced in Seven Year's War archaeology. The application of theoretically informed and historically contextual research designs to the archaeological record of the conflict are far too rare given the number of sites that have been subjected to excavations. And for far too long British military

material culture has been approached merely as an addendum to the rich historical record, with excavations designed only to provide a grounded physical reality to reconstructed military sites. Clearly, the archaeological record of the Seven Year's War offers important insights into the study of military frontiers, and the research model proposed in this study represents but one path for possible research. A number of these paths are considered here, including those that lie beyond the specific research model proposed in this study.

In terms other lines of research, one critical area is the need to assemble existing Seven Years' War data sets such that a larger percentage are available for research. While hardly cutting-edge, this is a fundamental step that would no doubt allow for an expanded range of research questions. The preponderance of site reconstructions have resulted in many research collections, but an unfortunate number of important British military site data still remain limited to little or no availability. In certain cases, site data in the form of artifacts and field records are detached and offer differential availability, while in other cases the data lack a detailed and comprehensive technical report. Either way, the available data is much less than the existing data, and remedying this fact through publication and curation represents a worthy pursuit.

Another more obvious direction for future research is away from descriptive or typological site studies and towards more analytical methods. As a recurrent argument expressed throughout this study, this fact is not meant to imply that analytical research must be conducted (or limited) along the lines proposed here. Rather, these pages represent one particular perspective and

one particular application of theoretical concepts and historical frameworks to the archaeological record of the Seven Years' War. Various other perspectives and applications could no doubt be proposed and explored. The fact, then, that this study outlines what is described as a multi-scalar and comprehensive analytical model is not meant to suggest that it is the *only* model possible for organizing archaeological research. Rather than a multi-scalar continuum of Anglo-American relations and core-periphery influences, the British Seven Years' War frontier might be conceived of along very different analytical lines.

It is hoped also that future archaeological research of the Seven Years' War be conducted as much as possible among existing archaeological collections. It is felt that the descriptive data-gathering endeavors of traditional Seven Year's War archaeology have produced an abundance of data, much of which remains relatively underutilized. This is why scholars such as Crabtree et al. (2002:21) can rightly claim that the field of Seven Years' War archaeology remains undeveloped despite the number of sites that have been host to extensive excavations. The abundance of the existing data source is such that it would seem to require rather unique circumstances to justify additional work. Continued excavation beyond mitigation efforts are not unnecessary, but it certainly no longer seems necessary to collect data in the field solely for descriptive or restorative purposes. Future archaeological fieldwork relating to the Seven Years' War must be justified by detailed analytical research designs that require their own unique or fresh data. The development of analytical models would help define and direct those necessary mitigation efforts that do

continue to excavate new ground. Cultural resource management studies that might involve Seven Year's War British military settlements, for example, currently have little or no research contexts within which to frame research questions, determine excavation strategies, or even interpret results.

In terms of directions that lie with the analytical perspective advocated in this study, a number of research possibilities exist. The first 4 hypotheses, for example, do not represent the full spectrum of possible material correlates of Anglo-American diversity; they merely represent a few logical expectations based upon the detailed historical discussions. Another reading of the historical framework, conducted with particular attention to any and all links between material culture and Anglo-American practices, might suggest a number of additional archaeological hypotheses across a range of different material expressions. How did higher provincial pay, for example, find expression in material items, and how might these differ from British regulars? What are the expected patterns concerning the form and content of British and American faunal debris from small-scale domestic contexts? How might the use of provincial forces as skilled and unskilled laborers find material expression in domestic contexts, and how might these differ from the British? The underlying assumption of Anglo-American diversity remains the same among all of these possibilities; what differs is the means by which it might have been expressed in material culture and in the archaeological record.

The model of Anglo-American relations advocated here requires rather stringent comparative archaeological data, and continued research might be

directed towards increasing the relevant database. This likely would require additional fieldwork, but much of this could be limited to low-impact remote sensing surveys to locate possible data with full excavation only required for a sampling of the domestic contexts identified. The fieldwork would also be conducted with specific research goals in mind that justified the excavations. “Perfect” or ideal data would consist of numerous archaeologically rich domestic features distinguished between Anglo-American, officer-enlisted, and early-late. Unfortunately, data of this nature will no doubt continue to remain elusive, especially across large spatial scales, but future work might be conducted to identify those areas in which potential data exist. Additional data may nevertheless be very limited in availability given the stringent analytical requirements, and the sources at hand and explored in these pages will probably remain the best Anglo-American data sources for some time. If appropriate data are located in the field, strategies of complete feature excavation as advocated by Lightfoot et al. (1998) are recommended.

A more detailed exploration of the issues discussed in Hypothesis 8 also provided fertile ground for continued archaeological research dedicated to the Seven Years’ War. Although a common perspective in the broader study of colonization, core-periphery and cosmopolitan frontier concepts are not well represented in the Seven Years’ War archaeological literature (cf. Farry 1995; 2005a). The means by which the cosmopolitan features of military frontiers might have been expressed in British military settlement during the war is thus an open field for future research. What is clear is that much remains to be

accomplished in Seven Years' War archaeology beyond that advanced in this study. The data base offers fertile ground for research across a host of topics. Seven Years' War archaeology must make a clear break with its traditional approaches and embrace a wide range of possible theoretical or methodological research pursuits.

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