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AFTER THE LOYALISTS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF 19TH CENTURY KINGSTON

Heather Nicol, W. Bruce Stewart,
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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1982 the Catarauqui Archaeological Research Foundation initiated a long term historical and archaeological research project in the City of Kingston, Ontario, focusing upon the rich archaeological resources of Catarauqui Bay. Over three centuries of Euro-Canadian activity are highlighted in these shoreline deposits. As early as 1673 the *Compte de Frontenac*, Governor of New France, began construction of a small trading post designed to secure Indian trade on the north shore of Lake Ontario. During the 18th century Fort Frontenac developed into a military fortification and *entrepôt* for French supplies destined to points on the western frontier. As a result British military authorities considered it a strategic post. Taken in 1758 when British General Bradstreet's army launched a successful attack against the French garrison stationed at the post, Fort Frontenac remained in British hands until Confederation.

The British occupation of Fort Frontenac did not follow immediately on the heels of the French surrender, however. It was not until almost thirty years later that military authorities reactivated the Old French fort, a consequence of the outcome of the American Revolutionary War and the need to reposition British troops previously stationed at a military base on Carelton Island. In 1783 Major John Ross was sent to the site of Fort Frontenac, now largely in ruins, to begin construction of a new base for the British army. Ross was able to report in October of the same year that the ravelin and north curtain wall of the French fort had been rebuilt, and that on the site now stood one "pile" of soldiers' barracks, two "piles" of officers' barracks, a

provision store, shed, bake house, hospital and kiln, among other structures (Stewart and Wilson 1973:36-37). Thus the land surrounding the remains of the old French fort became part of Kingston's British military reserve, one which was to play an extremely important role in 19th century urban development in Kingston.

Archaeological excavations of the military reserve and its environs were begun in 1980 under the auspices of the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, on the site of the 19th century Royal Engineers' Yard. These rescue excavations focused on a site which, between 1797 and 1858, stood on the southern edge of the military reserve (Stewart 1982, Wheal 1981). A second phase in archaeological investigation of the military reserve continued under the sponsorship of the Catarauqui Archaeological Research Foundation. These excavations were focused on the area of the reserve overlying the old French fortifications subsequently modified by Major Ross during the late 18th century. By 1820, however, most of the temporary facilities built by Ross had been leveled and the area of the 1783 British barracks resurfaced to accommodate an oversized thoroughfare or marshalling grounds for British troops, known as the *Place d'Armes* (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985). The configuration of the British military reserve in the area of the former French fort was therefore significantly altered during the first two decades of the 19th century. This is shown by archaeological data recovered from 19th century reserve contexts. After 1820 many new facilities and structures were erected, including a civilian house which was subsequently to function as the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters. Historical and archaeological investigations of this building, undertaken in the summer of 1983 and fall of 1984, are the focus of much of the following discussion.

Kingston During the 19th Century

The late 18th century British facility laid out upon and around the old French fort

formed a central population node during the initial stages of Kingston's urban evolution. There was, however, only limited archaeological evidence of civilian activity on the reserve prior to the mid-19th century. This is in keeping with historical data which show that although some merchants and entrepreneurs who provisioned the military managed to establish commercial territory close to or within the reserve during the early years (Preston 1959: lxix), civilian activity on and immediately adjacent to the reserve was deliberately limited by military authorities (Wheal 1981). If civilians did succeed in making minor inroads into military holdings during the 19th century, this was only after conflict with military authorities. The authorities' reluctance to allow civilian activity on land allocated for military purposes was based on fears that this would erode land-holdings crucial for defensive purposes and that opening up access for non-military usage would make it possible for taverns to become established in close proximity to the barracks. Military authorities believed instead that "the outlets of barracks should be kept clear of dram shops, huts and other similar nuisances which always appear if given the opportunity" (Wheal 1981:38).

By 1830 Kingston had become the largest urban centre in Ontario (Osborne 1978a). Although in later years there was a general decline in the rate of population growth, as York (Toronto), Hamilton and London surpassed Kingston in size, the city continued to develop largely as a commercial and institutional centre. Much of the population growth depended upon the presence of British military personnel and auxiliary civilian social classes. Consequently, there has been a tendency to focus upon the history of Kingston's military population. This has led to the view that military personnel (particularly officers) comprised a large and affluent segment within the city, as well as the view that the city itself was unusually affluent because of its institutional nature (Lower 1976:31). Both views are somewhat misleading, however, and can be qualified

by historical and archaeological data. For example, the 1851 and 1861 Census of Canada show that only a tiny segment of Kingston's population was actually involved in high income or prosperous commercial and economic activities. Similarly, officers of the British garrison in Kingston accounted for only a small percentage of the population. Most of Kingston's population was composed instead of civilian labourers and tradesmen or other lower and middle class occupational groups, while the numbers of enlisted men varied from several hundred to several thousand over the years.

Although skilled labourers were well represented in Kingston after 1815, a result of a boom in military construction, service and maintenance (Wheal 1981:12-13), these labourers were not overly prosperous, often numbering among the city's poor or penniless (Malcolmson 1976). While recent studies have effectively challenged the concept of the prosperity of the civilian population in Kingston during the first half of the 19th century, little has been written challenging the concept of the prosperity of military officers during this same period (Malcolmson 1976, Green 1976). The attitude that officers were quite affluent prevails in most discussions of 19th century Kingston (Lower 1976). Spurr is one of the few historians to make use of quantifiable data, discussing the wages of military officers in Kingston, and concluding that they were "notoriously ill-paid" (Spurr 1976:117).

The following discussion takes a more critical look at these ideas of affluence. Using quantifiable archaeological and historical data we challenge the notion of "general prosperity" in 19th century Kingston, particularly the concept that officers were substantially wealthier than the majority of citizens in Kingston. Material culture assemblages from 19th century deposits at the military reserve do not substantiate the belief that the officers were wealthy. Archaeological models which correlate "status goods" with high economic and social position have proved to be deceptive with regard to military contexts in Kingston. This paper

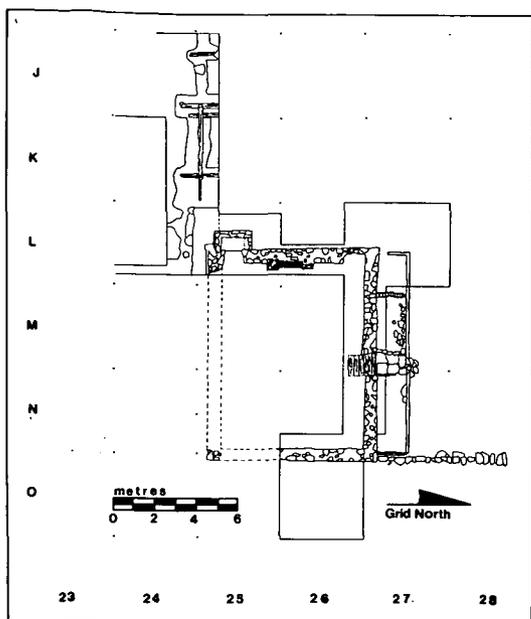


Figure 1. Plan of the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters based upon archaeological excavations in 1983 and salvage operations in 1984 which defined the outline of the building.

focuses upon archaeological materials recovered in excavations of one particular 19th century structure within Kingston's military reserve, which for many years was known as the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters. We focus primarily on 1) the years just prior to 1848, when the building served as the Kingston Area Barrack Master's residence and office; 2) the years between 1848 and 1870 when the building was used as a temporary residence for enlisted men, barrack clerks, messengers or married soldiers, as well as a sometime office and store; and 3) the years between 1870 and 1920 when the building functioned as a residence for civilians.

Chronology of the Barrack Master's House

The Barrack Master's Office and Quarters (or the Barrack Master's house as we refer to it throughout the following discussion) was centrally located within the 19th century military reserve. It stood on the north side of the Place d'Armes parade grounds, slightly

to the north and west of the original French fort. The house was a two-story masonry structure, built in 1824 and demolished in 1920. Archaeological excavations during the 1983 field season partially exposed the foundation walls and south-western basement window well of the building. Brief rescue operations in the fall of 1984 exposed most of the remaining foundations, showing that the building measured about ten metres east-west by seven metres north-south (Figure 1). This was considered a "commodious" residence for its time (*Kingston Chronicle*, March 4, 1825).

The early history of the house is poorly documented, there being only a few sources which describe the 1820s real estate transactions. The house was built in 1824 by a Cornwall merchant named Duncan McDonnel, on a lot which had formerly belonged to the military reserve, but which was sold at auction in 1820 along with at least four properties on the north side of the Place d'Armes. These land sales were authorized by Captain Payne, Commander of the Royal Engineers in Kingston, an action that was considered ill-advised and which was quickly revoked by subsequent military authorities. The self-interest behind these land sales is evident in the historical data which show that Payne himself purchased several of the lots, although they reverted back to the military in 1827 when he defaulted on his mortgage and the military solicitor was directed to annul the purchase (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985). By 1832, military authorities had succeeded in repurchasing all of the lots that had been auctioned in 1820, including the lot on which McDonnel had built his house.

Little is known about this Cornwall merchant or the individuals who occupied the house prior to 1832, as the house did not serve as McDonnel's residence. An advertisement in the *Kingston Chronicle* in March of 1825, for example, lists the house for rent:

"To let and possession given on the 24th instant. That commodious stone dwelling and premises at the present in the occupation of

Captain Raynes situate near the Barrack Gate in this town. For particulars apply to Henry Cassady Jr." (*The Kingston Chronicle*, March 4, 1825).

The reference to Henry Cassady Jr. in this advertisement refers to McDonnell's solicitor. The reference to Captain Raynes refers to Francis Raynes, Kingston Barrack Master between 1822 and 1854. Raynes was to occupy the house again, after it was purchased by the Ordnance Department in 1832 and officially designated as the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters. Although there are no data to prove that the Ordnance Department selected the McDonnell house as the Barrack Master's residence because of its previous association with Raynes, this remains a distinct possibility.

The second occupational phase encompasses the years between ca.1832 and 1848, when the house served as Barrack Master's Office and Quarters, replacing a recently condemned building of similar function elsewhere on the reserve. Raynes occupied the house for most of this period, except perhaps for some years in the early 1830s when the Ordnance Department may have rented the house to civilians. Military documents and correspondence dating to Raynes' tenure provide insight regarding his social prominence in his position as Kingston Area Barrack Master and Lieutenant Colonel of the militia and militia cavalry, as will be discussed in subsequent sections. The building continued to be used for these purposes until 1848, after which the Barrack Master's Office was removed to another area of the site to a building which had previously functioned as an Ordnance storekeeper's office.

After 1848, historical maps and documents often refer to the building as the "Late Barrack Master's Office and Quarters", implying a change in function of the building (Public Archives of Canada 1851:RG8 II 64:7). Until 1870 the Barrack Master's house served as a temporary barracks probably for "barrack sergeants, clerks, messengers or married soldiers and their families" when over-crowding occurred

in regular barracks elsewhere on the reserve (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985:4). It functioned also, from time to time, as an office and barrack store, the store being located in the southern part of the building. There are few historical references to clarify the identity of individuals who occupied the building between 1848 and ca.1870. In 1862 there was one individual living here "under sufferance", and just prior to the withdrawal of the garrison in 1870, there was one "married soldier" occupying the building (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985:4). In 1869 the Town Major set up a temporary office in the house and stayed until Oct. 14, 1870 when the last of the British garrison left Kingston.

In 1870 the British military garrison was disbanded and the Dominion of Canada assumed full responsibility for defense and military operations in Kingston. Much of the British military reserve was sold at this time to a variety of individuals and companies. In 1873, just three years after the British garrison left Kingston, the Barrack Master's house was purchased by the Kingston and Pembroke Railroad and subsequently rented to civilian tenants. According to late 19th and early 20th century city assessment rolls, the building was let to a variety of individuals over the years between ca.1877 and 1920. Early tenants of the house tended to be tradesmen, but after the turn of the century they were usually labourers or lower income families (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985:4). This may have been a result of the change in character of the neighborhood in which the house was situated. After the British military withdrew, former reserve lands were used for a variety of purposes, most incompatible with residential land use. Railroad sidings, coal sheds and fuel tanks dominated the streetscape until well into the 20th century, and the area became more an industrial than residential district. In 1920, the house itself was leveled.

The Data Base

Archaeological materials recovered in the course of excavation at the Barrack Master's

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATRICES, STRATIGRAPHIC EVENTS, TEMPORAL PERIODS AND OCCUPATIONAL PHASES AT THE BARRACK MASTER'S HOUSE (BbGc-8), 1983 EXCAVATIONS

Stratigraphic Unit	Event	Date	Occupational Phase
24J14, 24KL9	deposit on top of first pallisade trench at property boundary	ca. 1843 to 1848	military-Barrack Master's Office and Quarters
24J20	deposit near foundations of building	1843-1848	military-Barrack Master's Office and Quarters
24J13	deposit on west side of tracks	1848-1870	military-building used as a temporary barracks, office and store
24J17, 24KL10	ground surface at time of second pallisade fence at property boundary	1848-1870	military-building used as a temporary barracks, office and store
24J15	fill at property	1848-1870	military-building used as a temporary barracks, office and store
24J19	deposit near house	1848-1870	military-building used as a temporary barracks, office and store
24KL8	deposit adjacent to the window well	ca. 1877 to 1900	civilian occupation
25L	window well of southwest corner of house	ca. 1877 to 1900	civilian occupation

house span a time period of between 90 and 100 years, the bulk being deposited between ca.1840 and 1900. Over 16,000 artifacts, an estimated ten per cent of archaeological materials from the entire site, were recovered from the 1983 excavation of this building. In the fall of 1984 rescue excavations succeeded in exposing remaining portions of the foundation walls. This allowed for more detailed plans of the overall extent of the foundation walls and the variety of structural features associated with the building (Figure 1).

It was evident, however, that much of the late 19th century material in close proximity to the building's foundations had been disturbed. Much of this material, in fact, was not actually associated with the occupation of the building by military and civilian tenants. It was instead associated with railroad activity dating to the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. During the last quarter of the 19th century, railroad fill, bedding, and sidings were laid down in close proximity to the building. Prior to the building's demolition in 1920, railroad sidings criss-crossed the Ordnance property, narrowly avoiding the house. After the house

was leveled, more tracks were added, covering most of the former building site. The analysis of late 19th century archaeological materials associated with the military and civilian occupation of the house was greatly affected by this extensive disturbance, and therefore, materials associated with these railroad events were removed from the study. Similarly, there were archaeological assemblages which could not be precisely assigned to specific occupational or temporal periods. This was the case with much of the material deposited during the 1820's and 30's. Most artifacts from this time period were found intermixed with materials which had accumulated as late as the last quarter of the 19th century. We limited the scope of our analysis to contexts which were undisturbed, well-defined temporally and stratigraphically, or specifically related to military and civilian occupation of the house (Table 1). As a result, the original sample of over 16,000 artifacts recovered from all contexts during the 1983 field excavations was reduced to a sample of 9,743 (Table 2).

Archaeological materials deposited in undisturbed strata, or those associated with

TABLE 2
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS IDENTIFIED IN 1843-1920 CONTEXTS AT THE BARRACK MASTER'S
 HOUSE (BbGc-8), GROUPED BY FUNCTIONAL CLASS

Occupational Phase	K	B	A	DH	AR	C	P	TP	AA	M	T
1843-1848	609	355	230		2	23	1	59	17		1296
1848-1870	1929	2152	298	1	17	85	3	660	32	4	5181
1870-1920	1229	265	1606	11		15	7	53	58	22	3266
Total	3767	2772	2134	12	19	123	11	772	107	26	9743

K=Kitchenwares, B=Bone-Organic, A=Architectural, DH=Domestic Hardware, AR=Arms, C=Clothing, P=Personal, TP=Tobacco Pipe, AA=Assorted Functions, M=Miscellaneous and Unclassified, T=Total

specific and well-defined events within the building's residential history, were grouped into three broad occupational phases (Table 2). These were distinguished archaeologically by depositional sequence, soil profiles, and stylistic or typological attributes of the material culture assemblages. These archaeologically defined occupational phases were correlated with the historically derived chronology, with the exception of the pre-1843 period which is poorly documented in the archaeological record.

The first phase in the occupation well-defined by archaeological materials is the period when the building was used as a Barrack Master's Office and Quarters. Most of the archaeological materials accumulated during the 1840's, after extensive structural modifications had been undertaken. The second well-defined archaeological phase spans the period between c.1848 and 1870, when the building served as a military residence and sometime office and store. The third occupational phase encompasses the last quarter of the 19th century and possibly the early 20th century, when civilian tradesmen rented the house. Archaeological materials dating to these occupational phases were recovered in a series of three major excavation units. These included 1) an area slightly peripheral to the southwest corner of the house, up to and including a trench associated with a palisade or cedar post fence which marked the property boundary (24J, Figure 1), 2) deposits immediately adjacent to the western foundation walls of the house

(24KL, Figure 2), and 3) deposits associated with the southwestern window well of the building (25L, Figure 1).

Within the first group of peripheral deposits, spread up to six metres from the southwest corner of the house, there was evidence as to the continuous occupation of the building between ca.1843 and 1870. In total, 5,969 artifacts, 61% of all materials from the excavation of the Barrack Master's house, were recovered in these peripheral contexts. Of these, 803 (8%) were recovered in military contexts dating prior to ca.1848, while 5,166 (53%) postdate 1848. No materials were recovered from undisturbed contexts post-dating 1870.

Similarly, archaeological materials associated with the occupation of the building during the first half of the 19th century were recovered in the adjacent deposits (24KL). In total, 741 artifacts, 8% of all materials under discussion, were recovered in contexts immediately adjacent to the western wall of the house (excluding the window well). While 493 (5%) date to the military occupation prior to 1848, only 12 artifacts, less than 1%, date to the military occupation of the building between 1848 and 1870. An additional 236 artifacts, 2% of the materials, were associated with the civilian occupation of the building after ca.1877.

The third excavation area producing materials for this study was the window well on the southwest corner of the house (Figure 2). This window well was five courses in height, constructed of rough-hewn stone with a

TABLE 3
 PERCENTAGES OF FUNCTIONAL CLASSES IN PERIPHERAL AND ADJACENT CONTEXTS AT THE
 BARRACK MASTER'S HOUSE (BbGc-8)

Time Period	K	B	A	DH	AR	C	P	TP	AA	M	T
1843-1848 adjacent	43	23	28			1		3	2		100
1843-1848 peripheral	49	30	12			2		5	1		99
1848-1870 adjacent	43	23	29			1		3	1		100
1848-1870 peripheral	37	42	6			2		13			100
1870-1920 adjacent	38	8	49					2	2		99

K = Kitchenwares, B = Bone-Organic, A = Architectural, DH = Domestic Hardware, AR = Arms, C = Clothing, P = Personal, TP = Tobacco Pipes, AA = Assorted Functions, M = Miscellaneous and Unclassified, T = Total %

stone sill located approximately 96 cm. below the first course. The north wall was in poor condition, the upper portion partly demolished (Triggs 1983). This deposit was particularly rich in artifacts dating from the last quarter of the 19th century (ca.1877-1900). Approximately 3,033 artifacts, 31% of the entire sample, were recovered in this context. Coins dating to the 1870's and white granite and ironstone with maker's marks were among the datable artifacts recovered. These maker's marks indicated a late 19th century date of deposition (i.e. Meakin of Burslem 1870-1882, and T. and R. Boote 1890-1902). Stylistically and technologically bottle glass and glass containers recovered from the window well were typical of the period just preceding the introduction of semi-automated machine blown molding techniques.

In summary, it was difficult to distinguish archaeologically the first transitional period when the building was occupied by civilians and then passed to military hands in 1832. Materials assigned specifically to this period are sparse and poorly defined, often found in generalized or disturbed contexts. Better represented are the years after the house was designated as the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters, particularly during the 1840's, as well as the period between 1848 and 1870, when the structure was used as a military residence and sometime office and store. Late 19th century window well contexts document the

utilization of the structure by non-military personnel.

Artifact Analysis: Depositional Patterns and Building Function

The 9,743 artifacts recovered in the 1983 excavations of the Barrack Master's house represent nine different functional classes (South 1977:33), including kitchenwares, bone and organic debris, architectural debris, domestic hardware, arms, clothing (including military uniform insignia and buttons), personal items, smoking pipes and debris from assorted activities. An additional group consists of unassigned materials unidentified as to functional context (see Table 3).

Artifact types were not distributed equally across the site. Table 3 indicates that there is an inverse relationship between the quantity of bone and organic food debris and the quantity of architectural debris in the military deposits. Bone is best represented in deposits at a greater distance from the house and least represented in adjacent contexts. Conversely, architectural debris is best represented in adjacent strata and less frequent in peripheral contexts. The higher frequency of architectural debris in adjacent contexts, dating to the period of military tenure, may have resulted from renovations made to the house in the 1840s, architectural debris accumulating close to the site of structural modifications. Bone



Figure 2. Window well exposed in the 1983 excavations of the Barrack Master's Office and Quarters.

and other offal and food debris was deposited as far away from its source as possible, for both sanitary and "odoriferous" reasons (South 1977:179).

In addition to these depositional patterns, we observed that clay tobacco pipes were most frequently recovered in peripheral (24J) contexts at some distance from the foundation walls, mostly in military contexts pre-dating 1848 architectural debris. Also within the window well (late 19th century non-military context), architectural debris is well represented while bone and organic food debris was less frequently found. Historical data suggests that there were extensive modifications made to the out-buildings associated with the house, and perhaps the house itself, at this time. The almost exclusive concentration of late 19th century materials in the window well seems to indicate a difference in depositional patterns during this civilian period. Perhaps the proximity of the tenants' property to the rail yards limited the backyard space they could utilize for their household dumping.

As Table 3 indicates, kitchenwares [between 37 and 49%] and bone (between 23 and 42%) are represented in relatively high percentages throughout the military phases at the site. Thus, food-related artifacts comprise the bulk of the archaeological materials in the military contexts, accounting for 69 to 79% of these assemblages. There were, in fact, relatively few artifacts of purely

military origin recovered from the military contexts. Less than two per cent of the materials from undisturbed deposits dating between 1843 and 1870 were of a military nature. Gunflints, musket balls, military boot heel plates, chin scales, and buttons comprise the bulk of the military articles recovered. Many buttons can be ascribed to the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the 24th, 83rd, 67th, 85th, and 71st Regiments. Most prominent, however, were military insignia of the 14th Regiment, dating to the first half of the 1840s.

While historical plans and military correspondence relating to the military reserve stress the official function of the Barrack Master's house as an office and repository for stores, the archaeological assemblage highlights a residential component. The structure served a dual function, not unlike other 19th century civilian shops and offices in Kingston where proprietors and owners resided on the premises of their business. Similarly, the Kingston Barrack Master resided and worked on the same premises, overseeing the maintenance and refurbishing of the barracks. The problem of the domestic versus office function of the building after 1848, however, is more difficult. The historical data for this time period are meager, and the archaeological materials not as abundant. We do not know exactly who lived in the building, except for specific reference to the presence of a married soldier and the Town Major, nor do we know if the building was continuously utilized as an office and store during these years. Historical documents do suggest that the office and store function of the building was more important than its domestic function after 1848, although archaeological materials in these contexts are primarily domestic in nature. The bulk of these consist of kitchenwares or articles that are related to food-preparation and serving (including bones), architectural debris, personal items, tobacco pipes and clothing.

Socio-Economic Considerations

We have noted a general similarity in assemblages from 19th century military as

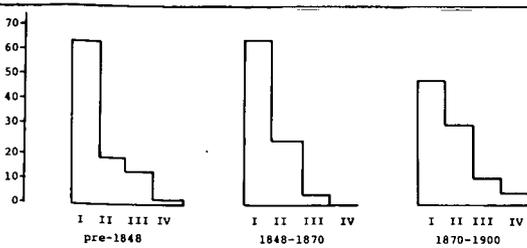


Figure 3. Ceramics from the Barrack Master's house are grouped by decorative method and cost, using criteria defined by Miller (1981) and Jacobs (1983). The assemblages from each occupational phase are grouped into four levels: Level I—cheaper plain, edged, sponged, slip decorated, stamped and simple hand-painted designs; Level II—transfer-painted wares; Level III—white granite and ironstone; Level IV—high cost porcelain and elaborately decorated ceramics.

well as civilian contexts at the house. There was no break or disconformity to show that the structure's occupation changed over time, as far as the overall nature of archaeological materials was concerned. We were specifically interested in comparing the status of the military and civilian occupants, and sought evidence of this in the ceramic component of the assemblages. Certainly, during the years in which the building served as a military residence, the ceramic component appeared to be relatively homogeneous, with respect to the ware types identified and in terms of their relative cost. In our analysis we used Miller's (1981) approach, modifying his classification somewhat and lumping wares into four major groups based on the differences in the ware types' prices and in decorative techniques (see also Jacobs 1983). The first group of cheap wares was comprised predominantly of utility vessels; coarse earthenwares and stoneware containers (often of local manufacture), and plain or minimally decorated creamware, pearlware and whiteware (Level I, Figure 3). This included vessels with edge, annular, sponge, stamped and simply decorated hand-painted designs. There are data to show that all of these decorative techniques were applied to ceramics which, in the final analysis, cost less than contemporaneous transfer-printed ware (Miller 1981).

The second group of more expensive ceramics was comprised of transfer-printed vessels (Level II, Figure 3). Throughout the first half of the 19th century, transfer-printed ceramics were more expensive than all other ceramics except elaborately decorated vessels and porcelains. The third group in the cost ratio hierarchy consists of white granite or ironstone (Level III, Figure 3). Miller (1981:8-9; Tables 3 and 4) shows that these wares equaled and often surpassed transfer-printed ceramics in price when first appearing on the market in the mid-19th century. His data documents this price ratio as late as 1885. In a study of late 19th century military contexts at Butler's Barracks, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Jacobs (1983) also argues that during this period white granite or ironstone was intermediate in price between transfer-printed ceramics and high status porcelain.

The most expensive wares in the present analytical framework include porcelain, flow blue transfer-printed vessels, and elaborately hand-painted and enameled ceramics with gilt touches or intricate decoration (Level IV, Figure 3). These ceramics are traditionally considered as "high status" commodities in 19th century archaeological assemblages.

Figure 3 shows that ceramics from both pre-1848 and 1848-1870 contexts at the Barrack Master's house are similar in percentages of cheap, intermediate and more costly types. Sixty-five per cent of the ceramics in pre-1848 contexts and 68% of the 1848-1870 sample fell into the cheap or Level I category. Transfer-printed ceramics accounted for 23% of the pre-1848 ceramics and 28% of the ceramics in 1848-1870 contexts. White granite or ironstone were represented in smaller quantities, comprising 13% of the pre-1848 sample and only three per cent of the 1848-1870 sample. High status wares accounted for 1% or less of the ceramic materials in both pre-1848 and 1848-1870 contexts. Figure 3 shows that the only major difference in the proportions of ceramics in pre-1848 and post-1848 military contexts was in the quantities of white granite or

ironstone. Otherwise, the assemblages were almost identical.

In the window well contexts dating to the late 19th century civilian occupation of the site, only 50% of the ceramics were cheap, first level types (Figure 3). In comparison, over 33% were transfer-printed. Thirteen per cent of the sample consisted of white granite or ironstone, and 4% were "high status", mostly porcelain and whitewares with flow blue decoration. It may well be, however, that the transfer-printed ceramics deposited in these late 19th century contexts were actually less expensive than those dating earlier in the century. Miller (1981) observes that after the mid-19th century there was a weaker relationship between the final cost of vessels and their decoration, making it somewhat difficult to evaluate the transfer-printed ceramic component in post-1877 contexts. Higher percentages of status wares do suggest, however, that the civilian residents of the house may have been slightly better-off than their military predecessors.

Using these results as one guide to the socio-economic status of the former inhabitants of the house, it would appear that there is little to substantiate the notion that the military personnel were appreciably better-off than the later middle class civilian residents. The Kingston Barrack Master and other military occupants were roughly equivalent in socio-economic status, using the quantities of transfer-printed ceramics and high status wares as an index. In both pre-1870 and post-1870 contexts, the ceramic assemblage peaks with less costly wares, although the peak is less pronounced in post-1870 contexts because of the slightly higher percentage of transfer-printed ceramics. The transfer-printed component of the ceramic assemblages from both military and civilian contexts grows larger over time, possibly a result of the fall in prices of transfer-printed vessels after the mid-19th century.

These ceramic patterns can be compared with another military site dating to the late 19th century. At the officers' mess at But-

ler's Barracks at Niagara-on-the-Lake, for example, the ceramic assemblage peaks with transfer-printed wares (Jacobs 1983). Plain and cheaply decorated vessels, white granite or ironstone, and high status ceramics were less frequently identified. Could the ceramic assemblage from the Barrack Master's house indicate a skew more typical of military subalterns and enlisted men? These results would not be particularly surprising, were it not for the availability of historical data describing the social status of the Kingston Barrack Master during the 1830s and 1840s. These historical data contradict the archaeological results, suggesting that certain variables particular to the military reserve in Kingston or particular to the city itself, influenced consumer patterns.

Social Versus Economic Status: The Fallacy of Status Goods

Material culture remains from the Barrack Master structure raised questions concerning the socio-economic status of its various 19th century residents. The archaeological assemblage suggested that the Kingston Barrack Master's socio-economic status was not significantly different from that of the soldiers and civilian tradesmen who lived in the house in later years. Historical data, however, suggested that the Kingston Barrack Master (during the 1830s-40s at least) was an individual of considerable social prestige. Our concern therefore, was with finding historical data which would explain the similarities in the archaeological materials from all three occupational periods at the house. To these ends we sought to discover how and where Kingston military personnel, especially the Barrack Master, fit into the city's social and economic hierarchies. We also queried whether there were other variables, such as social values of the cost of staple goods, which affected consumer patterns and would have been expressed in the archaeological assemblages (Spencer-Wood and Riley 1981:40).

Kingston was not a parochial city. It was,

in fact, the most populated place in 19th century Ontario prior to the 1830s, and a major forwarding point on waterborne transshipment lines prior to the railroad era. There is no reason to assume, therefore, that types of material commodities available in the city were restricted by isolation or lack of transportation. The distribution of wealth in the city, however, is another matter. Certainly there was a considerable amount of money circulating as a result of the military's spending on provisions, construction and services; the impact of this spending was, however, confined to a small circle of merchants and contractors. Historical documents consistently ascribe wealth to professionals, government officials, merchants and military personnel (Cooper 1856, Spurr 1976), not to tradesmen, artisans or skilled middle class labourers, unskilled labour or enlisted men (Malcolmson 1976:281-297, Spurr 1971, 1976). The latter comprised, however, the greater part of the city's population for most of the 19th century.

Particularly evident in the historical literature are references to the link between military officers and the civilian upper classes. These two groups combined to form Kingston's social elite. Lower (1976:130) observes that a "quasi-military" society grew up in which affluent citizens vied to marry into officers' families or to incorporate high-ranking military into their own social circles. The fortunes of officers and the Kingston establishment were thus fused, leading to a situation in which this small social group dominated most public and private institutions. Cooper, writing in 1856, observed that merchants and contractors grew rich during the first half of the 19th century in Kingston, and that nepotism along with incompetence marked much of the activity of the city. The result, Cooper argues, was the rise of the small circle of "well-to-do" individuals to which the officers in the garrison formed an "agreeable and welcome addition" (Cooper 1856:16). Spurr (1976) suggests military social connections were deliberately cultivated within certain social

classes. The addition of British officers to any social gathering added "status".

Military officers in the Kingston garrison followed the pattern and were ascribed elevated social status. For example, nineteenth century newspapers and the military correspondence of Francis Raynes (Kingston Barrack Master) confirm that he was, indeed, a socially prominent individual moving in upper or upwardly mobile social classes. In the 1840s Raynes corresponded directly with highly placed government officials, and attended the Governor General's levees and private social functions at Government House (*Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, June 15, Aug. 24, 1842). He also served as a local militia leader and was a key figure in various religious organizations. In addition, as Kingston Barrack Master, Raynes was responsible for the Tete de Pont, Point Frederick and Point Henry barrack offices. As a result, he probably had greater authority and military status than a lesser barrack master responsible for a single barrack office.

Although Raynes was clearly highly visible in Kingston's public and private institutions, there is little reference to his salary in comparison to other military personnel. A Kingston merchant by background, Raynes was appointed to his position in 1822. Poole England, Kingston barrack master from 1808 and 1813, was initially paid twelve pounds a year for his labour. At the rate of 20 shillings per pound, his salary was approximately 240 shillings per annum, less than the wages of enlisted men who were earning roughly 365 shillings per year (Spurr 1971:1976). When England died in 1813, a new Barrack Master was appointed and his salary was approximately seven shillings per day, (2,555 shillings per year) over ten times the amount paid to England (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985). The dramatic salary increase may have been related to an expansion of military facilities in Kingston and a new policy which assigned the Barrack Master certain duties previously performed by the Commissariat (Kerr-Wilson and Moorhead 1985).

The advantage of England's posting was that it was preferable to retirement on a soldier's pension. Data from contemporaneous periods show that the Barrack Master, responsible for the maintenance of the barracks and their appointments, was initially a low-status, non-commissioned officer, often a soldier about to be retired. By 1815, in Kingston at least, the Barrack Master was earning up to ten times more a year than earlier in the century, placing his annual wages well above the regular soldier. With this financial remuneration came increased social status.

The Barrack Master's salary in 1815 can be compared to the standard wage rates for other British military personnel. Spurr (1971:21) suggests that 5,840 shillings was the usual yearly salary of a Major in the British Army, 4,220 shillings the rate for Captains, and 2,340 shillings the wages of Lieutenants. After 1815, then, the Barrack Master was earning approximately as much as a commissioned Lieutenant. Francis Raynes was, in fact, promoted first to Lieutenant, then Lieutenant Colonel of the militia and militia cavalry. It was, however, not necessarily the base pay but the deductions from these basic wages which determined the economic fortunes of officers not independently wealthy. For example, Spurr shows that after standard deductions for mess and bond subscription, servant subscriptions, livery, income tax and a usual five per cent payment in interest for his commission, a British Major might owe approximately 840 shillings per year, a Captain roughly 1,240 shillings, and subalterns up to 1,280 shillings (Spurr 1971:21). These adjusted salaries are perhaps more realistic indices of the economic state of many officers in the Kingston garrison. Kingston was, in addition, one of the most detested postings of the military in British North America, with one of the highest desertion rates. Officers of means often took extended leave while their regiment was posted in Kingston, leaving civilian appointees such as Raynes and non-commissioned officers to fill the roles of Kingston's military elite.

This wage data indicates that Barrack Masters and, indeed, many of the officers stationed in Kingston, were not wealthy, unless they also obtained income from sources other than their military wages. How do these military salaries compare with wages paid to lower and middle class workers within the city? During the first half of the 19th century, civilian servants and labourers earned between one and four shillings a day, (365 to 1,460 shillings per year). Except that servants often had the advantage of food and board (Malcolmson 1976:282,285), these were among the poorest paying occupations in the city at the time. Skilled artisans and tradesmen earned the same or slightly more, between three and seven shillings a day (1,095 to 2,555 shillings a year) (Malcolmson 1976:282,285). After 1815, then, the Kingston Barrack Master's salary fell well within the range of the average yearly salary of civilian middle class tradesmen and artisans. The Barrack Master was not, then, as wealthy as the descriptions of his social status have suggested. He certainly cannot be included in the small upper income class of Kingston, nor is it likely that many of his fellow officers possessed significant wealth. Our data would suggest that most were "middle class" relative to the civilian sector, and perhaps more often in debt after the standard deductions on their salary have been accounted for.

In addition, economic conditions in Kingston throughout the first half of the 19th century may have compounded the financial constraints of the British officers as well as civilians. Inflationary market prices elevated the cost of everyday staple goods. These elevated prices appear to have caused a general leveling in the standard of living, an interpretation supported by the high percentage of less costly ceramics and low percentages of high priced status wares in Barrack Master, enlisted men, and civilian contexts at the Barrack Master's house. The difference in daily wages between a Barrack Master and barrack office clerk (who was paid just over three shillings a day) during

the second decade of the 19th century could, for example, be expressed as the cost of one bushel of potatoes per day, since potatoes at this time sold for over three shillings a bushel (Osborne 1978b). Similarly, the difference in daily wages between enlisted men and the Kingston Barrack Master during the same year was equivalent to about six shillings, or two bushels of potatoes, a few pounds of meat, or a couple of dozen eggs at market.

The point of mentioning these price data is to show that many Kingstonians may have found it difficult to purchase quantities of non-staple products during the first half of the 19th century, due to the exceptionally high market prices for staple goods. Disposable income was thus limited and the acquisition of durable non-staple commodities and status goods prevented, as money instead went to buying decreasing supplies of staples at increasing prices. As late as 1847, eggs cost from one shilling three pence to one shilling six pence per dozen, and potatoes two shillings three pence to two shillings six pence per bushel (Lazore 1980). The prices for any one of these staple items was often equivalent to the daily wages of the civilian working classes or enlisted soldiers, and indeed encroached on even middle class wages. That these were not usual prices of staple goods is well-documented in the historical literature and correspondence of the first half of the 19th century, where the cost of fresh produce from the Kingston market place is reported as unusually "dear". In 1837, for example, one Kingston newspaper stated that "in spite of the cry about the great fall in the price of provisions, we are sorry to say that everything edible in Kingston Market continues uncommonly dear and scarce" (in Osborne 1978b:71).

Inflationary staple prices as reported in the historical literature apparently resulted from Kingston's economy being geared more towards waterborne transportation and institutional demands than toward supporting an agricultural hinterland to service the city. According to Osborne (1976:63-79), Kingston failed both to develop its agricul-

tural hinterlands and to access them efficiently by providing adequate roadways connecting farmers to markets. It was not until the second half of the 19th century that the demand for hinterland development became a major thrust in urban affairs. As a consequence, produce was often extremely difficult to take to market, thus expensive and scarce in the city. Because of this situation, speculation in foodstuffs was common. The activities of hucksters and forstallers spiraled the already high staple prices upward, and indeed it became a common complaint of farmers, civilians, and civil authorities that an unacceptable situation existed.

This, in turn, probably affected the affordability of durable non-staple commodities. Although there are as yet little data to substantiate this correlation, MacKinnon (1976) suggests that in the 1830s and 40s many artisans who catered to affluent clientele were moving westward to new markets because the Kingston market could not sustain large numbers of highly paid craftsmen and their products. Many citizens may not have been able to afford these non-staple commodities simply because they had little surplus in ready cash after purchasing adequate staples.

As yet, no firm data concerning the cost of durable non-staple commodities in early to mid 19th century Kingston has been collected. It is difficult, therefore, to determine the real impact of the prices of staple commodities upon the availability and accessibility of non-staple goods. It appears, however, that the standard of living of the Barrack Master's house occupants (based on the recovery of "status" goods and durable commodities in 19th century archaeological matrices) was similar throughout the military occupation. We are suggesting this was both the product of the military officers' income being more limited than previously supposed, as well as the effect of elevated staple prices affecting the affordability of non-staple goods. The slightly higher standard of living indicated by greater proportions of transfer printed and high status ceramic wares in civilian middle class con-

texts during the last quarter of the 19th century may have been the result of the changing economic orientation of the city accompanying the railroad era, as well as the result of a determined effort by municipal authorities to settle and access agricultural hinterlands, and thus reduce staple prices.

Although we realize these data and interpretations are limited, they do provide the beginnings of a comparative and quantifiable basis for assessing the economic status of military personnel attached to Kingston's military reserve during the 19th century. Similarly, they help to qualify those aspects of the historical record which appear at odds with the archaeological results. In Kingston's 19th century military community, social and economic status were neither synonymous nor comparable. The Kingston Barrack Master was not as affluent as descriptive accounts of his social standing had led us to believe. Our wage data and archaeological results agree that economically the Barrack Master was roughly comparable to civilian middle class artisans and tradesmen in 19th century Kingston.

Conclusions

Archaeological materials from 19th century military contexts suggest that the Kingston Barrack master was not an individual of prominent socio-economic rank, but rather more closely approximated the civilian middle class, at least in "buying power." Historical documentation of the Barrack Master's social activity does, however, suggest high status and prominence. Similarly, although historical descriptions of the 19th century military period in Kingston are rife with discussion of military officers with "playboy proclivities" (Lower 1976:130), it is known that these officers were "notoriously ill-paid" (Spurr 1976: 117). While undoubtedly some sectors of the population were truly wealthy, they appear to have comprised a small group, reinforcing the views of Katz and other social historians that inequalities in access

to power and economic opportunity existed in pre-industrial Ontario. It seems misleading to consider Kingston an "affluent city" simply because of its "institutional flavor"; instead, economic conditions created by the institutional focus led to economic hardships for both civilians and military personnel.

The high cost of staples during the first half of the 19th century reduced the ability of some occupational classes to purchase non-staple consumer goods. This is one explanation of why individuals such as the Barrack Master had high-ranking social status, but not comparable material wealth. We propose that there were, in fact, two key influences in determining the pattern of durable material culture remains recovered from the 19th century Barrack Master's Office and Quarters. One was the high price of staples or foodstuffs. The second was the way in which social organization, peculiar perhaps to Kingston, focused on certain military personnel as key members of the city's elite and made affluence an unnecessary qualification for social leadership. This latter has implications beyond the scope of this paper, such as the changes in socio-economic organization which followed the removal of the British military garrison from Kingston, and the relationship of that organization to the rise of an initially limited industrial economic base within the city.

In summary, material culture remains from archaeological contexts at the military reserve do not contradict the socio-economic scenario presented in this paper. Much research and archaeological testing remains to be undertaken. We have, however, begun to understand the results of the archaeological analysis through historical data dealing explicitly with income, occupation, social values, and price of staples, and inflationary influences. Based on these data, it appears that archaeological models correlating social and economic status break down to some extent in 19th century military contexts in Kingston simply because social and economic position were not always comparable.

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