# Was This the Home of Stephen Blucke? The Excavation of AkDi-23, Birchtown, Shelburne County

By Laird Niven



NOVA SCOTIA Tourism and Culture

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A FAMILY OF 25 MUSEUMS

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History Section Nova Scotia Museum Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture

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# CURATORIAL REPORTS

The Curatorial Reports of the Nova Scotia Museum make technical information on museum collections, programs, procedures and research accessible to interested readers.

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Laird Niven describes the house feature and the exceptional artifacts recovered during the 1998 archaeological investigation at this late eighteenth-century site.

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# Preface

# The Project: Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities

The history of the Black citizens of Nova Scotia is a rich and varied one. This diverse matrix – African slaves and freedmen, Black Loyalists from the United States, the Nova Scotian colonists of Sierra Leone, the Maroons from Jamaica, the refugees of the War of 1812 – is a fascinating addition to Canadian multiculturalism, yet it has been largely overlooked.

Beginning in 1991, the Nova Scotia Museum (NSM) began to redress this lack through undertaking research into African Nova Scotian heritage and developing a collection of data on Black cultural heritage. By 1997, our attention had become focused on the earliest group to emigrate to the province: the Black Loyalists. In particular, we were interested in knowing more about Birchtown - at one time the largest community of free Blacks anywhere in the New World - and Tracadie, one of the oldest continuously Black communities in Canada.

The result was the two-year project *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities*, undertaken by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum, in partnership with the communities of Birchtown / South Nova (through the Black Loyalist Heritage Society) and Tracadie / Guysborough (through the Brownspriggs Historical Committee), as well as the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, and the Learning Resources Technology Division and the African Canadian Services Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education.

This project was funded by the Multiculturalism Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage and by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum.

# **Project Description**

*Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities* consisted of three components: research, public education, and community development. A team composed of Nova Scotia Museum staff and project staff worked with an Advisory Group to plan, coordinate, implement, monitor and evaluate all aspects of the project from its commencement in late January 1998 to its completion in late January 2000.

Members of the Advisory Group included representatives from the two communities: Gloria Desmond, Pat Skinner, Sharon Clyke-Oliver, later replaced by Marjorie Turner-Bailey, and Richard Gallion; a representative from the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, Henry Bishop; Robert Upshaw, later replaced by Patrick Kakembo, from the African-Canadian Services Division of the Department of Education; David States from Parks Canada Atlantic Regional Office, and Gilbert Daye from the Department of Canadian Heritage Multiculturalism.

# **Historical Research**

Historical research involved two principal streams: research aimed at better understanding the circumstances and connections of Black Loyalists prior to their removal to Nova Scotia, and research focussing on the experience of Black Loyalists once they arrived in the province.

Research on the pre-Nova Scotian context was undertaken by the NSM's ethnologist, Ruth Holmes Whitehead, who focussed on sources that provided information on the conditions from which the Black Loyalists came - principally slavery - and the reason for their migration, the American Revolution. Because many of those who emigrated to Nova Scotia came from South Carolina, emphasis was put on researching South Carolina sources, such as wills and inventories, maps, diaries, contemporary narratives and runaway slave ads, to determine exactly where individual Black Loyalists had worked and lived, their genealogies, and history of ownership if enslaved.

Working under Ruth Whitehead's direction, research on the Nova Scotian context was undertaken by Project Historian Carmelita Robertson, a Black Loyalist descendant. Importantly, the Project Historian's work included training and coordinating local researchers in each of the two Black Loyalist communities: in Birchtown, Marjorie Turner-Bailey, Gary Jacklin and David Hartley, who are all descendants of Black Loyalists, and in Tracadie, Monica Kennedy. Training workshops held with local researchers included hands-on instruction in conducting oral interviews, locating and accessing research sources, and collecting and recording historical data.

Copies of the following historical research data will be maintained and made available by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum, with copies provided to community partners:

- Oral interviews (tapes and transcripts)
- Family genealogies (Birchtown/Shelburne only)
- Historic photographs
- Wills (abstracts & copies if available)
- Cemetery inventories
- Land papers (abstracts & copies if available)
- · Inventory site forms for buildings associated with Black Loyalists and their descendants
- Miscellaneous material, including church records, newspaper survey (Shelburne papers), diaries, contemporary narratives, and ledger books.

# **Archaeological Research**

Working under the direction of NSM archaeologist David Christianson, Project Archaeologist Stephen Powell oversaw the Tracadie field work during May and early June 1998, while Project Archaeologist Laird Niven led the field work in Birchtown from early June to late August 1998. Field work in both locations was supported by Field Assistants Katie Cottreau-Robins and Sharain Jones, a Black Loyalist descendant. Additional field support in Tracadie was provided by volunteer James Desmond, and in Birchtown by three individuals hired by the Black Loyalist Heritage Society: Corey Guye, Amanda Page, and Stanley Bower.

#### Tracadie

Since there had been no survey of Black Loyalist settlement features in the Tracadie area, the main focus of the Tracadie archaeology was to locate and document sites associated with early Black Loyalist settlers in the 1787 Brownspriggs-grant area of Antigonish and Guysborough Counties.

Sixteen areas of archaeological interest were recorded during the course of the survey. Based on a small artifact sample, evidence found at one site located within the 1787 grant area suggests it may have been the home of one of the first Black families in the East Tracadie area. Many of the other sites found during the survey can be directly associated with the descendants of Black Loyalist families. While more work is required to record settlement features and cemetery sites in greater detail, this preliminary archaeological study increases the awareness and knowledge of Black Loyalist sites within eastern Nova Scotia.

# Birchtown

In contrast, archaeological work in Birchtown began in 1993 and has continued every year since that time, revealing the location of a number of features associated with Black Loyalist settlement. As a result, the principal objective of the Birchtown archaeology was to gain a deeper understanding of the community through more detailed archaeological investigation of selected settlement features.

The field work was designed in three phases:

(i) Surveying of the Goulden and Acker properties, land suspected of having belonged to Col. Stephen Blucke, the man who led the Black Loyalists in Birchtown. This survey led to a decision to carry out a detailed excavation on the site, in search of a house formerly on the property. As stated in Laird Niven's report, "The testing and excavation revealed the cellar of a relatively substantial building that appears to have been abandoned by the end of the eighteenth century. The artifacts recovered were exceptional for what we know of the Black Loyalist period in Birchtown, not only because of their quantity but their quality as well."

(ii) Testing of a probable Black Loyalist dwelling, north of the town, to confirm that it dated to the eighteenth century. The presence of several diagnostic artifacts at this site suggested a date of 1783 to before the 1790s, and that the occupation is almost certainly Black Loyalist. The single stone wall found indicates a very rudimentary structure, which appears to represent a more typical Black Loyalist dwelling and stands in contrast to the relative wealth of the Acker site.

(iii) Bisection of a selected rock mound (one of a series of 22 mounds), in the hopes of recovering stratigraphic and artifactual data that would answer questions regarding the age of the mound, cultural affiliation, and/or function. Although excavation revealed that the mound

was deliberately constructed, and does not appear to be the result of standard field clearing as we understand it, no features or artifacts were encountered to suggest age, cultural affiliation or

#### function.

Results of archaeological investigation that are available to community partners, as well as other interested parties, include:

- Approximately 16,000 recovered artifacts, and associated documentation, at the History Section, NSM
- Photographic documentation of the fieldwork undertaken, particularly extensive for Birchtown
- Documentation of seventeen sites associated with Black Loyalists, using the Maritime Archaeology Resource Inventory (MARI) form

#### **Public Education**

The public education component of *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities* involved the development and delivery of a variety of products and activities designed to increase awareness and understanding about the story of Nova Scotia's Black Loyalists to a wide range of audiences. These ranged from community meetings and newsletters, to press releases and presentations, participation in the filming of *Loyalties* (an award-winning documentary about the NSM's research on Nova Scotia's Black Loyalists), publications and exhibits.

Results from the historical and archaeological research are available in four reports: *Tracing the History of Tracadie Loyalists, 1776-1787.* NSM Curatorial Report No. 91, by Carmelita Robertson, features short biographies of people who arrived in 1783 in Port Mouton, Nova Scotia, as listed in the *Book of Negroes,* many of whom relocated to Guysborough after fire burned Port Mouton to the ground in 1784. It also includes information found in the *Loyalist Muster Roll of Chedabucto Negroes, 1776 -1785,* and in the Tracadie land grant (more commonly known as the Brownspriggs grant) which gave 3000 acres to seventy-four Black Loyalist families in 1787. 146 pages, 8 illustrations.

Archaeological Surveys in Two Black Communities, 1998: Surveying the Tracadie Area and Testing Two Sites in Birchtown. NSM Curatorial Report No. 92 Stephen Powell describes the project to locate and document settlement features associated with early Black Loyalist settlers in the 1787 Brownspriggs grant area of Antigonish and Guysborough Counties. Laird Niven describes the formal testing of a house cellar at AkDi-6 and the bisection of an enigmatic rock mound at Ak-Di-21 in Shelburne County. 57 pages, 20 illustrations.

Was this the home of Stephen Blucke?: The excavation of AkDi-23, Birchtown, Shelburne County. NSM Curatorial Report No. 93. Laird Niven describes the house feature and the exceptional artifacts recovered during the 1998 archaeological investigation at this late 18th-century site. 80 pages, 47 illustrations.

The Shelburne/Birchtown Black Loyalists. NSM Curatorial Report No. 94. Ruth Holmes Whitehead presents short biographies of all Black individuals emigrating to Shelburne County, Nova Scotia in 1783, after the American Revolution, excerpted from a copy of the *Book of Negroes* in the collection of the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, NS, with some additional information. 294 pages, 7 illustrations.

Led by Manager of Interpretation Sheila Stevenson, an exhibit team (designer Grant Murray, Ruth Holmes Whitehead, Carmelita Robertson, Henry Bishop, David States, Kevin Thomas, John Tate, and Deborah Scott) produced the travelling exhibition *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities.* It consisted of thirty-six running feet of text and graphics, including panels with the names of all known Black Loyalists, and three cases of archaeological artifacts.

The exhibit opened at the Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History in Halifax on January 26, 2000, in time for African Heritage Month. Its itinerary for the period June 2000 to late 2003 includes the Black Cultural Centre, Birchtown Community Centre, the Shelburne County Museum, the Antigonish Heritage Museum, the Queens County Museum, the Cumberland County Museum, the Museum of Industry (all in Nova Scotia) and the New Brunswick Museum.

The education program accompanying the exhibition was developed to engage the school audience in active learning.

The exhibit content was expanded and produced in two Nova Scotia Museum Info sheets, *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities, Part One* and *Part Two*.

The exhibit, education program, and Info material provided the content for a virtual exhibit produced by the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum and contracted by the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN), to be part of Canada's Virtual Museum for a five-year period from 2001 to 2005. The URL is http://www.museum.gov.ns.ca/BlackLoyalists.

# **Community Development**

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Developing community capacity with respect to heritage preservation and presentation and the associated benefits which it was hoped would accrue, were key elements of *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities.* This goal was accomplished in a variety of ways through working with individuals and organizations in both communities.

Through direct experience, community researchers and archaeology field assistants increased their understanding of sources, materials, and methodologies associated with historical research and archaeology, and developed their skills in these areas.

By sharing information and ideas, and making the views, interests and needs of their communities known, Advisory Group members influenced the development and outcomes of the project, and furthered their knowledge of various aspects of heritage work. Museum staff also learned from the knowledge and experience that the Advisory Group members contributed during this exchange.

Members of the Black Loyalist Heritage Society and the Brownspriggs Historical Committee accessed local financial support and hired temporary staff to undertake heritage-based activities. Societies now have access to the foundation of knowledge, artifacts, and support materials needed to develop interpretive centres or museums that tell the Black Loyalist story, and to undertake related initiatives, such as applying for historic site designation.

New knowledge about Black Loyalist heritage, combined with increased profile through media coverage and interpretive products such as the travelling exhibit, has the potential to result in a strengthened sense of community identity and pride. While this outcome is particularly meaningful for individuals with Black Loyalist roots, it has the potential to positively impact communities as a whole, and lead to increased economic well-being through the development of cultural tourism facilities and activities.

Finally, the project brought together two communities with a common heritage, and forged relations between the communities and the provincial museum. In the process of bringing together those interested in the story of Nova Scotia's Black Loyalists, understandings and relationships were developed that, if properly nurtured, will continue to help transcend barriers between Black and White, and establish the trust and respect needed to improve inter-racial relations in the long term.

# More about the Black Cultural Heritage Data Collection: 1991-1997

By the time work on *Remembering Black Loyalists, Black Communities* began in 1998, the Nova Scotia Museum had already compiled a collection of information on Nova Scotia's Black heritage that includes primary research, archaeological investigations, oral histories, and historical photographs and illustrations.

# More specifically, the collection contains the following material:

#### **Newspaper Survey**

A total of 682 historical newspapers in the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management collection, Halifax, have been surveyed for mentions of Black persons; 229 contained Black material yielding a total of 2500 references. Skeletal data from all references has been recorded; the complete text of some references has also been recorded. This information is available on a disk at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, and in hard copy with the History Section of the Nova Scotia Museum.

Newspapers surveyed include:

Acadian Recorder, 1840-41

Halifax Journal, 1790-1800, 1812, 1813, 1840-41

Halifax Gazette, 1752-1765

Halifax Gazette or Weekly Advertiser, 1765-1766

Halifax Morning Post & Parliamentary Reporter, 1841

Nova Scotia Gazette, 1766-1770

Nova Scotia Gazette & Weekly Chronicle, 1771-1774

Nova Scotia Magazine, 1790-1792

Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, 1840

Royal Gazette & the Nova Scotia Advertiser, 1790-1799

*Times*, 1841

 Weekly Chronicle, 1790-1800, 1812-13

# **Archaeology Permit Reports**

"Archaeological Survey of AkDi-5 to 15, Birchtown, Nova Scotia", Laird Niven, 1993 (Permit No. A1993NS18).

"Archaeological Fieldschool at AkDi-12, Birchtown, Shelburne County", Nova Scotia, Laird Niven and Stephen David, 1994 (Permit No. A1994NS14).

"Archaeology Survey of AkDi-16, Turner Property, Birchtown, Nova Scotia", Laird Niven, 1995 (Permit No. A1995NS21).

"Archaeological Survey of AkDi-17 to 22, Birchtown, Nova Scotia", Laird Niven, 1995 (Permit No. A1995NS29).

"Archaeological Survey of AkDi-21, Birchtown, Nova Scotia", Laird Niven, 1996 (Permit No. A1996NS58).

# **Unpublished Research Reports**

"Black Loyalists and the Tracadie Land Grant", Carmelita Robertson and Ruth Holmes Whitehead, 1997.

"Tracadie Oral Interviews" (edited transcripts), Carmelita Robertson, 1997.

"Looking for Connections: A Search for Black Genealogies and Possible Mi'kmaq Inter-marriage in Southern Nova Scotia", Sharain Jones, 1997.

# **Oral History Interviews**

With selected elders in the Tracadie area, collected 1996-1997.

# **Photographs**

Copies of historic photos from families in the Tracadie area and from the Guysborough Museum collection, as well as documentary photos of sites associated with Black Loyalists in the Tracadie area, such as buildings and cemeteries.

#### Videotape version of the slide show Escape to Nova Scotia.

The Nova Scotia Museum would like to acknowledge a number of individuals and programs that contributed over time to the development of this collection, including Rachael Colley Whynot, Affirmative Action student (1992); Tammy Poirier, Nova Scotia Community College work-placement student (1995); Jemal Abawajy, Graduate student born in Oromia, East Africa (1995); Carmelita Robertson (a Black Loyalist descendant), Graduate Student (1995), Volunteer (1995-96), NSM Black History Research Grant Recipient (1996), Arts Apprentice, Department of Canadian Heritage Multiculturalism Program (1997); Christine Hobin, Volunteer (1997-98); Elizabeth Peirce, Volunteer (1997-98), and Sharain Jones (a Black Loyalist descendant), NSM Black History Research Grant Recipient (1997).

The Museum also wishes to acknowledge the individual who twice made it financially possible to undertake some of this research, and who prefers to remain anonymous.

Deborah Scott, Project Manager/ Manager of Collections History Section Nova Scotia Museum

#### Introduction

The history of African-Nova Scotians has been all but ignored in the past and only recently has it been the subject of archaeological research. Archaeology may be the most democratic way of studying a people who left so little behind in the historic record and, when they were the subjects of second-party accounts, were more often than not unjustly represented (Deetz 1977, 153).

Birchtown, Nova Scotia, was founded by Black Loyalists<sup>1</sup> in 1783 and was the largest and most significant settlement of free Blacks in North America (Figure 1). Although its population grew rapidly, Birchtown did not thrive. The discrimination and inequity the Black Loyalists had hoped to escape followed them to Nova Scotia. In 1791 their discontent led half of Birchtown's population to join the exodus for Sierra Leone in West Africa, an event from which the settlement would never recover.

The 1998 archaeology examined the remains of what is believed to have been the house of Colonel Stephen Blucke, the man who led the Black Loyalists to Birchtown. The testing and excavation revealed the cellar of a relatively substantial building that appears to have been abandoned by the end of the eighteenth century. The artifacts recovered were exceptional for what we know of the Black Loyalist period in Birchtown, not only because of their quantity but their quality as well. They speak of an attempted middle-class existence surrounded by poverty, a scene of contrast within a community we are beginning to see as much more vivid and varied than has previously been acknowledged.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this report, Black Loyalist refers to all African-Americans who emigrated to Nova Scotia in the wake of the American Revolution. This includes the free, the freed, the indentured, as well as the slaves many White Loyalists continued to possess.

# **Birchtown and the Black Loyalists**

## Origins

The journey of the Black Loyalists began in 1775 when Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation offering freedom to all "Servants, Negroes, or others" who would leave their 'Rebel' masters and join the British<sup>2</sup> (Hodges 1996, xii). With the signing of a provisional copy of the Treaty of Paris in late 1782, the Black Loyalists became part of the plans for the final evacuation of the British from the new United States. The Americans, however, wanted the return of any "Negros or other Property of the American Inhabitants" as outlined in the Treaty of Paris (Hodges 1996, xi). The British refused to do this and, anticipating American claims for compensation, decided to document relevant information on each Black Loyalist eligible to emigrate (Hodges 1996). This register of 3000 people is known as the "Book of Negroes." These Black Loyalists were also issued certificates that acknowledged their service to the British and insured their passage out of the United States (Robertson 1983, 85–86).

The majority of Black Loyalists who fled the United States in 1783 chose to settle in Nova Scotia. Before the exodus, a number of white Loyalists formed the Port Roseway Associates with the goal of founding a settlement at Port Roseway, now Shelburne (Robertson 1983, 32) (Figure 2). When the first fleet arrived at Port Roseway on May 4, 1783, it brought a total of 3037 people (Robertson 1983, 51). Within this group were 415 servants that would have included the many slaves belonging to the Loyalists. The largest group of free Black Loyalists were the holders of what has become know as the "Birch" certificates, after General Samuel Birch, the signatory. These people found temporary housing within the new town of Port Roseway.Another influx of Black Loyalists arrived on August 27, 1783, on the ship *L'Abondance* (Wilson 1976, 85). Governor Parr ordered that the Black Loyalists be "placed up the North West Harbour" (Wilson 1967, 87). The Black Loyalists were organized in military fashion with the people divided into six companies each under a captain and all under the command of Colonel Stephen Blucke, a veteran of the War of Independence. On September 3, 1783, the Black Loyalists landed on the shores of what they called Birchtown, named in honour of General Birch. Their immediate task was to clear the land and construct shelter.

# **Colonel Stephen Blucke**

Colonel Stephen Blucke, a man who has become the subject of great intrigue and speculation and who remains a major figure in Black Loyalist history, led the Black Loyalists in Birchtown. He was a complicated character whose life deserves some investigation. His duties were various and included being a school teacher and colonel of the militia. Graham Hodges has written two excellent books that deal with some of Blucke's background (Hodges 1996 and 1997). For the purpose of this report I will simply provide a summary historical timeline for Stephen Blucke.

Blucke claims to have been born free in Barbados ("Book of Negroes"). At some point he appears to have found his way to New Jersey and made the acquaintance of Stephen Skinner, later to become a prominent citizen of Shelburne (Hodges 1996, xxiv). During the Revolution Blucke joined the Black Pioneers. In 1780, he replaced the late Colonel Tye as leader of a brigade of black raiders operating in the state of New York (Hodges 1997, 101–104). Tye's small group had become

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This promise did not extend to those slaves owned by Loyalists. Any runaway 'property' of the Loyalists was returned.

a feared military force. This group would conduct raids into New Jersey, mainly by water, concentrating on Monmouth County. They would often have very specific human targets whom they would either kidnap or assassinate. Stephen Blucke appeared to lead the Black Brigade to continued success:

As the war dragged on into the early 1780s, Blucke, his Black Pioneers, and the Black Brigade revived the fading hopes of local Tories, making frequent raids into Long Island and New Jersey even after Cornwallis's defeat made Patriot victory appear inevitable ... The elite Black Brigade stayed with the English until the final evacuation of New York City on November 25, 1783." (Hodges 1997, 104–106).

Stephen Blucke was evacuated from New York along with his wife, Margaret, her servant Isabella Gibbons, and, possibly, his servant Richard Wilkinson (Book of Negroes, Muster Book, 1784). At some point Blucke's mother came to live with them in Birchtown. She was there when a soldier, William Booth, visited in 1789 (Booth 1780, 53). By September of that year, Margaret had returned to New York, without her husband and her servant. It is evident that she was not happy about the circumstances under which she left Isabella: "… my mind and heart is filled with concern and trouble on account of that poor unhappy girl Isabella, in the manner she lives. I would wish to God it was in your power to contrive to get her to Boston, and any expense you would be at of getting her away, I would gladly pay" (Marrant 1790, 83). She also appears to still care about the welfare of Blucke, although she refers to him in formal terms: "You see I am entirely at a loss how Mr. Blucke goes on, and you will be pleased to give me as full an account as you can about him" (Marrant 1790, 84).

Anglican church records in Shelburne reveal that Stephen Blucke and Isabella Gibbons must have been living together, as they have a daughter, Francis, baptised in the Anglican Church on April 21, 1796 and they are listed as Stephen and Isabella Blucke (PANS, MG4, v.141). This is one of the last references in which Stephen Blucke is mentioned, and he literally disappears from the historical records, along with his new wife and daughter. Popular mythology has Blucke being devoured by 'wild animals', but this seems a rather unlikely scenario. The fact that his new family disappears with him would lead one to believe that, for whatever reason, Blucke felt he had to leave Birchtown, and Nova Scotia, in secret.

#### Settlement

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Prior to 1998 little was understood about the surveying of Birchtown and the settlement of the Black Loyalists. It was known that Benjamin Marston, the Surveyor General, surveyed the area and laid out the lots in late August of 1783 and that a lottery was held to distribute those lots<sup>3</sup> (Robertson 1983, 87–88). It is not known exactly how the lots were laid out and distributed. New evidence from 1998 suggests that more in-depth historical research may change this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> From the Skinner Land Receipts, part of the T.H White Collection, courtesy of the Shelburne County Museum: "... also One Town Lot drawn by Martin Cox ..." (Prince Johnstone); "... the four town Lots I drew in Birch Town ..." (Bristol Garnet).

The new evidence came in the form of what appears to be a near-contemporary copy of an eighteenth-century plan of Birchtown and the surrounding area (Figure 3). The map confirms the dimensions of the original Birchtown land grant that runs from present-day Birchtown roughly to the west and totals between 500 and 600 acres (200 and 400 hectares). Of the most significance is the fact that 35 ten-acre (4-hectare) lots are shown to the west of Birchtown and the names of Black Loyalists are written on three of the lots: Joe Blair (#3), William Eustace (#35), Nickerson (#10). Two more names can be added to the lots using the Skinner Land Receipts<sup>4</sup>. This is the first evidence of Black Loyalist ownership of a specific piece of property, land that can be relocated today and become the subject of an intensive archaeological survey.

The eastern half of the grant, roughly 250 acres (100 hectares), remains a blank. In the search for answers about this land it is useful to make assumptions about how the surveyor would have laid out the town in 1783. We know from the Skinner Land Receipts that the town lots were laid out in blocks (i.e., G, H, 'Port Mutton'). In Shelburne these blocks were divided into 16 lots measuring 120 by 60 feet (36 by 18 metres) (Robertson 1983, 53). There is no reason to think the surveying of Birchtown would have been different. Also, it is assumed that the blocks were laid out with their long axis parallel to that of the overall land grant. The Shelburne blocks were also spaced 60 feet (18 metres) apart. Using these assumptions approximately 33 to 38 blocks could have been laid out in the eastern half of Birchtown, or between 528 and 608 town lots. Given that the population of Birchtown reached 1531 in the fall of 1784 that would average between 2.90 and 2.52 people per town lot (Ibid, 88).

The above data is cursory at best and is only the beginning of our understanding the physical dimensions of eighteenth-century Birchtown.

The final note on this section will be an overview of Black Loyalist land ownership in Birchtown. The social dynamics of eighteenth-century Birchtown and Shelburne are poorly understood. For example, many people assume that the Black Loyalists, generalised simply as freed slaves, owned only the land given to them by the British and lacked the money and/or the desire to acquire more. An examination of the Skinner land receipts and the list of the people who gave their names to go to Sierra Leone reveals that this certainly was not the case.

In general, it appears that the government granted the Black Loyalists town lots, 10-acre (4-hectare) lots, and 40-acre (16-hectare) lots. While they built houses on the former two lot types, the latter appears to have remained 'unimproved' or uncultivated by most people (likely because they were unimprovable). These lots were often sold or given away by the inhabitants of Birchtown and many people are listed as having more than one town lot and several owned five. Many Black Loyalists purchased additional acreage. These ranged from town lots, 1-acre (.4-hectare), 5-acre (2-hectare), 10-acre (4-hectare), 20-acre (8-hectare), 40-acre (16-hectare), and 50-acre (20-hectare) lots. Several owned land with houses in Shelburne. One man, James Barclay, is listed as having paid £20 for a 50-acre (20-hectare) lots in Shelburne (PAC, MG11, CO217). Many Black Loyalists also had multiple houses on their land.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Adam Fall (#19), Samuel Mason (#21)

From the above summary it is evident that we know virtually nothing about Black Loyalist land ownership in Birchtown and Shelburne although it appears to be much more diverse and dynamic than many people assume. Further historical research and archaeological surveys will help to gain an understanding of this subject.

#### A New Hope: Life in Black Loyalist Birchtown

#### Housing

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The Black Loyalists arrived in Birchtown with the expectation that not only had they found freedom but also self-sufficiency and equality. Their first tasks were to clear the land and build whatever shelters they could manage before winter. The archaeological evidence to date tells us that these shelters ranged from semi-subterranean emergency shelters to more conventional cellared houses (Niven 1998). John Clarkson, representative of the Sierra Leone Company, wrote about house construction of African-American families at Port L'Hebert in 1791. His description may well fit the average Black Loyalist dwelling in Birchtown:

Their first care is to fix upon some large stones or rock to serve the purpose of a fire-hearth, as well as the lower and back parts of the chimney at one end of the house, in the next place small trees are felled, their branches topped off, cut into proper lengths and then piled upon each other in a horizontal manner so as to form a regular quadrangle building, the extremities of such trees as form the two ends of the building, and in such a manner as to project 6 or 7 inches beyond each other–

When the house is formed, the roof is thatched with dry twigs, hay, &c. and whatever they can scrape up, finally the vacancy between each tree is well caulked up with moss which last operation requires renewing annually at the commencement of the winter season. The whole or greater part of the inhabitants have a kind of cellar or excavation of the earth for containing their stock of potatoes, and to which they descend by a small hole, just capable of admitting the body and covered over with loose planks – (Fergusson 1971, 50–51).

As the population grew it appears that many of the Black Loyalists who came later expanded their search for land and squatted on the large unoccupied lots just north of the Birchtown grant. Several archaeological features have been identified on the land originally granted to Paul Jappie and Luke Dorney<sup>5</sup>. Although these features are clearly cultural, shovel testing provided very few artifacts to give clues about their age and affiliation (Niven 1994). It seems most likely, however, that these depressions would have belonged to Black Loyalists or their descendants.

#### Subsistence

The people of Birchtown were provisioned over the first winter. In the spring of 1784 they would have been able to begin farming. The Black Loyalists were promised farmland but it was not granted until 1787. However, the 40-acre (10-hectare) lots were located several kilometres west of Birchtown (Robertson 1983, 91) and the quantity of the land was too poor for agriculture. In the meantime, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Nova Scotia Dept. of Natural Resources, Crown Land Grant Index Sheet #11.

people had their gardens on the town lots and small farms on 10-acre lots, in addition to whatever land they were able to purchase. In general, the land in Birchtown was not suitable for moderate-scale agriculture—the soils were very thin, acidic, poorly drained, and contain an abundance of rocks. This would have been a sharp contrast to the rich alluvial soils most Black Loyalists were probably used to in the American South. Still, some people, including Stephen Blucke, were able to produce gardens of note.<sup>6</sup> The fact that there was a famine in 1789, however, is a clear indicator that Birchtown was very far from self-sufficient.<sup>7</sup>

#### Religion

Birchtown held together for eight years, despite the famine, a violent race riot, widespread poverty, and the realisation that, despite being free, African-Nova Scotians were in a desperate fight for material and political equality. The thread that held the people together was a deep religious conviction, what they believed to be their true path to freedom and equality. In 1998, researchers in Nova Scotia learned of the second part of the memoirs of Rev. John Marrant, a freed slave who spent considerable time in Birchtown (Marrant 1790). This document provides an unprecedented look into life in Birchtown and highlights the volatile nature of religious dynamics in the community.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the Great Awakening, the spread of evangelical religion throughout North America, and Birchtown appears to have been at the heart of it. In the 1780s, Birchtown was home to some of the major leaders of the African-American religious community in North America including David George, Boston and Peggy King, John Marrant, and Isaac Wilkinson. This brief introduction will look at the major religions in Birchtown and the people involved.

The religion of England and the Loyalists was Anglicanism. It should be no surprise to learn that Stephen Blucke was Anglican and he even rented a pew of his own in Christ Church in Shelburne (Cahill 1991, 133). While the Anglicans did enjoy a measure of success in Birchtown and Shelburne—44 infants and 81 adults were baptised in 1784 — they would never accept the Black Loyalists as equals, as did the Methodists and Baptists (Robertson 1983, 98).

The soul of Birchtown was the 'meeting-house,' the scene of both religious and major secular gatherings. There were in fact two meeting houses, both associated with the Methodists. One belonged to Moses Wilkinson, a blind preacher. Methodism grew out of Anglicanism and became extremely popular, especially amongst the disenfranchised, because it brought religion to the people and offered everyone an equal share in salvation (Potkay and Burr 1995, 5; Carretta 1996, 8). The democratic appeal of this religion was extremely strong in Birchtown and notable converts included Peggy and Boston King (Robertson 1983, 98; Hodges 1996, xxvi). It is interesting to note that the religious conviction of Birchtown residents reached the ears of one of Methodism's founders, John Wesley, in England, and he pledged support for the Black Loyalists (Robertson 1993, 98).

While the democracy of Wesleyan Methodism was attractive, one of their central ideas was that of Exodus—freedom from bondage and pilgrimage through the wilderness (Potkay and Burr 1995,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "He began by Building a spacious house, and laying out an excellent Garden ... " (Booth's Diary, v.2 p.53, March 14, 1789).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "About this time the country was visited with a dreadful famine ... " (Carretta, 1996: 359-360).

10). The fact that most Black Loyalists experienced those incidents first-hand would have created a strong affinity to this religion.

The second meeting house was built by John Marrant (Marrant 1790, iv), who was a Huntingdonian Methodist, an influential group that split from Methodism. They were followers of the Countess of Huntingdon, who, herself, sent Marrant from England to Nova Scotia to preach the gospel. Marrant's memoirs provide an unprecedented glimpse into the tensions between the Wesleyan (also known as the Arminians) and the Huntingdonian Methodists:

I arrived on the 4th, and was saluted upon the wharf; I was much distressed, when I found the man that I had delivered the things<sup>8</sup> to, had taken them all out and given them to the Arminians. I made the best way over to Birch Town, in order to rectify this mistake. When I arrived there, I found the Town in an uproar; the old blind man,<sup>9</sup> who preaches for the Arminians, had broken his agreement, and had sold the place for three guineas to the Arminian preachers. I went to him to know the certainty of it. He told me, that I should not preach there any more. I answered him, that the place was built for the people at large, not more for one connection than another; and, with God's leave, this night I was determined to preach in it. (Marrant 1790, 36)

John Marrant left Nova Scotia for Boston on January 27, 1789 (Ibid: 68). Cato Perkins replaced him in Birchtown (Robertson 1983, 98).

David George, one of the major figures in pre-Revolutionary America, led the Baptists in Shelburne. George founded the Baptist church in the town and while he attracted many followers, including Whites, he was a figure of some controversy and faced seemingly constant persecution in both Shelburne and Birchtown. George is the best known of the religious figures in Birchtown, mainly due to the fact that his memoirs have been studied for about 200 years (Caretta 1996; Potkay and Burr 1995).

#### Exodus: Sierra Leone and the end of Birchtown

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 The exodus of the Black Loyalists from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone has been covered extensively by a number of scholars. It is sufficient to say that the people who represented the heart and soul of Birchtown left on ships from Halifax. All of the major religious figures—George, the Kings, Wilkinson, and Perkins—left for Sierra Leone in 1791. They carried with them not only half of the population but also the fabric of community. While many White Loyalists in Shelburne expressed their dissatisfaction with the exodus—they lost a large pool of very cheap labour—the British authorities may have been relieved that people of such influence were out of their hands:

The opportunity to preach gave Jupiter Hammon, Marrant, Liele, George and King influence and power rarely experienced by Blacks in the period. With the power to preach could come the threat to the status quo occasionally perceived by those in power. Belief in the equality of souls might be taken to imply belief in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Tools and blankets purchased in Halifax for the people of Birchtown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Moses Wilkinson, leader of the Wesleyan Methodists (Arminians)

the equality of bodies and civil rights (Carretta 1996, 9).

The one leader who stayed was Stephen Blucke. Despite his disapproval of the plan, Blucke acted as a liaison between the Sierra Leone Company and the people of Birchtown. The journal of John Clarkson, the Sierra Leone Company's representative, records several meetings with and letters from Blucke wanting to ensure that his people clearly understood what was involved in the exodus (Fergusson 1971, 40). Their experience in Birchtown had made them wary of the British.

Over Blucke's objections, but presumably with his support, nearly half of Birchtown's population sold or gave away their land and sailed to Halifax in December 1791. In early 1792 they left Nova Scotia, full of hope, again. Stephen Blucke, the strong figure that he was, could not save Birchtown. He was forced to close his school in 1796 as Birchtown was dragged down by the decline of Shelburne (Robertson 1983, 99). Stephen Blucke disappears from the historic record in 1796–97 and, with that, Black Loyalist Birchtown ceased to exist.

### Archaeology at AkDi-23

#### Introduction

The Nova Scotia Museum's Black Loyalist Project in Birchtown had both a historic and archaeological component. The archaeology project was designed in three phases: the surveying of the Acker and Goulden properties in Birchtown, land suspected as having belonged to Col. Stephen Blucke; the testing of a probable Black Loyalist dwelling north of the town (AkDi-6); and the partial excavation of one of a series of unusual rock mounds. The latter two phases are the subject of a separate report. The results of the Acker-Goulden survey led to a decision to carry out a full-scale excavation on the site in search of a house formerly on the property.

#### **Site Description**

#### Location

Birchtown is a small rural community located on the northwest arm of Shelburne Harbour, five kilometres southwest of the town of Shelburne, on the southwest coast of Nova Scotia (Figure 1). It lies in a small valley on the shores of Birchtown Bay. The harbour itself is long, deep and sheltered and remains ice-free throughout the winter. This area is part of the Atlantic Coast region, the Quartzite Headlands sub-region. The Roseway River, the major river system in the area, flows into the northeast arm of the harbour while the much smaller Birchtown Brook flows into Birchtown Bay. The shore is mainly intertidal mud with one large cobble beach on the point south of the village.

Birchtown is a low, featureless, area punctuated with many large granite erratics. The topography rises moderately towards the west. The forest in the area is mainly made up of White Spruce and Balsam Fir mixed with birch, maple, and poplar. There are also large pines in the more undeveloped parts of the area.

#### Archaeology

The archaeological study of Birchtown, specifically the evidence of the Black Loyalists, began in 1993 when the Shelburne County Cultural Awareness Society<sup>10</sup> sponsored an archaeological survey (Niven 1994). This survey, directed by the author, identified 20 cultural features, the most significant of which was a small cellar dating to the end of the eighteenth century (AkDi-12). In 1994 this site was the subject of a field school directed by Dr. Stephen Davis of St. Mary's University in Halifax. The excavation revealed that the structure was likely a semi-subterranean shelter. Another Shelburne County Cultural Awareness Society survey in 1995 resulted in the identification of five new sites, including a very unusual series of stone mounds (AkDi-21). There have been minor archaeological projects in Birchtown every year since 1994 (Niven 1998).

The archaeological work carried out in Birchtown to date is very much preliminary and our understanding of the Black Loyalists remains incomplete. With the documenting of archaeological sites and the re-evaluation of the historic record since 1994 we are only now beginning to get clues about the physical layout of Birchtown and how life might have been there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Now known as the Black Loyalist Heritage Society.

#### **Research** Objectives

The research objectives for Birchtown are, to this point, very general. The main objective since 1993 is to examine the artifacts and dwellings to examine whether the Black Loyalists retained anything of their African heritage. This objective has remained unfulfilled, as the previous projects were on a relatively small scale. The secondary, more achievable objective is to examine the everyday life of the Black Loyalists in Birchtown and, in the future, contrast the data with both Black and White Loyalist sites in Shelburne as well as other African-American sites in the United States and Canada.

Historical evidence suggests that the home of Col. Stephen Blucke, the leader of the Black Loyalists in Birchtown, was located on the property of Thelma Acker, very close to the shore (Figure 4). It was proposed that a survey of this area be carried out including the shovel testing of any features identified. If the home of Stephen Blucke could be identified it would be one of the most significant archaeological site in Birchtown and, judging by the historical evidence of Blucke's social and economic status, would contrast markedly with those of the of the typical Black Loyalists.

#### Archaeological Survey of the Acker and Goulden Properties

The possible location of Stephen Blucke's house came to light through an aside in Rev. Watson Smith's "History of Shelburne County," where he noted, "Blucke lived where Ackerman keeps on the Birchtown Road. The house still stands ...," a reference to Colonel Stephen Blucke (Smith, 81). The significance of the reference was not appreciated until examination of the A.F. Church map revealed "Acker's Inn" on the waterfront in Birchtown. The word 'keeps' referred to inn keeping. The opportunity to examine this site came with the 1998 archaeology project.

#### **Pedestrian Survey**

At the beginning of the 1998 field season we approached Mrs. Thelma Acker, the landowner (Plate 1a). The property is located in the village of Birchtown just east of Ackers Brook and quite close to the shores of Birchtown Bay (Plate 1b). Deed records only go back to the 1830s and the land has remained in the Acker family since that time. There are no records of previous ownership.

Mrs. Acker was very open to having her land surveyed and gave us what turned out to be an extremely critical piece of oral history. She informed us that there used to be a house on the lot prior to the present one, which was built sometime in the late nineteenth century. The Acker family had lived in this house and, when the new one was built, they dismantled the old one and moved it to the shore to be used as a fishing shack. Nothing remains of the first house that was located along the south edge of the lot. There were no visible signs of any structure in the area that is now all lawn. It was decided to continue with the survey of the land and return to the location of the first house for shovel testing.

The Acker property is bounded to the south by the Old Post Road, to the west by Ackers Brook, to the north by the old rail bed, and to the east by the property of Warren Goulden. The majority of the land is flat and featureless lawn and field. No potential archaeological features were identified during this part of the survey. As a result it was decided to carry out a series of shovel tests in the area of the former house as indicated by Mrs. Acker.

#### Shovel Testing

The study area for the shovel testing was defined by the southeast corner of the driveway and running north to the present well. As mentioned previously, this area is featureless lawn. A 7 metre north-south baseline was established on the east side of the area. The tests were spaced every 2 metres and measured  $40 \times 40$  centimetres. The sod was removed with a shovel and checked for artifacts. The remainder of the soil was removed using a trowel. The soil lots for each test were recorded. The location of each test was recorded using a Total Station.

It was evident after the 13 tests of the first day that there had been an occupation on the site at the end of the eighteenth century. Artifacts recovered included creamware, Staffordshire slipware, and wrought nails. Mrs. Acker's oral account began to ring true.

The shovel testing was expanded to the west and north continuing at 2-metre intervals and covering the south half of the lawn. A total of 41 tests were dug resulting in the recovery of over 900 artifacts ranging in date from the late eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The most significant test was in the middle of the lawn (#34) where a layer of small stones was found and designated as Lot 12 (Plate 2a). Within this lot were large fragments of ceramics dating to the end of the eighteenth century and no later intrusive artifacts. A second test (#22) also came down upon the rocks but this test was left unexcavated. These rocks were certainly a cultural feature and the interpretation at the time was that they were part of a garbage midden that had been filled with stones. A similar feature was found at AkDi-12, a late-eighteenth century dwelling excavated in 1994.

#### Results

It was concluded that the site on the Acker property had been occupied at the end of the eighteenth century and the presence of a midden suggested a dwelling was nearby. Based on this information it was decided that a full-scale excavation should take place on the site. The objectives of the excavation would be to uncover evidence for a structure and, using artifacts recovered, determine an occupation date for the site. It was also hoped that some material evidence would give clues as to the identity of the original occupant. If proof could be found that supported the contention that Stephen Blucke had lived there, it would be one of the most important sites in Birchtown.

#### **Excavation at AkDi-23**

The historical record had indicated that the Acker property might have originally been the home of Colonel Stephen Blucke, the leader of the Black Loyalists, who lived there from 1783 to ca.1796. Shovel testing of the area confirmed the presence of an eighteenth-century occupation. It was decided to design a full-scale excavation to search for structural remains of the original dwelling.

We knew very little about Stephen Blucke's house. Blucke lived in Birchtown with his wife, mother, and two indentured servants. The one partial description of the house we have is from William Booth: "He began by Building a spacious house ... but the Building he has been obliged to stop the progress of; having only, as far as I could see, completed his Kitchen, with a small room ... " (Booth 1789, 53). Still, this house seems to have been quite different from the neighbours who are almost invariably described as living in 'huts' and "very poorly Lodged indeed" (Booth 1789:

Dyott 1907, 57). Historical references indicate that the house was still standing in the first quarter of the nineteenth century: "I was shown the dwelling house of Colonel Black, where Bishop Inglis and Admiral Hughes had dined, having the colonel to wait upon them" (PANS Report, 28–29). There are no references directly associating the Acker's old house with that of Blucke.

#### **Excavation Strategy**

The area to be excavated was the corner of the lawn on the south central side of the land (Plate 3a; Figure 5). No features were visible on the level ground so the units were placed in the general area that Mrs. Acker had said once contained the original house. It was decided to use relatively large excavation units, measuring 3 x 3 metres, in order to see more readily the remains of any architectural features in the soil. The Total Station was employed to record pit locations and depths of the soil strata. Arrangements had also been made with Parks Canada for the use of their Whittlesey bipod to take true vertical photographs of the site. All soil was screened using a one-quarter inch mesh. The five-person crew consisted of the project archaeologist, two field assistants, and two labourers. The excavation was scheduled for six weeks.

#### Size and Placement of Units

The design for the 1998 excavation at AkDi-23 involved the opening of large areas in the search for architectural remains, specifically two adjoining 3 x 3-metre units (Plates 3b, 4a). These units shared one corner (north-east and south-west) and were designated sub-operations A and B. To establish a grid over the site a Total Station was used to shoot in two reference markers designated E1000 N1000 and E1000 N1025. The north-west corner of sub-operation A was located at E982 N1003 and that of sub-operation B at E985 N1006. A third unit measuring 1 x 1-metre was designated sub-operation C and was placed at E988 N1009. This unit was designed to recover more information from what was interpreted to be the rock-filled midden. It was discovered later, however, that this was not the correct location and a new 1 x 1-metre unit, sub-operation D, was placed at E988 N1007 (Plate 4b).

#### Recording

A Total Station was employed for recording all excavation unit locations and for drawing the site plan. Soil stratigraphy was recorded using the Parks Canada lot system and the artifacts were separated by discrete lot. Because the cellar was a secondary dump situation, the location of each artifact was not recorded individually. However, the location of all complete nails was recorded using the Total Station and the results mapped. The project archaeologist and the two field assistants kept daily fieldnotes.

#### Excavation

The hundreds of artifacts that were found during the sod removal prior to excavation were indicative of a high level of activity in the area during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was noted, once the sod was removed from sub-operation B, that there was a larger number of rocks in that area compared to sub-operation A (Plate 3b). The results from the previous testing suggested this was either a very large midden or landscaping fill. The nail distribution from sub-operations A and B was of little use because they were found in very large numbers and with no pattern.

The excavation in sub-operation A was not turning up anything of consequ

B was becoming a solid level of small rocks (Plate 4a). A third sub-operation, a  $1 \times 1$ -metre pit designated C, was established at E988 N1009. This unit was placed in the area of shovel test #36 where the rock midden had been encountered. Unfortunately, the unit was too far to the north. A fourth unit, also  $1 \times 1$ -metre, was placed at E988 N1007 and designated sub-operation D (Plate 4b). The rock fill (Lot 12) was quickly uncovered and again contained late-eighteenth to early nineteenth century artifacts. These artifacts differed from those in other lots not only by their temporal homogeneity but their relative completeness. This lot ended at a d

sloped sharply down at the south edge (Plate 2b). It was evident then that this was not a midden but rather a cellar hole that had been dug into the hardpan towards then end of the eighteenth century.

At this point it was decided that a fifth area should be opened to further delineate the rock-filled cellar. This 3 x 3-metre unit, sub-operation E, was placed adjacent to and west of sub-operation B. As the sod was removed and excavation proceeded, it was clear the cellar was quite large. When Lot 12 was completely exposed it covered half of the sub-operation and ran into the south wall. The feature was further defined and then it was decided to excavate it by dividing it into quadrants and removing two of them.

The plan for excavation involved opening two adjoining area between sub-operations B and E (Plate 5a). The first section was in sub-operation E and ran from E988 N1006 to E991 N1004.5, an area of 3 by 1.5 meters. This section would cover the northeast corner of the cellar hole. The second section was in sub-operation B and ran from E985 N1003 to E988 N1004.5, an area of  $3 \times 1.5$  metres. This section covered the southwest corner of the cellar.

The excavation proceeded quickly as the rocks were removed and the cellar delineated. The artifacts continued to come out of Lot 12 until it ended. The ceramics were from the end of the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Other artifacts of note included regimental buttons, an iron food mill (Plate 5b), a triangular bayonet, and an iron in-knife. Literally hundreds of artifacts were removed from the two quadrants each day.

#### Stratigraphic Sequence

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 The natural stratigraphy of AkDi-12 has been altered considerably over the past 200 years. In 1783, before the land was cleared for settlement, the typical stratigraphy was most likely a humus-leaf mat (Lot 17) over a dense wet gray-black sand (Lot 10) over a rocky yellow-brown sterile sub-soil (Lot 5).

When the Black Loyalists arrived in 1783 their initial tasks would have been to clear the land and build shelters. This activity would have immediately impacted Lots 17 and 10, an effect that would increase with time as cultural activity increased. The removed soil would have been scattered over the site and mixed with the other soil lots. Other cultural activities which would have changed the original stratigraphy include stump clearing/burning, field clearing (rock removal), other horticultural and agricultural activities, construction activities, and waste disposal.

The major cultural impact at AkDi-23 was the creation of the cellar (Plate 6a; 6b). This would have gone through the first two lots and into the sub-soil. In the present stratigraphy the sub-soil (Lot 5) is the only intact portion of the original stratigraphic sequence. Once the cellar was dug, a layer of cobbles (Lot 35) was embedded into the sub-soil to act as a floor. At this point a building would have been erected over the cellar, assumed to be a dwelling (Plate 16). Cultural activity associated

with the occupation of the dwelling resulted in the deposition of a thin, dense, mottled brown soil with charcoal flecking, interpreted as being an occupation layer (Lot 36).

There were two stratigraphic events related to the abandonment of the cellar (Plate 6b). The first is a minor burn event (Lot 34) containing three sub-lots: 34a, an ash-charcoal layer; 34b, fire-reddened soil; and, 34c, an ash layer. The lot overlays the occupation level (36) and most likely occurred at the time of abandonment. This event does not appear to be associated with the destruction of the building by fire but, rather, the burning of material in the cellar or the deposition of burned material. Soon after this event, rocks were taken from nearby Ackers Brook and used to fill the cellar (Christianson, pers. comm.) (Plate 7a). These were water-worn cobbles ranging from 5 to 20 centimetres in diameter. This fill also contained thousands of artifacts dating from the end of the eighteenth century, most likely the result of midden activity on the edge of the brook. This midden activity may or may not have been associated with the occupants of the dwelling at AkDi-23. This midden was removed along with the rocks and used to fill and level the cellar hole. The artifacts all date from the end of the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries suggesting that either the filling took place at that time or that the midden remained unused (there were no intrusive artifacts) and was used as fill after the new house was constructed and the old house moved (1860s–1880s).

#### Settlement Features

One of the first steps in the construction of the dwelling at AkDi-23 would have been the digging of the cellar hole. This feature would have been one component of a larger structure. Historically these cellars were found under the kitchen and primarily served as a storage area for perishable food items. This function cannot be definitively assigned to the AkDi-23 cellar, however.

The cellar hole uncovered at AkDi-23 measures approximately 1.5 metres (5 feet) from west to east, and 2.7 metres (8.8 feet) from north to south (Plate 7b). The area is approximately 4 metres square (45 square feet). When it was first dug the cellar probably measured about  $3 \times 1.5$  metres (10 x 5 feet). It was dug to a depth of 1 metre and cut into the sub-soil (Lot 5) with vertical walls at least on the west, north, and south sides (Plates 8a; 8b).

While many architectural features disappeared when the original house was moved some firereddened soil on the west side of sub-operation E may be the remains of a wall location. As the excavation units were centered on the cellar feature no other architectural information was uncovered relating to the north, west, or south sides of the dwelling.

As mentioned above, we know very little about Stephen Blucke's house apart from the fact that it contained a large kitchen and one smaller room. This suggests that Blucke may have built himself a house based on the 'Hall-and-Parlour' design. This very simple design consisted of two rooms: a 'hall' where the majority of daily activity, including cooking, took place: and a smaller 'parlour' reserved for more formal activities, such as sleeping (Historical Atlas of the US, 43). It should again be noted that Booth not only described Blucke's dwelling as a 'house' but also said it was 'spacious'. This contrasts with other descriptions of his neighbours such as "their huts miserable," "comfortable huts," and, "his neighbours ... poorly lodged indeed" (Dyott 1907, 57; King 1798, 157; Booth 1789, 53). It is evident that Blucke lived in a structure quite set apart from the majority of people around him..

#### **Material Culture Analysis**

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Artifacts are the material remains of past people and archaeologists use them to answer many questions about the lives of those people. At AkDi-23, for example, artifacts helped us answer questions about the function of the structure, the dates of the occupation, and the relative status of the owner. These answers, combined with historical evidence, were then used to examine whom the owner may have been.

Over 13,000 artifacts were recovered during the 1998 archaeology project at AkDi-23, 1394 from the shovel tests and 12,449 from the excavation. Almost half of the artifacts were found within Lot 12, the rock fill of the cellar. This was the most significant soil lot and, as a result, the following analysis will consider mainly the artifacts found within it. Some of the significant artifacts from other lots will also be discussed.

The 6449 artifacts from Lot 12 have been put into artifact groups for this report. Stanley South first developed an approach that considers the artifacts by their function, rather than grouping them by some other criteria, such as the material they are made from (South 1977). This is a more useful way of interpreting material culture because the groupings relate to everyday activities. This approach is used by many archaeologists and, as a result, is one way of comparing site data. This data will be more useful when more sites, both Black and White Loyalist, are excavated in Shelburne and Birchtown and comparisons can take place within this context.

There are eight artifact groups for AkDi-23: Kitchen, Architectural, Tobacco Pipe, Clothing, Personal, Arms, Activities, and Furniture. The largest artifact is Kitchen, artifacts for the storage, preparation and consumption of food and beverages, with 5355 sherds (80.39%). The next largest group is Architectural, artifacts used in the construction and maintenance of buildings, with 1206 sherds (18.11%). The other groups were Tobacco Pipe, 31 (0.47%), Pre-Contact, aboriginal artifacts, 26 (0.39%), Clothing, 14 (0.21%), Activities, 7 (0.11%), Arms and Personal both with 5 (0.08%).

#### **Kitchen Group**

These artifacts are those items used for the preparation and consumption of food. This includes the objects used for cooking, serving, and eating. The three main classes are ceramics, food-related glass, and cutlery.

#### **Ceramics**

The largest class within this group is ceramics. There were at least 114 ceramic vessels identified at AkDi-23, 93 of them from within Lot 12. Vessels were determined based on certain criteria that assured a minimum vessel count. The minimum number of nails, for example, was determined by counting only the complete nail heads, not all of the fragments. With the ceramics it was very important to insure that the elements of one vessel were unique enough that an accurate minimum vessel count was possible.

#### **Categories**

The 93 ceramic vessels from Lot 12 were divided into six categories based on function within the Kitchen artifact group. Those vessels whose forms were indeterminate were not included (21) making a total of 72 vessels for this study. The largest category is tableware, those items associated

with the consumption of food and beverages (other than tea), which accounted for 65.28% of the vessels. The second largest category was Teaware, vessels having to do with serving and drinking tea, at 20.83%. The next largest category is Dairy/Kitchen, vessels associated with the preparation of food, at 6.94%, followed by the Hygiene category at 2.78%, Storage (food) at 2.78%, and the Other category at 1.39%.

# Vessel Forms

The ceramics were found in a variety of forms, mainly within Tableware. The most common vessel forms were plates and platters (25 vessels) followed by shallow dishes (8 vessels). In Teaware the most common forms were cups (8). No tea bowls were recovered from Lot 12. Althoug a number of vessels were identified, their forms were not determined due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds (21 vessels).

# Material

There were two predominant ceramic materials within the AkDi-23 ceramics, creamware and pearlware (Plates 9 to 15). These ceramics were the most popular types at the end of the eighteenth century. Creamware was developed by Wedgewood in 1762 and continued to be popular until the 1820s (Noël Hume 1982, 125; Singleton 1985, 104). Creamware's popularity was supplanted by the development of pearlware in 1780, although they existed side-by-side for quite some time. Pearlware continued in the public favour until the 1830s (Noël Hume 1982, 128–131; Singleton 1985, 104).

Over half of the vessels from Lot 12 were made of pearlware (45 vessels—62.5%) followed closely by creamware (17 vessels—23.61%). Six vessels were coarse earthenware (8.33%), 2 porcelain (2.78%), and 2 stoneware. The mean ceramic date for the vessels is 1796.59. While this method is far from precise, the date conforms very well to Blucke's disappearance from the Birchtown historic record around 1797.

Within the Tableware category, pearlware is predominant (65.96%) and represented a variety of 5 forms. Creamware was less common (31.91%) and almost exclusively plates and platters (11 vessels). Pearlware also dominated the Teaware category (86.67%), with cups being the most common form (8 vessels). Porcelain was not common within Teawares, with only one vessel identified. The two vessels identified as teapots were actually made from dry-bodied fine stoneware. No creamware was found within Teaware. As expected, the Dairy/Kitchen category was exclusively coarse earthenware. The Hygiene category consisted of two creamware chamber pots.

# Decoration

The decoration techniques on the ceramics from AkDi-23 are quite varied and for this study all 114 vessels have been considered. In general the pearlware had a greater variety of decorations compared with creamware. The two main decorations on pearlware were underglaze blue hand-painted patterns (34.48%) and the shell-edge (32.76%) (Plates 10 to 15). The shell-edging was mostly blue (84%) and some green (16%). The other decorations in pearlware were underglaze hand-painted polychrome (15.52%), blue transfer printing (6.9%), annular (1.72%), and marbled (1.72%). The remainder of the pearlware vessels were plain (3.45%). Unlike pearlware, creamware vessels were mostly undecorated (57.14%). The most common decoration was the 'Royal' rim pattern (23.81%) (Plate 9b). This was followed by the feather-edge pattern (14.29%) and annular decoration (4.76%). The

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majority of porcelain was decorated in underglaze blue hand painting but four vessels had some overglaze enamelling (red and orange).

### Glass

The glass artifacts from the Kitchen group consist of bottles, tumblers, and stemware. In general, these artifacts are fewer in number and less diagnostic than ceramics.

#### **Bottles**

Three of the common bottles, which in fact contained liquids ranging from milk to rum, were recovered during the 1998 excavations. These vessels (AkDi-23:1650, 375, and 376) consisted of the top or finish of the bottle (Plate 19a). All bottles were undoubtedly made in England from the typical 'black' glass. Two of the finishes (#115–116) have had glass added to the lip that was then down-tooled. The string rims on both of these vessels have been flattened. The third bottle finish (#117) has a cracked-off and fire-polished lip and a string rim with a down-tooled top and an up-tooled bottom. This is an earlier form of English 'wine' bottles.

The two "pharmacueutical" bottles (Plate 19a) (AkDi-23: 206, 389) were made from very thin light green glass (Plate 19a). They may have contained anything from powdered or liquid medicine to spices. Again, these vessels are represented by finishes. The first (#206) is a well-made bottle that has a large, even, flattened lip and a body that expands from the neck into what was probably a globular body. The second vessel is cylindrical with a short neck and a thin flattened lip, very slightly down-tooled.

A single vessel (AkDi-23, 392) has been categorised as a storage bottle. This finish is crude and uneven with a flattened lip formed by folding the molten glass over to the inside. The glass is colourless lime glass with some black inclusions.

# **Tumblers**

A total of five tumblers were identified from AkDi-23 (AkDi-23, 391, 208, 226, and 533). Four of these are made from colourless lead glass. Two of the tumblers were made in a metal pattern mould on which was a diamond pattern. The former vessel's pattern is quite well defined while the latter's is very diffuse. This difference is a reflection of a relatively new mould compared with a worn one. Both vessels have a glass-tipped pontil mark, a slight push-up, and a fire-polished rim. One vessel is made of colourless lime glass and has pattern-moulded vertical ribs. It also has a glass-tipped pontil mark that has been fire-polished and a very slight push-up. The final two tumblers are made from colourless lead glass and are not decorated.

#### Stemware

A single plain drawn stem of lead glass was recovered (AkDi-23, 203). This stem style was common in the eighteenth century but is essentially undiagnostic. There was nothing left of the foot or the bowl of this vessel.

# Cutlery

There were very few cutlery artifacts recovered during the excavations at AkDi-23, two spoons, one fork, and a knife. Of the two spoons, one is particularly interesting (Plate 19b) (AkDi-23, 799). It is a copper alloy bowl that is almost round and about one centimeter deep. Very little of the rectangular stem remains, just enough to show that it was very thin (.55cm). There is an offset triangular reinforcement at the stem/bowl juncture. There is a faint stamped mark just below this. The mark may be a rose. From all appearances this spoon looks date from the seventeenth century.

The second spoon is a complete iron example (AkDi-23, 800). It is 12.6 centimetres long and would be considered a teaspoon. The spoon has an oval bowl, no reinforcing at the stem/bowl juncture, a square stem in section, and a flattened, slightly up-turned stem end. This example dates from the end of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1982, 183).

A single fork was found during the shovel testing (Plate 2a) (AkDi-23, 811). It has two tines, a flat tang, and a baluster stem. Nothing of the handle scales remains. This dates from the last half of the eighteenth century.

# Food Mill (AkDi-23, 250, Plate 5b)

This is an iron, hand-operated mill that would have been mounted on a wooden post. The slightly curved handle seems to be a replacement. It is not very ergonomic and may have had a wooden knob attached to it for easier turning. The handle is attached to a shaft that travels through the cylindrical drum of the body. What appears to be a hole at the top of the drum is more likely the hole for the hopper. Inside the drum is a grinding wheel covering nearly two-thirds of the interior. The wheel has raised diagonal ridges for the grinding. At the bottom of the drum, on the opposite side of the handle, is a rectangular opening through which the ground substance would fall. There is a bolt on the outside of this opening which may be the remains of the funnel. Two rectangular plates are attached to the drum (or are part of it) and two bolts run through them. These would have been used to attach the mill to a wooden post. A nearly identical mill is shown in Noël Hume (1978, 64).

# **Architectural Group**

The Architecture artifact group represents those artifacts having to do with the construction and maintenance of houses and buildings. On most archaeological sites iron nails dominate this group and fragments of flat or window glass. AkDi-23 is no exception. Of the 1206 architectural artifacts from Lot 12, 710 were individual iron nails (as opposed to fragments) and 304 were sherds of flat glass. A nearly complete door handle was also recovered.

# Flat Glass

The flat glass recovered from AkDi-23 was most likely associated with the windows that were in the former building on the site. The majority of glass was found in sub-operation E (218) followed by B (83) and D (3). Flat glass does have other applications, in cold frames and greenhouses, for example, but it is unlikely such structures were present on this site. While some archaeologists have used flat glass as an aid in the dating of sites this was not done with AkDi-23.

# Nails

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 Iron nails are usually the most dominant artifacts in this group. A minimum of 1784 individual nails was recovered from AkDi-23 (all lots), based on the presence of a head for each nail counted. The nails represent the three major manufacturing techniques: hand-wrought-710 (39.80%); machinecut-240 (13.45%); wire-43 (2.41%). There were 791 (44.34%) nails that could not be identified. If only the nails from Lot 12 are considered (884) the methods of manufacturing are identified as hand-wrought for 267 (33.42%) machine-cut for 83 (10.39%) and wire for 2 (.25%). There were 447 (55.94%) that were unidentifiable.

These nail counts are what one would expect on a site dating to the end of the eighteenth century. At that time wrought nails were still dominant but were competing with the machine-cut versions. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century the machine-cut nails were dominant (Noël Hume 1978, 253). The damp and salty climate of Birchtown would account for the large number of unidentifiable nails.

# Door Handle (AkDi-23, 219)

This is a nearly complete iron door handle that is slightly curved and retains the slot through which the thumb latch would have been placed.

# **Tobacco Pipe Group (Plate 20b)**

There were surprisingly few tobacco pipes recovered from AkDi-23. There are several possible reasons, such as, minimal indulgence in the habit to restrictions based on low economic status. The most complete pipe from Lot 12 is a nearly complete bowl with the letters 'W' and 'G' on either side of a flattened heel (AkDi-23, 176) (Plate 20b). This pipe corresponds to Stone's Class 1, Series C, Type 4 (p. 150). The remains of two more pipes of this type were recovered in other contexts (AkDi-23, 155, 766). A large stem fragment was recovered which has a 'C' and 'G' stamped on either side of a flattened heel (AkDi-23, 177). A heel fragment with 'T' and 'D' stamped on the flattened heel was also found (AkDi-23, 393). Finally, two bowl fragments were recovered with an impressed cartouche on the back of the bowl, consisting of a 'T' and 'L' within a circle. A winged design can be seen above and below the letters.

# **Clothing Group**

The artifacts within this group proved to be some of the most fascinating and perplexing. Buttons dominate this group, and are only artifact class found within Lot 12. Two buckles are mentioned below even though they were found in less secure contexts. These serve to emphasize that the occupants of this site occupied a markedly higher social standing within eighteenth-century Birchtown than did the average citizen.

# **Buttons**

The most fascinating artifacts within this class is a pair of badly corroded white metal buttons (Plate 21a) (AkDi-23, 792, 802). Although only elements of the decoration remain, we now know it consisted of an embossed '2' within a crowned circle, at the bottom of which, on the exterior, was the word 'AMERICAN'. These buttons belonged to the 2nd American Regiment (New York

Volunteers), first placed on the American Establishment in 1779 and operating until 1782, when they were drafted as an under strength unit. The buttons date between 1780 and 1782 (Katcher 1975, 81; Braisted, pers. comm.). The mystery of how these buttons found their way to Birchtown may never be solved. It is very unlikely they were available to persons outside of the regiment (Braisted, pers. comm.). The two most likely scenarios are that the buttons were made available to the Black Loyalists as surplus, or, the resident of this site was, in fact, connected to the 2nd American Regiment. The possibility that the latter scenario applies to Stephen Blucke will be discussed further below.

A third military button found within Lot 12 belonged to the Royal Artillery (Plate 21b) (AkDi-23, 817). This button is very robust and is in excellent condition. It has a convex face onto which is stamped a cartouche representing three stacked cannons above which is a line of cannon balls. According to Parkyn, this button dates to the 1790s (1956: 56–57). The owner of this button may have acquired it as a member of a post-Revolution militia unit in Birchtown or Shelburne. Stephen Blucke was the colonel of the militia in Birchtown.

The most interesting non-military button is a very elaborate composite one with a face consisting of a ridged rim inside of which is a circle of 18 raised dots, inside of which is another circle (AkDi-23, 804). These circles apparently overlay a woven design made up of a thick, wavy line intersected by a thinner, straight line. The thin line travels alternately over and under the thicker one. The back is plain except for a circular groove just inside the rim. A faint 'scar' in the centre of the back is presumed to be the attachment point for the eye.

The three artifacts described below were found in less secure contexts, but are mentioned here because they serve to illuminate part of the personality of their owner, a personality that appears to contrast sharply with the average citizen of Birchtown.

#### Shoe Buckle Frames

The first artifact is a shoe buckle frame made of copper alloy and with an elaborate cast foliate, rococo design (AkDi-23, 806). The rectangular frame also has rounded corners, 'shell' engraving at the terminals, and intact iron pin terminals. The pin terminals correspond to Abbitt's Type A, and the frame is a Type IV (Abbitt 1973, 35, 44). When this buckle was new and complete it would have been very striking, especially in Birchtown where it would have been an exceptional possession.

A second artifact that illustrates the same point is a small knee-buckle frame (AkDi-23, 810). This oblong frame is made of copper alloy but retains evidence of gilding. Its decoration consists of close-set raised circles, perhaps having been painted to imitate stones. Again, this is an artifact the average Birchtowner would not have had the means to possess and it appears to be unique to the excavations at AkDi-23.

#### Spur

The final unique artifact in this group is the remains of an iron spur (AkDi-23, 1594). This is a rowel-less spur with a u-shaped heel bar, square shaft reinforcement below the heel bar, and a shaft tapering to a rounded triangular tip. This is an extremely unusual find in a domestic context, especially one such as Birchtown. The sight of someone striding through the poverty of Birchtown with spurs on their boots would have been something to behold.

# **Personal Group**

# Jaw Harp (AkDi-23, 193)

This is an artifact common to archaeological sites. This is example is copper alloy, cast and hand filed. It corresponds to Stones Series B1a—a diamond cross-section, round frame head, but the shanks are not parallel (Stone, 141). It also has an iron vibrator terminal and measures 51.5 by 23.5 mm.

# Key, Padlock (Plate 22b) (AkDi-23, 190)

This complete key is iron and is 8.8 cm long. The shaft is slightly bulbous in the mid-section and there is no shoulder. The top of the key is hollow and it was most likely meant for use with a padlock (Noël Hume 1982, 250–251).

# Key, Stock Lock (Plate 22b) (AkDi-23, 189)

This iron key is complete and is 11 cm long. The shaft thickens to a bulbous shoulder with a collar. The top of the key is solid and ridged, and it was likely used in a stock lock (Noël Hume 1982, 247–249).

# Arms Group

There was a surprising number of arms-related artifacts recovered, which seems to suggest a military background for the inhabitant.

# Bayonet (AkDi-23, 832)

This artifact is a partial socket, shank, and partial blade of a triangular bayonet, best known in Nova Scotia for its use on the Brown Bess musket. Although this bayonet is in poor condition, there are several features which indicate that it is not a Brown Bess bayonet: there is no blade guard or reinforcing collar; the blade concavity starts at the shank, rather than 4 or 5 centimetres from it; and, the shank length is 1-1/8th not 7/8ths inches. The lack of well-preserved diagnostic elements make ascription of this bayonet difficult, but it most closely corresponds to an American bayonet built on a 1746 French model illustrated in McNulty (1973, 63).

# Sling Swivel (Plate 23) (AkDi-23, 801)

A complete sling swivel was recovered from Lot 12. There were two sling swivels on each end of a musket and the sling was put through these to hold it into place. This artifact was compared to those on two Brown Bess muskets in the Nova Scotia Museum collection and was found to be slightly larger. It does not appear to be from a Brown Bess, although no other ascription was made.

# Naval Boarding Axe (AkDi-23, 826)

This is a small, light hatchet that has been identified as a British Naval boarding axe (Ellis, pers. comm.). The axe has an 'earred' haft that would have fit over a 1.9-centimetre (or 3/4-inch) handle. The thin blade expands from 2.75 centimetres at the haft to 8 centimetres at the blade end. The top

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corner of the blade has been blunted by hitting a hard object. There is a marlin spike at the other end of the object. It is rectangular and is 2.75 centimetres high, tapering to a point. The end of the spike has also been blunted. This axe would have been used while boarding one ship from another. The spike would have helped in climbing aboard and the blade for anti-personnel purposes. This is especially interesting considering the possibility that Blucke's regiment may have been raiding New York using boats.

# **Activities Group**

# Net Weight (Plate 24) (AkDi-23, 195)

A small, squat, cylindrical lead weight for a fishing net was recovered. It measures 1.85 x 2.05 centimetres with a 1.1-centimetre hole through which the line of the fishing net would have been threaded. A very similar example is illustrated in Neumann and Kravic (1989, 119, #5). This artifact is of interest because Stephen Blucke, as well as many of the men in Birchtown, used fishing as a means to supplement their income.

# Scale Weight (Plate 24) (AkDi-23, 196)

This is a relatively crude, possibly homemade, lead scale weight. It is circular and tapers from 4.35 centimetres at the base to 4.1 centimetres at the top. There is a crescent shape stamped on the top of the weight. This artifact would have served a variety of purposes.

# In-knife (AkDi-23, 249)

This is an iron knife, similar to a drawknife that has been curved. It is 20 centimetres long from the top of the curved blade to between the tangs. It would have had wooden handles attached to both tangs. The tangs are 24 centimetres apart. The blade tapers from 9 millimetres to the blade edge. This type of tool would have been used to hollow out wood in activities such as furniture making or boat building.

# **Furniture Group**

# Drawer Pull (AkDi-23, 194)

This artifact is a machined copper alloy drawer pull with a lozenge-shaped top, waisted mid-section and a slightly flared terminal. A central rivet runs from the top and past the terminal and would have been attached to the furniture.

#### Discussion

 The excavation at AkDi-23 was an unexpected success both in terms of the archaeology and the subsequent historical research. The archaeology was employed with success in confirming oral accounts that an eighteenth-century dwelling was located in the area. Was this the home of Colonel Stephen Blucke? In truth, we may never know. It is extremely unlikely that a definitive artifact will ever be recovered from the site, nor is it likely that an historic record will be found to pinpoint the site with absolute certainty. The excavations did provide some tantalizing clues suggesting that the house indeed was Blucke's.

If one considers the artifacts from AkDi-23 as a whole, they stand in stark contrast when compared to other eighteenth-century sites studied in Birchtown. For the most part, testing and excavation on these sites has shown that the material culture is very limited and mostly undiagnostic. This appears to be a reflection of the low economic status of the average citizen of Birchtown. The 13,000 artifacts from AkDi-23 stand out because of their quantity but also because of the very good quality of the ceramics and clothing artifacts.

The ceramics from AkDi-23 are not only of good quality but the presence of matched pieces suggests they belonged to a relatively affluent household. The clothing artifacts are also telling. One can imagine the kind of person who travelled through Birchtown with silvered buttons, gilt knee buckles, and spurs on his boots. Other artifacts, such as the 2nd American regiment buttons, the sling swivel, and the bayonet, suggest past military service, although they could also have been surplus.

Finally, the artifacts appear to have belonged to a single household and were part of one garbage midden. This midden was used to fill in the cellar hole at some point, perhaps when the old house was moved in the 1880s? Even if this was the case, there were few intrusive artifacts contained within the cellar fill (Lot 12) and it appears the midden was also abandoned near the end of the eighteenth century. The mean ceramic date of 1796 corresponds almost too well with what we know of Stephen Blucke's disappearance, and I believe it is the final clue supporting the theory that this was his house.

The work at AkDi-23 has expanded the history of Birchtown using a combination of archaeological and historical research. The value of the two disciplines working together is self-evident and it holds the key to continued success in the future.

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# Acknowledgments

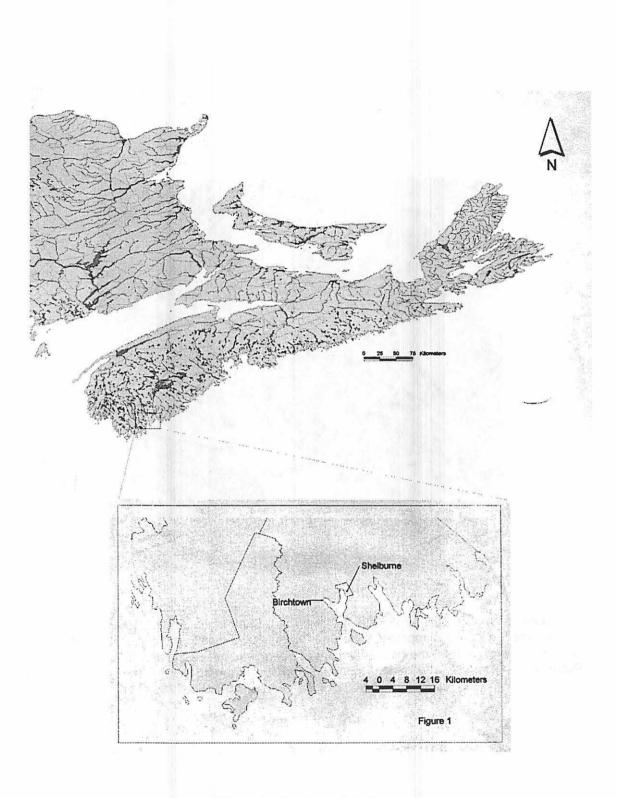
This project was made possible through a grant to the Nova Scotia Museum from the Multiculturalism Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

There has been an archaeology project in the Birchtown area every year since 1993. These projects were the direct result of the efforts of the Black Loyalist Heritage Society<sup>11</sup>, a group dedicated to saving and reclaiming the Black Loyalist heritage of Shelburne County. Their dedication and support was a major factor in any success the archaeology projects have enjoyed.

The 1998 field crew included field assistants Katie Cottreau-Robins and Sharain Jones. Katie and Sharain supervised the field crew of Corey Guye, Amanda Page, and Stanley Bower. Their patience and experience made the project a truly enjoyable one.

The Nova Scotia Museum contributed invaluable support in the form of the Total Station, photography and video services, lab space, and office space. The dedication of the Nova Scotia Museum staff to the project was inspiring and certainly made one proud to be a part of such a wonderful group. Of course, the project would not be the same without the contribution of David Christianson, provincial archaeologist, who provided timely intellectual nudges and encouragement.

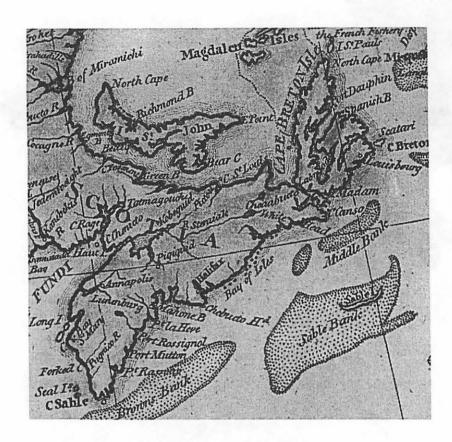
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Previously the Shelburne County Cultural Awareness Society



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Figure 1: Location of study area



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Figure 2: Nova Scotia, 1783. Port Roseway, later Shelburne, can be found to the left of Browns Bank, and is improperly labelled Pt. Rasmuy. Detail from *The United States of America laid down from the best authorities, agreeable to the Peace of 1783* by John Wallis. Published in London in 1783 it is now at the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division in Washington (LC Maps of North America, 1750–1789, 754).

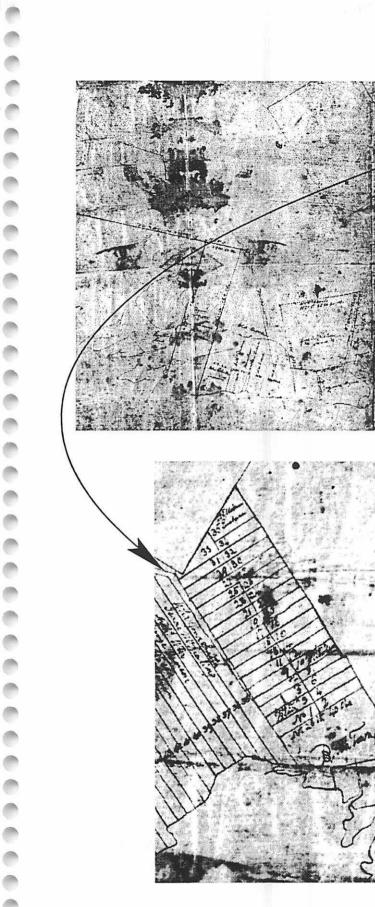
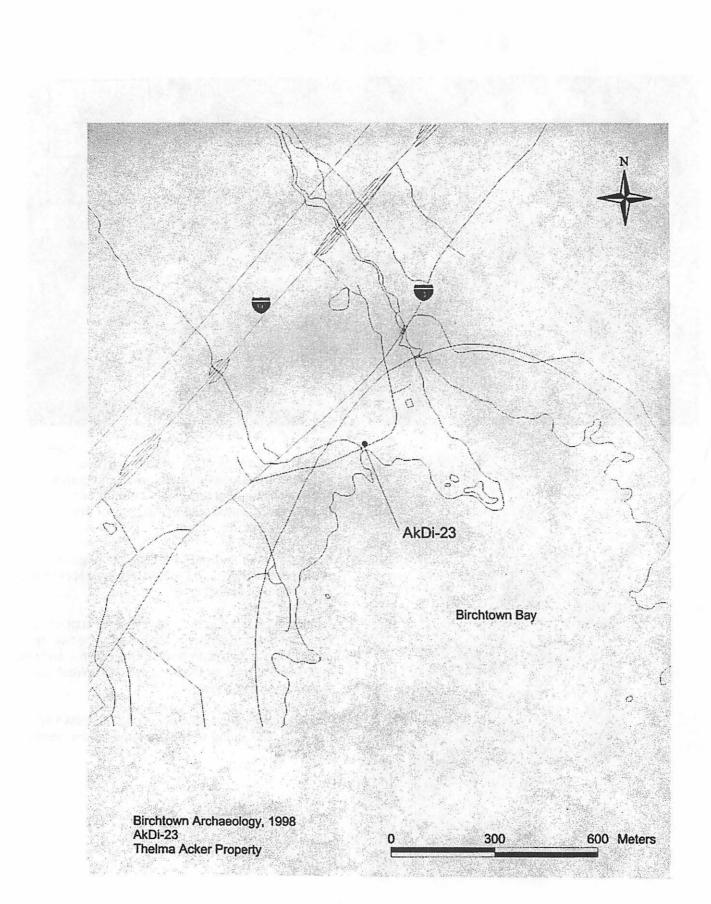


Figure 3: This copy of an undated surveyor's map shows the location and size of land grants in the Black Loyalist settlement of Birchtown, Shelburne County. Could it be a copy of the surveyor Marston's map?

Names of three known Black Loyalists appear in three lots: #3 Joseph Blair; #10 Robert Nickerson; #35 William Eustace.

The lots as laid out in this drawing were supposed to be ten acres. Each lot is supposed to be twenty chains long by five chains wide. One chain = sixty-six feet. The bearings for this map, North 26 West, are stated along the edge of lot No. 1.

Archaeologists excavated site AkDi-23, known as the Acker site, in the square underneath the words "Birchtown".



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Figure 4: Location of site AkDi-23.

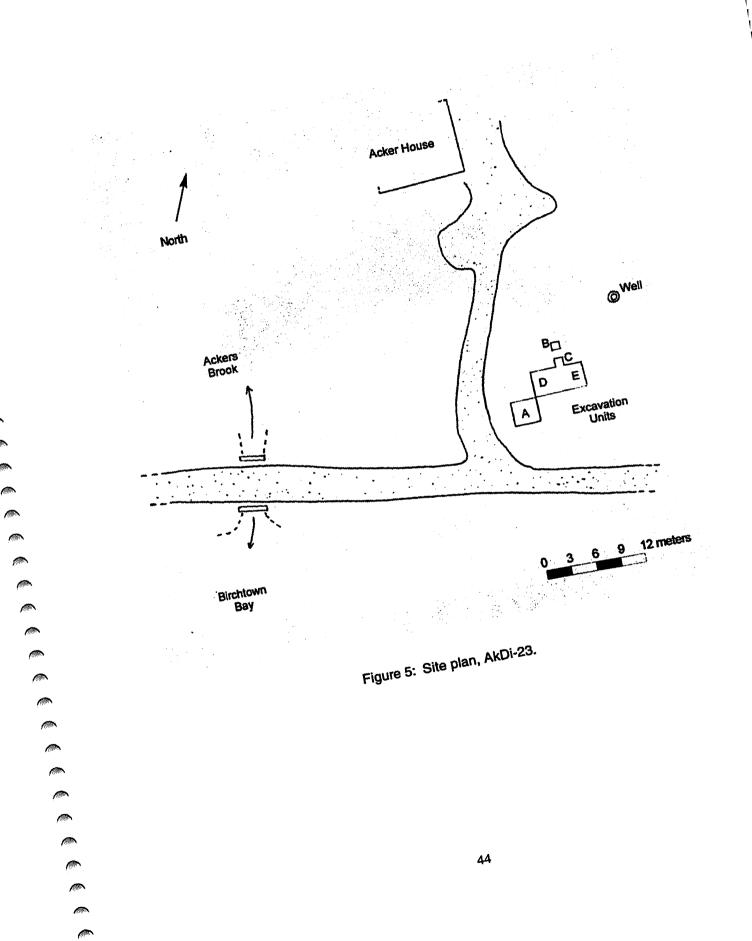




Plate 1a: AkDi-23 and the Acker house.



Plate 1b: AkDi-23, looking south to Birchtown Bay.

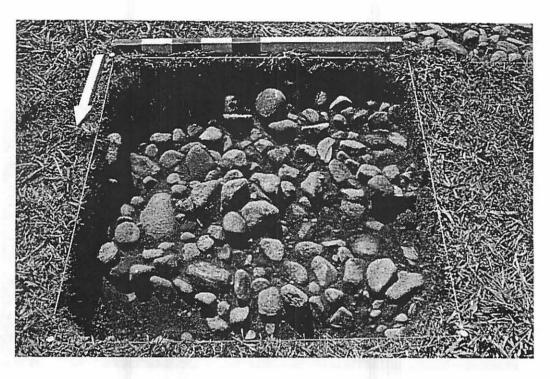


Plate 2a: Sub-operation D, south at the top.

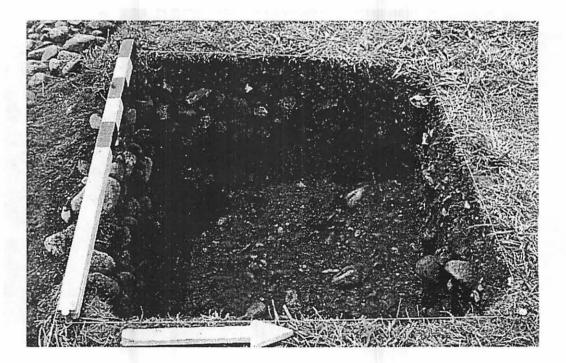
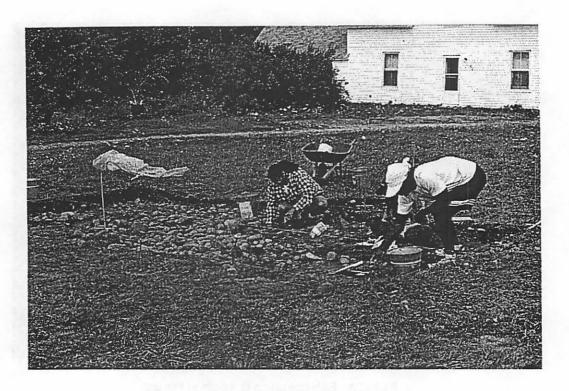


Plate 2b: Sub-operation D, after excavation. Note the slope of the filled cellar to the left.



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Plate 3a: Katie Cottreau-Robins and Corey Guy excavate in sub-operation E.

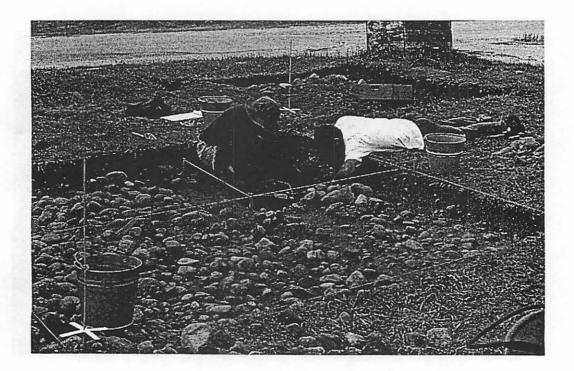


Plate 3b Sharain Jones and Stanley Bower excavate in sub-operation B.



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Plate 4a: Stanley Bower at the interface of sub-operations B and E.



Plate 4b: Amanda Page, Corey Guy, Katie Cottreau-Robins, and Stanley Bower excavating in sub-operations B and E. Sub-operation D is in the foreground.



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Plate 5a: Katie Cottreau-Robins excavating in sub-operation E. Sharain Jones is in the background.

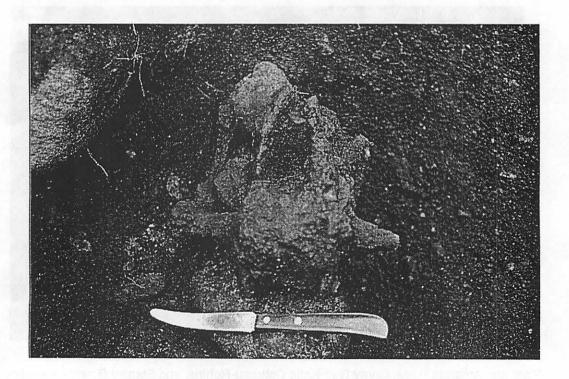


Plate 5b: Iron food mill in situ.



Plate 6a: East wall profile, sub-operation C.



Plate 6b: West wall profile, sub-operation E.

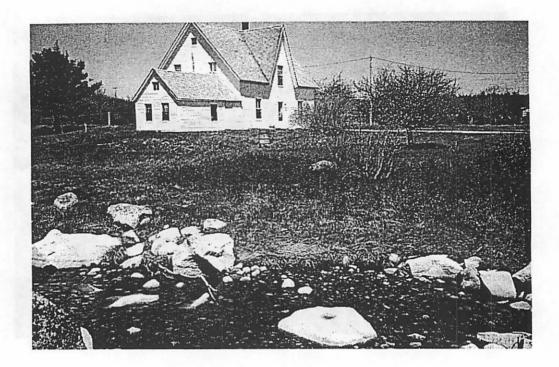


Plate 7a: Looking across Ackers Creek to the Acker house. AkDi-23 is just out of sight to the right.

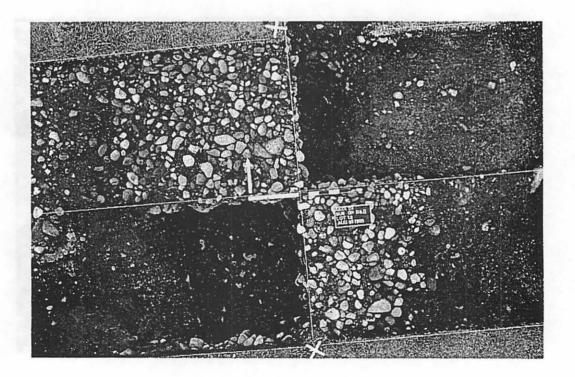


Plate 7b: Bipod shot of AkDi-23, sub-operations B (left) and E (right).

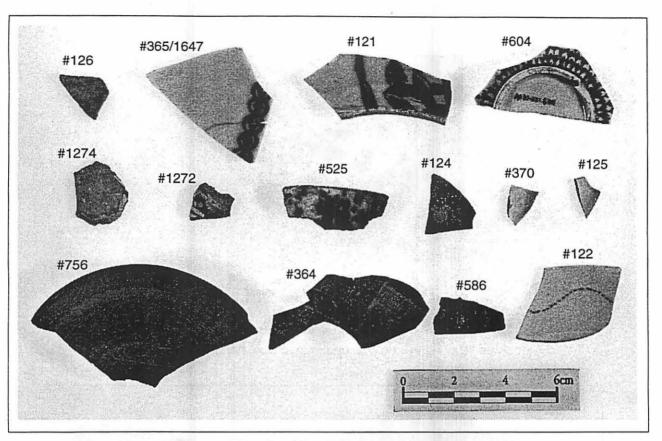


Plate 9a: Miscellaneous ceramics.

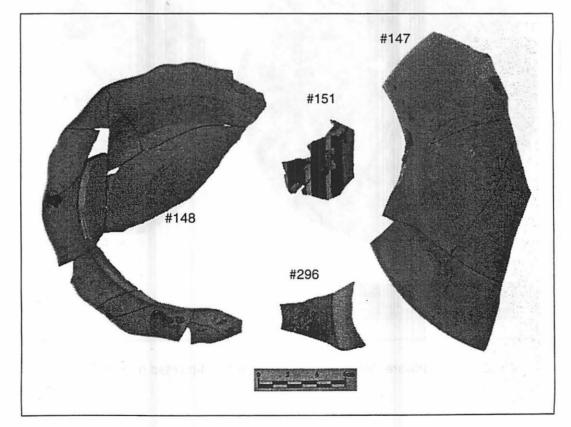
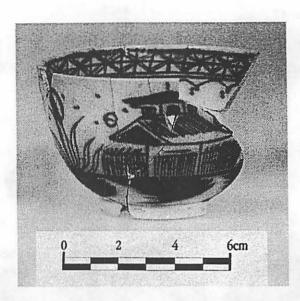


Plate 9b: Creamware.



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Plate 10a: Pearlware cup, underglaze blue, hand-painted (#38).

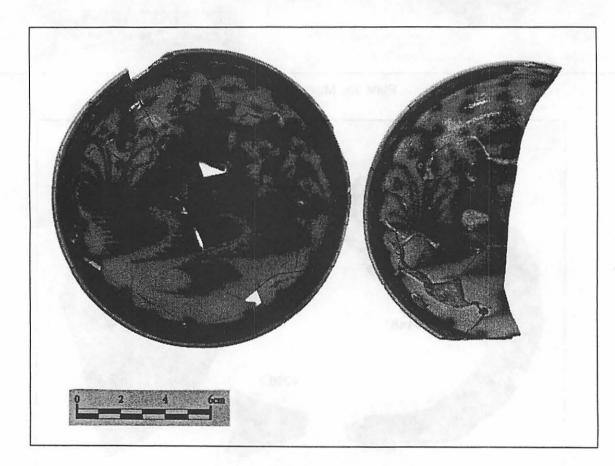
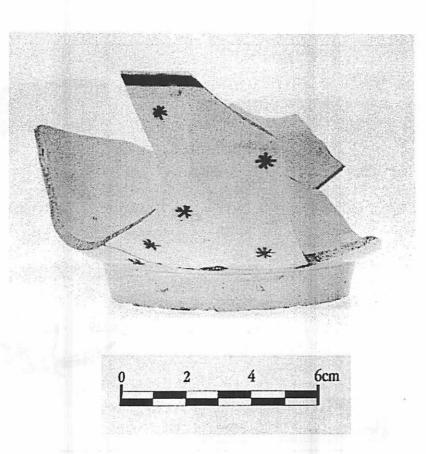


Plate 10b: Pearlware dishes, underglaze blue, hand-painted (L-R, #45 and 46).



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Plate 11a: Pearlware bowl, underglaze blue, hand-painted (#48).



Plate 11b: Pearlware cup, underglaze blue, hand-painted (#40).

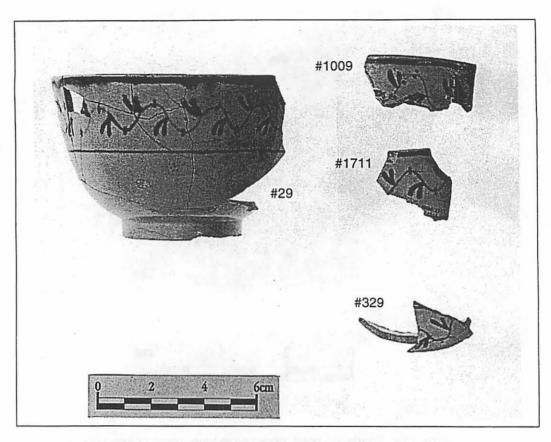


Plate 12a: Pearlware cups, underglaze blue, hand-painted.

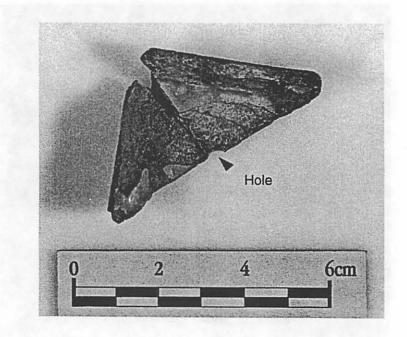
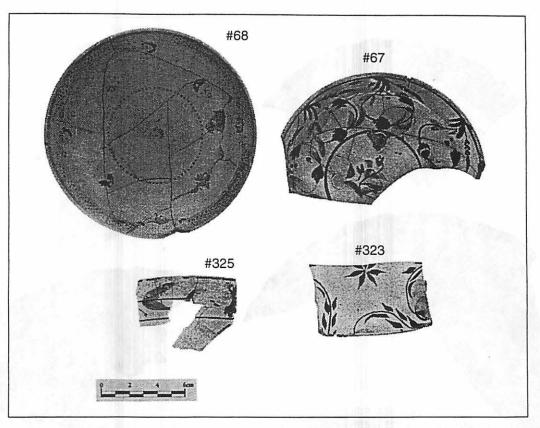


Plate 12b: Pearlware unidentified object, undecorated (#66).

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Plate 13a: Pearlware tableware, over- and underglaze polychrome, hand-painted.

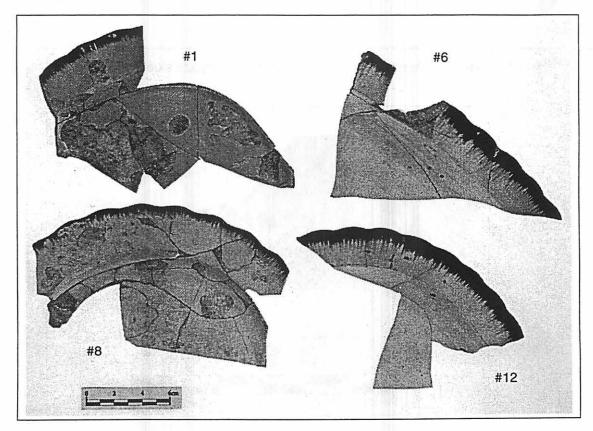
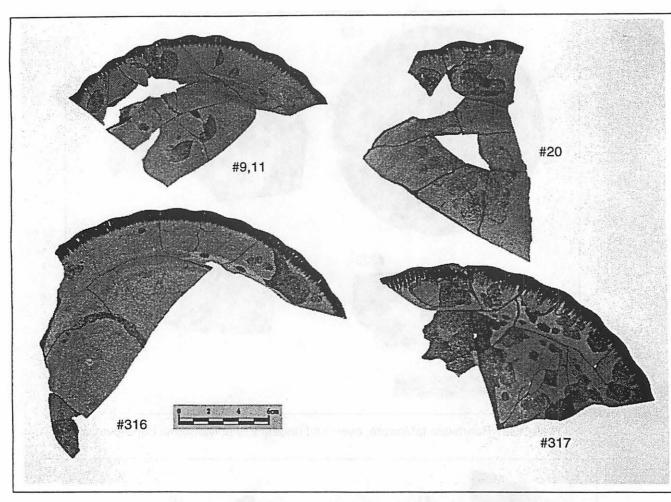


Plate 13b: Pearlware plates and platters, underglaze blue, shell-edged.



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Plate 14a: Pearlware plates and platters, underglaze blue, shell-edged.

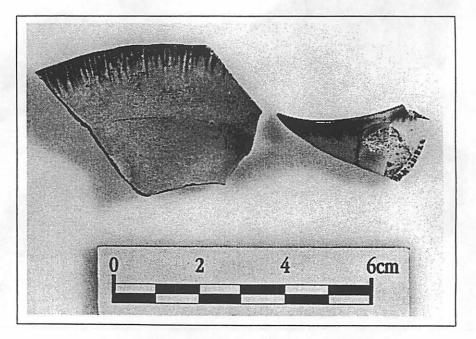


Plate 14b: Pearlware toy plate and cup, underglaze blue, shell-edged.

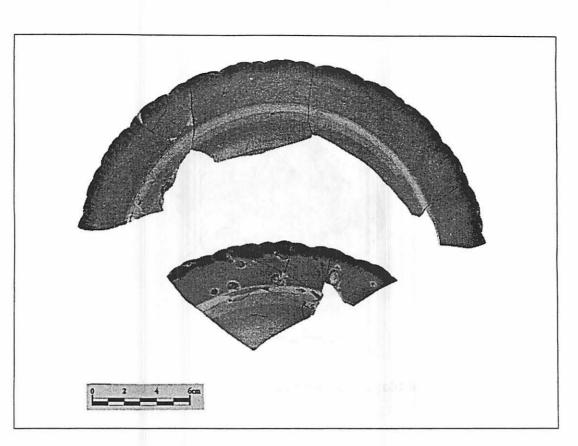


Plate 15a: Pearlware plates, underglaze green, shell-edged.



Plate 15b: Pearlware bowl, underglaze blue, transfer print (#63).

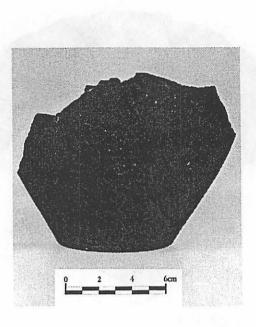
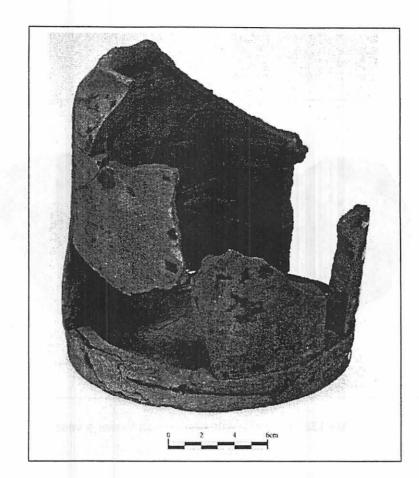


Plate 16a: Jar, unidentified coarse earthenware (#116).

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Plate 16b: Mark on base of 16a.



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Plate 17a: Coarse earthenware jar (#111, 408, 409).

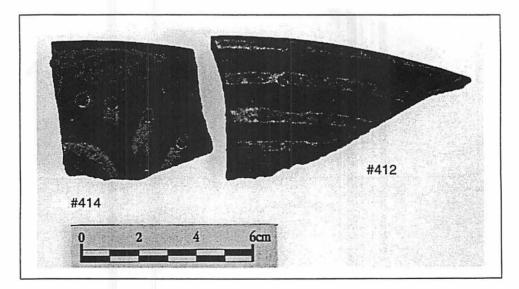


Plate 17b: Coarse earthenware, slip decorated.

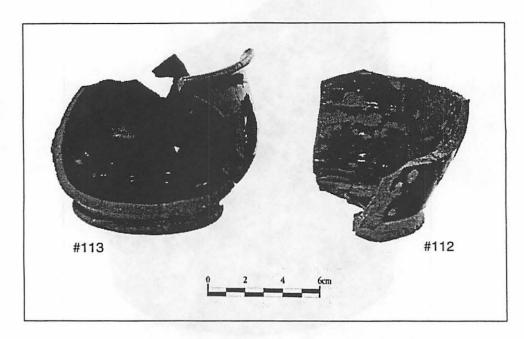


Plate 18a: Indeterminate coarse earthenware vessels

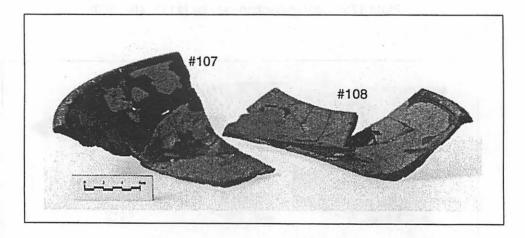
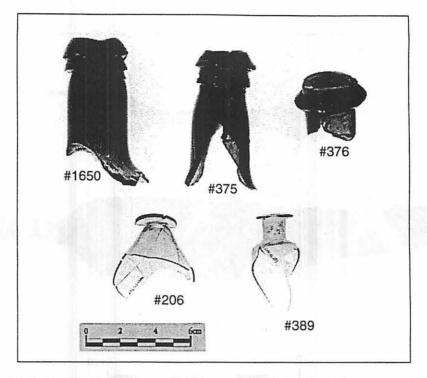


Plate 18b: Maritime-ware pans.



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Plate19a: Bottle finishes, dark green glass "wine" and pharmaceutical

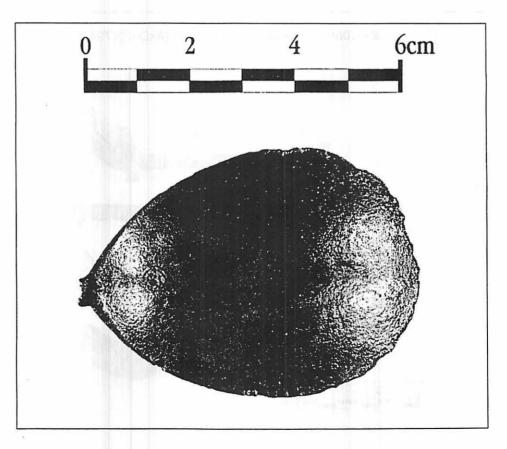
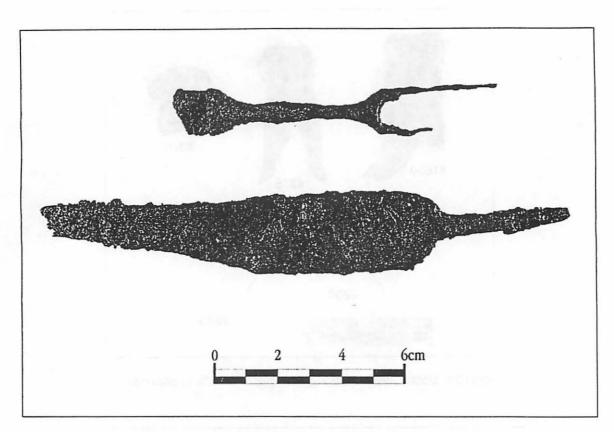


Plate: 19b: Spoon (AkDi-23:799)- overall shot of the bowl (interior) showing the mark at the top of the bowl.



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Plate 20a: Fork (AkDi-23:811), knife (AkDi-23:794)

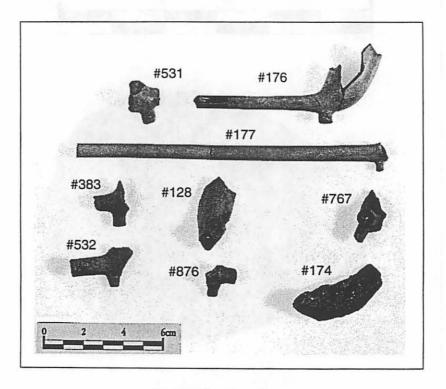


Plate 20b: Clay pipes



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Plate 21a: Regimental buttons

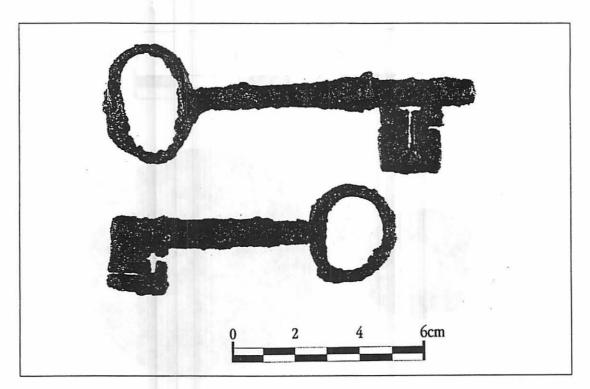
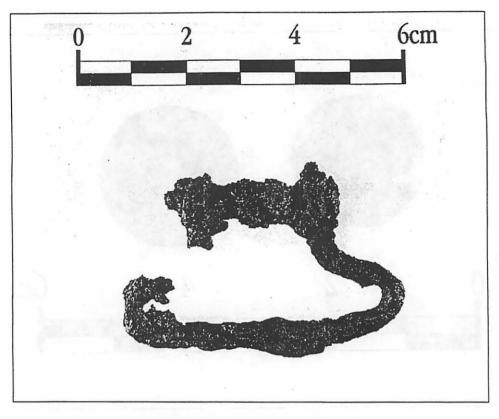


Plate 21b: Key (AkDi-23:189); Key (AkDi-23:190)



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Plate 22: Sling swivel (AkDi-23:801)

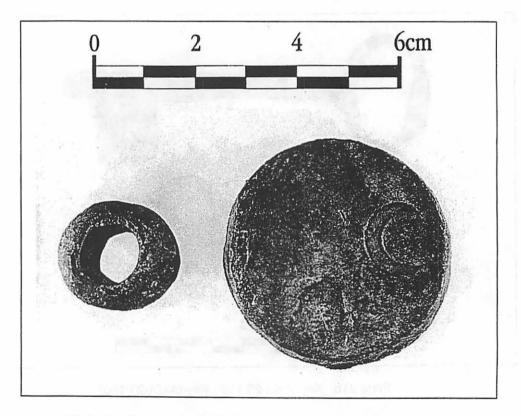


Plate 23: Net weight (AkDi-23:195); scale weight (AkDi-23:196)

# Appendix AkDi-23 Artifacts

This is a listing of most of the diagnostic artifacts recovered from AkDi-23. The artifacts are organised into unique vessels (Vessel #1) and are listed along with their catalogue numbers (#126) and their contexts (B12 ndi x 1:).

# **Kitchen Artifact Group**

Vessels: Ceramics

# Earthenware, tin-enamelled, plain

South's Type 65 – ca. 1640–1800 (1720)

Vessel #1 – indeterminate

- #126 (B12), rim, no glaze (Plate 9a) - #371 (C12), body (2), no glaze

### Porcelain, underglaze blue, Chinese export

#### South's Type 31 – ca. 1660–1800 (1730)

Vessel #2	<ul> <li>tea bowl or cup</li> <li>#1647 (ST34-2), 365 (E12), 120 (B12) – rims, floral decoration, geometric interior rim decoration (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
Vessel #3	<ul> <li>tea bowl</li> <li>#909 (A1) – floral decoration, interior</li> <li>#643 (A2) – rim, floral interior rim decoration</li> </ul>
Vessel #4	<ul> <li>– indeterminate</li> <li>#583 (B2) – lid, geometric exterior rim decoration</li> </ul>
Vessel #5	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#1705 - rim, same decoration as vessel #2, a bit larger, not as blue, thicker rim</li> </ul>
Vessel #6	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#365 (E12), 746 (E2) - rim, geometric interior rim decoration</li> </ul>

Porcelain, overglaze enamel, Chinese export

# South's Type 26 – ca. 1660–1800 (1730)

Vessel #7	<ul> <li>bowl?</li> <li>#121 (B12) – base, wiped foot, 'Imari' style, underglaze blue, overglaze red enamel, gilding (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
Vessel #8	<ul> <li>tea bowl</li> <li>#604 (A2) - base, orange overglaze enamel, interior and exterior decoration (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
	– #644 (A2) – rim, interior rim decoration, gilded lip – #584 (B2) – same as #644
Vessel #9	- tea bowl - #1089 (B2) - rim, orange overglaze enamel, geometric interior rim decoration
Vessel #10	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#644 (A2) - body, orange overglaze enamel, gilding, geometric decoration</li> </ul>

Lead glazed	slipware (combed yellow)
0	e 56 – ca. 1670–1795 (1733)
• -	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#1274 (ST19-2) – body (2), faint slip decoration (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
Mottled glaz	e cream coloured earthenware
South's Type	e 36 - ca. 1740-1770 (1755)
Vessel #12	– pan? – #525 (B2) – rim, everted (Plate 9a)
"Jackfield"	ware
South's Type	e 29 - ca. 1740–1780 (1760)
Vessel #13	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#124 (B12) - body, moulded floral decoration (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
Moulded wh	ite salt-glazed stoneware
South's Typ	e 16 – ca. 1740–1765 (1753)
Vessel #14	– indeterminate – #370 (E12) – rim, moulded (Plate 9a)
White salt-g	lazed stoneware
South's Typ	e 40 – ca. 1720–1805 (1763)
Vessel #15	– indeterminate – #125 (B12) – rim, plain (Plate 9a)
Engine-turn	ed unglazed red stoneware
•	e 28 – ca. 1763–1775 (1769)
Vessel #16	
	<ul> <li>- #756 (E2) - lid, engine-turned decoration (Plate 9a)</li> <li>- #1389 (ST26-2) - knop, moulded</li> <li>- #743 (E2) - rim, plain</li> </ul>
"Black basa	lt's" stoneware
	e 27 - ca. 1750–1820 (1785)
Vessel #17	
	- #474 (D12), 364 (E12), 127 (B12) - body, engine-turned ribbing, glazed interior
	(Plate 9a)
Vessel #18	<ul> <li>– indeterminate</li> <li>– #586 (B2) – body, moulded 'basket', glazed interior and exterior (Plate 9a)</li> </ul>
English por	celain
	ee 31 – ca. 1745–1795 (1770)
Vessel #19	– cup?

Notes

- cup? - #122 (B12) - rim, purple overglaze enamel dots on interior (Plate 9a)

Vessel #20	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#605 (A2) – body, orange and green overglaze enamel</li> </ul>
Creamware	
South's Type	e 22 - ca. 1762-1820 (1791)
Vessel #21	– pitcher
	<ul> <li>#146 (B12) – spout/body</li> <li>#1710 – base, rounded foot, ground flat. This base is associated only by the</li> </ul>
	nature of the glaze and should be considered a 'best fit'.
Vessel #22	
Vessel #23	<ul> <li>- #149 (B12) - rim/body. The base from vessel #21 may also fit this vessel.</li> <li>- dish</li> </ul>
¥ CSSCI #25	-4150 (B12) - rim to foot
Vessel #24	
	– #523 (B2) – rim, everted, slightly down-turned
Vessel #25	•
	<ul> <li>- #152 (B12) - rims (3), everted, slightly up-turned</li> <li>- #154 (B12), 298 (E12) - base/body, high foot</li> </ul>
Vessel #26	- #154 (B12), 298 (E12) - base/body, high root - chamber pot
· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	– #153 (B12) – rim, everted, slightly up-tooled
Vessel #27	
	- #148 (B12) – Royal pattern, base to rim, slightly recessed base. The base is either
141-#20	ground or heavily worn (Plate 9b)
Vessel #28	– plate/platter – #156 – Royal pattern, rim
Vessel #29	– plate/platter
	– #155 (B12) – Royal pattern, rim
Vessel #30	– plate/platter
	– #157 (B12) – Royal pattern, rim
Vessel #31	– plate/platter #521 (B2) – Benel2 rim, slightly beseded
Vessel #32	<ul> <li>- #521 (B2) - Royal?, rim, slightly beaded</li> <li>- plate/platter</li> </ul>
103011152	- #161 (B12) - rim, slightly beaded, upturned
Vessel #33	
	– #296 (E12) – rim, feather-edged
Vessel #34	
Vessel #35	<ul> <li>- #167 (B12) - rim, feather-edged (Plate 9b)</li> <li>- plate/platter</li> </ul>
v cssci #33	– #613 (A2) – rim, feather-edged
Vessel #36	
	-#147 (B12) – rim to base, plain rim, slightly recessed base (Plate 9b)
Vessel #37	– plate/platter
V1 #20	- #160 (B12) $-$ rim, plain
Vessel #38	– plate/platter – #159 (B12) – rim, plain
Vessel #39	

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	#158 (D12) rim plain
Vessel #40	– #158 (B12) – rim, plain – plate/platter
V CSSCI #40	- #522 (B2) $-$ rim, plain
"Annular wa	res" creamware
South's Type	e 14 - ca. 1780-1815 (1798)
Vessel #41	– mug or tankard
	– #151 (B12) – rim, light reddish-brown annular banding (Plate 9b)
IInderalaze k	blue, hand-painted pearlware
	e 17 - ca. 1780 - 1820 (1800)
Vessel #42	- cup
v CSSCI #42	– #38 (B12) – chinoiserie exterior, elaborate interior rim decoration, foot ring
	(Plate 10a)
Vessel #43	– cup
	- #62 (B12) - indeterminate pattern, foot ring, heavily chipped foot
Vessel #44	– dish
	- #45 (B12) - chinoiserie interior, foot ring (Plate 10b)
Vessel #45	
	<ul> <li>- #46 (B12) – chinoiserie interior, foot ring, pattern identical to#45, different painter (Plate 10b)</li> </ul>
Vessel #46	– bowl
	- #48 (B12) - foot ring, heavily chipped, exterior 'stars', rim stripe, interior rim
	stripe and dot finish on bottom of interior (to hide a flaw?) (Plate 11a)
Vessel #47	
	- #58 (B12), 59 (B12) (rims), 90 (B12) (base) - chinoiserie exterior, elaborate
371 #40	interior rim, foot ring
Vessel #48	<ul> <li>– cup?</li> <li>– #47 (B12) – rim, indeterminate exterior, elaborate interior rim treatment,</li> </ul>
	identical to vessel 42
Vessel #49	- dish?
	- #61 (B12) - rim, plain exterior, 'stars' on interior, interior rim stripe
Vessel #50	– plate
	- #336 (E12), 451 (D12), 1639 (ST34-2), 1640 (ST34-2) - complete profile, no
371 #00	foot, interior stripe at the top and bottom of the brim
Vessel #88	– saucer – #33 (B12), 35 (B12), 57 (B12), 34 (B12), 36 (B12) – interior rim stripe, floral
	swags, central floral motif, foot ring
Vessel #89	- saucer
	- #32 (B12), 1022 (D2) - identical to vessel 88
Vessel #90	– cup
	- #24 (B12) – identical to vessel 88 and 89, decoration on the exterior
Vessel #91	- cup #26 (P12) 222 (E12) 221 (E12) identical to success 00
Vessel #92	- #26 (B12), 333 (E12), 331 (E12) - identical to vessel 90 - pitcher?
τ <b>93991</b> π72	hrows .

	- #69 (B12), 328 (E12) - exterior decoration, line around neck, line and floral swag (same as vessel 88) on shoulder
Vessel #93	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#53 (B12) - body, remnant of handle terminal, exterior floral motif, identical to vessels #88-92</li> </ul>
Vessel #94	
	- #49 (B12), 50 (B12), 55 (B12), 327 (E12) - double interior rim stripe (thick over thin), four floral arrangements surrounding a central 'bouquet', foot ring
Vessel #95	<ul> <li>- cup</li> <li>- #40 (B12), 41 (B12) - foot ring, interior rim stripe, floral motif at centre of base, single floral motif on exterior - bells, berries, then three floral sprigs (Plate 11b)</li> </ul>
Vessel #96	- indeterminate
Vessel #97	- #51 (B12) - interior floral motif at centre of base
V CSSCI #77	<ul> <li>- cup</li> <li>- #29 (B12) – external rim stripe over curvilinear floral and berry swags, over stripe through centre of vessel, interior rim stripe, floral motif in centre of base (Plate 12a)</li> </ul>
Vessel #98	•
	- #1009 (check cat#) - rim, decoration identical to vessel 97(Plate 12a)
Vessel #99	<ul> <li>- cup</li> <li>- #1711 - rim, decoration identical to vessel 97 (Plate 12a)</li> </ul>
Undecorated	l pearlware
	e 20 – ca. 1780–1830 (1805)
• -	- indeterminate
	<ul> <li>- #66 (B12) – base, square form (4.3 cm), shallow (1.5 cm), hole in centre (Plate 11b)</li> </ul>
Overglaze er	namel hand-painted pearlware
South's Type	e ? – ca. 1780–1830 (1805)
Vessel #52	– dish
	<ul> <li>- #68 (B12) - complete. Interior decoration, floral swag at the four points, enamel dots between, double annular lines below dots. A second set of four floral arrangements closer to the bottom and between the other flowers. Circle of dots around the base, floral arrangement in the middle, a bit off-centre. Foot ring (Plate 13a)</li> </ul>
Vessel #53	<ul> <li>indeterminate</li> <li>#74 (B12), 585 (B2) – exterior rim decorated with dots, interior rim decorated identically to vessel 52</li> </ul>
Underglaze ]	polychrome pearlware
South's Typ	e 12 – ca. 1795–1815 (1805)
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Vessel #54 – dish/bowl

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 - #67 (B12) - interior floral decoration, interior rim stripe (olive), circle around base interior, central floral arrangement, foot ring. Colours: olive - lines and

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	stripes; light green – leaves; orange – leaves; blue – berries/fruit and flowers	
Vessel #55	(Plate 13a) – dish	
v essei #33	– 4324 (E12) – slightly larger than #54, otherwise identical. Indeterminate	
	embossed mark.	
Vessel #56	– small bowl or cup	
	- #325 (E12) - rim, interior rim stripe (brown), exterior rim stripe, floral	
	decoration, thin annular lines. Colours: blue	
	<ul> <li>flower?; green – leaves; brown – leaves and stems; orange – berries?</li> <li>(Plate 12a)</li> </ul>	
Vessel #57	– bowl	
	- #77 (B12) (base), 79(B12) (rim), 78 (B12) (body) - interior rim stripe (brown),	
	central interior floral motif, double exterior rim stripe (thick brown over thin	
	yellow), widely-spread floral arrangement on exterior. Colours: green – leaves;	
Vessel #58	blue – berries; yellow – ? – dish	
v CSSCI #J0	– 4151 – #76 (B12) – foot ring, plain exterior, interior rim decoration is yellow ground	
	under rim stripe below which is a linear floral pattern, below which is a thinner	
	line	
Vessel #59	- bowl?	
	- #323 (E12) – foot ring, interior decoration of vines (brown) and fruit? (yellow), central motif of leaves (brown) (Plate 12a)	
Vessel #60	– dish	
	- #75 (B12) - rim, plain exterior, interior rim decoration similar to vessel #58,	
	although it is not nearly as well executed. Vessel somewhat larger and more	
Vessel #61	robust than #58. – indeterminate	
v CSSCI #01	- #564 (B2) – foot ring, interior decoration of leaves (olive), fruit? (yellow), and	
	berries? (blue)	
Vessel #62	- cup?	
	- #80 (B12) - interior rim stripe (brown), exterior rim stripe, stylized floral motif	
	on the exterior - leaves (brown), stems (yellow-orange), and dots (blue)	
"Marbled" pearlware		
No South's Type – ca. 1780–1830 (1805)		
Vessel #63	- indeterminate	
	– #326 (E12) – lid, marbled top	
"Annular" wares pearlware		
South's Type 13 – ca. 1790–1820 (1805)		
Vessel #64	- pitcher?	
	-#1405 (ST27-2) - rim, waisted neck, annular banding of light yellow-brown and	
	blue, rouletted decoration on the body	

# Blue and green edged pearlware

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# South's Type 19 - ca. 1780-1820 (1805)

J 1	
Vessel #65	•
	- #1 (B12), 2 (B12), 3 (B12), 4 (B12), 5 (B12) - recessed base, shell-edged, blue
•••••	(Plate 13b)
Vessel #66	– platter
1	- #6 (B12), 7 (B12) - flat base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 13b)
Vessel #67	- plate
Vessel #68	-#8 (B12) – recessed base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 13b) – platter?
V CSSCI #00	– plater? – #14 (B12), 321 (E12) – rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #69	- plate/platter
1 03501 #07	– #16 (B12) – rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #70	– plate
	-#12 (B12), 13 (B12) – deep plate, flat base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 13b)
Vessel #71	– plate
	- #9 (B12), 10 (B12), 11 (B12) – recessed base, very finely potted, shell-edged,
	blue (Plate 14a)
Vessel #72	– plate
	<ul> <li>- #20 (B12) – recessed base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 14a)</li> </ul>
Vessel #73	– platter?
37	- #316(E12) - recessed base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 14a)
Vessel #74	•
Vessel #75	<ul> <li>- #317 (E12), 318 (E12) - deep, recessed base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 14a)</li> <li>- indeterminate</li> </ul>
V C33CI #75	- #18 (B12), 19 (B12) $-$ rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #76	– plate/platter
	– #319 (E12) – rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #77	
	- #17 (B12) - rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #78	– plate/platter
	- #320 (E12) $-$ rim, shell-edged, blue
Vessel #79	- toy plate
17 1 100	- #15 (B12) - rim to base, shell-edged, blue (Plate 14b)
Vessel #80	- cup or pitcher, toy #222 (E12) rim shall adapt hive (Plate 14b)
Vessel #81	– #322 (E12) – rim, shell-edged, blue (Plate 14b) – plate
v CSSCI #01	– #21 (B12), 22 (B12) – rim to base, flat base, shell-edged, green (Plate 15a)
Vessel #82	- plate
	- #311 (E12), 312 (E12), 313 (E12) - rim, shell-edged, green (Plate 15a)
Vessel #83	- indeterminate
	– #23 (B12) – rim, shell-edged, green

# Transfer printed pearlware

# South's Type 11 – ca. 1795–1840 (1818)

Vessel #84 – bowl

- #63 (B12) - nearly complete, foot ring, some heavy spalling, underglaze blue

	decoration, chinoiserie exterior, interior geometric rim decoration, floral
	decoration in centre of base (Plate 15b)
Vessel #85	– indeterminate
	– #524 (B2), 73 (B12) – underglaze blue, foot ring
Vessel #86	– cup
	- #70 (B12), 86 (B12) - underglaze blue interior and exterior, foot ring
Vessel #87	– cup
	- #71 (B12) - underglaze blue interior and exterior, foot ring
Coarse earth	nenwares
No South Ty	pe, undated
Type A – Med	literranean?
Vessel #100	- indeterminate
	- #116 (B12) – base, very gravely temper (quartz, mica, organic inclusions, other large rock chunks), unglazed interior, exterior iron oxide wash, narrow base expanding to a bulbous mid-section, tapering again to the top (missing). Much use-wear on base. A single 'slash' mark cut into the wet clay- maker? (Plate 16)
Type B – Ang	lo-American
Vessel #101	– pan
	- #109 (B12) – soft red fabric, greenish-brown glaze, slightly everted rim, rounded, interior ridge, iron oxide wash on exterior?

#### Vessel #102 – pan

- #110 (B12), 411 (E12) - identical to vessel 101, no iron oxide exterior wash, a tool was used to 'rib' the exterior

# Vessel #103 – indeterminate

- #413 (E12) - rim, rounded, probably slightly everted, but an interior 'overhang' was created making a sort of lip on the interior of the rim

Vessel #109 – storage jar

-#111 (B12), 408 (E12), 409 (E12) - soft, red fabric, green-brown glazed interior and exterior, unglazed base, large inclusions in base (granite?), pinched and everted rim (Plate 17a)

#### *Type C – Anglo-American, slip decorated*

Vessel #104 – indeterminate

- #414 (E12), 415 (E12) - rims, likely pan or bowl, indeterminate decoration of white slip

Vessel #105 - indeterminate

- #412 (E12) - rim, likely pan or bowl, small, up-turned and everted rim, deeply incised groove on the inside of the rim, concentric rings of white slip on the interior, exterior iron oxide wash? (or over-fired) (Plate 17b)

# Type D - Anglo-American, mottled brown and black glaze

Vessel #106 – indeterminate

-#418 (E12) - soft orange fabric, rounded and slightly up-turned rim. This vessel is in very poor shape due to delamination

#### Type E – Anglo-American? Buckley?

Vessel #107 – pot

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 - #113 (B12), 114 (B12), 115 (B12) - small pot with handle, brown glazed interior and exterior, unglazed base, slightly everted, rounded rim, remnants of one handle - may have been a second? Squat, slightly bulbous body. Moderate usewear on interior - stir marks (Plate 18a)

#### Vessel #108 – indeterminate

-#112 (B12) – probably a storage jar, soft red fabric, black glazed exterior, unglazed base, slightly everted base, red-brown interior glaze with green-brown glaze on interior base (Plate 18a)

#### *Type F – Maritime-ware*

Vessel #110 – pan or bowl

- #108 (B12) hard, red fabric, slipped and lead-glazed interior, unglazed base (Plate 18b)
- Vessel #111 pan or bowl
  - #107 (B12) hard, red fabric, thinly potted, 'clouded' glazed interior brown mottling over white slip and under clear lead glaze, everted and upturned rim, slightly 'dished', rounded (Plate 18b)

#### Stoneware

#### Brown stoneware bottles

#### South's Type 1 – ca. 1820–1900+ (1860)

Vessel #112 – bottle

 - #119 (B12) – shoulder and neck, light brown exterior, glazed, grey fabric, unglazed interior

#### **English brown stoneware**

South's Type 54 - ca. 1690-1775 (1733)

- Vessel #113 indeterminate
  - #441 (E12) handle, grey body, grey-brown exterior

#### Type A - Indeterminate brown stoneware, red fabric

#### No South Type – undated

Vessel #114 – indeterminate – #440 (E12) – very hard, red fabric, gritty brown glaze (19th c. CEW?)

#### Vessels: Glass

#### "Wine" bottles, dark green glass, English (Plate 19a)

Vessel #115 – bottle

- #1650 (ST34-12) – finish, glass added to lip, down-tooled, flattened string rim, tool mark below string rim, squat neck

Vessel #116 – bottle

- #375 (E12) - finish, glass added to lip, down-tooled lip, flattened string rim

Vessel #117	<ul> <li>bottle</li> <li>#376 (E12) – cracked-off and fire-polished lip, down-tooled top, up-tooled</li> <li>bottom string rim</li> </ul>
No vessel	– bottle
	- #200 (B12) - base, faint pontil mark (glass-tipped?), low, broad kick-up, slight
	basal sag, heavy use-wear
No vessel	– bottle
	– #671 (E2) – faint pontil mark, average height kick-up, slight basal sag, heavy
	use-wear
Pharmaceutical bottles, light green glass (Plate 19b)	
I hai maccutical bottles, induc di cen diass (x inte x70)	

# Vessel #118 - bottle #206 (B12) - finish, very thin, well-made, flattened lip, very even, body expands from the neck down Vessel #119 - bottle #389 (E12) - finish/neck, very thin, well-made, flattened lip, very slightly down-tooled, short cylindrical neck, cylindrical body No vessel - bottle #202 (B12) - base, light green, very small, cylindrical, glass-tipped pontil

# Storage bottles

Vessel #120	– indeterminate, colourless
	- #392 (E12) - finish, crude, uneven, folded to the inside and flattened, would
	have had a short neck flaring to shoulders, black inclusions in the glass
No vessel #	- indeterminate
	- #222 (B12) - base, blue-green glass, cylindrical vessel, very high kick-up
	- #390 (E12) - base, light green, thin body but heavy base, cylindrical, glass-tipped

pontil

#### Tableware, tumblers

Vessel #121	– tumbler, lead metal, moulded
	- #391 (E12) - pattern-moulded, glass-tipped pontil, lightly fire-polished, slight
	push-up, off-centre, moulded diamond pattern, relatively sharp mould, rounded
	rim (fire-polished)
Vessel #122	– tumbler, lead metal, moulded
	- #208 (B12) - pattern-moulded diamonds, quite diffused mould, slight push-up,
	glass-tipped pontil, fire-polished, rounded rim
Vessel #123	– tumbler, lime metal, moulded
	- pattern-moulded ribs, very slight push-up, glass-tipped pontil, fire-polished
Vessel #124	– tumbler, lead metal, plain
	- #226 (B12) - base, colourless, glass-tipped pontil, fire-polished
Vessel #125	– tumbler, lead metal, plain
	– #533 (B2) – base, colourless, indeterminate pontil

#### Stemware

Vessel #126 – glass, drawn stem, plain, lead metal – #203 (B12) – plain drawn stem, colourless, no bowl, no foot
Vessel #127 – indeterminate, press-moulded, lead metal – indeterminate, colourless, lead metal (pre-1860)

# Spoons

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- #150 spoon, 'apostle'?
  - #799 (E12) bowl, slightly elongated, round, 1 cm deep. Very little of the stem remains, enough to say that it was relatively thin (.55 cm), rectangular in section, Offset triangular reinforcing at the stem/bowl juncture

- not a rat-tail. Stamped mark (faint), possibly a rose, just below the interior stem/bowl juncture. From all appearances it is 17th century (Plate 19b).

#### #151 – spoon

- #800 (E12) - complete, iron, teaspoon (12.6 cm long), oval bowl, no reinforcing at the stem/bowl juncture, square stem in section, flattened, slightly up-turned stem end, quite corroded.

#### Fork

#152 – fork, 2-tined

-#811 (ST13-2) - iron, flat tang, 2-tined, baluster stem, no handle (Plate 20a).

#### Knife

#153 – knife, table

- #794 (E12) – blade, iron, rat-tail tang, normal blade wear from the tang to the mid-section after which it is heavily worn to a 20 degree angle from the top. The tip appears broken (Plate 20a).

#### Food Mill

#154 – food mill (Plate 5b)

- #250 (B12) - iron, hand-operated, post-mounted. Slightly curved handle (replacement?), not ergonomic, may have had a wooden knob attached to it for easier turning. The handle is attached to a shaft that travels through the cylindrical drum of the body. What appears to be a hole at the top of the drum is, more likely, the hole for the hopper. Inside the drum is a grinding wheel covering nearly 2/3 of the interior. The wheel has raised diagonal ridges for the grinding. At the bottom of the drum, on the opposite side of the handle, is a rectangular opening from which the ground substance would fall. A remnant of a bolt on the outside of this opening may have been the remains of a funnel. Two rectangular plates are attached to the drum (or are part of it) and two bolts run through them. These would have been used to attach the mill to a wooden post.

# Clay Pipe Artifact Group (Plate 20b)

- #155 impressed bowl and heel
  - #531 (B2) (spur), 766 (B2) (bowl) Stone's Class 1, Series C, Type 4 (p. 150) "Impressed letters WG enclosed in circle; winged or curled leaf design above and

below letters; symbol located on bowl back face; letters W and G on opposite sides of flattened heel". #156 – impressed bowl and heel - #176 (B12) - bowl and heel, same as above except no cartouche remaining #157 – impressed heel - #177 (B12) - long stem, flattened heel, indeterminate identical marks on either side of the heel -C or G or ( #158 – impressed heel - #393 (E12) - heel, T and D on opposite sides of flattened heel #159 – impressed bowl - #137 (B12), 1281 (ST19-2) - bowl/stem, impressed cartouche on back of bowl -T ?L? within circle, winged design above and below letters – no heel remaining #160 - plain -#137 (duplicate cat #), 767 (E2), 532 (B2) - heel/stem, plain heel, plain bowl #161 – moulded bowl - #876 (C2) - heel/stem, plain heel, moulded bowl - chequered and dots. Associated with 765 (E2) - bowl frag.? #162 – plain - #174 (B12) - stem/bowl, plain - moulded bowl - #395 (E12), 394 (E12), 529 (B2) - bowl, moulded ribs #510 (B1) – bowl, moulded floral **Clothing Artifact Group** Glass #128 - button - #221 (B12) – moulded, white glass, 4-holed #129 – inset - #773 (E2) - pressed, colourless, lead metal, 'stone' #130 - inset - #1716 (B2) - pressed, blue glass, flower (rose), 'stone' #131 - bead - #774 (E2) - wound, blue glass, donut-shaped #132 - bead - #855 (B2) - wound, blue-green glass, donut-shaped Metal #133 – button, regimental - #793 (E12) – white metal, poor condition, '2' in centre surrounded by a crowned circle along the exterior edge of which are the letters 'E', 'M', all other are missing (Plate 21a).

#134 – button, regimental

- #802 (E12) - identical to vessel #133 but the edges are completely eroded. The circle and the '2' are still visible. To the left of the 2, on the exterior of the circle,

are the tops of what appear to be an 'A' and an 'M'

These buttons represent the 2nd American Regiment (Volunteers of Ireland), placed on the American Establishment as the 2nd American Regiment in 1779 and drafted as an under strength unit in 1782. They date, therefore, between 1780 and 1782.

#135 – button, plain face, embossed back

- #185 (B12) - cu, poor condition, 'GILT' embossed on back, South's Type 18

- #136 button, embossed face
  - #809 (ST11-2) pewter, some apparent cu corrosion, concave face with embossed 10-pt star and ridged edge. Convex back, plain. Nicely formed, high, round boss with iron eye (Plate 21b).
- #137 button, plain

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- #186 (B12) cu?, complete but covered with 'bubbled' corrosion. Plain, flat face, plain, flat back, cast with eye in place, casting spur. South's Type 7?
- #138 button, regimental
  - #187 (B12) cu, excellent condition, convex face with embossed crown over three cannons - Royal Artillery, 1790s. Concave back with what would have been a large eye cast in place. Very thick, robust button (Plate 21b).
- #139 button, plain
  - #797 (E12) pewter?, small (1.5 cm), plain, flat face, plain, spun back, cast with eye in place, off-centre, complete. South's Type 7
- #140 button, plain
  - #187 (duplicate cat #) cu, plain face, very corroded, stamped back, indeterminate writing
- #141 button, plain
  - white metal, plain face, spun back, cast with eye in place, foot on eye in boss, casting spur. South's Type 6
- #142 button, composite construction
  - #804 (D12) cu?, silvered. Very elaborate face ridged rim, inside of which is a circle of 18 dots, inside of which is another circle. These apparently overlay a woven design consisting of a thicker, wavy line intersected by a thinner, straight line. The thick line travels alternatively over and under the thicker one. The back is plain except for a groove just inside the rim. The faint 'scar' of what I presume is the eye is present (Plate 21b).

#### Cuff Links

#143 – cuff link, glass inset

-#812 (ST9-2) - single link, cu, plain back, concave front set with blue glass, intaglio design engraved on the back of the glass (floral). Cast with eye in place (see Stone, 1974: 70, 73, fig. 36a).

#### Shoe Buckle Frame

#144 – shoe buckle frame, cast rococo design

- #806 (E2) - cu, rounded corners, rectangular foliate relief, quite elaborate.

'Shell' engraving at terminals, iron pin ends intact, pin terminal is Abbitt's type A (p35), frame is Abbitt's type IV (similar to #11, p. 44) (Plate 22a).

# Knee Buckle Frame

#145 – knee buckle frame

-#810 (ST36-1) - cu? or iron, gilded. Oblong frame with close-set, raised circles, used for imitating stones - not 'solid set in brass' (Plate 22a).

#### **Miscellaneous Buckles**

No

# – chape or backpiece

- #847 (E2) - iron, poorly preserved, can't distinguish shape

# **Personal Artifact Group**

#146 – thimble

- #820 (A2) – cu, quite small (1.45 by 1.4 cm), stamped side and crown

- #147 jaw harp
  - #193 (B12) cu, cast, hand-filed. Stone's series B1a diamond cross-section, round frame head, however, the shanks are not parallel. Iron vibrator terminal (51.5 by 23.5 mm) (Plate 22b).
- #148 Pocket knife

- brass or cu frame, double iron blades (missing), 3 brass pins, back of case is slightly rounded, no marks

- #149 indeterminate, disc or plate
  - #819 (B2) cu, two attachment holes (?), definitely writing on one side, possibly on the other
- #150 Key, padlock
  - # 190 (B12) This complete key is iron and is 8.8 cm long. The shaft is slightly bulbous in the mid-section and there is no shoulder. The top of the key is hollow and it was most likely meant for use with a padlock (Nöel Hume, 1982: 250-251) (Plate 22b).
- #151 Key, stock lock (B12)

- #189 – This iron key is complete and is 11 cm long. The shaft thickens to a bulbous shoulder with a collar. The top of the key is solid and ridged, and it was likely used in a stock lock (Ibid: 247-249) (Plate 22b).

### Arms Group (Plate 23)

#152 – Bayonet, triangular (E12)

 - #832 – This artifact is a partial socket, shank, and partial blade of a triangular bayonet, likely an American Revolutionary War copy of a French model (Plate 23).

#153 – Sling Swivel (E12)

-#801 – A sling swivel was found on each end of a musket and the sling was put through these to hold it into place. This iron example does not appear to be from a Brown Bess model (Plate 23).

#154 – British Naval Boarding Axe (E12)

- #826 – This small iron axe was used by the British Navy during boarding manoeuvres. The spike on one end would have aided climbing on board and the cutting edge would have acted as a weapon (Plate 23).

### Activities Group (Plate 24)

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- #155 Net Weight (B12)
  - #195 This small lead weight would have been used on a net used for the coastal fishery.
- #156 Scale Weight (B12)
  - #196 This lead weight would have been used in conjunction with a small scale, perhaps in the kitchen?
- #157 In-knife (B12)
  - #249 This is a woodworking tool, similar to a drawknife, but it is curved to allow for the hollowing out of objects.

#### **Furniture Group**

- #158 Drawer pull (B12)
  - #194 This is a small copper knob, most likely a pull for a drawer.