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Regulars and "Irregulars": British and Provincial Variability among Eighteenth-Century Military Frontiers

ABSTRACT

Historical studies have detailed the joint service of provincial and British regular soldiers during the Seven Years' War (ca. 1754–1763) in colonial North America. The complex relations between these communities and their effect on the material record of military settlements, however, have not been fully addressed within historical archaeology. An analysis of British and provincial domestic structures at New York military sites employing lead shot and ceramic data reveals small-scale material variation between these two groups. The effect that different scales of analysis will have on the nature of this variation is recognized, and a preliminary spatial model of provincial-British relations is developed. The model assumes significant distinctions will characterize small-scale provincial and British contexts, while larger frames of reference may demonstrate similar or conflicting material patterns based on the historical relationship between the two communities. The context for this analysis is informed by recent critiques of large-scale core/periphery perspectives in the archaeology of frontier settlements.

Introduction

Archaeological approaches to the nature of social organization among frontier communities have recently been critiqued as being too "colonizer-centric" in their treatment of peripheral settlements (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Stein 1999). As a result of a single macroscale 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 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 reconceptualization of frontier communities as active and complex "zones of cultural interfaces in which crosscutting, 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, the following discussion examines the archaeological manifestations of such segmentary group dynamics in frontier military contexts. A focus is placed on the category "colonizer" to explore how actual cultural variability implicit in this label is expressed among different spatial scales. 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 spatial resolution is likely the appropriate venue in which cultural variability and segmentary groups are observable. This poses the general question: are the behaviors reflective of differing group identities or ethnic boundaries (those frontier communities that define the variability within the designation "colonizer") clearly visible in the archaeological record within small-scale spatial contexts? Alternatively, are such identities indeed redefined or recombined if observed within a larger spatial frame of reference? For the present discussion, analysis is confined primarily to exploring the archaeological evidence for small-scale cultural variability in frontier military environments; the manner in which larger spatial contexts serve to reconfigure cultural boundaries is briefly discussed in reference to other published findings.

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 "crosscutting" nature of cultural margins may be manifest in the processes through which these bounded categories are redefined or restructured

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among different scales. The existence of such sharp boundaries is therefore not rejected; they are, rather, recast as malleable units subject to reconfigurations in different contexts (cf. Lightfoot and Martinez 1995).

Frontier military environments serve as a unique case study with which to examine these concerns. Created primarily to establish and maintain political control over a region of peripheral settlement, military frontiers are necessarily closely linked to external concerns and to the dictates of the parent state (Lewis 1984: 286). A colonizer-centric approach would thus seem appropriate, as such 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 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 specific sites of British military expansion along eastern North America during the Seven Years' War (ca. 1754–1763) serve as a case study for this discussion. Such expansion reflected the culmination of the almost-continuous dispute between British and French interests in colonial North America, which itself was only a single arena of conflict within a larger struggle pitting various European powers against one another around the globe. Yet, while the conflict itself was global in nature, it was played out in small-scale contexts: individual military settlements incorporating groups of diverse backgrounds that were united in 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 contexts must also not obscure the more localized processes of peripheral military environments.

In what follows, attention is first drawn briefly to the nature of frontier studies and the importance of multiscalar approaches, particularly as they apply to studies of military frontiers. This is followed by a discussion of the historical context of Anglo-American military populations during the mid-18th century, drawn largely from the work of historian Fred Anderson (1981, 1983, 1984, 2000). Consideration is given to the various differences between American (provincial) and British regular military communities, both of which served in conjunction against the French during the last of the French and Indian wars in colonial North America. Particular attention is given to those differences that may have had material expressions and are observable in the archaeological record. From these differences, a set of hypothesized archaeological patterns that distinguish among provincial and British regular contexts is derived. Taken together, the various expected material patterns form a preliminary archaeological model that takes into account the nature of provincial and regular assemblages as encountered among different spatial scales of analysis. Attention is specifically focused on comparisons of small-scale domestic archaeological contexts—provincial huts/tents and British barracks. However, the manner by which larger frames of reference (troop encampments, entire settlements, multiple settlements across the landscape) affect a provincial-regular dichotomy is also briefly discussed. As a whole, the scalar model included here offers an initial and systematic attempt to organize archaeological research into the relationships between provincial and British regular military communities.

Finally, the adequacy of the scalar model is tested by a preliminary analysis of provincial and British domestic assemblages represented from a number of mid-18th-century military settlements in northern New York. The data analysis employed is exploratory in nature: assemblages associated with individual domestic structures (distinguished here between provincial huts and British barracks) are displayed and compared to observe what, if any, variation between the two groups is evident. While it is true that, by definition, smaller-scale analyses will necessarily bring to light greater variation,

the particular concern here is that such variation takes the form of a provincial-British dichotomy. This is facilitated by controlling for functional as well as temporal factors among analytical units. Correspondence Analysis (CA) was chosen as an appropriate analytic technique for this study: data tables consisting of individual structures and associated artifact categories are graphically presented to display clusters of variables associated with specific analytical units (Clouse 1999). Simple distribution comparisons of metric data also display important material differences between provincial and British populations.

Frontiers and the Issue of Scale

Within frontier studies analytical distinctions have been drawn among differing types of frontier settlement, broadly distinguished between *insular* and *cosmopolitan* settlements (Steffen 1980; Lewis 1984). The nature and degree of contact between a frontier settlement and its homeland primarily determine categorization, with cosmopolitan frontiers exhibiting strong links and insular frontiers demonstrating, over time, attenuated connections to the homeland. Economic factors shape a frontier's relationship in this model in that insular settlements represent long-term, economically diverse sites that "require more extensive adaptation to local conditions, causing links with the socioeconomic system of the homeland to become fewer and more indirect" (Lewis 1984:17). Cosmopolitan settlements, in turn, are short-term, specialized settlements that often involve direct manipulation into the colony's affairs by the parent state. Military settlements are included within this category, despite the fact that their establishment, unlike other cosmopolitan settlement types, is not necessarily geared towards intensively exploiting the economic potential of a peripheral region. As Kenneth Lewis (1984: 286) points out, military settlements may often "support cosmopolitan frontier expansion but do not actively participate in its primary production." Military frontiers have been defined as "the [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). Vital lines of communication and transportation are thus maintained between peripheral military settlements and their homeland, ensuring the ability to carry out an effective military policy in remote regions.

By focusing on these links between center and periphery, the function of frontier regions, military or otherwise, as integral components within an expanding colonial process has been revealed. Such a process has been modeled as a *world-system*, Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974, 1980) structural framework defining the growth and spread of European economic hegemony since the late-15th century. In this framework, peripheral or frontier regions stand economically subordinate to the core. Surpluses, as well as commodities not found in the homeland, are siphoned off from peripheral settlements in return for core-manufactured items. Expansion of peripheral areas and the settlement of new and more distant frontier colonies is a constant and ongoing process as the core is continually seeking to open new markets.

This primary analytical focus among frontier studies on political economy and the structural role frontiers serve in expanding world-systems, however, has not been without its critics. Attention has been drawn, for example, to the portrayal of frontiers solely in relation to their subordinate economic position; such a "colonialist" model underestimates the socially charged dynamics of culturally heterogeneous frontier environments. The appropriate scale of analysis in frontier research has also been questioned, emphasizing the point that the macroscales implied in world-systems perspectives are not "fine grained" enough to allow investigation into processes of cultural interaction along frontiers (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 477; Stein 1999).

Ultimately these critiques argue for consideration of not only the functional role frontiers may serve within larger processes of colonial expansion and consolidation but also of the socially dynamic nature of frontier settlements. In doing so, such considerations are more accurately described as added perspectives to frontier research rather than strict critiques, and the more recent emphasis on small-scale issues of social interaction need not exclude larger scale concerns with

world-systems, colonial expansion, or frontier settlement (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Put simply, the two perspectives ask different questions of the relevant data and, as a result, require different but not contradictory or conflicting analytical scales. Recognizing the multiscalar issues involved in frontier contexts thus presents a more comprehensive understanding of the frontier experience, one that will "enable us to address not only macroscale issues in archaeology such as world systems, technological development, social evolution, and ecological adaptation, but also the microscale issues of individual intentionality and social action, cultural constructions of gender, and other ideologies" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:477).

Military settlements serve as useful examples of how both micro- and macroscale issues can be observed within frontier environments. Defined as cosmopolitan in nature, such settlements necessarily maintain strong communication and transportation links so as to effect core military policy in peripheral regions. Analyses of these settlements must therefore not disassociate them from the wider networks within which they participate. Among mid-18th-century British military sites, for example, the recovery of large percentages of faunal debris composed primarily of nonlocal, imported domesticated species must be viewed within the larger context of frontier transport systems, military supply policy, and political directives from the parent state (Cleland 1977).

It is essential to recognize, however, that not all aspects of military settlements are necessarily revealing of the larger external arena within which such settlements served. Equally important are the "microscale issues" of cultural interaction and change within diverse military communities. Among British military settlements of the mid-18th century, such diversity may be profitably observed through comparisons of provincial and British regular contexts. This analysis thus emphasizes an investigation of cultural diversity within small-scale contexts that is necessarily embedded within ever-larger networks. While domestic contexts of provincial and British occupation provide an appropriate scale of analysis into the social relations within Anglo-American military communities, larger spatial contexts likely reflect behavior associated with wider military concerns. In short, provincial-regular variability that is visible within domestic spheres will not likely be observed among such scales, for example, as the settlement pattern of military sites across the regional landscape.

Historical Context: Anglo-American Relations

The historical context for this analysis is informed by the historiography of British colonial military populations of the mid-18th century. Although "British" in their political aims, colonial military settlements were seldom composed of strictly British military populations; by necessity, military manpower was augmented through the raising of American provincial troops in the colonies and the use of Native American allies. 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. Douglas Leach (1986), 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 that is 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 1986:5–6).

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 groups had on the nature of their roles within the overall military framework (Anderson 1981, 1983, 1984, 2000). These perceptions touch upon fundamentally different ideas on the structure of military command and proper social hierarchy, particularly notions of highly deferential relationships constituted within royal military authority. 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). Provincial soldiers often emphasized the businesslike nature of the agreements, framing their enlistment negotiations and daily military service in quasi-legal terms.

As example, in a dispute over the imposed subordination of provincial officers relative to that of equally ranked regular officers, American officer John Winslow remarked, "they [provincial officers] were universally of opinion they could not give up [their rank and command], 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* [emphasis added]" (Anderson 1984:172). Referring to the same dispute and employing similar phrasing, Governor Thomas Fitch of Connecticut pointed out, "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* [emphasis added]" (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 seasonal 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-then-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 active in enlisting soldiers to fill unit ranks, kinship ties were often employed to meet recruitment needs. Such community and kinship-oriented relationships, 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 provincial units as well as less of a sense of distinction across lines of provincial rank and hierarchy (Anderson 1984:44; Leach 1986:108).

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 demonstrated much greater heterogeneity in their social composition. Muster rolls for the colony of New York during the 1760 campaign indicate only about one-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 whom 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 by its enlisted men and officer corps. This aspect in particular served as a constant source of friction during British and American joint expeditions, where provincial plans to return home at the end of enlistment periods were, to the British command, threats of mutiny and desertion.

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 1986: 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. 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 between provincial and British likely cut across lines of rank to define a broader 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). Fortunately, such "poor opinions" may be employed as a means to predict patterning in the archaeological record. These accounts also suggest that significant interactions may have occurred among 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).

Material Correlates of British and Provincial Relations

The particular historical circumstances among provincials and British regulars offer a useful framework within which the archaeological record of military settlements may be interpreted. The social relationships that existed between American and British groups are suggestive of certain material patterns, and these patterns may serve as a preliminary scalar model against which archaeological data may be compared. Again, as the present discussion is focused primarily on examining small-scale cultural variability between British and provincial groups, the manner in which such variability may be reconfigured within larger spatial contexts is only briefly discussed.

Small-Scale Contexts: British Barracks and Provincial Huts/Tents

The primary methodological concern of this research is to begin a comparative analysis of domestic structures associated with provincial and British occupancy. A fundamental assumption is that significant material variation will in fact clearly distinguish provincial hut and tent structures from British barrack contexts, based in part on the particular historical relationship between the structures' occupants. While comparisons will likely reveal various differences between provincial and British occupations, a number of these may be stated in the form of specific material pattern expectations or hypotheses:

Provincial material assemblages will likely reveal less standardization in manufacture. Such an expectation is specifically addressed in this analysis through a brief examination of provincial and British lead ball diameters, the measurements of which act as a proxy for evaluating the degree of standardization among the weapons used by the two groups. Other categories of materials, such as items of military dress or the architectural designs of individual dwellings, may further suggest differences in the degree of standardization. Concerning the latter, Anderson (1984; cf. Fisher 1995:84) argues that the design of domestic structures built and used by soldiers in 18th-century camps was one of the most obvious points of divergence between regular and provincial groups. Anderson 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 whited 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 sheds (Anderson 1984:92).

Provincial assemblages may reflect the manual labor role that the British command often perceived for them. Compared to British ranks, provincial units as a whole lacked equivalent martial skills. This fact was not lost on the British command, and, while no means spared from combat, provincials serving in conjunction with British regulars were often relegated to secondary, supportive roles involving manual labor tasks and fatigue duty. What the provincials lacked in fighting ability, however, they no doubt made up for in providing a large and vitally important labor pool that included both skilled and unskilled workers. While the relative abilities of both groups were not so clear-cut such that *all* provincials performed supportive roles and *all* regular forces fought the battles during joint expeditions, it may be the case that provincial domestic assemblages evidence their occupants' specialized role as a labor force. The prevalence of tools and materials associated with specific supportive tasks, for example, may characterize provincial assemblages. In comparison to British domestic contexts, such assemblages may also simply lack equivalent amounts of military items.

Provincial structures and assemblages may reveal little or no differentiation across lines of status or military rank. This would stand in sharp contrast to British contexts: analysis of separate officers' and soldiers' barrack structures at Crown Point, New York, have correlated specific construction techniques with military rank (Feister 1984a). British officers' barracks were found to include imported tile flooring materials and dry-laid brick fireplaces, while in comparison, the soldiers' barracks consisted of local brick flooring materials and cut limestone fireplaces. Despite the virtually identical outward appearance of both barracks buildings, Lois Feister (1984a:106) concludes that "the barracks inside, as living quarters, incorporated readily apparent differences in construction materials representing differences in status between officers and men." Among provincial living quarters, however, such material distinctions of rank may be few or nonexistent if, as has been suggested, these units were to some measure linked through community and kinship ties (Anderson 1984; Leach 1986). As a result, construction techniques and the quantity and quality of associated artifacts found in provincial domestic structures might exhibit a degree of similarity in terms of status or rank differentiation. It may also be the case that a variety of construction techniques were used to build provincial officer and enlisted dwellings, such that no one technique or building material could be distinguished along lines of military rank. Deviations from an expected pattern of little or no status distinction may be observed, however, as not all provincial units were composed of men related through kinship or community (Ferling 1986; Ward 1995; Knoblauch 1997).

American soldiers' domestic assemblages may reflect the "temporary character" of provincial military service. As soldiers under contract for only a single campaign or year of service, provincial ranks were never a permanent body. This aspect may be reflected in the composition of provincial assemblages as compared to those of the British, with the provincials' assemblages simply lacking an equivalent range or amount of materials found in these other domestic contexts. Salvage excavations conducted at the provincial encampment at Fort Gage, New York (Feister and Huey 1985), for example, failed to recover any evidence of ceramic use among the site's inhabitants, and this may suggest that certain categories of materials were considered unnecessary or unneeded given the temporary character of provincial service.

Provincial and British contexts may evidence differing disposal practices. Provincial soldiers, unaccustomed to life in compact urban settlements or to the military regulations regarding sanitation, may have followed less-than-ideal practices of trash disposal or camp cleanliness (Anderson 1984:95–98). British barracks may in comparison evidence cleaner, if not more regular, procedures for removing domestic refuse. It is known, for example, that orders were issued to ensure a degree of camp order and cleanliness among provincial encampments, as Phinehas 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" (Lyman quoted in Hill 1929:119). 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. Alternatively, similar disposal practices may reflect a provincial desire to observe "appropriate" (i.e., British) camp behavior. A provincial perception of equality relative to that of the British, despite the latter's explicit disagreement, may have served as a motivating factor among the Americans to observe strict camp regulations. Recent archaeological investigations of provincial huts at Crown Point (Fisher 1995) seem to argue for something in-between these two ideal situations: trash pit features associated with specific provincial officer huts appear to indicate an "intermediate position" of organized trash disposal: between, on the one hand, the accumulation of sheet midden refuse alongside huts and, on the other, the deliberate removal and filling of specialized pits (Fisher 1995:80).

Large-Scale Contexts

Broadening the scale of analysis to include troop encampments, entire military settlements, or multiple settlements across a regional landscape may suggest more-complex relations between provincial and British populations. Archaeological patterns evident within small-scale contexts (huts and barracks) that likely demarcate provincial and British groups may either correlate or conflict with those patterns observable from larger spatial scales.

At the scale of individual troop encampments, for example, British camps clearly demonstrate status distinctions through the layout and use of space among structures. This "geometry of rank" among British battalion areas expressed the army's hierarchical ideals and served to distinguish officers from the enlisted spatially (Anderson 1984:90). If, however, kinship and community ties among many provincial units "tended to diminish whatever awe an epaulet might inspire in a private's mind," entire provincial encampments may evidence little or no distinction in the use of space to mark status (Anderson 1984:44). As the construction techniques and associated material assemblages of *individual* provincial domestic structures have been hypothesized to exhibit little or no distinctions across military rank, similar patterns may be encountered when dealing with the use of space *between* such structures.

Alternatively, provincial units may have actively adopted this fixed spatial arrangement of troop encampments, mirroring the hierarchy of and, in effect, indicating an affiliation with the British command. 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 relative to that of the British. Charles Fisher's (1995) analysis of provincial officer huts at Crown Point mentioned previously argues this point, in that the spatial relationships of three huts identified through survey and excavation appear to conform to British regular encampments as depicted in contemporary military manuals. The hut features form a broad triangle, which suggests the field officer portion of Colonel Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment encampment of 1759, and, as a result, argue for the ordered segregation of space between provincial officers and enlisted soldiers (Anderson 1984:91, figure 2; Fisher 1995:69, figure 2, 78). Fisher reasons that "The regularly spaced, clean [provincial] camp identified archaeologically fits Anderson's [1984] description of the British regular encampments. This may indicate the greatly improved military order of the provincials by 1759 and an increasingly professional or 'British' attitude toward military life, at least by the provincial officers" (1995:84). Conclusions must remain rather speculative at this scale of analysis, however, as the Crown Point encampment data consist solely of two excavated hut features and a single unexcavated hut identified through survey. Further archaeological data encompassing larger portions of individual provincial encampments would be required to better understand the spatial designs of provincial camps relative to those of the British. Nonetheless, the spatial analysis by Fisher (in conjunction with expected material differences among small-scale contexts) 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.

Among larger spatial scales the resolution likely becomes too coarse to shed direct light on social relations between Americans and British populations. Whole settlements (containing numerous encampments and fortifications), or multiple settlements across a regional landscape, more likely begin to reflect the larger political networks within which British military settlements served. Concerning the former, however, Fisher (1995) is able to demonstrate the spatial segregation of provincial regiments within the entire settlement at Crown Point. A 1759 map of the overall encampment locates Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment in a central position close to the fort proper and enclosed by British regular encampments (Fisher 1995:77, figure 10). This central location for Whiting's provincials, Fisher argues, demonstrates the prevailing British attitude towards provincial troops as merely a source of manual labor for fort construction and secondary supportive tasks. At the same time, the placement of British regulars, such that the fort as well as the provincials are protected from attack, may indicate "the low relative value of the Provincials as fighting soldiers in the minds of the British military establishment that designed the encampment" (Fisher 1995:78).

Multiple settlements across a region are assumed to reflect the spatial patterns of an expanding colonial power in peripheral areas. As the purpose of the British military frontier during the mid-18th century was to counteract the expanding presence of the French in colonial North America, the overall patterning of military settlements would necessarily conform to meeting these strategic needs (Lewis 1984:286–287). The northern extent of the military frontier in colonial New York, for instance, corresponds with those major water routes facilitating travel towards French positions in the west and north: the Great Lakes to the west via the Mohawk-Oswego route and the Saint Lawrence River to the north via the Hudson River-Lake Champlain corridor. Both of these routes are lined with various British military sites stretching north and west towards New France. In this large-scale context, the "echo" of provincial units would be silent in that the determining factor in settlement pattern would strongly reflect the external dictates of the core and the nature of the perceived threat, not the local conditions of the peripheral military environment (Lewis 1984:287). Distinctions of provincial and British communities would 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.

Data Analysis

The data used in this analysis include archaeological assemblages associated with provincial and British domestic structures located among three 18th-century British military sites in upstate New York (Figure 1). Rogers Island formed part of the larger British encampment at Fort Edward, an island site located just south of the Hudson River's rapids and forming the southern strategic control point for the 15-mile portage leading north to Lake George (Starbuck

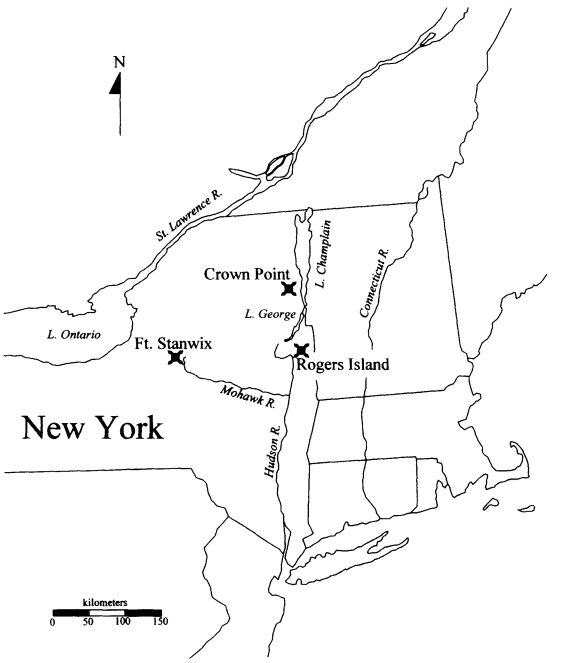

FIGURE 1. Location of sites mentioned in text.

1999:54–82). The island provided sufficient living space for the thousands of British regulars and provincial soldiers and rangers stationed at the fort during the mid-to-late 1750s, the majority of which were spread among massive barracks buildings and numerous small hut and tent structures, respectively. Post-occupation disturbance of the island's archaeological remains has involved extensive treasure hunting and looting; however, dredging spoils up to 10–20 feet in depth, placed on the island while enlarging the Hudson River channel in the early-20th century, have sealed and protected large portions of the site (Stott 1986; Starbuck 1994:247–251). Professional excavations initiated in the early 1990s have uncovered a number of intact features dating to the island's military occupation, and the integrity of portions of the site is reflected, for example, in the location of hut structures still composed of traces of their wooden floors with floor nails and sills in situ (Starbuck 1999: 63, figures 3–11). Farther to the north of Fort Edward, Crown Point also served a strategic role in the control of water travel between lakes Champlain and George. Excavations at this site have included impact assessments of drainage construction along British officers' and soldiers' barracks buildings (Feister 1984a, 1984b). Disturbance of archaeological features remains minimal as these massive, Georgian-style stone buildings still stand today (Starbuck 1999:160–173). Fort Stanwix, a site located in western New York along the portage between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, provides further data associated with a British barracks occupation (Hanson and Hsu 1975). Excavations designed for the fort's reconstruction have uncovered numerous structural features; post-occupation disturbance and the short time frame of the 18th-century components, however, have resulted in assemblages that include both the British and later American occupations.

Temporal control among these sites is provided through the known dates of occupation for each fortification: Rogers Island (ca. 1755–1766), Crown Point (ca. 1759–1773), and Fort Stanwix (ca. 1758–1781) (Hill 1929; Hanson and Hsu 1975; Feister 1984a, 1984b). Each settlement was initially constructed during the Seven Years' War with some continued occupation during the American Revolution. Comparisons of structural data also involve artifact categories (ceramic vessel form/function) that are not direct indicators of temporal change, and their agreement with patterns among lead ball diameters suggests that the overall patterning observed demonstrates a factor other than time. Functional differences are also controlled for in this analysis in that each structure compared represents a known domestic/military occupation. In tandem both data sets (ceramics and lead shot) offer independent and concordant lines of evidence to assess provincial and British variation within small-scale contexts.

Data manipulation in this study is minimal. Metric data displaying lead ball diameters are first compared to observe differential patterning between provincial hut and British barracks assemblages. This primarily involves displaying and comparing continuous data distributions, which is further aided by reclassifying the data into specific artifact categories. Observed differences are evaluated through chi-square contingency tests to indicate if they are indeed statistically significant. Correspondence analysis is employed as an appropriate analytical technique to help display ceramic vessel data among the sites' structures. This multivariate exploratory technique allows for the transformation of raw data contained in two-dimensional tables (in this case, ceramic vessel categories among individual structures) into a more readily interpretable graphic display (Clouse 1999: 96). Cases (hut and barracks structures) and variables (vessel function) are projected in the same coordinate space such that clusters are more easily observed than that found in the original data table.

Musket Ball Diameters

An initial examination of one aspect of the data set, lead ball diameters recovered from Rogers Island provincial huts and Fort Stanwix barracks (west), indicates concordance between historical sources and the archaeological record concerning standardization of arms between the two groups. Often noted in historical sources is the dismay of British officers regarding the unprofessional appearance of the provincials, and observers often noted that provincial armaments—those of officers and soldiers alike—were a variable mix of "different bores and sorts" (Leach 1986:108). A comparison of

musket ball diameters excavated from provincial hut and British barracks contexts reflects this general pattern (Figures 2 and 3). The barracks assemblage is clearly distributed towards larger calibers, in comparison to the more widely dispersed values among the provincial hut assemblages.

By further classifying these diameters according to categories of weapon types, the pattern of provincial variability in armaments relative to the standardization of the British is more easily distinguished. The distribution of diameters displayed in figures 2 and 3 encompass lead shot used in various weapon types, though the correlation of lead ball to firearm caliber is slightly offset due to windage tolerance. Successive loading and discharge inevitably resulted in black powder building up on the inside of the barrels, which steadily decreased the weapons' effective diameter. As a result, balls were cast substantially smaller than the bore size of the weapons, resulting in a tolerance typically between .05 to .10 inches (Neumann 1967:14). For comparative purposes, the distributions in figures 2 and 3 are here distinguished into three separate classes: .46 to .57 diameter (including such weapons as American-made rifles, pistols, etc.); .58 to .64 diameter (including the British fusil, Dragoon carbine, etc.); and .65 to .74 (including the British standard-issue Brown Bess .75 caliber musket) (Hanson and Hsu 1975:80; Poirier 1976: 48; Ferguson 1977:58–59; Sivilich 1996:103).

After reclassifying both data sets, the percentages of lead shot for these three weapon categories do indicate a more even distribution among the Rogers Island provincial data as compared to the Stanwix barracks assemblage (Figure 4). Although all three categories are represented among the British barracks, large-caliber shot likely used in the standard-issue Brown Bess musket clearly predominates, while a wider range of calibers for use in various weapon

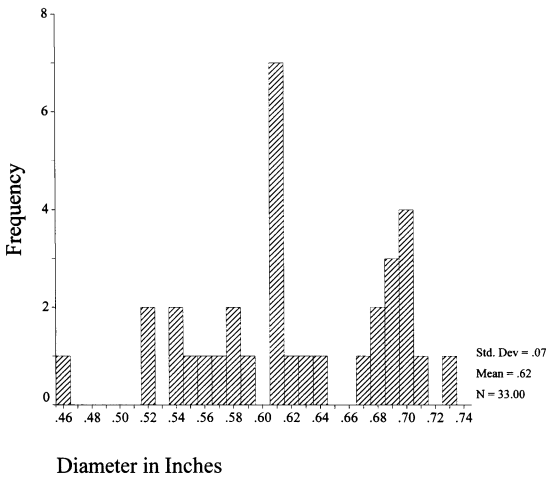

FIGURE 2. Distribution of lead ball diameters recovered from provincial huts on Rogers Island.

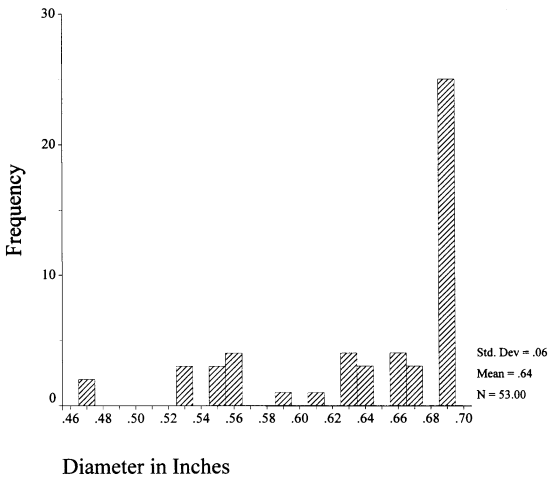

FIGURE 3. Distribution of lead ball diameters recovered from Stanwix Barracks: West (Hanson and Hsu 1975: table 12).

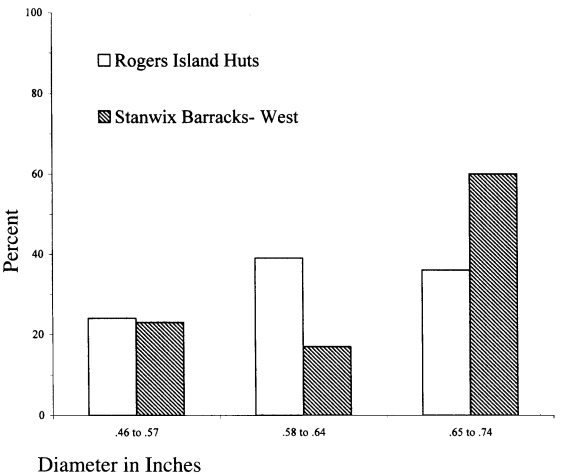

FIGURE 4. Categories of lead shot based on distributions shown in figures 2 and 3.

types characterizes the Rogers Island provincial assemblage. A statistical comparison based on the chi-square test of association of the percentages of lead shot from both sites demonstrates a significant difference in their distributions:

$$X^2 = 14.659,\ df\ 2,\ p=.00065$$

Ceramic Vessel Form/Function

Further exploratory analysis employing ceramic data also distinguishes the material traces of provincial and British populations. Table 1 displays summary data for the minimum number of ceramic vessels per structure. Barracks data are represented from Stanwix (east and west) and Crown Point (Hanson and Hsu 1975:118, table 23; Feister 1984b:130, table 1); provincial hut data are represented from the encampment on Rogers Island (De Angelo 1995:103, table 2).

To facilitate interassemblage comparison, specific ceramic forms from each structure were grouped according to vessel function. Functional categorization was aided through the use of the POTS (Potomac Typological System) classification 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 from 17th-century sources, an additional tea category is included to account for the popularity of tea drinking in the mid-18th century as well as the prevalence of such ceramics among the sites included in this analysis (Feister 1984b:129–130). The intentions behind the use of the POTS classification system were to utilize an established typology for which specific vessel forms are explicitly assigned functional categories (Beaudry et al. 1988:table 1). Individual vessel forms listed in published data for each feature were grouped based on the functional typology, with the expectation that these categories will reflect differing consumption patterns between provincial and British contexts. The likely influence a provincial-British dichotomy had on the ceramic patterns from these sites can be explored given the control over other, possibly confounding, influences: functional and temporal variation between sites is decreased as the data derive from contemporaneous events and historically known military occupations. Status differences reflecting variation in military rank may have also had little effect as these are expressed in material forms other than those of ceramic vessel differences (Feister 1984a).

Figure 5 presents the results of the correspondence analysis for the ceramic assemblage data contained in Table 1. The

TABLE 1
CERAMIC VESSEL COUNTS PER STRUCTURE

Context	Food Processing	Storage	Beverage Consumption/ Serving	Food Consumption: Stews	Food Consumption: Solids	Health/ Hygiene	Tea Service	Total
Crown Point	36	4	6	0	24	3	30	103
Stanwix Barracks: East	16	0	2	0	7	3	19	47
Stanwix Barracks: West	17	1	5	0	10	0	38	71
Rogers Island Huts	9	21	10	5	1	16	14	76
Total	78	26	23	5	42	22	101	297

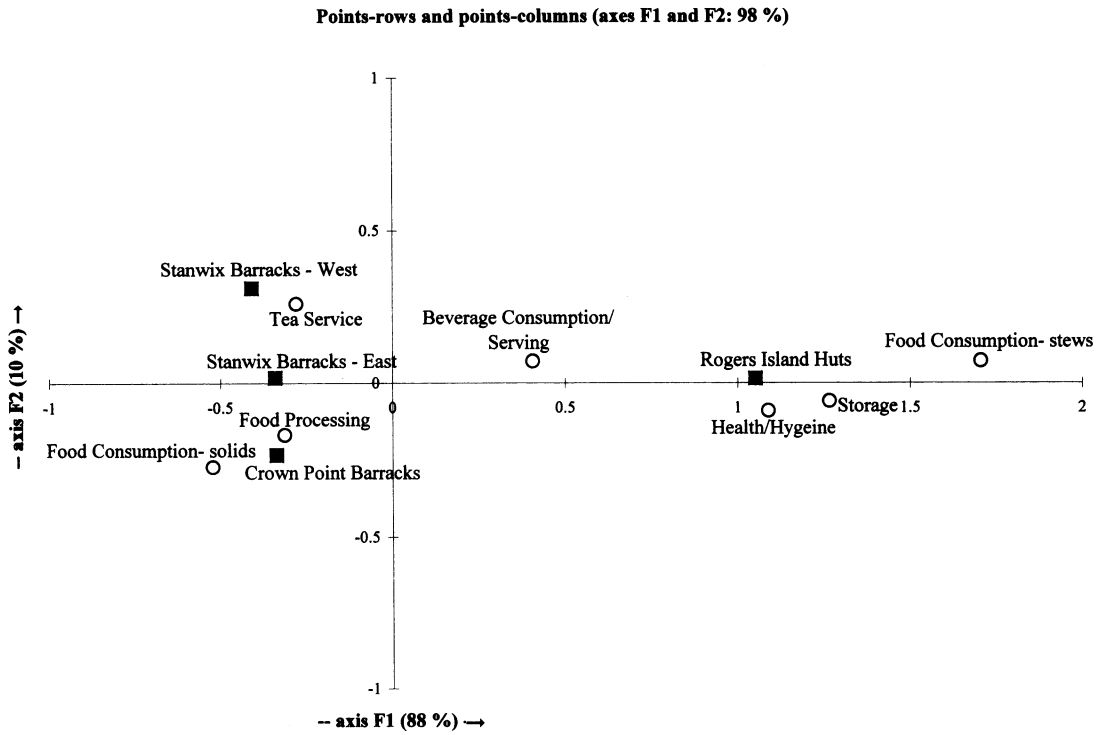

FIGURE 5. CA plot based on Table 1.

CA plot displays two clusters defined by an overall spatial division between provincial huts and British barracks, with a degree of variation within the barracks themselves. Ceramic categories of Health/Hygiene, Storage, and Food Consumption (stews) cluster among the provincial hut assemblages, while the Tea Service, Food Processing, and Food Consumption (solids) categories cluster among the barracks. Among these latter contexts, the Stanwix Barracks-East context seems to fall into an intermediate spatial location between the Stanwix Barracks-West and Crown Point Barracks. The Beverage Consumption/ Serving ceramic category (excluding tea wares) is also spatially intermediate to both hut and barrack contexts, although reference to Table 1 would seem to indicate a tendency towards the provincial assemblage based on frequency.

Certain associations observed in the CA plot may be the result of site-specific activities rather than a direct reflection of a provincial-British dichotomy. The close association of the Storage and Health/Hygiene categories to the provincial huts context, for example, may be revealing of the specific role as a staging ground that the Fort Edward/Rogers Island settlement served during British advancement northward along the Hudson River-Lake Champlain corridor. In their quest to dislodge French encroachments into the region, British expeditions under Johnson in 1755, Abercromby in 1758, and Amherst in 1759 utilized Fort Edward as a supply depot and base of operations to mount offensives against forts Carillon (Ticonderoga) and St. Frédéric (Crown Point). As a result, storage vessels may be found in high frequencies among all contexts within the Rogers Island and Fort Edward settlement.

In addition, Fort Edward served as a primary gathering point for the sick and injured, with hospitals built within the fort proper and on the island. Among those on Rogers Island was a smallpox hospital, spatially segregated from the main island encampment (Rozell 1995; Starbuck 1999:55–56). As with storage vessels, health-related ceramic forms may as a result be found interspersed among all Rogers Island contexts,

particularly among domestic features if the sick and injured were not confined solely to hospital sites. The proximity of the Food Processing category to the Crown Point barracks may, in turn, be the result of a working kitchen located within the soldiers' barracks building (Feister 1984b).

Other aspects of the CA plot are interpreted in terms of the distinctions among the occupations of the provincial troops and the British regulars. One obvious characteristic of the plot is the association of the Tea Service category among the barracks buildings. This category is composed of such ceramic forms as cups, saucers, and teapots. Feister's (1984b:130) analysis of vessel forms among the Crown Point soldiers barracks clearly argues against equating the existence of tea wares to use solely by officers or those of high military rank, and that, by at least the 1760s, "tea, coffee, and chocolate were common beverages and would be found at the Soldiers' Barracks along with the ceramics necessary for drinking them." Their association in the CA plot among British barracks contexts but not provincial huts, then, is not necessarily the result of differences in rank among the structures' occupants. Tea service ceramics are present in the Rogers Island collection; their distribution in comparison to British assemblages, however, suggests provincials had less access to these items. 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.

Provincial hut and British barrack structures are also distinguished in the CA plot by the proximity of the Food Consumption-stews and Food Consumption-solids categories. These categories distinguish the consumption and serving of solid and stew-like foods, with the latter clustered around the provincial huts and the former around the British barracks. In fact, reference to Table 1 indicates that the Rogers Island huts include all of the Food Consumption-stews vessels (comprised of small bowls) and only a single vessel for solid food consumption (plates). This pattern may suggest differently prepared diets among the provincial and British contexts, one that may indicate more communal dining practices among provincials compared to the individual consumption of solid foods by the British soldiers. Examination of similar patterns observed in faunal data between the structures would lend support to this claim.

Conclusions

As the examinations offered here involve a limited number of datasets and are exploratory in nature, the conclusions drawn from this analysis are meant to be suggestive rather than definitive. What is clear, however, is that significant differences may be observed between provincial and British assemblages, at least among small-scale contexts. Variability has been noted in the greater range of lead ball diameters among provincial domestic occupations and in the specific patterns of consumption practices between the two social groups based on ceramic evidence. While the actual material expressions may be particular to the sites and data used in the analysis, it is the fact that such variation takes form along lines of provincial versus British (as opposed to some other organizing factor) that is of concern. The implications of this division are that, within certain contexts of study, the "British" character of colonial military settlements may confuse actual cultural variability.

Abstracting perceived provincial-British differences into larger spatial frames of reference offers a more thorough insight into the complex relations between Anglo-American military communities, in addition to providing a balanced understanding of the large- and small-scale issues involved in the archaeology of frontier settlements. The historical relations of American and British military populations suggest a number of useful lines of research, with the possibility that observed differences within domestic contexts may correlate or conflict with material patterns observed at the scale of troop encampments, entire settlements, or multiple settlements across a region of military occupation. Although (or, more accurately, because) sufficient comparative data are lacking at these varied scales of analysis, Fisher's (1995) study of Crown Point provincial encampments offers an important first step.

Despite the present findings, there remains, of course, the possibility that more thorough and detailed comparisons of small-scale provincial and British contexts will *not* reveal significant

differences. The assumption of a clear provincial-British dichotomy (and the material patterns hypothesized to reveal this dichotomy) in the present analysis is a logical outgrowth of the historical relationship of both groups. It may be the case, however, that further analyses will reveal provincial and British domestic assemblages that look much the same. Such a potential would, nevertheless, be revealing of American and British relations during their course of joint service. Similar patterning among domestic spheres may highlight the degree to which provincial soldiers actively perceived an equal position for themselves relative to the British. Adopting an outwardly "British" appearance may thus not have been restricted to the larger and more public spaces of entire troop encampments and may have permeated into all spheres of provincial daily life, including more private domestic contexts.

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