

HARBOUR ISLAND: THE COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A MARITIME
COMMUNITY

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological research at Harbour Island, Bahamas, was designed to help explore and develop the concept of maritimity, or identity grounded in perceived (or imagined) shared traits deriving from a community's relationship with the maritime environment. Maritimity can best be identified by using three broad and overlapping categories of Landscape, Maritime Resources and Maritime Material Culture. Historical documents and maritime cultural landscape elements establish the maritimity of Harbour Island in the context of these categories. Artifacts, procured through archaeological survey of nine properties inhabited since at least the eighteenth century, are analyzed to investigate whether there any notable differences in the archaeological assemblages of maritime communities that indicate maritimity. Analysis relies on Stanley South's artifact classification system and his Carolina Artifact pattern. The nine properties are compared among themselves as well as with four other sites from the western British Atlantic region.

Comparisons between the Harbour Island sites reveal a strong homogeneity of ceramic types at all households and a low representation of personal and clothing artifacts that indicate the relative poverty of the community. Maritime activities are not strongly represented in the archaeological record. When compared to four other sites from Jamaica, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Delaware, the assemblage from the Harbour Island community is relatively comparable to other sites influenced by British colonial culture.

Although the domestic artifacts contain little maritime material culture, the development of the island's built environment demonstrates maritimicity in both the categories of Landscape and Maritime Material Culture. Faunal remains from Harbour Island, consisting primarily of fish and shellfish, provide archaeological evidence of the importance of the Maritime Resources category. Only when the evidence from all three categories of maritimicity is considered together can Harbour Island be identified archaeologically as a community that strongly identified with both the maritime environment and the dominant British Colonial Atlantic culture.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ocean is awesome. It is difficult to imagine living close to it, relying on it for food, communication, work, and travel, without it affecting one's understanding of the world and one's own place in it. Individuals who are part of maritime communities share the experience of this influential presence in their lives. The ocean provides a basis for contextualizing not only their identities as individuals but as members of a coherent group. The identification of a community with the maritime environment is maritimity, and this identification is evident in the archaeological record.

Harbour Island in the Bahamas is a community with a strong relationship with its maritime environment (figs. 1.1-3). The island was settled by English colonists in the seventeenth century, and has retained a strong maritime character since that time. It has been the home of pirates and privateers, wreckers, enslaved mariners, merchants, shipbuilders, and other maritime entrepreneurs. Today, the island's remote location and award-winning beaches attract the patronage of international celebrities. Local businesses depend on maritime attractions; two marinas cater to private yacht traffic and several resorts capitalize on the three mile stretch of picturesque pink sand along the Atlantic coast. A different level of maritime dependency, stretching back much further into the community's history, is evident in the crowd of local men hanging around and socializing at the fisherman's dock.



Fig. 1.1. The Bahamas. Map data ©2013 Google.



Fig. 1.2. Harbour Island and Northern Eleuthera. Map data ©2013 Google.

The historical maritimity of Harbour Island, or any other community, is best assessed through the consideration of three broad categories: Landscape, Maritime Resources, and Maritime Material Culture. These categories intentionally do not have clear boundaries; they support and reinforce each other conceptually. Briefly, Landscape encompasses the physical and social constructions of the environment. Maritime Resources includes not only natural resources such as marine mammals, fish, and shellfish, but cultural resources such as shipwrecks and shipping lanes. Maritime Material Culture includes materials created or altered for engagement with the maritime environment such as ships, fishing gear, weirs, and docks.

This dissertation uses the specific example of Harbour Island to demonstrate how these categories can be used to assess maritimity in the archaeological record. This requires placing the Bahamas, and Harbour Island, in their broader historical and archaeological contexts. The Bahamas were founded as an English colony in the seventeenth century. Their main significance at the time was geographic, as they were located across the Straits of Florida from Spanish-controlled territory. This provided them with an ideal location for preying on the western Atlantic shipping lanes. Outside of temporary periods of political instability associated with regional warfare, the Bahamas remained an unimportant peripheral colony.

Although they were peripheral, they were still connected to the broader British cultural system that spanned the Atlantic. The influx of Loyalists after the American Revolution was the result of centuries of economic, personal, and political ties with other British colonies on the North American mainland. Those ties persisted once those

colonies won their independence and incorporated into the United States of America. The Loyalists brought their slaves along with their households, forever changing the racial and social dynamics of their new home. The settlement of free Africans rescued from the slave trade after it was abolished by the British in 1807 introduced new trans-Atlantic cultural influences to the colony. The primary ties to the outside world, however, were still to Britain and the US.

Harbour Island was one of the earliest permanent English settlements in the Bahamas. The island was settled sometime in the mid-to-late-seventeenth century, and the available historical records attest the community's maritimity from this early period through to the present day. While the community changed over time in response to the changing social and political conditions in the region, the categories of maritimity are consistently represented historically. The only town on the small island has always been oriented to its harbor namesake, denoting the significance of the maritime landscape. Wrecking, the local term for marine salvage, was an important industry up through the early-twentieth century, and the residents of older Bahamian communities were referred to as "conchs" by Loyalists immigrants after one of the major components of their diet. Both of these examples point to the importance of Maritime Resources. Shipbuilding was an important local industry as well. This was especially true in the nineteenth century, when island-built vessels were used to carry agricultural produce from the local area to markets further abroad. The ships themselves, along with the equipment required to build and sail them, demonstrate the community's investment in Maritime Material Culture.

The Harbour Island Archaeological Survey was designed to investigate how the relationship between identity and the maritime environment can be seen in the archaeological record by posing the question: are there any notable differences in the archaeological assemblages of maritime communities that indicate maritimism? This broad question is intended to acknowledge that maritimism is only one aspect of identity, and that communities are subject to other cultural pressures that influence their conceptions, or imaginations, of the elements that tie them together. In the case of Harbour Island, and of the Bahamas more generally, participation in the British Colonial Atlantic cultural system acted as a strong homogenizing force on the available material culture. Although the community was historically maritime, the question was intended to investigate specifically how, or if, maritimism was visible in the archaeological assemblage recovered from the island.

Fieldwork for the survey took place over the summers of 2009 and 2010 and covered nine properties located in historic Dunmore Town, Harbour Island (fig 1.3). Most of the properties were domestic lots throughout their histories, but some also served commercial functions. At each property, at least one transect was laid to cross as much of the open ground as possible and shovel tests were dug at three meter intervals. This fieldwork recovered a sample of archaeological material intended to represent the array of material culture used in the daily lives of the island residents as well as faunal remains reflecting the local diet. The survey also included archival research and the informal recording of visible elements of the maritime cultural landscape.

Answering the research question required an explicitly comparative approach. Stanley South's 1977 work on artifact patterning presents a useful tool for searching for patterns of difference between archaeological assemblages. His Carolina Artifact Pattern is intended specifically to identify patterns of behavior that differ from typical British colonial sites.¹ The Carolina Artifact Pattern acts as a rough baseline for comparing the archaeological assemblage recovered from Harbour Island both internally between the nine surveyed properties and externally to other sites from the northwestern Atlantic.

Comparison of the nine Harbour Island properties surveyed demonstrates both the existence of elite households and the general poverty the island, reflecting a lack of availability of material goods. Ceramics are the material that best illustrates the range of variation on the island. Plain undecorated pearlware is the most common artifact type, and the even distribution of pearlware types across all nine properties demonstrates a relative homogeneity of ceramic artifacts. Other types of more expensive ceramics, such as porcelain and stoneware, more clearly indicate status differences between the sites despite the relatively low sherd count. Maritime activities are not well represented in the recovered assemblage, suggesting that they may have been carried out away from the domestic sphere. The relatively low numbers of tobacco pipes and the high proportion of tobacco pipe bowls to pipe stems suggests that smoking, an activity associated with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maritime culture, was concentrated away from the home.

¹ South 2002, 112, 118.

A comparison of the Harbour Island assemblage with four other sites from the northwestern Atlantic region representing the British (and American) culture sphere demonstrates the strength of that cultural system. The comparison sites are located in Jamaica, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Delaware. Bath, North Carolina, another site with historically attested maritimity, provides an opportunity to assess whether deviations in the Harbour Island assemblage relates to the community's identification with the maritime environment. Most differences between the comparison sites can be related to differences in methods of excavation and range of occupation; however, local cultural variations also impact pattern variation. This is especially visible in the differences between ceramic ware and form types. There is little evidence of maritime activities at any of the sites examined, and comparison using South's system emphasizes the impact of the British Atlantic colonial system on the material lives of Harbour Islanders. Analysis of the archaeological materials using only South's system does not reveal maritimity because of the lack of recovered artifacts of maritime material culture.

The complete archaeological assemblage, however, does contain elements that indicate differences derived from maritimity. Rough comparison of the faunal assemblages demonstrates a relatively high reliance on maritime foodways at both Harbour Island and Bath, suggesting that this is a hallmark of maritime communities. While this is not surprising, it reinforces the importance of considering all three categories of maritimity—Landscape, Maritime Resources, and Maritime Material Culture—when assessing the importance of the maritime environment to a community's identity. The presence or absence of material in a single category is not sufficient to

support the determination of maritimity—all three must be taken into account. Along with Maritime Resources, modern Harbour Island contains physical evidenced of historical maritime landscape elements. This includes the orientation of the town, but also constructed material cultural elements reflecting both the Landscape and Maritime Material Culture categories.

Understanding the relationship between a community like Harbour Island and its environment is important to interpreting its historical past. The British Atlantic cultural system strongly influenced the material culture of the community, to the extent that it masks the importance of the maritime environment. Any assessment of the importance of the maritime environment must take into consideration all three categories presented here.

CHAPTER II

MARITIME CONCEPTS

This dissertation is premised on the idea that a society's relationship with its environment has cultural implications. Human interactions do not take place in a vacuum, but in a physical as well as a social milieu. Relationships between humans and their ecological contexts have historical dimensions, and continue to be shaped by daily interactions. Cultural perceptions of both the environment and the group's relationship to it can be major facets of identity at a number of levels. The maritime environment requires and enables specialized relationships between people and places. These relationships, imbued in turn with cultural meaning, impact identity, giving it a maritime character referred to here as 'maritimity'.

Even a short introduction reveals a number of potentially problematic terms. What does the 'maritime environment' encompass? What is a 'landscape', or 'identity'? Definitions of a few of these key terms facilitate further discussion:

Community: Drawing on Benedict Anderson's work, a community is herein defined as an imagined horizontal comradeship based on the perception of shared values.²

Communities are not inherently exclusive—individuals may belong to multiple communities. Communities can be both (or either) ascribed and avowed groups—that is,

² Anderson 2006, 6-7.

the perception of shared values can be either internal or external to the individuals and groups they concern.

Environment: The physical context of existence of individuals and communities, recognizing the historical dimension of humanity's relationship to its surroundings, and especially that relationship's reciprocal, transformative, nature.³

Maritime Environment: The environment, as it relates to the oceans, seas, inland seas, and rivers, including their borders and shores.

Landscape: The cultural perception of meaning ascribed to features of the environment. This includes both the built and 'natural' environment.

Maritime Landscape: The cultural perception of meaning ascribed to the maritime environment, including the built and natural maritime environment.

Identity: This dissertation is primarily concerned with community identity. Identity is the perceived (or imagined) shared values that join people in a community, as well as other perceived (or imagined) shared traits, resulting in perceived (or imagined) shared conceptions of group composition. These perceptions and conceptions can be either

³ Much of my thinking on this subject is informed by the cultural ecology paradigm as presented by William Balée (1998a,1998b).

avowed or ascribed. Identity, as used here, is inherently founded on relationships between people, and the binary division between belonging and not belonging.

Maritimity: Identity grounded in perceived (or imagined) shared traits deriving from a community's relationship with the maritime environment.

The term 'Maritimity' is still used somewhat nebulously by maritime archaeologists despite many experiments with the concept. European archaeologists interested in the Maritime Cultural Landscapes perspective were among the first to explore the concept. Christer Westerdahl, the first to introduce the approach to the English-speaking world, makes a crucially important point—"The maritimity of a people is conditional, i.e. a *cultural factor*. If you do not possess a population attuned to maritime preoccupations, even if a current population is residing at the sea shore, there is no maritime culture."⁴ According to Westerdahl, the goal is to examine the connections between landscape and culture, rather than to assume them.

Christopher Cook, in his 2001 MA thesis for Texas A&M University, defines maritimity as "reliance on the sea, as an essential component, for numerous cultural activities such as subsistence procurement, exchange networks, communication channels, acquisition of prestige items, and group identity." Cook attempts to develop an equation for determining maritime orientation based on three categories: subsistence type (maritime versus terrestrial resources), settlement pattern (based on duration as well

⁴ Westerdahl 1988.

as location of settlements), and tool kits (examined for evidence maritime specialization). Assessed quantitatively, these elements provided what Cook terms the Maritime Reliance Index. For Cook, this measure provided a general impression of the extent to which a culture was oriented towards the sea.⁵

Although innovative, this approach has many flaws—a major one being that it presents no method of assessing the exploitation of maritime cultural resources, such as salvage, or the importance of maritime trade. Hein Bjerck argues that a bilateral division between maritime and terrestrial adaptation is too simplistic, and fails to account for the full range of variability in how humans interact with their environments. He further argues against the term adaptation, preferring to describe the interaction as a relationship, and proposing a variety of "aquatic relations" referencing the cultural connections in terms of the geography of their resource pool, whether that is lacustrine, littoral, or marine.⁶ Even the comparison between terrestrial and marine mammals as a sign of reliance on land or sea can be overly simplistic in the colonial Atlantic world. If a population traded for barrels of salted pork or beef that were shipped from the northeast coast of North America, is that truly reliance on terrestrial rather than maritime resources? Likewise, did the high demand for spermaceti oil for household and industrial applications in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicate a general maritime dependency?

⁵ Cook 2001, 17, 52-55.

⁶ Bjerck 2009, 121-122.

A 2010 article by David Berg Tuddenham conceives of maritimity as a category of understanding—a category into which conceptual ‘quasi items’ are sorted when considering the culturally conceived binary opposition between ‘Land’ and ‘Sea’.⁷ ‘Quasi-items’ are things (both material and immaterial) that have a quality of inherent liminality in terms of their relationships between poles such as Nature and Culture or Land and Sea. For example, is a church that is clearly visible from the sea, and possibly even used as a navigational aid, part of a maritime or a terrestrial landscape? Quasi-items that are culturally associated with the sea are maritime and have the quality of maritimity. These associations are made by cultural actors through the establishment of actor-networks that explain the relationships between the quasi-items. This approach gives cultural actors agency by placing the sorting of maritimity, what belongs to the sea, into their hands, and also reinforces the idea that maritimity is a cultural construction.⁸ This definition side-steps Bjerck's argument by eschewing a definition based on exploitation and recognizing the constructed nature of identity, landscape, and other 'sortable' factors.

The more concise definition offered in this dissertation retains the cultural implications attributed by both Westerdahl and Tuddenham, as well as the status of a category of understanding—in this case it is specifically the sorting of a community into the category of ‘belonging to the sea’. Westerdahl’s ‘attunement to maritime preoccupations’ is here understood as a matter of *identification* with the maritime sphere.

⁷ Both Tuddenham (2010, 8) and Westerdhal (2007, 191) discuss this binary division of sea and land as though it is a cultural universal.

⁸ Tuddenham 2010, 8-11.

Maritimity hinges on the transformation of the maritime environment into landscape, and the positioning of the community inside that maritime landscape.

If maritimity is identity influenced by a community's relationship with the maritime environment, then *maritime culture* is the expression of that identity. This is a concept often used but rarely defined by scholars interested in maritime groups.

Workman and McCartney, in an article summarizing the published findings from a session on arctic maritime adaptations in the northern Pacific, briefly discuss this lack of definition.⁹ They note that the most basic assumption of those discussing the issue is that proximity to the ocean equals a maritime culture. They add that "Most workers would probably accept the implication that maritime cultures possess(ed) seaworthy watercraft and obtained at least some of their caloric income from resources procured beyond the littoral zone." Their definition of maritime is much stricter than that applied here, explicitly dismissing cultures with riverine adaptation. They prefer that a significant (unquantified) amount of subsistence be drawn from the ocean itself, and suggest that for mobile cultures, the length of time spent dwelling close to the ocean should somehow factor into the equation.¹⁰

In a 2007 paper, Westerdahl addresses both the problem of defining maritime culture, and the necessity of it. He sees the aim of establishing definitions, including for maritime culture, as bringing the study of humanity's relationship with the sea out of the margins of archaeological and social thought. According to Westerdahl, this relationship

⁹ Workman and McCartney 1998, 361.

¹⁰ Workman and McCartney 1998, 361-362.

has always been an important factor influencing cultural development.¹¹ He begins his quest to present both a definition and a theory with the Nordic sphere with which he is most familiar, though he believes that his criteria for defining a common maritime culture may at least be applicable to Europe's western seaboard and the Mediterranean. His tentative categories, rather nebulous by his own admission, are as follows: The particular habitus of the maritime sphere, its outward identity, its international character, its archetypes, its landscapes, ritual negotiation of the antagonistic relationship between the sea and land (and the related cosmology), and its particular economic and social world.¹²

Westerdahl offers his theory of maritime culture in part as a counter to the politically weighted (in some Nordic areas) concept of 'coastal culture'. Apart from his very broad criteria, he ascribes a number of other characteristics to maritime culture. It requires a relationship with the sea: it must look to the sea (or some other large body of water) rather than simply being located beside it.¹³ Maritime culture should be identifiable: both those who practice it and those who do not should be able to recognize that it entails something associated with the sea.¹⁴ It has a particular cognition that leads to a sense of difference from non-maritime groups. Ultimately he believes that maritime culture is not strongly bounded, and overlaps with other cultural modes, and that "[it] is based on the subsistence gained from the seas and the water, and consists of all the

¹¹ Westerdahl 2007, 191.

¹² Westerdahl 2007, 203.

¹³ Westerdahl 2007, 206.

¹⁴ Westerdahl 2007, 207.

thought patterns, cosmologies, customs, objects, phenomena and patterns of action connected with a life by the sea. It is, in other words, adapted to ecology and pursuits in this context."¹⁵ Westerdahl acknowledges that maritime culture is not exclusive, and that it is the product of a relationship with the maritime environment.

Not all scholars are convinced of the utility of attempting to define maritime culture. J. R. Hunter notes that while a culture may have maritime elements, that these are commonly only part of a larger whole. He uses the example of Saxon Hamwih, a medieval entrepot and maritime trade center. Much of the population was involved in trade and industrial activities unrelated to maritime matters, and the hinterland that supplied many of the town's subsistence needs was agrarian. The maritime elements are subsumed into a broader whole. In the same way, he argues, it would be difficult to discern a distinct air-born culture by studying airports, aircrafts, and air industry employees. How are the McDonalds employees who work in an airport different than employees of any other food court McDonalds? Although any society may have identifiable maritime components, they remain integrated into a broader cultural whole.¹⁶

Certainly some cultures have more thorough maritime orientations than the European examples to which Hunter clings. The Vezo people of coastal western Madagascar are a thoroughly maritime-oriented community. The Vezo are not an ethnic group—they do not define themselves as Vezo based on kinship, but rather specifically

¹⁵ Westerdahl 2007, 210.

¹⁶ Hunter 1994, 262.

on their relationship with the maritime environment and their performance of that relationship. To be Vezo means to live on the coast, to struggle against the sea and paddle a canoe: membership is defined by practice and direct engagement with the ocean—in fact by maritimity—and the Vezo identity is one that can be learned (and must be learned by children of Vezo parents).¹⁷

A culture or community can be strongly maritime-oriented but not entirely dependent on its relationship with the maritime environment. The peoples of the Pacific islands such as Tonga, Tahiti and Hawai'i also have strong maritime orientations, and relationships with the ocean are important to community identity (and maritimity). However, non-maritime resources, especially food resources, are also important cultural elements. Foods such as cassava, taro, and sweet potatoes form the main part of the diet, supplemented by marine protein such as fish and shellfish.¹⁸ Not all individuals within a maritime-oriented community interact with the maritime environment in the same manner and to the same extent, either. Women in some Pacific cultures are considered bad luck to maritime activities and shunned by men engaging in or planning them, although they are not explicitly banned from participation.¹⁹ Women may have a reduced direct engagement with the maritime environment, but the maritimity of the community extends to them in other ways, for example by engagement with maritime resources as part of local foodways.

¹⁷ Astuti 1995, 3-4, 14-15.

¹⁸ D'Arcy 2006, 34-35.

¹⁹ D'Arcy 2006, 90.

Similarly, a maritime group may share an overarching identity, material culture, language, and other common traits with a community that does not share their maritimity. One example of this would be coastal communities that share a broader national or ethnic identity with neighboring groups in the interior. Because neither identity nor community are defined as exclusive concepts, it allows for these kinds of internal groupings within a larger whole. These definitions also allow communities and identities to form across boundaries between groups. The levels of individual maritimity within a maritime culture can vary and, likewise, broader communities may encompass maritime subcultures.

Most scholars of maritime topics do not approach the question of defining maritime culture at all. Some recognize that the concept is neither accepted nor coherently defined, and refer to previous scholarship discussing the concept.²⁰ Others seem to employ an attitude that ‘they’ll know it when they see it.’ This seems to be the case for most maritime historians, who are often less concerned with cultural definitions from the outset. Where the nature of a community is important, however, historians often seek to stress different contexts in which connections to the sea were important to the peoples of the past. They do so using the same categories presented, implicitly or explicitly, by anthropologists and archaeologists.

One such historian is Michael Jarvis, who argues that a maritime perspective should be the basis of Atlantic history and reinforces that ships and mariners were essential in the early modern world for connecting the continents through transportation,

²⁰ Keith and Evans 2011, 183-184.

communication, and commerce.²¹ He presents a maritime social history of Bermuda, "examining the seafaring and shoreside components of mariners' lives" together, to place them "within the larger maritime communities to which they belonged."²² Jarvis follows in the footsteps of Daniel Vickers, who seeks to push the bounds of maritime history beyond "the ship, the sea, and the social relations that prevailed abroad."²³ Vickers notes the importance of both the community and contact with the sea in producing maritime people, and reinforces the point that few sailors (the focus of many previous investigations of maritime life) kept that occupation for the duration of their lives. While this discussion is not precisely a definition, he does consider the origin of maritime culture, rooting it at the conjunction of culture and the environment.²⁴

The anthropological school of thought known as Historical Ecology emphasizes the historical dimension of people's relationships with their environments. As history comes to be, both culture and the environment change, both are active in this process, and both act on each other. The third precept of Historical Ecology as laid out by William Balée is that "Human communities and cultures together with the landscapes and regions with which they interact over time can be understood as total phenomena."²⁵ This means considering the influence of the maritime environment on cultures that engage with it. Maritimity also can be seen as a cultural appropriation of this relationship—rather than sorting identity into the 'maritime' category as Tudenham

²¹ Jarvis 2010, 1.

²² Jarvis 2010, 6.

²³ Vickers 2005, 2.

²⁴ Vickers 2005, 3.

²⁵ Balée 1998a, 24.

might describe, it represents a dissolution of the boundaries between the concepts of 'identity' and 'maritime'. Groups with maritimity are maritime.

I have identified three broad categories which can help examine and explore the maritimity of a particular culture or community: Landscape, Maritime Resources, and Maritime Material Culture. These represent broad, overlapping cultural elements wherein the integration of the maritime environment into identity may be particularly evident. Accordance with any one of these categories is not enough to identify a community as maritime, but neither is the specific absence—it is often the interplay and the relationships between categories which signal true maritimity.

Landscape

Landscape is a useful category for identifying maritimity, as both how a community interacts with and conceives its maritime geographic sphere can be strongly linked to identity. A. Bernard Knapp contributes a useful assessment of the dynamic nature of landscape:

Landscapes are not just created by but are creative of specific social, historical, and cultural configurations.... Neither cultural nor social landscapes are neutral: they are constructed by human actors whose aim is to perpetuate or change existing politico-economic relations.... It is

never complete, nor is it built or unbuilt; rather it is a social expression, perpetually under construction.²⁶

Much of this quote applies equally well to identity, and the parallels reinforce the reciprocal relationship between these two social expressions. Both are active forces, acting on and acted upon by the environment.

The maritime cultural landscapes perspective emphasizes the importance of landscape in terms of understanding humanity's relationship to the maritime environment. Westerdahl provides a short description of the purview of this perspective: "*The whole network of sailing routes, with ports, havens and harbours along the coast, and its related constructions and other remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial (sic).*"²⁷ His broader definition includes "shipping, shipbuilding and fishing and their respective hinterlands, with nodal points of coastal towns and land roads, fords, ferries and inland waterways."²⁸ The focus here is on the material elements of landscape, but with an interest in their relationship to human activity.

Maritime cultural landscape scholars concentrate on the remains of human endeavors in the maritime environment as evidence of the creation of landscape, but the environment can be imbued with meaning in other ways. Anthony Giddens's concept of 'locale' is useful as it marks space not only as a geographic area, but also as a context for social interaction. Locales are "the *settings* of interaction, the settings of interaction

²⁶ Knapp 1997, 154.

²⁷ Westerdahl 2007, 212. Italics in original.

²⁸ Westerdahl 2007, 213.

being in turn essential to specifying its *contextuality*."²⁹ Maine lobstermen, for example, divide their territory on a community level as well as at the personal or individual level. Competition between harbor gangs establishes community territory, but in practice the edges of the territory can be nebulous and permeable.³⁰ These boundaries—themselves settings of interaction—are a social construct, or the projection of social meaning onto the maritime environment: landscape.

Historians as well as archaeologists have used landscape to explain and convey maritimism by concentrating on the influence of physical geography. In his exploration of the maritime history of the Cayman Islands, Roger Smith uses an environmentally deterministic model to explain the maritime adaptation of the population, whom he characterizes as living on "the marine frontier of the Caribbean colonies." In his view, the environment influenced how people made their living by providing an abundance of marine resources (and not much else), and also by constraining settlement. The areas suitable for human habitation on each island were limited, and their adaptations to these limitations contributed to how the islanders came to identify themselves.³¹ This approach overlooks some of the other cultural elements influential in the creation of landscape (such as impetus to settle in these areas at all, cultural conceptions of frontiers, choices regarding what resources to exploit and how, and familiarity with techniques of resources exploitation). The ultimate consequence of internalization of the landscape

²⁹ Giddens 1984, 118.

³⁰ Acheson 1979, 253-4.

³¹ Smith 2000, 28.

into identity, however, remains clear, and certainly the physical geography had some influence.

Vickers, in his history of New England mariners, also remarks on the importance of the local physical geography as the coastline around Salem, Massachusetts dictated that water transport was the most effective method of travel. In the 1630s, more people owned boats than carts and people at all levels of society owned and employed vessels of some size. Geography, then, heavily influenced the maritime orientation of the early community.³² Using the watercourses for transportation turned them into social arenas, which was one step towards a sense of identification with that environment.

Ian McNiven provides an extremely strong example of this identification in his examination the concept of a seascape. He uses the Torres Straight islanders and other North Australian groups such as the Meriam, deeming them 'salt water peoples'. He opens his paper with a convincing quote from George Kaddy, an elder of the Meriam: "I am part of the sea, and the sea is part of me when I am on it."³³ The Torres Islanders have a strong knowledge of both long and short term environmental and ecological cycles which cover thousands of kilometers of ocean. McNiven describes them as "seascapes imprinted with meaning, inscribed with sites and mapped with named places." Ancestral spirits animate these seascapes, imbuing them with "spiritual energies, fecundity and sentience." This is an active energy, both creative and destructive that, along with the spirits of the dead who also inhabit the sea and its features, keeps

³² Vickers 2005, 29-30.

³³ McNiven 2003, 329.

mariners constant company. Ties of kinship link the spirits of the seas, living islanders, and other marine creatures inhabiting the seascapes. The seascapes provide a cultural context for sea tenure, maritime rituals, and other methods of social regulation. With this ethnographic information in hand, McNiven argues that there is a high potential of finding archaeological sites related to maritime rituals that took place on land, such as rites geared towards controlling marine elements by influencing connected spiritual energies.³⁴

Ian Barber applies this same concept of seascapes to the Maori, and also stresses their cultural links to the environment. Maori follow a wider Polynesian tradition in seeing the ocean as the source of living creatures, and even perceive their main islands to be a sea creature, a fish caught by the demi-god Maui. According to Barber: "This origin myth is recognized by a number of locality names and sets the scene for a rich tradition linking supernatural jurisdictions and ritual in customary (including subsistence) Maori uses of the seascape."³⁵ Like McNiven's 'saltwater peoples', the Maori do not make hard distinctions between land, sea, animals, people, or gods.³⁶

Other Pacific peoples, including those from Polynesia, Hawai'i and smaller island groups such as the Marshall and Caroline Islands, rely on their understanding of their physical world in a more practical sense for navigation in the maritime environment. Several anthropological studies examine the star compass and its local variations. This 32-point asymmetrical reference system uses the rising and setting points of different

³⁴ McNiven 2003, 330, 332-335, 338.

³⁵ Barber 2003, 434.

³⁶ Barber 2003, 435.

stars to plot courses between distant islands. Thomas Gladwin notes in the case of navigators from Puluwat in the Caroline Islands that the actual location of the stars themselves is not of key importance.³⁷ Charles Frake argues that the reference stars are even more arbitrary, and that the navigators are practically relying on a more regularly divided system along the same lines as the European wind compass.³⁸ Puluwatan navigators direct themselves by aiming in the general direction of the star in question, and use additional environmental indicators to locate themselves inside a familiar territory. Shadows and shapes of submerged reefs and the ranges of sea birds all provide additional information that allows them to keep track of their passage. In addition, Carolinian navigators have a host of more esoteric knowledge referred to as 'sealife' about special animals with coded names that indicate the presence of different islands. Before they stopped voyaging between the local islands via canoe, Marshallese navigators used pattern and frequency of waves to navigate around their island chain.³⁹ All of these systems demonstrate an applied cultural knowledge of the maritime environment that clearly reflects the connections between landscape and maritimity.

The close connections between some Pacific peoples and their environments are an extreme example, but it is clear that the creation and use of maritime landscapes is an important factor of maritimity. It helps people locate themselves physically, socially and spiritually in their environment. Returning to Tudenham's concept of 'sorting',

³⁷ Gladwin 1970, 152-153.

³⁸ Frake 1995, 152-153.

³⁹ Gladwin 1970, 146, 148-150, 162, 196, 204-205.

landscape helps delineate categories such as ‘maritime’ and ‘terrestrial’, and allow a community to sort itself into the grouping with which it identifies.

Maritime Resources

In the introduction to her 1977 compilation of maritime ethnography, *Those who Live from the Sea*, M. Estellie Smith is fairly explicit as to the types of maritime activities and cultures she saw fit to include in the volume:

The purpose of this collection is to explore the ethnography of maritime populations. The emphasis is on those peoples who earn their living by exploiting the resources of the sea; live in self-identified fishing communities; are facing especially rapid change in life styles due to technological-environmental evolution.⁴⁰

Exploitation of marine (or maritime) resources, either for subsistence or commercial purposes, is an important facet of maritime culture contributing to maritimity.

Archaeologically, it is often observable in preserved faunal remains. In fact, this is probably the most easily quantifiable of the categories examined in this paper.

Prehistorians studying maritime adaptations often use faunal counts, where site taphonomy allows, to examine changes in adaptation over time.

One such study is David Yesner’s comparison of the adoption of maritime subsistence patterns between the prehistoric populations of Tierra del Fuego’s Beagle Channel and the Aleutian Islands. Traditionally, archaeologists have compared the two

⁴⁰ Smith 1977a, 1.

populations because of the perceived similarities between their environments and access to resources. Yesner uses faunal counts from a diverse array of sites in the Fuegian islands to demonstrate that the population relied heavily on sea mammals in late prehistoric times. European over-exploitation of these resources resulted in significant cultural changes for the Fuegians, who came to rely on more marginal maritime resources supplemented more heavily by terrestrial resources. This loss of traditionally available resources led to a shift away from a more socio-politically complex society for the Fuegians. In contrast, the Aleuts did not have their traditional resource base compromised by their (much later) contact with Europeans. Analysis and quantification of the faunal remains along with ethno-historical materials reveal that the differences between the populations were strongly influenced by their individual historical experiences as well as their differing resource bases.⁴¹

Resource exploitation requires knowledge of the environment, which itself has a cultural dimension. Shepard Foreman discusses this in his examination of the fisherman of Coqueiral, a coastal Brazilian village. General knowledge of the maritime environment is shared knowledge, but specific information about good fishing areas is private and secret. This control of knowledge both contributes to the general productivity of the community while simultaneously preventing over-exploitation.⁴² Foreman thus emphasizes the importance of environmental knowledge to maritime cultures and, in this case, to their economic sphere. This management of resources has another social

⁴¹ Yesner 2004, 84-85, 87-90.

⁴² Foreman, 1980, 15.

dimension as well—captains who know about more good fishing spots for more valuable sedentary type fish will be more successful. This allows them to attract more temporary crew in a situation where most workers would prefer to be producers.⁴³

The importance of having a working knowledge of marine ecology to efficient exploitation of marine resources is also expressed by John Cordell, examining fishermen working in the Valença delta in southern Bahia, Brazil. These fishermen, still operating out of dugout canoes in the late 1970's, used their knowledge of the lunar tide cycles and observations of fish spawning patterns to regulate their use of fishing grounds. Cordell notes that it is easy to overstate the risks and uncertainties associated with exploitation of marine resources by undervaluing the depth of environmental knowledge possessed by fishermen.⁴⁴ Environmental knowledge is cultural knowledge, and helps further integrate community and landscape, leading to maritimity.

Resource exploitation is linked to social structures through the organization of labor. Crew selection is one example of this link. According to James McGoodwin's study of the rural north-western Mexican town of Teacapán in the late 1970s, shark fishing is an occupation which involves almost half the population. Because it is such a key activity, examining crew selection reveals important aspects of social and economic life. In this particular case, although boat-owners generally claim to primarily hire kinsmen, the workforce is actually dominated by men who belong to families with longstanding local ties who are not related to their employers. These latter fall into the

⁴³ Foreman, 1980, 19-20.

⁴⁴ Cordell, 1980, 25, 29, 36-37.

group that the owners describe as *bien conocido*, or "well-known people". They may be related to other shark fishermen, and even other boat owners who are not their direct employers. This reinforces the importance of community ties, and also the careful negotiation of personal relationships. One of the reasons the boat-owners choose not to hire kin is because of the problems that can arise if they turn out to be poor workers.⁴⁵

Shark fishing draws men away from the central community for long stretches at a time, when the men remove to a camp on an outlying island. This allows them to escape societal norms, and helps relieve some social tensions associated with community living, such as competition over women. Shark fishing is also a cooperative enterprise, with boat crews sharing information about the location of schools of bait fish as well as the sharks themselves, providing assistance in cases of mechanical failures, and socializing together at the island camp in the evenings. In contrast, Teacapán men who participate in subsistence fishing are much more secretive about the location of exploitable marine resources and about their own successes, reflecting the more fractured connections generally found inside the town.⁴⁶

Community members who are not directly involved in the exploitation of marine resources, such as women, are still tied into the related subsistence and economic systems. They may be involved in secondary processing in shore-side facilities, such as working in fish plants and maintaining, manufacturing, or retailing equipment, or in the

⁴⁵ McGoodwin 1980a, 63-64, 74-75. McGoodwin (1980b, 82) notes that 44% of the population specializes in fishing, but this includes subsistence as well as wage-based shark fishing. 42% specializes in agriculture, with 80% of those in both specializations dependant on wage labor. The remaining 12% is involved in other town-based occupations.

⁴⁶ McGoodwin 1980b, 82, 86-89.

resale of resources.⁴⁷ This is the case for Fanti women of Ghana. Traditionally, they could either process or resell the fish caught by their husbands, brothers, or other male relatives, and they might buy fish for processing from other fishermen. Women could then sell processed as well as fresh fish. The introduction of the outboard motor and other more modern technology has changed the dynamics of the distribution of the catch, so that kin relationships between the fishermen and the women who purchase their catch are less important—families no longer form a single economic unit. In the late 1970's women continued to dominate this economic relationship, and also played a new role in financing and owning fishing equipment.⁴⁸

These economic and social connections help to integrate the whole community through resource exploitation. Practical, functional issues alone do not determine how resources harvesters organize their practices. Rather, they must integrate their practical knowledge of the environment with social concerns, and create structures suitable to the needs and pressures of their community. In this way, not only their reliance on maritime resources, but their methods of gathering those resources contribute to their maritimity. This integration has a psychological aspect as well. Donna Lee Davis's examination of fishermen's wives in a Newfoundland outport supports this conclusion. At least some of the women who worked at the local fish plant noted that their participation helps them feel like they are contributing to their husbands' work directly, and they are sharing in the men's experiences: "We're fisherfolk and I like doing my share; I feel like I'm right

⁴⁷ Cristensen 1977, 77-79; Davis 1986, 134.

⁴⁸ Cristensen 1977, 78, 84-86.

in there helping my husband." Some also noted an affinity for the resources themselves that helps impart this sense of connectedness: "I likes the fish!" "I just loves to touch the fish." Prior to the industrialization of the fishing industry, merchants hired women to do the work of salting the fish for sale—as in Ghana, there is continuity for women's involvement in resource processing.⁴⁹

The transformation of natural resources into food is also an important cultural process related to a community or culture's ties to those resources. Along with harvesting, food preparation and consumption also involve relationships of power, which adds extra dimensions to the cultural experience. Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth argue that the consumption of high quantities of fish and shellfish in the diet of enslaved persons at Clifton Plantation on New Providence, Bahamas, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century "represents both a cultural continuity in coastal West African foodways and an economic strategy commonly employed in the American South."⁵⁰ Slaves turned to locally available resources familiar (at least to some) from older maritime traditions to supplement the rations they received from the plantation managers.

Natural resources are not the only ones available for exploitation within the maritime environment. In his maritime history of Bermuda, Jarvis presents a number of 'Atlantic commons' that Bermudians mariners (free and enslaved) exploited for economic gain, to supplement their lucrative ship-building and intercontinental trade.

⁴⁹ Davis 1986, 134.

⁵⁰ Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005, 239.

These commons were resource-rich maritime spaces on the Atlantic frontier, outside the direct control of any state or government. Along with natural resources such as timber, salt, turtles, fish, and whales, he also examines the practice of wrecking.⁵¹ Wrecking was historical salvage—diving on shipwrecks to recover saleable cargo, including ship timbers for sale or re-use and (rarely) treasure. Salvaged ship parts and equipment greatly reduced the production costs and the immediate ecological burden of the Bermudian shipbuilding industry. Contemporaries reported ‘new’ ships constructed (and possibly outfitted) entirely with salvaged timbers. Jarvis argues that the opportunity to examine so many vessels so closely during the labor-intensive process of stripping grounded, or even sunken, vessels, also allowed Bermudian shipwrights to incorporate new construction techniques that helped them keep ahead in a competitive market.⁵²

Although wrecks legally belonged to the English/British government, a more practical custom of ‘finders-keepers’ prevailed. The wrecking crews, often composed of slave mariners left at the Turks and Caicos Islands to rake salt and hunt turtles, divided the shares of profits among themselves and the owners of the vessels. If they reported any of the found goods, customs officers could also claim a share for the crown. Wreckers salvaged old and ‘fresh’ wrecks alike, and would even lie in wait in dangerous waters for the wrecks that would inevitably occur. This type of wrecking toed the line

⁵¹ Jarvis 2010, 185-186, 188-256.

⁵² Jarvis 2010, 213-216

between salvage and piracy—another type of cultural resource exploitation available to maritime communities.⁵³

Maritime cultural resources available for exploitation are abundant and diverse, from vessels traveling above the water, wrecks grounded on shoals or sunk beneath the waves, areas rich with historical significance and interest, and even the potential of transforming environment to landscape with the development of beaches, diving tours, and other maritime tourist attractions. The existence of maritime landscape is itself a hallmark of maritimity, but its exploitation as a resource through development is another way of connecting, and projecting, an identity linked with the maritime environment. This also demonstrates the interconnectedness of the categories proposed here.

Maritime Material Culture

The final category for identifying maritimity is maritime material culture, which is also clearly tied up with landscape and resources exploitation. Boats are one of the best examples of material culture items with clear maritime associations and links to the other categories. Items with less obvious maritime connections can also be employed in ways that denote a maritime orientation within a community. For the sake of clarity, it is important to define maritime material culture for the purpose of this dissertation:

Maritime Material Culture: Material created or altered by humans related to exploitation of marine resources, marine transport and navigation, technology adapted for use in a

⁵³ Jarvis 2010, 216-218.

maritime environment, materials that alter or are used to alter the maritime environment, or that otherwise reflect a cultural connection to that environment.

Most of this definition is fairly clear, but the last part is left purposely open in order to leave room to capture the various types of relationships people can have with their material culture. They can own it (economic), make or use it (labor), and form emotional or cultural attachments. None of these are mutually exclusive. Within a maritime community, the relationships that individuals have to maritime material culture can vary, but it is a common thread that ties them together. As seen above, maritime material culture can even be a resource to exploit, as in the case of shipwrecks, and some natural resources used as raw materials.

The simplest example of these relationships is probably fishers who own all of their own gear and have formed a personal attachment to it through long use. Vickers's review of the commonality of canoes and other ships in early Salem as an example of the importance of maritime geography is also clearly linked to material culture. As seen above, Fanti women have become more and more economically tied to the material culture of fishing in their communities. Though men are loath to admit that women own boats, it has become increasingly common since the mid twentieth-century—in 1973, women owned at least 35% of the operating canoes. The same women who engage with the exploitation of maritime resources also make loans to fishermen to purchase other fishing gear. The economic investment remains once the material culture is out of their hands. The increased economic influence of Fanti women is due more to changes in

material culture than to changes in subsistence, though they do not commonly engage in the act of fishing or employ any of the technology themselves.⁵⁴

The merchants of the Hanseatic League provide an historical example of economic investment in maritime material culture. The League was an economically and politically powerful alliance of merchant guilds that dominated trade in Northern Europe, especially along the North and Baltic Sea coasts, from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Fishermen caught the herring that fueled their trading empire, and sailors worked the ships that transported their goods, but the merchants themselves invested the capital to make this maritime economic empire feasible.⁵⁵ The fact that many town seals depicted cogs, a common vessel type, reflects this further connection between maritime life and economic power represented by merchants. Economic ties drew those who owned ships, in part or in full, into the system. This connection is more visible in communities like eighteenth-century Bermuda, where a single extended family might own and operate a vessel used in trade or other economic pursuits.⁵⁶ In colonial Massachusetts, the diversified economy made it more profitable for merchants to own their own ships even if they did not captain them themselves. Vessels laden with a variety of products peddled them down the Atlantic coast and in the Caribbean.⁵⁷ This connection between capital and maritime material culture is a key step to linking merchants, who might not go to sea at all, into the maritime community.

⁵⁴ Christensen 1977, 86-7.

⁵⁵ Hasslöf 1972, 76.

⁵⁶ Jarvis 2010, 141-145.

⁵⁷ Vickers 2005, 43.

Sailors, and quite often fishermen who work in crews, might not own the vessels they work on, though they may own their personal gear. Their relationship to the ship is founded on the investment of labor, in both a personal and economic sense. Marcus Rediker, whose interests lie in the political and social dimensions of Anglo-American seamen's labor in the second half of the eighteenth century, describes the importance of technology in defining their existence: "Waged workers, the preponderant majority of whom did not own the instruments of their production, were confined within an enclosed setting to perform, with sophisticated machinery and under intense supervision, a unified and collective set of tasks."⁵⁸ Parts of this statement are equally applicable to other maritime groups examined above—sailors in other periods certainly shared the same experience.

For all seafarers, ships bound (and bind) material culture and community in a knot that is not easily disentangled. They were created physical and social spaces, and for sailors on long voyages they represented the total environment in which it was possible for people to live—there was no escape from the confines of the wooden walls, and no other habitable world for crew or passengers, until the vessel put into port. Even on shorter trips, sailors and others travelling over the water relied on the ship itself as well as on the skill of those handling it for their security. These physical constraints impacted social relationships that had direct ties to space on board. Work space and living space were conflated. In the American and British Royal Navies, space was

⁵⁸ Rediker 1987, 83.

ordered chronologically by the watch system by the late eighteenth century.⁵⁹ Space and authority were also tightly bound, as with the association of the quarterdeck with the captain and officers, and the pride that sailors took in being assigned to work in more prestigious jobs as defined by their location on the ship. Working in the forecabin, manning the headsails and other lines located there, required greater skill than working in the waist or aft of the ship and was rated accordingly by the sailors.⁶⁰ The constructed material world helped shape the community at sea.

Even ashore, maritimism is strongly represented in and by material culture. Those involved in the construction of ships, sails, line for rigging, block making, and other maritime crafts may not be the end users of their own products, but are similarly invested in the material culture. Specialized material culture for processing maritime resources, such as cleaning and drying fish, also contributes to the maritimism of shoreside communities. Material alterations to the landscape such as the construction of docks, slipways, fish ponds, fish traps, and harbor facilities can have a profound effect on how residents understand their relationship to the environment and their place in their social world, linking material culture and the maritime cultural landscape as discussed above.

Maritime material culture can be deployed specifically to express a maritime identity. People decorate their houses with maritime motifs and paraphernalia to declare

⁵⁹ Lavery 1998, 246-248.

⁶⁰ Harland 1985: 92-93, Lavery 1998: 248; Davie 1804: 265.

their cultural affiliation.⁶¹ Lisa Norling describes how men in the nineteenth-century whaling industry created functional scrimshaw items and gave them to their sweethearts, wives, and other female kin to help integrate themselves into the community during their long absences.⁶² These items, kept by women and fashioned from the teeth of whales killed by the men in their lives, served to tie together people of all genders. Clothing is another example of material culture that can be used to express an explicitly maritime identity. While specialized clothing may serve a functional role in maritime employment, it also marks those involved in maritime trades while ashore. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sailors dressed up to go courting while in port, and their fashions were distinct and recognizable to non-mariners. Western sailors could also be recognized by the custom of tattooing, that spread through the broader maritime community after James Cook and the crew of HMS *Endeavour's* month-long sojourn in Tahiti in 1769. Nicholas Thomas suggests that it was the historical particularities of this encounter—previous Tahitian experiences with Europeans (violent ones that neither side cared to repeat), tattooing customs particular to Tahiti, and the opportunities afforded to and accepted by Cook's crew to interact with the local population—that allowed the practice to jump the cultural divide. This later developed into a custom of sailors getting tattoos as souvenirs of Pacific voyages more broadly, and over time mariners developed a

⁶¹ Davis 1986, 132, 137.

⁶² Norling 2000, 188-190.

complex set of customs of their own surrounding the practice.⁶³ Sailors transformed their own bodies into material cultural expressions of their maritime experiences and identity.

Asahitaro Nishimura provides an example of another way that maritime material culture can provide emotional and spiritual links for members of maritime communities. His examination of *ishihibi*, Japanese stone fishing weirs, contains a story of ancestral obligation tied to the ownership of one of these basic items of fishing technology dating to at least the turn of the century. An Okinawa man's grandfather charged him in his will with the care of the soul of a long dead female priest who received one of these weirs as a royal gift. The man's family had served her descendants and inherited the *ishihibi* when her line died out. A previous ancestor had lost the *ishihibi* through non-payment of debt, and the man's grandfather had died of grief because without recovering the weir, he could not properly devote himself to the priestess's memory. The man was able to make arrangements to recover the weir, and thus pacify his grandfather and pay proper respect to the soul in his charge. Economically, the individual rights tied to *ishihibi* ownership caused tension with the more general communal approach to fishing rights and grounds in modern Japan.⁶⁴ This example demonstrates the influence that maritime material culture can exert over individuals as well as within a community more broadly.

Maritime material culture can have even more overt spiritual, religious, and magical properties. Boats and boat models made as offerings or left as grave goods may link the maritime world to a spiritual afterworld. Boats were a common model type

⁶³ Thomas 2005, 13-14, 17-21.

⁶⁴ Nishimura 1975, 79, 87.

included in Egyptian tomb collections from the Old through the New Kingdoms. Fishing boats were among the many types of models included to ensure the deceased were well provisioned in the afterlife. Other boat types were left to provide transport, not only along the river, but across the complex divine and ritual landscapes of the Egyptian afterlife.⁶⁵ These models were associated with high-class tombs, and some burials contained whole ships or ship parts. The First Dynasty funerary monument at Abydos containing 14 buried ships, the four Dashur boats of Senwosret III, and the two large disassembled royal vessels buried outside Khufu's pyramid at Giza are some of the more remarkable of these finds. Cheryl Ward argues that these served not only a ritual purpose, but also a social one: "The burial of boats in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments is as significant a socio-economic statement about the nature of power as the construction of massive mudbrick and wood tombs or even pyramids."⁶⁶ The boat burials speak to the importance of maritime power both in the landscapes of life and of the death.

Scandinavian peoples also used ships in different mortuary traditions, including burials and cremations. Slusegaard, a cemetery of 1400 burials dating between 0-400 AD, included approximately 45 inhumation burials with complete or partial boats, and the total may be higher if boats were also used in the rites for some of the 928 cremations. These small expanded logboats had been heavily used before they were turned into mortuary items, and there was no clear pattern of gender, class or period

⁶⁵ Tooley 1999, 34, 51-53.

⁶⁶ Ward 2006, 127.

associated with the use of boats in the graves. Ole Crumlin-Pedersen links these and later Scandinavian ship burials with *Skíðblaðnir*, a magical ship tied to the Norse god Freyr who was believed to oversee the domains of prosperity and death. Others believe the boats were intended to ferry the dead to the afterlife.⁶⁷ The Gokstad burial ship from AD 900 was used as a ship for some years before it became a grave site, and was placed with its stem facing the sea and with an unobstructed view to the shore.⁶⁸ The boats and ships seen in these traditions were actively used as maritime material culture, and repurposed from practical to symbolic service. Martin Carver argues that seventh-century boat-burials in England served a political as well as a religious function, as a visible declaration of allegiance to an older Scandinavian (and maritime) cultural tradition in the face of the rise of Christianity.⁶⁹

Carver's ancient Scandinavian maritime tradition is visible in another form of maritime material culture found scattered around the region: rock art. There are myriad interpretations of the meaning and intent behind the carvings of ships and other figures such as elk created as long ago as the Neolithic. Westerdahl claims the ship and animal figures are liminal and transformative, and he implies a magical association related to a perceived binary opposition between land and sea.⁷⁰ Other cultures also expressed their maritimism through rock art, from the enigmatic glyph of an Helladic vessel involved in some kind of rite left around 1200 BC at the Daklah Oasis in Egypt, up to eighteenth-

⁶⁷ Crumlin-Pedersen 1995, 87-91, 94-96; Müller-Wille 1995, 106.

⁶⁸ Nicolayesen 1882, 54, 68.

⁶⁹ Carver 1995, 121-122.

⁷⁰ Westerdahl 2005, 12-15.

and nineteenth-century AD ship graffiti of contemporary vessels carved into the sides of buildings.⁷¹ Historic peoples also used rock art motifs to communicate aspects of maritime culture. Grace Turner explicitly links Afro-Bahamian drawings of European ships in Nassau to the maritime cultural landscape of the islands, as they demonstrate the importance of ships and shipping to the local culture.⁷² These minor alterations of the physical environment are remnants of a material culture that reflect a cultural interest and investment in a maritime landscape and maritime environment: maritimity.

Material culture often reflects the importance of the other categories for understanding maritimity: Landscape and Maritime Resources. When it is distinctly maritime in nature itself, material culture can provide strong support for arguments that a particular culture or site reflects maritimity in these categories. Tools used for the harvesting of specific maritime resources—such as harpoons for hunting sea mammals like seals and whales, fishing gear, and the special equipment for harvesting certain shellfish like oysters, scallops or conch—demonstrate a cultural investment in those resources. Maritime landscapes are observable in material alterations to the environment, such as the construction of slipways and docks, and maritime ritual sites such as those discussed above. Other structures in the landscape can reflect a maritime affinity even if they do not relate directly to maritime activities, as in villages in the Southern Moluccas arranged around ship platforms as though they are themselves ships sailing in convoy.⁷³

⁷¹ Basch 1997, 27; Turner 2006: 256.

⁷² Turner 2006, 254, 259-260.

⁷³ de Jonge and van Dijk 1995:76-78.

Maritimity and Material Culture in the Archaeological Record

In the example of the Moluccan villages, the houses reflect a cultural connection to the maritime environment, and thus fall into the definition of maritime material culture provided above. But what about material culture that has no clear ties to marine resources, is not adapted to maritime use, and does not directly reflect a maritime cultural connection? Is it possible for maritimity to be encoded in material culture in other, more nuanced, ways? A maritime affiliation may have more subtle effects on a population, influencing their decision making in terms of their material culture. Local foodways may influence the material culture of dining, for example. Maritime groups that are subsets of larger cultural systems are subject to other social pressures on group and individual behavior, and these also influence material culture selection and use. It does not seem sufficient to say that maritimity is reflected only in maritime material culture, or that other identities are invisible therein.

Investigating any issues of identity in the archaeological record is a difficult prospect. Like communities, identities are not inherently conceptually exclusive. An individual or community may have identities that overlap and interact to the extent that disentangling them is problematic. Maritimity is not expressed in a cultural vacuum—individuals and communities have other identities, and all of these influence behavior. Communities and individuals may also experience behavioral constraints, such as the limited availability of desirable and even necessary material goods and resources. Societal norms and political climate also influence behavior and expressions of identity. While behaviors—cultural practices—affect the deposition of cultural materials that

comprise the archaeological record, post-depositional processes can make it difficult to relate the archaeological evidence to those practices. Despite these issues, patterns of behavior reflecting identity can still be interpreted from archaeological remains. The creation, selection and use (whether by choice or necessity) of particular items of material culture are behaviors that can reflect identities.

Interpreting patterns of culture from archaeological materials is the express purpose of Stanley South's work in his 1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. South, whose early fieldwork focuses on British colonial sites in the Carolinas, was one of the first to press for quantification studies of whole assemblages in order to search for observable patterns revealing cultural processes across multiple sites. He postulates that "(1) British colonial behavior should reveal regularities in patterning in the archeological record from British colonial sites; and (2) specialized behavioral activities should reveal contrasting patterns on such sites."⁷⁴ The people of Harbour Island were British colonials whose identity was affected by their interaction with the maritime landscape—if their maritimity affected their behavior then, according to South, it may be visible in the artifact patterning. South's work is considered a foundational text in historical archaeology, and later archaeologists have yet to present an original method for identifying cultural patterns between related populations.⁷⁵ His approach is comparative, and useful for examining how maritimity is expressed within the context of a broader British Atlantic culture and identity.

⁷⁴ South 2002, 88.

⁷⁵ Ewen 2006, 283, 292.

South's method arranges artifacts into a multi-leveled classification scheme intended to aid different levels of analysis. The top level, Groups, is based on functional activities and is the most likely to reveal systemic cultural processes. The next level, Class, is based on artifact form or function. After class comes Material, then Ware, and finally Type. Type is the level at which he believes comparison can answer questions relating to "national or ethnic origin, trade routes, culture contact, and idiosyncratic behavior."⁷⁶ These patterns are based on similarities in the ratios between the artifact Groups derived from specific cultural processes relating to behavioral modes, attitudes, and artifacts of material culture. Deviations in the ratios reflect differences in behavior.⁷⁷ South states explicitly that the categories he defines are not absolute, and that they can and should be altered to best answer the research question at hand.⁷⁸

South uses his Groups to identify two cultural patterns—the Carolina Artifact Pattern, deriving from five British colonial sites in North and South Carolina, and the Frontier Artifact Pattern, from four frontier sites in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida. The Carolina Artifact Pattern is intended to reflect behavioral modes, attitudes, and artifacts of the British colonial cultural system more broadly, while the Frontier Artifact Pattern is intended to reflect the patterning found at sites on the British colonial frontier, where certain cultural resources were at more of a premium.⁷⁹ South tests the Carolina Pattern against a site from Newfoundland and finds that it fits

⁷⁶ South 2002, 93-94.

⁷⁷ South 2002, 86.

⁷⁸ South 2002, 188-189.

⁷⁹ South 2002, 88, 141.

inside the accepted range, indicating that the pattern has a broad applicability beyond the region for which it was developed.⁸⁰ This broad applicability explains in part some of the enduring appeal of his analytical approach, and his patterns also facilitate further comparative work.

Others have expanded on South's research, both employing his method to expose new artifact patterns, and expanding on those he himself proposed. Kathleen Deagan uses South's method on Spanish colonial sites at Saint Augustine to examine patterns of enculturation and argue for the influence of intermarriage between Spanish colonial men and Native American women.⁸¹ While she has moved away from this work more recently, her patterns are still the basis for much of the interpretation of Spanish sites in Florida. Barbara Voss has recently re-examined Deagan's early work, and finds that though the patterns do suggest notable similarities between the assemblages of circum-Caribbean Spanish colonial sites, these similarities are more the result of meso- and macro-scale relationships of labor, production and distribution.⁸² Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow suggest a number of refinements to both the Frontier and Carolina Artifact Patterns based on their perceptions of the relevance of some of the comparative sites. More importantly, they criticize South for including slave-made colonowares in the Activities Group rather than in the Kitchen Group. They present revised versions of both

⁸⁰ South 2002, 92, 118, 143.

⁸¹ Deagan and Koch 1983.

⁸² Voss 2008, 862, 874.

patterns, accounting for these differences, and also propose new patterns for modeling artifacts from sites of public interaction and slave sites from the Carolinas.⁸³

South's system was subject to much critique and criticism in the decades following his initial publication. Mary Beaudry notes that this form of statistical analysis also "fails to account for the economic and symbolic use of the landscape as a means of social production and reproduction" when it comes to detecting class and status differences.⁸⁴ More generally, Beaudry and others argue that historical archaeologists must consider artifacts in their broader archaeological and social context in order to provide meaningful interpretation.⁸⁵ Charles Orser specifically critiques South's pattern analysis, especially as it has been applied to plantation archaeology in the southern United States, for being theoretically eclectic and synchronic to the point of erasing all temporal meaning and context, including the possibility of change over time.⁸⁶ According to Orser, archaeologists relying on South's pattern analysis and comparative method "overlook the complexity of plantation life, and minimize the social relations that existed on them."⁸⁷ Paul Farnsworth is also dismissive of the application of South's methods of analysis to plantation archaeology and claims that the obsession with finding new patterns in the 1980s was preventing plantation archaeologists from contributing to contemporary scholarship.⁸⁸

⁸³ Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow 1983, 266-286.

⁸⁴ Beaudry 1986, 40.

⁸⁵ Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1996, 274, 285.

⁸⁶ Orser 1989, 31, 33-34, 36.

⁸⁷ Orser 1989, 34.

⁸⁸ Farnsworth 1993, 116.

J. W. Joseph examines a number of the critiques of South's methods made in the 1980s and tests two propositions: that artifact patterning cannot reveal cultural behavior and affiliation, and that different excavation strategies undermine the applicability of patterns. He finds that artifact patterning can reveal cultural behavior and that while excavation strategy can affect patterning and should be kept in mind during analysis, it cannot account for all variation. In his case study, examining the variation in patterning between slave quarters from sites in the Carolinas and Georgia, he demonstrates that the pattern variations represent different cultural groups.⁸⁹

Joseph examines the impact of excavation strategies, but debates about the impact of formation processes on interpreting behavior from the archaeological record are also pertinent to the study of artifact patterning. Michael Schiffer's work describing cultural and noncultural transformation processes demonstrates that cultural behaviors cannot be directly interpreted from archaeological deposits.⁹⁰ Schiffer was particularly wary of spatial analyses that did not properly consider these transformative effects, as archaeologists could be misled into interpreting loci of secondary disposal as loci of activity.⁹¹ In a famous debate with Lewis Binford over the possible persistence of a Pompeii Premise in archaeology, Schiffer calls attention to how some southwestern archaeologists were using floor assemblages to determine room functions, as though function were the only variable affecting the assemblage composition.⁹²

⁸⁹ Joseph 1989, 63-64.

⁹⁰ Schiffer 1996, 302-303.

⁹¹ Schiffer 1996, 281.

⁹² Schiffer 1985, 21, 23-24.

Although South's pattern analysis does not employ any spatial analysis, the formation processes are still an important consideration. The particular history of any one site will contain both cultural and noncultural transformation processes that must be considered when trying to infer systemic behaviour. The advantage of South's system, however, is that it reduces the impact of cultural depositional factors—it does not matter if refuse is primary or secondary, as for the purpose of pattern analysis the function is taken to be inherent in the artifact. A plate may have been broken in the kitchen and a sherd lodged between cracks in the floor boards, or it may be swept out and tossed into the yard, or the whole plate may be tossed into a well or privy. Regardless of how they come to be in the archaeological record, the remains tell us that people at the site were using plates that most likely functioned as kitchen or dining ware.

Transformative processes to be most aware of are those that differentially affect artifact classes or material types. These can be difficult to generalize in the case of noncultural processes, but cultural processes such as curation and recycling are common. South noted the importance of considering curation, recycling, repair and ease of breakage as some of the variables that affect the creation of patterns, and that must be considered for their interpretation. These processes may themselves reflect systemic behavior.⁹³ Pewter, an item that is common in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century probate records but rarely found at terrestrial archaeological sites, is a good example. While the lack of archaeological pewter can be in part attributed to the material's durability, pewter objects also had resale value as scrap even once they became damaged

⁹³ South 2002, 86.

or outdated, and were often sold or remolded rather than discarded.⁹⁴ The lack of pewter in the archaeological record, however, would not affect the ratios of artifact groups in South's system.

While it is still important to keep formation processes in mind when employing South's pattern analysis, his system is useful for exposing variation at different archaeological sites. To explain these variations, multiple hypotheses must be considered, including that the variation may be the result of formation processes (including cultural transformations reflecting differences in behavior, such as methods of trash disposal). South's method, then, may be used to identify formation processes producing site assemblages outside the expected pattern range.

Although South's approach has proved generally useful in highlighting some differences in archaeological assemblages, it has other important problems. Notably for this project, his artifact classification system is focused on small finds, and does not consider larger-scale artifacts, such as industrial remains, structures, or ships, or aspects of the built environment such as buildings and wharves. The categories he uses to establish his patterns are based on functional categories that South recognizes may not reflect an artifact's full range of use.⁹⁵ Artifacts have their own histories, and even those with stable forms may serve different functions through time. The categories do not necessarily capture other kinds of meaning that items can embody or represent. Many post-processual archaeologists also take exception to the processual project of searching

⁹⁴ Martin 1989, 1.

⁹⁵ South 2002, 92-96, 188-189.

for broad patterns at the expense of investigating more unique finds that can reveal information on a smaller scale about specific individuals and their choices, behaviors and lives.⁹⁶ Without searching for broad patterns, however, there is no context for interpreting the uniqueness of particular artifacts and individuals, or for connecting them and their conflicts of class, status, and identity to the cultural systems to which they belong.

South's work on pattern analysis was originally published in 1977, but its impact on historical archaeology endures. The popularity of his classification scheme in academic publications waned along with other processual approaches to archaeology, but researchers still make use of his classification system in more recent publications. Thad M. Van Bueren uses South's method, though not his exact classes, to examine changes in the lifestyle of Chinese workers in California from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.⁹⁷ South's system is intended to be flexible, and the categories within the system can be altered to accommodate different research needs.⁹⁸ Carolyn White examines artifacts from one particular artifact class drawn from South's classification scheme, personal adornment, to search for markers of identity in an assemblage recovered from a single site in New Hampshire. Although she uses his classes and references him directly, she does not employ any quantification or pattern analysis.⁹⁹ Both of these researchers draw on different aspects of South's system, but

⁹⁶ Ewen 2006, 292.

⁹⁷ Van Bueren 2008, 85-86.

⁹⁸ South 2002, 92-96.

⁹⁹ White 2008, 17-37.

these different uses reinforce his broader influence. Other archaeologists, particularly in cultural resource management, apply South's classification system more directly, often adjusting the categories, to organize their finds and test them against the patterns he proposed. Few, however, bother with the more rigorous statistical analysis South performs in the original text. Even so, the prevalence of his system facilitates comparative studies drawing on data from a wide range of sites.

In a later article re-examining his commitment to pattern studies, South emphasizes that the purpose of searching for patterns in the archaeological record is to trace out cultural processes. Identification of patterns is only the first step—the more important goal is formulating interpretations that relate observed patterns not only to behavior, but to the larger processes that help shape those behaviors.¹⁰⁰ The focus of this project is on one of those larger processes—the formation and expression of community identity, and specifically maritimity. The Bahamian example of Harbour Island pursued in the following chapters establishes the maritimity of that community within a broader Atlantic context and explores the material cultural assemblage recovered from archaeological fieldwork using the method established by South to search for pattern variations that relate to maritimity.

¹⁰⁰ South 1988, 26-27.

CHAPTER III

A BRIEF ATLANTIC HISTORY OF THE BAHAMAS FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The development of the Bahamas followed a unique path among the British Atlantic colonies. It was the only English colony founded during the period of the civil war (1642-1651), and its creation was directly tied to how the tensions in the home country played out in its more remote holdings. Unsuccessful at following the trends of the Caribbean and Southern colonies in producing a single marketable staple from large-scale plantations using slave labor, the islands were never rich. Instead, their main value was in the potential of their geographic position to take advantage, in many ways, of the trade passing up the Atlantic coast of North America. It was their context that made them valuable, and as such it is by understanding this context that the course of their development becomes clearer.

Atlantic history is an approach used by historians to contextualize relationships across the geographic space of the Atlantic, and reinforce connections between Europe, its colonies and trade partners on both sides of the ocean. It focuses on examining the flow of people, goods, and ideas within that space, while recognizing the influence and importance of other geographic areas. As described by John Elliott, Atlantic history studies “the creation, destruction, and re-creation of communities as a result of the movement, across and around the Atlantic basin, of people, commodities, cultural

practices, and values.”¹⁰¹ This perspective is useful when considering the existence of a broad, geographically unbounded maritime community connecting individuals and groups who share cultural elements and values through experiences based on, among other things, a shared environment. This larger maritime network was essential to connecting the Bahama Islands to the rest of the Atlantic community.

Jack Greene sorted the Bahamas, along with Bermuda, into a cultural and geographical unit he called the Atlantic Islands in his classic examination of colonial development, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*.¹⁰² This is a fair distinction, as there are a number of factors which distinguish them more from other island colonies than from each other. The Bahamas were primarily settled by Bermudians, and residents of Bermuda continued to visit Bahamian waters to take advantage of abundant natural resources such as whales and salt. The maritime interests of the Bermudian colonists had a strong and lasting impact on the daughter colony.

Despite these ties, the colonies also exhibit a number of traits which render them distinct from each other as well as from other European colonial possessions. Geologically, the Bahamas have more in common with the uplifted limestone reef of Florida and the Keys than with the primarily volcanic islands of the Caribbean. This means that they were unsuitable for the large-scale plantation agriculture that developed in the Caribbean colonies. This in turn affected their social development, as there was

¹⁰¹ Elliott 2002, 239.

¹⁰² Greene 1988, 54, 152.

less incentive to import large quantities of slaves, and the demographic breakdown of the islands was notably different from English/British colonies in the Caribbean and Southern North America until after the American Revolution.¹⁰³ The sudden population increase caused by the arrival of a large number of American Loyalists and their slaves beginning in the 1780s created tensions with older residents over the direction the colony should take, and how it should operate within the broader scope of British Atlantic culture. The Loyalists wanted to transplant their social ideals and indiscriminately apply their conceptions of improvement and modernity to their new home. The older residents, derogatorily called ‘conchs’ after the shellfish that made up a large portion of their diet, were drawing on a hundred-year-old heritage much more historically informed on the realities of life in the Bahamas.¹⁰⁴

Columbus’s first landfall in the New World is widely believed to have been in the Bahamas, which were at the time populated by the indigenous Lucayan Arawaks. By 1513, the Spanish had cleared the islands, enslaving any who had not died of European-introduced diseases. Most were worked to death diving for pearls, and the last was dead by 1520.¹⁰⁵ The Spanish never moved to colonize the depopulated islands, establishing their control of the Straits of Florida through Cuba. The empty Bahama Islands made a tempting staging ground for interfering with Spanish shipping through privateering and piracy, as vessels passing out of the Gulf of Mexico or traveling north out of the

¹⁰³ Compare "Table 26. Estimated Population of the English Sugar Islands, 1660-1713" in Dunn 1972, 312, "Table 1. Slave Population of Mainland North America, 1680-1820 (% of total population)" in Berlin 1998, 169-170, and "Table 2, Population 1731" in Craton and Saunders 1992, 120. See also Craton and Saunders 1992, 180 for population figures after the American Revolution.

¹⁰⁴ Craton and Saunders 1992, 213; Powles 1996, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Craton and Saunders 1992, 56-57.

Caribbean to the Atlantic coast of North America needed to catch the Gulf Stream in order to counteract the effects of the north-east trade winds. This took them directly on a path through the Straits.

The earliest attempt to claim the islands by a power other than Spain originated in France in the 1560s. One ship was sent to found a colony at Abaco, as a twin to the settlement of Laudonnière (near where the Spanish would later establish Saint Augustine), but neither colony lasted even two years. Another French grant gave four of the islands to a Huguenot entrepreneur in 1633, but as he was only allowed to settle French Catholics within his colony the enterprise never got off the ground and France spent its colonial energies elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Four years previous, in 1629, Charles I of England had included the Bahamas as part of a grant to Sir Robert Heath, but he organized no settlement either.¹⁰⁷

The first real attempt at colonization came in 1648, when a faction of Bermudian Republican sympathizers (Independents) set out to found a new colony on the tenets of religious and political freedom. The venture was organized by William Sayle, a prominent merchant and sea captain with ties to both sides of the Atlantic, who had served twice as Governor of Bermuda. Sayle organized shareholders in England into the Company of Eleutherian Adventurers. The first Bahamian settlers were drawn directly from the contingent of Independents, whose struggles against the colony's Puritan faction mirrored the religious struggles of the English Civil War. The House of

¹⁰⁶ Craton and Saunders 1992, 64-65.

¹⁰⁷ Sainsbury 1893, 70-71, #151.

Commons passed a bill approving the new colony in 1649, one year after Sayle's people had landed.¹⁰⁸

The settlers did not arrive in the best of circumstances. After a falling out with one of their number at their first landing spot over just how broad a definition of religious freedom they were willing to accept, the colonists packed up their ship with the intention of finding another area appropriate for settlement.¹⁰⁹ Instead, the vessel was shipwrecked on the Devil's Backbone reef on northern Eleuthera. All hands but one survived, but the ship and all provisions necessary for founding a new colony were lost. Archaeological investigations conducted by Research Atlantica and the Historical and Archaeological Conservancy, Inc. have confirmed the local lore claiming that the settlers then took refuge at Preacher's Cave, located a short distance inland. The cave provided a natural shelter where the colonists lived and conducted their religious services from the natural pulpit formation in the center of the cave for the first few years of the colony.¹¹⁰ Despite their meager existence, the English Bahamians continued to be connected to a larger political and social network. The colonist received reinforcements from Bermuda in 1649: seventy more Independents exiled for refusing to swear allegiance to Charles II.¹¹¹ Sayle also manage to secure material support from sympathizers in Virginia and New England. The infant colony repaid the latter through a generous donation of

¹⁰⁸ Sayle's arrival in Bermuda from England with the provision, specifically arms and ammunition, necessary to support his colonial venture greatly alarmed the Puritan contingent. Bernhard 2010, 677-678, 687; Craton and Saunders 1992, 75-76.

¹⁰⁹ Captain Butler, an Englishman, refused to submit to any authority or participate in any worship at all, and was left behind with a small faction at the first (unknown) landing place. Winthrop 1908, 352-353.

¹¹⁰ Research Atlantica and the Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, Inc. 2006, 8, 26.

¹¹¹ Bernhard 2010, 689.

braziletto wood which was sold to contribute a large portion of the original endowment of Harvard College.¹¹² Not all the settlers remained in the Bahamas, especially after the government in Bermuda stabilized as Parliament secured its control over the fractured mother country. However, many of the family names introduced during this earliest colonial venture, such as Albury, Curry, Pinder, Saunders, and Sweeting, are still found in the country today. Additionally, scientists have linked instances of Laron Syndrome (LS) to the original Bermudian settlers. LS is a rare autosomal recessive disorder, meaning that children of parents who are both carriers for the gene mutation have a 25% chance of inheriting the mutation from both parents and being at risk of developing the syndrome and a 50% chance of only inheriting it from one parent and being carriers. LS is related to defects in growth inhibitors and results in extremely short stature and dysmorphic features (dwarfism). DNA testing on skeletal remains of a sub-adult individual with LS recovered from a colonial burial at Preacher's Cave and molecular analysis of samples from living individuals with LS from Spanish Wells and Nassau provided evidence of direct genetic linkages between the modern Bahamian population and the first English colonists who arrived in 1648.¹¹³

When Charles II resumed Royal control of England in 1660, he chose not to accept the authority of the colony created under Parliamentary control. The remaining settlers had moved out of Preacher's Cave by this time, and those who had opted to stay in the Bahamas had dispersed to other islands, including New Providence and Harbour

¹¹² Craton and Saunders 1992, 77-78.

¹¹³ Research Atlantica and the Historical and Archaeological Conservancy 2006, 16.

Island. By the end of the 1660s Sayle and others with an interest in seeing the Bahamas properly settled and governed had approached the proprietors of the Carolinas about applying for a patent and charter for the islands.¹¹⁴ The movement was in full force by 1670. John Dorrell and Hugh Wentworth wrote one of the proprietors, Anthony Lord Ashley, claiming that New Providence had a population of 300, mostly consisting of people transported from Bermuda due to issues of overcrowding. They extolled the island's potential to become a great plantation, especially for cotton and tobacco.¹¹⁵ Sayle himself, once again Governor of Bermuda, also wrote a letter to the Proprietors in his official capacity, supported by his Council, encouraging them to consider pursuing a patent.¹¹⁶ The Crown granted this document on November 1 of that year, giving the proprietors the absolute power to make laws, grant land, establish settlements, build forts, appoint officers including governors, and make war. The estimated the cost of creating the new settlement, including building fortifications, transporting settlers, and providing for them for three years, was £633,000.¹¹⁷

The six proprietors awarded the Bahamian grants were Christopher Duke of Albermarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkley, Anthony Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftsbury and Lord Chancellor of England under Charles II), Sir George Carteret and Sir Peter Colleton. These were important English statesmen with interests in many projects around the globe and the Bahamas were only one more investment in the

¹¹⁴ Craton and Saunders 1992, 79; Sainsbury 1893, 147, #384.

¹¹⁵ Sainsbury 1889, 56, #153.

¹¹⁶ Sainsbury 1889, 86, #246.

¹¹⁷ Sainsbury 1889, 122-3, #311, #312.

ongoing project of their social and economic aggrandizement: they were very clearly part of a larger system that stretched beyond the Atlantic. Apart from the distant hand of the proprietors, however, the ties of the settlers themselves within the Atlantic system—especially to Bermuda, the Carolinas, Jamaica, and Barbados—drew the new colony into the fold.

The first governor's instructions included much that was telling of the proprietors' attitude towards their newest acquisition. Settlers new and old were to receive land grants based on the size of their households—a fairly standard practice. What is interesting is the directive “To take care that two fifths of all the land respectively of equal goodness with what the people plant be reserved for the Lords Proprietors and such as they constitute the nobility.”¹¹⁸ This highlights two assumptions: first that people would be interested in planting, and second that there was good land for cultivation. It also gives insight into the social organization they envisioned for their colony—a miniature version of the English system which they could arbitrarily control. The proprietors also had a clear economic interest in the islands as they expected rents from the land grants, arable land for their own plantations, and also the right to all valuable hardwood not on private property and one third of any ambergris collected from the islands.

Almost immediately, there were questions about the appropriateness of the proprietary model and the effectiveness of the governance provided by the proprietors. Governor John Wentworth wrote a number of letters to the government of Jamaica in

¹¹⁸ Sainsbury 1889, 206-7, #510.

1672 asking for supplies and aid, and the Jamaican Lieutenant Governor Thomas Lynch in turn wrote the Board of Trade asking them whether the fledgling colony ought not to be subsumed into his own.¹¹⁹ When the proprietors finally sent supplies, they came with deputies responsible for overseeing proprietary interests, and more instructions to encourage planting and organize their model society.¹²⁰ Not all the Lords were as out of touch with the realities of the Bahamian situation, however, as noted in a letter from Peter Colleton to Lord Ashley's secretary John Locke advising him not to invest in plantations in the islands.¹²¹

After replacing Wentworth with a new governor, Charles Chillingworth, in 1676 the proprietors got their first real taste of exactly what the Bahamians thought of their model society and their emphasis on agriculture. The colonists rebelled and packed the new governor off to Jamaica.¹²² The proprietors had their next governor, Robert Clarke, arrested in 1682 for issuing illegal commissions to pirates to prey on Spanish shipping and settlements. Lynch, who wrote to the Board of Trade again to inform them of the issue, described the Bahamas in this period as “barren and good for little, frequented only by a few stragglers who receive such as come to dive for silver in a galleon wrecked on that coast.”¹²³ In a letter sent the next month, Lynch once again pressed for

¹¹⁹ Sainsbury 1889, 341, #777; 402-3, #916.

¹²⁰ Sainsbury 1889, 432-3, #962, #963, #964).

¹²¹ Sainsbury 1889, 499, #1103.

¹²² Sainsbury 1893, 418, #971; Oldmixon 1966: 12-3; Craton and Saunders 1992, 96-7.

¹²³ Fortescue 1898, 249, #552.

the Crown to resume control of the Bahamas, preferably under his own dominion, or else they would “remain a nest of robbers.”¹²⁴

Lynch was harsher in his letter to Clarke, berating him for encouraging pirates like John Coxon, a well-known scoundrel of the period. He claimed that any problems Clarke had with the Spanish were entirely self-inflicted, as the people he governed would rather steal plunder from Spanish wrecks to which they had no rights, than plant. He even went so far as accusing Clarke of trying to create a new Tortuga, “for certainly all the pirates in the Indies are now in your latitude.”¹²⁵ Apparently, Lynch was angry enough when Coxon displayed his Bahamian commission that the pirate was willing to go out and bring Clarke to Lynch directly. The Jamaican governor declined, but his anger is fairly unrestrained in the letter.¹²⁶ While this would not be the last time that piracy and salvage rights caused trouble in the Bahamas, the Spanish response to Bahamian interference with trade quickly became a more immediate concern.

On January 13, 1684 the Spanish took their reprisal, and sacked New Providence. They recovered much of the illegally salvaged treasure and carried off many of the inhabitants for trial as pirates back in Havana.¹²⁷ Despite then-governor Robert Lilburn’s attempts to assure the Spaniards that the colonies were not a threat, they sent a second force only months later. The attackers burned more houses, took more prisoners, and executed the governor.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Fortescue 1898, 284, #668.

¹²⁵ Fortescue 1898, 286-8, #668I.

¹²⁶ Fortescue 1898, 286-8, #668I.

¹²⁷ Fortescue 1898, 578-9, #1509; 607-8, #1590.

¹²⁸ Fortescue 1898, 642-3, #1707; 718, #1927.

After the near-total destruction of the colony, the proprietors showed very little interest in rebuilding. They did not appoint another governor for four years, and then only confirmed the choice of the newest wave of disaffected settlers from other Caribbean plantation islands—this time from Jamaica.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, the islands continued to accumulate a reputation as a refuge for pirates, and several reports on the subject came to the attention of both the Board of Trade and the governors of several neighboring colonies. Colonel Hender Molesworth, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica in 1686-1687, and then again in 1688-1689, used these occurrences to continue to argue that the Bahamas should be subsumed into the control of the crown through his government.¹³⁰

After they nominally re-established their control, the proprietors continually had to deal with issues arising from accusations of rampant piracy in the islands. Even their most effective governors were accused of colluding with pirates—and with good reason. Nicholas Trott, governor from 1693 to 1696, established the town of Nassau and supervised the construction of both a church and an improved fort.¹³¹ He also accepted at least £1000 (some accounts claim the total amount was over £2500) in personal bribes from the crew of Henry Avery. Avery was an infamous Red Sea pirate who had just returned to the Caribbean after successfully capturing the flag ship of the Grand Mogul of India, with the Mogul's daughter onboard. He and his crew stopped in New Providence to disperse and some of the pirates remained and even married into the

¹²⁹ Fortescue 1899, 274-5, #985; 315, #1128; 570, #1831.

¹³⁰ Fortescue 1899, 357, #1212.

¹³¹ Fortescue 1903, 460-1, #1774; Oldmixon 1966, 18.

community.¹³² At his trial, Trott claimed that there were not enough men in the islands to keep the pirates away, and that he had believed they were simply interlopers in the trade of the Royal African Company.¹³³ Richard Coote, earl of Bellomont and the Royal Governor of New York and New England, claimed Trott accumulated an illegal fortune of over fifty thousand pounds during his two year tenure in the Bahamas.¹³⁴

These problems with governors harboring pirates were poorly timed, as there was a movement in the 1690s encouraging the Crown to revoke all proprietary charters. Part of the argument presented was that the proprietary colonies tended to be havens for pirates.¹³⁵ The movement was not successful, but it characterized the developing interest of the home government in taking control of overseas interests. The Bahamian governors were caught between the desires of the local inhabitants and the distant proprietary land owners, and no governor managed to please both parties. Those who were popular at home raised the ire of the Lords, and those who strived to stick to the bounds of their commissions risked being overthrown and jailed, as was the fate of Elias Haskett. Haskett replaced and arrested a locally nominated Lieutenant Governor, Read Elding (a mixed-race ex-Red Sea pirate).¹³⁶ The locals revolted, claiming that Haskett was out to ruin their livelihoods: "[t]he arbitrary and tyrannical Government of Elias Haskett, our late Governor, hath been so intolerably oppressive that it could no longer be endured

¹³² Fortescue 1904, 260-3, #517; Fortescue 1905, 371, #734.

¹³³ Fortescue 1904, 506-7, #928.

¹³⁴ Fortescue 1908, 414, #746. Bellomont was something of a pirate broker himself, and had been one of the main supporters of William Kidd's expedition to the Indian Ocean. For further information see Ritchie 1986.

¹³⁵ Fortescue 1904, 73, #149.

¹³⁶ Headlam 1910a, 40, #61.

without the manifest loss of our lives and fortunes, and the utter destruction of the Trade and Encouragement of settling these Islands."¹³⁷

The rebellion that removed Haskett sparked further interest in the matter of the Bahamas back home. Haskett, initially deported to New York, travelled to London where he presented his case before the board and eventually Queen Anne herself. He claimed the Bahamians were nothing but a bunch of lazy, wife-swapping, degenerate pirates.¹³⁸ He apparently cultivated the favor of the queen by suggesting to her that he could convince the proprietors to relinquish their claims on the islands.¹³⁹ She and the board both increased pressure on the proprietors to tend to the defense and running of the colony, but any response they may have planned came too late. Near the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession, a combined French and Spanish force destroyed the settlement at New Providence for a second time, in retaliation against the privateers and pirates operating from the poorly defended colony.¹⁴⁰

Control of the Bahamas remained an issue throughout the fourteen-year-long war. While the proprietors made no significant effort to secure the colony, the Board of Trade had the situation thoroughly investigated and some Bahamian residents sent petitions to London urging the crown to resume full control.¹⁴¹ The Solicitor General issued a statement in May 1706 that, due to their inaction, he judged that the Lords Proprietors had forfeited their claims to the colony. He believed that the Queen could

¹³⁷ Headlam 1910b, 567, #923.

¹³⁸ Headlam 1912, 442-445, #702; 560, #903.

¹³⁹ Headlam 1912, 463, #746; 464, #748; 466 #903.

¹⁴⁰ Headlam 1912, 558-559, #896; 560 #904; Headlam 1913, 695, #1098; 751, #1158.

¹⁴¹ Headlam 1916a, 218-219, #458; Headlam 1916b, 100, #231; 107, #264; 153-154, #375; Headlam 1922, 175, #230; 215-216, # 340.

make a strong legal case to resume direction of the Bahamas if she so chose.¹⁴² In 1710, Queen Anne approved a report on the colony detailing its potential and made known her intention to re-take the colony.¹⁴³ The Board of Trade presented another report listing everything that would be necessary to secure the colony.¹⁴⁴ Despite a few more orders to investigate the situation in the islands themselves, nothing came of these investigations until well after George I ascended to the throne.

While the potential of the islands to succeed economically as a colony was pushed as part of the argument, a letter from the board to Secretary General Hedges in 1706 makes clear that their main concern was still geographical: allowing the islands to fall into the hands of the French or Spanish could be devastating to British trade because of their placement across the Florida Straits.¹⁴⁵ A memorial published around 1707 by John Graves, a long-time inhabitant of the Bahamas, also stressed the islands' location for trade and protection as their most essential asset. The most important natural resource the islands provided, he further claimed, was salt (from the natural salt pans) used in the extensive Atlantic fisheries.¹⁴⁶

Colonists who remained in the islands pursued a number of strategies to survive, and Craton and Saunders insightfully identify the early eighteenth century as a “formative period in the evolution of the Bahamian national character.”¹⁴⁷ Developing an opportunistic and enduring self-reliance, remaining residents thrived in part on illegal

¹⁴² Headlam 1916b, 134, #327.

¹⁴³ Headlam 1924, 176, #361; 215, #394.

¹⁴⁴ Headlam 1924, 219-220, #405.

¹⁴⁵ Headlam 1916b, 153-154, #375.

¹⁴⁶ Graves 1707?, 1-7.

¹⁴⁷ Craton and Saunders 1992, 104.

trade with the Spanish and salvage of shipwrecks (also often Spanish) in local waters.¹⁴⁸ Following the wreck of the Spanish treasure fleet in 1715, treasure hunters from Jamaica started using New Providence as their base of operations. Some of them took to plundering Spanish salvers instead, followed shortly by acts of open piracy against British vessels.¹⁴⁹ These pirates were not native Bahamians, but rather desperate rogues taking advantage of the lack of governmental control. They even rebuilt and rearmed the fort in Nassau. Some locals pleaded for the government to send some official relief quickly, before dislodging them became an even more difficult and expensive prospect.¹⁵⁰ By 1717 the Board estimated that they would need at least one fourth-rate or two fifth-rate warships to evict the pirates, noting that the rogues had now raised a battery on Harbour Island as well.¹⁵¹

Despite the interest in the islands and the numerous appeals and petitions to see them appropriated by the Crown, when official relief finally came in 1718 it was not a government initiative. Captain Woodes Rogers, who had made a name for himself as a South Seas privateer earlier in the war, presented a scheme in 1717 that placed him in the position of Governor with a royal commission. Rogers planned to convert most of the pirates into obedient citizens by offering a full royal pardon that could be accepted throughout the American colonies, and claimed he would drive out any in the Bahamas who clung to their old ways with a joint effort of private and royal warships. To settle

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Headlam 1930a, 139-42, #240.

¹⁵⁰ Headlam 1930a, 176-7, #328.

¹⁵¹ Headlam 1930a, 321-2, #596.

the neglected colony, he would transport a number of Swiss colonists, and attract other settlers from over-populated islands such as Bermuda and Anguilla. He would also raise an Independent Company of soldiers to man the fort. Although the Bahamas would be ruled by a Crown-appointed official, the land would still be privately controlled—Rogers arranged to lease the remaining rights of the Proprietors for a term of 21 years, and then re-sold those rights to a group of private merchants who styled themselves the Bahamas Company. His plan was ultimately embraced by the Board of Trade, King George, and also the Lords Proprietors.¹⁵²

Rogers' scheme to dismantle the Bahamian pirate community had much more than a local effect—it spelled the end of the 'golden age' of piracy, at least in the western Atlantic. Many pirates accepted the offered pardon in Nassau or other North American colonies. While not all of the Bahamian pirates remained settled, the reinstatement of government meant that those who returned to their piratical life found that the colony was no longer a safe-haven. Over the next few years, many of the most famous pirates who had been operating out of Nassau had been pardoned (Henry Jennings, Benjamin Hornigold, and Thomas Cockram), or killed either in action or on the gallows (Edward Teach, Stede Bonnet, Jack Rackham).

The following decades were spent trying to bring order to the re-settled colony. However, the arrangements that Rogers made with the proprietors made granting land difficult, which in turn reduced the colony's appeal to potential permanent settlers. The

¹⁵² Headlam 1930a, 345-7, #657; 353-4, #671; Headlam 1930b, 24-5, #64; 29, #76; 78, #166, #167; 85-7, #176; 109-12, #220; 154, #305.

geological truth that the islands were not suitable for large-scale agricultural plantations remained an issue. Rogers himself remarked on the disinclination of the inhabitants to turn their attention to any industry:

...for work they mortally hate it for when they have clear'd a patch that will supply them with potatoes and yams and very little else fish being so plenty and either turtle or goanas on the neighbouring islands, they eat ym. instead of meat, and covet no stock of cattle but thus live poorly and indolently wth. a seeming content and pray for nothing but wrecks or the pirates, and few of them have an opinion of a regular orderly life under any sort of Governmt.¹⁵³

Rogers' successor, George Phenny, also noted in one of his reports to the board that the inhabitants were “mostly seamen” with no inclination towards planting.¹⁵⁴ He (or rather his wife) had some success introducing straw weaving from Bermuda as a cottage industry, but this did not contribute substantially to the economy.¹⁵⁵ Records from this period indicate that the colony's main trade partners were the Carolinas, a bare seven days sail away (ten on the return), where Bahamians exchanged tortoise shell and citrus fruits for provisions. Jamaica was another source of produce, exchanged for Bahamian salt and braziletto wood in seasons when local ships travelled to their western

¹⁵³ Headlam 1933, 100-101, #209.

¹⁵⁴ Headlam 1934, 222, #455.

¹⁵⁵ Headlam 1937, 194-195, #384.

neighbour to hire themselves out in the carrying trade. Islanders also imported material goods such as clothing, pottery and tools from England and exported local hardwoods.¹⁵⁶

The political tumult of the eighteenth century brought plenty of opportunities for residents to make their profits in other ways. During the War of Jenkins' Ear, the War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War and up to the American Revolution, the Bahamas served as a privateering base, issuing commissions and hosting prize courts. Their location along the trade routes remained advantageous for such activity. Shipbuilding also became a more important industry, developing in the 1720s primarily on New Providence, with some older settled islands following suit locally. Bahamians also continued to pursue other trades first established by their Bermudian ancestors including salt raking, logging, turtling, and wrecking.

Some residents attempted to set up plantations like those on the mainland or other Caribbean colonies, but these optimistic entrepreneurs were in the minority. Such endeavors had a significant impact on slavery and race relations. Bahamians still owned slaves, but not generally in the numbers seen in other colonies. At the time of the 1731 census, blacks (undifferentiated between free and unfree) represented only 33% of the islands' population. The colony had a significant proportion of free blacks, many descended from persons deported from Bermuda in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ These were enumerated separately in the 1734 census, though only identifiable as a group

¹⁵⁶ Craton and Saunders 1992, 101, 133; Headlam 1934, 101-103, #801iii.

¹⁵⁷ Craton and Saunders 1992, 78.

separate from other free inhabitants in New Providence. Those thus identified composed approximately 10% of the population, and included several mixed race families.¹⁵⁸

Over the next fifty years, the number, and proportion, of slaves increased slowly. By 1773, blacks (free and unfree) made up 53% of the islands' total population. The ratio remained higher on New Providence than in the rest of the colony. While this percentage may have continued to grow naturally, the local fallout of the American Revolution produced the largest upset in population dynamics in the islands since the arrival of the Spanish in the Caribbean.

Despite a temporary takeover by American forces in 1776, the Bahamas thrived for most of the war on privateering, as they had during most of the other conflicts of the century. In 1781, however, the British lost control of the islands to a Spanish force for the first time since the War of Spanish Succession. Unlike the earlier attacks, this time the Spaniards intended to stay. Don Antonio Claraco y Sanz, who commanded the attack, claimed the islands for Spain and installed himself as governor. He had no better luck controlling the locals than previous British governors, however, and was unable to do much to enforce his control, especially in the out-islands. The islands were not destined to remain long in Spanish hands, and a bare year after his conquest it was clear they would return to British control as part of the peace negotiations. Despite these arrangements, Colonel Andrew Deveaux, a devoted Loyalist from South Carolina,

¹⁵⁸ Craton and Saunders 1992, 124-125.

undertook an action to liberate the islands, successfully ousting Claraco by April 17, 1783.¹⁵⁹

Deveaux's success marked the islands as a destination for other Loyalists leaving the new-formed United States. They came initially from the south—East Florida and the Carolinas—and they brought their entire households, slaves and all. They settled on New Providence and on islands like Exuma and Long Island that had not previously been widely settled. One large contingent came from New York and settled primarily on Abaco. The Loyalists as a whole increased the number of inhabited, settled, islands from three to ten. At most of the new settlements slaves outnumbered their masters by about twenty to one. Abaco, settled primarily by Loyalists from the northern states, was the exception. On the older islands, the population was much better balanced, though New Providence and Eleuthera still had black majorities (including significant numbers of free blacks and people of mixed race). Harbour Island and Abaco maintained white majorities.¹⁶⁰

These new arrivals had the numbers and resources to make themselves into a powerful political force, and New Providence Loyalists quickly found themselves at odds with the older inhabitants. The newcomers disdained the older settlers' attachment to and reliance on the sea, calling them 'conchs' as a reference to one of their primary food resources. The Loyalists hoped to refocus the colony's development on agriculture

¹⁵⁹ Craton and Saunders 1992, 169-170.

¹⁶⁰ Craton and Saunder 1992, 181-183.

through the production of sea-island cotton, essentially transplanting their way of life to this new setting.

The arrival of the Loyalists brought a lingering issue to light—the question of the Proprietary patent and the issuing of land grants. Bahamian governors had been raising the matter of land grants since the time of Woodes Rogers, but not since Queen Anne’s day had there been such a push to place the colony’s lands into royal control. In 1784, the crown began purchasing lands from the descendants of the original proprietors, and secured the final rights and titles to all formerly proprietary lands in 1787. The governor was then able to issue patents to the heads of all free households for 40 acres of land, plus another twenty acres for each dependant (free or unfree), for a quit rent of two shillings per hundred acres (with a ten year exemption for displaced Loyalists).¹⁶¹ After decades of complaining that the lack of viable land-granting system made it difficult to attract settlers, the mass influx of population forced a resolution.

The initial development of plantations resulted in a short term economic boom. The Loyalists’ sea cotton plantations were successful as long as there was enough land to expand production (the thin soils became quickly exhausted), and the wars in Europe and the Caribbean in the late eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth boosted prices. In the 1780s, the first Bahamian newsletter, the Bahamas Gazette, recorded the ships coming and going from Nassau, and contained advertisements listing goods available in the colonial capital at that time (for a list of ships entering and leaving the Bahamas from 1784-1785, see Appendix A). Most manufactured goods such as

¹⁶¹ Craton and Saunders 1992, 191.

cloth, clothing, ceramics, and tools came on large ships from London and occasionally other British ports such as Liverpool or Cork. Ships from American cities such as Charleston, New York, and Baltimore frequently brought staples such as flour, corn, lumber (including planks and shingles), produce, and other foodstuffs such as preserved meats, biscuits, and dairy products. Regular trade with Jamaica and some other Caribbean destinations kept the colony supplied with liquor, especially rum.¹⁶²

The Gazette also offers other insights into the colony's connections to systems in and beyond the Atlantic. The colony's role as an economic periphery in the expanding world-system is clearly evidenced in the advertisements offering finished goods in exchange for the produce of the land.¹⁶³ The epitome of this phenomenon is one 1784 advertisement offering mahogany goods from London in exchange for locally cut wood—including mahogany.¹⁶⁴ An example of the integration of all Bahamians into a broader Atlantic network comes from advertisements for escaped slaves. One in particular, published originally in Charleston in 1785, demonstrates the mobility and connectivity of peoples of multiple races throughout the broader region:

TEN GUINEAS REWARD

RUN away from the Subscriber at New-York in August, 1784. A Negro Man named CASTALIO, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, well made, speaks good English, and the Dutch and French languages distinctly; he is rather of clear black complexion, has country marks on each side of his face, which is rather round. And his nose very hollow in the middle; he is a compleat waiting man, shaves, and dresses hair, formerly

¹⁶² Data compiled from advertisements in the Bahamas Gazette from August 21, 1784 to June 11, 1785.

¹⁶³ Wallerstein 2004, 11-2, 17-18.

¹⁶⁴ Tinker 1784, 1.

belonged to a Dutch Gentlemen in St. Eustatia, and says he went with his master thence to Holland, and was sent again to the West Indies; he was brought to Charleston in May 1783 by Mr. James Ashton, of St. Thomas's, and by him sold to Mr. James Miller, from whom the Subscriber purchased him. Said negro fellow attempted to run away at New-York, with another negro fellow named DICK belonging to Mr. Benjamin Hanson, now of Dominica, both of whom were detected and confined, but afterwards made their escape; he is supposed to have been carried to Abaco, or some other of the Bahama-Islands, by some white person.

The above Reward will be paid with all reasonable charges to any white person (or five Guineas to any negro) who will secure said Boy Castalio so that he may be delivered to Messrs. Forbes and Stevens, of Nassau, New Providence, or Fifteen Guineas, on delivery of the said Negro to the Subscriber in Charleston, South Carolina

Henry Shoolbred
Charleston, January 4, 1785.¹⁶⁵

While neither Castalio nor Shoolbred were Bahamian themselves, they both had personal connections to the people of the islands, helping link the islanders into larger networks that spanned the Atlantic region. This prosperity of the late eighteenth century helped fix the colony into the Atlantic system, integrating the islands socially and economically into the circulation of goods, people, and ideas. The concurrent benefits of booming world markets and beneficial local geography were an initial boon (and were supported by local technological developments). However, both these apparent advantages would soon turn on the Bahamian cotton planters.

By the time the world-spanning wars were winding down in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the soils in the 'cotton belt', the latitude between Cat Island and

¹⁶⁵ Shoolbred 1785, 1.

Acklin's Island, were depleted. The opening of free trade markets brought local producers into competition with areas of mass production such as the United States. Some Bahamian planters tried to offload their holdings and slaves, with only limited success and through some dubiously legal channels. Others abandoned both people and plantations entirely to try and make a living in the colonial capital on New Providence. Some instead turned their efforts to traditional maritime enterprises, such as the production of salt from the local salt-pans.¹⁶⁶ As a result of these practices, the islands experienced a slight decrease in the slave population between 1822 and 1825, as well as an increase in rates of manumission.¹⁶⁷ Although landowners abandoned many of their plantations completely, the transshipment of slaves out of the colony still resulted in a labor shortage.

The abolition of the slave trade helped rectify this issue in a somewhat ironic manner, as the British government developed a habit of resettling Africans rescued from illegal slavers in the Bahamas. The local government provided these new Bahamians with land to form their own communities, but they were apprenticed for terms of seven years as labourers and domestics or fourteen years as mariners. This was purportedly to ensure that they had the skills and experience necessary to thrive in their new environment, though it was certainly intended as a measure of control, as the influx of population increased social tensions along both racial and ethnic lines. Ultimately, over 6500 liberated Africans found new homes in the Bahamas between 1811 and 1838,

¹⁶⁶ Craton and Saunders 1992, 196-197; 225-226.

¹⁶⁷ Craton and Saunders 1992, 274.

founding a number of villages in which they adapted African lifeways to local conditions and flourished.¹⁶⁸ Although tensions existed between native black (free and unfree) and liberated African communities as well as between blacks and whites, over the course of the nineteenth century the racial divide became the more significant division. Racial tensions, especially in communities such as Abaco and Harbour Island that had a higher proportion of white residents, were higher in the nineteenth century than in the colony's earlier history.

The post-slavery economy was predominantly founded on the exploitation of black labor. Black laborers were the primary producers and procurers of goods for foreign markets such as pineapples and sponges. L. D. Powles, who served as circuit judge in the Bahamas in the 1880s before he was pressured to resign by the ruling elites for daring to convict a white man of beating a black female servant, wrote a short book describing his travels in the islands in 1888.¹⁶⁹ He included a description of the abuses of the truck system, whereby white Nassau merchants kept black sponge and turtle fishermen in debt. They accomplished this by forcing them to sign seamen's articles (which meant the captains could call them onboard ship at any time) then giving them advances in overpriced goods to provide for themselves and their families. Sponging voyages lasted six to twelve weeks, and the fishermen were responsible for cleaning and preparing sponges or turtles for market as well as capturing them. Nassau was the only legal port of entry for the goods, where they were resold from the outfitter to another

¹⁶⁸ Craton and Saunders 1998, 1,5-8.

¹⁶⁹ Sealey 1996: XII.

Nassau merchant working for buyers in New York or elsewhere at prices so low that the laborers rarely made back their meagre advances and often found themselves already in debt. Powles accused the merchants of colluding specifically to defraud the fishermen, though he had no evidence of the practice.¹⁷⁰

Powles paints a similar image of the situation of black pineapple growers in the Out Islands, though they did not have to contend with seamen's articles. He references the prevalence of the truck system in other industries as well, including shipbuilding, and refers to it as “that many-headed monster that is devouring the colony.”¹⁷¹ Craton and Saunders trace the roots of this system back to the period of slavery and the apprenticeship systems developed to ease the transition to freedom for all blacks in the colony. They expand on the abuses of the truck system not only in the sponging industry, but in the production of salt and sisal (at the close of the nineteenth century) as well. Pineapple production relied on the equally abusive sharecropping system—in all cases, black labourers relied on white merchants as direct buyers, who paid in goods at inflated rates (to keep the laborers in debt) and shipped products to markets overseas for significant profits.¹⁷²

Some laborers, especially in the Out Islands, were initially able to supplement their living with wrecking. By the 1860s, the advent of steam navigation and the placement of lighthouses and beacons by the Imperial Lighthouse Service throughout the islands reduced the number of wrecks occurring in the region. The wrecking industry

¹⁷⁰ Powles 1996: 43-49.

¹⁷¹ Powles 1996: 30, 45, 49.

¹⁷² Craton and Saunders 1998, 34-40.

was in decline, increasing competition for other employment. A decade later in the sponging industry, poor Greek immigrant fishermen were able to leverage their experience, race, and family connections into their own social mobility to the disadvantage of local black labor. In general, poor whites found that their race granted them some favoritism and they were generally better able to find minor government employment, run their own businesses, borrow money, and avoid wage labor.¹⁷³

Poor whites from the Out Islands, especially those from settlements like Abaco that were primarily white, or where the population was more equally divided between the races, sometimes pursued another option, and relocated across the straits to Key West and southern Florida. Some of these communities, especially at Harbour Island and Northern Eleuthera, continued to have close ties with other areas of the United States with which they had been historically closely connected. Out Island blacks, by contrast, were more insular and likely to return home again even if they left for more than a short term jaunt as a stevedore on a calling steamship. Although people circulated through the islands, often on locally built sailing craft (steam technology was not widely adopted in the colony until the twentieth century), they were remote and marginal even compared to Nassau, itself a colonial backwater even in the West Indian context.¹⁷⁴

The advent of steam technology did help the colony maintain and tighten its Atlantic ties in some ways. Steamships had an easier time navigating the passages through the islands, and some began making more regular stops at Nassau or the Out

¹⁷³ Craton and Saunders 1998, 39, 41.

¹⁷⁴ Craton and Saunders 1998, 145, 168-169.

Islands. The Cunard line established a regular stop in Nassau, and a hotel—the Royal Victoria—was built in 1860 to accommodate what began as a slow trickle of tourists, primarily from the United States, and increased as the century drew to a close. The added steam traffic also increased the flow of information into the colony about world events, as news could travel to or from England within two weeks.¹⁷⁵

Despite these developments, the colony's relevance to the broader Atlantic network waned in the nineteenth century. As the geopolitical system of the region settled, the colony's position as one of the borders of the Straits of Florida became less relevant. With fewer local wars in the nineteenth century and a decline in the practice of privateering (with the exception of the American Civil War), their location along one of the central shipping lanes of the Atlantic became less meaningful. Two centuries of experimentation had demonstrated that the shallow, thin soils of the Bahamas could not sustainably support agricultural industry. The supply of local hardwoods had dwindled, and the peripheral colony had fewer resources to offer its European core. Ties with the United States grew stronger instead, as Bahamians were better able to build and take advantage of smaller local networks. The majority population, whose ancestors had been brought to the islands to serve as unfree (or indentured, in the case of liberated Africans) agricultural labor, were disconnected from the colony's early maritime history. Despite this disconnect, maritime traditions persisted as new industries waxed and waned. New traditions blended with the old as the islands continued to develop their own local cultures, influenced by their place in a wider trans-Atlantic world.

¹⁷⁵ Craton and Saunders 1998, 74-79.

CHAPTER IV

MARITIME HARBOUR ISLAND

From the end of the eighteenth century, the focus of economic development in the Bahamas became increasingly agricultural. While the islands still depended on the ocean for trade, communication, and transportation, a larger number of people living on the islands depended on agricultural pursuits for their subsistence and livelihoods, including those involved in slave labor on plantations, liberated Africans granted village plots to manage for their own subsistence and apprenticed into plantation labor, and later emancipated blacks drawn into truck and sharecropping systems growing fruit and other produce for resale. Maritime life was still important, but it did not dominate to the same extent on all islands. Harbour Island managed to retain much of its maritime nature into the early twentieth century despite, and in some cases because of, these broader changes. Examining the history of the community with reference to the theoretical categories delineated in Chapter II demonstrates the maritimity of the community through time.

Residents of Harbour Island rarely describe themselves as being from anywhere but the island, whether or not they live in town. The term they use to describe themselves is 'Brilander'—a term that derives from others mishearing their place of origin as "Our Briland." This identification is clear evidence of their identification with their maritime environment, through their relationships with maritime culture landscapes. Maritime cultural landscapes are also evident in the physical layout of the town and in the familiarity of residents with local maritime environment. This familiarity

assisted historically with the exploitation of local natural resources, and of sea routes for trade, privateering, and wrecking. Shipbuilding and other related trades were also important at Harbour Island in the past, and aspects of maritime materials culture were important attributes of the local landscape even for those who did not engage with it directly. The maritimity of Harbour Islanders was not static—it varied with race and class, and shifted according to local social and economic conditions. Despite these changes, certain elements remained stable: the physical location of the town and its orientation towards the harbor, and their reliance on local maritime food resources and transportation networks. The wrecking industry has continuity from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, although its prominence waxed and waned and the culture surrounding its practice changed over time. These threads weave together to create an enduring, if not static, identification with the maritime environment for the entire community.

Harbour Island was one of the earliest settlements founded by the Bermudian colonists. Although the founding date is not known, historical accounts reference settlement taking place prior to the 1670 grant of the Bahamas to the proprietors.¹⁷⁶ While many of the Bahamian islands retained the names recorded by the Spanish (reflecting earlier Lucayan appellations), most of the islands settled by the Bermudians were given new names based on the political and ideological sentiments of the settlers. Harbour Island, by contrast, was named for its maritime geography. The earliest map of the settlement dates to 1702 (fig. 4.1) and shows a few large houses scattered on the

¹⁷⁶ Headlam 1910, 19: 647-648 (#1042.ix (c)).

small mile-long (1.6 km) by half-mile wide (0.845 km) island. A cluster of squares surrounding the main harbor represent either more houses or, perhaps, planted land. The harbor's main anchorage is marked, as is another near the Eleutheran side of the harbor mouth at what is now called Bottom Harbour. All of these elements highlight the importance of the maritime landscape to the small community. The fort sketched at the island's southern tip is a suggestion for securing the harbor and does not likely represent an actual fortification. The note accompanying the map claims that several families resided on the island and grew citrus.¹⁷⁷

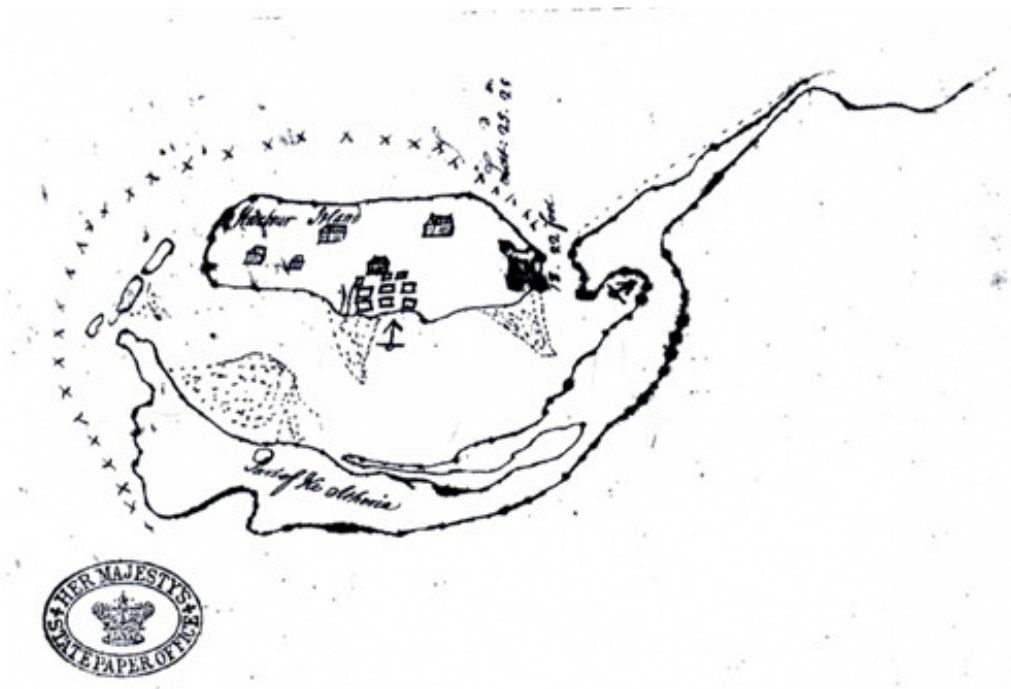


Fig. 4.1. Map of Harbour Island by Thomas Walker, 1702. (The National Archives of the UK: Public Records Office: CO 12, 1312 Part 1, Thomas Walker to Council of Trade and Plantations, 1702).

¹⁷⁷ Headlam 1910b, 647-648, #1042.ix (c).

The earliest reference to the island in the colonial office records comes from one year earlier in 1701. Due to the island's geography—its narrow and easily defensible entrance and spacious harbor deep enough to accommodate moderately-sized vessels—Edward Randolph recommends it in the assessment of the colony he prepared for the Board of Trade as “the best and only place for a fortification” over the harbor formed by Hog Island (now Paradise Island) and New Providence.¹⁷⁸ Notably, at this date Harbour Island already has a distinct identity in the documentary record, while other communities on and around Eleuthera are not recognized individually until much later. While this may be because it was a distinct island (although a small one), the ascription of communities to particular islands is another notable maritime landscape reference.

Records from the proprietary period (1670-1718) contain some details about the community. In 1706, John Graves, Chief Customs Officer, reported 60 people living on the 0.5 square mile island, as compared with 160 on all of Eleuthera, 120 scattered across Catt Island and 90 on Exuma. By this point, New Providence was mostly abandoned after repeated Spanish raids during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714).¹⁷⁹ Robert Holden, an ultimately failed gubernatorial aspirant, solicited reports from captains who had visited the colony in the fall of 1707 to gain intelligence he hoped would bolster his bid for the position. They reported a small and scattered population, mostly on Eleuthera, making their living from wrecking, salt-raking, cutting tropical hardwoods, trade, and questionably legitimate privateering. The tenacious

¹⁷⁸ Headlam 1910b, 104-105, #208.

¹⁷⁹ Headlam 1916, 23: 112 (#277).

colonists had no official government, but chose their own leaders for their settlements. Both captains mentioned Harbour Island among the remaining settlements, and noted the security of the harbor itself.¹⁸⁰

Nathaniel Johnson, Governor of South Carolina in 1709, and his council, sent a report to the Board of Trade in that year that included a report of the colony's incoming and outgoing trade with the "American Islands", including the scattered Bahamian population. The Carolinians sent out provisions, for the most part, including pork, beef, rice, butter, and dried peas, as well as other goods such as candles, shingles, barrel staves, pitch, tar, tallow, leather, and also sloops. They imported rum, sugar, molasses, cotton, tropical hardwoods, ambergris, tortoise-shell, salt, and pimento.¹⁸¹ The Bahamians, including those at Harbour Island, likely contributed hardwoods, ambergris tortoise-shell, and salt to the imports, and received provisions in return.

Despite the suggestion of some stability provided by Johnson's report, the chaos of the ongoing War of Spanish Succession continued to interfere in the lives of locals. Also in 1709, Bahamian Captain Edward Holmes reported encountering the French pirate Charles Martell at Harbour Island. Holmes and his wife were taken ashore and tortured until he revealed the location of his wealth.¹⁸² A year later, Thomas Walker, author of the original 1702 map, had raised a small gun battery at Harbour Island for the defense of the population in the face of continued attacks. He considered the island secure against further harassment, and noted that he was well supplied with small arms

¹⁸⁰ Headlam 1916, 23: 547, 555-556 (#1116, 1128).

¹⁸¹ Headlam 1922, 466-467, #739.

¹⁸² Headlam 1922, 281-282, #472.

and powder. In contrast, families at Eleuthera and New Providence had no recourse but to flee into the woods to escape roving French and Spanish corsairs.¹⁸³ Five years later, pirates were well entrenched throughout the islands. Henry Pulleine, Lieutenant Governor of Bermuda, reported in 1714 that there were three sets of pirates operating out of the islands, two of whose captains were Benjamin Hornigold and Thomas Cockram. He adds that "Cockram has marry'd ye daughter of one Thomson, one of the richest inhabitants of Harbour Island."¹⁸⁴ As well as plundering Spanish vessels, the pirates were evading customs and duties owed to both the neglectful proprietary government and the crown by trading with the Dutch free port at Curacao.¹⁸⁵ The pirates at Harbour Island specifically were so notorious that Walker raised a small force from the scattered population at New Providence (where he was himself dwelling at this time) to capture some of their number and deliver them to Spanish authorities in order to prevent a retaliatory raid.¹⁸⁶ By 1717, the pirates made their main base at New Providence, but also had a battery manned by fifty of their number at Harbour Island. The island was also home to 30 local families who made their living trading with the pirates. Other merchants also came to take advantage of the illicit trade.¹⁸⁷

Once Woodes Rogers arrived on the scene in 1718 to reclaim the islands as a royal colony, he made sure to include Harbour Island in the new government. Rogers

¹⁸³ Headlam 1924, 227-228, #421.i.

¹⁸⁴ Headlam 1926, 334, #651.

¹⁸⁵ Headlam 1926, 334, #651.

¹⁸⁶ Headlam 1928, 119-120, #276; 204-205, 459.

¹⁸⁷ Headlam 1930a, 321, #596; 338, #635. Not all inhabitants were willing associates—the papers of the Bahamian council in 1721 contain the case of John Howell, who stood accused of piracy. The evidence collected from locals indicated that he had been forced to serve on Hornigold's crew because of his skill as a surgeon. *Proceedings of the Governor in Council*, 1928, 184-185.

even used pardoned pirates to his advantage, setting Hornigold to chase down any of his former brethren who had not surrendered. Cockram produced the second map of the Harbour Island for inclusion in a report from Rogers to the Board of Trade (fig. 4.2). When he established the new colonial assembly, Rogers appointed two councilors from Harbour Island along with two from Eleuthera, one from Abaco (where Thomas Walker had withdrawn after pirates attacked his New Providence home), and 15 from the more densely populated New Providence. The population of Harbour Island at the time comprised 60 families, including 80 men formed into a militia. Rogers appointed Richard Thompson (whose daughter had married Cockram) as Deputy Governor of the settlement.¹⁸⁸ Thompson continued to sit on the council and kept control of the government from the time of Rogers' death until his own in 1733.¹⁸⁹ By the 1720s, Nassau was once again secure, and much of Harbour Island's population had returned to New Providence. Governor Phenny reports only 129 people living on the island (and only 29 white men able to bear arms) in 1722.¹⁹⁰

By 1726, Phenny reports that the battery was already in ruins, and most references to the settlement (other than occasionally updated notes about population and the condition of the never-repaired fort) disappear from official records for approximately the next thirty years.¹⁹¹ The population remained small, at 161 in 1735.¹⁹² By 1768 it had grown to around 350 according to the description written by Governor

¹⁸⁸ Headlam 1930b, 372-381, #737

¹⁸⁹ Headlam and Newton 1939, 248, #424.

¹⁹⁰ Headlam 1934, 401-403, #801.

¹⁹¹ Headlam 1936. 14-18, #23.iv.

¹⁹² Headlam and Newton 1953, 394, #500iv.



Fig. 4.2. Map of Harbour Island by Thomas Cockram, 1718. Courtesy of Richard Malcolm.

Thomas Shirley. He gives the island little notice, mentioning that its location was its main appeal and that, though it lacked good agricultural land, the population maintained small plantations across the harbor on Eleuthera.¹⁹³ More extensive notes about life on the islands in the 1760's onwards come from the records of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (USPG).

Richard Moss took up the empty missionary post in the relatively new parish of St. Johns in 1769, and maintained a regular correspondence with USPG officials throughout his long tenure. Although focused on the religious life of the community, the letters from Moss and later USPG missionaries provide insight into the late eighteenth century not available through the government's official records. Moss describes his flock on Harbour Island as fairly devout, especially when contrasted with Eleutheran residents who he condemns as profane heathens. Moss estimates that there were 430 residents—but his estimates include the black population while the governor did not.¹⁹⁴ Moss' 1773 letter breaks down the numbers by race, noting 66 families total with 332 whites and 123 non-whites.¹⁹⁵ By 1776 the population had grown to 537 overall, with 375 whites and 162 non-whites.¹⁹⁶

His 1773 letter also describes the general poverty of the community and his efforts to ameliorate its condition, including helping establish a poor tax to keep people from starving. According to Moss, Harbour Islanders had never been "subject to any

¹⁹³ CO 23/8, p. 7-8. Thomas Shirley 1768.

¹⁹⁴ United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Hereafter USPG), Reel 1 Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, April 1 1769.

¹⁹⁵ USPG Reel 1, Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, May 7 1773.

¹⁹⁶ USPG Reel 1, Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, 1776.

laws, either divine or human, but each one doing what seemed best in their own eyes."¹⁹⁷ Their children did, however, have the opportunity to attend a school taught by William Lawes, a New Yorker appointed to the teaching post by Governor William Shirley in 1756. He had since married a local woman with whom he had several children. Moss explains that Lawes was a commissioner of the church, had assisted with the building's erection, and could teach reading and writing competently. The school ran from 9-12 AM and 2-5 PM and had about 19 students—none of whom, the missionary notes, were blacks or dissenters.¹⁹⁸

Moss's tenure overlapped with the American Revolution and the brief Spanish occupation of the islands. He reports island merchants plying American traders with local produce and salt from Eleuthera in exchange for necessary mainland commodities.¹⁹⁹ Following a tradition dating to the time of the pirates earlier in the century, the locals showed themselves willing to trade with the enemy in times of stress. While some islanders engaged in illicit trade, others turned to privateering, preying on American vessels coming in to the Caribbean to trade with their Spanish and French allies (and no doubt other sympathetic or opportunistic British colonies as well).²⁰⁰ With Nassau reclaiming its place as a prime privateering base, the war followed the same trend as other eighteenth-century conflicts, creating an economic boom enjoyed by all the Bahamian islands that lasted until the Spanish captured New Providence. The Out

¹⁹⁷ USPG Reel 1, Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, May 7 1773.

¹⁹⁸ USPG Reel 1, Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, April 11 1769.

¹⁹⁹ USPG Reel 1, Rev. Richard Moss to USPG, April 20 1777; Craton and Saunders 1992, 168.

²⁰⁰ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 70-71.

Island settlements were relatively unaffected by the change in government, and focused instead on smuggling and illegal trade.²⁰¹

Although their lives were not greatly affected by the Spanish takeover, Robert Rumer convinced approximately 120 Harbour Island men to assist Andrew Deveaux in his gambit to retake New Providence in 1783. The islanders also contributed 50 small locally-built fishing vessels to the operation, which they used to ferry locals and Loyalists ashore at Nassau. The sentries thought the boats were part of the regular fishing trade, and the combined force took the Spanish completely by surprise, easily overwhelming their defenses. Three years later, a group of 71 Harbour Island residents sent a letter certifying that their participation was due to their regard for Rumer. They recognized how essential they had been to the expedition, and credited their success to Rumer's planning.²⁰² This raid became part of the community's historical consciousness, as the residents were rewarded for their patriotism by Lord Dunmore. The governor granted the community a commonage of 6000 acres on eastern North Eleuthera, codifying a much earlier practice. Harbour Islanders had been growing provisions on land across the harbor since the seventeenth century. The actual boundaries of the commonage were not firmly established until 1842, at which point the grant was formalized to include the heads of 324 families then resident on the island and their descendants in perpetuity.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 60.

²⁰² CO 23/26, 224. We the Subscribers of Harbour Island... April 25, 1786.

²⁰³ Lawlor and Lawlor, 2006, 63-65. L.D. Powles also claims that the granting of the commonage was directly linked to the islanders' participation in the raid in his 1888 text based on information gathered primarily from local informants and lore. Powles 1996: 105.

Despite the Harbour Islanders' show of patriotism, Nassau merchants complained in 1785 that foreign traders continued to operate illegally out of the Out Islands, including Harbour Island, trading much the same things as they had during the war: island produce and woods in exchange for North American commodities.²⁰⁴ The economic impact on the community of this trade must have been minimal, as missionaries to Harbour Island continued to note the high levels of poverty. William Robertson noted that the church had no furniture other than a reading desk in 1787. He also declined the governor's invitation to establish a glebe and have the inhabitants build him a house, knowing that it would be a drain on community resources and that the imposition would be off-putting to his flock. Everything in the community, he notes, "is so scarce and dear that I am obliged to draw for my salary as soon as it is due."²⁰⁵

Thomas Robinson replaced Robertson in 1788, and his reports continue to note the high level of poverty among the population of 684 (472 free whites, 15 free non-whites, and 197 unfree non-whites). By this period, Lawes was no longer teaching. When Robinson set up a school with himself as the teacher, he purchased supplies (pens, ink, paper, chalk, and slates) for his students himself at great expense in New Providence; their parents could not afford to send them otherwise.²⁰⁶ Not only was the community poor,—“one of the poorest Parishes in the British Dominion,”—according to Robinson the population was homogenously so.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ CO 23/26, 160. Letter to Lieutenant Governor Edward Powell, April 14, 1785

²⁰⁵ USPG Reel 1. Rev. William Robertson to USPG, October 6, 1787.

²⁰⁶ USPG Reel 1. Rev. Thomas Robinson to Rev. Morrice, March 26, 1791.

²⁰⁷ USPG Reel 1. Rev. Thomas Robinson to Rev. Morrice, September 27, 1788.

Despite the community's poverty, Governor Dunmore fell in love with the enchanting island and built himself a private residence atop the hill overlooking the harbor in 1787. He officially founded Dunmore Town in 1791, shamelessly naming the town and two of its streets after himself. Much like the commonage grant, this was a formalization of a pre-existing arrangement, and was based on assessments of land claims gathered by the colony's surveyors beginning in 1788. Dunmore delineated streets and house plots, centering the town around the harbor (as seen on earlier maps) and, for the first time, legally granting residents the land they occupied.²⁰⁸

In 1787, residents of Harbour Island and Eleuthera had petitioned to have their land granted to them for free when the government was providing free grants to Loyalists, in due consideration of their role in the re-taking of New Providence in 1783.²⁰⁹ Although Dunmore sympathized with the islanders, this initiative fell through. The creation of the town and plots may have been a means to spare the inhabitants the burden of paying the surveying fees to register their own claims. Dunmore gave some plots to Loyalists, but assigned most to members of old island families, including free blacks and people of mixed heritage, with grants made to over 130 individuals including himself. Those living at the back end of the new town still held their lands by right of occupancy rather than grant. Dunmore also set aside land for a communal ship-building

²⁰⁸ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 74. Lawlor and Lawlor give the date of the founding as 1790, though the records contain conflicting information (see n.22, P.80). Most sources consider the 1791 date to be official.

²⁰⁹ CO 23/27, 186. Address to Governor in Council, December 20 1787.

area along the southern edge of the main harbor. Historians Jim and Anne Lawlor have mapped the locations and owners of the plots (fig. 4.3).

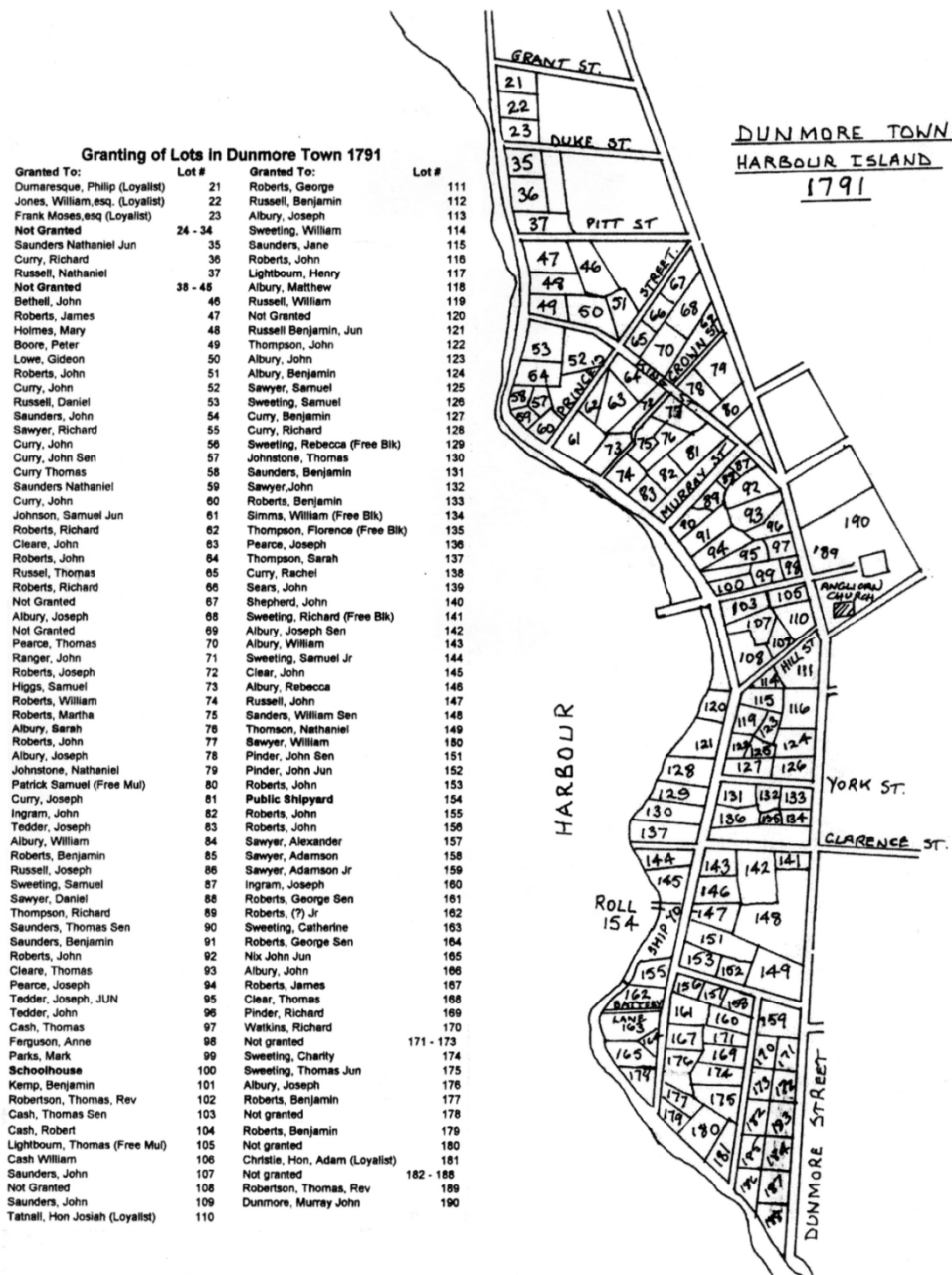


Fig. 4.3. Lots and lot owners in Dunmore Town in 1791. From Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, Figure 26.

Dunmore's interest in the community did not end once he established the town. The governor had many political enemies among the new Loyalist elite in Nassau. He relied on support from the older communities of Harbour Island and Northern Eleuthera, and packed pliant representatives into his government and council. In return, he defended older modes of Bahamian life, for example speaking up in defense of wrecking in the face of Loyalist censure of the practice.²¹⁰ Despite the formalization of the settlement and the governor's continued support, interest, and occasional presence, the community retained its earlier character. Only three years after the town was founded, Philip Dixon called the island “the most wretched place I ever heard of,” and bemoaned the lack of available milk, butter, salt beef, and pork. By that date, the influx of Loyalists, mostly relocating from Abaco, had swelled the population to 800, with 560 whites, 232 slaves, and 8 free blacks.²¹¹

Along with their commentary on poverty and population, Anglican missionary letters from the end of the eighteenth century contain insights into race and race relations on the island in this period. Most of the ministers distinguish between the free and un-free population, often conflating these categories with race. While there were some slave baptisms noted, Dixon comments in the 1780's that the whites were against educating their slaves, both generally as well as in matters of religion, because they feared education would empower them beyond their station.²¹² The minister whose letters give

²¹⁰ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 79.

²¹¹ USPG Reel 2. Rev. Philip Dixon to Rev. Morrice, January 26, 1794; Rev. Philip Dixon to Rev. Morrice, April 4, 1794.

²¹² USPG Reel 2. Rev. Philip Dixon to Rev. Morrice, April 4, 1794.

the most life to the realities of race relations at the end of the century is William Gordon. Gordon was eventually removed from his position in Harbour Island and sent to another of the Out Islands after he incurred the disfavor of the community for interfering in a matter of justice and slave discipline.

Gordon was a commissioned Justice of the Peace as well as the resident minister, and when Charles Russel accused 4 slaves of “ravishing” one of his female slaves on May 7, 1799, he was the only justice available. The night of the 6th, the black community had held a dance in town. A witness at the trial claimed that he put the woman in question under his protection for part of the night to protect her from the men who later raped her, fearing that they planned to "induce her to whoredom." One of the accused claimed that she offered to have sex with him for two shillings, and did so "at a small distance from a most public street in Dunmore Town." The other three men followed and took advantage of her. She claimed "that she was against her will enjoyed by them all." Gordon sentence the men to 39 lashes each, "being persuaded that so small a punishment as Thirty Nine Lashes well laid on was much below what Negroes deserved for so shocking Whoredom in Dunmore Town."²¹³

The case reveals that the black community on the island hosted their own social events in town, that promiscuity and sexual predation were legitimate concerns within the community, and that there were some attempts at self-policing. It also shows that slaves had their own money and that some were willing to spend it on sexual services.

²¹³ USPG Reel 2. William Gordon to Moses Franklin, Esq. and Stephen Haven Esq., May 13 1799. It is not clear whether the victim also received any punishment, from either the court or her owner.

To give some perspective into the claimed fee for such services, Dixon complained in 1794 that the cost to rent a domestic slave for a month was £7,12s or £5,12s for a boy.²¹⁴ The slaves involved in the case were allowed to speak for themselves, though none are named in the case description save in reference to their owners. Gordon gave some weight to their testimony and that of other slave witnesses. However, he mentions that he did not have the woman swear an oath, as she was not a Christian, and the language he uses to condemn the men implies that he did not credit her claims that she had been assaulted against her will. He punishes them for their role in prostitution, not for "ravishment", or rape. It is not clear from the letters what Russel's motivations were in charging the men—whether he sought justice or compensation or something else entirely. Gordon does not comment on whether Russel was satisfied with the sentence.

There is more to the story. Gordon recounts these events only to give context to a larger conflict that threatened his standing in the community. As a Justice of the Peace, he did not have the authority to carry out the men's sentencing—that was a power reserved for the slaves' owners. After consulting with another justice from Eleuthera, he ordered a constable, Uriah Sanders, to seize the slaves in question and sent for their owners. One of the owners' wives, identified only as "Mrs. Joseph Curry," was deeply angered at the seizure of one of their household's slaves, Prince Clear, and demanded his release. When Gordon did not consent, she settled for waiting for her husband to return. Curry chose to discount Gordon's judgment and sentencing, preferring to have Clear tried in Nassau by more sympathetic authorities. Gordon agreed to send Clear to Nassau

²¹⁴ USPG Reel 2. Rev. Philip Dixon to Rev. Morrice, April 4, 1794.

with Curry in the custody of Constable Sanders, but Curry took Clear away in one of the local schooners. In fact, when Sanders tried to seize Clear and demanded aid from some other residents, they refused. Two of their number even tried to help Clear escape after Uriah and Nathaniel Sanders, both constables, had him in custody.

The men who attempted to rescue Prince Clear were John and Ephraim Clear, who were also among the larger group who refused to aid the constables. John Clear's name, along with Joseph Curry, Nathaniel Sanders, and four of the other five men involved in the incident, are all listed on two documents sent from Harbour Island and signed by men from the community. The first is a petition from 1780 sent to the USPG in support of Richard Moss's missionary work.²¹⁵ The second is the 1786 missive regarding Robert Rumer and Harbour Island's assistance in Devaux's 1783 raid on Nassau.²¹⁶ Those whose names do not appear on these earlier documents may simply have been too young. What is clear from the association is that the men listed by Gordon were contributing members of the local white community—not slaves.

John and Ephraim Clears' interest in the matter may lie simply in supporting Curry, who was considered a local leader (Gordon, with perhaps excessive irony, explains that he is referred to by the locals as “King Curry”²¹⁷), but the vignette reveals that there were already slaves in the community who shared family names with whites other than their owners. It could be coincidence that it was two other Clears that came to Prince's rescue, but the incident may also hint at some other relationship. Gordon may be

²¹⁵ USPG Reel 1. Petition in Favour of Richard Moss, June 24, 1780.

²¹⁶ CO 23/26 p. 224.

²¹⁷ USPG Reel 2. William Gordon to Moses Franklin, Esq., May 21, 1799.

trying to imply this himself, or draw some other analogy between Prince and he would-be rescuers, as the missionary does not reveal the slave's last name until he is describing the incident involving the other men. In a second letter relating to the incident, Gordon also references "Widow Clear" (or "old John Clear's Widow") as the owner of one of the other men involved in the assault, further complicating the picture of relationships in the case. Mrs. Clear was in Nassau when the men were arrested and Gordon chose to wait for her to return (thinking she was only visiting neighbors) before carrying out the sentencing. Her slave escaped custody and, thinking himself safe from law enforcement because of Curry's dissent, made no efforts to hide himself. The constables apprehended him easily after he was seen walking around town.²¹⁸

Curry's objection to Gordon may have been that he was an outsider with strict morals. Other missionaries commented that their treatment by the Harbour Islanders was very different from the locals' treatment of each other.²¹⁹ As noted above, they also commented on the general lawlessness of the community. Curry was willing to have Prince Clear tried in Nassau. He may have thought Gordon's sentence too harsh, as so many lashes may have prevented Clear from being able to perform whatever duties he was customarily assigned. He did not have to agree to carry out the sentencing, and given his wife's initial outrage at Clear's seizure, this seems to be an issue of authority in the community. Gordon was an acceptable missionary—an outsider with special status—but the Currys would not stand for his heavy-handed meddling in an internal matter such

²¹⁸ USPG Reel 2. William Gordon to Moses Franklin, Esq., May 21, 1799.

²¹⁹ USPG Reel 2. Rev. Philip Dixon to Rev. Morrice, April 4, 1794.

as slave discipline. Because of Curry's esteem in the community, the affair escalated, eventually reaching the ear of the governor, who informed the USPG that Gordon was not an acceptable minister for Harbour Island.²²⁰ For Gordon, the issue was certainly one of authority and respect, as he hoped to make Curry submit to the law in order to make an example of him:

“Considering that Mr. Joseph Curry's opinion is received amongst the Majority of the Inhabitants as if he were the most intelligent of men, I am of the opinion that the only way to have the Laws duly executed here, is to bring him to some sense of his own impropriety of conduct, and that it will then be no difficult matter to [make] such as John Clear, Richard Sawyer and several women to a sense of theirs.”²²¹

Prince Clear and the incident that touched off the conflict between Gordon and Curry become secondary to that conflict in the correspondence, but the letters provide rich insights for modern historians. The slave community at the end of the eighteenth century was not large, and slaves worked alongside their white owners, other whites, and free blacks. Mariner slaves, a group to which Prince Clear undoubtedly belonged, were afforded a great deal of independence, and were highly skilled and respected members of the maritime community. Many Harbour Island wrecking crews were primarily composed of black slave mariners, as were the fishing and turtling fleets. Slaves also worked in the carrying trade, ferrying people and produce around the islands and in the broader region of the Caribbean and local Atlantic coast. Bahamian slaves were legally allowed to captain vessels in Bahamian waters, though they were restricted to colonial

²²⁰ USPG Reel 2. William Gordon to unknown, undated.

²²¹ USPG Reel 2. William Gordon to Moses Franklin, Esq. and Stephen Haven Esq., May 13 1799.

waterways in 1787. They even shared profits from voyages with their white crewmates, and at least some contemporaries contended that they received equal treatment as well.²²² The opportunities granted to slave mariners helped integrate unfree blacks into the broader maritime community of Harbour Island.

These opportunities were not limitless, however, and it is important to note the ways in which slaves' freedom was still curtailed. The 1797 Consolidated Slave Act for the Bahamas, the same law that entitled Gordon to pass judgment on Prince Clear and the other men accused of assaulting the unnamed woman, also required that all slaves traveling away from their owners had to carry special papers, or risk being sent to a Nassau workhouse.²²³ Theoretically, their labor was to benefit their owners, not themselves. While Gordon's letters do show that slaves on Harbour Island had their own money, the economic relationships between them and their owners are not clear. The reactions of the owners demonstrate that they were certainly seen as property, and they likely had to remit at least part of their shares or wages earned to their masters.

The information related in Gordon's correspondence about the lives of slaves is incidental, but it still provides more color than the statistics available from the slave registers of the early nineteenth century. These provide useful information about the community and, though it is less personal in nature, when considered along with the brief insights offered by Gordon's correspondence, help create a portrait of relatively intimate relationships between masters and their slaves prior to emancipation.

²²² Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 94-95, 97-98.

²²³ Craton and Saunders 1992, 210.

The slave registers were conceived as an imperial tool for statistically investigating slave conditions in the West Indies, and to prevent illicit slave transfers after the slave trade was banned in 1807. The first Bahamian slave registry was not compiled until 1822 because of political disputes within the colony, but others followed in 1825, 1828, 1831, and 1834.²²⁴ The registers recorded the holdings of each slave owner, listing their slaves' names, ages, and occupations. Most holdings on Harbour Island were small, with five or fewer slaves. The registers record only ten households that owned more than ten slaves apiece.²²⁵ The 1834 register records 511 slaves living on the island, and a total of 622 owned by Harbour Islanders including slaves living on other islands (Eleuthera, Abaco, and New Providence).²²⁶

Most slaves in the community were domestics—a trend found at other Bahamian islands not concentrated on cotton production such as Abaco and New Providence. Mariners were the second largest group on the island itself, though these are outnumbered by field laborers when the Eleutheran contingent of island-owned slaves is included in the totals. Compared to the rest of the islands, Harbour Island had a higher proportion of slave mariners, though this category also included other maritime-related trades such as dockworkers.²²⁷ The registers note only a few slaves involved in other skilled labors, but they are a far from perfect tool. The truth of slave occupations in the Out Islands was likely much more fluid than the categories recorded on the registers

²²⁴ Craton and Saunders 1992, 221-223, 269.

²²⁵ Craton and Saunders 1992, 281.

²²⁶ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 94-95.

²²⁷ Craton and Saunders 1992, 284, 287; Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 96. Lawlor and Lawlor provide numbers more specific to Harbour Island (17.03%), while Craton and Saunders lump the island together with Abaco and Eleuthera (9.7%), inflating the number of field workers.

represent. Duties likely varied with the seasons and with practical necessity, and slaves worked alongside their masters in the fields and at sea. Some worked and lived independently, as with those who lived on separate islands. Lawlor and Lawlor argue that the close working relationship between masters and slaves bred a certain measure of respect between the free and unfree in this period.²²⁸

Though some may have worked closely with whites, blacks had their own community and hosted their own social functions. Blacks were spatially segregated, relegated for the most part to the margins of the town. Although slave family groups correlated with slave holdings in many of the Bahamian Islands, Lawlor and Lawlor demonstrate with the register records that though Harbour Island slaves did form families, these often crossed the boundaries of ownership.²²⁹ By 1813, Methodist missionaries were preaching in favor of slave marriages at Harbour Island, and they were being performed in the community by 1823. In 1834, however, 77 marriages took place in the community between newly emancipated slaves, demonstrating both that there was a desire among ex-slaves for recognized unions and implying that they had not been previously easily accessible to all.²³⁰

Lawlor and Lawlor argue that emancipation increased racial division in Dunmore Town. While the races previously coexisted peacefully, there were some conflicts in the second half of the nineteenth century that reveal ongoing tensions. When whites in 1860 set up the town's first cricket match on land used for truck farming by some poor black

²²⁸ Craton and Saunders 1992, 287; Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 94-95.

²²⁹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 95-96, 100, 291-292.

²³⁰ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 100.

residents, blacks interrupted the match. As well as outrage for the leasing of the land they had traditionally used, they were upset because they had not been invited to participate. Several of the protesters were fined and jailed over the incident. Twenty-five years later in 1885, five black men entered the Methodist church through a door reserved for whites. The service halted until they were forcibly removed and later fined for brawling. Despite the efforts of Methodist missionaries to integrate blacks into the church community, church services remained segregated until much later.²³¹

Before emancipation, there were racially influenced separations between blacks and whites on the island, despite their close working conditions. With emancipation, this division intensified as the nature of working relationships shifted. Ex-slaves and the resident liberated Africans were included in the commonage grant of 1842, ensuring that they had access to workable land, the same as whites in the community.²³² What they, and the poorest island whites, lacked was access to the necessities for establishing their own plantations on the commonage, and the resources to see them through until the harvested crop (mostly of pineapples) could be sold. Rich white merchants who operated the stores in town were thus able to keep them indebted in the same manner of other victims of truck systems throughout the Bahamas.²³³ The timing of the fruit boom at Harbour Island and Eleuthera, with exports beginning to increase in 1835, correlates too well with emancipation and the transitional apprenticeship system to be mere

²³¹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 105,

²³² Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 103.

²³³ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 118-119.

coincidence.²³⁴ Unlike earlier periods where poverty was rampant and ubiquitous, the dependency inherent in the growing agricultural industry allowed for the development and growth of a more affluent social class.

It was not just the merchants who benefitted from the inequalities of the truck system, but the island's maritime entrepreneurs as well. Producers needed to ship their products, and were at the mercy of local ship owners. The pineapple boom of the mid-nineteenth century, and the opening of the island as a Port of Entry by 1837 and a warehouse port in 1867, fueled a parallel increase in demand for locally built schooners that could carry the produce to market on the American coast. Harbour Islanders had been building small vessels since at least the eighteenth century, such as the fifty fishing boats used in Deveaux's 1783 raid. By the end of the century they were building larger sloops for use in privateering and other trades such as logging, wrecking, and turtling.²³⁵ The pineapple boom increased demand for ships to deliver fruit produced not only by Harbour Islanders, but by Eleutheran farmers as well. Small vessels collected fruit from points around the island, and shipments destined for foreign markets were re-shipped out of Dunmore Town. While most produce was destined for the American market, by 1840 Bahamian producers were shipping pineapples out of Harbour Island all the way to England on local purpose-built vessels.²³⁶ The ability to ship directly from the island also encouraged other entrepreneurial ventures, including a number of sugar mills and

²³⁴ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 114.

²³⁵ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 135-136.

²³⁶ National Archives of the Bahamas 1977, 7; Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 125.

canneries that likewise sold their produce abroad from island-built vessels in the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries.²³⁷

Harbour Island was a major center for Bahamian ship production, trailing only after Abaco (and surpassing their output in some years). The woods available locally were well suited to building vessels that could stand up to hard use in the warm, teredo-filled, waters of the Caribbean. Horseflesh, madeira, dogwood, and corkwood made excellent scantling timber; pine and cedar provided planking and spars. Lignum vitae, long considered ideal for elements of ships' tackle, was readily available as well.²³⁸ These grew on Eleuthera, Abaco and Bimini, and Harbour Islanders exploited these resources before the coming of later settlers. The Customs Shipping Records for the Bahamas, the earliest records of the industry, identify 67 vessels built at Harbour Island between 1796 and 1843. These lists, begun in 1826, record the registration of vessels (or re-registration if they changed ownership) and contain information about the vessels' origin, general size, builders, captains, and owners. The earliest island-built vessels it records were small one-masted affairs, with larger two-masted vessels becoming more common in the late 1830s (coinciding with both emancipation and the beginning of the fruit boom). Ships grew in size slowly at first, with a larger jump around the same period. Few ever reached over 50 tons.²³⁹

²³⁷ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 119-122.

²³⁸ Craton and Saunders 1992, 85-86.

²³⁹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 134-135, 137. The records only list ships registered in the Bahamas—smaller vessels such as fishing boats may not be included in the totals.

Lawlor and Lawlor report a further 26 vessels built at Harbour Island between 1855 and 1864. For this period, Abaco is the island that produced the most ships (109), followed by New Providence (59), and then Harbour Island. The Harbour Island vessels were on average much larger (47 tons) than those built at the other two shipbuilding centers (21 and 20 tons respectively). Later, even larger schooners were designed and built in Dunmore Town specifically for the fruit trade.²⁴⁰ The local shipbuilders also custom built vessels for other trades, such as logging and wrecking.

The shipbuilding trade was taught through an apprenticeship system, and quite often was passed through families from fathers to sons, or to interested nephews, when the boys were 14 or 15. It took approximately ten years for men to prove their competency and be considered masters in their own right. Many never advanced that far, and provided the more menial labor essential to the process, such as sawing planks and timber and cutting iron rods for bolts.²⁴¹ Even into the early twentieth century, islanders relied on basic hand tools for their work. The industry had exhausted the timber supply on Harbour Island and Eleuthera well before then and, even in the late nineteenth century, timber for shipbuilding was imported from more distant islands in the colony, such as Andros.²⁴²

Wrecking also provided important shipbuilding elements. An early-twentieth-century letter recorded by historian Paul Albury contains details as to how these industries intersected. The document, from one of the owners of the *Marie J. Thomson* to

²⁴⁰ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 140-141.

²⁴¹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 143-144.

²⁴² Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 146.

a Cayman Island wrecker, reads almost like a shopping list. It describes the dimensions of all the spars necessary for the construction of a 160 foot schooner. The owner additionally asks about anchors, chains, a windlass, chainplates, braces, and other rigging, providing even the size of the rudder head on the off-chance that the wrecker might be able to secure a wheel of the proper size. The author notes that he is providing all of this information so that the wrecker will know what he is looking for, and concludes that "if there is any chance of getting any of this material at a reasonable figure, will ask you please secure it for me."²⁴³ Wrecking provided essential maritime cultural resources for the industry, from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries.

Wrecking provided for more than just shipbuilding. In addition to parts for vessels under construction and commodities for use and resale, wrecking also provided other recyclables such as furniture and ships' fittings that the islanders adapted to their own purposes, or claimed as trophies from their endeavors. In 1846, wrecking was the most profitable industry on Harbour Island—the majority earned most of their livelihood through wrecking, and most men participated at least tangentially. After 1836, wreckers could legally declare goods at Harbour Island, and local merchants were able to procure wrecked goods cheaply and resell them profitably at affordable prices. Once Harbour Island was officially recognized as a warehouse port in 1867, merchants could handle bulk salvage materials more readily as markets were available locally.²⁴⁴ Wrecking was

²⁴³ Letter from Owner of Ship to E.S. Parsons of Grand Cayman, 1919.

²⁴⁴ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 162, 172-174.

vital to the economy of the community in the middle of the nineteenth century, reinforcing the maritimism of the islanders.

In 1850, Governor John Gregory introduced a licensing system, bringing a new level of formality to the industry. Previously, wreckers organized themselves by unwritten customs. The captain of the first vessel to reach the wreck was the wreckmaster. The wreckmaster took charge of directing the operation, negotiating directly with the wrecked vessel's captain to arrange the division of shares, cargo, and other salvage. Though there were professionals, anyone with a ship (or who could catch a lift on one) could get in on the action. After 1850, ship owners had to purchase licenses for their vessels based on tonnage. The licenses also dictated the amount of shares each vessel participating in an operation would receive. Shares were divided between the wrecking ship's owner or owners, the captain, mates, and crew (in that order). All goods had to be declared, and they were disposed of through a wrecking agent who took his own commission out of the profits.²⁴⁵ These factors combined meant that wrecking was no longer as accessible an option for a poor man looking to get rich. As these changes were coming in to effect as the fruit boom was taking off locally, some Dunmore Town wreckers turned to planting to make a living instead.²⁴⁶

Wreckers had something of a mixed reputation—some perceived them rather heroically as risking their lives to assist the distressed, while for others they were considered opportunistic and underhanded. L.D. Powles relates two anecdotes about

²⁴⁵ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 160-161.

²⁴⁶ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 114.

wrecking in his 1888 book describing his time in the islands, and neither is very charitable. In the first, he describes a conversation he overheard in Bimini regarding the death of Buck Saunders, one of the most famous wreckers of the time and a native Harbour Islander. The Bimini locals Powles observed reckoned him "a rare one to earn money with." Saunders had a reputation for bribing the captains of vessels to let him run their ships ashore so that he and his crews could salvage them.²⁴⁷ In the other anecdote, Powles describes a wrecking incident where an old but functional vessel, wrecked on the many reefs north of Eleuthera, was salvaged by the Harbour Island wrecking fleet. Somewhere between Eleuthera and Nassau, £3000 worth of cargo disappeared.²⁴⁸

Powles uses the second anecdote to compare Dunmore Town, Harbour Island, and Governor's Harbour, Eleuthera. Powles's perception of the situation lacks a complex understanding of the historical context, but it is telling of contemporary attitudes and perceptions of the communities. In the late 1880s, Governor's Harbour seemed to be flourishing, and Powles attributes the success of the community in large part to its focus on agriculture. Dunmore Town, by contrast, was falling into decline, which he attributes to its long dependence on wrecking: "What place could flourish that depends on such a rascally trade for its prosperity?"²⁴⁹ The truth was more complex—pineapple exports from Harbour Island had peaked in the mid 1870s. By Powles' time, the community was feeling that decline and returning in force to its maritime roots. Other industries that had popped up and flourished during the period of economic growth and diversity, including

²⁴⁷ Powles 1996, 28.

²⁴⁸ Powles 1996, 114-115.

²⁴⁹ Powles 1996, 115.

sisal plantations, canneries, and a few sugar mills, also took a downturn at or by the end of the century. Wrecking, shipbuilding, and fishing (for local consumption and for export to Nassau) were picking up the slack, and the majority of the working male population was engaged in maritime trades.²⁵⁰

Even with the more diversified economy of earlier decades, Harbour Island remained a strongly maritime oriented community. The environment and the landscape both helped ensure this, as ships were necessary to travel, communicate, and trade with the broader region—including the commonage lands across the harbor on Eleuthera where locals planted much of their produce for market and domestic use. People on the island interacted regularly with the maritime landscape—the town was clustered around the harbor for which the original settlers named it. Mariners knew their way around the local waters, sailing frequently to other islands in the colony as well as Atlantic coast and Caribbean destinations, and exploited the sailing season and navigational hazards of their region. The society was fairly mobile, and even slaves and women could travel at least to New Providence. Maritime material culture had an unavoidable presence even for those who may not have left the island regularly, from boats on the water and under construction at the town shipyard to the docks, wharves, and warehouses along the harbor that serviced them. Islanders relied on the maritime environment to provide them with useful and necessary resources—maritime cultural resources from wrecking as well

²⁵⁰ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 121-122, 124. Sisal cultivation peaked in 1895, but persisted into the 1920's, with a rope-works beside the community shipyard. The US annexation of Hawaii in 1898 killed the pineapple industry by 1914, though decline began long before. Local sugar production for export ceased by 1885 as producers could not compete with cheaper, lower quality imports from the US. Production of cane syrup for the local domestic market persisted into the early twentieth century.

as fish and shellfish for local consumption and later sale. Although the mid-nineteenth-century fruit boom was on its surface an agricultural phenomenon, Harbour Island could not have capitalized on it without its traditional maritime-based economy. The two systems reinforced each other and together they helped reinforce the community's maritimity.

CHAPTER V

THE HARBOUR ISLAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The maritimity of Harbour Island is demonstrable in the historical record from the seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries. The community that developed shows evidence of its maritimity in all three of the categories presented in Chapter II: Landscape, Maritime Resources, and Maritime Material Culture. Harbour Island is, therefore, a legitimate setting for examining how maritimity can be investigated and attested using the archaeological record. The Harbour Island Archaeological Survey (HIAS) was designed to procure archaeological materials to investigate the research question: are there any notable differences in the archaeological assemblages of maritime communities that indicate maritimity?

Searching for broad patterns requires a broad assemblage of archaeological materials to study. Archaeological survey presents an opportunity to sample the diversity of material culture created, selected, and used by individuals and communities in order to search for expressions of identity including maritimity. This research will ultimately employ South's pattern analysis; therefore, comparative excavation methods are an important consideration. Although only two of the assemblages South used to establish the Carolina Artifact Pattern were obtained by sampling, survey can recover a representative sample of the material culture of a site, making it an appropriate methodology for comparisons based on pattern analysis. The rest of this chapter describes the archaeological survey work providing the groundwork for investigating the

research question presented above. I describe the research and reconnaissance trips that preceded the two seasons of fieldwork undertaken for the survey project. After an overview of each season, I present the methodology used to conduct the survey, a summary of the general geological setting of the island, and some common attributes of the properties and shovel tests. Following this summary is a brief description of each of the properties, in order of excavation, and a discussion of the maritime cultural landscape elements visible in the modern landscape. Chapter VI uses the collected archaeological assemblage to compare the Harbour Island properties, and Chapter VII compares the HIAS assemblage with a selection of other sites from the western Atlantic region.

Research and Reconnaissance

The first research trip in 2007 was designed to assess the potential for archaeological research focusing on maritime communities in the Bahamas generally and to identify an appropriate place to examine the research question more specifically. Materials from the National Archives of the Bahamas in Nassau indicated that Harbour Island was a comparatively old settlement for the colony. Unlike at Nassau, development at Dunmore Town was not so extensive as to completely compromise the potential for locating early materials. Although early records also mention Eleutheran settlements and the oral histories of some northern communities claim a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century settlement date, a 1991 survey by Research Atlantica, Inc., and Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, Inc., did not locate any material predating

the late eighteenth century other than the materials associated with Preacher's Cave.²⁵¹ A brief visit to the community combined with extensive archival research confirmed Harbour Island's potential for answering the research question outlined above.

A second reconnaissance trip in 2008 focused on examining Harbour Island more closely and making local contacts necessary to proceed with fieldwork the following year. This trip involved examining the existing maritime cultural landscape, visiting other historical archaeological sites (namely Preacher's Cave), identifying potential properties for fieldwork, and seeking contact information for non-resident landowners. Further archival research in Nassau, focused on exploring the development of Harbour Island and Dunmore Town, complemented the time spent in the community itself.

Nine properties were selected based on their location and accessibility—lots in and around the oldest sections of town on relatively undeveloped open ground were ideal, if the landowners were amenable to archaeological investigation of their land. Many of the properties in the heart of the old town, especially along Bay Street, belong to Americans, Canadians and Europeans who are not full-time residents. They visit only for a few weeks or months each year and let the properties to tourists during the rest of the spring and summer. This made contacting the property owners difficult, as contact information was not available for all individuals who owned promising lots. Some landowners who were interested in the study and whose properties may have been accessible did not have sufficient open land to survey. The lots are typically small and

²⁵¹ Carr et al 1991, 31-32. For a detailed report of the excavations at Preacher's Cave, the location of the earliest English settlement, see Carr et al 1996.

some have been extensively landscaped with modern gardens and pools. Arrangements with most landowners were concluded prior to each season of fieldwork, though some local residents were approached during the course of the season, especially in 2010.

Field Seasons

The 2009 field season ran from August 1 to August 23. The field crew, consisting of myself and fellow Texas A&M University graduate students Claire Collins and Larkin Kennedy, surveyed four properties inside the boundary of Dunmore Town: two located within the oldest part of the settlement, and two others bordering this area. In addition, the team examined and recorded six cannons located on the south-east point of the island. Two of the properties sampled, the Little Boarding House and the Royall Lime, lay within the confines of the boundaries of the town as depicted on the earliest maps, directly across Bay Street from the harbor. The others, the Battery and the Administrator's House, lay on the margins of the early town, but were settled in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The team recovered a mix of historical archaeological materials from all four properties, including ceramics, historic glass, pipe fragments, bits of metal (mostly nails), and faunal remains (shells as well as fish and animal bones). We collected over 7000 artifacts from all sites investigated; the materials were coarsely catalogued in the field and underwent further analysis and conservation (where necessary) at Texas A&M University.

In 2010, I, along with fellow A&M graduate student Catherine Sincich, surveyed five additional properties to expand the area covered by the project and accrue a larger

sample of material culture from the community. The field season ran from August 21 to September 4. Two of the properties surveyed, Yellowbird and the Old Barry House, were in the heart of the original town. Two others, Methodist House and Java House, were constructed in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, while the last property, The Duke Street Higgs House, lies in an area colloquially known as the Bottom, the heart of the modern town but on the margins of the historic settlement. The materials recovered during this season were similar to those collected in the previous year, with a great deal of faunal material (mostly fish) and shell, and typical historic and modern artifacts including ceramics, glass, metal fragments, brick, plaster, pipe fragments, and charcoal. We cleaned and catalogued artifacts in the field, and undertook further analysis and conservation at Texas A&M University. The project returned all artifacts to the custody of the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation of the Bahamas (AMMC) one year after their removal from the country for study, as specified in the permit.

Field Methodology

Although this project is focused on a maritime question—the nature of maritime identity—it relies on traditional terrestrial field methodology. We used hand tapes for all mapping and measuring. At each of the properties investigated, the team laid transects and dug shovel tests at 3 m intervals, screening all soil through quarter-inch mesh. Transect placement was influenced by a number of factors: accessibility, avoidance of known modern disturbances, and site coverage. Where possible, transects crossed the

largest available stretch of a site. Shovel tests were terminated when we hit bedrock, when we could no longer extract material without compromising the integrity of the hole (usually around 1 m in depth), or when we hit sterile fill. Project archaeologists strove to leave all properties in good condition, taking care to refill shovel test holes and replace sod. Site visits in 2010 of properties excavated in 2009 revealed no lasting effects on the visible landscape from the archaeological work (fig. 5.1).



Fig. 5.1. Location of Transect 1 at the Royal Lime in 2010, one year post excavation. All photographs and maps by author unless otherwise noted.

Archaeology at Harbour Island

HIAS was the first archaeological project conducted on the island, although several excavations and surveys have been carried out on North Eleuthera. Shaun Sullivan conducted a survey of the region for his MA thesis at Florida Atlantic University in 1974, though he did not examine Harbour Island and was primarily interested in searching for prehistoric sites. Research Atlantica and the Historical Conservancy have been carrying out projects at Preacher's Cave since 1991, investigating both the Lucayan and early colonial use of the cave shelter. As part of their connections with the local community they also conducted an archaeological survey of Spanish Wells and some of the other small islands off the western coast of North Eleuthera to search for evidence of the community's historic roots. They discovered no evidence of occupation prior to the Loyalist period (post-1783).²⁵²

Harbour Island is geologically similar to the rest of the Bahamas archipelago, formed of irregularly shaped oolitic limestone above uplifted coral reef. Soil deposits on top of the limestone are quite shallow in the lowland areas around the island's coast, but the highlands are covered in thicker deposits of white and pink sands. Where the land has not been cleared for habitation, the island is covered by tropical hardwood coppice.

The irregularity of the bedrock meant that a single 30 cm diameter shovel test could naturally vary considerably in depth (up to 25 cm, though a 10-15 cm discrepancy was more typical) (fig. 5.2). Generally the soil in town is a brown sandy loam, though

²⁵² Carr 1991, 32.

commonly it turns to a reddish brown above bedrock where the limestone is degrading. The reddish brown layer is typically sterile other than some heavy artifacts and nodules of loose limestone.



Fig. 5.2. Bird's eye view of exposed limestone on the harbor edge at The Battery, showing uneven surface.

Regular downpours during the wet season bring buried small artifacts to the surface, and after 300 years of severe storms and occasional hurricanes, in addition to activities of other disruptive agents including humans and domesticated animals, archaeological deposits are thoroughly mixed. These factors make it impossible to date materials stratigraphically. This makes both the artifacts themselves, as well as the historical records related to the town, the most useful tools for dating the sites.

The Battery (BAT)

The first property surveyed in 2009, the Battery, belongs to a branch of the Albury family, including local historian Anne Lawlor. Local lore holds that the land was the site of a small battery built in the early eighteenth century, funded by Governor Woodes Rogers, for defense of the settlement. The property roughly correlates to lots 163 and 164, granted in 1791 to Catherine Sweeting and George Roberts Senior respectively.²⁵³ The standing house was originally built in the 1850s, and purchased in 1866 by William Clark Albury from the English doctor who built the structure. It has been in the Albury family ever since (figs. 5.3, 5.4).²⁵⁴ The Alburys are an old Harbour Island family, and the name is evident in early eighteenth-century documents relating to Harbour Island, including the 1735 census.²⁵⁵ The earliest Albury residents, like the doctor before them, were elites—ship-owners and merchants. They also kept sheep on the property, reflecting the economic diversity of the period.²⁵⁶

The Lawlors were very supportive of the project, and were happy to have archaeologists investigate their property. Due to their support, and because it was the first site investigated, the team spent more time on this property than any of the others. We excavated 23 shovel tests on two intersecting transects and collected surface artifacts. The shallowest shovel test, ST01, was 14 cm at its deepest point. The deepest shovel test, ST18, hit bedrock at 51 cm at its deepest point, but its shallowest point was

²⁵³ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

²⁵⁴ Anne and Jim Lawlor, personal communication 2012. The property is currently held by Anne Lawlor, Danny Albury, Elizabeth Smith and Lester Albury.

²⁵⁵ CO23/6 p. 128. See also CO23/2 pt 2 p.18 - Curpew 1729: A list of all the men that can bear arms on the Islands of Providence, Islathera & Harbour Island

²⁵⁶ Anne and Jim Lawlor, personal communication 2009.

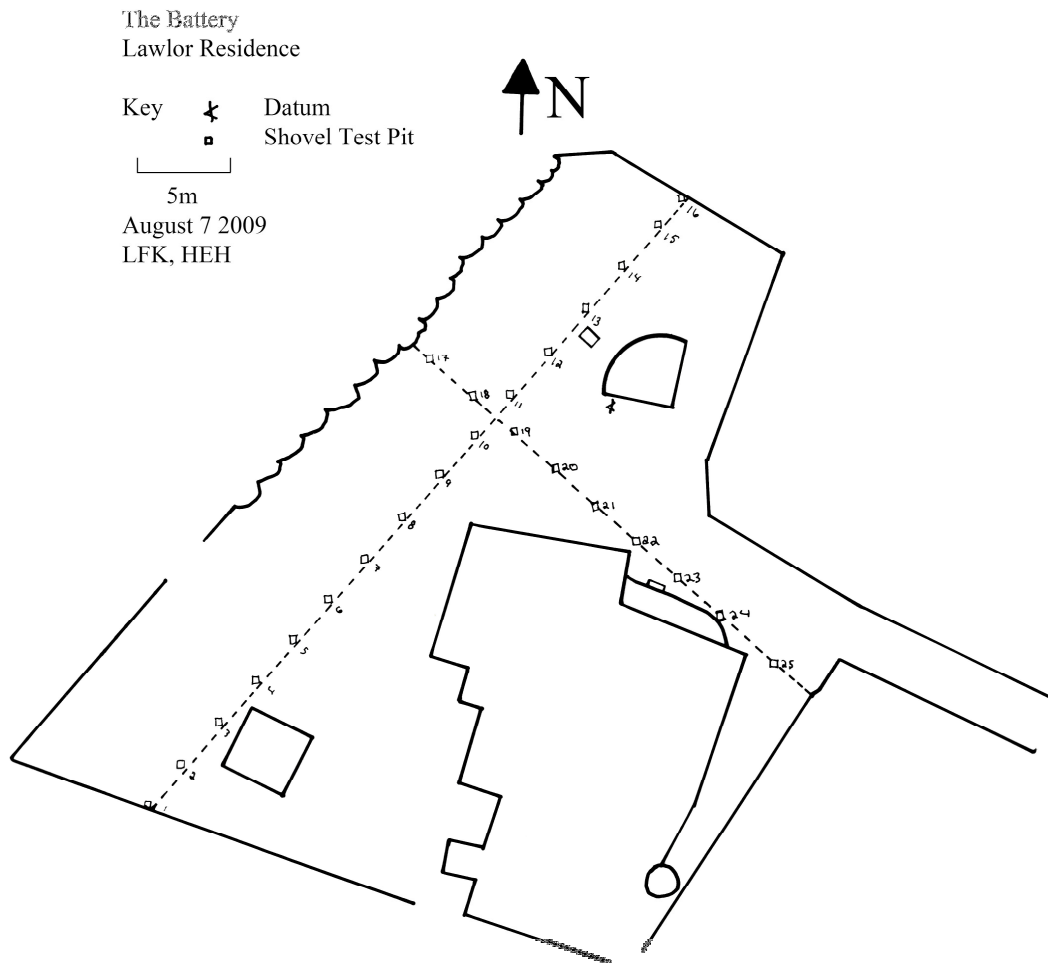


Fig. 5.3. The Battery. Map by Larkin Kennedy and Heather Hatch.

only 18 cm deep. This discrepancy is caused by a flat-bottomed feature cut into the bedrock along the shovel test's eastern edge. This contained several links of chain oriented perpendicular to the shoreline. The next deepest shovel test was ST23 at 46 cm at its deepest point.



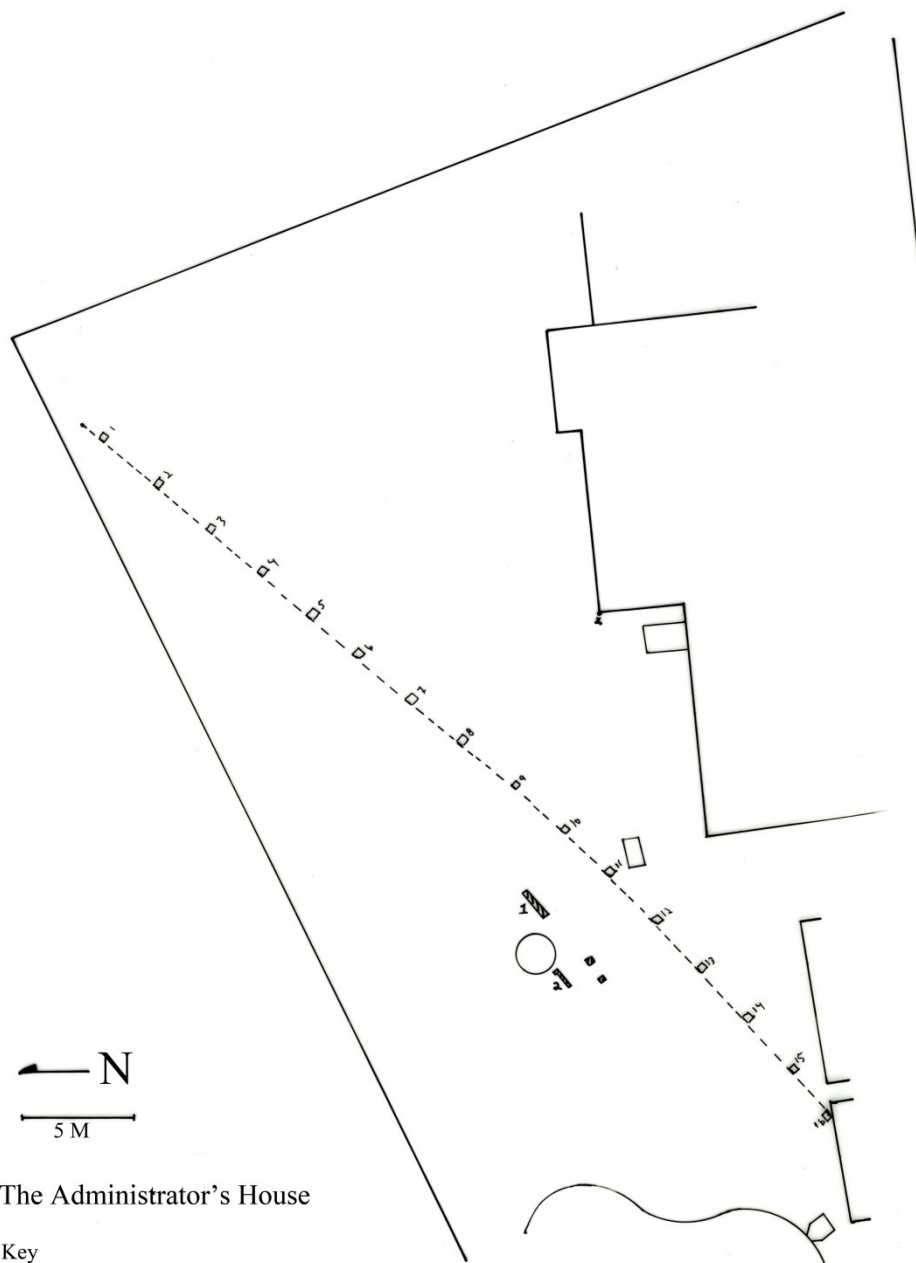
Fig. 5.4. Rear view of The Battery facing east from the harbor side showing the size of the original stone building and additions.

The Battery is bounded directly by the town harbor to the west, which may explain the large amounts of fish bone and shell (the most abundant artifacts from this site) recovered. Despite being told that at least one nineteenth-century occupant kept sheep on the land, the team uncovered no related faunal evidence of sheep consumption. Analysis of the ceramic remains linked to this property suggests that the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries are the best represented archaeologically, but some materials (notably Staffordshire-type slipware and some tin-glazed earthenware) representing early to late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century land use are present. After fish and shell, ceramic is the largest category of material from the property, with pearlware, creamware, and whiteware being the most numerous types.

The Administrator's House (ADM)

The second property we surveyed was the Administrator's House (fig. 5.5). This lot, 190 according to the 1791 land grants, is located on a hill overlooking the harbor and directly above the modern government dock. This was the location of Lord Dunmore's personal residence. The land was just on the eastern outskirts of the town in the eighteenth century, and is located close to the Anglican Church—one of the oldest in the Bahamas. Elite control of the property has persisted since Dunmore's time, and it is currently the government estate assigned to the regional Administrator. The large house that sits on the property has fallen into disrepair, and was undergoing renovations in both 2009 and 2010.

The team laid one transect of 16 shovel tests on the north lawn, running roughly east-west, and surface collected on the entire property. The north lawn offered the largest expanse of ground; the south lawn was unavailable due to a children's summer camp that was hosting a number of activities both on this area of the grounds and inside the house. The transect ran downhill, from the eastern boundary fence towards the planters framing the walkway on the downhill slope. This layout covered the largest stretch of land possible, as well as multiple elevation zones (fig. 5.6).



The Administrator's House

- Key
- property boundary or wall
 - - - transect
 - ⊕ datum
 - ▨ wall
 - shovel test
 - well

Fig. 5.5. The Administrator's House, north yard.



Fig. 5.6. Transect 1 at the Administrator's House.

At the top of the hill above the bedrock is a thick layer of pink sand—fill brought up from the beach or taken from the highlands and associated with either landscaping or the construction of the road that runs along the eastern boundary of the property. Above this fill is a layer of brown soil. The fill was present in ST01, ST02, and ST03 but disappears in ST04. The shallowest shovel test was ST07, at 15 cm in its deepest part. The deepest was ST01 at approximately 90 cm (it was not possible to determine if we hit bedrock, or encountered the layer of degrading limestone cobbles that often lies above it, when we terminated the test due to depth).



Fig. 5.7. Covered feature on the property of The Administrator's House, facing west.

The lower area of the north lawn contains a number of features, including several segments of the base of a stone wall, a partially filled in feature (possibly a root cellar) likely associated with the standing building (fig. 5.7), and a roughly circular stone enclosure approximately 1.8 m in diameter that may represent either a landscaping element such as a planter or an old oven (fig. 5.8). Where the transect passed between these features and the house, a layer of thin, regular, sandstone slabs lay over the natural soil (or in some cases lay on top of the bedrock). These may represent more walls or perhaps a floor associated with an outdoor kitchen. We also recovered large amounts of

animal bones, brick, and ceramics from the shovel tests in this area that provide some support for this hypothesis. Ceramic, bone and shell are the most numerous material types from the site, with pearlware (blue transferware and undecorated pearlware) and creamware dominating the ceramic assemblage.



Fig. 5.8. Rubble of roughly circular enclosure at The Administrator's House, facing west.

The Little Boarding House (LBH)

The Little Boarding House, the third property surveyed, is another mid nineteenth-century house (fig. 5.9). The land roughly correlates to Samuel Higgs's lot, 73, from the original 1791 land grant.²⁵⁷ The landowners, Tracey Barry Tyler and Toby

²⁵⁷ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

Tyler, who also own one of the hotels in town, acquired the property earlier in 2009, and could provide only cursory information about the building and property history. The house itself operated as a boarding house in the early twentieth-century, and is counted as one of the earliest hotels on the island along with the Sea View Hotel. Previously to its purchase by the Tylers, the Little Boarding House had been one of the many rental properties available in Dunmore Town, and was owned by a foreign national.²⁵⁸ The Little Boarding House is located in the heart of the old colonial town, just across the street from the harbor and within sight of the modern government dock.

The team laid two intersecting transects at this property. The first, running approximately east-west, crossed all three low terrace levels in the yard north of the house (fig. 5.10). It also crossed the foundation of an older building dug into the bedrock on the westernmost terrace, close to the street, in two places. The first shovel test inside this foundation reached a hard surface at 95 cm, but the team could not determine its nature due to poor visibility at that depth. The foundation had been filled at some point using the same mostly sterile loosely packed pink sand that we encountered at the Administrator's House, and the team only excavated the first of the two test pits crossing the feature. The second, shorter, transect crossed the first just west of the foundation. In total, the team excavated 12 of the 13 shovel tests and collected surface artifacts. As seen

²⁵⁸ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008: 254. "Realtor Sells a Piece of the Past - Little Boarding House, Harbour Island", *The Eleutheran*, February 17, 2009.

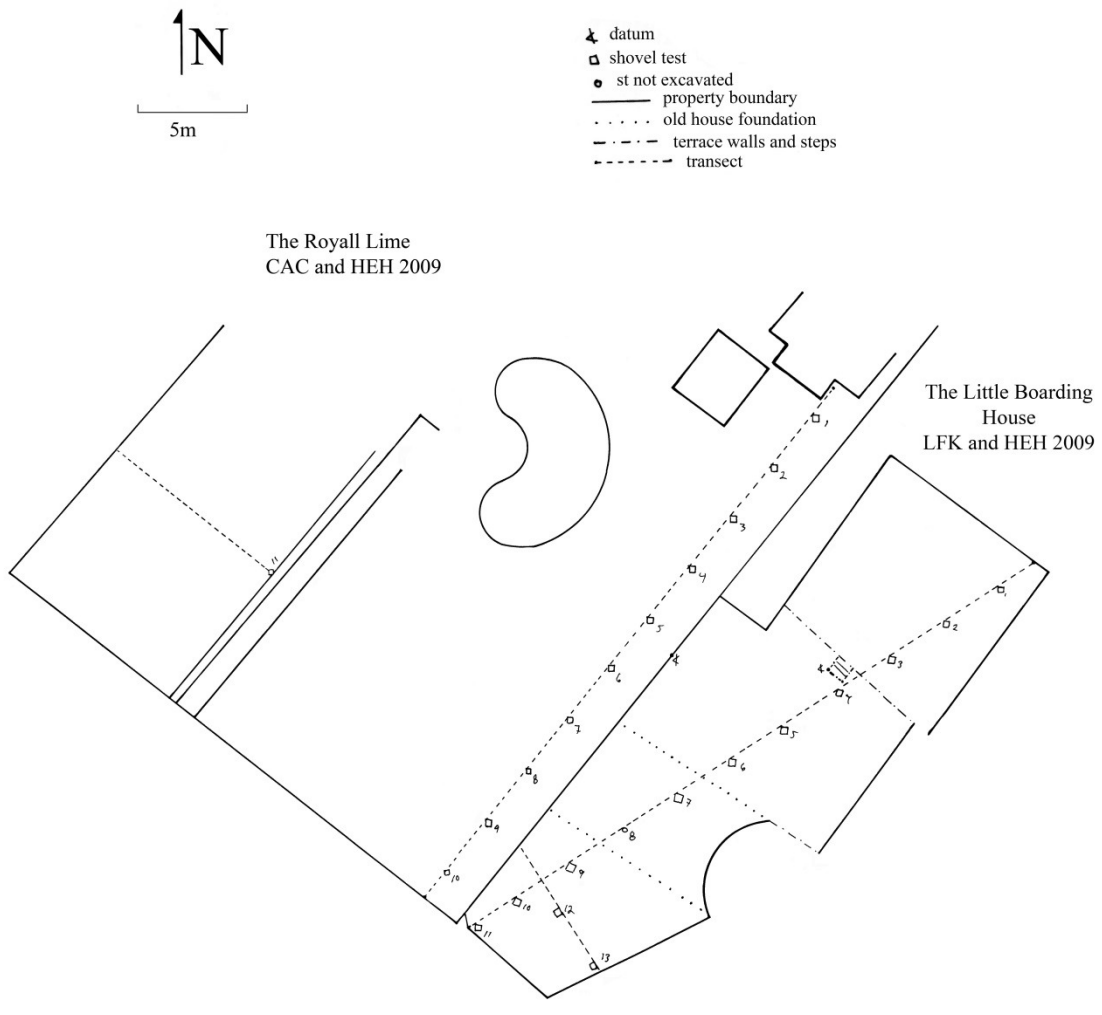


Fig. 5.9. The Royall Lime and the Little Boarding House. Maps by Heather Hatch, Claire Collins and Larkin Kennedy.

elsewhere on the island, the shape and depth of the bedrock varied considerably—the shallowest was ST10 at 9 cm at its deepest point, but ST04 also only reached a mere 12 cm. Discounting ST07, the deepest shovel test was ST03, on the eastern terrace, at 57 cm at its deepest point. Ceramics, glass, and shell dominate the assemblage. Artifacts collected from this site primarily reflect the property's more modern history, although

some ceramics (especially the proportionally large collection of creamware) provide evidence of eighteenth-century land use.



Fig. 5.10. Transect 1 at the Little Boarding House, facing west.

The Royall Lime (RLM)

The final property investigated in 2009 was the Royall Lime. This property has a rich history. It was granted in 1791 to Samuel Johnson, junior, and the standing house served as a residence for the British Consul in the early nineteenth century. It was also the first factory of the internationally renowned Royall Lime fragrance which gives the property its name; operations were bought out and transferred to Bermuda in the mid

twentieth century. The Sea View Hotel, which burned in the 1940s, was also located on the property.²⁵⁹ The current owners, Muffet and Rich Arroll, are enthusiastic about collecting artifacts from their land, and the groundskeeper we spoke to informed us of a guest who surface collected systematically over the course of several annual visits and dug holes close to the house seeking historic ceramics and glass.

The Royall Lime property is located directly north of The Little Boarding House, and the two properties share a boundary. It is likewise located in the old town across Bay Street from the harbor. The property is extensive for Dunmore Town, and is well maintained and landscaped. Like its neighbor, it possesses several levels; the southern edge slopes gracefully down to the street from the garage. Further north, in front of the main house complex, a retaining wall with a staircase separates the upper terrace from the lower yard where the Sea View Hotel used to stand (fig. 5.11).

The team placed our primary transect running roughly east-west along the southern slope, parallel with the boundary fence (fig. 5.12). A second transect crossed the hotel foundation, but as excavation of the first shovel test revealed only more sand fill, we discontinued that attempt. At the highest part of the slope on Transect 1, we encountered very deep deposits (over one meter) with a high concentration of historic artifacts (especially glass), possibly representing a privy or trash pit. ST01 and ST02 were both over 1m deep, and we did not reach the bottom of either hole. The other shovel tests became shallower as we descended the slope towards the west. The shallowest shovel test was ST08, at 15 cm at its deepest point.

²⁵⁹ Muffet Arroll, personal communication, 2009.



Fig. 5.11. View of the Royall Lime's hotel yard from the pool terrace, facing north west.



Fig. 5.12. View along Transect 1 at the Royall Lime, facing east, showing the boundary fence with the Little Boarding House.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this property contained high amounts of historic glass, though none of the sherds recovered represent the bottles used to hold the perfume factory's final product. The Arrolls have collected some Royall Lyme perfume bottles from elsewhere on the property, and allowed us access to examples on display in the house for comparison. The two shovel tests from the feature at the top of Transect 1 contained large quantities of historic material including glass, ceramic, shell, bone, and a porcelain doll head. Bone, glass and shell were the most common artifacts recovered from this site.

South Bar (SBR)

As part of the 2009 field season, we also had the opportunity to examine and record six eighteenth-century cannon located on the south-east point of Harbour Island. Both early maps note the presence of a fort in the area, though it is not clear that these represent an actual construction rather than a proposed structure. The topography and satellite imagery are suggestive, but we could not find any evidence of remains in our investigation. The density of the coppice in the area made a more thorough search difficult.

The cannons themselves rest on a shallowly-buried rock path or walkway and are oriented roughly in a straight line tracing the old harbor mouth. Although they are located on property belonging to a private club, the cannons are a well-known local landmark, and the site was strewn with modern trash. We spoke to a number of residents and recurring visitors who have personally examined the cannons, and were aware of

their location and the associated walkway or platform. None reported finding any other artifacts in the area, nor did we recover any ourselves.

The cannons are set back from the shoreline on the coppice-covered hill, but roughly overlook the narrowest point of the harbor mouth formed by Harbour Island and Eleuthera. We photographed and recorded the dimensions of each piece, and excavated more extensively around Cannon 3 to uncover and map a section of the platform below (fig. 5.13). The east-most trunnion of Cannon 3 rests on a wooden support beneath the surface, but we found no evidence of gun carriages. We also probed the area with the end of a survey flag to test the extent of the platform, and found that it ends just beyond the row of cannons in all directions. Because there are no associated artifacts, it is difficult to assess when the cannons were placed in their present position.



Fig. 5.13. Partially excavated stone platform in front of Cannon 3, with Cannon 4 in the background. Photo by Larkin Kennedy.

The preservation of the cannons varies greatly. Cannon 5 and Cannon 6, the two furthest from the road (and therefore further into the coppice) are in the best condition. These cannons are also less deeply buried than the others, and it is likely a combination of these factors (less accessible, better protected from the elements, less contact with the soil) that accounts for their condition. Both Cannon 5 and Cannon 6 have makers' marks on their trunnions (a Z or N), and Cannon 5 is incised with the broad arrow, marking it as property of the British Crown, above the first reinforce (figs. 5.14, 5.15.). The 'Z' stamp belonged to George Matthews of Calcutt, Coalbrookdale in England, who began providing ordnance to the navy in 1779.²⁶⁰ None of the other cannons appear to be marked in any way, but these features may be obscured by corrosion. Their general shape, including the placement and form of the trunnions, indicates that they are of 18th century or later construction. It is likely that none of the six cannon have an early enough provenience to related to any fortifications depicted on the early maps, and instead may be associated with the American Revolution or later conflicts. Appendix B contains more details about the dimensions of each of the cannons.

²⁶⁰ Brown 1988, 105-106.



Fig. 5.14. "Z" stamp on the trunnion of Cannon 6.

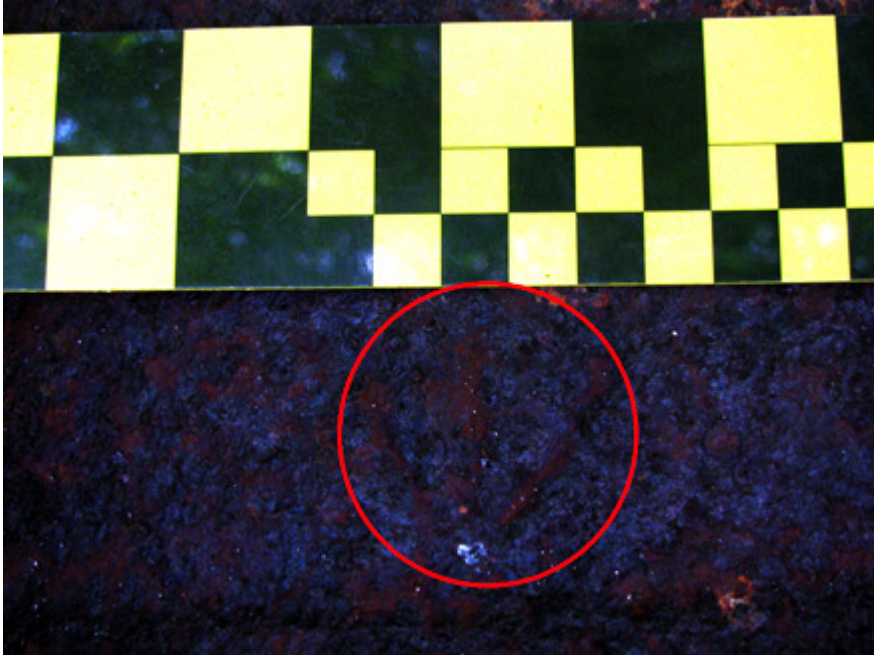


Fig. 5.15. Broad arrow stamp on Cannon 5.

Yellowbird (YLB)

The Yellowbird property, owned by Joe Farrell, was the first property investigated in the 2010 HIAS field season. It is located on Murray Street near its intersection with King Street, on the hill overlooking the harbor. The lot was granted to Richard Thompson in the original 1791 land grant, and the original house may date to that period.²⁶¹ A modern addition and a pool take up most of the lot, with much of the remaining open ground covered by concrete flagstones. The wall that surrounds the property appears to be an early construction, but the ground was covered with palm trees and other landscaping elements, and difficult to access (fig. 5.16).



Fig. 5.16. Open ground at Yellowbird, facing northeast. Transect 1 ran between the palm trees at the left and center, parallel to the edge of the pool patio.

²⁶¹ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

We laid our transect along a short strip of land between the western edge of the pool area and the wall. We placed four shovel tests to investigate the level of disturbance in the little remaining open ground (fig. 5.17). While we recovered some historical material, the matrix was primarily grey sandy fill in the process of being transformed by the planted palms and other trees in the yard. ST04 was the deepest shovel test—we encountered dark grey sand fill at 50 cm, and terminated the test at 76 cm. None of the other three shovel tests were deeper than 30 cm. Shell, ceramics and glass are the most common artifact types, but we collected only 202 artifacts in total.

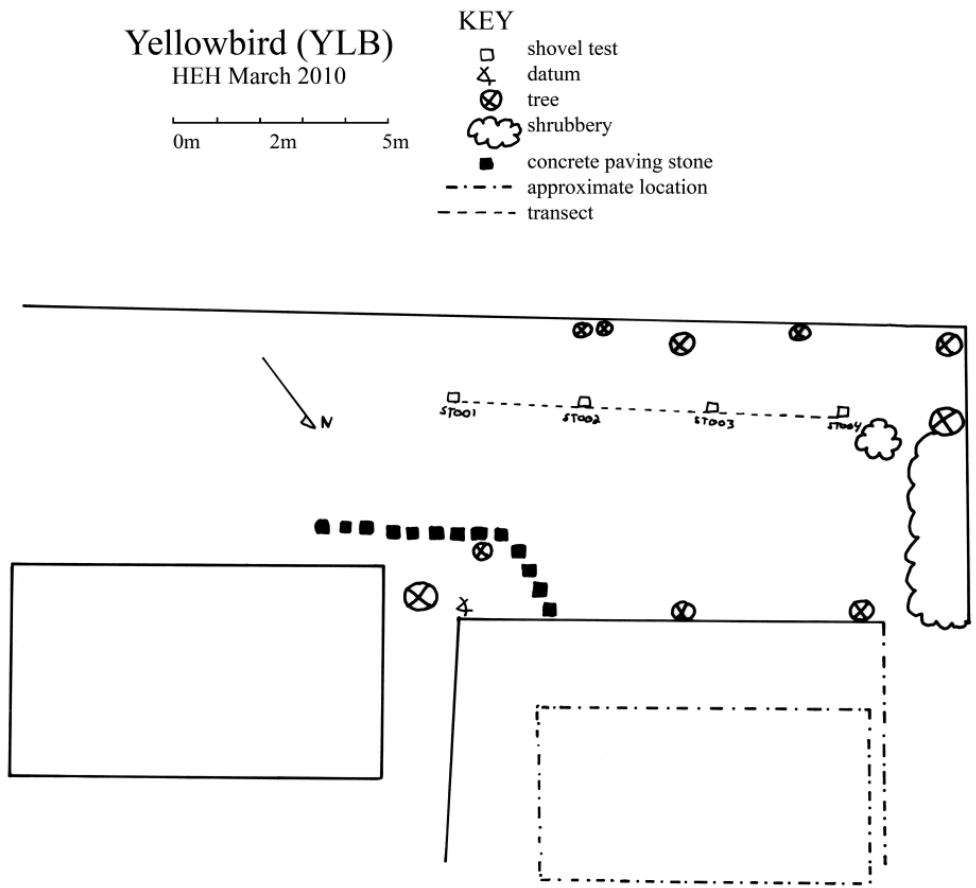


Fig. 5.17. Yellowbird.

Methodist House (MDH)

We only had one afternoon available to survey the lot at Methodist House (also known as the Methodist Manse). The resident minister, Rev. Marie Neilly, who was very supportive of the project, was leaving that day for a new parish, and the incoming minister would not arrive until after the end of the project's fieldwork phase. We nevertheless managed to place 6 shovel test pits on 2 transects in the north yard (fig. 5.18). The property, located on the corner of Church and Dunmore Streets, belongs to the Methodist Church, and is used to house the resident minister. The lot correlates roughly to lot 98 of the original land grant, owned by Anne Ferguson.²⁶² The house itself likely dates to the mid nineteenth century (fig. 5.19).

We laid two transects, with six total shovel tests. Our first transect had four shovel tests, and ran south-north across the north yard, leading out across the open ground from the side door of the house. These became deeper moving north across the yard, with ST01 being the shallowest at 22 cm at its greatest depth, and ST04 being 43 cm. Transect Two ran east-west, parallel to a detached outbuilding, 3m east of the midpoint between ST03 and ST04. We expanded ST05 to 50 by 33 cm to recover an iron bar lodged in the side of the unit. We recovered a large amount of material in all shovel tests, mostly dating to the nineteenth century. Glass predominates in the assemblage, followed by bone, metal fragments, and plaster. Most of the identifiable ceramics types date to the nineteenth century, mostly transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware. As at most other Harbour Island sites, there was very little redware or stoneware represented.

²⁶² Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

One particularly notable artifact is an unidentified bone tool with concave indentations (possible finger holds) (fig. 5.20).

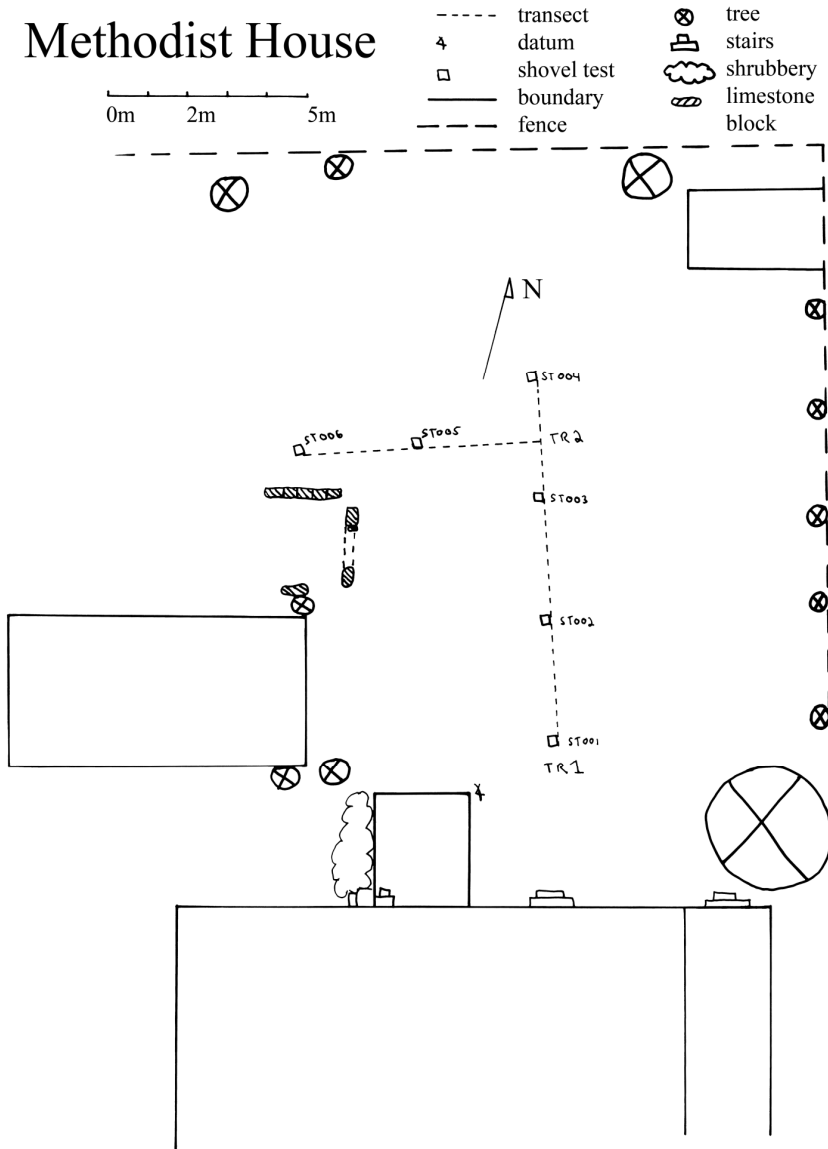


Fig. 5.18. The Methodist House.



Fig. 5.19. Transect 1 at The Methodist House, facing south.



Fig. 5.20. Bone tool from Methodist House (MDH 319). Scale in centimeters.

We also mapped a number of limestone blocks that may relate to a foundation of an earlier building or outbuilding, located just north (and somewhat east) of the standing out-building (fig. 5.21). ST05, just north of this location, produced a large amount of material, including many faunal remains (some burned) and a 21 cm long iron or ferrous bar. The area may have been part of an outdoor kitchen. ST06, further east along the same line (in front of the standing out-building), had an assemblage much more typical of other shovel tests from the site.



Fig. 5.21. Outbuilding foundation at Methodist House, facing south.

Old Barry House (OBH)

The third property we surveyed in 2010 was also the largest, consisting of two contiguous lots leading up King Street from Bay Street, directly across from the harbor. This intersection is within sight of the modern fisherman's dock on Pitt Street (the location of the older town dock), placing the area directly in the heart of the older section of town, and overlapping lots 49 and 50 (belonging to Peter Boone and Gideon Lowe) from the 1791 land grants.²⁶³ The modern lot was also divided into several sections. The front contained the foundation of an old house and an abandoned cistern. Behind this was a standing building that used to be a tailor shop and laundry. The very rear of the lot served as a depot yard for gravel used in landscaping, and also hosted several large dilapidated trucks (fig. 5.22). We ran one transect of six shovel tests running from the standing building between the house foundation and the street, and a second transect with another six shovel tests in the rear lot between the trucks and the fence separating the property from the street (fig. 5.23).

Property owner Pat Barry explained that the property had held a hog pen, chicken coop, and vegetable garden during its twentieth-century use. The house itself had been in the Barry household since the early twentieth century, but the building represented by the remaining foundation may predate their occupation. The foundation demonstrated a method of construction seen on another early property I had the opportunity to examine, with a foundation built of tree-stump posts notched to receive scarfed frames, and surrounded with large limestone blocks. Mortises and notches served to receive support

²⁶³ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

timbers for the floor (fig. 5.24). The tailor shop, built in 1958 using timbers from an old Nassau church, was built using the traditional local method of nailing tar-paper to the boards and covering them over with plaster. At the time of our fieldwork, it housed a large hive of bees between the inner and outer wall facing King Street.



Fig. 5.22. Old Barry House property showing exposed foundation, covered cistern, tailor shop/laundry, and gravel piles in background, facing northeast.

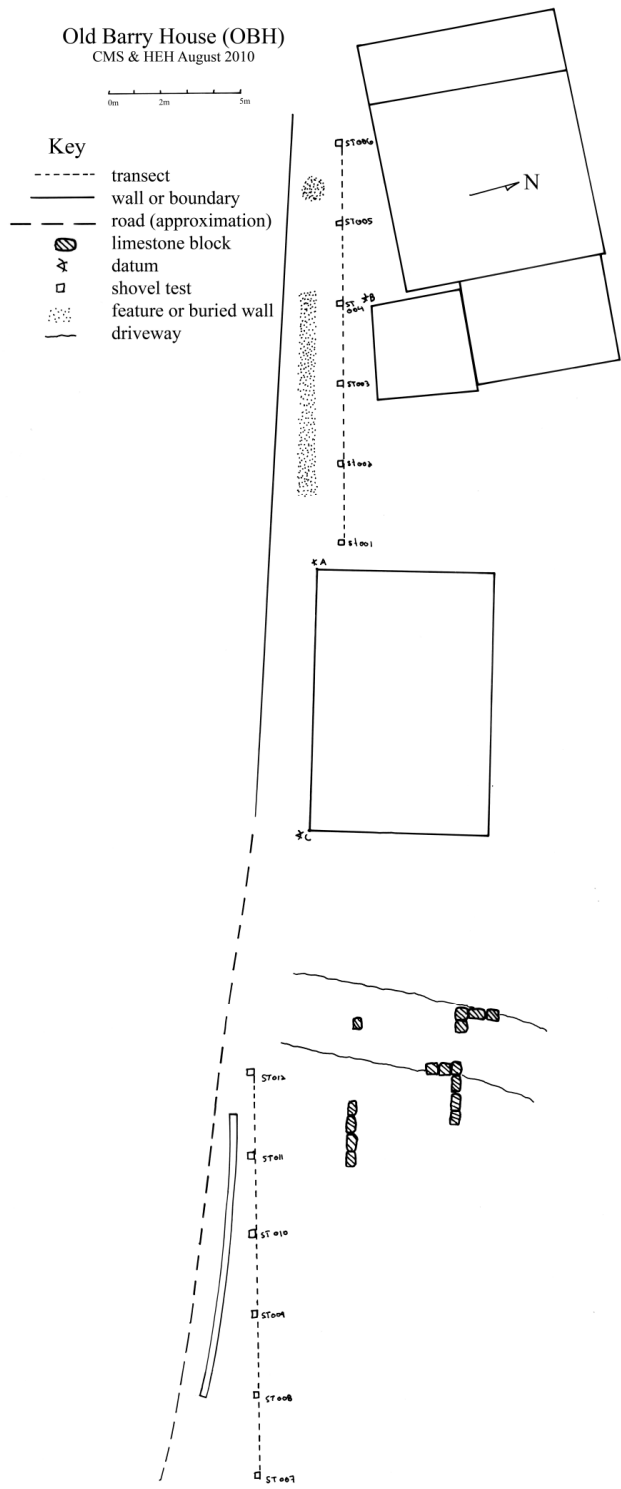


Fig. 5.23. The Old Barry House. Map by Heather Hatch and Catherine Sincich.



Fig. 5.24. Foundation construction features at the Old Barry House.

We ran our first transect in an area Mr. Barry indicated had primarily been used for flowers during their occupation (fig. 5.25). A low rise running along the edge of the street indicated the presence of an earlier fence, and a ring of stones around an indentation in the soil indicated another feature that we did not investigate as it did not intersect with any of our six planned shovel tests. The shovel tests closest to the tailor shop were the shallowest—ST01 at 35 cm and ST02 at 34.5 cm. ST03 was the deepest at 52 cm at its deepest point, but the others further down the line were all also close to 50 cm. On the second transect, between the parked trucks and the fence line, the depths were more varied (fig. 5.26). ST12 was the shallowest at 28 cm at its deepest point, and ST08 was the deepest, at 57 cm at its deepest point. It also had an 18 cm thick lens of limestone gravel at its top.



Fig. 5.25. Transect 1 at the Old Barry House, facing east.

Both areas of the site contained relatively large amounts of historic material, some clearly dating to the earlier eighteenth century. Glass (predominantly modern), ceramics (predominantly pearlware, whiteware and creamware), and shell were the three most abundant types of materials. Some artifacts of note recovered from the gravel depot yard include several pieces of a pewter broach, some lead shot, and the top of a c.1950s candy dish. The artifacts reflect the property's long history of occupation, from the late seventeenth through to the twentieth centuries.



Fig. 5.26. Transect 2 in the gravel depot yard at the Old Barry House. Facing east.

Java House (JVH)

Java House was built around 1830, using construction typical of the period—the basement was dug into the soft limestone bedrock and the excavated stone used to build up the walls of the foundation and the house itself. The modern property is on the location of lot 77 from the 1791 land grants (belonging to Samuel Higgs), just at the border of lot 81 (Joseph Curry).²⁶⁴ Since the summer of 2009, the house has been undergoing historically informed restoration and renovation by its owner, Jem Clarke. In 2010, the foundation of the house was exposed, and much of the yard covered in

²⁶⁴ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 26.

construction debris, gravel earmarked for landscaping efforts, and soil removed during the excavation of the foot-thick cellar walls (fig. 5.27).



Fig. 5.27. Transect 2 at Java House, showing construction debris, facing northeast.

We established two short transects in areas where the ground surface was exposed and accessible—one along a temporary fence separating the property from the neighboring (and newly reconstructed) Java Cottage, and one strip running from the rear of the house towards the back of the lot (figs. 5.28, 5.29). In 2009, workers uncovered the remains of an outdoor toilet (privy) in the yard where the second transect terminated. They cleared the area and filled it with a new concrete water tank. We placed three

shovel tests on the first transect, all of which were very close in depth. The shallowest was ST02 at 41 cm at its deepest point, and ST03 at 44 cm at its deepest point was the deepest overall. On the second transect, the team placed four shovel tests, for a total of seven on the property. This area was much deeper, with ST04 at 66 cm at its deepest point being the shallowest and ST05 at 70 cm at its deepest point being the deepest. Stratigraphy was heavily influenced by the ongoing construction, with mixed layers of fill and the natural soil in the upper levels of the units closest to the house. The non-fill layers were similar in color and composition to the rest of the property and were typical of the island.

Most of the site was covered with a layer of gravel from the piles covering the yard. This gravel contained crushed shell and some small whole shells, and it is likely that similar materials recovered in the shovel tests (especially whole small clam shells) originate in this landscaping fill. Despite the construction disturbances, the property was very rich in nineteenth-century historic material. ST07, closest to the edge of the privy, contained over 560 artifacts (including faunal remains and discounting charcoal). Bone, shell and ceramics (predominantly unmarked pearlware) dominate the assemblage.

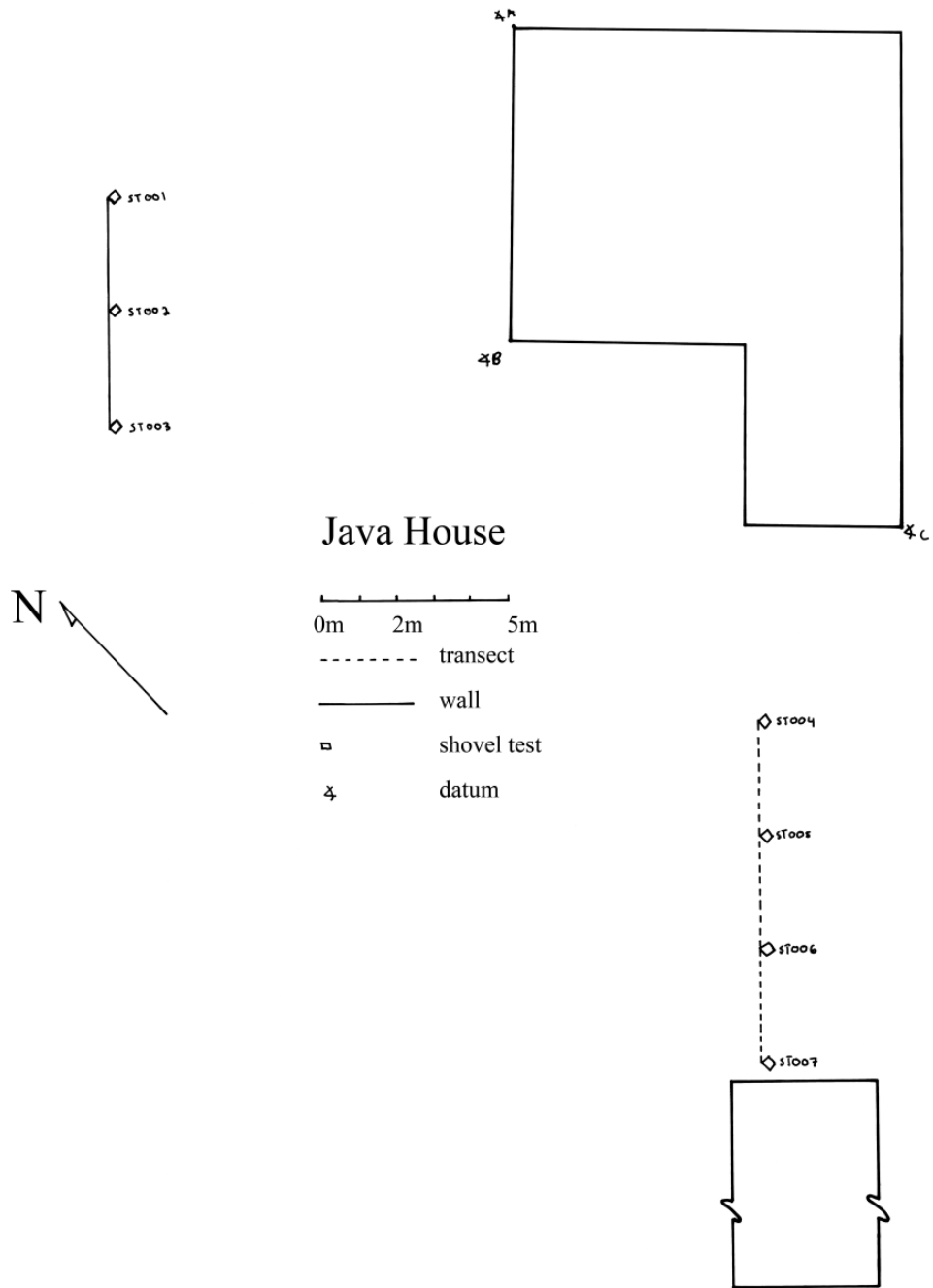


Fig. 5.28. Java House.



Fig. 5.29. Transect 1 at Java House, facing northeast.

Along with materials typical of the other Harbour Island sites investigated, we recovered a pressing iron, a partial fork, and several sections of decorated bone (a handle and a button). The more delicate objects (notably the highly degraded fork) were carefully conserved Texas A&M University Conservation Research Laboratory. Additionally, we observed a knee, a timber frame also used in ship construction, that had been discarded from the interior of the house during renovations (fig. 5.30). The workmen claimed it came from inside the attic.



Fig. 5.30. Knee from the attic of Java House.

Duke Street Higgs House (DHH)

The area between Duke and Princess Streets is colloquially referred to as “the Bottom,” and is considered to represent the oldest part of town, though this is not supported by the historical record. The Duke Street Higgs House is a property owned by the Higgs family (Carl and Brenda), located between Duke and Pitt Streets, behind Bay Street (fig. 5.31). The plot area was not granted in 1791, but was granted in 1836 to an ex-slave mariner by the name of Chatham Albury.²⁶⁵ The standing house was built in the 1920’s and inhabited at that time by David Thomas Higgs and his wife, Adelaide Mather. The remnants of an outside kitchen are also on the property.

²⁶⁵ Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, figure 30.

Duke Street Higgs House

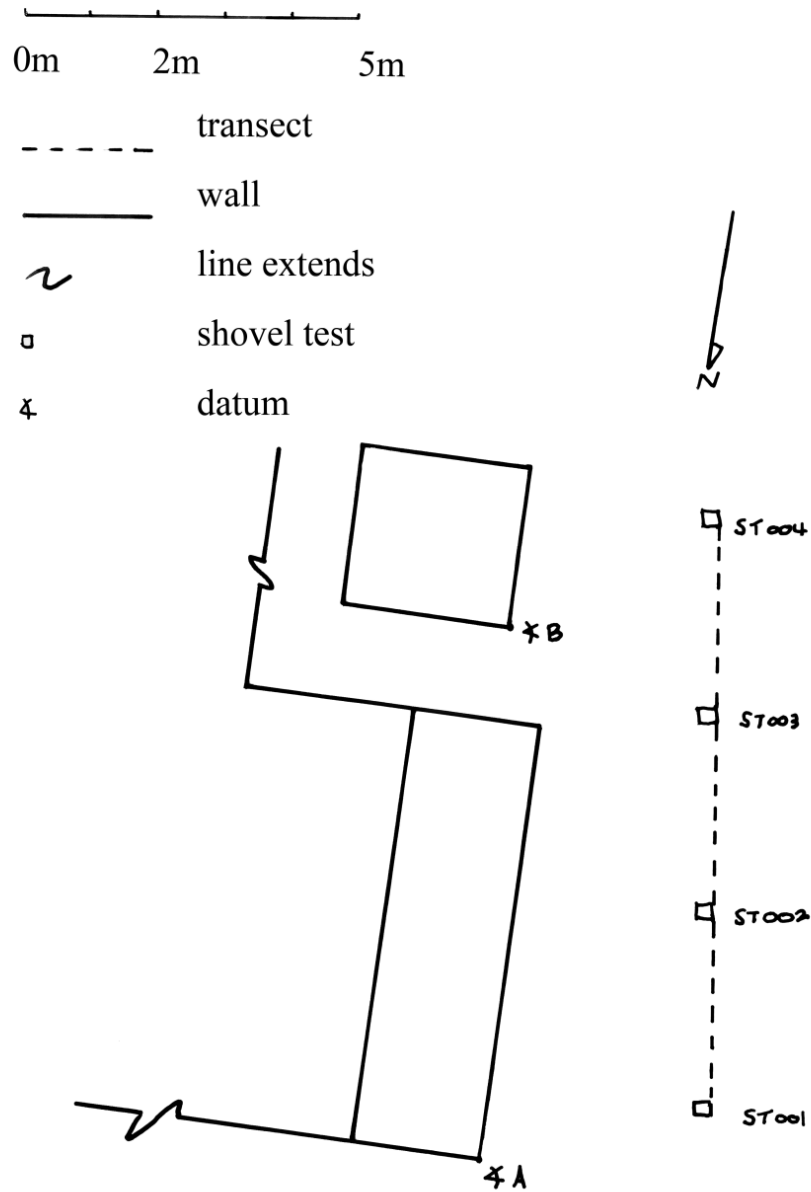


Fig. 5.31. The Duke Street Higgs House.

We placed one transect of four shovel tests along the length of the yard in front of the house (fig. 5.32). The units were all relatively shallow, with the deepest reaching 37 cm. ST04 hit bedrock at 20 cm in the deepest corner, and in 12 cm in the shallowest. Even the deeper units hit the sterile red-brown layer of degraded limestone around 8 cm above bedrock. We recovered very little material from this site, and most artifacts dated to a twentieth-century context. Due to these factors, we decided not to pursue further excavations on this property.



Fig. 5.32 Transect 1 at the Duke Street Higgs House, facing south.

Maritime Cultural Landscape of Harbour Island

The maritime cultural landscape of modern Harbour Island has shifted since the island was first settled—while the town maintains the harbor itself as the focal point of the community, the surrounding transportation network has changed. Modern Harbour Island is still only accessible directly by water routes—the local airport is located nearby on North Eleuthera, and visitors arrive by water taxi. Two marinas, one in town and another further south along the island's harbor coast, service modern yacht traffic. A ferry operates daily, picking up passengers (a mix of international tourists and Bahamians travelling for business and personal reasons) in Nassau in the early morning and returning along the same route to the capital in the late afternoon. The ferry and the water taxis dock at the Government Dock, but the fishermen's' dock (or PLP dock), further north along Bay Street, is also active with local traffic (figs. 5.33, 5.34). The most significant change in the water routes is that most ships now enter the harbor from the north—a development possible after the dynamiting of reefs in the 1970s. The reefs, notably the Devils' Backbone Reef along the coast of North Eleuthera, that caused the shipwreck of Bermudian settlers in the seventeenth century, still make the approach difficult. Large vessels are legally required to hire a local pilot from Harbour Island or Spanish Wells to direct them through the approach.

All approaches to the island demonstrate the focus of the town and community towards the harbor. In addition to the two marinas, many houses have docks that jut out into the water, and in the summer, the harbor and the harbor-side beach are full of small local craft. While the three mile stretch of Atlantic beach is a powerful tourist draw,



Fig. 5.33. The Harbour Island Government Dock.



Fig. 5.34. The Harbour Island Fishermen's Dock.

locals focus their personal maritime activities on the harbor. Children playing in the water amidst the docked watercraft are a common sight. While some beach bars and other businesses cater to tourists on the Atlantic coast, most businesses offering maritime recreation, such as diving, jet-ski rentals, and deep-sea fishing, are located closer to the harbor (fig. 5.35). The straw market, a collection of small huts where local women make and sell traditional crafts such as plaited straw hats, is also located on the harbor-side.



Fig. 5.35. Local business advertising maritime recreation at Valentine's Marina, Harbour Island.

The mix of modern tourism-oriented businesses and late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century cottages that greet arrivals to the island reflect the town's historical maritime orientation. As seen in Chapter III, even in the oldest map, the houses are all clustered around the harbor itself. The main street of the town, winding along the harbor front, is named Bay Street. The Government Dock has been in its present location since sometime in the nineteenth-century, and the Fisherman's Dock denotes the location of the town's original dock. The orientation of cottages dating to the Loyalist period also demonstrates the enduring nature of this aspect of the maritime cultural landscape. Many of these buildings have their own private slipways; some are oriented so that one may walk in a straight line from the front doors of the house, across the street, and onto the slipway (fig. 5.36). While the age of these maritime constructions is unknown, most of these cottages are owned by non-residents who rent their homes to vacationers. The slipways do not reflect the modern use of the landscape, but they remain a notable feature of the local built environment reflective of the community's historical maritime connection.

Bay Street, the heart of the old town, has another interesting maritime landscape element—it terminates in the south not just at the water's edge but actually in the water, with stairs leading into the harbor itself (fig. 5.37). As with the slipways, the stairs are not in common modern use, and are a historical element of the maritime cultural landscape. The road itself is still occasionally used as a ferry landing, for transporting cars and trucks from mainland Eleuthera to Harbour Island—when the gentleman who operates the ferry can be located and is inclined to perform this service. The neglected

landing serves as another reminder of the historical dimension of the maritime cultural landscape of Harbour Island.



Fig. 5.36. Old private docks and slipways in the Harbour Island harbor.



Fig. 5.37. Stairs at the termination of Bay Street, Harbour Island.

Summary

The maritime cultural landscape is strong evidence of persistent maritimity in the community; however, most of the materials collected during the survey work are very typical of contemporary historical assemblages from western Atlantic sites: ceramics, glass, nails, pipe stems. Only the abundance of maritime faunal material, notably fish bone and shell, strongly announces a distinctive connection with the maritime environment. Determining whether the assemblage of non-faunal materials collected from the island contains any differences that indicate maritimity requires two levels of comparison: first, an examination of the properties themselves and, second, a consideration of the place of the community as a whole inside its broader Atlantic context. South's analytical method provides a convenient and effective method for performing the comparisons that will be the subject of Chapters VI and VII respectively.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF CULTURE AT HARBOUR ISLAND

The Harbour Island Archaeological Survey recovered over 7000 artifacts, discounting faunal remains, from the nine properties surveyed. Items of material culture from these individual sites illustrate the community as a unit, but comparing the property assemblages allows for a more complex understanding of relationships within the community. Superficial analysis of the faunal remains provides sufficient evidence to demonstrate the reliance of the community on marine protein sources, adding further to the growing community portrait. Once these factors are considered, it is possible to examine the complete archaeological assemblage in the context of the categories of maritimity laid out in Chapter II to probe Harbour Islanders' relationships with the maritime environment.

The initial comparative analysis also stands as a test for how well the individual sites fall within the bounds of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. South identified the Carolina Artifact Pattern for sites within the British colonial cultural system using the artifact classification system he developed. This system sorts counted artifacts into broadly defined functional categories, and compares the resulting ratios. The Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern used here includes the data from the Signal Hill sites, and takes into account the advice of Wheaton, Friedlander and Garrow (1983), Joseph (1989) to include colonoware in the kitchen group. All other adjustments made by South are preserved (table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern.

Artifact Group	Mean %	% Range
Kitchen	62.25	51.80-69.23
Architecture	23.87	19.71-31.38
Furniture	0.10	0.00-0.63
Arms	0.54	0.09-1.15
Clothing	3.55	0.55-5.38
Personal	0.25	0.14-0.25
Tobacco Pipes	4.62	1.76-3.94
Activities	2.10	0.94-2.90

Each artifact group is examined separately, and groups are further broken down to the levels of class, ware, and type where pertinent. The difficulty in distinguishing between modern and historic artifacts in some categories led to the inclusion of all materials including plastic and modern glass. While it would have been possible to exclude some obviously modern materials, this would have resulted in a concentrated bias in only the categories where determinations were more difficult. Where modern materials do inflate the representation of an artifact group it is noted in the discussion. The inclusion of all materials also better represents the continuous occupation of the site since the seventeenth century.

This chapter arranges the nine HIAS property assemblages into this altered version of South's artifact classification system (table 6.2). The properties are listed in all following tables in charts in alphabetical order according to their abbreviations: ADM (Administrator's House), BAT (the Battery), DHH (the Duke Street Higgs House),

JVH (Java House), LBH (the Little Boarding House), MDH (Methodist House), OBH (the Old Barry House), RLM (the Royall Lime), and YLB (Yellowbird).

Table 6.2. HIAS Artifact Assemblage Classification by Group.

Group	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Kitchen										
Total	699	775	95	556	430	281	872	536	73	
%	64.90	65.02	40.60	54.67	58.11	48.20	62.06	57.14	54.89	56.18
Architecture										
Total	361	358	119	422	280	277	467	372	53	
%	33.52	30.03	50.85	41.49	37.84	47.51	33.24	39.66	39.85	39.33
Arms										
Total	--	5	--	--	1	--	2	1	--	
%	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.11	0.00	0.12
Furniture										
Total	1	1	3	1	--	--	--	1	--	
%	0.09	0.08	1.28	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.18
Clothing										
Total	3	11	2	5	0	4	7	2	2	
%	0.28	0.92	0.85	0.49	0.00	0.69	0.50	0.21	1.50	0.61
Personal										
Total	1	2	10	11	1	7	18	2	2	
%	0.09	0.17	4.27	1.08	0.14	1.20	1.28	0.21	1.50	1.11
Tobacco										
Total	7	16	--	16	12	2	10	13	--	
%	0.65	1.34	0.00	1.57	1.62	0.34	0.71	1.39	0.00	0.85
Activities										
Total	5	24	5	6	16	12	29	11	3	
%	0.46	2.01	2.14	0.59	2.16	2.06	2.06	1.17	2.26	1.66
Total	1077	1192	234	1017	740	583	1405	938	133	7319

In performing the following analysis, the top and bottom levels of South's classification system are the most useful. The top level, group, is where the cultural association of the community should be most evident. The lowest level, type, is where expressions of identity, including maritimity, should be more visible. The following examination of each group breaks the categories down further by class and type to facilitate discussion, with special consideration of types in some categories.

Kitchen Group

Although it is named for the kitchen, this group captures a broad range of activity from food preparation to food consumption in a separate area. Artifacts from this group are employed in a range of social activities associated with drinking and dining, from humble family meals to dinner parties and high teas. Complicating this portrait of functionality, items such as glassware, bottles, and ceramics are particularly well suited to reuse and repurposing. The inability of South's system to capture the complexity of the use-life of artifacts is noted in Chapter II, but the premise that they at one time served their intended function is logical. As shown in table 6.3, the kitchen group items provide a useful, if imperfect, portrait of the goods Harbour Islanders owned and employed in the context of the production and consumption of food and drink.

Table 6.3. Kitchen Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Ceramics	501	463	29	338	230	95	358	212	35	
Wine bottles	31	--	10	158	20	34	14	111	5	
Pharmaceutical bottles	--	2	--	4	--	4	--	4	--	
Glassware	166	291	52	35	178	146	484	196	33	
Tableware	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	
Kitchenware	1	19	4	20	2	2	16	12	--	
Total	699	774	95	556	430	281	872	536	73	
%	64.90	65.02	40.60	54.67	58.11	48.20	62.06	57.14	54.89	56.18

For all properties with the exception of the Duke Street Higgs House, this is the largest artifact group. The percentages range from 40.60 (DHH) to 65.02 (BAT), with an average of 56.18%. Part of this discrepancy can be accounted for by considering the nature of the sites. At the Duke Street Higgs House, few historic artifacts remained in the shallow soil. Discounting this extreme, the range becomes 48.20% to 65.02%, with an average of 58.12%. While the lower value still falls outside of the Carolina Pattern range, the mean percent falls well within. Only two properties fall outside this range—the Duke Street Higgs House and the Methodist House. The reason for the low value of Kitchen group artifacts at the Methodist House is unclear, but it is likely related to the relatively low number of ceramics.

At most sites, ceramics are the largest artifact class, followed by glassware, but the reverse is true at the Duke Street Higgs House, the Methodist House, and the Old Barry House. At the first of these three sites, this may be due to the shallowness of the

soil and changes in trash and artifact disposal over time, privileging casually discarded modern materials such as glass. The inversion at the other two sites is more difficult to explain. The following analysis of artifacts by class examines these questions in greater detail.

Ceramics

This class contains all non-architectural ceramics (brick and tile), further subdivided by ware (presented below in table 6.4) and type. The system assumes that the recovered ceramics are related to food preparation and consumption, though some may have had other uses such as for chamber pots, medicinal wares, and general storage. The wares and types are derived from Texas A&M's Port Royal Comparative Collection (Appendix C), with some additions and expansions relevant to the collected assemblage. Appendix D contains the detailed breakdown of types by ware. Although they are not included in the site data in table 6.1, the tables below and those in the appendices also list the ceramics found by field-walking along the island's harbor-side beach (BCH), both for more comparison and to create a more complete portrait of the ceramics available and used on the island.

Table 6.4. Ceramic Wares.

Ware	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BCH	TOTAL
Porcelain	8	8	--	3	9	5	20	5	1	7	66
Stoneware	8	12	--	6	3	2	5	4	--	6	46
Slipware	1	7	--	--	5	--	2	2	1	--	18
Refined earthenware	2	7	--	5	8	4	4	3	--	--	33
Coarse earthenware	3	5	--	1	--	--	1	6	1	--	17
Tin-glazed earthenware	6	9	--	5	7	--	4	1	--	--	32
Creamware	155	85	1	40	51	2	50	37	7	3	431
Pearlware	304	194	26	253	94	61	198	93	15	67	1305
Whiteware	14	134	2	21	53	21	74	61	10	23	413
Modern ceramics	--	1	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	5
Total	501	462	29	338	230	95	358	212	35	106	2366

The Duke Street Higgs House, Methodist House, and Yellowbird all show a lack of diversity in ware types. These are the three sites with the lowest artifact counts overall and the fewest ceramic finds. This correlates directly with the fact that they have the fewest excavated shovel tests. The Duke Street Higgs House and Yellowbird each only have four shovel tests and both are sites with relatively little historic material. The Methodist house has only six shovel tests, but more than double the amount of excavated material from either of the other two sites, including many more clearly historical artifacts.

Pearlware is the most common ceramic ware found both on the island and at each of the HIAS sites. Creamware and whiteware are the next two most common on the

island and at most sites (though in variable order), with the Methodist House and beach collection being the exceptions. No island-wide patterns for the distribution of the remaining ware types stand out, but they are generally poorly represented in comparison to the other three. A brief analysis of the types for each ware (excepting modern ceramics) follows, using stacked bar graphs to illustrate the sherd counts for all types of each ware from the nine excavated HIAS sites and the beach collection.

Porcelain

There are 66 sherds and nine types of porcelain recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.1).

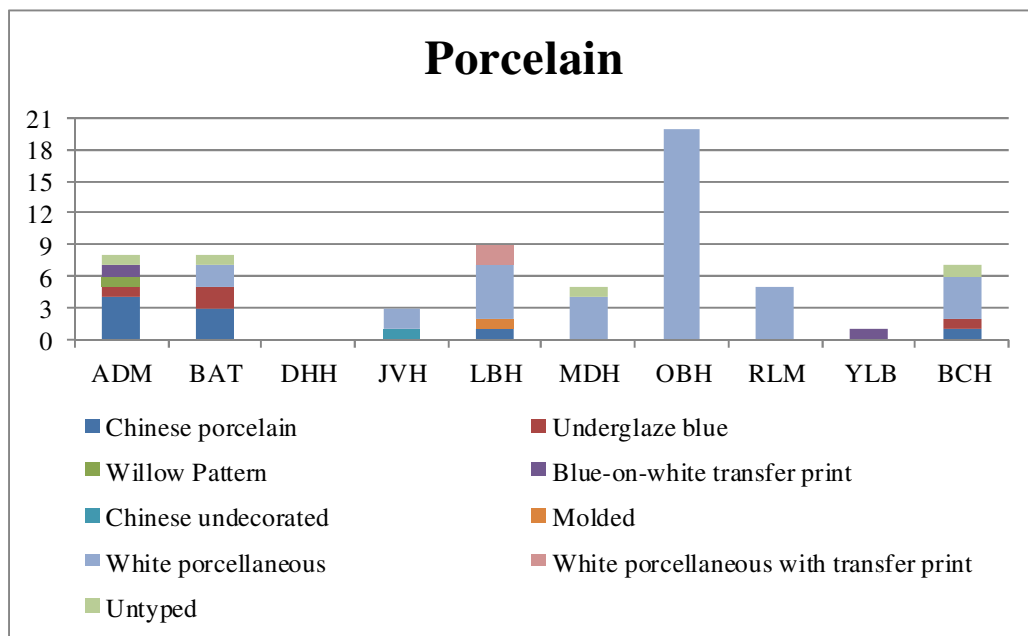


Fig. 6.1. Harbour Island porcelain by site.

This ware type is present at all sites except the Duke Street Higgs House.

According to the comparative collection, the category includes white porcellaneous

ceramics that may be modern. Seventeen of the twenty sherds from the Old Barry House are modern surface finds. The amounts of porcelain from all sites are relatively low, with a fairly diverse assortment of types represented. After white porcellaneous, the most common is Chinese porcelain, though it is only found in small amounts across the island. Discounting the white porcellaneous type, the Administrator's House has the most porcelain and the greatest diversity of types, which correlates well with its status as an elite residence.

Stoneware

There are 46 sherds and 15 types of stoneware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.2).

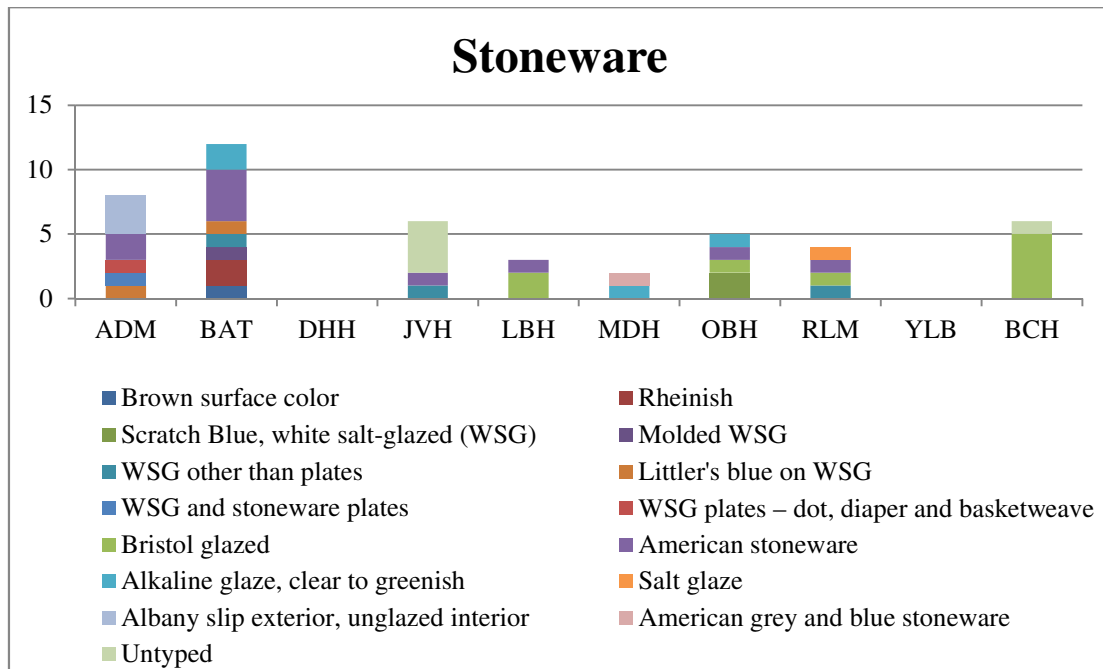


Fig. 6.2. Harbour Island stoneware by site.

Stoneware is present at all sites, except for the Duke Street Higgs House and Yellowbird, though in very small amounts. The most common type, both by frequency and distribution, is American Stoneware, though only ten sherds were recovered from the island. The total amount of white salt-glazed stoneware is also ten sherds when all type varieties are considered together, and it is also well distributed across all sites. As with porcelain, there is relatively little stoneware in the assemblage.

Slipware

There are 18 sherds of five types of slipware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.3).

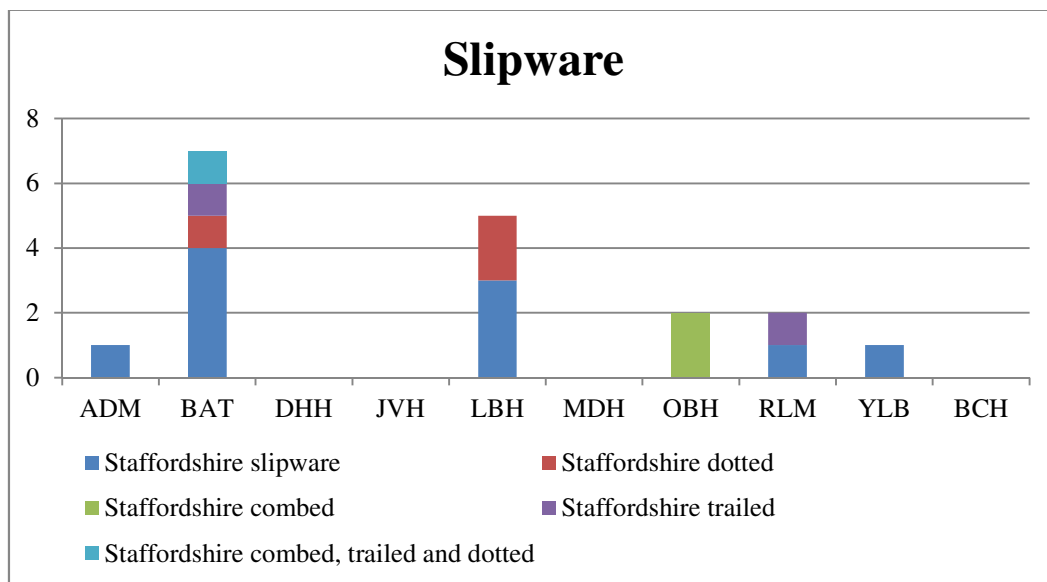


Fig. 6.3. Harbour Island slipware by site.

Slipware is the second least numerous ware type collected from Harbour Island (discounting modern ceramics). All slipwares present on the island are variations of the

Staffordshire type, with vessels decorated with white and brown slip under a lead glaze that gives the white a yellow cast. The greatest amount, as well as the greatest diversity of decorative types, occurs at The Battery. Four sites contain no slipware: the Duke Street Higgs House, Java House, Methodist House, and the beach. The three excavated sites listed were only occupied at the end of the eighteenth-century or later, and may post-date the period of use and popularity for this ware (1670-1770). However, the Administrator's House was also first settled in this period so this correlation is not exact.

Refined Earthenware

There are 33 sherds and 13 types of refined earthenware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.4).

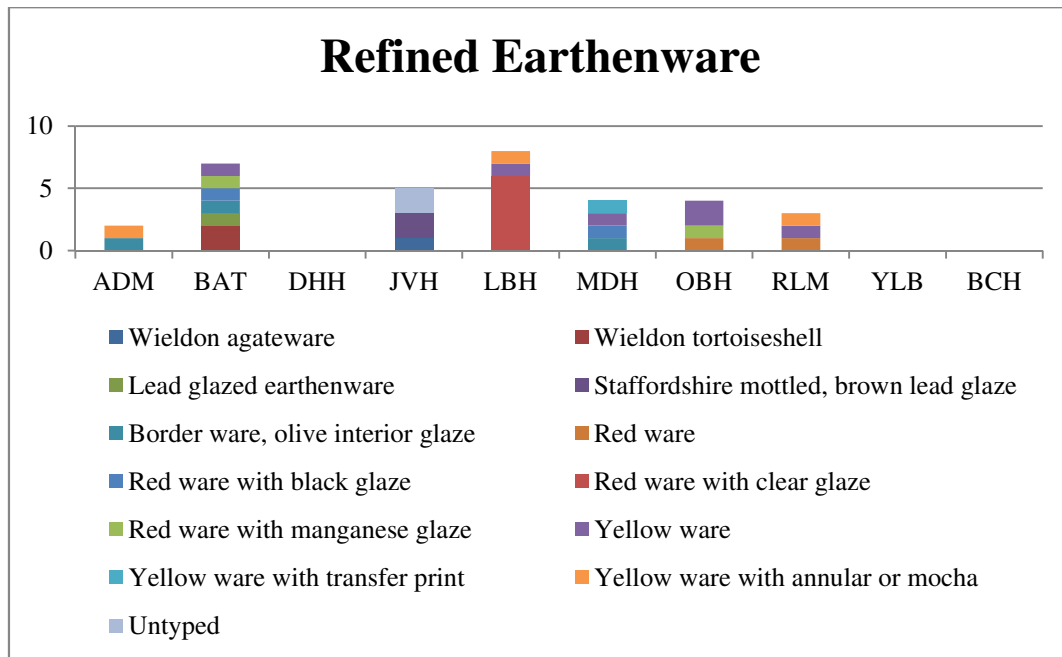


Fig. 6.4. Harbour Island refined earthenware by site.

The sherd counts for all types of refined earthenware are low, with no more than eight at any site. Three sites have no refined earthenware: the Duke Street Higgs House, Yellowbird, and the beach. Yellow ware is the type with the broadest distribution, and is present in small quantities at five of the ten locations. Red ware with clear glaze is the most abundant type, but five of the six sherds from the Little Boarding House come from the same shovel test and possibly the same vessel. No other types are present in any number or with any notable distribution, but the relatively high type diversity represented is intriguing. Even if some ware types are lumped into larger categories (all red ware, all yellow ware, and all Wieldon wares), there are still seven types represented in 33 sherds.

Coarse Earthenware

There are seventeen sherds of nine types of coarse earthenware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.5).

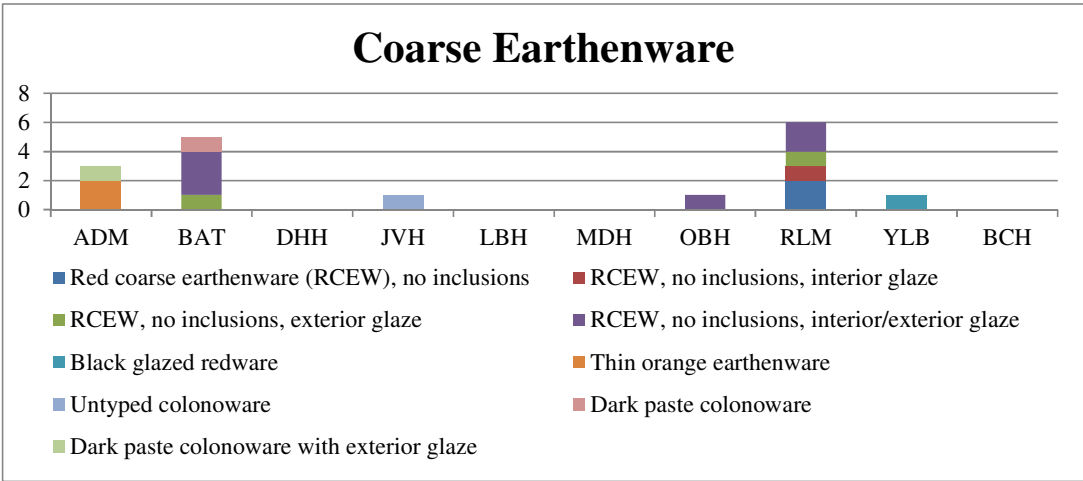


Fig. 6.5. Harbour Island coarse earthenware by site.

Most of the coarse earthenware, the least represented ware from the assemblage, discounting modern ceramics, is coarse red earthenware. Four of the ten locations (the Duke Street Higgs House, the Little Boarding House, Methodist House, and the beach) have no coarse earthenware, and no sites have more than three sherds of any type. The four types of coarse red earthenware account for eleven of the seventeen sherds, and unglazed coarse red earthenware is the single type with the highest amount of sherds.

Only three sherds of colonoware are present in the assemblage. Naturally occurring clays in the Bahamas are uncommon and difficult to access and process, and it is unlikely that these sherds are from locally made wares. It is possible these have been misidentified and may be Lucayan wares from earlier occupation of the island, but no other Lucayan material has been found on Harbour Island. Other possibilities are that the ceramics were from pre-existing household assemblages that arrived with their owners, or that they were traded, purchased, or scavenged from other off-island sources.

Tin-Enameled Ware

There are 32 sherds and five types of tin-enameled ware (also known as tin-glazed earthenware or delftware) recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.6).

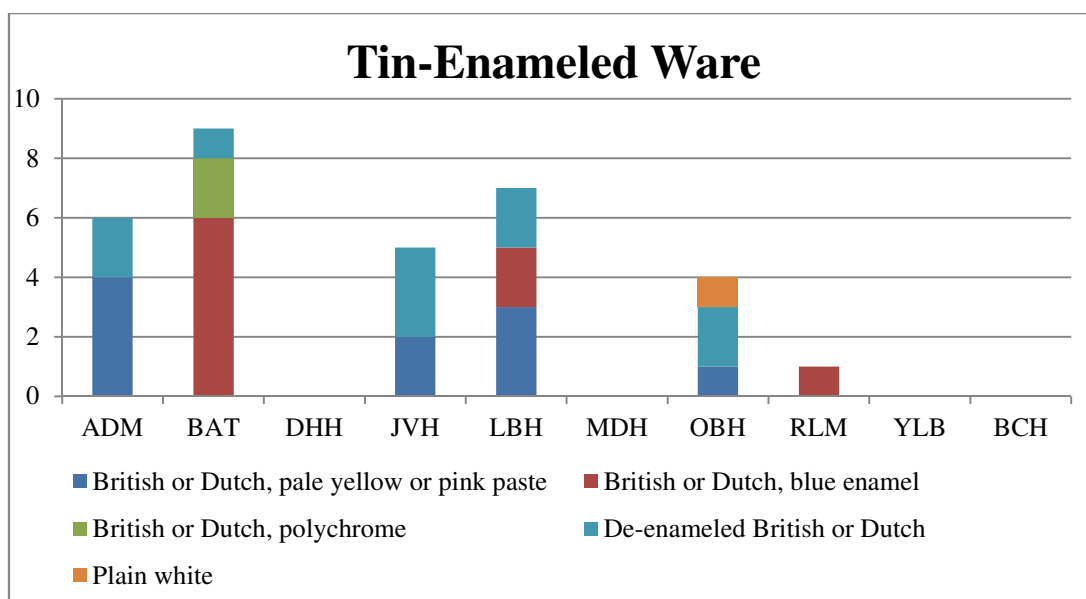


Fig. 6.6. Harbour Island tin-enameled ware by site.

There is little type diversity in the tin-enameled ware from Harbour Island, with only four identifiable types discounting the de-enameled sherds. The four sites with no tin-enameled wares are the usual three with low ware diversity overall (the Duke Street Higgs House, Methodist House and Yellowbird), and the beach. Plain British or Dutch tin-enameled ware is the most common, followed by that decorated with blue. Of the twenty-two sherds that retain their enamel, only three are of other types—two British or Dutch tin-enameled sherds with polychrome decoration, and one plain white enameled sherd. This ware type is still poorly represented across the island, but compared to other of the less-common wares, the lack of diversity is striking. The only comparable ware in this regard is slipware.

Creamware

There are 431 sherds and 10 types of creamware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.7).

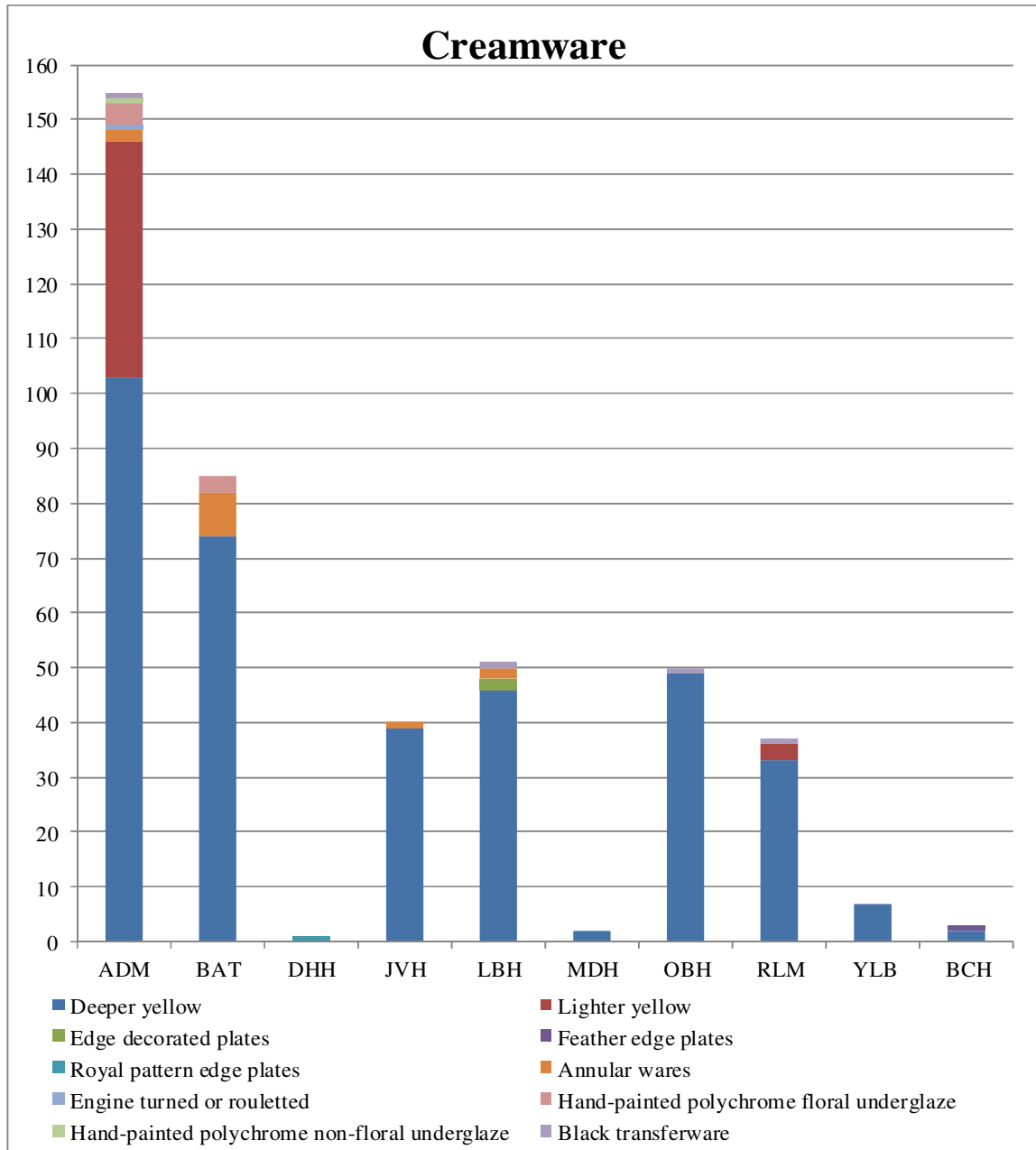


Fig. 6.7. Harbour Island creamware by site.

Creamware is the first ware represented at all locations on Harbour Island. Plain deep yellow creamware is the most abundant type, and is present at every location except the Duke Street Higgs House, with its single sherd of a plate with royal-pattern edge decoration. Some of the plain creamware may also represent body sherds from edge-decorated vessels, or ceramics with other embellishments that did not cover the entire body. Annular ware and black transferware are the types with the second broadest distribution. Both are found at four of the ten sites. Overall, this ware exhibits relatively little type variety, with only four types having more than five sherds (this remains true if all types of edge-decorated plates are grouped together).

The Administrator's House is the site with the greatest diversity of creamware types as well as the most creamware overall, surpassing the site with the second greatest number of sherds by over 60 and tripling the quantities of the next closest sites. The quantity of creamware is in part attributable to the fact that this site has the highest total ceramics, however this was also an elite site throughout much of its occupation, which also affects the ceramic distribution.

Pearlware

There are 1305 sherds and 27 types of pearlware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.8).

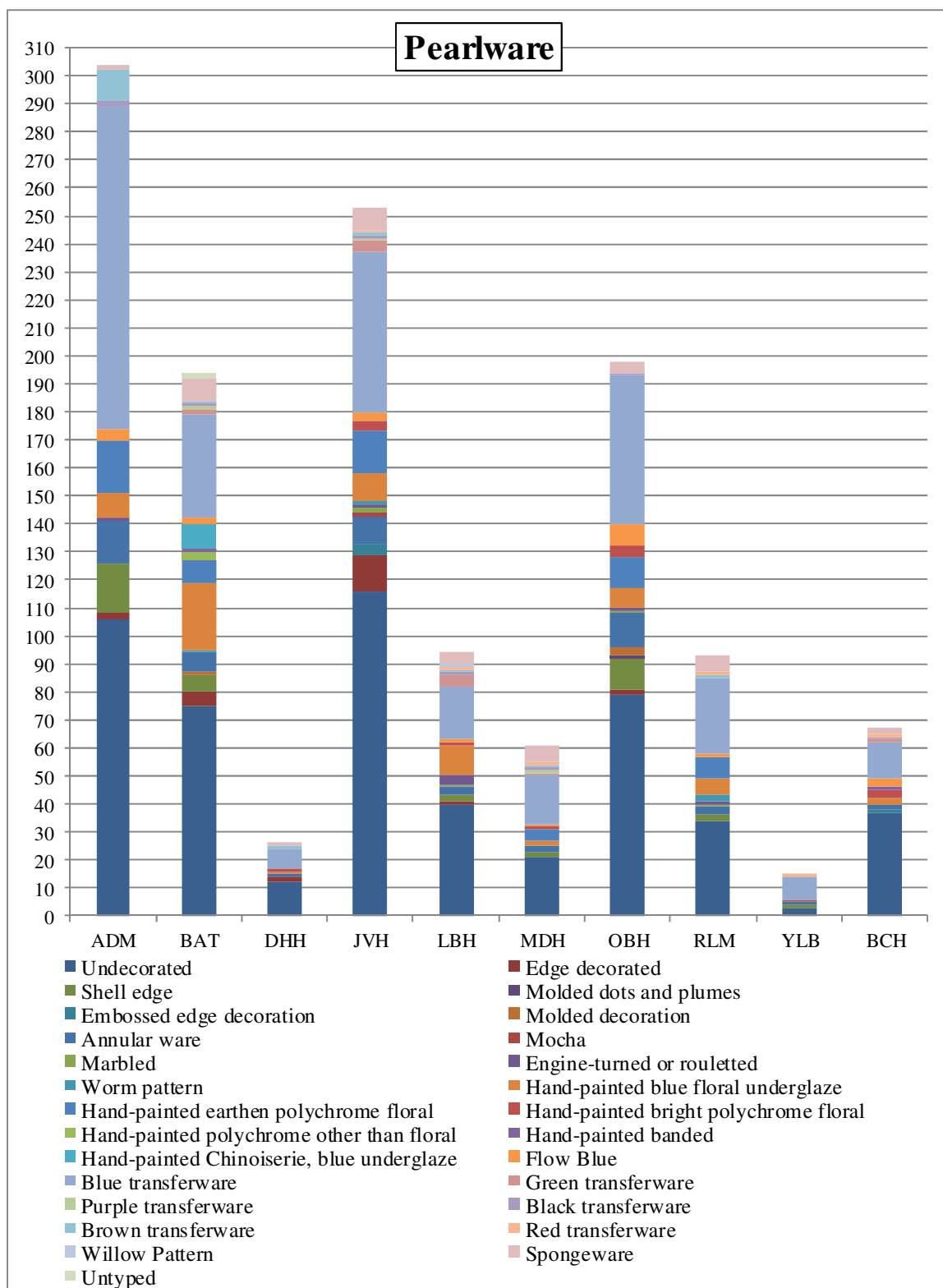


Fig. 6.8. Harbour Island pearlware types.

Pearlware is the most abundant ware on the island, and at any of the investigated sites. Plain undecorated pearlware makes up 40.08% of the ware type and 21.15% of the entire ceramic assemblage. Some of these sherds represent body sherds from decorated types—edge decorated wares and annular wares, especially, are best identified by rim sherds, as the body may have been left plain. Blue transferware is the next most common type, and it is the most abundant type at the Administrator's House. Annular ware is the only other type present at all locations, but hand painted blue floral underglaze and hand-painted earthen polychrome floral are both more numerous. The three sites with the lowest amounts of pearlware are those with the lowest ceramic counts over all.

Pearlware is the ware with the greatest type diversity in the HIAS assemblage. Java House and The Battery are tied for the greatest type diversity for the individual sites, with 19 of the 27 types present at both. The two sites with the least diversity are unsurprising—the Duke Street Higgs House and Yellowbird with eight and six types respectively—but the Administrator's House, with the most pearlware overall, is tied with the beach for the third lowest type diversity, with 12 of 27 types. The others range from 13 at the Royall Lime to 16 at the Little Boarding House. The Methodist House, which has the third lowest amount of pearlware, has 15 types represented in its 61 sherds.

The decorated types can be grouped into several broader categories: edge decorated (five types), annular wares (five types), hand-painted (six types), transferware (eight types), and spongeware. Figure 6.9 shows a simplified stacked bar graph of the

pearlware types using these larger categories. This highlights broader trends in the distribution of this ware.

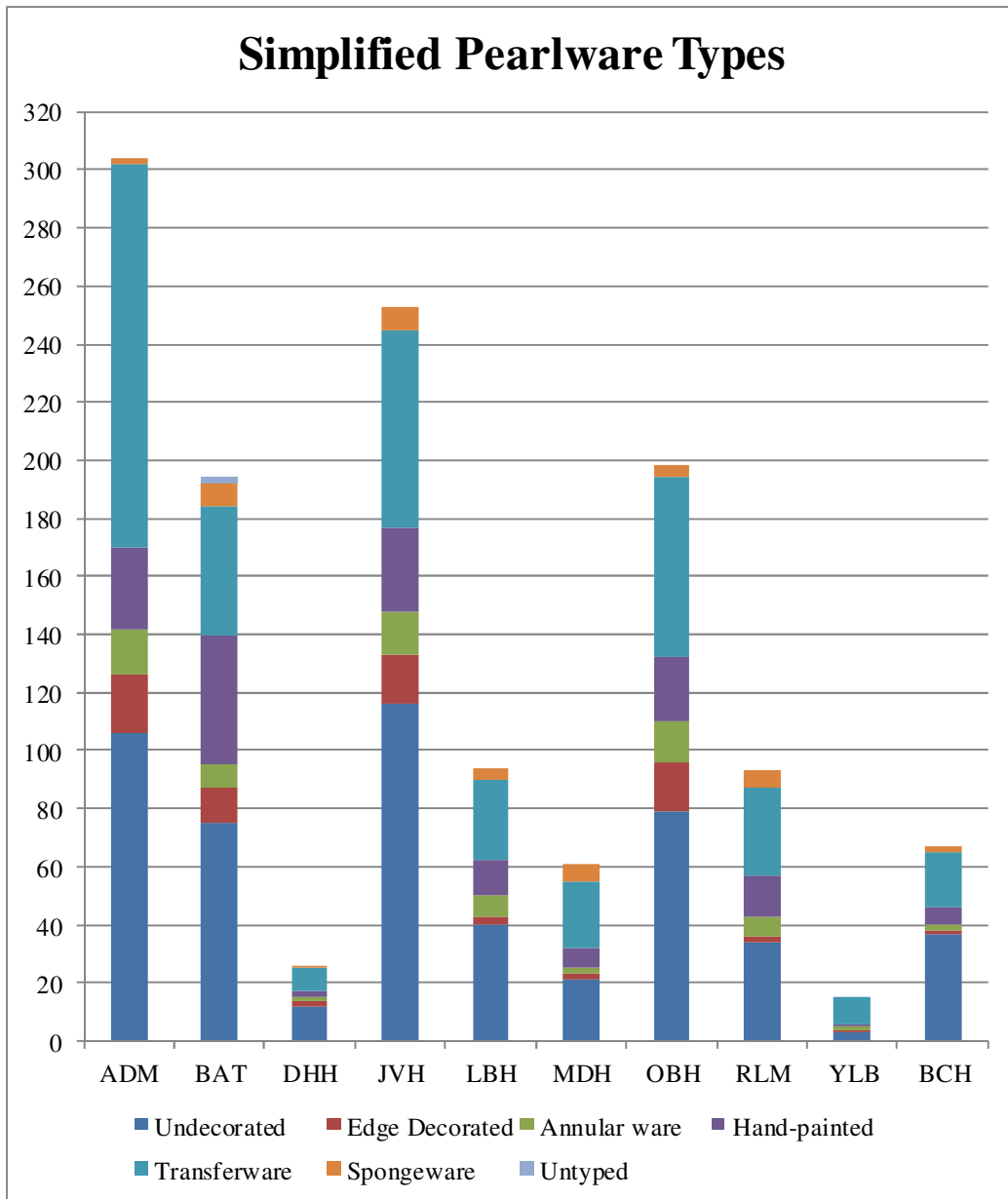


Fig. 6.9. Simplified pearlware types.

Undecorated pearlware is still the most numerous overall but, as noted above, this type includes body sherds from types without extensive decoration such as edge decorated and annular ware. Transferwares, commonly heavily covered in applied designs, are the most abundant decorated type, followed by hand-painted wares. If even a small portion of the undecorated sherds represent edge decorated and annular ware types, the counts for these types would be more comparable with the hand-painted types. Additionally, transferware would become the most abundant pearlware type.

The consolidation of types into broader groupings draws attention to the low proportion of edge decorated types in the Royall Lime and Little Boarding House assemblages. At most sites, edge decorated and annular ware types are more equally represented. The former are marginally more numerous overall, with 77 versus 73 total sherds recovered from the island. The high proportion of hand-painted types at The Battery also stands out in this chart, but the proportions for the consolidated types are quite similar for most sites. Though the specific decorative styles varied more broadly, this pattern shows that the pearlware available throughout the island was fairly homogenous despite differences in class and status.

Whiteware

There are 413 sherds and 20 types of whiteware recovered from Harbour Island (fig. 6.10).

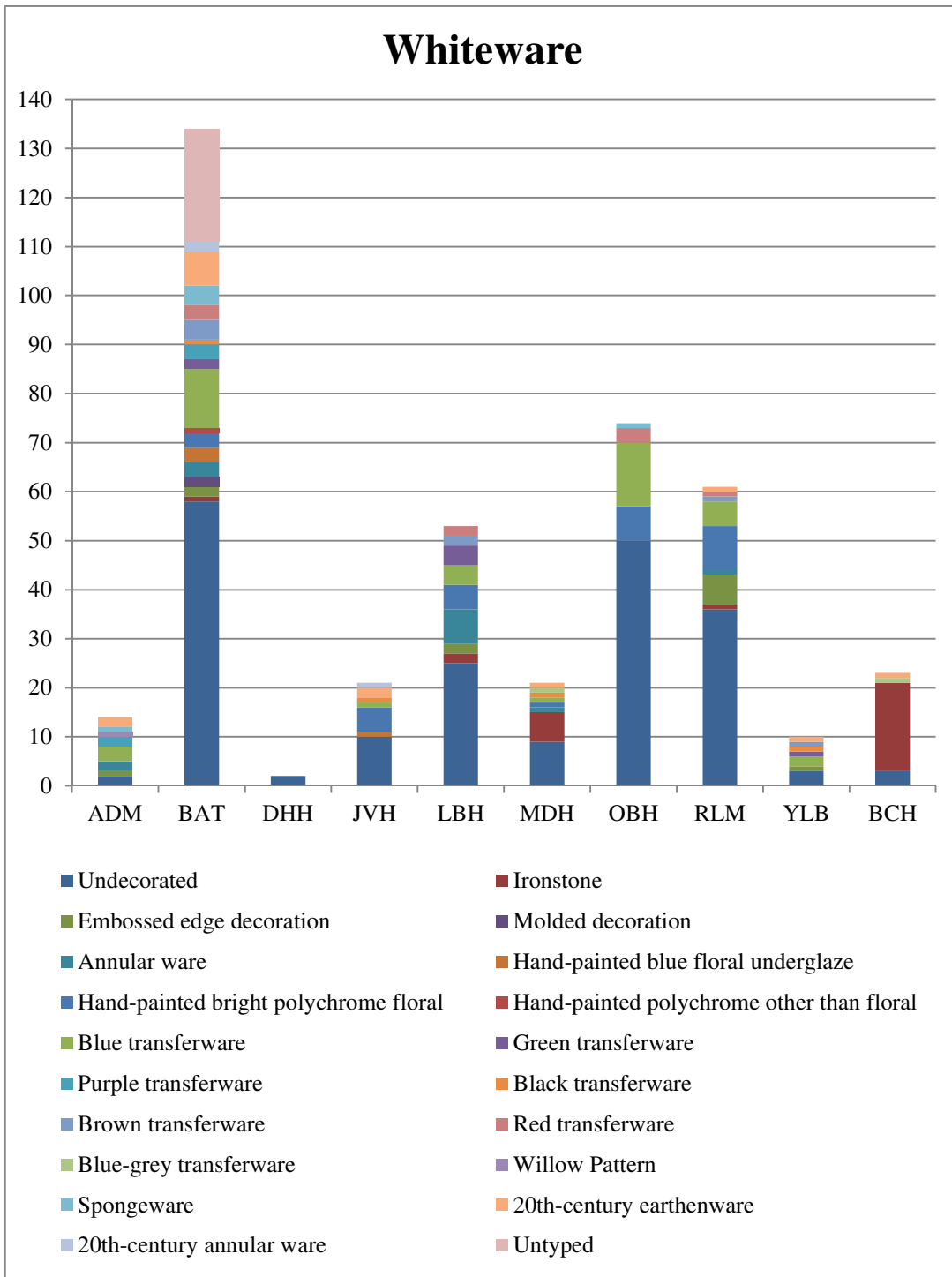


Fig. 6.10. Harbour Island whiteware types.

Although whiteware is the third most abundant ware on the island, it is the second most abundant at eight of the ten locations, with the Administrator's House and Java House being the exceptions. Both of these sites have very little whiteware compared to their total ceramic assemblages. Undecorated whiteware is the most common type and is the only type present at all locations, though as with creamware and pearlware these may represent body sherds from vessels with edge decoration or others with more sparse embellishment. Blue transferware, present at 9 of the 10 locations, is the second most abundant, followed by hand-painted bright polychrome floral sherds at eight of the ten locations.

These last two types are represented by only 41 and 30 sherds respectively, and the next most common type is Ironstone, with 28 sherds. Of the twenty types represented, only five have more than 20 sherds. The type diversity is high, but not as high as with pearlware, and the types do not cluster as easily. Even when simplified as much as is possible they do not demonstrate the kind of homogeneity visible in the pearlware assemblage (fig. 6.11). The Battery has the highest type diversity, with 18 of 20 types represented. The next highest are the Little Boarding House and the Royall Lime with nine types represented at each site. The Duke Street Higgs House has the lowest, with only one, and the beach has the next lowest, with five. Most of the sites fall in the middle of these, with six to eight types represented.

The Battery is clearly exceptional in its whiteware assemblage, as it has almost double the sherd count of any other location, and double the type diversity. Despite this increased diversity, there are only two types (with a total of three sherds) that are found

only at The Battery, indicating that even most of the rarer types were available unilaterally.

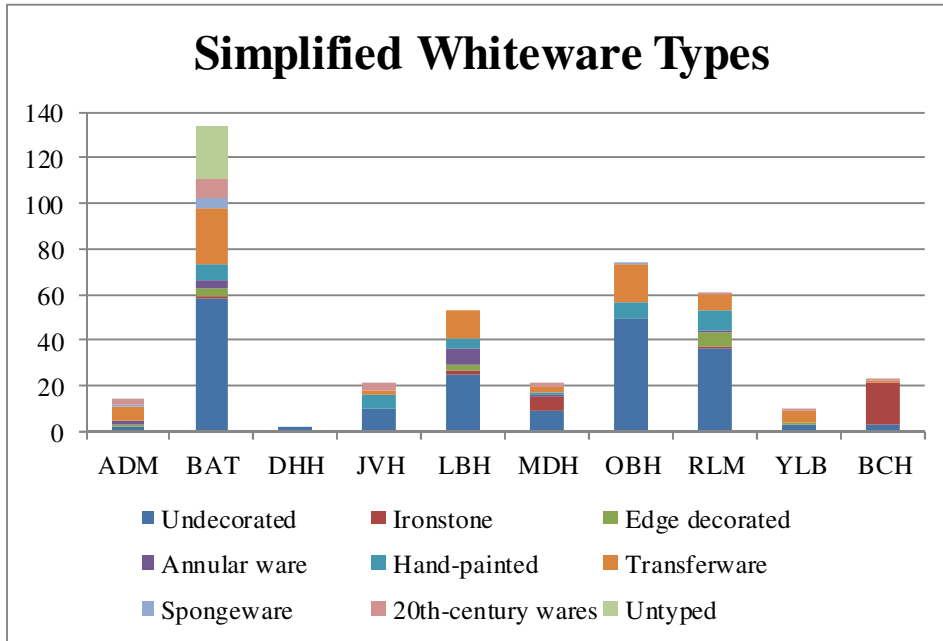


Fig. 6.11. Simplified whiteware types.

Summary

Examining the wares by type illustrates some patterns in the overall ceramic distribution that are not visible by examining the wares alone. Pearlware is present at all sites, and its relatively even distribution suggests that it was easily available (there was a reliable source), accessible (there were few or no barriers to obtaining it from the source), and desirable to all island residents. Creamware and whiteware also have a broad distribution, suggesting that they were also easily available during their periods of production. The imbalance in the distribution both of the wares themselves (creamware

being much more ubiquitous at the Administrator's House and whiteware at The Battery) and of the individual types suggests that there may be more constraints on their accessibility or desirability relative to pearlware. With porcelain, if the white porcellaneous type is disregarded, the higher distribution of sherds and types at the Administrator's House (an elite residence) may indicate an issue of accessibility rather than availability (though likely both were limited).

Other wares are much less evenly distributed, and the types contribute little to clarify any patterns in most cases. This apparent randomness may be the results of constraints in availability rather than only accessibility or desirability—this is especially possible for types with fairly broad distribution but low sherd counts, such as yellow ware in the refined earthenwares, and white salt glazed stonewares. Advertisement from the *Bahamas Gazette* in the mid-1780's list "Queen's Ware" (creamware), "Liverpool China", "China bowls with a small assortment of China", and "Earthen Ware" for ceramics imported into Nassau for sale.²⁶⁶ Although Queen's Ware can be equated with creamware, and the China bowls and China may refer to oriental porcelain, the other terms are too broad to relate to specific wares or types. The advertisements do not frequently list ceramics, and even less frequently do they list more than one type. Availability of ceramics likely expanded in the nineteenth century, but was sporadic in the late eighteenth.

Availability is only one part of the question, however—desirability is also an important consideration. Research by Paul Farnsworth and Laurie Wilkie at Clifton

²⁶⁶ McPhearson 1784, 3; Walker and Carmichael 1784, 1; Dean and Dennison 1785, 3.

Plantation on New Providence found that the preferences for ceramic decorative types varied between the households of the enslaved and their owners. While the white owners preferred a monochromatic color scheme favouring blue on white transferware and edge-decorated types such as shell edged pearlware, the enslaved peoples preferred polychromatic types, especially the hand-painted and annular ware types.²⁶⁷ While these decorative types are present in the creamware, pearlware, and whiteware ware categories, and hand-painted and annular types from these ware categories are present at all sites, a greater depth of analysis of the collection would be necessary to determine if these ceramics can be related to the presence of enslaved and later free blacks on the island. The even distribution of these types in the pearlware ware category is still difficult to explain with this connection in mind—it may indicate that the pattern does not hold, that there was less separation between whites and blacks on the island, or that tastes simply ran differently at Harbour Island.

Most of the excavated properties were likely owned by white families for most of the period of study. These families certainly owned slaves prior to emancipation, including domestics who may have lived on the properties along with their owners. After emancipation, some of these relationships may have persisted, with white residents employing black domestic servants. That it is not possible to distinguish white or black households from the archaeological record, using this or any other method of determination, is notable. It suggests that, despite other differences and the changing

²⁶⁷ Wilkie 2000,12; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005, 273-277.

race relations described in Chapter VI, the material lives of the Harbour Island residents of all races were similar.

Wine Bottles

Wine bottle glass was arbitrarily distinguished from other glassware by color. This category contains all olive-green glass from the nine HIAS sites. All sites contained wine bottle glass with the exception of the Duke Street Higgs House. Olive green glass from sites closer to the ocean, especially The Battery, was in some cases severely degraded (patinated and delaminated) by exposure to salt.

Pharmaceutical Bottles

No intact bottles of any kind were recovered from Harbour Island, and pharmaceutical bottles are likely under-represented at all sites. Glass sherds assigned to this class had characteristics that identified them as bottles and mostly consisted of bases and rims. There are no clear patterns of distribution for this class.

Glassware

Glassware is the second largest class in this artifact group. The counts include modern as well as historic glass, and at some sites modern materials contribute significantly to the totals. Glassware was certainly available in the colony historically,

and it is listed as a sale item in *Bahamas Gazette* advertisements from the 1780s.²⁶⁸

Other materials may have been purchased packaged in glass containers later put to other purposes.

Glassware is the largest class of the kitchen group at three sites: The Duke Street Higgs House, the Methodist House, and the Old Barry House. Although much of the glass from all excavated sites is modern (especially bright green and brown glass from modern beer bottles), these three locations deserve some consideration. Glass, especially from beer and soft drink bottles, is often discarded more casually than other modern refuse. This practice accounts, in part, for its strong presence at all HIAS sites. Both transects at the Old Barry House site were close to the street and because of the state of the property (one exposed foundation, one disused building infested with bees, and a lot of decrepit vehicles) the area may be more than usually subject to this kind of casual discard process.

The Methodist House glass assemblage can in part be accounted for by similar processes. Twenty-seven sherds of modern bright green glass from ST01, close to the entrance to the house itself, may all come from a single discarded bottle. Much of the rest of the glass comes from ST05, ST06, and the surface collection. The latter is likely predominantly modern, but the other two test pits, both along Transect 2, produced more historic glass. Because this concentration accounts for so much of the glass on the property, and because of the sampling strategy employed, it is difficult to determine

²⁶⁸ Dean and Dennison 1784, 1; Falconer, Shirreff, and Co. 1785, 1; John Sullivan and Co. 1785, 3.

whether the high amount of glass is coincidental with this location or a reflection of the practices of the household more generally in comparison with the other properties.

The glass from the Royall Lime, while not as proportionally abundant as at the other three sites, is also concentrated in three shovel tests: ST01, ST02, and ST10. The first two are close to or within the possible privy feature at the top of the hill. ST10, closer to the street, contains more modern material and more refitting fragments. This portrait of the glassware finds unfortunately provides little insight into the broader patterns at the individual sites or across the island.

Tableware

Only one identifiable piece of tableware was recovered from any of the HIAS sites: a single two-tined fork from Java House ST07, by the remains of the privy (fig. 6.12). This is a small fork, possibly a dessert fork, with a tang for a handle of another material (likely bone or wood). Metal table forks are an indicator of a higher income status, and the find is not surprising given the scale of the standing building.



Fig. 6.12. Fork from Java House ST07 (JVH 2431). A. Original after cleaning. B. Epoxy cast. Scale in centimeters.

Kitchenware

This category includes metallic fragments, primarily rim sherds, which could reasonably be identified as originating from pots. Iron pots, as well as pewter and tin wares all appear frequently in the *Bahamas Gazette* advertisements from the mid-1780s²⁶⁹. Given the lack of ceramic wares indicative of kitchen cookware, metal pots and pans were likely the standard. Despite the poor preservation of metal across the island, all properties except Yellowbird contained examples of this material. Some of the unidentifiable metal fragments from all of the sites may also come from iron cookware.

Architecture Group

This group encompasses all architectural materials recovered from the HIAS properties (table 6.5). Although all of the sites have standing buildings, no excavations took place inside the structures. Two old foundations were deliberately sampled, at The Little Boarding House and the Royall Lime, but both had been filled with sand and produced little archaeological material. Artifacts from this group may originate with either the extant structures or with houses and outbuildings that are no longer standing, but some of the materials may also be misassigned.

²⁶⁹ McPhearson 1784, 3; Forbes and Stevens 1784, 3; Spence 1784, 3; Dean and Dennison 1785, 3; John Sullivan and Co. 1785, 3; Panton, Leslie and Co. 1785, 4.

Table 6.5. Architecture Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Window Glass	85	75	7	27	70	71	46	65	7	
Nails	127	151	46	147	108	78	125	114	10	
Construction hardware	2	4	4	4	6	4	2	4	--	
Door lock parts	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Brick	100	99	4	178	17	30	86	97	7	
Plaster	18	13	3	51	62	89	103	71	22	
Tile	--	6	--	--	--	2	9	--	1	
Stone	4	10	1	4	--	1	--	--	2	
Asphalt/tar	25	--	53	5	17	2	91	19	4	
Wood	--	--	1	6	--	--	4	--	--	
Other	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	
Total	361	358	119	422	280	277	467	372	53	
%	33.52	30.03	50.85	41.49	37.84	47.51	33.24	39.66	39.85	39.33

The percentages for this group were high at all sites compared to the 19.71-31.38 percent range of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. Only The Battery falls inside this range and it is at the high end of the scale at 30.03%. The Duke Street Higgs House is both the site with the highest proportion of artifacts from the architecture group (50.85%), and the only site for which this is the largest artifact group. At the Methodist House, the percentage of the architecture group nearly equals that of the kitchen group (47.51% and 48.20%, respectively).

The explanation for the high representation of this group lies in part in the construction methods seen at Harbour Island. Structures on HIAS sites illustrate a number of techniques that help account for the proliferation of some of the materials in

this group. Many of the oldest houses (dating to the end of the eighteenth century) are made of wood, but nineteenth-century houses and later are often plastered. The renovations ongoing at Java House during the 2010 field season revealed thick limestone blocks cut from the structure's cellar under the exterior wall plaster (fig. 6.13). The Battery, the Administrator's House, and the Royall Lime are likewise constructed from plastered limestone quarried from the island. The tailor shop on the Old Barry House property illustrates a more recent method of exterior wall construction where tar paper is nailed to the wooden walls and then covered in plaster (fig. 6.14). Property owner Pat Barry claims the building was constructed around 1950. The Duke Street Higgs House, built in the early twentieth century, is wood with a concrete porch and an attached plastered outbuilding. More recently constructed buildings in the community were made of poured concrete and cinderblocks. These methods contribute to the high amounts of nails, tar paper and plaster found. More detailed analyses of the artifact classes from this group follow.



Fig. 6.13. Renovations at Java House reveal that the plastered exterior covers limestone blocks quarried from the cellar.



Fig. 6.14. Corner of the tailor shop at the Old Barry House showing the nails used to attach tar paper to the exterior walls, providing extra gripping surface for plaster.

Window Glass

All flat, medium thick, clear, or clear with blue-green tint, glass was identified as window glass. As even the oldest standing houses on the island originally had windows and window glass was available for sale in Nassau in the mid-1780's, its presence at all sites is not surprising.²⁷⁰ The site where its quantity is most notable is the Methodist House, as only six shovel tests produced the third highest amount of glass from any of the sites. Most of this (30 of the 71 sherds) comes from ST05, located by the suspected foundations of an earlier outbuilding and associated with other construction debris.

Nails

Nails are the largest class in this group for five of the nine sites, and the second largest class for the remaining four. Most of the metal from the site was highly degraded, and most nails are fragmentary. The total here includes all materials identified as nails, as opposed to a minimum number of items. The number may be inflated due to this, as well as the inclusion of modern nails. Modern materials are even more difficult to differentiate in some cases, as some modern structures also use square wrought nails. The construction method mentioned at the beginning of this section (in which evenly spaced nails are used to hold plaster to the sides of wooden buildings) accounts for some of the discarded nails. It is also likely that not all nails and nail fragments included in this category originate with architectural materials. Some of the nails from The Battery are clenched, and may be associated with shipbuilding activities in the area.

²⁷⁰ Forbes and Stevens 1784, 3; Panton, Leslie and Co. 1785, 4.

Construction Hardware

This artifact class includes all architectural fasteners other than nails. This mostly translated to hinges and modern screws. The Battery, Java House, the Old Barry House, and the Royall Lime all had one hinge each. The Administrator's House and the Little Boarding House also produced single bolts (large construction nails).

Door Lock Parts

Only a single artifact, a cupreous door latch from the Old Barry House, is included in this class.

Brick

This the second largest class in the architecture group, and it is the largest class at Java House. It is the second largest class at the Administrator's House, the Battery, and the Royall Lime. Brick was never used as a building material for walls on the island, and it is likely that most of the brick found comes from chimneys and hearths. Most of the brick at Java House came from the shovel tests close to the house. Some may be related to the renovations taking place in 2009-2010, as the workmen removed and discarded material from the house interior in the immediate yard. At the Administrator's House, much of the brick came from a concentration in ST09 that produced 23 pieces (nearly a quarter of the total brick from the site), supporting the hypothesis that further remains of a kitchen may be located nearby.

Plaster

Plaster was found at all excavated properties. Most was plain, although some was painted, indicating that it may have flaked off of building or wall surfaces. Many of the structures standing on the HIAS sites are or have been plastered on their exterior, including The Battery, the Administrator's House, Java House, the Royall Lime, the outbuildings on the Methodist House and Duke Street Higgs House properties, and the tailor shop building at the Old Barry House. The Old Barry House, Little Boarding House, and Methodist House properties all had evidence of previous structures which may also have been plastered, and the property walls at Yellowbird were plastered as well.

The Old Barry House had the most plaster, mostly from ST01 and ST02 near the western end of the tailor shop building and ST09 and ST10 in the middle of the gravel depot yard. Most of the plaster from the Methodist House, the site with the second largest amount of plaster, came from ST05 and ST06, close to the standing plastered outbuilding and the older foundation. The Royall Lime has the third largest amount of plaster. This is mostly evenly spread in the shovel tests, but there is a concentration of painted plaster in ST10, close to the property boundary wall along the road facing the harbor. The Duke Street Higgs House has the smallest amount of plaster. Reasons for low artifact counts on this property are explored above, but in addition to these, there is only one small plastered building in the area sampled.

Tile

Tile was only found at four HIAS sites, and most of the tile from the properties is modern material from the surface collections. The four pieces not from surface collections (three at the Old Barry House and one from Yellowbird) are all modern as well.

Stone

This category includes all architectural stone recovered, which is primarily limestone. All of the limestone recovered from The Battery is painted. This class includes some fragments of slate (two pieces from the Administrator's House, three from Java House, and one from the Methodist House), a material that does not occur naturally on the island. These may be fragments of broken writing slates and not architectural in nature.

Asphalt/Tar

This category combines two types of materials: asphalt, mostly from shovel tests close to roads, and tar paper, mostly from tar-paper roofs and buildings whose exteriors were insulated with this material (as at the tailor shop on the Old Barry House property). This is a large category at some sites, notably the Old Barry House and the Duke Street Higgs House. Table 6.6 differentiates these materials by type for further analysis.

Table 6.6. Asphalt/Tar Class.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB
Asphalt	--	--	--	4	13	--	67	19	2
Tar	25	--	53	1	4	2	24	--	--
Total	25	0	53	5	17	2	91	19	2

Asphalt is present at five of the nine sites, though the amount recovered from the Old Barry House is exceptional. Most of the asphalt from this site (64 pieces) comes from ST06, right by the road. The situation is similar at the Little Boarding house, as most of the asphalt came from ST11, also beside the road. While this positioning accounts for some of the asphalt at the Royall Lime, 14 of the 19 pieces came from ST07 in the middle of the transect.

Tar paper is present at four of the nine sites, and most abundant at the Duke Street Higgs House where it was peeling off the degraded roof. The 24 fragments from the Old Barry House came from the roof and siding of the tailor shop house, and were found in the shovel tests closest to that building. The fragments from the Administrator's house come primarily from the shovel tests in the upper part of the east yard (ST02-05).

Wood

Fragments of wood were recovered from shovel tests on three of the HIAS sites. All of the wood fragments from Java House come from ST01, along the temporary fence dividing the property from the neighboring Java Cottage. The four fragments from the Old Barry House all come from ST09, one of the shovel tests with a high concentration

of brick. Taken together these may indicate an undiscovered structural feature in the area. The single piece of wood from the Duke Street Higgs House is a small fragment that could be related to the standing house, or may be natural material.

Other

This category contains two fragments of shell with mortar recovered from the Royall Lime. Other shells from molluscs too small to be considered food were present in some shovel tests from Java House, but these were not included in the artifact totals as they originated with the landscaping fill brought on-site as part of the renovations. The gravel depot yard at the Old Barry House had similar shells, also discarded. Shells may have been used as temper for mortar, or whole large shells used as decorative elements.

Arms Group

The arms group is the smallest group in the HIAS assemblage, with only 8 artifacts total in the three classes (table 6.7).

Table 6.7. Arms Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Ammunition	--	1	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	
Gun parts	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Gunflints and gunspalls	--	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	
Total	0	5	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	
<i>%</i>	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.11	0.00	0.09

The mean for this group falls just inside the range given in the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern of 0.09-1.15%. The five sites with no arms-related artifacts pull down the average, but even those where arms group materials are present fall mostly at the low end of the range. This may be because arms were never a very important tool for island residents. Birds, including several species (some introduced) of waterfowl, grouse, and doves, are the only game available in the Bahamas, and hunting has never been a major contributor to subsistence strategies. When birds were taken, they were often snared.²⁷¹ Harbour Island was used as a training base and retreat for British troops in the nineteenth century, but the barracks were located to the north of the town well away from the excavated properties.²⁷² The community itself was never directly threatened after the wars of the early eighteenth century. The low amounts of hunting and lack of military presence help account for the small representation of arms-related artifacts at the HIAS sites.

Artifacts from this group are only found at four sites, and over half of the group total comes from The Battery (the one site with known military associations). All three classes of artifact—ammunition, gun parts, and gunflints and spalls—were found on this site. The gun parts include a small cupreous trigger guard (fig. 6.15) and a cap from a percussion rifle (fig. 6.16). The ammunition from The Battery and the Old Barry House was lead shot. The Royall Lime produced a casing for a modern .22 calibre shell.

²⁷¹ Craton and Saunders 1998, 154.

²⁷² Lawlor and Lawlor 2008, 82-83.



Fig. 6.15. Trigger guard recovered from The Battery, after conservation (BAT 1767). Scale in centimeters.

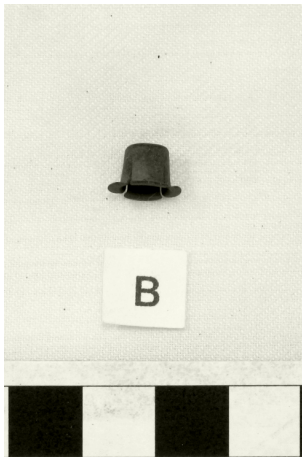


Fig. 6.16. Percussion cap from The Battery (Bat 598). Scale in centimeters.

Furniture Group

Furniture hardware is the only class from this group in the Harbour Island assemblage (table 6.8). This class is meant to represent materials associated with home furnishings such as furniture pulls and knobs, decorative plating and small hinges from cabinets.

Table 6.8. Furniture Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Furniture hardware	1	1	3	1	--	--	--	1	--	
%	0.09	0.08	1.28	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.18

The mean percent for this group falls within the 0.00-0.63 % range of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. These artifacts are found at five of the HIAS sites, though the Duke Street Higgs House is the only site that produced more than one artifact (3 pieces of Formica). None of the other materials in the group were definitively modern—most were too fragmentary (such as the possible cap for the end of a chair leg, with wood still attached, from the Royall Lime) or degraded (such as the ferric fragment of an iron strap from The Battery) to assess. The possible drawer-pull from the Administrator's House is very small, and likely was originally attached to a small chest or cabinet. The most interesting artifact from the group is the decorative plate from Java House (fig. 6.17).



Fig. 6.17. Decorative furniture plate from Java House (JVH 632). Scale in centimeters.

Clothing Group

The clothing group contains all artifacts related to clothing, subdivided into four classes (table 6.9).

Table 6.9. Clothing Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Buckles	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Buttons	3	8	--	4	--	4	5	1	2	
Fasteners	--	1	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	
Beads	--	1	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	
Total	3	11	2	5	0	4	7	2	2	
%	0.28	0.92	0.85	0.49	0.00	0.69	0.50	0.21	1.50	0.61

The mean of 0.61% for this group falls at the low end of the 0.55-5.38% range of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. Four sites fall below this range, including the Little Boarding House with no representative artifacts. The counts include modern materials as well as beads that might more appropriately belong in the personal group. This might inflate the relative presence of artifacts from this group. A break-down of the artifacts by class provides more information on the clothing group items.

Buckles

The buckle found at The Battery is the only one recovered from any HIAS site. It is a plain rectangular frame-style iron buckle, perhaps from a belt or strap (fig. 6.18).



Fig. 6.18. Buckle found at The Battery (BAT 1096). A. Buckle after conservation (pin swings freely). B. Epoxy cast of buckle prior to conservation. Scale in centimeters.

Buttons

This is the largest artifact class in the group, with 27 artifacts from seven of the HIAS sites. Buttons were made of several materials including bone, shell, plastic, and metal. Two composite material buttons were recovered. Table 6.10 divides the buttons by type for further discussion.

Table 6.10. Button Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB
Bone	--	--	--	3	--	1	1	--	--
Glass/Jet	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Metal	1	1	--	--	--	2	2	--	--
Shell	1	2	--	--	--	1	--	1	2
Wood	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Plastic	--	--	--	1	--	--	2	--	--
Composite	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	3	8	0	4	0	4	5	1	2

Bone

Five bone buttons were recovered from three HIAS sites. All are fragmentary and most are plain, save one decoratively incised example from Java House (fig. 6.19).



Fig. 6.19. Fragment of incised bone button (JVH 93). Scale in centimeters.

Glass/Jet

One half of an incised black glass or jet button was recovered from The Battery (fig. 6.20). It originally had a metal shank glued to its back, but this had corroded completely away. This type of button was popular in the late-nineteenth century, after the death of England's Prince Albert led Queen Victoria to adopt mourning wear embellished with elaborate jet buttons.²⁷³

²⁷³ Gross et al. 1993, 123.



Fig. 6.20. Fragment of a jet or glass button from The Battery (BAT 1564). Scale in centimeters.

Metal

Six metal buttons were recovered from four of the HIAS sites, making this the second most numerous button type. Some of these buttons are certainly modern, including the Lee Jeans button from the Old Barry House and the rivet style button from The Battery (likely also from jeans or work pants). Both examples from the Methodist House are fragmentary and may be misidentified (one is a possible button backing, the other a flat disc with pitting on the reverse side that may be from the corrosion of a shank). The second example from the Old Barry House is a plain, flat, cupreous button with a soldered shank that resembles Type 11 of South's button typology. He dates this type to between 1837 and 1865.²⁷⁴ The final example of this type, from the Administrator's House, is a slightly convex four-holed button of non-ferrous metal and indeterminate age.

²⁷⁴ Hume 1969, 90.

Shell

Shell buttons are the most numerous type in the assemblage. Four of the seven examples (from the Administrator's House, the Battery, the Methodist House and Yellowbird) are small shirt buttons with four holes. The other three are unique: a dull button with misaligned holes from The Battery, a heart shaped button from the Royall Lime, and an incised button from Yellowbird (fig. 6.21).

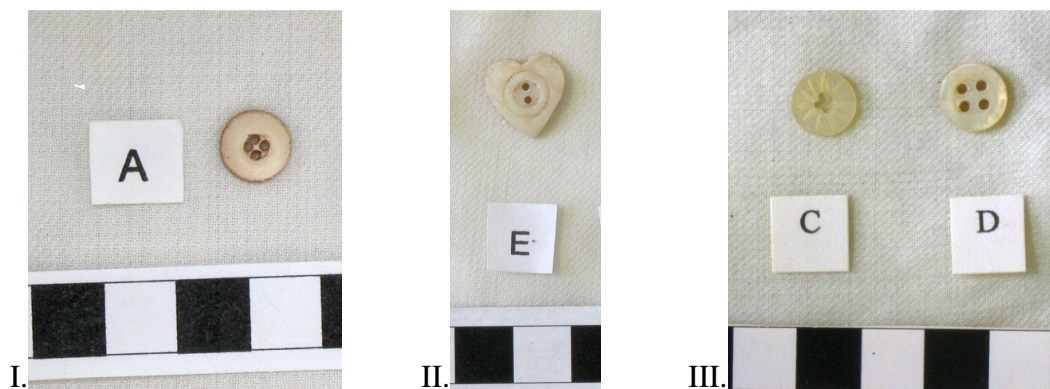


Fig. 6.21. Shell buttons. I. Plain button (BAT 401). II. Heart-shaped button (RLM 1713). III. Buttons from Yellowbird. C. Incised button (YLB 120) D. Shirt button, typical of other examples from the HIAS assemblage (YLM 121). All scales in centimeters.

Wood

Two of the three fragments in this type category are pieces of the same artifact. The third is a broken fragment of a very similar button (fig. 6.22).



Fig. 6.22. Three fragments of wooden buttons from The Battery (A. BAT 1921 B. BAT 1922 C. BAT 1923). Fragments A and B refit. Scale in centimeters.

Plastic

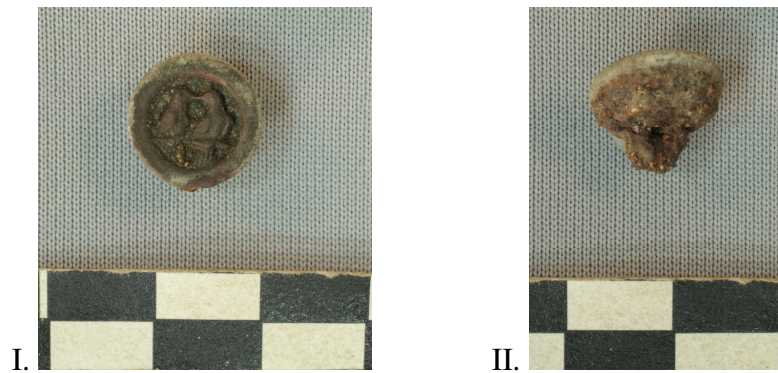
Three modern plastic buttons were collected from the nine HIAS sites.

Composite

Composite buttons are made of more than one material. For inclusion in this class, the buttons had to have more than one identifiable preserved material. Some of the examples in the previous classes may have originally been composite buttons. The jet button certainly was, although the shank has now corroded away. Two composite buttons were found during the excavations at Harbour Island: one from the Administrator's House, and one from The Battery.

The example from the Administrator's house is a Victorian picture button. It was originally composed of a thin piece of stamped brass set on top of pressed fiber or fiberboard with an iron shank and backing. It may have originally had a fabric backing behind the brass face plate. The design is a very detailed image of two kissing birds sitting on a branch (fig. 6.23). The only materials to survive conservation were the brass

and some of the fibers (fig. 6.24). Picture buttons gained in popularity after the 1860s, and were used for women and children's clothing.²⁷⁵ The button from The Battery is a much simpler composite, consisting of a shell disc with a brass rivet that serves as its shank (fig. 6.25).



I. II.
Fig. 6.23. Victorian picture button recovered from the Administrator's House (ADM 544). I. Front view. II. Rear view. All scales in centimeters.



Fig. 6.24. Picture button after conservation. Green colour is due to the conservation treatment. Scale in centimeters.

²⁷⁵ Gross et al. 1993: 124.



Fig. 6.25. Shell button with brass rivet shank (BAT 1333). Scale in centimeters.

Fasteners

Four clothing fasteners were recovered from three sites during the excavations in 2009 and 2010. Two of these are rivets (from The Battery and the Old Barry House). The other two are an eyelet (also from The Old Barry House) and a hook (from the Royall Lime) from hooks and eyes.

Beads

Four beads were recovered from three of the HIAS sites: The Battery, the Duke Street Higgs House, and Java House. All of these are plastic, with the exception of the example from The Battery. It is a corroded short metal hollow cylinder, and may not in fact be a bead.

Personal Group

The personal group is meant to include personal possessions, items for personal use, and items one would carry on their person. South's artifact classes are vague in this

regard. His categorization includes coins, which may or may not have been personal property. Tools and other object classes included in the activities group could also be considered personal items. As with other groups, some definitely modern artifacts inflate this category. Some materials which could not otherwise be clearly classified are included here as well. Table 6.11 breaks down the personal group by class.

Table 6.11. Personal Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Coins	--	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	--	
Keys	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Personal items	1	2	7	11	--	7	16	2	2	
Total	1	2	10	11	1	7	18	2	2	
%	0.09	0.17	4.27	1.08	0.14	1.20	1.28	0.21	1.50	1.11

The mean of HIAS sites falls above the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern range for the personal group of 0.14 to 0.25 %, with the Administrator's House falling below and five sites falling well above the given range. The inclusion of glass and modern materials helps account for these latter, and for the generally uneven distribution artifacts in this group. A discussion of the group by class follows.

Coins

All of the coins recovered from the site are modern. The oldest is a 1938 British penny from The Old Barry House. The only other interesting coin of note is the 1968

Bahamian nickel, retrieved from the in-filled foundation on the lower terrace of the Little Boarding House.

Keys

Only one key was found during both seasons of excavation. The iron key is in very poor condition, with no identifying characteristics (fig. 6.26).



Fig. 6.26. Iron key from the Old Barry House (OBH 1102). Scale is in centimeters.

Personal Items

This class includes all other materials in the personal group—it is a catch-all category for miscellaneous items including jewelry. In order to better discuss the artifacts, table 6.12 arranges them into types.

Table 6.12. Personal Items.

Types	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB
Glass	--	--	4	11	--	--	1	--	--
Jewelry	1	2	--	--	--	1	4	1	--
Plastic	--	--	3	--	--	5	11	--	2
Other	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	--
Total	1	2	7	11	--	7	16	2	2

Glass

The glass in this type is all described as flat and very thin. Most is clear, although one sherd from Java House is clear with blue-green tint. Some of this glass may come from non-personal items such as light bulbs, but most is thought to originate with personal items such as lenses from eye glasses. Java House has the most glass, and six of the 11 sherds come from ST03, at the rear of the property. This artifact type contributes the most to inflating the representation of personal group items at the HIAS sites.

Jewelry

Artifacts identified as jewelry were found on five of the nine HIAS sites. All of the objects of this type are fragmentary. Some may be misidentified, such as the lipped half-disc from The Battery that may be the backing for a pendant, pin, or other jewelry or the fragment of iron with a cupreous loop or link from the Royall Lime. Others are identifiable as jewelry, but are in such poor condition that little else can be determined. The iron clip or pin from The Battery is an example of this (fig. 6.27). The three small clear beads on a chain from the Administrator's House even more clearly belong in this

category. They most likely were part of a necklace (fig. 6.28). The same is true of the four fragments of a single pewter broach from the Old Barry House (fig. 6.29). These four fragments are counted individually in the table above.



Fig. 6.27. Reverse side of an iron pin or clip from The Battery. Scale in centimeters.



Fig. 6.28. Three beads on a chain from the Administrator's House (ADM 1360). Scale in centimeters.



Fig. 6.29. Pewter brooch from the Old Barry House, in four pieces (OBH 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556). Scale in centimeters.

Other

The three artifacts in this type category are all unique. The first is a dark coloured glass disc from the Methodist House. This disc was patinated and delaminating when recovered and was consequently conserved. It is similar in appearance to a wine seal, but with no visible molded lettering (fig. 6.30). The second object in this category is a fragment of bone originally identified as worked from the Old Barry House (fig. 6.31), and the third is a fragment of a mirror from the Royall Lime.



I.



II.

Fig. 6.30. Glass disc from the Methodist House (MDH 347). I. Before conservation. II. After conservation. All scales in centimeters.



Fig. 6.31. Fragment of possible worked bone from the Old Barry House (OBH 1370). Scale in centimeters.

Tobacco Pipes Group

The tobacco pipes group includes fragments of stems and bowls from smoking pipes (table 6.13). All the pipes from Harbour Island were of white kaolin clay.

Table 6.13. Tobacco Pipes Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Tobacco pipes	7	16	--	16	12	2	10	13	--	
%	0.65	1.34	0.00	1.57	1.62	0.34	0.71	1.39	0.00	0.85

The mean percent range for this group falls below the 1.76-3.94% range of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern, as do all of the individual sites. Pipe stems in particular are an easily recognizable artifact, and some residents recounted collecting them from the surface of their own properties. Richard Malcolm, whose father opened the Pink Sands resort in the 1970s, possesses a large collection of pipestems collected by guests, primarily from along the harbor waterfront, over many years. Collecting

activities help explain the low amount of stems found on the island, though other factors may be involved.

The collection of pipe stems also helps account for another interesting phenomenon related to this group at some of the HIAS sites: the high proportion of pipe bowl fragments to stem fragments (table 6.14). Pipe stems are typically more abundant on archaeological sites because one pipe could produce multiple stem fragments, but only a single bowl. The ratio of pipe bowls to pipe stems is high at all HIAS sites, and at some properties, the bowls outnumber the pipes.

Table 6.14. Pipe Bowls and Stems.

	Bowls	Stems	Ratio
ADM	3	4	3:4
BAT	7*	6	7:6
JVH	6	10	3:5
LBH	4	8	1:2
MDH	1	1	1:1
OBH	6	4	3:2
RLM	4*	7*	4:7

* = numbers account for refits

The Little Boarding House Methodist House has the lowest ratio of bowls to stems at 1:2. At all other sites where artifacts from this group are present, the ratio is higher. At both The Battery and the Old Barry House more pipe bowls were recovered than stems, giving bowl to stem ratios of 7:6 and 3:2 respectively. Collection alone seems insufficient to account for this discrepancy; it may instead represent a difference

in smoking culture at Harbour Island. If people were primarily smoking away from the home, perhaps in other social spaces, they may be more likely to discard stems from newer pipes in that area. Old pipes with very short stems remaining would still be discarded at either location, and may be more likely to be discarded at home if the smoker intended to start a new pipe the next time they went out to socialize.

Activities Group

The activities group is broken into classes intended to represent activities that can help identify the function of particular sites based on their industry. Many materials that did not clearly fall in to other groups wound up in this category—metal artifacts such as springs, and non-ferrous fasteners such as copper nails, were subsumed into the 'miscellaneous hardware' class. As with other groups, modern materials increase artifact counts in many of the classes (table 6.15).

Table 6.15. Activities Group.

Class	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Mean
Toys	1	--	2	--	--	--	2	1	--	
Fishing gear	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Miscellaneous hardware	4	9	3	5	11	6	17	3	2	
Other	--	15	--	1	5	6	9	7	1	
Total	5	24	5	6	16	12	29	11	3	
%	0.46	2.01	2.14	0.59	2.16	2.06	2.06	1.17	2.26	1.66

The mean percent for the activities group of 1.66% falls inside the percent range of 0.94-2.90 for the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. The Administrator's House and Java House both fall below the range, but none of the sites fall above it. Most of the sites, excepting the two mentioned above and the Royall Lime, have over 2% of the total artifacts representing some form of activity not captured by the other functional groups. The largest class in this group is miscellaneous hardware, for reasons explained above. The artifact classes do not indicate the presence of any particular industries carried out at Harbour Island, as the areas sampled archaeologically correlate primarily to domestic rather than industrial locations. The Royall Lime, which served temporarily as a perfume factory, and the Old Barry House, which hosted a tailor shop in the early twentieth century, are the exceptions. A short exploration of each of the classes in the activities group follows.

Toys

Six toys were found at four of the HIAS sites. Of these, four are glass marbles that most likely date to the mid twentieth century. The red plastic 'Indian' head figure from the Duke Street Higgs House is also certainly modern. The only historical toy is the porcelain doll head recovered from ST02, in the feature at the top of the hill, at the Royall Lime (fig. 6.32). The doll is a china head doll with a 'flat top' hairstyle from around the mid nineteenth-century. It would have been attached to a wooden peg body by the hole in the neck.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Coleman et al 1968, 118-119.



Fig. 6.32. Porcelain doll head from the Royall Lime (RLM 473). Scale in centimeters.

Fishing Gear

Only one piece of potential fishing gear was found at any of the sites: a lead line-weight from the Old Barry House.

Miscellaneous Hardware

This is one of the larger classes in this group and, as its name suggests, it acts as a catch-all for materials that do not fit easily into other categories. Many of the artifacts assigned to this category include copper fasteners such as nails, tacks and washers. In these cases, their material distinguishes them (in theory) from fasteners used for architectural purposes. Four iron spikes and spike fragments from four sites are included in this class as well, as capturing their potential non-architectural functions (such as their potential for use in ship construction) seemed important during the classification process.

Not all of the objects assigned to this class have any obvious functions, such as the iron bar with a semi-circular cross-section recovered from the Methodist House, the

five fragments from a single metal strap at the Old Barry House, or the large iron chain links from The Battery. Others do have distinct functions, such as the five mouse trap or rattrap springs from four sites. The most interesting single item is the heavily corroded pressing iron recovered from Java House (fig. 6.33). It was recovered from ST03, along the property fence away from the house, suggesting that some domestic activities were carried out outside of the house, perhaps in an outbuilding. The complete listing of artifacts in this class is located in Appendix E.



Fig. 6.33. Iron pressing iron from Java House (JVH 841). Scale in centimeters.

Other

The final class in the activities group includes miscellaneous objects other than hardware. The largest and most coherent artifact type in this group is non-architectural stone, most of which is slate. Slate was found at all sites at which this class is represented except Java House, and in quantity at The Battery (nine fragments, one of which is incised), the Old Barry House (six fragments), and Methodist House (five fragments). Other types of stone recovered from these sites include granite (one

fragment from the Little Boarding House), mica (one fragment from the Royall Lime), and four pieces of chert or chalcedony (one from the Little Boarding House and three from the Royall Lime) that may have been intended for use as gunflints or strike-a-lights. Two fragments of ochre were also recovered from The Battery.

Most of the other objects in this class are unique, and their functions are unknown. This includes two small fragments of a tin strap and one from a lead strap from The Battery, as well as another diamond-shaped piece of lead with an indentation in the center (fig. 6.34). Two pieces of unidentifiable plastic, one from Java House and another from The Little Boarding House, and plastic fragment of a circuit board from the Old Barry House, are included here as well.



Fig. 6.34. Lead fragment from The Battery with indentation (BAT 1584). Scale in centimeters.

The most enigmatic artifact from this class is a bone tool from the Methodist House (fig. 6.35). One end of the tool is rounded, and the other tapers to a jagged blunt edge, as if it has been broken. There is a concave indentation at the midpoint of one edge

(the top), and another smaller indentation closer opposite (bottom). Both indentations begin at approximately the same distance from the tapered end, and may be intended as finger placements for holding the tool. One side of the tool (front) is relatively flat, although a small nick in the surface near the top indentation contained a trace of some red soil or pigment that was visible after conservation and cleaning. The back side is more pronouncedly convex, with an oval pit or indentation on the round-end side of the top concavity. The pointed end appears much more squarely blunt on the back side. The function of this tool remain a mystery, and research has not revealed any similar objects.



I.



II.

Fig. 6.35. Bone tool from the Methodist House (MDH 319). I. Front side. II. Back side.

Summary of Intrasite Comparative Analysis

The differences visible between the analyzed materials from the excavated HIAS properties can primarily be ascribed to methodological issues (numbers of shovel tests excavated) and site taphonomy. The assemblage from the Duke Street Higgs House is affected by both of these issues, explaining in part its extremely high proportion of artifacts in the architecture group and low amounts of historic materials. With the exception of the greater than typical amount of material in the arms group at The Battery, none of the sites are strongly associated with any particular activities or functions (including the Royall Lime, which at one point hosted a perfume factory). Some of the properties, notably The Battery and the Administrator's House, show some indications of elite status in their ceramic assemblages, but despite some variation in ware diversity (which in some cases can be directly attributed to sample sizes) the ceramics also suggest a fair amount of homogeneity across the island. This is best seen in figure 6.9, which shows the similar proportions in the consolidated pearlware ware types.

Although the ceramic assemblages appear quite balanced, the poor showing in the personal and clothing categories at most sites indicate that the islanders may have been materially poor. Individual artifacts in other categories hint at an elite status for some of the other sites, such as the fork recovered from Java House and the porcelain doll from the Royall Lime, but these are not sufficient support on their own. Another possible explanation is that Harbour Islanders interacted in different ways and in different places that affected how and where personal items may have been lost or

casually discarded. The amount of pipe stems collected from the harbor area by interested amateurs, when compared to the low representation of this category at any of the excavated properties, suggests that smoking (a practice strongly associated with maritime traditions and with all levels of British culture) may have had a geographical component. It may have been more common for people to smoke nearer the harbor, perhaps as part of more maritime-oriented social interactions. More research, either at Harbour Island or in other maritime communities, is necessary to test this hypothesis.

Maritime activities and associations are not directly suggested by this analysis of the material cultural remains of the Harbour Island community. With the exception of a single lead fishing weight, no direct examples of maritime material culture were recovered. Some artifacts may have maritime associations, such as the chain links from The Battery or any of the copper fasteners, but there is no way to verify any such connections. Direct evidence for the community's maritimity in the maritime material culture category is lacking in the collected artifactual material.

Faunal Analysis

Evidence for the maritimity of the Harbour Island community is stronger in the archaeological representation of the Maritime Resources category. Even a cursory examination of the faunal assemblage collected from the nine HIAS properties demonstrates a strong reliance on maritime natural resources. Although it was not possible to perform an in-depth analysis due to time constraints, faunal remains were loosely categorized to allow for a basic level of comparison between sites. In the case of

the Little Boarding House, shell remains were neither identified by type nor photographed (again due to time constraints). Remains from all sites were divided according to material, as either bone or shell. Bone was divided broadly into types as fish, animal (including birds) and unknown. Shell was divided into easily identifiable type groups of bivalves (lumping together several species), chiton (locally known as curb), conch, limpet, West-Indian Topshell (locally referred to as whelk), and unknown. Table 6.16 presents the faunal material divided according to these categories.

Table 6.16. Faunal Remains from HIAS Properties by Count.

Material	Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB
Bone										
	Animal	132	42	20	385	54	132	116	285	--
	Fish	98	73	34	185	67	40	30	126	--
	Unknown	202	347	3	36	34	7	57	113	2
Total		432	462	57	606	155	179	203	524	2
Shell										
	Bivalves	13	--	12	6	--	--	67	16	6
	Chiton	4	3	--	2	--	--	18	6	1
	Conch	33	15	23	2	--	1	20	18	3
	Limpet	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	West-Indian Topshell	111	161	13	162	--	38	103	79	22
	Unknown	119	254	21	192	167	29	170	115	14
Total		281	434	69	377	167	68	378	234	46

Only the most basic information was collected about the faunal materials recovered during the two field seasons. Table 6.16 uses straight numerical counts to

represent the assemblage, and these are not sufficient to draw detailed conclusions. Most of the faunal remains are highly fragmentary, with very few large bone fragments or even whole shells. However, even these basic numbers demonstrate the significance of maritime resources to the diet of most Harbour Islanders.

At many of the potentially elite dwellings, the Administrator's House, Java House, Methodist House and the Royall Lime, the amount of bone doubles or nearly doubles the shell. Although The Battery may also represent an elite household, the amounts of bone and shell are nearly equal. There are several possible explanations for this increased ratio. Direct proximity to the waterfront may have led to an increased reliance on convenient food sources. It is also possible that this proximity made the property a convenient processing area for people other than the inhabitants.

In the present day, conch is often processed directly on the beach, saving the fishermen the effort of transporting the heavy and extraneous shells. These naturally wash back out into the harbor at high tide. If historical residents of the community also practiced this method of processing, it would result in the under-representation of this food resource in the archaeological record. The historical importance of this food source is supported by the use of the term 'conchs' for members of older white communities (including Harbour Island) by the Loyalists in the late eighteenth century.

The Old Barry House is the only property with a significantly higher proportion of shell than bone, and also has the highest numbers of both bivalve and chiton shells. This indicates a greater reliance on maritime food resources in general. Wilkie and Farnsworth describe chiton in particular as a maritime food of opportunity, generally

harvested and eaten on the spot during the course of other maritime pursuits such as fishing. While the amount of shell at all the HIAS sites is notable, the assemblage from the Old Barry House indicates a higher reliance on more diverse maritime resources available from the littoral zone, and may be indicative of a higher degree of maritimity. This site still has a higher amount of animal than fish bone, indicative of the complexity of the relationships between people, food, and culture.

The animal bones, including bird remains, are primarily small fragments. Harbour Island has a high population of feral chickens, and some of the bone remains are clearly identifiable as avian. Larger bones were recovered primarily from houses already noted as having elite associations, such as The Battery, the Administrator's House, and the Royall Lime. Historical Harbour Islanders did keep animals, and even in the twentieth-century residents kept animals in town. Currently, the only livestock inside the town are chickens and horses (for tourists to hire for riding on the beach), however, at least one islander keeps goats on the outskirts of the town proper. Stray dogs, known throughout the Bahamas as 'potcakes', help keep down the population of chickens, and may contribute to some of the animal remains found on the island.

Not all of the animal remains found on Harbour Island necessarily originate locally. Ships from the American mainland sold salted beef and pork to Nassau merchants in the 1780's, and similar provisions were likely available in Harbour Island as well once the port was opened in the nineteenth century. Food resources arriving at the island in this manner reflect another aspect of maritimity—trade as an element of maritime cultural resources.

Categories of Maritimity

Of the three categories of maritimity outlined in Chapter II, Maritime Resources and Maritime Cultural Landscapes are the best represented in the archaeological record as examined during the Harbour Island Archaeological Survey. The faunal remains demonstrate the exploitation of the maritime environment (and potentially maritime cultural resources through trade) for food resources. Landscape elements, including the organization of the town around the harbor, the prominence of the government wharf, local knowledge of old shipwrecks and navigation hazards, and the presence of old private slipways and the ferry crossing point, reflect a maritime history and the persistence maritime connections and identities.

Some of these landscape elements also reflect the Maritime Material Culture category, but this category is very under-represented in the recovered artifacts. As the historical record firmly establishes the importance of maritime industry to the community, partial explanation for this underrepresentation must lie in a combination of social practices and the archaeological approach. The survey performed primarily targeted private homes and properties, and maritime activities and their related materials may have been relegated to formally or informally designated areas such as the wharves and shipyard.

Although explicitly maritime materials, such as tools for maritime crafts and resource exploitation, are lacking in the HIAS assemblage, the importance of the broader maritime connections of the islanders manifests in their reliance on imported goods. That most of these goods are British (English in the earliest period) or American speaks to

close identification with the British Colonial Atlantic sphere. While this broad identity has maritime elements, in the way that any cultural sphere centered on an ocean must rely on maritime culture, it is not a direct material expression of a close relationship with that environment. Other communities within this sphere with no direct maritime connections also rely on goods transported by ship, and express the importance of the Atlantic connections to their own identities through the use of imported materials.

The comparison of recovered materials with South's Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern confirms Harbour Island's connection with the British Colonial Atlantic. Although the materials from the nine properties surveyed broadly conform to this pattern, more direct and in-depth comparison of the community as a whole with other British Atlantic sites, both with and without maritime associations, provides more context for examining the nature of this relationship. Such a comparison is the subject of Chapter VII, and is intended to determine to what extent the identity of the Harbour Island community is dominated by their participation in the British Colonial Atlantic sphere rather than their direct connection and interactions with the maritime environment, and whether these elements can even be cleanly disentangled.

CHAPTER VII

PATTERNS OF MARITIMITY

Comparing the Harbour Island Archaeological Survey assemblage with only the Adjusted Carolina Artifact pattern does not provide sufficient context to assess the relationship of the Harbour Island community to a broader British Colonial Atlantic community and identity. Making comparisons more directly with other sites from the Western Atlantic region, from communities with similar cultural ties, helps explore the effect of maritimity on the material culture of Harbour Island and of expressions of maritimity on the archaeological record more generally. This exploration supports the proposition that the categories of maritimity as defined in this dissertation must be considered together in order to identify and assess maritimity from an archaeological approach.

This chapter introduces four comparative sites from around the Western Atlantic region, including both British colonial sites and British/American sites that span the revolutionary period. Although the United States won its independence from British control in 1783, American communities were still tied into a broader Atlantic identity shared by colonies continuing under British reign, including the Bahamas. Trade relationships persisted, though in somewhat altered forms, and networks of communication and travel still tied the area together. The comparative sites are: Drax Hall plantation in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica; Montpelier plantation in Beaufort County,

South Carolina; the town of Bath, North Carolina; and the McKean/Cochran farm in Odessa, Delaware.

These sites were selected because of their location in the North American Atlantic and because, with the exception of Bath, archaeological reports from these sites already organize their artifacts according to South's categories, facilitating comparison. The artifact catalogue for the Bath excavations, in Microsoft Excel format, was generously provided by Lindsey Flood, who compiled the data for her 2011 MA thesis at East Carolina University. The electronic catalogue was easily categorized. The final report of the Montpelier excavation was generously provided by Eric Poplin of Brockington and Associates, Inc., and the site report from the work on the McKean/Cochran farm was provided by David Clark of the Delaware Department of Transportation. Information on Drax Hall plantation is available in Douglas Armstrong's published monograph.²⁷⁷ Brief descriptions of the history and archaeological work at each site follow, with special reference to information relevant to the categories of maritimity outlined in Chapter II. After the sites are introduced, their assemblages are compared with data from the Harbour Island Archaeological Survey using South's artifact categories.

Drax Hall Plantation and Village

Drax Hall is the site with the most extensive published material chosen for comparison in this dissertation. It is included as a representation of British sites in the

²⁷⁷ See Flood 2011, Poplin et al. 2004, Bedell et al. 1999, and Armstrong 1990.

Caribbean, and because the excavators focused on the village of the slave and later free laborers who actually worked the plantation as well as including the planter's Great House. Armstrong uses a version of South's artifact pattern analysis categories very similar to the one employed in this dissertation, and compares the Drax Hall material not only with South's established categories but also with the results from other slave village and plantation sites.

Drax Hall was a sugar plantation of over 3000 acres located on Jamaica's northern coast, on St. Anne's Bay.²⁷⁸ James Drax, a planter originally from Barbados, consolidated the land between 1669 and 1691 and officially founded the plantation in 1690. James passed Drax Hall to his son Charles Drax, who maintained control of the plantation until his death in 1721, at which point the estate was deeded to his sister and brother-in-law. In 1762, the estate was purchased by William Beckford. Beckford was Lord Mayor of London, and an absentee landowner of his Caribbean holdings. The Drax Hall Great House was destroyed by unknown means at some point under his tenure. It was abandoned in favour of a new structure, occupied by the overseer, that was closer to newer areas of production such as the water wheel erected around the same time. Beckford's son, also named William, inherited Drax Hall in 1770 and controlled it until 1821. While he was famous in his own time as a writer and as the builder of Fonthill Abbey, Beckford junior was equally personally disassociated from the source of his wealth. He sold the estate in 1821 to cover debts related to the Abbey, and it was purchased by James Pink. James and later William Pink oversaw the transition from

²⁷⁸ Armstrong 1990, 2.

unfree to free labor at Drax Hall. The Pinks resided on the plantation and so were able to increase its productivity. It persisted as a sugar plantation until the 1880s, when the primary crop switched to bananas.²⁷⁹

The slave (and later free-laborer) habitations, referred to by Armstrong as the Old Village, developed alongside the plantation. The slave population at Drax Hall reached 330 by 1721, and remained relatively stable until emancipation. The initial workforce may have come to Jamaica via Drax's Barbadian operations, but most seem to have had ties to the Gold Coast (as was common for Caribbean plantations). Once the main population was established, the plantation's managers made only occasional supplemental purchases to maintain the adult workforce.²⁸⁰ Like in the Bahamas, the Jamaican labor force transitioned to freedom under an apprenticeship system that began four years before emancipation in 1838. After this period, laborers had to pay high rents to retain their residences at Drax Hall. Some remained, but the population of the village declined over the next hundred years, and the remaining populace was eventually evicted in the 1920s.²⁸¹

Investigators selected Drax Hall for study precisely because the longevity of the slave village offered an opportunity to "examine the daily lives of the common people" through an archaeological investigation of their houses and yards.²⁸² The site was picked after extensive archival research, combined with preliminary field surveys that identified

²⁷⁹ Armstrong 1990, 24-30, 32, 131.

²⁸⁰ Armstrong 1990, 36-37, 39.

²⁸¹ Armstrong 1990, 50-51, 55.

²⁸² Armstrong 1990, 57.

the location and extent of the site. A follow-up transect-grid survey refined the location of the site perimeters and located 98 potential features, of which 63 were probably houses. Testing at this stage indicated that while the village showed evidence of use over the entire duration of occupation, the earliest houses were located in the southwest of the site.²⁸³

Excavators faced similar issues as at Harbour Island in locating early deposits—shallow soil combined with intensive use of the land and impermanent construction materials led to an underrepresentation of artifacts from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This difficulty in locating early deposits caused the excavators to refocus their work on the mid to late eighteenth century. They selected ten house areas to excavate, ranging from the mid-eighteenth century through the free-laborer period. A storage shed feature located inside the village was excavated as well. The house and yards were sampled systematically to help ensure coverage of all related activity zones, using primarily 1x2 m² units, with three 2x2 m² and a single 1x5 m² trench.²⁸⁴

In order to provide a broader context for interpreting the finds at the village, the archaeologists also excavated a small sample from the original Drax Hall Great House. The house site was intact at the beginning of the project in 1980, but by the following year it had been partially destroyed by the construction of a cattle weighing station. The decision of the archaeologists to proceed with their investigation of the planter's house to recover comparative material was partly prompted by the understanding that the site was

²⁸³ Armstrong 1990, 61-62.

²⁸⁴ Armstrong 1990, 64-65, 67.

still in jeopardy. Four distinct areas were selected for testing: the relatively undisturbed southwest corner of the house, the possible kitchen area, the retaining-wall zone between the house and kitchen, and a refuse dump area behind the kitchen. The kitchen and refuse dump were sampled specifically with the goal of recovering information about the diet of the planters and other Great House occupants.²⁸⁵

The excavations, in conjunction with maps of the plantation, provided insight into Drax Hall's spatial layout. The slave village was not as spatially regulated as at some other Jamaican plantations, and the houses were placed perpendicularly along the rolling hills at the base of the mountain. The original Great House (an imposing three story structure of thick cut limestone with at least ten rooms) was centrally located close to the sugar works and within sight of the slave village and the fields. Despite this expression of centralized authority, both the house and village were located at the borders of marginal field land—areas where they would not undermine the plantation's productivity. The relative locations of the cane fields and sugar works were of greater importance than the placement of the living areas for any plantation residents, reinforcing the agricultural focus of plantation life. After emancipation, as the free laborers travelled elsewhere for work, the village began to shift in the direction of the main roads.²⁸⁶

The artifact analyses demonstrated major differences between the planter's house and slave village assemblages, as well as a strong continuity over time at the village.

²⁸⁵ Armstrong 1990, 68-72.

²⁸⁶ Armstrong 1990, 88-91, 124-126.

Artifacts from the Old Village also suggest cultural continuity with some African practices, such as the use of low-heat fired coarse earthenware bowls and pots of local clay. These wares represent a continuity of both technology and foodways, and are an important aspect in the development of an Afro-Jamaican identity. The village artifacts also demonstrate patterning similar to what has been found at slave sites in the Carolinas—patterning that reflects some combination of shared ethnic identity and economic conditions.²⁸⁷ The Great House remains from Drax Hall were compared with other planters' houses, but the pattern they best fit was an adjusted version of South's Frontier Pattern. Armstrong argues that this pattern represents the peripheral nature of the Jamaican plantation, as even when it was directly administered, the capital raised was redirected back to England. Because of the centralizing authority exerted by the planter or plantation manager, the plantation house itself played a similar role to a frontier trading post throughout its lifetime.²⁸⁸

Analysis of the faunal material revealed a different pattern between slave and planter diets and continuity between slave and free laborer diets in terms of the vertebrate faunal remains. Slaves primarily consumed fresh domesticated animals such as cow and pig, likely as part of the provisions they were allotted by the plantation managers, with some salted fish. Residents of the Great House consumed a more diverse diet, including sea turtle and rabbit, and possibly imported foods such as salted meats

²⁸⁷ Armstrong 1990, 271.

²⁸⁸ Armstrong 1990, 258-259.

and fish along with domesticated animals and a higher proportion of fish than found at the slave village.²⁸⁹

Both groups also took advantage of the littoral and sub-littoral zones, but in contrast to the pattern seen in the vertebrate remains, planters and slaves exploited similar shellfish resources. West Indian top shell (whelks), queen conch, and tiger lucine were common at all locations, with whelks making up 88% of the molluscan remains by weight at the Great House, and from 54% to 84% by weight at the Old Village. In contexts from the free laborer period at the Old Village, however, the diversity of shellfish remains greatly increased. The new types of shellfish exploited are primarily intertidal species that could be easily harvested. These are also mostly smaller species, and, while they represent intensification in the effort of harvesting these more marginal foods, they represent only a 10% increase in the contribution of shellfish to the diet by weight. This change in resource use may be a response to limited access to food resources previously provided through the plantation provisions combined with greater self-reliance on the part of the free-laborers.²⁹⁰

The maritimity of both communities at Drax Hall is marginally attested. The settlements are oriented towards the sugar fields, and no notable maritime place names are associated with the plantation although it extends from the mountains to the coast. However, Drax Hall did have its own landing, including a wharf for the transshipment of

²⁸⁹ Armstrong 1990, 224-226.

²⁹⁰ Armstrong 1990, 227-229, 232.

sugar directly back to England.²⁹¹ The archaeological assemblage from the Great House contains no artifacts of maritime material culture, but several were recorded from the Old Village, including a fishing hook and several lead weights.²⁹² The plantation records do note more fishing gear as part of the purchases for the estate in 1778 and 1834, and of a fish kettle in 1837.²⁹³

These purchases are further evidence of the importance of maritime natural resources for the plantation, but the overall importance of the category is difficult to assess. It is clear that shellfish were important to the diet of both groups, but the published materials from Drax Hall make it difficult to differentiate their contribution from that of other food sources. The difficulty is increased by the low number of specimens recovered, especially at the Great House. Armstrong argues that fish may be underrepresented in the remains from the Old Village, as certain methods of preparation such as boiling and deep frying destroy fish bones.²⁹⁴ Maritime trade was clearly important to Drax Hall as a working plantation, and also to the Great House residents for imported foods such as salt meats and fish. Interestingly, some absentee planters are known to have had conch shipped to them in Britain.²⁹⁵ This suggests that the local foodways were important to either their identity as planters or that the use of local foods served as a demonstration of their power over their distant domains, or that some combination of these factors was at work.

²⁹¹ Armstrong 1990, 259.

²⁹² Armstrong 1990, 193.

²⁹³ Armstrong 1990, 244-245.

²⁹⁴ Armstrong 1990, 245.

²⁹⁵ Armstrong 1990, 229.

Despite the exploitation of maritime natural resources for food by all Drax Hall residents, their reliance on all locally available foods including fish, shellfish, and hunted wild game, is lower than at Georgian sea island plantations. While this could potentially be explained by differences in food processing techniques or preservation in the local environment, another compelling possibility is that Drax Hall residents had a greater reliance on plantation livestock and supplies.²⁹⁶ Either way, their relatively low use of maritime natural resources, along with the orientation of landscape elements, suggests that they did not identify strongly with the maritime environment.

Montpelier Plantation

The artifacts from Montpelier Plantation are included as comparative material in this dissertation to provide an example from a rural community with some maritime elements but with a clear focus on agricultural production. The agricultural system of which Montpelier was a part was common throughout the southern American colonies, though specifics varied according to region and crop. The excavations at Montpelier also recovered and revealed materials relating to both the planter household and slave quarters, as at Drax Hall, representing the broader community encompassed by the plantation. Additionally, the Brockington report presented the post-contact artifacts organized into categories deriving from South's work, facilitating comparison.

Montpelier Plantation is located in Beaufort County, South Carolina, on the May River Neck, in an area known as Palmetto Bluff. The area saw occasional use in

²⁹⁶ Armstrong 1990, 226.

prehistoric and contact times, but was formally claimed by colonial English powers by 1719 when the Lords Proprietors of Carolina included it in a land grant made to General John Price. The granted land remained undeveloped, though it passed through several hands and was subdivided into smaller parcels. The first to build on the stretch that would become Montpelier was likely George Lord Anson, an admiral in the Royal Navy. The two story manor built over a tabby cellar on a foundation of ballast stones was probably built during his tenure of the land, sometime between 1730 and 1757. Tabby is a clay and oyster shell based building material common to Beaufort County, South Carolina. Although Anson built the house, there is no strong evidence that he ever used it, and the next landowner, Josiah Pendarvis, was the first known to have lived at Montpelier.²⁹⁷

Pendarvis bought a 640 acre tract of Anson's land that included the house in 1757. He was responsible for the final subdivisions of that land, retaining 194 acres that became Montpelier proper. Pendarvis may have used his lands for raising cattle, as they were not ideal for the more profitable rice agriculture practiced in the region's marshland. John Screvan, who purchased the estate in 1789 sometime after Pendarvis's death, may have also produced sea-island cotton on the land in addition to beef. Although Screvan owned other land in the county, his workforce of 93 slaves in 1790 would have been sufficient to cover both these industries. A description of the plantation from a visitor during Screvan's tenure also describes a landing on the riverbank north of the house. Screvan sold the land in 1798, but several members of the family were buried

²⁹⁷ Poplin et al. 2004, 48-50, 141.

later in a cemetery on the property that lies along the allée leading up from the main road through the region.²⁹⁸

By 1798, Montpelier was in the possession of George Hipp, a planter who owned several estates in the county. Unlike Pendarvis and Screven, Hipp did not make Montpelier his primary residence, and after his death the land was likely sold at auction. It passed through the hands of two owners in this way, Elizabeth Mendenhall and Stephen Proctor, neither of whom lived on the plantation or appear to have invested in it further.²⁹⁹

By 1828, the plantation was owned and operated by William Eddings Baynard. Montpelier was one of the largest and oldest houses in the May River Neck area, and though Baynard divided his time with other South Carolina residences, he made Montpelier his primary dwelling.³⁰⁰ Control of the plantation passed to his son, Ephraim Baynard, by 1850. At this time, Montpelier was part of a larger network of Baynard-family plantations along the May River that produced provisions for feeding slaves at the family's larger cotton-growing operations elsewhere. Ephraim Baynard was one of the most powerful planters in the region, but he did not live at Montpelier and may not have been personally involved in its daily operations.³⁰¹

The American Civil War put an end to Montpelier's life as a working plantation. The house was shelled by gunboats in 1862 and never rebuilt—the crops were put to the

²⁹⁸ Poplin et al. 2004, 53-54, 153.

²⁹⁹ Poplin et al. 2004, 54, 58-59.

³⁰⁰ Poplin et al. 2004, 59, 62, 192.

³⁰¹ Poplin et al. 2004, 62-63.

torch. Squatters made use of the abandoned lands in the postbellum period, and the Baynards lost control of Montpelier sometime between the end of the war and 1894, when it was bought at public auction by a Mrs. S. E. Guerard. It was later sold to the Wilson family, who maintained the property lines but whose use and occupation of the lands is unknown. From the Wilsons it passed to the Varn family, who operated the Varn Turpentine and Cattle Company, in 1926. Old plantations fields were abandoned to the forest over the course of this period, and when the plantation and other surrounding lands passed into the hands of the Union Bag and Timber Company in 1937, it was primarily used for horse pasture. Most recently, the land was acquired by a developer for the creation of suburban residences with a park surrounding the historic cemetery and the ruins of the plantation house.³⁰²

Archaeological investigation of Montpelier was carried out by Brockington and Associates prior to the redevelopment of the entire Palmetto Bluff area. After initial survey, they carried out extensive excavations on four areas of the property with archaeological materials of potential significance: the planter's house and areas to the north, east and west. Excavations in all areas were carried out both manually and mechanically (using a smooth-bladed back hoe to reveal features such as large pits and foundations), and metal detection was also used west of the house.³⁰³

The area west of the house was investigated at the request of the State Historic Preservation Office due to the discovery of potential contact-period Native American

³⁰² Poplin et al. 2004, 49, 63-67.

³⁰³ Poplin et al. 2004, 77, 89, 107, 113.

pottery. The Brockington archaeologists excavated one 1x2 m unit and several smaller units in the immediate surrounding area, in addition to using metal detectors and scraping the surface to search for buried features. These excavations revealed some pre-contact and contact period features and activity areas that may be associated with post-contact occupation. Most of the artifacts recovered were related to post Civil-War era squatters and other late nineteenth-century occupations.³⁰⁴

The house itself was discovered during the course of excavation, as investigators previously believed that the tabby rubble pile represented a series of outbuildings (possibly slave quarters). The house was approximately 11x13m (36x42.5 feet) and had a foundation of ballast stone from mixed international sources and a cellar of tabby with at least one (evidenced by the remains of the chimney) and probably two (indicated by historical records) floors. Each floor had a central hallway with two rooms on either side. Excavations also revealed large piazzas or porches on each end of the building, and a walkway that may have led from the rear of the house to the river landing. The house showed evidence of burning, likely from when it was destroyed in 1862. Investigators hand excavated 52 m² of units inside the rubble pile in addition to digging several exploratory units and used the back hoe to expose more of the building's foundations. Most of the artifacts recovered from this area related to post-contact occupations from the eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Poplin et al. 2004, 77, 81-82.

³⁰⁵ Poplin et al. 2004, 89, 102, 106-107.

Excavations north and south of the planter's house were targeted at areas thought to have other standing outbuildings. Investigators dug exploratory units and performed backhoe scrapes in both of these areas. The northern excavation revealed buildings most likely related, according to the artifact analysis, to slave occupation (although they may also represent a kitchen). Although no buildings were located to the south of the planter's house, excavations did reveal kitchen artifacts similar in proportion to those found at the planter's house, as well as some Native American materials including a concentration of shell with some intermingled pottery and lithics.³⁰⁶

The maritimity of the Montpelier community is marginally attested in the landscape and other archaeological remains. Historical records for periods where they are available indicate that the plantation was focused on producing agricultural commodities, including cattle and provisions. However, there was direct access from the river landing to the house, and riverine transport was essential for travel in the Carolinas during the colonial period. Josiah Pendarvis gifted his son a schooner along with 25 slaves of mixed ages and 55 head of cattle in 1767, attesting to the importance of the waterways while also reinforcing the importance of farming in the region.³⁰⁷ The mixed-origin ballast stone of the house foundation also suggests a maritime association, though this may be directly related to George Anson's naval career and his personal involvement in maritime culture rather than an identification pertinent to the broader community of the plantation. The cemetery used by the Screven and Hipp families in the nineteenth

³⁰⁶ Poplin et al. 2004, 107, 111, 113.

³⁰⁷ Poplin et al. 2004, 52.

century is notably accessible from the road rather than the river, perhaps suggesting a shift over time towards other transportation networks. Local place names do not suggest strong maritime links, although there were several shipyards in the area in the eighteenth century.³⁰⁸

The archaeological materials recovered during excavation do not suggest strong maritime links in other categories either. Excavators did not examine the part of the property abutting the river, and therefore made no report as to whether or not there is any remaining evidence of the landing itself. The only item of maritime material culture is a steel or iron fishing weight, and the faunal remains do not attest a reliance on maritime food resources. Although fish and turtle are both represented, the bulk of the faunal remains are mammalian. Turtles had some of the highest amounts of identified fragments, but contributed relatively little to the biomass of the overall sample. Unidentified mammals (probably mostly cattle) make up the largest group by both number and meat weight. Cattle, followed by unidentified even-toed ungulates, were the next largest contributors by weight, and white-tailed deer was the next largest meat contributor. Domesticated animals produced 75% of the faunal fragments and 85% of the edible biomass, demonstrating that plantation residents relied more heavily on domesticated and hunted animals than on any maritime resources.³⁰⁹ The investigators did not note any faunal shell associated with the post-contact occupation of the area.

³⁰⁸ Poplin et al. 2004, 31.

³⁰⁹ Poplin et al. 2004, 132-133. The report does not differentiate between food remains recovered from different locations on the site.

Bath, North Carolina

The systematic archaeological survey undertaken of Bath, North Carolina by East Carolina University from 2005-2008 is included as a comparative site in this study because of both similarities between Bath and Harbour Island and similarities in the methods of data collection. Both surveys used extensive shovel testing along transects established within the boundaries of private lots in a town with continuous occupation from early colonial times. Both communities also have notable historic maritime ties and can be considered maritime communities. Bath is an important inclusion in the comparison data because of its potential to highlight patterns of maritimity in the archaeological record that are not distinct to Harbour Island. Conversely, the assemblage also provides a context for assessing whether patterns associated with Harbour Island derive from the community's maritimity or whether other influences are responsible.

North Carolina was part of the lands granted in 1663 by the English crown to the Lords Proprietors—the same group of lords to whom the Bahamas were granted in 1670. Bath County was established in 1696 and John Lawson, the colony's Surveyor General, laid out the town of Bath in 1704, where Bath and Back Creeks met before flowing out into the Pamlico River just below Pamlico Sound. Bath became the first incorporated town in North Carolina in 1705/6.

North Carolina never had the success of its southern counterpart in establishing rice as a staple crop. Instead, plantations in the colony tended to focus on raising livestock and producing naval stores such as turpentine. The town served the region as a centralized entrepot—an area from which goods could be shipped in and out of the

colony. However, the shifting sands of Ocracoke Inlet made it difficult for ships to approach the town proper. Most were unloaded on the Outer Banks and their goods transferred to Bath's waterside warehouses in smaller vessels.³¹⁰

Regulations limiting building along the river hindered the town's initial economic development. The partial lots on the river side of Water Street were kept as common land until 1715. Landowners were not allowed to build wharves on these lots until 1723, and not allowed to build structures such as warehouses until 1745. The bans were lifted because they were explicitly interfering with trade—they had been put in place initially to preserve the aesthetics of the waterfront area. By mid-century, 30 ships a year were coming into the port town, and in 1760 Bath was made the county capital.³¹¹

This prosperous phase did not last, and by the 1770's, the volume of ship traffic coming into Bath had been reduced to seven vessels a year. This was due to the development of other local ports in the last quarter of the century combined with the difficulty in entering Bath. Washington, founded in 1785 and appointed the seat of the county government in 1788, became the official port of entry for the Pamlico region in 1795.

Bath was an important location during the conflicts that plagued the early days of the Carolina colonies but when the community waned in influence in the second half of the eighteenth century it became a much less significant military objective. Bath was not affected by the American Revolution or by the wars of the nineteenth century (outside of

³¹⁰ Flood 2012, 32-33, 35-36.

³¹¹ Flood 2012, 32.

occasional pillaging by both sides of the American Civil War). It remained, and still remains, a small and sleepy town. It experienced a slight population boom after the construction of a bridge across Bath Creek in 1888, but even this development in the regional transportation infrastructure was insufficient to help the town recapture its lost prominence.³¹²

The aim of the archaeological survey conducted by East Carolina University (ECU) was to determine which of the town's lots were actually occupied in the early eighteenth-century so that they could be targeted by future archaeological research. Historical records implied that many of the lots purchased when the town was founded were speculative investments, and that the owners never actually lived in Bath.³¹³ The fieldwork was carried out under the direction of Dr. Charles Ewen, using university students enrolled in the Historical Archaeology field school offered through ECU's Department of Anthropology (2005, 2007) and high school students enrolled in the North Carolina Summer Ventures in Science and Mathematics program (2006). Students dug 1578 shovel test pits, laid out in 15 and 20 foot grids (4.6 m and 6.1 m), on 51 lots inside the boundaries of the historic town.³¹⁴

Evidence of early occupation was indicated by the presence of four ceramic types: Staffordshire slipware, delftware, Rhenish blue and grey stoneware, and manganese mottle ware.³¹⁵ Although the research hypothesis suggested that early

³¹² Flood 2012, 36-37.

³¹³ Flood 2012, 10-11, 61.

³¹⁴ Flood 2012, 71-71.

³¹⁵ Flood 2012, 84.

settlement would be located closer to the town's vital waterways, the archaeological work revealed that occupation was more evenly distributed throughout the town. This may be due to land speculators purchasing the more desirable lots, resulting in the sale and occupation of lots in other areas of the town. Additionally, no area of historic Bath was at a significant distance from the waterfront, and the creeks adjoining the land would have been easily accessible to all.³¹⁶

The physical location of the town (at the confluence of two creeks near the mouth of one of the region's most important rivers), and the orientation of the lots and houses towards the two creeks, mark the importance of the waterways to the inhabitants of historic Bath for travel, communication and commerce. These landscape elements are a strong manifestation of Bath's maritimity. The development of the waterfront after 1723 also demonstrates the maritimity of the townsfolk. The importance of maritime natural resources is attested archaeologically in the prominence of shell (3167 fragments from food remains) versus animal bone (661 fragments) in the sample collected during the survey.³¹⁷ The importance of shipping to the early town can be linked to both maritime cultural resources and also maritime material culture. Despite the evidence in the historical records, only a single artifact (a lead fishing weight) represents the Maritime Material Culture category in the assemblage recovered during the archaeological survey.

³¹⁶ Flood 2012, 93, 100, 107.

³¹⁷ The artifact catalogue for all three seasons of fieldwork is included in Lindsey Flood's 2012 MA thesis. However, she generously provided a digital copy of the catalogue to facilitate comparison for this dissertation. Information on artifacts and artifact analysis used here is derived solely from the digital catalogue.

McKean/Cochran Farm

The McKean/Cochran site is included in this comparison because it represents a different experience in terms of region and lifestyle from any of the other comparison sites: that of a rural, mid-Atlantic farmstead. The colonial influence on this area of Delaware includes Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands as well as England/Britain, and the plantation system seen in the southern colonies and the Caribbean is replaced by agriculture on a smaller, more personal level. The archaeologists who conducted the excavation for the Delaware Department of Transportation targeted their report at a general as well as an academic audience, but the document contains supplemental materials including a table sorting the finds from the site into South's classification scheme. The body of the report examines how consumer culture impacted the farm over subsequent occupations, but makes little use of South's categories to do so. The authors' consideration of the influence of regional culture, however, makes the site useful for highlighting other elements that may affect pattern variability.

The McKean/Cochran farm is located in the town of Odessa, along the Appoquinimink River, in New Castle County, north Delaware. The river system flows out into Delaware Bay, and was an important colonial waterway. The area was first settled by the Dutch, and came into English control during the second Anglo-Dutch war in the 1660s. The first landowner was Barent Hendrickson, who acquired the area as part of a larger tract around 1670. There is no evidence that the area was occupied until around the middle of the eighteenth century, however. By that time, the land had passed by sale from Hendrickson to Hilitie Anderson (around 1697), then by transfer to her

father, Paul Andersen, a major landowner in the area, in 1700. His son, Paul Andersen Jr., gained control of the land through inheritance and purchases from his siblings around 1707. It was under his ownership that the earliest farm, a tenant-run operation, began.³¹⁸

Nothing specific is known about the tenants who occupied the farm, and in 1763 ownership passed to Veronica Petersen, Paul Jr.'s wife. Paul and Veronica had no children of their own, but Veronica had two children from a previous marriage. In 1775, she passed some of her property, including the farm on the Apoquinimink, to her daughter's children, Thomas and Letitia McKean. Thomas died young, leaving Letitia in complete control of the farm. Letitia inherited a great deal of property from her grandmother, parents, and brother. She is known to have kept residences and paid the poll tax elsewhere, indicating that she likely did not live on the farm herself. She clearly belonged to the colony's upper social class, and it is likely that she continued to lease the farm to tenants at least until close to the end of her life. In 1797, the farm was assessed on a tax inventory at a value of \$1,600 and contained a house, a kitchen, a barn, a crib, and a smokehouse. The extent of the property's development indicates that the tenants were secure in their position—however, Letitia's executor sold the estate to Robert Cochran in 1814, a year after her death.³¹⁹

The Cochran family maintained control of the property and surrounding lands for approximately 74 years, but the site itself had been abandoned by the time of Robert's

³¹⁸ Bedell et al. 1999, 10-13.

³¹⁹ Bedell et al. 1999, 13-16, 19. The report is ambiguous as to whether Letitia ever lived on the farm. The section referenced here suggests she did not, but the authors suggest on p. 123 that owner occupancy could have begun as early as 1797.

death in 1843. According to 1816 tax records, the farm included 388 acres with 288 of these improved with at least a wooden house and a log stable. When Robert died, the property was split between his sons, with William Cochran retaining the portion that included the old farm. The division of the property made at that time remains in place today. By that point, the family had moved to a larger, more modern, house half a mile inland, and William soon built an even grander home a few hundred yards from the old farm house. The estate was eventually sold to cover a debt in 1888, and passed into the hands of the Colpits family, where it remained until 1942. After that point, it was traded among some larger incorporated farms until it was appropriated by the state for the construction of a new highway leading from the interior to the coast.³²⁰

Archaeologists from Louis Berger and Associates, working for the Delaware Department of Transportation, located the remains of the farm as part of a survey related to the highway construction in late 1994.³²¹ The farm was located in a field that had been extensively ploughed, and the first stage of archaeological investigation was extensive sampling of the plowzone to recover a representative sample of the material culture from the site. In December 1995, the field crews dug 151 shovel tests, most on a 5 m grid but with supplementary tests in areas of greater interest. The following spring, they were able to strip the plowzone mechanically using a backhoe to reveal the features beneath.³²²

³²⁰ Bedell et al. 1999, 1, 17-20.

³²¹ Bedell et al. 1999, 1.

³²² Bedell et al. 1999, 32-33.

Nearly 100 features were discovered below the plowzone, including several cellars and foundations, two wells (one with a wooden covering or shed above it), post holes for two earthfast (post-in-hole construction) buildings and several fences, the foundation and drain of a springhouse-style dairy, and a number of pits of unknown origins that may be related to activity areas. Archaeologists sampled the four cellar/foundation features using mostly 2x2 m² units, and sampled smaller features by excavating a quadrant or a half of each. Features were excavated further where the findings from the samples warranted. The largest cellar and the dairy were fully excavated while the smallest cellar, which seemed to have been abandoned before it was ever used, was not investigated further. The other cellar hole was partially excavated. Both wells were excavated further, one to a depth of eight feet (after expansion of the well shaft), and the other to a depth of five feet.³²³

The feature information revealed at least two distinct, successive, occupations of the property. An early tenant-occupied farm (1750-1800) had a small one-room house with a cellar and possibly a loft, a well, and two earthfast barns. Another cellar was started early in the farm's life, but abandoned and filled in before it ever saw use.³²⁴ The later farmstead (1800-1830) had a larger two-story house over a subdivided cellar. The solidly constructed dairy was modeled after a German springhouse, with water for cooling the milk in the dairy drawn from an adjacent new well. Fences ran between the buildings, and gaps between the fence lines suggest that there were several outbuildings,

³²³ Bedell et al, 1999, 36, 38, 40, 43-44, 49.

³²⁴ Bedell et al, 1999, 116-119.

and may indicate the location of the log stable and nearby log sheds mentioned in the 1816 tax return.³²⁵

The agrarian focus of the site is evident in terms of its landscape, artifacts and use of resources. Reconstructions of both farms, based on the placement of features combined with historical records, illustrate the close relationship between the houses and the farm's barns and stables. Although the site is located on the crest of a hill 100 yards from the river, there is no direct connection to this waterway: plowed fields lined the river banks in the colonial era. No artifacts of maritime material culture were noted, but several types of farm-related artifacts are present in the activities group. Faunal remains for the site are dominated by domesticated mammals such as pig, cattle and sheep. Maritime (or at least aquatic) species are represented, including some fish, a number of species of turtles, and a few muskrats, but these only make up a small percentage of the faunal assemblage. Oyster shells are present at the site, as part of the substrata providing drainage for the root cellar floor of the newer house, but no shellfish was noted as part of the food remains.³²⁶ Despite the proximity to the river, an important link to Delaware Bay and the Atlantic Ocean beyond, the people who lived on the McKean and Cochran farms lived very agrarian-focused lives.

The authors of the archaeological report prepared for the Delaware Department of Transportation made local and regional comparisons part of their interpretive structure. Their research questions focused on the idea of a consumer revolution and the

³²⁵ Bedell et al. 1999, 123.

³²⁶ Bedell et al. 1999, 5-6, 53, 90, 109-110, 113.

extent to which broad social changes resonate at the local level. The construction of the earthfast structures and the dairy both draw on Old-World cultural traditions—in the case of the dairy, not only was the springhouse concept older, but it had to be adapted for the local geography to function properly (there was no naturally occurring spring on the farm). Other dairy farmers in the region had long since developed alternate forms.³²⁷ Continuing this trend of conservatism, the cellar of the newer house suggests that the builders stuck with a design that was already becoming outdated in favour of a more balanced Georgian style.³²⁸ This conservatism was common in the Delaware Bay region, and the McKean/Cochran farm also shows other traits common to the region. One of the most significant regional variations is the persistence into the nineteenth century of substantial amounts of coarse red earthenware in the ceramic assemblage of this and other Delaware Valley. In the Chesapeake Bay region, stoneware is more common on later eighteenth-century sites. The two regions also show distinct differences in terms of their food preparation and kitchenware ceramics.³²⁹

Considerations of the extent of change and the importance of regional variation are avenues of inquiry relevant to this dissertation, as they raise questions about the pervasiveness of a coherent overarching cultural identity tying together peoples with a shared colonial Atlantic history. However, despite using South's artifact categorization system to organize the data, the report does not compare the site with either his patterns or any other archaeological sites. The only systematic comparisons presented are of

³²⁷ Bedell et al. 1999, 124.

³²⁸ Bedell et al. 1999, 128-129.

³²⁹ Bedell et al. 1999, 84-85.

ceramic types and forms.³³⁰ Including this site in this comparison, then, provides an opportunity to demonstrate how a site with strong regional links compares not only to a maritime community, but sites from more diverse geographic areas.

Site Adjustments

It is difficult to directly compare archaeological sites that have not been excavated using the same techniques, or with the same research questions guiding data collection. This study is intended as a general comparison to search for broad patterns that may be worthy of future study rather than for precise statistical analysis. In order to make even such a broad comparison, however, it was necessary to streamline some of the data from all sites, including Harbour Island. Although the selected sites do, for the most part, use the same categorizations at the group level, the names and distinctions of artifact classes and types are more variable. Some of the sites sort artifact classes and types into different groups. Where possible, the data from other sites were brought into alignment with the categories used for the HIAS analysis. The following changes were made to the data from each site:

Harbour Island

The finds from Yellowbird and the Duke Street Higgs House were excluded from this analysis, as they consist of predominantly modern materials. All brick and plaster

³³⁰ Bedell et al. 1999, 84, 175-180.

was excluded, as brick was not collected at most of the other sites, and plaster fills a similar functional role on Harbour Island, where building with brick was less common.

Drax Hall: Artifact data from Drax Hall comes from the tables in the "Artifact Pattern Analysis" appendix of Armstrong's book.³³¹ This comparison combines all finds from Drax Hall in order to provide a more complete portrait of plantation life. Armstrong's 'case bottle' and 'wine bottle' classes in the Kitchen Group are combined together.

Unidentified glass in the Kitchen Group is included in the glassware class. Spikes have been moved from the Architecture Group to the Activities Group, as a type in the 'miscellaneous hardware' class. 'Miscellaneous flint' is included in the Activities Group 'other' class. In the Personal Group, artifacts from the 'other' class are included in the 'personal items' class, with the exception of beads. All beads are included in the 'beads' class. Several new classes appear in the Activities Group, including 'farm equipment,' 'stable and barn', but most are subsumed into the 'other' category.

Montpelier

Artifact data for Montpelier Plantation comes from "Table 14 – Identifiable Post-Contact Artifacts Recovered from 38BU1789" in the report published by Brockington and Associates.³³² Brockington's alterations of South's categories require the most changes to create comparable classes, mostly because their table does not distinguish

³³¹ Armstrong 1990, 356-368.

³³² Poplin et al. 2004, 121.

between classes and types. In the Kitchen Group, 'bottle glass' is placed in the 'wine bottles' class, although certainly not all of the identified bottles are dark green glass. 'Table glass' and 'milk glass fragment' are subsumed into the 'glassware' class. The 'pharmaceutical bottle' class has been returned to the Kitchen Group from the Personal Group. The 'utensils' class is counted as the 'tableware' class, and all other artifacts are subsumed into the 'kitchenware' class. In the Architecture Group, all nails are classed together. The 'lock', 'bolt' and 'brass door knob plate' classes are included together as 'door parts'. 'Brass hardware' has been transferred into a type in the 'miscellaneous hardware' class of the Activities Group. All of the Furniture Group artifacts are included together in the 'furniture hardware' class. In the Clothing Group, all buckles are included in the 'buckles' class, and the 'cuff link' class has been moved to the 'jewellery' type of the 'personal items' class in the Personal Group. All artifacts counted in the 'buttons or beads' class have all been included in the 'buttons' class for the comparisons. In the Personal Group, all items save a coin have been subsumed into the 'personal items' class. 'Pipe bowls' and 'pipe stems' are included in the Tobacco Pipes Group. Classes in the Activities Group that do not belong to another obvious class, such as 'hammer' into 'construction hardware', are subsumed into the 'miscellaneous hardware' class, save for 'barbed wire' and 'unidentifiable machine part' which are included in the 'other' class.

Bath

The artifact catalogue from the excavations in Bath was not previously categorized, so it was possible to directly apply the system devised for the comparison.

Several new classes were required however, including 'can' in the Kitchen Group and 'cloth' and 'shoes' in the Clothing Group. Brick, shell, and plaster used in construction were not counted.

McKean/Cochran Farm

The artifact data for this site comes from the "Table B.1 – Artifact Pattern Analysis, McKean/Cochran Farm Site" in Appendix B of the site report. The artifact totals in the original table do not include the 710 artifacts from the Personal Group, and this affects the percentages of the groups in the report's table. The numbers and percentages here include the omitted artifacts. Minor alterations have been made to several classes and groups: the 'tumblers/wine glasses' and 'misc. glassware' classes have been combined to form a 'glassware' class, and the 'kitchen – other' class is included in the 'kitchenware' class in the Kitchen Group. As with the Montpelier data, the 'pharmaceutical' class has been returned to the Kitchen Group. Nails, spikes, and presumably some other fasteners are represented by a single class in the report—for the comparison, these have been placed in the 'nails' class, although for the other sites spikes are in the Activities Group. The other miscellaneous classes in the Architecture Group, 'electrical related' and 'plumbing fixtures' are included in the group's 'other' class. All of the classes in the Furniture Group are subsumed into the 'furniture hardware' class. The original report's Clothing Group does not appear to distinguish buttons from other clothing fasteners. For the comparison these are all included in the 'fasteners' class. The 'belts, straps, etc.' class has been moved to the group's 'other' class. Tobacco pipes have

been removed from the Personal Group and placed in their own group. The remaining classes in the Personal Group other than 'coins' and 'keys' have been relegated to types in the 'personal items' class. Several classes have been added to the Activities Group, but 'barrel parts' is included in the 'storage items' class, and 'livestock/pet related' is included in the 'stable and barn' class. The resulting comparison by group is presented numerically in Table 7.1. Appendix F contains the full categorizations from each comparison site.

Comparative Analysis

Harbour Island, Bath, and the McKean/Cochran farm are the sites with the greatest accord between the percent values for each group, though all of the comparison sites deviate from the range of the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern. Drax Hall and Montpelier are the two that stand out the most glaringly, and some of the discrepancies can be explained by the site histories and taphonomies. The differences between Drax Hall and the other four sites are unsurprising considering that the artifactual material predominantly comes from the Old Village. The slaves and free-laborers at Drax Hall developed and maintained an identity tied to a heritage that drew on transatlantic links to Africa as well as to the English/British Atlantic sphere in which they resided. Their relationships with material culture reflect these links as well as the power dynamics of plantation life. As discussed above, Armstrong notes that the values from the planter's house artifacts alone fit more closely with the Adjusted Frontier Artifact Pattern than the Adjusted Carolina Artifact Pattern.

Table 7.1. Artifact Pattern Comparison by Group.

Group	Harbour Island	Drax Hall	Montpelier	Bath	McKean/ Cochran Farm
Kitchen					
Total	4149	5540	3776	10360	16185
%	69.87	51.52	28.38	63.46	55.89
Architecture					
Total	1523	3127	9260	5253	11452
%	25.65	29.08	69.59	32.18	39.55
Arms					
Total	9	7	18	43	7
%	0.15	0.07	0.14	0.26	0.02
Furniture					
Total	4	4	3	4	20
%	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.07
Clothing					
Total	32	144	31	60	140
%	0.54	1.34	0.23	0.37	0.48
Personal					
Total	42	19	11	25	85
%	0.71	0.18	0.08	0.15	0.29
Tobacco					
Total	76	917	97	205	624
%	1.28	8.53	0.73	1.26	2.15
Activities					
Total	103	995	111	376	446
%	1.73	9.25	0.83	2.30	1.54
Total	5938	10753	13307	16326	28959

The Architecture Group at Montpelier is dominated by the nail fragments recovered from the planter's house, which were concentrated when the building was

destroyed by fire. Nails alone comprise 67.53% of the artifacts recovered from Montpelier, and the majority is from the planter's house. It is possible to adjust the values for this site by discounting the unidentified nails and nail fragments, most of which were recovered from the planter's house, and leaving only the wrought, cut, and wire nails for the site. With this adjustment, the values for the site fall much closer to the values for Harbour Island, Bath, and the McKean/Cochran farm (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2. Adjusted Values for Montpelier.

Group	Total	Percent
Kitchen	3776	60.53
Architecture	2191	35.12
Arms	18	0.29
Furniture	3	0.05
Clothing	31	0.05
Personal	11	0.18
Tobacco Pipes	97	1.55
Activities	111	1.78
Total	6239	100.00

A graphical representation demonstrates even more clearly the similarities between the sites other than Drax Hall (fig. 7.1).

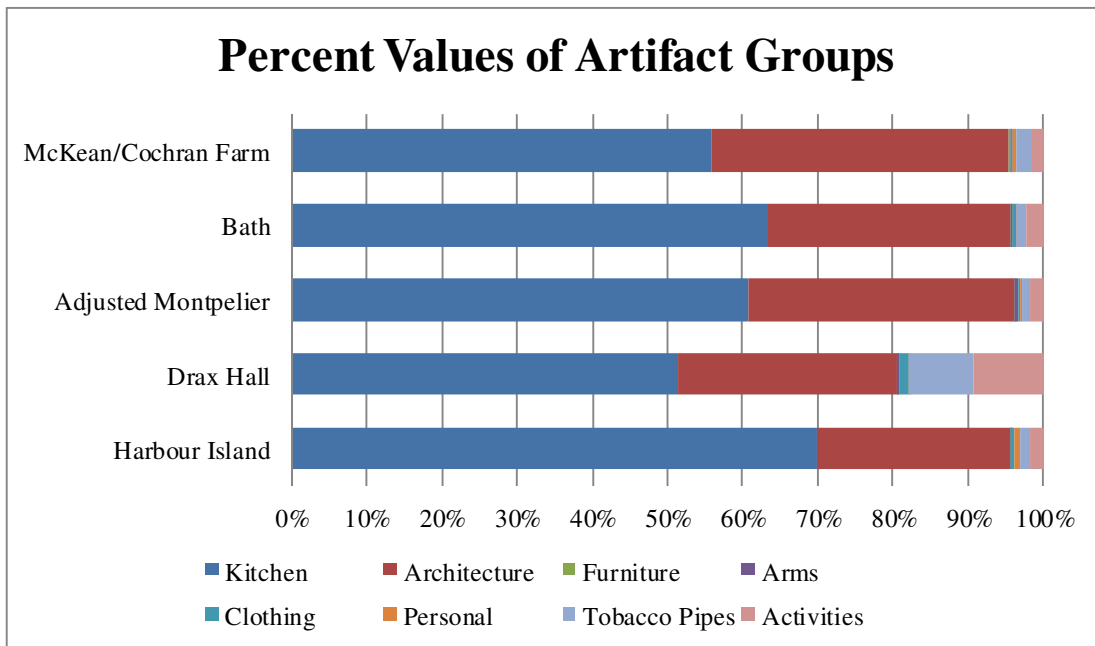


Fig. 7.1. Comparison by percent value of artifact groups for each site.

While Drax Hall remains an outlier, the general resemblance of the other four sites is notable. Harbour Island still stands out as having an extremely high proportion of artifacts in the Kitchen and Personal Groups. Some reasons why the Personal Group at this site may appear inflated are discussed in Chapter VI, leaving the Kitchen Group for further examination. Table 7.3 examines the values of the Kitchen Group artifacts for the five sites as a percentage of the artifacts in the Group and as a percentage of the total site assemblage.

Table 7.3. Kitchen Group Comparison by Group and Site Artifact Percentages.

Class	Harbour Island		Drax Hall		Adjusted Montpelier		Bath		McKean/ Cochran Farm	
	% Group	% Site	% Group	% Site	% Group	% Site	% Group	% Site	% Group	% Site
Ceramics	52.98	37.02	59.24	30.52	64.54	39.07	28.10	17.83	83.55	46.69
Wine Bottles	8.87	6.20	23.52	12.12	34.77	21.05	3.08	1.95	11.83	6.61
Pharmaceutical Bottles	0.34	0.24	2.04	1.05	0.03	0.02	0.19	0.12	0.01	0.00
Glassware	36.06	25.19	9.37	4.83	0.50	0.03	67.64	42.91	1.36	0.76
Tableware	0.02	0.02	0.40	0.20	0.08	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.23	0.13
Cans	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.05	0.00	0.00
Kitchenware	1.74	0.03	5.43	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.97	0.01	3.03	0.01
Group %	69.87		51.52		60.53		63.44		55.89	

Interpreting the information presented in Table 7.3 requires some contextual considerations. The first is that Harbour Island, Drax Hall, and Bath are the only three of the sites that were still inhabited in the late nineteenth century, when processes for mass-producing cheap glass were developed. The McKean/Cochran Farm, which has the lowest percentages of wine bottles and glassware, was the site abandoned the earliest. Even Montpelier had squatters occupying the area west of the planter's house in the post-bellum period. The second consideration is that the division of glass artifacts between the 'wine bottles' and 'glassware' classes is not consistent across the sites. As noted above, the artifacts in the 'wine bottles' class at Montpelier are certainly not all wine bottles, and some may more properly belong in the 'glassware' class. Conversely, some of the 'glassware' class for Bath may more properly belong to the 'wine bottles' class.

The overwhelming amount of glass in the artifact assemblage recovered from Bath is more difficult to account for—it is a significantly higher percentage of the site as well as the group assemblage than at any of the other sites. Harbour Island, which is the next closest site in percentages of glass artifacts in this group, is also the closest comparison to Bath in terms of duration of occupation, method of excavation, and maritime orientation. Any of these factors may contribute to the high percentage of glass at both sites, but as the glass from Bath has not been analyzed, it is not possible to draw any conclusions at this time. Other factors unique to the site may also explain the prominence of the glass-related artifact classes.

Site specific factors can explain the high amounts of ceramics recovered from the McKean/Cochran farm. The abandoned structures from all periods of occupation were used as refuse dumping areas, and ceramics (and glass) are some of the most durable types of household waste. This durability, as well as the ubiquity of ceramics in eighteenth-century households, also accounts for the high percentages of ceramics at all sites. Even at Bath, where wine bottles and glassware account for nearly 45% of the assemblage, ceramics make up almost 18% of the recovered artifacts. After the McKean/Cochran farm, the adjusted 'ceramics' class values for Montpelier are the highest by group and by site. Harbour Island is next highest by percent of site, but Drax Hall is the highest by percent of group.

Ceramics

Because the 'ceramics' class is such a large portion of the artifact assemblages for all five sites, it is useful to consider the class in greater detail. The composition of the comparison sites' ceramic assemblages, particularly in terms of ware types and vessel forms, can help highlight differences between the sites. The site descriptions already indicate that certain ceramic types and forms can denote cultural differences. The colonoware and hollowware forms found at Drax Hall (indicative of a growing Afro-Jamaican culture) are one example of this, as is the persistence of locally made coarse red earthenware at the McKean/Cochran farm. Examining both types and forms at the comparison sites (where data are available) provides an avenue for testing whether or not there are differences in the assemblages at Harbour Island and Bath, both determined to be maritime communities, that can be attributed to maritimity

Ware Types

Comparing the ceramic ware types from the comparison sites requires a number of adjustments. Complete accounts of the ceramic finds are not available in the published material for Drax Hall or the site report for the McKean/Cochran Farm. In the case of the latter, a rough breakdown of broad types for three of the most productive features—the early cellar, the late cellar, and the early well—is available. The ware type analysis, however, classifies ceramics into very broad categories that conflates important distinctive ware types. For example, the 'refined wares' category appears to include tin-glazed earthenware along with creamware, pearlware and other forms of refined

earthenware. Slipwares appear to be included with with coarse earthenwares. In order to facilitate a reasonable comparison, the data from the other three sites (omitting Drax Hall), have been classified according to this same broad system in Fig. 7.2. Modern, prehistoric, and unidentified materials (including 511 fragments of burned ceramics recovered from the planter's house at Montpelier) are not included.

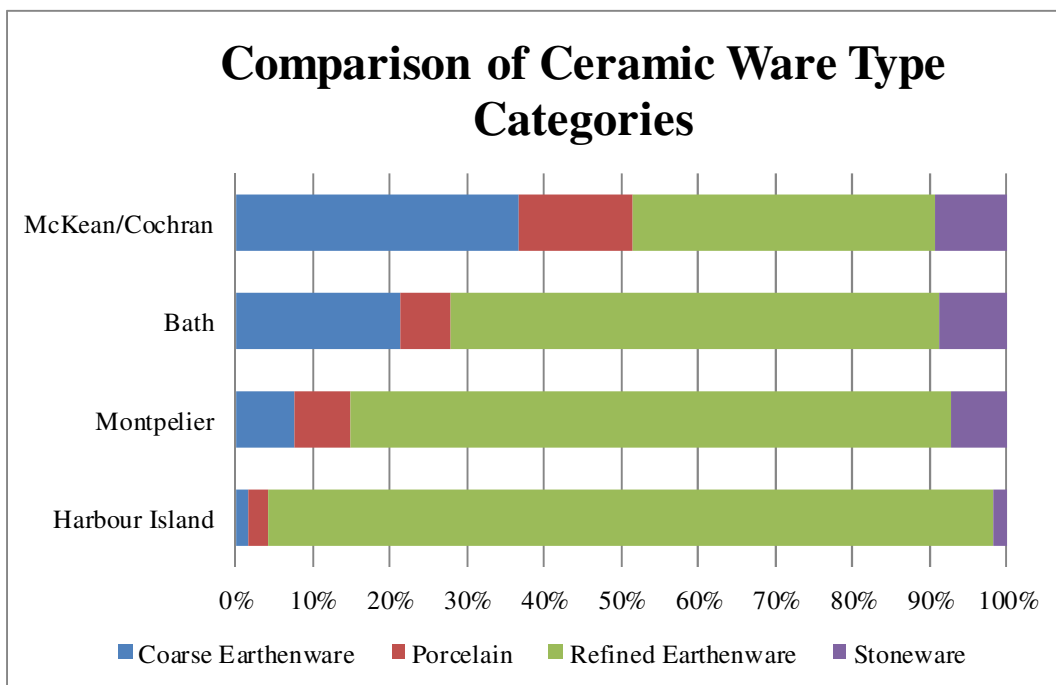


Fig. 7.2. Comparison of ceramic ware type categories.³³³

The McKean/Cochran farm stands out as the site with the most balanced distribution of ware types, and Harbour Island as the site with the least balance. At all sites, Refined Earthenware is the largest type category, but this is unsurprising

³³³ McKean/Cochran farm data from Bedell et al. 1999, 73. Table 3. Feature Summary, by Ware Group. Montpelier data from Poplin et al. 2004, 122. Table 15, European/American Ceramics.

considering the range of types included. Porcelain, the most expensive type, is the least common at most sites. The dearth of Coarse Earthenware at Harbour Island also appears remarkable, as does its great abundance at the McKean/Cochran farm. Examining the type categories in greater detail provides an opportunity to explore potential explanations for these discrepancies. Coarse Earthenware is also a significant category at Bath, comprising almost 18% of the ceramic assemblage, but the reason for this is not clear.

Coarse Earthenware

The Coarse Earthenware type group includes coarse redware storage and cooking vessels, along with slipwares such as the Staffordshire slipwares and other slip-decorated redwares. Slipwares are not distinguished from other coarse earthenware types at Montpelier, though they are present. In the case of the McKean/Cochran farm, this group includes redware cooking vessels created by local Delaware potters.³³⁴ Although the Drax Hall material was not included in the charts, this site also has a high amount of locally made coarse earthenwares, the bulk of which are yabba wares made by the plantation's enslaved population (and later the free laborers of the Old Village) according to African traditions. These alone make up 11.9% of the total ceramic assemblage (and 61.4% of the coarse earthenwares). For areas of the site dated to the eighteenth century, this percentage is even higher: up to 85.6% in the Old Village, and 25.9% of the eighteenth-century assemblage from the planter's house.³³⁵

³³⁴ Bedell et al. 1999, 77-78.

³³⁵ Armstrong 1990, 153.

At both Drax Hall sites, the presence of high amounts of coarse earthenware is related to both period and the accessibility of local production areas. Armstrong links the decline in the production and use of local yabba wares at Drax Hall at the end of the eighteenth century directly to the introduction of cheap mass market refined earthenwares such as pearlware and whiteware, and to the availability of cheap, durable, cast-iron cooking pots. However, the locally made yabba wares return as a strong presence in nineteenth-century contexts of the free-laborer period, possibly reflecting economic constraints.³³⁶

Explanations for the relative wealth of coarse earthenwares at Bath are more elusive, as the ceramics have not been analyzed in detail. The community's period of greatest economic prosperity was in the eighteenth century, and this may contribute to the prominence of this ware type group, as mass produced refined earthenwares such as creamware and pearlware only became more affordable later in the century. Only about four percent of the ceramic assemblage is slipware, so the bulk of this category is comprised of other coarse earthenware varieties, including manganese mottled ware, used as one of the indicators of early eighteenth-century occupation in Flood's study.³³⁷ Although the category only represents 7.58% of the ceramic assemblage from Montpelier, it is also the second largest ware type group at that site, granting some similarities with Bath.

³³⁶ Armstrong 1990, 157.

³³⁷ Flood 2012, 93.

The relative dearth of coarse earthenware types at Harbour Island remains difficult to explain. The category is fairly evenly divided between slipwares (52%) and other coarse earthenwares (48%), and each contributes only 0.73 and 0.78% respectively to the total ceramic assemblage. As discussed in Chapter VI, several of the sites from the Harbour Island Archaeological Survey contained no coarse earthenware whatsoever (including slipware)—this is indicative of the general poor distribution of wares other than the refined earthenwares on the island. This may be a result of availability of imported ceramic types in the Bahamas. It may have been less economically viable to import less desirable and less durable ceramic types, but further research is required to investigate this hypothesis.

Porcelain

Porcelain is often directly linked to socio-economic status, where high amounts relate to sites with more wealth and prestige. This could be the case for the McKean/Cochran farm, as most of the porcelain redeposited into the cellar when the house was abandoned is thought to represent discards from the house itself over its 30-year period of occupation.³³⁸ This reflects the elevated social status of the occupants, the Cochrans, at the time. The ceramic assemblage from the planter's house at Drax Hall also had a high percentage of porcelain (10.5%), again indicative of high status.³³⁹ Although Montpelier was an elite residence, the percentage of porcelain in the

³³⁸ Bedell et al. 1999, 78.

³³⁹ Armstrong 1990, 197.

assemblage is relatively low. This may reflect the fact that it was not a primary residence for the planter/owners during the latter part of its use-life. The value for Bath is in the middling range, but the low percentage of porcelain at Harbour Island reflects an overall impoverished community with only limited access to elite goods (see Chapter VI).

Refined Earthenwares

The Refined Earthenwares type group is the largest at all of the sites, but encompasses a number of significant types including creamware, pearlware and whiteware. These three types make up most of the assemblage at the sites where this type group can be further differentiated (table 7.4). Tin-glazed earthenwares are also considered in this category, because of their classification in the McKean/Cochran Farm data. Although numbers are not available, the site report makes clear that tin-glazed earthenwares comprise a significant portion of the ceramic assemblage along with creamware and pearlware, and indeed dominate the earlier deposits.³⁴⁰ Tin-glazed earthenwares are a much smaller portion of the assemblage at the other three sites, comprising at most 5% of the assemblage (at Bath). Their importance at the McKean/Cochran farm can be partly explained by the fact that the farm was abandoned in the early nineteenth century. While pearlware and creamware also comprise a sizeable portion of the ceramic assemblage according to the site report, whiteware is also uncommon for this reason.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Bedell et al. 1999, 71, 74.

³⁴¹ Bedell et al. 1999, 71.

Table 7.4. Refined Earthenwares by Percentage of Ceramic Assemblage.

Ceramic Type	Harbour Island	Montpelier	Bath
Creamware	19.17	4.15	13.34
Pearlware	54.64	16.25	19.89
Whiteware	17.25	52.7	23.32
Tin-glazed earthenware	1.46	0.67	5.22
Other refined earthenware	1.51	4.10	1.61

The importance of creamware, pearlware and whiteware at the three sites occupied into the nineteenth century is clear from the data. At both Montpelier and Bath, whiteware is the most abundant refined earthenware type; whiteware and ironstone likely account for much of the 511 sherds of unidentified burned ceramic from the Montpelier planter's house.³⁴² Both pearlware and creamware are more abundant at Harbour Island, and creamware makes up a larger portion of the assemblage at Harbour Island than any of the other sites.

Slipwares make up a sizable portion of the other refined earthenwares at both Harbour Island and Bath, and were present at all other sites. At Harbour Island, as seen in Chapter VI, refined earthenwares (including slipware) have a very high diversity despite low sherd counts. While the proportion of other refined earthenwares is also low at Bath, at least compared to Montpelier, the diversity is much less broad. Diversity of refined earthenware types at Montpelier is difficult to as the redwares are counted as single types without further differentiation, however the report only mentions the

³⁴² Poplin et al. 2004, 123.

presence of three (Astbury, Jackfield, and North Devon gravel tempered wares).³⁴³ The variety at Harbour Island nevertheless seems remarkable for the low amounts of types in this category (33 sherds of 13 types, discounting the 17 sherds of slipware). Compared to the types listed for the McKean/Cochran farm and Drax Hall, the general diversity of refined earthenware types at Harbour Island seems high.³⁴⁴

Stoneware

Stoneware comprises a similar proportion of the ceramic assemblage at three of the four comparison sites, with Harbour Island as the exception. Types are given for all sites except Montpelier, and high type diversity seems normal, even for sites with smaller percentages of stoneware.³⁴⁵ Stonewares were more expensive ceramics and, as with porcelain, their limited representation at Harbour Island likely reflects the poverty of the community as well a sporadic availability.

Summary

Harbour Island has a smaller proportion of ceramics in all type categories other than refined earthenwares, but the site with the most similar distribution is Montpelier Plantation. Harbour Island does have a notably high diversity of types even in type groups with poor representation. This is also true at some other sites, however, and is not

³⁴³ Poplin et al. 2004, 124.

³⁴⁴ Bedell et al. 1999, 182-188.

³⁴⁵ Armstrong 1990, 78-80; Bedell 1999, 182-188. See Chapter VI for information on stoneware at Harbour Island.

unique to the island. There are no features that Harbour Island shares in common with Bath, the other maritime site, that it does not also share in common with other non-maritime sites. Although the composition of the ceramic assemblage at Harbour Island is more extremely unbalanced than at the other sites, this cannot be directly linked to maritimity.

Vessel Forms

Along with ceramic types, the forms of vessels found on archaeological sites provide insight into cultural practices, especially regarding food and food storage. While data on vessel forms is available from all comparison sites except Bath, the information is limited. As with the ceramic types, the data from the McKean/Cochran farm comes from only three features; similarly, vessel form data from Montpelier is only available for the planter's house and the northern building (possible slave quarters or kitchen). Data from Drax Hall lumps forms into broad categories based on function derived from form, with only tablewares broken down into discrete forms. To facilitate comparison, materials from all four sites have been grouped into ceramic form groups (table 7.5). Numbers are derived from a minimum number of vessels (MNI) with identifiable forms.

As there is no data from Bath, Harbour Island is the only site in the comparative sample with clear maritimity. Although there are some notable differences between the assemblages, it is not possible to conclude whether or not these differences are related to the maritimity of the community or to other factors. Regardless, a brief discussion of the

form groups from each site highlights the observed differences and explores potential explanations that may be of use for future research.

Table 7.5. Ceramic Form Groups by MNI and Percent of Total Identified Vessels.³⁴⁶

Form Group	Harbour Island		Drax Hall		Montpelier		McKean/ Cochran Farm	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Teawares	34	14.35	45	1.46	35	23.33	193	32.99
Drinking	5	2.11	100	3.23	4	2.67	41	7.01
Tablewares	188	79.32	2292	74.13	80	53.33	196	33.50
Storage	3	1.27	392	12.68	18	12.00	25	4.27
Preparation	0	0.00	263	8.51	0	0.00	48	8.21
Multifunction	6	2.53	0	0.00	13	8.67	77	13.16
Chamber Pot	1	0.42	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.85
Total	237	100.00	3092	100.00	150	100.00	585	100.00

³⁴⁶ Drax Hall data from Armstrong 1990, Table 19. Shape of Ceramic Items, Excluding Coarse Earthenwares and Table 22. Shape of coarse Earthenwares, 143, 155. Montpelier data from Table 25. Vessels Identified from the Planter's House and the Northern building, 162. McKean/Cochran farm data from Bedell et al. 1999, Table B.6. Feature 4, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares; Table B.7. Feature 4, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Other Functions; Table B.8. Feature 29, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares; Table B.9. Feature 29, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Other Functions; Table B.10. Feature 1, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Teawares and Tablewares; and Table B.11. Feature 1, Minimum Numbers of Vessels, Other Functions, 182-188.

Teawares

This form group includes all materials related to the consumption and preparation of tea, including teacups and saucers, tea bowls, and teapots. It is not surprising that the percentage of teawares at Drax Hall is so low, as the assemblage contains mostly materials from the Old Village. The enslaved population did not have the time and access to participate extensively in this social ceremony. The figure for Harbour Island is also low compared to the finds from the two plantation sites. Tea drinking may have remained an elite practice on the island, either for economic reasons or because it never became ingrained in local habits.

Drinking

This group includes mugs and cups not identified as teacups, as these were the only ceramic forms related to drinking habits that were not associated with tea or coffee. These are not common at any site but are the highest percentage of the identified ceramic forms at the McKean/Cochran farm. The prevalence of ceramic drinking vessels at the farm may be related to local cultural foodways, perhaps related to the influence of other European immigrant groups in the Delaware valley.

Tablewares

This is the largest form group at all of the sites, although its majority at the McKean/Cochran farm is narrow. This is also the group that contains the most forms (table 7.6).

Table 7.6. Tablewares by MNI and Percent of Total Identified Vessels.

Form	Harbour Island		Drax Hall		Montpelier		McKean/ Cochran Farm	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Plate/platter	131	55.27	1389	44.92	56	37.33	93	15.90
Bowl	50	21.10	825	26.68	23	15.33	69	11.79
Pitcher	7	2.95	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.68
Porringer	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	2.56
Misc. tableware	0	0.00	78	2.25	1	0.67	15	2.56

Plate/platter is the most common form in this group, and at Harbour Island plates alone account for over half the identified vessels. Bowl is the next most common form, and bowls are more common in the assemblage at Drax Hall than elsewhere. The majority of the bowls from this site come from the earlier components. Armstrong argues that the population of the Old Village experienced the same cultural pressures felt more broadly in Western European-influence cultures at the end of the eighteenth century to change from communally prepared and shared meals to individual dining. This change was accompanied by an increase in the use of plates over bowls. He also suggests that they were able to preserve some of their cultural practices by maintaining local production of coarse earthenware bowls.³⁴⁷ This preservation could account for the high percentage of bowls and the higher proportion of bowls to plates than is seen at other sites. The percentage of bowls at Harbour Island is also high, but the proportion of bowls to plates is much lower. The proportion of bowls to plates is actually the highest at

³⁴⁷ Armstrong 1990, 144-146.

the McKean/Cochran farm, where percentages of both forms are much lower. The relatively early abandonment of the site may be a factor in this distribution.

Storage

This form group contains mainly jars, representing vessel forms used primarily for storage without multiple functions. It is very poorly represented at Harbour Island, perhaps indicating that the islanders relied on other types of vessels, such as casks, for storage. It is higher at both plantations. At Montpelier, the majority of the storage vessels came from the building north of the planter's house.³⁴⁸ Association of the building with either a kitchen or a slave habitation could help explain the higher percentage of storage vessels at this site, especially compared with the data from Drax Hall where the assemblage primarily represents the black inhabitants of the Old Village.

Preparation

This form group is only present at two of the comparison sites, and it represents very different forms at each. The material from Drax Hall is entirely composed of coarse earthenware cooking pots, most of which date to the earlier period of occupation before the introduction of more durable cast iron vessels.³⁴⁹ The materials from the McKean/Cochran farm are mostly milk pans, with two colanders and a pipkin rounding out the assemblage. These represent very different approaches to both food and food

³⁴⁸ Poplin et al. 163.

³⁴⁹ Armstrong 1990, 157-158.

technology, but both with a greater reliance on the use of ceramic wares in food preparation than seen archaeologically at either of the other two sites.

Multifunction

This form group contains ceramic forms that could have had multiple functions, and thus are difficult to place in a narrower category, such as large bowls, generic dishes, jugs, and pans. The lack of vessels in this group from Drax Hall may represent another aspect of a reliance on soups and stews and other foods that can be prepared in the same type of cooking pot, reducing the number of generic vessels required. It may also reflect a difference in the classification of forms at the site. The McKean/Cochran farm is the only site with any ceramic pans, and these are the most common multifunction form at that site. Jugs, dishes and large bowls were found at all sites with forms in the group. This group is largest at the McKean/Cochran farm, and though it is represented at Harbour Island, the percentage of multifunction vessels is quite low.

Chamber Pot

This form group is represented by a single form that does not fit in any of the other categories. Chamber pots were only found at Harbour Island and the McKean/Cochran Farm, and they are only a tiny fraction of the identifiable assemblage at both sites. The small sample size of the material from Montpelier may account for the lack of representation of chamber pots in the assemblage. The lack at Drax Hall cannot be explained in this manner, as this site has the largest amount of identified vessel types.

The lack of this form at Drax Hall may represent different approaches to hygiene in the Old Village, but this would require a more in-depth study than is appropriate for this dissertation.

Summary

The most distinctive aspect of the identifiable form assemblage from Harbour Island is a general lack of diversity of forms compared to the other sites. Tablewares make up almost 80% of the assemblage, and these are limited to only plates, bowls and pitchers (in that order). The closest comparison site in terms of the distribution of the tableware forms is Drax Hall, which, with the exception of the use of ceramic cooking pots, also shows a lower diversity of form types. Although Drax Hall is the closest comparison for the tablewares form group, Montpelier is the most similar in the teawares, drinking, and preparation ware groups. The greater percentage of tablewares at Harbour Island could result directly from lower percentages in these other categories.

It is difficult to satisfactorily explain Harbour Island's excess amounts of tablewares and low percentages and relative lack of other form groups other than teawares. Similarities to Drax Hall, especially the high percentage of bowls both overall and in the tablewares form group, may represent shared African cultural influence. The low percentage of storage, preparation, and multifunction forms may reflect local foodways, or a reliance on vessels of other materials, such as casks for storage. It is possible that the lack of form diversity is also a result of a lack of availability and access, as discussed in Chapter VI in relation to the distribution of ceramic wares, but other

factors may be involved. Foodways are certainly an important influence—Harbour Island relied more heavily on local maritime food resources than all other sites where ware types are known. Drax Hall residents also used maritime food resources, and this may also account for similarities in tableware distributions. Preparation and storage of maritime foods may have used different ceramic forms and other non-ceramic vessels. Ceramic forms linked to maritime foodways are the clearest evidence of the community's maritimity in the recovered artifactual assemblage, but there is insufficient evidence to make a strong claim.

The similarities between Drax Hall and Harbour Island in these respects also are interesting when considering the difficulty of differentiating free and unfree, or even white and non-white domestic areas in the Harbour Island assemblage. Pre-emancipation race relations at Harbour Island were relatively relaxed, and mariner-slaves in the Bahamas were generally granted a fair amount of independence. The reliance on maritime resources and a maritime economy at Harbour Island, exploited in part by slaves, may have resulted in a sense of community identity derived from shared experiences of the maritime environment and reflected archaeologically in the mixing of cultural influences between these populations. While racial tensions increased after emancipation, the material culture of the island continues to reflect thoroughly mixed cultural influences and, perhaps, shared community identity derived from interactions with the maritime environment.

Categories of Maritimity

Of all the comparison sites, Harbour Island and Bath demonstrate the strongest maritimity. This is most visible in the Landscape and Maritime Resources categories. No site contained much recovered material related directly to the Maritime Material Culture category, although material cultural evidence of maritimity may be embedded in the landscape. Without locating an area used specifically for maritime activity, large landscape-related elements such as slipways, wharves and docks, as well as local shipwrecks linked to regional maritime transport zones, are the best indicators of maritimity from this category.

In the case of the British-influenced Western Atlantic world of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, maritime culture does not exist in a vacuum. People bought and used similar material goods throughout the region, and participation in the cultural system meant that they deployed those goods in broadly similar ways. Other cultural influences affected these deployments, especially the influx of ideas and technologies from immigrant populations. This is easily seen in the ceramic assemblages of both Drax Hall and the McKean/Cochran farm. In the case of maritimity, variation may be visible as adaptations of broader cultural practices to the use of local maritime resources, but this link is not strongly supported. This comparison shows that artifacts alone cannot demonstrate the maritimity, or lack thereof, of a community: they must be considered in context with evidence from the other categories of maritimity when attempting to determine the relationship of community identity and environment. Even a stronger representation from the Maritime Material Culture category alone would be insufficient

to determine community-wide maritimity without further supporting evidence from the other categories of maritimity.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This dissertation uses the example of Harbour Island in the Bahamas to investigate the concept of maritimity: identity grounded in perceived (or imagined) shared traits deriving from a community's relationship with the maritime environment. That relationship is best investigated by examining three separate categories of maritimity: Landscape, Maritime Resources, and Maritime Material Culture. These categories are conceptual and inclusive, without strong boundaries. They represent different ways of examining and assessing how people engage with the maritime environment and how they internalize that engagement into both personal identity and their imaginations of what links themselves and others into a cohesive maritime community.

Harbour Island was, historically, a maritime community. Experience of the maritime environment was key for all community members and that experience was internalized as maritimity. The maritime environment physically ordered their lives and provided the resources they needed to live, travel, and communicate with the outside world. The outside world, however, came with its own cultural framework through which their daily lived experiences were structured. That framework was the experience of the British colonial Atlantic.

Since the colony was founded, the Bahamas have been part of the Atlantic world. Their geographic location alongside one of the major shipping routes of the Atlantic

trade system granted them a fleeting importance when the Caribbean and western Atlantic were less politically stable. The islands served as a base for privateers and pirates, preying on the shipping passing through the Straits of Florida, but were unsuited to large-scale agricultural industry and were poor in natural resources other than salt. The Bahamas were consistently a poor peripheral colony due to their inability to consistently produce and deliver a lucrative staple for sale in world markets. The dominant cultural ties, for a long time, were to England/Britain. While Africa made significant contributions of people and culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ties of trade and travel continued to be primarily with Britain and her other colonies and former colonies. These ties influenced—even determined—the types of material culture available in the Bahamas, as the colony relied on imports for most finished goods and even some basic provisions such as meat, flour, and dairy products. The largest exception was shipbuilding, which developed as a local industry starting in the early eighteenth century.

Harbour Island is one of the earliest settlements in the colony, and at times it served as a second capital. Maritime culture has always been important to the islanders, even during periods when agricultural industry, such as fruit growing, was vital to the island's economy. Without local sailors, shipping, and shipbuilding and the infrastructure to operate as a port of call, the community's ability to take advantage of larger markets would have been severely limited. The interplay between the community's maritimicity and its ties to the Atlantic system shaped the local culture at Harbour Island.

The integration into both a broader British Colonial Atlantic identity and maritimism are identifiable archaeologically at Harbour Island. Ties to the British Atlantic are visible not only in the specific material goods, but in the patterns of the use of these goods that are similar throughout the cultural sphere of the British Atlantic system. Maritimism at Harbour Island is most visible in terms of its use of maritime resources, and elements of the maritime cultural landscape. While items of maritime material culture were present as part of the landscape and were important in the daily lives of those involved directly in maritime industries, maritime material culture is not strongly visible in the archaeological assemblages collected from domestic spaces on the island. The community's participation in the Atlantic sphere is much more visible archaeologically from the collected assemblage than any indication of maritimism.

This dissertation posed the question: are there any notable differences in the archaeological assemblages of maritime communities that indicate maritimism? Considering the collected sample, using South's artifact pattern analysis system to compare the collected community assemblage with other sites in the northwestern Atlantic, the answer seems to be no. While the assemblage from Harbour Island is distinctive in a number of ways (the high type diversity of refined earthenwares, the low ceramic form diversity and the high proportion of plates and bowls, and the high percentage of the architecture group), these distinctions cannot clearly be linked to maritimism. However, they do suggest some avenues for future research in terms of investigating maritime communities more broadly. Low diversity of ceramic forms may

be particularly worthy of consideration, as there was no available comparison data from the other maritime community used for this study (Bath, North Carolina).

The lack of maritime material culture in the assemblage is itself notable. Harbour Islanders certainly did use and even create specialized material culture for engaging with the maritime environment. Apparently, these items were kept away from domestic areas, and possibly relegated to designated activity areas. Spatial segregation of maritime activities may be suggested archaeologically in the low ratio of pipe stems to pipe bowls found on most of the investigated properties, suggesting that most smoking, a social activity linked strongly to maritime communities, took place away from the home. The Harbour Island Archaeological Survey focused on houses and house yards—if it had been possible to excavate known maritime activity areas, such as the historic shipbuilding yard, presumably more maritime material culture would have been evident. Such evidence would have provided stronger archaeological support for the maritimity of the inhabitants.

Although few of the HIAS property assemblages contained any items of maritime material culture, South's artifact classification system is designed precisely to illuminate concentrations of material culture related to specific functions. Consequently the system may be useful for highlighting maritime activity areas. Because it facilitates comparison, the system can not only identify ways in which sites may be culturally unique, but can also help either illuminate or eliminate the influences producing that uniqueness to provide a more solid basis for interpretation. In the case of the Harbour Island sample, the use of South's classification system instead demonstrated the

significance of the British Atlantic cultural system in influencing the identity of the islanders. Identity is not monolithic, however. Strongly identifying as part of a larger cultural system does not undermine the importance of other identifications, though it appears that South's system is not ideal for aspects of identity that originate in other experiences such as interaction with the maritime environment. This study presents evidence that it is not possible to examine only collected artifacts and rely solely on the category of Maritime Material Culture to determine whether a community possesses maritimity.

Determinations of maritimity based on the archaeological record must consider all three categories of maritimity. The presence or absence of archaeological manifestations in any single category is not sufficient to infer maritimity. In the case of Harbour Island, the Maritime Material Culture category is represented in the remains of alterations to the environment such as wharves and slipways. These elements are part of a broader orientation of Landscape category elements that support a maritime orientation and identification. The collected assemblage contains high amounts of food remains associated with the Maritime Resources category that add further support to the determination. In fact, the food remains from Harbour Island do constitute a notable difference in the archaeological assemblage from this maritime community that indicates maritimity but, without evidence in the two other categories, this indication is not sufficient to support an archaeological determination that Harbour Island possessed maritimity.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF SHIPS ENTERING AND LEAVING THE BAHAMAS FROM 1784-1785

The following tables have been compiled from the weekly lists published in the Bahamas Gazette, from September 1784 to August 1785.

Table A.1. Ships Arriving in Nassau by Port of Arrival, 1784-1785.

Port of Arrival	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August*
Alexandria	--	--	--	--	--		1	--	--	--	--	--
Anguilla	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	1	--	--	--
Antigua	--	--	--	2	--		--	--	1	--	1	--
Bachop	--	--	1	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Baltimore	1	--	1	1	3		--	--	--	1	--	2
Barbados	--	--	--	--	--		--	1	--	--	1	--
Bermuda	--	4	1	1	--		--	1	--	1	--	1
Boston	--	--	--	2	1		1	--	1	1	--	2
Charleston	2	2	3	1	--		4	3	2	2	2	--
Connecticut	--	1	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Cork	--	--	--	--	1		--	1	--	--	--	1
East Florida	--	--	4	4	2		1	3	2	--	--	1
Georgetown	--	1	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Georgia	--	--	--	--	--		--	2	1	--	--	4
Grenada	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	1	--	--	--
Halifax	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Havana	--	--	--	2	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Hispaniola	--	1	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--
Jamaica	--	2	1	2	1		2	2	2	4	1	2
Liverpool	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	1	--	--
London	--	1	--	--	2		--	--	3	1	1	1

Table A.1. Continued.

Port of Arrival	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August*
Maryland	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	1	--	--	1	--
Nantucket	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
New Brunswick	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Newburn	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
New York	1	--	2	1	3	--	--	--	--	3	4	2
North Carolina	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	1	2	--
Nova Scotia	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Philadelphia	1	3	--	1	1	--	1	--	--	3	--	1
Rhode Island	1	1	--	1	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Savannah	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
St. Augustine	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
St. Christopher	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1	1	--
St. Mary's	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
St. Vincent	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--
Tortola	--	--	1^	--	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--
Turks Islands	--	--	1^	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
Whale Fishery	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Virginia	--	2	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	2	3

^ Vessel origin given as "Tortola and the Turks Islands"

* Records missing for August 20-27 1785

Table A.2. Ships Departing from Nassau by Destination 1784-1785.

Destination	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April*	May	June	July	August*
Anguilla	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
Antigua	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Baltimore	--	1	1	--	--	--	1	2	1	1	--	1
Barbados	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	--
Bermuda	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Boston	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Charleston	--	2	1	1	4	4	2	1	--	2	3	--
Curacao	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
East Florida	--	2	5	--	2	3	1	--	--	2	--	--
Georgia	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1	1	2
Jamaica	--	1	--	--	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Liverpool	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
London	--	1	3	1	--	1	1	--	1	--	2	--
Maryland	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--
Nantucket	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Newburn	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
New Brunswick	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--
New York	--	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1
North Carolina	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	1	--	--	1	--
Nova Scotia	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	--
Perth Amboy	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--

Table A.2. Continued.

Destination	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April*	May	June	July	August*
Philadelphia	--	1	1	--	--	1	5	2	--	--	2	1
Rhode Island	--	2	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--
Savannah	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
St. Andrews	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
St. Augustine	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
St. Christopher	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
St. Mary's	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
St. Vincent	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tortola	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
Turks Islands	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Virginia	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1
Whale Fishery	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--
Wilmington	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

* Records missing for April 9-16 1785, August 20-27 1785

APPENDIX B
SOUTH BAR CANNONS

Two historic maps from 1702 and 1718 both suggest some form of fortification placed at the southern end of Harbour Island defending the historical entrance to the harbor mouth. Reports to the Board of Trade also reference a small fortification on the island that was falling into disrepair by the 1730s. The 1718 map also records a small fortification at the location of Fort Point which may be the outpost mentioned (fig. B.1). Despite the depiction of a larger fortification at the southern end of the island, the text accompanying the map is ambiguous as to whether this actually existed or whether it is a suggested placement and design. However, there is a collection of six iron cannons facing the harbor mouth in an area generally corresponding with the location of the fort on the early eighteenth-century maps. Additionally, the 2009 satellite image of the site taken from Google Earth© revealed topography suggestive of a structure (fig. B.2). As part of the 2009 HIAS field season, we examined the area and recoded the details of the cannons.

The location of the cannons is common knowledge to both island residents and tourists, and based on the trash scattered around the site the area is frequently visited. Previous to our visit, we heard a rumour that someone had removed one of the cannons, but this turned out to be incorrect. The land is owned by South Bar, a private landowner's club, who granted us permission to record the cannons. The site is accessed by a dirt service road running through the coppice to a maintenance shed related to fiber

optics cables that run across the narrowest part of the channel between Eleuthera and Harbour Island, connecting information services on the two islands (fig. B.3). The path to the cannons themselves is well-worn and visible from the road area where the shed is located. Cannon 1 is barely visible from the road (fig. B.4).

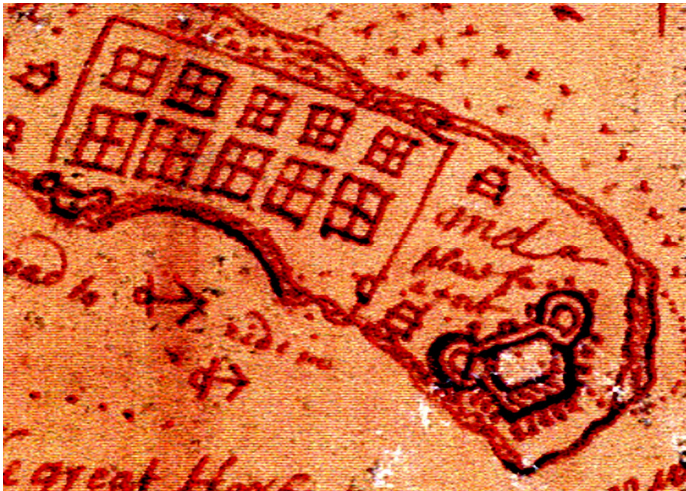


Fig. B.1. Excerpt from 1718 Cockram map showing a small fortification at Fort Point (left), and the suggested placement for a larger fortification at the island's southern tip.

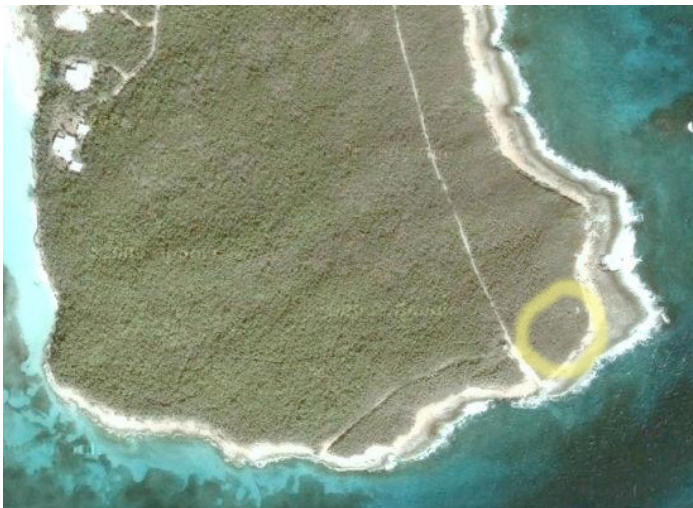


Fig. B.2. Google Earth map from 2009 showing location of a possible fort (inside yellow circle).



Fig. B.3. View of Eleuthera from the southern tip of Harbour Island.



Fig. B.4. Path from the road to the cannons. Cannon 1, marked with pinflags, is barely visible from the road.

The path is not straight, but curves up slightly to the north east. From the edge of the road to Cannon 6 is approximately 21.3 m. The greatest distance between cannons was 4.14 m from the westernmost trunnion of Cannon 4 to the westernmost trunnion of Cannon 5. The shortest distance between cannons was 0.91 m between the easternmost trunnion of Cannon 5 to the mouth of Cannon 6, which lay in a straight line along the path. Table B.1 summarizes the distances between each of the cannons.

Table B.1. Distances Between South Bar Cannons.

From	To	Distance in meters
C1 west trunnion	C2 west trunnion	4.14
C2 west trunnion	C3 west trunnion	3.55
C3 west trunnion	C4 west trunnion	3.28
C4 west trunnion	C5 east trunnion	4.55
C5 east trunnion	C6 cannon mouth	0.91
Total		16.43

During the course of this investigation, we found that the cannons lay on top of a limestone block walkway or platform. In some places, the blocks appeared to have been mortared together. We exposed and mapped part of this platform on the west side of Cannon 3 (fig. B.5). A layer of sand lay above the blocks, and a layer of humus lay above this pathway. Some repeat visitors to the island claimed to be aware of the platform beneath the cannon, and these layers may reflect the behavior of curious sightseers rather than purely natural processes of burial. The placement of Cannon 6, out

of line with the others and turned on its side so that the vent was buried, provides further evidence that the site has been disturbed by sightseers. Using a survey pin flag, we tested the extent of the platform and found that it began 40 cm west of Cannon 1 and extended beneath all six cannons.

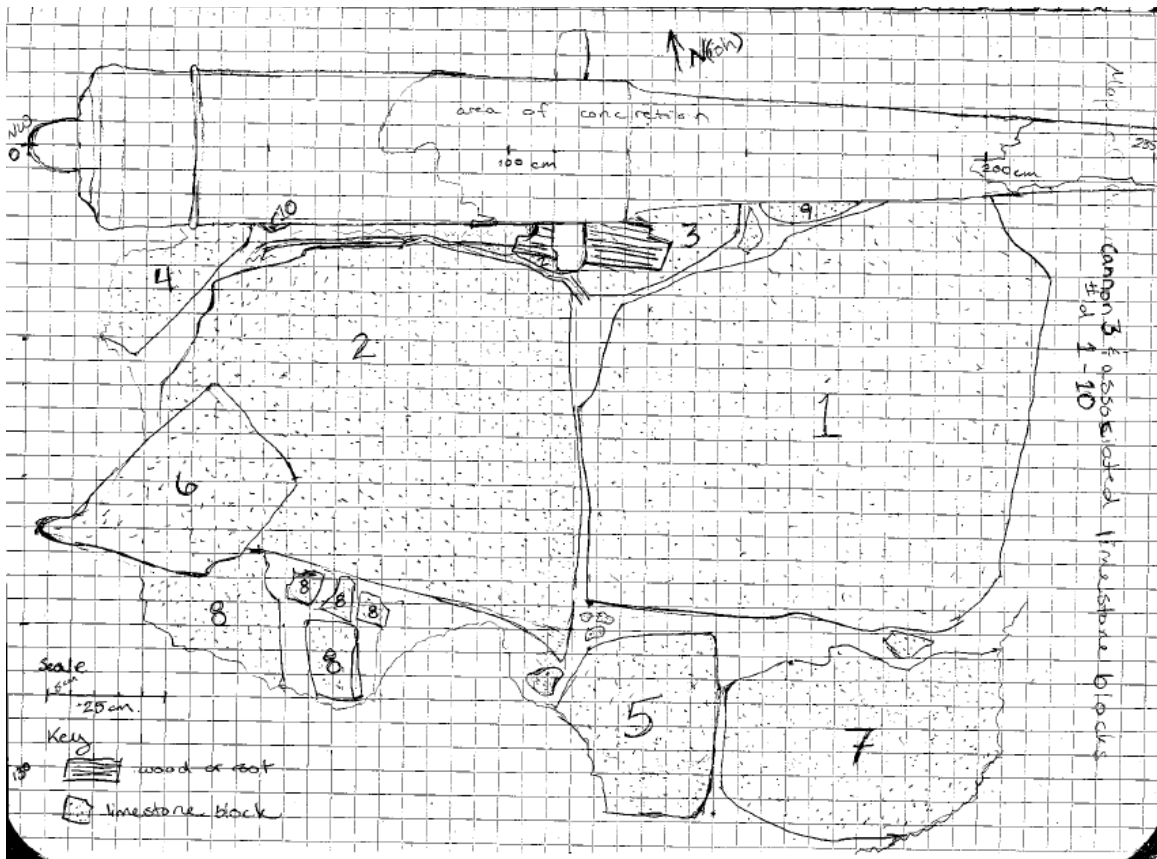


Fig. B.5. Limestone block path or platform west of Cannon 3. Map by Larkin Kennedy.

We partially exposed the cannons in order to take measurements and photographs. Not all features were distinguishable or accessible on each cannon. Measurements taken are provided in Table B.2. Following this table is a brief description and assessment of each cannon.

Table B.2. Measurements from South Bar Cannons in Centimeters.

Part Measured	Cannon 1	Cannon 2	Cannon 3	Cannon 4	Cannon 5	Cannon 6
Total length	246.0	221.0	243.0	222.0	235.0	234.5
Bell length	12.0	13.0	17.0	22.0	20.0	18.5
Breech band length	--	--	--	--	5.0	5.0
To Vent	--	--	--	--	25.0	26.0
Length of vent	--	--	--	--	18.0	--
To 1st reinforce ring	--	--	36.0	33.0	41.0	42.0
Length of 1st reinforce rings	--	--	--	--	3.0	3.0
To 2nd reinforce	--	58.0	--	80.5	79.0	80.0
Length of 2nd reinforce rings	--	--	--	--	4.0	6.0
To trunnions	113.0	100.0	--	101.0	109.0	109.0
Width of ring at end of 2nd reinforce	--	--	--	--	3.0	3.0
To chase	--	108.0	125.0	125.0	124.0	122.0
To chase ring	--	--	--	--	138.0	138.5
Width of chase ring	--	--	--	--	2.0	2.0
To muzzle swell	216.0	--	--	218.5	--	--
Muzzle swell diameter	24.0	20.0	23.0	21.0	33.0	35.0
Muzzle end diameter	18.0	15.0	--	--	25.0	25.0
Muzzle interior diameter	11.0	12.0	7.0	13.0	10.5	11.0
Diameter of bell	--	--	--	10.0	14.0	13.0
Diameter of breech	--	--	--	36.0	44.0	43.0
Width at trunnions	46.0	50.0	50.0	44.0	--	--
Length of trunnion	--	--	--	--	11.0	11.0
Diameter of body at trunnions	29.0	29.0	30.0	26.0	34.0	33.0
Circumference of body at trunnions	106.0	100.0	110.0	100.0	--	--
Diameter at 1st reinforce ring	--	--	--	34.0	39.5	41.0
Diameter at 2nd reinforce ring	26.0	--	--	31.0	37.0	40.0
Diameter of muzzle end of 2nd reinforce	--	--	--	--	35.0	35.0
Diameter of chase at 2nd reinforce	--	--	36.0	26.0	30.0	31.0
Diameter of chase at muzzle	18.0	20.0	18.0	18.0	26.0	26.0

Cannon 1

Condition: Poor.

Description: Highly corroded and pockmarked, with all features eroded. This cannon was initially mostly buried, and needed some excavation below the layer of organic matting to expose the trunnions (fig. B.6).



Fig. B.6. Cannon 1, facing south.

Cannon 2

Condition: Poor.

Description: Highly corroded and pockmarked, with no features visible. The westernmost trunnion was completely exposed (fig. B.7).



Fig. B.7. Cannon 2, facing south.

Cannon 3

Condition: Fair.

Description: Bell and butt appear to be in superior condition to muzzle, which has an outer layer of ferric iron starting approximately 77 cm from the bell on the eastern side and 88 cm from the bell on the western side (fig. B.8). It is possible that further ferric metal has been removed by other visitors to the cannon site. Ferric iron that had been removed or naturally sloughed off from the cannon was scattered around the site. The westernmost trunnion rested on top of a wooden support (fig. B.9). Where the ferric material had been removed, cannon features such as reinforce rings were visible.



Fig. B.8. Cannon 3, showing the extensive layer of ferric iron.



Fig. B.9. Eastern trunnion of Cannon 3, resting on top of a wooden support.

Cannon 4

Condition: Poor

Description: This cannon was completely exposed to the elements, and its surface is highly weathered and pitted. Some features such as the vent hole are still visible (figs. B.10, B.11).



Fig. B.10. Cannon 4 facing south.



Fig. B.11. Mouth of Cannon 4, facing north.

Cannon 5

Condition: Excellent

Description: All features including reinforce rings, vent, "Z" maker's mark on trunnion, and Broad Arrow mark above the first reinforce ring are clearly visible (see fig. 5.14).

Cannon is fully exposed, but further east from the road into the coppice (fig. B.12).



Fig. B.12. Cannon 5 facing south.

Cannon 6

Pictures:

Condition: Good

Description: Cannon 6 is in very good condition, with clearly visible features including vent, reinforce rings and 'Z' maker's mark on exposed trunnion. More extreme pitting is

visible at the mouth of the cannon. No broad arrow was visible, but the cannon is lying on its side and the upper surface, including the vent, were not visible (fig. B.13). The cannon was likely rolled over by intrepid and dedicated past site visitors, but it may have listed due to natural processes such as erosion of the underlying soil.



Fig. B.13. Cannon 6 facing west.

The cannons seemed to fall into three sets when compared according to condition and size: Cannons 1 and 3, Cannons 2 and 4, and Cannons 5 and 6. They are not exact matches, but it is possible that the three sets represent pairs of cannons—Cannons 5 and 6 even share the same manufacturer (see Chapter V). Given the differences in condition, especially the high degree of preservation of Cannons 5 and 6, it seems that they must have different origins, and may even have been brought to the site at different times. Cannons 5 and 6, located the furthest into the coppice from the current road of the six, could not have been made before 1789, and therefore cannot have belonged to an early eighteenth century fortification.

No evidence of gun carriages remains at the site, and no other evidence of how these may have been mounted, other than the block found under the trunnions of Cannon 3. Without some kind of carriage, it would not have been possible to aim the cannons, or to reposition them after firing. Firing them would also require significant land clearance, as the thick coppice obscured the view of any potential maritime target. It would be incredibly unlikely for the carriages to have been salvaged and the much more valuable cannons abandoned. It is also unlikely that the carriages decayed and left no evidence, though it is possible that any artifact such as metal fasteners, carriage wheels, etc., have been salvaged by other site visitors, and the cannons (other than Cannon 6) replaced in their present positions. However, it seems much more likely that there were never any carriages, and that the cannons were collected and placed in their current location for display and to attract curious sightseers, perhaps to suggest a historic function that never existed.

After recording the cannons *in situ*, we also investigated the area for any evidence of a historic fort or construction of any kind. The image from Google Earth© suggested that the feature would be located approximately 30 m east of the road, and should lay roughly in the direction of the path on which the cannons were located. Visual survey of the area east of the cannons found no evidence of historic remains on the surface. The generally uneven topography of the highlands make it difficult to assess whether rises in the landforms are unnatural, especially without uncovering the land more fully for a clearer picture. A more systematic subsurface survey, especially one employing geophysical techniques, would produce more definitive results. A more

recent satellite image from Google Maps also suggests that a feature of some type may be located in the area (fig. B.14).



Fig. B.14. Southeastern end of Harbour Island, showing location of cannon path entrance (red star) and location of possible feature (yellow circle). Map data © Google 2013.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF WARE AND TYPE DESIGNATIONS

This appendix includes a list of the ware and type designations used to catalogue non-architectural ceramic materials from the Harbour Island Archaeological Survey. This list has been adapted from Texas A&M's Port Royal Ceramic Typology from the 1990 Port Royal Excavation Manual³⁵⁰, and includes only the types identified from the HIAS assemblage.

Porcelain (POR)

10	Chinese Porcelain, hard paste
14 (1644-1880)	Underglaze Blue
17 (post 1792)	Willow Pattern
20 (1745-1795)	English Porcelain, soft paste
23	Blue-on white transfer print
32	Oriental (Chinese), undecorated
40	Molded

³⁵⁰ Hamilton 1990.

- 50 (ca. 1820-) White Porcellaneous, totally vitrified, whiter, glossier
51 White Porcellaneous, transfer print on rim

Stoneware (STW)

- 10 Brown Surface color
13 (1700-1725) Burslem "Crouch" pale brown SW mugs, white line between
body and glaze
20 (1550-1700) Rhenish (grey paste)
40 White surface color
41 (1744-1775) "Scratch Blue" white salt glazed SW
44 (1740-1765) Molded white salt glazed SW
45 (1720-1805) White salt glazed SW excluding plates and molded
47 (1755-1765) Littler's Blue on White salt glazed SW
49 Bristol Glaze
50 (1740-1775) White Salt Glaze Stoneware Plates
51 Dot, diaper & basket weave

- 80 American Stoneware &/or European
- 82 Alkaline glaze, clear to greenish
- 86 Salt glaze, smooth (Rhenish grey paste not present)
- 90 Albany Slip exterior, interior unglazed
- 91 American grey and blue stoneware

Slipware (SLW)

- 10 (1670-1770) Lead glazed slipware - Staffordshire - buff yellow paste normally chocolate brown slip decoration on a yellow background with a clear lead glaze
- 11 (1700-1770) dot
- 12 (1670-1770) combed yellow
- 13 (1670-1770) stripes or trailed
- 19 combed, trailed & dotted

Refined Earthenware (REW)

- 10 (1740-1775) Wieldon ware, cream colored ware
- 11 (1740-1775) Wieldon Agateware
- 13 (1745-1775) Wieldon Tortoiseshell

- 20 Lead glazed earthenware (originally put in as 4.80)
- 25 (1690-1850) Staffordshire Mottled, brown lead glaze, mottled with manganese
(see Thomas pp 52)
- 29
- 30 (1745-1790) Jackfield Ware - very black glaze, dark red/purple paste
- 60 Red Ware
- 61 Red Ware, black glaze
- 62 Red Ware, clear glaze
- 63 Red Ware, manganese glaze
- 70 (post 1820) Yellow Ware, English and American
- 71 Transfer print
- 72 Annular/Mocha

Coarse Earthenware (CEW)

- 20 (1690-1800) Red Coarse Earthenware, No tempering inclusions
- 21 Interior glaze
- 22 Exterior glaze

- 23 Interior/Exterior glaze
24 Black Glazed Redware
29 Thin red earthenware - orange

60 (1670-1900) Yabba, hand coiled

65 Dark paste

67 Exterior glaze

Tin Enamel (TIN)

10 British or Dutch, pale yellow or pink paste

11 Blue

12 Polychrome

14 Floral

20 De-enameled delft

23 (1640-1800) Plain White Delftware

Creamware (CRW)

10 (1762-1780) Undecorated

11 (1775-1820) Deeper yellow creamware

- 20 Edge decorated Plates
- 21 Feather edge
- 23 Queen's shape or Royal Pattern

- 30 (1780-1815) Annular wares
- 31 Annular or slip banded, Early -generally narrow bands and earth colors. Late - wide, bright color bands with narrow white or black bands
- 36 Engine turned or rouletted

- 40 Handpainted
- 42 Earthen polychrome floral, underglaze
- 44 Polychrome, other than floral, underglaze

- 60 (1765-1815) Transfer printed (technique first used on tiles in 1756)
- 64 Black

Pearlware (PRW)

- 10 (1780-1820) Undecorated (rare)
- 20 (1730-1830) Edge decorated in blue, green, red

21 (1780-1830)	Shell edge
23 (1730-1830)	Molded dots and plumes
25	Embossed edge decoration (WW)
26	Molded Decoration
30 (1790-1890)	Annular wares
31	Annular or slip banded, Early -generally narrow bands and earth colors. Late - wide, bright color bands with narrow white or black bands
32 (1795-1890)	Mocha
34	Marbled
36	Engine turned or rouletted
37	Finger Painted polychrome slip, worm pattern
40 (1790-1830)	Handpainted
41 (1820-1840)	Blue floral, underglaze
42	Earthen polychrome floral, underglaze
43	Bright polychrome floral, orange, green, pink, red, blue
44	Polychrome, other than floral, underglaze
45	Banded
48	Chinoiserie, blue under glaze decoration

50	Flow decorated
51	Blue
60	Transfer printed
61	Dark cobalt blue
62	Green
63	Purple lavender
64	Black
65	Brown
66	Red
67 (1795-1840)	Willow transfer painted
71	Stamp decorated with a sponge, spatter

Whiteware (WHW)

*	10	Undecorated
*	11 (1890-1900)	Iron Stone or Granite China, clear alkaline glaze
	25	Embossed edge decoration
	26	Molded Decoration

- 31 Annular or slip banded, Early -generally narrow bands and earth colors. Late - wide, bright color bands with narrow white or black bands
- 40 (1830-1860) Handpainted
- 41 Blue floral, underglaze
- 43 Bright polychrome floral, orange, green, pink, red
- 44 Polychrome, other than floral, underglaze
- 60 Transfer printed
- 61 (1820-1840) Dark cobalt blue
- 62 (1830-1860) Green
- 63 (1830-1860) Purple lavender
- 64 (1830-1860) Black
- 65 (post 1825) Brown
- 66 (1830-1850) Red
- 67 (1795-1840) Willow transfer painted
- 71 Stamp decorated with a sponge, spatter
- 80 20th-Century Earthenware

85 Late - narrow blue, red. etc. annular ring, esp. at rim, and at edge
of bowl depression

Modern Ceramic (MCR)

10 Tile

11 White tile

12 Blue tile

13 Mosaic tile

14 White glazed red earthenware tile

15 Glazed stoneware tile

20 Modern earthenware

30 Modern bone paste with white enamel glaze

31 Modern multicoloured banded earthenware

APPENDIX D

ASSEMBLAGE BY CERAMIC WARES AND TYPES

Porcelain

Table D.1. Porcelain Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Chinese porcelain	4	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	9
% of site ceramics	0.80	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	13.64
Underglaze blue	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	4
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	6.06
Willow Pattern	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.52
Blue-on-white transfer print	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86	0.00	3.03
Chinese undecorated	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.52
Molded	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.52

Table D.1. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
White porcellaneous	--	2	--	2	5	4	20	5	--	4	42
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.59	2.17	4.21	5.59	2.36	0.00	3.77	63.64
White porcellaneous with transfer print	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.03
Untyped	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	4
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	6.06
Total	8	8	--	3	9	5	20	5	1	7	66
% of total ceramics	0.34	0.34	0.00	0.13	0.38	0.21	0.85	0.21	0.04	0.30	2.79

Stoneware

Table D.2. Stoneware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Brown surface color	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17
Rheinish	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.35
Scratch Blue, white salt-glazed (WSG)	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.35
Molded WSG	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17
WSG other than plates	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	6.52
Little's blue on WSG	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.35
WSG and stoneware plates	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17
WSG plates – dot, diaper and basketweave	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17

Table D.2. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Bristol glazed	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	1	--	5	9
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	4.72	19.57
American stoneware	2	4	--	1	1	--	1	1	--	--	10
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.87	0.00	0.30	0.43	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	0.00	21.74
Alkaline glaze, clear to greenish	--	2	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.70
Salt glaze	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	2.17
Albany slip exterior, unglazed interior	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.52
American grey and blue stoneware	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.17
Untyped	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	1	5
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	10.87
Total	8	12	--	6	3	2	5	4	--	6	46
% of total ceramics	0.34	0.51	0.00	0.25	0.13	0.08	0.21	0.17	0.00	0.25	1.94

Slipware

Table D.3. Slipware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Staffordshire slipware	1	4	--	--	3	--	--	1	1	--	10
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.87	0.00	0.00	1.30	0.00	0.00	0.47	2.86	0.00	55.56
Staffordshire dotted	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67
Staffordshire combed	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.11
Staffordshire trailed	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	11.11
Staffordshire combed, trailed and dotted	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.56
Total	1	7	--	--	5	--	2	2	1	--	18
% total ceramics	0.04	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.00	0.76

Refined Earthenware

Table D.4. Refined Earthenware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Wieldon agateware	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.03
Wieldon tortoiseshell	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06
Lead glazed earthenware	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.03
Staffordshire mottled, brown lead glaze	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06
Border ware, olive interior glaze	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.09
Red ware	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	0.00	6.06
Red ware with black glaze	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06
Red ware with clear glaze	--	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	--	6
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.18

Table D.4. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Red ware with manganese glaze	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06
Yellow ware	--	1	--	--	1	1	2	1	--	--	6
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.43	1.05	0.56	0.47	0.00	0.00	18.18
Yellow ware with transfer print	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.03
Yellow ware with annular or mocha	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	9.09
Untyped	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06
Total	2	7	--	5	8	4	4	3	--	--	33
% of total ceramics	0.08	0.30	0.00	0.21	0.34	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.00	0.00	1.39

Coarse Earthenware

Table D.5. Coarse Earthenware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Red coarse earthenware (RCEW), no inclusions	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.00	11.76
RCEW, no inclusions, interior glaze	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	5.88
RCEW, no inclusions, exterior glaze	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	11.76
RCEW, no inclusions, interior/exterior glaze	--	3	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	--	6
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.94	0.00	0.00	35.29
Black glazed redware	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86	0.00	5.88
Thin orange earthenware	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.76
Colonoware	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88

Table D.5. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Dark paste colonoware	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88
Dark paste colonoware with exterior glaze	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88
Total	3	5	--	1	--	--	1	6	1	--	17
% total ceramics	0.13	0.21	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.25	0.04	0.00	0.72

Tin-Glazed Earthenware

Table D.6. Tin-Glazed Earthenware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
British or Dutch, pale yellow or pink paste	4	--	--	2	3	--	1	--	--	--	10
% of site ceramics	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.59	1.30	0.00	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.25
British or Dutch, blue enamel	--	6	--	--	2	--	--	1		--	9
% of site ceramics	0.00	1.30	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	28.13
British or Dutch, polychrome	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.25
British or Dutch, floral	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
De-enameled British or Dutch	2	1	--	3	2	--	2	--	--	--	10
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.22	0.00	0.89	0.87	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.25
Plain white	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.13
Total	6	9	--	5	7	--	4	1	--	--	32
% total ceramics	0.25	0.38	0.00	0.21	0.30	0.00	0.17	0.04	0.00	0.00	1.35

Creamware

Table D.7. Creamware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Deeper yellow	103	74	--	39	46	2	49	33	7	2	355
% of site ceramics	20.56	16.02	0.00	11.54	20.00	2.11	13.69	15.57	20.00	1.89	82.37
Lighter yellow	43	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	46
% of site ceramics	8.58	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.42	0.00	0.00	10.67
Edge decorated plates	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.46
Feather edge plates	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.23
Royal pattern edge plates	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23
Annular wares	2	8	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	13
% of site ceramics	0.40	1.73	0.00	0.30	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.02
Engine turned or rouletted	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23
Hand-painted polychrome floral underglaze	4	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7
% of site ceramics	0.80	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.62

Table D.7. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Hand-painted polychrome non-floral underglaze	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23
Black transferware	1	--	--	--	1	--	1	1	--	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.93
Total	155	85	1	40	51	2	50	37	7	3	431
% total ceramics	6.55	3.59	0.04	1.69	2.16	0.08	2.11	1.56	0.30	0.13	18.22

Pearlware

Table D.8. Pearlware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Undecorated	106	75	12	116	40	21	79	34	3	37	523
% of site ceramics	21.16	16.23	41.38	34.32	17.39	22.11	22.07	16.04	8.57	34.91	40.08
Edge decorated	2	5	2	13	1	--	2	--	--	--	25
% of site ceramics	0.40	1.08	6.90	3.85	0.43	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.92
Shell edge	18	6	--	--	2	2	11	2	1	--	42
% of site ceramics	3.59	1.30	0.00	0.00	0.87	2.11	3.07	0.94	2.86	0.00	3.22
Molded dots and plumes	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08
Embossed edge decoration	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	1	5
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.38
Molded decoration	--	1	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.31
Annular ware	15	7	1	10	3	2	12	3	1	2	56
% of site ceramics	2.99	1.52	3.45	2.96	1.30	2.11	3.35	1.42	2.86	1.89	4.29
Mocha	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08
Marbled		--	--	2	1	--	1	1	--	--	5
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	0.43	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.38

Table D.8. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Engine-turned or rouletted	1	--	--	1	3	--	1	1	--	--	7
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.30	1.30	0.00	0.28	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.54
Worm pattern	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	2	--	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.00	0.31
Hand-painted blue floral underglaze	9	23	1	10	11	2	7	6	--	2	72
% of site ceramics	1.80	5.19	3.45	2.96	4.78	2.11	1.96	2.83	0.00	1.89	5.52
Hand-painted earthen polychrome floral	19	8	--	15	--	4	11	8	--	--	65
% of site ceramics	3.79	1.73	0.00	4.44	0.00	4.21	3.07	3.77	0.00	0.00	4.98
Hand-painted bright polychrome floral	--	--	1	4	1	1	4	--	1	3	15
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	3.45	1.18	0.43	1.05	1.12	0.00	2.86	2.83	1.15
Hand-painted polychrome other than floral	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23
Hand-painted banded	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.15
Hand-painted Chinoiserie, blue underglaze	--	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9
% of site ceramics	0.00	1.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.69
Flow Blue	4	2	--	3	1	1	8	1	--	3	23
% of site ceramics	0.80	0.43	0.00	0.89	0.43	1.05	2.23	0.47	0.00	2.83	1.76

Table D.8. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Blue transferware	115	37	7	57	19	17	53	27	8	13	353
% of site ceramics	22.95	8.01	24.14	16.86	8.26	17.89	14.80	12.74	22.86	12.26	27.05
Green transferware	--	2	--	4	4	1	--	--	--	1	12
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	1.18	1.74	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.92
Purple transferware	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.30	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23
Black transferware	2	1	--	1	1	1	1	--	--	1	8
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.22	0.00	0.30	0.43	1.05	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.61
Brown transferware	11	1	1	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	17
% of site ceramics	2.20	0.22	3.45	0.30	0.43	1.05	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	1.30
Red transferware	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	1	1	1	6
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.43	1.05	0.00	0.47	2.86	0.94	0.46
Willow Pattern	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08
Spongeware	2	8	1	8	4	6	4	6	--	2	41
% of site ceramics	0.40	1.73	3.45	2.37	1.74	6.32	1.12	2.83	0.00	1.89	3.14
Untyped	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.15
Total	304	193	26	253	94	61	198	93	15	67	1305
% of total Ceramics	12.85	8.20	1.10	10.69	3.97	2.58	8.37	3.93	0.63	2.83	55.16

Whiteware

Table D.9. Whiteware Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Undecorated	2	56	2	10	25	9	50	36	3	3	198
% of site ceramics	0.40	12.55	6.90	2.96	10.87	9.47	13.97	16.98	8.57	2.83	47.94
Ironstone	--	1	--	--	2	6	--	1	--	18	28
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.87	6.32	0.00	0.47	0.00	16.98	6.78
Embossed edge decoration	1	2	--	--	2	--	--	6	1	--	12
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	2.83	2.86	0.00	2.91
Molded decoration	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.48
Annular ware	2	3	--	--	7	1	--	1	--	--	14
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.65	0.00	0.00	3.04	1.05	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	3.39
Hand-painted blue floral underglaze	--	3	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.97
Hand-painted bright polychrome floral	--	3	--	5	5	1	7	9	--	--	30
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.65	0.00	1.48	2.17	1.05	1.96	4.25	0.00	0.00	7.26
Hand-painted polychrome other than floral	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.24

Table D.9. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Blue transferware	3	12	--	1	4	1	13	5	2	--	41
% of site ceramics	0.60	2.60	0.00	0.30	1.74	1.05	3.63	2.36	5.71	0.00	9.93
Green transferware	--	2	--	--	4	--	--	--	1	--	7
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.00	1.74	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86	0.00	1.69
Purple transferware	2	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5
% of site ceramics	0.40	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.21
Black transferware	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	--	4
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.30	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	2.86	0.00	0.97
Brown transferware	--	4	--	--	2	--	--	1	1	--	8
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.47	2.86	0.00	1.94
Red transferware	--	3	--	--	2	--	3	1	--	--	9
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.84	0.47	0.00	0.00	2.18
Blue-grey transferware	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	2
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.48
Willow Pattern	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.24
Stamp decorated	1	4	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	6
% of site ceramics	0.20	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.45
20th-century earthenware	2	7	--	2	--	1	--	1	1	1	15
% of site ceramics	0.40	1.52	0.00	0.59	0.00	1.05	0.00	0.47	2.86	0.94	3.63

Table D.9. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
20th-century annular ware	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
% of site ceramics	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.73
Untyped	--	23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	23
% of site ceramics	0.00	4.98	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.57
Total	14	132	2	21	53	21	74	61	10	23	413
% total ceramics	0.59	5.66	0.08	0.89	2.24	0.89	3.13	2.58	0.42	0.97	17.46

Modern Ceramic

Table D.10. Modern Ceramic Types.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	BEACH	Total
Modern bone paste with white enamel glaze	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
% of site ceramics											
Modern multicolored banded earthenware	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	4
% of site ceramics											
Total	--	1	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	5
% total ceramics	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.21

APPENDIX E

MISCELLANEOUS HARDWARE

Table E.1. Miscellaneous Hardware.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Total
Brass tack	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Chain link	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	4
Crimped metal	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Cu clip	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Cu fastener	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Cu fragment	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
Cu nail	--	--	2	--	--	1	5	1	--	9
Cu tack	1	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	3
Cu washer	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Cup token	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Fe bar	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Fe hook	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Fe oval	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Fe pressing iron	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Fe ring	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	2
Fe rod	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
fe staple	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Fe strap	--	--	--	--	3	--	5	--	--	8
Fe tack	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Fe ubolt	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Fe wire	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Non fe wire	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Nut	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Plastic handle end	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Rivet	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1

Table E.1. Continued.

Type	ADM	BAT	DHH	JVH	LBH	MDH	OBH	RLM	YLB	Total
Screw	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
Spike	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	1	--	4
Spring	1	--	1	--	2	1	--	--	--	5
TOTAL	4	9	3	5	11	6	17	3	2	60

APPENDIX F

PATTERN ANALYSES FROM COMPARISON SITES

Table F.1. Artifact Classification Comparison by Group and Class.

Group	Class	Harbour Island	Drax Hall	Montpellier	Bath	McKean/ Cochran Farm
Kitchen						
	Ceramics	2198	3282	1928	2909	13522
	Wine bottles	368	1303	960	319	1914
	Pharmaceutical bottles	14	113	1	20	1
	Glassware	1496	519	28	7002	220
	Tableware	1	22	2	2	38
	Kitchenware	72	301	1	108	490
Total		4149	5540	2920	10360	16185
%		69.87	51.52	21.12	63.46	55.89
Architecture						
	Window Glass	439	237	207	2095	5830
	Nails	850	2830	10481	2754	5604
	Construction hardware	26	49	23	28	--
	Door lock parts	1	11	7	1	16
	Tile	17	--	--	1	--
	Stone	19	--	3	--	--
	Asphalt/tar	159	--	--	333	--
	Wood	10	--	--	23	--
	Other	2	--	--	18	2
Total		1523	3127	10721	5253	11452
%		25.65	29.08	77.56	32.18	39.55

Table F.1. Continued.

Group	Class	Harbour Island	Drax Hall	Montpellier	Bath	McKean/ Cochran Farm
Arms						
	Ammunition	4	5	3	28	4
	Gun parts	2	1	1	1	--
	Gunflints and gunspalls	3	1	4	14	3
	Sword fragments	--	--	4	--	--
Total		9	7	12	43	7
%		0.15	0.07	0.09	0.26	0.02
Furniture						
	Furniture hardware	4	4	1	4	20
%		0.07	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.07
Clothing						
	Buckles	1	3	12	--	12
	Thimbles	--	7	1	3	--
	Buttons	25	77	13	37	--
	Scissors	--	2	--	1	--
	Fasteners	4	0	--	3	128
	Beads	2	49	--	6	--
	Other	--	6	--	10	--
Total		32	144	26	60	140
%		0.54	1.34	0.19	0.37	0.48
Personal						
	Coins	2	6	--	6	7
	Keys	1	3	6	2	6
	Personal items	39	10	2	17	72
Total		42	19	8	25	85
%		0.71	0.18	0.06	0.15	0.29

Table F.1. Continued.

Group	Class	Harbour Island	Drax Hall	Montpellier	Bath	McKean/ Cochran Farm
Tobacco						
	Tobacco pipes	76	917	59	205	624
%		1.28	8.53	0.43	1.26	2.15
Activities						
	Construction tools	--	--	1	1	16
	Toys	4	--	--	17	6
	Farm tools	--	2	--	4	4
	Fishing gear	1	2	1	1	--
	Storage items	--	1	--	--	15
	Stable and barn	--	5	2	--	21
	Musical	--	--	--	--	3
	Sewing	--	--	--	--	25
	Writing	--	--	--	--	2
	Miscellaneous hardware	55	384	104	86	--
	Other	43	601	3	267	354
Total		103	995	76	376	446
%		1.73	9.25	0.55	2.30	1.54
Total		5938	10753	13823	16326	28959