2016

Subaltern Realities and Cultural Identities: The Emergence of Creolization through Analysis of an Archaeological Assemblage at Betty's Hope Plantation

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by

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment of the
Requirements of Independent Study
In Archaeology at
The College of Wooster

Archaeology 451-452

Olivia Navarro-Farr March 28, 2016

ABSTRACT

Betty's Hope Plantation, on the island of Antigua has been excavated by California State University, Chico, since 2007. The site incorporates a wide-range of diverse use-areas including the Great House, a Rum Distillery, and Slave Quarters. Excavations have revealed that every area of the plantation represents a unique community with distinct material culture. In the 2014 season, researchers discovered a midden that appears to have been utilized by two of these diverse plantation communities. The midden, located between the Great House and the Slave Village, was most likely employed by members from both areas. It therefore represents a context that incorporates vastly different cultural expressions and practices on the plantation. The Codrington family kept extensive plantation records revealing their elite status and identity while simultaneously overlooking the *slave* population, whose characteristics and historical knowledge are now limited to the remains found in the midden and other archaeological contexts. This evidence, largely in the form of Afro-Antiguan wear, indicates that those enslaved peoples incorporated their own cultural customs through the means of ceramic production. In this Independent Study, I discuss the collective identities on the plantation that are represented through the material culture in this unique midden and how I teased out the cultural expressions of those most underrepresented peoples who maintained a distinct cultural identity throughout the largest forced migration in history. The result will be a deconstruction of the plantation as an economic machine to achieve an understanding of the mundane details of individualism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This independent study project would not have been possible without the guidance, support, and contribution of a number of individuals. I express my immense gratitude towards Dr. Olivia Navarro-Farr for advising me throughout this IS process. Her unwavering support, words of encouragement, and most importantly impeccable theoretical knowledge and passion for archaeology was a guiding force throughout this process. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Michel Forbs whose vast knowledge of Caribbean literature and theory inspired me to push my project to new levels. Moreover, I would like to especially thank Dr. Georgia Fox of California State University and Dr. Reg Murphy, UNESCO representative and National Parks Director of Antigua and Barbuda, for their knowledge, time, and most importantly for allowing me to utilize the Betty's Hope materials for my Independent Study work both Junior and Senior year. Thank you as well to every member of the 2014 Betty's Hope field school. Your hours of sweat, work, passion, and assistance made this project possible. A special thanks to Christopher Walters, Syracuse University Ph.D. candidate, and Cory Look, Brookline College, for your patience with me throughout the field school process. You both were incredible TA's. I would like to thank Nicki Murphy for opening your home to me on my multiple trips to Antigua. Your amazing meals, love for the island, and words of wisdom were essential to the process. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their constant support and encouragement, without which none of this would have been possible. Thank you for allowing me to follow my dreams.

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Great House is capitalized in recognition of Betty's Hope archaeological project's format. In following suit, I also capitalized Slave Village, Curing House, and Rum Distillery, as they are all accepted locations on Betty's Hope plantation.

I italicized the word *slave* throughout the project. The word *slave* as defined by Mariam Webster's dictionary is "someone who is legally owned by another person and is forced to work for that person without pay; a person who is strongly influenced and controlled by something." However, this project argues that the *slaves* had individual thought, action, and culture that can be analyzed through the archaeological record. Therefore, my using the word *slave* without acknowledging the connotation that it brings would be flawed. In this, I also recognize that the word has been used for hundreds of years to define this population that I am focusing on. By italicizing the word, I emphasize the people's greater meaning and significance that is not discussed in the typical definition of the word. This includes the words *slave, slaves*, and *slavery*. However, I will be excluding the words enslaved, Atlantic Slave Trade, and Slave Village as they are more complex variations of the word. Enslaved, recognizes that the person was once free and thus also acknowledges their independence. The terms Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Village refer to a historical event and a location and thus do not constitute an italicized emphasis, as they do not explicitly refer to a person or peoples.

Figure A Betty's Hope Great House 1906. Codrington Papers.

CHAPTER ONE
INDTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Since 2007, the Betty's Hope Archaeological Project, sponsored by California State University, Chico, has investigated the colonial era (1674-1834) plantation site on the Caribbean island of Antigua. Excavations have covered areas of the plantation including the Great House, Rum Distillery, and parts of the earliest *slave* quarters. Results demonstrate that every area of the plantation represents a unique community with distinct material culture that underscores how living and working spaces were segregated areas pertaining to the *slave* and plantation owner populations respectively. However, in the 2014 season, investigators discovered a midden located between the Great House and the Slave Village and what appear to be a few other standing buildings, which have been located due to the combined effort of an analysis of original maps and modern GIS surveying. Therefore, the midden was most likely employed by members from both communities. Thus, this midden is unique in that it represents a space of intersection and contact between two otherwise highly segregated populations.

Archeologists and project director Georgia Fox (2015) view the site and its role in the Trans-Atlantic trading networks established by British colonizers who utilized enslaved laborers from a world-systems perspective, conceiving of this site as a node within that larger network (Burnham 2007). The island of Antigua, due to its location, constant easterly winds, and natural ports, was one of the British's most prized Caribbean islands. Antigua was not only able to establish direct trade relations with England but, additionally formulated a privatized *slave* trade with Africa due to Antigua's *slave* demands and preferences (Gaspar 1985). Though an important approach to consider, systems theories are necessarily broader in scope and macro-scalar. My own interest is in understanding the quotidian experience of the non-represented

sector of the Codrington plantation site, the *slaves* themselves. In order to address this, I approach the midden context with a micro-scalar practice-centered approach. Specifically, I am looking at the presence of Afro-Antiguan wares, in juxtaposition with the midden location and the rest of the artifacts within it, as the evidence constitutive of these daily practices and lived experiences.

In furtherance of my research on cultural identity, I will address the following questions. This midden, due to its location and contents, challenges the way we think about *slave* identity by suggesting that the two distinct social classes or lifestyles were not segregated. More closely, to what extent can the specific attributes of this midden on Betty's Hope plantation speak to the explicate elements of the *slave* identity stemming from West African cultures (Coromantees, Whyday, Dahomey, and Hueda)? I will be engaging in a discussion of Creolization as discussed by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1992) as a representation of the *slave* cultural identity on Betty's Hope plantation in opposition to a previously excepted elite dominate narrative.

In order to trace the remnants of West African customs in Antigua and distinguish other elements stemming from contact with Europeans and assimilation to the island, it is essential to understand the exact process by which the Afro-Antiguan wares were made. Afro-Antiguan wares are part of a larger, more complex ceramic family—Afro-colonial ware. However, due to the "seclusion" of the island, a distinct, separate ware was formulated on Antigua, symbolizing the distinct culture unique to the island. Afro-Antiguan wares were made on the island, involve the utilization of local materials, and therefore constitute a unique ceramic different from Afro-Colonial ware. The ceramic typically has a red slip glaze and a distinct red core indicative of the volcanic elements within the Antiguan soil. In this Independent Study, I argue that the *slaves* adapted to their environment, they juxtaposed their cultural techniques for the manufacturing of

ceramics with the local material in order to form a ceramic that was representative of their journey and new identity once transferred to the island.

In conjunction with this, I will explore the relevance of the rest of the contents within the midden. The elite wears, the tools, and the adornment items all speak to aspects of life on the plantation to which the *slaves* would have been witnesses. Considering such close special proximity to one another, it would be naïve to assume that the Great House elites and the *slaves* would not have culturally and socially affected one another. The *slaves* were witness to the ceramic styles and patterns on the European ceramics. Therefore, the Afro-Antiguan ceramics could be analyzed with respect to this dynamic as either a rejection of or an incorporation of European ceramic influences.

The *slaves* represented a group of individuals forced into labor, migration, and assimilation. They were distinctly underclass as the dominant elites resided over them, manipulating and controlling all aspects of their life. Given the extremely limited scope of historical documentation of *slave* populations in the Caribbean, this research and midden analysis, therefore, also constitutes a major component of an otherwise dehumanized and oppressed community. Cultural contact and dominancy relationship suppressed and manipulated the identity of the *slaves* on Betty's Hope which today can be recognized by utilizing archaeological techniques to analyze material culture, specifically Afro-Antiguan ceramics.

Literature Review

History usually is told, learned, and analyzed from a single point of view. One narrative, one concept, one story, one perspective is told. However, reality is often far different and considerably more complex. Sylvia Wynter in *1492: A New World Order* (1995) discusses the importance of perspective specifically throughout the Caribbean during and after colonization.

She first outlines the two previously accepted narratives of the colonizers and the 'black legend,' which represents the white Europeans and the black *slaves*. She then proposes, in contrast, a third alternative story. She believes, when specifically focusing on the moment of original colonial contact that "we therefore, while taking as our point of departure both the ecosystemic and global sociasystemic 'interralatedness' or our contemporary situation, put forward a new world view of 1492 from the perspective of the species, and with reference to the interests of its well-being, rather than from the partial perspectives and with reference to the necessarily partial interests, of both celebrants and dissidents" (Wynter 1995:7). She believes that a narrative exists which can represent all perspectives at a single moment. Thus, the underrepresented have a voice within the rhetoric of a dominant elite cultural and social narrative.

This perspective is what I believe the Betty's Hope midden represents. Its contents, symbolizing two segregated communities and perspectives which intersect in a single location. Because of this, I am utilizing the opportunity to discuss not only an alternative narrative but a complete one. I am recognizing a *slave* community's emic perspective with distinct cultural relevance that was in contact with and affected by a drastically different community which physically owned and controlled them. While telling this perspective, it is also important to understand that the elites/owners, would be affected simultaneously by the identity of the *slaves*—of their property. To conceptualize this, my goal is to understand this midden from a spatial, content, and complete analysis. To do so, an understanding of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, their connection to West African techniques, and the influences and adjustments made to the manufacturing process once on the island of Antigua will be the primary focus of discussion.

I argue that the archaeological record has the potential to provide a new perspective on otherwise unrecognized populations. In the case of Betty's Hope *slave* population on the island of Antigua, archaeological examination of materials sheds light onto the emic qualities of the *slaves* that historical records and traditional analysis of the plantation overlooks. More specifically I will be evaluating the independent cultural and social qualities of the slaves on Betty's Hope. I will conduct an analysis of material culture to understand moments not dictated by dominant owners, but indicative of independent culture, choice, and action. I believe that these independent cultural features play a role in the larger identity definition of the entire plantation. My research will closely examine the Afro-Antiguan ceramics within the midden on Betty's Hope plantation as a representation of the *slaves'* independent cultural qualities, which were denied and suppressed through forced migration and presumed assimilation. The making of the ceramics, the time, skills, traditions, and learning practices are all a representation of autonomous agency that the *slaves* possessed.

Traditionally, archaeologists have studied past people through the understanding of their significance within overarching trends and patterns pertaining to societies and social systems as a whole; this is known as processualism. This macro-study of the past does not provide a detailed level of insight into the daily lives and functions of individuals within a given population; rather the focus is on the entirety of the system. Most importantly, this narrative tells a one-sided perspective of the historical record, eliminating the marginalized or non-elite point of view. Although the ostracized population's impact is usually more difficult to define within the fragmentary archaeological record, its influence within a society is still noticeable and essential when attempting to achieve the complete picture. Because of this, my research is grounded within this post-processual theoretical framework. This will achieve a greater understanding of

the cultural agency of the *slaves* on Betty's Hope planation. In an instance where all rights, thoughts, and relationships were stripped from individuals, I argue that archaeology permits recognition of those qualities.

I will be examining the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, a major component of the midden, located at the outskirts of the Slave Village on Betty's Hope Sugar Plantation in Antigua. I believe I can highlight, specifically analyzing the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, the Creolized Antiguan *slave* identity as defined by Sydney Mintz and Richard Price (1992). Through formal analysis and ethnoarchaeological research I will trace the specific elements of Afro-Antiguan ceramics, which derived from West African regional potting techniques (Hauser 2013). I will then use this as a model as a method of designating and identifying *slave* identity, defined by those qualities/traits that represent the non-controlled aspects of their lives, the aspects that could be defined by free will and independent choice. I pose the question, how can archaeological work lead to a more complete picture of the Antiguan society?

This midden, due to its location, consists of materials from both the dominate, elite class and the marginalized or oppressed *slaves*. The one-sided perspective of the elites is easily known and documented. However, archaeology evaluates not just the elite, or economic and political frameworks, but a larger picture pertaining to individuals emic contribution to daily life—thoughts that do not regard these previously stated qualities but rather, traditions, customs, and culture. Afro-Antiguan ceramics manifest a story which traditional, historical documentation has overlooked. The *slave* population, the majority of Antigua, will be recognized by the translation of potting techniques from their cultures in West Africa, specifically, Coromantees, Whyday, Dahomey, and Hueda groups from the Asante region; present day Ghana, Benin, and Nigeria (Dyde 2000; Norman 2009).

The *slave* community had been recognized for its impact in the world system of centuries long trans-Atlantic *slave*-driven economy involving extractive industries such as the cultivation of cotton in the American South, henequen in Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula, and refining cane for rum distillation throughout the Caribbean on island plantations such as Betty's Hope. In this context, discussions of British colonization, British imperialism, economic systems, and role within the world systems of the time are necessarily frequently evaluated (Burnham 2007). However, I believe that this population had a far greater impact and significance than what processual, macro-level discussions, such as world systems, recognize. The *slave* population culturally contributed to the social systems on the plantation and the island as a whole. More importantly, the *slaves* maintained aspects of their culture, evident within the material record. In recent years, significant archaeological work has been focused on the post-processual study of *slave* populations (Deagan 2013:261-262). With this being said, there is still a significant amount of research, studies, and analysis that has yet to be done which increases the significance of the current work on Betty's Hope plantation. Furthermore, descendants of this community continue to make significant contributions to the greater cultural and social development of the island, although these legacies tend to be disregarded.

The History of Betty's Hope

Betty's Hope Plantation has had a significant impact on the island since it was established. Christopher Codrington II acquired Betty's Hope plantation on the island of Antigua at the height of the *slave* trade in the early 1670s. The plantation was owned by Antigua's then Governor, Christopher Keynell, whose widow, Joan Hall, subsequently left the plantation in 1666 after Governor Keynell was killed following the French invasion of Antigua. Christopher Codington II assumed control of Betty's Hope in 1674 after the English Crown deeded him the

plantation (Dyde 2000:16-17). Four generations of Codringtons ran Betty's Hope mostly as absentee landlords from their estate at Dodington in Gloucester England. At the height of the plantation's operations, nearly 30,000 *slaves* resided on the Island of Antigua. Almost 400 of those lived on Betty's Hope, making it one of the largest (Dyde 2000:25). On August 1, 1834, the *slaves* were granted emancipation. The *slaves* would now be given wages instead of being provided food and clothing. After this event, the general well-being of the emancipated *slaves* did not increase to any measurable extent. On an island where the entire economy revolved around the production of sugar and its products, former *slaves* had few choices in making a living and therefore continued to work on the plantations (Dyde 2000:134-135).

In 1990, the Betty's Hope Trust took responsibility for the oversight of the remaining 50 acres of the site to preserve it as an open-air museum. In 1991, an archaeological research team excavated the area around the plantation's two windmills and then subsequently restored the north mill (Dyde 2000). In 2007, Dr. Reginald Murphy, an Antiguan archaeologist and UNESCO representative, along with Dr. Georgia Fox from California State University, Chico, began the Betty's Hope Project and Archaeological Field School. Since then, work has been done on the Great House, Rum Distillery, and starting in 2014, the *slave* quarters.

I participated in the 2014 excavation season as a field school student. Excavations revealed a midden located between the Slave Village and the Great House, which included a wide range of artifacts, such as door hinges, ceramics both European and Afro-Antiguan, buttons, food scraps, scissors, and a variety of other materials. This midden represents the connection of segregated communities, the Codringtons and the *slaves*. Because of this, I believe it is the perfect location for a discussion of the *slave* population's overlooked narrative and identity throughout history. The Afro-Antiguan ceramics from this excavation will be the

primary focus of my study of the complex identity of the *slave* community on Betty's Hope, in juxtaposition to the dominate elite narrative represented by the elite materials.

The Codrington papers, a detailed ethnohistoric source, outlines every aspect of the Codrington's personal life and business endeavors. Looking back now, a few hundred years later, virtually every question about this one family can be answered. However, the 400 *slaves* residing on the planation are still lumped together as one group. No names are discussed, no familial lineage is known and basic understandings of their daily lives and purpose is only vaguely discernable through a lens of economic implication and a world systems narrative discussing their impact on the production to the sugar industry and triangle trade network (Burnham 2007).

All of this alludes to what Antonio Benítez-Rojo describes as the Plantation Machine (1996). A well oiled, seemingly flawless economic system, designed to produce mass quantities of product for the cheapest price possible. Furthermore, this machine transforming from the first European contact with the Caribbean is based completely on extraction and efficiency. The *slaves* being imported onto the island of Antigua were no longer viewed as individuals with unique cultural backgrounds from diverse ethnic groupings, but rather as pieces of the machine, necessary for product exploitation. They were described based upon their physical appearance and endurance capabilities. This clipping from the Antiguan *Slave* Papers, at the National Museum of

Figure 1-1: Page number 307 of Antiguan Slave Registrar. The *Slave* is given a number, name, color description, and age. These entries belong to Joseph Wickham Mayers and Reverend Robert C. Hesketh, May 4th 1831.

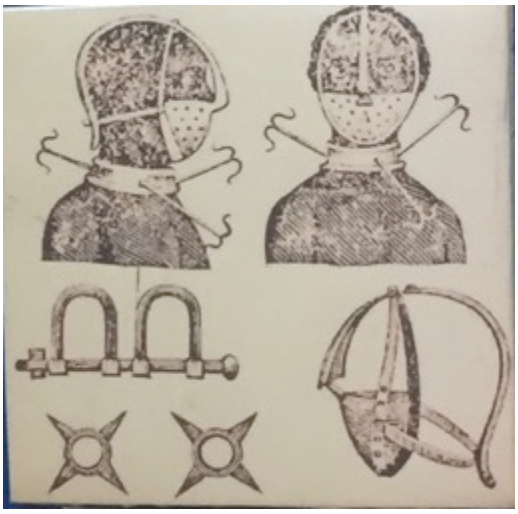

Figure 1-2: Torture mechanism employed by British traders. Museum of Antigua and Barbuda.

Antigua and Barbuda emphasized this point (Figure 1-1). The listed fashion to the text, the purpose of the text, and the description of the *slaves* all allude to their function of/purposeful definition of a *slave*. Adding to this narrative, Figure 1-2 displays other elements of diverse torture that the *slave* would have endured throughout the process of being transported to the plantation. Masks, collars, and chains reduced the individuals to nothing more than animal like creatures, designed for working in the sugar cane fields (National Museum of Antigua and Barbuda; Benitez-Rojo 1996).

These factors inspired my research on Betty's Hope. In completion of the 2015 field season and at the time of my Junior IS research, it was not clear that other sectors of the population had contributed to the midden. As such, archaeologists interpreted the presence of colonial wares as cast-offs that had been given to *slaves*. Given this perception, I argued that the inclusion of Afro-Antiguan wares constituted evidence that *slaves* resisted using received colonial wares in preference for their own home-manufactured wares which were forms deriving from West-African potting traditions (Hauser and DeCorse 2003). I based my argument on Ian Hodder's theory of agency (2003). Hodder argues that objects acquired agency from those who made the objects and employed them most closely. I reasoned the Afro-Antiguan wares therefore represented the agency of *slaves* who were making them as an exemplification of their traditions while symbolizing a resistance to utilizing cast-off colonial wares. I made my argument based upon, then, incomplete evidence. The context of the midden had not been understood spatially in its entirety.

Since then, greater conceptualization of the surrounding buildings and proximity to the Great House has been evaluated and laid out on a variety of maps. Figure 1-3 displays the overlaid original map from the Codrington papers on top of the current satellite image of the plantation. This indicates that the location of the Great House complex and earliest Slave Village was much closer than originally realized.

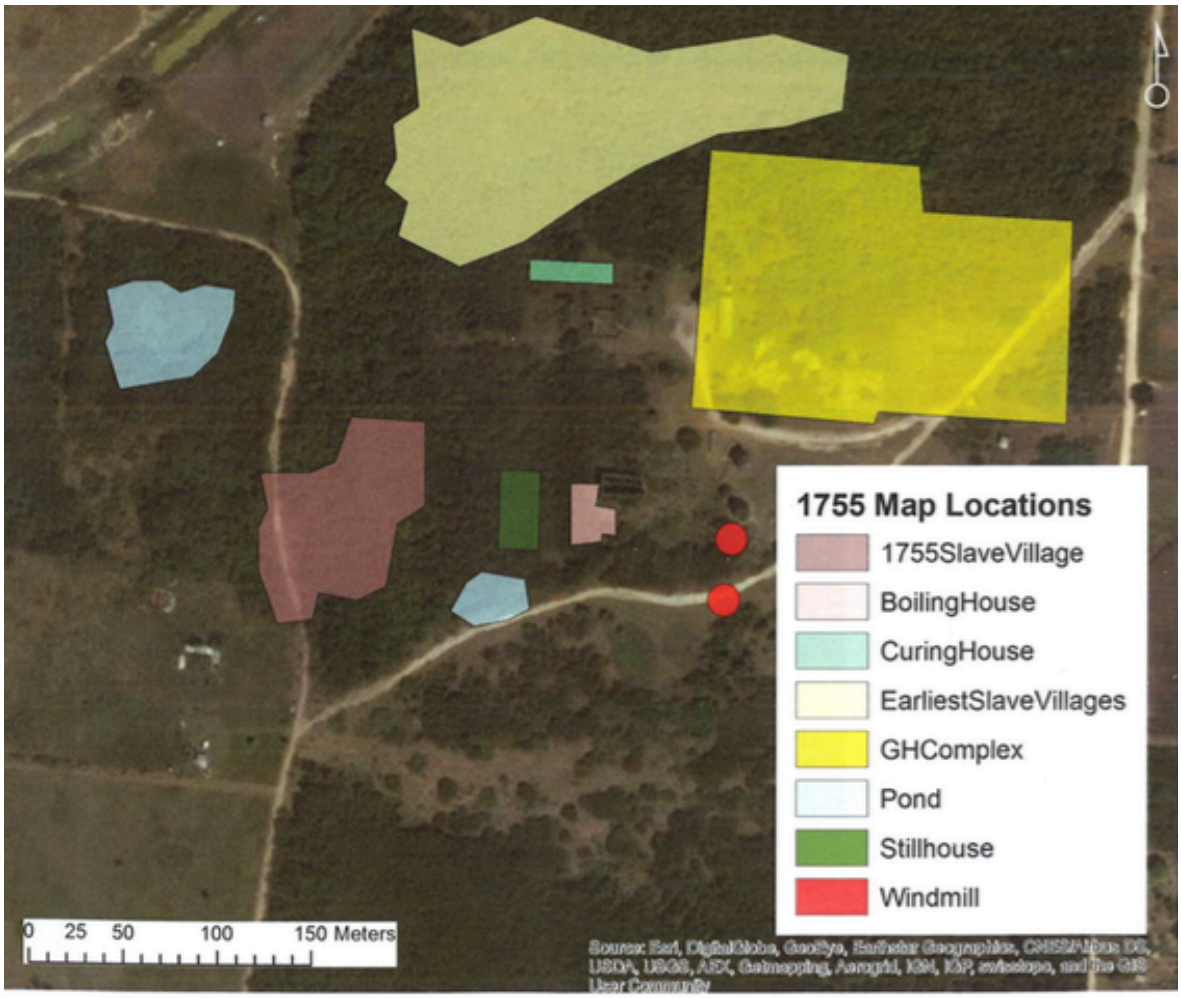

Figure 1-3: Satellite imagery overlaid 1755 plantation map. Betty's Hope Archaeological Site Records.

Figure 1-4 displays the reconstructed site map that archaeologists are currently utilizing to aid them within their excavations. This image displays some surrounding buildings specifically affiliated with the Great House that could have also utilized the midden in its given location,

such as the kitchen, blacksmith shop, and small stable. This special relationship suggests that the midden was most certainly utilized by these areas. This challenges the concept of extreme segragation on the plantation which will be evaluated further in my analysis.

Furthermore, during the 2015 excavation season, excavations revealed that the material culture deeper in the Slave Village is distinctly different than the midden excavated in 2014. Therefore, archaeologists can no longer conclusively state that the midden deposit was created solely by the *slaves* on the plantation, but rather by two segregated communities, the *slaves* and the Codrington family.

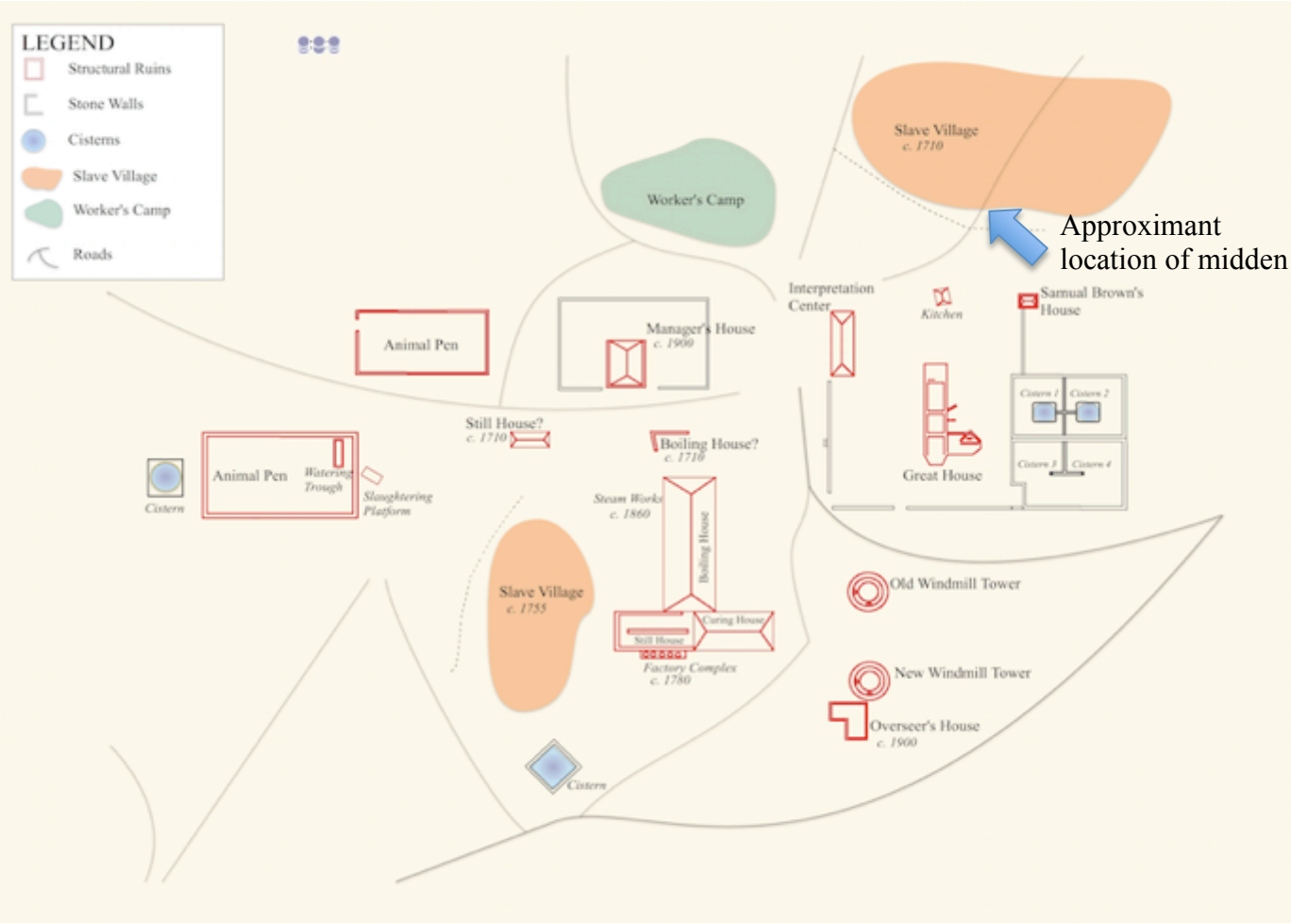

Figure 1-4: Reconstructed Betty's Hope Map. Betty's Hope Archaeological Site Records.

Although the argument for resistance is no longer valid, a discussion of social, cultural, and ethnic identity as represented by the Afro-Antiguan ware remains important. This midden has evidence of two distinctly contrasting narratives. One is primarily known through the historical record while the other has little to no information about it. Therefore, my present focus will center on the Afro-Antiguan ware of this midden on Betty's Hope plantation, which can be viewed as a symbol of the *slaves'* individualism. I specifically examine ceramic production techniques and their connection to West Africa (Coromantees, Whyday, Dahomey, and Hueda) as a representation of *slave* identity, which was transformed through the trans-Atlantic journey and then fully manifested itself on the plantation. Maintaining techniques, transferring them across the Atlantic, adapting them to Antiguan materials and environmental conditions, and then handing these customs down from generation to generation speaks to the significance of this practice and the cultural independence which these ceramics represent. The concept of time, skill, teaching, learning, interpersonal interactions, and discussions are all evidence and proof of the *slave's* relevance as something more significant than their role and job on the plantation as a *slave* (Benitez-Rojo 1996). Furthermore, by addressing the question of transferred cultural identity I will be able to achieve a greater conceptualization of how the *slaves* have impacted Antiguan cultural identity.

I hypothesize that the archaeological and ethnohistoric material presented will outline a Creolized social, cultural, and ethnic identity which emerged from West Africa, transformed on the *slave* ships crossing the Atlantic, and finally took shape in complete form on the plantations throughout the colonies (Zeuske 2011:424). Furthermore, due to the diverse blending of a variety of identities on a social and individual level, the *slaves* on each island and in some cases, each plantation, created an identity distinctly unique to it (Meskell 2001:189). Therefore, the island of

Antigua presents a Creolized identity that differs from any other English colonized state. This hypothesis will be tested and evaluated through an examination of the ethnohistoric material present at the time in addition to formal analysis of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics excavated from Betty's Hope plantation. The evaluation of these questions will be a process that must involve a deeper understanding of first the colonization of Antigua and the factors leading up to Betty's Hope Plantation's relationship to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

The History of Antiguan Imperialism and Colonization

European agents first discovered Antigua during Columbus' second voyage to the New World on November 11, 1493. Samuel Eliot Morison, the American historian and biographer of Christopher Columbus, was the first to document Antigua. He recorded the name of Antigua to be Santa Maria de Antigua. In 1520 Spanish governor Antonia Serrano came to Antigua for a short time period, which drove off the Saladoids or indigenous people originally coming from Venezuela. The Saladoids were presumed to be violent and resisted European occupation. The Europeans thought that these people were cannibals and thus gave them the name "Caribs."

In 1632, Antigua was officially colonized by England when Edward Warner came from overpopulated St. Kitts with about 40 families. However, when the "Carib" population learned of the continued European expansion they returned to Antigua and engaged in a number of attacks against the imperial powers. In 1640, the "Caribs" massacred the European population including Edward and his family (Dyde 2000: 17-19).

This annihilation did not stop the Europeans from returning. Thereafter, the relationship between the "Caribs" and the Europeans was in a state of constant conflict. In 1644, the Antigua assembly passed a number of laws, under penalty of death, that prohibited interaction between the "Caribs" and the *slaves*. In order for these laws to be passed, we must consider that the

interaction between the two groups was problematic. Cases of rape and incest were presented to justify the passage of these laws. In addition, "Caribs" would often help *slaves* who escaped from plantations to leave the island altogether. The "Caribs" understandably took advantage of every opportunity to cause destruction to the European population. Eventually, as the British control and colonization of the island became stronger, the "Caribs" were completely decimated and removed from the island (Dyde 2000:17-19).

This is particularly prevalent to my research because of the prohibited relationship between the 'Caribs' and the *slaves*. The laws established by the Europeans resulted in limited/insignificant cultural interaction between the two groups. Therefore, I believe the "Caribs" had little impact on the customs and traditions that were established on the plantation (Dyde 2000:18).

In addition, the island's relationship to the *slave* trade had a particular effect on my research. The *slave* trade intricately connected the African coast, the Americas and Europe throughout the 17th to 19th centuries. Europe exported between 20 and 30 million *slaves* from Africa to be the major workforce on their plantations in the Americas (Cornwell 2007:1). This extortive and extractive relationship was carried out with little regard to the captives' lives. *Slaves* were often paid for with rum that was made on the very plantations on which they would work. All of this was done with the goal of providing Europe with products such as cotton, indigo, tobacco, and sugar (Dyde 2000; Benitez-Rojo 1996).

This was the first step to the world's globalized economy (Cornwell 2007). More importantly, Betty's Hope plantation established a specialized/independent *slave* trade system as indicated in the Codrington papers. Antigua, and specifically Betty's Hope plantation, targeted *slaves* coming from the Coromantee cultural groups within the West African region.

Coromantees from the Gold Coast Akan language group were believed to be generally stronger, more dependable, skilled workers and therefore would result in fewer revolts and *slave* uprisings in the various labor settings (Gasper 84-89).[1] However, the accessibility of this specific ethnic group was not always possible. Therefore, the *slaves* actually arriving on Antigua and Betty's Hope made up a diverse grouping of ethnic and cultural backgrounds from all regions of Africa (Hauser 1999, 2011).

To further understand the cultural changeability of the *slaves*, it is important to consider the high mortality rate, which could represent an even higher frequency of cultural variability due to new peoples constantly being introduced onto the plantation. The Caribbean was known for its high importation rate simply because the *slaves* could not live long enough through the brutal conditions, specifically the heat, to reproduce the next generation of individuals within the Slave Village (Mintz 1985). The average life expectancy of a *slave* on a sugar plantation was no longer than five years. This holds significance to the understanding of the *slaves* individualism due to the amount of time and skill that each individual possessed—even after they worked in extreme conditions all day, they returned to their homes to make their own highly skilled ceramics.

The life of a *slave* was a harsh existence. The trans-Atlantic *slave* trade was brutal and ruthless; its victims were pushed well beyond their maximum physical limits. Within the Caribbean, and specifically on the island of Antigua, the treatment and lives of *slaves* were particularly tortuous due to the type of work and the Caribbean climate (Gasper 1985). The

[1] Although the Coromantees started out as the targeted ethnic group, *slave* traders soon realized their high demand and thus were pulling *slaves* from inland, central Africa, yet still referred to them as Coromantees. Eventually, Coromantees became a derogatory term used to describe all *slaves* in general coming to the Caribbean. In addition, the "Coromantees," after years of hard labor and persecution became more violent and organized a *slave* rebellion on Antigua in 1736 (Kondau 2010).

labor involved with harvesting and processing the sugar for distillation required a great amount of skill (Cornwell 2007).

The placement of the sugar industry in the Caribbean was ideal for production and quality of product. Specifically, the island of Antigua is in the center of the Leeward Island chain in the Caribbean. The 108 sq. mi. surface is mostly low lying and thus is subject to the northeast trade winds. This made the island perfect for windmill use and therefore even better for producing sugar. The windmill was usually located at the center of the plantation, which was usually the point of highest elevation and thus wind speeds were at their greatest (Dyde 2000). After the sugar was harvested from the fields it was immediately brought to the mill. Once there, the stalks were crushed between three heavy rollers to extract the plant's sap. This sap was then sent through a series of lead pipes to the Curing House where it is boiled down into syrup to be used to make sugar, rum, and other substances (Dyde 2000).

This production required a great amount of skill. The stalks had to be cut in a particular fashion. Then, the product was immediately sent to the mill. There the *slaves* required a great deal of strength to hold and maneuver the sails in the wind and feed the stalks through the gears at a constant rate. As the juice was taken to the Curing House the *slaves* had to be careful around extremely hot fires and large iron cisterns (Dyde 2000).

In addition to being overworked, *slaves* were given little food and water, and were required to partake in highly skilled dangerous harvesting practices. These practices included, but were not limited to, machete chopping the cane, feeding the stalks through the windmill at a constant rate, and boiling the extracted juice at the proper temperature as quickly as possible, usually within 24 hours of harvest, so that the sugar would not harden or mold. A perfect testament to this is the number of limbs that were forcibly severed while working in the

windmills crushing the cane to extract the juice. “On the walls of each mill hung an ax to chop off the arm of a *slave* who got caught in the crushers” (Cornwell 2007:4). The plantation remained fully operational 24 hours a day and seven days a week. As the *slaves* were “strained to the breaking point” the hostility and tensions between the two dynamic social classes on the plantation were also tested (Gaspar 1985:154). Daily life activities/experiences only further segregated the population.

Due to the conditions described above, a large number of *slaves* were necessary to sustain the plantation. It is important to consider the influence the culture of the *slaves* had on the entirety of the identity of the island, which could still be a factor to the current population of Antigua. The *slave* population on Antigua was extremely large; it often far exceeded the white population of the island. The chart below, Table 1-1, displays the population levels of white compared to blacks or *slaves* on the island from 1672-1774.

Table 1-1: Population statistics for the island of Antigua 1672-1744. Taken from Bondsman and Rebels (Gaspar 2008: 82-83)

Year	Whites	Blacks/Slaves	Total Population	Percentage Black
1672	800	570	1,370	41.6
1678	2,308	2,172	4,480	48.5
1703	--	11,000	--	--
1705	--	12,187	--	--
1708	2,892	12,943	15,835	81.7
1711	2,854	11,838	14,692	80.5
1720	3,652	19,186	22,828	84.0
1724	5,200	19,800	25,000	79.2
1729	4,088	22,611	26,699	84.6
1734	3,772	24,408	28,180	86.6
1741	--	27,418	--	--
1744	--	27,892	--	--
1753	3,461	--	--	--
1756	3,435	31,428	34,863	90.2
1744	2,590	37,808	40,398	93.5

By the end of the 17th century, the number of *slaves* on the island made up about 50% of the population. By the mid-18th century, the *slave* population comprised almost the entirety of the island. With numbers this extensive one could only imagine the sheer influence that this population would have had on the general cultural identity of the island as a whole (Gaspar 1985:82-83), thus making a discussion of their history on the plantation and within the island overall historical dynamic even more relevant.

My analysis of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics will concentrate on the theoretical concept of Creolization as a statement of diverse traditions originating from West Africa and transforming on the journey to the Caribbean as studied by Sidney Mintz (1992) and Richard and Sally Price (1980). This will lead to a discussion of the ingenuity of translating the underlying cultural frameworks to this new social landscape (Hauser 2008:95).

With the presentation and analysis of this material I hope to define and analyze the methods and technique of Afro-Antiguan manufacture that are presented within the archaeological record. I hypothesize these methods will represent assorted cultural influences that demonstrate the Creolization occurring within the *slave* community specifically on Antigua. This research will present a narrative of a marginalized/oppressed community; it will display the cultural independence of the *slaves*. My analysis draws heavily on the concept of the blending of various principles (Mintz and Price 1992). The diverse customs from West Africa, juxtaposed with the various influences and resources from European counterparts and the island of Antigua, created a new identity that is unique to the island (Meskell 2001:189). Through the analysis of material culture, agency theory will be employed to demonstrate the identity and culture of the *slaves*, which is represented in the material culture—the Afro-Antiguan ceramics (Hodder 1995;

Appadurai 1986). Furthermore, and most importantly, this research will emphasize the presentation of this shared culture that is still present in current Antiguan society.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORY

My goal for this research is to achieve a greater understanding of the daily-lived experiences of the *slaves* laboring at Betty's Hope. To be clear, my intention is not to adopt a paternalistic view by seeking to tell a story of the "poor helpless Africans" vs. the "ugly Europeans," but rather to analyze cultural development, exchange, and evolution within this community that is clearly present with an understanding of various theoretical approaches in conjunction with the archaeological record and context. Specifically, I argue the Afro-Antiguan ceramics constitute evidence of manufacturing techniques derived from West African traditions (Handler and Hauser 2009). As such, they represent a form of material culture that permits access to/consideration of the quotidian lives of these enslaved people.

These ceramics represent time spent, learning, interacting, skill, discussions, and the transferal of ideas. These elements are also a representation of a creolized culture, defined by Mintz and Price (1992), as diverse ideas blending together after numerous stages of liminality (Turner 1967). As diverse groups of captives were forced into the largest unwilling migration in history, they found themselves restricted to a social order whose authorities saw them only as property and economic capital (Small 2003). They were sold into various plantations throughout the American Southeast, the Caribbean, and the newly colonized Americas where extractive industries were in full swing.

In this entirely transformative and unspeakably violent context, those captives who found themselves at Betty's Hope employed potting skills learned and developed from their communities of origin. These skills were then transformed even further as these people adapted to their new surroundings. These potters utilized local materials, modified their cultures and techniques to the resources available. In terms of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, this modification

is evident by evaluating the new clay materials, the limited amount time that would have been necessarily devoted to their production, and the fact that these ceramics are still made in the same location today—signifying the enduring significance of the practice, manufacture, and passing down of this tradition. These elements when fully analyzed represent aspects of creolized West African culture and speak directly to the lived experiences of *slaves* through the material record at Betty's Hope.

In order to trace the identity of the *slave* population laboring at Betty's Hope plantation, I employ Sidney Mintz and Richard Price's Encounter Model of Creolization (1992) as it juxtaposed considerations of agency and material culture (Hodder et al. 1995; Appadurai 1986). In this investigation I will first explore the significance of the archaeological record and material culture as a representation of individual direct agency transposed and utilized as a method for understanding and representing past cultures in their entirety. This theoretical framework involves exploration of the significance of each individual actor/agent within a functional whole (Thomas 1996). Specifically, breaking apart the complex and holistic plantation system to recognize the distinct cultural aspects of the diverse individuals on the plantation, which are easily overlooked (Benitez-Rojo 1996).

Ian Hodder's (2003) and Arjun Appadurai's (1986) discussions on agency theory outline clear and concise methodologies, which are appropriate for considering the setting on Betty's Hope. Regarding interpreting the perception and agency of material culture, Ian Hodder states "realization that the meaning of an artifact does not derive simply from its production but also from its use and perception by others" (Hodder, 2003:84) thus, focusing on the individual but also recognizing the larger picture. Following this approach, I view the Afro-Antiguan ceramics as having greater significance than their clay makeup and coil patterns. The potter's perception

of and relationship with the objects is far more important for understanding the significance of the basic process of manufacture.

This significance relates to the understanding of what constitutes a creolized society—the ideas informing on the production of the ceramics at Betty's Hope originated in West Africa, they were shaped by the horrendous passage to the New World on *slave* ships which represent a time of liminality. They then evolve on the plantations as the captive *slaves* form new alliances, families, and trust networks in a completely different power and economic dynamic than ever before experienced. A key feature to this concept is the understanding of diverse people establishing commonalities through a time of extreme ambiguity and disorientation.

I view the significance of the ceramic manufacturing techniques as related to their foundation within West Africa—and furthermore a Creolized background, as the diverse group of *slaves* being brought to Antigua combined their techniques into one manufacturing process. From this vantage I argue we can then properly/appropriately acknowledge the unrecognized majority of the Antiguan population, both in the current era and during the height of the plantation's occupation. Lastly, I will weave the thread to connect each of these frameworks by employing Julian Thomas' work on identity to evaluate the relationship between object and individual (1996).

Sidney Mintz and Richard Price formulated and outlined the Encounter Model of Creolization in their book *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (1992). This model of Creolization highlights many points, which are particularly influential to my analysis of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics. It is important to note, this model of Creolization describes African-American cultural development, which is distinct from the Caribbean and even parts of the Southern United States, where higher degrees of African culture

were preserved by the *slaves* laboring there, developed and adapted to the new environment/surroundings, and recognized by the mass populace (Mintz and Price 1992:12). With this understanding I am applying the Encounter Model to the Caribbean to outline the basic structure and framework of cultural diaspora there. I believe, due to the greater level of cultural preservation in the region I am focused on, this model will lend itself to an understanding of material culture as well. This is particularly true for this research because of the theoretical roots in cognitive orientations and interpersonal relationships, which are the fundamental basis for all we do. This includes handmade materials such as these Afro-Antiguan ceramics.

Mintz and Price (1992) challenge other models of the diaspora and understanding of the New World's cultural development. Other models, such as Melville J Herskovit's (1941), are premised on the idea that there are two distinct cultures juxtaposed together, the enslaved Africans and the elite Europeans. Mintz and Price believe that this is an oversimplification of what actually happened because it assumes all Africans share one culture or that all of the *slaves* were coming from one tribe or area within West Africa. Neither assumption is accurate (Mintz and Price 1992). Furthermore, the historical documentation for the island of Antigua is consistent with the Encounter Model in suggesting a heterogeneous *slave* community was brought to the island. Although specific ethnic groups were targeted, members of these groups were not always available at the designated docking and trading locations, resulting in a pull from diverse locations—in some cases, central Africa. Therefore, the *slave* community on the island of Antigua was assorted as a result (Konadu 2010).

The Encounter Model challenges unwarranted preconceptions of African culture as a single unit. It also challenges the evidence in which these individual cultural identities manifested themselves on the plantations. The Encounter Model defines culture as "a body of

beliefs and values socially acquired and patterned, that serve an organized group (a 'society') as guides of and for behavior" (Mintz and Price 1992:8). This definition allows for the formation of a number of "cultures" on the Atlantic journey. First exist the diverse cultural groups of West Africa. Although having some shared cultural elements, such as food, music, and religion, the *slaves'* cultural backgrounds are distinctly unique from each other. Second, is the conglomeration of the cultures of the enslaved individuals, mixing and surviving together on the *slave* ships on the journey to the New World. Throughout this journey, Mintz and Price (1992) discuss the hardships, struggles, and torture that the *slaves* went through—these life experiences, however horrifying, provided a level of commonality between each *slave* on the journey. This concept stems from Victor Turner's (1967) work on the concept of liminality—a period of ambiguity and distortion which due to its indescribable, unpredictable nature, brings individuals together. Lastly, a society or social group is formed on the individual plantations with the group of *slaves* who worked and lived together while there. Thus, African cultural heritage for the purposes of this research is defined with a focus on values which influenced/affected material culture and actions and less on rigid sociocultural forms which assume a single origin thesis—claiming cultural unity between all individuals forced into *slavery*.

Furthermore, when generalizing about Afro-Caribbean culture, an evaluation of word choice is needed. As described above, the enslaved individuals coming to the colonies were a mixed group of individuals, with different backgrounds. Therefore, according to the Encounter Model, a discussion of heritage, as opposed to culture, is more accurate and inclusive. This can even be taken a step further—to view the *slaves* coming as *crowds*. Before arriving and establishing commonalities they understood each other as exiting in a parallel relationship to a room of strangers. Their relationship was based on the pain and torture that they were put

through—without this event, their interactions/relationships would have been quite different. Therefore, when evaluating the Afro-Antiguan wares on Antigua, we must view the materials as a new form, not something that is a direct copy of West African ceramics. Afro-Antiguan wares, according to the Encounter Model, are ceramics created from a society, which originated as a crowd (Mintz and Price 1992). The crowd of diverse heritages experienced a stage of liminality and therefore developed/forced common cognitive orientations and interpersonal relationships which resulted in the manufacture of a material which stood for, represented, and conjoined/synthesized their past diverse cultures and new experiences (Turner 1967).

The Encounter Model also points out the necessity of incorporating historical connections to the discussion. Merely comparing contemporary cultures will present inaccurate findings. This element of the model is extremely relevant to Antigua and furthermore to the discussion of the humanistic qualities of the *slaves*, which is manifested within the Afro-Antiguan ceramics. The ceramics are present and important throughout the historical record and written documentation. Archaeological evidence suggests that the materials were manufactured during the height of the sugar plantations on Antigua (Handler 1964). Historical documentation and primary sources account for their continued manufacture, use, and trade even after emancipation (Hauser 2013). And lastly, current ethnoarchaeological accounts describe the same ceramics being made in the same location with the same materials since the start (Handler 1964). This long historical tradition suggests the significance and importance of the practice. The time, effort, skill, ability to teach, and consistency of the process allude to the quotidian behaviors the *slaves* carried out during the height of the sugar industry. Importantly, this would have been work that did not contribute to the Trans-Atlantic world system their other myriad labors directly contributed to/supported. This is also important because it is this work and the resultant material culture that

current descendant societies honor and remember today. Mintz and Price's Encounter Model strictly refers to a creolized society as occurring through a social/ideological element—not relating to materiality or the archaeological record and context, which I am assessing as a major factor within my research (1992). For this application, I turn to the theory of agency in archaeology.

My understanding and conceptualization of agency comes from a combined description of both Ian Hodder *The 'Social' in Archaeology Theory* (2003) and Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986). Both theorists state that all objects are created with intentionality deriving from their creator. Their individual and unique intentionality saturates that entity/object, in this case the Afro-Antiguan wares, with a certain purpose, automatically translated from person to thing. The relationship of these two key elements, the individual and the object, are what define these perspectives on agency within archaeology. The creators, in this case the potters; manipulate the world around them, creating a more complex picture that reaches beyond the surface level of actions. Ian Hodder frequently refers to Giddens (1991) by saying that "subordinate groups use material culture to counteract dominant forms of discourse" (2003:32). This point is particularly significant to my research. It highlights the idea that the elite dominate ideology of society is not the contributing factor to the agency of that object. It is the creator, in some cases the sub-altern/marginalized group which applies their thought process and world view onto the objects they are creating. Agency of the material record stems from the personal contact and relationship between individual and item. Appadurai understands this by saying, "persons and things are not radically distinct categories, and that the transactions that surround things are invested with the properties of social relations" (1986). Therefore, to understand the significance of an item, one cannot separate its context within a social/cultural setting. There

must be an understanding of fluidity and continuity between two, seemingly distinct, counterparts, which in actuality are contingent upon one another.

This presents a bit of a problem when understanding how an entire group can have similar, connecting, and interlinking intentions. If the individuals who are creating the objects translate the intentions onto the objects and each individual is unique with his own thoughts and capabilities then how can a group cohesively share a purpose? Hodder comes to the conclusion that "to get at the intentionality of agency properly involves understanding the construction of self and private individual lives" (Hodder 2003:33). Therefore, this suggests that the creator of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics had purpose, operated within a creolized culture, and furthermore represented thought, action, and experience, which a simplified conceptualization of a *slave* merely as an economic commodity overlooks (Benitez-Rojo 1996).

Julian Thomas expands upon concepts of identity through materiality in her book *Time, Culture, & Identity* (1996). She highlights the fact that "the relationship between persons and things are constantly in motion" (Thomas 1996:60). The social practice is never separate from the material world, which allows archaeologists to further understand the individual's identity and societal constructs from an evaluation of material culture. This is relevant through the evaluation of the midden on Betty's Hope. The midden excavated during the 2015 season holds extreme relevance and significance—"even acts as simple as the disposal of rubbish, the building of shelters, or the making of a pot are meaningfully constituted, because carrying them out agents deploy cultural categories, traditions, symbolic connotations and associations" (Thomas 1996:59). Understanding an individual's agency as represented through the material artifacts is also a lens for understanding the greater implications—the individual's identity. This identity is made up of memory, experiences, and culture. "Personal experiences become intertwined with

public events… memory is thus a text which is continuously being re-worked in the present and, is bound up with material things as well as past events. Material objects were in the past, yet continue to exist into the present, and thus can call the past to mind" (Thomas 1996:53). These Afro-Antiguan ceramics made and manipulated out of necessity by the potters, who underwent a forced migration and drastic cultural, social, and environmental changes, were then discarded and left within the archaeological record. Archaeologists now rediscovering them have once again opened the window into the past and can evaluate and infer not only about the significance of the artifact but the cultural and social identity of the individuals behind it/them (Thomas 1996).

I hypothesize that the *slaves* held individual ideologies constructed partially by their own cultural customs and partially by the seemingly overwhelming domination of the plantation owners over their daily lives. The Afro-Antiguan wares were created for the use and purpose of the *slaves* in the village by employing their potting traditions brought from West Africa, which were transformed and manipulated throughout the enslavement process to form a creolized identity and cultural influence. The diverse group of *slaves* came together creating a new identity and social structure. They had independent, external, sovereign thought and action constituted in the manufacture of these locally produced wares. "Agency has alternately been equated with the individual; individually unique cognitive structures; resistance to social norms; resistance to power inequalities; the capacity for skillful social practice; freedom from structural constraints; and free will" (Dornan 2002:304). Therefore, the personal items, which we encounter within the archaeological record, can be connected with an individual's ideology as a reaction to the others around them in terms of resistance, ability, and freedom. These ideologies are associated with the people who utilized the items most closely; those who made and interacted with the artifacts on a

daily basis—furthermore, these are arguments and representations of the *slaves* as human beings with independent thought and actions. In this instance, agency and Creolization theory serves as a better fit for the material than World Systems Theory (Giddens 1991). These theories, which outline and support my research, present a narrative of humanization, culture, and independent thought to an otherwise previously marginalized and suppressed group.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODS

My project focuses on the analysis of Afro-Antiguan ceramics. I am testing the hypothesis that this material is a physical embodiment and/or representation of a Creolized culture which symbolizes *slave* agency and emic impact on Betty's Hope (Hodder 2003; Appadurai 1986). This Creolization involves technological processes, which originate in West Africa and underwent modification resulting from the middle-passage (representing liminality) and forced removal, relocation, and enslavement of West African peoples on the Caribbean island of Antigua (Turner 1967). I argue this Creolization (following Mintz and Price 1992) on the basis of archaeological, historical, and ethnoarchaeolical evidence. This is therefore a multi-part project.

I developed an understanding of the context of the Afro-Antiguan wares within the midden itself. This allowed me to establish dates, further understand the significance of the special relationship and setting, and provide greater level of conceptualization regard the atmosphere, including social and cultural communities and influences existing on the plantation. To establish dates, I accounted for each sherd to calculate a mean date for the midden as a whole. This method has been used by a number of other archaeologists studying Afro-Antiguan ceramics including Desmond Nicholson (1984:15). It is important to note that the dates achieved were entirely an estimation based on European ceramics found within the same archaeological context. More precise dates could be achieved through radio carbon dating, however, due to money and feasibility of an undergraduate project, these are the most accurate dates currently available.

Stemming from this, I followed the Encounter Model by starting with a formal analysis of Philip Curtin's work on tracing the roots of the Atlantic *Slave* trade (Mintz and Price 1992; Curtin 1972). This provided trivial information for connecting the Afro-Antiguan ceramics to

specific West African traditions and ceramic techniques (Curtin 1969). Understanding the conflict and broader relationships between groups throughout West Africa allowed me to best understand where the *slaves* were coming from and the mindset of European traders. Even though records in Antigua identified that the *slaves* were originating from Coromantee, Whyday, Dahomey, and Hueda ethnic groups, there is no way of knowing that the individuals being traded and sold to Europeans, specifically those at Betty's Hope, were actually from these tribes (Konadu 2010). In fact, there is significant evidence that the intended ethnic groups were trading individuals they were captured during conflict. Philip Curtin's work on tracing West African relationships was helpful in achieving a general understanding of where the individuals Betty's Hope enslaved could have been coming from. Furthermore, and most importantly for my analysis, Philip Curtin's work highlighted the cultural dimorphism within the West African region. This further supports the claim of Creolization originating in West Africa with heterogeneous individuals interacting to form cultural flow (Curtin 1972).

For my next step, I conducted a close analysis of the Afro-Antiguan sherds. To do so, I reviewed the literature on various analogous case studies, which detailed the clay content of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics. My purpose was to locate sites and clay sources to evaluate the various aspects of production including firing temperature and methods of formation such as coil/pinch/pulling. Finally, detailed lab processing of the sherds found within the Betty's Hope midden allowed for a well-rounded, thorough analysis.

The first case study that I incorporated into my research was Jerome S. Handler's (1964) ethnoarchaeological work on small-scale ceramic manufacturing processes on Antigua. I also incorporated a more contemporary work Handler did with Mark W. Hauser for the *African Diaspora Archaeology Network* (2009). More recently, Hauser conducted soil analyses and

outlined the exact process of making Afro-Antiguan ceramics today at Seaview farms. His thorough scientific analysis suggests that the ceramics are currently made utilizing the same techniques and some of the same clay quarries since the beginning of production (Hauser 2013). This not only serves as a place for comparison of West African manufacturing techniques but simultaneously underscores the importance of tradition and skill.

I then compared ceramics found on Betty's Hope with those of a neighboring plantation, Green Castle Estate. Samantha Anne Rebovich, of Syracuse University utilized vessels excavated from the Green Castle Estate to establish a typology to define Afro-Caribbean ceramics in her dissertation *Landscape, Labor, and Practice: Slavery and Freedom at Green Castle Estate, Antigua* (2011). In the creation of this typology, Rebovich described, in great detail the presumed process for the creation and designing of these ceramics. I incorporated this as a way of establishing a basis for discussion and inclusion of Betty's Hope Afro-Caribbean ceramics. Furthermore, this provided a way to compare the manufacturing techniques and processes on Antigua to those of West Africa.

The ethnoarchaeological study of West African ceramic trends by Liza Gijanto (2014) was then analyzed as a way of determining similarities between the two regional production locations of the Caribbean and West Africa. Gijanto focused on the Mandara Archaeological Project and the Mission Archéologique et Ethnoarchéologique Suisse en Afrique de l'Quest as a way of understanding the West African ceramic production process with an archaeological perspective. This study served as the link between the two worlds in an attempt to comprehend overarching trends in production.

Moving forward, I focused on Desmond Nicholson's work with Afro-Antiguan folk pottery throughout the 1990's. This primarily revolved around his works *Folk Potter and Emancipation in Antigua and Barbuda* (1984) and *Afro-Antiguan Pottery and Emancipation in Antigua and Barbuda* (1990). Desmond Nicholson spent a great deal of time analyzing, measuring, and dating Afro-Antiguan ceramics in an attempt to establish chronological order while simultaneously forming connections to West African techniques. His work focused on four particular pieces, which I myself have also analyzed. Furthermore, he outlined the Olla rim typology and established dates to the Afro-Antiguan sherds (Figure 3-1).

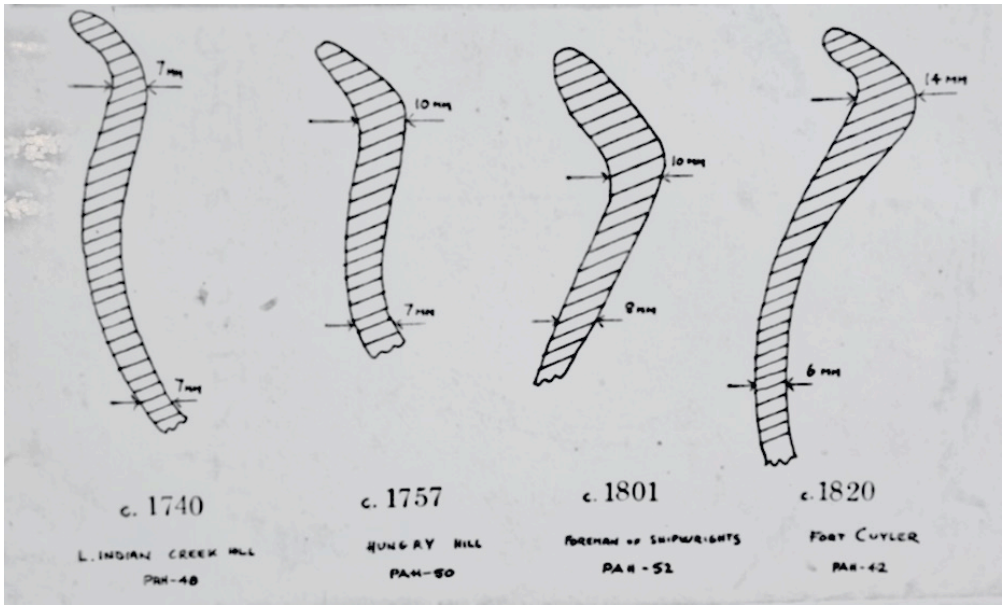

Figure 3-1: Nicolson's hand drawn notes from his fieldwork with Afro-Antiguan fold pottery. This displays the general increase in rim thickness as the production and manufacture of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics progressed.

The second tier of methodology involved formal analysis of the artifacts excavated from the Betty's Hope 2014 midden. I documented striations on the clay, color, consistency, and design as indications of extensive knowledge, the passing of techniques and traditions, and knowledge of/adaptation to the Antiguan environment (Appendix II). All of this was done in order to answer the key questions:

Do the Afro-Antiguan ceramics found within the midden at Betty's Hope, at the edge of the Slave Village, challenge the way we think about *slave* identity?

Can material culture, specifically the Afro-Antiguan ceramics represent the preservation of distinct cultures from West Africa throughout the process of Creolization, while being exposed to various/diverse cultural backgrounds and experiences?

Are the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, displaying evidence of tradition, customs, and learned/highly skilled techniques also a representation of the *slaves* emic, individualized cultural contribution and existence as something else other than a *slave*?

All of the materials utilized in this portion of the research project were excavated in the 2014 season on Betty's Hope plantation. This excavation took place to the north of the Great House area, which was presumed to be the oldest Slave Village established in 1710. The intent was to locate and explore a location and population on the plantation, which had not been recognized prior.

The exact site for the dig location was established due to extensive Total Station mapping, surveying, satellite imagery, GPS navigation, and GIS work. These mapping tools were utilized to create a series of layover maps, recording the present day topography against older plantation maps and surveys conducted by James Porter in 1710 (Figure 3-3), which are currently located in the Codrington papers. In addition, extensive ground surveying was performed. Due to a drought on the entirety of the island during the 2014 summer, vegetation drastically changed permitting a wider survey than was previously possible. This more extensive sweep resulted in the discovery of a series of small mounds, stone collections, and surface

scatter. The 2014 season focused on the mounds closest to the Great House but still within the perimeters of the Slave Village, as indicated by the map.

Field school students, including myself, under the supervision of Dr. Georgia Fox of California State University Chico, conducted the excavation. The excavation included four 2x2 m units with two field school students working in each unit. The excavation was carried out through the surface layer and four subsequent soil layers below to sterile soil. The stratigraphic layers were determined by changes in soil color. The completion of the four-week excavation revealed a midden filled with approximately 2,000-3,000 artifacts primarily recovered through a 1/8th inch-sifting screen. These included items such as ceramics, bones, toys, tools, and building materials. As each artifact was pulled out of the midden it was immediately catalogued. This process provided the artifact with a number, description, classification and date (Figure 3-2). The classification system first split the artifacts into groups consisting of domestic, ecofact, structural, personal, and indeterminate. The artifacts were further split into classes and sub-classes. These classes and sub-classes would sort a ceramic as food preparation and serving ware or a shell as fauna and shell. Lastly, the material of the artifacts was determined as shell, clay, ceramic class, or metal type. This classification system, created and utilized throughout all the excavations on Betty's Hope, allowed for easy recordkeeping in addition to order and pattern establishment.

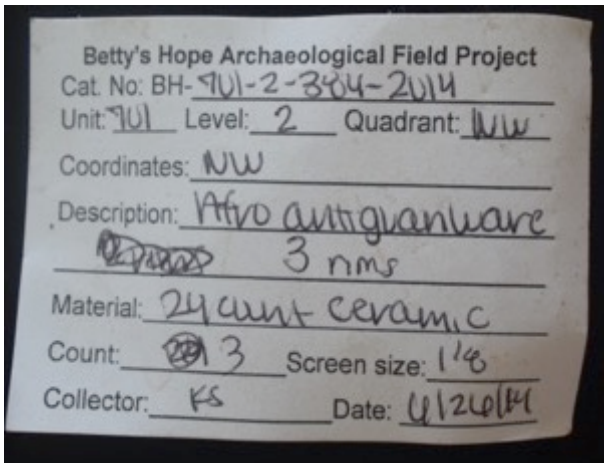

Figure 3-2: Label card used in the field including unit, level, quadrant, coordinates, description, count, and collector.

For the completion of my ceramic analysis I conducted extensive lab research on these materials excavated through a returned visit to Antigua. I first established a frequency analysis of the midden, comparing all types of materials. It is important to note that throughout the excavation, a number of poor quality or compromised sherds were discarded due to storage problems and a general inability to process such high frequencies of artifacts. Regardless, there were still a substantial number of materials within this midden that were recorded. An understanding of the diversity of cultural material within the midden further alluded to the diverse cultural narratives existing on the plantation in opposition to one another, which in this location came in contact with one another.

I focused entirely on the Afro-Antiguan ceramics. I measured using a caliper tool, photographed, sketched, and wrote detailed formal analysis for 43 Afro-Antiguan rim sherds from the Betty's Hope midden. The term formal analysis meaning a meticulously detailed description of the sherd, including elements of design and stylization, evidence of manufacturing process, and uniquely personalized/individualized features to that sherd.

While measuring, I paid particular attention to the rim thickness. I took three measurements, one at the tip, one at the body, and one at the body-rim joint where Desmond Nicholson measured and based his findings (Nicholson 1990). In addition, I analyzed a number of body sherds to compare thickness, glaze, clay coloring, and manufacturing technique. Lastly, I compared these findings to a number of other Afro-Antiguan sherds and vessels from various contexts and date ranges in order to further situate this midden and these wares within the historical archaeological record. Detailed notes and some sketches can be found in Appendix II. All of this was done to achieve the intended goal of outlining the manufacturing method/technique of Afro-Antiguan wares from these sherds that can allude to West African

techniques. I argue that these techniques are a representation of passed down, learned, valued traditions, which presents an argument of the preservation of the potters emic/independent qualities that were not stripped from them during the forced migration from various West African groups to Antigua.

The final stage of my analysis was to evaluate the Afro-Antiguan wares and midden as a whole with respect to the entirety of the plantation community. I specifically focused on Whitney Battle and Nesta Andeson's articles discussing social dynamics and a sense of community on the plantation (2004). In my theoretical analysis I argued the *slaves* represented active culturally emic agents on the plantation (Hodder 1976; Appadurai 1986). In doing so a necessary part of my methods and analysis was to explore their contribution to the plantation community.

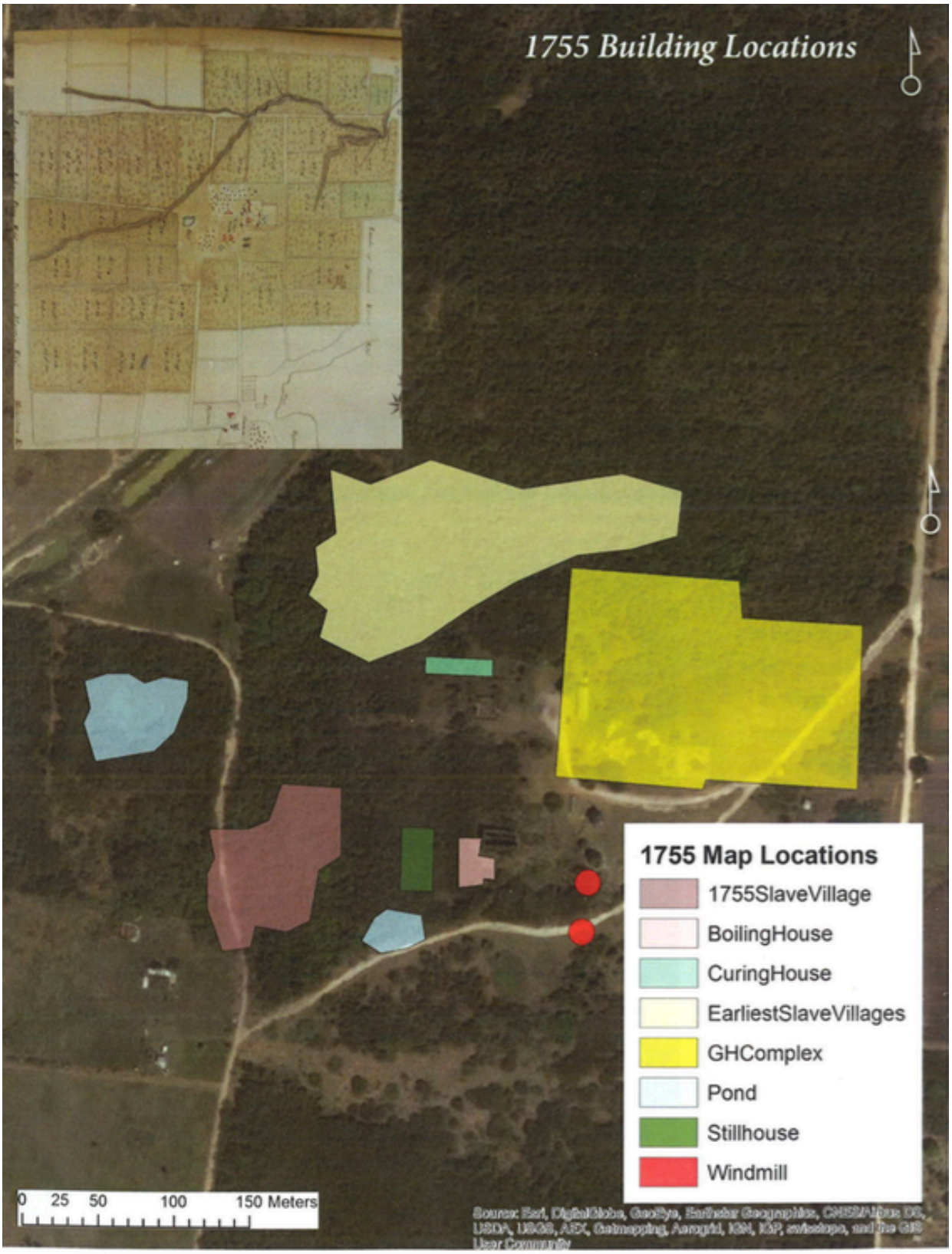

Figure 3-3: 1755 Betty's Hope map, original in top right corner, with modern Satellite imagery overlay

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA

My data derives primarily from the 2014 Betty's Hope excavation. The focus will be upon the Afro-Antiguan ceramics while simultaneously utilizing the remaining materials to further understand dates, contexts, and spatial relationships of the excavated midden to further comprehend all agents, which contributed to it. My goal is to provide an outline of culture, traditions, and lived experiences of the *slave* population on Betty's Hope in a more nuanced way.

To test this, I first conducted a frequency analysis on the various types of ceramics within the midden to visualize the space as a whole and recognize its context/contributing actors. The artifacts excavated cover a vast array of functions. They can therefore be split into pre-established artifact categories created to define the Betty's Hope site in its entirety; see Figure 4-

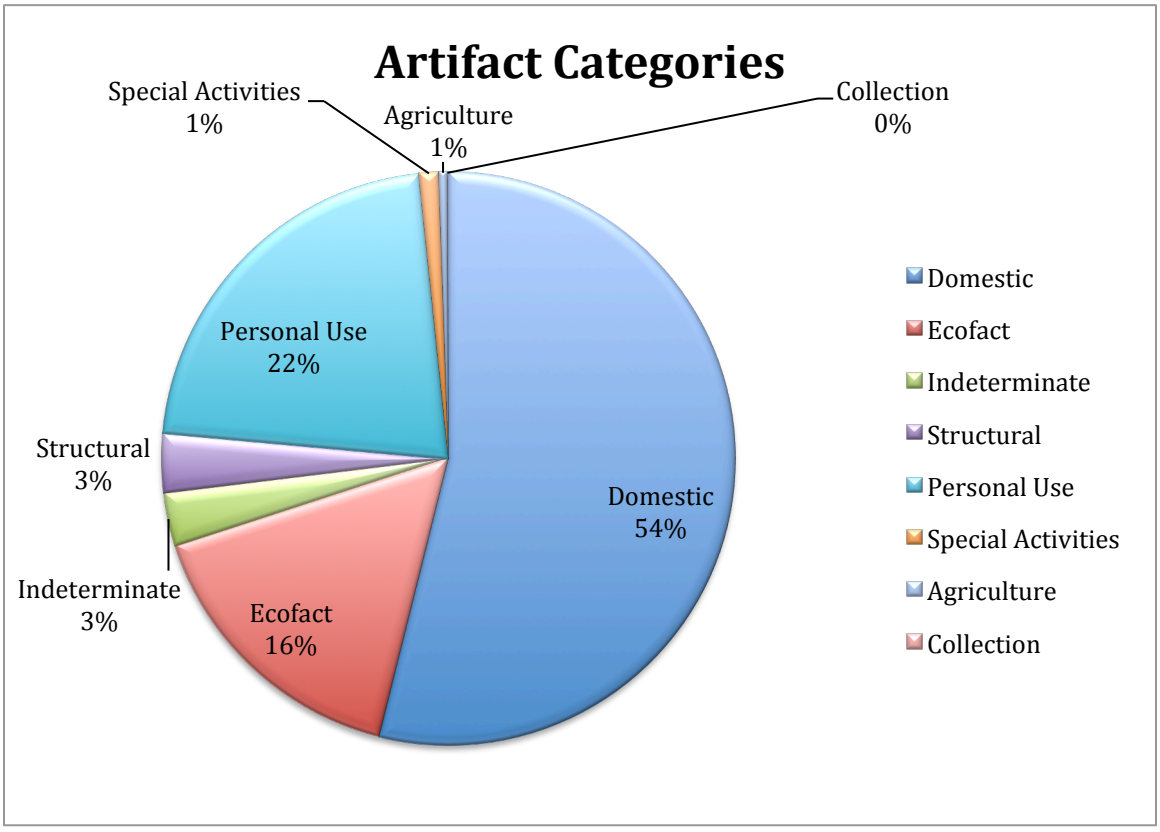

Figure 4-1: Categorical distribution of all artifacts recovered from the 2014 midden excavation.

1 (Artifacts from the Great House and Rum Distillery also have been organized into these categories). Archaeologists recovered tools used to harvest sugar cane, food scraps, horse shoes, horse bridals, iron window hinges, bone buttons, marbles, clay pipes, Afro-Antiguan ceramics, and a variety of other ceramic types. Figures 4-1 displays the percentages for each of the artifact groups excavated from the midden. By far the most frequently recovered artifacts were within the domestic category (consisting of mainly kitchen ceramics and dishes). This is consistent with the location of the midden between the Great House kitchen and the Slave Village, two domestic spaces. Although these non-ceramic items are not the primary component of the midden and are not the main focus of my research, they still are key elements, especially when considering the popular narrative of the plantation as a system/machine described by Benitez-Rojo in the introduction (1996).

To situate the Afro-Antiguan wares from this midden, dates and context were established by utilizing the European ceramics. European household tableware is documented in great detail; thus permitting rather accurate dates for the archaeological associated materials. Using this as a reference point, I established dates to the overall midden, which range from 1770-1818 with a mean date of 1794. Figure 4-2 displays a portion of the spreadsheet data coded by layer and ceramic type depicting the start and end date ranges for each sherd. This data was utilized to construct the date ranges.

SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Whiteware base	1780	1830
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Food Prep	Ceramic		1	Afro-Antiguan rim piece		
NE	Ecofact	Fauna	Shell	Shell		23	Shell		
SE	Structural	Hardware	Nail	Iron		1	Corroded Nail		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Lead glazed stoneware rim fragment	1724	1739
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Food Prep	Ceramic		2	Afro-Antiguanware body and rim sherd		
NE	Domestic	Food Prep	Food Prep	Ceramic		15	Afro-Antiguanware		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Whiteware	1780	1830
NW	Agricultural	Tools	Chains	Iron		3	Iron chain links		
NW	Personal Use	Social Drug	Tobacco	Clay		2	Pipe stem and bowl fragment		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Pearlware flow blue 1825-1830	1825	1830
NE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Feather edged pearlware, blue on white, 1780-1830	1780	1830
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Blue on white sponge painted pearlware, body sherd 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Ecofact	Fauna	Shell	Shell		11	Shell		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		2	Polychrome, sponge painted pearlware floral design body sherd 1780-1830		
SE	Personal Use	Social Drug	Tobacco	Clay		1	Pipe stem , 1750-1800	1750	1800
SE	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Copper Alloy		2	Fragment of bent 90 degree long linear pieces of edging		
NW	Special Activities	Firearms	Ammunitions	Stone/chert		1	Gun flint		
SE	Ecofact	Fauna	Shell	Shell		37	Shell fragments		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Transfer print pearlware blue on white	1780	1880
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Food Prep	Ceramic		10	Afro-Antiguan body sherds		
NW	Personal Use	Social Drug	Tobacco	Clay		1	Pipe bowl fragment		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Annularware body piece white band on green	1780	1815
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Hand painted polychrome coarse earthenware 1700-1800	1700	1800
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Black on white annularware body sherd	1780	1815
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Red on white transfer printed pearlware 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Personal Use	Social Drug	Alcohol	Glass		1	Green wine bottle base		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		2	Blue on white hand painted pearlware 1800-1820	1800	1820
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	red, glazed green rim piece 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Ecofact	Fauna	Shell	Shell		42	Shell fragments		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Brown on white sponge painted lead glazed pearlware 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Collection	Stone	Stone	Stone		1	Polishing rock		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Handpainted polychrome green, 1762-1800 pearlware, blue brown green	1762	1800
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		2	Polychrome blue and purple hand painted lead glazed pearlware 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Structural	Hardware	Indeterminate	Copper Alloy		1	Metal fragment, possible latch or lock piece		
NW	Ecofact	Fauna	fish	bone		1	fish bone		
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Hand painted blue on white pearlware 1780-1830	1780	1830
NW	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Polychrome blue on white pearlware, handpainted 1780-1830	1780	1830
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Food Prep	Ceramic		2	Afro-Antiguanware		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		2	Blue on white transferprint 1780-1830 pearlware plate	1780	1830
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		2	Blue on white hand painted whiteware 1795-1820 body sherd	1795	1820
SE	Structural	Hardware	Building Material	Iron		1	B shaped washer		
SE	Domestic	Food Prep	Servingware	Ceramic		1	Black on white transfer print pearlware body sherd, 1780-1830	1780	1830

Figure 4-2: Snapshot of midden artifact data. Chico State University, Betty's Hope Archaeological Excavation Data.

The next component of my data required the specific examination of the Afro-Antiguan rim sherds from the midden. Figure 4-1 displays the detailed measurements and descriptions of the 43 rim sherds I analyzed. I found that the rim width of the Afro-Antiguan wares examined ranged between 9-15mm with the average width being 11.9605. (More detailed notes can be found in Appendix I.) I specifically focused on Afro-Antiguan rim's because they are the diagnostic element of the vessel as they are the typical location for the most variation including thickness, rim style, design, and glaze. The rim is the greatest point of variation on the vessel that allows for significant incite regarding the manufacturing process. Seven of the vessels were not decorated with an orange slip clay. These seven were also some of the thinner vessels. All of the sherds examined have a distinct gray/black interior clay and char marks evident of open-air firing. Note that in all cases where data is not recorded, the measurement could not be taken due to the condition or integrity of the vessel. This is also the case with sherds from other sites I analyzed, including the National Museum of Antigua and Barbuda and Clarence house (Appendix III and IV).

Table 4-1: Betty's Hope Afro-Antiguan Rim Sherds from 2015 Midden Excavation

Number	Rim Thickness	Rim Side Joint	Side Thickness	Slipped?	Clay Color
700-1-472 Rim #1	9mm			Yes	Gray
700-1-472 Rim #2		14mm			Gray
700-1-472 Rim #3	12.5mm				Red/gray
700-1-472 Rim #4		15mm			Red/black
701-1-137		16mm	10mm		Black
702-1-88 Rim #1	12mm		11mm	Yes	Red/black
702-1-88 Rim #2	6mm		11mm	Yes	Gray
702-1-107 Rim #1	10mm		9mm	Yes	Black
702-1-107 Rim #2	12mm		8mm	Yes	Red/gray
702-1-107 Rim #3	15-17mm			Yes	Gray
702-1-129 Rim #1	9mm		11mm	No	Black
702-1-129 Rim #2	12mm		12mm	Yes	Red/Gray
702-1-133 Rim	7mm		7mm	Yes	Black
703-1-127	15mm		14mm	Yes	Gray
703-1-158 Rim #1	6mm		6mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-158 Rim #2	13mm	12mm	10mm	Yes	Gray
703-1-158 Rim #3	8mm		8mm	No	Gray
703-1-158 Rim #4	14mm		9mm	Yes	Gray
703-1-205 Rim #1	12mm		12mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-207 Rim #1	12mm		10mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-207 Rim #2	15mm		7mm	Yes	Black
703-1-207 Rim #3	20mm			Yes	Red/black
703-1-207 Rim #4	13mm		11mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-235 Rim #1	12-14mm		13mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-235 Rim #2	14-15mm		13mm	Yes	Red/black
703-1-235 Rim #3	9.5mm		9.5mm	Yes	Gray
703-1-272	12mm		12mm	Yes	Red/black
705-1-10 Rim #1	15mm		15mm	Yes	Red/gray
705-1-10 Rim #2	10mm		11mm	Yes	Red/gray
705-1-10 Rim #3	11mm		10mm	Yes	Red/gray
705-1-10 Rim #4	7mm	12mm		Yes	Red/gray
700-2-388 Rim #1	10mm		10mm	Yes	Red/gray
700-2-388 Rim #2	13-15mm			Yes	Gray
700-2-440 Rim	13mm	11mm	9mm	Yes	Gray
701-2-338 Rim #1	10mm		13mm	Yes	Red/black
701-2-338 Rim #2	12.5mm		12.5mm	Yes	Red/black
701-2-338 Rim #3	11-13mm		11-13mm	Yes	Gray
701-2-384 Rim #1	11mm		11mm	No	Gray

701-2-384 Rim #2	12mm	12mm	Yes	Gray
701-2-384 Rim #3	15mm	9mm	Yes	Gray
705-2-42 Rim #1	14mm	8mm	Yes	Red/gray
705-2-42 Rim #2	12mm	10mm	Yes	Red/gray
705-2-42 Rim #3	15mm	10mm	Yes	Red/gray

To provide even greater context to the Afro-Antiguan sherds on Betty's Hope I utilized data from the National Museum of Antigua and Barbuda (Table 4-3) and excavations at Clarence House, the governors house located at Nelsons Dockyard in Antigua, (Table 4-2) where dates, decorations, and patterns are more clearly identified. While examining the materials at the National Museum of Antigua and Barbuda, I focused on the artifacts where excavation locations or dates manufactured were known. This includes the oldest vessels from Bat's cave (P723-P724) and the materials with design patterns that were analyzed and dated by Desmond Nicolson (some of which were previously discussed in my methods section and will be further discussed in my analysis).

The materials from Clarence House all have dates and context. We know, due to the fact that they were recovered from underneath the Clarence House floor, that they had to have been there since before the structure was built in 1787. Thus all of these sherds, some with decorative patterns, date before this time. Knowing the date of the midden and thus the approximate date range for the Afro-Antiguan sherds excavated will permit further understanding of the production process on Antigua while simultaneously drawing connections to the evolution of manufacture, design, and production process of similar ceramics in West Africa. I discuss this in further detail in the following chapter.

Table 4-2: Clarence House Sherds

Name	Rim Side Joint	Side Thickness	Slipped?	Clay Color	Date
PAH-107-1	7mm	4-5mm		Orange	1787-1985
PAH-107-1	7mm			Orange/black	1787-1985
PAH-107-2	6mm			Orange/gray	1787-1985
PAH-107-6	6mm			Orange/Gray	1787-1985

I employed additional data from the work of other scholars to further supplement my research. James Handler and Mark Hauser provide additional documentation of the manufacturing process of Afro-Antiguan ceramics and soil analysis (2009). Their research involved taking soil samples from clay quarries to cross check the information with Afro-Antiguan ceramics. This allowed them to conclude that the Afro-Antiguan ceramics were in fact being made on the island.

The following chapter will consist of a theoretical, analytical, and contextual analysis of the artifact materials and historical records. The analysis and processing of this dense and diverse data will be designed with the goal of addressing my core questions to engage in a discussion of cultural influences and definition. Focus on key diagnostic pieces, which display elements of the majority of the sherds manufacturing process and design will be examined with greater detail. The key component of my analysis will be to demonstrate central themes within the manufacturing process that are clearly evident within all data collected.

Table 4-3: Museum of Antigua and Barbuda sherd analysis

Name	Rim Thickness	Rim Side Joint	Side Thickness	Diameter	Slipped?	Clay Color
P720-722	11mm		15mm	240mm	Yes	Orange/black
P723	11mm			200mm	No	Black
P724	6mm			19mm	No	Black
P725-729	14mm			218mm	Yes	Black/orange
P730-732	12mm			220mm	Yes	Black/orange
P733-734	15mm			305mm	Yes	Black/orange
P735-736	17mm				No	Black/red

P737-739	9mm			190mm	No	Black/red
P740-741	9mm	20mm		234mm	Yes	
P742-744	17mm			360mm	Yes	
P745-747	16mm			280mm		
P748-750	4mm		15mm	245mm	Yes	
P751-755	10mm	16mm		220mm	Yes	
P756-760	10mm	19mm		235mm	Yes	Orange/gray
P761-763	12mm			268mm	Yes	
P764-765	11mm			240mm	Yes	
P766-768	12mm			345mm	Yes	
P769-771	15mm			340mm	Yes	
P772-774	12mm			137mm	Yes	
P775-780	6mm	17mm		185mm	Yes	
P781-787	9-12mm				Yes	
P798-799	7mm	7mm				
P800-801	7mm		7mm			
P802-803	7mm	9mm	7mm			
P804-806	7mm	10mm				
P807-810	6mm			98mm		Orange/black
P811-P813	8mm			72mm	Yes	Orange/gray
P814-P816	14mm			155mm	Yes	Orange/black
P817-P819	13mm			220mm	Yes	
P820-P823	12mm			251mm	Yes	
P824-P826	16mm			305mm	Yes	
P827-P829	16mm			370mm	Yes	
P737-738	6mm	7mm			Yes	
P739-742	5mm	10mm			Yes	

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS

The *slave* population on the island of Antigua, specifically on Betty's Hope has been referred to and recognized as nothing more than an economic commodity or a part of the Plantation Machine as evident through historical documentation and past discourses (Benítez-Rojo 1994). The archaeological deconstruction of this midden involved a discussion of Creolization elaborated in the Encounter Model (Mintz and Price 1992). Specifically, I viewed the Afro-Antiguan wares in the midden as indices for how *slaves* engaged in practices (in this case, creating pottery) which were part of their lives on the plantation. These practices are not otherwise accounted for but are significant in their ability to speak to the mundane quotidian experiences of *slave* life such as creating, eating and discard. Most importantly, this is a utilization of the practice of archaeology to enable a discussion of a culture overshadowed by dominant elite historical records.

The unique location and contents of this midden render this discussion possible. This midden gives us the ability to understand the relationship between distinct social classes. Furthermore, it acknowledges the existence of a culture that is far different from the dominant elitism or homogenous *slave* narrative that is predominantly highlighted in historical records, including the Codrington papers.

The midden consists of a vast array of materials, including an assortment of European ceramics. Thus, by utilizing those materials, which are well documented with manufacture and importation dates recorded, we are able to date the midden to 1794. This is significant for a number of reasons. First it simply allows us to place this feature within historical context. For instance, in 1794 we know that the British *slave* trade was at its height, with the most *slaves* being imported to the Americas. We also can further understand the minute details of the

plantation. For example, we know that at this point in time the Codrington family was primarily in England, managing the plantation through absentee landlords. Furthermore, Betty's Hope had grown to its largest size, consisting of two Slave Villages on either side of the Great House and a Factory Complex for making and curing sugar into other products. This complex was not completed until 1780 (Dyde 2000).

Other material types within the midden, such as tools, structural items, smoking and recreational objects, also allow us to further understand the mundane, simplistic everyday tasks on the plantation that both the *slaves* and the plantation owners or members of the Great House took part in. The relevance of the diversity of the materials will be discussed later in the chapter. Presently, I would like to take a moment to emphasize the midden's special relationship to the Great House, Slave Village, and a few other smaller structures (believed to be a blacksmith shop and small stable). When viewing the plantation as a running economic machine, the various spaces of the plantation along with their functions are typically thought of as being highly isolated and extremely efficient. Interpreting this segregation as a way of distinguishing between classes and function, the Great House, Slave Village, and blacksmiths shop or stable would have no direct contact with each other. However, the contents of this midden contain remnants of all of these locations, which challenges the concept of segregation and hyper organization within the Plantation Machine system (Benitez-Rojo 1996). This is significantly relevant to my research on creolization and *slave* identity on the plantation as it suggests that there was considerable contact between ethnic and social classes. I argue that during this contact social and cultural customs were exchanged, noticed, and transferred between each other, forming a Creolized society. I also believe that a close analysis of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics on Betty's Hope will present evidence of this.

Within any archaeological excavation it is important to consider the context of the material. In this instance, the items in which I am utilizing in this analysis were considered to be trash—purposefully discarded with no further intended use. However, that does not alter their ability to provide a window into the dynamics of this shared space (Thomas 1996; Chapman 2000). Therefore, the following analysis employs a different approach to understanding the plantation dynamics by working backwards from this discarded material. Past peoples have classified these items as trash, however I now employ the material culture of this midden as a representation of the culture on the plantation. This therefore constitutes a discussion regarding the social classes and distinct cultural dynamics, which influenced each group (Thomas 1996). This analysis will concentrate on a major component of the midden, the Afro-Antiguan wares.

I argue the Afro-Antiguan wares found on Betty's Hope were made by the *slaves*. The manufacturing processes and in some cases specific designs indicates the *slaves* were producing their own pottery. The production techniques evidence from this analysis could provide a connection to West African cultures that were brought over with the *slaves*. This process of transferred traditions and culture follows the Encounter Model (Mintz and Price 1992).

The Encounter Model Part One

Mintz and Price argue that the culture existing on the plantation was a representation of a blending of West African cultures known as Creolization through the Encounter Model (1992). This model argues Creolization is formed through three distinct stages; West Africa, the *slave* ships, and finally on the plantations themselves. Therefore, this analysis starts with a sophisticated understanding of the cultural dynamics of West Africa. If the Encounter Model is proven to be relevant, knowledge of this region before the date of the midden is necessary. This accounts for a time of transferred techniques during the rest of the Encounter Model and *slave*

trade process. Therefore, I concentrated this portion of the analysis to be roughly before and during the 1794 date of the midden.

In studying West African cultures during this time period, the inconsistency in cultural and social boundaries was quickly realized. Ethnoarchaeological research in this region has suggested, "stylistic repertories are sensitive to changing tastes and commercial interface and thus flow across social boundaries irrespective of social identity" (Hauser, 2008:100). Cultural groups throughout the West-African region were constantly in motion. Territorial control was regularly changing as diverse groups were in conflict with each other. We learn from Hauser's quote and research that regional variation is stronger than distinct boundaries between ethnic groups. Therefore, the *slaves* coming to the colonies represented diverse backgrounds and experiences instead of distinctly unique or opposing traditions.

Sidney Mintz (1985) and Michael Zueske (2011) argue that this cultural and ethnic flow throughout the continent is the start of the Creolize identity—the blending of cultures and ideas emerging from Africa through the mixing of traditions, practices, boarders, and ethnic groups. In understanding this theory, I recognize that associating specific ceramic production techniques to an individual cultural and ethnic root in West Africa is difficult to argue. Instead I suggest that Afro-Antiguan manufacturing techniques can be connected to regional patterns of ceramic manufacture from West Africa. The distinct regional trends of West African ceramic production will be explored later in this chapter.

At this time, to further understand the dynamics of West African heterogeneity and begin to comprehend the manipulative dynamics of the Atlantic Slave Trade I turned to Philip Curtin's publication *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1972). I employed Philip Curtin's work as a method of understanding cultural boundaries and conflict regions to suggest where the *slaves*, most likely

captives from conflict nations, could have been coming from. In doing so, I achieved an understanding of the cultural dynamics of West Africa and began to understand the second stage of the Encounter Model, the Atlantic Slave trade and liminality (1992). Philip Curtin's work supported Hauser's statement that cultural and ethnic boundaries in West Africa were complex and dynamic. Furthermore, it recognized the difficultly in establishing a completely accurate outline of the *slave's* cultural background, understandings, and influences (Hauser 2008:100-102; Curtin 1972).

Noting that Philip Curtin compiled a number of historical documents and imperialist perspective papers to reach his conclusions, I proceeded with a caution (Royal African Company, UW Cartography Lab, Documents sur les établissements francais et l' Afrique occidentale, etc., Curtin 1972). The Codrington papers and other ethnohistoric sources, specifically of marginalized groups, tend to be biased accounts.

Most importantly, the following understanding of Philip Curtin's work demonstrates that although the Codrington family targeted the Coromantee ethnic group from West Africa that does not mean that the Betty's Hope *slaves* were coming from this region. Philip Curtin proves that the dynamics of the region are complex and more importantly historical records and biased thoughts of West African or *slave* ethnicity is faulty (Curtin 1972).

Throughout the *slave* trade, the British captured individuals from a variety of different ports throughout the West African coast.[2] The focus on specific regions preferred for human capture was a result of intercultural conflicts within Africa. For example, the major exportation in Sierra Leone from 1720-1740 was a response to warfare with Fulbe Jihad in Futa Jallon—resulting in an influx of war prisoners, which could thus be traded as *slaves*. Then throughout the

[2] Modern day Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Mali, etc.

1740's the Ashanti region went through a period of great consolidation, which lead to warfare and therefore and influx of captives. Following, the Bright of Benin was in conflict with Oyo throughout the 1780's during the reign of Alafin Abiodum. During the same period, neighboring Bight of Biafra began to spread control to the interior of Africa thus pulling captives from the Congo region. The Royal African Company and South Sea Company, the two primary British *slave* shipping agencies, followed and exploited the conflicts and war captives. These actions displayed a level of sophisticated understanding of African culture and conflict to the point that an exploitation of the system, went seemingly unnoticed allowing for the Atlantic Slave trade to fully gain momentum (Curtin 1972).[3]

Taken from Philip Curtin's analysis, figure 5-1 displays the sheer volume of humans the British were exporting from Africa in order to forcibly enslave. Following, Appendix I includes a chart displaying the compiled data of possible volume exports by the English Slave Trade from 1690-1807. Paying particular attention to columns with date ranges of 1781-1800, which, specifically apply, to the dates of the materials within the midden, the greatest number of captives were coming from the Bight of Biafra and the Angola/Mozambique region (In 1781-1790 94,400 individuals were coming from the Bight of Biafra and 96,700 from Angola/Mozambique region. In 1791-1800 135,100 individuals coming from Bight of Biafra and 130,500 coming from the Angola/Mozambique region). This is not to suggest that the population that I focused on, the *slaves* laboring on Betty's Hope in Antigua, were from these regions, that information, once again due to lack of records, may never be known. However, it is highly probable that at least some of the cultural influences in terms of pottery production seen on the

[3] Refer to Appendix I for a detailed chart displaying the variation regional exportation by the English *Slave* Trade (Curtin, 1969).

Afro-Antiguan wares I discuss throughout on the plantation were from these regions (Curtin 1969).

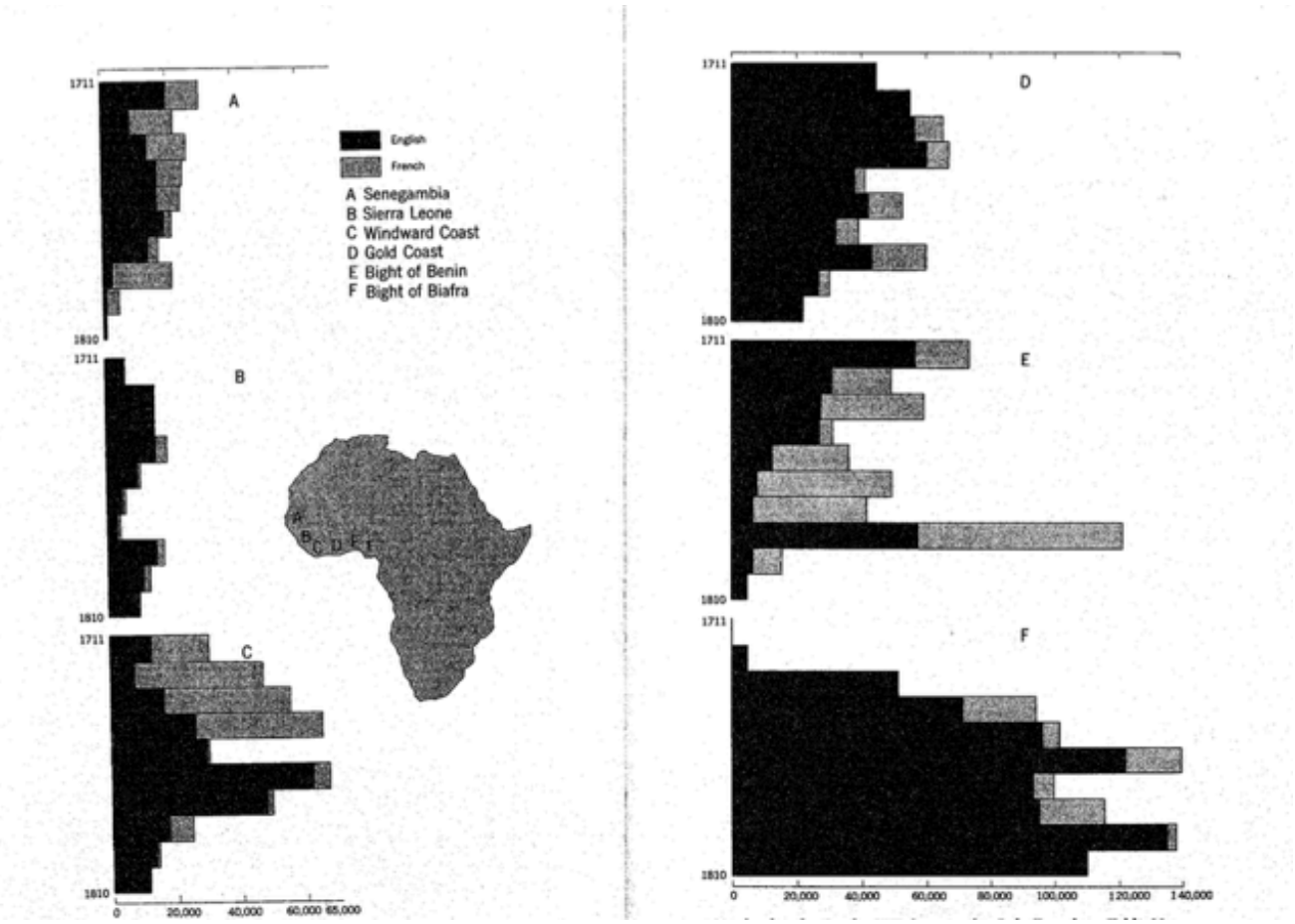

Figure 5-1: Anglo/French Slave Exports 1711-1800. Take from Philip Curtin's publication 1969

The Encounter Model Part Two: Liminality

The second stage of the Encounter Model is described as the stage of liminality that occurred on the transition to the Americas (Mintz and Price 1992). After the British shipping companies captured the diverse individuals and crossed the Atlantic, the captives began to form stronger bonds due to the extreme conditions they were subjected to.

Each British ship crossing the Atlantic carried between 250-300 *slaves*, although some crammed the ships well past maximum capacity in order to transport up to 550 *slaves*. These harsh conditions resulted in a number of deaths on the ships, before the *slaves* even reached the plantations. On average 20% of the *slave* cargo would die on the journey to the Americas (Palmer 1981:54).

Throughout the Atlantic Slave Trade process, specifically between 1761-1810, the British were the largest exporters of African captives. A total of 91,600 individuals were imported to the Leeward Islands between 1781-1810. The need for such large quantities of persons to be forcibly enslave is indicative of the rapidly expanding sugar market and plantation system as well as the harsh conditions and high turnover rate (Gasper 1985). The average working *slave* on a sugar plantation did not live longer than 5 years upon arrival (Curtin 1969).

Mintz and Price argue that the stage of transformation from individualized culture in Africa to a new homogenous *slave* community in the Americas is an essential part of the Creolization process (1992). The distinction of this moment is what makes the Encounter Model unique. The British were not concerned about the individualism, culture, ethnicity, or the humanity of their human cargo. They treated them as a homogenous group of essential economic agents (Benitez-Rojo 1996). Therefore, cultural individualism on the *slave* ships was erased and a new identity of survival and a connected understanding of harsh experiences brought the *slaves* together (Turner 1967; Mintz and Price 1992).

The Encounter Model Step Three: Afro-Antiguan Ceramics

After the stage of liminality and cultural transformation on the *slave* ships, the *slaves* were distributed throughout the Americas (Turner 1967). The third stage of the Encounter Model suggests further cultural and identity transformation occurred within each region of settlement.

Therefore, the island of Antigua would have a distinct creolized identity. I argue that the Afro-Antiguan ceramics have unique features that are only present on Antigua which stand as a representation of the *slave* identity and culture transforming and blending together during this period (Thomas 1996; Mintz and Price 1992).

A variety of ethnoarchaeological studies further situate/contextualize this argument through an examination of the manufacturing process of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics. These studies suggest that the basic regional manufacturing processes of ceramics from West Africa were brought to Antigua and then applied to the resources that existed there (Handler 1964). In addition, the literature, or rather lack there of, highlights the limited information that is known about the ceramics (Peterson, et al. 1999; Robovich 2011).

In 1999 the first completed study of the potters and their processes of manufacture of contemporary Afro-Antiguan ceramics at the Seaview Farm was completed in an attempt to compare the practices to items found within the archaeological record and from West Africa. James Peterson, David Watters, and Desmond Nicholson indicated that the vessels were found all over the island—in virtually every site excavated (1999). They concluded that this signified the ceramics vast practice and utilization throughout daily life activates. They began to articulate clear vessel forms, which in addition to decorative patterns alluded to the vessels chronological evolution of the ceramics (Nicholson 1984).

Nicholson observed that the Afro-Antiguan ware started out with no red slip clay, deep incised design, and a thin overall body structure (making it easier to carry and transport with little effort). Figure 5-2 displays the four sherds Nicholson analyzed and their corresponding chronological dates, which he established. The first image has no orange slip clay but the incised geometric decorations are considered to be rather sophisticated. Nicholson thought that this

image was possibly made in Africa and brought to Antigua. The next image is more typical of Afro-Caribbean temper and paste however the geometric designs are less distinguished and therefore less sophisticated. Nicholson places this as one of the earliest Afro-Antiguan sherds found on the island, dating to approximately 1745. The next image features a much cruder linear incised design. Nicholson gives this sherd a later date of 1780, staying consistent with the argument that the design features on the Afro-Antiguan ceramics gradually disappear (Nicholson 1984). Lastly, the original incised design has significant changes. It is now much shallower and not as precise. In addition, orangish red pigment of the clay is clearly visible. Thus, this is the most contemporary piece in which Nicholson analyzed, dating to 1820 (National Museum of Antigua and Barbuda). Importantly, this chronological evolution further supports the Encounter Model. The oldest Afro-Antiguan sherds are more typical of West African ceramics. However, as the process of manufacture evolved on Antigua to form a unique ceramic, similar to West African processes while adapting to Antiguan environment, materials, and accounting for feasibility (Hauser and Handler 2009).

Figure 5-2: Desmond Nicholson Afro-Antiguan Sherd Analysis (Nicholson 1984).

The earliest manufacture of Afro-Antiguan ware on the island occurred between 1700 and 1725. The Afro-Antiguan industry employed open-fired, hand-built, techniques carried out only by women, as understood through ethnoarchaeologocal evidence (Peterson et al.; Handler 2009). These techniques took a great amount of skill, practice, and refinement. Furthermore, some of the stylizations and formations of Afro-Antiguan ware have been connected to 'yabbas' and 'monkey jar' potteries made in West Africa, specifically of the Asante, Whyday, and Coromantees ethnic groups (Hauser and Handler 2009:2). These vessels were primarily comprised of volcanic tuff and were treated with a red slip clay, which is a particularly standardized on Antigua (Handler 2008). The consistency found within the ceramics suggests an established continuity between recipes and forms on the island that were passed down from generation to generation.

James S. Handler conducted his research in 1964 and was able to clearly outline the manufacturing process based on ethnoarchaeological research conducted at Seaview Farms. Handler observed 20 female potters within Seaview farms who produced ceramics with a very distinct process. First the clay was gathered and large stones were removed. He observed that the clay was kept moist in a large pile. When the vessel was made a piece of the clay was removed and placed on a wooden board. To form the vessel, no wheel was used. Instead the potters rapidly pound the clay with a wooden pestle thumb and index figures to shape it. Next, broken calabash shells were used to smooth the side and remove excess clay. The vessels were allowed to momentarily dry and then were dunked in red clay to form the outer layer. Finally, the vessels were set with open-air firing. To do so they were placed on a wooden base and covered with green grass before being lit on fire. The firing process usually took about 1-2 hours before the vessels were completely hardened.

James S. Handler and Mark W. Hauser also studied the changes in the design of Afro-Antiguan ware over time (2009). They noted the biggest change was the addition of the red slip clay known as the red ocherous soil clay, which is specific to the island of Antigua. In addition, the incised designs carved into the clay disappear, alluding to further/stricter time restraints. This can be inferred because the designs were not necessary to the integrity of the vessel and thus could have been omitted if needed. Lastly, the vessels become much thicker, most likely due to advances in transportation technology. Earlier vessels are 7-10mm thick while more modern pottery, including the ceramics currently made at Seaview Farms, are as thick as 15-20mm.

In recognizing all of these small changes, it is important to note there is no evidence to suggest that the core process of vessel formation has changed over the years. The features that have changed are rather minute in terms of details and stylization. In some ways these ceramics

are the only physical manifestation of culture the descendants have left (Handler 2008:3). The fact that the ceramics are made in the same location, with the same clay, utilizing the same techniques for hundreds of years suggests that the process has greater significance other than for practical use. I believe this is a representation of the Creolized identity of the *slaves* originating in West Africa and evidence of the potters cultural contribution to the island—as a representation of the individuals identity other than the definition of a *slave* (Mintz 1985).

In placing these analyses in the context of an archaeological evaluation, the Afro-Antiguan ceramics have been preliminarily typologically analyzed however, not all agree upon their classification. Samantha Robovich in her dissertation at Syracuse University (2011) attempted to establish a more complex understanding of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics, specifically considering colonowares unique to the island. Robovich suggests that there are three types of Afro-Antiguan wares that can be manufactured through both coiling and slab molding techniques. Type I is Afro-Antiguan ceramics that are bisque.[4] She claims that they are poorly smoothed or formed and generally consist of vessels that are greater than 7mm thick. Type II sherds are slipped typically in a bright red or deep brown color, depending on the iron content to the soil, indicating several mines on the island. Robovich alludes to Handler's study of Antiguan clay and suggests that the color of the material may also be an indication of the location the clay came from on the island (Handler 1964). However, in all studies, more research is needed to prove this point. Finally, the majority of the vessels within Type II are coiled. Lastly, Type III, being similar to Type II varies with the glazing of both sides vs. a single side, and the amount of exterior vessel burning—indicating its use. Robovich argues that each Type of Afro-Antiguan ceramic was made with the same core manufacturing process and more importantly traditions

[4] Bisque referring to a ceramic that is not glazed or slipped.

and techniques already familiar to the *slaves*. This suggests that the concepts were brought to Antigua with them from West Africa. In doing so, she suggests a creolized culture and manufacturing practice, which refers back to the mixed and diverse identity within the *slave* population.

There is much debate regarding the validity of Robovich's analysis. Therefore, since there is no accepted Afro-Antiguan typology within the discipline, attempting to argue that the Afro-Antiguan ceramics on Betty's Hope fit into one is impossible. In addition, I do not have enough materials within this midden to constitute the creation of a typology on my own. In light of this discussion, I once again will focus on the Betty's Hope Afro-Antiguan material's core manufacturing techniques that are consistent with all vessels to constitute a discussion of plantation dynamics and *slave* identity.

Betty's Hope Afro-Antiguan Wares

The last stage of the Encounter Model is the final blending of culture once the *slaves* were on the plantations where they worked (Mintz and Price 1992). Therefore, the midden on Betty's Hope and the vast assemblage of Afro-Antiguan sherds within it serves as a perfect window for the understanding of the third and final stage of the Encounter Model indicating an amalgamation of African and European culture and style (Mintz and Price 1992).

At this time, it is important to note that during the operation of this midden, we do not have explicit written documentation that the *slaves* were making the ceramics on the plantation. However, we have strong deductive argumentation that they were. This comes from 1) the fact that the current decedents of the *slaves* are still making the ceramics according to the same processes as evident from formal analyses of both current and ancient wares and based on extensive ethnoarchaeological research (Hauser and Handler 2009); 2) the techniques that were

employed seemingly have no other origin or context other than that of West African, meaning the very existence of these pots suggests the *slaves* were making them; and, 3) looking to other islands in comparison, we know through written historical documentation that the *slaves* manufactured ceramics to barter and trade in the Sunday markets in addition to personal use (Hauser 2008). However extensive research on Antiguan markets is not available.

When we specifically evaluate the Afro-Antiguan ceramics in the midden evidence of the manufacturing process and in some cases distinct design features are discernable. Figure 5-3 shown bellow (BH-703-1-235-2014), taken from Unit 703 on the first layer, displays elements of each of the manufacturing stages. The sherd displays clear clay layering. The internal volcanic clay is a dark gray/black color with a few smaller pebbles throughout (arrow number one); this is covered by an orange clay layer—consistent with the red ocherous clay as described by Handler (arrow two).[5] Furthermore, the sherd is representative of the hand molding process. The side is seemingly smooth with no divots. This suggests that the vessel was not coiled. Further proving this point, small circular markings indicative of a wooden pestle used for shaping are located in the upper right hand portion of the sherd, although difficult to see in this picture (arrow 3). Furthermore, horizontal striations most likely made from the calabash shells scraping away excess clay are noticeable (arrow 4). Lastly, the patchy outer coloring, referring to the gray/black soot like appearance, is indicative of the low temperature open-air firing technique (arrow 5).

[5] Ocherous clay is a soil mixture of hydrated oxide and iron resulting in its red/orange coloring.

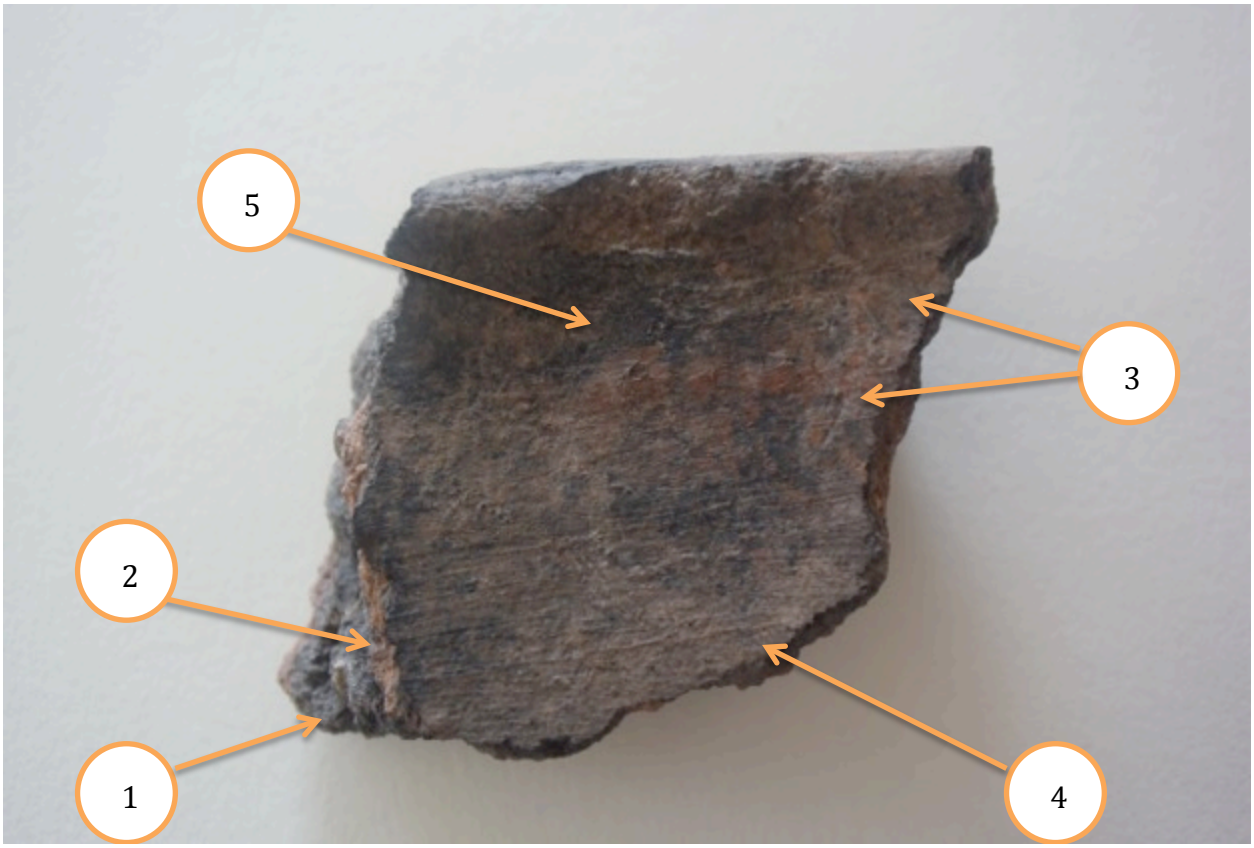

Figure 5-3: BH-703-1-235-2014 rim from Betty's Hope midden. Betty's Hope Archaeological Project.

Some sherds within the midden have distinct features, signifying more detailed, time consuming manufacturing techniques which would not have been necessary for the structural integrity of the vessel. Figure 5-4, (BH-701-2-338-2014) displays multiple elements of added time and design process. The rim of the sherd is heavily inverted and much thicker than other pieces. The rim is 10mm thick, the side is 13mm thick, and the joint of the two meeting intersections is 18mm thick. This signifies significant extra use of clay, which would have meant more time and energy spent on the rim feature of the vessel. In addition, there appears to be two distinct line details on the rim. These indicate even further attention, time, and skill that were employed onto this vessel. When considering the influences of inspiration behind this line detailing, we can clearly see similar elements on a number of European ceramics of this time,

including some found within this midden. Figure 5-5, displays a distinct two line detailing to the rim on a piece of handpainted green pearlware. This suggests that the ceramics made on Antigua could have been influenced by European ceramics as well. This further supports the argument of a creolized society and the Encounter Model as described by Mintz and Price (1992) due to the continued blending of culture that occurred on the island. This ceramic serves as evidence of a blending of African and European traditions and styles.

Figure 5-4: BH-701-2-238-2014 rim from Betty's Hope midden. Betty's Hope Archaeological Project.

Figure 5-5: Green Handpainted Pearlware Sherds. Betty's Hope Archaeological Project

Furthermore, when evaluating the Afro-Antigua ware of the midden in its entirety, distinct patterns emerge that correlate to the manufacturing process and chronology previously established. Of the 44 rim sherds analyzed from the midden, only three were without the red slipped clay layer. The dark char markings on the outside and inside of the sherds indicate that

all of them were made in a setting where open air firing at relatively low temperatures was employed. The vessels also fell in line with typical use styles. All appear to be cooking or household domestic vessels. This is firstly indicated by the shape of the vessel and secondly by the signs of heavy use marks such as extensive charring and burning from being on a fire for a long period of time, most likely while preparing food. In addition, rim thickness and shape appears to be consistent with Desmond Nicholson's chronological timeline (1984). The average rim thickness being around 11mm thick synchronizes with Nicholson's understanding of the evolution of the Afro-Antiguan rim. Nicolson designates the 11mm thick rim dates to be between 1757 and 1801, which also coordinates with the date of this midden, 1794 (1990).

Lastly, several of the sherds have distinct indicators of the shaping process. None of them have indicated the use of a wheel. The majority appears to have been made by the slapping and pulling method, however, few indicate that the vessels or at least a portion of them were coiled. Due to the fact that these are only sherds, it is difficult to identify the method used in forming the entire vessel. In some cases an extra coil of clay was applied to the rim for decorative purposes. This could be an example of added time spent on the formation that was not necessary for the structural integrity or use, thus providing another argument for the importance of these pieces as a statement of culture and tradition. However, to solidly make this claim, an evaluation of the pots in their entirety, to decipher if the entire vessel was coiled, is necessary. Other explanations such as evolution of the practice, outside influences from other islands at later dates, or an attempt to improve production efficiency are all probable alternative explanations.

In order to form more solid arguments on the process of formation and design of the Afro-Antiguan wares I also evaluated Afro-Antiguan ceramics from The Museum of Antigua and Barbuda and the Governors House or Clearance House of the English Colonial Empire

(Refer to Appendix III and IV). The complete vessels from the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda displayed the same indicators of formation and manufacturing techniques as the vessels from the Betty's Hope midden. The vessels are indicative of slab molding, they have char markings from open air firing, and the vessels are slipped with a red/orange clay color.

In addition, I was able to evaluate a few sherds from Clearance House. These sherds have a distinct geometric design around the rim. This is not found on Betty's Hope but has been found on other areas of the island and is present on the sherds Desmond Nicholson analyzed in his study. These sherds are significant because they further align with the date chronology Nicholson established. Since the date of the midden on Betty's Hope is much later, this supports the rationale why there would not have been any incised designs on them (Nicholson et al. 1999).

Compare and Contrast to West African Ceramic Production

In making an argument of Creolization and transferred ceramic technique, it is essential to conduct a comparative analysis to ceramic studies in West Africa. For this research, I turn to Liza Gijanto's work on *Ceramics in West Africa* (2014) which specifically looks at the Mandara Archaeological Project and the Mission Archéologique et Ethnoarchéologique Suisse en Afrique del l'Ouest in Cameroon, Nigerian, Ghana, and Mali.

Throughout the region there are a number of overarching trends within the ceramic formation/manufacturing process. West African ceramics have historically been classified as low-fired earthenwares making them a less refined and more porous material (Gijanto 2014:1). The vessels are hollowware formed by hand utilizing local clays. The clay is collected through a number of methods including surface, pit, and gallery extraction (Gosselain and Smith 2005:3). Local West African clay required a certain level of processing before it could be made into a vessel. Tempering agents such as sand, chaff, or shell were added to the clay (Gijanto 2014).

The shaping techniques of the vessels vary but are generally made by hand using coiling, slab, or pound molding methods. In some cases, multiple methods were employed. One method was used on the body while the rim and other detailing added later which used another method (Giganto 2014).

Then, decorations including slipping, burnishing, smoothing, or paintings were applied after the vessels hardened. This usually varied considering ethnic and regional variation. In some cases the vessels were utilized for ritualistic purposes and thus have a more specific decoration or pattern to them. In addition, West Africa is known for its rouletting technique to apply a specific incised design to the clay. Braided cords, natural plants, shells, and sticks were pressed into the clay while it was still wet. In doing so the design or textured pattern of the material was imprinted in the vessel (McIntosh and Guèye 2010).

Lastly, the vessels were fired in an open pit firing location. The vessels were placed in direct contact with the fuel source whether it be wood, straw, or palm leaves, depending on location and availability. The process took forty-five minutes to two hours (Gijanto 2014:2).

Generally, women carried out the manufacturing process although in a few regions such as the Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria, male potters are found. The greater frequency of female potters could be linked to a number of rationales. First, the ceramic tradition was passed down by lineages from one generation to the next. Thus there was greater ability for the mother to teach her children the techniques and methods as she is typically the one who spends the most time with them. Secondly, there is the belief that ceramic production was tied to nature and the earth. This ideology connects to concepts of fertility since the earth is usually personified as a woman, making the logical connection to female potters (Herbert 1993).

All of this highlights the similarities throughout the West African region with regard to ceramic manufacturing techniques. Furthermore, distinct similarities to the ceramics on Antigua and importantly Betty's Hope are evident. In both locations women were the primary potters; potentially alluding to a connection with West African religion and spirituality. The women potters created low-fired earthenwares. They locally extracted clay from a variety of locations, however, Antiguan clay did not require additional processing while West African clay's did. The vessels were hand molded in both locations and then decorated before open-air firing. These methods are unlike any other ceramic manufacturing process in the world (Barley 1994). These distinct connections and regional ceramic patterns further supports an argument of Creolization and the emergence of West African identity on Betty's Hope, which proves the validity of my hypothesis and argumentation.

The Overall Midden: The Evaluation of The Feature

In a discussion of culture and identity, the remaining contents of the midden also spoke to the diversity and dynamics of Betty's Hope. Though not central to this study, other artifact types in this midden represented elements from each part of the plantation system. Fine porcelain wares were represented in addition to horseshoes and bridals, tools, slate rough tiles, marbles, metal fragments, and buttons. Part A of figure 5-6, displays a hand carved bone button. Most likely carved by a *slave* to be utilized on their clothing. Part B, is elite Chinese porcelain, elegantly designed. Part C, is a hand carved clay marble, which was used for recreational purposes. Lastly, Part D displays the image of a clay carved pipe bowl which represents the act of smoking. Both the elites and the slaves most likely utilized this pipe bowl, which once again presents the dynamic of shared action and activity (Anderson 2004).

An evaluation of special proximity and contact argumentation is the only probable explanation for the juxtaposition of these items in the same midden. Old plantation maps in reference with contemporary archaeological excavations indicate that plantation spaces were not as segregated as previously thought. As I briefly mentioned earlier, these diverse materials could have come from the small blacksmith shop, a stable, the Slave Village, and the Great House. Part E, is a curled iron fragment, which could be a representation from the blacksmith shop. Finally, part F, a horseshoe, alludes to both a nearby stable and the blacksmith shop. A bridal found within the midden also indicates the presence of a small stable.

This allowed me to conclude, that special/landscape segregation on the plantation was not a factor and secondly, agents from each of these spaces interacted with each other at the midden (Lange and Carlson 1985). These interactions could have influenced skills, actions, and thoughts. When we shifted our thinking to recognize a plantation as a functioning unit with coexisting agents interworking with one another, a new narrative was presented. Regimented boundaries in space and material were not presented within the archaeological record. If this truly is the case, what other boundaries, which we previously assumed to exist, were actually not. This material culture emphasized the importance of viewing a site and all of its agents as a whole. The analysis of this midden symbolizes the narrative of the various interactions and influences on the plantation that have become more complex while simultaneously being more complete. Instead of single, one-sided or biased narratives we understand the reality of the culture and identity of the plantation as a whole.

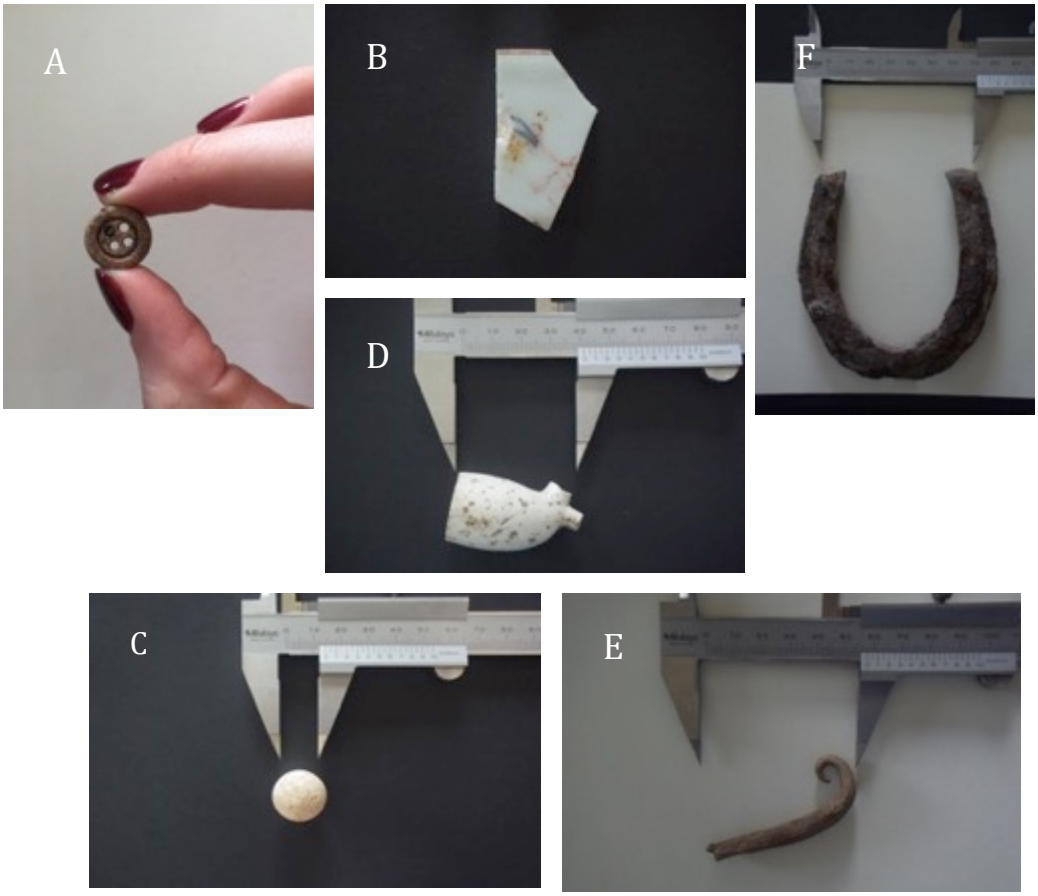

Figure 5-6: Examples of diverse material culture from midden. A, bone button. B, Chinese porcelain. C, clay marble. D, clay pipe bowl. E, iron fragment. F, Horseshoe.

The Plantation Community

To complete my analysis and further understand the dynamics of this shared space, I turned to Whitney Battle and Nesta Anderson's work on plantation space, social dynamics, and sense of community (2004). Whitney Battle in her article *A Space of Our Own*, a close study of *slave* households at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage plantation, emphasized the capability for archaeology to change our perspective of *slavery* and plantation life due to its ability to provide a lens into the domestic *slave* spaces which are seemingly unwatched and manipulated by plantation owners (Battle 2004:33). Specifically within this domestic space the affect of human behavior on artifacts is most prevalent. Domestic spaces allow more incite to personal choice and instinct as apposed to a working space where every action is dictated (36). When examining the

plantation as a whole, the *slave's* domestic organization, activity, social relationships, and their concept of space and landscapes influenced the dynamics of the plantation. Battle argues that these moments in the *slave's* lives are what formulated the community of the plantation (43).

I believe this midden and its contents permit taking Battle's argument a step further. Not only does this midden allow a window into the domestic lives of the *slaves*, it is simultaneously juxtaposed with the lives of the plantation owners and complex narrative of the plantation *slave* work. I understand these diverse materials as both a private narrative of domestic experiences and choices and as a representation of the complexity of the plantation community as a whole.

Nesta Anderson takes this a step further in her article *Finding the Space Between Spatial Boundaries and Social Dynamics* (2004). Anderson recognizes the many diverse "households" of the plantation including the house *slave's* daily chores, the field *slaves* daily activities, the planter families reproduction of their society, and finally the *slaves* own survival and life practices. The enslaved groups are forced into reproduction for the plantation owners, yet at the same time the two groups socially reproduce, attempting to maintain a sense of individualism, separating themselves from one another while residing in the same area. They are tied together socially, yet in terms of ethnicity and identity attempt to separate themselves from one another. Thus the plantation exists as one large household that is made up of many diverse units. Each unit has an effect on the social identity of the other (Anderson 2004: 115).

It is impossible to know with any sense of certainty who used the contents of the midden and furthermore who placed them there. When understanding the entirety of the plantation and the spatial relationship of the midden to many unique and assorted locations, it is highly probable that the midden was employed by members of diverse units. Furthermore, this midden speaks to the vast economic roles that would have existed on the plantation other than the sugar processing

and Great House narrative. In order for the plantation machine to function, every aspect of the individual lives on the plantation would need to be accounted for; thus fully understanding the complexity of the plantation and all of the tasks that went along with it (Anderson 2004).

Putting The Narrative Together: Evaluating The Implications

What is important to understand from the preceding discussion is the narrative that this midden presents. I argue that is a narrative of previously denied cultural grouping. Just as Sylvia Wynter has presented the complete narrative of multiple perspectives and classes; I argue this midden does the same (Benitez-Rojo 1995). The midden allows archaeologists to comprehend the diversity of the plantation and the various identities that are present within it. Furthermore, this midden and its contents, tell a story of *slave* identity. It is my contention that the Encounter Model (Mintz and Price 1992) permits a deeper understanding of how the conglomeration of materials in general and the Afro-Antiguan wares in particular represent a creolized society.

This research also highlights the interdependency that existed within the plantation setting. Rather than analyzing individual households, this midden allows for a glimpse at the community that existed within the plantation (Anderson 2004). This community represents the diverse identities coming together to maintain the function of the entirety of the Plantation Machine (1996). I set out with the intent of considering the repressed identity of the *slaves* forced into migration on the plantation. What has resulted instead is an understanding that this midden incorporates multiple intersecting narrative that speak to a more complete interworking's of the Betty's Hope plantation.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

In this study, I examined the Afro-Antiguan ceramics in the midden at Betty's Hope as an example of West African cultural resurgence material by the *slaves.* I understood the complexities of employing traditional written sources, rooted in colonial discourses and racial discrimination. Furthermore, this analysis respected archaeology, its methods, theory, and precision, to effectively reveal truths about plantation life and *slave* identity that these historical documents overlooked.

The materials utilized for this investigation were primarily taken from the 2014 Betty's Hope excavation of the midden at the edge of the Slave Village. As an archaeologist and theoretical researcher, I have worked with these materials from the start. I was a part of the field school, which excavated the midden. I worked with these materials for my Junior Independent study, examining them as a representation of *slave* agency. Finally, I studied the midden for this Senior Independent Study project, which required me to return to Antigua, work closely with the ceramics, and apply a theoretical understanding and explanation to their purpose and juxtaposition with other materials in this midden. I specifically focused on the evaluation of my three core questions pertaining to *slave* culture, creolization, and *slave* agency in contributing to a cultural narrative and community on the plantation (Hodder 1976; Appadurai 1986; Mintz and Price 1992).

In this study, I argued this cultural agency was manifested in the form of Afro-Antiguan ceramic production. My analysis suggests that the manufacturing process is distinctly similar to the process carried out in West Africa (Gijanto 2014). Understanding the cultural and ethnic dynamics of the region as a whole was essential in comprehending the core process of manufacture that is virtually identical throughout the region (Gijanto 2014). I found the Afro-

Antiguan ceramics of this midden appear to incorporate these same manufacturing processes with simultaneously use of Antigua's resources such as clay and open-air firing fuel, making them distinctly unique to the island. In addition, the sherds from the midden on Betty's Hope contribute to the argument that Afro-Antiguan ceramics were also influenced by European ceramic designs and vessels styles. As I have argued, these elements are each supported by the concept of Creolization on the island formulation through the Encounter Model (Mintz and Price 1992).

To support my analysis I researched and examined a variety of other ethnohistoric and ethnoarchaeological sources. Desmond Nicholson, James Peterson, Samatha Robovich, Mark Hauser, and Jerome Handler's work was all employed as a method of further understanding Afro-Antiguan ceramics as a whole (1999; 2011; 2009; 2008). These researches allowed my analysis and conclusions to be a statement of the plantation community as a whole (Anderson 2004). To test the argument of creolization, I compared the manufacture techniques and overarching trends in production to historical ceramics of West Africa (Gijanto 2014). This was essential in order to state the claim that any influence from this region was affecting the methods of production on Antigua, supporting the argument of Creolization. Furthermore, evaluating the ceramic production from an archaeological perspective and not a contemporary perspective was even more significant from a time and dating perspective.

My line of questioning and analysis stemmed from concepts of agency and identity of the *slaves* on Betty's Hope (Hodder 1976, Appadurai 1986). Following Sydney Mintz and Richard Price's Encounter Model, I took the position that the *slave's* heterogeneous identity was complex and multifaceted (1992). A sophisticated understanding of the transatlantic *slave* trade process was necessary in recognizing the dynamics of individuals on a single plantation at any given

moment (Curtin 1969). My theoretical analysis took the position that the *slave* agents actively contributed to the cultural definition of the plantation and its community (Anderson 2004). This suggests that their cultural emergence affected the entirety of both Betty's Hope plantation and Antiguan culture.

I found distinct answers to my three questions. The Afro-Antiguan ceramics allow for a dialogue of culture and individuality, which challenges the way we typically evaluate *slave* identity on plantations. These ceramics represent West African regional potting techniques, which are not found anywhere else in the world. The methods of manufacture on the island originate in West Africa but have been adapted to the Antiguan environment. This supports the argument of Creolization and validates the Encounter Model as a suitable outline of the process. Finally, the Afro-Antiguan ceramics display traditions, customs, and highly learned skills and techniques, which constitute a sophisticated discussion of the slaves emic qualities.

From this analysis, a different narrative of this *slave* community's cultural agency within the plantation is presented. This is significant because my study therefore provides a closer vantage point of a previously marginalized and disregarded population. This population is documented within the historical record however from a limited perspective of labor and economics (Benitez-Rojo 1996). Thus the only way to understand their cultural story and impact is through the archaeological record. By employing archaeology in this manner, I believe it takes on new significance. Archaeology has the ability to empower, to document, and to discover.

The community on Betty's Hope, made up of both elites and *slaves*, was extremely diverse. These groups were socially and economically dependent upon each other yet went through great lengths to ethnically and culturally separate themselves from one another. This archaeological analysis deconstructs this segregation and argues for cultural and identity

connections between the diverse groups. I believe the Afro-Antiguan ceramics are a window into this narrative. Furthermore, they display the continued/lasting effects of the *slave's* cultural contribution to the island of Antigua. The existence of the Afro-Antiguan ware, both past and present, exemplifies the preservation of independent and unique culture/identity during the largest forced migration and enslavement in history by acknowledging the immergence of individuality within homogenous discourse.

So when answering the question 'What is *slave* identity on Betty's Hope?' a clear definition presents itself. This definition is a reflection of the diverse experiences and perspectives that the individuals were subjected to. Within this definition, it is important to understand the hardships of the *slaves* as they informed upon their cultural identity, however it is also important to note that this is not the extent of their identity. The individuals forced into migration and labor carried with them previous thoughts, religious views, techniques, and ways of life. These elements were not disregarded once they were made into *slaves* on American plantations but rather were preserved. This symbolizes the importance of humanity and desire for individualism while simultaneously recognizes the desire to be different or resist complete assimilation into the lifestyle of European agents.

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APPENDIX I

Coastal Region	1690-1700	1701-1710	1711-1720	1721-1730	1731-1740	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800	1801-1807	Total
Senegambia	9,200	17,500	20,500	9,100	13,900	17,300	16,200	19,100	13,700	2,900	1,000	800	141,300
%	9.3	14.6	14.6	6.4	6.7	6.8	7	7	7	0.9	0.3	0.3	5.5
Sierra Leone	2,700	5,000	5,900	15,000	14,900	15,500	9,000	4,100	2,200	15,300	11,700	9,000	111,000
%	2.7	4.2	4.2	10.6	7.2	6.1	3.9	1.5	1.5	4.7	3.6	3.6	4.3
Winward Coast	37,000	12,400	14,700	7,500	18,400	25,500	28,600	65,100	46,800	17,600	13,700	11,200	299,300
%	38	10.4	10.4	5.3	8.9	10	12.4	23.9	23.9	5.4	4.2	4.2	11.5
Gold Coast	18,300	37,300	44,000	54,200	56,100	59,400	36,500	43,600	31,400	43,900	27,000	22,100	473,800
%	18.4	31.2	31.2	38.3	27.1	23.3	15.8	16	16	13.5	8.3	8.3	18.4
Bright of Benin	12,200	47,400	55,800	30,200	27,300	26,800	12,000	8,400	6,100	54,700	6,500	5,300	292,700
%	12.3	39.5	39.6	21.3	13.2	10.5	5.2	3.1	3.1	16.8	2	2	11.3
Bight of Biafra	5,200	-	-	4,500	45,100	71,300	93,200	126,300	90,900	94,400	135,100	110,400	776,400
%	5.2	-	-	3.2	21.8	28	40.4	46.4	46.4	29	41.5	41.5	30.1
Angola and Mozambique	11,200	-	-	21,100	28,600	31,400	29,300	5,700	4,100	96,700	130,500	106,700	468,300
%	11.3	-	-	14.9	13.8	13.5	12.7	2.1	2.1	29.7	40.1	40.1	18.2
Other and Unknown	2,800	-	-	-	2,700	4,000	6,000	-	-	-	-	-	16,100
%	2.8	-	-	-	1.3	1.8	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	0.6
Total	99,400	119,600	140,900	141,600	207,000	258,800	230,800	272,300	196,000	325,500	325,500	266,000	2,579,400

APPENDIX II

BH-703-1-235-2014
18 total count—three rim shards used for diagnostics

Rim #1 (7 photographs 531-537)
Gray with red inside
Slight beveled edge
Slab molding?
12-14 mm thick; measuring with caliber
The inside glaze is mostly gone
Gravely clay
36 mm in height
Side view:
Inside black layer 7mm
Red layer 2.5 mm on each side
Another black clay layer 1mm only on inside extended all the way to the top of the rim
Inside view:
Top rim 34mm point to point
Bottom 25mm
34.5 mm height
Mostly black coloring
Possible small circles 9-10mm in diameter [Possibly due to an inside tool used when forming the ceramic—indicates slab molding)
Outside view:
Top point to top point 36mm
Bottom 34.5mm
Height 35.5mm
Beveled protruding rim 10mm
Horizontal striations
Red crumbling slip glaze—gray color underneath
Black marks on the rim top and inside (type of firing indicator—low temperatures buried, like Seaview farms)

Body Shard (7 photographs 538-544)

Outside view:

32mm on top
45mm on bottom
36-38 height
crackling red slip glaze- gray underneath horizontal striations

Inside view:

No red glaze
Horizontal striations
Very very faint circular markings—virtually nonexistent
Gravely crumble to the clay

Rim #2 (8 Photos 545-552)

Red glaze is much more distinct
Some horizontal striations only visible on the side

Side view:

14-15mm thick
Internal gray layer 9-10mm thick
2-3mm red brown layer on outside with distinct red slip covering it
Slightly inverted edge
62mm height

Outside view:

Some small divots in the surface
72mm long at base
30mm long at top
55mm in height
Red glaze visible but mostly worn to brown layer

Inside view:

Same dimensions as outside
Red slip glaze much more predominant
Horizontal scratches of worn areas cover the surface

Rim #3 (7 Photos 554-560)

Orange red glaze
Horizontal inverted rim
Gray clay
Horizontal striations on both sides
Some burn marks on the rim—indicating type of firing, like Seaview Farms

Side View:

9.5mm thick
One solid color no layering to the clay color inside
28mm height on outside
32mm height on inside

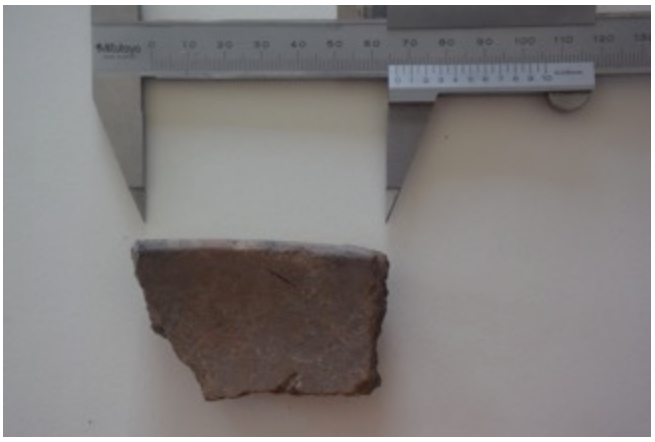
Outside View:

Bottom 45mm in length
Top 65mm in length
36mm height
Curve angle 5-6mm down
Horizontal striations at a slight angle

Inside View:

Brown color-no glaze
Some slight etchings on the inside
Top 65mm length
Bottom 42mm length
36mm height
Deeper gash in the surface towards the top

*Within 703-1-235 there are 13 other pieces ranging in size and shape. Two photographs taken (561-562)



<u>BH-703-1-272-2014</u> (10 Photographs 563-572)
One rim fragment
Red orange glaze
Slight inversion to the rim
Outside View:
Top 25.5mm in length
Bottom of sherd comes to a point
31mm in height
Red glaze
Inside View:
Top 25.5mm in length
31mm height
Glaze fades from red to black- fire/cooking is clear
Black layer extends 14mm from bottom, then red on the top
Horizontal striations
Side View:
12mm thick
Black inside 9mm thick with outside 3mm brown/red

BH-701-2-384-2014 (6 Photos)
Three rims total

Rim #1 (6 Photos 574-579)
- Red glaze not present
- Inverted Edge
- Gravely clay texture to the clay

Front View:
- 37mm length at top
- 55mm length at middle
- 37mm length at bottom
- Curved piece, convex outside
- Horizontal striations
- 39mm height

Back View:
- 38mm length at top
- 42mm length at bottom
- 39mm height
- 8mm down angled edge
- Curved- concave on inside
- Horizontal striations

Side View:
- One solid color throughout
- 11mm thick
- 37mm tall
- Curved at 62 degree angle

Rim #2 (4 Photos 580-583)
- Red slip glaze
- One color throughout the clay
- Slight curve in the sherd—inverted

Outside View:
- 26mm on top
- 55mm on bottom
- 45mm tall (at largest point)

Horizontal striations

Inside View:

26mm length on top

46mm length on bottom

55mm tall

Red slip glaze more predominate on inside

Side View:

12mm thick at rim

Rim #3 (4 Photos 584-588)

Outside View:

22mm length at top

12mm length at bottom

25mm length at largest point

29mm height

Rim bevel at 9mm down

Inside View:

Red glaze more predominant

Some wear marks

Measurements the same as outside view

Side View:

Rim 15mm thick

Side 9mm thick

29mm tall

BH-701-2-338-2014
4 Rims and 1 body shard—only noting 3 rims

Rim #1 (6 Photos 588-593)
Outside View:
Red glaze virtually gone
30mm length at top
34mm length at base
40mm height
Everted edge
Line detailing on the rim
Inside View:
Red glaze more preserved
4 visible line decorations at the rim
30 mm length at top
35mm length at bottom
42mm height
Side View:
Black inside
10mm thick at the rim
13mm thick at side
18mm thick at rim and side joint
Triangle shape to outside of the sherd due to joint, smooth curve on the inside

Rim #2 (6 Photos 549-600)
Outside View:
Blackened with horizontal striations visible
45mm length at top
31mm length at bottom
27mm height
Smooth curved shape
Inside View:
Red slip glaze preserved
46mm length at top

18mm length at bottom
23mm height
Curved rim at 5mm length

Side View:
12.5mm thick

Rim #3 (6 Photos 601-606)

Outside View:
46mm length at top
46mm length at bottom
35mm tall
Red-orange glaze visible
Horizontal Striations

Inside View:
Burn/fire marks at the top
Red/orange glaze visible
36mm tall
46mm length at top
46mm length at bottom
Beveled rim protruding 2mm-6mm down

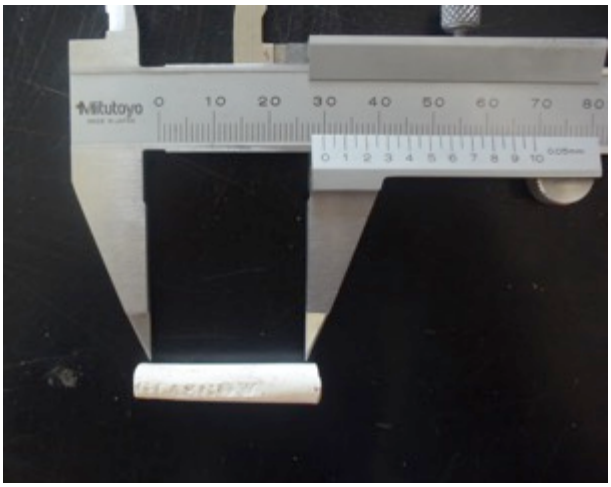
Side View:
One solid color
11-13mm thick

Unit 701 Level 2

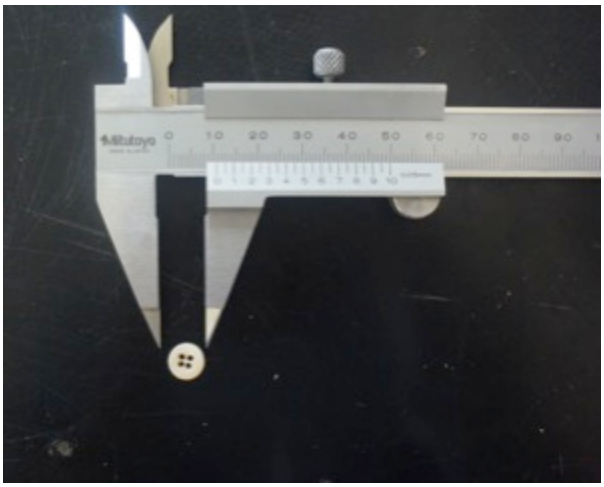
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

701-2-357-2014
Transfer Print 1780-1830
Photos: 607-608

701-2-395-2014
Glasgow Pipe stem
Photos: 609-612



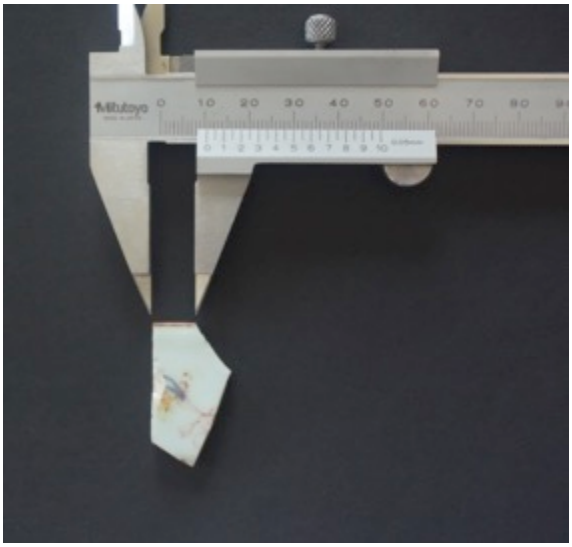
701-2-375-2014
Shell button 4 holes
Photos: 613-615



701-2-392-2014

Porcelain orange and blue c. 1510

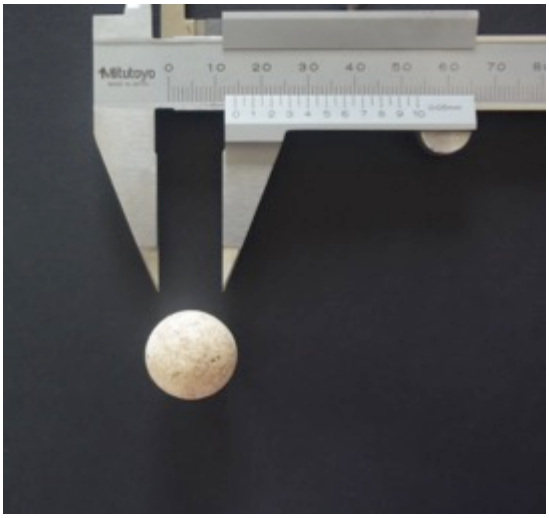
Photos: 616-617



701-2-374-2014

Stone marble

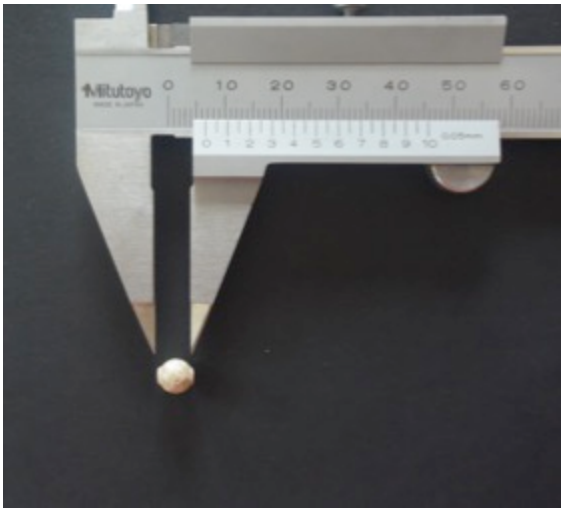
Photos: 618-620



701-2-404-2014

Glass bead

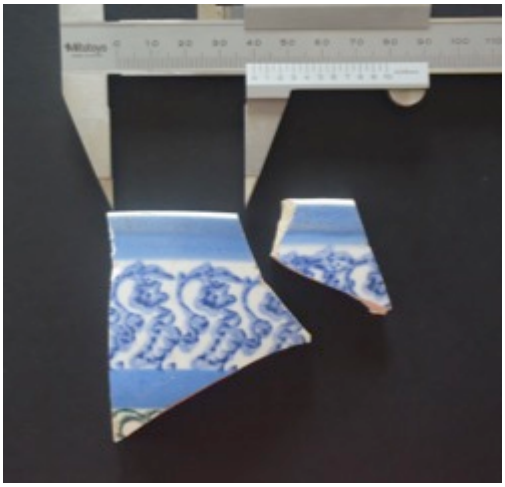
Photos: 621-624



701-2-356-2014

English Porcelain flow blue 1745-1795

Photos: 625



701-2-408-2014

Yellow blue hand painted annular ware 1780-1820

Photos: 626

701-2-388-2014

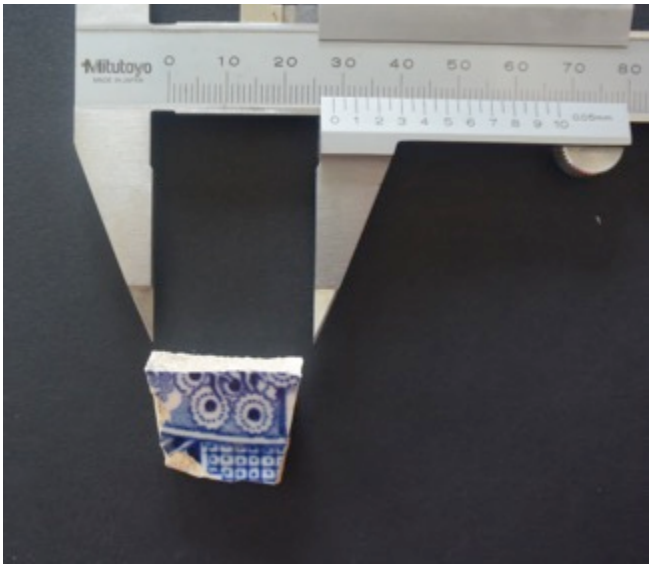
Pearl ware Sponge painted 1780-1830

Photos: 627

701-2-390-2014

Willow Print 1815-1820

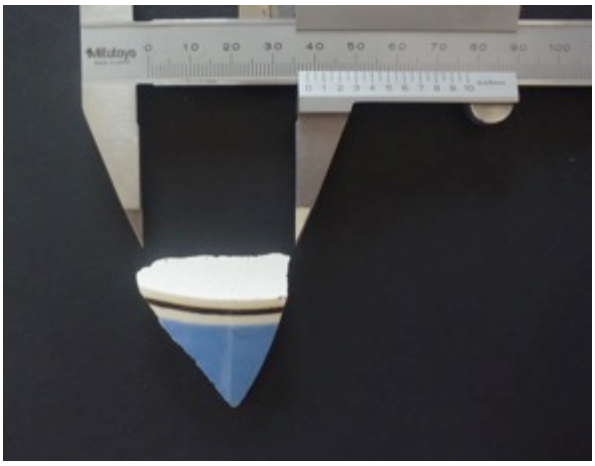
Photo 628



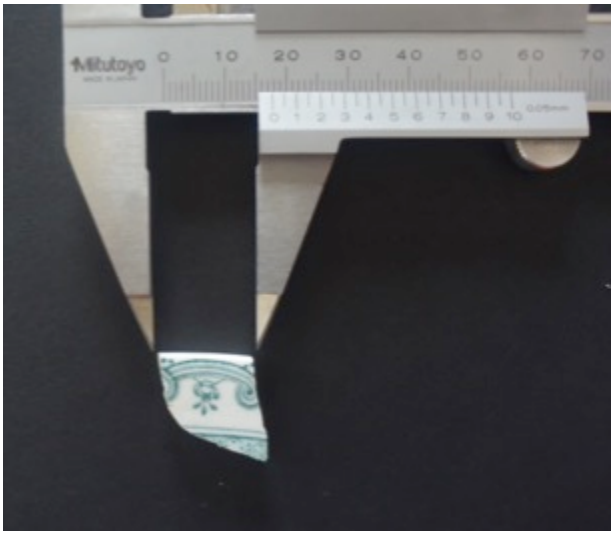
701-2-358-2014

Annular ware 1780-1820

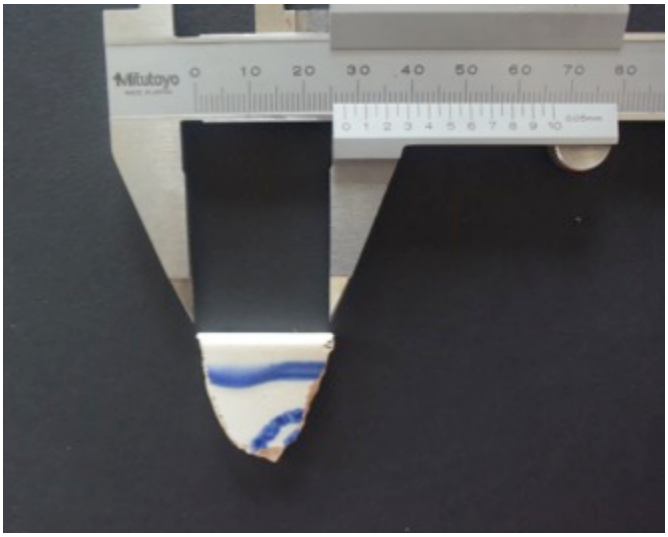
Photo 629-630



701-2-358-2014
Transfer print green 1780-1820
Photos 631-632



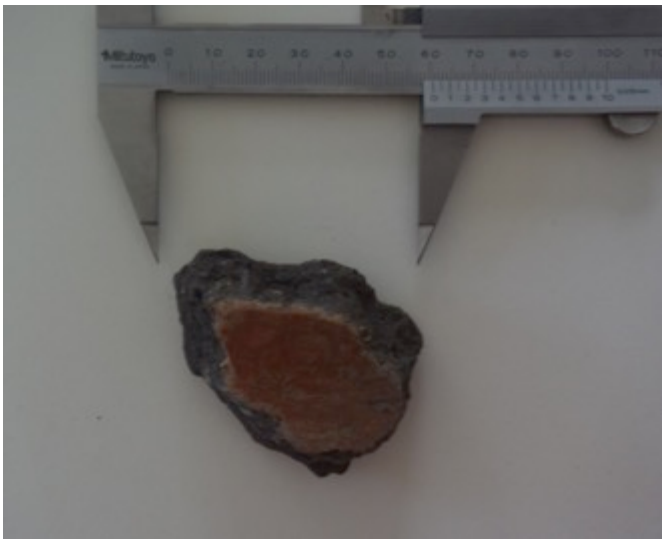
701-2-363-2014
Hand painted blue 1795-1820
Photos 633-634



BH-703-1-205-2014
8 Afro-Antiguan fragments- only record one rim and one fragment

Rim #1 (Photos 635-641)
Outside View:
38mm length at top
Bottom comes to a point
26mm height
Orange/red glaze
Inside View:
33mm length at top
Bottom comes to a point
Red/orange glaze
Horizontal striations
Side View:
12mm thick
9mm layer of black clay inside
1.5mm orange/red clay covering the black

Fragment—largest (Photos: 642-645)
Ranging from 12-15mm thick
Black interior
Gravelly clay
Thin red glaze on top of orange clay



BH-703-1-207? Number hard to read
22 Afro-Antiguan Shards; close look at 4 rims

Rim #1 (Photos 646-649)
Red slip glaze
Black interior
Horizontal striations
Gravely clay
Burn marks on the rim—notes the type of firing
Outside View:
65mm length at top
Bottom comes to a point, sharp angle down at 55mm in length
Point to top 72mm height
Slight burning in upper left corner—note the type of firing
Inside View:
55mm length at top
43mm at bottom before sharply angling to a point
70mm height
Concave curve shape
Side View:
12mm thick at rim
10mm thick at body
Orange clay interior 4mm thick transition to black interior at 5mm thick then orange on exterior at 1mm thick.

Other side this is not the case 5mm black interior with even orange clay on either side---why is this?

Rim #2 (Photos: 650-654)

Severely chard in its entirety—evidence of midden burning?
Slight bevel to the rim
Red glaze can be seen on the interior under some of the chard area

Outside View:

53mm length at top angles down to 45mm length and then comes to a point

Inside View:

56mm in length then slight angle to 42mm length and then comes to a point
Interior bevel at the rim felt with figures—not entirely visible or measurable

Side View:

Top rim 15mm thick
Body only 7mm thick
Black throughout—could signify the sherd was burnt after it was broke

Rim #3 (Photos 655-658)

Orange clay with grey/black speckles

Gravely clay
Small rim
Strong extruding rim

Outside View:
30 mm in length
6mm extruding lip on the rim
18mm height

Inside View:
Smooth curve to form lip/rim on outside
12-18mm height from lowest point of arch to the top
31mm length

Side View:
20mm thick at the rim
Rim appears to be an extra-stronger pronounced coil

Rim #4 (Photos 659-661)
No protruding rim-smooth curved edge
Black on exterior as if burned
Red/orange crackling glaze on inside

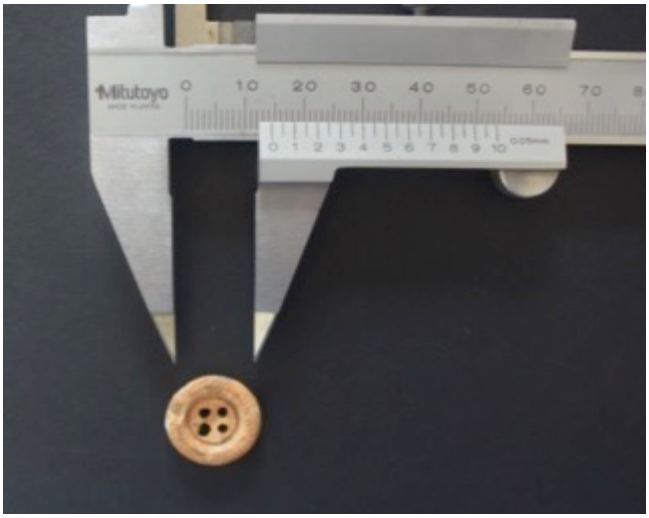
Exterior View:
23mm length at top
18mm length at bottom
25mm tall, begins to curve in at the top
Blackened from burning

Interior View:
Slight flattened lip then concave curve in on side
Orange/red glaze

Side View:
13mm thick at rim
11mm thick at side
Gravely clay makeup

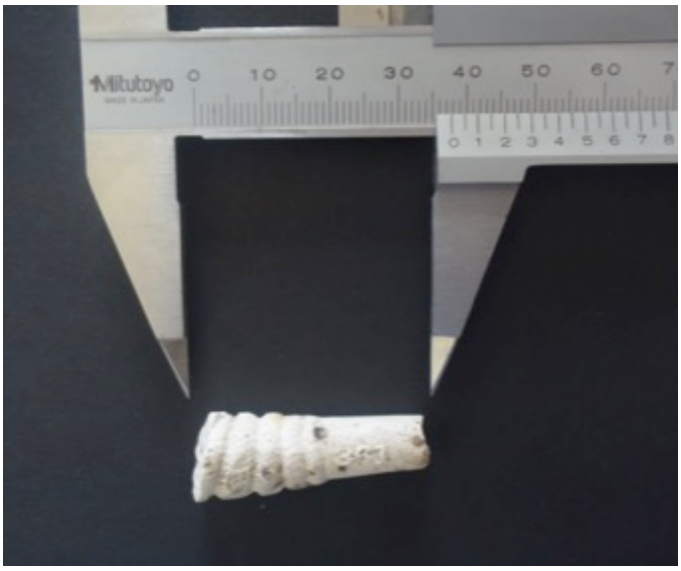
Unit 703 Level 1
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-703-1-206-2014
Bone button 4 holes
Photos 662-663



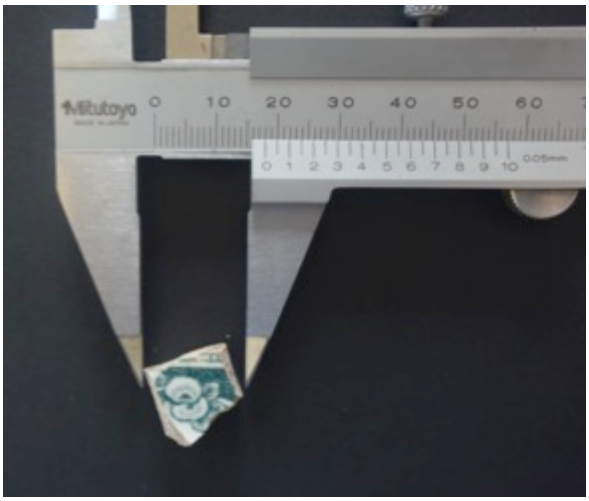
BH-703-1-203-2014
Iron ring from a chain (orange corrosion)
Photos 664-665

BH-703-1-219-2014
Pipe Stem "381" written on it
Photos 666-669



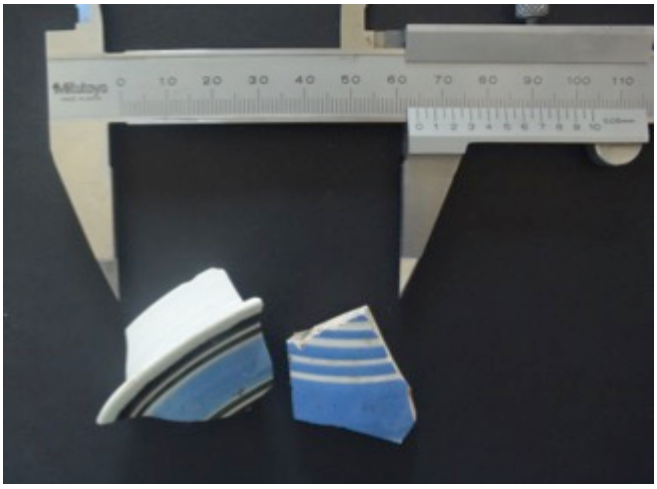
BH-703-1-206-2914
Spatter Blue and White 1780-1830
Photos 670-671

BH-703-1-209-2014
Transfer Print Green Introduced in 1829
Photos 672-673

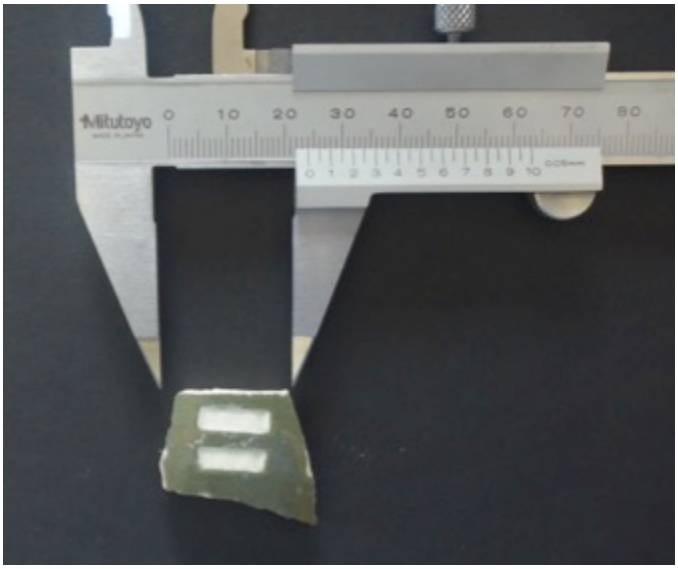


BH-703-1-222-2014
Transfer Print Blue 1780-1830
Photos 674-675

BH-703-1-221-2014
Blue and White annular ware 1780-1830
One lid piece
Photos 676-677



BH-703-1-211-2014
Annular green 1829-1890
Photos 678-679



BH-702-2-266-2014
Two Afro-Antiguan body sherds
Red Slip glaze
Gravely clay
Horizontal striations

Sherd #1 (Photos 680-682)
12mm thick- glaze more prevalent on one side

Sherd #2 (Photos 683-685)

Uneven thickness 12mm at thinnest 15mm at thickest
Crackly red glaze present on both sides
Slight curve to overall shape

<u>Unit 702 Level 2</u>

Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

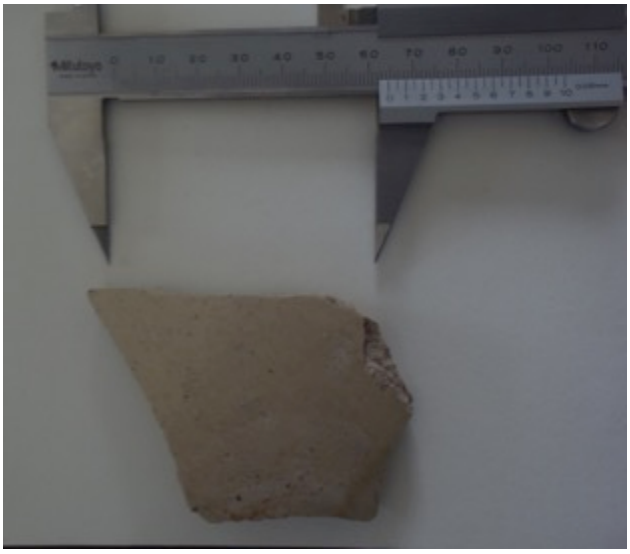
BH-703-2-282-2014 (Photos 686)
Course earthenware 32 count

- Different than afro-Antiguan but mixed throughout level
- Different firing temp? (need to do more research)
- Some with red slip glaze and horizontal striations
- Internal clay color different—do not have the layering of the soil color

*Also saltglazed stonewear present (1740-1755 dates)

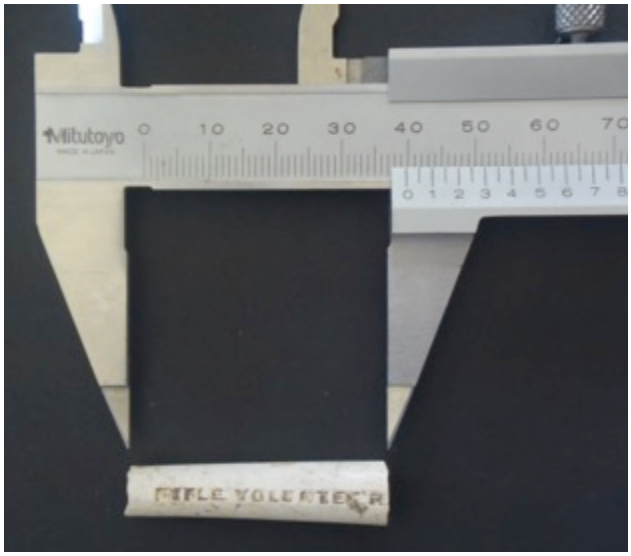
BH-702-2-312-2014
Brown saltglazed stonewear base
Tan interior- gray clay under glaze
Photos 687-688

BH-702-2-273-2014
Cream British saltglaze 1740-1755
Curved body piece—internal coils visible (photo 690)
Photos 689-691

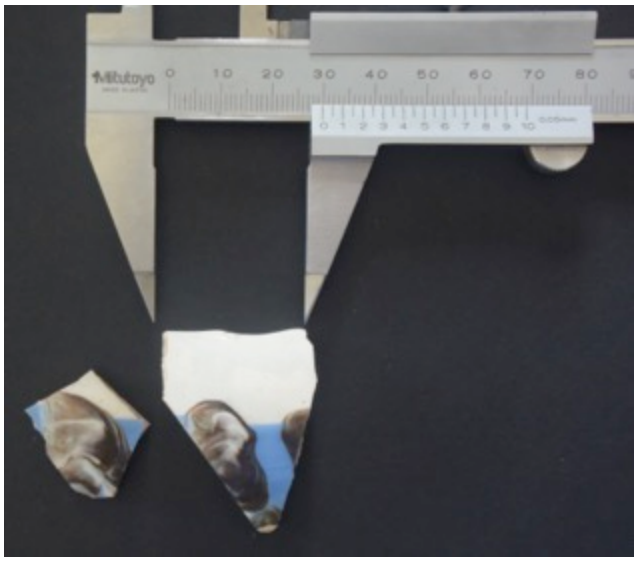


BH-702-2-302-2014
Thistle pipe bowl fragments
Photos 692-693

BH-702-2-247-2014
Pipestem fragments
"Glasgow Rifle Volunteer" written on pipe
Photos 694-697

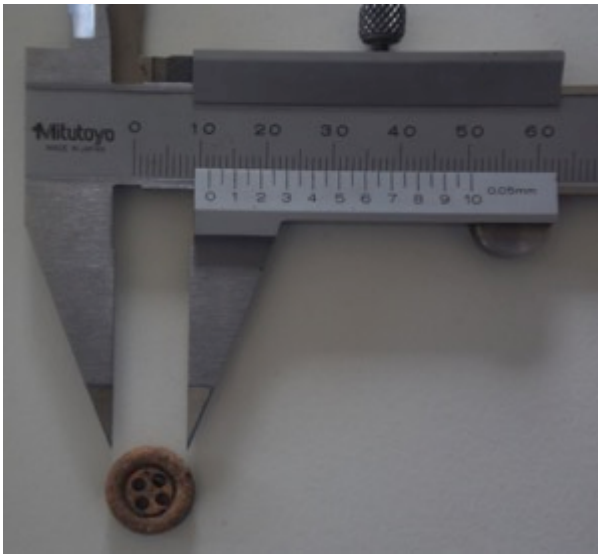


BH-702-2-267-2014
Hand painted marble—no date written
Photo 698



BH-702-2-247-2014
Hook with unknown use
Lead material
Photos 699-700

BH-702-2-333-2014
Bone button 4 holes
Photo 701

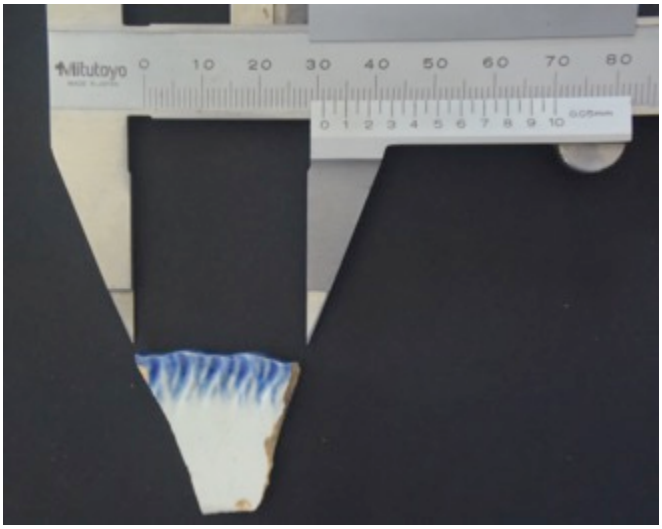


BH-702-2-279-2014
Lead fragment-unknown use
Photos 702-703

BH-702-2-235-2014

Blue and white shell edged 1790-1820

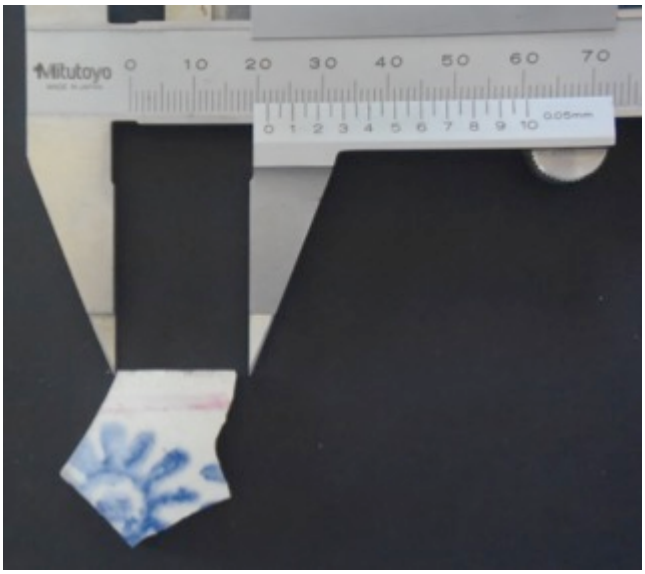
Photos 706-707



BH-702-2-233-2014

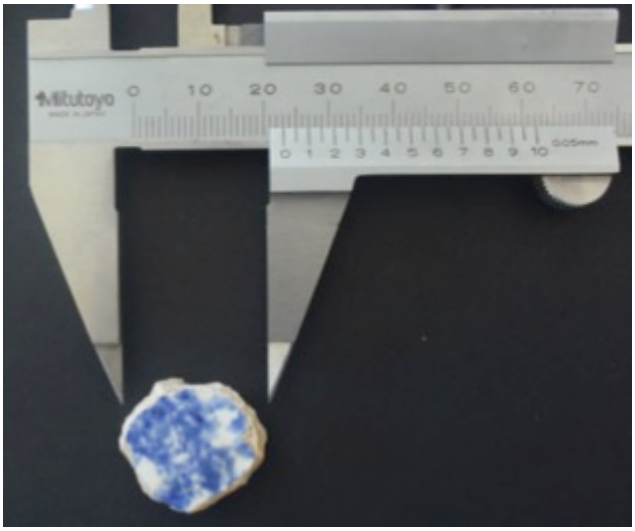
Sponge painted 1800-1820

Photos 708-709



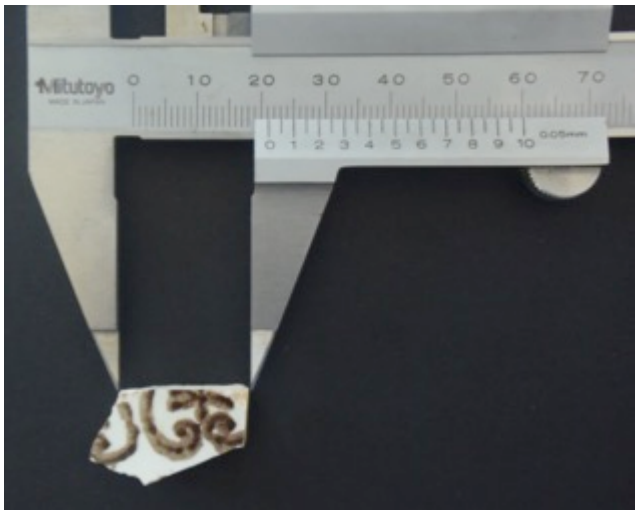
BH-702-2-321-2014

Blue and white stick splatter paint 1780-1830



BH-702-2-326-2014

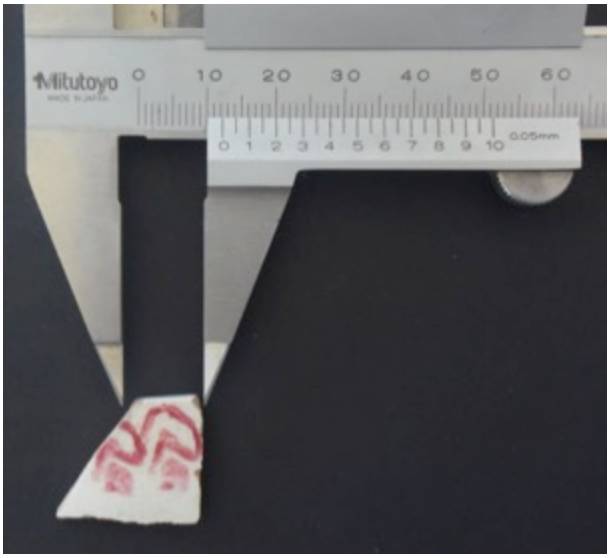
Brown hand painted pearlware 1780-1830



BH-702-2-237-2014

Pink on white hand painted pearlware lead enamel 1800-1820

Photos: 714-715



BH-705-2-42-2014

Three Afro-Antiguan rim pieces and one handle

Rim #1 (Photo 848-852)

Gray inside clay
Red slip
Slight bevel to rim
Horizontal striations

Side

Rim 14mm thick
Side 8mm thick

Outside

59mm long at top
19mm long at bottom
51mm tall
Small divot in surface

Inside

Rim lip protruding 3mm
Red slip not visible

Rim #2 (Photo 855-860)

- Red slip all over
- Grey interior layered clay
- Horizontal striations
- Black fire markings

Side

- Curved rim
- 12mm thick rim
- 10mm thick side
- 8mm tall rim

Outside

- 58mm long top
- 48mm long bottom
- 57mm tall
- Cracks in glaze
- Smooth top

Inside

- 54mm long top
- 46mm long bottom
- 58mm tall
- Rim lip protruding 3mm

Rim #3 (Photo 861-866)

Strong black char marks to exterior
Red slip on inside
Gray clay interior
Horizontal striations

Side

Rim 15mm thick
Side 10mm thick
Rim 11mm tall

Outside

Top 29mm long
37mm tall
Curved on top

Inside

Crackling red slip
32mm long top
35mm long bottom
33mm tall
Rim smooth curve down 2mm

Handle (Photo 867-868)
Red slip
Gray interior
Outside 36mm long
Inside 24mm long
29mm diameter
Gravely clay

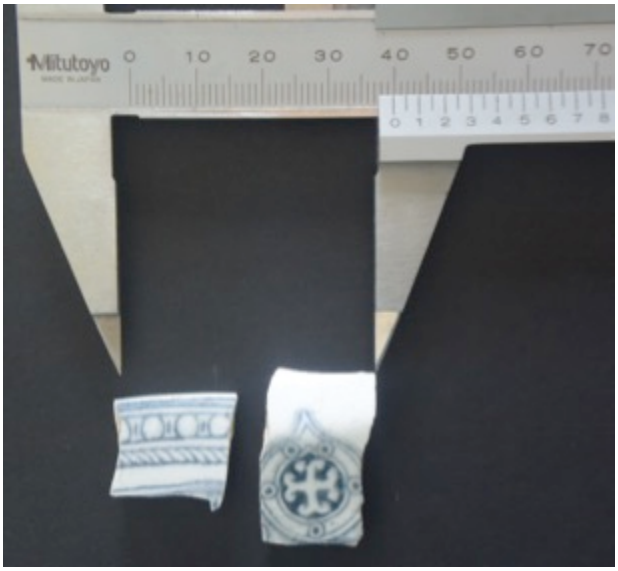
Unit 5 Level 2
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-705-2-61-2014
Clay marble
Photos 869-870

BH-705-2-36-2014

Gray transferprint pearlware

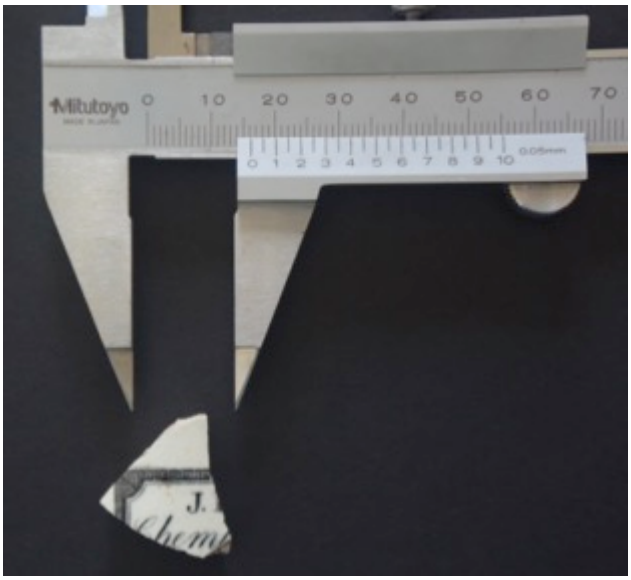
Photo 871



BH-705-2-43-2014

Black transfer J. Chem…

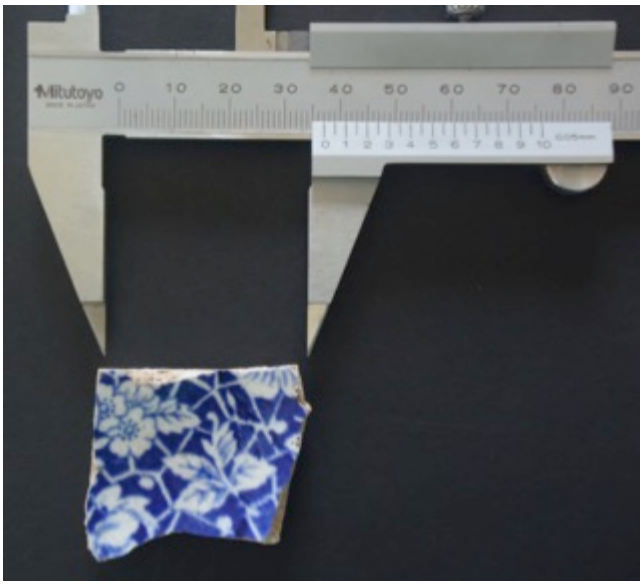
Photos 872-873



BH-705-2-29-2014

Blue transfer print pearlware

Photo 874-875



BH-705-2-47-2014
Horse Shoe—Iron
Photo 876

<u>BH-705-1-10-2014</u>
4 Afro-Antiguan Rims

Rim #1 (Photos 877-880)
Gravely Clay
Gray interior
Red slip glaze

Slight curve into the rim

Side

15mm thick at top
15mm thick on side
Rim lip protrudes 2mm inward
Rim 11mm tall

Outside

Slight beveled rim decoration 10mm from top
Top 41mm long
Bottom 25mm long
42 mm tall
Ripples at the rim

Inside

Slight bevel to the rim protruding 2mm
6mm gash in the side
Top 37mm long
Bottom 16mm long
42mm tall

Rim #2 (Photos 881-887)

Gray interior
Red slip
Gravely Clay
Cracked exterior
Smooth curved rim

Side

10mm width at rim
11mm at side
Orange layer 4mm on inside 1mm on out

Outside

Top 26mm length
Bottom 28mm
26mm tall

Crackling divots on the surface
Inside
28mm top
16mm bottom
30mm tall
Beveled rim extruding 1mm

Rim #3 (Photo 888-892)
Red slip
Gray interior
Black firing marks
Horizontal striations
Smooth rim
Curved to the side
Gravely clay
Side
11mm at rim
10mm at side
Rim surface 7mm
Orange clay interior and exterior 3mm
Outside
Smooth curve to rim
Small scratch marks to surface
Top 46mm long
Bottom angles 37mm long
At largest point 40mm tall
Inside
Smooth side
Horizontal striations
49mm long at top
27mm long at bottom—longest point
40mm tall
Beveled rim edge protruding 1mm

Rim #4 (Photo 893)

Red slip
Black fire marks
Red-gray interior
Swirling like color quality to clay

Side

7mm rim top
12mm rim side joint
Smooth curve

Inside

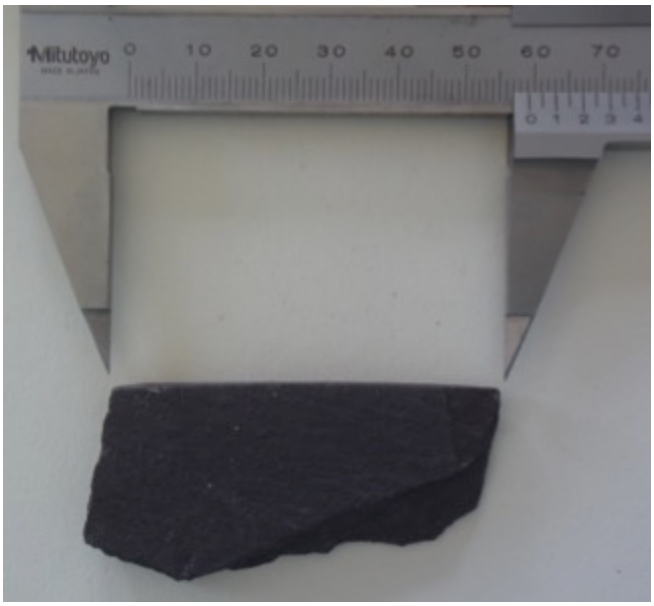
35mm long top
32mm long bottom
45mm all at largest point
Uneveness to the side—not smooth
Destinct curve to rim

Outside

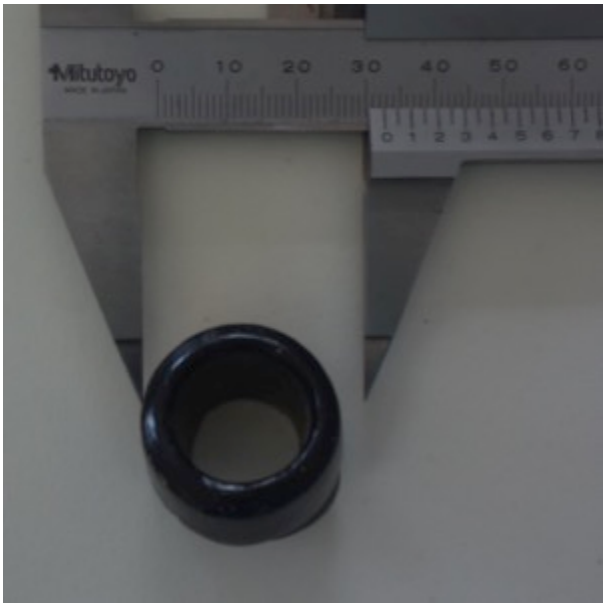
36mm long at top
29mm long at bottom
45mm tall
Two small circle impressions 5mm diameter in upper right corner
Horizontal incision at bottom 3mm apart—looks like there were more but are now gone (849)

Unit 705 Level 1
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-705-1-16-2014
Slate fragment- roof tile
Photo 899

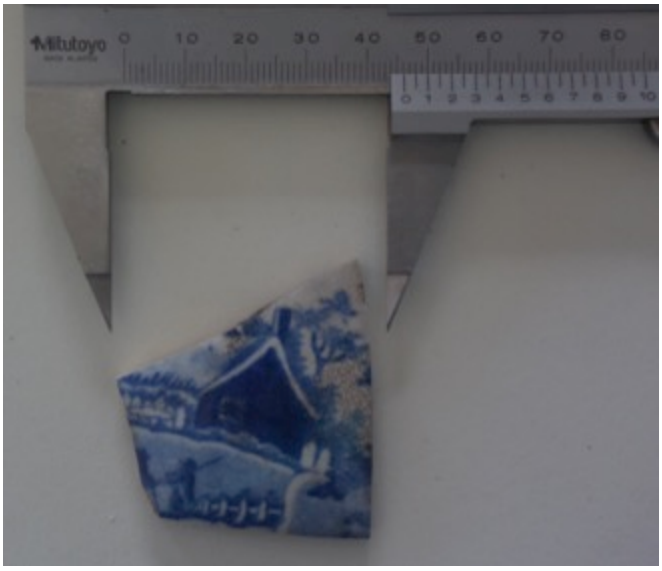


BH-705-1-18-2014
Green bottle rim
Photo 900-901



BH-705-1-23-2014
Iron can opener
Photo 902

BH-705-1-2-2014
Pearlware- blue transfer 1780-1830
Photo 903-904



BH-700-2-388-2014
Afro-Antiguan 2 Rims Two body

Rim #1 (Photo 905-910)
- Red-orange glaze
- Gray interior
- Some firing marks
- Cracking marks appear to indicate coiling

Side
- 10mm thick at rim
- 10mm thick at side
- 7mm tall rim
- Gray clay throughout

Outside
- Crackly red slip glaze
- 33mm at rim
- 27mm at bottom then to point
- 33mm tallest point

Inside
- Black charing
- 34mm at top—comes down to point
- 33mm tallest point height
- Horizontal striations
- Beveled edge felt with figure
- Small divots

Rim #2 (Photo 911-915)

- Red slip glaze
- Black charing
- Extruding beveled edge

Side

- 13-15mm thick rim
- 3mm protruding rim edge
- Rim 13mm tall
- Gray clay throughout
- Gravely clay

Outside

- Red slip
- Horizontal striations
- Top appears to have line decoration but they are wearing away
- 23mm at top
- 20mm at bottom
- 32mm tall

Two Sides (Photo 916-917)
- Horizontal striations
- Red slip
- Gray interior
- Gravely clay
- Black firing markings

BH-700-2-440-2014
Afro-Antiguan 1 Rim, 2 body not recorded

Rim
- Red slip glaze
- Gray interior
- Horizontal striations
- Curved body
- Beveled protruding rim

Side
- 13mm at rim
- 11mm at rim body joint
- 9mm at side
- Gray clay throughout

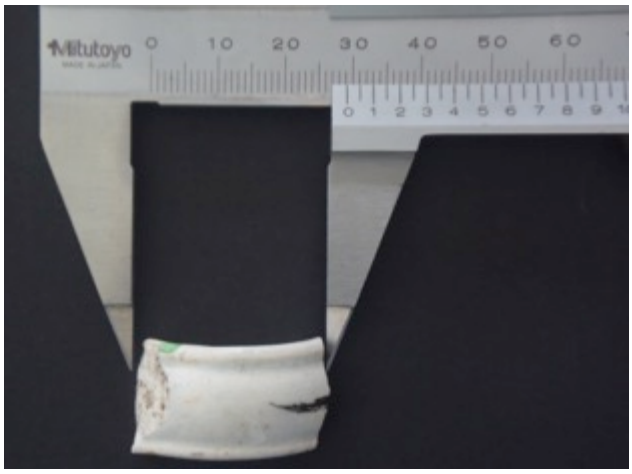
Outside
- 30mm length top
- 19mm length bottom
- 22mm tall
- Smooth curved rim

Inside
- Beveled rim protruding 5mm
- Black firing marks to rim
- 24mm tall
- 31mm length top
- Comes to point

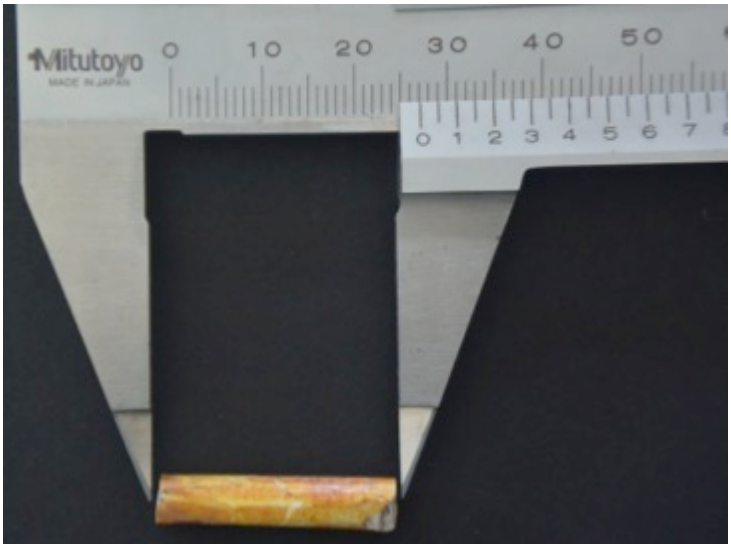
Unit 700 Level 2
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-700-2-639-2014
Pipe bowl
Photo 927

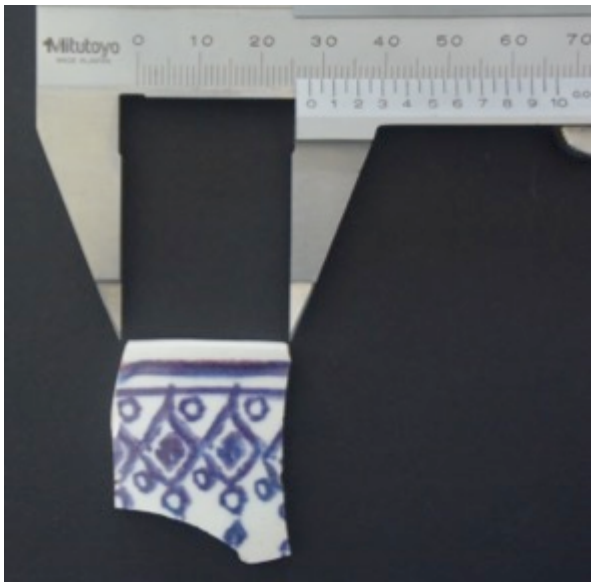
BH-700-2-469-2014
Polychrome Pearlware handle 1780-1830
Photo 928



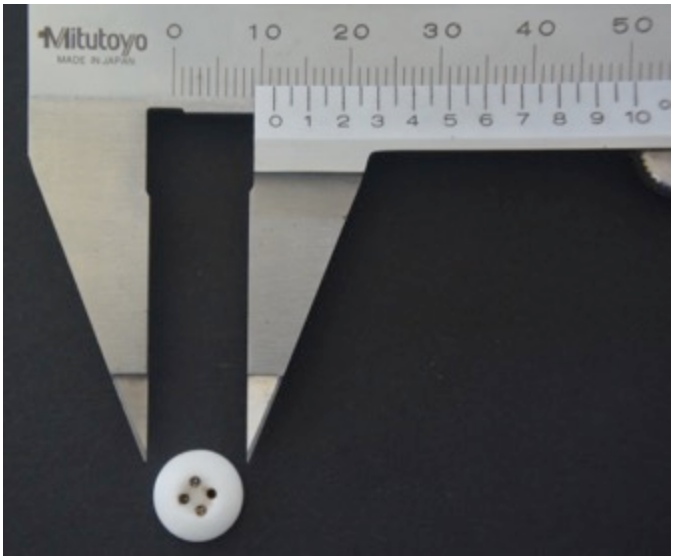
BH-700-2-451-2014
Yellow glazed pipestem
Photo 929



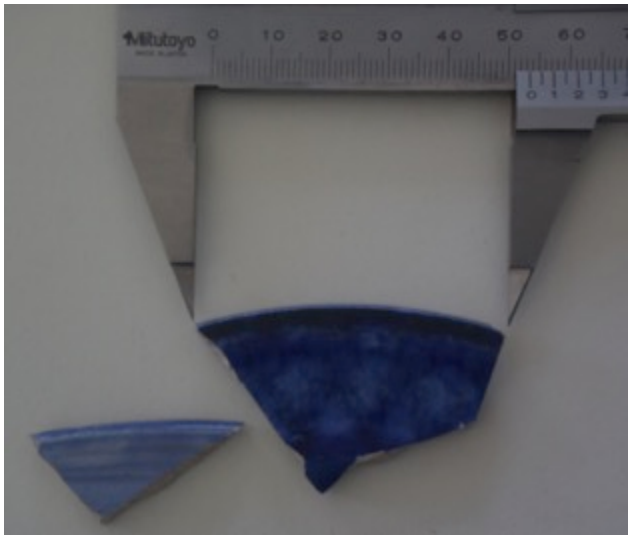
BH-700-417-2014
Handpainted pearlware
Photo 930



BH-700-422-2014
Porcelain button 4 hole
Photo 931



BH-700-2-458-2014
Flow blue rim sherds 1825-1830
Photo 932



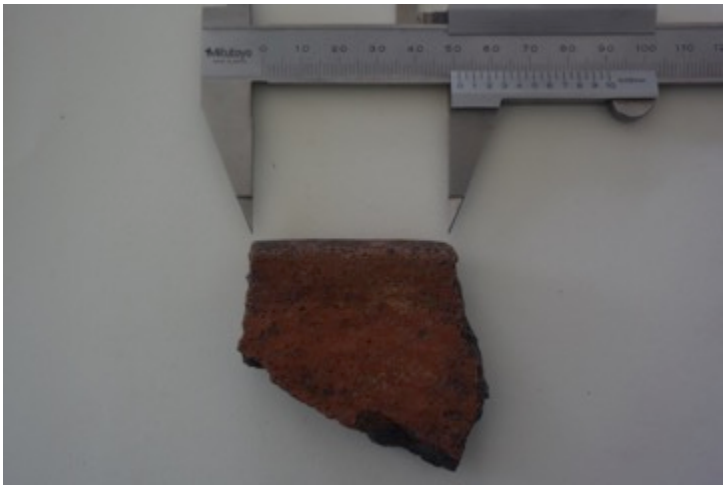
BH-702-1-88-2014
Afro Antiguan 2 rims 6 body

Rim #1 (Photo 933-938)
- Red slip glaze
- Black firing markings
- Smooth curved body and edge

Side
- 12mm thick at rim
- 11mm thick at body
- Uneven thickness throughout
- Orange clay 1.5mm on either side
- Black clay in middle

Outside
- Smooth curve to rim
- Red slip glaze
- 48mm at top extends to 58mm them comes to point
- 55mm at tallest point

Inside
- Red slip much more distinct
- 48mm at top
- 54mm before coming to point at bottom
- 56mm at tallest point



Rim #2 (Photos 939-943)

Few red slip remains
Sevier firing marks
Smooth—almost to a point rim

Side

6mm at top rim
11mm at side rim
Gray clay throughout

Inside

33mm at top
24mm at bottom
25mm tall
Black charring throughout

Outside

33mm at tip
22mm at bottom
24mm tall
Orange clay red slip gone

Body Sherds (Photo 944)

Two red slip glaze in tacked with gray clay center
Other 4 red slip gone and black charring or firing marks prevalent

BH-702-1-88-2014

7 Afro-Antiguan body sherds

Only two have red slip glaze remaining
Two pieces appear to be burned
Gravely clay

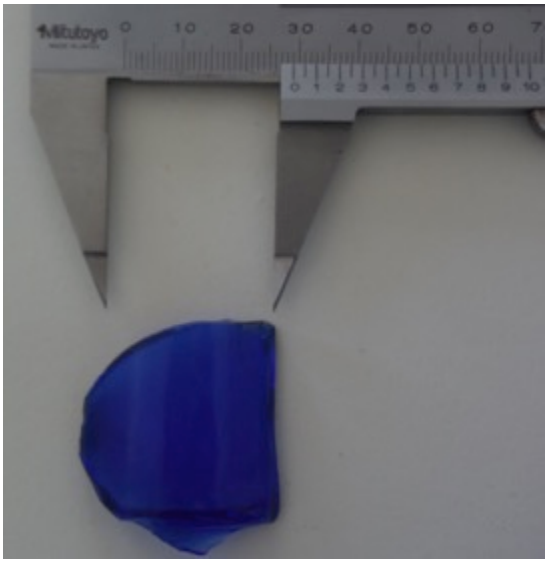
Unit 702 Level 1

Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

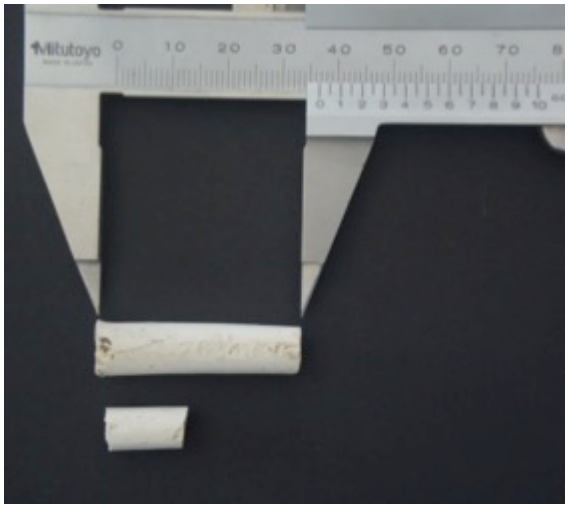
BH-702-1-96-2014

Glass Bottle
Photo 945

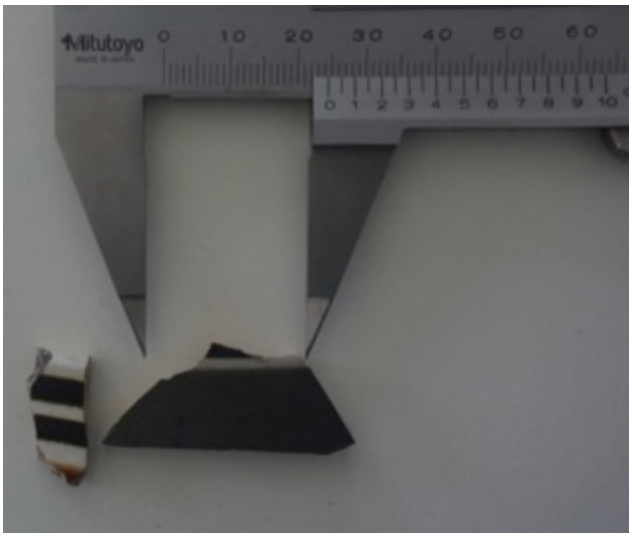
BH-702-1-101-2014
Blue glass
Photo 946



BH-702-1-101-2014
Pipestem glascow 1750-1800
Photo 948



BH-702-1-91-2014
Annual ware- polychrome
Photo 948



BH-702-1-133-2014
1 Rim and 6 body, Afro-Antiguan

Rim (Photo 949-952)
- Completely burned
- Rim comes almost to a point
- Thin

Side
- 7mm at rim
- 7mm at side

Outside
- 22mm at top
- 22mm at base
- 29mm height
- Uneven surface—perhaps blotchy burnt glaze

Inside
- 22mm at top
- 21mm at bottom
- 29mm height
- Blotchy unevenness—burnt glaze or outer layer

Body sherds (Photo 953)
- Five body pieces
- Red slip glaze
- Gray internal clay
- Some black firing marks

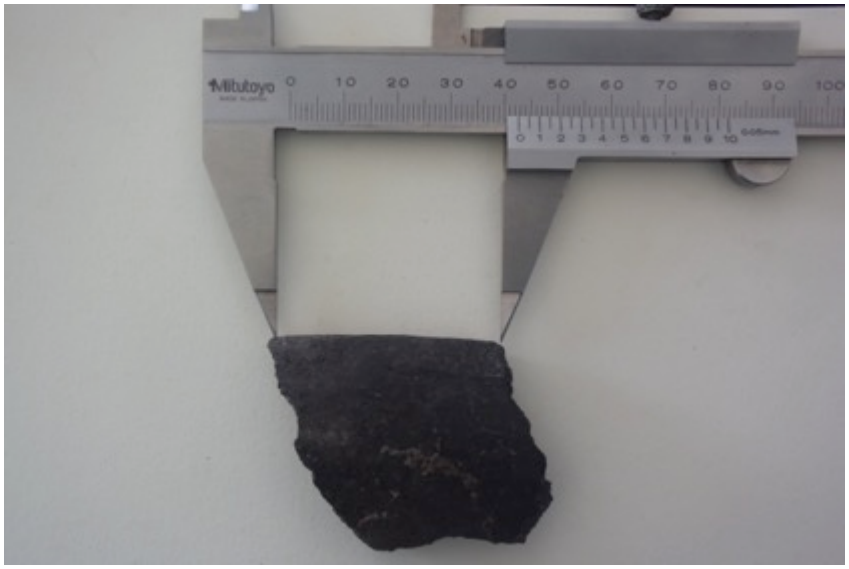
BH-702-1-107-2014
Three rim pieces one non-measured body

Rim #1 (Photo 954-957)
- Severe burning throughout
- Slight curved edge
- Horizontal striations
- Curved- smooth sides

Side
- 10mm at rim
- 9mm at side
- Burnt throughout

Inside
- 42mm long top
- 33mm long bottom
- 31mm tall
- Slight beveled edge felt with figure

Outside
- Smooth curve to rim
- 42mm top
- 30mm bottom
- 37mm tall



Rim #2 (Photo 958-961)

Red slip glaze
Gray brown interior clay
Horizontal striations

Side

12mm thick rim
8mm side
8mm tall rim

Inside

21mm at top
22mm at bottom then goes to point
39mm tall
Red slip glaze crackling

Outside

25mm at top
Bottom comes down at a point
40mm tall
Slight bevel to rim felt with figure

Rim #3 (Photo 962-965)

- Red slip
- Black firing marks
- Gray clay inside

Side

- 15-17mm thick at rim
- Flat on oneside
- Curved on the other

Inside

- Blackened
- Smoot curve shape
- 30mm tall
- 25mm then comes to point at bottom

Outside

- Red chipped glaze
- 26mm then comes to point at bottom
- 30mm tall

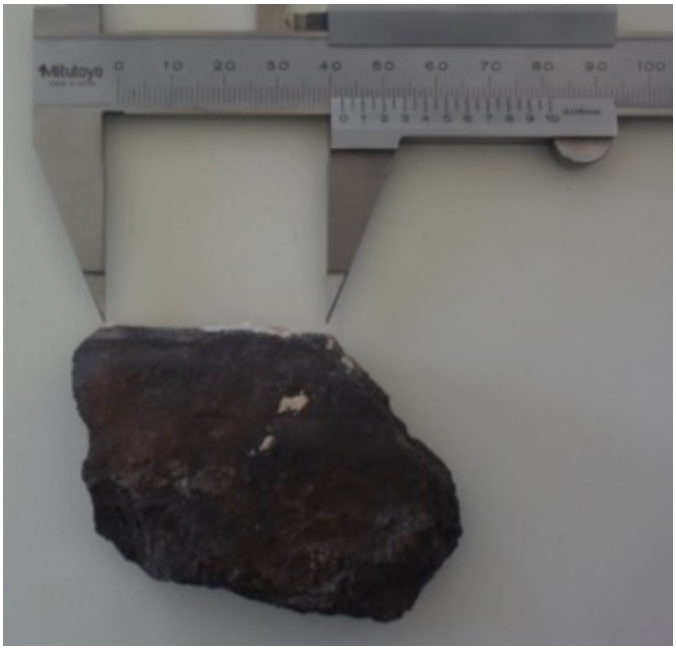
BH-702-1-129-2014
6 Afro-Antiguan, 2 of them rims

Rim #1 (Photo 966-971)
- Coil marks visible
- Blackened fire markings throughout
- Gets thicker at bottom
- Tag crumbled inside leaving white marks on sherd

Side
- 9mm at rim
- 11mm on side
- Solid black throughout

Outside
- 48mm length at top
- 65mm length at bottom
- 50mm tall
- Horizontal striations
- Coiling visible
- Bottom very rough and rocky
- Top slight indent at rim- 5mm from top

Inside
- 49mm length at top
- 62mm length at bottom
- 44mm tall
- Rim beveled extends 9mm down
- Rim protrudes 3mm from side
- Horizontal striations
- Small puncture towards bottom—consistent with coiling



Rim #2 (Photo 927-978)

- Red slip glaze
- Gray interior
- Horizontal striations
- Coiled
- Gravely clay

Side

- Gray interior
- Red orange clay exterior
- Smooth curve top
- 12mm thick at tip
- 12mm thick at bottom
- Gray interior layer 7mm
- Orange outer layer equal on both sides

Outside

- Red glaze
- Small holes consistent with coiling
- Tip 19mm long
- Bottom 30mm long
- 45mm tall

Inside

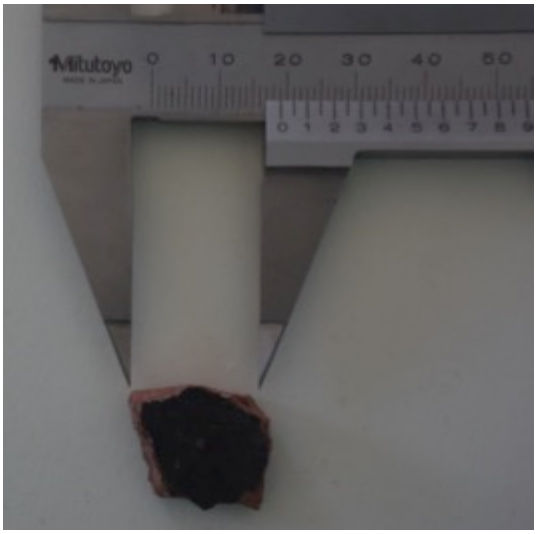
- 16mm long top
- 28mm on bottom
- 48mm tall—bottom point
- Red slip
- Horizontal layers

Four Body Sherds (Photo 979)
Red slip
Horizontal striations
Fire burning marks

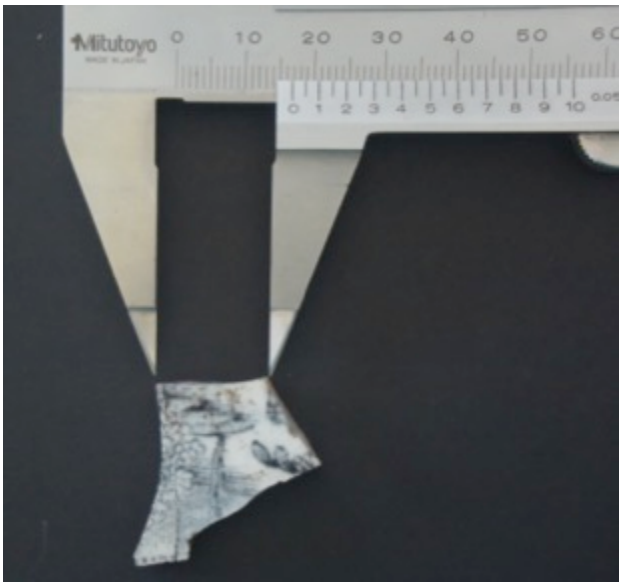
<u>Unit 702 Level 1</u>
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-702-1-135-2014
Green, yellow, black annularware 1780-1815

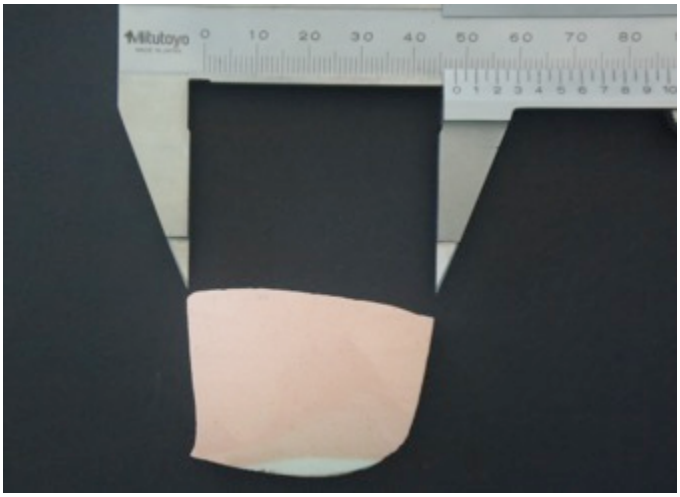
BH-702-1-115-2014
Course earthenware black glaze
Photo 981



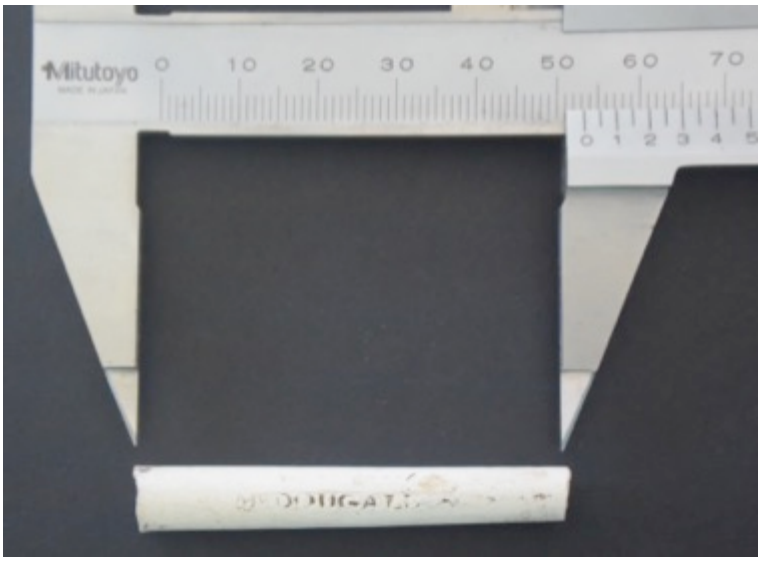
BH-702-1-110-2014
Gray transfer print 1780-1880
Photo 982



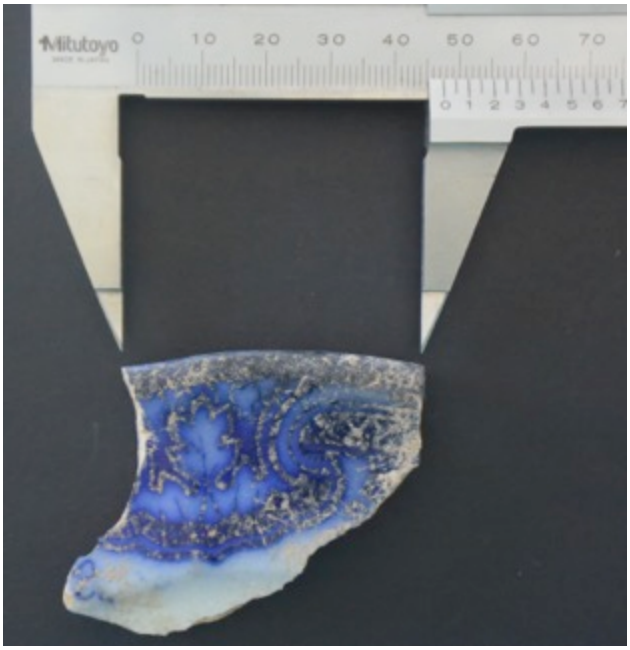
BH-702-1-137-2014
Light pink band lead glaze 1730-1830
Photo 983



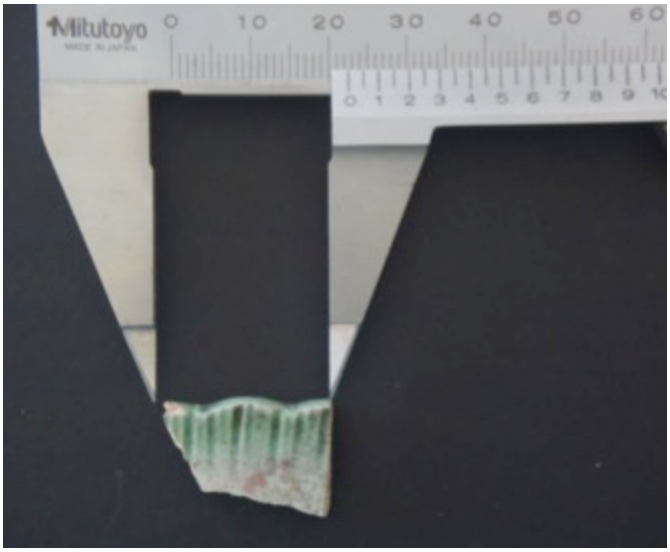
BH-702-1-137-2014
Pipestem “McDougall” Glasgow
Photo 984



BH-702-1-120-2014
Flow blue pearlware 1825-1830
Photo 985



BH-702-1-143-2014
Shell edged green 1780-1830
Photo 986



BH-701-1-142-2014
Afro-Antiguan 9 pieces—one base

Base (Photo 987-990)
- Red slip
- Horizontal striations
- Gravely clay
- Gray interior
- Side width 15mm
- Slight lip on base 9mm tall—extruding 5mm from side
- Possible coil lines on inside
- Black firing markings at base
- 68mm long piece
- 32mm tall
- Grey interior 10mm thick

8 Body sherds (no photo)
- Red slip
- Grey interior
- Gravely clay
- Horizontal striations

BH-701-1-137-2014 (Photo 991-994)
Afro-Antiguan Rim
- Burnt
- Slight bevel to the rim—olla rim

Side
- 16mm thick at rim body joint
- 10mm thick body

37mm tall

Outside

37mm at top

42mm then comes to point

38mm tall

Smooth curved rim

Inside

36mm tall

45mm top length

34mm bottom then comes to point

Extruding lip 9mm down—3mm out

BH-701-1-124-2014 (Photo 995)

Afro-Antiguan; Two body sherds

Red slip glaze

Small coiling ridges

Grey interior red outer clay

Gravely clay

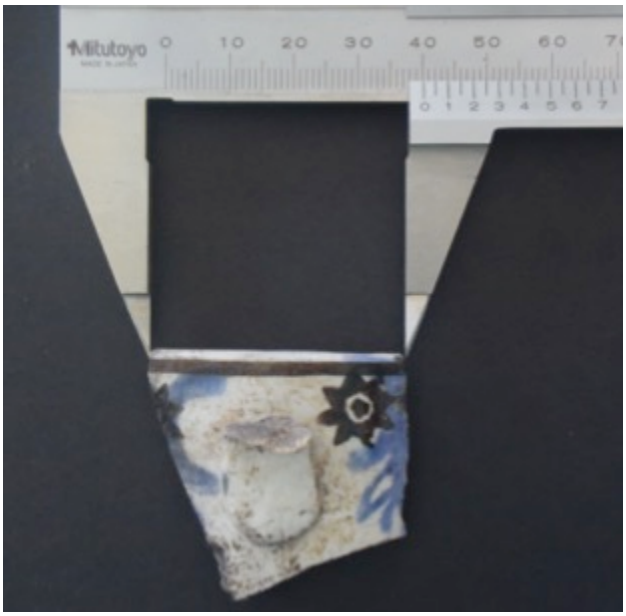
Unit 701 Level 1

Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-701-1-154-2014

Sponge tea cup 1795-1820

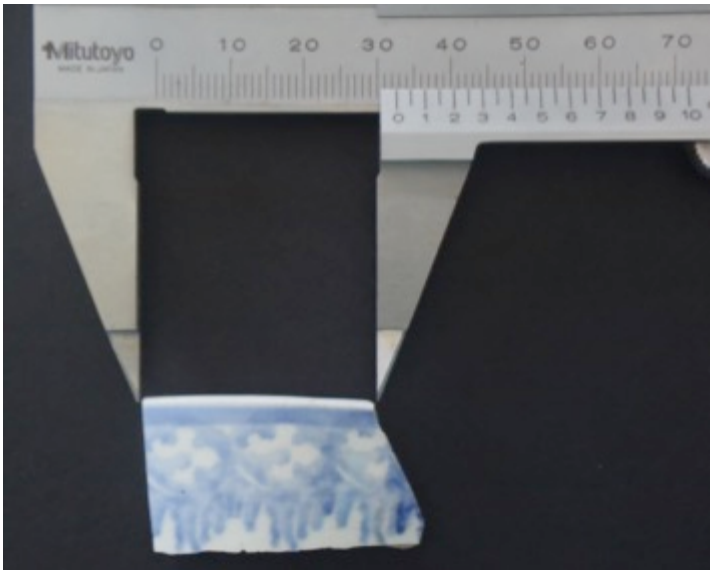
Photo 996



BH-701-1-146-2014

Blue stick spattered pearlware 1780-1830

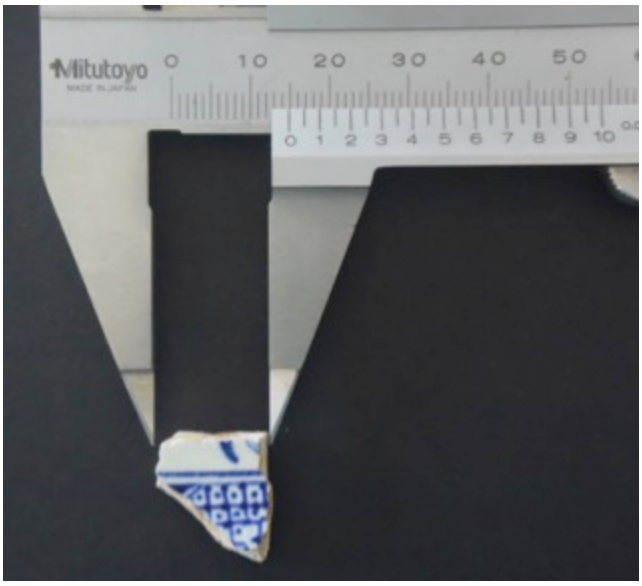
Photo 997



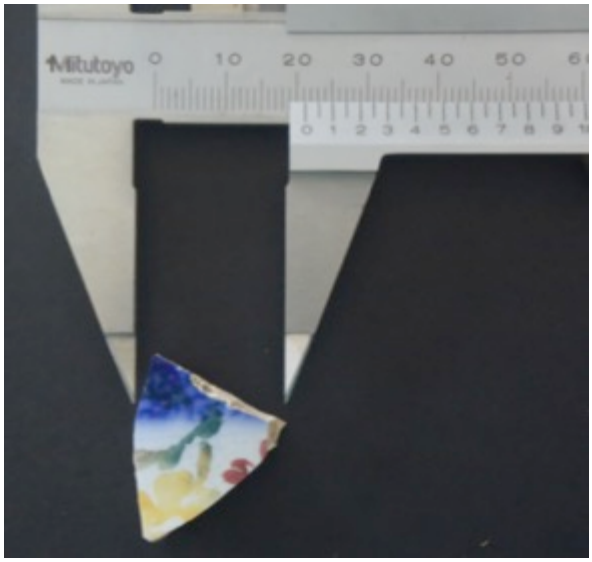
BH-701-1-131-2014

Pearlware transfer willow 1815-1820

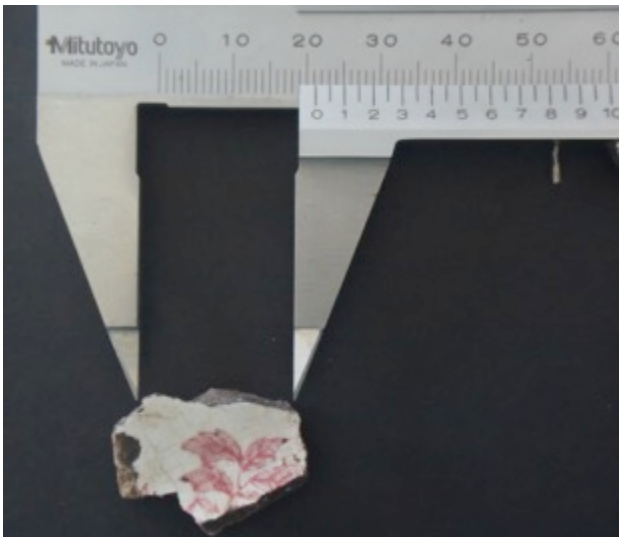
Photo 998



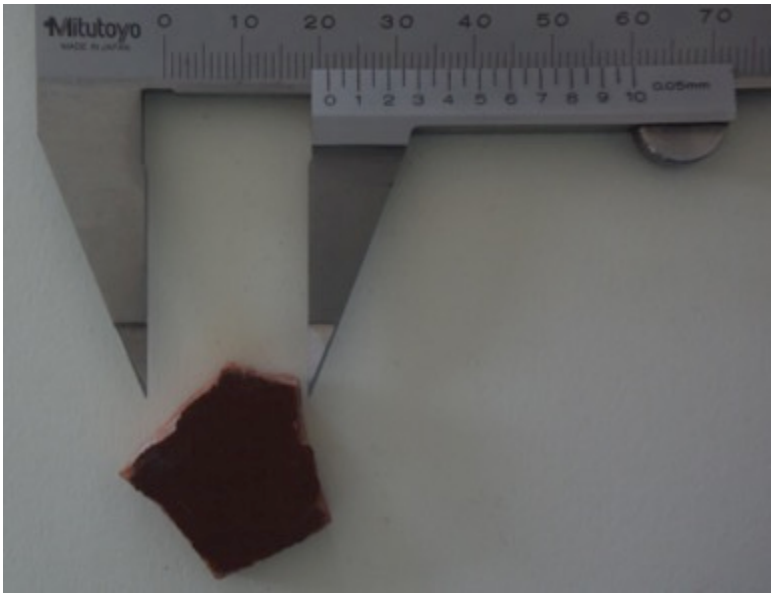
BH-701-1-134-2014
Pearlware hand-painted 1762-1803
Photo 999



BH-701-1-148-2014
Pearlware transferprint 1780-1830
Photo 1000



BH-701-1-152-2014
Course earthenware 1720-1775
Photo 1001-1002



BH-701-1-126-2014
Green bottle “Scotland” on bottom
Photo 1003-1004

BH-701-1-119-2014
Buckle—iron
Photo 1005

BH-703-1-127-2014
Afro-Antiguan ware 1 Rim and 1 Body. Body to small to record

Rim (Photo 1006-1009)
Red slip glaze
Gray interior clay
Smooth curved edge
Side
17mm rim body joint

15mm rim
14mm body
Gravely clay

Inside
Red slip preserved
Horizontal striations
Smooth curved rim
41mm at top
24mm at bottom
34mm tall

Outside
Black firing marks
No red slip visible
44mm at top
36mm at bottom
35mm tall
Slight bevel to rim felt with figure

BH-703-1-99-2016
11 Body pieces

Body #1 (Photo 1010-1014)
Red slip glaze on one side
Gray and light tan clay layering
Vertical striations on 1 side

Side
7mm thick
4mm thick grey layer
3mm thick tan
Gravely clay

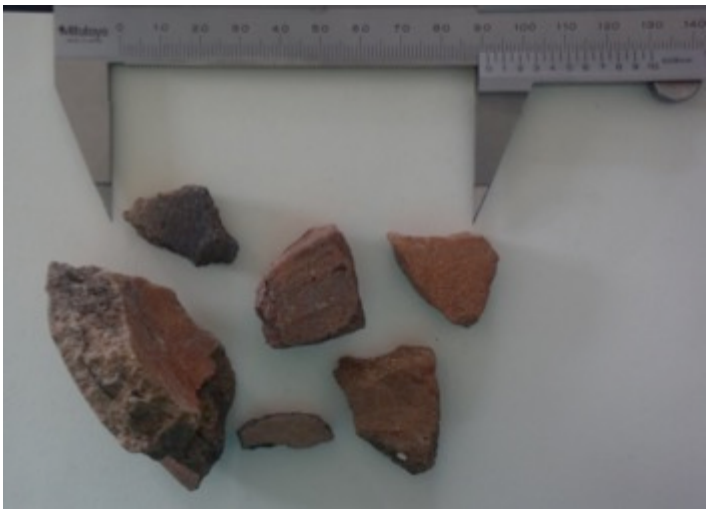
Glazed side

Red slip
Tan layer showing through
Non-glazed side
Striations in all directions
Could be trowel marks
Deeper incision in middle

Ten other body pieces not measured (Photo 1015)
Very in side and a few red slip

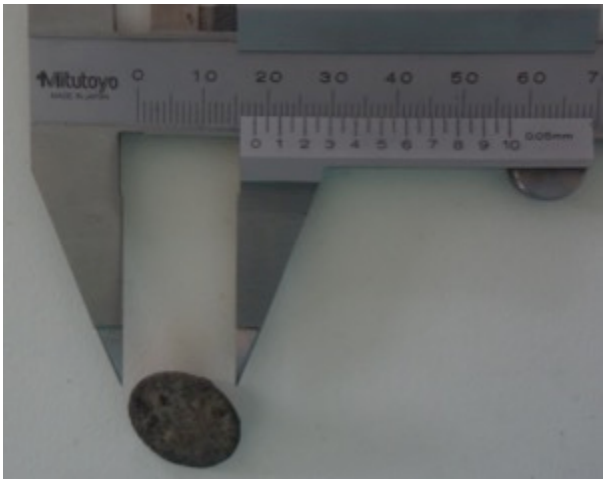
Unit 703 Level 1
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-703-1-124-2014
Course earthen ware- 6 total
One base side piece, five body pieces, three with red glaze
Photo 1016-1017



BH-703-1-92-2014
Spanish utilitarian ware 1500-1770
Photo 1018-1020

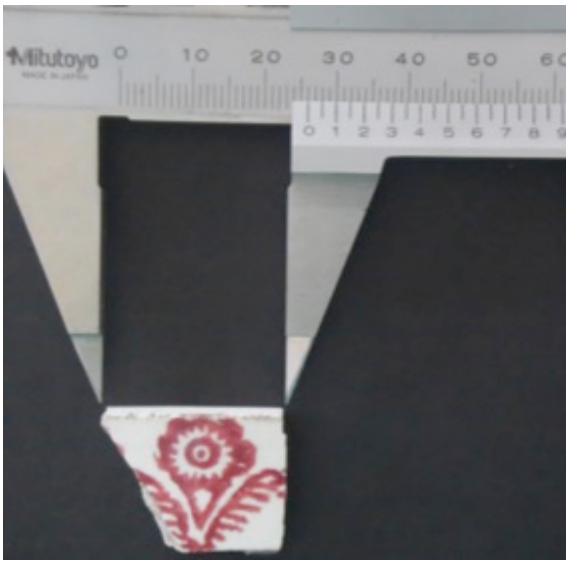
BH-703-1-96-2014
Metal Button
Photo 1021-1023



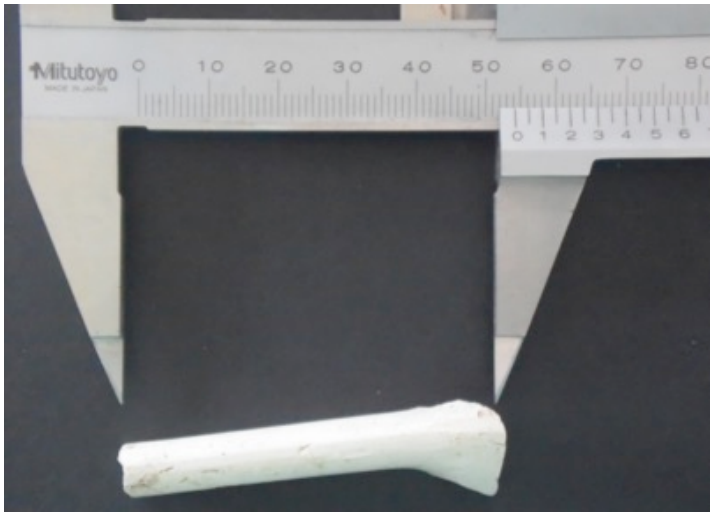
BH-703-1-98-2014
Bent nail

BH-703-1-125-2014
Flint
Photo 1026

BH-703-1-121-2014
Red hand painted
Photo 1027

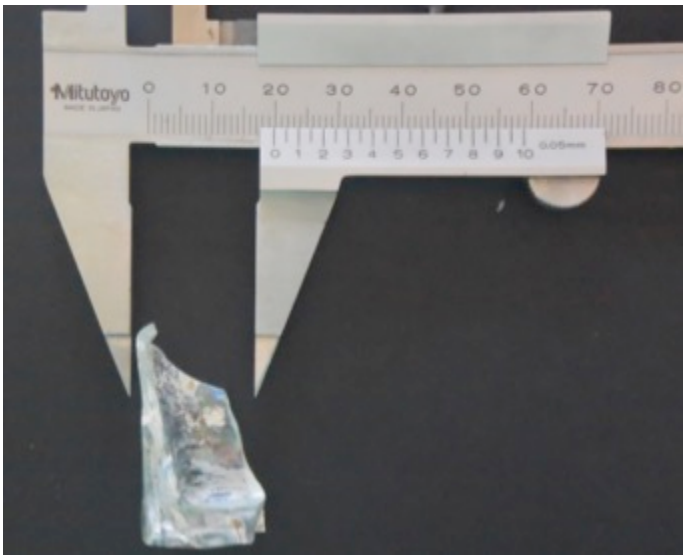


BH-703-1-117-2014
White clay stem 1720-1750
Photo 1028-1029



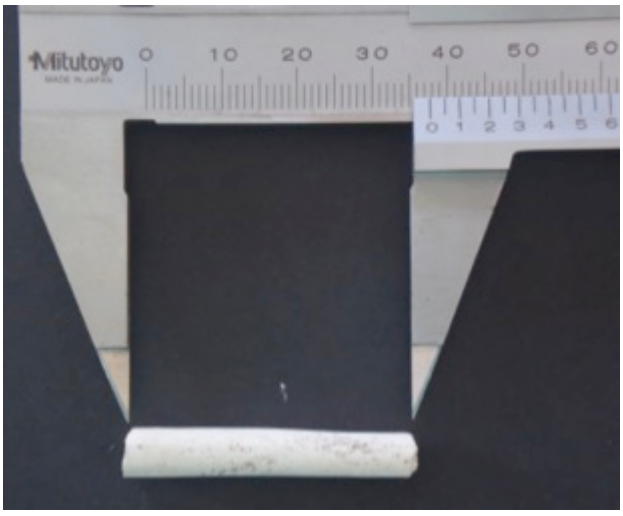
BH-703-1-137-2014

Pharmacy glass bottle



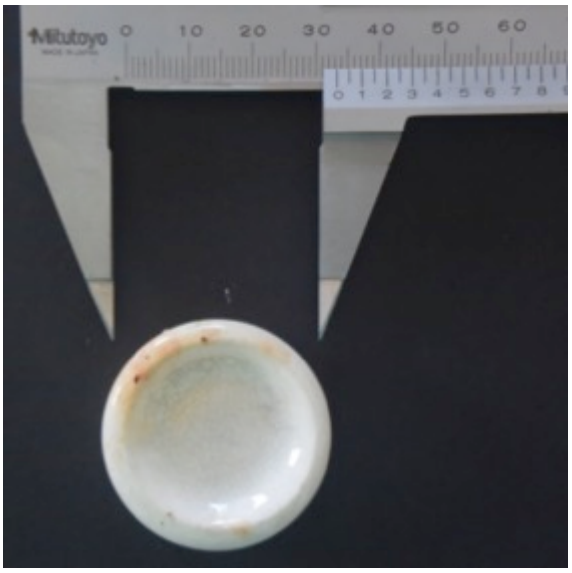
BH-703-1-149-2014

Pipestem 1720-1750



BH-703-1-145-2014

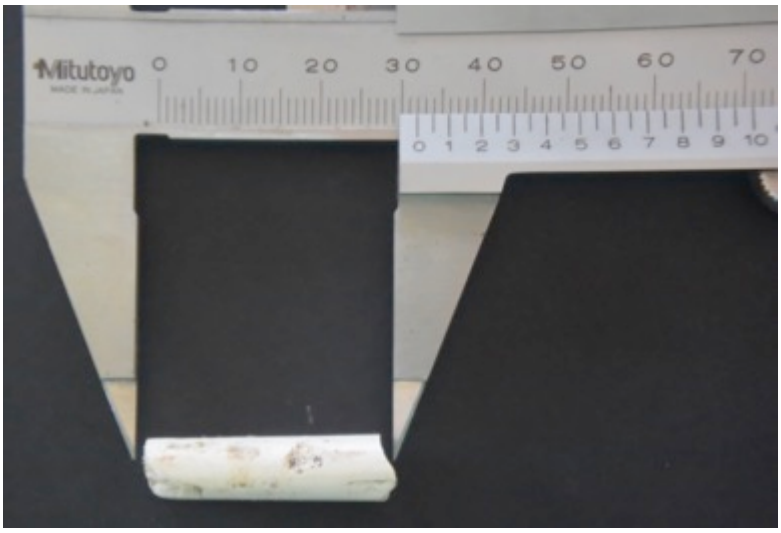
Whiteware base



BH-703-1-148-2014

Pipestem 19th cen

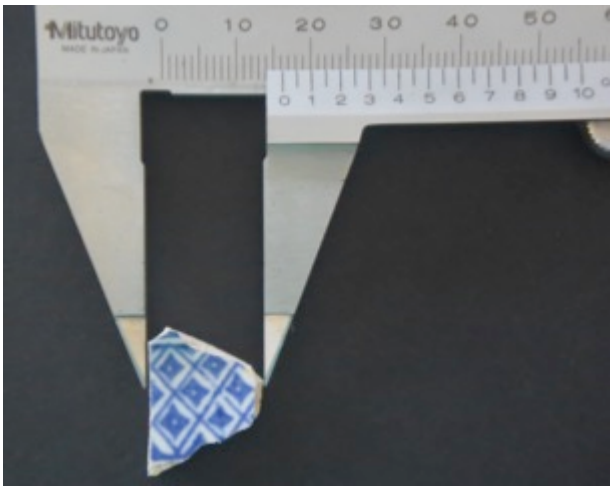
Photo 1054



BH-703-1-163-2014

Transfer Pearlware 1780-1830

Photo 1055



BH-703-1-155-2014
Cut nail 1800's-1900's

BH-703-1-158-2014
Afro-Antiguan 22 body 4 Rims

Rim #1 (Photo 1030-1033)
Red slip glaze
Black fire markings
Outside
34mm length at top
34mm length at bottom
23mm height
Horizontal striations

Inside
Feel coil marks
Horizontal striations
32mm length at top
32mm length at bottom
26mm height
Side
Smooth curved rim
6mm thick throughout
3mm thick black interior
1.5mm orange clay on either side

Rim #2 (Photo 1034-1037)
Red slip glaze
Gray clay interior throughout
Side
12mm thick at rim body joint
13mm thick rim
10mm thick side
Gravely clay
Inside
Red slip well preserved
28mm length top
13mm length bottom
23mm height
Slight bevel to rim
3mm extension of rim
Outside
Red slip almost gone
Horizontal striations

Significant dip crack 9mm from top—coiling?
28mm length at top
Bottom comes to point
25mm height

Rim #3 (Photo 1038-1043)
Gravely clay
Horizontal striations

Side
Gray clay throughout
8mm rim width side looks like it flairs out

Outside
Slight <<< (1039)
Striations
23mm length at top
Bottom comes to point
25.5mm height

Inside
23mm length top
Bottom comes to a point
25.2mm height
Horizontal striations

Rim #4 (Photos 1044-1049)

Red slip glaze
Gravely clay

Side

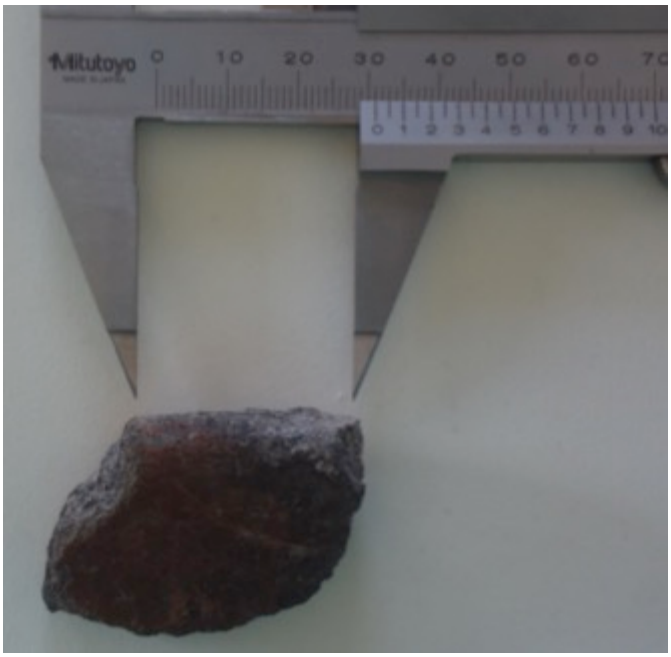
14mm rim width
9mm side width

Inside

29mm length top
35mm base
28mm height
Red slip glaze
Slight bevel at rim felt with figure

Outside

No red slip
30mm top length
37mm bottom length
30mm height



BH-700-1-278-2014 (Photo 1057-1062)
6 course earthenware sherds
- Very thick but similar to afro-Antiguan
- 17mm thick rim side joint
- 9mm side
- Smooth curve to the rim
- Some orange/red clay mixed throughout
- Sherd size thickness some 13mm
- Gravely clay
- Some unevenness to the sides—could be coiled but not sure
- Some with horizontal striations (1061)
- Mojepose together feel to some of the insides

*What's the difference between course earthenware and Afro-Antiguan ceramics?

BH-700-1-472-2014
Course earthenware 5 rim 4 body
*I think this might be Afro-Antiguan so measure rims

Rim #1 (Photo 1063-1067)
- Horizontal striations
- Red slip glaze
- Gravely clay
- Gray interior
- 9mm thick
- Smooth curved rim
- 20.5mm long at top
- 23mm long at bottom

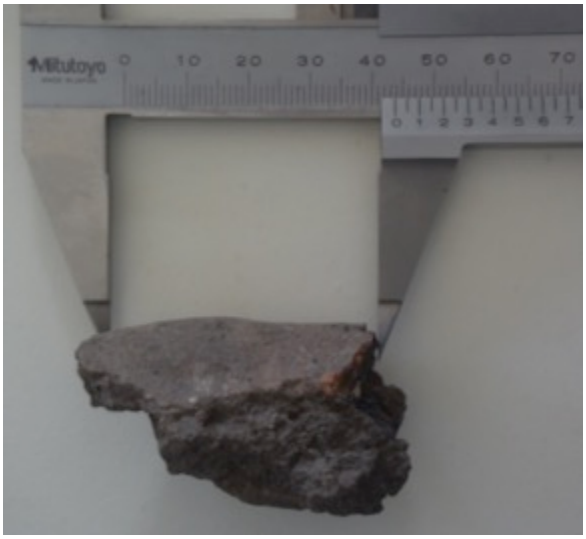
29mm tall—longest point

Rim #2 (Photo 1066-1071)
Black firing marks
Horizontal striations
Smooth curve to rim
14mm thick at rim body joint
33mm long piece
26mm tall

Rim #3 (Photo 1072-1076)
Horizontal striations
Red/orange clay
Gravely clay

Smooth rim
12.5mm thick
38mm long at top
42mm long at bottom
29mm tall
Some small divots in surface
Minute layering to clay—gray inside, orange/brown out

Rim #4 (Photo 1077-1080)
Dark gray clay inside
Much thicker
Definite orange patches to clay 9mm down
Gravely clay
Inward divots at rim
Horizontal striations
Rim 15mm thick at rim body joint
Piece is sheered off after rim difficult to take measurements

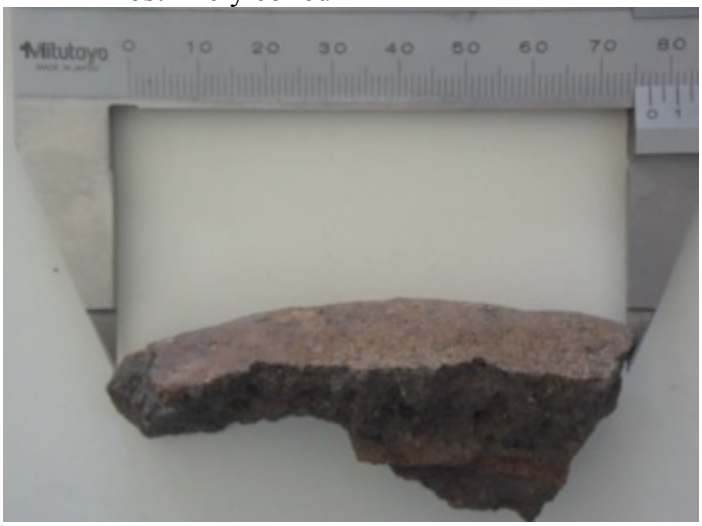


Base #1 (Photo 1081-1085)

Gray interior-orange exterior
Gravely clay
Appears to be joint- as if bottom of coal pot
Bottom rim 12mm

Base #2 (Photo 1086-1089)

Similar to last coal pot base
13mm thick rim lip
Orange clay exterior gray interior
Horizontal striations
Most likely coiled



Four body sherds (Photo 1090-1093)
Red clay exterior-gray interior
Gravely clay
Horizontal striations
One uneven interior cement like (1090)
Others 10-11mm thick

Unit 700 Level 1

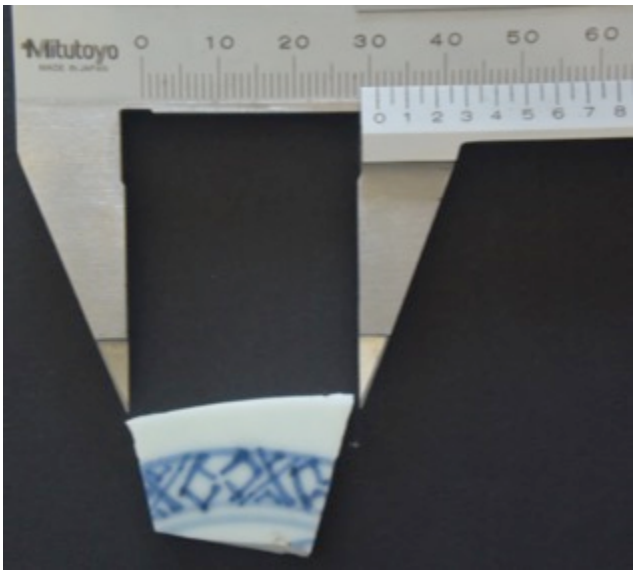
Additional content in same unit and level as the previously recorded Afro-Antiguan wares; Photographed

BH-700-1-231-2014
Glass insulator- coil ridges inside
Photo 1094-1095

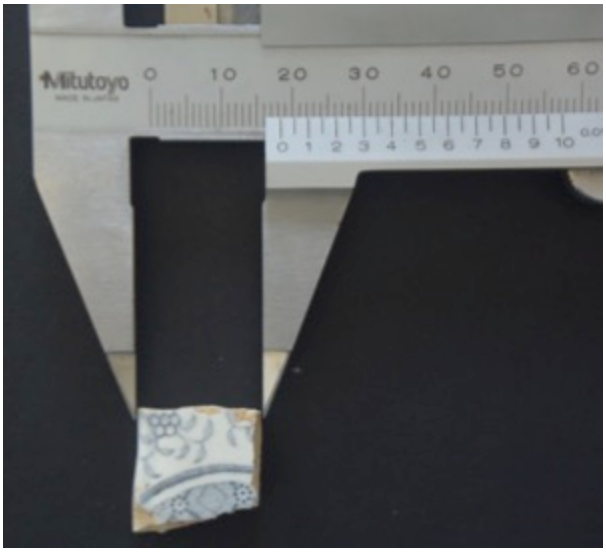
BH-700-1-295-2014
Stick spattered pearlware
Photo 1096

BH-700-1-324-2014
Flow blue pearlware 1825-1880
Photo 1097-1098

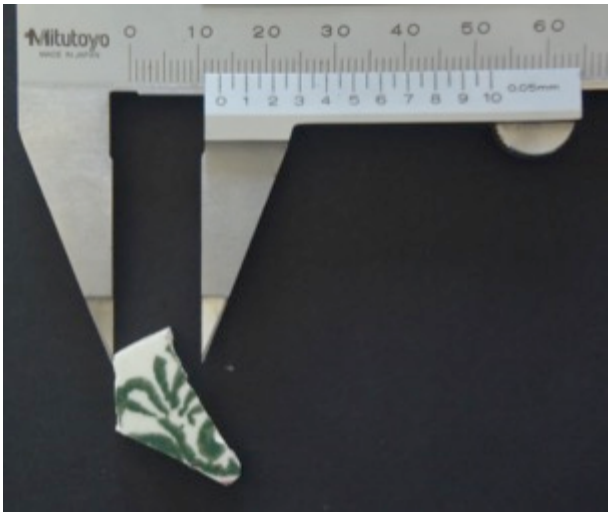
BH-700-1-305-2014
Blue on white porcelain
Photo 1099-1100



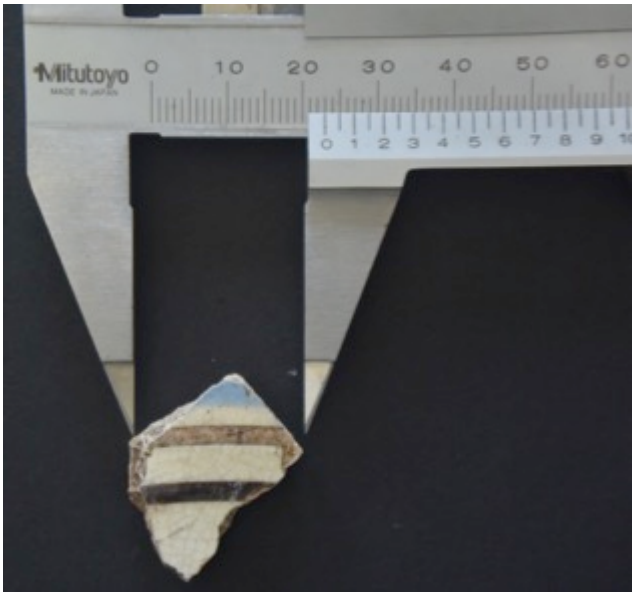
BH-700-1-307-2014
Gray blue transfer print pearlware floral pattern
Photo 1101-1102



BH-700-1-322-2014
Dark green handpainted
Photo 1103



BH-700-1-291-2014
Black and blue annular ware



BH-700-1-318-2014
Handpainted black and yellow

APPENDIX III
CLARENCE HOUSE

PAH-107
Dated before 1787
NW Room Floor digging 8-16-2013

PAH-107-1 (Photo 1106-1112)
Rim
- Front
  - Black firing marks
  - Olla Rim
  - Horizontal Striations
  - Zig-zag geometric pattern 17mm wide starting 11.5mm from top
- Side
  - 7mm rim body joint
  - Further down the side 4-5mm thick
  - One solid gravely clay throughout
  - No orange and no glaze
- Inside
  - Slight oranger tint
  - Distinct rings along rim
  - Most likely slab molding- no coiling indications

PAH-107-6 (Photo 1113-1116)
Rim
- Olla Rim
- Orange clay exterior gray interior

Front
- Black char markings

Side
6mm thick at rim joint
Layered clay
Inside
Some lines around rim

PAH-107-2 (Photo 1117-1122)
Rim
Olla Rim
Zig-zag pattern starts 6mm from top
Pattern is 13mm tall
6mm thick at rim body joint
Dark interior
Some firing marks
Small ridges on inside 3mm apart

PAH-107-8 (Photo 1123-1124)
Two body sherds

Black/gray interior orange clay exterior
Horizontal striations
9-10mm thick

PAH-107-1 (Photo 1125-1129)
Rim

Black interior—almost siity or ashy clay
Horizontal striations
Smooth rim
7mm thick
Possibly from flat tray like dish like in the museum

APPENDIX IV
AFRO-ANTIGUAN MUSEUM VESSELS

Afro-Antiguan Ceramic from dockyard museum; context unknown (Photos 704-705)

- Used for reference and comparison
- Extruding rim-lip
- Rim starting at 5mm and expanding to 7mm thick
- Side only 4 mm thick
- Uneven interior-indicating slab molding
- Some blackened areas indicating firing technique
- Gravely clay
- A few red speckles on the interior- indicating red slip glaze
- Rim 13mm pronounced height

Photo 720-722

Rim 11mm thick
Side 15mm thick
240mm diameter opening
225mm tall vessel
Horizontal striations
Black inside
Curved beveled edge
Red Slip
Two handles

Photo 723

Beveled edge
Completely charred
One of the oldest vessels, found at Bats Cave
Horizontal striations
Rim 11mm thick
Charcle still comes off in hands
200mm diameter opening

30mm tall rim
160mm tall vessel

Photo 724

Seamless curved edge
Black charred
Horizontal striations
6mm width at rim
Some brown/red coloring showing through
19mm diameter
94mm tall vessel

Photo 725-729

Two ridges at top rim—decoration
Two small handles—size of thumb
Horizontal striations
Red slip?
Black firing marks
Rim 14mm thick—angles in
Rim 28mm tall

218 mm diameter
265mm tall vessel

Photo 730-732

Black firing marks
Red slip
Gray clay underneath
Small base—not black charred 30mm from bottom
Smooth rim-no lip
12mm thick at rim
95mm tall vessel
220mm diameter

Photo 733-734

Relatively shallow round bowl
Black firing markings
Horizontal striations
15mm thick
305mm diameter
Coil feel to the sides

73mm tall vessel

Photo 735-736

Same style as above
17mm thick at rim
Red clay outside
Black inside
63mm tall vessel

Photo 737-739

Two handles—thumb size
No distinct decoration to the rim visible
Gravely clay
9mm thick
190mm diameter
158mm tall vessel

Photo 740-741

Rounder shape to the body
Two thumb handles
Beveled rim
Distinct red glaze—little black firing marks
From the Blackmans Estate
Rim tip 9mm thick
20mm thick at rim-body joint
234mm diameter
268mm tall vessel
30mm tall rim

Photo 742-744

Firing grill—designed to stop fires in the towns
14 wholes in top bowl down to base—thumb size
Two handles on bowl top
Top 17mm thick

360mm diameter
Red slip—black charring
Base about 145mm tall

Photo 745-747 and 834-836

Large pot
Two thumb wholes
Red slip glaze
Black fire markings
No decoration to the rim
Horizontal striations
Rim 16mm thick
280mm thick diameter
Body gets thicker further from rim
300mm tall vessel

Photo 748-750

Similar to above but smaller
Two thumb holes
Red slip
Black firing marks
No distinct decorations to the rim
Body is thicker than the rim
Horizontal striations
Rim 4mm thick at top—15mm thick
245mm diameter
291mm tall vessel

Photo 751-755

Red slip glaze
Some firing marks at rim
Two handles three middle figures
Curved beveled edge
Horizontal striations
10mm thick at rim
16mm thick at rim-body joint
220mm diameter
360mm tall vessel
Coil feet
Rim 35mm tall

Photo 756-760

Red slip
Slight beveled- risen edge
Two handles thumb size
Black firing marks
Gravely clay showing through
Horizontal striations
10mm thick at rim
19mm thick at joint
Rim 29mm tall (photo 756)
235mm diameter
266mm tall vessel

Photo 761-763

Seaview farm style (modern)

Flowerpot design
Thumb whole in bottom
Flare out to side
Red/orange slip
Black firing
Rim 12mm thick
268mm mouth diameter
155mm tall

Photo 764-765

Vessel lid
Thumb print handle on top
Cured edge—the fit in rim of top
Black clay interior orange outside
Gravely clay
Horizontal striations
Red/Orange glaze
Black firing marks
Lip 11mm thick
240mm diameter

Photo 766-768

Shallow bowl

Two more square handles
Horizontal striations
Red slip glaze
Black firing marks
Rim 12mm thick
345mm diameter
63mm tall vessel

Photo 769-771

Seaview farm style thumbprints at rim and sides (modern)
4 holes in sides- one at bottom (flower pot)
Red/orange glaze
Horizontal striations
Black firing marks at rim
15mm thick at rim
Appears thicker further down
100mm tall vessel
340mm diameter

Photo 772-774

Small vessel
Red/orange glaze

Smooth rim
12mm thick
Pinched handles
Black firing marks on bottom
137mm diameter
74mm tall vessel

Photo 775-780

Slight beveled rim
6mm thick at top rim
17mm thick at rim body joint
Rim 23mm tall
Two handles thumb wholes
Red slip glaze
Horizontal striations
Black fire mark
185mm diameter
198mm tall vessel

Comes with lid

Photo 781-783

Red glaze
Horizontal striations
One center thumb handle
173mm diameter
4mm thick at rim
Coilded? Photo 783

Photo 784-787

Cylinder cone
34 thumbprints throughout
Open bottom and top
Red glaze
Black fire markings
9-12mm thick

Photo 798-799

Not clated
Geometric incised decoration
Of different paste and temper
Possibly made in Africa and brought over
Rim 7mm thick at top

7mm thick at rim side joint
Olla rim
Rim 17mm tall

Photo 800-801

c. 1745
Less sophisticated but still geometric
Paste and temper typically Afro-Caribbean
Rim 7mm thick
Side 7mm thick
Olla rim
Rim 11mm tall

Photo 802-803

1780
Only crudely incised—still linear design
Olla rim
Rim 7mm thick
Body 7mm thick
Joint 9mm thick
Horizontal striations visible
Body thickness appears uneven

Rim 22mm tall

Photo 804-806

C 1820
Crude curvilinear decoration incision
Redder clay
Black firing marks
Horizontal striations
7mm Rim
10mm rim-body joint
Rim 16mm tall

Photo 807-810

Small kiln
4 holes on top
Two pinched handles
Small underneath area for fires
Rim 6mm thick
98mm diameter

89mm tall
Black gravely clay interior
Glaze on outside only
Black firing marks

Photo 811-813

Small pot
Rim 8mm thick
Two pinched handles
Black gravely clay interior
Red slip
73mm diameter
43mm height

Photo 814-816

Red/orange glaze
Horizontal striations
Two thumb handles
Seamless curved rim
Black firing marks

14mm rim
199mm diameter
155mm height

Photo 817-819

Flat roundish
Thumbprint marks at tip (19)
Red slip
Black firing marks
Rim 13mm thick
220mm diameter
46mm tall

Photo 820-823

Plate shape
Red slip
Black firing markings
Rim 12mm thick
Rim34mm tall (Photo 820)
251mm diameter

37mm tall

Photo 824-826

16mm thick rim
Red slip
Black fire marks
Gravely clay
305mm diameter
56mm tall

Photo 827-829

16mm thick rim
Side thumb marks
Shallow round dish
68mm tall
370mm diameter
Red glaze horizontal striations
Thick base

Photo 737-738

C 1801
6mm rim
7mm joint
Red glaze
Black fire marks
Horizontal striations
Rim 21mm tall

Photo 739-742

5mm rim
10mm joint
Red slip
Horizontal design patterns
Black firing

Rim 21mm tall