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https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-m40q-zq68

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FOSTERING PRIDE AND BADGES OF OPPRESSION

A Contextual Study of British Military Buttons from Paget Fort, Bermuda, 1778-1820.

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Paul M. Nasca

2005

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Paul of . Non Paul M. Nasca

Approved by the Committee, May 2005

NF Buly Norman F. Barka, Chair

Marley R. Brown, III Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

intre Curtis Moyer

Mary M. Voigt

To the memory of my mother, I know she would be proud

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis, as well as my entire experience at the College of William and Mary, would not have been as rewarding without the guidance and friendship of so very many people. I am particularly indebted to Norman F. Barka, Marley R. Brown, III, Edward C. Harris, Mary M. Voigt, and Curtis Moyer.

I also wish to thank Charles Bradley, Material Culture Researcher with Parks Canada, for his unending willingness to share his knowledge of British military artifacts with me; Doc D.S. Knight, archaeologist and mentor, who encouraged a young college freshman to follow his dreams; David Muraca for his guidance and understanding; Mark Kostro and Jameson Harwood for their friendship and support; and Jody Peshek for her unwavering love.

Much of this thesis would not have been possible without the financial support of the Bermuda Maritime Museum and two Minor Research Grants awarded by the College of William and Mary. For this help, I am grateful.

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ABSTRACT

British military uniform buttons are a common type of artifact recovered archaeologically from military and domestic sites dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in North America and the Caribbean. An example of this occurrence is the recent archaeological investigations conducted at Paget Fort, Bermuda. Excavated from the artifact-rich layers within a large defensive ditch was an impressive assemblage of 793 metal and bone buttons. Within this assemblage, 345 buttons exhibited diagnostic information relating to particular British regiments or specialist service units. These diagnostic buttons provide the foundation on which much of this work is based.

By employing artifact pattern recognition, documentary research, and anthropological interpretation, this thesis examines the various contextual dimensions – physical, archaeological, historical, functional, and symbolic - of the Paget Fort buttons. This contextual approach, which draws freely upon scientific and technical analysis, and combines it with anthropological interpretation, is characteristic of what is called the 'reinvented historical archaeology.'

Through the interpretation and integration of these various contextual dimensions this work has produced an accurate chronology of British units serving in Bermuda between 1778 and 1820, an understanding of the archaeological deposit and development of Paget Fort, and an insight into the complex world of control and pride experienced by the British soldier. FOSTERING PRIDE AND BADGES OF OPPRESSION

INTRODUCTION

The closing decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning decades of the nineteenth century was a turbulent period for Great Britain and its colonies in the New World. Britain was almost continuously at war, first with its thirteen rebellious colonies in America, then with France, and later with the newly formed United States. Much was at stake, especially Britain's commerce and trade, including the lucrative sugar trade of the Caribbean. The threats to commerce and trade not only came externally from enemy nations, but internally slave revolts threaten the basic means of sugar production and civil order. The protection of Britain's interests was therefore the responsibility of its Army and Navy. As a result, the British military was an integral and often ever-present component of English society in North American and the Caribbean during this time. Evidence of this presence is commonly observed archaeologically on both military and domestic sites with the recovery of British military uniform buttons. A remarkable example of this occurrence is the recent archaeological excavations conducted at Paget Fort, Bermuda. Excavated from the stratified fill of a large defensive ditch were nearly 800 British military metal and bone buttons in association with a rich assortment of other artifacts made of metal, bone, stone, glass and ceramic.

In themselves, the Paget Fort buttons are an impressive collection of British military artifacts. Viewed simply in this manner these objects are nothing more than that

2

- a collection. However, as an archaeological assemblage, the buttons take on a more profound meaning because they have been recovered from and exist within context. This idea of context does not refer exclusively to the soil and rubble layers from which the buttons were unearthed. This is only one of their relevant dimensions – the archaeological. In addition to this, the Paget Fort buttons exist within several other contextual dimensions – the physical, historical, functional, and symbolic. The objective of this thesis is to interpret and integrate these various contextual dimensions for the purpose of understanding the progression of British military forces in Bermuda, the analysis of the archeological deposit and development of Paget Fort, and ultimately, to gain an insight into how the uniform button functioned within the British Army and what these objects meant to the soldiers who wore them. To achieve this goal, this study has combined multiple approaches that include artifact pattern recognition, documentary research, stratigraphic archaeological analysis, artifact seriation, material culture research, and anthropological interpretation.

This concern with context in essence is what defines the field of archaeology (Hodder 1995). In the past twenty-five years historical archaeology has moved away from the science-based, pattern-logic, approach of what is called the 'New Archaeology.' Recently, many archaeologists have moved toward interpretive approaches rooted in anthropology and other fields that stress context and meaning and the communicative aspects of culture (Beaudry 1996). This 'contextual' or 'postprocessual' archaeology examines the dynamics of material remains as active objects of cultural expression.

This thesis builds upon the earlier scholarship devoted to the study of military uniform buttons by archaeologist and military historians. Important studies include those from Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974), Fort Mackinac (Dunnigan 1975; Campbell 1965), Fort Ligonier (Grimm 1970), Fort Stanwix (Hanson and Hsu 1975), Valley Forge (Norris 2000), Fort Ticonderoga (Calver 1935), the Ottawa Lockstation (Bradley 1991), fortifications in Florida (Olsen and Campbell 1962), and the Greater New York City area (Calver and Bolton 1950). Many of these publications are the cornerstones in the material culture study of military buttons and are typical of the 'New Archaeology.' These studies are often criticized because of their concern with identification, typology, and chronology (see Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991).

My work seeks to bridge the gap between this type of study and those more characteristic of the 'contextual' approach (see for example: DeCunzo and Herman 1996; Last 1996; Deetz 1995; Ferguson 1992). The goal of this research is to ultimately identify the cultural significance of British military buttons by using examples recovered from Paget Fort. Yet, all of the analysis and interpretations presented in this material culture study are grounded in the science-based attributes of observed artifact patterns and the chronologies established by historical and archaeological research. I justify my approach in the "reinvented historical archaeology" described by Mary Beaudry:

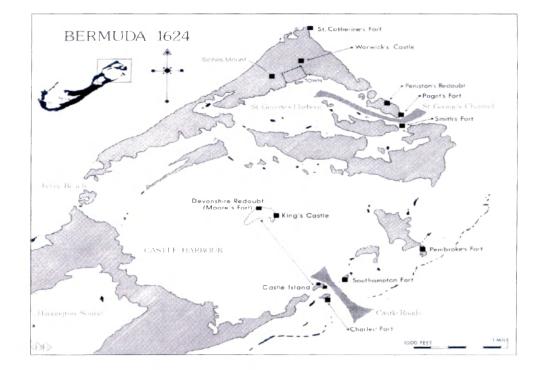
A reinvented historical archaeology moves freely across disciplinary boundaries, but it does not reject the old positivist, cultural materialist approach in its entirety; in fact, the emphasis placed on *context* in all its manifestations necessarily fosters a grounded empiricism and an openness to scientific procedure and technical analysis [1996:496].

The Paget Fort archaeological investigations, which provided the data for this study, are part of the ambitious "First Bermuda Forts" project. Since 1993, archaeologists from the College of William and Mary and the Bermuda Maritime

Museum have joined together to study the early colonization of Bermuda through the excavation and documentation of the Island's earliest seventeenth-century fortifications.

The English colonization of Bermuda began in July of 1612 with the establishment of the Town of St. George's, the oldest continuously occupied English town in the Americas (Barka and Harris 1999). Within the first decade of settlement, 10 masonry forts were constructed along a series of islands on Bermuda's eastern shore. The earliest of these was Paget Fort. Begun in 1612, Paget Fort is located on a barren tip of exposed limestone bedrock at the southeastern most point of Paget Island, then called Peniston's Island. The fort served to guard the north side of the entrance into the original channel that lead to St. George's Harbor; while Smith's Fort, located on Governor's Island, protected the south side of the entrance (Figure 1 and Plate 1).

Figure 1



Location of Bermuda's Original Seventeenth-Century Fortifications

(Harris 1997: Figure 3.31)



Aerial View of Paget Island and Surroundings



⁽Photo: E. Harris)

Between the years following the first decade of fort construction and the time of the American Revolution, an additional 39 colonial fortifications were constructed across Bermuda (Harris 1997). By 1783, the majority of the Island's defensive works were in an advanced state of neglect. The hard fought independence of the newly formed United States ushered in a new era of military importance and extensive fort building in Bermuda. The reason for this lay in the Island's strategic location, just 635 miles off the American coast, and half-way between the British navel base in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and those in the Caribbean. As a result, many of Bermuda's colonial fortifications were strengthened and rearmed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, including Paget Fort.

An intensive archaeological investigation was conducted at Paget Fort in the summer months of 1997 and 1999. During this time, work focused on the mapping of the extant features visible on the surface of the exposed limestone bedrock and the excavation of a large in-filled L-shaped fortification ditch (Plates 2 and 3). Contained within this ditch were stratified layers of soil and limestone rubble and the well-preserved remains of structural walls and a seventeenth-century passageway and steps. The most impressive discovery of the excavations was the large quantity of bone and metal buttons recovered from the layers of fill in the main section of the fortification ditch. It is these objects that form the basis of the study presented here.

Plate 2



View of the Fortification Ditch During Excavation

(Photo: N. Barka)

Plate 3



View of the Fortification Ditch After Excavation

(Photo: N. Barka)

A total of 793 buttons were recovered. Of these, 345 contained diagnostic information relating to particular British regiments or specialist service troops. Beginning in 1767, and becoming a general regulation in 1768, the British Army began the practice of placing regimental designations on the buttons of their uniforms. Much of the research and interpretations put forth in this study are based on these 345 diagnostic buttons that conform to this regulation.

The opening chapter examines the physical context of the Paget Fort buttons. A comparison is made to several other large assemblages of military buttons recovered from controlled archaeological excavations in order to establish the uniqueness of the Paget Fort assemblage. The chapter proceeds by identifying three important frequency patterns

based on the material of manufacture, buttons size, and diagnostic regimental information. The significance of each of these patterns is interpreted and provides a basis in which to draw upon in the following chapters.

Building on the pattern of diagnostic regimental information, Chapter 2 addresses the issue of placing the buttons within their historical context. This is achieved by constructing a chronology of troops serving in Bermuda between the years 1778 to 1820. Without access to military records from this time period, the documentary resource used to accomplish this task was the historic newspaper of the day. Chronicled in each issue of the *Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* are the weekly island reports that often contain important details of British troop movements in and out of Bermuda. A discussion of historical world events is woven into this chapter to provide a better understanding of the factors that influenced the movements of British forces in Bermuda. When available, an image of each regiment's or specialist unit's buttons recovered from Paget Fort is included in the text for the purpose of providing a tangible link between the archaeological evidence, the historic record, and the soldiers who formed these garrison units.

Chapter 3 interprets the archaeological context of the Paget Fort buttons by employing several methodological archaeology techniques. The method of visually depicting stratigraphic relationships, called the *Harris Matrix*, is used to establish the relative time sequence of the soil layers from which the buttons were excavated. This is combined with the historic chronology constructed in the previous chapter as a means in which to order the diagnostic buttons in absolute time and to apply the method of *seriation*. Based on this comparison and the use of the diagnostic buttons as indicators of *terminus post quem* (the date after which), several interpretations are made about the archaeological deposit and the development Paget Fort.

The concluding chapter utilizes the Paget Fort buttons as a unique assemblage to investigate how the button was employed on British Army uniforms. It opens with a discussion of the evolution of the British Army uniform, with particular attention devoted to the placement and quantity of buttons for the purpose of establishing a functional context. This is followed by an examination of the button within a symbolic context. Here it is argued that the numbered British military button served a purpose beyond that of a simple clothing fastener. Through subtle cues communicated by imagery, type of metal used in button manufacture, and button size, the button became an object that asserted control and discipline over a soldier; while at the same time, these characteristics also served as a way of embodying regimental *esprit de corps* that appealed to a soldier's sense of military pride. Buttons of the 7th (Royal Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot excavated from Paget Fort are used as a case study to illustrate this relationship.

Several appendixes are provided as a supplement to the body of this thesis. Appendix A addresses the intensive conservation process that was preformed on nearly every button in the assemblage. Appendix B summarizes the availability of the surviving issues of the historic newspapers used in this research. Appendix C is the database that was used to examine the metal buttons recovered from Paget Fort. Appendix D is a similar database used to study the bone buttons recovered from the site.

CHAPTER 1

THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT

The first step in any material culture study is to approach the objects at their most basic level – their physical context. In doing this, several questions immediately arise. First, how does the group of artifacts to be studied compare to similar assemblages found on other archaeological sites? Second, what are the patterns that can be identified by examining the physical attributes of the objects? And, finally, what do these observable patterns mean? These are the central questions that guide this chapter as they relate to the Paget Fort buttons. The resulting observations and interpretations form the basis on which the following chapters of this thesis draw upon.

The buttons recovered from Paget Fort represent a large sampling of the types of buttons that were in use on British military uniforms between the years 1778 to 1820. (This concise date range is established through historical research presented in Chapter 2). Other large assemblages of uniform buttons have been recovered from controlled archaeological excavations on military sites in North America. Important studies include those from Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974), Fort Stanwix (Hanson and Hsu 1975), and Fort Ligonier (Grimm 1970). On certain levels each of these assemblages is comparable to the Paget Fort collection. However, the Paget Fort assemblage is uniquely different from these other assemblages when considering the exclusive British origin of

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its buttons and the time period from which they date. This comparison is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Site	Nationality	Time Period	Assemblage Size
Paget Fort	British	1778-1820	793
Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974)	French, British	1715-1781	1,333
Fort Stanwix (Hanson and Hsu 1975)	British, "American"	1758-1781	558
Fort Ligonier (Grimm 1970)	British	1758-1766	442 of 485 studied

A Comparison of Archaeologically Recovered Button Assemblages

The exclusive British origin of the Paget Fort assemblage set it apart from either of the collections from Forts Michilimackinac and Stanwix. Each of these assemblages is comprised of buttons from more than one of the successive armies that vied for control of Eastern North America during the colonial era. British Bermuda, however, was spared occupation by a foreign army because of its geographic location and system of island fortifications.

A more important difference then nationality is the time period from which the Paget Fort buttons date. Each of the forts compared in Table 1 differs from Paget Fort in its time period of British occupation. This temporal difference directly relates to the types of British uniform buttons that are contained within each of these assemblages, because of the military regulations that governed the changing styles of the British military dress.

Forts Ligonier and Stanwix were occupied by British forces prior to the 1768 Royal Warrant that established the practice of placing regimental designations on the buttons of British army uniforms. As a result, no regimental buttons were recovered from Fort Ligonier (Grimm 1970). Only three British regimental buttons of the 26th, 29th and 53rd Regiments were recovered at Fort Stanwix. Each of these regiments had stores captured by American forces between 1775 and 1777. Hanson and Hsu attribute the presence of these buttons to reuse by the Americans who occupied Fort Stanwix during the American Revolution (1975).

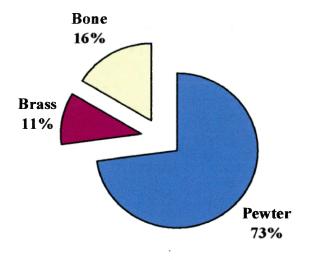
The period of British control at Fort Michilimackinac span the years from 1760 to 1781. Approximately 302 of the 1,333 buttons recovered from the site can be positively identified as belonging to a particular British regiment (Stone 1974). Of these, the 291 cast pewter regimental buttons with iron wire shanks (Stone's Class I, Series D, Type 1, Varieties a-g, and i-j) are similar to many of the buttons found at Paget Fort. The difference between the two collections, however, is that the buttons from Fort Michilimackinac are from a style of British military uniform that predates the ones that would have been worn by the majority of the regiments serving at Paget Fort. The Fort Michilimackinac buttons therefore, represent a better collection in which to examine the evolution of the British regimental button, in conjunction with the Paget Fort assemblage, rather than to use it as a close comparative collection.

Each of the buttons assemblages recovered from Forts Michilimackinac, Stanwix, and Ligonier are important to the material culture study of British military uniform buttons. The exclusive British origin and time period of the Paget Fort assemblage sets it apart from these other large collections of buttons. These unique characteristics provide a basis on which the symbolic interpretation of British regimental buttons in Chapter 4 is based. Before this is possible, it is necessary to continue the discussion of the physical context of the Paget Fort buttons by examining the observable patterns identified in the assemblage. The first pattern to be addressed is the composition of the buttons based on the material used in their manufacture.

Assemblage Composition

The 793 buttons that comprise the Paget Fort assemblage can be divided into three categories based on their material composition. Pewter buttons are the largest of the categories with 577 examples being recovered. These represent 73% of the total assemblage. Bone buttons are the next most common with 130 examples for 16% of the total. The last category is brass buttons, with 85 having been recovered, making up the remaining 11% of the total assemblage (Figure 2).





Composition of the Paget Fort Button Assemblage

Pewter is a generic term referring to an alloy of tin with varying amounts of copper, lead, or antimony. By the late eighteenth century most English pewter buttons

were made from a durable alloy consisting of approximately 83% tin and 17% lead and antimony (Albert and Kent 1949). The high frequency of pewter buttons in the Paget Fort assemblage is attributable to the private soldiers that formed the majority of the garrison forces.

The military clothing regulations stipulated in the 1768 Royal Warrant called for the coats of all private men to "have white buttons" (Strachan 1975:174). This practice was maintained in all of the subsequent clothing orders that followed. White (pewter) buttons not only appeared on the coats of the private soldier, but were also present on the waistcoat, breeches, and gaiters. Because enlisted men wore the pewter button almost exclusively it became a ubiquitous trademark that identified their rank within the British Army.

Pewter buttons were a logical choice for enlisted men's uniforms due to the interrelated factors of cost effectiveness, ease of production, durability, and the ability to meet British Army regulations. Pewter has a low melting point allowing it to be rendered to a liquid state at a relatively low temperature. This required less fuel and furnace sophistication than that of other alloys, resulting in a lower production cost. The molten metal was easily cast and could be poured into pre-made brass button molds. In the case of British military buttons following the 1768 Royal Warrant, these molds were almost always inscribed with a regimental number, device, or approved design that imparted the raised image on the finished button. The ease of casting also allowed for the buttons to be fitted with an iron wire shank as exhibited by nearly all of the regimental pewter buttons recovered from Paget Fort. The pewter face and iron wire shank resulted in a button that afforded a good level of durability even under rigorous conditions. The

higher quality pewter characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries allowed for the buttons to be brightened by polishing; a practice that was mandated by military regulation (Strachan 1975). The sheen achieved by polishing, however was never to a state of brilliance obtainable with plated or copper alloy buttons that typified officer's uniforms. All of these attributes combined to provide a minor economic advantage to the enlisted men who were required to pay for their annual or biannual regimental uniform issue.

All of the copper alloy buttons in the Paget Fort collection are made of brass. Brass is an alloy of copper with varying amounts of zinc, ranging between 10-30%. The characteristics of this metal allow it to be finished with a thin layer of silver or gold plating. Brass and plated brass buttons were more expensive due to the greater level of sophistication in manufacturing technique and the cost of the metal. As a result, British military buttons made of this metal were reserved exclusively for the regimental and marine officers and the men who were members of the specialist units under the direction of the British Board of Ordnance.

The bone buttons are another important component of the Paget Fort button assemblage. These can be divided into two groups between those of off-site manufacture and those of on-site manufacture. Only nine buttons of off-site manufactured were recovered and are of the three-, four- or five-hole button variety. These were used as utilitarian buttons likely on the shirts of both officers and enlisted men.

Single-hole bone discs comprise the majority of the bone button collection with 121 examples (Plate 4). These objects have traditionally been identified as the supporting cores for thread or cloth covered buttons (Hinks 1988). Unlike the multi-hole buttons,

the single-hole bone discs were produced on-site by the soldiers at Paget Fort using a brace fitted with a specialized cutting bit. Evidence of this production is seen in the quantity of bone manufacturing debris recovered from the site (Plate 5). Single-hole bone discs and their by-products of manufacture are a common occurrence on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century military sites in eastern North America and the Caribbean (Klippel personal communication 2004; also see Klippel and Schroedl 1999). These buttons likely would have severed both the officer and enlisted man alike.

Plate 4



Single-hole Bone Discs

By examining the composition of the Paget Fort button assemblage based on the material of button manufacture it is clear that the resulting pattern reflects the military structure that created this assemblage. The pewter buttons, characteristic of enlisted men, comprise the majority of the assemblage. The brass buttons were limited only to officers and represent the smallest component of the total button assemblage. Bone buttons have a shared use between enlisted men and officers and constitute the second most common type of button recovered from Paget Fort. To begin to understand how these buttons were used it is necessary to investigate the patterns identified by button size.

Plate 5



Bone Manufacturing Debris from the Production of Single-Hole Bone Discs

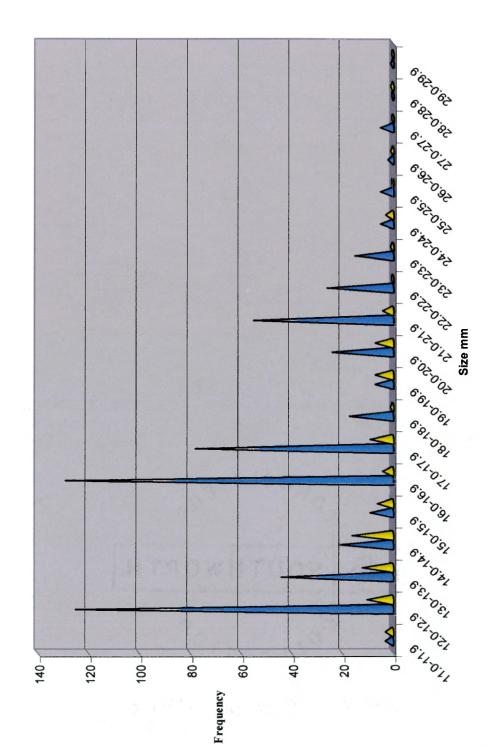
Button Size

In his examination of eighteenth-century civilian buttons Steven Hinks concluded that "size, rather than construction technique is the most important factor in determining the function of a button," and that even though construction techniques are often similar, the size of the button indicates a distinct functional difference (1988:40). To test if this theory applies to military buttons, the measurable pewter and brass buttons contained in the Paget Fort collection were charted by size (Figure 3). The resulting graph identifies three distinct concentrations that confirm Hinks' findings are applicable to military buttons. This is most apparent with the pewter buttons recovered from the site.

A total of 571 measurable pewter buttons were used in this analysis. The 172 buttons measuring between 11.0-13.9mm correspond to the small cast buttons

Figure 3

Distribution of Metal Buttons by Size (n=656)



Pewter
Brass

with cast shanks used to close the gaiters. The gaiter was an article of the soldier's uniform made of a stiffened durable cloth for the purpose of protecting the hose and preventing dirt, mud, and stones from getting into the shoes. These were fastened down the outside of the leg by a series of small buttons (Carman 1977).

The 21 pewter buttons that measure between 14.0-14.9mm are primarily made up of cast buttons that appear similar to the gaiter buttons, but have an O-shaped cast shank instead of an inverted U-shaped cast shank characteristic of the smaller buttons. This button may be a transitional type of button that could have functioned on the gaiter, waistcoat, or breeches.

The 233 pewter buttons that fall within the range of 15.0-18.9mm are waistcoat and breeches buttons. These buttons peak more specifically between 16.0-17.9mm. The waistcoat was a "garment worn under a coat and although shaped to the waist had flaps continuing below" (Carman 1977:134). Many of the buttons in this size range bear regimental designations. These are cast buttons with iron wire shanks and are identical in construction technique, type of imagery, and maker's marks as those of the next size group - the coat buttons.

The 145 pewter buttons measuring between 19.0-29.9mm are attributable to the coat. A more refined range for the coat buttons is from 20.0-23.9mm. Nearly all of the pewter regimental coat buttons fall within this tighter range.

The brass buttons follow similar patterns as those identified with the pewter buttons. The 85 brass buttons used in this analysis correspond to the same size categories as the pewter buttons. Brass gaiter buttons measuring between 11.0-13.9mm are represented by 25 examples. Over half of these buttons belong to the Royal Regiment of Artillery (11), Royal Sappers & Miners (1), and the 99th Regiment of Foot (2).

The highest frequency of brass buttons are the 16 that range in size from 14.0-14.9mm. These are dominated by 13 plain gilt specimens, several of which have a back stamp indicating they are, or once were, gold plated. These buttons are not of military issue, but likely represent private purchases of civilian buttons by officers to replace missing buttons on some part of their uniform.

The 20 brass buttons ranging between 15.0-18.9mm are waistcoat or breeches buttons. These buttons peak in the size range of 17.0-17.9mm, similar to that observed in the pewter waistcoat buttons.

The remaining 24 brass buttons fall into the range of coat buttons measuring from 19.0-29.9mm. The buttons in this category peak between 19.0-21.9mm. This is slightly smaller than the pattern observed with the pewter coat buttons.

The clustering of the pewter and brass buttons from the Paget Fort assemblage into three distinct concentrations confirm that the size of military buttons is directly related to the article of clothing on which the button served. Gaiter buttons occur within the range of 11.0-15.9mm, waistcoat and breeches buttons range from 15.0-19.9mm, and coat buttons from 19.0-29.9mm. A one-millimeter overlap is provided to compensate for the extremes on each end of the range. The size range established by the coat buttons will later in this thesis provide an important tool in which to investigate the symbolic context of the military buttons. A final pattern observed in the Paget Fort button assemblage needs to be examined. This is the frequency of diagnostic buttons.

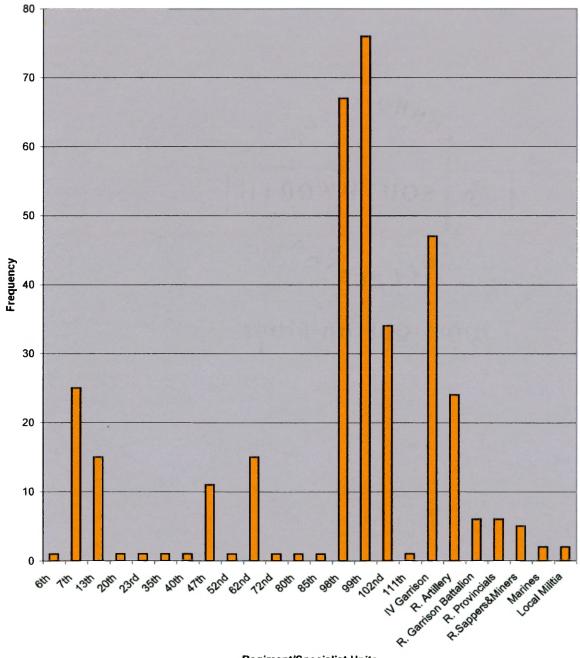
Diagnostic Button Frequency

Contained within the Paget Fort assemblage are 345 diagnostic pewter and brass buttons that depict a regimental number or specialist service device. These constitute 52% of the 663 metal buttons recovered from the site. Represented are a total of 17 different numbered regiments, three specialist units, two garrison regiments, one provincial corps, and one unidentified unit of local militia. By plotting these buttons based on their frequency of occurrence (Figure 4), a pattern emerges indicating a potential link between the units that are represented by more than one button example are actually from regiments who served in Bermuda as a primary garrison force. This interpretation is based on two basic assumptions. First, the buttons recovered from Paget Fort were actually deposited by members of the military units they represent. And, second, the buttons found at Paget Fort were originally deposited as a result of accidental loss or casual disposal.

In all, seven numbered regiments are represented by more than a single button in the Paget Fort assemblage. These are the 7th, 13th, 47th, 62nd, 98th, 99th, and 102nd Regiments. Likewise, buttons of the IV Garrison Battalion, Royal Garrison Battalion, Royal Provincials, Royal Artillery, Royal Sappers & Miners, Marines, and an unknown regiment of Local Militia are all represented by two or more examples. This implies that each of these military units spent a long enough period of time in Bermuda to facilitate the loss of more than one button by a member of their ranks. If this hypothesis is true, than is possible to place these military units into chronological order based on their period service in Bermuda.







Regiment/Specialist Units

To accomplish this task, a primary documentary resource that records British military deployment to Bermuda is needed. The most logical choice for a collection of documents that would facilitate this research is the original British military correspondence and records stored in the Public Records Office in London, England. Without the financial means to travel to England to access these public records, another primary resource had to be located. This alternative resource would need to meet the particular requirements of being written at the same time that the military units represented by the Paget Fort buttons were in garrison in Bermuda, be reliable in their accuracy, and be readily available to a graduate student on a limited research budget. The document resource that fulfilled these strict criteria was found in the historic Bermuda newspapers preserved as microfilm copies in the Bermuda Library, Hamilton, Bermuda. The detailed analysis of these documents, as they relate to the British military units serving in Bermuda, is presented in the following chapter.

Through the analysis of the Paget Fort button assemblage at its most basic level – the physical context - several important observations and interpretations have been made. By comparing this assemblage to other large assemblages of archaeologically recovered military buttons it was found that the Paget Fort assemblage is uniquely different. An examination of the percentage of pewter, brass, and bone buttons that comprise the assemblage shows a pattern that reflects the structure of the British military. The plotting all of the measurable metal buttons by size, confirmed that the size of British military buttons is directly related to the article of uniform on which it served. Plotting the frequency of buttons with diagnostic military numbers or insignia revealed that buttons represented by more than one example are potentially from military units that served in Bermuda for an extended period of time. Each of these observations and interpretations presented here provide the foundation in which to analyze the historical, archaeological, functional, and symbolic contexts of the Paget Fort buttons in the following chapters. The next contextual dimension to be examined is the historical.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The combined use of artifact and document evidence by historical archaeologists is an advantage that is often denied to either prehistoric archaeologists or historians (see Beaudry 1993). Drawing on the frequency pattern of the 345 diagnostic buttons identified in Chapter 1, this chapter strives to place the Paget Fort buttons within their historical context by constructing an accurate chronology of British military units serving in Bermuda during the years 1778 to 1820. This is achieved by combining the artifact evidence supplied by the diagnostic buttons with the detailed reports of troop movements chronicled in the microfilm copies of the *Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* on file at the Bermuda Library (Reel Numbers 1-8). Where the newspaper reports are silent or archive issues are missing, additional primary information is obtained from the annual publication of the *Bermuda Almanack* preserved on microfilm at the Bermuda Archives (Account Number 663, *Edmund Gosling Collection, Bermuda Almanacks 1793-1819*).

These primary documents are augmented by secondary sources, particularly for the years before the publication of the newspaper, and to provide historical background of world events that influenced the deployment of British troops to Bermuda, North America, and the Caribbean. When available, an image of each military unit's buttons recovered from Paget Fort is included to provide the tangible connection between the archaeological and documentary evidence, and the soldiers who formed these garrison units. The resulting chronology presented here far surpasses all previously published timelines for the time period and provides a fuller understanding of Bermuda's military past. Undoubtedly, as complete as this chronology strives to be, there are sure to be omissions.

In the initial effort to place the Paget Fort buttons in their historic context, four separate published chronologies of the British garrison serving in Bermuda were consulted (Chartland 1971; Forbes 2000; Harris 1997; Smith 1951). It quickly became apparent that there were far more troops represented in the button assemblage than were listed in these existing chronologies during the date range indicated by the archaeological evidence from which the buttons were recovered. Further, there were many instances where these timelines contradicted each other. The search for a primary document resource that would help to clarify the progression of troop deployment in Bermuda was found in the historic newspapers of the day.

Under the auspices of the Bermuda Legislature a printing press was imported to the Island in 1783. The first newspaper to be printed using the new press was the *Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. Joseph Stockdale published the inaugural issue on January 17, 1784. He continued publishing the paper, with the assistance of his daughters, every Saturday from his printing office located in St. George's, until his death in October 1803. At that point, his daughters assumed sole responsibility of the paper and maintained its St. George's based publication until September 1816. The printing office was then moved to Hamilton and was now under the editorship of Charles Beach. Beach changed the name of the paper to the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St.* *George's Weekly Advertiser*. (This change in name is evident in the in-text citations within this chapter). The paper remained under Beach's direction until April 1823. In the years following, the paper would change ownership several times as would its name. The final issue of the paper was published in September 1831 (Hallett 1995).

Each weekly edition of the paper carried a section that reported on local events and news that had transpired over the course of the week. The section, simply entitled *Bermuda*, followed by the current publishing date of the issue, often contained important information pertaining to the military garrison. This included, among other news, the arrival and departure of military transport ships, the ship's place of origin or destination, what regiment or regiments were on board, who commanded the regiments, and often the number and general health of the soldiers. Also provided, was follow-up information as to the safe arrival of troops that had previously disembarked from Bermuda. It is these common reports of the events that transpired over the course of each week that form the documentary basis of the historical research presented here.

Additional information relating to the military garrison was obtained from the *Bermuda Almanack*. Joseph Stockdale began publishing these annual 'sheet almanacs' in 1786. His daughters continued their publication following his death, as did Charles Beach, until 1821 (Hallett 1995). Similar to a calendar, the almanacs also contained a variety of useful information that was current at the time of its late December or early January publication. Included in this was a listing of the British troops in garrison and the names and ranks of the officers. The almanacs have been used in this research as a resource to indicate which troops were in station in Bermuda at the beginning of each year.

The Paget Fort button assemblage and the documents span the years of great hostility between Britain and its adversaries in North America and the Caribbean. This chronology begins with the closing years of the American Revolution. It continues through the period of Britain's war with France when some 69 regiment of line were sent to the West Indies between 1793 and 1801, with an additional 24 following in the years 1803 to 1815 (Chartrand and Chappell 1996). Renewed hostilities with the United States from 1812 to1815 also resulted in the deployment of a large number of British troops to North America. This historical research concludes with December 1819 for the only reason that the last regiment represented in the button assemblage departed Bermuda in that year.

The earliest buttons represented in the Paget Fort assemblage are the six examples of the Royal Garrison Battalion, also referred to as the Royal Bermudians (Plate 6). British General Henry Clinton had created the Garrison Battalion in September or October 1778. Walter Dornfest quotes a letter written by General Clinton in 1778 describing the Battalion's formation:

Observing likewise that there are several hundred invalids in the regular corps of the line, whose time of service had not yet entitled them to the benefits of Chelsea and who, though unfit for more arduous service in the field, were capable of being very useful in garrison, whereby more active troops might be spared to augment my files for the campaign (a circumstance of no small consequence to me in the reduced state of my army), I formed them into a garrison battalion for the defense of the Bermudas and Bahama Islands where they might have an opportunity of benefiting themselves as well as the public by completing the time wanted to entitle them to become Chelsea pensioners. This battalion was also rendered more respectable by being officered either by gentlemen from the half-pay list who solicited employment, or by worthy officers whose wounds or infirmities had obliged them to retire more active service [1969:55].

Two companies, consisting of approximately 300 men, of the newly formed

Garrison Battalion were dispatched from New York on October 25, 1778 under the

command of Major William Sutherland (Dornfest 1969). They reached Bermuda on November 2, 1778 (Kerr 1995). These companies were an answer to the repeated pleas of Bermuda Governor, George Bruere, for a detachment of the King's troops. His request had taken on greater urgency following the theft of 100 barrels of gunpowder from the St. George's powder magazine on August 14, 1775. The presence of the garrison was intended more as an effort to maintain British law and suppress illicit trade with the American colonies, than one of island defense (Kerr 1995).

Plate 6



Buttons of the Royal Garrison Battalion

(Size: 25.0mm and 16.0mm)

General Clinton recalled Major Sutherland from Bermuda after articles of complaint were filed against him on July 8, 1779. Sutherland and his men were accused of committing "several indignities on the local inhabitants" and himself of "several major abuses" (Dornfest 1973:125). Sutherland was replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Donkin, who received his commission in the Garrison Battalion on October 15, 1779 (Baldry 1938). Donkin arrived in Bermuda on "1st December, 1779, from New York in ten days with a reinforcement of 129 men for the 4 companies of the Garrison Battalion..." (Dalton 1927:23(6):3-5).

The returns of provincial troops, dated May 1, 1780, indicate that there were 326 men of the Garrison Battalion stationed at Bermuda. By October 1782, the garrison consisted of three battalion companies and one grenadier company. Additional reinforcements were dispatched from New York on October 24, 1782, and by February 1783, five companies were in garrison at Bermuda (Dornfest 1969).

It is interesting to note that the 1780 returns refer to the soldiers in garrison as 'provincial troops.' The Garrison Battalion was placed on the British Establishment on December 25, 1782 (Baldry 1938). This date provides the likely point at which the Garrison Battalion received its designation as 'Royal' (Dornfest 1969). The buttons recovered from Paget Fort bearing the letters 'RGB' and an image of the St. Edward's crown signifying the Royal Garrison Battalion, therefore, can not date before December 1782.

The recovery of six Royal Provincial buttons from Paget fort provides archaeological evidence indicating there were in fact colonial loyalist troops serving at the station (Plate 7). It is possible that these buttons were used on the uniforms of the Garrison Battalion prior to their Royal designation. In a letter to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, Whitehall, dated April 15, 1784, Governor William Brown, however, states that a company of loyalists troops unexpectedly spent the winter of 1783/1784 in Bermuda:

In November last a company of Loyalists under the command of Capt. John Perrot left New York by order of Sir Guy Carlton for Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, but meeting with bad weather in their voyage, they were obligated to take refuge in this Island where they arrived the 11 December last, and from the severity of the winter have continued to this time [*Letters of Governor William Brown*, reprinted in the *BHQ*, 1944:1(2): 79].

Governor Brown's letter points out an important factor relating to troops serving in Bermuda during the years covered by this research. In several instances troops were forced to put into Bermuda for a short period because of poor weather or as a result of damage sustained by the transport ships on the open ocean. This was an inevitable hazard characteristic of the time period and method of transportation. It is only through the weekly reports in the newspapers and occasional letters of the period that these unintended occurrences are to be found.

Plate 7

Buttons of the Royal Provincials



(Size: 22.8mm and 16.0mm)

By the time that Governor Brown penned the above letter, the *Bermuda Gazette* and Weekly Advertiser had begun its publication. Between March and October 1784, the

newspapers contain several entries pertaining to the transport of the Provincial Company and the Royal Garrison Battalion. The first group of the Royal Garrison Battalion departed Bermuda in December 1783, aboard the Brig Joseph. Intended for Halifax, the ship was driven off the continent by bad weather and was forced to put into Antigua on February 6 (BGWA, March 13, 1784, no. 9; BGWA, March 20, 1784, no. 10). On April 22, 1784, the remaining forces of the Royal Garrison Battalion departed Bermuda aboard the transport ships Nautilus and William (BGWA, April 24, 1784, no. 15). The ships were bound for England, where the battalion was to be disbanded. Also sailing on that day was the transport ship Henry for Halifax with the portion of the Royal Garrison Battalion who chose to receive land grants in Canada. It can be inferred that the transport ship Joseph, which contained the company of Provincials, also sailed with the Henry (BGWA, March 6, 1784, no. 8). In August and October, reports reached Bermuda stating that the transport ships had arrived safely at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Deptford, England (BGWA, August 7, 1784, no. 30; BGWA, October 16, 1784, no. 40). The Royal Garrison Battalion spent a total of five years and five months in garrison at Bermuda, and the Royal Provincials a total of five months.

The departure of the Royal Garrison Battalion and the Royal Provincials marked the beginning of an almost nine-year span (April 1784 to February 1793) in which Bermuda would be without a detachment of regular British forces. This period coincided with the years of peace Britain experienced following the end of the American Revolution, until the start of the wars with France. As a result of this peace, the British Army suffered from a period of relative neglect (Barnes 1972). Despite the absence of troops in Bermuda during these years, important changes were taking place in an effort to put the Island in a state of fortified readiness.

With the official end of the American War of Independence in 1783, Britain sustained the loss of all of its navel bases and harbors on the Eastern Seaboard of North America from Maine to Georgia (Harris 1997, Stranack 1990). Recognizing the strategic location of Bermuda, a Lieutenant Slack of the Royal Engineers was dispatched for the purpose of investigating the Island's defensive potential. Lieutenant Slack, having completed his report, sailed for New York aboard the *HMS Mentor* in the spring of 1783. Unfortunately, the *Mentor* was lost en route claiming all those on board (Harris 1997).

In September of the same year, Captain Andrew Durnford, also of the Royal Engineers, was ordered to Bermuda for the purpose of conducting a similar survey. Durnford's report was submitted on October 20, 1783. Based on his recommendations, an ambitious period of repairing the existing forts and the construction of new fortifications commenced in 1789 (Harris 1997). The improvements and construction work carried out on the forts between 1789 and early 1793 were done without the assistance of British troops. This may have been intentional, or a result of neglect during this time of peace.

The *Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* contains several entries during this period that report on the progress of fort construction, surmising that: "There can be little doubt that Bermuda will soon be made the second Gibralter [*sic*]…" (*BGWA*, November 14, 1789, no. 307). Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Hamilton, made a requisition granting "54 negroes … to be furnished by the country to work on the Fortifications" (*BGWA*, July 17, 1790, no. 339). An appeal for a work force also included "any soldiers of the late

Garrison Battalion, that are willing to be employed as Labourers [*sic*] in the Engineer Department, may apply to Captain Durnford, Royal Engineer, at St. George's..." (*BGWA*, July 10, 1790, no. 338). This entry indicates that some soldiers of the Royal Garrison Battalion remained in Bermuda after the force was disbanded in 1784. The defense of the Island during this time however, was the responsibility of the Militia that had been created by an Act of the Assembly dated June 1788 (*BGWA*, March 21, 1789 no. 272).

In 1793, Britain was again at war, this time with France. The conflict soon spread to the Caribbean. At stake was Britain's highly prosperous sugar trade and commercial shipping. Spurred on by the egalitarian principles set forth by the French Revolution, rebellion erupted amongst free persons of color and slaves in the French West Indies. Shortly thereafter, insurrection infected the British Islands of Granada, St. Vincent, and Jamaica (Buckley 1998). Britain, seeking the opportunity to seize the socially unstable French colonies and restore order to its own, committed a vast number of troops the West Indies. Pivotal to their success was to maintain navel superiority, while preserving commercial shipping. It was under these circumstances that Bermuda witnessed the next garrison of British regular forces.

The new garrison was a detachment of the 47th (The Lancashire) Regiment of Foot. Buttons of this regiment are represented by 11 examples in the Paget Fort collection (Plate 8). The first ship to arrive carrying these troops was the schooner *Eunice* from New Providence, Bahamas, on February 15, 1793. On board were 112 men, 14 women, and 10 children, all under the command of Captain William Featherston (*BGWA*, February 16, 1793, no. 474). The Brig. *Jane* arrived on February 20 with the remaining forces, followed two days later by the schooner *Eliza*, carrying the provisions for the garrison (*BGWA*, February 23, 1793, no. 475). A total of three companies of the 47th Regiment landed and were in relatively good health, despite their "very low state" (transcribed letter of Andrew Durnford to Sir George Yonge, reprinted in the *BHQ*, 1968:25(4):119). On April 18, Captain Featherston died of an apoplectic fit, and was the first of the garrison soldiers to die since their arrival. With his death, the command of the regiment devolved to Captain Andrew Durnford, Royal Engineer.

Plate 8

Buttons of the 47th Regiment of Foot



(Size: 23.6mm and 16.0mm)

In a letter Durnford addresses his new command, assuring his superiors that "every exertion in my professional Line shall be made to put the Island in a State of Defense, and in case it should be attacked, you may depend upon its being defended with vigor." He continues by commenting on the "Smallness of the Garrison" in relation to the large task of defending the Colony (transcribed letter of Andrew Durnford, reprinted in the *BHQ*, 1968:25(4):118). Durnford's indirect request for additional troops was partially answered in the following year.

On Saturday, June 7, 1794, arrived the warship *Scorpion* having under its convoy the transport ship *Betty* and the Brig. *Aran*, in which came a company of the Royal Invalid Artillery, their weapons, and stores. The artillerymen arrived "all in perfect health," despite a long passage of eleven weeks from Cork and Portsmouth (*BGWA*, June 7, 1794, no. 542). The company was under the command of Major Thomas Hare, and being the senior officer in the Island, he assumed command of the 47th Regiment (transcribed letter of Andrew Durnford to Henry Dundas, reprinted in the *BHQ*, 1968:25(4):122).

A total of 24 Royal Artillery buttons are present in the Paget Fort assemblage (Plate 9). It is likely that the company of Royal Invalid Artillery wore the same copper alloy buttons as the Royal Artillery, depicting the Ordnance Arms – three cannon balls above three cannon on carriages, all on a recessed shield. Detachments of the Royal Artillery would later server in Bermuda following the departure of the Invalid Company.

During their years of service in Bermuda, the 47th Regiment was engaged in the construction of several redoubts on the western shore of St. George's Island to protect the newly discovered channel and anchorage off St. Catherine's Point. Hydrographer, Lieutenant Thomas Hurd, of the Royal Navy had completed a report in 1791 describing the new channel and anchorage at St. George's and another anchorage near Ireland Island. Seeking a winter base for the British naval squadron cruising off Chesapeake Bay, British Rear Admiral George Murray learned of Hurd's findings and dispatched the *Cleopatra* in February 1795 to investigate the potential of establishing a navel station at

Bermuda. The favorable report returned by the *Cleopatra* brought the arrival of Admiral Murray aboard the *Resolution* on May 17, 1795 (*BGWA*, May 23, 1795, no. 592). The Admiral quickly recognized the significance of Hurd's findings. Before departing Bermuda on May 24, Murray set about to create a naval depot at St. George's Island and recommended the creation of a permanent shore establishment at Ireland Island (Stranack 1990). The St. George's depot would serve the Royal Navy until 1809 when the construction of the Bermuda Dockyard began on Ireland Island.

Plate 9

Buttons Bearing the Ordinance Arms



These buttons were worn by the Royal Artillery, Royal Invalid Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Military Artificers. (Size: 24.6mm, 17.3mm, and 13.9mm)

The newspaper for Saturday, February 27, 1796, reports that the transport ship *Sally*, en route from Jamaica to London, had to put in to Bermuda "having carried away her main and mizen-mast" (*BGWA*, no. 632). On board was one company each of the 13th and 16th Regiments of Foot. Having received the necessary repairs, the *Sally*, under convoy of the *Cleopatra*, sailed for Halifax on May 1, carrying both companies of troops (*BGWA*, April 30, 1796, no. 641). Buttons of the 13th Regiment are well represented in

the Paget Fort assemblage; however, these were likely deposited when the regiment would later return to Bermuda as the main garrison force in 1808. No buttons of the 16th Regiment are present in the collection.

On March 23, 1797, the transport ship *Arethusa* arrived in eight days passage from New Providence, under convoy of the sloop of war *Swallow*. On board were seven companies of reinforcements of the 47th Regiment. The troops disembarked the following day in "high health and spirits" (*BGWA*, March 25, 1797, no. 681). An additional detachment of the 47th Regiment arrived from Portsmouth, England, on February 22, 1798, aboard the transport ship *Brothers*. The *Brothers* was under convoy of the frigate *Hinde*. In the *Hinde* came the new Bermuda Governor, George Beckwith (*BGWA*, February 24, 1798, no. 733). Shortly after Beckwith's arrival he reviewed the troops "on the new Parade opposite the Barracks," and they were reported to be "in the most healthy condition and made a very good appearance, being well clothed" (*BGWA*, March 10, 1798, no. 735).

The reference to the "barracks" and "new parade" in the above report is interesting. In 1793, the British Army began the systematic construction of barracks. This was an entirely new form of housing for the British soldiers. Prior to this date, British troops usually lived in camps or were billeted in towns (Barnes 1972). In the five years since their arrival, the 47th Regiment was undoubtedly engaged in the construction of the barracks on the East End of St. George's Island.

Also worthy of further note is the reference to the soldiers "being well clothed." In 1796 and 1797, drastic alterations were made to the appearance of the British Army uniform. The most dramatic change was made to the coat (see Chapter 4). This reference to the soldiers' appearance may indicate the 47th Regiment was wearing the new style of uniform by the spring of 1798. Additional clothing for the regiment arrived in mid-August 1798 aboard the ship *Syhes*, from London (*BGWA*, August 18, 1798, no. 758).

On October 18, 1798, three transport ships, the brigs *Queen, Lady Wentworth*, and *Lydia Tuper*, under convoy of the men of war *St. Albans, Prevoyante*, and *Porcupine* arrived in Bermuda from Halifax all carrying the "Irish Brigades, now to be incorporated into the 47th regiment" (*BGWA*, October 20, 1798, no. 767). The size of this force was estimated to be about 800 soldiers (*BGWA*, May 26, 1798, no. 746). By orders received at the same time as the arrival of the Irish Brigades, two companies of the 47th Regiment were to be sent to New Providence, Bahamas. These companies departed Bermuda by November 3 on board the *Prevoyante* and brig *Mentor* (*BGWA*, November 3, 1798, no. 769).

During the years 1799 and 1800, the number of soldiers of the 47th Regiment in garrison at Bermuda fluctuated. In 1799, a small detachment arrived on March 15 (*BGWA*, March 16, 1799, no. 788), 60 recruits arrived from England on April 8 (*BGWA*, April 13, 1799, no. 792), and four companies arrived from Halifax the third week of December (*BGWA*, December 21, 1799, no. 828). A detachment of the 47th Regiment departed Bermuda for New Providence on April 21 aboard the *Prevoyante* (*BGWA*, April 27, 1799, no. 794). Early in January 1800, two more companies of the 47th Regiment departed Bermuda for New Providence aboard the sloop of war *Swan* (*BGWA*, January 4, 1800, no. 830). This decrease in numbers was slightly offset by the arrival of 33 privates from London on May 6, 1800 (*BGWA*, May 10, 1800, no. 848).

The garrison strength of the 47th Regiment in Bermuda appears to have remained at a stable number for the next two years. There are no further entries of troop movements until March 1802. On the 25th of that month a detachment of recruits for the 47th Regiment arrived from Jamaica aboard the frigate *Circe (BGWA,* March 27, 1802, no. 946). This was the last detachment of the 47th Regiment to arrive in Bermuda.

In March 1802, Britain reached a peace agreement with France. This peace, however, was tenuous. By May 1803, the two countries were again at war. It is during this brief period of peace that the five companies of the 47th Regiment in garrison at Bermuda were ordered to proceed to England where they would join the five companies of the 47th Regiment ordered home from New Providence (*BGWA*, November 6, 1802, no. 978). The first three companies departed Bermuda on November 25, 1802, aboard the transport ship *Queen* (*BGWA*, November 20, 1802, no. 980). The two remaining companies, who were aboard the transport ship *Camilla*, sailed on December 8 (*BGWA*, December 11, 1802, no. 983). Reports of their safe arrival at Portsmouth reached Bermuda in early May 1803 (*BGWA*, May 7, 1803, no. 1004).

The 47th Regiment spent a total of nine years and nine months in Bermuda. Of all the Line Regiments covered by this chronology, the 47th Regiment served the longest period of garrison duty in the colony. Their long presence had a positive effect on the Island's civilian population:

This day the inhabitants of St. George's give a public entertainment to the officers of the 47^{th} regiment, as a farewell dinner for the esteem they have for them, and the harmony which has kept up here for many years by their attention and praiseworthy conduct. Their departure will be much regretted; but we trust their situation will be equally filled by those of the 7h [*BGWA*, October 30, 1802, no. 977].

This passage marks a significant change in public opinion in comparison to the negative sentiment felt with the arrival of Royal Garrison Battalion in 1778.

Replacing the 47th Regiment was the 7th (Royal Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot. Three companies of Royal Fusiliers arrived on October 24, 1802, after a passage of 20 days from Halifax, aboard the transport ship *Queen*. The companies were under the command of a Colonel Lavard, and were said to be "all in good health" (*BGWA*, October 30, 1802, no. 977). Two additional companies soon followed, arriving on November 4 aboard the transport ship *Camilla*, in 32 days passage from Halifax. These companies were under the command of a Major Walker and were also reported to be "in good health" (*BGWA*, November 6, 1802, no. 978). A total of 25 examples of this regiment's unique buttons were recovered at Paget Fort (Plates10 and 24).

A detachment of the 7th Regiment arrived on March 2, 1803, from Jamaica aboard the frigate *Aeolus (BGWA*, March 5, 1803, no. 995). Twenty-nine more privates arrived from London aboard the brig *Thomas* on September 20, 1803 (*BGWA*, September 24, 1803, no. 1024). There is only one entry, on November 20, 1803, of a detachment of the 7th Regiment departing Bermuda. The troops were bound for New Providence aboard the sloop of war *Stork (BGWA*, November 26, 1803, no. 1033).

The newspapers for 1805 contain a paucity of information pertaining to the Royal Fusiliers. Unfortunately, the archive copies of the newspapers for the year 1806 are fragmentary, with all of the issues missing between January and August (see Appendix B). It is during this period in 1806 that the Royal Fusiliers were ordered to depart Bermuda. Despite the lack of newspapers for this year, a single entry was located that stated the transport ship *Harriot* had arrived safely in England, having sailed from

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Bermuda on July 24, 1806, with part of the 7th Regiment on board (*BGWA*, November 8, 1806, no. 1187). The Royal Fusiliers had spent a total of three years and nine months in garrison.

Plate 10



Officer's Buttons of the 7th Regiment of Foot

(Size: 26.1mm and 17.8mm)

Also departing Bermuda during this gap in the historic newspapers was the single company of Royal Invalid Artillery. These soldiers spent approximately 12 years in service at Bermuda - the longest of any military unit covered by this historical research. The Royal Invalid Artillery was replaced by a detachment of the Royal Artillery. The first mention of the these troops is on November 18, 1806, when they fired a salute from Paget Fort to honor the arrival of Vice Admiral Berkley (*BGWA*, November 22, 1806, no. 1189). A detachment of the Royal Artillery would remain in garrison at Bermuda through to the end of this historical research.

A detachment of the 85th (Bucks Volunteers) Regiment of Foot was in garrison for a brief period in 1806. They departed on September 11 bound for England, aboard the cutter *Barbra* (*BGWA*, September 13, 1806, no. 1179). Only a single, badly corroded, enlisted man's button from this regiment was recovered at Paget Fort.

Replacing the Royal Fusiliers was the 99th Regiment, who must have arrived prior to the departure of the Royal Fusiliers in July 1806. The 99th Regiment was part of the second battalion of the 62nd Regiment of Foot, and was the fourth regiment to be designated as the 99th. The regiment was raised in Ireland in 1803 following the renewal of war with France. In 1811, it was given the title of 99th (Prince of Wales Tipperary) Regiment of Foot (Chichester and Burgess-Short 1970). It is unclear how many companies of the 99th Regiment arrived in Bermuda during the summer of 1806. It is possible this number was quite high based on the fact that this regiment's buttons are the most numerous of all the diagnostic buttons found in the Paget Fort assemblage, with 76 specimens (Plate 11). This assumption, however, is purely speculative. In the research of this thesis, no definitive evidence was found to indicate a correlation between button frequency and the numbers of troops in garrison.

Recruits for the 99th Regiment arrived from England on July 14, 1807, aboard the transport ship *Hannah* (*BGWA*, July 18, 1807, no. 1223). Another detachment arrived on February 9, 1808, from New Providence aboard the brig *Gibson* (*BGWA*, February 13, 1808, no. 1253). On July 29, 1808, the sloop of war *Dispatch* brought an additional detachment from Jamaica (*BGWA*, July 30, 1808, no. 1277). The final group of reinforcements for the garrison was five officers and 12 privates from Halifax who

arrived on October 27, 1808, aboard the frigate *Guerrier* (*BGWA*, October 29, 1808, no. 1290).

The 99th Regiment departed Bermuda for Halifax in May and June 1811. The first companies left on May 19, aboard six different ships (*BGWA*, May 25, 1811, no. 1424). The remaining forces sailed on June 18, aboard the *Indian*, brig *Plumper*, and transports (*BGWA*, June 22, 1811, no. 1428). In total, this regiment spent four years and eleven months in garrison at Bermuda.

Plate 11

Buttons of the 99th Regiment of Foot



⁽Size: 20.5mm and 15.7mm)

Sharing garrison duty with the 99th Regiment in 1808 was the 13th (The Somersetshire Light Infantry) Regiment of Foot. On March 24, 1808, five transport ships carrying onboard the 13th Regiment put into Murray's Anchorage with one victualler putting into St. George's Harbor, after 40 days passage from England (*BGWA*, March 26, 1808, no. 1259). These ships were part of a convoy of 21 other transports and victuallers bound for Halifax. The 13th Regiment was to remain in garrison at Bermuda for only eight months, departing on November 21st, aboard the transport ships *Sally, Simpson*, and *Allison (BGWA*, November 26, 1808, no. 1294). The regiment's destination at the time was reported as "unknown" (*BGWA*, November 19, 1808, no. 1293). In hindsight, however, it is known that the 13th Regiment participated in the British attack and capture of Martinique in January and February 1809 (Chartrand and Chappell 1996). The buttons of the 13th Regiment are well represented in the Paget Fort assemblage by 15 specimens (Plate 12).

Plate 12



Buttons of the 13th Regiment of Foot

(Size: 22.6mm and 16.2 mm)

On April 11, 1808 the transport ship, *Harriet*, having parted company with the large convoy destined for Halifax, put in to Bermuda carrying onboard a detachment of the 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot (*BGWA*, April 16, 1808, no. 1262; also see Buckley 1987). The transport remained in Bermuda for just 13 days, departing for

Halifax under escort of the *Milan (BGWA*, April 30, 1808, no. 1264). A single officer's button of the 23rd regiment was recovered at Paget Fort (Plate 13).

Plate 13



Officer's Button of the 23rd Regiment of Foot

(Size: 20.4mm)

On February 4, 1809, the newspaper carries the first mention of the Marine Regiment in an account of the drowning of a naval officer, along with a captain and a sergeant of the Royal Marines (*BGWA*, February 4, 1809, no. 1304). It is without doubt that Marine soldiers, called the Royal Marines after 1802, were present in Bermuda before this time. In May 1813, a large force of Royal Marines arrived to garrison Ireland Island and the new naval Dockyard. The first company arrived before May 22, aboard the sloop *Sylph* (*BGWA*, May 22, 1813, no. 1528). A week later a force of 1,800 more Marines arrived in the company of several other troops who were reportedly intended for the garrison at St. George's (*BGWA*, May 29, 1813, no. 1529). Two Marine officer's buttons were recovered from Paget Fort (Plate 14).

Plate 14

Officer's Buttons of the Marines



(Size: 21.5mm and 14.2mm)

The departure of the 99th Regiment in June 1811 marked the beginning of a rapid succession of regiments serving in Bermuda over the next four years. This was a period of great hostility for Britain. The war with France was still very much under way in both the Caribbean and on the Iberian Peninsula. The defeat of France came on March 31, 1814, with the capture of Paris. Conflict flared again a year later when Napoleon escaped from exile. The decisive victory over France finally came on June 18, 1815, with the Duke of Wellington's triumph at the Battle of Waterloo.

During the conflict with France, the United States had declared war on Great Britain in June 1812, stating the Royal Navy's impressment of American seamen from American ships as the primary cause. This war was waged in North America along several fronts including the United States and Canada boarder, the Chesapeake Bay, and Louisiana. The greatest impact however, was dealt by Britain on the open seas, where its naval superiority paralyzed American shipping and commerce. Bermuda played an important role in maintaining this stranglehold on the American's by serving as a vital naval station for the Royal Navy and as a point in which to deploy British troops. The war finally came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814. Unfortunately, the news of peace was slow in reaching the armies in the field, resulting in the British defeat at the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815.

Replacing the 99th Regiment as the main garrison force in Bermuda was the 98th (Prince of Wales's) Regiment of Foot. These troops, having been raised in 1805, were the fourth regiment of the second battalion to be designated as the 98th (Chichester and Burges-Short 1970). On June 13, 1811, 400 men of the 98th Regiment arrived from Halifax, aboard the schooners *Bream* and *Chub*, and transport ship *Lady Delaval (BGWA*, June 15, 1811, no. 1427). Several more companies arrived from Halifax in late December 1811, aboard the transport ship *Henry (BGWA*, December 28, 1811, no. 1455).

On February 11, 1813, the first companies of the 98th Regiment departed Bermuda aboard the sloops *Sylph* and *Childers* and the transport ship *Britanuia* with orders to return to Halifax (*BGWA*, February 13, 1813, no. 1514). The newspaper states for May 29, 1813, that the remaining companies were prepared to embark for Nova Scotia, but the order had been "countermanded" (*BGWA*, no. 1529). During the following week, however, having been the King's birthday on June 4, there is no mention of the 98th Regiment passing "in review before His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor" as did the other regiments (*BGWA*, June 5, 1813, no. 1530). This indicates the remaining companies of the 98th Regiment embarked from Bermuda sometime between May 29 and June 4, 1813. The 98th Regiment spent a total of two years in Bermuda. Their buttons are well represented in the Paget Fort assemblage with 76 examples (Plate 15).

Plate 15

Buttons of the 98th Regiment of Foot



(Size: 21.0mm and 16.5mm)

Arriving from England in mid-November 1812 was a company of Royal Military Artificers (*BGWA*, November 21, 1812, no. 1502). These specialized troops were likely dispatched to Bermuda for the purpose of assisting in the major improvements to Bermuda's coastal defenses implemented by Captain Thomas Cunningham, Royal Engineer (see Chapter 3), who had arrived 15 months earlier on August, 30, 1811 (*BGWA*, August 31, 1811, no. 1438). In 1813, the Royal Military Artificers were renamed the Royal Sappers & Miners (Haythornthwaite and Fosten 1995). A detachment of these troops remained in Bermuda until the end of the period covered by this research; however, after 1817, this force must have been at a reduced number (*Bermuda Almanac* 1817; *BGHSGWA*, August 28, 1819, no. 1773). Five examples of Royal Sappers & Miners' buttons were recovered from Paget Fort (Plate 16).

Plate 16

Buttons of the Royal Sappers & Miners



(Size: 19.2mm and 15.4mm)

Sharing the task of garrison duty with the 98th Regiment, and later with the IV Garrison Battalion, was the 102nd Regiment. These troops were the fourth to be numbered as the 102nd, having been raised in 1789 as the New South Wales Corp, and brought into the Line in 1809 as the 102nd Regiment of Foot (Chichester and Burgess-Short 1970). The 102nd Regiment arrived in Bermuda on September 12, 1812, aboard the "battle ship" *Ardent*, from Guernsey, England. These troops marched into barracks at St. George's the following day and were reported to be a "body of fine young men" (*BGWA*, September 19, 1812, no. 1493). Reinforcements arrived from England in late February 1813 (*BGWA*, February 27, 1813, no. 1516). On June 22, 1814, the entire 102nd Regiment departed Bermuda for Halifax, having spent a total of one year and ten months in garrison (*BGWA*, June 25, 1814, no. 1585). A total of 34 examples of this regiment's buttons were recovered from Paget Fort (Plate 17).

Plate 17

Buttons of the 102nd Regiment of Foot



(Size: 21.1mm, 15.5mm, and 11.5mm)

Accompanying the arrival of the 102nd Regiment in late February 1813, were 200 soldiers of the 1st Independent Company of Foreigners, said to be a "Rifle Corp" (*BGWA*, February 27, 1813, no. 1516). An additional company arrived with the 1,800 Royal Marines and a detachment of the IV Garrison Battalion in late May 1813 (*BGWA*, May 29, 1813, no. 1529). There is no mention of the Independent Company of Foreigners on parade for the King's birthday on July 4, 1813, indicating they departed with the remaining companies of the 98th Regiment during the week of May 29 to June 4, 1813. This date of departure is supported by the fact that these troops participated in Sir Sydney Beckwick's Chesapeake Bay expedition in June 1813 (Chartrand and Embleton 1998).

These two companies of Independent Foreigners were raised in England in September 1812 and January 1813 from French deserters. They were notorious for their "uncontrollable" behavior and have been described as "the worst of all foreign corps" (Yaple 1972:19). Unfortunately, no buttons of from these unruly troops were recovered at Paget Fort. Replacing the 98th Regiment was the IV Garrison Battalion. The first detachment of these troops arrived in late May 1813, with an additional detachment from England arriving eight months later on January 26, 1814 (*BGWA*, May 29, 1813, no. 1529; *BGWA*, January 29, 1814, no. 1564). The IV Garrison Battalion was formed in December 1806, "form limited service men drafted from the 2nd Battalions of the 3rd, 5th, 18th, 44th, 56th, 57th, and 67th Regiments," and were renumbered the 2nd Garrison Battalion in November 1814 (White 1960:161). With the departure of the 102nd Regiment in June 1814, the IV Garrison Battalion served as the primary garrison force in Bermuda, until their departure for England on September 1, 1815 (*BGWA*, September 2, 1815, no. 1557). These troops spent a total of two years and four months in service and their buttons are represented by 47 examples in the Paget Fort assemblage (Plate 18).

Plate 18

Buttons of the IV Garrison Battalion



(Size: 21.8mm and 15.6mm)

Between January 1814 and April 1815, there are multiple newspaper reports of transport ships and troops, including the 21st, 27th, 29th, and 63rd Regiments arriving and departing Bermuda. During the year 1814, the majority of troops are in transit from England and the Mediterranean destine for Halifax, Nova Scotia. This is a result of the initial end of hostilities with France and a shifting of military forces from the European theater of war to that in North America. With the close of the American war, the reports for early 1815 carry the accounts of troops moving from Halifax and the West Indies home to England.

Of the regiments listed above, only the 27th and 29th appear to have disembarked their transport ships at Bermuda. The 29th Regiment arrived from Cork during the second week of November 1814, and soon departed on December 19, 1814 (*BGWA*, November 12, 1814, no. 1515; *BGWA*, December 24, 1814, no. 1521). The newspaper carries the reports of companies of the 27th Regiment arriving in Bermuda during the first week of both January and April 1815 (*BGWA*, January 7, 1815, no. 1523; *BGWA*, April 8, 1815, no. 1536). It is unclear as to the exact departure date of this regiment however, several transports sailed for England on July 14, 1815, and "other troops" are reported departing with the IV Garrison Battalion on September 1, 1815 (*BGWA*, July 15, 1815, no. 1550; *BGWA*, September 2, 1815, no. 1557). No buttons of either the 27th or 29th Regiment were recovered at Paget Fort.

Replacing the IV Garrison Battalion as the main garrison force was the 62nd (The Wiltshire) Regiment of Foot. Five companies of this regiment arrived from Halifax on July 28, 1815 (*BGWA*, July 29, 1815, no. 1552). Two years later, on September 22, 1817, the schooner *Brothers* landed with an additional force of the 62nd Regiment from

Halifax consisting of two officers, 105 men, 12 woman, and 22 children (*BGHSGWA*, September 27, 1817, no. 1670). Returning to Halifax on October 7, 1817, the *Brothers* sailed with a small detachment of invalids and other soldiers of this regiment (*BGHSGWA*, October 11, 1817, no. 1672).

Plate 19

Buttons of the 62nd Regiment of Foot



(Size: 23.0mm, 17.3mm, and 14.2mm)

In early June 1819, the 62nd Regiment received orders to prepare to embark for Halifax. The news of their impending departure is followed by a lengthy reply in the newspaper complimenting the "urbanity" of their commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Ximenes, the "politeness of the officers," and the "general good character which the whole detachment has sustained during its stay in the colony..." (*BGHSGWA*, June 12, 1819, no. 1762). On July 12, 1819, the regiment sailed for Halifax aboard the transport ships *Diadem* and *Lord Mulgrave*. Following this report, the newspaper reiterates the high regard felt for these troops by Bermuda's inhabitants: "If we except the 47th, which left Bermuda in the year 1802, no regiment that has been in the Colony has behaved better and been so much respected by the people as the 62d" (*BGHSGWA*, July 17, 1819, no. 1767). The 62nd Regiment spent exactly four years in garrison at Bermuda. A total of 15 examples of this regiment's buttons were recovered from Paget Fort (Plate 19). The 62nd Regiment is the last of the regiments to be accounted for in this document research whose buttons are represented by more than a single specimen in the Paget Fort assemblage; with the exception of an unknown regiment of Local Militia (Plate 20).

Plate 20

Officer's Button of an Unidentified Regiment of Local Militia



⁽Size:19.9mm)

Replacing the 62nd Regiment as the main garrison force was the Right Wing of the 15th (York, East Riding Regiment) Regiment of Foot. They arrived on July 5, 1819, aboard the transport ships *Diadem* and *Lord Mulgrave* after a "tedious and tempestuous passage of 22 or 23 days from Halifax, Nova Scotia..." (*BGHSGWA*, July 10, 1819, no. 1766). The regiment would remain in Bermuda as the primary garrison force until their departure in 1821 (Chichester and Burgess-Short 1970). No buttons from the 15th Regiment were recovered at Paget Fort. Because of this absence, the research of

Bermuda's historic newspapers concluded with the final December 1819 issue of the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser*. The findings from this research is summarized in Table 2.

The buttons recovered from Paget Fort are the tangible objects of the British soldiers who served in Bermuda from 1778 to 1820. In the previous chapter, the frequency pattern of the 345 diagnostic buttons contained in the Paget Fort assemblage indicated a correlation between the buttons occurring more than once and the potential that these regiments or specialist service units actually served in Bermuda for a period of time. Combining this artifact evidence with the detailed reports of British troop movements chronicled in the historic Bermuda newspapers has placed the Paget Fort buttons within their historical context. The resulting chronology generated by the research presented in this chapter surpasses all other published chronologies of British forces serving in Bermuda and provides a better understanding of Bermuda's military past during one of the most turbulent periods in Great Britain's history. This chronology can now be applied as a resource to examine the archaeological context of the Paget Fort button assemblage.

Table 2

Chronology of British Military Units Serving in Bermuda, 1778 to 1820

Royal Garrison Battalion - November 1778 to April 1784.

Royal Provincials – December 1783 to April 1784.

47th Regiment of Foot- February 1793 to November 1802.

Invalid Company of Royal Artillery – June 1794 to some point between January and September 1806.

13th and 16th Regiments of Foot – February 1796 to April 1796.

- 7th Regiment of Foot October 1802 to July 1806.
- 85th Regiment of Foot Some point between January and August 1806 to September 1806.

99th Regiment of Foot – Some point between January and August 1806 to June 1811.

Royal Artillery – Some point between January and August 1806 to the end of research.

13th Regiment of Foot - March 1808 to November 1808.

23rd Regiment of Foot – April 1808.

Royal Marines – First mentioned in February 1809, likely in Bermuda before.

98th Regiment of Foot – June 1811 to June 1813.

Royal Military Artificers/ Royal Sappers & Miners- November 1812 to the end of research.

102nd Regiment of Foot – September 1812 to June 1814.

1st Independent Company of Foreigners – February 1813 to June 1813.

IV Garrison Battalion – May 1813 to September 1815.

- 29th Regiment of Foot November to December 1814
- 27th Regiment of Foot January to September 1815.
- 62nd Regiment of Foot July 1815 to July 1819.
- 15th Regiment of Foot July 1819 and remains to the end of research.

CHAPTER 3

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

"Chronology in archaeology is one of the cornerstones for all analysis" (Deetz 1996:23). Just as James Deetz concludes, a discussion of the archaeological context of the Paget Fort buttons is dependent on the examination of chronology. The foundation of this chapter rests on the 345 diagnostic regimental and specialist service buttons recovered from the site. Here a comparison is made between the button's archaeological and historical chronologies by employing two important methodological techniques - the Harris Matrix (Harris 1979) and seriation. The Harris Matrix is used to place the diagnostic buttons within their archaeological (relative) time sequence by constructing the depositional chronology of stratigraphic layers encountered during the excavation of the Paget Fort deposit. The chronology of British military units serving in Bermuda, constructed in the previous chapter, is used to place the diagnostic buttons within a historical (absolute) time sequence. The method of *seriation* is then employed as a means to make a comparison between these two chronologies. The button evidence is used in light of this comparison as an indicator of terminus post quem (the date after which), and is supplemented by the known historic documentation for the purpose of making informed interpretations about the deposit's formation process and the development of Paget Fort.

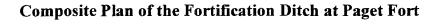
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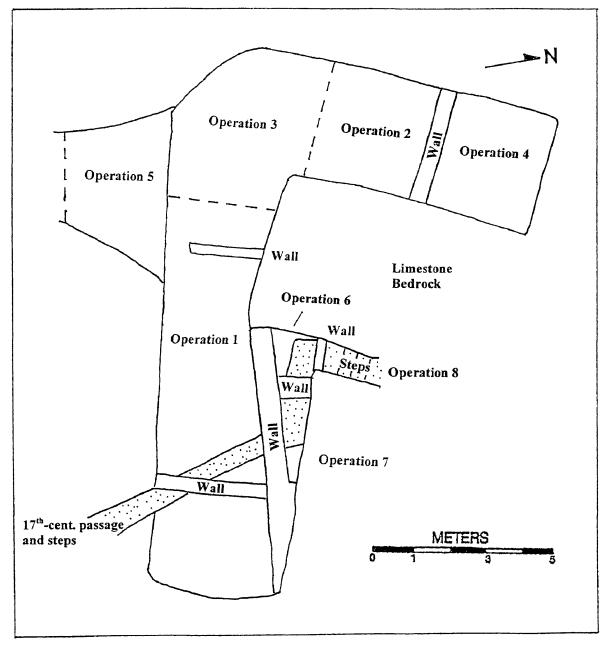
The archaeology conducted at Paget Fort focused on the excavation of a large Lshaped fortification ditch that had been cut deep into the surface of the exposed limestone bedrock. At the time of excavation, this was the only extant feature of the fort that still retained stratified archaeological deposits. The surface of the in-filled ditch was divided in seven areas called operations (Figure 5). Within these operations a total of 31 contiguous units (sub-operations) were excavated until the all of the stratified layers of fill (lots) were removed (Barka and Harris 1999). In the process of excavating each unit, the stratigraphic relationship of each layer of soil fill, structural component, and surface interface encountered was recorded using the *Harris Matrix* technique. These individual matrices were then combined to create a single master stratigraphic sequence for the entire ditch deposit (Table 3).

At its most basic, the *Harris Matrix* is a simplified way to visually express the complex relationship of stratigraphic components encountered during the excavation process. Similar to a flow chart, the matrix details the physical relationship of stratigraphic archaeological components as they relate to each other in one of three ways that can be illustrated by using examples from Table 3: First, the stratigraphic components are in direct superposition to each other (M1 and M2); Second, the components are assumed to have originally been part of the same deposition (M5 and M6); Third, the stratigraphic components have no direct link to each other (M16 and M17). By ordering stratigraphic components based on these relationships a chronology of relative time is constructed for the excavated deposit (Harris 1979).

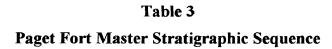
The master stratigraphic sequence presented in Table 3 depicts the relative time sequence of the depositional layers and structural components of the Paget Fort deposit.

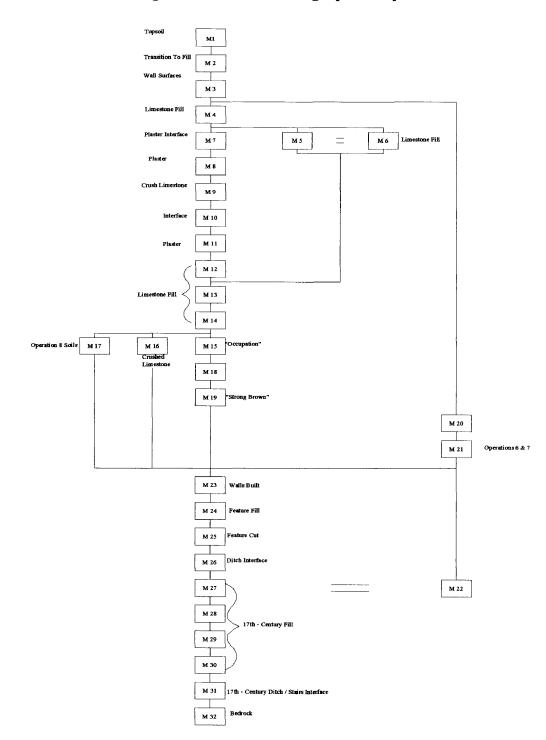






⁽Adopted from Barka and Harris 1999:DWG. 2)





The matrix proceeds from the most recent stratigraphic component, topsoil (M1), to the oldest stratigraphic component, bedrock (M32). The components in-between these constitute layers of soil, limestone debris, plaster surfaces, walls, interfaces, and features that make up the remainder of the stratified deposit. With the site's relative time sequence established by the Harris method, a discussion of the Paget Fort deposit and its button evidence can now proceed. The best place to begin this discussion is with the earliest archaeological remains.

Excavation of the fortification ditch revealed that it cut through a previously existing narrow trench and steps (M31) (see Figure 5). This feature is attributed to the seventeenth century by Barka and Harris, and is interpreted as being the remains of a passageway that led from the elevated interior of the original fort to the lower gun battery (1999). This passageway was eventually abandoned and filled with layers of soil (M27-M30). Barka and Harris date this filling to some point during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries when the main ditch was constructed (1999). Their conclusion is supported by the fact that no buttons were recovered from these soil layers, since the earliest regiment represented in the Paget Fort assemblage is the Royal Garrison Battalion, who arrived in Bermuda in November 1778.

Excavation also exposed a series of four walls in the lower (eastern) portion of the fortification ditch (see Figure 5). These walls (M23) were constructed directly on the ditch floor and each extended over the remains of the seventeenth-century passageway. This relationship indicates that the walls were built after the abandonment of the passageway and the construction of the fortification ditch, but prior to the filling of the ditch itself. Alterations to Paget Fort in the last quarter of the eighteenth century provide

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a likely date for the construction of the walls. The button evidence recovered from the soil layers behind these walls (M20-22) helps to narrow their construction date, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

The main section of the fortification ditch was excavated as Operations 1, 2, and 3 (see Figure 5). Within this area, multiple layers of soil fill were identified. Based on their distinct physical characteristics, these layers can be grouped together to identify four major levels of fill (M1-2, M12-14, M15, and M19). To clarify these groupings, a simplified version of the stratigraphic sequence is presented in Table 4. These levels reveal a relative time sequence based on their stratigraphic relation to each other. Since these layers occur within the ditch, this relative time sequence must date after the construction of the ditch itself.

Table 4

Simplified Stratigraphic Sequence of Soil Fill Layers in the Main Section of the Fortification Ditch.

Level I (M1-M2) | Level II (M12-M14) | Level III (M15) | Level IV (M19) | Ditch Surface (M26)

The lowest and earliest level of fill (Level IV) was a thin ~0.15m deposit of soil distinguished by its strong brown color and general lack of limestone debris. Above this

was a deposit of pale brown sand soil (Level III), measuring ~0.38m in thickness, and containing only a minor amount of limestone inclusions. Resting directly above this level was a thick ~0.80m deposit of pale brown sand soil that contained an extensive amount of limestone blocks, roofing tiles, and rubble (Level II). Completing the fill was the topsoil and transitional level (Level I). This level was shallow, measuring ~0.11m in thickness, and is an eroded surface due to the wind, rain, and high seas that often scour the exposed site located at the tip of Paget Island. (For a discussion of environmental forces and their impact on archaeological remains see Schiffer 1996).

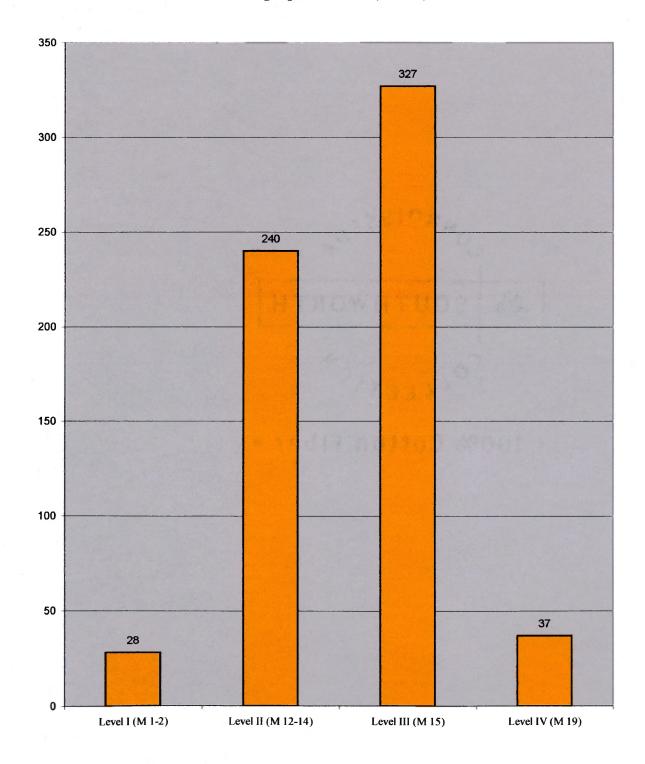
Excavated form these four major levels of ditch fill was an extensive array of artifacts. The most notable of these artifact types was the large quantity buttons. Of the total 663 metal buttons recovered at Paget Fort, 632 or 95.3% were found within these four levels (Figure 6). The frequency of metal buttons recovered from each of these levels was high enough to contain a sufficient quantity of diagnostic regimental or specialist service buttons. Drawing on the chronology constructed in the previous chapter, it is possible to arrange these diagnostic buttons into chronological order based on absolute time. By doing this, it provides the means in which to compare the historical (absolute) time sequence and the archaeological (relative) time sequence by employing the method of *seriation*.

Seriation is a methodological dating technique based on the principle that, over time, a graph of the popularity of any cultural trait will have a small beginning, reach a maximum peak, and then fade away (Deetz 1996). These cultural traits can be anything created by a culture, which can include linguistic variations of vernacular speech, musical expression, or physical objects like ceramic ware types. *Seriation* has long been

Figure 6

Frequency of Metal Buttons by Simplified

Stratigraphic Levels (n=632)

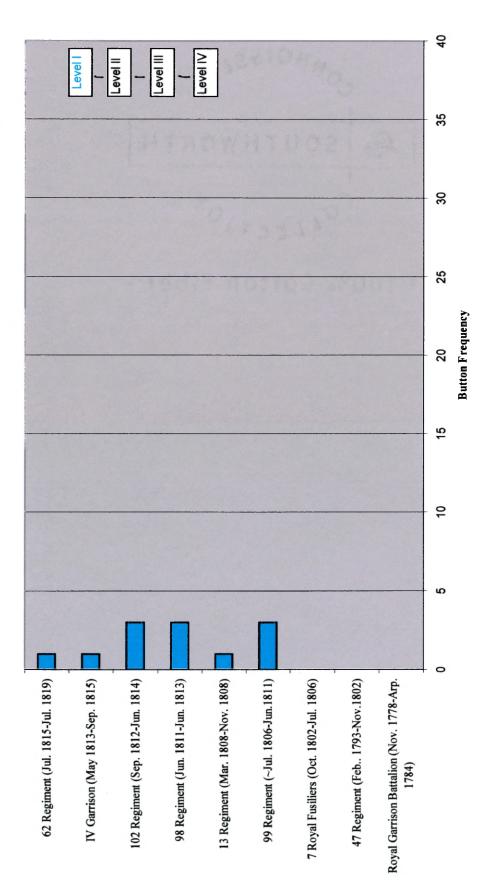


employed in the study of artifacts by prehistoric and historic archaeologists. Milestone works in historical archaeology include J.C. Harrington's "histograms" in his study of clay pipestem hole diameters (1954), and James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefson's "battleship-shaped curves" in their analysis of New England gravestone art (1967). Harrington's work demonstrated that by charting the measurement of hole diameters in an assemblage of 330 well dated clay tobacco pipes using drill bits ranging in size from 4/64ths to 9/64ths of an inch, a frequency pattern emerged whereby a particular size of pipestem hole phases in, peaks, and then phases out according to one of five established date ranges. In Deetz and Dethlefson's study, a similar pattern was identified when they graphed the evolution in the styles of imagery found on New England gravestones. Based on the date of death chiseled into the gravestones, they observed over a period of one-hundred years how particular styles of imagery slowly gained in popularity, peaked, and then faded out. As an individual style of gravestone imagery was decreasing in popularity another style was increasing, therefore repeating the same pattern just later in time.

Using the principle of *seriation* demonstrated by these studies, the frequency of diagnostic buttons recovered each of the four levels of stratification were graphed according to the 42-year period established by the chronology of British units serving in Bermuda. These are presented as Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10. To provide consistency to these graphs, only the diagnostic buttons from the regiments who served as a primary garrison force in Bermuda were used, since these regiments are the best documented in the historical research and their buttons occur in the highest frequencies.

FIGURE 7

SERIATION OF DIAGNOSTIC BUTTONS WITHIN LEVEL I (n=12)





SERIATION OF DIAGNOSTIC BUTTONS WITHIN LEVEL II (n=126)

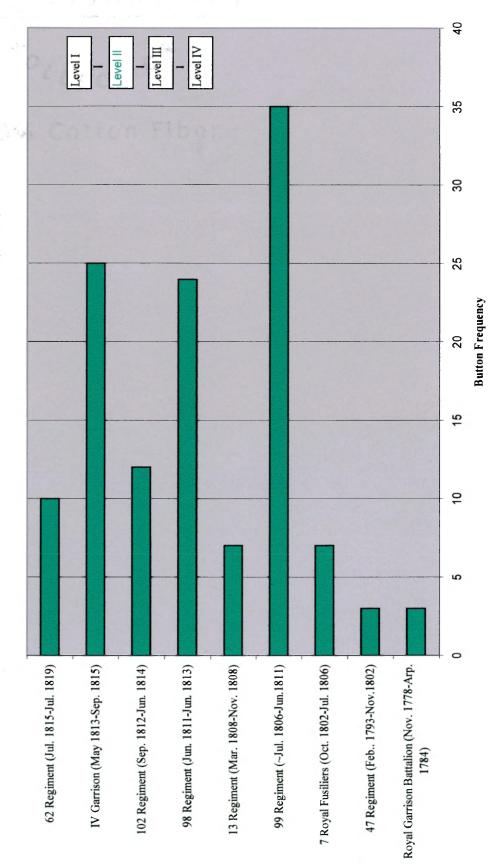


FIGURE 9

SERIATION OF DIAGNOSTIC BUTTONS WITHIN LEVEL III (n=129)

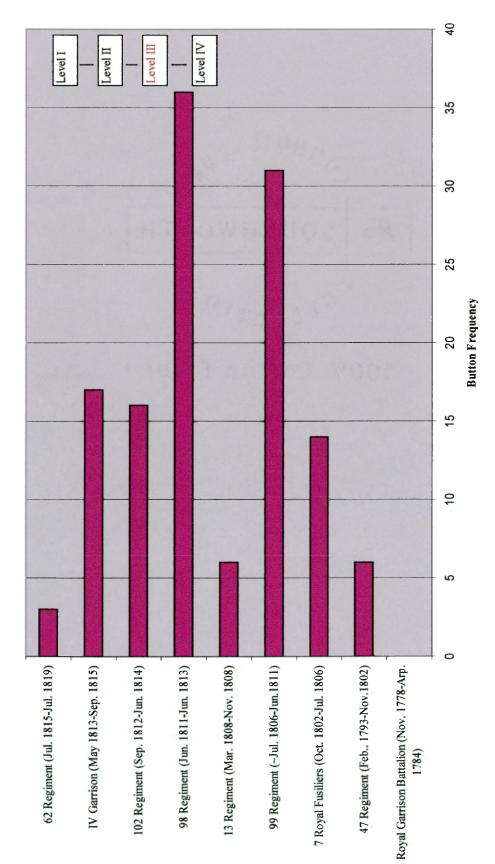
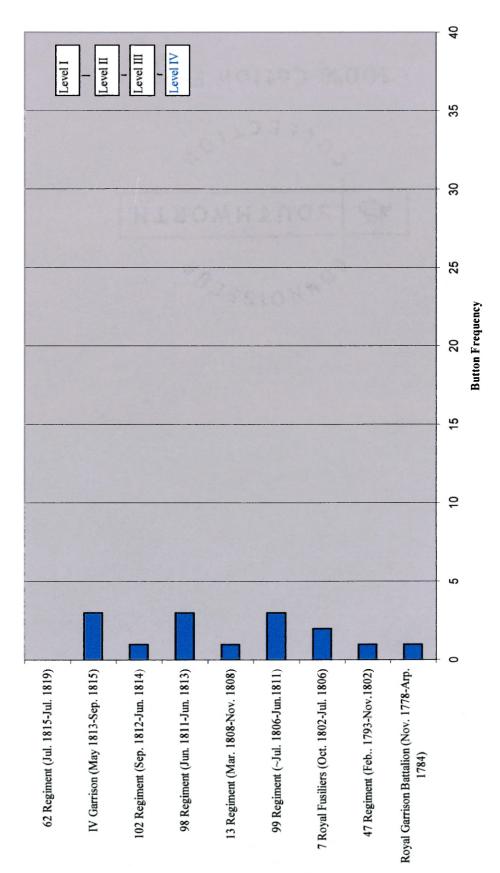


FIGURE 10

SERIATION OF DIAGNOSTIC BUTTONS WITHIN LEVEL IV (n=15)



A direct correlation between the absolute and relative time sequences should, in theory, show a frequency pattern whereby some regiments phase-in, peak, and phase-out over time according to each level of stratified fill. A pattern of this nature would indicate that the buttons accumulated in the ditch at the same rate of time as the layers of soil fill were deposited.

By carefully examining the series of four graphs it is apparent that the diagnostic buttons do not follow this trend. This is most evident in the frequency distribution of buttons from the Royal Garrison Battalion, who served in Bermuda between November 1778 and April 1784. Because this regiment is the earliest of all the regiments represented in the Paget Fort assemblage, their buttons should occur in the highest frequency in Level IV and then phase-out in the above levels, if the buttons seriate to the stratigraphic sequence. Instead, only one of their buttons was recovered from Level IV, none were recovered from Level III, their frequency peaks in Level II with the recovery of three examples, and none were found Level I. The lack of a well-defined seriation pattern is also apparent in the frequency distribution of buttons from the 62nd Regiment, who are the latest regiment represented in the Paget Fort assemblage. Their buttons peak in Level II with the recovery of 10 examples, instead of Level I where only a single example was recovered. Based on the distributions illustrated by these two examples it can be concluded that the absolute and relative time sequences observed in the Paget Fort deposit do not correlate. What these frequency distributions do indicate is that there is a significant overlap in absolute time between the four major levels of ditch fill. To clarify this, each of the preceding graphs needs to be examined by using the diagnostic buttons as an indicator of *terminus post quem* (the date after which).

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Terminus post quem refers to the principle that an archaeological deposit can only have been formed after the date of the most recent artifact recovered from within it (Hume 1969; Deetz 1996). The diagnostic buttons provide the means to assign a date after which each of the four major levels of ditch fill were deposited. Levels I, II, and III can only have been formed after the July 1815 as indicated by the presence of buttons from the 62nd Regiment. The presence of buttons from the IV Garrison Battalion in Level IV indicates this level was created at some point after May 1813. This evidence confirms that Levels I, II and III were deposited within a relatively short period of time of one another. Only Level IV could have been formed at a slightly earlier date; however the limited number of diagnostic buttons recovered from this level (just 15) suggests that even this level may have been deposited with in the same time frame those above. This analysis, combined with the lack of a clear seriation pattern, proves that the levels contained within the main section of the fortification ditch did not accumulate at a slow rate over a 42-year period, but instead were deposited at a rapid rate.

The evidence for a rapid rate of filling demonstrated by the diagnostic buttons can not refute the fact that the stratigraphic levels documented in the main section of the fortification ditch represent a succession of relative time. This is based on the *Law of Superposition*, meaning that one level is deposited prior to the level directly above. This law applies only to the order in which the levels were laid down and not to the ages of the artifacts contained in them (Schiffer 1996). Edward Harris reiterates this concept in his discussion of artifacts, stratigraphic sequences, and chronology stating that: "Stratigraphic sequences are made without any reference to this contained material [artifacts, in this case military buttons] and no results from artefactual studies can change the stratigraphic relationships found in such sequences" (1979:92). The diagnostic button evidence contained within these levels however, provide the means to interpret the cultural processes that formed the archaeological deposit in the main section of the fortification ditch. This evidence argues that the deposit was formed as a result of the abandonment and rapid destruction of Paget Fort sometime after May 1813, or more likely after July 1815.

In his book, <u>Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record</u>, Michael Schiffer defines abandonment as "the process whereby a place - an activity area, structure, or entire settlement - is transformed to archaeological context" (1996:89). Once abandoned, an archaeological site is subject to a variety of cultural and non-cultural (environmental) forces that alter or disturb the original deposition of artifacts. Schiffer writes in his discussion of disturbance process that:

The archaeological record is not a safe haven for artifacts. Plowing, excavation of pits and foundations, land clearance and leveling, and a host of other disturbance processes transform materials from state to state in archaeological context. Disturbance processes are distinguished from reclamation, which they superficially resemble, by one fundamental characteristic: disturbed artifacts do not really reenter systemic context. Their location – and sometimes form – are altered, but the artifacts themselves are not used. Disturbance usually results from an activity that has another purpose; artifacts and deposits just happen to be modified or moved along the way (1996:121).

In the case of the Paget Fort button assemblage these artifacts must have been displaced from their original unknown location on the site during the process of demolition, and then re-deposited in the main section of the fortification ditch. The best explanation for this original location is the fort's privy.

The button assemblage represents a pattern of repeated disposal that transcends all of the regiments serving during a 42-year period at the site. The buttons were likely

deposited into a privy through occasional loss during daily visits to the facility by soldiers and by the result of fort sanitation and periodic institutional cleanouts (Bradley, personal communication 2003a). Recovered in association with the buttons in the ditch deposit was an array of artifacts, including ceramics, wine bottle glass, faunal remains, coins, and various other objects of military origin. The archaeological excavation of a nineteenthcentury latrine at Fort Wellington, Ontario, Canada, produced a similar assemblage of artifacts, including a large quantity buttons (Last 1996). The determination of the site formation processes of the ditch deposit does not explain why Paget Fort was abandoned and destroyed. For this we have to turn to the historic record.

The known historic documentation provides an insight into the development of Paget Fort from its construction during the first decade of settlement in Bermuda to its abandonment in the early nineteenth century. The button evidence recovered from the site helps to further this understanding, particularly during the final years of the fort. At the end of the American Revolution, Bermuda's fortifications were in great disrepair, resulting in the Island being in an "undefendable state" (Harris 1989:103). Bermuda's changing role as an important naval base in the North Atlantic following the American Revolution brought Captain Andrew Durnford, Royal Engineer, to the Island in September 1788. After completing his initial survey of the Island's defenses, repairs were begun at Paget Fort in late 1789 (Harris 1997). At this time, Paget Fort must have remained relatively unchanged from its original seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century configuration. Simon Fraser of the Royal Artillery provides an account of the fort in his 1783 survey of Bermuda's coastal defenses:

This lower Battery at fort Pagett [*sic*] has Platforms made (God knows when) of pieces of the Wrecke [*sic*] Vessels they are all consumed and quite decaeed [*sic*].

The higher Battery has three fashines [fascines], fill'd up with earth, but are all in ruins, this Battery points to Five Fathom hole, formerly mentioned, where ships Come to Anchor, when the wind is not fair to carry them into the Harbour, Here are half a company of the R. G. Bⁿ., who are the only inhabitants with a Lieutenant who acts as Captain of the Fort, there is a Cestern [*sic*] for the use of the men, also a small magazine, about eight feet square, this is the second place of Strength, belonging to these Isles, this island contains Twelve or fourteen acres of land or rather rock [as quoted in Harris 1989:91].

Andrew Durnford's repairs to Paget Fort were well advanced by June 1791 and

were finally completed in 1793 (Harris 1997). Edward Harris describes the work

completed by Durnford and incorporates elements from Augustus De Dutts' 1798 Report

on the Defenses of Bermuda:

Flanking the sea and firing through embrasures were two guns of the lower platform located in the north-east section of its enceinte. The main body of the fort was an irregular rectangle, "with a Parapet 8 feet thick and 7 feet high closed in the rear by a Narrow Ditch," elevated at least by that height above the two gun platform. From the upper level, one embrasure faced north, two south, and three covered the mouth of the channel to the east. The work was "closed in the rear by a Narrow Ditch, mounting four 6 Poun^{ds}, it is in tolerable good Repair excepting the Guard House which requires to be New Roofed" [Harris 1997:52].

The mention here of the guardhouse is important. The original ditch

configuration cut around a large rectangular section of bedrock (see Figure 5). This was the location of the guardhouse described above, and was likely the placement of one of the fort's original seventeenth-century towers (Harris 1997; Barka and Harris 1999). The previously mentioned walls located in the lower (eastern) section of the ditch were likely built as part of Durnford's new modifications. These walls created a narrow section (Operations 6 and 7) that must have been filled up in order to facilitate Durnford's improvements. This represents a distinctly separate episode of filling than that recorded in the main section of the fortification ditch. Except for the soil contained in the remnants of the seventeenth-century passageway (M22) and a very thin (~0.07m) layer of soil above (M21), the majority of the fill behind the walls (M20) was a uniform deposit of light brown sand soil with some limestone inclusions, measuring ~ 0.83 m thick.

Contained in this soil was an extensive amount of bone manufacturing debris, the by-product of cutting out bone buttons, as well as diagnostic buttons from the Royal Garrison Battalion and the Royal Provincials. The bone manufacturing debris recovered from this narrow deposit represent 75.5% of all the bone manufacturing debris found on the site. The production of bone buttons was a specific task assigned to soldiers (Bradley, personal communication 2001). The high quantity of manufacturing debris recovered in this area adjacent to the guardhouse location, may indicate this material is the result of a specific form of everyday activity that was taking place in the structure.

The presence of the buttons from the Royal Garrison Battalion and Royal Provincials indicates the deposit behind the walls was formed after December 1783. The fact that no buttons from any other garrison regiment were recovered from the soil fill further indicates that this area must have been sealed prior to the arrival of the 47th Regiment in February 1793. This is the same year that Durnford's improvements to Paget Fort were completed. Based on this button evidence, the walls in the lower end of the ditch can conclusively be dated to Durnford era.

In 1811, Captain Thomas Cunningham of the Royal Engineers had completed an important survey of Bermuda's fortifications. Included in this was a description and drawing of Paget Fort (Figure 11). In both his description and drawing it is clear that the main section of the fortification ditch was open at this time. Edward Harris quotes Cunningham's findings whereby:

The works on Paget Island consist of a lower battery of a most irregular form, situated on a point of the North side of the entrance of the Harbour, and it is

closed in the rear by a ditch the counterscarp of which is however but 6 feet high. This work may be said to consist of an upper and lower Battery, if guns placed in the ditch so be considered... [Harris 1997:51].

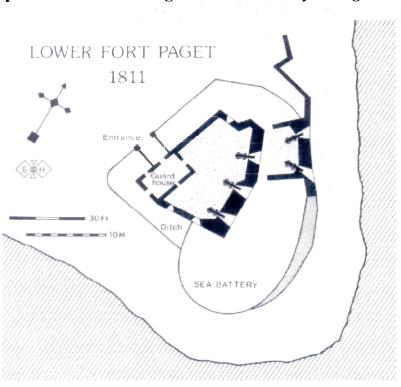


Figure 11

Captain Thomas Cunningham's 1811 Survey of Paget Fort.

(As redrawn by Harris1997:Figure 3.7)

Thomas Cunningham also documented upper Paget Fort, a work begun by

Andrew Durnford in 1793 by an order of the Governor, and completed before 1798:

Upper Paget Fort is advantageously situated upon a rising ground 170 yards from the lower battery [the first or lower Paget Fort]. Its form is nearly a parallelogram. The front and sides toward the entrance of the Harbour has a parapet 12 inches high and 12 feet thick, with an excellent platform of cedar on which two Dutch 24 pdrs, four English-two 4pdrs and one 8-inch Howitzer. The south side is occupied by a building which contains a barracks for 50 men, officer's quarters, and Artillery House, and the rear is closed by a wall 3 feet high [as quoted in Harris 1997:135]. This fort must have functioned in unison with lower Paget Fort, as indicated by the buttons evidence.

Included in Cunningham's drawing of upper Paget Fort was the proposed outline for a new fortification that would eventually replace it. Construction of this new work commenced in the years immediately following 1811. During this time all traces of Upper Paget Fort were destroyed. Indirect evidence located during the search of the historic newspapers suggests that the new fortification was nearing completion in May 1816 when, "His Excellency [the Governor] directs the Fort, heretofore called Paget Fort, shall in future be named *Fort Cunningham (BGWA*, May 25, 1816, no. 1598). The work was positively completed by 1823 (Harris 1997).

In the years that it took to construct Fort Cunningham lower Paget Fort must have functioned as the primary means of defense guarding the channel into St. George's harbor and the channel leading west to Ireland Island and the new Dockyard. Once completed however, Fort Cunningham would have rendered lower Paget Fort obsolete. This provides the time frame in which lower Paget Fort was abandoned and razed, subsequently creating the archaeological deposit in the main section of the fortification ditch. The button evidence indicates that lower Paget Fort was still in use as early as July 1815 by the presence of buttons from the 62nd Regiment, but that it must have been abandoned prior to July 1819 with the arrival of the 15th Regiment, since no buttons form this garrison force were found in the ditch deposit. The button evidence does not provide an accurate date range for the demolition of Paget Fort other than it must have occurred after July 1815. Through the use of the *Harris Matrix*, *seriation*, and *terminus post quem* this chapter has explored the archaeological context of the Paget Fort button assemblage. Central to this analysis was the examination of chronology, both in relative time and absolute time. By combining the above methodological techniques with the known historic documentation several conclusive interpretations were made about the formation processes of the archaeological deposit at Paget Fort and the abandonment of the site. More compelling than these site specific interpretations is that these same buttons can provide a perspective into the lives of the British soldier. This is achieved by examining the functional and symbolic contexts of the Paget Fort buttons.

CHAPTER 4

THE FUNCTIONAL AND SYMBOLIC CONTEXTS

War Office, 21st September, 1767

Sir,

His Majesty having been pleased to direct that the Number of each Regiment of Dragoon Guards, Dragoons and Foot (including the Regiment of Invalids), shall be respectively mark'd on the Buttons, at the next cloathing, as likewise on the uniforms of the Officers, when they shall make new ones. I am therefore to acquaint with the same, for the information and direction of the General Officers composing the Cloathing Board.

I am, Sir,

BARRINGTON.

(As quoted in Parkyn 1956:3).

This order, addressed to Thomas Farquier, Secretary of the Clothing Board, initiated the practice of placing regimental designations on the buttons of Britain's Army uniforms. From that point onward, the buttons of the British Army took on a greater meaning beyond their use as a clothing fastener. The button instantly became an object that conveyed a symbolic meaning. It denoted military authority by asserting regulation and disciple through visual cues. These subtleties informed the soldiers of their status within the Army and separated the enlisted men from officers. As individual regiments developed distinct identities within the British military system the uniform button communicated a secondary and even contradictory meaning. Here it became a badge of soldierly pride, imbuing the wearer with a sense of belonging that bound the soldiers of a

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regiment together, regardless of rank. Through the physical attributes of the button, including imagery (both regimental number and regimental devices), the type of metal used in manufacture, and button size, it is possible to investigate how the regimental button served this dual purpose. The uniqueness of the Paget Fort button assemblage provides an unparalleled data set in which to explore these ideas since the assemblage consists entirely of British buttons of military origin dating between 1778 and 1820, and the composition if the assemblage reflects the military structure of the British Army (see Chapter 1)

The dichotomy of the British military button has its roots in the evolution of the British Army uniform. The uniform as a distinctive outfit, whether military or otherwise, is regulated by a set of prescribed rules that is intended to identify those who wear it as members of a specific group. The use of red coats by English soldiers has its origins in the second half of the fifteenth century. By this time, the color red was already associated with English national identity in civilian clothing. This concept is derived from the red Cross of St. George; an important symbol that has long emblazoned the national flag of England (Carman 1957:24). It is not until following the restoration of Charles II in 1660 that the red coat became the distinguishing mark of the British Army.

A century later, the uniform was increasingly undergoing a transformation away from styles of civilian clothing to a more militarized dress. The Royal Warrant of 1768 was a major step in furthering this change. The most important example of this militarization was the reiteration of Barrington's 1767 order establishing the use of numbered regimental buttons. Other changes initiated by the Royal Warrant included alterations to the lapels, cuffs, and pockets of the coat. Each directly affected the placement, quantity, and use of the newly numbered button.

The uniform requirements set down by the Royal Warrant called for an open style of coat that exposed much of the waistcoat (Figure 12). Ten buttons of regiment distinction secured each three-inch wide lapel that extended to the waist. These lapels were faced with the individual regimental color and each buttonhole was looped in the one-half-inch wide regimental pattern of worsted lace. Only the buttonholes of officer's coats were permitted to have looping of either gold or silver lace or embroidery. The lapel buttons did not fasten the coat closed across the chest. Instead, this was achieved by two sets of hook and eye closures. One set was located at the top of the lapel where it met the collar and the other at the third buttonhole from the top. Only in inclement weather were the buttons used to close the coat. The lapels would be unbuttoned with one lapel tucked inside the coat, while the other was folded overtop and fastened by the buttons on the opposite side.

Four buttons secured the round three and a half-inch wide sleeve cuff. Each cuff bore the same regimental facing and looping as the lapels. Similar to these, the cuff could be unbuttoned in foul weather and folded down to provide protection and warmth to the hands.

The flap of the new pockets was also fitted with four buttons and looping. The Royal Warrant states that the pockets were to be "cross" (horizontal) and that "the flap on the pocket of the coat to be sewed down, and the pocket to be cut in the lining of the coat" (as quoted in May and Embleton 1995:31). In effect, the pocket flaps and buttons

Figure 12

Uniform Pattern of 1768 Worn by a Private of the 14th Regiment of Foot, c. 1794



(Wilkinson-Latham 1970: Plate 17)

were dummies, serving no functional purpose other than to provide visual symmetry to the coat.

Regimental buttons were located in additional places on the coat other than those already mentioned. Four buttons and looping were located on the back of the coats – two on each side of the back slit of the skirts. At times two small buttons were also added above the lapel in order to secure the "cape" or collar around the neck in poor weather. Otherwise, the top buttons of the lapels preformed this task. Offices had additional buttons located high on the shoulder to secure the epaulette. Those of the battalion companies wore a single epaulette on the right shoulder, while offices of the grenadier companies wore two – one on each shoulder.

In general, each uniform conforming to the 1768 Royal Warrant had a minimum of 40 regimental buttons on it - lapels 20, cuffs 8, pockets 8, and back 4. More were present on officers' uniforms and those of various regiments. In accordance with the Royal Warrant the buttons functioned less as a means of fastening and closing the coat, and more as an object of display. The buttons were always looped by individual regimental lace and were often highlighted on a field of regimental color.

The rigors of foreign service in North America during the American Revolution, and duty in the Caribbean, attributed to the next major uniform changes in 1796 and 1797. Drastic alterations were made in the appearance of the uniform, which were intended toward functional practicality. The most dramatic change was made to the coat. In 1796, the new regulations called for the coat to be closed all the way to the waist with hook and eyes or by buttoning the lapels over, effectively hiding the waistcoat. Late in 1797, the colored regimental facings were eliminated from the lapels, the long skirt tails were greatly shortened, and the collar was made to standup. The new coat, intended for infantrymen and offices when on duty, was now closed to the waist by a single row of either eight or ten regimental buttons (Figure 13). The individual patterns of regimental worsted lace were retained on each side of the coat opening. These were arranged evenly or in pairs, depending on the individual regiment. The buttons now functioned as the primary means of closing the coat. The style and placement of the buttons on the cuffs, collar, back (now, limited to only a single set of two buttons located at the waist), and pocket flaps were maintained as before. However, an opening was permitted in the flap of the pocket allowing the hand access into it from the outside of the coat.

Just prior to the 1796 clothing change, regimental buttons began to appear on other garments of the officer's dress. It is certain they appeared on the waistcoat, but they may also have been used on the breeches. The *Standing Orders for the Prince William's Regiment of Gloucester* (115th Foot), dated 17th February 1795, states that "Offices to wear white leather breeches, and cassimere [*sic*] waistcoats, with the numbered button of the Regiment..." (Strachan 1975:260). More definitive is the *Standing Orders for the Norwich, or 106th Regiment*, dated 1795, whereby:

Nothing is more unmilitary as seeing Officers walk about in plain cloths, and it is therefore absolutely forbid by His Majesty's orders; nor must they, on any account, wear any waistcoat and breeches with their uniform but white cloth, kerseymere, [*sic*] or leathern [*sic*] breeches, with regimental buttons...[Strachan 1975:257].

The pewter buttons of the smaller variety recovered from Paget Fort indicates that regimental buttons were also used on the enlisted men's waistcoat shortly after 1795. Whether these were also employed on the breeches remains unclear.

Figure 13

Uniform Pattern of 1797 Worn by a Private of the 13th Regiment of Foot, c. 1806



The shoulder-belt plate, also called the cross-belt plate, was an important part of the uniform by the time of the 1796 regulations (Carman 1977). The Clothing Board had officially recognized its use in a 1784 order. The shoulder-belt plate originated from the practice of soldiers placing the sword or bayonet waist-belt and plate over their right shoulder during service in the American Revolution. Eventually the plate evolved into a distinct accouterment that was worn on the cross belt or belts at the center of the chest. This plate often depicted the number, title, or device of the regiment.

Changes continued to be made to the uniform into the nineteenth century. The coat remained the same until it was slightly altered again in 1812. Before this time, the most significant change in the appearance of the army uniform came in 1800 with the introduction a tall cylindrical hat, called the "stovepipe" shako. Fastened to the front of the shako was a thin sheet of brass ornately stamped with the Royal Cipher, Lion and Crown. After 1814, the number or device of individual regiments replaced this design. The shako was to become the primary style of infantry hat for much of the century.

Alterations to the coat in 1812, and again shortly after 1815, were minimal and had no direct effect on the number of buttons employed on the coat (Figure 14). Retained were the ten buttons down the front that fastened the garment closed. The patterns of worsted regimental lace on each side of the opening remained and were equally spaced or arranged in pairs according to regiment. The buttons and looped lace patterns on the cuffs, pockets, back of the waist, and collar also remained the same as that of the 1797 regulations. This short-tailed coat would remain relatively unchanged until 1820 when it was abolished for all troops except the light companies.

Figure 14

Uniform Pattern of 1812 Worn by a Private of the 7th Regiment of Foot, c. 1815



⁽Wilkinson-Latham 1970: Plate 41)

The development of the British army uniform was never devoid of the influence of civilian clothing styles during this period. However, as the uniform continued to evolve during the nineteenth century it diverged further from civilian fashion trends. The buttons recovered from Paget Fort do not date beyond 1820, based on the chronology of troops serving in Bermuda (Chapter 2). Therefore, this provides a convenient date at which to move beyond a discussion of the basic uniform transformations to one that investigates how the button functioned as a subtle means of communication.

The uniform was the carefully constructed symbol and trademark of the British Army (Myerly 1996). Inherent in this distinctive dress of military authority was its ability to assert regulation and disciple over the soldiers. Infinite attention was paid to each soldier's appearance. So important was this that it was the foundations of turning a recruit into a soldier. *A System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy* [*sic*] *of a Battalion of Infantry, Dublin* states that: "When a soldier can be brought to take delight in his dress, it will be easy to mold him to whatever else may be desired, as it is in general proof that he has thrown off the sullen, stubborn, disposition which characterizes the peasants of most counties..." (Strachan 1975:162).

The button was just one part of this dress, but in itself, it embodied a meaning similar to that of the complete uniform. In other words, the buttons of a soldier's uniform were to be maintained in the same manner of completeness and neatness as that of the whole. A soldier was expected to keep his buttons in a polished state. *A System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy* [*sic*] *of a Battalion of Infantry, Dublin* exemplifies this by stating: "The buttons on the clothing of a Regiment...[are] to [be] preserved in a state of brightness, which at all times must be insisted upon, particularly if

they are figured with the number of the Corp..." (Strachan 1975:139). Evidence of this practice can be seen in several examples of buttons recovered from Paget Fort, whereby the regimental image is nearly obscured through repeated polishing (Plate 21).

Plate 21

Coat Buttons Exhibiting Excessive Wear from Repeated Polishing



The button on the left is from 98th Regiment of Foot (size: 20.6mm), and the button on the right is from the IV Garrison Battalion (size: 21.3mm).

The soldier was also required to have a full set of buttons on his uniform at all times. If during inspection a soldier's uniform was found to be 'wanting buttons' he was ordered to have the missing button or buttons replaced before the next inspection. If the soldier failed to do this, therefore repeating the offence and subsequently disobeying an order of his superiors, he was to be punished. *A System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy* [sic] of *a Battalion of Infantry, Dublin* again provides insight into this whereby:

Whatever faults there are in any part of their [soldier's] dress, which can be improved upon the spot, Serjeants [*sic*] and Corporals should have done immediately, and those which can not, they must give direction for being mended, against the next roll calling, threatening the soldier with the consequences of appearing so again...he [the Officer of the Company] must...severely reprimand those soldiers, who have been reported for repeated neglects, representing to them the consequences of being obstinate, and not observing the directions of their Non-commissioned Officers; if that proves ineffective, rougher methods must be tried [Strachan 1975:162-163].

So severe must have been the potential threat of punishment for this infraction that some of the soldiers stationed at Paget Fort intentionally pierced their buttons to allow them to be sewn onto their uniforms after the loss of the shank (Plate 22).

Plate 22



Pierced Button of the 98th Regiment of Foot

(Size: ~22.7mm)

The uniform was the primary method by which the hierarchical division in military rank was identified. It visually separated the soldiers within the officer class, and distinguished the officers from the enlisted men. The addition of accoutrements to the officer's uniform was one way in which this was achieved. Following the Royal Warrant of 1768, these included the epaulettes, gorget, and sword. Officers also wore a crimson sash around the waist and were to have boots and gloves of exact regimental pattern.

The distinction of rank was also evident in the common traits that were shared between the uniforms of officers and enlisted men. The material used in the making of an officer's uniform was always of a quality superior to those of the common soldier. Even within the officer class, this division in material quality was present. By the nineteenth century, subtle color variation of the coat set officers apart from the men. Officer's coats were made of scarlet colored cloth, while the enlisted men wore the traditional red (Carman 1957). The use of lace or embroidery around the buttonholes was another visual distinction of the officer class. Officers wore lace or embroidery of either silver or gold depending on the regiment. The enlisted men were limited to the white looping of white worsted lace with the colored stripes of distinct regimental pattern that served to reinforce the inferior quality of fabric used in the construction of their coats.

The button was yet another universally shared trait of the uniform that distinguished rank. In accordance with the Royal Warrant of 1768 enlisted men's coats were to have white buttons depicting the regimental number. These were made of pewter. The Royal Warrant, however, does not specify the type of button to be used on officer's coats. Similar to the higher quality of fabric used in officer's coats, a more refined quality of button was also employed. Officer's buttons were made of brass. This base metal allowed for the button to be plated with a gold or silver finish. The choice of finish plating may be directly related to the color of the lace or embroidery used on the looping of officer's as established by regimental regulation. Several examples of officer's buttons were recovered from Paget Fort, but in a much lower frequency than enlisted man's buttons (see Chapter 1). Nearly all of these are identical to the enlisted man's buttons in the type of imagery employed and button size. It is only the type of metal used in manufacture and plating that distinguishes these as officers (Plate 23). Just as these qualities identify the officer's buttons within the button assemblage, they would have distinguished an officer from an enlisted man on the uniform.

Plate 23

Silver Plated Officer's Button of the 98th Regiment of Foot



This same design is present on both the officer's and enlisted men's button of this regiment (see Plate 15) (size: 17.9mm).

The most profound way the button asserted regulation and discipline over the common soldier was through the use of imagery. Two forms of imagery were employed; those of national identity, and the more specific regimental number. Images of national identity were a constant visual reminder to the soldier that his purpose was to serve his king and country. The most common forms of this type of imagery from the buttons

recovered at Paget Fort are the St. Edward's Crown, the Garter, and the eight-pointed star (see Plates 7, 10, and 12).

The image of the regimental number however, was a more effective means of regulation and discipline. It did this by plainly identifying the soldier as belonging to a particular regiment. This visible badge became an extremely effective way in which to control insubordinate behavior, such as the dereliction of duty, and suppressing attempts at desertion.

Desertion was a major problem for the British Army establishment, especially of its soldiers serving in North America (Whitfield 1981:59). Archaeological evidence recovered by Calver and Bolton (1950) from the British Army camps in the Greater New York City area indicate that by the time of the American Revolution, nearly every British regiment serving in North America was using numbered coat buttons. By the 1790s, regimental buttons were used on other garments of the soldier's uniform, such as the waistcoat and breeches, as previously discussed. Examples of buttons from the 62nd and 102nd Regiments of Foot recovered at Paget Fort indicate that the numbered button was even employed on the seemingly insignificant gaiters - possibly as early as September 1812 (see Plates 17 and 19).

The use of the numbered button on multiple garments of the soldier's uniform exemplifies the level of control that the button exerted. Even if a deserting soldier shed his distinctive red coat, the other garments of his dress would just as effectively identify him. Soldiers were forbidden to own articles of clothing other than those issued by the Army. This explains the attraction of civilian clothing to a potential deserter. Carol Whitfield's work on British soldiers serving in Canada from 1759-1870 elaborates on this further:

Soldiers were not permitted to own civilian clothes as a measure to discourage desertion, since a solitary man in uniform heading toward the boarder [Canada and the United States] was apt to be questioned. Most deserters, therefore, tried to steal a suit of civilian clothing so that they could be less conspicuous.

Civilian clothing was one of the lures held out by crimps, Americans who sought potential deserters [1981:62].

The regimental button served another identifying function that was far beyond the realm of military hierarchy and control. Just as in life, the numbered regimental button helped to identify the dead bodies of officers and enlisted men alike. Whether in battle or more likely from disease, the ultimate sacrifice a soldier could make was with his life. It is within this paradox that the button became an object of soldierly pride.

For many privates and non-commissioned officers in the British Army the regiment was their family. Years of overseas service on campaign or garrison duty meant "soldiers became virtually cut off from any other home or family life" (Myerly 1996:7). The Army officially encouraged this notion and it was an essential part of a regiment's identity. The distinctiveness of individual regiments within the larger military system was achieved through regimental titles, county titles, and battle honors; as well as through elements of symbolism like the colored regimental facings, distinct patterns of worsted lace, regimental devices, and the regimental number. All of these combined to instill a sense of *esprit de corps* in the enlisted man and officer alike. This appeal to human emotion was critical to the effectiveness of the military machine. "Yet soldiers would literally die for what these military images symbolized, and even for the physical objects that conveyed the symbolism" (Myerly 1996:8). The cast, stamped, or engraved

images of regimental designation were born out on the hard tangible shoulder-belt plate and buttons of a soldier's uniform. These items became the principal means of identifying a soldier within the Army, and were the objects in which he found his own identity (Strachan 1975).

The distinctiveness of individual regiments is visible in the buttons recovered from Paget Fort. Through the expression of imagery, size, and type of metal used in manufacture it is possible to see how the regimental button functioned as means of fostering a soldier's pride by embodying the ideals of his corps. Of all the regiments represented in the Paget Fort assemblage, this is most evident in the buttons of the 7th (Royal Fusilier) Regiment of Foot.

The Royal Fusiliers were raised as an Ordinance Regiment in 1685, during the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion. Their purpose was to guard the train of artillery. For the safety of the powder stores, the regiment was outfitted with the new flintlock musket or *fusil*, thus giving them their distinctive name (*JAHR*. 1934:13:188). The regiment obtained Royal Patronage when George, Earl of Dartmouth, was appointed the company Colonel. This allowed for the "Royal" designation in their title (Carman 1957). All regiments with a Royal designation were permitted to wear blue facings on the uniform. In 1742, the Royal Fusiliers were numbered as the 7th according to the existing informal arrangement of regiments based on seniority (Reid and Chappell 1995a).

The Royal Fusiliers would distinguish themselves on the battlefield, earning several battle honors, including Martinique in 1809. They served extensively in North American during the American Revolution, and in Canada following the war. Between 1802 and 1806, the regiment was distributed between the Bahamas and Bermuda - landing in October 1802 and departing in July of 1806 (See Chapter 2). During this time

a second battalion was raised at home for service in the Peninsular War. Both battalions

continued to witness arduous deployments under battlefield conditions during the

Napoleonic years in the Caribbean, North American and on the European Continent

(Chichester and Burgess-Short 1970).

The Royal Fusiliers rightfully regarded themselves as an elite corp. The Standing

Orders of the Royal Fusiliers, 1798 provides a brief insight into some of the ideals of the

regiment:

All officers are to understand that the terms of Right Flank and Left Flank Company are fixed upon the application of what in other regiments of the Line are styled the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies. It being the Colonel's pleasure that in the Royal Fusiliers it should be an *esprit de corps* that the terms of Grenadier and Light Infantry never be used, it becomes the duty of the Officers, not only never to make use of the that term themselves, but also invariably to check every N.C.O. and soldier who shall presume to make use of it [Sumner, *JAHR* 1949:27:121].

Cultural and military historian Scott Hughes Myerly quotes further evidence of this elite

sense of the regiment in his book British Military Spectacle:

Men were even taught to walk in a manner peculiar to their corps, and it was sometimes possible to identify a soldier's regiment by his gait. Soldiers of the Seventh Foot (Royal Fusiliers) were expected "at all times [to] walk in that light and airy manner which distinguishes the fusilier" [1996:18].

The buttons of the Royal Fusiliers recovered at Paget Fort are just as expressive of this regiment's elite ideal. The complex imagery and design of these buttons far surpasses those of any other regiment represented in the assemblage. Twenty-five specimens of three different designs were found. The most common form, represented by 14 examples, is the design that incorporates the eight-pointed Garter Star surrounding the Garter. Within the Garter are the words "Royal Fusiliers." At the center of the button is the Cross of St. George with the regimental number in roman numerals (Plate 24A). The next most frequent type, with ten examples, is the one that bears the regimental device of the Crowned Garter and Rose with the Arabic number "7" at the center (Plate 24B). Within the Garter of this button is the motto of the Order of the Garter, "*honi soit qui mal y pense*", or "shame be (anyone) who thinks evil of it" (Webster's New World Dictionary 1976:674). Only a single example of the third type was recovered. This is relatively plain in comparison to the other buttons, but its shape is most unique. This is a deeply domed (nearly half-round) button with an encircling band, similar to the Garter, containing the words "Royal Fusiliers" (Plate 24C).

The unifying image of the Garter indicates that the Order of the Garter was bestowed upon the regiment for honorable service. The Order of the Garter is the highest from of British knighthood and the earliest form of English chivalry. The origins of the Order are obscure, but it is believed to stem from the 1348 bond between King Edward III and twenty-five vested knights; all veterans of the campaigns in France (Bradley, personal Communication 2003a). The Order was granted by the Sovereign and was limited to only the most distinguished. Wearing this elite badge undoubtedly elevated the status of the Royal Fusiliers within the British Army. By doing so, this powerful image embodied the regiment's ideals. It was a source of inspiration and pride, communicating what meant to be a Royal Fusilier.

Both officer's and enlisted men's buttons of the Royal Fusiliers are present in the Paget Fort assemblage. The type of tin alloy (pewter) used to make the enlisted men's buttons is unique within the large collection. This was discovered during the



Button Varieties of the 7th (Royal Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot



(Size: A. 26.1mm and 17.8mm, B. 15.4mm, C. 19.4mm)

archaeological conservation of the buttons. Green colored corrosion products on the surface of these buttons indicate there was a minor amount of copper used in the composition. This resulted in a much harder and more brittle alloy compared to the private's buttons of the other regiments. A harder alloy likely allowed for the button to be polished to a brighter shine. The brilliance achieved by this would have highlighted the enlisted men's uniforms of the Royal Fusiliers, further distinguishing them from the other regiments of the line.

The size of the buttons of the Royal Fusiliers also sets them apart from the other regiments represented in the Paget Fort assemblage. The coat buttons of both officers and enlisted men are noticeably much larger. The size of military buttons evolved with the stylistic changes of the uniform. Beginning in 1796, the single-breasted coat replaced the double-breasted. This "change in garment dictated [the] adoption of a smaller button" (Bradley, personal communication 2003a). A smaller button however, was always employed on the coats of Light Companies, which were added to most regiments beginning in 1771. Never the less, the diminishing size of buttons used on military uniforms followed similar trends observed in civilian clothing during the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Hinks 1988).

A comparison was made of enlisted men's coat buttons from the Royal Fusiliers to those of other regiments represented in the Paget Fort assemblage (Figure 15). Only buttons from regiments that are represented by more than one example were included. Buttons that exhibit damage or alterations were excluded. A coat button was determined by the pattern identified in the distribution of metal buttons by size from Chapter 1. Coat buttons ranged in size from 19.0-29.9mm. To eliminate any ambiguity in the overlap of

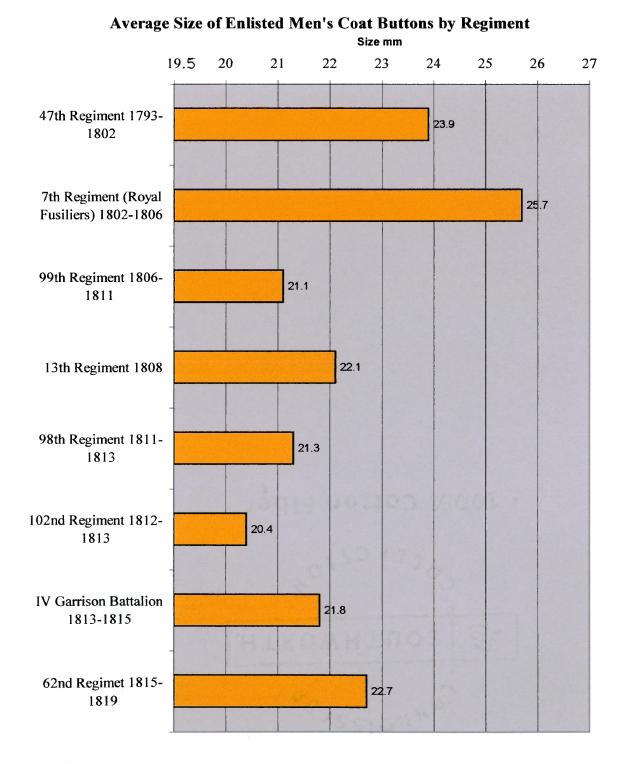


Figure 15

coat buttons with the smaller waistcoat buttons, only buttons measuring 19.5mm or larger were used in the regimental comparison.

The results show that the Royal Fusilier buttons averaged 25.7mm, a total of 1.8mm larger than the average of the next closest regiment, the 47th. The 47th Regiment of Foot garrisoned Bermuda from 1793 to 1802. This period encompasses the time in which the change to the shorter single-breasted coat was initiated. Therefore, it is likely that some of the buttons from the 47th Regiment are of the larger type used on the double-breasted coat. The Royal Fusiliers were replaced by the 99th Regiment of Foot in 1806. Comparing this regiment's buttons to the Royal Fusiliers' shows a dramatic variation in average size of 4.6mm.

Excluding the button of the Royal Fusiliers, the pattern identified by this graph shows a general trend toward smaller sized buttons over time, with some slight variation. This is to be expected with the evolution of the uniform. The buttons of the Royal Fusiliers, however, are significantly larger than any other regiment represented in the Paget Fort collection. This indicates that the Royal Fusiliers purposefully choose a larger and more prominent button for their uniforms. By doing this, the button functioned not only as a clothing fastener, but also as another medium in which to express the elite status and ideals of the regiment with the intention to foster the soldiers' pride.

The button was an integral part of the development of the British Army uniform during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Beginning in 1767 with a brief order to the Secretary of the Clothing Board, the function of the button moved beyond its use as a simple clothing fastener to a complex object of expression. This expression was one of military authority, asserting regulation and discipline over the soldier. Yet, at the same time, the button evolved into an object that embodied a set of ideals that were meant to stir the emotions of the officer and enlisted man alike. The large assemblage of regimental buttons recovered from Paget Fort, Bermuda provided the opportunity to investigate how the button communicated this interwoven display of power and pride.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, historical archaeologist have 'reinvented' the field of historical archaeology by blurring the boundary between a rigid science-based, pattern logic approach to artifact analysis and that more rooted in anthropological interpretation. This thesis has applied this adaptive approach to the examination of the 793 British military buttons excavated from Paget Fort, Bermuda. The goal of this work has been to interpret these objects through a contextual analysis. In his book, <u>Reading the Past</u>, Ian Hodder argues that archaeologically recovered artifacts are not "totally mute," that through the process of interpreting their context, the cultural meaning of artifacts can also be interpreted (1995:4). The combined use of artifact pattern recognition, documentary research, and anthropological interpretation employed in this thesis has enabled the Paget Fort buttons to 'speak' on multiple levels.

The physical context established the Paget Fort buttons as a unique assemblage in comparison to others; and through the identification of several artifact patterns, including assemblage composition, distribution of buttons sizes, and the frequency of diagnostic buttons provided a source for the following contextual dimensions to draw upon. Employing the frequency distribution of the 345 diagnostic buttons contained in the assemblage, the historical context of the Paget Fort buttons was reconstructed from the contemporary accounts of British troop movements documented in the *Bermuda Gazette* and Weekly Advertiser during the years 1778 to 1820. When the newspapers reports were silent or archive copies missing, additional information was obtained from the issues of the Bermuda Almanack. The efforts of this document research provided a chronology of absolute time in which to compare the relative depositional time sequence recorded during the excavation of the archaeological deposit using the Harris Matrix technique. By employing the method of seriation and using the diagnostic buttons as indicators of terminus post quem, the archaeological context was interpreted. Here it was determined that the buttons were displaced from their original location, likely the fort's privy, and then re-deposited at a rapid rate in the fortification ditch during the demolition of Paget Fort, sometime after July 1815. In the interpretation of the functional and symbolic contexts, the cultural meaning of the British military button was ultimately revealed. By using examples from the Paget Fort assemblage it was determined that the British military button was more than a simple clothing fastener. Through subtle cues communicated by imagery, type of metal used in manufacture, and buttons size, the regimental button served as a means of asserting control over a soldier, as well as fostering his regimental pride.

The Paget Fort buttons did not give up their 'secrets' easily. It was only through a multi-disciplinary approach that these objects revealed an insight into late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Bermuda, the development of Paget Fort, and the dynamic world of the British soldiers who were stationed there.

APPENDIX A

CONSERVATION

Artifact conservation is an essential part of the archaeological process; for without conservation, "much archaeological information is lost or left unexploited" (Cronyn 1990:4). As part of the research for this thesis, some level of conservation procedures were preformed on every metal and bone button recovered from Paget Fort (Plate 25). The goal of this process was to analyze, document, stabilize, and clean the buttons for the purpose of long-term storage, study, and display. My training and hands-on conservation experience was directed and supervised by conservators Curtis Moyer of the College of William and Mary, and Dr. Clifford E. Smith, Jr. of the Bermuda Maritime Museum. The conservation work on the Paget Fort buttons was carried out between September 1997 and April 2001.

<u>Analysis</u>

The first step in the conservation of the Paget Fort buttons was analysis. Each of the 793 metal and bone buttons were closely examined to determine whether they retained enough structural integrity to undergo active conservation procedures. Active conservation refers to the interventionist approach that attempts to either remove destructive agents from the artifacts by chemical action or to introduce preservative compounds to the object (Cronyn 1990:69). In the scope of the conservation work on the button assemblage I have broadened this definition to include the introduction of chemicals for the purpose of cleaning, whereby the adhered materials and corrosion layers that obscure the surface of the button are removed. Only 53 tin alloy (pewter) buttons within the assemblage were identified as being too unstable to undergo this process.

Another goal of analysis was to determine whether each button contained diagnostic information such as a regimental designation, a regimental number, a maker's mark, or secondary metal. This was achieved by light investigative cleaning under a stereomicroscope using a needle or scalpel. During this process any information observed was recorded on the individual button's treatment report as part of the documentation procedure.

Documentation

Several methods of documentation were employed during the conservation of the button assemblage, including written description, drawings, and photographs. The goal of the written description was to describe the physical characteristics of each button. This took into account the shape, method of manufacture, type of shank (if present), and completeness of the button. Also described were the types of corrosion products and adherents present on the surface of the button, as well as its overall condition. Enhancing the written descriptions of each button was a set of drawings.

A drawing of both the front and back of each button was made on the treatment report. The purpose of these drawings was to capture the finer details of the button that were not recorded in the written description. These visual images also served to ensure the button was not separated from its field provenience during the conservation process. In particular instances, when important and subtle details of the button surface were revealed after the cleaning process, a second set of drawings were made. Additional

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visual images of the buttons were recorded through the process of photographic documentation.

Photographic images of both the front and back of each button were taken using 35mm slide film and a macro focus lens. Two sets of images were taken. The first set recorded the buttons in the condition prior to the conservation process. The second set recorded the buttons in their improved condition following conservation. The provenience of each button was recorded in a photo log with the corresponding roll number and slide number transferred to the individual treatment reports. These slide images are an important part of the documentation process and are to be curated with the button assemblage.

Digital images of select buttons were also taken for the purpose of publication and presentation. Many of these images appear in the text of this thesis.

Stabilization

Stabilization refers to the conservation process in which an artifact is brought physically and chemically into equilibrium with its new environment after removal from its depositional surroundings (Cronyn 1990:4 and 69). The majority of the Paget Fort buttons retained a high level of structural integrity that did not necessitate immediate stabilization of the artifacts in the field. The concern for the stability of the buttons in long-term storage, and the preservation of the object's original surfaces, had a direct influence on the cleaning method and treatment procedure employed on each artifact.

Cleaning and Treatment Procedures

The purpose of cleaning each of the Paget Fort buttons was to recover important information from the artifact that would otherwise remain hidden or lost. A secondary goal of this process was to improve the esthetic quality of the buttons for future study and display. Two methods of cleaning were employed – mechanical and chemical. Mechanical cleaning involved the removal of adhered materials and corrosion products from the surfaces of the buttons with a needle, scalpel, or a fine fiberglass bristle brush under a stereomicroscope. This was aided by the use of chemical cleaning, whereby corrosion products were dissolved or softened in various chemical solutions according to the type of material used in the manufacture of the button.

Following the cleaning process, each button underwent a series of steps to remove any residual chemicals introduced during the process of cleaning or those chemicals absorbed by the artifact from the archaeological deposit. Each cleaned button was then coated with a protective barrier for the purpose of maintaining the improved state of the artifact, inhibiting future deterioration, and providing a level of structural stability. Presented below is a generalized step by step summary of the treatment procedures employed for each of the button types based on the material of manufacture.

Tin Alloy (Pewter)

- 1. Investigative mechanical cleaning.
- Immerse in 10% solution of EDTA (Ethylenediamine Tetraacetic Acid Disodium Salt) and de-ionized water for 10-minutes.
- 3. Remove, rinse, and mechanical clean.
- 4. Repeat steps 2 and 3 as necessary.
- 5. Flush in warm tap water for 1-hour.
- 6. Remove and allow to air dry for 24-hours.
- 7. Brush lightly with fiberglass bristle brush (when necessary).

- 8. Immerse in acetone for 1-hour to degrease and dehydrate.
- 9. Remove and allow to air dry for 5-minutes.
- 10. Immerse in 5% solution of Acryloid B-72 and acetone for 15-minutes.
- 11. Remove and allow to air dry for 15-minutes.
- 12. Repeat steps 9 and 10 two more times
- 13. Allow coating to cure for 24-hours.
- 14. Place in individual plastic artifact bag with provenience tag.

Copper Alloy (Brass)

- 1. Investigative mechanical cleaning.
- 2. Immerse in 10% solution of citric acid and de-ionized water for 10-minutes.
- 3. Remove, rinse, and mechanical clean.
- 4. Repeat steps 2 and 3 as necessary.
- 5. Add three drops of hydrogen peroxide, repeat if necessary.
- 6. Remove, rinse, and mechanical clean.
- 7. Flush in de-ionized water for 1-hour.
- 8. Remove and allow to air dry for 24-hours.
- 9. Immerse in acetone for 1-hour to degrease and dehydrate.
- 10. Remove and allow to air dry for 5-minutes.
- 11. Apply 6.5% solution of Incralac and toluene with soft bristle brush.
- 12. Allow to air dry for 15-minutes.
- 13. Repeat steps 11 and 12 one more time.
- 14. Allow coating to cure for 24-hours.
- 15. Place in individual plastic artifact bag with provenience tag.

- 1. Mechanical clean.
- 2. Immerse in ethanol for 10-minutes while periodically brushing with soft bristle brush.
- 3. Remove and mechanical clean.
- 4. Repeat steps 2 and 3 as necessary.
- 5. Allow to air dry for 1-hour.
- 6. Immerse in 5% solution of Acryloid B-72 and acetone for 15-minutes in a vacuum chamber at 22-inches of pressure.
- 7. Remove and allow to air dry for 15-minutes.
- 8. Repeat steps 6 and 7 one more time.
- 9. Allow coating to cure for 24-hours.
- 10. Place in individual plastic artifact bag with provenience tag.

Conclusion

The conservation of the Paget Fort button assemblage was a time-consuming, but necessary step in the research of this thesis. The level of information obtained through the analysis, documentation, stabilization, and cleaning of these artifacts provided the foundation of the research presented here. Through the conservation process, the Paget Fort button assemblage has been preserved and prepared for long-term storage, display, and future researchers interested in studying this amazing collection of British military artifacts (Plate 25).



Buttons of the 99th Regiment of Foot, Post-Conservation and Pre-Conservation

APPENDIX B

THE MICROFILM COPIES OF THE ROYAL GAZETTE

The primary document source used in the research of this thesis was the historic Bermuda newspapers published by Joseph Stockdale and his daughters, and later by Charles Beach. These were published every Saturday and were entitled the *Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* until 1816, when the name was changed to the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser*. The Bermuda Library has preserved copies of these early newspapers and has transferred their images onto microfilm, which is available for public use. The newspapers used in this study span the years from the first issue on January 17, 1784 through to the last issue for the year 1819. These copies are cataloged under the name *Royal Gazette*, microfilm reel numbers 1-8.

This appendix presents a chronological summary as to the completeness of the Library's holding of these early newspapers during the time covered by this research. Most of the issues have fortunately survived the warm Bermuda climate and the destructive force of time. However, others did not. The gaps created by these missing issues, particularly the larger ones, did have some effect on the historical research of this thesis, such as for the year 1806 (see Chapter 2).

In the summary that follows, if all issues were accounted for during a particular year it is described as "Complete." In instances where only occasional issues are absent, their dates of publication are listed. If a significant number of issues are missing in consecutive order, a date range is provided. In the case where no issues from a particular year have survived, these are described as "All missing."

Year	Status
1784:	July 3, October 9, December 25 (pages 3 and 4).
1785:	All missing, with only minor exception.
1786:	Complete.
1787:	Complete.
1788:	All missing.
1789:	January 3 and 13, June 6, July 25.
1790:	January – June 4, November 13, December 4 and 25.
1791:	Complete.
1792:	Complete.
1793:	Complete.
1794:	Complete.
1795:	January 31, February 28, November 21.
1796:	December 31.
1797:	Complete.
1798:	Complete.
1799:	January 19.
1800:	Complete.
1801:	January 3-31, August 15.
1802:	December 25.
1803:	October 8.
1804:	April 21, August 11.

1805:	Complete.
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- 1806: January August 31, September 20, October 11-13, December 13.
- 1807: Complete.
- 1808: Complete.
- 1809: Complete.
- 1810: Complete.
- 1811: October 5.
- 1812: January 11, April 18.
- 1813: Complete.
- 1814: August 6 (Supplement), December 3.
- 1815: Complete.
- 1816: Complete.
- 1817: Complete.
- 1818: August 15 December 31.
- 1819: Complete.

APPENDIX C

THE METAL BUTTON DATABASE

This appendix is the database used to examine all of the 663 metal buttons contained within the Paget Fort assemblage. Information pertaining to each button has been entered into 11 different fields. Area and Context correspond to the artifact's archaeological provenience. Artifact Number is the individual number assigned to the artifact during the cataloging process. Master Context refers to the level from which the button was recovered according to the Master Stratigraphic Sequence recorded for the ditch deposit (see Table 3). Alloy indicates the type of primary metal used in the manufacture of the button. This is indicated by using the chemical symbol (Sn = tinalloy, Cu = copper alloy). Regiment/Troop indicates to what regiment or specialist service unit the button belongs. Size mm indicates the outside diameter of the button measured in millimeters. **Recto Image** describes the visible image on the obverse side of the button, or lack there of. The use of Arabic or Roman numerals in this field indicates the type of numbering depicted on the button. Verso Image is similar to the previous category, except that the image or lettering appears on the reverse side of the button. When the name of a button maker appear in this field it is in most cases an abbreviation of the full maker's mark. **Remarks** are my own notes used to further describe the physical attributes of each button. Conservation indicates weather the button was stable enough to undergo active conservation.

	Conservation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Buttons	Remarks		poor craftsmanship		heavy wear on recto, convex				masticated			Gaiter, alpha shank	Gaiter, omega shank	mold seam and spur	cast shank	only example	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	mold seam and spur			Gaiter, omega shank	only example, spun back	heavy wear on recto	
	Verso Image	Firmin&Westall		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son			McGowan	illegible	Nutting&Son												Nutting&Son			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son
Paget Fort, Bermuda Tin and Copper Alloy	Recto Image	102 encircling line	52 large numbers	99 encircling foliole	98 below Crown, encircling line	RP below Crown	Plain	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	13, Star	Plain	Plain			Plain	Plain	80 below Crown, Rose and Thistle				Plain	RP below Crown	98 below Crown, encircling line		XX below Crown, Wreath	none visible	99 encircling foliole
Paget	mm əzi 2	15.5	17.0	16.0	20.0	16.5	24.4	22.5	25.0	21.5	16.4	13.5	12.6	21.0	22.0	17.5	12.6	12.9	12.2	21.0	17.5	16.0	12.5	15.0	17.5	16.0
Appendix C- I	Regiment/Troop	102	52	66	98	Royal Provincials		IV Garrison	13							80					Royal Provincials	98		20		66
	γοllΑ	Su	Sn		4 Sn	Sn	บี	2 Sn	9 Sn	9 Sn	n O G	9 Sn	Sn	2 Sn	Sn	2 Sn	Su	2 Sn	2 Sn	n Sn	Sn	Sn	S	2 Sn	2 Sn	2 Sn
	Master Context	M12	ž	M2	M14	M2	M2	M12	M19	M19	M19	M19	M2	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M19	Ę	Ę	ź	M12	M12	M12
	Artifact Number	-	-	-		~	2	-	-	2	<	2	-	-	2	ო	4	ഹ	9	-	-	2	ო	A 1	A 2	A 3
	Area Context	1A 3	1B 1	18 2	1B 4	1C 2	1C 2	1C 3	1C 5	1C 5	1D 5	1D 5	1E 2	1E 3	1E 3	ТE З	1 Е З	1Е З	1E 3	1E 5	1 1	1J 1	1 1	1J 2A	1J 2A	1J 2A

J 2A 4	M12 Sn	66 u	20.8	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
1 2A 5	M12 Sn	n 13	18.0	13 in center	Nutting&Son	star on recto not visible	Yes
J 2A 6			16.2	99 encircling foliole			Ŷ
) 2A 7		n 98	23.0	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	button flattened	Yes
J 2A 8	M12 Sn	n 98	22.0	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
1J 2A 9	M12 Sn	n 47	17.0	47 scalloped rope edging		partial, 65% complete	Yes
1J 2A 10	M12 Cu	n	14.1	Plain	"Gilt", arrows		Yes
1J 2B 1	M12 Sn	C	20.0	faint Crown image, 98?	Nutting&Son	extensive intentional bending	Yes
1J 2B 2	M12 Cu	u Royal Sappers&Miners	12.8	Garter, Cipher, under Crown		convex	Yes
1J 4 1	M14 Cu	u Royal Artillery	14.0	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield		convex, gilt	Yes
1J 4A 1	M14 Sn	Royal Garrison Battalion	n 16.0	RGB below Crown		mold spur	Yes
1J 5 1	M19 Sn	L	16.5	Scalloped rope edging, 47?		likely 47	Yes
J52	M19 Sn	98	22.0	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	convex	Yes
153	M19 Sn	n 47	16.0	47 scalloped rope edging			Yes
1J 5 4	M19 Sn	L	18.7	raised outer encircling line			Ŷ
1J 5 5	M19 Sn	n 99	15.5	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
1J 5 6		n Royal Provincials	16.0	RP below Crown			Yes
		n 99	21.0	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
			22.0	Plain		heavy wear on recto	Yes
1J 5 9	M19 Sn	n 102	18.5	102 encircling line		partial, 80% complete	٩
1M 1 1	M1 Sn	n 98	23.0	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
1M 3 1	M12 Sn	L	13.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
1M 3 2			23.0	62 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son	retains vertical Fe shank	Yes
1M 7 1	M19 Sn	n 99	16.2	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
1N 2 1	M2 Sn	n IV Garrison	15.2	IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
1N 2B 1	M13 Sn	S ≥	16.2	IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
1N 4 1		n 98	20.8	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
4			15.1	raised outer encircling line	Eginton	likely VII R.F. rose design	Yes
1N 4 3	M19 Sn	л 98	15.8	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
1N 4 4		u Royal Fusiliers	19.4	Royal Fusiliers in encircling band		half round, only example	Yes
4			21.8	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	McGowan		Yes
	m	>	29.0	Cross with number, Garter, Star	Eginton	mold seam	Yes
1P 1 1	M1 Cu	u Royal Artillery	21.3	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield			Yes

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	° N	Yes
		silver gilt	gilt					two-part, two vent holes	either R.A. or R.S.&M., illegible		mold seam and spur	convex	two-part, round, one vent hole	Gaiter, omega shank		convex	gilt	alpha shank	stamped, flat		alpha shank	gilt	in back	Gaiter, omega shank								
Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Eginton		Nutting&Son				Jennens	McGowan	Nutting&Son		Firmin&Co				McGowan				Murphy		Strong										
99 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	Cross with number, Garter, Star	Anchor and Rope	99 encircling foliole	possible star?	Plain	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	possible 99?	Garter, Cipher, under Crown	Plain	Plain	102 encircling line	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield		Plain	Garter, Cipher, under Crown	Plain		Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	13, Star		Plain	Plain									
99 16.0	99 21.3	VII Royal Fusiliers 26.1	Marines 14.2	99 16.3	16.2	17.0	IV Garrison 16.0	20.4	12.6	16.7	17.0	102 20.0	Royal Artillery 13.5	12.7	17.3	Royal Sappers&Miners 15.4	20.3	14.4	Royal Artillery 13.9	13 17.0	14.5	14.7	17.3	12.7	13.0	13.0	13.0	12.8	12.3	12.9	13.0	12.6
M2 Sn	M2 Sn	M15 Cu	M15 Cu	M16 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Cu	M13 Cu	M13 Sn	M13 Sn		M13 Cu	M19 Sn	M19 Sn	M1 Cu	M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Cu	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Cu	M13 Cu	M15 Sn			M15 Sn					
1P 2 1	1P 2 2	1P 4 1	1P 4 2	1P 5 1	1Q 4 1	1Q 4 2	1Q 4 3	1Q 4 4	1Q 4 5	1Q 4A 1	1Q 4A 2	1Q 4A 3	1Q 4A 4	1Q 6 1	1Q 6 2	1R 1 1	1R 2A 1	1R 2A 2	1R 2A 3	1R 2B 1	1R 2B 2	1R 2C 1	1R 2D 1	ო	2A 3 2	2A 3 3	2A 3 4	2A 3 5	2A 3 6	ო	2A 3 8	

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes												
Gaiter, omega shank	convex		convex			spun back	no point of shank attachment			mold seam and spur						manipulate, pierced 7 times	mold seam and spur		retains vertical Fe shank													
											Firmin&Westall		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	McGowan			Firmin&Westall			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son		Nutting&Son	Murphy		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son		
											102 encircling line	Plain	98 below Crown, encircling line	99 encircling foliole		98 below Crown, encircling line	102 encircling line	102 encircling line		Plain	Plain	faint encircling line, Crown, 98?	13, Star	102 encircling line	99 encircling foliole		Plain	99 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	98 below Crown, encircling line	98 below Crown, encircling line	
13.2	12.6	13.1	13.0	12.8	12.7	12.9	12.9	13.2	13.4	13.0	102 17.4	22.0	98 21.3	99 18.5	IV Garrison 17.2	98 16.8	102 18.0	102 16.8	IV Garrison 16.2	16.7	16.7	17.0	13 17.8	102 18.0	99 21.0	21.6	16.5	99 16.7	99 16.3	98 16.9	98 16.6	
M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15	8 M15 Sn	M15		M15	M15 Sn	M15	9 M15 Sn	M15		M15	M15		M15	M15	M15	M15	M15) M15 Sn	M15	M15	M15		5 M15 Sn		7 M15 Sn	8 M15 Sn			M15	ĺ
2A 3 10	2A 3 11	2A 3 12	2A 3 13	2A 3 14	2A 3 15	2A 3 16	2A 3 17	2A 3 18	2A 3 19	2A 3 20	2A 3 21		2A 3 23	ო		2A 3 26				2A 3 30	ო	2A 3 32		2A 3 34			2A 3 37	2A 3 38	2A 3 39	2A 3 40	2A 3 41	

		12.8			Gaiter, alpha shank	Yes
IV Garrison	son	15.3	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	McGowan	only Cu alloy example	Yes
		11.6	Plain		gilt, convex	Yes
		17.0	Plain			Ŷ
		13.2			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		13.0			Gaiter, omega shank	No No
		13.0			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.7			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
98		21.7	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	extensive intentional bending	Yes
		20.0	Plain		mold seam, alpha shank	Yes
98		20.8	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	partial, 80% complete	Yes
98		21.1	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
		23.9	Type indeterminate	Nutting&Son	recto obscured by corrosion	Yes
		12.1			Gaiter, alpha shank	No
		12.5			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
98		16.8	>			Yes
Royal Artillery		16.5	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield		odd size for Royal Artillery	Yes
62		16.4	62 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
		14.2			alpha shank	Yes
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		13.2			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.8			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	° N
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		13.0			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		13.0			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.7			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		13.1			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.4			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		12.9			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes

12.7
Plain
47 scalloped rope edging
faint encircling line, Crown,
7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown
102 encircling line
99 encircling foliole
98 below Crown, encircling line
102 encircling line
IV Garrison, Garter,
13, Star
98 below Crown, encircling line
98 below Crown,
Plain
Plain
Plain
99 encircling foliole
102 encircling line
102 encircling line
102 encircling line
13, Star
98 below Crown, encircling line
faint encircling line, Crown, 98?
102 encircling line
Cannon,
L.M. Feather plume,
faint 99?

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	0N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°N N	Yes	°N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°N N	Yes	°N N	No	Yes	Yes										
Galter, omega shank	Gaiter, alpha shank	Gaiter, omega shank																													
12.8	12.6	12.6	12.7	12.8	12.2	12.7	12.4	12.9	12.9	12.8	12.9	12.2	12.4	12.8	12.4	12.2	12.3	12.9	12.4	12.9	12.7	12.4	12.5	12.7	12.5	12.4	12.8	12.9	12.2	12.5	
-	M15 Sn	M15 Sn			M15 Sn	M15	M15 Sn			M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15	M15			M15		M15 Sn	M15 Sn											
	2	т		പ	-		œ		;0		12	13	4	15		17		19	1 20	F			1 24		1 26				е е	1 31	
 2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	2C 4	

20.4 23 below Prince of Wales Plume
98 below Crown, encircling line
47 scalloped rope edging
98 below Crown,
98 below Crown, encircling line
7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown
98 below Crown, encircling line
102 encircling line
98 below Crown,
99 encircling foliole
98 below Crown, encircling line
Cross with number,
IV Garrison,
99 encircling foliole
98 below Crown,
Plain, incised X
98 below Crown, encircling line
99 encircling foliole
99 encircling foliole
47 scalloped rope
Plain
99 encircling foliole
99 encircling foliole
99 encircling foliole
IV Garrison,
99 encircling foliole
98 below Crown,
98 below Crown,
IV Garrison, Garter,

Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°2	
	Gaiter, omega shank	partial, 60% complete	folded in half, type indet.	extensive bending	extensive bending		convex	extensive bending	Gaiter, omega shank	spun back			Gaiter, omega shank	cast shank	only example		Gaiter, omega shank	spun back	Gaiter, omega shank	mold seam and spur			convex	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank			Gaiter, omega shank	bending, mold seam, spur	extensive bending	Gaiter, omega shank	
Nuttina&Son)	Nutting&Son		Nutting&Son	Firmin&Westall			McGowan			Nutting&Son				Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son							Nutting&Son			Nutting&Son				Nutting&Son		
99 encirclina foliole	1	Type indeterminate		faint crown image, 98?	102 encircling line	1	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	IV Garrison, Garter, Star		98 below Crown, encircling line	99 encircling foliole			Plain	85, Garter, Star, "BUCKS"	99 encircling foliole		98 below Crown, encircling line		Plain	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	98 below Crown, encircling line			99 encircling foliole			Plain	Type indeterminate		
99 16.1	12.4	20.0	18.6	16.8	102 16.6	14.5	Royal Artillery 13.1	IV Garrison 21.9	12.0	98 16.7	99 16.6	IV Garrison 15.6	13.1	18.0	85 16.1	99 16.7	12.2	98 17.1	13.0	24.2	IV Garrison 16.0	IV Garrison 16.6	98 22.4	12.9	12.5	99 17.0	102 17.2	12.4	16.3	17.5	12.1	
M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn			M15 Sn	·	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	
2C 4 68	2C 4 69	2C 4 70	2C 4 71	2C 4 72	2C 4 73	2C 4 74	2C 4 75	2C 4 231	2C 4 306	2D 4A 1	2D 4A 2	2D 4A 3	2D 4A 4	2D 4A 5	2D 4A 6	2D 4A 7	2D 4A 8	2D 4A 9	2D 4A 10	2D 4A 11	2D 4A 12	2D 4A 13	2D 4A 14	2D 4A 15	2D 4A 16	2D 4A 17	2D 4A 18	2D 4A 19	2D 4A 20	2D 4A 21	2D 4A 22	

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	0N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	mold seam	trampled		partial, 50% complete	omega shank	trampled	masticated		mold seam		extensive bending	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank			Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank		Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	mold seam	stamped, flat	3-part mold seam, gilt	extensive intentional bending		heavy wear on recto		spun back
	Eginton	Nutting&Son					Nutting&Son				Nutting&Son				Murphy	Nutting&Son				Nutting&Son					Eginton		wreath					
47 scalloped rope edging	r, Crown	99 encircling foliole	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	Plain		Plain?	99 encircling foliole	Plain	Plain	Plain	98 below Crown, encircling line				13, Star	99 encircling foliole				98 below Crown, encircling line	102 encircling line				7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	crosshatch design	Plain	47 scalloped rope edging	Plain	102 encircling line	98 below Crown, encircling line
23.5	23.4	18.0	17.3	19.9	12.8	19.0	22.5	16.7	16.6	22.3	17.2	12.7	12.7	13.4	16.8	17.0	12.9	12.9	13.0	16.2	11.5	12.5		12.5	22.9	14.2	24.9	20.5	23.6	21.5	17.3	16.5
47	7 Royal Fusiliers	66	Royal Artillery				66				98				13	66				98	102				7 Royal Fusiliers	Royal Artillery			47		102	86
M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Cu	M15 Cu	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Cu	M15 Cu	M15 Sn	M13 Sn	M14 Sn		M15 Sn
2D 4A 24	2D 4A 25	2D 4A 26	2D 4A 27	2D 4A 28	2D 4A 29	2D 4A 30	2D 4A 31	2D 4A 32	2D 4A 33	2D 4A 34	2D 4A 35	2D 4A 36	2D 4A 37	2D 4A 38	2D 4A 39	2D 4A 40	2D 4A 41	2D 4A 42	2D 4A 43	2D 4A 44	2D 4A 45	2D 4A 46	2D 4A 47	2D 4A 48	2D 4A 49	2D 4A 50	2D 4A 51	2D 4A 159	2E 4 1	2E 4A 1		2E 5 1

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	٩	Yes	Yes	Yes
convex	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank		struck by hammer?		convex	Gaiter, omega shank		bending	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank		gilt	mold seam					mold seam, spur, alpha shank	alpha shank, mold seam	bending, large scratch-recto	spun back	"A" missing in Westall	worn				street address, 52 King St.	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank		partial, 85% complete
Will Harris				Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son			McGowan			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son					Nutting&Son		Firmin&Westall	Nutting&Son	McGowan	Nutting&Son	McGowan	Nutting&Son			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son
Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield			98 below Crown, encircling line	99 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	98 below Crown, encircling line		99 encircling foliole	faint partial encircling line, 99?			Garter, Cipher, under Crown	Plain	35 large numbers	62 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	Plain	Large 6, Rope boarder	62 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	Plain	Encircling line, no center image	98 below Crown, encircling line	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	99 encircling foliole	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	13, Star			99 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole
Royal Artillery 21.2	14.4	12.2	98	99 17.1	99 16.6	98 20.8	12.0	99 16.5	21.4	12.7	12.7	Royal Sappers&Miners 20.6		35 26.1	62 16.9		IV Garrison 16.3	17.0		62 14.2	99 21.2		16.7	1 98 20.6	IV Garrison 17.1	16.8	IV Garrison	13 16.7	13.0	14.3		1 99 21.4
M15 Cu		M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M11 Sn	M11 Sn	M11 Sn	M11 Sn	M12 Cu	M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Cu	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn	M13 Sn
13 N		15 N		17 N	18	19 N	-	<	2	3 N	4	1	2		4	5	9		8	ح 0	10	1	-		3	4	5	6	7	8	9 0	0
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4 4 1	4	4	4	4	5	S	ъ	5	5	2	2 2	Q	2	S	ى ك	2	~	7	2	2	7	~	~	7	~
2F	2F	2F	2F	2F	2 Н	2F	2F	Я	ВA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	А В	ЗA	А Ю	ЗA	Ж Ж	ЗA	æ	ЗA	3A	ЗA	3A	ЗA	3A

3A 7	11	M13 Cu		14.3	Plain		spun back	Yes
3A 7	12	M13 Cu		12.7	Plain			Yes
3A 7	13	M13 Cu	VII Royal Fusiliers	13.1	Cross with number, Garter, Star	F.E.&.Co	gilt	Yes
3A 8	-		7 Royal Fusiliers	18.0	7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown	Crown Nutting	maker's name in "rope" box	Yes
3A 8	2	M14 Sn		21.5	Plain		partial, 80% comp., mold seam	Yes
3A 8	3	M14 Sn	13	23.2	13, Star	Nutting	partial, 75% complete	Yes
3A 8	4	M14 Sn	IV Garrison	16.9	IV Garrison, Garter, Star		partial, 95% complete	°Z
3A 8	ъ	M14 Sn	86	22.5	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	partial, 90% complete	Yes
3A 9	-	M15 Sn	IV Garrison	16.0	IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
3A 9	2	M15 Sn		22.0	Type indeterminate	Nutting&Son		Yes
3A 9	e	M15 Sn	47	17.4	47 scalloped rope edging			Yes
3A 9	4	M15 Sn	IV Garrison	21.3	IV Garrison, Garter, Star		worn	Yes
3A 9	പ	M15 Sn		16.4	Plain		mold seam and spur	Yes
3A 9	7			12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	8	M15 Sn		12.5			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	10	M15 Sn		12.4			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	11			12.5			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
	12			12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	13	M15 Sn		12.5			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
	14	M15 Sn		12.7			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	15	M15 Sn		12.4			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	16	M15 Cu	7 Royal Fusiliers	15.4	7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown	Eginton	silver gilt	Yes
3A 9	17		66	21.4	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
3A 9	18	M15 Cu	Royal Artillery	17.4	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield		stamped, flat	Yes
3A 9	19		VII Royal Fusiliers	27.7	Cross with number, Garter, Star		mold seam	Yes
	20	M15 Sn	66	20.5	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
3A 9	21	M15 Sn	66	21.2	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
3A 9	22	M15 Sn	13	16.2	13, Star	Murphy		Yes
3A 9	23	M15 Sn		12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3A 9	24			12.7			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
	25	-		13.0			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
თ	26	-	86	16.7	98 below Crown, encircling line		spun back	Yes
3A 9	27	M15 Cu		14.6	Plain		spun back	Yes

٩	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	image obscured by corrosion	only example	two-part, single vent hole	Gaiter, omega shank			incised "X" on Recto		large, flat, stamped		maker's name in "rope" box	convex						Gaiter, omega shank	convex	spun back	Gaiter, omega shank						faint image			recto portion of two-part button		
	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son					Nutting	Firmin&Westall			Nutting			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son		McGowan			McGowan	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son		Firmin&Westall	Nutting&Son	McGowan				Nutting&Son
7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown	Type indeterminate	72 below Crown, encircling line	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield			102 encircling line	13, Star	102 encircling line	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	Plain	Star, 13?	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	102 encircling line	99 encircling foliole	99 encircling foliole	98 below Crown, encircling line	99 encircling foliole		Garter, Cipher, under Crown	Plain		IV Garrison, Garter, Star	98 below Crown, encircling line	99 encircling foliole	Plain	102 encircling line	62 encircling foliole	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	Plain		IV Garrison, Garter, Star	99 encircling foliole
17.2	19.6	17.3	13.5	12.9	14.0	17.7	22.8	17.4	24.6	23.2	22.3	20.8	17.9	16.5	16.4	16.7	16.4	13.2	12.5	12.3	14.4	17.0	17.0	16.7	16.4	18.0	17.2	17.0	15.5	13.5	21.8	21.5
7 Royal Fusiliers		72	Royal Artillery			102	13	102	Royal Artillery			Royal Artillery	102	66	66	98	66		Royal Artillery			IV Garrison	98	66		102	62	IV Garrison			IV Garrison	66
M15 Sn	M15 Sn	M19 Sn	M1 Cu	M2 Sn	M2 Sn	M2 Sn	M2 Sn	M2 Sn	M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Cu	M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn		M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn	M12 Sn		M12 Cu	M12 Sn	M12 Sn
3A 9 28	3A 9 29	3A 10 1	3B 1 1	3B 2 1	3B 2 2	3B 2 3	3B 2 4	3B 2 5	3B 7 1	3B 7 2	3B 7 3	3B 7 4	3B 7 5	3B 7 6	3B 7 7	3B 7 8	3B 7 9	3B 7 10	3B 7A 1	3B 7A 2	3B 7A 3	3B 7A 4	3B 7A 5	3B 7A 6	3B 7A 7	3B 7A 8	3B 7A 9	3B 7A 10		3B 7A 12	3B 7A 13	3B 7A 14

3B 7A 15	M12	Sn	IV Garrison	16.8	IV Garrison, Garter, Star			٥N
7B 1	M13	Sn		13.1			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
3B 7B 2	M13	Sn		12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
7B 3	M13	Sn	66	22.8	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
7B 4		Sn		17.1	Type indeterminate	Nutting&Son	extensive bending	Yes
7B 5	M13	Sn	66	20.6	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son	convex	Yes
7B 6	M13	Sn	IV Garrison	17.0	IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
7B 7	M13	Sn	VII Royal Fusiliers	24.7	Cross with number, Garter, Star		partial, 60% comp., mold seam	°2
7C 1	M14	Sn	66	16.9	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son	partial, 80% complete	Yes
7C 2	M14	Sn		16.9	Plain?	Nutting&Son	1	Yes
7C 3	M14	Sn	98	16.9	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son		Yes
7C 4	M14	л		14.0	Plain			Yes
7C 5	M14	сr Сr	66	13.3	99 only	Nutting	two-part, single vent hole, gilt	Yes
7C 6	M14	Cu		13.0	Plain		partial, 85% complete	Yes
7C 7	M14	Cu		14.1	Plain		gilt	Yes
7C 8	M14	Cu		14.5	Plain		spun back	Yes
7C 9		Си	66	13.2	99 only	Jennens	two-part, two vent holes, gilt	Yes
7C 10	-	Sn	66	16.9	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
7C 11	M14	Sn	66	17.3	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
7C 12	M14	Sn	66	20.6	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
7C 13	M14	Sn	98	21.0	98 below Crown, encircling line	Nutting&Son	convex	Yes
7C 14	M14	Sn	62	20.5	62 encircling foliole			Yes
7C 15		Sn		17.9	Type indeterminate		partial, 60% complete	° N
7C 16	M14	Sn			Type indeterminate		partial, 30% complete	۶
8 1	M15	Sn	VII Royal Fusiliers	20.1	Cross with number, Garter, Star			å
			66	16.8	99 encircling foliole	Nutting&Son		Yes
83			VII Royal Fusiliers	27.0	Cross with number, Garter, Star			Yes
8 4	M15	Sn	19 or 61	23.0	faint image 19 or 61		likely 19	Yes
8 5		Cu		11.6	Plain			Yes
1A 1		Cu	Royal Artillery	19.0	Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	Will Harris	no context	Yes
~~~~		ßn		1.1	Plain		semi-hemispherical	Yes
1A 3		Sn		12.7			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
1A 4		Sn		12.4			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°	°N N	ŝ	Yes	Yes	ů	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
				Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	partial, 70% complete	partial, 80% complete	partial, 60% complete	silver gilt, only example					half round, gilt				partial, 75% complete	spun back			maker's name in "rope" box	faint image		mold seam	only example		large example	maker's name in "rope" box	mold seam and spur
Eginton		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son					Eginton			Nutting&Son				McGowan			McGowan	Firmin&Co	McGowan				Murphy	Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son			Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son	Nutting	
2 7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown Eginton		) 99 encircling foliole	5 98 below Crown, encircling line		(			8 Cross with number, Garter, Star	2 102 encircling line	Type indeterminate	98 below Crown, encircling line		8 Plain	r Plain	) Garter, Cipher, under Crown	b L.M, Feather plume, Crown, Star	Plain	2 IV Garrison, Garter, Star	7 102 encircling line	2 IV Garrison, Garter, Star	) 98 below Crown, encircling line	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	IV Garrison, Garter, Star	1 13, Star	2 99 encircling foliole	5 62?	) Plain	1111, Garter, Royal Brming Vol.	9 98 below Crown, encircling line			) Plain
7 Royal Fusiliers 17.2	13 17.3	99 17.0	98 20.5	13.3	14.9	14.0	12.9	VII Royal Fusiliers 14.8	102 18.2		98 17.9	15.1	15.3	14.7	Royal Sappers&Miners 21.0	Local Militia 19.6	14.7	IV Garrison 17.2	102 19.7	IV Garrison 21.2	98 17.0	IV Garrison 16.0	IV Garrison 16.9	13 20.4	99 17.2	17.5	22.0	111 19.0	98 16.9	62 23.6	62 16.8	21.0
9A 16 M12 Sn	9A 17 M12 Sn	18 M12	9A 19 M12 Sn	9A 20 M12 Sn	3A 21 M12 Sn	9A 22 M12 Sn	M12	9A 24 M12 Sn	3A 25 M12 Sn	M12		9A 28 M12 Cu	9A 30 M12 Cu	9A 31 M12 Cu	9A 32 M12 Cu		9A 34 M12 Cu	9B 1 M13 Sn	2	e	9B 4 M13 Sn	2 2	9B 6 M13 Sn	9B 7 M13 Sn	8 M13	9B 9 M13 Sn	10 M13	11 M13	12 M13	13	M13	9B 15 M13 Sn
3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A 26	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A	3C 9A 33	3C 9A	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B	3C 9B 14	) ) )

99 encircling foliole Nutting&Son		-
IV Garrison, Garter, Star	2	ъ
		12.8
		12.2
		12.2
		12.4
		12.7
		12.5
		12.9
		12.3
		12.5
		12.5
		12.4
		12.6
		12.5
		12.4
		13.0
		13.5
		14.1
7 in center of Rose, Garter, Crown Eginton	ē	17.2 7 in center
Cannon Balls on Shield	Ö	Cannon,
Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	ΰ	
Cannon Balls on Shield		Cannon,
		12.7
		16.9 Plain
Crown	§	25.1 RGB below Crown
		21.4 Plain
		16.3 Plain
in, Garter, Star	õ	16.5 IV Garrison,
		12.8
	Ł	

°N N	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	°	Yes	Yes
partial, 80% complete	Gaiter, omega shank	alpha shank	semi-hemispherical, spun back					recto portion of two-part button	outer circular "rope" boarder	mold seam	mold seam and spur	partial, 50% complete	mold flaw on verso		maker's name in "rope" box	spun back			spun back	heavy wear on recto		Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	alpha shank	alpha shank	Gaiter, omega shank		Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	Gaiter, omega shank	mold seam and sour
														Nutting&Son	Nutting			Nutting&Son		Nutting&Son	Nutting&Son											
IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield	Plain	Plain	Plain	RP below Crown		Type indeterminate	RGB below Crown	RGB below Crown	RP below Crown	RP below Crown	99 encircling foliole	13, Star	98 below Crown, encircling line	102 encircling line	99 encircling foliole	98 below Crown, encircling line	Type indeterminate	98 below Crown, encircling line											Plain
IV Garrison 17.1	12.2	14.2	Royal Artillery 13.4	14.0	20.8	17.0	Royal Provincials 22.8	17.6	18.5	Royal Garrison Battalion 18.0	<b>Royal Garrison Battalion</b>	Provincials	Royal Provincials 17.0	99 21.9	13 22.7	98 16.3	~ 1	99 16.5	98 16.8		98 21.4	12.9	12.8	14.1		12.1	13.5	12.5	12.9	13	12.9	21.1
M19 Sn	M19 Sn	M19 Sn		M19 Cu	M19 Cu	M20 Cu	M20 Sn		M20 Sn	M20 Sn	M20 Sn			M12 Sn				M12 Sn	M12 Sn			M12 Sn	M12 Sn				M12 Sn	M12 Sn				M12 Sn
┢		10 M		12 M	13 M			Σ	Σ									_					10 M		12 M	∑ ຕ	1 4 2	15 M				19 M
13 8	13 9	13		13	13	1B 1	1D 1	101	1A 1	101	1D 2		2B 2	3 7	3	3 3		3 2	36	3 7	3 8	ი ო					ი 1	3 1				с Т
30	ဒ္သင	ပ္ထ		ဒ္ဓင	30	6A	6A		6B	<u>6</u> B	6B		7A	8A			8A	8A	8A	8A		8A			8A	8A	8A	8A	8A	<b>8</b> A	8A	8A

	21.1 Plain	Plain			mold spur	Yes
	102	21.1	21.1 102 encircling line	<b>Firmin&amp;Westall</b>	Firmin&Westall "s" sideways in Westall	Yes
2	IV Garrison	16.8	16.8 IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
2	IV Garrison	16.4	16.4 IV Garrison, Garter, Star			Yes
2	IV Garrison	17.4	17.4 IV Garrison, Garter, Star			No
	66	17.0	17.0 99 encircling foliole	<b>Nutting&amp;Son</b>	faint image	Yes
		14.7			Gaiter, omega shank	٩
<u>XII R</u>	VII Royal Fusiliers	18.6	18.6 Cross with number, Garter, Star		mold seam	Yes
		12.6			Gaiter, omega shank	Yes
		19.8	19.8 Type indeterminate		partial, 25% complete	Yes
å	Royal Artillery	19.0	19.0 Cannon, Cannon Balls on Shield			Yes

### APPENDIX D

### THE BONE BUTTON DATABASE

This appendix is the database used to examine all of the 130 bone buttons contained within the Paget Fort assemblage. Information on each button has been entered into 11 possible fields. **Area** and **Context** correspond to the artifact's field provenience. **Artifact Number** is the individual number assigned to the artifact during the cataloging process. **Master Context** refers to the level from which the button was recovered according to the Master Stratigraphic Sequence recorded for the ditch deposit (Table 3). **Size mm** indicates the outside diameter of the button measured in millimeters. **Number of Holes** corresponds to the number of holes drilled through the button. **Hole Size mm** is the outside diameter measurement of the holes drilled through the button. **Complete** indicates weather the button is whole. **Partial %** is an estimate of the remaining portion of a fragmentary button. **Remarks** are my own notes used to further describe the physical attributes of each button. **Conservation** indicates weather the button was stable enough to undergo the conservation process.

	noitevreenoD	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Appendix D - Paget Fort, Bermuda Bone Buttons	Remarks	Finished button, Raised edge			Off-center cut-out		Circular grooves	Finished button, Beveled edge	Circular grooves	Finished button, Beveled edge			Circular grooves	Circular grooves		Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Recent break	Off-center cut-out	Circular grooves	Off-center cut-out	Finished button? Beveled edge			
muda I	Partial/ %		50%				75%									80%		50%							50%
rt, Beri	Complete	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
get Fo	mm əzi <b>S əlo</b> H	1.6	2.0	2.0	3.2	2.3	2.0	1.6	2.8	1.6	3.2	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.6		2.0	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6
D - Pa	Number of Holes	4	+	-	٢	-	-	പ	-	ო	~	-	-	-	-	٢	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-
pendix	mm əzi <b>2</b>	16.7	14.3	10.3	17.5	12.7	13.5	17.5	12.7	13.5	12.7	11.1	10.3	18.3	10.3	10.3	11.1	10.3	12.0	15.9	15.1	12.7	12.7	12.7	9.5
Ap	txətroO nətext	M2	M19	M2	M12	M13	M12	M13	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15
	Artifact Number	20	10	10	10	13	39	13	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	244	245	246	247	248	249
	txətnoD	2	ъ	7	e	4	2A	2D	e	e	ო	e	ო	ო	e	ო	÷	ო	ო	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Area	10	1J	1M	ŕ	ā	Å	Æ	2A	2A	2A	2A	2A	2A	2A	2A	2A	ZA	2A	2B	2B	2B	2B	2B	2B

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Circular grooves	Finished button		Circular grooves			Two halves mend	Finished button, Beveled edge	Finished button, Beveled edge	Circular grooves		Circular grooves		Recent break					Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Off-center cut-out	Circular grooves			Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Finished button, Beveled edge			Circular grooves	Circular grooves
					%0/								75%	40%	55%				60%				55%		80%				55%	50%
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
2.4	2.0	2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.8	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.4		2.0	2.0	3.2	2.4	2.8	2.4	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	1.6	1.6	2.0	1.6	2.4	3.6
-	ო	-	<del>.</del> -	Ļ	-	-	e	4		~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	e	Ļ	-	1	-
15.9	12.7	10.3	11.1	11.1	19.1	15.9	11.1	18.3	12.7	10.3	10.3	10.3	15.9	11.9	12.7	10.3	11.9	15.1	16.7	9.5	11.1	10.3	15.9	11.1	10.3	11.1	10.3	11.1	16.7	12.7
M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M15	M14	M15	M15	M15	M11	M12	M13	M13	M13	M14	M14	M15	M12	M12	M12	M12
307	308	309	310	311	312	313&314	14	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	18	46	47	48	26	54	85	86	87	31	32	30	12	13	14	15
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4A	<b>4</b> A	4A	4A	4A	4A	4 <b>A</b>	<b>4</b> A	3B	ব	4	4	4	S	2	~	~	ω	ω	თ	2	~	7	2
SC	2C	2C	SC	2C	SC	2C	20	2D	20	20	2D	2D	2D	2D	2F	2F	2Ε	2F	ЗA	3A	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	ЗA	3B 3B	3B	3B	3B

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Off-center cut-out	Circular grooves	Circular grooves		Circular grooves		Circular grooves		Circular grooves	Off-center cut-out	No context		Off-center cut-out	Circular grooves	Cut marks	Recent break		Finished button, holes misaligned	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Flat spot at center hole		Circular grooves		Recent break	Circular grooves	Retains portion of button stock	Finished Button?, Slight crown	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Circular grooves
					45%		40%		85%						35%	30%					80%		50%	%06		75%				
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes			Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.4	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.0	3.2		2.4	2.8	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.6			2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.0	1.6
-	-	٢	-	<del>.</del>	~	-	-		-	-	-	~	-	-	↽	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	+	~	-	-	1	-	-	-
17.5	10.3	10.3	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	16.7	14.3	15.9	15.9	11.1	11.1	15.1	11.1	12.0	12.0	17.5	14.3	8.3 .3	12.7	10.3	11.9	16.7	11.9	10.3	11.9	14.3	15.9	8.7	1.1
M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M13	M13	M14	M14		ž	M5	M5	M5	M5	M5	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M13	M13	M13	M13
17	18	19	20	21	22	ω	თ	17	18	£	շ	13	14	15	16	17	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	36	37	38	39
7A	7A	7A	7A	7A	7A	7B	78	7C	7C	1A	2	ব	4	4	4	4	9A	9A	A9	9A	9A	9A	9A	A9	A9	9A	<b>9B</b>	<b>9</b> B	9B	<b>B</b> B
3B	3B	3B	3B	3B	3B	3B 3B	3B	3B	3B	3C	ဒ္ဌ	ဗ္ဂ	ပ္ထ	ဒ္ဌ	ဗ္ဂ	ဗ္ဂ	ЗС	ЗС	ပ္ထ	ဗ္ဂ	ဒ္ဌ	ပ္ထ	ဒ္ထ	ဗ္ဗ	ပ္ထ	ပ္ထ	ဗ္ဗ	ဗ္ဂ	ပ္ထ	ပ္ထ

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Circular grooves		Circular grooves	Single side cut-out	Circular grooves		Circular grooves	Finished button			Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Cut marks	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Circular grooves	Retains portion of button stock		Circular grooves	Off-center cut-out	Finished button?, Raised edge								
	65%		80%						75%		50%		%06		%06	%06		%06	70%	70%	%06		75%	95%			80%			50%
Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes			Yes					Yes			Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	
3.2	2.4	2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.4		2.4	2.8	1.6	2.0	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	3.2	3.2	3.6	2.4	2.4	2.8	2.0	2.8		2.8	2.8
٢	١	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	e	Ļ	-	٢	-	-	-	١	١	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17.5	15.9	10.3	10.3	11.1	11.1	10.3	11.9	15.9	12.7	18.3	18.3	11.1	15.1	11.9	15.1	15.1	13.5	15.1	15.1	20.6	19.1	14.3	11.9	15.1	15.1	10.3	15.1	13.5	14.3	14.3
M13	M13	M13	M13	M13	M13	M13	M14	M14	M14	M15	M15	M19	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20
40	41	42	43	44	45	46	7	ω	თ	33	34	-	2	ო	4	ъ	9	7	ω	۳-	2	ю	ю	4	-	2	e	4	-	e
9B	9B	9B	9B	9B	9B	9B	9C	ပ္တ	ပ္ပ	5	10	13	<del>1</del> B	<b>1</b> B	<del>1</del> 8	1B	<b>1</b> B	<del>1</del> B	<del>,</del> 100	10	1D	10	<b>1</b> 0	10	2	2	2	2	2A	2B
3C	3C	3С	ЗС	ပ္ထ	ЗС	ဒ္ဌ	ЗС	ပ္ထ	ပ္ထ	ပ္ထ	ဒ္ဌ	ဒ္ထ	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6A	6B	<b>6</b> B	۲A	7A	7A	۲A	7A	٦A

Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
75% Single side cut-out	Single side cut-out	Circular grooves	Two halves mend		Circular grooves	Retains portion of button stock	80% Recent break	Off-center cut-out	Circular grooves	Two halves mend	Two halves mend	75% Two halves mend
75%	%09	35%		50%	85%	60%	80%	95%				75%
			Yes						Yes	Yes	Yes	
2.0	2.4		3.6		2.4	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.4	1.6	1.6	2.0
٢	-	~	-	-		-	-	-	-	~	-	-
14.3	19.1	11.9	14.3	20.6	14.3	12.7	10.3	12.7	11.9	16.7	10.3	11.9
M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M20	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12	M12
4	5	o	-	-	-	2	-	2	ო	4	5	9
2B	2B	2B	-	2A	2B	2B	с С	с	ო	e	ო	ო
7A 2B	7A	۲A	78	7B	7B	78	8A	8A	8A	8A	8A	8A

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