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## **Dissertation Abstract**

This dissertation investigates the archaeology of Atlantic world wars and slavery on the island of Dominica during the Age of Revolution (c. 1774-1848). Using archival and archaeological evidence from households at the Cabrits Garrison occupied by lower status personnel in the British army, including enslaved laborers and soldiers of African descent, this study attempts two broad goals: (1) to critically examine the anthropological phenomena of African-Caribbean social formation through a study of settlement patterns and material culture, and (2) to write an archaeological history describing the everyday lives of subordinate groups living within the walls of this fort. My analysis is situated within the longer history of conflict and labor that impacted the formation of colonial communities throughout the Atlantic world between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. I employ a household level approach using intra-site comparisons and analytical approaches to reconstruct occupational histories and social interactions in a period of changing military labor practices. Findings demonstrate the varied and often contradictory nature of colonial identities at living spaces situated within the conceived landscape of British imperialism. Approaching British fortifications in this manner contributes to black Atlantic military history—a lens that works to represent the diversity of these military communities and the tangible and intangible products of their labor.

All the King's Men:  
Slavery and Soldiering at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica (1763-1854)

by

Zachary J. M. Beier  
B.A. Illinois State University, 2006  
M.A. Syracuse University, 2010

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

Syracuse University  
May 2017

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## Acknowledgements

I finish this work from my home office in Kingston, Jamaica knowing that it has defined me. I have many people and institutions to thank.

Grants from the United States Department of State Fulbright IIE, the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, and the International Center of Jefferson Studies at Monticello supported archival research, fieldwork and artifact analysis. I thank Lennox Honychurch, Edward Thomas and my other on-site field workers, and the Dominican Department of Forestry, Wildlife and Parks for support during all phases of fieldwork in Dominica. Jillian Galle and her team at the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) generously supported this research and contributed with artifact analysis. I also thank my dissertation committee, Doug Armstrong, Chris DeCorse, Lennox Honychurch, Shannon Novak and Theresa Singleton for their patience and attention to developing this study.

Additionally, I have benefited from the wisdom and direct assistance of several colleagues, including Steve Lenik, Liza Gijanto, Jim Delle, Kristen Fellows, Charles Orser, Roger Buckley, Gerald Schroedl, Thomas Whyte, Myriam Arcangeli, Ken Kelly, Mark Hauser, and Jerome Handler. Finally, faculty and students at Illinois State University, Syracuse University, Appalachian State University, and the University of the West Indies Mona provided a creative home through my undergraduate and graduate school education.

Finally, for someone committed to the physical realities of the past, I have spent more than 10 years seemingly disengaged from my own physical reality. I have relied, often without ever asking, on the love and help of my family and friends. A very special thanks to my entire family, especially my parents, Lee Beier and Lucinda McCray, my twin brother Jacob, and Dexter the blue heeler, for supporting me and this work since its infancy. And, lastly, to my wife Rachel and our dog Shabba—we did it.

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## Chapter 1

# An Archaeology of War and Slavery in the British Empire

Too solid to be unmarked, too conspicuous to be candid, they embody the ambiguities of history. They give us the power to touch it, but not that to hold it firmly in our hands—hence the mystery of their battered walls. We suspect that their concreteness hides secrets so deep that no revelation may fully dissipate their silences. We imagine the lives under the mortar, but how do we recognize the end of a bottomless silence? (Trouillot 1995: 30)

### 1.1 Introduction

The significance of this study is illuminated by the beginning quotation from Michel-Rolph Trouillot's treatment of the apparent "silences" involved in the production of history. Today the ruins of the Cabrits Garrison stand boldly on the northwest coast of Dominica, but the material record of those who lived at the site has not been extensively explored, and the lives are little known. This dissertation investigates the archaeology of Atlantic world wars and slavery on the island of Dominica during the Age of Revolution (c. 1774-1848), and attempts two broad goals. The first is to critically examine the anthropological phenomena of African-Caribbean societal formation through a study of material culture. The second is to write an archaeological history describing the everyday lives of subordinate groups living within the walls of the Cabrits Garrison between 1763-1854. To address the stated objectives, this study relies on the critical and combined analysis of archives, artifacts and settlement patterns.



**Figure 1.01:** Aerial view of Prince Rupert's Bay and Portsmouth with the Cabrits peninsula and the Fort Shirley battery of the Cabrits Garrison visible on the left (photo provided by Lennox Honychurch).

## 1.2 Caribbean Fortifications as Archaeological Sites

Fortifications are dominant features on the landscape harking back to a period of militarization throughout the Caribbean. They once inspired civic security and symbolized imperial power, but their fall in defeat or into abandonment stands as perhaps the most obvious signifier of the capitulation of a colony and oftentimes the end of one story and the beginning of the next. In traditional histories, fortifications are most often considered in relation to their architectural accomplishments, the famous generals, admirals and pirates who spent brief periods of time in these settings, or in terms of their role in phenomenal outbreaks of war. Historians and historical archaeologists have a long tradition of documenting and preserving these monumental colonial settlements in the Caribbean, but these early projects mainly concentrated on underscoring the legacy of former imperial powers (Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Orser 2002), while studies investigating the nature of these military communities have largely been absent (Buckley 1998; Leech 2010; Watters 2001). Missing from this history are the important interactions between the state and its “residents”, the role of military labor in the formation of groups and hierarchies in Caribbean societies and the lived experience in this environment.

Atlantic world fortifications are a logical starting point for investigations into “modernity” and the development of the “modern world.” Representative of global defense projects, these structures are reminders of a revolution that began with the organization of early 16<sup>th</sup> century militaries, resulting in the integration of physical force and global war into the arrangement of society (Parker 1996). These works of war were systematically studied and mastered into a specific military constructed space, designed for defense and an idealized model of social life arranged according to the established military norms of central governing institutions. Today, encountered mainly as ruins, fortifications are potent reminders of the contradictions inherent in modernity, understood here as the temporal ideology that provided the connections for a global culture emerging during the early modern period. This assumed progressive chronology “dictates that all forms lost value over time...but at the same time its hubris encourages the

construction of monumental structures built to last” (Dawdy 2010: 26). While not understood as progressive, modernity materialized itself throughout the colonial world in the form of new labor and technological relationships. This perspective carries significant weight in my investigation of the Cabrits Garrison.

History is replete with examples of fortified settlements built to protect and defend—a cultural universal characterized by collective mobilization against an external entity and demanding a certain level of hierarchal social integration. Besides necessary technological and resource requirements (i.e. armory, powder magazine, etc.), there are some common features basic to all types of imperial fortifications. Andrew Gardner’s (2007) survey of forts across Roman Britain accurately illustrates some of these. Apparent features of any fortification are the differentials in power between living spaces of higher and lower ranks, the limited private or individual space compared to the dominance of public or corporate space, as well as the apparent boundedness of lifestyle within the fort walls as compared to other types of settlements (Gardner 2007: 107). In regards to the castles, fortifications and outposts established during flows of European expansion, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper have accurately exposed the role of military communities during this period as sites of imperial diffusion and contestation.

Through these circuits moved generations of families, tools of analysis, social policy, military doctrine and architectural plans. Whole bodies of administrative strategy, ethnographic classification, and scientific knowledge were shared and compared in a consolidating imperial world (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 28).

Symbolically, Atlantic world fortifications are mute but visceral reminders of the social and cultural collage of forces serving in the British Army in the West Indies and the vast cost Britain invested into these colonies, particularly during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Buckley 1998).

While properly conceived as expressions of empire, fortifications and their diverse collection of military forces were subject to a variety of local conditions, resulting in numerous local histories. As both symbols of empire and bodies interacting with the Empire (Vinson and King 2004), fortifications provide a



variety of windows into the organization and conditions under which a diverse set of people lived, interacted and died. Caribbean military sites like the Cabrits Garrison have typically evaded scholarly attention due to their seemingly “backwater” location and lack of economic contribution (Buckley 1998), except for a few noted examples (Alleyne and Sheppard 1990; Beier 2011, 2014; Buisserat 1971, 2008; Cripps 2003; Goucher 1999; Honychurch 2013; Jane 1982; Klippel 2001; Leech 2010; Lenik and Beier 2016; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Smith 1994; Watters 2011). A primary oversight of Marxist interpretations in the social sciences is the sole preoccupation with economy and its associated activities, making the Caribbean plantation the primary site of investigation. Michael Mann (1993) has demonstrated that economic and military power were the primary determinants of Western social structure in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The relations and distinctions between these forms of power demand investigation. British war making and strategy was a means of not only conquest and establishing a sense of order but a means by which an ideological worldview was campaigned for. The following chapters outline and describe the results of an approach to studying colonial fortifications combining research in historical archives with archaeological survey and excavation. The historical context described will show that military labor was a complex social and behavioral phenomenon that was subject to change through time. At the Cabrits Garrison, these changes contributed to emerging types of affiliations and interactions among varied segments of lower status military personnel.

### **1.3 Figuring Fortifications in Atlantic World Archaeologies**

With respect to traditional military history, the role of blacks, especially in the British Caribbean, has largely been missing (Handler 1984). While acknowledging the importance of the relationship between war and slavery, investigations of this matter has been slow in the social sciences. Historians have had the most to say. Writing in 1975, in his *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*, David Brion Davis lamented the fact that questions of the effects of war on slavery had not received the attention this type of study deserves. Roger N. Buckley’s work in the British Caribbean (1979, 1998) and Peter M.

Voelz's wider examination of the colonial Americas (1993) responded to this apparent gap. By pinpointing the entanglement of enslaved labor with military engagements in the Americas, these early works stressed the impact of military history in patterning broader dynamics of colonial society and have provided the foundation for what is now recognized as the new African Diasporic Military history (Vinson and King 2004).

Unfortunately, this productive turn in inquiry has not been as vigorously taken up in historical archaeology. As noted earlier in the previous section, there is a general problem within historical archaeology whereby "modern ruins", such as fortifications or urban industrial sites, are treated only according to grand strokes of historical narrative that essentialize the post-1450 period (Dawdy 2010). The contradictions inherent in modernity and its associated structures (capitalism, slavery, colonialism, etc.)—its incompleteness, transience and hubris—are neglected. The problem in interpretation goes even deeper when examining military sites archaeology. American historical archaeologists interested in the military have mainly dealt with themes such as the struggle to forge a new American identity apart from the English (Starbuck 2011) to more specific issues, such as the nature of forts and encampments and the details of battlefield sequences during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century conflicts (Babits and Gandulla 2014; Geier et al. 2006; Geier et al. 2011, Geier et al. 2014; Geier and Potter 2003; Geier and Winter 1996). While applicable to the "living history" style presentation of military sites archaeology in North America (Starbuck 2011: xi, 5-6), this work has not provided many routes for the application of interpretive models to other Atlantic world forts. This is no doubt a reflection of its adherents rarely engaging with broader questions pertaining to social inequality and other themes inherent in the modern world.<sup>1</sup>

In so far as enslaved labor is concerned, it appears that American military sites archaeology is keen on identifying the role of Euro-Americans in formative conflicts, including the French and Indian War,

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<sup>1</sup> For noted North American exceptions that have influenced the course of this investigation, see Nassaney and Brandão's (2009) investigation of social diversity and individual identities among French and Indians at Fort St. Joseph in present-day Niles, Michigan; Scott's (1991) dissertation on subsistence practices and cultural diversity at Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan; and Starbuck's (1994) discussion of gender visibility at 18<sup>th</sup> century military sites in northeastern U.S.A.

Revolutionary War and Civil War, but less so on how the institution of slavery impacted the military throughout the period.<sup>2</sup> While the enslaved faced harsher laws in the United States that made gun ownership and service in the military or militia hard to obtain, there are numerous examples in pre- and post-Revolutionary America where blacks were used in both auxiliary and combat situations (Davis 2006; Morgan and O'Shaughnessy 2006; Reidy 2006). Additionally, blacks were freed and then enlisted as combat troops by the North during the Civil War and later used throughout the American west in conflicts with Indians (see Patel 2009 for example of buffalo soldier archaeology). These contexts demand investigation even if the restricted and discontinuous character of this practice affects its visibility in the historical and archaeological record (Brown 2006: 330). My work contributes to this emerging area of scholarship by investigating the systematic use of enslaved Africans as part of the imperial war apparatus.

In contrast to the extensive work completed by North American military sites archaeology, substantial excavations of the numerous colonial fortifications in the rest of the Atlantic world are rare. In the instances when this style of research has occurred, it has mainly been designated for tourism purposes as opposed to sites of theoretical and scientific significance (see Armstrong and Hauser 2009 for discussion of trend in Caribbean). A few notable examples from the Caribbean and Africa are worthy of mention as they have influenced the trajectory of my own investigation. At Brimstone Hill, located on the Caribbean island of St. Kitts, a considerable amount of effort has been spent detailing aspects of the cultural lives of soldiers and other military personnel serving in the British Army. A central aspect of this research has been identifying areas within the fortified complex connected to African-Caribbean lifestyles. This work has resulted in substantial analyses of coarse earthenware ceramics, which has exposed forms of agent-centered practice and a local ceramic industry native to the island that is little understood today

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<sup>2</sup> For example, this trend is evident in a recent edited volume on the historical archaeology of military sites where the involvement of enslaved or recently free African American populations and their labor is absent from reconstructions of American Revolutionary and Civil War era battlefields and communities (see Geier and Tinkham 2011; McBride and McBride 2011; Reeves 2011). Noted exceptions to this trend include investigations highlighting the involvement of these non-European populations (see Galke 2003, Koons 2003; Seibert and Parsons 2003).

(Ahlman et al. 2009; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002). At Elmina Castle, located in western Ghana, long-term archaeological investigations of this European military complex and surrounding village center has provided a range of insights into the way culture change is intertwined in social structures of continuous cultural processes. This work demonstrates the connection between colonial fortifications and local settlements as well as the wide-ranging impacts of culture contact situations on micro and macro levels and in peripheral and core areas (DeCorse 2001).

Significant themes in the study of the African diaspora are readily accessible through the multi-scalar investigation of colonial fortifications. This project, like the examples briefly alluded to in the previous paragraph, relates the local role of fortifications and the daily lives of their respective communities to wider spheres of culture, economy and politics. Historical archaeology is an ideal discipline to tackle the diversity of data characterizing these sites; tacking between archival, secondary and archaeological sources. Dealing with the everyday debris of Atlantic world military communities guarantee that issues pertaining to the involvement of blacks in the colonization of the Americas will be addressed, as the diverse ethnic composition of these sites is an unavoidable part of the data record.

#### **1.4 War and Slavery in a “New World”**

The military use of Africans in the Americas originated in Europe alongside the Moors and Spaniards on the Iberian Peninsula during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Voelz 1993: 11). This extensive history of using blacks as an instrument of war has involved varying degrees of colonial coercion and integration. Military slavery is generally understood as “the systematic preparation and employment of slaves as professional soldiers” (Buckley 1998: xi). Functions, methods of recruitment and social arrangements associated with military slavery, however, varied across the colonial contexts in which it was used. The consensus among military historians is that blacks were primarily involved with the construction and maintenance of defense works. Though, blacks also served in military roles as militiamen, sailors, regular soldiers and in other special units (Voelz 1993). Regardless of the many peculiarities of military

labor systems, once in place, they created new hierarchical social relations between European, Creoles and Africans. In turn, these emergent social relations undoubtedly reshaped notions of authority and the state—central themes in the connection of political structures to everyday lives.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the military use of slavery had become commonplace in all American colonies. In the Caribbean, particularly, a dwindling white population and the disruptions of colonial wars were generative forces behind the increased mobility of the slave population (Buckley 1998: 5; Handler 1984). Many connections between military outposts and surrounding plantation society existed, ranging from recruitment of local slaves for military fatigue duties, the ownership of local estates by military elite, to the exchange of policies between these institutions designed to subordinate and control laborers. For instance, the core master-slave relation crucial to plantation labor has been described as preparing both sides for future military roles (Voelz 1993: 39). This is not to imply that both sides were eager to see an increased involvement of blacks in the military or any other positions of perceived social mobility. In fact, an historical antagonism existed between local assemblies and the metropolitan government. Many estate owners refused to deplete their property holdings and contribute to the constitution of standing armies of black troops, undaunted by intimidating island slave laws and unfit to work again on plantations as subordinate field hands (Buckley 1979, 1998).

In a move that bypassed local assemblies, the British Crown purchased their own “King’s Negroes” on the open market “to relieve the exhaustion of [white] troops and preserve their health” (O’Shaughnessy 1996: 107-108). The British Crown’s action is consistent to those undertaken earlier on the part of Spanish and French monarchs (Voelz 1993). The increased “Africanization” of the British military by way of the slave trade resulted in a distinctly West Indies military garrison. On one hand, this West Indies military garrison is understood as “an integrated, cohesive, and unavoidably intrusive institution” and, on the other, as a “complex social organism containing representatives of many social groups with systematic linkages to the surrounding plantation societies (Buckley 1998: xiv). By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British

administration had formally acknowledged the military potential of slaves with the formation of the highly controversial West India Regiments, which served in overseas conflicts and in various Caribbean fortifications until the British abandoned these installations in 1854. From this discussion, we see that fortifications across the Caribbean had effectively been transformed into black garrisons through political maneuvers that underscored the British Crown's administrative control over civil society. An important byproduct of this shift was the creation of a formalized space for the beginnings of interracial societies. This project is dedicated to the investigation of this space with the primary goal of instilling a widespread recognition of the involvement of transplanted Africans in formative military conflicts that helped to make this "New World" a modern one.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

This project addresses a series of questions pertaining to war and slavery in the Atlantic world through the lens of a single site:

- (1) Firstly, during the height of activity at the Cabrits Garrison (c. 1790-1815), the parameters of the British Empire were changing as a result of colonial expansion, administrative challenges pitting colonies against the metropolis, the circulation of radical ideologies concerning social realities and questions of freedom and the rise of a consumer culture. How are these structural forces, well documented in Atlantic world historiography, manifested in the archaeological record of households associated with lower-status military personnel and in what ways were the rhythms of everyday life for these groups affected differently by these changes? In other words, how did the experiences of African laborers compare to that of European laborers and soldiers as well as enslaved African soldiers at the site? To what degree did differing labor roles determine identities in this military community?
- (2) Next, how does the archaeological record apparent at the Cabrits Garrison compare in regards to relative access to resources and differential choices related to material use? All British

military personnel (officers, infantry, pioneers/laborers) were provided with material goods by the British administration but these groups represent different classes within military society (and colonial society at large) and will be associated with different material assemblages because of formal and informal routes of access. How are these differences manifested in the archaeological record, and how did each group modify these materials to be more responsive to the needs of everyday life?

- (3) Then, to address the significance of military forms of slavery in the Caribbean, sites such as the Cabrits Garrison must be compared to other Atlantic world contexts. How does everyday life at the Cabrits Garrison compare to other military sites in the Caribbean where individuals of African ancestry were used for labor in various ways? Also, in comparison to other sites linked in the Atlantic slave trade (i.e. military sites, plantations, urban settings) what can archaeological data gathered from areas associated with the groups under investigation at the Cabrits Garrison tell us about military forms of slavery in contrast to other forms? More specifically, as there was a limited number of ways of managing slave labor, how can the material and spatial interpretations made by African diaspora archaeologists in relation to plantation settings be used to offer insights into the arrangement of life at the Cabrits Garrison and other military settings in the Atlantic world?
- (4) Fortifications and other military outposts are artifacts of European contact and colonization throughout the Atlantic world. How do fortifications illustrate patterns of European expansion as well as contradictions in colonialism? Requiring large investments on the part of colonial administrations, these sites are intimately connected to labor regimes which, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, shaped and were shaped by the policy and practice of a widening modern British state. Encounters between agents and structure, however, are not binary in nature; they occurred along shifting scales of interaction. To what extent, therefore, are the

soldiers and other military personnel garrisoned at these sites to be considered personifications of empire, and in what ways did these individuals and groups reshape colonial institutions over time? Perhaps more importantly, what other identities existed at these sites—evidenced through closer analysis of material and spatial practices—in contrast to the conventional, rigid forms of historical military identifications?

- (5) Finally, how can colonial military history be made more accessible for everyone involved? In contemporary historical awareness, there remains a lacking acknowledgement of the military role played by blacks in the conflicts crucial to the development of the modern world. Once this diverse participation is acknowledged, how do we then consider the role of the military in this development—liberating institution or hindrance to emancipation and maintainer of the status quo? Most importantly, the investigation of military slavery in the Americas complicates notions of black dependency on white colonists. Does this Atlantic world narrative provide a less inspiring version of black consciousness than the typical resistance narrative, or can it be used to empower minority groups in the face of a repressive social status quo?

Considering the role of enslaved military labor at the Cabrits Garrison provides a transitional context in which the dynamics of an emerging interracial society can be investigated. The questions outlined above are intended to move between local and global scales of inquiry but are by no means an exhaustive list of the available insights gleaned from the study of colonial fortifications. Other concerns, such as the general features of garrison life and the visibility of gender differences at sites traditionally interpreted along masculine lines, can be approached. On the island of Dominica, where relatively limited archaeological work has been completed (see Honychurch 2011), this investigation of the material lives of both slaves and soldiers presents the opportunity to not only underscore the importance of these sites as critical points of social and cultural interaction that challenge rigid models of institutional life, but to also aid in the transformation of this site as a symbol of British colonization to one conveying the resistance,



freedom and national identity that emerged in military settings across the Atlantic world during this tumultuous period. This project brings together the available narratives, historical documents and archaeological evidence, to provide a vantage point accounting for economic, political and ideological structures and agent-centered practice in this military setting. Further discussion of the use of source material in this multi-scalar investigation will be addressed in the next section.

## **1.6 Sources**

In line with recent trends within historical archaeology utilizing principles from the New History (Burke 2001), primarily from microhistory and the Annales school (see Brooks et al. 2008; Egmond and Mason 1997; Ginzburg 1993; Ginzburg and Poni 1991; Levi 2001; Muir 1991 for discussion of these interdisciplinary perspectives), I employ a critical approach to historical and archaeological narratives that blends site level analysis of everyday life with more regional histories. This approach allows for a variety of questions at multiple scales of analysis to be entertained, such as the difference in consumption practices of enslaved laborers and soldiers at the Cabrits Garrison and the wider effect that new military recruitment strategies had on the development of Caribbean societies. Data sources used in this project include primary documents from various national archives (maps, architectural plans, travel diaries, correspondence between colonial administrators, military and slave registries and information on trade relations and the past occupants of the site), a variety of secondary sources relating to Atlantic world history and African diaspora archaeologies, and archaeological evidence (artifacts, ecofacts, features and settlement patterns). While archival and archaeological data are generally believed to compliment and depend on one another for thorough reconstructions of settings in the past, I have utilized a dialectical approach emphasizing the contradictory and independent nature of historical and archaeological productions in my investigations of the everyday practices of the free and enslaved at the Cabrits Garrison (Lightfoot 2008: 15). Everyday life is an “extremely circumscribed phenomena” requiring investigations that dig deep into the meaningful behaviors and beliefs of specific social groups and named individuals (Muir

1991: ix). The following section pinpoints the scales at which each of the data sources described offer insights into reconstructing the social and cultural contexts at the Cabrits Garrison.

Archival materials provide high quality accounts relating to the institutions of British military and slavery, and more specifically, to the development of the Cabrits Garrison. They also illustrate the problems perceived by British administrators in the successful colonization of Dominica, including the harsh environment and attacks from the French and Maroon communities. It is important to note that primary documents of interest to this project detailing the occupation histories associated with each study area at the fort as well as detailed information concerning the everyday social relations of these distinct groups were for the most part absent. And, while secondary source material relating to fortifications, war and slavery and colonial identity formation is available and informative, this historiography lacks the full explanatory context and causal mechanisms to link localities and associated practices with broad historical themes. Archaeological materials provide a finer lens into the internal happenings at the Cabrits Garrison that have wider implications. Intra-site comparisons of artifact and settlement patterns illustrate the manner these groups carried out their social and cultural lives. The relationships between domestic spaces and the variety of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century material culture recovered during excavations relate to the everyday lives of the groups under investigation at the Cabrits Garrison, especially in regards to consumption, the nature of work, settlement strategy and other critical daily behaviors. These materials allow me to not only establish accurate chronologies of archaeological patterns based on known periods of manufacture, but to also investigate the way different material and spatial practices were used to mediate between institutional boundaries and the degree to which patterns of everyday life at the fort reflect Atlantic world socioeconomic trends. In conjunction with historical documents, when compared to other colonial sites in the Caribbean and beyond, archaeological results from the Cabrits Garrison provide a comprehensive understanding of slavery's dynamic internal relations during periods of war. When taken together, these sources of data allow the effects of war and slavery on everyday life to be illuminated, resulting in a more nuanced

understanding of the involvement of under-recognized groups in the life cycle of colonial institutional practice.

## **1.7 Organization of Chapters**

This dissertation provides a case study of a colonial fortification occupied between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries by the British military. At one point local, in another global, the material and spatial practices used to mediate between institutional boundaries in place at the Cabrits Garrison and the degree to which these patterns of everyday life reflect Atlantic world trends are the main themes under investigation here. In the next chapter, I outline my theoretical approach for the interpretation of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison. The important contexts of everyday life at the fort, including its geography and historical formation, are described in Chapter Three. Chapter Four introduces the variety of archival materials used in this investigation and assesses the extent to which these sources are useful in illuminating the social and cultural context of enslaved military labor at this site. I thoroughly outline my methodological approach to fieldwork and data analysis for the study areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison in Chapter Five. This approach is designed to address questions of difference and relatedness in a setting structured by war and slavery. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight specifically concern the interpretation of spatial and material patterns at the fort. I describe the occupation histories and household practices associated with the domestic contexts excavated according to an analysis of patterns of dwelling (Chapter Six), eating and drinking (Chapter Seven) and working (Chapter Eight), which most clearly demonstrate the inherent power dynamics defining 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century military and slave life. Finally, Chapter Nine concludes this study with a summary of the primary theoretical arguments and the conclusions arising from a thorough assessment of the available data sources. Additionally, I outline future directions for continued archaeological investigations at the Cabrits Garrison and the broadening of this style of research to other fortifications throughout the colonial world.

My intention for this dissertation is to underscore the important contributions to African diaspora and Atlantic world studies from the investigation of colonial fortifications. I hope it finds a place in the interdisciplinary field of transatlantic and colonial studies, but more importantly, provides a voice for the active involvement of blacks in the development of African-Caribbean societies—making what once was remembered as a monument to colonial control into a powerful symbol of national identity. Object-centered approaches hold great potential in articulating colonial histories silenced by broad thematic strokes through a thorough examination of everyday spaces and things. This project is not only concerned with how societies remember but, perhaps most importantly, how things can help societies remember (Jones 2007: 5).

## Chapter 2

### Theorizing Garrison Life in the Atlantic World

The act of garrisoning the islands, in the West Indies, is the most irksome service which falls to the lot of the Soldiers. It implies a privation of country, and it holds out no prospect of military glory: on the contrary, it presents the gloomy prospect of an inglorious death from disease..." (A British Army surgeon summing up the negative sentiment of soldiers towards serving in the Caribbean, as quoted in Voelz 1993: 174).

Apart from a few buttons...some coins and a large horseshoe, no trace of the former occupants of any interest has been found (from a report on the administration of Fort Shirley and the Cabrits in Burra 1953: Appendix V).

All of the Antilles, every island, is an effort of memory; every mind, every racial biography culminating in amnesia and fog. Pieces of sunlight through the fog and sudden rainbows, arcs-en-ciel. That is the effort, the labour of the Antillean imagination, rebuilding its gods from bamboo frames, phrase by phrase (Walcott 1998: 82).

#### 2.1 Theoretical Approaches to Garrison Life in the Atlantic World

Both 18<sup>th</sup> century European soldiers and contemporary scholars appear averse to "occupying" Caribbean fortifications. European soldiers considered the Caribbean a tedious, potentially fatal service absent the promise of battlefield glory. The work of historians and archaeologists has often failed to properly account for Caribbean fortifications due, perhaps, to challenges associated with reimagining and reconstructing these contexts from the assemblage of sources available. These sites are rarely viewed as pluralistic communities in popular memory or the scholarly literature; rather, significant persons, conflicts or institutional characteristics such as architecture and bureaucracy are prioritized over accounts of daily life, resulting in an uneven balance that politicizes accounts of history. This chapter, therefore, proceeds into a territory few have entered—a theoretical interpretation of garrison life in the Atlantic world and the modes through which Caribbean fortifications and their associated communities can be remembered. Consistent with Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (1995) "unearthing" of the palace at Sans Souci in the northern mountains of Haiti, I attempt to disassociate historical processes in the colonial Caribbean, such as the Haitian Revolution or military labor practices, from their role as peripheral subparts of consensus histories. In doing

so, I also strive to reorient these phenomena as central units in the production of narratives that suggest new significance to both historical events and the lives of peoples in those histories.

Traditionally, scholars with military backgrounds have dominated the interpretation of fortifications and castles (Johnson 1999: 160). They bring to this study a familiarity with universal features of military architecture and focus their investigations on identifying and describing their technological and strategic developments (see Keeley et al. 2007 for a leading example in prehistoric archaeology in North America). This progressive narrative emphasizes the defensive functions of forts and their utility as strategic points while minimizing their significance as symbolic points of cultural contact and social interaction. These types of approaches rarely go beyond the descriptive goals of “culture-history”, preventing the evidence available to archaeologists, such as architectural features, to be more creatively imagined than conclusions arguing “a wall might just be a wall” (Keeley et al. 2007: 57).

Forts (and their walls) are the products of different, opposing, contradictory and creative social relations. Matthew Johnson’s (1999: 160) analysis of Bodiam Castle identifies this “artful combination” of military and symbolic significance in the complex associations in medieval castle representation, including the intertwining of lordly and strategic functions along with masculine elite symbolism. According to this way of thinking, forts and castles are “metaphysical as well as material; a matter of imagery and symbolism, not just of technology” (Johnson 1999: 160). This integration of symbolism into the interpretations of fortifications does not imply that interpretive approaches are free from reproach. Ann Laura Stoler (2008) reminds us that the use of interpretive categories to describe forts, including “imperial monuments”, “colonial vestige”, or “technologies of power”, may deflect more than clear the way for analysis by projecting overconfidence in the study of complicated colonial processes. Instead of offering “ready-made syntheses” based on cookie cutter power dynamics and a priori historic blocs, investigations of fortifications and other modern ruins should focus on “processes of becoming” and the differential histories of social relations involved in this becoming (Stoler 2008: 212).

My theoretical approach derives influence from historical materialism, a school of thought most commonly associated with a Marxian focus on labor and social relations in the study of human process. Particular economic structures demand varying divisions of labor. Individuals interact with nature and one another through labor. Thus, the social is inherently material (Roseberry 1997). Spatial and material patterns have an origin in this formative dynamic, but this materialist approach cannot simply determine social life according to economy. Instead, it must be reconciled with efforts to account for the historical diversity characterizing the archaeological record (Trigger 2006: xiv). Philip Kohl (1985: 115) describes a “subtler historical materialism along which ideas and materials actively and continuously interact with one another.”

For this I look to insights provided by social anthropology and archaeology. Victor Turner’s (1966) definition of any concrete society established the tradition through which social life can be interpreted apart from rigid categories.<sup>3</sup> Instead, social life is imagined in more nuanced ways that anticipate the multiplicity and context-specificity of affiliations among individuals and groups. Since the 1990s, social archaeology has been concerned with properly situating the social experiences of material life. An “archaeology of social being” avoids reductionist and essentialist approaches that are based upon a priori categories (Preucel and Meskell 2004: 3-4). Beyond a strict concern with material symbolism, social archaeology investigates the structural significance of individual actions. Any study of “society” or “the social” must account for the intentions and actions of individuals as well as the structures forming their mutual environment. A social archaeology should not only consider the processes of social individuation but also history as a uniquely social process. “History as a social process involves people in three distinct capacities: 1) as *agents*, or occupants of structural positions; 2) as *actors* in constant interface with a context; and 3) as *subjects*, that

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<sup>3</sup> Victor Turner (1966:97) defines any society as made up of “multiple personae, groups, and categories, each of which has its own developmental cycle, at a given moment many incumbencies of fixed positions coexist with many passages between positions.” This now-dated definition of society reveals the fixity and fluidity of social identities, which is a guiding principle in the subsequent work of social archaeology that has broadened this perspective to deal with sociocultural transformations in settings with greater scale and complexity (see Meskell and Preucel 2004).

is, as voices aware of their vocality” (Trouillot 1995: 23). I am concerned with how this dynamic between individuals and dominant structures is materialized at the Cabrits Garrison as well as to how it is represented historically. Society is both tangible and conceptual. As such, its study should address living in that world and conceptions of it.

In my efforts to interpret the nature of military labor and the experience of laborers at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica I have attempted two things: (1) to provide an alternative view of military sites in relation to Afro-Caribbean society and (2) to better figure the connections between a variety of material and spatial practices and their social significance. This type of investigation requires multiple scales of theoretical inquiry to account for varying levels of social life and major themes framing Caribbean military communities. The tradition of applying multi-scalar approaches to the analysis of Caribbean contexts has demonstrated that the “simultaneous use of multiple units of analysis...is one of the many strategies that reveals the search by many Caribbeanists for a way to tie their immediate units of observation to the wider world” (Trouillot 1992: 32). Section 1.5 in Chapter One of this dissertation outlines the research questions central to this study of military labor and the following section pursues these questions through multiple scales of theoretical significance. The Cabrits Garrison must be considered in light of its multivocality in historical production, its position in a broader Atlantic world, its constitution as both colonial institution and site of everyday practice, and its role as a lived space of labor within the conceived landscape of British imperialism.

## **2.2 Historical Production and the Ruins of the Caribbean**

This section proceeds from the understanding that elite groups responsible for the creation of a discernable historical record have been more frequently studied than the underprivileged (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Trouillot 1995). History viewed in this manner implies an understanding that power relations are involved in its production. Just as societies are “structured” by “entwined ideological, economic, military, and political power” (Mann 1993: 9), so are their histories. This critical approach to



historical production has been adopted by many historical archaeologists, and is especially relevant for the continued focus on neglected histories at military ruins in the Caribbean.

Colonial histories present challenges to interpretation because colonialism is a multi-sided process that provides opportunities for social and cultural transformations among all the individuals and groups involved. Only certain narratives are relayed in the production of history even though a multitude of histories circulate—many in oral form. In the Caribbean, the historiography of European expansion through military power has most often emphasized grand narratives underpinning European national identities, while obscuring certain groups and their contributions in complex societal formation. Eric Wolf's investigations of European engagements with "the other" underscore the argument that "...theoretically informed history and historically informed theory must be joined together to account for populations specifiable in time and space, both as outcomes of significant processes and as their carriers" (Wolf 1997: 21). In regards to Caribbean fortifications, their occupational histories have often been framed according to standard temporalities—a trajectory taking us from early development, to tumultuous middle period, to the predictable and unquestioned abandonment of these settings.

James Scott (1998) describes how these types of progressive timelines in history hide failures inherent in ideologies of modernity and social engineering projects. He views "high modernism" as an aesthetic that transformed urban and rural landscapes according to hyper-rational forms linked to the modern state and market capitalism. The most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering have resulted from the combination of four principle elements, including: (1) the administrative ordering of nature and society; (2) the integration of modernist ideologies motivated by ideas of science and technical progress, control over nature, precedence of production, and the rational design of social order often in aesthetic terms; (3) the authoritarian power of the state, especially during periods of war, revolution, depression and national liberation; and (4) a powerless civil society lacking the capacity to resist state designs (Scott 1998: 4-5). Scott applies his argument primarily to the concerns of the early modern state on

continental Europe or on industrial age social engineering. His model, however, is relevant with respect to the colonial Caribbean<sup>4</sup>, particularly in imagining the role of modernist ideologies—social simplification, progressive time and control over nature—embedded in the development and maintenance of Caribbean fortifications.

Typically, colonial military history is set along a standard chronology punctuated by certain forms of progress. Namely, this chronology imagines technological progress in the form of shedding obsolete technology—expertise and tools. Social progress is understood as the redirection of formal combat strategy away from naval conflict, large standing armies and expansive coastal batteries monitoring trade routes and national sovereignty. This progressive ideology to colonial history stands in stark contrast to the many locales surrounding long abandoned fortifications in the Caribbean that have had trouble progressing on their own terms since the fall out from varied European schematics and grid plans. A critical approach to historical production attempts to place these settings in relation to their dynamic colonial pasts to break out of the molds of European modernity, and, in the case of this investigation, African-Caribbean stasis (Cooper 1994: 1528-1530). Scott's model upsets this though a schematic seldom addressed in popular military histories—a timeline of an extensive defensive and economic network driven by social simplification strategies and an authoritarian state. This state, decidedly unconcerned about local practice and the past, transplanted, manipulated and integrated an enslaved labor force into critical sectors of these modeled island societies, including the armed forces, all the while expecting rigid conduct and high gains. The materializations of this failed ideology are the principle concern of this investigation.

In their present state, the ruins of colonial fortifications in the Caribbean challenge dominant ways of relating to the past. In his 1992 Nobel lecture, the St. Lucian poet and playwright Derek Walcott

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<sup>4</sup> Schematics like Scott's (1998) that relate themes associated with modernity and socially engineered societies have been applied elsewhere. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1988: 30) considers social engineering and "custom made societies" that follow mercantilist schedules and concepts of supply and demand in his investigation of labor formations and the peasantry on the Caribbean island of Dominica.

contemplates the “ruins of the Caribbean” and reflects on the legacies of colonialism in the region and their effect on cultural memory. For Walcott, the lack of diversity among these ruins, characterized by decrepit plantation machinery and long abandoned fortifications, symbolize a landscape where the region’s natural beauty has long been perceived, and more recently commodified for tourists, but “the sigh of History dissolves” (Walcott 1998: 68). In this way, the Caribbean has been written about but has not yet written itself. Walcott’s vision, while sensitive to the power relations constituting the region, does not see the same potential as others in writing alternative histories from these available ruins. Like Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s (1995) analysis of the ruins of the palace of Sans Souci, I believe the Cabrits Garrison, and sites like it, harbor “suspended” and “quieted” histories. Between the cracks of mortar and crumbling stone are the “differential histories of colonial relations” through which we can more effectively understand the different human struggles and forms of creativeness that have typically avoided the glare of consensus history but have been an active part in its constitution (Stoler 2008: 201).

Over the last decade, recent scholarly interest in ruins has aided in understanding the symbolism of forts and their utility in offering alternative temporalities and narratives to anthropological research (see Dawdy 2010, 2016; DeSilvey and Edensor 2013; Hell and Schönle 2010; Olsen and Pétursdóttir 2014; Stoler 2008). These scholars take Walter Benjamin’s philosophy as their theoretical starting point, imagining ruins as “petrified life” or “traces that mark the fragility of power and the force of destruction” (Stoler 2008: 194). A common problem with ruins is the tendency to focus on their historical nostalgia or more specifically as rigid markers of colonial power. Their interpretive significance comes from their ability to check uncritical assumptions on colonialism and progressive time that have been embedded in colonial historiography. Colonialism is viewed as essentially incomplete and prone to contradictions (Cooper 1994; Stoler and Cooper 1997). It involved a continuous process of definition and maintenance of difference in colonial society that frequently changed. “Colonial regimes were neither monolithic nor omnipotent. Closer

investigation reveals competing agendas for using power, competing strategies for maintaining control, and doubts about the legitimacy of the venture” (Stoler and Cooper 1997: 6).

Similarly, Shannon Dawdy’s (2010) investigation of modern ruins provides a valuable warning for historical archaeologists to dislodge themselves from progressive time and negligent grand narratives. As researchers of the modern world, Dawdy encourages historical archaeologists to move away from “hodgepodge” understandings of modernity and to critique this concept as a “temporal ideology that valorizes newness, rupture, and linear plot lines” (Dawdy 2010: 762). This focus on modernity is a recent trend that challenges traditions in historicism, evolutionism, anthropology and archaeology (Bailey 2007; Dawdy 2010, 2016; Fabian 1983; Latour 1993; Lucas 2005; Olivier 2011; Shanks 2007). New possibilities arise from the collapsing of archaeological and ethnographic time, resulting in more nuanced conceptions of identity and the nature of time.

In this investigation of the Cabrits Garrison, modernity is understood not necessarily as progressive but as an emergence of new labor and technological relationships that materialized in a variety of intentional and inadvertent forms. The failure of this social engineering project not only transformed this site into a ruin but also transforms the impression of progress in history by revealing incongruities inherent in modernity. The archaeology of this process offers memories of the Cabrits Garrison that continue to be reshaped in the present. This perspective carries significant weight in my investigation of Caribbean fortifications.

### **2.3 Atlantic World Perspectives**

The Atlantic world has achieved increasing significance in contemporary scholarship as a laboratory for exploring multiple scales and themes central to the development of the modern world (Bailyn 2002). Bernard Bailyn placed the origins of the concept in the world war contexts of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it wasn’t fully integrated into scholarship as a unit of analysis until the 1960s (Bailyn 2005: 4-5). While the Atlantic world does not represent a single society or a combination of several national histories,

its apparent unity has led many to consider it as the “first hemispheric community” in human history (Bailyn 2005: 59).

In fact, as articulated by Christopher R. DeCorse (2014b: 3-5), Bailyn’s formulation frames this concept too narrowly in the northern hemisphere according to the socio-political agendas of post-World War II. While Bailyn (2005: 4, 16) appreciates the “long and weighty history” of the Atlantic and its relevance for “understanding the contemporary world”, his limited recognition of Africa or the Caribbean makes Atlantic studies anything but relevant in a world still grappling with the impacts of Eurocentrism and racism. Additionally, much of the work that laid the foundation for postcolonial scholars exploring connections between the histories of Africa and the Americas is unmentioned by Bailyn, including W. E. B. Dubois, Melville Herskovits, and Eric Williams (see DeCorse 2014b: 4-5 for review of this literature). Williams’ controversial slave trade hypothesis presented in *Capitalism and Slavery* (2005) is of particular importance to this study of colonial fortifications in the Caribbean. This work is an early example demonstrating the logic of Atlantic studies. It grappled specifically with concepts central to the Atlantic, including global interactions and power, and led to fundamental changes in the interpretation of emancipation and industrialization. While focused on slavery in the British Caribbean, Williams linked the histories of Britain, the Americas and Africa to economic structures and trends characterizing global capitalism. This is an approach that has been retained and reworked by a generation of scholars (Drescher 1987).

Other developments in global history have impacted the expression of Atlantic perspectives, including the transnational scope of certain imperial histories and the emphasis by the Annales School of thought on long-term historical process (*longue durée*) over the event in shaping fundamental patterns of human existence (Bailyn 2005: 4; Green 2016: 91). Scholars working from a world-systems perspective have imagined the Atlantic as a social system (Wallerstein 1974). Recent historical work has imparted more openness onto this system based on the often contradictory economic and political networks tracing in and

between the indistinct spatial boundaries constituting these meaningful contexts (Armitage and Braddick 2002). Fortifications are among the most permanent survivals of these interactive contexts in the Atlantic world by bringing together indigenous, European and African peoples (DeCorse 2001, 2010). My concern with the impacts of British military labor at the Cabrits Garrison and on the development of surrounding Caribbean societies relies on acknowledging the dynamic connections between locales and world systems; an island in relation to an Empire and expedient military policy in relation to broader colonial histories. Despite the popularity of an Atlantic perspective there remains great uncertainty about what the Atlantic world is and how to effectively study it (Tomich 2004).

A great deal of work has considered the Atlantic as a geographical entity of considerable proportion and heterogeneity (Bailyn 2005: 59-61). Atlantic studies outline borders that differ according to national identity and exceed the traditional boundaries of empire, requiring technological, economic and political innovations to bridge this distance (see discussions of these Atlantic worlds in Greene and Morgan 2009). This region is also instilled with considerable historical importance as the backdrop for European expansion through the combined power of merchant capitalism, consumer culture, indigenous and African enslavement, economies of extraction, military force, and varied cultural practices and ideologies (DuPlessis 2015; Engel 2012; Falola and Roberts 2008; Kelly 2015; Klooster and Padula 2005; Thornton 2012; Way 2016). Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene argue that a principle goal of this research has been to escape the teleologies of dominant national histories, such as the United States or Great Britain, and contribute to “the development of analytical procedures for describing experiences and connections that were multiracial, multinational, and multi-imperial” (2009: 24). Rather than positioning itself as a distinct field of historical inquiry, Atlantic history provides a “perspective” (Morgan and Greene 2009: 4) or a “historical-theoretical framework” (Tomich 2004: 119). This approach emphasizes the connection of certain forms of labor or colonial experience to the formation of the Atlantic division of labor and the wider world economy.

Recent work has pushed back against monolithic constructions of the Atlantic by addressing some of the inherent problems with representation embedded in interpretations (DeCorse 2014b; Gilroy 1993; Green 2016; Thornton 1992). Criticisms surrounding the significance of Africa are especially germane to the scope of this project. Atlantic history begins in Africa and its importance waned after the breakdown of the African slave trade. Thus, Africa was central to the Atlantic world. Traditionally, this connection is assumed to have only fatal consequences on Africa with the rapid displacement of Africans to satisfy the requirement for enslaved laborers in the Americas. John Thornton's (1992) analysis of the role of Africans in the development of the Atlantic world pushes back this assumption as well as the dominance of European perspectives. He demonstrates the voluntary and active role played by Africa in the Atlantic. In many ways, African political, economic and military elites shaped the contours of interactions with Europeans. They oversaw a varied and productive economy with substantial pre-colonial roots. Europeans did not possess the military power necessary to disrupt and control these persistent political entities. Paul Gilroy's (1993) vision of a "Black Atlantic" considers the effects of modern racism on the historiography of the African diaspora. Using a variety of source materials, Gilroy demonstrates the variety of exchanges, beyond the economic and historical matrix of plantation slavery, that Africans were engaged in, including struggles toward emancipation, autonomy and citizenship; all fundamental tensions underlying the history of modernity. These works afford alternative perspectives that challenge the continual effects of European colonization, contribute to more pluralistic notions of national identity and better illustrate the multiple avenues of cultural and social exchange taking place across the Atlantic world during the period of its making.

Atlantic scholars have also concentrated on themes central to anthropology and my present analysis, power, identity and exchange (Armitage and Braddick 2002; Elliot 1987; Greene 1987; Pagden and Canny 1987; Paquet and Wallot 1987; Tomich 2004; Wilson 2004). The Atlantic world was by no means a rigid triangle. It is a "human space" (Tomich 2004: 107-108), couched in human experiences and

social processes that were subject to change through time. Power is understood as having no central locus. It “flows through institutional arrangements of space and is internalized by actors in the social field. It enables actors as much as it restricts them” (McCall 1999: 19). Power arrangements are inherent in material and spatial patterns that are central in framing human experience.

Atlantic studies addressing the core concepts of power and identity pay particular attention to the periods following the sixteenth-century when settlement had already resulted in tremendous differentiation in legal and administrative systems as well as institutional structures (Elliot 1987). Many of these interpretations focus on the dominating power relations of the period (Pagden and Canny 1987: 270). This concept is treated as something possessed at the expense of others, leaving little room for alternative modes of power or its many subversions. Much of this work has focused on elite groups responsible for the creation of a discernable historical record as opposed to the silent majority, resulting in the overall administrative tone of these accounts of identity formation (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). The Atlantic world was not a shared social system, but one in which similar social identities were expressed amidst a diversity of interactions (Armitage and Braddick 2002: 1-7). Comparisons placing differing local historical experiences into larger contexts are often utilized in these historical analyses to portray the Atlantic world as one characterized by extreme diversity in philosophy and practice. Analyses of difference require an acknowledgement of the irreducible relationship between the imaginative and the material, an alertness to the past’s accessibility and an acceptance of alternative modes of historical being (Wilson 2004: 4).

These concerns are essentially questions of identity. Identity formation is treated as non-teleological, avoiding schemes beginning with the passage of explorers transitioning into temporary residents and concluding with communities of individual self-awareness (Paquet and Wallot 1987). The growing body of literature on colonial identities is most useful in its conception of identity as anything but static—rather, identity is understood as a dynamic or shifting “place-specific and time-specific” concept (Elliot 1987: 3-8). Studies, however, often fail to provide understandings of identity that go beyond notional



assessments of colonial life. A generalized view of identity is supported through inter-site comparisons designed to determine what was general and what was specific to regions. Intra-site comparisons interrogating the differing processes connected to identity representation among distinct groups are lacking in many of these approaches. Even more important to my present study is the inability of these theoretical models to explain a causal mechanism responsible for identity formation within institutional contexts (Paquet and Wallot 1987). I believe investigations of material and spatial patterns characterizing everyday practices constitute the mechanism by which identities are created, maintained, challenged, or transformed.

Considerable debate has surrounded the nature of social identity and its apparent ambiguity in accounting for the range of human experiences (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). A direct correspondence does not exist between material remains and social identities (Casella and Fowler 2004). Identity is not static and should not be made so for the sake of analysis. Rather, it is more effectively imagined as a unit of practice relevant in linking multiple scales of analysis, including empires and households. Identity studies in archaeology “intertwine daily practices, episodic events, and social networks” to capture the multiple dimensions involved in social identification (White 2009: 11). The distinct scales of analysis apparent in studies of the Atlantic world are most often connected through processes of exchange. Exchange is a distinct aspect of social life and represents more than economic transactions. Processes of exchange transfer cultural practices as well as distinct forms of agencies (Thomas 1991). Atlantic world encounters were not just determined according to economic, military, or political penetration. The level of entanglement in these Atlantic exchanges resulted in a world system intimately linked to local systems—a reality that turns many of the traditional dualisms or binaries used to summarize Atlantic world interactions on their head (Appadurai 1986).

When understood according to these anthropological principles, an Atlantic perspective provides both a method and a philosophy useful in locating locales within the wider currents of the Atlantic and global division of labor. Methodologically, this perspective builds social relationships outwardly from a

single site (Tomich 2004). What does the Atlantic world-system look like from the vantage point of the Cabrits Garrison? How did these relations change through time? Within this Atlantic world, my dissertation examines how a seemingly separate division of social life, the military, was affected by the dominant order of the day—the slave division of labor. In addition, this perspective also relies on the “close reading” of a variety of sources to go beyond demographics and enter the “microreality of people’s lives” (Bailyn 2005: 42). Philosophically, the Atlantic perspective championed in this section narrows in on the human reality of the Atlantic world as opposed to the formal relation between economic systems. It acknowledges the multiple scales of colonialism, their contradictory nature and the diverse impacts and responses enacted at the local level. When the assortment of individuals and groups involved in the making of the Atlantic world are understood according to fluid forms or multi-dimensional representations of power, identity and exchange we can accurately assess the creation of institutions, including their formal and informal nature, that go against the grain.

## **2.4 Institutions and Everyday Lives**

One of the principal characteristics defining the colonial period and the movement into modernity is the creation and distribution of institutions. Institutional themes at play in this project include the social structures dictated by the Atlantic slave trade and the British military. Particular forms and uses of power define these institutions, and variation exists in regards to how this embedded power, whether economic, cultural, political or otherwise, was deployed for specific colonial projects or how and by who it was deflected (Stoler and Cooper 1997). While it is necessary to reconstruct the policies and practices of these interacting institutions to assess their impact on local settings, it is not my intention to build up the walls of these institutions, thus reinforcing imperial boundaries popular in history and sacrificing any chance of understanding internal social and cultural dynamics. Rather, I aim to elevate the roles of those shrouded by these dominating structures and discern the connections between interrelated institutions central to European imperialism.

Settings exhibiting the material consequences of war and slavery represent mixed institutionalized contexts where societal power relations, primarily through indoctrination and coercion, were practiced. Institutions are defined according to their capacity to structure individual lives and by their creation of “irregular, often ill-defined boundaries to behaviors” (Gibb 2009: 2). Archaeologies of institutions have specifically examined the way the state imposed ideological constructs of particular social orders on its citizenry (Casella 2009). In this project, I have utilized a broader understanding of institution to capture the entangled institutional forces established by the British military and African slavery at the Cabrits Garrison. Both of these forces were brought to the Americas in order to secure a defensive stance or the labor necessary to consolidate colonizing efforts. When harnessed together, as is the case with the reliance on varying forms of enslaved labor at many colonial military fortifications, these institutional forces resulted in striking consequences and contradictions visible in the regular forms of social interaction made tangible in the material and spatial record. Despite the idealized hegemony imagined by the Caribbean plantocracy and British administration, the reality of slavery involved middling and ambiguous classes of slaves, resulting in power relationships differing in degree and kind. This is especially true in the case of the British military in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when enslaved Africans were increasingly integrated into formal military roles in garrison life, including pioneers, fort laborers and infantrymen serving in the all black West India Regiments.

The primary perspective of this project is to emphasize the content of this colonial system over its form. The content most accessible to historical archaeologists is the residues of everyday life, which, when compared to other groups, provide interesting insights into identity and social relations (Barker 1999: 401). While the use of identity in Atlantic world historiography has been described earlier in this chapter, in archaeology this concern has characterized the field since its antiquarian origins. This work has approached identity through a variety of lenses, offering important insights into definitions of power (Robb 1999), the relationship of style to social boundaries (Stark 1998), the material implications of social

categorization (Mrozowski 2006; Mullins 1999; Orser 2004, 2007) and the role of cultural practice in maintaining or challenging these “objective” realities (Silliman 2001). Archaeological approaches to identity depend on the meaningful relationship between artifacts and the cultural life of past societies (Robb 1999). Forms of identity are believed to reside in tangible practices enabling the study of the social and ideological processes regulating their production and use. My perspective is less concerned with recovering meanings from things than it is with understanding the structural and creative significance implicated in the material record of everyday life at the Cabrits Garrison.

My approach to investigating the role of 18<sup>th</sup> century military labor in emerging African-Caribbean society focuses on everyday life as a distinct unit of practice worthy of critical analysis. This concept is treated as something of a platitude in the social sciences and humanities. It is often considered according to its apparently homogenized, routinized, static and undifferentiated attitudes, but receives little critical insight. Not only is everyday life capable of surprising dynamism and moments of penetrating insight, it is also the stage upon which the higher activities of humans, such as abstract cognition and collective processes of identity, are necessarily premised (Gardiner 2000). I view everyday life at the Cabrits Garrison in the context of modernity, a setting characterized by the broadening of mechanisms of social control as well as forms of resistance into more areas of life (Scott 1985, 1998). Daniel Roche, following the lead of Fernand Braudel and the French Annales School, has described everyday life as the “subsoil” of society.

[A] domain in which routine, inertia, minimal consciousness have the greatest influences, a space where silence reigns over experiences which are common but, for the most part, lived through in private, a lengthy temporality marked by weak breaks, barely visible changes, and wherein habits, customs, and tradition prevail which elude easy datings and familiar social divisions (Roche 2000: 4-5).

Military labor regimes brought individuals from a variety of backgrounds together into a hierarchical system that divided group affiliations while also generating shared experiences. I imagine this shared experience according to shared landscapes and material cultures. This perspective leads away from conventional

archaeological studies of creolization to a sense of “colonial identities as emergent through geographies of colonial relations” (Hauser and Hicks 2007: 261-262).

With these conceptions of identity and everyday life in mind, I view the institution of military slavery in the Caribbean as a social system characterized by ethnically and socially diverse aggregates of individuals whose identities were structured and defined by the relative power of the interacting persons. This perspective counters the common assumption in history that formal, legal structures reflect reality. It is less concerned with defining the slave in legalistic or relational terms (Patterson 1977, 1982) than it is with embedding the system of slavery within a particular social and cultural context to best interpret the manner in which identity categories, such as race, class and ethnicity, are individuated through the dialectical relationships characterizing history (Meillassoux 1991: 17).<sup>5</sup> This approach to institutions, while not intended to diminish the obvious power of these structuring principles, is designed to expose the ability of subordinate groups to transform these settings and inevitably create new ones that prove more responsive to the needs of everyday life; a central theme in the social and cultural development of plantation societies in the Americas (Mintz and Price 1992).

## **2.5 Spaces of Labor**

As indicated in the previous section, colonial garrisons in the Caribbean and beyond involved the dynamic interplay between forms of military labor and patterns of everyday life. Labor is an undisputable fact of the colonial process. For Karl Marx, it was a principle feature in the structuring of society. “[The] division of labor seizes upon, not only the economics, but every other sphere of society, and everywhere lays the foundation of that all engrossing systems of specialising and sorting men...” (Marx 2003: 334). Despite this emphasis on the transformative power of labor in society, Marx’s primary argument involved a

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<sup>5</sup> These works by Orlando Patterson (1977, 1982) and Claude Meillassoux (1991) are fundamental to my consideration of the character of enslaved military labor in the colonial societies of the Atlantic. In particular, Meillassoux’s (1991: 16-20) treatment of slavery as a social system continually impacted by changes in market and labor relations is an important check to traditional interpretations of the topic, including the historical materialism of Marx and Engels, that have typically defined slave-master relations outside of these dynamic contexts.

strict binary between laborer and elite that strays from a thorough consideration of the implications of how varying labor regimes affected colonization and the capitalist world-system.<sup>6</sup> To be fair, Marx was most concerned with social relations related to industrial manufacture, but this traditional model of labor and power has a resilient legacy in the social sciences. This traditional conception of labor as a top-down process has limited its utility in anthropologies of colonization, while in reality it remains one of the most readily accessible colonial processes to archaeologists because of its undeniable entanglement with material and spatial practices (Silliman 2001: 380). In my investigations of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison I have adopted recent perspectives that underscore the importance of labor in colonization (McGuire 1992; Silliman 2001, 2006; Voss 2008.). This research elevates the significance of this concept by framing it as a “multidirectional view of social relations” whereby “labor regimes are interpreted simultaneously as imposition and as social strategy” (Silliman 2001: 402).

Stephen Silliman’s (2001) work on mission labor in California provides a valuable example of this style of historical archaeology. His “labor-as-practice” approach argues that while historical sources are useful in documenting the “structure and implementation” of labor regimes, they are unable to access the type of data relevant to evaluating the social bonds created by labor and its experience from the bottom up. This perspective is accessible through the archaeology of “complex material and spatial patterns in colonial and pluralistic settings” resulting from the “interpersonal and intercultural relations” characterizing labor (Silliman 2001: 279). Silliman’s approach necessitates a redefinition of labor away from purely economic function and open to the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in colonization. Following his lead, I define labor as, “the social and material relations surrounding any activities that are designed to produce,

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<sup>6</sup> This traditional model of power articulated by Marx is demonstrated in the following quotation: “The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other, timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—a hiding” (Marx 2003: 172).

distribute, or manipulate material items for personal use or for anyone else or any activities whether material or not that are required or appropriated for use by someone else” (Silliman 2001:380).

Up to this point, a “labor-as-practice” approach has not been applied to the interpretation of social relations and power at a colonial fortification in the Caribbean. Practice approaches in archaeology have been influenced by a few notable thinkers (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979, 1984; Sahlins 1981, 1985) and applied in a variety of settings (see Delle 2014; Gijanto 2010; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005; Lenik 2010; Orser 2004; Paynter and McGuire 1991; Pluckhahn 2010; Silliman 2001). These approaches focus on individuals, daily practices and the interplay of structure and social agency. More specifically, in regards to labor, practice approaches focus on social relations between labor administrators and labor performers and on the materiality of labor (Silliman 2001: 382). It is through the examination of this interplay that discourses of power and identity can be revealed to better interpret the meaning of specific styles and forms of material culture in different social contexts (Funari et al. 1999). Both power relations and identity are defined and redefined by fluctuations in the labor process. This complex material assemblage, along with critical readings of archival sources, constitutes a record of “lived experience” for groups and individuals underrepresented in history (Silliman 2001: 384).

While these studies are important, a strict reliance on practice theory is problematic for several reasons. Bourdieu’s desire to bridge the gap between structure and action entailed a logic moving from a constructed model (structure) to an assumed reality (*habitus*) to an interpretation of observed facts.<sup>7</sup> This type of modeling in archaeology leads to generalizations that equate cultural activities with particular social identities (Casella and Fowler 2004: 7) and make “groups unitary and rational collective actors” (Barker 1999: 401). Archaeological studies of identity and practice also routinely separate social and cultural

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<sup>7</sup> The following quote is an example of this logic. “[I]n the interaction between two agents or groups endowed with the same habitus (say A and B), everything takes place as if the actions of each of them (say, a1 for A) were organized in relation to the reactions they call forth from any agent possessing the same habitus (say, b1, B’s reaction to a1) so that they objectively imply anticipation of the reaction which these reactions in turn call forth (say a2, the reaction to b1)” (Bourdieu 1977: 73).

contexts from their natural environments, creating a dichotomy emphasizing the power of the social in the study of human history and detaching the biological from social reality (Mrozowski 2006: 17). Perhaps most important to the objectives of this project, is the reality that domestic spatial relations may be more complex and fluid than Bourdieu assumed (Allison 1999: 9).

In the Caribbean, this entangled process of social and cultural transformation is widely associated with creolization, a general anthropological model accounting for social and cultural change and continuity.

<sup>8</sup> Its emphasis on studying cultural process in relation to the relevant social conditions is particularly relevant in the Caribbean where transplanted Africans were able to combine old and new patterns of behaviors within the confines of repressive institutions (Mintz and Price 1992: 9-12). Creolization studies in historical archaeology have focused primarily on the European plantation system<sup>9</sup> (Armstrong 1990, 2003, 2006; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Dawdy 2000; Delle 2000; Ferguson 1992, 1999; Wilkie 2000a, 2000b). Projects have compared the material assemblages of slave villages to “Great Houses” (Armstrong 1990), the manufacture and use of “colono-ware” in Virginia and the Carolinas (Ferguson 1992), the imposed spatial order of plantation slavery in relation to the spatial order modified by enslaved laborers (Armstrong and Kelly 2000) and the differing cultural practices of Afro-Creole and Euro-Creole societies (Delle 2000). Archaeological and historical findings have also been used to trace the development of local industries within these institutionalized settings (Armstrong 2003; Ferguson 1992; Hauser 2008). This framework for interpreting sites in the Americas should be expanded to include sites other than plantations to more accurately explore variations in labor systems and local implications. But my intention is not to invalidate

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<sup>8</sup> Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1971) is credited with introducing creolization into social science discourse with his account of the development of Jamaican creole society. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1992) most famously articulated this model in anthropological literature. It is now a ubiquitous model utilized by a variety of disciplines to explain social and cultural transformation, including literature (Murdoch 2003), dance (de Jong 2003), linguistics (Baptista 2005) and others.

<sup>9</sup> James A. Delle’s definition of creolization considers this process in relation to the plantation system. He defines this concept as “a special form of ethnogenesis that in plantation contexts was a process through which social and material worlds were defined” (2000: 56). It is my argument that this definition needs to consider this process in light of the other types of locales in the Caribbean where slavery was present and subject to a variety of other forces.



practice theory or creolization studies. Instead, I situate the transformative elements central to these approaches, including practices and social relations, into “lived spaces” that are closely linked to domestic life and human experience to more accurately assess how structural forces and individual actions are materialized and spatialized at the Cabrits Garrison.

My understanding of the role of space in the constitution and transformation of society is aided by Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) treatment of the topic. For Lefebvre, “...every society creates a space, its own space” (1991: 53). Thus, spatial realms are constructed to support a particular mode of production and the social relations these spaces engender are intimately linked to the ideologies that contributed to this emergence.<sup>10</sup> Through this type of perspective we are able to see the manner in which societies produce social spaces according to their specific ideological and cultural systems. Both of these systems exist in history, which drive the preservation of certain built forms. While these structures may remain the same, their meanings are changed according to perceptions in new societal landscapes (Lefebvre 1991: 53). This association between history and landscape makes social space a useful tool to analyze a particular society (Lefebvre 1991: 34). In historical archaeology, certain projects have revealed how spatial analysis can provide insights into the balance of power between socially differentiated groups and how shifts in physical design can be representative of wider social changes (Delle 1998, 2014; Johnson 1996).

Lefebvre’s “spatial triad” model argues for the existence of “an indefinite multitude of space, each one piled upon, or perhaps contained within, the next: geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, global” (Lefebvre 1991: 8). It relies on three interrelated kinds of space: (1) “spatial practice” or “perceived space”, which gives structure to everyday activities within the wider socio-economic context and ensures continuity and a certain degree of cohesion;

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<sup>10</sup> According to Lefebvre, “...what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space” (1991: 44, emphasis in original).

(2) “representations of space” or “conceived space”, which is the dominant space in any society being tied to relations of production and the structural order these relations impose; (3) “representational space” or “lived space”, which is the space of the everyday, the “dominated” and hence “passively experienced space” which the “imagination” of its inhabitants and users seek “to change and appropriate” (Lefebvre 1991: 38-46). The “spatial practices” that constitute a certain place are characterized by contradictions between the space created by planners, architects and administrators to produce exchange values (“conceived space”) and the space appropriated by individuals and groups for use values (“lived space”). This contradiction demonstrates the often opposing agendas between those in charge of creating space and those involved with its actual use. “Conceived space” reflects “spatial practices” associated with socially segregated places and the restricted access of certain groups from appropriating space or turning it into “lived space.” “Lived space” is of particular importance to this project because of the connection between these spaces and sites of collective memory (Ng et al. 2013). The principle aim of this interpretive approach is to relate certain domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison, a site traditionally imagined as a colonial monument of European expansion, to African-Caribbean people as a potent site for collective memory.

In the related disciplines of anthropology, geography and sociology, Lefebvre’s conception of the social construction of space has resulted in the development of “lived space/place” as a distinct unit of analysis (Berdoulay 1989; Hanks 1990; Ng et al. 2013; Robin and Rothschild 2002; Rodman 1992; Rothschild 1991). Too often, space and place are equated as simply location, “where people do things” or the site of “ethnographic locales”, and easily taken for granted (Rodman 1992: 640). In archaeology, space has traditionally been the “neutral backdrop upon which the sites and artifacts of archaeological inquiry were situated” (Robin and Rothschild 2002: 160). This archaeological investigation at the Cabrits Garrison is concerned with the social construction and experience of space but others have used this concept to study gendered space, class and urban space and the politics of space (Robin and Rothschild 2002).

“Lived space/place” includes “living space (territory, activity areas), social space, and the values attached to both” (Berdoulay 1989: 130). It is imagined as being constituted by two seemingly opposing views that merge the material and symbolic, including, (1) “an anthropological construct for ‘setting’ or the localization of concepts” and, (2) as “socially constructed, spatialized experience” (Rodman 1992: 642). The significance of households, yard spaces and wider spheres of living is elevated by their treatment as “places where, through interaction, individuals learn about others and the social, economics, ideological and political aspects of the world around them” (Robin and Rothschild 2002: 162). In contrast to the general goals of “household archaeology” (Allison 1999), an approach considering the “lived space” of labor emphasizes an active view of space where people construct and experience space and spatial meanings. It combines contextual and ethnographic approaches in order to highlight the place and time specificity of social relations and cultural processes underlying the construction of space. In historical archaeology, this critical approach to space aims to give voices to the voiceless and places for those displaced in historiography.

## **2.6 The Garrison**

How should interpretations of garrison life in the Caribbean be framed? How can the lives of European, African and Creole occupants at the Cabrits Garrison be connected to local experiences and wider social and cultural spheres characterizing the colonial world? In trying to answer these questions, I employ an eclectic assortment of theoretical literature that traces the vocality of this site and associated phenomena in historical production, its position in a broader Atlantic world, its constitution as both colonial institution and site of everyday practice, and its role as a lived space of labor within the broader maxim of British imperialism. Limited attention has been paid to the relationship between war and slavery in the Atlantic world (Davis 1975). A similar trend is apparent in the lack of historical archaeological research on communities associated with Caribbean colonial military complexes (Watters 2001). Histories are produced

in specific historical contexts and the production of Caribbean histories tracing social interaction and identity formation must be expanded to consider less studied settings (Trouillot 1995).

Like the approach championed by E. P. Thompson (1966), the direction of this project moves from an understanding of the tactics of everyday life to the strategies encapsulating social and structural relations. At the Cabrits Garrison, global systems of governance and commerce established the groundwork for the positioning of agents who, as voices aware of their vocality, were in constant interface with “a complex web of reciprocal causation” between environment, politics and culture (Robb 1999:8), an entanglement that resulted in an array of distinct as well as ambiguous social boundaries. An historical archaeological project focusing on the “lived spaces of labor” at the Cabrits Garrison offers the ability to restore the cultural and calculative dimension to Caribbean societies that are too often represented simply as either economies writ large or as collectives writ small by providing another narrative better equipped to underscore the discontinuities between structural principles and agent-centered practice.

This historical archaeological investigation at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica follows a path established by earlier archaeological projects connecting everyday strategies of individuals operating within material and spatial domains to collective processes of history. This type of model emphasizes the ebb and flow of everyday activities in contributing to the creation of distinct forms of identity as opposed to structural determinations of individuality. In the setting of the Cabrits Garrison I study the process of identity negotiation through an examination of systems of labor in relation to material and spatial patterns of everyday life. Two sites within this military complex were targeted, including the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), due to their associations with differing forms of military labor, both free and enslaved. I hypothesize those individuals enacted different strategies according to their individual experience and social position to negotiate between structures of military order, slavery and other intervening natural and social forces. In the context of daily life at the Cabrits Garrison, social relations would have been structured but contested in various ways, making distinctive and related cultures within a

“historic bloc” of changing hegemonic forces (Gramsci 1971). I believe these forces and strategies are discernable from materials in archaeological and historical sources. The next chapter outlines the relevant contexts and chronologies at the Cabrits Garrison to tackle the questions central to this investigation.

## Chapter 3

### **Contextualizing Caribbean Fortifications: The Cabrits Garrison**

The following chapter focuses on the overlapping contexts evident at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica. As a Caribbean island situated near other settled islands and as a former member of the British Empire, this discussion of Dominica's history naturally addresses more general information about larger trends in British and transatlantic history. This approach is not meant to blur "lived experience" at this site but rather to position the Cabrits Garrison within the larger structure of which it was a part.

During its tenure as a military installation, the wider Atlantic world was undergoing complex sets of transformations. It's increasingly militarized, consumer-based and socially conscious environment bred a host of changes in ideology, governance, social relations, colonial science, consumption practices and questions of freedom. The information used in this discussion has been derived from multiple sources, including archival records, published accounts from colonial actors and a variety of secondary sources analyzing varying themes of transatlantic history. Any historical anthropological examination of the "lived space" of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison must first acknowledge and describe the contexts constituting the structure of everyday life at the site as they existed in time to move accurately between these differing and oftentimes battling social realities (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). This is a necessary task in the production of more representational narratives of Caribbean history and development.

#### **3.1 Geography and Geology: Sites and Stratigraphy**

The island of Dominica is located between the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the most northerly of the Windward Islands Groups in the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean (Burra 1953).<sup>11</sup> It is situated near the center of the arc of the Lesser Antilles and is 29 miles long, 16 miles wide and under 300 square miles (Honychurch 1995). The proximity of these islands to one another and the extent of their

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<sup>11</sup> Dominica was designated a member of the Leeward Islands between 1832 and 1939, "but due to her economic and cultural connection she joined the Windward Islands Group in 1940" (Burra 1953: 2).

network has led some to describe this geographical area as the “causeway connecting the two Americas” (Knight 1907: 278) or as a corridor whose waterways linked European, Latin American and African microbiologies (Kiple 1984), while others have imagined the Caribbean as a single world (Goldman 2008; Williams 2010). Suffice it to say, islands are the most prominent feature of the Antillean landscape, a region where insularity stands in opposition to the fluidity of the surrounding water.

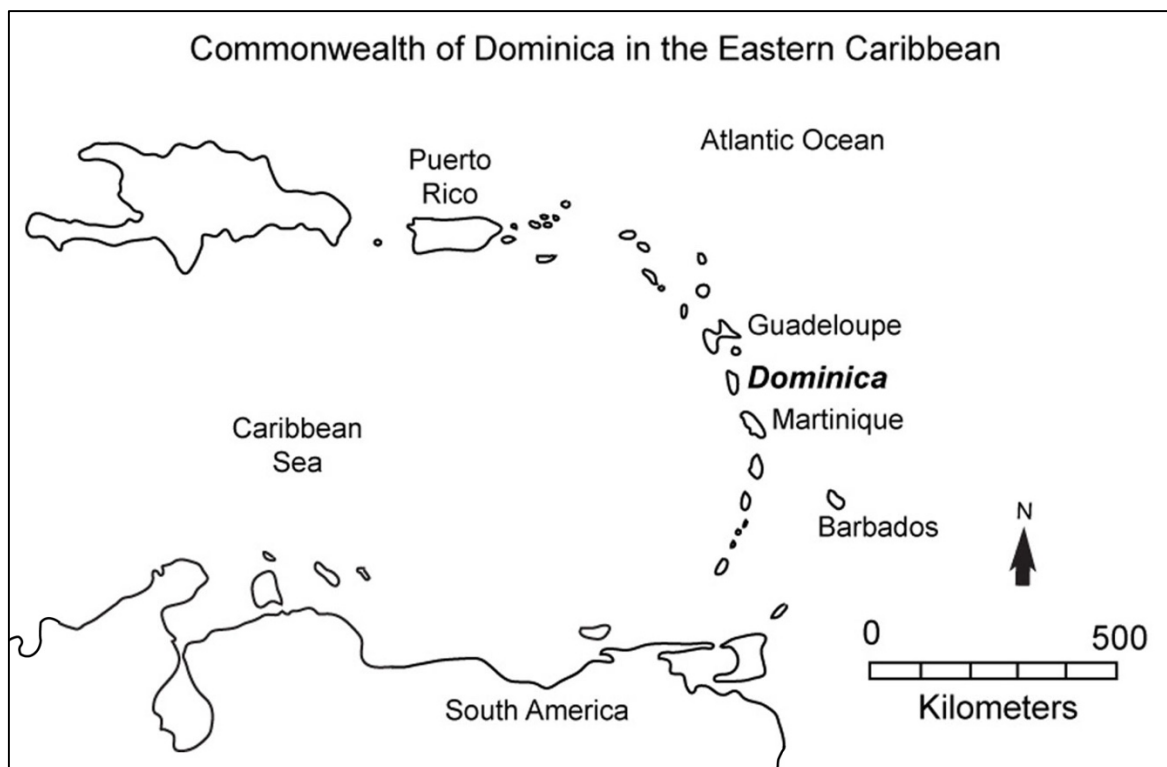


Figure 3.01: Map of Dominica and the eastern Caribbean. Based on original by Stephan Lenik (2010: 3). Used by permission of Stephan Lenik.

Geologically, Dominica is the most volcanically productive island in the Lesser Antilles (Lindsay et al. 2005). Its landscape formed because of volcanic activity during the Miocene epoch 25 million years ago (Blair 1987: 27). Like her counterparts in the geologically younger series of Lesser Antilles formations, a humid tropical climate, steady trade winds, mountainous terrain, heavily forested areas and ongoing volcanic activity characterize Dominica. Out of all the islands in the Lesser Antilles, Dominica has the most extensive undisturbed forests, while its rainforest is considered the finest in the Caribbean (Caribbean Conservation Association 1991: 15). Dominica is also the most mountainous island in the Caribbean, with

an altitude reaching 5,000 ft. above sea level (Honychurch 1995: Introduction). These unique features of Dominica's natural environment have been key determinants in the history and development of the island (Caribbean Conservation Association 1991; Honychurch 1995; Trouillot 1988).



**Figure 3.02:** 1991 Dominican Department of Land and Survey Ordnance map. The Cabrits peninsula is indicated on the northwestern coast.



Local climates are closely related to the topography of the island (Lang 1967: 4). Dominica's topography causes around ten times the amount of rainfall observed for the general region, but this amount ranges from 40 inches to 300-400 inches on higher elevations (Blair 1987). This rugged topography has contributed most significantly to micro-climatic variability within very short distances (Caribbean Conservation Association 1991; Honychurch 1995). Dominica's environment has had a strong effect on soil formation. The landscape of Dominica is composed almost entirely of volcanic material with deep to shallow clay soils covering this parent material. Soils are highly permeable, allowing water to seep through the structural separations made by lava flows. "The most obvious feature of the soils in Dominica is that there is little clear differentiation of horizons in the majority of profiles" (Lang 1967: 20). Despite this seemingly homogenous landscape, D.M. Lang (1967) has identified 75 different soil types present on the island of Dominica, which have been further organized into five main groups.

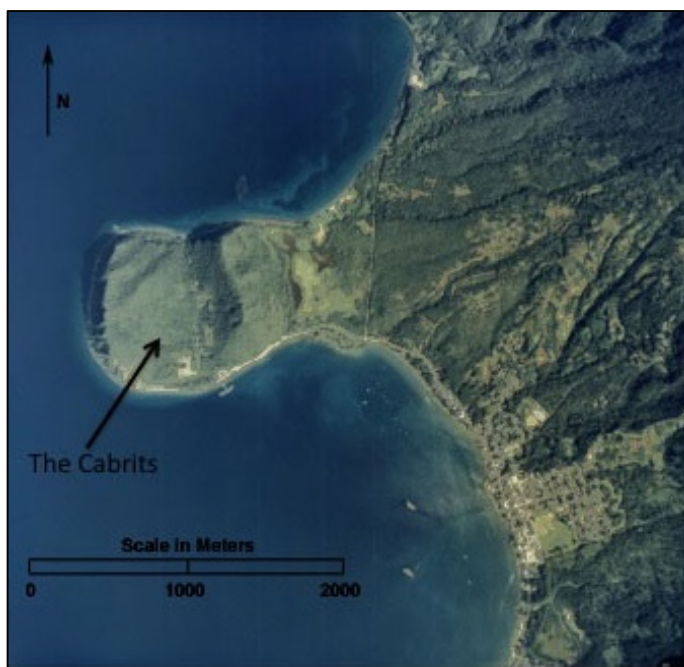


Figure 3.03: 1991 Dominican Department of Land and Survey aerial photo.

The Cabrits Garrison is located along the drier, highly seasonal northwestern coast of the island. This region of Dominica is classified as "predominately cultivated presently or recently" (Lang 1967: 5). The

Cabrits headlands is made up of the remains of a volcanic crater, with the Inner Cabrits measuring between 450 to 515 feet above sea level and the larger Outer Cabrits rising to about 630 feet above the sea. This area is associated with dry scrub-woodlands and mangrove swamps. There is less chemical weathering of the volcanic parent material here than in the wetter zones. Weathering along this coast has produced a “montmorillonitic, smectoid clay”<sup>12</sup> (Blair 1987: 31), a soil type that comprises about 9% of Dominica’s total soil composition (Lang 1967). The Cabrits headlands provides the opportunity not only to examine an understudied and unique geography and geology but also a variety of intermingled contexts that frame any investigation of the everyday lives of this site’s former inhabitants. The next section continues from this discussion of physical context to consider other forces influencing the material conditions and experience at the Cabrits Garrison.

### **3.2 Overlapping Contexts: Locating the Cabrits**

Beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a revolution introducing new military methods and strategies spread from the land of the Habsburgs and westward into England. As outlined by Geoffrey Parker (1996), this military revolution included four changes: (1) the widespread transformation of tactics, (2) a marked growth in army size, (3) the adoption of more ambitious and complex strategies designed to bring these armies into action and (4) the overall accentuation of the impact of war on society. In addition, Parker adds to this picture the creation of specialized military education, the articulation of the positive laws of war and the creation of an enormous amount of literature on the operations of war. These revolutionary changes in the military complex were spread to a variety of regions around the world through the colonizing efforts of European nations.

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<sup>12</sup> Lang (1967: 11) described this soil type as “shoal” and defines it as “a term used to describe a special type of soil found in the relatively dry areas of all volcanic islands. Actually ‘shoal’ is a kind of parent rock which is made up of cemented volcanic lava material; the cementation process is thought to have taken place under water during a period of submergence. Shoal clay soils are fine-textured, dark brown to grey, and have a poor physical structure. In the dry season they shrink and develop large cracks; in the wet season they become very plastic and sticky.”

By the time the Spanish came to the Caribbean in 1492 a new art of war had emerged—one characterized by the development of an administrative structure dedicated to the protection and expansion of political and economic interests through force, typically in the form of warships, standing armies and fortifications (see Deagan 2010). It is through these changes in European military thinking and practices that the role of government was transformed, resulting in the formation of the modern state by the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Parker 1996: 4). Before a specific discussion of life and labor at the Cabrits Garrison can proceed, it is necessary to present information pertaining to broader Atlantic world processes and histories that affected behavior in the past and contemporary archaeological visibility. This consideration of context is divided into separate discussions of economy and architecture, society and culture, and environment and biology as they pertain to Caribbean fortifications, and more specifically, Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison.

### 3.2.1 Economy and Architecture

Military fortifications are “prominent places” (Orser 2002: 228). This prominence relates to their perseverance on the contemporary landscape, their conventional associations with a nation’s ideology, as well as their connection with important people (usually men) essential to the telling of that formative (and often flawed) story. It also relates to the way fortifications stand out as sites central to the performance of imperial or state power; an awkward dance often characterized by contradictory steps. Power was implemented at incredible costs, including the purchase of materials and labor necessary for construction as well as those involved in these tremendous labor projects and the maintenance of their on-going security. It is through this investment in military architecture in the Caribbean that the important dynamic between colonial authority and mobilizing a growing and diverse labor force, a defining characteristic of modernity, can perhaps be best exemplified.

While military architecture was well established in Europe before colonialists entered the Caribbean (Buisseret 1980), its evolution in this context provides significant insights into how initial

motivations in this region changed over time and between opposing nations. Colonial-era military sites are the product of the great competition between European powers for dominance of strategic island coastlines, productive agricultural landscapes and the opening of new markets (Crain 1994: 132; DeCorse 2016). Colonization bred conflict, but later economic developments associated with the emphasis on mercantile enterprises also had a dramatic effect on the design of fortifications and the roles that they served.<sup>13</sup> The following discussion highlights the development of this fortified built environment in the Caribbean, with a specific focus on architectural forms emerging in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the significant relations between these sites, the colonies that required them and the administrations they represented.

The Spanish monarchy was the first European power to hold sway in the region. This is evident by their early construction of fortifications beginning around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Their initial forts in places like Jamaica, Cuba, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, Curaçao and the Dominican Republic were necessary to defend important harbors, but in comparison to later phases of military construction they were quite simple. Often, they clung to an architectural tradition associated with generally small, circular defense towers. A prime example of this construction style is La Fortaleza in Puerto Rico, which was started in 1540. It began as a circular defense tower but was later integrated into the tremendous military complex now referred to as San Felipe del Morro (Crain 1994). The fort constructed on the now US Virgin island of St. Thomas by the Dutch West India Company beginning in 1672 provides another example. In response to their fears of invasion, two small, fortified watchtowers were constructed on the hills overlooking Charlotte Amalie (Crain 1994). These early stone towers were typically three stories high using crude but robust masonry. This phase in

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<sup>13</sup> Refer to Christopher DeCorse's work on the connection between West African fortifications and the economies that influenced their design and function (2001, 2010, 2016). While his work is unrelated geographically to my concern with Caribbean fortifications, his analysis demonstrates the role of these Atlantic world sites in engaging with surrounding communities and European mercantile interests as well as the manner in which fort architecture responded to economic changes of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, such as the intensification of the slave trade. DeCorse also makes clear the distinction in function between African and Caribbean forts, with African sites initially functioning as commercial venues and much later adopting a more military stance, while the military function of Caribbean forts was apparent from their initial construction but were later influenced by global trading networks.

fortification construction is described as “the cheapest way of giving some effective protection to an anchorage” (Buisseret 1980: 47).

While comparatively cheap, even these early forts required substantial amounts of labor and the use of enslaved Africans for the required construction projects was an important feature of early colonial conquest in the Americas. With a dwindling Native American population and the Spanish reluctance to perform this manual labor themselves, the use of blacks for construction became a standard for colonizing Spaniards. The products of this early use of enslaved military labor can be seen in the substantial fortifications in Havana, Cartagena, Puerto Rico, Nombre de Dios and San Juan de Ulua constructed during the mid-1500s to dissuade raids by privateers, such as Sir Francis Drake (Voelz 1993: 14). Other nations embarking on colonization projects in the Americas would employ similar tactics involving enslaved or runaway blacks, including the early use of black Maroons by the English in the sacking of Spanish Panama and then the subsequent rebuilding of Fort Chagres by enslaved laborers under the direction of Henry Morgan in 1671 (Voelz 1993: 64). As demonstrated by Peter Voelz (1993: 59) in his comprehensive account of the role of blacks in Atlantic world military processes, the use of employing black laborers was “common in all the New World colonies” by the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

For the most part, this early phase in fortification construction represents the Spanish concern with attacks from opposing nations. The most successful fortifications were built between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries by the English, French, Danish and Dutch. Developments in military architecture corresponded with wider trends across the Atlantic world where nations were clamping down on their trading enclaves (DeCorse 2016). These forts often look very similar because of the widespread influence of the French ‘general of fortifications’, Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707), and his influential *On Siege and Fortification* published between 1705-06. Replacing the architectural tradition of stone towers were bastioned traces. The bastioned trace essentially involved “a ditch-protected rampart so designed that each could receive covering fire from the other” (Buisseret 1980: 46). This design closely related to

corresponding developments in the performance of cannons and small arms. The earliest of these forts, such as Fort Amsterdam in Willemstad, Fort George in Grenada, Fort Saint Louis in Martinique, Fort Christian in Saint Thomas and Fort Charles in Port Royal, Jamaica, were on a much smaller scale than their successors, including Fort Augusta in Jamaica, Brimstone Hill in St. Kitts and the Cabrits Garrison in Dominica, which were constructed throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These structures served as effective deterrents to potential invaders as well as securing and monitoring the mercantile operations at neighboring harbors. Unlike the French, the British also used these seemingly secure zones to keep their warships in the Caribbean year-round (Crain 1994).

While these large fortifications improved the chances of successful defense, they were not fool proof. Caribbean islands possessing these structures were still vulnerable, as the French takeover of St. Kitts in 1782 showed. "Hardy and determined enemies had only to wrest control of the heights that invariably commanded West Indian coastal towns in order to threaten the security of convoy collection points and thus drive the shipping out into dangerous waters" (Buckley 1998: 11). The fall of a fortress often signaled the capitulation of the colony, so in response, during the period of heightened conflict in the region between 1792 and 1815, fortifications were distributed along coasts and atop mountains in order to defend against attacks from the sea and interior.

Following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, there was a general lull in conflict throughout the Caribbean. But, by this time, according to the most conservative of estimates, the British Crown had spent of at least £2 million on West Indian fortifications beginning in the seventeenth century (Buckley 1998: 84). This total no doubt more accurately reflects the cost of materials than the extensive use of slave labor. With the diminished need for immense fortifications, a new phase of construction began characterized by two particular forms: the Martello tower and heavily armed 19<sup>th</sup> century forts. The British first encountered Martello towers during conflicts off the coast of Corsica in 1794, and quickly constructed a whole series of these towers along the coast of Britain. This network of fortifications was used to monitor

the coastline and to send signals of approaching threats to other nearby towers. These towers are like the first phase of military architecture in the Caribbean but differ in regards to their heavier armament. Only a few examples of these towers were built in the Caribbean, and construction was limited to the British islands, including Trinidad, Antigua and Jamaica.

In contrast to these smaller towers, the British also built a new style of fort in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to deal with the perceived growing power of the United States. These later forts were built on Jamaica and Saint Lucia and highlight the technological advancements made during this period. These larger forts moved away from the strategic bastion design and instead concentrated on designing open circular reinforced gun-pits that allowed great guns to be fired off without the operator ever seeing their targets through the instructions of a fire-control center (Buisseret 1980: 56). Fort Rocky, built in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and located in Jamaica on the Kingston Harbor near Port Royal, is an excellent example of this final phase of fort construction (Buisseret 1971, 2008). This military installation ensured that German U-boats were dissuaded from disrupting British and American shipping during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

With the diminishing value of sugar and other commodities and the increase in the price of labor following the end of the African slave trade, the importance of the Caribbean to European powers diminished. At the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of the fortifications were abandoned and were used for other purposes or slowly entered a state of disrepair. Today, historic Caribbean fortifications constructed throughout the period of European colonization survive in a variety of conditions. Beyond the reconstruction of architectural details, there is incredible potential in the investigation of these sites. Several issues pertaining to African-Caribbean populations, can be entertained, including, for example, the formative role of blacks in constructing Atlantic world military defenses and, on islands like Jamaica where the evidence exists, the nature of the Caribbean “home front” between WWI and WWII (Lenik and Beier 2016).

### 3.2.2 Society and Culture

The social and cultural dimension of Caribbean societies is perhaps more elusive than the indelible mark left on the landscape by colonial architecture and economics. Fortifications were not economic or military investments alone. Their distinctive built environment modeled ideal social interactions in emerging colonial societies, but, as will be discussed throughout the course of this dissertation, this ideal was often not played out in practice. While I argue that the internal dimension of life within the walls of Atlantic world fortifications has been understudied, it is also a composition that proves difficult to describe due to a variety of reasons, including lack of primary sources or the transient nature of these communities. The following discussion frames the Caribbean fortification in relation to undeniable features of Caribbean historiography: the frontier, plantation and community.

#### 3.2.2.a Frontier

Perhaps most helpful, in bringing to life these settings, is the observation by Michel-Rolph Trouillot that the Caribbean has remained a frontier in Western scholarship even after its formal division into colonial holdings. It remains a region characterized by social and cultural histories that cannot be described without reference to colonialism, but whose categorical boundaries remain “notoriously fuzzy” to Western theorists (Trouillot 1992: 19). In regards to Dominica, formal political and legal structures inherently changed this setting following its hand over to the British in 1763,<sup>14</sup> but frontier processes have and continue to influence the racial, linguistic, social and cultural diversity of the region (Baker 1994). My own experience conducting fieldwork on the island reinforced Dominica’s long association with frontier processes and the deep-seated effects of colonization.<sup>15</sup> During this time I worked closely with a diverse team including a British educated, white upper class academic, a black Carib field assistant from the French influenced southern portion of the

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<sup>14</sup> Refer to Stephan Lenik’s archaeological examination of the Jesuit settlement in Grand Bay, Dominica prior to its formal status as a British colony (2010). This study reveals processes on the “uncolonized frontier” that say much about early European economic and religious practices before its integration into the British Caribbean colonies.

<sup>15</sup> Refer to Carmel Schrire’s *Digging Through Darkness* (1995) for another compelling and more poetically inspiring account of the connection of colonial relationships on the frontier in the past and present.



island, high school age African-Dominican laborers and an itinerant Haitian laborer. Dominica, like many parts of the Caribbean, remains a frontier in the social and cultural sense as well as in the academic—an island on the fringes characterized by its “roughness” and encountered as “a shifting zone of innovation and recombination, through which cultural materials from many sources have been unpredictably channeled and transformed” (Rodseth and Parker 2005: 4).

### 3.2.2.b Plantation

With these frontier processes in mind, how are we to treat military labor in the Caribbean and the heterogeneous discourses arising from complex historical processes that move between institutional boundaries of the British military and African slave trade, from local to global and native to West, and vice versa? A primary reason that the Caribbean plantation-peasant complex has come to represent the entire region is Sidney Mintz’s discussion of the material and symbolic significance of sugar to patterns critical to the development of colonies and metropolises (Mintz 1985). This influential object-centered analysis of the role of sugar and the plantation economy in shaping Caribbean society has led to a remarkable number of plantation studies across the region (see Armstrong 1985, 1990, 1998, 1999; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Armstrong et al 2008; Delle 1998, 1999, 2008, 2014; Gibson 2009; Handler and Lange 1978; Hauser 2009, 2011; Hauser and Armstrong 2012; Hauser and Kelly 2011; Higman 1998; Kelly 2002; Lenik 2009a; Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001; Reeves 1997; Singleton 2001, 2015; Wilkie 1999, 2000b, 2001). While impressive in their thematic coverage of the many issues relating to the lives of enslaved plantation laborers, these projects run the risk of divorcing this economic sector from other institutions central to colonial life. It is important to consider the impact of labor at other types of sites in the Caribbean to better understand how distinctions, such as class, race or gender, were incorporated and subsequently reinforced in landscapes and material culture patterns.

With a limited number of ways to deal with slaves, comparing labor processes apparent at plantations and military settlements demonstrates the pervasiveness of this institution in colonial life as well

as the resulting social and cultural patterns across these complex Caribbean landscapes. Plantations were undeniably connected to Atlantic world fortifications like the Cabrits Garrison, not only for their security but also through a dominant ideology shared by those in charge.<sup>16</sup> The plantation model of social life was integrated into the Caribbean built environment to naturalize and reproduce the disproportionate colonial order. Historians and archaeologists have traditionally defined this model as denoting a certain level of control of elite classes to manipulate landscapes and resources to maximize efficiency and to control capital of enslaved and/or coerced labor. As argued by historical archaeologist Stephan Lenik (2010), plantation models of controlling labor differed before and after formal colonization. No doubt this model also differed between sites influenced by different institutions (military, religious, economic) with a variety of objectives, sometimes aligned or not. What is most important about this model, no matter where it is applied, is that it implies a certain level of cultural construction on the part of the enslaved in the face of a repressive social structure and labor regime. Enforced separation resulted in the creation of social systems marked by differentiation in status hierarchies according to “different codes of behavior” and “different symbolic representation for each sector” (Mintz and Price 1992: 6). Despite the idealized hegemony imagined by this social model, the reality of slavery involved middling and ambiguous classes of slaves, resulting in power relationships differing in degree and kind.

Certain similarities can be seen in the socially-informed construction of plantation and military landscapes. For example, the design of military buildings, such as Officers’ Quarters, are very like the Great Houses of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Georgian plantations (DeCorse 2016). Similarities also exist in the strictly planned, orderly structures used for plantation and military housing (see Armstrong and Kelly 2000; McKee 1992 for description of plantation housing). Other similarities in laborer housing in both settings include their

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<sup>16</sup> This dominant ideology did not just exist in limbo but was actively practiced during regular encounters between elites in the military and surrounding plantocracy. Jonathan Troup’s diary, which will be more fully reviewed in section 4.3.3.c of Chapter Four, illuminates many instances of the merging between economic and military spheres of colonial life. It is perhaps of greater value to examine the interactions between these sectors than it is to separate them in historical anthropological analyses.

general location down wind, their ability to be surveyed and observed, and the role of administrators in selecting their location and of the inhabitants in their construction.

The point here is not to determine which sector, military/economy or fort/plantation, was more influential in terms of their social design and labor regimes. As has been demonstrated in earlier sections, the military would have been early purveyors of mobilizing and controlling labor. Even later, as illustrated in his powerful analysis of resistance and Rastafarianism in the Caribbean, Horace Campbell notes that, following the end of slavery, the militarist notion of industrial relations is “evident from the fact that the Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Office to investigate *Labour Conditions in the West Indies* was a major in the British Armed Forces” (Campbell 1985: 78). It seems clear that the military was involved in the arrangement of Caribbean society primarily through regulation and specialization of labor relations. The main point of this section is not to determine where the model of mobilizing and controlling labor originated. Instead, I am concerned with the way labor regimes in the Caribbean were distributed across the variety of sites comprising the African diaspora, and what similarities and differences in terms of social and cultural practices can be determined through the examination of their specific communities.

### 3.2.2.c Community

While Caribbean historical archaeologists have provided comprehensive insights into the social and cultural dimensions of plantation communities, there has been a lacking emphasis on similar approaches to studying the communities associated with Caribbean military complexes (Leech 2010: 137; Watters 2001). Specific sources from both history and archaeology have been helpful envisioning some of the social and cultural dimensions of community life at military sites in the region (see Ahlman et al. 2008; Ahlman et al 2009; Beier 2011, 2014; Buckley 1979, 1998; Cripps 2003; Deagan 1978, 1988, 1995, 2010; Deagan and MacMahon 1995; González-Tennant 2014; Goucher 1999; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Voelz 1993). As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Roger Buckley treats the colonial garrison in the Caribbean as both a “heavy institution” and a “community” (1998: xiv, xvi); a collage of groups representative of wider

British Caribbean society integrated into an intrusively regulated milieu. Using a variety of archival records, Buckley and other historians provide necessary social and cultural information on fort life in the Caribbean, including the variety of social groups residing within their walls, general characteristics about living conditions and how the differing military labor regimes were implemented on a daily basis.

The typical 18<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean fortification was home to British officers and soldiers, foreign European soldiers in the pay of the Crown, a host of administrative and auxiliary positions, including clerks and engineers, cooks, chaplains, sometimes wives and children, and a variety of roles filled by blacks, mostly enslaved, including artificers, fort Negroes, pioneers and individuals serving in the West India Regiments (WIR) (Buckley 1979, 1998; Voelz 1993). These communities were formed through a variety of means. Enlistment is most often recognized as the predominant form of military recruitment, but mainly applied to regular British officers, soldiers and other military personnel who enlisted in England and were paid for their service. Other individuals serving in the British Army in the Caribbean, mainly non-whites, were integrated into garrison communities through direct coercion, capture, purchase and by levies. This is not to imply that British regular soldiers and officers did not experience certain levels of pressure to enter the service, direct or indirect, but outright military slavery operated according to racist principles and differed greatly from the demands faced by Europeans. The way these communities were formed illuminates the different degrees of choice and status associated with the hierarchical military structure.

With the immense size of 18<sup>th</sup> century fortifications, it appears that they could have housed thousands of individuals, but it was in fact far fewer, at most totaling over 500, and often much less. The large number of interior structures required to maintain the garrison greatly reduced carrying capacity as well as personal living space. The regular soldier or fort laborer experienced cramped conditions and often poor housing, with architecture ranging from crude huts with thatched roofs to imposing stone and brick structures. Eating is described as a “decentralized activity” among much of the military community and the basic foodstuffs included “bread, salted beef, salted pork, and rice”, with individual quantities distributed

according to rank, resulting in soldiers receiving a full ration, fort negroes and women receiving three-quarters of a ration, and children receiving half a ration (Buckley 1998: 349-350). The conditions faced by officers was notably different. Wealth controlled entry into and advancement in the officer corps and their housing reflected these aristocratic values. The 18<sup>th</sup> century military community also experienced “culture-clashes” when it came to issues of language and time. Many pioneers and individuals serving in the WIR were born in Africa, and were thus unable to read, write and converse in English, as well as having difficulty abiding by the European conception of time (Buckley 1979: 111). This multi-lingual and multi-ethnic military community had to be maintained through the assistance of island assemblies, which was a contentious issue between the Crown and colonies throughout the period. Despite this debate, it is perhaps more important to note that the color barrier broke first within the Caribbean fortification.

Very little would be known about the internal workings of Caribbean fortifications and the significance of the WIR were it not for the work of Roger Buckley and others who have followed. Many of the issues raised by historians regarding lifestyles and status comparisons between military personnel and typical field slaves require further clarification and demonstration through archaeological investigations. A few projects in the Caribbean have utilized archaeological methods to understand the role of material and spatial practices in the daily lives of former groups inhabiting these sites, including British soldiers and enslaved Africans. The multi-year archaeological project at Brimstone Hill, St. Kitts has uncovered a tremendous amount of data related to a variety of military personnel. This work has focused on the expression of cultural identities and individuality through practices such as ceramic production and exchange despite the oppression and subordination typical of the British military (Ahlman et al. 2008; Ahlman et al. 2009; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002). At Shirley Heights, Antigua, Cripps (2003) investigated the officers’ quarters to reconstruct the socioeconomic statuses of these “Gentlemen.” Cripps’ study also provides information concerning the social composition of fort settings by illuminating groups unmentioned in primary documents, including women, children and slaves. These object-centered approaches are

central to demonstrating the pluralistic nature of military communities and in better figuring the influence of military labor on formative social and cultural practices in wider Caribbean society.

### 3.2.3 Environment and Biology

As the medical historian David Arnold has most eloquently demonstrated in his examination of the dynamic relationship between imported forms of Western medicine and traditional Indian practices in colonial India, European concern with health and disease was one of the most “powerful and penetrating parts of the entire colonizing process” (Arnold 1993: 4). Western medicine in colonial settings is more than just colonial science. It generated Western ideas about the “other”, and likewise, native ideas about themselves. The European desire to control distant, unfamiliar and often harsh settings and their belief in geographical theories of disease causation resulted in the construction of bodies ideally suited for the hierarchal and racialized labor regimes in the Caribbean. To produce the “total contexts” necessary for thorough interpretations, Atlantic world fortifications need to be considered in relation to the natural environments, contagious diseases and nutritional histories their past occupants encountered.

The Caribbean region presented several environmental obstacles for its new inhabitants. The surrounding sea and Atlantic Ocean isolated these many islands from one another, requiring the development of suitable ships and navigational networks necessary for their incorporation into European systems of commerce and settlement. Periodic hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions led to the costly destruction and reconstruction of budding Caribbean societies. The mountainous landscape, especially in the Lesser Antilles, resulted in isolated settlements struggling to maintain communication with the outside world. As mentioned, the climate also posed several problems, especially for Europeans. Severe heat and ideal conditions for the proliferation of dangerous disease vectors killed European colonists throughout much of their history in the region. Roger Buckley has summarized the West India environment by describing it as the convergence of two landscapes, “one a terrestrial paradise, the other a place of chaos and fear” (Buckley 1998: 39).

Each of the groups interacting in the Caribbean had distinctive biological pasts. Because of their isolation and small populations, indigenous occupants thwarted the sustainability of disease before European contact. Europeans left homelands characterized by cooler temperatures and diseases, including small pox, influenza and measles, while enslaved Africans were transplanted from hotter climatic settings associated with different diseases like yellow fever and malaria. This transatlantic interaction of biologies proved too much for the “immunological virginity” of native groups who were rapidly decimated in the Caribbean (Kiple 1984: 10). To satisfy their driving need for labor, Europeans increased their participation in the slave trade, inevitably transplanting an estimated 4.5 million, mainly West African, slaves into the region (Curtin 1969 cited by Kiple 1984: 4).<sup>17</sup> Each group also had distinctive nutritional heritages. European colonialists attempted to recreate their traditional diet of meat and vegetables in their new Caribbean setting. Transplanted Africans, on the other hand, were used to diets relying on carbohydrate-rich cereals, with limited access to meat and its essential proteins. This nutritional heritage continued on plantations and other settings across the Caribbean, including military communities. Generally speaking, the variety of diseases and diets made the Caribbean health environment very similar to West Africa; a geographic area where Europeans and Africans had been interacting for a number of years prior to the establishment of ports, plantations and fortifications throughout the Caribbean. In both regions, Europeans were forced to adapt to these distinctive conditions to protect their investments.

In the Caribbean, like Africa, Europeans were at war on multiple fronts, both politically and epidemiologically. Europeans faced a tremendously high rate of mortality because of malaria and yellow fever, and military records aid in the illustration of the differential effects of disease on blacks and whites. “Whites serving the British Crown perished at a rate that fluctuated between 483 and 668 per thousand per

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<sup>17</sup> For more information and figures on the transatlantic slave trade, see the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database ([www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org)). This resource tracks the forced movement of between 10 to 12.5 million Africans on almost 36,000 voyages into the Americas between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Caribbean is described as “one of the two major broad regional markets for slaves from Africa.”

annum, while their black counterparts died at a rate of only 31 per thousand mean strength annum” (Kiple 1984: 14). Thus, the European military had to make substantial changes in their practices to manage this harsh disease environment on the Caribbean subtropical frontier. Strategies corresponded with popular conceptions of health. Europeans first blamed the sun “for throwing their ‘humors’ out of balance, then noxious air became the culprit, and finally they found the climate itself at fault by declaring themselves ‘unacclimated’ and therefore susceptible” (Kiple 1984: 7). Fortifications were moved into cooler areas of higher elevation where it was believed the harmful, disease causing vapors could not reach non-immune soldiers. In reality, this adaptation of fortress location deterred malaria and yellow fever vectors from thriving (Buckley 1998). Over time, the perception of the strategic value of fortifications also changed because of the severe Caribbean environment. In Europe, fortifications were designed to withstand a siege long enough to allow relief armies to arrive and do battle with the attackers. In contrast, the Caribbean fortifications allowed defenders to hold out until their attackers were decimated by disease and forced to give up (Ultee 1986). Disease, as opposed to brute force, often determined the outcomes of battles and campaigns in this tropical setting, as evident by the repulsion of the British from Martinique in 1693, the loss of 77 percent of the besieging British troops in 1741 to yellow fever in Spanish Cartagena, and the British abandonment of St. Domingue five years after taking control in 1793 (McNeil 1986).

It is also important to realize that this relationship between diseases and distinct groups resulted in social perceptions intimately linked to the structure of everyday life. Because of such high mortality rates, Europeans adapted medical practices to physical circumstances very different from Europe. Medical practices eventually shifted from curative to preventative approaches that focused on managing the harsh environment and instituting sanitation standards (Arnold 1993). Based on their susceptibility to a range of tropical diseases, primarily yellow fever and malaria, Europeans began to believe that enslaved Africans were ideal laborers in this harsh setting because of their high resistance to these disorders (Buckley 1979, 1998; Clyde 1980; Kiple 1984; Voelz 1993). This belief further dichotomized the European from the African.



Kenneth Kiple believes that despite their resistance, these tropical killers victimized Africans by lending themselves to the process of racialization and furthering the necessity for Caribbean slavery. He connects this perception to an ideology that naturalized inequality in a variety of settings in the Americas. In his words, "...the Caribbean disease environment not only shaped the institution of slavery in significant ways, but it also shaped perceptions of the Islands in ways that have continued to have an adverse impact upon them" (Kiple 1984: 183).

The following section brings all the dimensions discussed above together by focusing on one particular fortification, the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica. I provide the necessary site-specific historical information for the investigation of the internal dynamics of Afro-Caribbean societal development.

### **3.3 Site History of a Caribbean Military Community**

The development of the Cabrits headlands corresponded with the birth of colonial Dominica as well as wider developments taking shape across the Atlantic world. As mentioned earlier, revolutionary changes in the military complex had been underway since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Parker 1996). By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the effects of war on British society were clear. Because of longstanding conflicts with the French that had begun in 1689, Britain was the most heavily taxed state in all of Europe (Stone 1994: 5). The effectiveness of this "military-fiscal state" depended on the management of a worldwide overseas commercial empire, to which a large standing army and an aggressive navy were necessary. Despite this apparent administrative centralization of the British state, uncontrolled expansion, associated administrative challenges and other factors resulted in the fragmentation between the colonies and metropole. This period of decentralization beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is also associated with the rise of consumer culture first in industrializing England and then spreading through colonial networks (Breen 2004; Brewer and Porter 1993; Grehan 2007) as well as the circulation of radical ideologies concerning social realities and questions of freedom (Davis 1975). These developments occurring between central states and provisional resources interacted with the material forces of history apparent at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.

Before we continue any further I must first make a quick note about the organization of the following discussion, which has been designed according to a series of dates vital to understanding the history of the Cabrits headlands as well as Dominica's position in relation to larger trends in British and Atlantic world history. This sequence reflects periods separated by major events taking place in Dominica or abroad and is necessary to compare the archaeological assemblages of the distinct groups occupying this site with scientific specificity. It is important to realize that these reference points do not equate to the history inferable from the archaeological record. Major events may or may not be visible in the archaeological record but the purpose of this exercise is not to reconstruct the event; rather, the following section provides an historical outline useful for examining the process by which social relations and cultural behavior were shaped or transformed through the interactions and habits of the occupants of this site.

### 3.3.1 Pre-1763

Prior to its British claim, the island of Dominica had a checkered past characterized by its relatively unknown prehistoric occupation beginning around 4,000 years ago as well as a mysterious protohistoric period where European visitors used Dominica as a valuable provisioning stop, in the process interacting with native Caribs and other occupants of the island. Christopher Columbus first discovered Dominica on a Sunday morning in November 1493, but it was not settled for another 200 years due to its harsh terrain and associations with "cannibals" (Harrison 1935: 62). Its proximity to the French islands of the Lesser Antilles, encouraged French missionaries and squatters; the latter were attracted by the plentiful forests and potential plantation profits to establish settlements on the coasts of Dominica.<sup>18</sup> Ships carrying African slaves began unloading their cargo soon after (Honychurch 1995: 41-54). Little research has been done into this early period of Dominican history, but recent work in historical archaeology has provided regional

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<sup>18</sup> Missionaries were also involved with establishing early plantations in Dominica. Stephen Lenik's recent archaeological research in Grand Bay, Dominica has highlighted the relationship between Jesuit missionaries and early plantation systems between 1748 and 1763 (Lenik 2009b, 2010).

surveys of French plantations active during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to investigate the economic networks and cultural landscapes in this frontier setting (see Lenik 2010). For this investigation, it is also important to note that by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the practice of incorporating non-Europeans into the military was a practical necessity (Buckley 1979: 2, 1998; Voelz 1993).

### 3.3.2 1763-1778

In accordance with the treaty of Paris in 1763, marking the end of the Seven Years War, Dominica was transferred to the British (Honychurch 1995: 61). It was the last Caribbean island to be colonized and, along with Grenada, Tobago and St. Vincent, it added a substantial amount of territory to the British Caribbean (Niddrie 1966). While Britain benefited from its newly acquired lands in the Lesser Antilles, the war cost the British government £160 million, of which some £60 million had to be borrowed (Ultee 1986). To capitalize from its new investments, the British encouraged rapid white settlement of Dominica, a theme discussed further in Chapter Four. In its earliest phases of colonial occupation, the British government believed that Dominica would be an “important link in commerce and communications throughout the Lesser Antilles...” (Niddrie 1966: 71). The island’s strategic location and projected plantation profits became points of recurring contention between the French and the British (Boromé 1969: 36). Because of mounting pressures from abroad and from within the island, the British began assigning troops to Dominica and constructing a series of strategic military outposts. After 1763 a quarter of all British troops in America were stationed in the Caribbean (O’Shaughnessy 1996: 105). The development of the Cabrits Garrison began in 1765 at Prince Rupert’s Bay located along the northwestern coast of Dominica.

Prince Rupert’s Bay is a natural seaport located near the town of Portsmouth and is still considered to be the best access to sea on the island (Honychurch 2013). Portsmouth was initially planned as the site for the colony’s capital following Dominica’s exchange to the British. But the swampy area surrounding Portsmouth was teeming with malaria and yellow fever, forcing the location to be moved to Roseau, located in the southeast of the island. In the years following this initial setback Portsmouth was made a free port to

encourage commerce in and between Dominica. Despite the epidemiological conditions at Portsmouth, the strategic value of the neighboring Cabrits headland was unquestionable (Clyde 1980). The first military post was established in this area in 1771, beginning a long process of intermittent construction until around 1813 (Honychurch 2013). Primary documents pertaining to the initial development of the Cabrits and its associated military community are analyzed further in the next chapter.

During 1771 the Dominica Assembly, along with other island assemblies, petitioned for additional British troops, a position that ran contrary to the anti-British sentiment of the American colonies following the Boston Massacre of 1770 (O'Shaughnessy 1996: 112). Following this call for aid, the defense of Dominica was also reinforced by the Militia Act of 1772 that stated "every able-bodied freeman between 16 and 50 was to serve on the militia in their district" (Honychurch 1995: 71). While guarding against external invasion from the French, this surge in troop movements to Dominica also reflected the turbulent internal situation at the time. Besides a well-documented maroon presence on Dominica, French planters were still running many estates, and the British were concerned about the potential of a powerful insurgency in their midst. Thus, the French were excluded from the government of the island but were still required to fulfill their responsibilities in the local militia.<sup>19</sup>

While construction of the Cabrits Garrison was beginning in Dominica, the British had a more pressing crisis on their hands, the onset of the American Revolution. Before this revolutionary outbreak, the British plantocracy was experiencing a golden age, characterized by high sugar prices, lowered transportation costs, and an ample supply of labor. Colonial America's declaration of freedom from Britain in 1775 sent shockwaves throughout the entire Empire. The British Caribbean was especially affected. The American Revolution disrupted the flow of provisions, gave rise to famine and inflation that increased production costs and the loss of a valuable market for molasses and rum (Davis 1975). In Dominica, this

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<sup>19</sup> As will be demonstrated later in Chapter Four, French participation in British island militias was also a contentious topic, and one that reveals problems faced by the British Crown in managing diversity in the colonial Caribbean.

dislocation had tremendous economic impacts that would continue to influence development in the island for years.

The American Revolution, its associated ideology and rapid economic change also coincided with changes in opinion concerning the arming of slaves and the rise of anti-slavery movements. In 1774, the American colonial government disavowed the slave trade in a show of defiance towards Britain, a stance it would later back away from and maintain years after Britain's disavowal of the trade in 1807. In response to this ideological tactic, the British tried to turn slaves against their American masters by providing freedom in exchange for military service. In Virginia in 1775, Lord Dunmore emancipated around 800 blacks in return for their service in the Loyalist militia (Davis 1975: 73; James 1994: 117). David Brion Davis (1975) describes the period directly after the Seven Years War as an era of spiritual crisis in British thought. The rise of British Methodism and the growth of religious groups like the Quakers provoked a reevaluation of the conditions believed to weaken Western culture. Davis considers this initial "soul-searching" to have contributed to the disengagement of Britain from the Atlantic slave system. While this shift in ideology redefined slavery in a moral sense, it would not result in the end of the trade for over thirty years.

### 3.3.3 1778-1782

Sensing a point of British weakness in the Caribbean, the French entered the American Revolution in 1778 and in that same year captured Dominica, along with St. Vincent, Nevis and Montserrat (O'Shaughnessy 1996: 114). The French invaded Dominica from the south and once Fort Young was captured the Cabrits and the entire island capitulated. During this five-year period of French occupation, a large amount of infrastructural development took place. The French continued work on the Cabrits and other defensive posts on the island as well as starting new road projects. By 1779 this work was complete and the military totaled 1,519 strong (Honychurch 1995: 87). During this period the French are described as encouraging rebellion amongst the slaves by recruiting them in the defense of the island. Slaves were supplied with weapons taken from English inhabitants and were furnished with the same provisions allowed

to the French soldiers (Atwood 2006: 228). While not incorporating slaves into their regiments at this time, the British were also taking steps toward the formal integration of blacks into the military. In 1779, the Black Carolina Corps was raised from free blacks and black loyalists in South Carolina and sent to the Caribbean to fight the French (Buckley 1979: 4; Dyde 1997: 19). The creation of this black British regiment would have significant implications for military strategy in Dominica once the British regained the island.

This British victory came in 1782 off the northern coast of Dominica. In the now famous naval conflict between the British and French, The Battle of the Saintes, known to the French as the Battle of Dominica, took place over four days and resulted in the victory of the British fleet under Admiral Sir George Rodney over a French fleet under Admiral François-Joseph Paul, comte de Grasse. The French Navy suffered a tremendous blow at the hands of the British and in 1783 agreed to the terms of peace outlined in the Treaty of Versailles. The terms of this treaty returned Dominica once again to Britain, and while the French offered Tobago instead of Dominica, the island's poor economic condition did not deter the British from wanting to maintain a strategic post between two French strongholds on Martinique and Guadeloupe (Honychurch 2013, 1995).

#### 3.3.4 1782-1795

Upon regaining control of Dominica, the British once again resumed development at the Cabrits Garrison. "Pioneers", were often assigned to these construction projects. This class of slaves was composed of "men who did not usually bear arms, but who did manual work connected with the preparation of defenses, road clearance, and the provision of camp services..." (Dyde 1997: 19). This practice of recruiting slaves into the British military had been in effect since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century when two slave "pioneers" were attached permanently to each company of the British infantry in the Jamaica garrison (Buckley 1979: 4). On the island of Dominica, the on-going construction of the Cabrits Garrison required a tremendous amount of labor. In response, Britain passed an act that provided the labor of one hundred slaves for three years to develop the fort. This group of laborers granted by the colony was then withdrawn

from Prince Rupert's because of rumors of war between England and France in 1787 (Atwood 2006: 187-192). Despite this disruption in construction, the Cabrits Garrison, like other military outposts across the island was built entirely by enslaved laborers, whose presence as "pioneers", "fort negroes", or "negro artificers" is documented throughout the military occupation of the fort.

The Dominican militia was also reinforced during this period. Following French occupation, a local militia was raised on a parish basis to combat bandits and runaways in the interior of the island (Clyde 1980: 10). These troops were controlled by local assemblies and had limited strategic value to the British military (Buckley 1979). Despite this added sense of security, Dominica remained a relatively "unhappy frontier zone" (Ultee 1986: 6). The area surrounding Prince Rupert's Bay was considered one of the least healthy places in all the islands, largely because of the ravages of malignant malaria. This reputation contributed to development projects that focused on preventing this problem. Drainage of the swamps to the windward side of the Inner Cabrits and behind Portsmouth was a constant preoccupation of the government. A hospital was also built in the Outer Cabrits in 1786 (Clyde 1980: 18). These efforts demonstrate that during this period of tension with the French it was impossible for the British to abandon the Cabrits Garrison and move to a healthier location inland. In 1793, on the heels of the French Revolution, war began once again with the French who were later joined by the Spanish. "Between April 1793 and the signing of the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802 fighting took place in nearly every island between Hispaniola and Trinidad, and in places as far apart as Surinam in South America and the settlement of Belize in central America" (Dyde 1997: 16). British troop expansion in the Caribbean was directly related to the French Revolution and its egalitarian principles. Free and enslaved peoples alike perceived this emergent ideology, a position emphasized by James Sidbury (1997) with his connection of ideologies from Saint Domingue to conflicts with Virginian slave identities. In February 1794, slavery was abolished in all French possessions, a move that created negative sentiment towards "the red-coated enforcers of the old slave order" (Buckley 1979: 9). This ebb and flow of conflict had tremendous effects throughout the

Caribbean, and even though no battles between European powers ever took place at the Cabrits Garrison the effects of rumored invasions and military posturing influenced and transformed life within the walls.

At the conclusion of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British military in the Caribbean was in a state of despair. Having invested a large amount of resources and manpower in the war in America and in wars against the French, the British Caribbean was now vulnerable to an attack from France, which was eager to regain a dominant stance in the region. The British also met with internal problems in Dominica. Their troops were dying off faster than they could be replaced. The harsh climate, formidable terrain, attacks from maroons and epidemics were too much for a land force suited for warfare in different environmental conditions (Buckley 1979: 7; Honychurch 2013: 98). This stress is indicated by the fact that the entire British Army numbered fewer than 40,000 men in 1793 (Buckley 1979: 3). Thus, the political and economic necessity to formally integrate black troops into the British Army was clear. Caribbean colonists did not share the same opinion expressed by members of the British Parliament. Lieutenant-General Sir Vaughn, a proponent of raising black regiments in the Caribbean was against a situation in which merchants and planters, rather than the military, influenced government policies and military strategies (Buckley 1979: 18). In a letter to the Home Secretary of 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1794, Vaughn stated:

I am of opinion that a Corps of one thousand men composed of blacks and Mulattoes, and commanded by British Officers would render more essential service in the Country, than treble this number of European who are unaccustomed to the climate. And as the enemy have adopted this measure to recruit their armies, I think we should pursue a similar plan to meet them on equally terms (Dyde 1997: 15).

The question of raising black regiments in the Caribbean under the command of the British military signaled a dramatic separation between the metropole and the colonies. It is evident from this conflict of interests that the British Parliament was attempting to exert more control over colonial governments, who were determined to maintain their economic, military and political solidarity by thwarting any attempts of recruiting locally procured slaves (Buckley 1979: 40-42).



### 3.3.5 1795-1815

By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, amidst wars with the French, power had shifted away from local legislatures into the hands of the British Parliament. During this same period the Cabrits Garrison had become one of the most substantial garrisons in all the Caribbean. Encompassing an area of 200 acres there stood “one fort, seven batteries, six cisterns, powder magazines, ordinance storehouses, barracks and officers’ quarters to house and provide for 500 men and a company of artillery with officers” (Honychurch 2013: 74). This period also marked the introduction of new policies relating to the military in the Caribbean. In 1795, “two acts were passed by the Dominica legislature, the one authorizing recruitment of men to work as pioneers and auxiliaries for the British forces in the West Indies commanded by Sir Ralph Abercromby, the other raising a corps ‘to act as soldiers in defense of the colony for a limited time’” (Clyde 1980: 23).

The introduction of the West India Regiments (WIR) into the British colonial military complex was not without its difficulties. This 1795 plan ordered the recruitment of 9,000 soldiers trained and equipped along European lines. Under this proposal, one slave out of every fifteen owned would be required to serve in the British military. Because of resistance from local assemblies, this plan did not immediately materialize. An opinion expressed by a British military governor is useful in understanding the sentiment of colonial elites at the time. “A Negro is never of any use in the plantation after they [*sic*] have carried arms” (Buckley 1979: 38). In a move to bypass disruptions caused by local assemblies, the British government bought an estimated 13,400 slaves for the development of the West India Regiments between 1795 and 1808. This business venture cost the British government around £925,000 and made them the largest individual buyer of slaves and the biggest proponent of the slave trade; a policy that no doubt delayed abolition (Buckley 1979: 55-57). By 1798, nearly all the eight West India Regiments had already become African Regiments based on the British preference for “New Negroes,” newly arrived slaves in the Caribbean transported directly from Africa (Buckley 1979: 113).

In Dominica, the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment was first garrisoned at the Cabrits from 1798 to 1802, numbering some 500 men by 1801. In that same year, these soldiers distinguished themselves in the British capture of St. Martin (Honychurch 2013). These regiments also stood out because of their role in a new phase of British warfare. No longer did the British have their eyes on conquest. This was a war of self-preservation for the British, who required the use of light infantry to carry out strategies suitable for guerilla war (Buckley 1979: 84-86). The West India Regiments were instrumental in defending against maroon attacks in Dominica (Honychurch 1995). These regiments were also useful in monitoring the surrounding plantations. The Cabrits Garrison was surrounded by plantations, which allowed for a reasonable amount of surveillance but also resulted in the interaction between different classes of slaves. In response to this association, the British used various forms of indoctrination to dissuade common cause between these groups. At the same time, the British saved money using the West India Regiments to carry out service work as opposed to hiring slave labor (Buckley 1979: 124-129). In Dominica, this use of the West India Regiments resulted in a conflict of identity that erupted in violence at the Cabrits Garrison.

On April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1802, enslaved African soldiers in the British 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment revolted against their superiors garrisoned at the Fort Shirley battery. This violent eruption has been linked to the new Governor's treatment of the regiment. Before this revolt, Andrew James Cochrane Johnstone had been using the soldiers for his own private use without providing pay (Honychurch 2013: 101). It is believed that these soldiers feared that they would lose their status as British soldiers and be returned to toil in the fields, a position symbolized by the hoe instead of the musket (Buckley 1979: 76). During this brief episode, seven Europeans were killed, including three officers, while others were captured and subsequently freed unharmed. The British response left 100 mutineers dead or injured, and an additional seven more black soldiers were sentenced to death when found guilty of participating in this act (Buckley 1980). Other soldiers whose role in the revolt was deemed limited were reduced to the status of pioneers in the British military (Buckley 1979). This historic event, limited in duration but meaningful in breadth, contributed to the

1807 Mutiny Act, a law that freed some 10,000 slave soldiers and one of the first acts of mass emancipation in the British Empire. This act required that African soldiers be recruited for lifetime service rather than the seven-year standard. Along with the Slave Trade Act of 1807, these policies signaled a definite shift in Britain's participation in and conception of slavery.

After this event the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment was dispersed to other islands. Despite this act of overt resistance in Dominica, desertion was rare among troops and the West India Regiments continued to serve their purpose throughout the Caribbean. But local assemblies critical of the existence of the West India Regiments had already begun to design the fate of these soldiers. By 1800, after the initial phase of war against France (1793-1798) local assemblies were working to disband the black regiments through local slave laws (Buckley 1979: 63). After 1807 the effective strength of the regiments decreased along with shifts in the theaters of war between the French and British. To combat the diminishing number of slave regiments in the Caribbean, the British military established recruiting centers in Africa, like the depot opened on Bance Island<sup>20</sup>, Sierra Leone in 1812 (Buckley 1979: 132-133). In Dominica, the War of 1812 further disrupted trade to the island. The colony had now entered a period of depression characterized by high debts, non-existent credit, supply shortages and increase of British duties on sugar. The Cabrits Garrison, which was described as being in a "deplorable state" in 1812, reflected these hard economic times (Honychurch 1995: 112). While the creation of the West India Regiments did not spell the end for the plantation-slave system, it did signal the emergence of a new and expanding black society throughout the Caribbean, who were forced to adapt to a variety external and internal forces (Buckley 1979, 1998).

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<sup>20</sup> Various references for this fort as "Bance" or "Bunce" Island are apparent. For instance, Roger Buckley (1979: 132-133) and an article on the online African American Registry ([http://www.aaregistry.org/historic\\_events/view/bance-island-opens-slave-trade](http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/bance-island-opens-slave-trade)) refer to this site as "Bance Island" in Sierra Leone, while recent archaeological investigations by Christopher DeCorse (2014a) refers to the site as "Bunce Island". DeCorse explains that beginning with the English occupation in the 1670s, this trading lodge and fort has been variously known as "Benns, Bens, Bunce, Bance, Bence, or George Island..." (2014a: 12).

### 3.3.6 1815-1834

After almost 100 years of living in constant fear of invasion, Dominica entered a period of peace after the defeat of Napoleon (Honychurch 1995: 122). By the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the British had little need to maintain standing armies in the Caribbean. In 1817, the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiments were disbanded along with the recruiting center in Sierra Leone. Between March 1817 and October 1818, the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment were also disbanded, while five companies of the Third were retained until 1825. The remaining 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiments were reduced to 650 rank-and-file members. Many of these black soldiers were discharged into West Indian society where they were encouraged to adjust to an agrarian lifestyle (Buckley 1979: 130-138).

While military action was limited during this period, soldiers continued to be garrisoned in Dominica despite the apparent epidemiological dangers. Between 1816 and 1836 a total of 4,723 white and 2,454 black soldiers served in Dominica. "The collective percentage mortality of 10.4 was the highest of any of the Leeward and Windward islands..." (Clyde 1980: 23). This continued occupation of the Cabrits Garrison also coincided with changes to local slave laws. These revisions were designed to improve conditions for the labor force. By 1831, "all legal discrimination on the grounds of colour was abolished in Dominica" (Honychurch 1995: 122). In 1833 the Abolition of Slavery Act was passed and came into effect on August 1, 1834. This act freed 668,000 slaves in the West Indies, 14,175 of which were on Dominica. Following this act, the apprenticeship system was established, which required six years of service for field laborers and four years of service for skilled workers and artisans. This apprenticeship period was inevitably cut short and total freedom was achieved on August 1, 1838.

### 3.3.7 1834-1854

In Dominica, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by a period of social and political reorganization. While suffering economically, the Dominica Assembly committed itself to political change, ridding itself of old policies associated with the slave trade and the British plantocracy. By 1838,

the Dominica Assembly had a colored majority and was one of the only islands in the British West Indies where white rule was effectively challenged (Honychurch 1995: 127-128). The 1840s were characterized by suspicions and misunderstandings concerning the management of the colony's affairs. Many former slaves were distrustful of laws concerning their activities. During an 1844 census of the island a rebellion erupted that prompted martial law to be proclaimed and the addition of 200 more soldiers on the island. In 1846 the economy of Dominica was dealt another blow by external adjustments to market prices. The Sugar Duties Act passed in British removed the protective status of West Indian sugar on the British market, leading to heightened competition. Dominica suffered because its sugar exports were the lowest grade of all. Thus, the Dominican sugar industry ceased to exist by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Honychurch 1995).

Along with these political and economic shifts, there was a general improvement in the health conditions among black and white soldiers. In the first quarter of 1848, only one case of malaria-like fever was seen in the 261 soldiers, black and white, who were stationed on the island. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Cabrits Garrison was entering its last years of use. At this time, the fort was garrisoned entirely by black soldiers (Clyde 1980: 25). Along with other British fortifications in the Caribbean, the Cabrits Garrison was abandoned in 1854 (Honychurch 2013). Around this time the population of Dominica was about 25,000 and fewer than 5,000 could read or write (Honychurch 1995: 129). After years of conflict and failing economic practices, Dominica was stricken with widespread poverty, paving the way for the development of a peasant society (Trouillot 1988).

### 3.3.8 Post-1854

The history of the Cabrits Garrison following its abandonment is fragmentary. It is known that the site was used for a variety of secondary uses. In 1871 one of the barracks was renovated for use as a yaws hospital. This building was constructed from stone with a wooden roof and divided into male and female wards, but was incredibly overcrowded with limited air space for patients. The fort was again reopened as

recently as 1923 to isolate people infected in the alastrim<sup>21</sup> epidemic that swept the country (Clyde 1980). Squatters have also used the land periodically for agricultural purposes and many locals and tourists have looted stone, metal materials and other artifacts for personal use.

In 1975 the National Parks and Protected Area Acts established the boundaries of areas of significance and created the Dominica Park Service (Blair 1987: 105). The Minister of Agriculture is responsible for declaring lands as protected and reserved for recreation and historic preservation. The Cabrits National Park is the most recent addition to Dominica's park system. In a report issued by Burra (1953), Fort Shirley and the Cabrits were described as having good potential for historic preservation. Reconstruction efforts began in the 1980s under the direction of Dr. Lennox Honychurch. A variety of trails have been cleared and the Officers' Quarters and Soldiers' Barracks in the Fort Shirley battery are now restored for public use. A plaque memorializing the revolt of the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment was placed near the entryway of the renovated Officers' Quarters in 2008. In this same report, as quoted at the beginning of Chapter Two, Burra woefully underestimates the archaeological potential and historical significance of the Cabrits Garrison. "Apart from a few buttons...some coins and a large horseshoe, no trace of the former occupants of any interest has been found" (Burra 1953: Appendix V).

It's clear that simple surface observations of Caribbean fortifications are unable to impart the degree of entanglement between local and global processes apparent at these sites and described in this chapter. Critical approaches to archives, artifacts and settlement patterns are necessary to bring these structures to life. The remaining chapters of this dissertation articulate an approach that establishes routes in the material record for visualizing this intersection between wider social forces and localized activities at specific domestic contexts in the Cabrits Garrison.

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<sup>21</sup> Alastrim is a mild form of small pox caused by a less virulent form of the virus. Like small pox, alastrim has been totally eradicated from the globe.

## Chapter 4

### Conceiving the Space of Military Labor in the African Diaspora

Would it not be a great satisfaction to the king to know at a designated moment every year the number of his subjects, in total and by region, with all the resources, wealth & poverty of each place; [the number] of his nobility and ecclesiastics of all kinds, of men of the robe, of Catholics and of those of the other religion, all separated according to the place of their residence?... [Would it not be] a useful and necessary pleasure for him to be able, in his own office, to review in an hour's time the present and past condition of a great realm of which he is the head, and be able himself to know with certitude in what consists his grandeur, his wealth, and his strengths? (Marquis de Vauban, *proposing an annual census to Louis XIV in 1686*, as quoted in Scott 1998: 4)

The living spaces investigated at the Cabrits Garrison are part of a “conceived” cultural landscape dominating all other spatial experiences. The concept of “conceived space” or “representations of space” is defined earlier in Chapter Two of this dissertation in relation to Lefebvre’s (1991) “spatial triad” of sociological analysis. Administrators and planners create this spatial realm and it is often in contradiction to how inhabitants actually use space (Ng et al. 2013). This scale of spatial production, defined as “representational space” or “lived space”, is more fully explored in later chapters, along with the synthesis of these two in the form of “spatial practice” or “perceived space.”

“Conceived space” at the Cabrits Garrison signifies the process through which the land, including its different natures and environments, was appropriated through increasing European expansion and assigned a certain exchange-value, in this case strategic military planning, along with an ideal settlement pattern. British administrators, many of whom would never visit or live in Dominica, relied on different types of documents that are now archived, including maps, architectural plans and formal correspondence, to conduct this process. Each source of evidence reflects the social logic of the period used to create a space that would defend colonial possessions and important shipping routes, represent the power of the empire and create a regular pattern of routines connecting this place to others in the British imperial world. In his examination of 4<sup>th</sup> century Roman military sites in Britain, Andrew Gardner attributes this process of social construction to the concept of “distanciation”, defined as “the stretching of social life across time and space,

facilitated by such technologies and also by institutional structures” (Gardner 2007:98). More specifically, “conceived space” served as colonial templates useful in planning the construction and administration of empire from a distance. It facilitated the commodification of land and people encountered by Europeans (Mrozowski 1999). In this sense, space is a tool used by administrators to, on the one hand, reify the existence of hierarchically organized social groups suited for certain functions, and on the other hand, to exploit the labor of these now spatially organized social units. This construction process, involving both physical and social production, is apparent in spatial and material design of the settlement at the Cabrits headlands, which was “conceived” by administrators to most effectively manage and put into action the social hierarchy underlying the colonial power structure.

The analysis articulated here engages with this abstract form of space through various archival materials, including maps detailing architectural plans and settlement organization at the Cabrits Garrison as well as in the language of administrators attempting to devise the ideal garrison community in this portion of Dominica. This evidence is particularly revealing of the “conditions of materialization” involved in the “production of locality” at a setting undergoing social tension, instability and transformation (see Hall 2000: 3). To begin, I outline the significance of archives to anthropological archaeology and the methods of collection and analysis used in this investigation of the Cabrits Garrison. The interpretation of “conceived space” is furthered by an analysis of different forms of archival manifestations, including maps, administrative accounts and personal narratives. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the contributions and difficulties inherent in historiography focusing on this scale of spatial practice alone and the need for approaches tacking between archives and archaeology.

#### **4.1 Historical Archaeology as “Advantaged” Anthropology**

A unique feature of colonial fortifications is that they constitute a tremendous material record not only in terms of their architectural expanse and extensive material culture but also relating to the



abundance of primary literature.<sup>22</sup> This array of documentary evidence enhances the anthropological advantage already native to historical archaeology because of its access to primary documents as cultural constructs of a changing past (see Schmidt and Mrzowski 1988). I imagine this advantage like François Richard's approach to archives, archaeology and ethnohistory in colonial Siin (Senegal).

[H]istorical archaeology is never so effective as when it is conceived as a form of historical anthropology, one where the contexts of investigation of past materialities and cultural experiences are defined in the systematic triangulation between/within different evidential archives, regardless of their medium (Richard 2011: 198).

Documents generated by the military can not only “aid archaeological interpretation and provide a check on historical representation...” (Babits 1988: 119) they also serve as unique (though fractured) windows into the multiple scales of colonial life, including information pertaining to particular events, individuals and groups as well the changing relationship between colonies and metropolises. Fortifications were sites where the global was enacted locally and where the local was mulled over through various nodes of imperial governance. Historical archaeology is routinely moving between the general and specific, often resulting in a struggle in representation (White 2009). The entanglement of these scales is evident in primary documents pertaining to the Cabrits Garrison. These documents are a vital record into the way military life was extensively described according to checks and balances crucial to the maintenance of colonial society and through discourses bent on the definition of the individual and their integration and subordination into an engineered colonial community. Along with the interest in acknowledging the role of subalterns in the colonial process, this documentary material provides an important basis through which colonialism can be critiqued according to the social categories and language that materialized this conflicted process (Cooper 1994).

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<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Saunders' work on the materializations of modern industrialized war illuminates the unique historiography of military processes through his discussion of the “richness of oral and documentary sources” available for the interpretation of the material culture of war (Saunders 2009:39).

In many descriptions, the colonial state is described in the language of efficient management. Colonial forts are imagined here as “miniaturizations” of the state where an emphasis on “a constriction of focus on architecture, organization, and management of the setting” (Scott 1998: 257-258) within a rigid administrative hierarchy resulted in the production of a variety of documents pertaining to matters within the walls of fortifications.<sup>23</sup> These included matters relating to the muster-master, the paymaster, the commissary, the director of medical services and commandant (see Duffy 1975: 87), along with other issues linking the fortification, colonial legislation and imperial state. But, as alluded to in previous sections, the colonial state was a “fragile, tenuous, and potentially fragmentary affair, especially at its margins” (Nassaney and Brandão 2009: 33). Despite the tendency of states to create social categories through maps, taxation, conscription and provisioning, the “lived experience of colonialism”<sup>24</sup> was much messier than grid lines and statistical illustrations could ever possibly express. Thus, the variety of documents pertaining to the administration of fort life must not be taken for granted as simply site-specific clarification. Additionally, their verbosity on administrative matters should not prevent interpretations pertaining to marginalized groups employed in military labor and the identity formation processes at work in these settings. While often presenting a biased perspective, the “homogenous view of colonial societies” (Babits 1988: 125) left in the documentary record by those who could write provides a template through which social relations and identity categories can be extrapolated. When juxtaposed with archaeological evidence, this combined approach provides a systemic context wherein the behavior and material culture characterizing changing military labor practices at the Cabrits Garrison can be integrated.

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<sup>23</sup> As described by Patrick Duffy (1975), the construction of fortifications themselves was a science debated and clarified through countless publications detailing the angle and nature of bastions, ramparts and interior establishments, the appropriate building materials and strategies to withstand sieges. Duffy provides a specific focus on the designs of Vauban and the manner in which his method influenced others. Henry Guerlac (1986) provides a thorough consideration of the influence of Vauban in the technical and organizational development of the French military according to emerging principles in the scientific revolution. The integration of scientific reason and control into warfare highlight how colonial fortifications were a part of a wider process of modernity.

<sup>24</sup> The lived experience of colonialism is based on a fundamental contradiction (Nassaney and Brandão 2009: 19-20). Colonialism repressed certain voices while at the same time providing opportunities for the redefinition and transformation of identity.

## 4.2 Dealing with Documents: Approaches to Collection and Interpretation

Historical documents enhance archaeological investigations in several significant ways. They provide background information on the site, including the history of land use and occupation, identify important dates in the history of the site and describe spatial and material practices in the past. Historical documents are by no means “a factual skeleton” accounting for happenings in the past, nor should they be treated as the products of “crippingly narrow” perspectives (Johnson 1996: 97). As mentioned earlier, many interpretative windows into life at the Cabrits Garrison are accessible through the diversity of military records dealing with issues ranging from administrative thinking and colonial strategy to individual lives and group behavior. My investigation into everyday practices, labor and identity among groups often inarticulate in regards to the production of history has relied on this variety in the documentary record but I must emphasize the reality that further evidence relating to issues of importance at the Cabrits remains to be collected and interpreted. I hope the following discussion underlines the value in furthering this investigation and others like it. The types of documents collected for this study are outlined in the next section followed by the approach taken to their interpretation.

### 4.2.1 Collecting “Colonial Archives”

Much of the archival research was conducted at The National Archives, Kew where I examined public records from the War Office (WO), the Colonial Office (CO), the Home Office (HO) and the Treasury (T).<sup>25</sup> Important documents collected included maps, architectural plans, correspondence between colonial administrators, military and slave registries, and information on trade relations and the past occupants of the Cabrits Garrison. Collected archival materials provide high quality accounts relating to the institutions of British military and slavery, and more specifically, to the development of the Cabrits Garrison. Other issues illustrated in these archival materials include the problems perceived by British administrators in the

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<sup>25</sup> See bibliography for a more thorough description of these governing bodies and corresponding archival types.

successful colonization of Dominica, including the harsh environment and attacks from the French and Maroon communities. These documents have also been useful in indicating the location of slave and soldier sites at the fort and the manner these settlements changed over time. For example, during the summer of 2008 these documents were used to inform archaeological survey and testing at the former slave village (CG-1) and soldiers' barracks (CG-2), which form the basis for comparison in this investigation between the differing forms of labor among former occupants, including transplanted Africans (see Beier 2011).

Documents important to this study originated from other places as well, including relevant materials from the French colonial archives Aix-en-Provence and, perhaps most importantly, the so far unpublished Dr. Jonathan Troup (c. 1764-1799) diary (1788-1791)<sup>26</sup> from the University of Aberdeen archives in Scotland (ABD MS 2070). This research project has most certainly emphasized the truly global nature of the archival collection phase of research, especially in regards to Atlantic world sites. Collecting relevant archives across national borders ensures that not only practical issues are addressed, such as specific occupation histories of nations and contributions to infrastructure construction, but also to more theoretical issues, including the differing ideologies tied to the occupation of a site by competing nations or interests and the way these oppositions viewed one another's stance across a contested geopolitical terrain.

Following Larry Babits' (1988) discussion of military records, documents were organized into types, like artifacts, and analyzed individually. Numerous individual types can be discerned from the documents I collected, including maps, demographic figures like military and slave registries, correspondence between colonial Governors and the Colonial Office in London, as well as diaries from individuals visiting Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison. While this typological approach is useful in considering the vast range of

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<sup>26</sup> Other scholars have used this primary account, perhaps most notably, Richard Sheridan (1985) and Roderick McDonald (2013). Sheridan (1985) provides a revealing discussion of Dr. Jonathan Troup's observations and struggles to start his own medical practice on the island of Dominica in his medical and demographic history of the British West Indies between 1680 and 1834. Roderick McDonald (2013) examines the social interactions and sexual behavior documented by Troup during his stay for an intimate critique of Caribbean colonialism in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

document types, I have also found it beneficial to consider this typology in general terms that relate more to their purpose than to a particular form or content. For example, I categorize most of the collected documentary evidence as falling under the “administrative document” type. This general type refers to a range of documents that either take the form of formal correspondence between administrative actors or were written in a manner reflecting the categories and checks and balances vital to the colonial process. In contrast to this general document category is the more “subjective or experiential” type. This group of documents comprises sources such as portions of Dr. Troup’s diary during his stay in Dominica (1789-1791) (ABD MS 2070), the British planter Thomas Atwood’s observations of Dominica (1791) (Atwood 2006), and the young British soldier James Aytoun’s memoirs of his service on the island (1791) (Aytoun 1984). They are often written in an individualized perspective that provides intimate details into the thinking of a particular colonial subject as well as how they, as representatives of the dynamic late 18<sup>th</sup> century, observed the world around them. It is important to note that each of these themes can be pinpointed within the other, blurring the lines of this archival typology, but reinforcing the need for careful and critical readings of primary documents. Finally, along with the creation of this typology, each document was analyzed individually so that firm controls for time and space could be established through the identification of the date and location the entry was completed. This comprehensive approach to collection results in a more complete database of the documentary forms constituting colonial knowledge and is ideal for comparing different types of documents to identify social and cultural patterning.

#### 4.2.2 Interpretation: “Reading the Subaltern Archivality”<sup>27</sup> in Historical Archaeology

My treatment of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century primary documents linked to the Cabrits Garrison is premised off the notion that the archive is an artifact of archaeological inquiry. Michel Foucault’s conception of the “archive” is rooted in an archaeological perspective where the archive is not just a whole body of

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<sup>27</sup> The title of this section is adapted from Sandhya Shetty and Elizabeth Jane Bellamy’s (2000) treatment of archives in relation to the works of Spivak, Derrida and Foucault.

texts assembled into a single discursive formation. Rather, it is a subject-segregated system of law governing “the formation and transformation of statements...It emerges in fragments, regions, and levels, more fully, no doubt, and with greater sharpness, the greater the time that separates us from it...” (Foucault 2002: 146-147). The colonial archive has a unique structure when examined according to the disproportionate relationship between Europeans and subaltern groups. Like Edward Said’s (2003) “Orient”, the Caribbean suffers from a legacy of European invention. This inventiveness is reflected in institutions, vocabulary, imagery and various other forms of colonial governance. Accounting for the subaltern within this apparent colonial hegemony requires an appreciation of how power is configured and culture is manifested in these settings. As argued by Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992), critical analysis does not make the legacy of “orientalism” or a “monolithic Europe” disappear. Scholars must be able to determine both European and subaltern references in the production of history.

Subaltern and postcolonial historiography provides an important interpretive window through which archaeologists can treat their historical data. In their reanalysis of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s (1988) “Can the Subaltern Speak”, Sandhya Shetty and Elizabeth Jane Bellamy present an approach to archive interpretation described as “colonialist discourse analysis” (Shetty and Bellamy 2000:30). Archives provide a “relevant horizon” for understanding cultural practices through their “deconstruction”, a process where focus is diverted “out of the text” and into the realm of colonial discourse analysis. In a similar vein, Ann Laura Stoler (2009) moves against the grain of the archive in a type of “ethno-graphic” approach that focuses on the punctuations or moments that may disrupt or call into question “epistemic warrant” central to colonialism rather than the seamless texture of these assemblages of colonial knowledge.

My approach is related to this strategy of reading archives “ethno-graphically” or “against the grain” as a means of extracting different histories that break out of the models of European modernity and the absence and, thus, stasis of the Afro-Caribbean “other” in contemporary historiography (Cooper 1994: 1528-1530). It strives, like Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* (1993), to perceive blacks as agents, “as people with

cognitive capacities and with an intellectual history—attributes denied by modern racism...” and played out in the lacking awareness of their role in shaping British Caribbean military and political history (Gilroy 1993: 6). In my interpretation of archives from the Cabrits Garrison I examined documents with an eye not only to direct statements regarding the integration of African slavery into the 18<sup>th</sup> century British military establishment but also to the manner these documents were structured to reflect a society in which Africans were viewed as commodities while in fact simultaneously providing space for emerging forms of black citizenship and belonging. As illuminated by the work of Matthew Johnson (1996), historical documents are more complex than simply relaying information about past events. They serve certain interests and signify certain forms of power. Whether specifically stated or written between the lines, historic documents draw boundaries around and between members of the community of which they were a part.

My interest in everyday life as a crucial unit of analysis in identity formation and social relations is aided by principles from microhistorical approaches to archival records (see Brooks et al. 2008; Ginzburg 1993; Levi 2001). Everyday life is an “extremely circumscribed phenomena” requiring investigations that dig deep into the meaningful behaviors and beliefs of specific social groups and individuals (Muir 1991: ix). Fine-grain particulars relating to everyday life often made their way into documents passed between the echelons of colonial administration, in the form of detailed lists of costs for certain materials for example (Stoler 2009: 12). Interpretive approaches to archival research must also be suited to recognize the different objectives apparent at local and state levels by trying to “...find ways to tell a big story through the lens of a small case, to compare local societies over time, and to join the purposes of meaningful interpretation with those of casual explanation” (Walton 1992: xviii). The next section illustrates the visibility of labor and everyday practices from the interpretation of analyzed documentary sources relating to this Atlantic world fort community.

### 4.3 The Historical Visibility of Enslaved Labor at the Cabrits Garrison

The following section is dedicated to explicating the many windows into the internal dynamics of fort life and the military administration of labor that connected this site to the British imagining of empire. Through a critical reading of the pertinent documentary record, the “conceived space” of enslaved military labor at the Cabrits Garrison and in Dominica is illuminated. In many ways, the documents sampled in this analysis, including cartographic evidence, administrative correspondence and a few personal encounters recorded by Europeans on the island, reflect strategies of maintaining the hegemony of the ruling class. They are tied to the relations of production and the order these relations impose. Thus, this documentary record provides different windows into the manner this Atlantic division of labor was situated, managed and experienced at this site in relation to British imperial designs.

#### 4.3.1 Situating Labor: Maps of Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison

Despite the apparent role of maps in elite forms of social and spatial control (see Ackerman 2009; Barrow 2003; Harley 2001; Johnson 1996; Kimmel 2012; Leech 2007; Scott 1998; Wood 1992) there has been a remarkable underutilization of this evidence by historians and anthropologists (Pulsipher 1987). Often limited to illustrating historic contexts, maps are rarely considered in relation to their discursive ability of representing as well as exerting power over populations and space. This aversion may be a result of the seemingly top-down nature of cartographic evidence as products of educated elites working in the service of other elites, but this Eurocentric origin should not prevent interpretations revealing silences and central contradictions in the fabric of these representations and the colonial process in which they were part and parcel.

The following analysis considers cartographic evidence pertaining to the Cabrits Garrison and surrounding areas of Dominica. A total of 13 maps are considered ranging in dates between 1764 and 1832. This is an extensive record, as military sites during the colonial era required a substantial number of maps and surveys to situate fortifications in the most valuable locations (Guerlac 1986). My analysis is



restricted to those items identified, collected and deemed most relevant to the current study. There is no doubt further collection and analysis to conduct on this documentary type. My goal is to read the maps available in this study as a means of situating specific groups of military laborers in time and place at this garrison. Additionally, these documents illustrate how the “conceived space” of this military community shifted along with the dynamic phenomena of labor.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Dominica became an official crown colony of the British in 1763. In a 1764 map of the island so far identified, entitled “A Plan of the Island of Dominica” by an anonymous surveyor, numerous rivers and small settlements and church communities are illustrated around the coastline (TNA MFQ 1/1173). While lacking a date and illustrating a skewed geography of Dominica, the use of French Quarters, French and Carib place names, and the absence of relief indicates this is a British map of a new colony from the early 1760s (Lenik 2010: 136). Of importance to the concern of this project with the Cabrits headlands is the appearance of a settlement identified as “George Town” located on this peninsula. This settlement does not appear on any other maps and no doubt reflects an initial British settlement in the area.

More detailed (and geographically accurate) maps illustrating terrain, water sources, settlement types, land allotments and other natural and cultural features were soon to follow. Similar to Richard Leech’s observations in regards to the settlement of Nevis, some of earliest maps of Dominica were designed to encourage white settlement of the island in an “orderly and profitable manner” (Leech 2007: 201). These maps are also testament to principles of order and social division underpinning Enlightenment “protoscientific rationality” (Dawdy 2008: 31). This phase of British surveying in Dominica is characterized by the work of Thomas Jeffreys (the Geographer to his Majesty) and James Simpson (Chief Surveyor).

The Jeffreys map of 1765 (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA5) has the same skewed geography of Dominica as the previous map discussed (TNA MFQ1/1173) but it presents a greater familiarity with the island’s topography, a reduced concern in plotting early French settlements, and a system separating the

island into separate districts. The British divided the island into ten districts or parishes, which were further divided into smaller land allotments restricted to no more than 300 acres owing to the island's rugged relief and unsuitability for sugar cultivation. Portsmouth and the Cabrits headlands became a part of the St. John's parish. This phase of Dominican settlement is reflected in a variety of primary documents from the period, especially the maps produced by James Simpson in 1765.

Simpson appears most responsible for transforming the unknown and harsh landscape of Dominica into an ordered and knowable product. Under the direction of William Young, Robert Stewart and Robert Wynne (His Majesty's Commissioners for the Sale and Disposal of Lands in the Islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago), Simpson produced a series of maps of the island of Dominica and its most valuable settlements (Portsmouth, Prince Rupert<sup>28</sup> and Roseau). In regards to the Prince Rupert's Bay area, his 1765 plan shows a rudimentary sketch of how Portsmouth was divided and ordered according to the location of fresh water sources (North and Indian rivers), lands designated for garden lots, and lands claimed by certain individuals ("Mons. Pizzest" and "Mons. Pettoe") or "granted to poor settlers" in the neighborhood of Prince Rupert's Bay (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA4). Of particular interest to this project is the ongoing settlement of French planters in the area even after the British annexing of the island as well as the desire to encourage underprivileged settlers who would be instrumental in fostering a white population on the island and supplying requisite labor. Another map from 1765 illustrates a more detailed plot of Prince Rupert's Bay, including a schematic for the town of Portsmouth surrounded by saleable land lots of varying dimensions and lands designated for the management and protection of the colony, including the military (B) and militia (H). Simpson also illustrates the unique composition of the

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<sup>28</sup> Historically, several names have been used to refer to the Cabrits Garrison. Place names I encountered during research include, "Prince Ruperts", "Prince Ruperts Head", "Fort Shirley" and "The Cabrits Garrison." The term Cabrits Garrison is more connected to its contemporary status as a National Park. For the sake of clarity, it is important to consider the variety of names referring to the same complex or specific portions of the complex.

Cabrits headlands, including its topography, forests and bordering swamps. The whole area is listed as comprising “1003 acres, 3 roads, and 20 perches of land” (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA1).

In regards to Portsmouth, Simpson produced an even more detailed buyer’s map for what would have still been the desired capital for British colonial administration (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA2). This plan outlines the locations of lots, both cleared and wooded lands, as well the arrangement of streets and other necessary settlement features for an emerging colony, including a “square”, “market place”, “bleaching grounds”, “custom house”, courthouse and jail. More generally, while people are for the most absent from these documents, analysis of the Simpson maps also raises the importance of notions of property and how this ordered the colonial landscape. In this series of maps, Simpson highlights plantations (private), lands belonging to the Governor (Crown), and Church lands; the economic sectors through which different forms of labor, primarily enslaved, would flow through.<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that none of these early British maps of Dominica display specific arrangements of fortifications or defensive works of any kind.

Development efforts in Dominica escalated during the early 1770s, a phenomenon materialized in the cartographic record. The John Byres map of 1776 (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA6) was a result of surveying between 1765 and 1773 that divided the colony into land plots, limited to 300 acres and sold to individuals. These plots were in many cases cartographic fictions, as much of the land was in fact inaccessible mountaintops and steep slopes not ideal for settlement and agriculture, resulting in the acquisition of lands by local officials and stunted economic expansion (see Honychurch 1995: 62-64; Lenik 2010: 137-138). In regards to the scope of this study, it is important to note that the Byres map is the first representation of defensive works on the Cabrits headlands (shown in Figure 4.01), in line with other historical documents describing its initial development in the early 1770s. Defensive works are positioned overlooking both Prince Rupert’s Bay and Malalia or Douglas Bay, with a “Battery” associated with the latter and an

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<sup>29</sup> Within the last decade, archaeological research on Dominica has illuminated these differing but connected colonial contexts through investigations of plantations (Hauser 2009, 2011), missions (Lenik 2009b, 2010) and fortifications (Beier 2011, 2014).

“Ordnance Store House” with the former. No works are identified on top of the Outer or Inner Cabrits but an additional “Battery” is situated on the coast of Prince Rupert’s Bay. This early phase of development at the Cabrits Garrison is further explored in the next section. The Byres map remains the only representation identified of an emerging military community on the Cabrits headlands and in the wider neighborhood of Portsmouth during this period. As described in the previous chapter, British development on Dominica was halted by a French invasion and resulting occupation between 1778 and 1782.



**Figure 4.01:** A portion of the John Byre’s map of 1776 showing the Cabrits headlands with defensive works (TNA CO700/DOMINICA6). Used by permission of The National Archives, Kew, UK.

It is in fact during this period of French occupation that the first site-specific illustration of the Cabrits Garrison is produced. So far undated, the map, entitled “Partie de The de la Dominique” and is associated with other documents identified in the folio inventory as “Notice sur le Réduit su Morne Cabrit, The de la Dominique avec un plan annexé” (AIX DFC/XXX-XXXI). This map and associated documents appear to be the result of a visit or visits to the “Morne Cabrits” on the northwest end of the island of Dominica by the anonymous author and possibly by other well-informed witnesses. The materials are

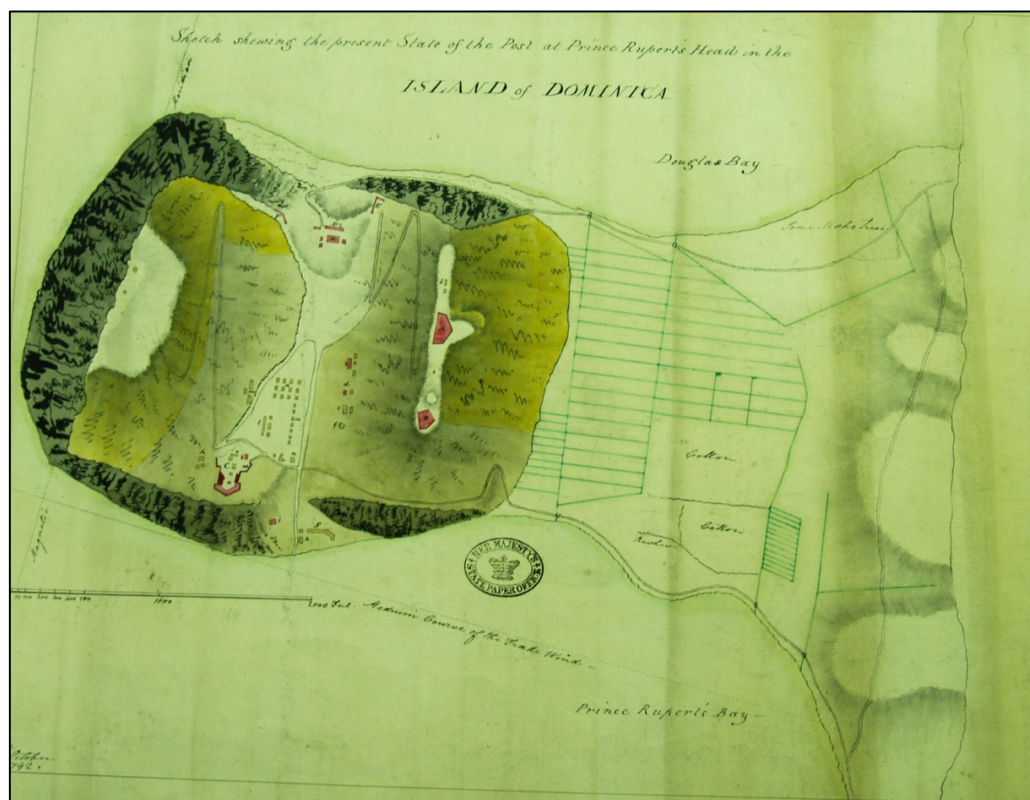
undated, but the reference to a recent war and its unfamiliar contents to “foreigners” suggest the early 1780s. The documents assume British re-occupation and control, which took place after 1782. In addition, the document discusses at length the possibility of the French re-taking the island in its discussions of the Morne Cabrits, which foreshadows the failed invasion attempts of Republican then Napoleonic forces in 1795 and 1805 (Honychurch 1995: 106-115).

Perhaps serving as a piece of espionage or a sign of the plans for a French invasion at the time, the map also provides a valuable look into an otherwise undocumented period of fort development. In descriptions of the batteries present, the anonymous author outlines the state of the defensive works on both the Inner and Outer Cabrits, with the former exhibiting “10 pieces of artillery” and the latter having only recently been occupied is in the process of being armed with “several guns.” This is the earliest mention of the state of these hilltop settlements thus far encountered. In addition, a cluster of buildings (9) is illustrated bordering the bottom of the Inner Cabrits, but unfortunately no distinguishing information is provided besides the author’s observation that these establishments would be sufficient for a garrison of “12 to 500 men” but, with the exception of three cisterns and three powder magazines, none of the establishments are complete. A series of paths connect these settlement features. Strangely enough there is no road connecting the defensive works on the Outer Cabrits to other portions of the fortification, which does show up in later maps. The swamp area establishing the eastern boundary of the site is described as impassable. An interesting aid in establishing a relative date for the map is the appearance of measurements that seem to be pre-metric. The French converted to the metric system in the 1790s.

The next set of maps of Dominica and the now established military community on the Cabrits headlands follow the reacquisition of the island by the British and a resulting increase in the pace of military construction. The first, highly detailed, maps of the Cabrits Garrison are made in the early 1790s. Comparing the 1791 map titled “Sections of the Project for the Defense of Prince Ruperts Head” (TNA MPH 1/184) to the 1780s French map discussed in the previous paragraph is a striking testament to the amount

of construction that took place at the site throughout the 1780s. While all the internal structures are unlabeled, the 1791 map establishes the general plan of the Cabrits Garrison that is rearticulated in varying cartographic forms until its mid-19<sup>th</sup> century abandonment. This fortified settlement pattern is characterized by a dominant battery (Fort Shirley) located on the south central edge of the peninsula overlooking Prince Rupert's Bay and a smaller battery situated north and center overlooking Douglas Bay. A large defensive work is also located atop the Inner Cabrits with strikingly less development on the opposing Outer Cabrits. It is important to note these differences in representation because they signify a broader history of site development where more emphasis was initially placed on constructing the Fort Shirley and Inner Cabrits batteries than other areas. An interesting difference immediately distinguishing the 1791 map from later representations of the fort is the directional arrow aligned to the south, which appears to be a mistake since north arrows were traditionally illustrated on cartographic publications.

The valley between the hills is characterized by a variety of structures associated with military personnel (engineers, clerk, soldiers, commandant, etc) along with the parade ground and paths connecting these separated settlements. Of particular importance to this project is the area located in the center of the valley, between the paths running among the different settlement zones, and characterized by four rows of vertically aligned small, closely clustered and tan in color rectangular structures. 18 structures are now situated in this central area. There is a horizontally aligned structure illustrated with a red outline within this building cluster. While no key accompanies this map, these structures are designated in later maps as residences for enslaved military laborers surrounding a forge. From this point on, whether or not it's illustrated or identified, this zone is referred to as the laborer village (CG-1). In total, 67 buildings are shown on this map of the Cabrits Garrison settlement.



**Figure 4.02:** A 1792 map of the Cabrits Garrison (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA8). Used by permission of The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

The 1792 map, shown in figure 4.02 and entitled “Sketch showing the present state of the Post at Prince Ruperts Head on the island of Dominica”, abides to the same general settlement pattern modeled in the 1791 map (TNA MPH 1/184), but provides a far more detailed view of the internal developments and groups present within the walls of the fort during this period as well as the land plots and agricultural activity immediately outside the walls (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA8). An inscription associated with the map speaks to the natural strengths of the post as well as the need to clear substantial areas of the peninsula, highlighted in yellow and brown, to keep the area open, dry and free of disease from the neighboring swamp. While the Outer Cabrits is still illustrated as being undeveloped, the other settled zones are identified according to their specific functions and described in various degrees of completion.

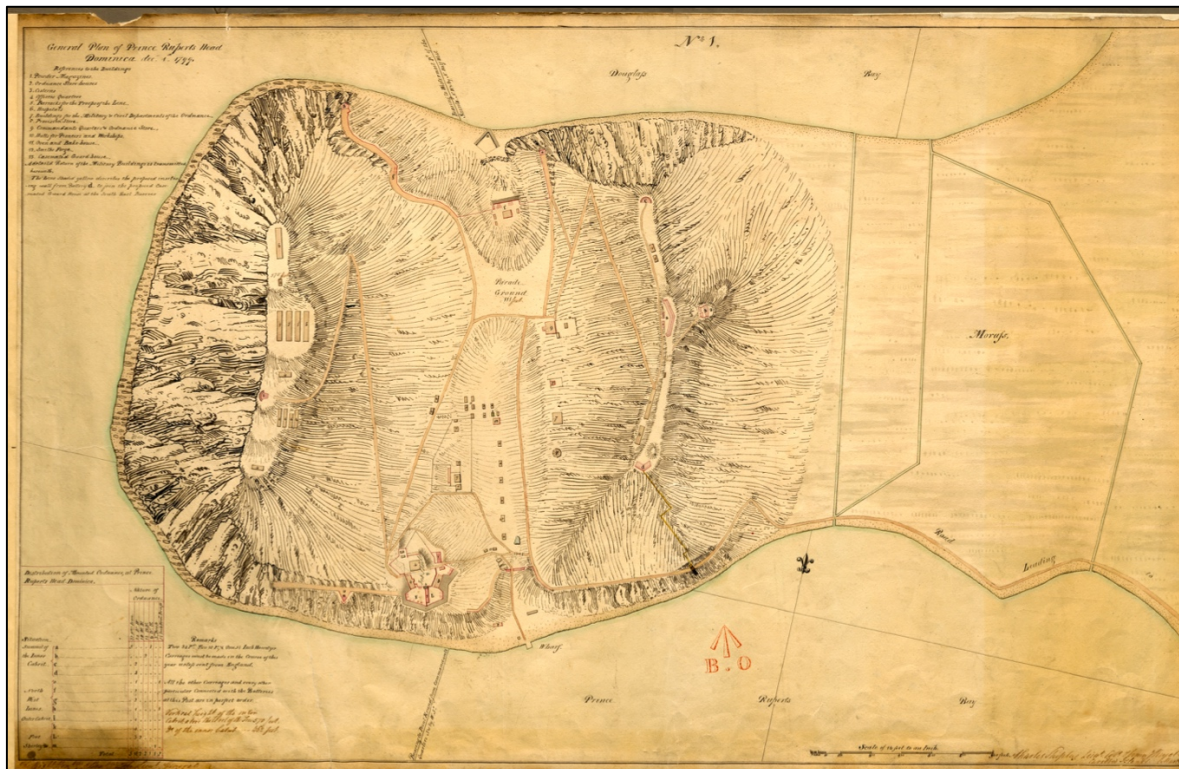
This map clearly establishes the valley as the designated zone for labor and housing laborers. The buildings identified as constituting the laborer village in the previous section are identified on this map as “Negro Huts” (“nnn”), and are illustrated in close association with other buildings in the valley, including the bake houses (“o”), located in the south of the valley, and the “Civil Officers Quarters” (“l”), located in the western portion of the valley. 20 huts are illustrated with no distinguishing characteristics attributed to any of these structures and no specific mention of what is later identified as the centrally located forge. A clear division exists between the accommodations for what could be considered fighting versus technical roles in the military. The civil and engineer departments of the British army are in the valley while living quarters for soldiers and officers are situated either in the Fort Shirley battery, the Douglas Bay battery, which according to the map’s key (“a”) was “never yet occupied”, or “2 small wooden barracks to contain about 40 men” on top the Inner Cabrits (“b”). Detachments of the Royal Artillery were scattered in three separate housing clusters around the valley, including two sets of houses along the path to the Outer Cabrits identified as “quarters occupied by Artillery” (“m”) and two structures identified as “quarters built for white artificers but lately occupied by a detachment of Royal Artillery” (“m”) near the Engineer’s quarters (“c”). The Royal Artillery was a fighting force but their location is undoubtedly related to the fact that these regiments along with the Royal Engineers were under the control of the Board of Ordnance until it was abolished in 1855.<sup>30</sup> Two small-identified buildings are illustrated on top of the Outer Cabrits, but these appear ill suited to signify gun emplacements or habitation areas and are most likely covered work places.<sup>31</sup> This map illustrates 63 buildings in all, a slight decrease from the last map, possibly resulting from a more attentive survey of the entire fort complex.

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<sup>30</sup> The disbanding of the Board of Ordnance strangely echoes the abandonment of all Caribbean fortifications in 1854 and supply problems encountered during Crimean War (1854-55). The Board of Ordnance was a British government body responsible for the supply of armaments to the Royal Navy (1830) and British Army as well as for the production of maps for military purposes, a function later taken on by the Ordnance Survey. It existed between 1414 until 1855. Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers answered to the Board of Ordnance.

<sup>31</sup> The construction of covered work places is mentioned in the development of the Outer Cabrits in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (see 26 October 1797, TNA WO 1/82).





**Figure 4.03:** A 1799 map of the Cabrits Garrison (TNA MPH 1/18). Used by permission of The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

Shown in Figure 4.03, the 1799 map of the Cabrits Garrison provides the most comprehensive schematic of the architectural complex and military community than any of the other two maps created in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (TNA MPH 1/18). No doubt representing the peak of military planning and occupation of this post, this map has proved the most useful in terms of its accuracy and detail. 68 buildings, not including the defensive works, are represented as well as a yellow shaded line to display the proposed intersecting wall from “battery d” to join the proposed “casemated Guard House at the South East Barrier”; a sign that construction was still underway at that this post entering the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both batteries overlooking the bays appear relatively identical to their earlier representations. The Fort Shirley battery has maintained its apparent status as the fort’s headquarters, characterized by a variety of specialized buildings, including Officers Quarters (“4”), Soldiers’ Barracks (“5”), powder magazine (“1”) and ordnance store house (“1”), all located within a separated walled enclosure. In contrast, the Douglas Bay gun emplacements are described in detail and four unidentified structures are illustrated but no discernable

housing is identified. It appears that no detachments of officers or infantry were stationed here, possibly owing to the low lying and sickly conditions.

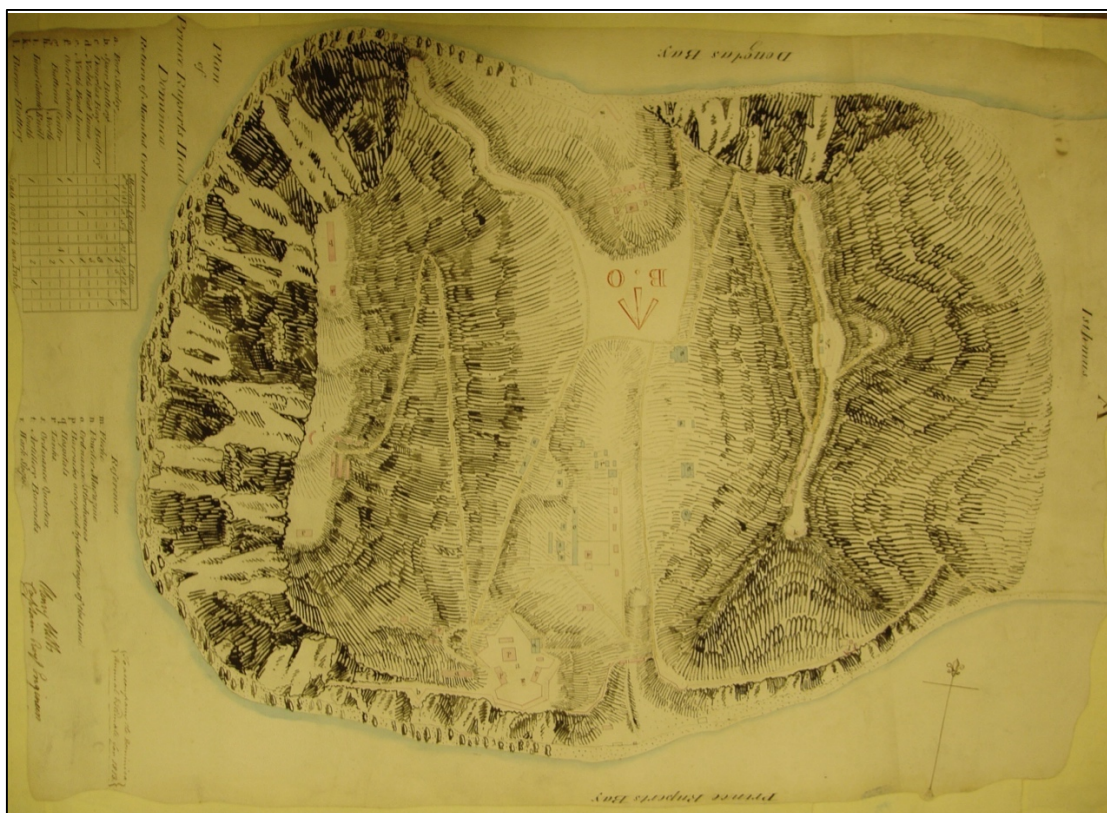
A striking feature of this map is the development of the Outer Cabrits settlement. A total of 12 buildings are illustrated, including one hospital (“6”), four “Barracks for the Troops of the Line” (“4”) and seven Officers’ Quarters (“4”). Despite the completion of the two structures in the Inner Cabrits first displayed on the 1792 map, shown as “b” in Figure 4.02 and now listed as Officers Quarters (“4”), and the addition of three more structures including a hospital (“6”) and soldiers’ barracks (“5”), the settlement on top of the Inner Cabrits now appears less of a priority than the Outer Cabrits settlement. This shift in emphasis in less than ten years suggests the increased monitoring of the Prince Rupert’s harbor and adjoining seaways, which is not an interpretation directly reflected in either primary or secondary sources beyond more general concerns with contraband or French attack at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The importance of the Outer Cabrits may also relate to the crippling realities of disease experienced by military personnel in these differently elevated areas. British army administrators frequently expressed their concerns over the health of troops stationed in this region and at the Cabrits Garrison in particular. This will come up again when discussing how the settlement of various military personnel was managed, especially in relation to considerations of how best to house European and non-European regular infantry.

In regards to the valley between the hills of the Cabrits, the emphasis on labor in this zone is even more apparent on this map. The cluster of households referred to as “Negro Huts” on the 1792 map, shown as “nnn” in Figure 4.02, are now identified as “Hutts for Pioneers and Workshops” (“10”). As already mentioned in Chapter Three, “pioneer” refers to a class of laborers within the British army who attended to the necessary manual work and usually did not bear arms. A total of 15 huts are represented, with six vertically aligned rectangular structures located south of the now identified forge (“12”), and another nine huts, seven of which are specifically marked, distributed north of the forge. A cistern (“3”) is also located immediately north of the forge within this housing cluster. These huts are bordered to the east by a

sequence of buildings associated with the “Military and Civil Departments of the Ordnance” (“7”) and the Commandant’s Quarters (“9”), which was formerly the “Engineers Quarters” on the 1792 map (shown as “c” in Figure 4.02). The west boundary of the laborer village is more fully established than it was in earlier maps, with a series of lines that enclose the five buildings associated with the “Military and Civil Departments of the Ordnance” (“7”) from the surrounding laboring population. In the place of the structures northwest of this enclosed cluster of buildings previously listed as occupied by the Royal Artillery on the 1792 map (shown as “m” in Figure 4.02), are two hospitals (“6”). By 1799 it seems clear from this map that the valley was imagined as a self-sufficient and isolated laboring population with a clear system of social order distinguished from combat personnel in the British army. As will be discussed in later chapters on the archaeology of these living spaces, this interpretation is borne out in unique material and spatial patterns distinctive to this settlement, but which also rely on the incorporation of elements related to the British military as well as Caribbean plantation society.

Two maps of Dominica and the Cabrits headlands were produced during the late Napoleonic period. The 1810 survey map of Dominica provides a color-coded schematic highlighting the parish division system on the island as well as stippled impressions of the topography (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA9). Produced by cartographic publishers Laurie & Whittle, London, this map is very similar to the 1776 Byres map, shown in Figure 4.01, and no doubt represents an updated version of this earlier example. Unlike the Byres map, which includes a series of garden lot enclosures around Portsmouth, the Laurie & Whittle map of 1810 shows a similar looking grid system in the area but is labeled “the Salt Pans.” Perhaps revealing the initial misgivings of the original plan for Portsmouth due to the unsuitable low lying and marshy terrain, this gridded system would have been used to produce salt from coastal salt pans in the marsh surrounding the Cabrits headlands and Portsmouth. During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, this industry would have no doubt been another avenue for enslaved labor in the area immediately surrounding the Cabrits Garrison. A similar

industry is identified at the Benya salt pans surrounding Elmina Castle in Ghana during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century (DeCorse 2001).



**Figure 4.04:** An 1812 map of the Cabrits Garrison (TNA WO 78/2508). Used by permission of The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

The 1812 map of the Cabrits Garrison, entitled “Plan of Prince Ruperts Head Dominica” and shown in Figure 4.04 (TNA WO 78/2508), provides a similar amount of detail as the 1799 map (see Figure 4.03) with some notable alterations. Like the earlier described 1792 map (see Figure 4.02), an interesting difference distinguishing this map from other representations is the directional arrow aligned to the south rather than the north. The overall building count remained relatively stable at 66 total structures, a slight decrease from the 1799 map. The settlement plan in the Inner Cabrits also remained stable, especially in comparison to apparent changes in the Outer Cabrits. The Outer Cabrits hospital (“q”) remains, but a tank (“r”), understood here as a cistern, replaced what was formerly listed as an Officers’ quarters (“4”) on the 1799 map. The orientation and number of barracks is also quite different on the 1812 map. In general,

fewer barracks are illustrated here than in earlier maps, which, as argued later, may correspond to strategies of housing regular infantry of African descent in the valley of the Cabrits. The block of four vertically aligned soldiers' barracks listed on the 1799 map are completely absent, replaced by a horizontally aligned block of three structures. These structures are labeled as "Barracks for troops of the line" ("p") on the 1812 map. Interestingly, no attempt is made to distinguish between this housing and that reserved for the officers' quarters. Housing for detachments of the Royal Artillery are identified ("t"), but this is no doubt related to their separate management under the Board of Ordnance. The absence of officers' quarters could simply be a matter of oversight or may perhaps correspond with shifts in the administration of the British military on the island of Dominica, resulting in the higher echelons of military rank and file occupying posts near Roseau, such as Morne Bruce, as opposed to garrisons like the Cabrits, widely considered to be too isolated and unhealthy.

Troops barracks were distributed throughout the fort complex, including most notably within the Fort Shirley battery and immediately outside of its western wall in a zone including a hospital ("q") and two unidentified buildings. A troops barracks is specifically identified in the Douglas Bay battery. As stated in previous sections, housing is continually represented in this portion of the fort but it is frequently described as never fully occupied (refer to earlier discussion of 1792 and 1799 maps of the Cabrits Garrison). So far, no evidence has been identified pertaining to precise occupations of this zone, and the 1812 map may in fact label a perpetually uninhabited structure.

Of primary importance to the current study is the increasingly detailed look at the valley. By 1812 most of the structures in the valley were associated with the Board of Ordnance and are shown in blue on the map. There is in fact a marked increase of buildings dedicated to ordnance during this period, with several structures converted into this function. The series of structures along the eastern extent of the valley are by this time utilized as storehouses ("o") and quarters ("s") for the Ordnance department, with no mention of housing for the Commandant in the valley. This shift may reflect the movement of the

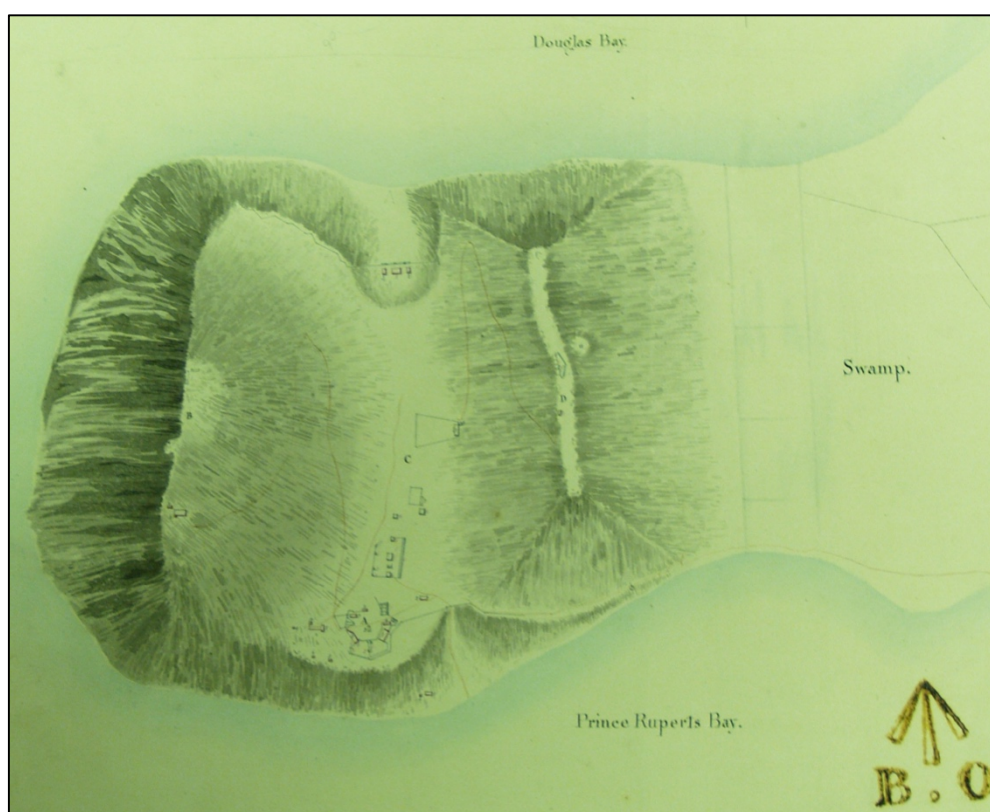
Commandant to healthier quarters in the Outer Cabrits because of bad engineering causing this structure to be damp and unhealthy (Honychurch 2013: 92).

Furthermore, a series of lines, apparent first on the 1799 map (see Figure 4.03) and interpreted here as walls or terraces, enclose what could be generalized as the Engineers' yard, including Ordnance quarters ("s"), a workshop ("v") and a hospital ("q"), from a newly established troops barracks ("p") not represented on earlier maps, and a row of 5 vertically aligned, unidentified buildings marked as huts for laborers on previous maps. The drawing of five huts is different from the six that have been traditionally illustrated in this area. Additionally, the matching pink color of the listed troops barracks ("p") and these unidentified buildings appears to suggest a shared function or administration of these closely situated structures.

Another ordnance storehouse ("o") and an Artillery barracks ("t") are identified to the northwest of the Engineers' yard in an area that on the 1799 map was identified as including two hospitals ("6") or as "Quarters lately occupied by the detachment of Royal Artillery ("m") on the 1792 map (see Figure 4.02). Directly north of the unlabeled sequence of huts is a cluster of buildings, labeled here as tanks ("r"), but previously identified on the 1799 map as including a forge ("12") and cisterns ("3"). While appearing on earlier maps the specific function of the six buildings surrounding the forge is unknown and may be solely related to water management or housing for laborers or soldiers.

Finally, another troop barracks ("p") is identified in the southern extent of the valley, in an area that previously had been identified as an oven and bake house ("11") on the 1799 map. Interestingly, the two troop barracks described in this section are the only housing for armed forces thus far identified in the valley through documents. It appears that like the 1799 depiction, the valley is increasingly represented as an isolated, self-sufficient and complex zone of military life where different social groups in the British army were assigned to a variety of labor-related tasks. Interestingly, the color-coding of this map suggests a transition from separated living spaces of enslaved laborers and regular infantry composed of enslaved

Africans that are illustrated on 18<sup>th</sup> century maps of the fort to a convergence of these roles and domestic areas by the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As shown in later chapters, archaeology at two domestic contexts in the laborer village highlights material and spatial patterns that distinguish this settlement from others at the Cabrits Garrison, especially in regards to dwelling practices (see Chapter Six) and foodways (see Chapter Seven). In other instances, these households demonstrate interactions or possible shared spaces between socially distinct segments of this British army community, especially in regards to patterns reflected in work-related material culture (see Chapter Eight).



**Figure 4.05:** An 1832 map of the Cabrits Garrison (TNA MPH 1/615/3). Used by permission of The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

The final series of maps analyzed here were produced in 1832 under the direction of Sir C. Smith and drawn by William Walsh, the Acting Overseer of Works at Dominica. This series consists of a “General Plan of Dominica” along with settlement layouts for significant posts on the island, including Roseau, Fort Young, Scotts Head and the Cabrits (TNA MPH 1/615). These maps are primarily interested in displaying

the distribution of ordnance and associated buildings in these posts as well as the distance between these Government properties and their parish affiliation. Figure 4.05 shows the representation of “Prince Ruperts” included in this series. Important information on this map, including building labels and associated key, was completed in faint ink and is quite difficult to decipher. A total of 28 structures are identified on this map, which is a drastic decrease from the total counts of earlier maps. Strikingly limited housing is represented in either the Inner or Outer Cabrits, with many of the barracks and hospitals listed on previous maps not illustrated. The primary zone of building concentration is in and around the valley, including the Fort Shirley battery, which is illustrated like earlier maps, and the Engineers’ yard. Absent from the valley in this map are the clusters of housing associated with fort laborers and regular infantry. This absence may be connected to the lack of infrastructural development and diminishing population at the fort along with wider trends associated with decreasing regional hostilities and diminished significance of this military post. Cisterns and ordnance related buildings constitute most of the displayed structures. Perhaps even more revealing is the descriptions on the “General Plan of Dominica” that speak to state of the island at the time and the development priorities of the British Crown. Roseau is described as “the only place that can be called a town, the rest are miserable villages.” Along with this description, this map of the Cabrits Garrison is the final portrayal of this post before it was abandoned in 1854 along with other British fortifications throughout the Caribbean.

Theoretically speaking, the maps analyzed above are notional guides and should be read not only for their ability to reveal specific settlement arrangements and patterns, but also for their power in demonstrating the idealized design of society conceived by colonial administrators, including the different nodes through which labor (Crown, private, religious) would flow through and the social divisions and distance they sought to foster between groups. These idealized designs are informed by the social logic of the period, but, as shown in this section, are subject to change through time. For example, the schematic of the Cabrits Garrison remained quite stable throughout the years of its development and occupation. While



there were apparent changes in the Inner and Outer Cabrits and the valley, other elements remained relatively unchanged, including the spatial arrangement of this post characterized by armed divisions of the British Army surrounding the laboring population, the administrative center of the post located at the Fort Shirley battery, and the total building counts. This stability is undoubtedly related to the social imagining on the part of British administrators. But, this imperial imagination was subjected to and altered according to the inescapable reality of the local conditions of Dominica and changing divisions of Atlantic labor, as demonstrated by the state of the Cabrits Garrison and surrounding Prince Rupert's Bay quarter in 1832 (see Figure 4.05).

It should come as no surprise when comparing the many maps analyzed in this section, they often suffer from inaccuracies or incompatibilities, such as the differing numbers and alignments of housing for soldiers in the Outer Cabrits or for fort laborers in the valley. Related to this trend of inconsistency is the appearance and then disappearance of certain buildings and their associated social groups. Variations in building locations and functions over time may indicate the very practical reality of recycling building materials and setting up structures elsewhere or reassigning certain social groups to other parts of the garrison deemed healthier or more efficient. This absence takes on more significance when considering the initial lack of labels for laborer housing, their apparent acceptance by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then their absence in the final map of the Cabrits Garrison in 1832. The particular terminology used for these labels, including "Negro huts" used on the 1792 map (see Figure 4.02) compared to the later designation of "pioneers and workshops" on the 1799 map (see Figure 4.03), may reflect shifts in the labor process, whereby earlier construction of the Cabrits Garrison relied on "hiring out" enslaved laborers from surrounding plantations instead of the direct purchase of enslaved Africans by the British imperial government and their integration into full time military service. Furthermore, the matching color on the 1812 map (see Figure 4.04) of the soldiers' barracks and structures identified on earlier maps as laborer housing in the valley suggests a formal integration of these social roles filled by enslaved Africans into emergent

forms of labor that occur later throughout the Caribbean following Emancipation. The shifting social and cultural dynamics of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison will be further explored in the next section but, as will be shown, this setting would do more in determining what contribution it would make to the empire than any schematic crafted in a survey office in London.

#### 4.3.2 Managing Labor: Military Administration in Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison

The following section engages with an administrative narrative spanning a century of military thinking and social and cultural transformation. This assemblage of documents corresponds to a particular approach of British administrators in managing imperial and colony matters in Dominica. Their legalistic quality and tone establish a certain know-how of rule, a hierarchy of social categories produced during colonial administration and designed to reproduce itself.<sup>32</sup> Lettered governance often takes the form of fixed formats and numbing prose but it is not without its insecurities and moments of reflection. In her consideration of Dutch colonial archives, Ann Laura Stoler (2009) is acutely aware of the way “[f]earful colonial visions and their attendant policies” materialized in an abundant record of bureaucratic labor marked by “[a]ccumulations of paper and edifices of stone.” Furthermore, beyond describing events, practices and beliefs, Stoler imagines colonial archives according to the epistemological worries they expressed, “about what they could know and how they could know it” (Stoler 2009: 2-3). Many of these same themes are illuminated in this archival analysis of the Cabrits Garrison. The administrative record pertaining to the British military and colonial Dominican society is fraught with anxieties concerning productive settlement, sickness, invasions and insurgencies, monitorable trade, the best means of harnessing an accessible and efficient labor force, and overcoming disruptions of local circumstances. While first imagined through the language of colonial governance, it is in fact in this documented anxiety

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<sup>32</sup> Archival analysis in this section is influenced by the approach articulated by Ann Laura Stoler (2009). “If it is obvious that colonial archives are products of state machines, it is only now that we are seeing them, in their own right, as technologies that reproduced those states themselves.” (Stoler 2009:28).

and confusion that the pertinent categories, principles and practices of governance can be confronted and the dynamic relationship between state and subjects can be investigated.

Issues of military, economic and political significance in the British Caribbean were filtered through the Colonial Office, War Office, Treasury and Public Record Office. In the analysis that follows, labor is the pertinent factor across all these departments with the military pivotal in its management and control. I argue that changes in the military labor regime at the Cabrits Garrison between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries reflected important social and behavioral shifts in Dominica and the wider Atlantic world. I pay specific attention to the fluctuating pace of construction at the Cabrits Garrison, beginning in the 1770s and ending by 1815, which resulted in an equally fluctuating, though continuous, population of enslaved laborers used for a variety of purposes. In 1795, the introduction of the West India Regiments (WIR), a standing army of enslaved African soldiers bought and trained by the British Crown, further blurred lines between slaves and soldiers, enslaved and free across the Caribbean. Changes in military labor policy bring to light how Caribbean societies were being imagined as well as the concern over their future sustainability. This story of empire is usually told out of London. The present narrative is situated in and around Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison, arguably a fringe on the colonial perimeter, to better figure the role of enslaved labor in the military strategy of the British Empire.

Following the British acquisition of Dominica in 1763, a series of administrative tours were conducted in southern regions of the expanding British Caribbean Empire. Military power and the process of settlement were the pressing issues of these documents. According to an April 22 1769 report out of Dominica,

[t]he purchase and settlement of the lands, in all these Islands, appears much to depend upon the security which the Adventurers may hope from the number of Troops quartered, and strength of Fortifications erected in each particular Island, independently of that general reliance which is placed upon His Majesty's Ships of War upon this station (TNA T 1/470/85-87).

Three years later, in his 1772 report dispatched to London, Captain Robert George Bruce outlined the architectural plans for the defense of Dominica, including signal posts located along the coasts and intermediate posts in Prince Rupert's Bay and Roseau. While Roseau was designated as the principal garrison on the island, Captain Bruce was very interested in developing an impressive garrison overlooking Prince Rupert's Bay, which he thought to be "the first and most important object to be secured by Fortifications in the island of Dominica" (TNA WO 55/1553/4). Admittedly, his proposed plan was "[m]ore intensive than would perhaps be necessary in this country," especially in such close proximity to Portsmouth, which at the time looked "more like a ruinous and deserted village than a new place of Trade" owing to its swampy condition. But a system of defense encompassing the valley and both hills was necessary to ensure the adequate protection of the island. According to Bruce, rendering this extensive plan would make the "whole Garrison between the Morass and the Sea...one of the strongest Posts in the World...."

As noted in Bruce's report, "Negro Artificers" usually conducted the required workmanship. They were more readily available than white workers and cheaper to employ, costing five shillings silver per day as opposed to ten. While arguing that the high expense for labor would be made up for by the low cost of building materials, including free stone, clay and wood, hiring out labor proved to be a substantial investment for the British Crown. In a list of expenses for works carried out on the island from June 1772, out of the total of £9455.14.4 sterling, £2302.12.2 was spent on "Negroes", presumably for labor, and this price was second only to "Provisions" (£3250.00) (TNA T 1/493/70-71, 106-112). The Cabrits Garrison was primarily built by enslaved laborers, whose presence as "pioneers," "fort negroes", "fatigue negroes" or "negro artificers" is documented throughout the military occupation of the fort. While the nature of the work force appears stable through time, it is the process of acquiring this requisite labor and the corresponding relationship between subjects and the state that changed over time.

The issue of enslaved laborer is a frequent matter of discussion in British administrative correspondence concerning military operations in Dominica. This topic often arises in the form of requests for direct assistance. Treasury records indicate that an earlier plan dispatched in 1773 outlining planned fortification projects was not being undertaken in Dominica for want of money and the necessary labor. In 1775 Governor Thomas Shirley requested “a small number of Negroes for the construction of fortifications” (TNA T 1/514/186-191). In the 1775 record for the “General Account for the Contingent Expences of the Government” a series of cash payments were provided to individuals involved in organizing enslaved labor including cash paid to “William Weir, Inspect of the Contract Negroes on the Part of the Crown”; to “Henry Grove, Inspector of the Garrison Negroes”; and to “the Attorney Lewis Chauvet for the hire of 30 slaves employed in the Garrison from 11 Aug to this 11 Nov...” (TNA T 1/519/23). In his description of the three companies of His Majesty’s 48<sup>th</sup> Regiment serving in Roseau dated July 24<sup>th</sup> 1775, Governor Shirley emphasized the popular belief of the day that assistance from enslaved Africans was necessary for the survival of British regulars.

The Impossibility that Soldiers can do their duty in these Islands, without having some assistance in the most laborious parts of it, is so well known, that I need not take up your Lordships’s time in being particular on that head, and shall only observe to your Lordships that if the Troops here should be deprived of that necessary aid they have usually received from those Negroes I cannot be answerable that out of three companies there will be one Company remaining fit for duty at the expiration of three months (TNA T 1/514/379-380).

As described in Chapter Three, this sense of unpreparedness in Dominica coincided with concern about a French force eager to take advantage of an over extended British army. After entering the American Revolution in 1778, the French captured Dominica with little resistance.

Following the five-year French takeover of the island, military construction on Dominica increased at a rapid rate. Writing on April 2 1789, “Lieutenant General Edward Mathew” described the state of defensive works on the island of Dominica to “Lord Sydney”, then member of the Privy Council and joint-Paymaster of the Forces (TNA CO 101/28/95). His report begins with an examination of the military

complex on “Morne Bruce and the adjacent Heights” overlooking Roseau. Mathew describes arranging detachments of the 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment on these heights as well as “arranging the distribution of the Carolina Negroes<sup>33</sup> in the mode most economical for Government....”

Much of Mathew’s report deals with securing Prince Rupert’s Head,

...a Post in favor of which the Board of Ordnance has given the most decided preference, and which is certainly capable of being made very strong. Keeping possession of it insures to our navy the Bay of Prince Rupert and Douglas, in which a ready supply of wood and water is at all times to be found.

At the time “four Companies of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup>” occupied the post and were “a good deal crowded but continue healthy.” The completion of “Barracks and the necessary stores” required immediate attention. Following this, the report describes a set of directives to the engineer of the works, “Lieutenant Colonel Frazer,” ordering him to “secure the Flanks of the Post by erecting strong Batteries in the Gorges between the Cabrites, to put in compleat repair the Battery of Fort Shirley, and to occupy by detached redoubts the inner or eastern Cabrits.” While the natural strength of the Outer Cabrits is praised, orders are given to “construct a Block house” only “if found necessary.” Mathews concludes this report confident in acquiring the necessary labor to complete the defensive works. “I have reason to believe the Island will furnish considerable assistance in negro labor for the Works at this Post, tho’ it declines in furnishing for any other operation.” Two years later, writing from Prince Rupert’s Bay, Mathews describes the unreliability of the Legislatures of the Islands in supplying the requisite number of military laborers (TNA CO 101/31/57).

[They] have not yet decided on granting the necessary aid of Negro’s for the fatigue Regimental duties, such a number is hired (not exceeding two per Company) as exempts the European troops from any severe fatigue, and the measure shall be continued until some other mode shall be adopted for providing this very essential assistance.

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<sup>33</sup> Military historians frequently mention the Black Carolina Corps as a significant moment in the recruitment of colonial armies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Roger Buckley describes the “Black Carolina Corps” as being raised in 1779 from black loyalists and free Negroes in South Carolina (Buckley 1979:4). Peter Voelz describes the Carolina Corps being later integrated into West India Regiments in 1795 (Voelz 1993:148) and used to fight French brigands (Dubois 2006). Interestingly, the American Revolution also brought about different black corps on the American side, including the Rhode Island Black Battalion (Voelz 1993:134).

In this same letter, Mathews once again brings up the Carolina Corps and confirms his support of the augmentation to the number of Officers in this regiment, which has now been nearly assembled in Grenada. Before moving to the next topic of business, Mathews comments on their work with the Engineer “who has done them the justice to express much satisfaction at their services.” Mathews goes on to argue that, “[n]o opportunity shall be lost of enlisting Free Negroes and People of Color for this Corps, but I am apprehensive it may be found necessary for this purpose to send an Officer to Nova Scotia on the recruiting service.”

Similar requests for the direct assistance of enslaved labor continue throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as documented in period sources such as a “Return of the Artificers and Pioneers in Dominica and how employed 27<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1787” (TNA HO 50/365); a letter from James Bruce at Prince Ruperts Head on November 8<sup>th</sup> 1794 described a vote by the House of Assembly that provided “one hundred more Negroes to put this post in the best possible defense, besides fifty formerly granted” (TNA WO 1/767); and, in a series of returns from 1805 listing the “Prices Current in Dominica” of items needed for the “Forces of the Island”, including “Negroes by the head” (TNA CO 71/38). A firmer understanding of the fluctuating laborer population of the Cabrits, as well as their connections to a mixed French and British plantocracy, is discernable through a closer examination of Colonial Office and Public Record Office documents. For example, in the July 1<sup>st</sup> 1789 “Report of a Superintendent, Overseers Medium number of Artificers and Labourers Employed at Prince Rupert’s Head for the Month of June,” 16 “Colony Negroes” and 153 “Labourers” were hired from surrounding plantations at the expense of Government (TNA CO 101/29/23). In addition, a correspondence from the Royal Engineer dated to October 29<sup>th</sup> 1794, refers to a mixture of “colony Negroes” and “hired Negroes” clearing brush around fort buildings, including “seventy nine labourers, the property of French Immigrants...” (TNA PRO 30/11/54). In this same report, the Cabrits Garrison is described as “not quite completed” with a tank and barracks having recently been finished on

the increasingly settled Outer Cabrits. The author is concerned about finishing the remaining work projects “before the present Labour is at an end.”

But by the third half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, despite this continued reliance on enslaved labor for construction and fatigue duties, different strategies were being imagined for enslaved military labor. As described in Chapter Three, due to the high rates of mortality suffered by white soldiers in the tropics, the British military began an active policy of raising black regiments from the local slave population and from men recently arrived from the West coast of Africa (Buckley 1979, 1998; Voelz 1993). On April 17 1795, then War Secretary Henry Dundas pondered whether the British Crown should proceed further “in buying bodies of Negroes to be employed under the British officers...” (TNA WO 1/62). His opinion of beginning this recruitment process was influenced by several factors including, “the critical situation of the islands, the unprecedented conduct of the Enemy with respect to their own slaves, and the opinions and apprehensions of the Planters on the success of a measure so deeply involving in its consequences the interest of the Colonies” (TNA WO 1/62). This diversification of military labor is especially pertinent at the Cabrits Garrison, conveniently situated between two French island strongholds. Widely considered as one of the unhealthiest stations in all the West Indies, its associations as a predominately black garrison form a dominant part of the administrative narrative.

Upon his arrival in Dominica in 1796, Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Cochrane Johnstone immediately began raising and disciplining a “Corps of Negroes,” which he indicated was necessary to replace the white troops currently stationed at the Cabrits Garrison; “the Grave of many a British officer and soldier” (TNA WO 1/82). The 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment was formed from these initial colonial corps through a special enactment of the Dominican Assembly and was first garrisoned at the Cabrits between 1798 and 1802. Costs were saved and colonial legislatures were bypassed by incorporating a total of 758 “pioneers” armed and trained along British lines into the new troops (TNA WO 1/85), which muddled the lines between the classes of enslaved laborers and enslaved soldiers employed at Caribbean fortifications. Further blurring of



this rigid social hierarchy at the Cabrits Garrison came on April 9<sup>th</sup> 1802 with the revolt of the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment.

In a letter sent five days before the revolt, A. C. Johnstone, now the Governor of Dominica, described the situation at the fort. He reinforced the belief that the Cabrits Garrison was “by no means proper for White troops” and stated that the “8<sup>th</sup> West India regiments alone now garrison that post, and are presently engaged in keeping open the drains in the swamp” (TNA CO 71/34). This violent eruption, which killed seven Europeans and resulted in the killing of 100 mutineers in response, was linked to the new Governor’s use of the regiment for what were later characterized as “nonmilitary” purposes. Descriptions of this insurgency circulated through newspapers in Caribbean colonies and British cities. These reports describe, often in vicious details, the torture and murder of British officers and women at the hands of the mutineers as well as the crippling response taken by the British. Descriptions of the number of mutineers killed vary but “several were shot on the face of the cliff leading to the sea...about 60 were buried in a hole” and another 40 injured. “The troops consisted of nearly 500, of which there are said to be in close confinement, or prisoner at large on the Upper Cabrit, about 370 (including the 40 wounded), of whom it is proposed to try 15.” (LH Evening Mail June 9-11; June 14-16 1802). Blame is centered squarely on Johnstone and his inappropriate treatment of the black troops as well as his inability to assuage their agitation following the initial revolt.

In his explanations of the events, Johnstone argued that he had received no complaints about the nature of work from the soldiers and “[a]ll was peaceable and quiet” (TNA CO 71/34). He explained that he had arranged soldiers into parties to cut brushwood during the dry weather and for “the Negroes hired by the ordnance” to be “constantly employed on keeping the drains open.” In a May 1 1802 statement defending this combined use of fort laborers and soldiers for fatigue duty, Johnstone argues that “my conduct in this respect was neither unusual nor improper I need hardly say White Regiments as well as Blacks have been employed upon fatigue parties when necessity required...And in this instance such was

the case" (TNA CO 71/34). In an earlier letter, dated to April 17 1802, Johnstone accords blame to contention stemming from debates in London.

I can speak with no certainty...but from what I have since learned I have every reason to presume that the discussions at home so fully circulated in the Newspapers relative to the situation of these Regiments upon the formation of a peace Establishment were the ground works of the business. They had taken up the idea that they were to be reduced and sold for Slaves... (TNA CO 71/34).

A few days later, in a letter dated April 22 1802, Johnstone characterized the revolt as a problem limited to the "New Negroes" in the regiment, excluding both Creole soldiers and enslaved laborers employed at the Cabrits. In this same letter, Johnstone diverted blame from external happenings, lodging it solely on "the confusion in which the accounts of the Regiment have been kept" (TNA CO 71/34). Johnstone later assures in a May 1 1802 letter to Lord Hobart that a thorough investigation will be made into this "and so proper an example held forth to the Army at large...."

Others in the British administration were concerned that this multi-purpose use of the West India Regiments resulted in a conflict of identity. Following the revolt, in his directions to Governor Johnstone written on April 25 1802, Lieutenant General Thomas Trigge requested that the 4<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment not be ordered to work on the swamp surrounding the Cabrits (TNA CO 71/34). He goes on to outline the preferred arrangement of the fort bearing in mind the nature of the post.

I am to desire that from the time of you receiving this letter to the arrival of the detachment of the 4<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment, that more than one hundred men of the 68<sup>th</sup> may not be kept at Prince Ruperts, and after the arrival of this reinforcement, that the White troops be reduced to fifty, which number is not to be exceeded. The detachment of the 68<sup>th</sup> is to be stationed in the Outer Cabrit, the other posts to be occupied by the 4<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment. I am the person responsible for the reduction of the force, and will of course taken upon me to answer for the consequences. I have no distrust of the Fidelity of the West India Regiments, and cannot allow a real evil (the destruction of the health of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Batt. 68<sup>th</sup> Regiment) in order to guard against a possible one, which I think there is no reason to apprehend. If the War should be renewed, the strength of the Garrison of Prince Ruperts will become a matter of consideration, but under the present circumstances, and until that event shall take place the Troops I have mentioned will be sufficient for that post.

A series of Monthly Returns for the West India Regiments between 1804 and 1808 indicate that a mixture of companies from the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> were stationed in Dominica, with the vast majority of the total number

stationed at the island headquarters at Prince Rupert's, numbering some 697 in 1807 (TNA WO 17/251). In 1809, a report was sent back to London indicating that a detachment of the Jamaican raised 6<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment was poorly disciplined in Dominica (Buckley 1979:108).

Following the surge in attention garnered from the events of 1802 at the fort, the bureaucratic record responsible for the management of the British military at Prince Rupert's Bay and Dominica becomes relatively silent. As described in Chapter Three, this reduction in administrative chatter mulling over the status and roles of blacks in the military corresponded with the diminishing presence of these regiments and shifts in theaters of war. Throughout the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the same British Colonial Office dealing with matters of colonial settlement and military operations was embroiled in a debate concerning the status of slavery and private property in the Caribbean colonies. Colonial Legislatures submitted statements to Parliament outlining their rights, including the following proclamation written April 25 1823:

[I]t is manifestly essential to the public tranquility of the Colonies that the Negroes should look up to those who have immediate authority over them, and not to the British Parliament, British Government, or British Public—as their Protectors, and as the authors of any indulgence or benefit (TNA CO 320/5).

In a series of revealing exchanges between 1823 and 1827 issues such as the rejection of the legal testimony of a slave, the acquisition of legacies by slaves, and strategies of dealing with transplanted Africans recovered from illegal slave trading activities, like their removal to the emerging “free African” colony of Sierra Leone, are addressed (TNA CO 320/5). Less about military strategy, these documents describe anxieties of British administrators attempting to develop African-Caribbean societies by emphasizing the disproportionate labor relations inherent in agricultural production while rooting out the unproductive features of the colonial economy. They also shed light on the bureaucratic formation of legally bounded social realities of inequality that would continue to characterize labor relations in the Caribbean.

The remaining administrative record describing the occupation history at the Cabrits correlates with its abandonment. As previously noted in Chapter Three, the Cabrits Garrison was entering its last years of use by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In an 1851 “Statement of the whole extent of the Ordnance Lands at Dominica” (TNA WO 55/2930) the total acreage of Government property on the island is outlined. The 535 acres assigned to Prince Rupert’s is by far the highest (compare to the 119 acres assigned to Morne Bruce). Despite the size of the complex at Prince Rupert’s a far larger number of military personnel were stationed at Morne Bruce (compare 217 to 46 at Prince Rupert’s). A noticeable shift in the attention of Government is apparent in this document. More emphasis is now placed at the Morne Bruce military settlement, which remains the headquarters for the current Government of the island. Following the formal abandonment of most British fortifications in the Caribbean in 1854, the fortifications at Prince Rupert’s were evaluated for reuse in a “Report upon the state of the Public Buildings and Works for the year 1864” (TNA CO 71/38).

These buildings are nearly all in ruins. The only large building standing is the Soldiers Barracks, and it is in such a leaky state as to make it a question as to whether it would not be better to take it down, as the repair of so large a building would be very costly and of doubtful advantage in its position. The only other building is the Guard house, which leaks badly, but being a small building might be repaired for a small sum.

The absence of other documents into the 20<sup>th</sup> century marks the site’s transition into a ruin. This occupation history of the Cabrits Garrison as presented from the bureaucratic record is often punctuated by the influence of certain colonial actors. The next section is devoted to bringing out these colonial lives in relation to wider currents of Atlantic world slavery and military labor practices.

#### 4.3.3 Experiencing Labor: Personal Narratives of Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison

It is greatly to be lamented, that although the island of Dominica is so very capable of being rendered one of the chief, if not the best, the English have in the West Indies; yet, from a want of knowledge of its importance, or inattention, it is at this time almost as much unsettled, as when it was ceded to Great Britain, near thirty years ago (Atwood 2006: Introduction).

First published in 1791 two years before his death, Thomas Atwood, a staunch proponent of the effective settlement of Dominica, outlined the history and a series of observations related to island governance and plantation agriculture. In addition, he was keenly interested in the management of the island's enslaved labor force.<sup>34</sup> Atwood shows up in the early archival record of colonial Dominica in a ripped Treasury document listing expenses for works carried out between April and September of 1771, appearing as "Assistant to a Judge" in Roseau along with other names of civil employees paid in the service of the British government (TNA T 1/493). He would eventually finish his career as the chief judge on this island, and afterward in the Bahamas.

Thomas Atwood's account provides one of the narratives used in the present analysis to triangulate around broader issues of military labor, Atlantic world slavery, and African-Caribbean identity formation using local experiences. Each narrative details a late 18<sup>th</sup> century colonial experience situated in a distinct social world, including that of the already mentioned civil servant Thomas Atwood, James Aytoun a British infantryman serving in Roseau at Morne Bruce, and Dr. Jonathan Troup the doctor temporarily employed in the medical service of the "Prince Ruperts quarter" at the fort and surrounding plantations. Each account is also organized according to different temporal frames with the Atwood account reflecting the experience of a seasoned administrator through chapters organized into a thematic analysis of the island, as compared to the published recollections of Aytoun some forty years after his service in the Caribbean or the day-to-day medical and social diary of the newcomer Troup. Unique as they are, each account is similar in that they detail observations or interactions that cross into other social worlds, including those occupied by regular infantry, transplanted Africans or women. They also appear similar in their form and scope in that they all document in detail phenomena perceived by them as strange though natural to this setting when in fact much of what they observed, like the contemporary biases they often

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<sup>34</sup> Thomas Atwood published a pamphlet in 1790 entitled "Observations on the True Method of Treatment and Usage of Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands" (see Atwood 2010[1790]).

express, were products of an increasingly entangled and modern set of interactions. These similarities in structure and logic reflect tendencies among varying social classes of Europeans of maintaining normative approaches to being in “other” worlds.

At times, the level of detail, self-conscious observation and local character expressed in these accounts, especially in regards to sensitive issues, almost amount to 18<sup>th</sup> century ethnographies. Ann Laura Stoler has advocated an approach to colonial archives that focuses on the “ethnographic history of these colonial imaginaries” and how they seep “across the futuristic and the actual to capture something of both” (Stoler 2009: 21). The following section is the concluding portion of the archival analysis described so far in this chapter. It attempts to attend to the local experiences described by each colonial actor as well as the processes inherent in the production of archival knowledge and the relations of power inherent in these archival worlds.

#### 4.3.3.a Thomas Atwood: A Judge in Dominica

Thomas Atwood’s publication on the history and state of Dominica is a clear form of colonial discourse bent on improvement and exclusion. His voice on the matter was formalized through his position as a legal scholar and as a colonial administrator. His publication provides a valuable sketch of economic, social and cultural life in Dominica between the 1770s and the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. More importantly, it is mixed with an interesting combination of personal reflection and hegemonic colonial knowledge. According to Atwood the significance of Dominica was undervalued. Although it was capable of becoming a Crown jewel in the British West Indies a variety of problems had contributed to the underdevelopment of Dominica. The fledgling island economy was severely affected by the American Revolution. Prior to this conflict, Dominica had exported “sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, and indigo” and imported “lumber, boards, shingles, wood-hoops, staves, tobacco, flour, rice, salt-fish, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and feathered stock from North America” (Atwood 2006: 72, 105). Following this period, Dominica’s unsettled nature and poor management of estates had rendered the colony one of the least

productive in the region. Estates were often too large, situated in unsuitable places, and supported by a labor force of “new negroes, instead of seasoned ones” unprepared for working in hot and rainy conditions, which contributed to their widespread abandonment.

During this period, there were no more than 50 sugar plantations and around 200 coffee plantations. French planters owned the most successful of these operations. Along with the dense interior forests characterizing the island, Atwood described the powerful French constituency in Dominica, which outnumbered the British at the time, as a central problem in its development. He argued for their exclusion from military service based on his idea that “for the French and other foreigners, who are incorporated therein, from not understanding the words of English, or from a natural dislike to the service, pay no attention to it; and in consequence very often throw the whole into disorder” (Atwood 2006: 205). Far more than language and personal preference, Atwood expresses a genuine distrust in the French. A significant portion of his book details the French invasion and subsequent five year occupation of Dominica between 1778 and 1782, recounting at length the history of French impropriety on the island, including: the deceit of French inhabitants who aided in the invasion, the mistreatment of British inhabitants under the new French Government, the redistribution of British weapons to runaway slaves fighting with the French, the burning and looting of Roseau in 1781, and the demolition of fortifications before the eventual French evacuation. To compensate for their exclusion Atwood suggested foreign inhabitants should be charged an annual sum necessary for equipping a militia composed entirely of English subjects. Atwood was also concerned with the large presence of maroons on Dominica. These internal issues speak to the necessity of maintaining a military force in Dominica committed to its defense from within and without. For Atwood, a full-time military presence with British sensibilities buttressed a strong island economy, but this desired military support would not come in the way that he had imagined.

At the time he is observing Dominican society, Atwood describes the “very small number of English subjects for so very large and fine an island” as reducing the value of its possession by Great Britain. He

goes on to summarize the varying “customs and manners” of the English, French and other “white inhabitants of Dominica” (Atwood 2006: 209). His discussion of “people of colour” distinguishes between “free people of colour” described as “chiefly of French extraction” and “negro slaves” calculated as numbering between fifteen and sixteen thousand on the island at the time with more than half belonging to the British (Atwood 2006: 219-224). Atwood is highly critical of the behavior he describes observing among the enslaved labor force, such as purported drunkenness, thievery, idleness, as well as spiritual practices associated with funerary rites and lack of family attachments (Atwood 2006: 272-273). In obvious dispute with Abolitionists, Atwood contends the “negro slaves in Dominica are, in general, comfortably situated, and well treated, especially on the plantations...” and their labor was “by no means burdensome, or difficult...of which a labouring white man, even there, will do nearly double the work of a negro in a day” (Atwood 2006: 253, 257). In Atwood’s colonial imaginary, if white people could be encouraged to settle in Dominica development and trade could proceed effectively. He concludes his book with a set of plans aimed at encouraging this settlement.

Those who are advocates for the abolition of slavery, may in this island have the opportunity of trying the settlement of cool situations by white people only. Why not employ the soldiers there, and allow them extra pay for making good bridle roads in the interior parts of the country? (Atwood 2006: 285)..

But, as demonstrated in the next two accounts, Europeans would come to colonial Dominica for various reasons and then usually depart. Atwood’s white labor force never materialized, and what was built and sustained on the island was a result of labor in the hands of transplanted Africans and those born in the Caribbean.

#### 4.3.3.b James Aytoun: A Soldier in Dominica

When any person from Europe arrives in the West Indies everything appears strange. The greater part of the people are black. Another portion are mullattos and other shades between black and white and they who ought to be white are of a straw colour (Aytoun 1984: 11).



Joining the British army in 1786 at eighteen years of age, James Aytoun spent his first two years of service in Ireland and then sailed for the West Indies. In his memoirs, completed at his home in Scotland 40 years after his time in the British military, Aytoun wrote, "I was exactly two years and a day a soldier, the day I embarked for the West Indies. It was 12<sup>th</sup> January, 1788" (Aytoun 1984: 5). The introductory quote describes this young soldier's initial impression of Caribbean society after disembarking in Carlisle Bay, Barbados on April 1 1788 and then sailing for Dominica as an infantryman in the 30<sup>th</sup> (Cambridgeshire) Regiment. Arriving in Roseau, Aytoun describes this place as "the only town in Dominica and is where the Governor resides" (Aytoun 1984: 6). Like Thomas Atwood, Aytoun spent a majority of his time around the Roseau area, being permanently stationed in the heights overlooking the town at the Morne Bruce garrison. He continued in Dominica for three years until his regiment was replaced by the 15<sup>th</sup> Foot in the beginning of 1791 (Aytoun 1984: 16). While disjointed at times, Aytoun's recollections recount interactions with a society strange to him and provide necessary depth into the perspective of a white soldier occupying the lower echelons of Dominican society.

According to Aytoun, Dominica was a French island, in names and in people. He was a keen observer of all things "exotic" in Dominican life, including a host of plants, wildlife and people. He held a similar opinion as Atwood in regards to the treatment of slaves and the Abolition movement. "I believe slave owners, overseers etc. are blamed for what they are not blameworthy, that is of being cruel to their slaves" (Aytoun 1984: 21). Based on his own harsh treatment as a soldier in the British army, Aytoun believed that slaves were well fed and provided for. This laboring population was able to accumulate wealth through their contribution of provisions to Sunday markets, an opinion Aytoun reinforces with the observation that "women who came to market took pride in sporting five or six printed petticoats above their haunches and as many large printed handkerchiefs tied round their heads making a cotton cone, fourteen or more inches in height" (Aytoun 1984: 22). He argues that these freedoms were not afforded to soldiers.

The negroes have a great deal more liberty than soldiers. The men, as often may be convenient, trot six or seven miles to a plantation to see a favorite black wench or to a dance. The dance generally last till two o'clock in the morning. A soldier is liable to be flogged if more than a mile from barracks, camp or quarters and if out of barracks after tattoo they are liable to be tried by a court martial and punished (Aytoun 1984: 28-29).

Excessive military discipline in the hands of inept leadership, unjust beatings, disgraceful burials, and perpetual indebtedness in the company's books were all described by Aytoun as common features in the lives of regular British infantry. This military culture bred obvious discontent among soldiers towards slaves as well as their commanding officers.

James Aytoun completed his service in the British army with a clear disdain for its leadership. His memoirs recount numerous instances of the rigid inequalities between these social classes. He complains that his commanding officer, Major Campbell, was far more interested in maintaining his social obligations to surrounding plantations than carrying out his duty and that Lieutenant Colonel Cochrane, who would later become the obvious scapegoat for the earlier described 1802 revolt at the Cabrits by the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment, was "obliged to the head drummer for words of command" (Aytoun 1984: 38). This misguided leadership resulted in an inefficient military.

No wonder the Yankee drove such an ill-treated men who were beaten by a parcel of raw militia. No wonder that so many of our men deserted to the enemy. The practice of beating was so great that no man who went to drill or parade or field day was sure of returning to the barracks without a smart beating and it was so common they laughed at one another but never considered it a disgrace to have received a beating...No wonder the Yankees beat our men, who were commanded by absentees or fellows who never lost sight of their mother's fire (Aytoun 1984: 8-9).

Aytoun experienced first-hand the corruption and inefficiency channeled through the colonial system by elite classes of Europeans. Unfortunately, while Aytoun was wittier and well-read than most regular British infantry, his disdain for the typical African-Caribbean laborer prevented him from imagining another world outside of the colonial slave system where labor relations and class entitlements could be scrutinized.

#### 4.3.3.c Jonathan Troup: A Doctor in Dominica

I take the liberty of recommending to your notice Doct. Troupe the bearer who proposes practicing at Prince Ruperts. He has been regularly bred to the profession and his abilities will I doubt not

render him worthy your protection and encouragement. I knew him in England and he came from there in my ship (Section from a letter dated to December 13, 1789 to Mr. Grubb of Ross Castle plantation from Captain Francis in ABD MS 2070).

Born in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century in North East Scotland, Jonathan Troup completed his medical studies at Marischal College in 1786 and sailed for Roseau in Dominica at the end of 1788. At the recommendation of Dr. James Clark, a prominent resident of Roseau and also originally of Aberdeen, Troup served as an assistant for Dr. Andrew Fillan, another Scottish doctor who had a sizeable medical practice on the island. Troup spent a considerable time working in the Prince Rupert's quarter in an impermanent capacity as the assistant surgeon at the Cabrits Garrison, doctor for a collection of surrounding estates, and practitioner on call for navy and merchant ships in the bay. He resided at the fort during much of his stay. After failing to establish his own practice or purchase property in this "chatty island", Troup returned to Aberdeen in 1791 to begin anew. He died at Corrachree in 1800.<sup>35</sup>

The Troup diary is of use because it provides a worm's eye view of Dominican society between the years of 1789 and 1791, and, more specifically, into the Prince Rupert's community. As such, his voice is represented the strongest in this analysis. Like other diaries of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, Troup's diary was intended for personal record keeping, but is written through the eyes of a middling to upper class white man, revealing much about the wide spectrum of motivations for taking pen to hand (Beier 1989: 235-236). Unlike the other narratives included in this archival analysis, the Troup diary is without a specific agenda. His lack of retrospection results in a uniquely valuable source material containing a series of unfiltered snapshots into the Prince Rupert's community. Captured in this text is the explicitly sexual culture of slavery made apparent in Troup's observations of planter relationships and his own confessed yearnings (see McDonald 2013), the social and economic world of an upper-class doctor in Dominica, the broader medical history of the region (see Sheridan 1985), and, perhaps most pertinent to this study, descriptions of an 18<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For a summary of Dr. Jonathan Troup's life, refer to the University of Aberdeen website, "A North East Story: Scotland, Africa and Slavery in the Caribbean" (<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/slavery/4p1.htm>).

century military labor force and the relations between its free and enslaved components. Troup intricately maps out the connections between this Caribbean fortification and the surrounding plantocracy through his social and medical obligations. Taken together, these snap shots offer vital passage to a thorough consideration of military labor on the island of Dominica.

On New Year's Day, January 1, 1790, having arrived to his new lodgings at the fort some ten days earlier, Dr. Troup describes a dinner with the "gentlemen from Cabbrits" and the festivities immediately preceding it.

Got a dance after it with mulattoes and blacks a little black girl of 13 months danced and kept excellent time to the music. She is a favorite of Mr. Baird &c as being the first produce of the Cabbrits, and hence named Cabbritia. She drinks plenty of wine and always gets attended by everybody (ABD MS 2070).

By way of this observation, the setting of this military site becomes far more gendered, "Cabbritia" was seemingly born from a woman employed at the fort, and parameters of 18<sup>th</sup> century race relations are exemplified with an interracial dance, albeit with strict gender expectations, and the acceptance of a black child born into slavery by the European officers and planters whose express duty is to maintain this social order.

This is but one of the dances observed by the doctor during his time at the Cabrits. On January 25, 1790, Jonathan Troup attended what he described as a "negroe dance" in the valley between the Inner and Outer Cabrits.

They have rattles on their ankles. They stand on their hands fall down on their back...then make a centre of their hands, drive together round in a circle. This they change from right to left, still on all fours they will alternately lift and shake their feet, then sit down and point their finger alternately at the Drummer, then jump and hop about pointing to their groin and other parts of their bodies. Then jump up run as if he was to kick the Drummer still keeping time to the music (ABD MS 2070).

His comments on a "negroe dance" reveals not only the form of labor necessary for the development and maintenance of the fort, but also the central role served by the valley in which the "negro huts" were located as a nexus of community activity. As already mentioned in earlier sections, the valley of the Cabrits was

principally managed by the Board of Ordnance and designated for purposes associated with the Artillery and Engineer corps. Troup's observations of the valley and the labor force moving in and between this site provides striking clarity into the nature of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison and in broader Caribbean colonial society.

On December 23, 1789, soon after his arrival at the fort, Troup concludes his description of an abortion procedure he witnessed during a visit to the "Negroe Hospital" with a note that "[t]he fortification is going on slowly." Despite the slower than desired pace of development, Troup is in fact witnessing a period of intensified construction at the fort. According to his own descriptions recounting his walks or horseback rides up to the Inner Cabrits, at least two construction projects were occurring simultaneously, including construction of the Engineer's House, located at the base of the Inner Cabrits, and on top of this eastern hill. It seems clear that this surge in building activity corresponded with an increase in military laborers.



**Figure 4.06:** Selected drawings from Dr. Jonathan Troup's diary entry on a rainy morning in February 13 1790 at the Cabrits Garrison. This entry features sketches of animal life as well as individuals from the fort's interracial community, including "[a] Black Dragoon [with] Brown hairy Cap", "[a] negroe going to cut wood with his sword on the Cabrits and bottle covered [with] wood", and a slave girl born at the fort named "Cabritia" shown with "Ear Rings, Necklace of red and white beads, Shirt by [?]" and a [small] tooth Rattle on her breast" (ABD MS 2070). These drawings are particularly revealing of material culture and other ethnographic details useful in this investigation of labor practices in the British Army in the West Indies. Used by permission of the Special Collections and Museums at the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, Scotland.

On February 23, 1790, Troup was paying a keen eye to the work of the day. He describes “15 Negroe women carry the coral lime from the [Hill] to the works. The Driver walks behind.” He deepens this impression of labor with comments on its physical character. “Black Negroes shine in the Sun [the] replication [of] Dark is very great from a Negroe’s body, very little from a white person. These bodies are not half so dry as ones from the absorption of [heat].” More visceral are his comments on February 5, 1790 that “[t]he Negroes carry large burdens of [sand] on their heads and Men and Women with child the same and the last the Driver lashes with his Whipe.” Important to note is Troup’s encounter with “Gregory the Mason” on March 31, 1790 at “Lincoln’s Inn” in Portsmouth. This interaction alludes to the differing social and racial character of the labor force at the fort. Here was a man who recently “left the Works and intends going to Jamaica with his Wife and two children.” But, for the most part, Troup’s observations of the workday at the fort shed light on the role of slavery in Caribbean military life.

Spending most of his time between the separate hospitals for the “Military” and “Negroes”, it is in many of his accounts of patients that Troup not only provides descriptions of the maladies he encounters and the curatives he employs but also identifies important demographic information and the toll of military labor on its most active participants. As doctor for the fort and surrounding plantations, Troup attends to the health of a mixture of Europeans, Creoles and Africans of varying gender and social class. In his report on the Military Hospital for January 18, 1790, a total number of 31 patients are listed and that “the men who came last night were all taken out of jail and offered a pardon of half their punishment if they should enlist in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Royal Regiment”; a clear sign of these soldiers’ lower class backgrounds in Europe. Troup’s interactions with “George the Nurse of the Negroe Hospital” and an “Ante Soffy”, described as “Mr. Laing’s Mulattoe woman”, indicate that a non-European hospital staff was responsible for regularly attending to patients, echoing the social arrangement of the military labor force.

Among the afflictions documented by Troup are a variety of injuries linked to the lifestyle of enslaved laborers. In his diary Troup routinely cites “pains in loins and head from carrying heavy burdens.”

On February 6, 1790, while taking note of the drier weather conditions and a reduction in the sick in the Military Hospital, Troup laments the weight of the burdens carried by laborers on their heads as “[e]nough to kill the strongest animals up hills.” Other entries document “Coughs and Rheumatism with fever prevails amongst the Negroes”, which Troup blames on wet and cold conditions but also more specifically on the huts they inhabited. In his entry for March 5, 1790, Troup states “[t]wo Negroe Boys got sore throats from the Damp office houses having their feet to the wall in night time.” Troup also cares for laborers injured because of violence among one another. On February 13, 1790, Troup describes attending to “a Negroe wench” seriously wounded in the left leg “by a Negroe throwing a faggot of wood.” After describing the surgery Troup notes that “[s]he is a young new Negroe and she bore the sewing without speaking a word. The wood is said to be poisonous.”

By way of these descriptions of health among fort laborers, Troup also illuminates important features of enslaved lifeways. Troup is afforded a unique vantage point to record this type of information. He is engaged in near daily exchanges with the laboring population in the valley. Troup often documents purchasing provisions and other food stuffs from enslaved laborers to supplement his own rations, such as the “13 sea mullets” he purchased from “Hospital George” on February 18, 1790 for “1 shilling.” Another example is described on Feb 9, 1790 when Troup states that he “[g]ot a loan of a Violin from a negroe in the works and I played my self asleep.” While believing that “Negroes are very sensible of their own inferiority to whites”, Troup’s level of interaction and his desire to document what he envisioned as unique happenings touched on several culturally sensitive topics he recognized as significant. In regards to language, Troup documents the response of a laborer who provided him with a horseshoe. “The Negro said, ‘cough cough coff all night my head all open’.” On another occasion, upon seeing a “Negroe with a long beard” and sketching the man’s profile in his diary, Troup states “[n]o scenes in this dire clime appear to aid the Beard’s design.” He was also concerned with suitable housing and food for the enslaved. On January 23, 1790, while breakfasting at the Picard Estate, Troup was asked to examine the slave housing

and provide recommendations. He notes in his daily entry that the “situation of the huts being on a level damp clayish soil some drains are made round the huts and will answer the purpose if they are always clear.” On April 2, 1790, Troup is shocked to discover the poor quality of the biscuits provided to the laborers as a part of their daily rations. “The No. of sick in consequence have since increased and so daily increase in hospital and if more of the same Biscuit be [handed] out the works will be deserted and every Negroe hut become a hospital.”

During the period of his observations, military laborers seem to have been resoundingly hired from surrounding plantations, at times from the property holdings of former British officers. This fact is made apparent through Troup’s descriptions of laborers and his interactions with several prominent planters from around the area. Many times, when describing the injuries of certain laborers Troup will identify the name of the owner. For example, on March 8, 1790, “this morning a block fell on one of Capt. Bruce’s Negroes.” Also, on March 21, 1790 Troup describes receiving word from “Mr. Grubb”, owner of the Ross Castle plantation in the Portsmouth quarter, who was concerned because “he had received a letter from a Gentlemen that he had heard [Scolland] his Negroe was very [sick] when he was never in Hospital.”

The legal connections between slaves and their owners were also reverberated in naming. According to a February 13, 1790 entry, the last names of “Fort Negroes” were based entirely on their masters. Using “Robin Lee” as an example Troup explains that he belongs to “Major Lee” and first names were based “after Men, Gods, and places and things as Hamlet, Bacchus, York, Ball, Manna, Chance...After all these are given them New Proprietors when they work off their Masters plantations.” Perhaps even more revealing of the connection of plantation “property” to military operations is the visit to the fort by the committee overseeing the “colony Negroes.” On March 8, 1790 Troup describes “a committee coming to the fort to take care of the 150 colony Negroes.” This committee included British and French individuals, many with backgrounds in both the military and plantation agriculture. The productivity



and well-being of their capital was on the minds of these men whose power in Dominica society was clear through their high-ranking access to both economic and military matters.

Dr. Troup's own strategic maneuvering between military and plantation spheres of life, between free and enslaved segments of Dominica society, provides an important illustration of the connections between these settings and social categories. But, as demonstrated in this chapter and pursued further in upcoming sections, the doctor provides just one set of eyes amidst wider processes of military labor and community relations.

#### **4.4 Tacking Between Archival and Archaeological Sources: Contributions and Problems**

This chapter has explored the available archival record relating to life at the Cabrits Garrison in part to provide a history of labor in a Caribbean military garrison but to also underscore the presence of power in the production of data accessible to historical archaeology. Documentary sources, like the sample of maps, administrative correspondence and personal narratives described above, are the most useful source of historical data in illuminating how the "conceived space" of military labor was situated, managed and experienced at the site. By way of this archival analysis, it is possible to maneuver between different spheres of governance and interaction while at times being introduced to intimate specifics about the social and cultural life of free and unfree labor. We see the continued presence of enslaved labor in the British military on the island of Dominica and in the Cabrits Garrison, its development into different classes of military personnel in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the way the British administration, local Assemblies, and, to a much less extent, enslaved Africans regarded this strategy in colonial society. These documents have shed light on the material infrastructure of empire and the language of governance, including its realms of operation (empire, Island, fort) and the hierarchy of social categories this system of colonial knowledge depended on in an increasingly interracial society.

In particular, cartographic evidence illustrated the development of colonial Dominica and the Cabrits Garrison, from early maps of the island identifying points through which different forms of labor

would flow through to the regularized settlement plan ordering this community according to military rank around a centrally-located locus of black labor in the valley of the Cabrits. Administrative documents echo the trend in the increasing diversification of labor at this military post by framing this setting as a black garrison where both the quality of life and nature of labor was deemed inappropriate for Europeans. The conceived racial character of this military post was reinforced by not only a harsh environment, where Europeans were believed to suffer disproportionately more from disease and work conditions than African or Caribbean born laborers, but also by the linkage between military and plantation spheres through the employment of enslaved laborers between these locales and the relationships of military elites with surrounding estates. In many ways, the accounts from Europeans visiting or living in Dominica or the Cabrits Garrison describe both the natural and social environment as particularly foreign in this British colony. These personal accounts recount stunning tropical species and mountainous conditions as well as the heavy influence of French culture. In this context, the observed labor system is viewed as natural to maintain order in this unfamiliar setting among groups of foreigners lacking discipline.

Alongside this “conceived space” of British imperialism are important traces of “epistemic anxiety”, primarily owing to conflicts with the natural environment and social instability. To encounter these revealing moments of strain on colonial knowledge, my analysis has relied on perspectives useful in critiquing the role of colonialism in manufacturing an archival record reflecting European inventions (Cooper 1984; Gilroy 1993; Scott 1998; Stoler 2009). This enforced logic system sought to end conflict among unequal groups based on rigidly ordered social categories and spaces, resulting in the flattening of social and cultural spheres. It has been necessary to pull back the layers of this prevailing logic and progressive timeline of occupation generally presented in histories of Caribbean fortifications and replace it with the experiences and contributions of those silenced in contemporary histories. This analytical task requires the critical use of both the documentary and archaeological record. The documentary record is like the archaeological record in its fragmentary and incomplete nature, in its analytical ability to establish important moments of social

and cultural interaction and ideology, as well as in establishing the boundaries and points of departure from routine colonial experience. But unlike archaeology, documentary analysis often takes a top-down perspective, especially in relation to military administration. While local narratives from Europeans on the island during the period were used to triangulate around the dynamic phenomena of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison, the “conceived space” of colonial administrators dominated these lived spaces of labor, reducing the impact of concrete daily activities among laborers in the production of social space at this site and leaving many questions relating to the everyday lives of this laboring community.

In respect to archaeological findings, contrary to the popular belief that these data sources complement and depend on one another for thorough reconstructions of settings in the past, I consider these distinct forms of the material record as a dialectical (Lightfoot 2008: 15). Each of these data forms are considered separately to account not only for the different forces influencing slavery and everyday life at the Cabrits Garrison but also the contradictory and independent nature of historical and archaeological productions. An investigation integrating the approach to archives modeled above along with the archaeological investigation of material and spatial practices is necessary to encounter the different forces impacting daily life and social identities in Caribbean military settings. Archaeological investigations at the Cabrits Garrison have attempted to explore this internal dimension of British colonial society through the examination of residential quarters occupied by the military’s labor force. The next chapter outlines these archaeological contexts and the methodology used in the field and laboratory.

## Chapter 5

# Archaeological Methods and Results from Living Spaces at the Cabrits Garrison

While techniques of excavating military sites do not differ from those employed elsewhere, there are two distinct and important facets peculiar to what might loosely be termed military archaeology. The first of these deal with available research materials, and the second with artifact identification/interpretation (Campbell 1967: 38).

### 5.1 Colonial Fortifications and Domestic Life

Historical archaeologists have been concerned with the investigation of fortifications since the discipline's formal beginnings (see Campbell 1967). These early projects emphasized methodologies integrating specialized knowledge in identifying the range of artifact classes as well as in basic construction methods underlying military fortification strategy. The following chapter outlines a methodology for the archaeological investigation of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison, and more specifically, the exploration of everyday material and spatial behaviors in the living quarters of lower-status European and non-European soldiers and laborers. This research approach lends itself to the wider investigation of the variety and symbolic roles of colonial period military fortifications, which up to now have not received this type of attention by historians and archaeologists (Orser 2002: 228). Military sites are by nature unique in that they create an often ubiquitous and similar material culture, especially in modern industrial warfare. Consequently, data collection and analysis methodologies are required that not only consider important indices for investigation such as material, shape and function, but also the relationship between objects, individuals and time; in other words, context (Saunders 2005). The contextual approach articulated here shifts attention from weighty descriptions of architecture and material refuse by exploring the social relations artifacts are embedded within and placing special emphasis on the activities of individuals and groups in their domestic settings.

Domestic contexts at military sites are particularly significant. Their investigation reveals the complex network of social relations that existed during this period and how these arrangements and their

associated meanings changed through time (Allison 1999). Living spaces at the Cabrits Garrison were impacted by policies and material culture conceived of by various imperial administrators and institutionalized into daily lives (see Chapter Four). Evidence collected from these domestic contexts is also imbued with many instances of individuality or agent-centered practice, including revisions to expected material and spatial practices, which is more closely linked to the concept of “lived space.” As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, the Cabrits Garrison settlement was conceived with defensive strategy and an ideal labor regime in mind, but this structure of life was materialized in various ways at different domestic contexts within this hierarchical community. “Lived space” is a unit of analysis that connects living spaces to social spaces by situating the transformative elements of material culture, including practices and social relations, into the spaces central to domestic life and human experience. In historical archaeology, this contextual approach to space exposes the dynamic relationship between dominating social structures and creative agents materialized in the remains of domestic settings. At colonial fortifications like the Cabrits Garrison, investigations of the “lived spaces” of labor stand to contribute to site interpretations by revealing varying degrees of localized variation that often go unaccounted for during a period in Atlantic history widely considered to be marked by important social and cultural transformation.

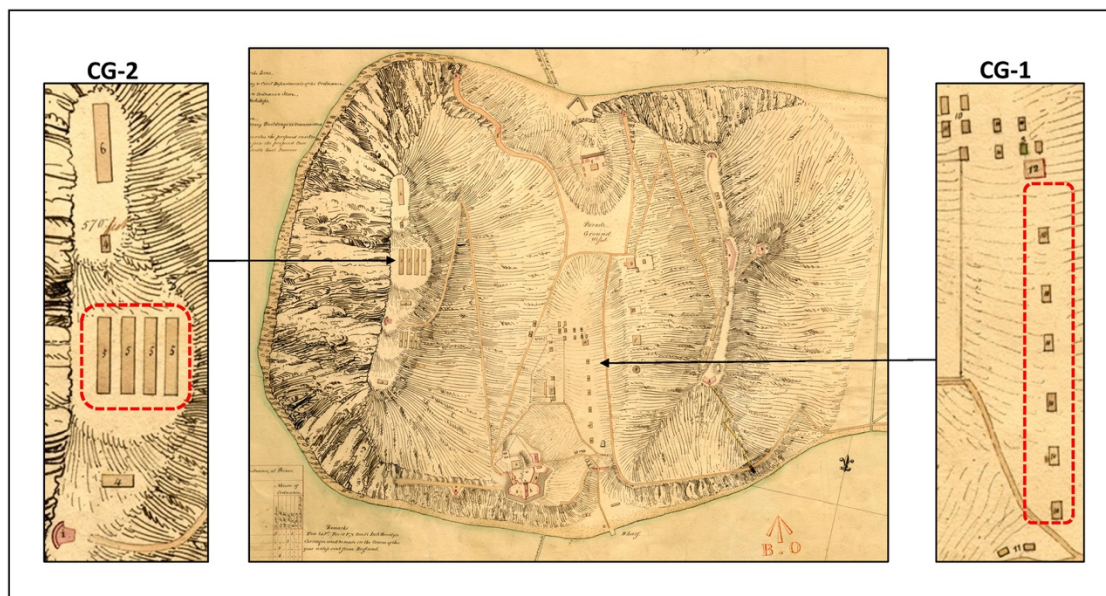
To address questions of difference and relatedness in living spaces structured by war and slavery, it was necessary to conduct 1) archaeological survey, 2) surface collection, 3) archaeological excavations, and 4) laboratory analysis and artifact pattern recognition. Collected data was integrated into the Digital Archaeological Archives of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) to improve the comparative scope and public accessibility of recovered data and results.<sup>36</sup> This methodological structure is organized to expose the

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<sup>36</sup> The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS 2004) is an online database that provides archaeologists with an abundance of information concerning sites in the Chesapeake, Carolinas and Caribbean. The ideal use of this database is to encourage inter-site, comparative archaeological research on slavery. As will be indicated, my fieldwork methods combine contextual approaches to continuity and change applied to Caribbean plantation contexts (Armstrong 1990, 2003) with field methods outlined in the DAACS Caribbean Initiative Field Procedures Manual (DAACS 2011). My lab analysis methods are strongly tied to the procedures used by DAACS research projects (all analysis manuals can be downloaded from the DAACS website). This has been done to ensure that archaeological data collected at the Cabrits Garrison is easily transferrable into the DAACS database.

material and spatial conditions of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison. In particular, it considers the important role material culture—household items, trade goods and foodways—and spatial relationships between architecture and artifacts played in the creation, contestation and reification of social categories characterizing colonial and military identities.

## 5.2 Site Overview



**Figure 5.01:** Site map created by the author from a 1799 map of the Cabrits Garrison (TNA MPH 1/18) providing a close-up of the primary study areas: the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). Used by permission of the National Archives, Kew, U.K.

The archaeological sites surveyed and excavated between 2007 and 2011 are located within the Cabrits Garrison, a 200-acre complex on a hilly peninsula along the northwestern coast of the Commonwealth of Dominica (see section 3.1 in Chapter Three for further description, maps and images). The Cabrits Garrison overlooks Prince Rupert's Bay, a natural seaport located near the town of Portsmouth and the best access to sea on the island. Portsmouth is the former capital of Dominica and is currently the second largest town on the island. Its primary economic resources are The Ross University School of Medicine and the Saturday Morning Market where local Dominicans gather to buy and sell local produce, fresh fish and a range of other commodities (Honychurch 2013). The Cabrits headlands are also home to a dry tropical forest and many native fauna and flora species (James 2004). This natural and cultural area is

currently managed as the Cabrits National Park by the Dominican Department of Forestry, Wildlife and Parks.

As described in section 3.1 of Chapter Three, the Commonwealth of Dominica has nine potentially active volcanoes (Lindsay et al. 2005). The volcanic nature of the Cabrits headlands has resulted in a stratigraphy characterized by deep to shallow clay soils covering parent volcanic material with “little clear differentiation of horizons in the majority of profiles” (Lang 1967: 20). Most of the soils in Dominica result from weathering and erosion of volcanic rocks. Excavations in the valley, the lowest portion of the Cabrits Garrison, have documented volcanic bedrock at depths ranging between 6 cm and 1 meter below the ground surface. The historic architectural remains and artifacts collected between 2008 and 2010 are in alluvial deposits ranging from the surface to no more than 1 meter in depth. Various forms of surface and subsurface disturbances have affected the preservation of archaeological contexts.

### 5.2.1 Sources of Disturbance

Erosion, hurricane events and a variety of post-abandonment human practices are the primary sources of disturbance to the integrity of subsurface deposits at archaeological sites at the Cabrits Garrison. In regards to human activities, since its abandonment by the British military in 1854, portions of the Cabrits Garrison were periodically converted into hospitals or quarantine facilities (see Clyde 1980 for a discussion of the history of healthcare in Dominica). Certain buildings, such as the recently reconstructed soldiers' barracks in the Fort Shirley battery, demonstrated building additions made after the military abandonment to house the invalid. There is no evidence for this level of disturbance at the sites investigated in this study. There has been a long history of looting the site by tourists and local Dominicans. During my period of research, I was asked numerous times by tourists visiting the archaeological site if they could “have” something to take with them. I also observed the integration of ordnance and historic bricks acquired from the Cabrits Garrison into the staircase of a local Dominican living a few miles from the fort. In addition, during the ten months I spent living and working at the site I met several residents who were

knowledgeable about former uses of areas in the Cabrits. During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, areas including the valley and Outer Cabrits were described as having been sporadically cultivated and used as grazing ground for livestock. In general, most accounts describe the Cabrits as being totally overtaken by the natural dry forest. On a few occasions, I was treated to local tales of a “King snake” living in the heights of the Cabrits hills who wore a “gold crown” and had “gleaming eyes.”

The primary forms of disturbance affecting the archaeological record at sites under investigation are natural. Widespread growth of trees and other vegetation has caused varying levels of destruction to once secure mortared walls. Erosion and flooding events appear to be most localized in the valley of the Cabrits. This low-lying stretch of land is prone to flooding during the wet season, typically between June and November, causing the erosion of soils from the above slope and movement of archaeological materials. Land crabs (*Gracilaria ruficollis*) inhabiting the Cabrits cause additional disturbance to subsurface contexts through bioturbation processes. Excavations sometimes came across “crab parts” in archaeological contexts, including pincers and gastroliths, which are most likely associated with disturbance than with evidence of meals. Finally, hurricane events have disrupted architectural and archaeological resources at the site. An apparent sign of this disruption is the distribution of roofing tiles across much of the Cabrits Garrison, especially in the valley where the laborer village (CG-1) is situated. It is unclear whether this distribution reflects the wide spread use of this roofing style or if hurricane events, which on average affect the island every three years, resulted in the wide dispersal of this artifact type along with others. Archaeological testing has attempted to consider the variety of forces disturbing subsoil deposits. This identification is necessary to justify the integrity and relevance of archaeological data to the goals of this investigation. Even though excavations revealed certain instances of disturbance, a remarkably small amount of modern materials were mixed in with colonial period artifacts, making the reconstruction of site stratigraphy possible.



### 5.2.2 Site Selection

Two study areas within the Cabrits Carrison complex were targeted for subsurface testing: the “laborer village” located in the valley between the Outer and Inner Cabrits (CG-1) and the soldiers’ barracks located in the northwest of the Outer Cabrits (CG-2) (Figure 5.01). These sites were initially identified using one of the plans of the fort completed in 1799 (TNA MPH 1/18) (Figure 4.03), but are represented on other maps in varying arrangements (see section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four for discussion on maps and changing settlement patterns). Other archival materials reinforced the appropriateness of these study areas through reference to the presence of enslaved laborers or soldiers in these locales. Site selection was also informed by the presence of representative and reliable archaeological data and the level of observed stratigraphic disturbance. For instance, the substantial amount of artifactual evidence distributed across the surface of the laborer village (CG-1), while possibly related to disturbance events, more than likely represents an area where a variety of social interactions and everyday practices were concentrated. This source of data is believed to be central in the expression of group identity and the development of social strategies. In regards to the Outer Cabrits, the soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) were developed on one of the highest points of the Cabrits headlands and are conveniently located in a portion of the National Park inaccessible to tourists. In addition, the settlement on the Outer Cabrits was developed in the 1790s, later than the settlements on top of the Inner Cabrits, and was far more substantial, including four soldiers’ barracks as opposed to the three illustrated in the Inner Cabrits on the 1799 plan of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (Figure 4.03). The Outer Cabrits presents an opportunity to excavate soldiers’ barracks with a shorter occupation history and a higher likelihood of dealing with materials associated with the West India Regiments.

The two study areas under investigation were each characterized by distinct occupation histories and practices, requiring systematic excavations to clarify the nature of these settlements. It is important to note that the excavation strategies utilized for this investigation were adapted according to the features

encountered at each site as well as the time and resources available. A greater emphasis was placed on the investigation of the laborer village (CG-1) not only because of the area's close association with different forms of military labor throughout the occupation of the fort, but also because of the concentration of surface deposits and the inability to map the household architecture from surface impressions. This research emphasis is reflected in the use of open area excavations at two structures in CG-1 as opposed to the small-unit sampling strategy in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). More importantly, this emphasis is in line with my concentration on military labor as opposed to a more narrowly conceived and less archaeologically visible focus on the lives of enslaved soldiers serving in the West India Regiments.

### **5.3 Field Methodology and Data Collection**

This phase of investigation involves a series of archaeological methods necessary for thorough data reconnaissance and recovery. The methodological approach outlined here moves from non-invasive to invasive techniques to best preserve site integrity. I began by surveying areas of archaeological significance at the fort. Next, I used noninvasive surface collections to document material patterns and features present on the surface and the spatial boundaries of sites under investigation. Archaeological excavation techniques were then employed to further investigate surface and subsurface anomalies through small-unit testing and open area excavations. As already mentioned, open area excavations were limited to two domestic contexts within the laborer village (CG-1). Archaeological investigations concluded with material and spatial analysis. Local Dominicans and DAACS technicians aided with each step of the investigation process.

#### 5.3.1 Archaeological Survey

Surveying involves the collection of archaeological data for locating sites or spatial distributions of human activities. As described by Brian Molyneaux, "a survey is an indeterminate, culturally relative activity designed to seek traces of many other indeterminate, culturally relative activities" (Molyneaux 2005: 108). This initial phase of investigation involved the creation of small-scale site perspectives for each study area

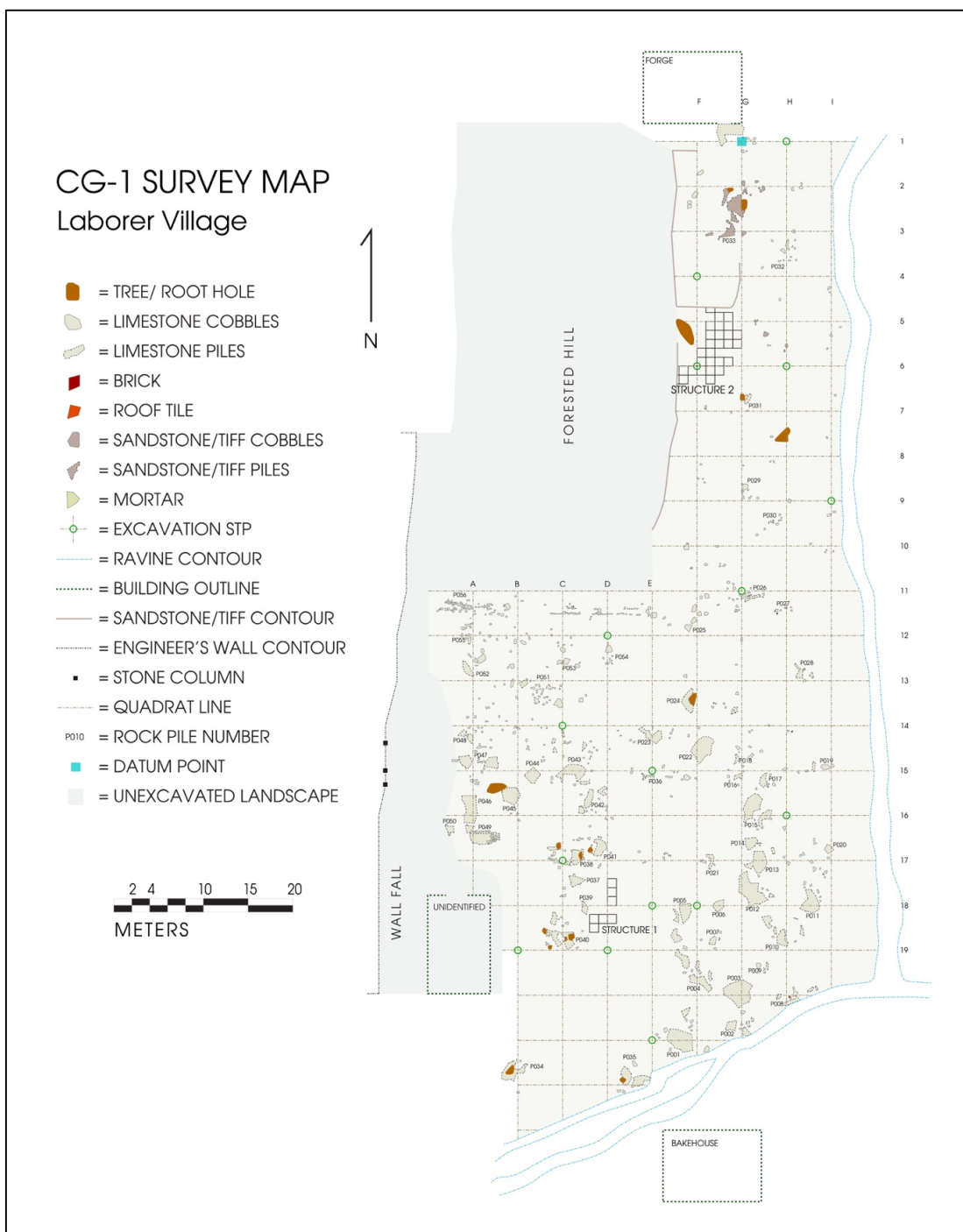
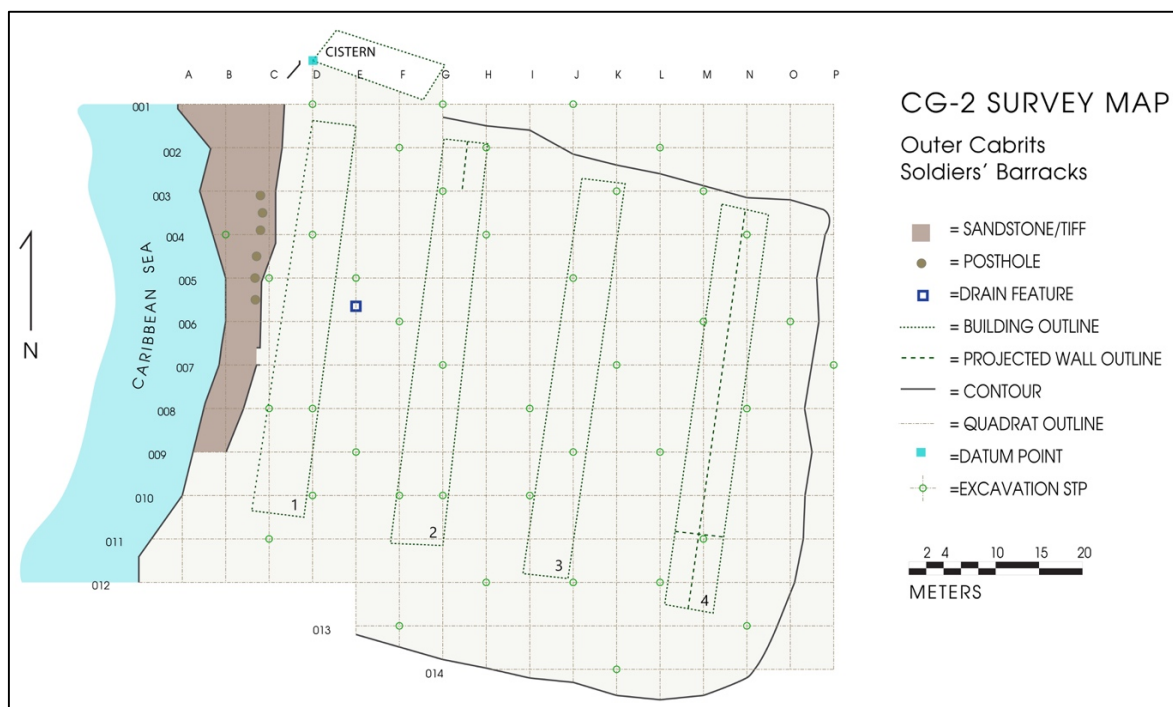


Figure 5.02: Survey map of the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1). Image created by Zachary Beier and Shannon Baum.

that aided in controlled archaeological testing and excavations at the Cabrits Garrison. Small-scale surveys are ideal for understanding specific behaviors in a particular place over time (Molyneaux 2005).

Unfortunately, remote sensing techniques described in Parrington (1983) are difficult to implement at this site. Aerial photographs of the Cabrits headlands are unhelpful because of the extreme forest coverage and resistivity surveys are complicated by the magnetic disturbances resulting from the site's volcanic history. My surveying approach concentrated on identifying settlement patterns (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000) and the intentional organization of space (Singleton 2001, 2015) by mapping architectural foundations, their associated features, and other areas of cultural activity through non-invasive techniques.

Survey work began in CG-1 in 2007. First, a datum was established two meters south of the southeast corner of the forge listed on the 1799 plan of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (Figure 4.03). A five-meter interval grid was set up over an area measuring approximately 115 meters x 50 meters using a compass, measuring tapes and magnetic north. This survey area was suspected to include at least six of the structures indicated on the previously mentioned map. This initial survey resulted in a preliminary map of the study area necessary for further archaeological testing. This map was significantly added to during the 2008, 2010 and 2011 field seasons (Figure 5.02). Specific care was taken to identify and map any extant building foundations, walk ways, piles of stones, or other collections of debris that would aid in the interpretation of landscape practices. Further survey and GIS work is necessary to aid in the interpretation of the topography in CG-1. Individual maps were also created for each structure in the valley that was investigated archaeologically (see sections 5.5.1.a and 5.5.1.b).



**Figure 5.03:** Survey map of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks. Image created by Zachary Beier and Shannon Baum.

A survey map for the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) was started in 2008 (Figure 5.03). The site datum point was established directly on the southwest corner of the cistern located in the northwest portion of the site near the four barrack structures. Like the CG-1 survey, a five-meter grid was set over an area measuring approximately 80 meters x 70 meters using a compass, measuring tapes and magnetic north. Unfortunately, this survey lacks the same precision as the one undertaken in CG-1. Large unit excavations were not undertaken in CG-2, which prevented completion of detailed maps for each structure. The completed survey map imparts the overall settlement plan for soldiers stationed in this area and includes all extant building foundations, architectural features and site boundaries.

### 5.3.2 Surface Collection

During this phase of archaeological reconnaissance, surface materials were collected to aid in dating the site and guiding the placement of excavation units (Binford 1964; Lewarch and O'Brien 1981). It has been argued that surface deposits are representative of subsurface deposits (Redman and Watson

1970: 279). Such inferences require sampling within a defined grid where the provenience of artifacts is recorded. As outlined in the previous section, five-meter grids were established in both the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). During this survey work, the locations of significant clusters of above ground features and artifacts were mapped within the site grid for each study area based on a non-probabilistic sampling strategy. It is important to note that while intensive surface collections can work, they can also provide ambiguous results because of the impact of formation process on archaeological sites (Flannery 1976; Schiffer 2002). For example, portions of the surface collections from CG-1 might be more strongly correlated with erosion from the slope to the west of the site than with past human occupation. In addition, surface collections are also only representative of a two-dimensional plane (Lightfoot 1989: 415). Thus, we must be careful assuming surface collections will reflect the range of cultural materials found below the surface.

With this in mind, systematic artifact collection was not conducted during this phase of the investigation and no surface density maps were created. Rather, emphasis was placed on determining the spatial boundaries of study areas and identifying the location of material deposits and features. Examples of evidence documented during surface collection at CG-1 and CG-2 include: cut stone foundations for buildings and other settlement features (i.e. cisterns), piles of stone and various architectural materials (i.e. ceramic bricks and tile), and concentrations of domestic artifacts (i.e. ceramics and glass bottles) associated with subtle changes in topography (i.e. "structure 2" housing platform). Invasive subsurface techniques are necessary to test for the total assemblage of cultural materials within three-dimensional space.

### 5.3.3 Archaeological Excavations

Excavations were the principal means by which data relating to everyday practice among military laborers at the Cabrit Garrison were acquired. Attention was paid to both vertical and horizontal dimensions to account for activities through time and across space. This approach to archaeological excavations

involves two phases of research: 1) subsurface testing and 2) area excavation, ensuring the collection of distributional and situational data necessary for interpretations at regional and household scales.

Archaeological excavations were guided by a non-probabilistic sampling strategy as the locations of the sites under investigation are documented in the historical record and/or they are visible on the landscape.

Artifact forms for each phase of excavation were adapted from those used by other DAACS researchers to ensure the easy transfer of archaeological data into this database. The intensive phases of excavation required the assistance of at least three to four people, which, for the most part, comprised local Dominicans. At each stage of archaeological research, photographs were taken and profile and plan drawings were made for each unit when suitable.

#### 5.3.3.a Subsurface Testing

This phase of excavation involves small-unit testing intended to discover sites, establish site boundaries and obtain information about the nature of the site (i.e. stratigraphy, depth of deposits, density of midden constituents and presence of features) (Glassow 2005). Early shovel testing at CG-1 revealed little differentiation in natural soil stratigraphy. This is a finding supported by geological analysis of the Cabrits headlands (Lang 1967). To ensure systematic testing all units were excavated by 10 cm levels in areas where natural levels could not be determined. Artifacts from the same context were bagged together and assigned an individual "context identification number" (Aultman and Sawyer 2014). Each context was assigned a consecutive number based upon depositional order. New contexts were also assigned when differences in soil composition, color, density and artifact content were observed. Within this system features such as walls, post holes, ash deposits, middens, etc. were considered contexts. Further testing was halted once features were encountered to better understand the nature of the deposit through area excavation. All excavated materials were dry screened using  $\frac{1}{4}$  mesh screen. In areas deemed more sensitive, such as the earthen kitchen feature near "structure 2" in CG-1 (F009),  $\frac{1}{8}$  mesh screen was used.

Different subsurface testing strategies were carried out at the two sites under investigation. At CG-1, small-unit testing was combined with open area excavations throughout the course of fieldwork. Shovel testing began in 2008 along with the preliminary survey. A total of 16 STPs measuring 33 cm<sup>37</sup> in diameter were completed throughout the study area (refer to Figure 5.02 for a survey map of CG-1 that identifies the locations of STPs). Each STP was assigned a number. A total of 82 context numbers were handed out in the 2008 field season. These excavations collected 465 artifacts (3,899.4 g) and provided preliminary information on stratigraphy, including the presence of a volcanic bedrock layer throughout much of the site. Most importantly, this testing aided the placement of excavation units (1-meter by 1-meter) in 2010 around loci with extant architecture and high concentrations of artifacts, believed to be housing sites. These initial units were placed in two separate locations based on observations of features encountered earlier, including an area marked by piles of stones and another by a raised platform. This initial testing revealed evidence of a settlement corresponding with periods of enslaved labor at the fort and enabled effective open area excavations to proceed. These two housing sites within CG-1 are referred to as “structure 1” and “structure 2” throughout the rest of this investigation.

At CG-2, a series of well-preserved architectural foundations were visible on the surface of the site corresponding to four structures, like the 1799 map of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (Figure 4.03). With this surface arrangement in mind, as well as the research reality of limited time and resources, a systematic shovel test survey was carried out across the entire study area as opposed to more intensive open area excavations of specific locations. While shovel testing strategies are useful for indicating architectural remains and significant materials, they are not considered to expose areas large enough to define and sample clusters of cultural features (Binford 1964; Lenik 2010). The size of each pit was raised to 50 cm

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<sup>37</sup> Shovel tests were excavated at these dimensions because the high frequency of stones and roots makes it difficult to maintain a square shape. This small size also sped up this initial phase of archaeological investigations. As will be described, small-unit testing in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) used 50-centimeter square dimensions to increase visibility in a site where open area excavations were not taking place.



squares to increase the coverage of these test units and allow effective documentation of subsurface deposits (i.e. profile drawings), but subsurface visibility was still sacrificed for the sake of sampling the entire settlement area. A 20% sample of the area was taken, resulting in 41 STPs (see Figure 5.03 for a survey map that identifies the locations of these test units). A total of 126 context numbers were handed out. Following the strategy utilized by Stanley South (2002) in his investigations of artifact patterning in 18<sup>th</sup> century North Carolina, these test units were placed within and outside of the walls to check for floor surfaces and associated trash deposits. Shovel testing has two purposes in this investigation of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). First, collected subsurface data allow artifact density distributions to be plotted that indicate the presence of significant features across a wide area, which are necessary in comparisons between and within barrack structures. Second, detailed maps of subsurface stratigraphy across the site inform the future placement of excavation units and improve understanding of site formation processes (Schiffer 2002). Excavations at CG-2 identified 4 distinct natural stratigraphic layers and collected 2,138 artifacts (6,658 g). Subsurface architectural remains, midden deposits and other features were documented with the idea of expanding test units in the future to trace the concentration and distribution of these features. A more thorough discussion of the results from this shovel test survey is provided in section 5.5.2 of this chapter. Substantial opportunities exist for continued archaeological investigations at the Outer Cabrits.

#### 5.3.3.b Area Excavation

This final phase of archaeological investigations resulted in the largest collection of domestic or household deposits, which reveal information related to everyday practice, social interactions and specific social boundaries. These include deposits associated with past cultural practices such as trash middens, structural remains and floor surfaces, and other activity areas. It is only through open area excavations that the spatial relationships between artifacts, nonartifactual material, architecture, and other features associated with the ground matrix, can be most properly perceived (Watson, LeBlanc and Redman 1971:

116). Architectural features may be quite difficult to recognize if the features of the architectural deposit are like the soil deposits surrounding it. For example, the construction of many of the structures in CG-1 are more ephemeral than other stone, brick and mortar structures associated with the Ordnance department. For features to be properly identified they had to be bisected by area excavations, which allowed differences in deposits to be seen in profile (Glassow 2005: 152). When area excavations were deemed necessary multiple one-meter by one-meter square units were opened next to one another and each level was excavated simultaneously using trowels, shovels and hand tools. This technique exposed a larger window into the subsurface with the idea of tracing the distribution of architectural and midden deposits, as well as providing a greater ability to distinguish between objects placed on floor surfaces, the subfloor, or within roof and wall rubble. The northwest corner of each area excavation unit was maintained. This balk served to separate contiguous units and was used to preserve sections of intact stratigraphy (DAACS 2011). Like test excavations, area excavations were conducted within a context-controlled system using natural and cultural stratigraphy. When the latter could not be determined, excavations relied on arbitrary levels (10 cm intervals). In addition, if a natural level was deeper than 10 cm it was split into 10 cm arbitrary levels. Excavation units were extended at least 15 cm into the sub- or sterile soil when possible to ensure that the base of the archaeological deposits had been reached. A total of 108 context numbers were handed out for area excavations in the 2010 field season. Specific attention was paid to separating discrete contexts, such as inside versus outside of walls or post-holes. Plan views and sidewall profiles were drawn, and digital photographs were taken when appropriate. All field documentation was recorded in the author's notebook and on paper forms designed according to DAACS protocol.



**Figure 5.04:** “Structure 1” looking south over the north wall (Photo by Z. Beier).

34 excavation units in 2010 identified evidence for two structures in the laborer village (CG-1). A total of 10,804 artifacts (68,962.4 g) were recovered during this phase of investigation. The first five units (001-005) located remains of the northwestern portion of a stone wall, referred to as “structure 1” (Figure 5.04). Two units (033-034) were added later to better expose the area outside the northern wall of the structure. Excavations at “structure 1” revealed 5 distinct stratigraphic layers and 4,074 artifacts (19,065.6 g) were collected. Excavation efforts shifted from this area to identify other housing forms.

The remaining 27 units (006-032) excavated in 2010 identified a natural volcanic tuff platform with evidence of architectural modifications, referred to as “structure 2” (Figure 5.05). During the 2008 shovel test survey a raised platform was identified near a volcanic tuff ridge with noticeable wear marks on it (earthen kitchen, chisel marks). Excavations resulted in the recovery of a substantial number of artifacts and the discovery of many architectural features, including post-holes, a trench and an earthen kitchen. Excavations revealed 4 distinct stratigraphic layers. 6,730 artifacts (49,896.8 g) were recovered. A total of 21 features were identified, mainly relating to architecture.



**Figure 5.05:** Looking south over “Structure 2” (Photo by Z. Beier).

#### 5.3.4 Site Topography

A total of 57 STPs and 34 open area excavation units completed in 2008 and 2010 yielded important topographic and stratigraphic information for sites under investigation at Cabrits Garrison. CG-1 and CG-2 are situated in very different locations but do not present drastically different stratigraphic sequences. In all, five distinct stratigraphic groups were documented during excavations. These include a layer of topsoil atop two to three depositional layers that date between the 18<sup>th</sup> and mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Despite a history of disturbance there are still intact deposits relating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in many locations throughout the fort complex.



**Figure 5.06:** A view of the southern portion of Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (Photo by Z. Beier).

Both study areas investigated archaeologically are situated on relatively flat surfaces, albeit in very different parts of the Cabrits Garrison complex. The two households excavated in the valley (CG-1) are at a low elevation, sitting approximately 150 feet above sea level, while the barracks complex (CG-2) looks over the valley at around 630 feet above the sea. Each of the study areas appear to have been modified by human activity, either through leveling the ground to create a flat living surface or through the construction of raised platforms. The depth of stratigraphy varies between and within these study areas as a result of elevation differences and the presence or absence of the hard volcanic bedrock layer underlying the majority of the site. Structures identified in CG-1 are located along a level surface, punctuated by raised housing platforms (Figure 5.06). This area is bordered to the east by a seasonal ravine and to the west by wall fall associated with the ruins of the Engineer's yard in the southern portion of the site and forest in the north. A steep slope, marking the greatest change in elevation in this laborer village (CG-1), characterizes

this western boundary (Figure 5.07). This gradient likely contributes the most amount of eroded soils and artifacts into the lower situated housing area.



**Figure 5.07:** The slope characterizing the western boundary of CG-1 (Photo by Z. Beier)

At CG-2, a volcanic tuff ridge with apparent signs of surface modification (i.e. post holes, cut marks) overlooks a sheer drop off into the Caribbean Sea to the west and the four barrack structures to the east. This feature establishes the western boundary of the site and the highest point of elevation. There is a noticeable downward slope from east to west moving across the settled portion of this area. The pitch of this slope increases between each soldiers' barrack because of the construction of stone foundation housing platforms (Figure 5.08). A steep slope surrounds the flat surface in the northern, eastern and southern portion of the site. Further evidence for site topography can be seen in the examination of the strata encountered during excavations.



**Figure 5.08:** A view of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) looking east from the western boundary of the site (Photo by Z. Beier).

### 5.3.5 Strata Recorded at the Cabrits Garrison

A total of 5 distinct strata were identified during excavations in the valley of the Cabrits (CG-1) and on top of the Outer Cabrits (CG-2). Most of the stratigraphic information pertains to the valley of the Cabrits (CG-1) since this is where most excavations took place and where subsurface visibility was the greatest. Shovel testing in the Outer Cabrits did not provide as high degree of subsurface visibility but a profile illustration was drawn for each test pit, allowing the systematic creation of stratigraphic groups across this study area. Artifact analysis (i.e. MCD) revealed archaeological deposits dated consistently across these sites between the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with little discernable change through time observable stratigraphically. No single stratum can be confidently identified as corresponding to the occupation of a specific social group during a particular time at the Cabrits Garrison (i.e. enslaved laborer stratum versus free laborer stratum). The following section provides an outline

describing the strata cataloged during excavations in CG-1 and CG-2, including a summary of the stratigraphic groups associated with each of the excavated structures and activity areas.

**Stratum I** [topsoil]. The topsoil includes a high concentration of grass, root mass and weathered pebbles (15%). As mentioned earlier, the valley of the Cabrits is one of the lowest and wettest portions of the entire complex. Thus, much of the natural and cultural inclusions in this layer are believed to be a product of erosion. A thicker layer of sand and loam was encountered in test excavations in the Outer Cabrits Soldiers' Barracks (CG-2) and around "structure 1" in the southern portion of the valley. In some of the tested contexts in CG-2, this stratum characterized most of the excavated soils. In all cases, this layer of sand and loam was easily stripped away using shovels and trowels and all materials were collected and recorded. A strikingly low amount of modern garbage was recovered. The recorded Munsell soil color for Stratum I varied between 7.5 yr 3/1 (very dark gray), 7.5 yr 3/2 (dark brown), 7.5 yr 4/2 (brown).

**Stratum II** [clay loam]. This layer is a clay loam with a higher concentration of yellowish weathered pebbles and cobbles (25-50%). It is dark grayish brown in color, ranging between 10 yr 3/2 and 10 yr 4/2. This stratum was observed in all the excavation units in structures 1 and 2 of CG-1. It was also documented in several of the test excavations in CG-2. In general, this layer is mixed with architectural debris, including foundation stones and a variety of colonial period artifacts. No modern debris is found to be associated with this layer.

**Stratum III** [clay loam]. This stratigraphic layer is only observed in excavation units inside of "structure 1" of CG-1. It is found in units 1, 4 and 34. It appears to be a layer unique to the interior of this structure and may correspond with the bottom of the external walls, which extend around 40 cm below the ground surface. It consists of a dark brown (7.5 yr 3/2) clay loam with a high concentration of red and orange (5 yr 4/4) weathered volcanic pebbles and cobbles.

**Stratum IV** [volcanic tuff]. This hard volcanic layer is visible in many excavation contexts investigated in CG-1 and CG-2. It is documented in test units located inside Soldiers' barracks and on the



slopes separating these structures in the Outer Cabrits (CG-2). It is also observed in almost all the excavation units in “structure 2” and is visible at the bottom of Unit 4 in “structure 1.” It is most often observed as light brownish gray in color (10 yr 6/2). Different types of modifications or wear patterns are observed on this natural layer. These marks are evidence for the use of this layer to assist in building construction at the Cabrits Garrison.

**Stratum V** [pure clay]. This is a layer of pure clay with relatively little mottling of soils. It is observed in varying degrees throughout the excavated contexts at the Cabrits Garrison. It is observed primarily at the bottom of excavation units in and around “structure 1” of CG-1. It is also documented inside some of the post-hole features excavated in “structure 2” of CG-1. This layer is less frequently encountered during shovel testing of CG-2, but when it is, it consists of a thin layer of clay immediately above the volcanic tuff bedrock.

#### 5.3.5.a Strata at “Structure 1” of CG-1

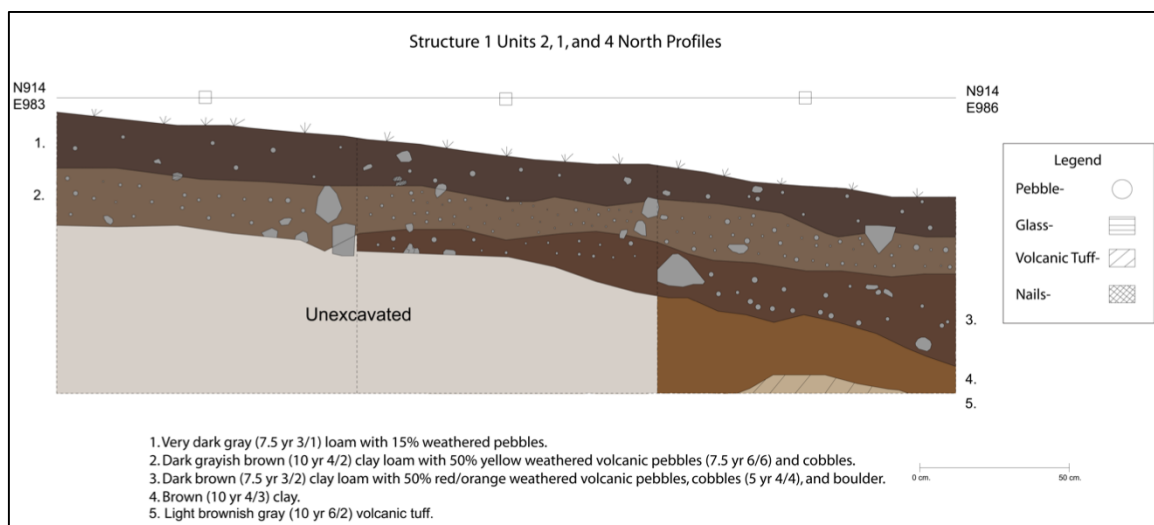
(1) Very dark gray (7.5 yr 3/1) loam with 15% weathered pebbles. This topsoil layer is approximately 10 to 20 cm thick. (2) Dark grayish brown (10 yr 4/2) clay loam with 50% yellow (7.5 yr 6/6) weathered pebbles and cobbles. This layer is approximately 20 to 30 cm thick. (3) Dark brown (7.5 yr 3/2) clay loam with 50% orange and red (5 yr 4/4) weathered pebbles, cobbles and boulders. This layer is only found inside of “structure 1.” It is approximately 20-30 cm thick. (4) Brown (10 yr 4/3) clay. The thickness of this layer is documented at approximately 15 cm based off excavations at Unit 4 (N914/E985). (5) Volcanic bedrock (10 yr 6/2). This bedrock layer is documented in excavations at Unit 4 (see Figure 5.18 for “structure 1” plan map).



Figure 5.09: Natural stratigraphy identified in Unit 4 of "structure 1" in CG-1.

At Unit 4 (N914/E985), located inside near the center of the structure, excavations went down to approximately 76 cm, providing the deepest context for investigations at CG-1. The associated profile drawings provide a clear look at natural deposits and their relationship with any diagnostic materials collected during excavations (Figures 5.09, 5.10). A layer of dark gray (7.5 yr 3/1) loam with 15% weathered pebble intrusions forms the topsoil. This layer is between 10 to 14 cm thick. The second stratum illustrated on the profile drawing is a dark grayish brown (10 yr 4/2) clay loam with a higher concentration of yellow (7.5 yr 6/6) weathered pebble and cobble inclusions. It is between 12 to 16 cm thick. A British coin was recovered at the bottom of this level in the southeast corner of the unit. It dates to 1834 and is decorated with a bust of William IV. The third stratum is associated with the interior of "structure 1" as it was not documented outside the building or elsewhere throughout the site. It is a dark brown (7.5 yr 3/1) clay loam with 50% red and orange weathered volcanic pebbles, cobbles and boulder. This layer is between 16 and 30 cm thick and its depth coincides with the bottom of the north wall documented in unit 33 (N917/E985) excavations. The fourth stratum is a thick layer of undifferentiated brown (10 yr 4/3) clay. It is between 12 and 32 cm thick. Charcoal samples were collected from this layer but no other artifacts were

found. The fifth stratum characterized by the hard volcanic bedrock underlying much of the laborer village (CG-1) is present at approximately 70 cm below the ground surface in this locus.

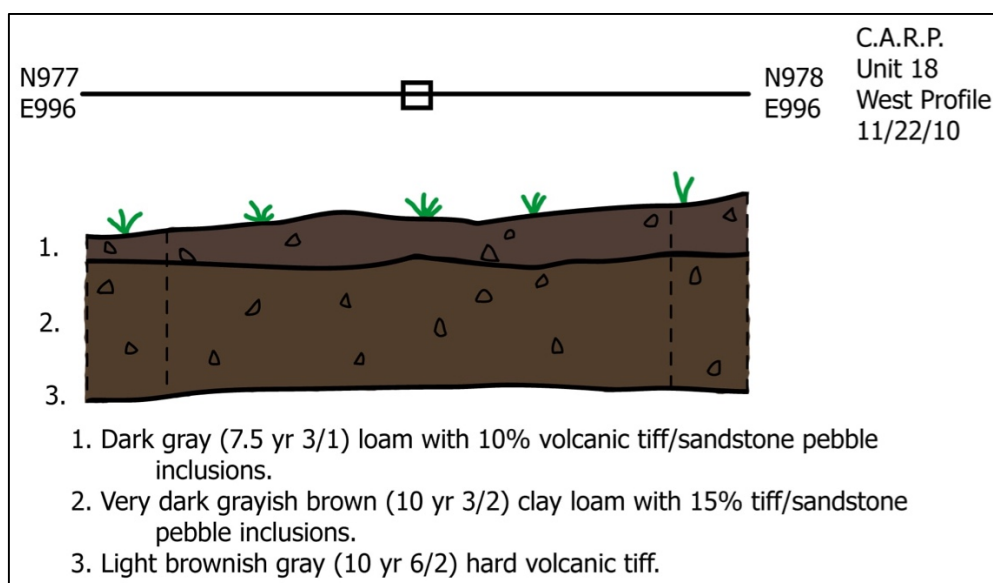


**Figure 5.10:** Stratigraphic sequence for the northern profiles of units 2, 1 and 4 at “structure 1” in CG-1 (Image created by Zachary Beier and Josh Piercy).

### 5.3.5.b Strata at “Structure 2” of CG-1

In general, shallower deposits were encountered because of the predominance of volcanic tuff platform in the area encompassing “structure 2, which in some cases was visible on the ground surface (see Figure 5.20 for “structure 2” plan map). Most of the time, a topsoil layer was discernable across the locus. (1) Dark gray (7.5 yr 3/1) loam to sandy loam with 10% weathered pebbles and roots. When present, the thickness of this stratum ranged between 4 and 10 cm. In some units, including units 31 (N976/E995) and 32 (N977/E995), this topsoil layer was not documented, possibly as a result of erosion. (2) Very dark grayish brown (10 yr 3/2) clay loam with 15% stone and volcanic tuff pebble inclusions. This natural stratum was observed in most units around “structure 2.” It is approximately 10 to 30 cm thick. Below this layer, many excavation units encountered an impenetrable volcanic bedrock layer. (3) This layer is characterized by a light brownish gray (10 yr 6/2) packed volcanic tuff platform. In some units, including those with

architectural features extending below the bedrock, a layer of clay was identified. (4) Brown (10 yr 4/3) clay with 15% volcanic pebble and charcoal inclusions.



**Figure 5.11:** Natural stratigraphy identified in Unit 18 of “structure 2” in CG-1 (Image created by Zachary Beier and Josh Piercy).

The profile drawing of Unit 18 (N978/E996) demonstrates the nature of stratigraphy characterizing this locus (Figure 5.11). This unit is a relatively deep context compared to others in and around “structure 1.” It measures approximately 29 cm in depth. The west portion of this unit is associated with the trench feature (F021) described in later sections. Like most excavated units, a layer of dark gray (7.5 yr 3/1) loam with stone and volcanic pebble intrusions forms the topsoil. This layer is approximately 8 cm thick. The second stratum illustrated on the profile drawing is a very dark grayish brown (10 yr 3/2) clay loam with a higher concentration of volcanic pebble inclusions. This layer is associated with a variety of 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century materials. This layer is approximately 20 cm thick. It covers the third stratum, a light brownish gray (10 yr 6/2) hard volcanic bedrock.

### 5.3.5.c Strata at CG-2

Shovel test pits provided stratigraphic information for this study area (see Figure 5.03 for CG-2 survey map). (1) Very dark gray (7.5 yr 3/1) to very dark gray brown (10yr 3/2) loam to sandy loam with

15% weathered pebbles. Thicknesses of this layer range between 6 and 60 cm. In some test units, this layer constituted much of the excavated soils, such as C-005. (2) Dark grayish brown (10 yr 4/2) clay loam with 25%-50% yellow (7.5 yr 6/6) weathered pebbles and cobbles. This layer is less frequently observed in CG-2 than in CG-1. When encountered, this layer is approximately 10 to 20 cm thick. (3) In a few contexts, including F-010, a thin layer of brown (10 yr 4/3) clay was encountered on top of bedrock or was mixed in with the preceding clay loam layer. (4) The subsoil layer is characterized by light brownish gray (10 yr 6/2) volcanic tuff bedrock, which was identified at varying depths throughout the site.

#### 5.3.5.d Summary

Excavations revealed intact stratigraphy at the study areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison despite the acknowledged sources of disturbance. While materials from Stratum I are considered in this analysis, artifacts of primary concern come from Strata II and III, which suggest a late 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation. In certain areas, primarily “structure 2” of CG-1 and sloped areas in CG-2, these strata were located on top of hard volcanic tuff bedrock characterizing Stratum IV. Archaeological findings are reviewed in section 5.5 of this chapter and more thoroughly considered in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Moreover, excavations recovered various domestic artifacts, architectural remains and features, which enable the reconstruction of “lived space” in this 18<sup>th</sup> century British military garrison in the Caribbean.

## **5.4 Laboratory Analysis and Artifact Pattern Recognition**

All the artifact analysis was completed in either Dominica or the Department of Archaeology at Monticello, VA. The initial stage of analysis was done in Dominica and involved washing, sorting and placing artifacts in labeled bags with paper tags. More than 150 pounds of artifacts were transported to the USA and returned to Dominica following the completion of more thorough material analysis. The collections are now stored at a curation facility at the Fort Shirley battery in the Cabrits National Park.

Artifacts were cataloged according to the structure of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) database. The way archaeological data is managed is rarely addressed in

the academic literature. As stewards of cultural resources, archaeologists have ethical obligations to organize these data in a manner that is documentable, integrative, updatable and accessible.

I received initial training in operating the DAACS database at the Monticello Department of Archaeology beginning in 2009. The DAACS front end consists of a series of entry forms connected to Microsoft Access. The structure of the database is based on a robust relational model that controls the terms people can use. Artifacts are sorted according to major classes, including general artifacts like architectural materials (Aultman et al. 2014), ceramics (Aultman et al. 2015), glass (Aultman et al. 2014), beads (Grillo and Aultman 2016), buttons (Aultman and Grillo 2014), buckles (Grillo, Aultman and Bon-Harper 2014), utensils (Aultman, Grillo and Bon-Harper 2014), tobacco pipes (Aultman et al. 2015) and faunal remains (Aultman and Galle 2014). I use a sherd-based approach to analysis like other DAACS researchers. This type of analysis results in a lot more recorded data about an individual artifact and is useful for analytical purposes that often extend beyond the use of a single project. Care was taken when analyzing artifacts to ensure that both form and function were properly considered in relation to historic context (Beaudry et al. 2000). Recovered artifact types or categories that were absent from the DAACS typological system were added through communication with the DAACS lab at Monticello, VA.

The arrangement of the DAACS database enables the systematic comparison of artifact assemblages within and between sites in the Caribbean and eastern United States. Intra-site comparisons relating archaeological data from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) provide the principal basis for insights regarding the social and cultural lives of European and non-European laborers and soldiers. Artifact pattern analyses were carried out using querying functions designed specifically for the DAACS database.<sup>38</sup> Querying the database enables comparisons of distinct assemblages based on a range of data (artifact, faunal, contextual, artifact distribution, site

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<sup>38</sup> All the artifact queries used in this dissertation are based on the Cabrits Garrison data in the DAACS database last updated in August 2014.

information and mean-ceramic date). The results of these comparisons form the bulk of my interpretations of the patterned activities of individuals and groups in their domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison.

The organization of this material analysis follows other investigations in historical archaeology that have used the artifact pattern framework to both interpret the nature of individual sites and as a comparative tool to discern the impacts of varying geographies and social contexts between sites (for noted examples of this approach see Armstrong 1990; Singleton 1980; South 2002). These approaches, especially when applied to plantations, have been criticized for their reliance on antiquated whole-culture and functional interpretations, lacking consideration of social relations and power, and their decidedly synchronic nature (Orser 1989). This processual framework was originally designed to answer general concerns about past populations, but subsequent research has reworked this method to better suit specific research questions and to accommodate post-processual concerns with individual action across various scales and sites of interaction (see Gardner 2007 for example of application in post-processual archaeology).

Related to the approach articulated by Armstrong (1990) in his investigation of domestic contexts at the Drax Hall plantation in Jamaica, I use a modified version of the artifact pattern framework to organize material evidence into categories of behavior relevant to understanding the daily lives of laborers and soldiers living at the Cabrits Garrison. This requires a concern with the full spectrum of activities characterizing the everyday lives of these groups as well as the multiple uses of a single object at these domestic settings. As illustrated in this chapter, the material evidence collected from domestic contexts at the fort is in general synchronic, with most domestic contexts exhibiting relatively shallow deposits characterized by mixed assemblages with little chronological change observed stratigraphically. Despite this fact, artifact assemblages and their respective interpretations, including functional and status assessments, can be connected to diachronic processes apparent in Dominica, the Caribbean and the wider institution of slavery to discern possible changes over time in material access and use. The specific

artifact groups outlined by Stanley South (2002) have been revised to more effectively represent the evidence collected at the fort and those categories of human action that would have played a central role in the lives of former occupants. My approach at the Cabrits Garrison integrates the artifact pattern framework with theoretical understandings of “lived space” in the examination and comparison of household contexts from a similar time to understand the way changing systems of labor and social relations affected the domestic lives and colonial identities of individuals. As opposed to traditional artifact pattern studies, this perspective offers a more active view of space where people construct and experience spaces and their associated spatial meanings.

<b>Artifact Group</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g)</b>
Dwelling	5776	49288.1
Eating and Drinking	5050	15448.8
Working	75	12048.3
	<b>10901</b>	<b>76785.2</b>

**Table 5.01:** The artifact groups considered in this analysis of patterned behavior at the Cabrits Garrison.

The material analysis articulated in later chapters is organized according to three active artifact categories, which comprise 81% of the total assemblage recovered during excavations of the Cabrits Garrison (n=10,902; 76,785.2 g) (Table 5.01). These categories include: the architectural and furniture group associated with the act of “dwelling” (see Chapter Six); the kitchen group associated with patterns of “eating” and “drinking” (see Chapter Seven); the arms, tools and standardized uniform parts group associated with the act of “working” (see Chapter Eight). Other artifact categories, including the clothing group associated with patterns of “appearing”; the tobacco group linked with the act of “smoking”; and a miscellaneous group associated with a variety of less apparent patterns of behavior, do not play a central role in this investigation of conceived and lived space at the Cabrits Garrison. They are considered in the concluding discussion on future work at the site in Chapter Nine. Within the selected artifact/behavior categories, assessments as to the nature of artifact patterns are provided, such as the institutional versus



local quality of material patterns (see Sussman 1978) or formal versus more idiosyncratic uses of materials and spaces. These categories are described according to findings from two structures excavated in the laborer village (CG-1) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

### **5.5 Archaeological Findings: Site Descriptions and Functions**

Archaeological investigations at the two study areas at the Cabrits Garrison recovered a range of objects and spatial data associated with the everyday lives of laborers and soldiers during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Other studies of British fortifications in the Caribbean have described archaeological findings from a variety of domestic contexts, including Officers' quarters and Engineers' residences (Cripps 2003; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002), but no study has so far investigated a distinct enslaved military laborer village context. Furthermore, no systematic comparison of the material lives of subordinate military groups, including African-Caribbean laborers and soldiers, has been completed.

A combined total of 13,407 artifacts (79,519 g) from CG-1 (n=11,269; 72,861 g) and CG-2 (n=2,138; 6,658 g) were cataloged. Artifact types were organized for analysis following modified artifact group categories, including "dwelling", "eating and drinking", and "working" (see section 5.4). Artifacts of primary concern to this study include European ceramics, coarse earthenware (local and imported), glass bottles, stemware, military accouterments, personal adornments, armaments, architectural materials and food remains. As is true of other military settings investigated by historical archaeologists, British colonial and maritime policies would have restricted the range of material at the Cabrits Garrison, especially in regards to ceramics (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). This expectation is complicated though by the presence of unexpected materials, such as French material culture or nonmilitary personal objects, which require thorough consideration of particular historical processes. Comparisons of the material evidence collected from the sites under investigation will be further considered in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, but along with insights from the archival record, this evidence suggests that the sites examined are households for military laborers, most likely enslaved, and soldiers serving in the British army during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

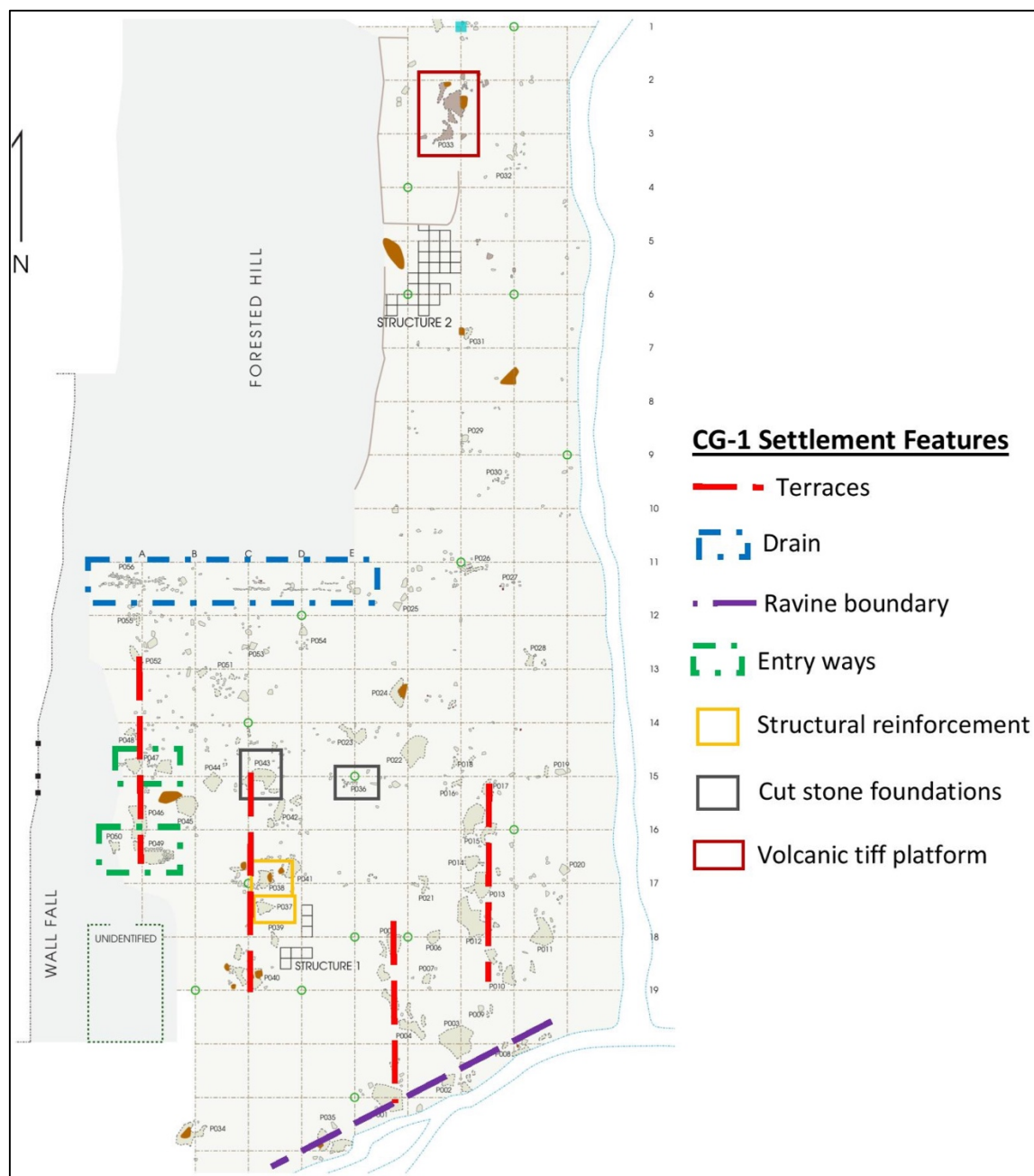
Formula dates from ceramics and tobacco pipe stems collected at the Cabrits Garrison clarify this occupation history, but averages differ quite severely between these artifact types (Table 5.02). Dates from tobacco stems place occupation in these households prior to British settlement of Dominica in 1763. Thus, they are not reliable chronological indicators. The larger sample of ceramics provides a clearer sense that these domestic contexts were occupied most intensively during the final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The next section describes settlement patterns and construction details apparent in each study area and identifies building functions and variation in building plans based on archival and archaeological evidence.

<b>Cabrits Garrison Study Areas</b>	<b>Mean Ceramic Dates</b>	<b>Tobacco Pipe Stem Dates</b>
<b>Laborer Village (CG-1)</b>	1794.38 (n=1220)	1755.85 (n=65)
<b>Structure 1</b>	1796.04 (n=530)	1752.03 (n=27)
<b>Structure 2</b>	1794.24 (n=596)	1750.50 (n=31)
<b>Outer Cabrits Soldiers' Barracks (CG-2)</b>	1794.63 (n=198)	1748.20 (n=18)

Table 5.02: Mean ceramic and tobacco pipe stem dates from study areas at the Cabrits Garrison.

### 5.5.1 CG-1: Laborer Village

The laborer village is present on several Colonial Office and War Office maps of the fort. These structures are labeled as “negro huts”, “pioneer huts” or “workshops.” The exact number of these structures is unclear, but throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries no more than twenty structures are indicated on historic maps of the site (see discussion of maps in section 4.3.1 of Chapter Four). Other studies of slave housing at Caribbean plantations have documented relevant features in the identification and interpretation of these contexts. These include the central location of slave laborer settlements to work areas and management and the variation in their arrangement or configuration (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Delle 1998, 2014; Handler and Lange 1978; Higman 1998, 2014; Gibson 2007). Chapter Four identified inconsistencies with the labeling and configuration of settlement areas on maps of the Cabrits Garrison, but the proximity of the laborer village (CG-1) to the Engineer’s yard, Civil administrators and the Fort Shirley battery seem to align with the Caribbean plantation model. Located in the lowest portion of the fort, the laborer village (CG-1) is situated downwind from the Fort Shirley battery, where soldiers, officers



**Figure 5.12:** Settlement features identified at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1). Image created by Zachary Beier and Shannon Baum.

and other administrators would have had a clear view of this settlement from these commanding heights. The Engineer's yard lies directly above the laborer settlement with an entryway near the middle of the wall separating what would have been the central work place for the laborer community from their designated settlement area. Information recovered from archaeological survey and excavation also reinforces the

diverse spatial arrangement and material composition of this settlement, which is believed to more strongly reflect different ideas of managing populations and living spaces than local environmental conditions (Armstrong 1990).<sup>39</sup>



**Figure 5.13:** Remains of a cut stone entry way (P049) leading towards the Engineer's yard in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (Photo by Z. Beier).

The area surveyed for CG-1 is estimated to contain at least six of the structures identified as laborer households or workshops on historic maps of the fort (see section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four). Areas north of the forge were surveyed but were not included within the archaeological study area due to time and financial constraints. These survey efforts identified more areas associated with the presence of laborer settlements and other activities that will hopefully be considered in future studies. Survey and excavation work within the boundaries of CG-1 required the clearing of portions of this heavily forested area. In 2011 a

<sup>39</sup> Armstrong (1990: 88) makes this important point when comparing the settlement patterns at Drax Hall and New Seville plantations on the island of Jamaica. While each site had a similar topography, the arrangement at New Seville reflected a tightly grouped linear arrangement as opposed to the Drax Hall settlement, which conformed to the local topography with houses located perpendicular to the slope.

pedestrian survey was conducted that documented significant clusters of stones and other architectural features. Several functional types can be extrapolated from these seemingly anomalous surface features, including walkways, drains and structural supports. The resulting map provides a clearer sense of the settlement pattern in this area (see Figures 5.02 and 5.12).

A system of ravines serves as the east and south boundary of CG-1 with the Engineer's yard and forested slope forming the west boundary. Stone piles are distributed across the surface of the entire site, but they are most concentrated in the southern portion of the settlement. They are mainly composed of stone, including modified or cut forms, as well as ceramic roofing tile, bricks, volcanic tuff, and other artifact types, such as ceramics and metal. Often, trees were documented growing through these surface features, resulting in varying levels of disturbance. A total of 56 piles were identified, photographed and mapped according to apparent groups, sacrificing detail for the sake of time, but emphasizing the recovery of information pertaining to their size, alignment and distribution. These extant features are believed to have served in a variety of capacities. For instance, sequences of stone piles constitute what appear to be terraces forming housing platforms and drainage channels. At least four terraces in a north to south alignment across the site were identified from sequences of cataloged piles, including 037-043, 046-048, 010-015, and 001, 004-005. Piles also constitute drains (056), serve as boundary reinforcement for ravines (008, 002, 035), and once acted as stairways or walkways crossing terraces and connecting surrounding work areas, like the Engineer's yard, to the laborer settlement (047 and 049-050) (see Figures 5.12 and 5.13).



**Figure 5.14:** Stone pile (P038) including cut stones with straight edges possibly used for structural reinforcement in CG-1 (Photo by Z. Beier).



**Figure 5.15:** Vernacular housing style identified in Dublanc, Dominica that relies on unmortared piles of stone to buttress the side of the structure (photo by Z. Beier).

Other piles appear specifically suited for their integration into a building plan. In the archaeological investigation of the British garrison at Victoria in Port Essington, Australia, Allen (1973: 47-48) describes the placement of timber structures on top of piles of stone as a means of expedient surface leveling as opposed to leveling extensive areas of ground. He considers this technique a distinct feature of colonial architecture in the tropics. In several ways, the piles in CG-1 reflect this style of expedient settlement construction among laboring populations. In some cases, piles with straight edges may have been used as structural reinforcement (037, 038) (Figure 5.14). This tactic of buttressing a side of a house using unmortared stones has been described by other archaeologists working on Caribbean plantations (Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001) and is observable among certain communities in Dominica that have maintained this style of vernacular architecture (Figure 5.15).<sup>40</sup> Piles were also identified that exhibited a more evenly spaced alignment resembling a line of stones for building foundations (036, 043) (Figure 5.16). This signature for a building outline is like “structure 1” in the southern portion of CG-1. Also, certain piles

<sup>40</sup> Dr. Lennox Honychurch provides a thorough discussion of Dominican vernacular architecture on his website (<http://www.lennoxhonychurch.com>). During the summer of 2008 I accompanied him on a trip to Dublanc and Bioche, villages along the west coast near Portsmouth, where I photographed vernacular forms of architecture useful in considering the construction of laborer households at the Cabrits Garrison.

located in the northern portion of CG-1 displayed the same volcanic tuff surface composition that was observed at “structure 2” (033), which required the presence of this bedrock layer for its post-hole style of construction (Figure 5.17).



**Figure 5.16:** Remains of a cut stone foundation (P036) in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

Apart from their use in building architecture, these piles are testament to water management strategies. Extensive areas of land were routinely cleared around the Cabrits headlands and the abundance and orientation of these features at CG-1 no doubt reflects the need to counteract the impact of erosion in a tropical mountain setting. In their excavations of the laborer settlement at Galways Plantation on the island of Montserrat, Pulsipher and Goodwin (2001) describe systems of walled catchments, drains and cisterns used to catch rainwater and channel it away. Cisterns, drains and stone pile terraces identified at the Cabrits Garrison, especially around the laborer village, would have served the same function, with water being channeled away from areas, such as the Engineer’s yard, through the lower lying laborer village, and into the surrounding ravines where it was directed outside the gates of the fort through this system of stone conduits.



**Figure 5.17:** Layer of volcanic tuff bedrock (P033) visible on the surface of CG-1 that served as platforms for houses using post-hole style of construction (photo by Z. Beier).

Perhaps most importantly, this landscape and architectural evidence speaks to the comparably lower economic status of this population and a certain level of agent-centered behavior in the design of their living spaces. Like other Caribbean slave villages, CG-1 is characterized by a series of house-yard and garden plots connected by narrow lanes. Armstrong (1990: 97) considers the house and associated yard as “a fairly distinct unit in which much of the daily living activities of the house occupants took place.” These living spaces often incorporated separate enclosures for cooking, preparing and storing food, and working. In many respects, it is up to archaeology to identify and investigate these important contexts. Enslaved military labor at the Cabrits Garrison, while recognized in archives, was never definitively considered by administrators resulting in gaps of knowledge pertaining to the number of laborers employed at the fort and the nature of their daily lives. Because of the intensive archaeological survey efforts in the Cabrits laborer village, specific features of this settlement pattern are made clearer.

A total of 4 terraces were identified, which are believed to have established between 10-20 housing platforms for another 20-25 houses or workshops. Post-hole style dwellings, like “structure 2”,



appear to be concentrated in the northern portion of CG-1 where this volcanic bedrock layer is available, while stone foundation buildings, like “structure 1”, are concentrated in the south of the site where the densest amount of cut stone was documented. These distinctions in architecture for laborer housing reflect change over time with the earlier phase of occupation associated with contexts located in the north of the settlement. A total of 50-150 people could have occupied the area in CG-1 during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This is a far more complex settlement arrangement than what is illustrated on maps of the fort from the period. Each structure excavated in CG-1 exhibits features connecting varying forms of household architecture to the broader house-yard area.

#### 5.5.1.a CG-1: Structure 1

Survey and excavations at “structure 1”, located in the southern extent of the laborer village (CG-1), revealed a formal style of building featuring a higher quality cut stone foundation measuring seven and a half meters long, with a width of just over five meters for the north wall. This foundation likely supported a one-story wood frame and floor construction along with a style of ceramic tile roof documented at “structure 2” and other buildings in the valley and Fort Shirley battery. An entryway was located on the densely built up eastern wall with a small external stone lined building or shed located behind the structure in the southwest corner. While not clearly listed on maps until a possible match on an example dated to 1812 (see Figure 4.04), the recovered artifacts date between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with a mean ceramic date averaged at 1796 (see Table 5.01 and Figure 5.19 for MCD information).

The structure was initially observed during a walkthrough of the site in 2010. Dr. Lennox Honychurch identified a series of limestone rocks protruding from the ground in a line. This turned out to be the north wall of this rectangular stone foundation structure. The northern wall of this previously unidentified structure is in line with a structure labeled as “unidentified” on the CG-1 survey map approximately 10

meters to the west (Figure 5.02).<sup>41</sup> A substantial amount of 18<sup>th</sup> century material refuse was documented in the area of the identified wall. Three STPs (C17, D19, E18) completed in 2008 and located within a five-meter radius of this area identified clear evidence of 18<sup>th</sup> century material life, including ceramic roofing tile, European import ceramics, bottle glass, wrought iron nails, lead musket shot and a white clay pipe stem. The observations made during pedestrian survey along with the collected assemblage from shovel testing provided the rationale for extensive clearing and excavation.

Most of the exterior foundation was intact, allowing effective mapping of the structure (Figure 5.18). It was unnecessary and time prohibitive to excavate the entire house area. Seven one-meter by one-meter square units were placed in the northwest half of the structure, resulting in the recovery of 4,074 (19,056.6 g) artifacts. Excavations also sought to collect information from an exposed section of wall and more accurately define the western portion of the foundation, which was less apparent on the surface. Areas inside and outside of the structure were tested (Figure 5.04). The units situated along the west wall, including Units 2 (N914/E983) and 3 (N913/E983), revealed portions of intact wall and a concentration of disarticulated stones and bricks beginning less than 10 cm below the ground surface. This is believed to be wall fall from the western foundation of the structure. Units located outside of the northern foundation, including Units 5 (N918/E985) and 33 (N917/E985), identified a similar pattern of wall debris characterized by bricks and a mixture of modified and irregular shaped stones. The units bisecting the northern foundation, including Units 33 (N917/E985) and 34 (N916/E985), provided the clearest information on the foundation, which measures approximately 32 cm in thickness and extended approximately 40 cm below the ground surface. Excavations inside the structure did not reveal any floor surfaces or room partitions. The high frequency of wrought iron nails (n=1,119; 4,260 g) recovered archaeologically as compared to

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<sup>41</sup> This "unidentified" structure is not listed or described on maps or other primary documents associated with the fort. It may in fact be the "Clerk's office" or other type of administrative building (Lennox Honychurch, personal communication, 2010), but further research is needed to confirm its identity.

“structure 2” makes it seem likely that there was a wood floor and frame.<sup>42</sup> Ceramic roofing tiles (n=340; 2,684.4 g) documented on the ground surface and during excavations suggests the use of this material for roof covering. This material evidence is thoroughly discussed in the analysis of architecture and patterns of dwelling in Chapter Six.

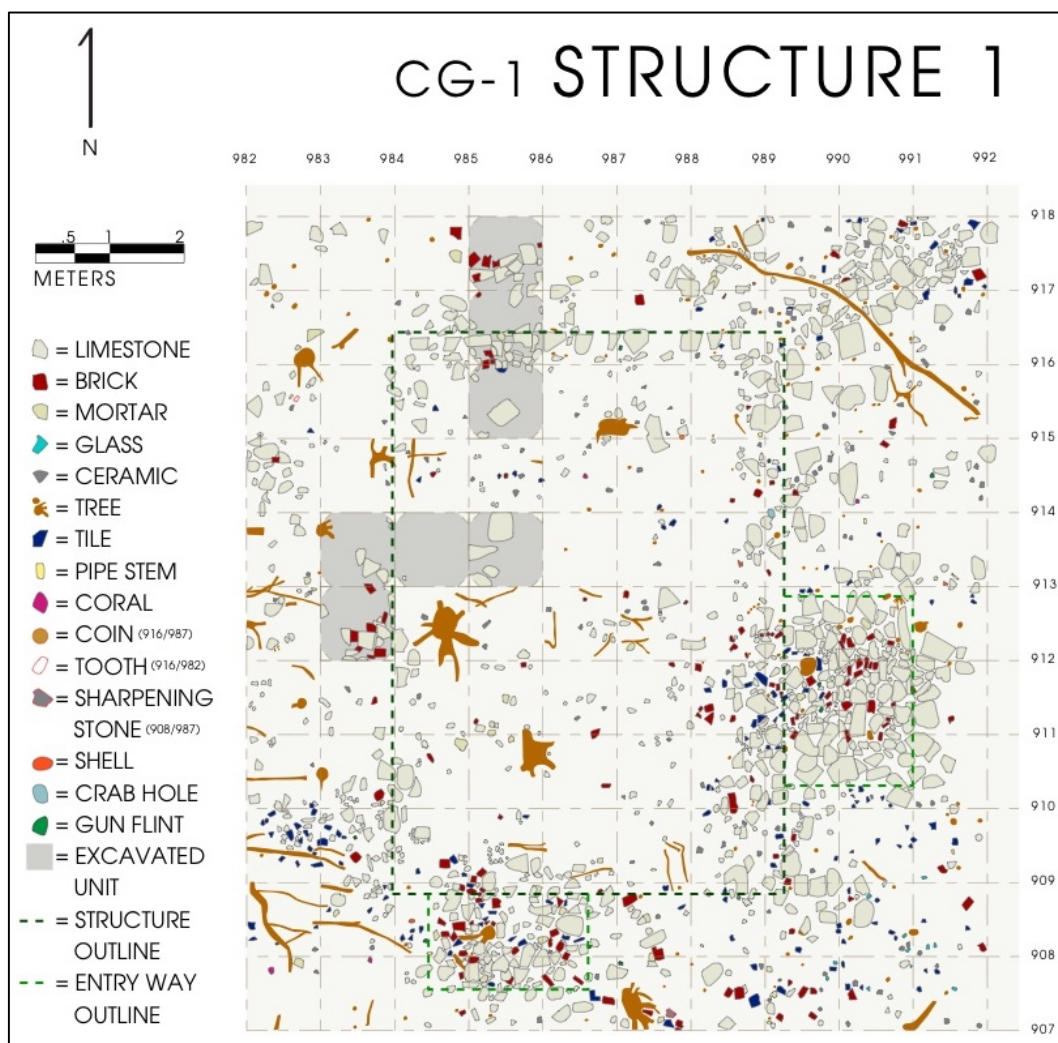


Figure 5.18: “Structure 1” plan map. Image created by Zachary Beier and Shannon Baum.

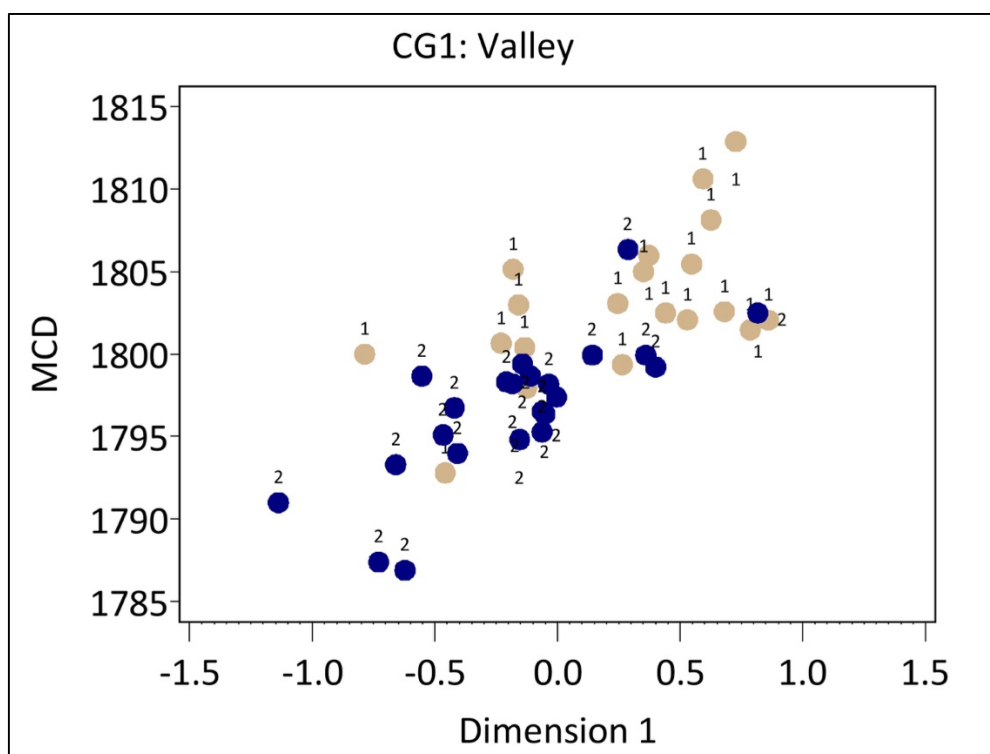
Mapping of the exterior foundation of the structure further aided in the description of building design, composition and orientation. No post-holes were identified but a timber-frame type of construction

<sup>42</sup> In his description of floors in 18<sup>th</sup> century laborer housing, Armstrong (1990: 121) notes “[i]f the floor was earthen, we would expect that it would have become hardened by constant use and kept clean of debris....” Structures with wood floors are assumed to have a high artifact concentration within the building. I believe this to be the case for “structure 1” at CG-1.

was most likely used. This coincides with archaeological findings at other Caribbean military sites studying slave life (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002: 40). The composition of building materials varied from the eastern side of the structure to the west. This composition alludes to the orientation of “structure 1”, with the built-up eastern side serving as the front of the house. In his discussion of building composition of slave period housing at Drax Hall, Armstrong (1990) describes more massive rocks being placed along the front wall of houses, located down-slope facing the prevailing winds from the east. Along the eastern facing wall of “structure 1” is a dense pile of stones, bricks and ceramic roofing tiles. This feature no doubt served as the entryway as well as a part of the terrace forming the platform the structure was built on. Another external feature of “structure 1” is located near the southwest corner of the building. While no excavations were carried out in this area, this feature matches some of the descriptions of a “kitchen area” or “cooking shed” provided by Armstrong (1990: 103-104), including its orientation behind the house and the presence of a sharpening or grinding stone identified less than a meter away during surface survey.

As mentioned, descriptions of “structure 1” in the cartographic record are inconsistent, but an 1812 map of the fort may include this building as a “barracks occupied by the Troops of the Line” (TNA WO 78/2508) (Figure 4.04). While there is a certain degree of crossover in the occupation of “structure 1” and “structure 2” as revealed by mean ceramic dating (see Table 5.02 for MCD average for each loci and Figure 5.19 for comparison of all mean ceramic dates for these structures), it is clear from collected diagnostic artifacts, including two coins dated to 1834 and a high concentration of pearlware (n=331; 775.1 g) and whiteware (n=23; 27.7g), that “structure 1” was occupied following the construction of “structure 2” and inhabited up to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Regular infantry or artillerymen, a European artisan or wage laborers could have occupied this household. It is likely the structure served a domestic function, with a high frequency of artifacts associated with domestic purposes, such as ceramic tableware (n=659; 1,714.1 g). The lack of tools and ordnance from the assemblage collected within the structure makes its

use for storage or work unlikely. Further archaeological testing would aid in the identification and interpretation of activity areas in “structure 1.”



**Figure 5.19:** Plot of mean ceramic dates (MCD) for archaeological contexts associated with “structure 1” and “structure 2” in CG-1 (image created by Jillian Galle, DAACS).

#### 5.5.1.b CG-1: Structure 2

Excavations at “structure 2” provided the oldest and highest concentration of artifacts. Located in the northern extent of the CG-1 study area, this household is characterized by a series of features carved into the volcanic tuff bedrock, including post-holes, a trench and an oven cut into the adjacent volcanic ridge. Wattle and daub was woven around wooden posts to form walls that enclosed a living area with floors that relied on the rough volcanic bedrock and a damp layer of soil. The dimensions of this dwelling is less clear than “structure 1”. The large size of the post holes and abundance of ceramic roofing tile suggests this was used for the roof of the structure. The recovered artifacts indicate a slightly earlier

occupation between the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with a mean ceramic date averaged at 1794.2 (see Table 5.01 and Figure 5.19 for MCD information).

“Structure 2” was initially observed during 2008 survey and shovel testing. A raised platform was documented near a volcanic tuff ridge with noticeable wear patterns on it (earthen kitchen, cut marks and indentions). The platform is highest near the volcanic ridge and slopes towards the ravine approximately 13 meters away to the east. No other artifacts or structural remains were visible on the ground surface. Further confirmation came from an STP (F6) in the immediate area, which uncovered a variety of 18<sup>th</sup> century finds associated with domestic life, including ceramic roofing tile, bottle glass, metal strapping and European ceramics (refer to Figure 5.02 for CG-1 survey map). Investigations began in 2010 with the extensive clearing of forest. A number of trees had grown through the housing platform and upturned the hard volcanic tuff evident just below the ground surface. A disturbance zone was marked off in the northeast portion of the study area. A great deal of soil disturbance was documented resulting from a massive fallen tree and erosion from the adjacent forested hill forming the western boundary of CG-1. Open area excavations exposed the nature of this housing platform and architectural style. Twenty-seven one-meter by one-meter square units were placed in an area measuring approximately eight and a half meters from north to south and seven meters from east to west (Figure 5.04). Excavation units were situated on top and around the housing platform to expose architectural features and the extent of the former housing platform (Figure 5.20). 6,730 (49,896.8 g) artifacts were collected.

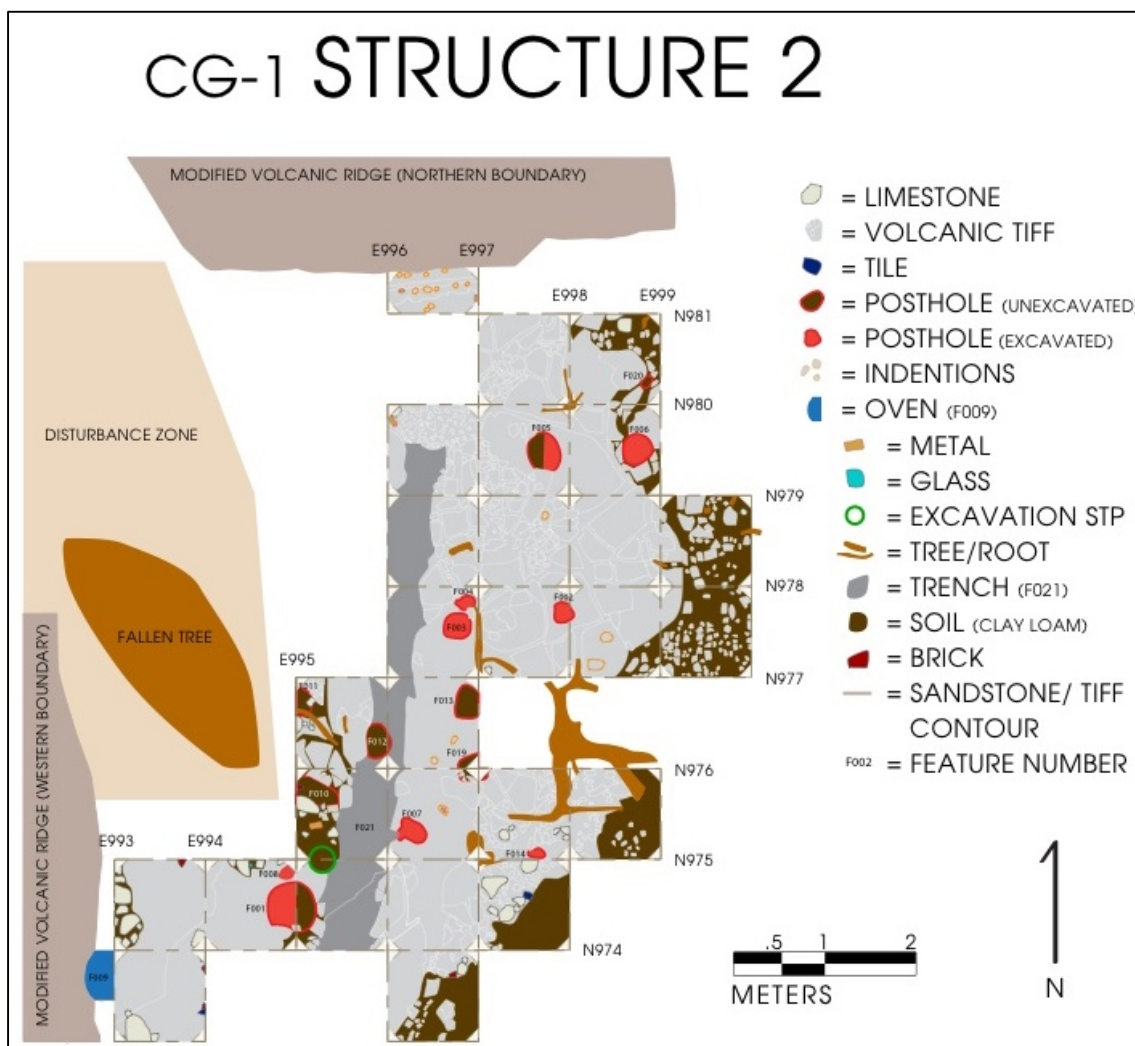


Figure 5.20: "Structure 2" plan map. Image created by Zachary Beier and Shannon Baum.

Many of the excavated units on top of the platform consisted of a thin layer of top soil (Stratum I) before the hard layer of volcanic bedrock (Stratum IV) was encountered (i.e. Units 6, 17, 21-24, 26, 29-30). These units went between approximately 3-13 cm below the ground surface until the bedrock layer was reached. In many places this volcanic layer was heavily fragmented by tree growth and other disturbance processes. Units situated at the eastern base of the platform (Units 11-12, 14, 16, 25, 27) went 10-20 cm below the ground surface and revealed the extent of the volcanic bedrock layer and the presence of a clay loam (Stratum II) with fragments of volcanic material. Excavations (Units 11-14) in the southeast portion of the site documented possible evidence for a wall or other type of architectural boundary. A series of

unmortared stones were documented running along the extent of the volcanic bedrock layer in these units. Adjacent to the volcanic ridge forming the western boundary of “structure 2”, excavations went 25-40 cm below the ground surface and exposed the lower lying volcanic tuff bedrock layer (Units 8-10). A total of 21 features were identified, mainly associated with the architectural style of “structure 2”. These include a series of post-holes (F001-008, F010-014, F019-020) and impressions (F015-018), a trench cut into the volcanic bedrock platform along the E996 transect line (F021), and an oven carved into the volcanic ridge along the western boundary of the site (F009). The structural pattern of “structure 2” suggests builders made use of an area with a pre-existing flat and workable volcanic bedrock layer.

The post-hole type of construction of “structure 2” resembles descriptions of “wattle and daub” walls with posts placed every few feet to support the structure. Other archaeological investigations in the Caribbean have identified this architectural style in a variety of household contexts (Armstrong 1990; Farnsworth 2001; Gibson 2007; Handler and Bergman 2009; Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001). A total of 15 post-holes were identified at “structure 2” out of which nine were excavated. Post-holes were dug or carved into the volcanic bedrock, which is a technique described by other archaeologists working in the region (Gibson 2007; Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001).<sup>43</sup> Excavations at “structure 2” provided valuable information pertaining to this method of architecture as well as documenting dimensions and the deposition of various artifact types in these well-preserved subsurface contexts. These features share some commonalities, including their circular plan shape and flat-based V profile, but for the most part vary in regards to their size, depth and arrangement.

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<sup>43</sup> Gibson (2007) and Pulsipher and Goodwin (2001) examine 18<sup>th</sup> century slave households on geologically similar islands, Guadeloupe and Montserrat. Excavations of “structure 2” at CG-1 in the Cabrits Garrison adds to the growing literature pertaining to enslaved contexts on volcanic islands in the Caribbean. Each project describes similar construction techniques as a result of similarly constituted island geologies. More descriptive analyses of these contexts are necessary.





**Figure 5.21:** A large bisected post-hole (F001) along with a smaller example (F008) at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

A wide discrepancy exists in the size of post-holes documented at the site. Out of all the post-holes identified, including both excavated (F001-008, F014) and unexcavated (F010-013, F019-020) features, sizes range from the relatively small size of 14 cm by 11 cm for F008 to the comparatively massive size of 51 cm by 52 cm for F001 (Figure 5.21). The medium range for post-hole size is approximately 28 cm by 29 cm. Depth measurements could only be recorded for excavated post-holes. Measurements range between 17 and 69 cm with an average depth of approximately 41 cm. Most of the documented post-holes were arranged on the extensive surface of volcanic bedrock exposed during open area excavations (see Figure 5.21 for location of all identified post-holes). Ten of these features (F002-007, F013-014, F019-020) were identified on the portion of the exposed housing platform between the E996 and E999 transect lines (Units 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 30). Four more potential post-holes (F001, F008, F010-011) were documented on the exposed volcanic ridge platform (Units 7-8, 31-32) west of the lower lying trench feature (F021). An additional post-hole (F012) was identified within this trench feature adjacent to the exposed volcanic ridge platform in the western portion of the site (Units 29 and 32). While many post-holes appear oriented according to either a north-south or east-west axis, their particular arrangement across different

portions of “structure 2” raises questions as to the exact orientation of the structure or structures. The presence of large postholes spaced out among smaller ones may suggest their use in the corners and around the doorway of this living space (see Armstrong 1990).



**Figure 5.22:** A completely excavated post-hole (F006) at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

Excavations into these post-hole contexts revealed important stratigraphic and archaeological evidence at “structure 2”. Most of these features were characterized by an interior filled with rubble and a clay loam soil (Stratum II), while other contexts (F001, F005-006) that went comparatively deeper than others encountered a thick brown clay (Stratum V) at lower levels. In general, post-holes were found to be associated with a variety of artifact types. These contexts contained typical 18<sup>th</sup> century domestic debris, including: wrought iron nails of various sizes, metal strapping, lead shot, charcoal, ceramics, glass and tobacco pipe fragments. While smaller features were excavated entirely, most of the larger features (F001, F005) were bisected to document the presence of post molds and to ensure their preservation for future research. Excavations of F006 in Unit 22 (N980/E998) at “structure 2” were expanded to include the entire context to allow the depth of feature to be fully explored (Figure 5.22). A series of cut marks were identified

on the edge of this post-hole, alluding to its method of manufacture. The hole appears to have been cut in tiers to effectively secure the post. Large metal objects were discovered among the soil and rubble fill in this context, including a knife (Figure 8.07) and a chisel or door pintle (Figure 8.10). These tools were perhaps dumped in this context when the structure was abandoned. The next chapters in this dissertation provide further discussion of the artifacts recovered from these architectural features as they pertain to practices of dwelling (Chapter Six), eating and drinking (Chapter Seven), and working (Chapter Eight) in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

Related to these post-hole features are several impressions found distributed across the volcanic platform of "structure 2". These may represent impressions made by household furniture, although this seems unlikely given the relative scarcity of this artifact type in 18<sup>th</sup> century slave contexts (Armstrong 1990). They more likely correspond to failed attempts at constructing post-holes, as they are most often found in close association to other documented post-holes, as seen in Units 15 (N978/E998), 29 (N977/E996) and 30 (N976/E996). One of these impressions (F017) located at Unit 30 (N976/E996) had a nail stuck inside of it. They certainly demonstrate the extensive manipulation of this malleable natural bedrock layer by former inhabitants. Excavations at Unit 28 (N982/E996) along the volcanic ridge forming the northern boundary of the site revealed substantial evidence of use-wear (cut marks, impressions) on this ridge as well as the volcanic surface exposed during excavations. The volcanic bedrock exposed during excavations at approximately 30 cm below the ground surface was extensively modified. At least 15 shallow impressions were documented. In one of these impressions a metal spike or chisel was broken off inside. It seems apparent that its user abandoned this tool once it became lodged in the volcanic bedrock more than two hundred years ago (Figure 5.23).



**Figure 5.23:** Evidence of extensive modification of bedrock at Unit 28 in “structure 2”, including a metal object broken off inside this layer (shown on the left side of the unit) (Photo by Z. Beier).

Evidence for the trench feature (F021) was initially observed during excavations of level three (FS# 107) in Unit 7 (N975/E995) at “structure 2”, but it was not confidently identified until units north of this location were excavated. A flat and impenetrable surface of volcanic material was documented throughout the unit at approximately 30 cm below the ground surface (Stratum IV). This surface had been noted in an earlier STP (F6) completed in the northwest corner of Unit 7 (N975/E995) but its real significance could not have been determined from this excavation window alone. The same lower lying volcanic surface was identified along with cut marks on portions of the volcanic tuff platform in seven units north of this area; a fact speaking to the level of human manipulation involved in the creation of this feature (Figure 5.25). Open-area excavations of “structure 2” provided clear evidence of the dimensions for this feature. Beginning at the southern end of the structure and moving north, the trench is present in Units 7, 31, 30, 32, 29, 18, 19 and 20. It is approximately 50 cm wide and is approximately 5.5 meters in length, but could extend further south beyond the excavations at Unit 7 (N975/E995) (Figure 5.26). Its depth corresponds

with the natural topography of this locus, which is higher in units excavated in the northern portion of the structure, and ranges between approximately 30 and 40 cm below the ground surface. A high concentration of artifacts was found during excavations of this feature, including an iron axe head (Figure 8.08) and a ceramic “game piece” modified from a blue transfer printed pearlware sherd (Figure 7.02). Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide a fuller analysis of the artifacts recovered from this feature in relation to patterns of dwelling, eating and drinking, and working.



**Figure 5.25:** Cut marks on volcanic bedrock made during construction of trench feature (F009) at “structure 2” in CG-1.

This trench feature (F021) can be interpreted either as a drain or as an architectural footing for a wall at “structure 2”. As discussed earlier, water management issues would have been a pressing concern for inhabitants of the laborer settlement in the valley of the Cabrits because of its low and often wet situation. Stone terraces and drains distributed throughout CG-1 would have aided in channeling water away from domestic spaces, but houses in this setting required their own means to direct this water away from associated domestic and yard spaces. In Chapter Four, Jonathan Troup is identified as the doctor occupying the Cabrits Garrison between 1789-90 who kept a diary that often discusses the health of the enslaved at the fort and surrounding plantations. In certain entries, he connects the health of slaves to

poorly constructed houses. In his entry for January 23 1790, Troup describes a visit to the nearby Picard estate where he recommends that “some drains are made round the huts” to reduce the dampness of the clayish soils in and around these structures (ABD MS 2070). F021 may very well be this type of drain commonly referred to as a “soak away.” Rainwater would have been channeled from the west side of “structure 2” down the gradual slope into the nearby ravine to the east of the site.



**Figure 5.26:** The trench feature (F021) at “structure 2” in CG-1 with the ruins of the forge in the background (photo by Z. Beier).

This trench feature may also have served a more architectural function as the footing for a wall at “structure 2”. In her archaeological investigation at La Mahaudière plantation on the island of Guadeloupe, Gibson (2007: 141-142) describes how in some of the excavated housing contexts, “post-holes aligned along a north-south or east-west axis are joined by a narrow (10 to 20 cm wide) trench feature also dug into the limestone bedrock. These trenches likely supported thinner vertically aligned posts through which wattle was woven.” While the excavated trench feature (F021) at “structure 2” is by no means as narrow as the trench documented by Gibson (2007), the post-hole (F012) located inside this feature between Units 29 (N977/E996) and 32 (N977/E995) is compelling evidence for the use of this construction technique.

Furthermore, the cavity cut into the volcanic ridge along the western boundary of CG-1 was one of the first features identified in proximity to “structure 2” (Figure 5.24). Further testing and excavations into this context (F009) demonstrated its former use as an oven. The opening is approximately 30 cm below the top of the volcanic ridge. This style of oven is associated with European militaries and is referred to as an “earthen camp kitchen” or “excavated kitchen” (Rees 2002). It was necessary to excavate all the sediment that had built up in and around the feature to determine its dimensions. The oven measures 57 cm in width by 40 cm in length, with a height measuring approximately 46 cm. Excavations also identified noticeable grooves running around the extent of the interior with a deeper groove in the center of the oven. This primary groove runs approximately 20 cm above the bottom surface of the oven. The grooves and shape of the oven suggests its use for boiling pots. While a high frequency of faunal and botanical remains was not found associated with this context, other archaeological findings, including coarse earthenware ceramics and charcoal, support its interpretation as an oven for food preparation.



Figure 5.24: Oven feature (F009) identified at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier)

This oven feature (F009) is like “earthen camp kitchens” described by Rees (2002), albeit on a much smaller scale. Considered a “European invention”, military manuals of the 18<sup>th</sup> century detail their construction—for example, Humphrey Bland’s *Treatise of Military Discipline: In Which is laid down and Explained the Duties of Officer and Soldier* originally published in 1727 and later becoming the authoritative text expressing the expectations of the British army. In his research, Rees (2002) emphasizes the importance of having access to fire to eat food comfortably. While certain staples of military life, such as prepared soft bread or fresh biscuits, did not require cooking, other rations, like flour, salted meats, rice and vegetables required boiling for optimum digestion. When time allowed, European and American soldiers, as well as other military personnel, including enslaved African-Caribbean laborers, dug more permanent and larger kitchens into the ground to aid in food preparation. The most common type described by Bland is characterized by “a circular construction with a 16-foot-wide mound in the center, a 1 ½ foot shelf around that, all encircled by a ditch 3 feet wide by 2 feet deep” (Rees 2002). 12 fireplaces could be dug into the inside walls of the surrounding ditch, each consisting of a 1-foot-square firebox and a small chimney hole



through the shelf above. The oven (F009) at “structure 2” is slightly bigger than one of these fireboxes and does not include a top opening for a chimney.

Other benefits of this style of oven included the ability to cook in the rain, the reduction of accidents from fires being blown into structures or tents, the ease afforded to officer’s in overseeing food preparation in a centralized location, and the increased fuel efficiency of burning wood in settings where shortages in basic supplies were common (Rees 2002). The centralization of food preparation activities is of particular importance to interpreting the excavated oven feature (F009). While other earthen kitchens have been identified within the fort complex, the oven at “structure 2” is the only one located within the boundaries of CG-1 and may have served as a centralized location for food preparation among enslaved laborers and other military personnel residing in this settlement.

“Structure 2” appears to correspond with the general layout presented in the 1799 map of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (Figure 4.03). On this map, the forge (“12”) is situated in an east to west orientation. A series of six evenly spaced huts (“10”) proceed south from the forge perfectly in line with its east wall. With this settlement pattern in mind, the excavated “structure 2” is a close fit to the second hut labeled on the map. The standardized rectangular structure label used to identify laborer housing on this map does not provide a sufficient basis to assess the layout, composition and function of the building. The concentration of architectural features, especially the post-holes, confirms the presence of at least one structure in this area but the outline for this building is difficult to infer from the available evidence (see Figure 5.20). Two interpretations are relevant in reconstructing the building plan. The first option posits the building plan consisting of two small structures separated by a drainage trench (F021). The larger structure, measuring approximately four and a half meters by two and a half meters, could have served as the primary residence, with the second structure, whose dimensions require further investigation, serving as an associated cooking shed. The size of these structures would have been similar to others described by Handler and Bergman (2009), measuring 12 feet (1.1 meters) x 25 feet (2.3 meters). If the trench (F021) is

in fact an architectural feature supporting a thick wall, then one structure, larger than the buildings imagined in the first scenario, approximately five meters by four meters, could have existed in this area, but at this point it is not entirely definable. This building would have resembled a “barracks” style of structure with a more intensive architectural plan than a typical “hut” or “workshop.” Each of these interpretations require further confirmation, which would be achieved through more open area excavations in the area, specifically in the “disturbance zone” west of the E995 transect line.

Along with a thorough consideration of the architectural outline and associated settlement pattern, archaeological evidence recovered from contexts associated with “structure 2” provide a strong basis to assess its composition and function. Excavation units did not confidently narrow in any type of floor surface distinct from the documented stratigraphy of the site. More than likely, a thin layer of hard-packed clay covering the volcanic bedrock served as a floor. This potential floor surface may have been disturbed from surrounding trees or washed away because of heavy rains and erosion in the area. It is also possible the malleable volcanic layer of bedrock acted as the primary floor surface for “structure 2”, but does not seem likely due to its irregular surface. Additionally, the recovery of wrought iron nails (n=957; 3,146.2 g) does not rule out the presence of a raised wood floor inside this structure. Although, this presence is more likely associated with their use along with post-holes in the construction of walls with wattle. This technique involves the use of large posts aligned on a north-south or east-west axis through which a mixture of smaller posts, branches and twigs are woven and attached with nails. The high frequency of roofing tile (n=545; 10,470 g) recovered during excavations reveals the possible covering used for this structure. While this artifact type could have been blown into the site as a result of hurricanes over the years, the large post-holes associated with “structure 2” could no doubt have supported a ceramic tile roof. Earthenware tiles were also found in lower excavation levels (20-40 cm below the ground surface), demonstrating their predominance in the area during the occupation history of the structure. The large post-holes and use of a

heavy ceramic roof is different than the composition of most slave houses in the Caribbean and may allude to a more “barracks style” of structure in the laborer settlement at the Cabrits Garrison.

A more specific discussion and comparison of archaeological materials recovered from “structure 2” will be provided in the next chapters, but this evidence is of primary importance in considering the function of this building. In general, the materials recovered correspond with architectural, domestic and work activities. In his excavation of a late 18<sup>th</sup> century workshop or storage shed at Drax Hall plantation on the island of Jamaica, Armstrong (1990) based his functional interpretation on the small size of the structure and the concentration of agricultural and construction tools. While the size of “structure 2” is not clearly understood, the comparatively high yield of agricultural and construction tools (n=5; 2,373.5 g) and ordnance (n=6; 3,322.3 g) allude to its use as a possible workshop or storage shed. But like Armstrong’s (1990) assessment of the workshop at Drax Hall, “structure 2” is associated with a range of domestic materials as well as military material culture and an oven feature, blurring interpretations of its function. Armstrong concludes that the workshop may have served a secondary function “as a shelter or place of lodging for the individual or individuals who were responsible for its maintenance” (1990: 112-113). The mixed material assemblage of “structure 2” and its location close to the forge and Engineer’s yard suggests a space used for domestic and work purposes. In other words, former inhabitants of the structure lived where they worked and worked where they lived. “Structure 2” also displays the dual roles of enslaved military labor at the site, combining material cultures of both laboring and soldiering. A 6<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment baldric buckle dating between 1808-1809 was found during excavations at Unit 13 (N976/E997), which is the only direct evidence of the presence of enslaved soldiers found during archaeological investigations (Figure 8.14). This theme will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapters.

### 5.5.2 CG-2: Outer Cabrits Soldiers’ Barracks

A total of six “Barracks for the Troops of the Line” are indicated on the 1799 map of the Cabrits Garrison (refer to label “5” on TNA MPH 1/18 in Figure 4.03), but this investigation focused on the Outer

Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). Located in the highest situated area in the fort, this settlement plan is characterized by four relatively standardized long and skinny rectangular cut stone and brick foundations laid out on a north-south axis. Aesthetically, these buildings are characterized by evenly spaced, wooden frame structures with timber floors, shingled roofs and wrap around verandahs. Unlike the lower situated structures excavated in the valley or buildings in the Fort Shirley battery, the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) did not incorporate ceramic tile roofs. Few instances of variation or modifications to this formal design plan were identified, beyond room partitions, the location of entryways and drainage features, and possible subfloor storage areas. The recovered artifacts date to a similar period as households in the laborer village (CG-1), with a mean ceramic date averaged at 1794.6 (see Table 5.01 and Figure 5.39 for MCD information).

The soldiers' barracks in the Outer Cabrits (CG-2) were selected for intensive investigations because of their relative isolation and relevant occupational history. This settlement complex is located outside of the hiking paths established by the Dominica National Parks. Historical accounts indicate that this complex was built during the construction spurt of the 1780s and 90s (see discussion of settlement history in section 4.3.1 of Chapter Four). In addition, individuals in the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment traveled from this part of the fort to take part in the 1802 revolt and, following its conclusion, were later imprisoned there. As opposed to the Cabrits Garrison laborer (CG-1), the higher elevation of this site would have made it more comfortable due to greater air flow and fewer mosquitoes and, in the minds of British administrators, a healthier settlement than those located in the valley. The Commandants Quarters listed on the 1799 map as located in the valley of the Cabrits was later moved, due to the prevailing theories of environmental disease causation, into the Officers' Quarters in the Outer Cabrits that is oriented along and east to west axis (refer to structure of this description with "4" on MPH 1/18 in Figure 4.03). The Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks complex would have housed white and black troops throughout the occupation of the fort.

Other studies of British military architecture and Caribbean colonial architecture have documented relevant features in the identification and interpretation of these contexts (Buckley 1998; Buisseret 1971, 1980, 2008; Crain 1994; Douet 1998; Gravette 2000). In general, soldiers' barracks in the Caribbean "descended from a common East Indian pattern of red brick walls, Roman arches, arcades, verandahs, shaded galleries, large square windows, and low silhouettes" (Buckley 1998: 328). Certain primary documents, including architectural plans and period illustrations, also aid in the recognition of important features characterizing these structures. For instance, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Whalley Light's drawing of the Beau Soleil British Army barracks in Guadeloupe in *Views of the West Indies, 1811-1812* includes relevant examples of what the soldiers' barracks at the Cabrits Garrison may have looked like, as well as a rare representation of a military community during the 1792-1815 war, including women, children and enslaved laborers (Buckley 1998: 152).

Buckley (1998: 327-350) describes the "barrack world" as consisting of a distinctive military architecture, but one that varied from crude huts with thatched roofs to impressive stone and brick structures. The distribution of West Indian garrisons and their limitations in size resulted in individual camp style settlements suited for small groups of men and sometimes women and children as opposed to the expansive military cantonments of British India. Conditions inside the typical barracks were often dark, stuffy and generally overcrowded. Soldiers were packed together with 300 to 400 cubic feet of space allotted to individuals. In frontier settings throughout the Caribbean that experienced comparatively little action, British army personnel had a tremendous amount of idle time. Soldiers were provided with basic commodities, including bread or flour, salted beef or pork, peas and rice. They were expected to prepare their own meals, resulting in a relatively "decentralized activity" (Buckley 1998: 349). Other items were added to this diet based on soldiers' access to surrounding markets, primarily those operated by slaves. This situation accurately reflects the opinions regarding social status prevalent among the British administrative class towards the lower echelons of society who largely filled the ranks of the imperial army.

To save money, individuals were crammed into hot and often disease-ridden structures that were poorly designed to face harsh and unfamiliar conditions. Given the wider focus of this project on military labor, it is important to note that barracks were most often built as well as cleaned by enslaved laborers, commonly referred to as “fort Negroes.”



**Figure 5.27:** The cistern at CG-2 in close proximity to “barrack 1” (photo by Z. Beier).

Initial clearing and surveying of the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) began during the 2008 summer field season (see Figure 5.07 for site photograph). Systematic archaeological shovel testing of CG-2 began in 2010. Since no area excavations were completed in CG-2, the data assemblage reflects a sample of each of the four structures identified. Roughly ten STPs were situated in and around each structure. A block of four soldiers’ barracks characterizes CG-2 with a cistern located close by in the northwest corner of the site (Figure 5.27). The structure located farthest west adjacent to the volcanic tuff ridge overlooking the Caribbean Sea is referred to as “barrack 1”, with “barrack 2” located approximately 10 meters east, and so on (see Figure 5.03 for CG-2 survey map). Stone foundations measuring approximately 5 meters wide and 47 meters in length represent the remains of these structures. Thicknesses of external walls vary for each building but, in general, walls are thicker along the shorter east to west axis (Figure 5.28), measuring 100 cm, in contrast to 75 cm along the longer north to south axis. The

east wall for each structure is generally more robust and visible on the ground surface, while the west wall is often absent (Figure 5.29). This pattern reflects the need to build up the east side of the building that faces the wind and overlooks the sloped terraces separating each structure. In comparison to the high concentration of artifacts scattered across the ground surface of the Cabrits laborer village (CG-1), surface evidence was almost absent at CG-2 besides a few architectural features and other small finds. This may reflect differences in refuse behavior resulting from contrasting settlement patterns and different levels of socially controlled space. These themes will be further explored in later chapters.



**Figure 5.28:** The north wall of "barrack 2" in CG-2 with entryway (photo by Z. Beier).

Intensive pedestrian survey and shovel testing in CG-2 identified extant surface and subsurface features and deposits of artifacts crucial to assessing the settlement pattern and nature of daily life in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). Depths of test excavations varied because of differences in the topography of the site. Out of the 41 STPs completed in this area, 23 went no deeper than 30 cm before encountering the volcanic bedrock layer or portions of exposed architecture (i.e. walls). These shallower contexts are most often associated with the sloped terraces separating each barrack structure and inside

these buildings, especially barracks 1 and 2, which are situated higher in elevation than barracks 3 and 4. Shallow contexts were less likely to recover any artifacts, such as H-004. This test pit extended just 6 cm below the ground surface. The remaining 18 STPs went below 30 cm, with the deepest pit (N-004) extending to 68 cm below the ground surface. These test pits either encountered volcanic bedrock at a lower level or not at all. Deeper contexts are found concentrated in areas outside the CG-2 building complex, especially in the southern portion of the site. Certain pits inside of structures extend below the elevation where volcanic tuff was typically encountered inside structures (between 0-30 cm). These contexts may indicate the presence of trenches for the placement of internal walls (J-009) or subterranean storage areas (N-004), like the ones seen in the drawing of the Beau Soleil soldiers' barracks by Lieutenant Colonel Light (see image in Buckley 1998: 152) but each require further investigation to clarify their particular function.



**Figure 5.29:** The east wall of "barrack 3" in CG-2 facing north (photo by Z. Beier)



A variety of surface and subsurface features were documented during archaeological investigations. During survey efforts around “barrack 1”, six post-holes were identified that had been carved into the volcanic tuff ridge overlooking this structure. This ridge has been modified and lined with cut, mortared stones to form a walkway overlooking the barracks as well as the Caribbean Sea. It undoubtedly served both an architectural and sentry function. The post-holes dug into the base of this walkway are circular in shape and measure approximately 30 cm (Figure 5.30). They are situated approximately 1 meter apart from one another along the E995 transect line (C). While test excavations did not explore these contexts, they are most likely associated with the verandah style architecture of the barracks or served as a possible fence line for the modified volcanic ridge walkway.



**Figure 5.30:** A Post-hole cut into the volcanic bedrock western boundary at CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier).

Other features encountered during the intensive survey of CG-2 include stone stairways associated with the north and south walls of the barracks. Most of the soldiers' barracks demonstrated evidence of cut stones projecting from the external walls in an alignment resembling stairs. Entryways may very well have

been present along the longer east-west walls but none were identified archaeologically. This type of architectural feature is most clearly visible along the north wall of “barrack 2” (see Figure 5.28 referred to earlier in this section). In some cases, this feature is not clearly discernable and may have been dislodged or removed because of disturbance to the site. This absence may also suggest variation in the architectural design of these barracks. For instance, no entryway is present along the north wall of “barrack 4.” Interestingly, the wall is complete and demonstrates no evidence for an entryway (Figure 5.31). These stones may have been disturbed over the years, but if sealed, this articulate wall may provide further rationale for the presence of a possible subterranean storage area in the northern portion of “barrack 4.”



**Figure 5.31:** The north wall of “barrack 4” in CG-2. This foundation lacks evidence for an entryway typical of other barracks in this complex (photo by Z. Beier).

The final type of feature encountered during survey is a stone enclosure identified approximately 2 meters beyond the east wall of “barrack 1” (Figure 5.32). It is located 3 meters south of E-005 (N975/E1005). This square feature measures approximately 1 meter by 1 meter along its outside edge. It’s enclosure measures approximately 50 cm square. The function of this feature was not immediately known

until test excavations in the area identified an associated component, a slate drain uncovered in STP E-005 (Figure 5.33), which better revealed its purpose as a small water catchment tank channeling rainwater into the larger cistern located in the north of the site through an underground drainage system.



**Figure 5.32:** A water catchment tank located between "barrack 1" and "barrack 2" in CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier).



**Figure 5.33:** A slate drain identified at E-005 in close proximity to water tank in CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier)

Test excavations throughout the CG-2 barracks complex identified different types of subsurface features associated with the settlement plan of the site. As mentioned above, a portion of a drainpipe was identified during test excavations at E-005 (see Figure 5.33). The top of this feature, a slab of slate 3 cm thick, was encountered approximately 10 cm below the ground surface. Excavations into this drain reached a depth of 42 cm and revealed its composition. The top and bottom of the feature is comprised of slate slabs. The sidewalls are made from three stacked bricks with stone and mortar lining the edge. Aligned with the cistern, located approximately 25 meters to the north, and the previously described stone enclosure, located 3 meters to the south, this drain feature appears to have channeled rainwater between these catchment tanks.



**Figure 5.34:** A possible post-hole identified at F-006 near "barrack 2" in CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier).

Other test pits supplied subsurface evidence associated with the architectural style of these barrack structures. Two test pits (F-006, F-010) revealed potential evidence for the presence of stone lined post-holes located around the west wall of "barrack 2." Test excavations at F-006, located approximately 1 meter outside the wall, documented a concentration of stones approximately 15 cm below the ground surface. Cobble sized stones are aligned in a circular fashion with flat faced stones lining the exterior (Figure 5.34). The feature measures approximately 28 cm in length and 30 cm in width, but may in fact not be totally exposed by the test unit. Further testing is required to confirm the dimensions of this feature. Many artifacts were recovered amidst this concentration of stone, including bottle glass, British ceramics and white pipe bowl fragments. Excavations reached a depth of 58 cm before the water line prevented further digging. The volcanic bedrock layer identified throughout CG-2 was not reached at F-006. Like the carved impressions identified along the modified volcanic ridge west of "barrack 1", these post-holes may be associated with the verandah style architecture of the barracks. The presence of this style of verandah

is documented in contemporary architectural plans as well as in illustrations, like the one of the Beau Soleil soldiers' barracks drawn by Lieutenant Colonel Light in the first half the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Buckley 1998: 152). It remains unclear if verandahs were located on both east and west side of the structures.

Additional evidence for the use of post-holes was encountered during excavations at F-010. Located adjacent to a portion of the west wall of "barrack 2", this feature may be associated with the framing of the interior wall of the structure. Like excavations at F-006, many artifacts were recovered in this context, including bottle glass, wrought iron nails, refined British ceramics and a piece of modified lead, but the integrity of the feature in F-010 is not as clearly defined. Half of a cobble size stone lined feature was uncovered at F-010. This visible portion measures approximately 22 cm in length and 15 cm in width. Without further testing around this area it remains possible this feature is more appropriately associated with internal partitioning of the structure or a concentration of wall fall associated with the west wall of "barrack 4." The volcanic bedrock layer was not encountered during excavations, which reached a depth of 45 cm. A sterile layer of brown clay (Stratum V) was documented at 30 cm. No artifacts were found associated with this natural level at CG-2.

Archaeological testing around the inside and outside of exterior walls better defined these architectural features and the nature of their construction. A few test pits identified portions of wall not visible from the ground surface. Excavations at C-008 exposed a portion of the west wall of "barrack 1" (Figure 5.35). This pit encountered evidence of this wall, including a line of mortared stones, as well as volcanic bedrock at approximately 14 cm below the ground surface. It demonstrates how the volcanic bedrock was dug out to place the west wall securely against this natural layer. Excavations at J-005 revealed a similar construction technique. This test pit is located inside "barrack 2" adjacent to an unexposed portion of the west wall. It provides an internal profile of this partition. The volcanic bedrock layer was exposed less than 10 cm below the ground surface. A small portion of the west wall is evident in the western profile of this test unit. Like C-008, the wall is secured against the natural bedrock underlying

the site. In contrast to these test pits, excavations at M-006 revealed a portion of the east wall of “barrack 4” that does not use the volcanic bedrock for structural support (Figure 5.36). This test pit went 47 cm below the ground surface and provided significant evidence about the composition and depth of the exterior walls of the barracks. The exposed wall is composed of cut stones that are mortared together. The bottom of the test unit reached the volcanic bedrock and the portion of exposed wall was found to sit on top of this layer.



**Figure 5.35:** Test excavations at C-008 show portions of the west wall of “barrack 1” abutting the natural volcanic bedrock. Note, STP number was mislabeled by the author on photo board (photo by Z. Beier).



**Figure 5.36:** Test excavations at M-006 show portions of the east wall of “barrack 4” and the depth of deposits in this area (photo by Z. Beier).

Other test pits provided evidence for the modification of the bedrock layer for possible builder’s trenches. At I-008, a high concentration of artifacts was collected amidst an undifferentiated sandy loam soil (Stratum I), including bottle glass, wrought iron nails, British ceramics and tobacco pipe fragments. Excavations identified volcanic bedrock in the east side of the test unit at approximately 10 cm below the ground surface, but the western portion of the unit continued through the sandy loam. The volcanic bedrock layer was identified at a depth of 40 cm on this side of the test unit. While a large tree root caused a substantial amount of disruption in this context, the different elevations between these volcanic bedrock

surfaces may demonstrate how this natural layer was dug out during the construction of the west wall of “barrack 2” located approximately 1 meter to the east of I-008.



**Figure 5.37:** A portion of an interior wall identified at M-011 inside “barrack 4” at CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier).

Finally, certain STPs provided clearer evidence about the internal construction and organization of the barrack structures. A few test pits encountered features potentially related to internal partitions. At J-009, located inside “barrack 3”, a possible wall trench running horizontally through the unit was identified during test excavations. The clearest evidence for the presence of internal walls was identified in M-011 (Figure 5.37). This test pit is situated inside of “barrack 4.” Excavations revealed a concentration of tightly packed stones. This context is associated with two lines of wall stones identified during survey. M-011 is located 35 cm south of the horizontal partition and less than 1-meter east of the vertical wall. Identifying potential internal partitions is important in developing a clearer understanding of the room divisions inside the soldiers’ barracks as well as the cramped conditions faced by regular British infantry between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The internal organization of “barrack 4” demonstrates that everyone probably had enough space to string up a hammock and perhaps share a seat with a fellow soldier.



**Figure 5.38:** A stone subfloor feature identified at K-003 inside “barrack 3” in CG-2 (photo by Z. Beier).

Additional STPs identified subsurface deposits not observed in areas across the site. A potential stone subfloor feature was identified during test excavations at K-003 (Figure 5.38). This unit is situated near the northeast corner of “barrack 3.” This concentration of stone cobbles and boulders could perhaps be a dense layer of wall fall, but could have also been used to support the wood floor of the building. A high frequency of animal bones along with wrought iron nails was found in this context. Test excavations at N-004, located in the northern portion of “barrack 4”, revealed a context possibly associated with a cellar or other type of subterranean storage area. A unique surface depression undocumented anywhere else at the site characterizes this area (see Figure 5.31 referred to earlier in this section). Excavations went to a depth of 68 cm through a thick layer of undifferentiated loam (Stratum I). This was the deepest STP excavated at CG-2. A layer of stone rubble mixed with mortar, coral and shell was identified at approximately 25 cm. A high frequency of artifacts was collected within and directly below this layer, including bottle glass, refined British ceramics, wrought iron nails, animal bone and ferrous metal objects. Close to the bottom of this test pit a clay loam (Stratum II) layer was identified on top of the volcanic bedrock (Stratum IV). This context



provides compelling evidence for the presence of a storage area in “barrack 4” of CG-2, like the cellars featured in the Lieutenant Colonel Light’s drawing of the Beau Soleil soldiers’ barracks (Buckley 1998: 154).

Although areas of significance at CG-2 require more extensive testing, preliminary findings are suggestive. The four buildings tested are laid out on a north-south axis. They consist of long and skinny stone foundations supporting wooden structures. The stone foundations were composed from mortar, which included coral and shell. The high frequency of nails (n=384; 1,259.2 G) denotes the reliance on wood for the construction of walls and roofs. This interpretation is supported by a return from “Prince Ruperts Head, Dominica, 29 Oct. 1794.” “The Carpenters have some time finished the shingling and boarding of the Barracks on the Outer Cabrits” (TNA PRO 30/11/54). These structures potentially had internal divisions based on stone foundations that could have supported these partitions.

Analysis of the recovered archaeological materials will be further explored in preceding chapters of this dissertation, but these findings reveal important information relating to chronology and function of the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). Mean ceramic dating (MCD) pinpoints the height of occupation at this CG-2 between 1795-1798 (see Table 5.02 and Figure 5.39 for MCD information). A limited diversity of ceramic finds was recovered. This assemblage is primarily dominated by creamware (n=92; 122.5 G) and pearlware (n=92; 139.1 g), with a striking low frequency of unrefined coarse earthenware (n=10; 55 g) as compared to other areas investigated. Higher frequencies of faunal remains were recovered at this site (n=283; 143.4 g), characterized by large mammal and mammal bones and some land crab gastroliths. A range of military-related equipment was recovered, including a modified-lead flint wrap (Figure 8.04) and trigger guard (Figure 8.02) of probable French manufacture. Small finds included a few regimental buttons (Figure 8.13) as well as a stippled floral button for personal adornment purposes (Figure 8.12). The artifact assemblage recovered was much smaller than other areas investigated, reflecting either different deposition patterns (i.e. throwing garbage over the cliff) or a lack of possessions among regular infantry

stationed here. No distinctive West India Regiment (WIR) material was collected either, which limits interpretations to the reality that both white and black soldiers occupied these barracks at various times.

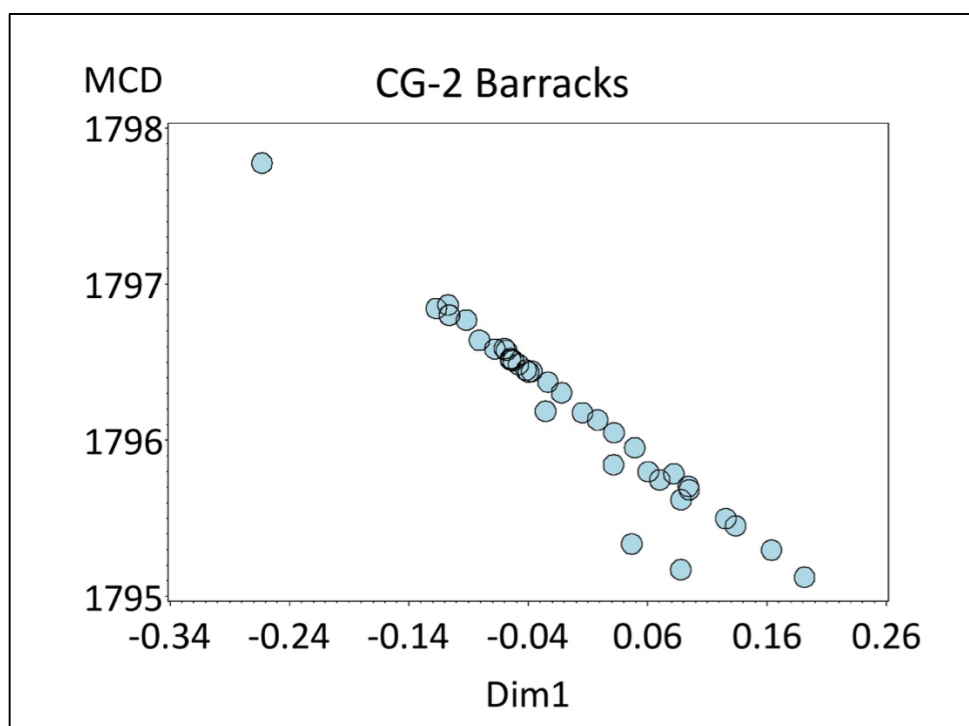


Figure 5.39: Plot of mean ceramic dates (MCD) from archaeological contexts at CG-2 (image created by Jillian Galle, DAACS).

## 5.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed field methods and analysis techniques used during exploratory testing and excavations at archaeological sites within the Cabrits Garrison between 2008 and 2011. Survey and excavations identified a series of structures and settlement features as well as different types of household level archaeological data that can be conclusively related to the everyday practices of enslaved fort laborers and soldiers, including individuals serving in the West India Regiments (WIR). Excavations reveal degrees of similarities and differences in construction methods, materials and overall design and alignment in the household structures investigated. Each structure serves a domestic function, but this designation is challenged by the presence of tools in certain contexts, such as “structure 2” of CG-1. At CG-2, while each soldiers’ barrack appears similar, subtle differences in their design suggest subtle differences in the use of

these living quarters. A considerable amount of data is not recorded in written sources. Testing of strata I, II and III reveal archaeological assemblages dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This dataset sheds light on the complex network of social relations operating at the site as well as differences and similarities in regards to material access and choices associated with material use throughout the Cabrits Garrison. These household level behavior patterns are central to this investigation of “lived space” among military laborers at this site and are more fully explored in the remaining chapters.

## Chapter 6

### Dwelling at the Cabrits Garrison

#### 6.1 Architectural Group: Dwelling

Architectural material culture provides a primary link between artifacts and their respective spaces. Built environments are significant in defining contexts of social interaction and have been used as key aspects in the archaeological distinction between broad identity categories, including public versus private spaces and elite versus low status spaces (Gardner 2007: 186,206). Additionally, the archaeology of architecture ensures that questions of labor are addressed as the construction of private and public buildings in colonial settlements involved different forms of labor (Voss 2008: 871). The hierarchical organization of British military labor throughout the colonial world is characterized by a great degree of conformity in the design and use of public and private space, especially at fortifications, but, the activities of inhabitants and changes in social relations provide avenues for the negotiation of rigid identities.

Architectural evidence from households at colonial military sites offers insights into the varying interactions and institutions inhabitants were engaged across varying scales of colonial life. In this chapter, I start by examining the site-wide architecture-related assemblage from the Cabrits Garrison and then turn to the specific domestic contexts from the laborer village (CG-1) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Evidence for domestic architecture at the Cabrits Garrison comprises a variety of material types, including coral and mortar, earthenware bricks and tiles, nails and other fasteners, hardware, window glass, and other material types (Table 6.01). This artifact group constitutes the largest portion of the total artifacts recovered from excavations at the Cabrits Garrison (n=5,776; 49,288.1 g) (see Table 5.01 for comparison to other artifact categories). Evidence from the laborer village (CG-1) contributes the greatest percentage of this material (n=4,912; 45,127.7 g). The small unit survey in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) recovered substantially less architectural evidence (n=864; 4,160.4 g). This is no doubt related to the fact that area excavations were not situated in this portion of the site. The high frequency of architectural

evidence in CG-1 may also be associated with the variation in construction materials and practices in this area as opposed to the apparent unity in construction techniques documented at CG-2. In general, data indicates a diversity of construction techniques and local and imported resources at the domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison. The materials collected constitute a fraction of the building materials that would have been apparent during the occupation of the fort. Many structural elements were undoubtedly made of wood, but the stone, earthenware and, to a lesser extent, metal components are what preserved the best. These different types of construction materials can be related to popular western conceptions of “civilized”, state-driven architecture as opposed to more “primitive”, localized forms based on perceived strengths and weaknesses in regards to quality and appearance of these materials (Gardner 2007: 120). Practically speaking, these material differences also relate to the level of investment in housing for lower status military personnel, with apparently less investment occurring in housing construction for laborers in CG-1 than in other areas of the fort. Additionally, this evidence alludes to varying levels of the agent-centered behavior of occupants who actively experienced these spaces. Examinations of military housing for laborers and soldiers provide a window into the process of design, construction and the use of these imperial-sponsored buildings in the broader context of Caribbean society.

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Metal nails, fasteners and other hardware	2553	10209.9
Tile, brick and other earthenware architecture	1616	35341.4
Other architectural materials	1607	3736.8
	<b>5776</b>	<b>49288.1</b>

**Table 6.01:** The three primary types of dwelling-related artifacts considered in this analysis.

The most obvious architectural artifacts observed on the ground surface of areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison were the countless volcanic tuff fragments, limestone cobbles and boulders, and bricks that would have once made up the foundations, walls and roofs for laborer housing and soldiers' barracks. Out of the architectural materials collected through shovel testing and area excavations in CG-1

and CG-2, nails (n=2,506; 8,721.2 g), tiles (n=991; 19,442.1 g) and bricks (n=622; 15,475 g) were the most common but, as will be demonstrated in later sections, were not evenly represented at the domestic contexts investigated. Many of these materials arrived at the Cabrits Garrison in the ballasts of the countless British ships entering Prince Rupert's Bay between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Others, like the wood, limestone and coral for mortar, were locally procured on the island. Many of these materials have not preserved well since their discard or abandonment and are highly fragmented and/or corroded. In some instances, this prevented the confident identification of material forms and their complete documentation. Certain information, such as the lengths and widths of materials (i.e. nails, tile and brick), was only recorded when objects were complete. The following discussion provides necessary information on certain architectural evidence, which aids in the interpretation of the domestic contexts throughout the Cabrits Garrison settlement. Since much of the archaeological evidence from the Cabrits Garrison is associated with domestic contexts excavated in the laborer village (CG-1), the following descriptions rely more on materials from this portion of the site.

## 6.2 Metal nails, fasteners and other hardware

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Nails	2506	8721.2
Spike	3	132.9
Metal scrap/waste	24	664.3
Metal washer	8	88.5
Other types of metal fasteners	5	15.1
Miscellaneous metal hardware	7	587.9
	<b>2553</b>	<b>10209.9</b>

**Table 6.02:** Various types of metal nails, fasteners and hardware recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

Nails and other metal fasteners and hardware were the most numerous architectural items collected during excavations at domestic contexts in the Cabrits Garrison (n=2,553; 10,209.9 g) (Table 6.02). The assemblage was poorly preserved and very fragmented. Some objects went unclassified while

for many it was impossible to collect complete information. The clear majority of this collection is composed of nails (n=2,506; 8,721.2 g), primarily of wrought iron manufacture, but this collection also includes forged copper alloy nails (n=2,415; 8,424.2 g) (Figure 6.01). Wrought nails were frequently used as common house nails during this period. This function corresponds well with the average length of nails recovered during excavations (3.7 cm), which is a suitable length for use in boarding, flooring, fastening rafters and framing. Unfortunately, this average is based off a limited number of complete nails (n=6) in the recovered assemblage.



**Figure 6.01:** A wrought copper alloy nail recovered from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

Up until the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wrought nails were regularly imported to the European colonies in “stock sizes of bars, flat stock, and rods” where they were later forged “using specialized versions of standard blacksmithing tools, including hammer, anvil, and header” (Wells 1998: 80-82). These nails were handmade and exhibit hammering on the head and all four sides. At the Cabrits Garrison, this type of labor would have been accomplished at the forge, located in the northern portion of the valley within the laborer village. The forge would have served as a facility marked by engineered processes, production equipment, tooling, raw materials and products to meet construction and technological demands common to fort life. It is assumed this facility relied on the different forms of labor (free and enslaved, skilled and unskilled) employed at the fort. Along with other artifact types useful in establishing site chronologies, such as ceramics and tobacco pipes made in Britain, the high concentration of wrought nails in the domestic contexts excavated supports their construction and occupation in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and

abandonment before the popularization of industrially produced iron and steel machine-cut forms (Noël Hume 2001; Wells 1998).

In addition to wrought nails, other types of fasteners were identified. A few heavier and longer nails, classified as spikes, were identified during excavations (n=3; 132.9 g). Like common wrought/forged house nails in their appearance and iron composition, these spikes were probably used in structural framing but may have also served as some other type of hardware.

Various forms of lead scraps and waste were also found in association with architectural evidence (n=22; 655.6 g). These materials could have been the remains of lead shot manufacture and reuse, but this type of evidence was specifically documented as casting waste (n=8; 450.4 g) based on signature patterns of use wear. The multiple uses of lead in domestic contexts will be discussed in later sections in respect to guns and ammunition as well as for more personalized items. The recovered lead scraps and waste are more than likely the remains of various architectural applications, especially as an all-purpose sealant. A few wrought iron nails were collected in association with cast lead washers (n=7; 77.4 g) (Figure 6.02). These lead objects apparently served as washers used to secure ceramic roofing tiles or wood shingles, fix furniture, or seal cracks. Another style of wrought iron washer was also identified during excavations (n=1; 11.1g) as well as iron scraps and waste (n=2; 8.7 g).



**Figure 6.02:** Examples of lead washers recovered from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).



Lead and iron served a variety of purposes during this period, but as no local sources of metals exist in Dominica, the clear majority of the nails and other fasteners discussed in this section, were most likely imported to this British fort. Straps or fasteners fashioned from locally acquired organic materials no doubt played a role in domestic architecture at military sites but no examples were identified at the Cabrits Garrison and these materials most likely did not preserve in the archaeological record. Other types of metal fasteners recovered during excavations may have been used for architectural purposes, including a copper alloy bolt (n=1; 3.6 g), wrought iron screw (n=1; 4.8 g), wrought iron rivet (n=1; 1.4 g), copper alloy tack (n=1; 2.4 g) and a tinned copper alloy band (n=1; 2.9 g), but these may have also served in gun parts, furniture or jewelry, as mentioned in later chapters.

Finally, excavations recovered a variety of miscellaneous pieces of hardware associated with domestic architecture (n=7; 587.9 g). This class of architectural materials includes metal objects used to support walls, secure windows and doors, and act as locking mechanisms. For the most part, these wrought iron objects cannot be confidently identified because they are too badly corroded. They include a possible bracket (n=1; 68.1 g) with an associated bolt (n=1; 36.8 g), fragments of hinges (n=4; 374.1 g), and a door latch (n=1; 108.9 g). These pieces of hardware will be further described in relation to the specific domestic contexts they were recovered from at the Cabrits Garrison.

### 6.3 Tile, brick and other earthenware architecture

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Tile	991	19442.1
Brick	622	15475
Other earthenware architecture	3	424.3
	<b>1616</b>	<b>35341.4</b>

**Table 6.03:** Types of earthenware architecture from the Cabrits Garrison.

Earthenware ceramic forms were apparent in the construction of the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison (n=1,616; 35,341.4 g) (Figure 6.03). Ceramic materials associated with

architecture were particularly abundant in the excavations of the laborer village (CG-1) (n=1,569; 33,653.7 g). The primary ceramic forms represented in the assemblage recovered from both CG-1 and CG-2 include tiles used primarily for roofing or flooring (n=991; 19,442.1 g), bricks (n=622; 15,475 g) and a few specialized forms that may be drain pipes (n=3; 424.3 g).



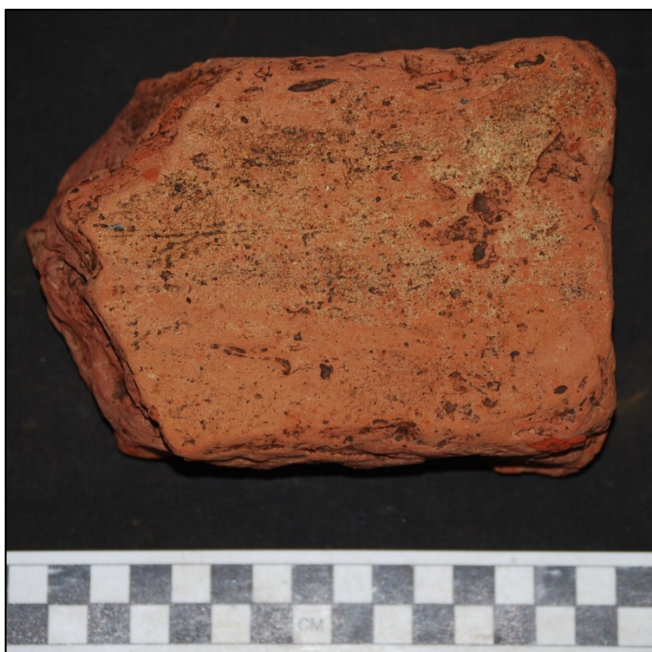
**Figure 6.03:** Standardized roofing tile with nail perforations and impressions from "structure 2" in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

The bricks and tile have a relatively uniform color and morphology and appear to have been industrially manufactured. These materials contributed to the distinctive visual character of the Cabrits Garrison during its occupation. This style of military architecture, accentuated on the landscape by the clear cutting of the native dry forest and vegetation, would have been quite striking to observers, especially in comparison to Portsmouth, the relatively undeveloped former capital located across Prince Rupert's Bay from the fort. This military site was conceived as different from others in the emerging Dominica colony and it was materialized this way. Even today, the recently reconstructed buildings in the Fort Shirley battery, including the officers' quarters and soldiers' barracks, stand out from other settlements along the northwest

coast of Dominica because of the bright red/orange tiled roofs and impressive cut stone and brick architecture. But judging by the fragmentary and highly dispersed nature of the tile and brick collected during excavations in the Cabrits Garrison, these ceramic materials may not have been ideally suited for a tropical setting characterized by high winds and precipitation. These stunning architectural elements would have required regular and expensive maintenance to preserve their integrity. Like the wrought iron nails and other metal fasteners, these ceramic materials were most likely imported to Dominica during the colonial period in the ballasts of ships entering Prince Rupert's Bay.

Tile is the most numerous earthenware artifact associated with architecture represented at the Cabrits Garrison (n=991; 19,442.1 g). As will be described, all of this material type is derived from the laborer village (CG-1). This assemblage is comprised of relatively low-fired ceramics manufactured in what appears to have been production molds. A clear majority of the tile is comprised of thin, rectangular forms, which suggests their use for roofing (n=972; 14,959.5 g) (Figure 6.03). This type of tile is on average 13 mm thick, but measurements of complete tiles (n=5) range between 11 mm and 17 mm thick. The color of the tile is a standard light red (2.5yr 6/8) to red (2.5yr 5/6) in color. Some of the roofing tile was distinguished based on the presence of nail perforations, no doubt a result of being attached to wooden rafters. In some cases, there appear to be faint concentric marks on the surface of tiles from where they were smoothed with a brush or cloth. A few flooring tiles were also recovered during excavations in CG-1 (n=8; 4,447.4 g). Their use for flooring is suggested by their thickness, which is much wider than the roofing tiles represented in the assemblage. The average thickness for flooring tiles is 34 mm, but measurements of complete examples (n=4) ranged between 28 mm and 37 mm. Flooring tile has a similar light red (2.5yr 6/8) to red color (2.5yr 5/6) as the roofing tile. Neither types of tile have glazes applied to their surfaces. The pastes for both types are relatively uniform, comprised of coarse quartz-like inclusions. The remaining portion of tile collected in CG-1 was highly fragmented with an unidentifiable function (n=11; 35.2 g). Since Dominica appears to lack any industrial kiln sites, it is assumed that earthenware tile would have been

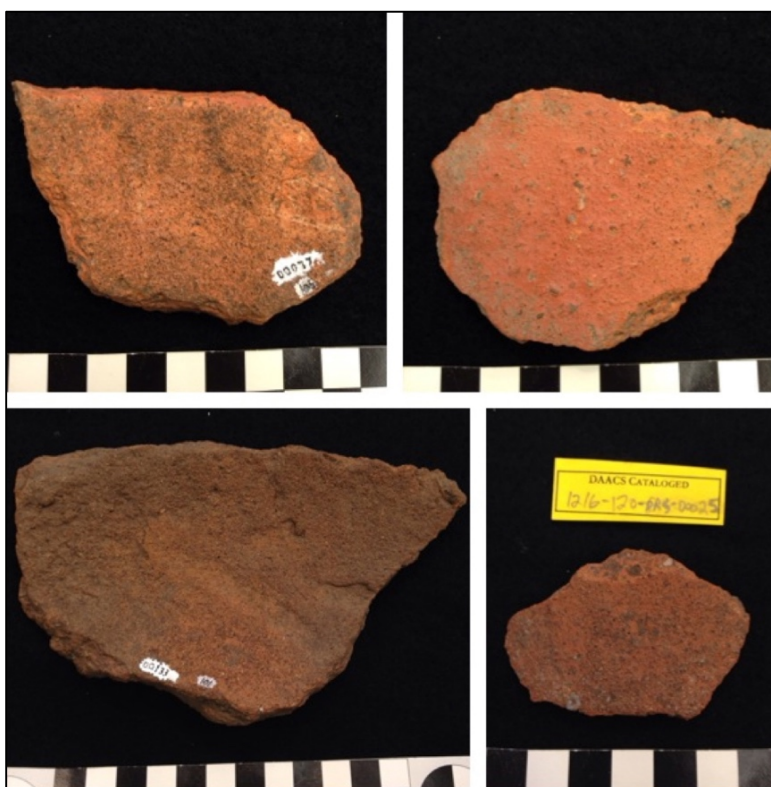
imported into the island through British provisioning networks, but the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe are known to have been active centers of ceramic trade and manufacture throughout the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison (Arcangeli 2012, 2014, 2015; Hauser and Kelly 2011; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008; Lenik 2010). It is possible that these ceramic tiles may have been produced in the French Caribbean region and then bought for use in British Dominica, but this a question requiring further investigation.



**Figure 6.04:** A near complete brick from CG-2 that is typical of the other examples recovered from the Cabrits Garrison (photo by Z. Beier).

The brick assemblage includes several handmade, coarse, low-fired examples (Figure 6.04). Despite their apparent handmade manufacture, like the examples of tile recovered from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), the bricks collected are also quite standardized in color and form (n=622; 15,475 g). Bricks are reddish brown (2.5yr 5/4) to light red (2.5yr 6/6) in color. A few examples have yellow (2.5y 7/8) to brownish-yellow (10yr 6/6) exteriors, which may be an applied paint color, but this is uncommon among the bricks collected. The average length and thickness for this artifact type is 150 mm long, 60 mm thick and 96 mm in width, which is based on the few complete examples collected during

excavations (n=10). For the most part, the exterior surfaces of bricks are relatively coarse. No distinctive stamps or labels were identified on any examples. The paste is characterized by coarse quartz-like inclusions along with white and red stones. It is assumed that earthenware bricks were imported into Dominica, since there are no known brick kiln sites, but it is possible these materials came from other local, regional, or international sources. This determination requires more detailed analysis to situate these objects within the context of the provisioning networks operating at this military site.



**Figure 6.05:** Possible earthenware drain pipes from the Cabrits Garrison (photo by Z. Beier).

The remaining earthenware materials with a possible architectural function include hand-built coarse earthenware objects that may have been used as drain pipes (n=3; 424.3 g) (Figure 6.05). These examples are considered here rather than in the Caribbean coarse earthenware typology described later with the analysis of kitchen group artifacts (see section 7.2.3 in Chapter Seven) as their function does not appear to relate to eating or drinking. The average thickness for the collected examples is 62 mm. This is much thicker than typical coarse earthenware sherds from storage or cooking vessels. In addition, the

sherds have a distinctive curvature that is too significant for other types of coarse earthenware vessels used for eating or storage. They have a dense paste with large quartz-like inclusions, black crystalline structures and white and red stones. There is slight variation in paste color between a red (2.5 yr 5/6) to reddish brown (5 yr 5/4). The exterior surfaces of these objects are marked with faint vertical and horizontal lines from apparent smoothing. It is possible these sherds are portions of specialized roofing tiles, perhaps for the edges of structures, but more research is necessary to confidently attribute function to these earthenware materials.

#### 6.4 Other architectural materials

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Mortar	99	762.1
Coral	133	268
Shell	174	164.3
Wood	44	39.9
Metal strapping	45	967
Metal sheeting	1006	1484.3
Window glass	103	40.5
Plate glass	3	10.7
	<b>1607</b>	<b>3736.8</b>

**Table 6.04:** Other types of architectural artifacts from the Cabrits Garrison.

The remaining architecture-related artifacts are of varying material type and origin (n=1,607; 3,736.8 g) (Table 6.04). This material assemblage is generally less abundant and diagnostic than the other groups previously discussed, but they are considered here to provide a thorough description of the domestic architecture investigated at the Cabrits Garrison.

Various sources of volcanic material, limestone, wood and shell, coral and sand for mortar are available in Dominica. These local materials were used in varying degrees in the construction of housing at the Cabrits Garrison. Excavations collected and documented these materials whenever possible. Fragments of lime mortar were commonly encountered during excavations in and around stone foundations but were difficult to collect intact (n=99; 762.1 g). This once workable paste used to bind construction

blocks together and fill gaps is characterized by a crumbly and rigid aggregate structure. It is a composite material that is surprisingly durable and is characterized by a watered-down mixture of sand, crushed coral and stones. An assortment of intact coral (n=133; 268 g) and shells (n=174; 164.3 g) were also collected. It is likely that the coral was collected from around the Cabrits peninsula and used for preparing mortar in work areas in the fort, like those in the engineer's yard. Some of the shells were no doubt collected for this purpose, but many are probably natural occurrences associated with land snails. Similarly, wood remains in varying degrees of preservation were collected during excavations (n=44; 39.9 g). This evidence is far too fragmentary to confidently assign particular architectural function or origin, but it may be remains of the many wooden components associated with the housing at the Cabrits Garrison, including roofing shingles, flooring planks, wall thatch and support posts. More material analysis is required to identify genus. This information could be used to determine whether any discernable spatial pattern to the distribution of coral, shell, and wood genera exist among the structures at the Cabrits Garrison.

The thin fragments of clear window glass recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison are undoubtedly international products imported into the fort through British provisioning networks. This relatively high-cost building material was not found in large concentrations (n=103; 40.5 g), but its wide distribution throughout the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) is unexpected. Window glass has typically been described as absent from 18<sup>th</sup> century enslaved African domestic contexts (Armstrong 1990: 168). These materials may be a product of disturbance events, such as the high winds, rain and erosion associated with hurricanes, and are perhaps associated with other structures near the study areas, including the buildings associated with the civil and engineer departments of the military near to the laborer village (CG-1). Additionally, these thin pieces of glass may be the remains of lanterns or other types of lighting fixtures. But it is more likely that certain housing structures at the Cabrits Garrison had glass windows. In addition to the recovered window glass, a few pieces of plate glass were collected (n=3; 10.7 g). This type of glass required a large capital investment to produce through the

casting process and may have served as a decorative architectural feature in living spaces investigated at the Cabrits Garrison.

Finally, a significant amount of metal sheeting (n=1,006; 1,484.3 g) and strapping (n=45; 967 g) was recovered during excavations in CG-1 and CG-2. These related material types are predominately wrought iron but some of the sheeting is composed of a copper alloy (n=25; 80.2 g). It is possible these materials were used for some type of architectural function, such as roofing, drainage, exterior lighting fixtures, or for covering portions of the substructure, but they may also be the remains of pails, basins, buckets, or the hoops of barrels. Due to this ambiguous function, metal sheeting and strapping do not play a significant role in this analysis of “lived space” at the Cabrits Garrison.

### 6.5 Patterns of “Dwelling” in the Laborer Village (CG-1)

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Metal nails, fasteners and other hardware	2152	8663
Tile, brick and other earthenware architecture	1569	33653.7
Other architectural materials	1191	2811
	<b>4912</b>	<b>45127.7</b>

**Table 6.05:** Primary types of dwelling-related artifacts from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

In addition to the settlement survey outlined in section 5.5.1 in Chapter Five, shovel test pits (STPs) and area excavations in the Cabrits laborer village (CG-1) provided considerable information on architecture. A total of 4,912 artifacts relating to domestic architecture were recovered (45,127.7 g) (Table 6.05). These findings reveal specifics about how these different living spaces were constructed and used. Open area excavations targeted two distinct household contexts in CG-1. Seven one-meter square units were used for the investigation of “structure 1”, while 27 one-meter square units were situated in and around the housing platform defining “structure 2.” Unlike the architecture of “structure 1”, which is characterized by a stone foundation visible on the ground surface, open area excavations were required to expose discernable portions of the floor plan for “structure 2.” “Structure 1” excavations went deeper than



those around “structure 2” because of the lower situated volcanic tuff bedrock in this area. The following sections describe the architectural evidence recovered from these living spaces within the laborer village (CG-1) of the Cabrits Garrison.

### 6.5.1 Dwelling at “Structure 1”

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Nails, spikes and other metal fasteners	1119	4260
Tile	353	4548.4
Brick	404	4226.6
Mortar	22	311.6
Coral	29	75.4
Shell	47	118.6
Metal sheeting	250	394.5
Window glass	33	14.2
Plate glass	2	8
	<b>2259</b>	<b>13957.3</b>

**Table 6.06:** Dwelling-related artifacts from “structure 1” in CG-1.

A total of 2,259 architecture-related artifacts are considered in this analysis of dwelling practices at “structure 1” (13,957.3 g) (Figure 6.06). Along with the documentation of this structure’s rectangular stone foundation, which is described in section 5.5.1.a of Chapter Five, the high frequency of nails, bricks, and tiles recovered are the most diagnostic forms of architectural evidence from this context (refer to 5.18 for “structure 1” plan map).

Nails and other types of fasteners were among the most common form of architectural evidence collected (n=1,119; 4,260 g). A clear majority of this material consists of wrought iron nails (n=1,114; 4,149.6 g), with a few larger spikes (n=2; 68.8 g) and some wrought iron nails piercing cast lead washers (n=3; 41.6 g) that were used for more specialized architectural purposes, such as attaching roofing tile to wooden planks. Two (25.5 g) of these composite objects were recovered inside the structure at Unit 4 (N914/E985), while an additional one (16.1 g) was collected during excavations along the exterior of the west wall at Unit 3 (N913/E983). The high frequency of wrought iron nails is particularly telling. This

structure was undoubtedly built and occupied by at least the early 19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier (Wells 1998). Also, the number of nails and other fasteners is greater than the number of nails recovered during “structure 2” excavations, which is suggestive of the different architectural styles characterizing these buildings. The higher number of nails recovered from fewer excavation units (one-meter x one-meter) at this structure suggests a higher quality of construction, and perhaps the use of wood floors in the building plan. 675 wrought nails (2,803.3 g) were recovered from the three units situated inside of “structure 1”, while the four units located outside the structure collected 443 wrought nails (1,396 g).

In addition, a higher frequency of brick was recovered during excavations at this stone foundation building than at “structure 2.” A total of 404 pieces of earthenware brick was collected (4,226.6 g). This higher proportion suggests more investment by administrators in the construction of this structure, particularly in regards to its physical presentation and integrity. Most of the brick was recovered in the units outside the foundation of “structure 1” (n=245; 3,337.3 g). This pattern may be associated with the use of this material for portions of the exterior stone and mortar foundations, which eventually collapsed outwards. The concentration of brick fragments (n=111; 709 g) encountered at Unit 33 (N917/985), which is situated on and immediately outside of a portion of the structure’s north wall, confirms the use of brick in lower sections of foundation walls, and perhaps is suggestive of a brick feature in this area, but further testing is required.

The 353 pieces of earthenware tile recovered from “structure 1” excavations confirm the use of this material in the architecture of this domestic space (4,548 g). Much of this tile is for roofing (n=340; 2,685.4 g) but a few pieces are believed to have been used for portions of the floor (n=2; 1,827.8 g), perhaps around entry ways, but this assumption requires further testing, while other fragments were unidentifiable (n=11; 35.2 g). A bulk of the roofing tile and all the predicted flooring material was collected in units outside of the structure (n=240; 3,634.6 g), with a smaller percentage recovered in units investigating the interior

(n=113; 913.8 g). This pattern perhaps suggests that tile was blown away from the structure from high winds and rain rather than collapsing within the walls of the structure.



**Figure 6.06:** Excavations at Unit 2 around the west wall of “structure 1” identified a shell within this brick, cut stone and mortar feature (photo by Z. Beier).

Beyond the presence of this primary architectural evidence, other material forms associated with human processes of dwelling were collected. Shell (n=47; 118.6 g), coral (n=29; 75.4 g) and fragments of mortar (n=22; 311.6 g) were encountered in most of the excavation units. Predictably, the greatest proportion of shells (n=43; 11), coral (n=20; 57.7 g) and mortar (n=16; 279.7 g) is concentrated in the four units situated on or outside the foundation walls. Investigations at Unit 2 (N914/E983) contributed the greatest number of shells (n=36; 103.6), including a large shell within the stone, brick and mortar wall fall (Figure 6.06). This level of predictability in regards to patterns of archaeological deposition is a good sign that this domestic context has been relatively undisturbed since its abandonment somewhere in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As mentioned earlier, fragments of window glass were recovered throughout CG-1 excavations. 33 pieces were recovered during excavations of “structure 1” (14.2 g). This material was found in all the

excavation units but is most heavily concentrated in units located on the exterior of “structure 1” (n=21; 10.4 g). It is believed that the exterior walls of this structure were constructed from wood planks and since this infrastructure has long since deteriorated it is difficult to determine how these window fragments glass articulated with the overall architectural outline of the structure. But it is assumed from their presence that windows or possibly other types of lighting fixtures (i.e. lanterns) were used in this domestic context. Along with window glass, two fragments of plate glass (8 g) were recovered in the interior of structure during excavations at Unit 4 (N914/E985). This material is generally thought to be a high-cost item during this period and could have potentially served a decorative function in the architecture of “structure 1.” The limited amount and diagnostic character of these different types of glass restricts their interpretive value for interpreting architectural practices in this context.

Finally, in respect to the metal sheeting and strapping recovered in excavations throughout CG-1, no metal (iron) strapping was collected at “structure 1” but sheeting was recovered (n=250; 394.5 g). Most of this material was found on the exterior of the structure (n=221; 224.3 g), especially in units located on the west side of the building. While the function of this artifact type is not definitively known at this point, it is possible metal sheeting could have been used for some type of architectural purpose, such as roofing and substructure covering or to assist in drainage. While included in the total number for architectural group evidence, the ambiguous function of metal sheeting and strapping limits its usefulness in the present analysis of dwelling patterns.

### 6.5.2 Dwelling at “Structure 2”

A total of 2,387 architecture-related artifacts (27,003.8 g) are used in this analysis of “structure 2” (Table 6.07). Along with this collected assemblage, open area excavations also identified a series of post-holes and a trench or drain feature (F021) associated with this structure’s floor plan (see section 5.5.1.b in Chapter Five for a discussion of this architectural style and Figure 5.20 for a plan map of “structure 2”). Like excavations at “structure 1”, nails and earthenware bricks and tiles were among the most common artifacts

collected and are diagnostic of principle elements used in the architecture of this structure. Other materials that undoubtedly aided in the construction of this structure, such as organics like wood, did not preserve well and thus do not form a significant part of this analysis.

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Nails, spikes and other metal fasteners	957	3087.3
Miscellaneous metal hardware	7	587.9
Tile	551	13089.6
Brick	133	8052.6
Other earthenware architecture	3	424.3
Mortar	1	42.3
Coral	1	1.3
Shell	9	25.6
Metal strapping	27	725.7
Metal sheeting	651	948
Window glass	47	19.2
	<b>2387</b>	<b>27003.8</b>

**Table 6.07:** Dwelling-related artifacts from “structure 2” in CG-1.

A lower proportion of nails and other metal fasteners (n=957; 3,146.2 g) was collected at “structure 2” than at “structure 1”, which is significant because more area was excavated around this domestic context. 951 wrought iron nails were recovered (3,107.3 g), including one wrought spike (64.1 g) collected at Unit 32 (N977/E995). Nails were recovered in most of the excavation units, besides units 16 (N978/E999) and 26 (N981/E997). They were also found in association with the excavated features at various concentrations, including the oven or “earthen camp kitchen” (F009) adjacent to Unit 10 (N974/E993) and most of the excavated post-hole features (n=8) at various concentrations, but were absent from F002, a smaller sized post-hole located in Unit 17 (N978/E997) that was cut all the way through the volcanic tuff bedrock, perhaps resulting in the movement of artifacts under this natural layer. The heaviest concentration of nails is in excavation units in the southwestern portion of this locus. A total of 520 nails (1,516.6 g) was recovered from units 8 (N975/E994), 9 (N975/E993) and 10 (N974/E993) alone. This concentration may be related to erosion and other disturbance factors resulting in the deposition of

artifacts from the neighboring slope forming the western boundary of this locus. It is possible this area could have also been more heavily built up than other portions of “structure 2”, as evident by the large size of F001, a post-hole located between units 7 (N975/E995) and 8 (N975/E994) measuring .51 cm in length, .52 cm in width and .69 cm in depth; the most substantial post-hole excavated at the Cabrits Garrison (see Figure 5.21).

A noticeable reduction or complete absence of nails characterizes units in central and northeastern zones of “structure 2”. This pattern most likely reflects the fact that the structure lacked a wood plank floor, an architectural feature predicted to have existed at “structure 1.” Additionally, some of these units are situated in areas along the eastern and southern boundary of the housing platform. This area was apparently outside the walls of the structure and has a greater slope where small artifacts like nails have a higher likelihood of washing away from erosion and excessive flooding. In general, high densities of nails correspond with units in the southwestern portion of the structure as well as in and around the excavated features, including unit 20 (N980/E996) (n=23; 110 g), which contains the deepest portion of the terminal end of the drain or trench feature (F021), F006; a post hole measuring .35 cm in length, .35 cm in width and .45 cm in depth (n=23; 70.8 g), and F009; an oven or “earthen camp kitchen” (n=137; 267.9 g). This pattern demonstrates the use of nails in areas around now absent walls and in conjunction with features cut into the volcanic tuff bedrock. The lower number of nails in this structure as opposed to “structure 1” may be associated with the limited investment by administrators in the construction of this form of laborer housing as well as the absence of architectural design elements, such as a wooden floor.

Earthenware materials, including bricks and tiles, constitute a large portion of the collected architectural evidence at “structure 2.” Even though brick was heavily concentrated in excavation units at “structure 1”, a fact relating to the higher level of investment in the construction of this structure, this artifact type was heavily distributed throughout “structure 2.” Twenty more excavation units were used in the investigation of “structure 2”, but this concentration of brick is interesting given the fact that there is no

evidence of stone and mortar walls usually used in conjunction with these materials around the Cabrits Garrison.

The variation in size among the bricks collected at these loci requires further investigation, but most likely relates to the manner they were used at these differently designed structures. While a smaller number of earthenware bricks were recovered at “structure 2” (n=133; 8,052.6 g), these fragments are larger and substantially outweigh the collection recovered at “structure 1” (n=404; 4226.6 g). Bricks were noticeably absent from central and northeastern portions of “structure 2”, but like the pattern observed with nails and other artifact types associated with architecture, a higher frequency of bricks was concentrated in the units and features situated in the southwestern portion of this building than anywhere else. As mentioned earlier, this deposition pattern may reflect disturbances from the neighboring slope forming the western boundary of this locus, but it could also indicate a section of the structure with substantially more investment in architecture. A less extensive but revealing concentration of bricks is apparent in units adjacent to the trench or drain feature (F021). This may relate to the presence of a wall or partition in this vicinity of the structure. In general, bricks were absent from the assemblages recovered from post-holes. The larger post-holes, including F001 (n=3; 175.5 g) and F006 (n=10; 97.4 g), do not conform to this pattern and a small assemblage of bricks were recovered from each. These fragments were most likely part of the fill composed of a mixture of material intentionally placed in these carved depressions to secure the large wooden posts necessary for the wattle and daub style of construction. In addition to these features, small brick fragments (n=25; 24.8 g) were recovered during the excavation of the feature identified as an “earthen camp kitchen” (F009). This concentration is most likely associated with the natural filling of this context over time, especially in an area at the base of a slope prone to erosion.

No stone walls or foundations were definitively identified in relation to “structure 2.” Despite this absence of substantial infrastructure, more earthenware tile was recovered here than at “structure 1” (n=551; 13,089.6 g). 545 fragments of roofing tile (10,470 g) were recovered along with 6 fragments of

flooring tile (2,619.6 g). Tile was distributed throughout most of the excavation units but is densely concentrated in the southwestern portion of the study area. This zone, including units 8 (N975/E994), 9 (N975/E993) and 10 (N974/E993), is characterized by high deposition of artifacts and deeper excavation units. 383 fragments of tile (9,700 g), including the 6 examples of flooring tile (2,619.6 g), were collected from this area alone. In addition, excavations at the “earthen camp kitchen” (F009) located near these units collected a dense concentration of roofing tile in a comparatively small carved enclosure (n=56; 468.1 g).

Like interpretations made earlier in this section in respect to this portion of “structure 2”, the high frequency of tile that was recovered may be associated with disturbance processes that moved these materials from buildings above the lower situated laborer village. Roofing tile was also concentrated to lesser degrees in other portions of the structure, including 41 fragments (643.4 g) recovered in the northern portion of the trench feature at units 19 (N979/E996) and 20 (N980/E996). In contrast to the abundance of earthenware tile recovered from the excavation of the predicted oven feature (F009), the sampled post-hole features are characterized by a near absence of this artifact type. Out of the nine post-holes excavated, only two are associated with roofing tile, including F007 (n=1; 10.1 g) and two larger fragments recovered near the surface of F001 (351 g). This absence may indicate a pattern of using broken bricks and stones as fill to secure posts inside their carved holes, while earthenware tiles were reserved for roofing or flooring purposes. Despite potential intrusions from intervening disturbance processes, the higher frequency of tile at “structure 2”, specifically roofing tile, may indicate a larger and more complex roof for a structure more akin to barracks style living than what would be expected for a typical hut lacking a substantial stone foundation.

In respect to other materials associated with the architecture of “structure 2”, significantly less shell, coral and mortar were recovered during excavations of this locus. A few small marine and snail shells were collected in several excavation units (n=9, 25.6 g), but the small amount of coral (n=1; 1.3 g) and mortar (n=1; 42.3) identified suggests that this structure lacked the substantial stone and mortar foundations



characterizing other structures in the valley, including “structure 1” and the forge, as well as other structures throughout the fort, including the soldiers’ barracks in the Outer Cabrits (CG-2). The foundation and walls for “structure 2” were most likely composed of a variety of organic materials that did not preserve.

Despite the apparent absence of a stone and mortar foundation, excavations at “structure 2” identified artifacts potentially associated with more specialized architectural features. Fragments of window glass were recovered during excavations at this structure (n=47; 19.2 g). This is a slightly larger number than what was recovered at “structure 1”, but more excavation units were used during investigations at “structure 2”, resulting in a skewed sample of this artifact type. Window glass is undoubtedly more concentrated at “structure 1” and perhaps with buildings associated with stone and mortar construction throughout the fort, but this assumption requires further testing. The window glass collected at “structure 2” is concentrated in the southwestern excavation units (n=28; 14.6 g), including units 7 (N975/E995), 8 (N975/E994), 9 (N975/E993), 10 (N974/E993) and the oven feature (F009). Window glass was also recovered to a much lesser degree in units situated along the perimeter of the structure (n=9; 4.2 g), including units 11 (N974/E996), 12 (N975/E997), 20 (N980/E996), 27 (N981/E998), 31 (N976/E995) and 32 (N977/E995). No window glass fragments were recovered in centrally located units located in what is assumed to be the interior of the structure. Like the deposition pattern described earlier in relation to the earthenware tile found at “structure 2”, window glass was not recovered during the excavations of post-hole features, besides at F001 in Unit 8 (N975/E994) (n=1; 0.4 g). The presence of this high cost architectural item in a domestic context associated with the enslaved laborer population at the Cabrits Garrison may be a product of disturbance, resulting from the proximity of “structure 2” to other structures and the slope forming the western boundary of the site. It is also possible that this concentration, especially in the southwestern portion of the structure, indicates the presence of a window on the shorter southern gabled end of the structure. A larger sample of laborer huts at the Cabrits Garrison would have to be sampled to test this interpretation.



**Figure 6.07:** A latch for a padlock door recovered at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

In contrast to “structure 1”, the wider area excavated at “structure 2” identified a few wrought iron objects identified as architectural “hardware” (n=7; 587.9 g). In general, hardware includes items made of metal that serve to hold together or provide a means of grasping multi-component items such as doors and windows or for use in furniture and cabinetry. The hardware collected at “structure 2” appears to be associated with common architectural components with specialized functions, such as hinges, latches, or other types of fittings used in conjunction with windows, doors and other features. Confident identification of the recovered fragments is difficult because they are heavily corroded and it is possible these objects may have instead served as some type of tool or gun part.

Much of the hardware (n=6; 479 g) was recovered from the southwestern portion of the study area in units 8 (N975/E994) and 10 (N974/E993). These materials are very corroded but appear to be some type of bracket and a hinge. The bracket along with an associated bolt was recovered in the lower levels of Unit 10 (n=2; 104.9 g). One end of the bracket is bent at a right angle while the other end has a corroded bolt in place. The possible hinge (n=4; 374.1 g) was recovered in level 2 of Unit 8 (N975/E994). Two of the fragments measure between 114 mm and 118 mm in length and it is likely this would have been associated with a door. Along with these possible architectural brackets and hinges, a large latch for a padlock on a door was recovered in level 2 of Unit 13 (N976/E997). This object has a large oval-shaped loop or open

space with a shank-like attachment that would have included a pin. It measures 157 mm in length, 40 mm in width and 9.39 mm in height (Figure 6.07). These materials, along with the concentration of window glass and other types of architectural artifacts, seem to indicate the presence of either a window or a door somewhere in the southern portion of “structure 2”.

A variety of other unidentified artifacts of varying material type, though predominately iron, were recovered during excavations at “structure 2”, but this inherent ambiguity prevents their use in providing interpretations of architectural practices in this setting. Both metal sheeting (n=651; 948 g) and strapping (n=27; 725.7 g) were recovered in this context. The metal strapping may have had another function besides architecture but, as mentioned in the earlier discussion of architectural patterns at “structure 1”, the recovered sheeting may have been used for some type of architectural purpose. A much larger amount of sheeting was recovered here than at “structure 1”, which is perhaps linked to a particular architectural style, including the use of metal sheeting to cover portions of the roof or substructure, or possibly a specific activity, such as work-related practices, more apparent at “structure 2” than other domestic contexts investigated at the fort. Sheetting is found throughout “structure 2” excavation units but, like the other recovered architectural evidence, is concentrated in the southwestern portion of the structure around units 8 (N975/E994), 9 (N975/E993), 10 (N974/E993) and the excavated oven feature (F009). These artifact types are mentioned here but are not used any further to interpret patterns of behavior at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

## 6.6 Patterns of “Dwelling” in the Outer Cabrits Soldiers’ Barracks (CG-2)

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Nails	384	1259.2
Metal scrap/waste	15	268.2
Washer	2	19.5
Brick	47	1687.7
Mortar	76	408.2
Coral	97	181.2
Shell	118	20.1
Wood	2	0.8
Metal strapping	16	213
Metal sheeting	90	96.7
Window glass	17	5.8
	<b>864</b>	<b>4160.4</b>

**Table 6.08:** Dwelling-related artifacts from the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2).

A variety of architectural related artifacts were recovered from the investigations of the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) (n=864; 4160.4 g) (Table 6.08), but this assemblage was significantly less than what was collected at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), comprising just 15% of this material. This limited amount is undoubtedly a product of the shovel testing strategy used in this study area as opposed to the reliance on open area excavations at CG-1. A total of 41 STPs measuring 50 cm square were used in the survey (see Figure 5.03 for CG-2 survey map). Since no area excavations were completed in CG-2, the data assemblage reflects a sample of each of the four structures identified. This difference in the collected architectural evidence may also relate to variation in the construction materials and related practices in these study areas. In contrast to CG-1, the investigated soldiers’ barracks are characterized by apparent unity in architectural techniques and design. The “barrack world” of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century British army was characterized by distinctive patterns of military architecture, including red brick walls, arches, verandahs and large square windows, but there was considerable variation in construction practices, with housing for regular infantry ranging between crude huts with thatched roofs to impressive stone and brick structures (Buckley 1998: 327-350). Contemporary illustrations of similar

settings as the Cabrits Garrison, such as the drawing by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Whalley Light of the Beau Soleil British Army barracks in Guadeloupe in *Views of the West Indies, 1811-1812* (Buckley 1998: 152), provide rare visual evidence of what the soldiers' barracks in the Outer Cabrits may have looked like. In Light's depiction of a British military community in the Caribbean, British soldiers are seen occupying wood framed structures on top of cut stone and mortar foundations.

In contrast to the material findings from the laborer village (CG-1), few artifacts are apparent on the ground surface at CG-2 besides the extant stone and mortar foundations that constitute the most visible remains of the four soldiers' barracks. Section 5.5.2 in Chapter Five describes these architectural features and others in conjunction with the topography of this settlement. This evidence along with findings collected from shovel testing is in line with the assumed wood and stone design of these barracks.

The mixture of mortar (n=76; 408.2 g), shell (n=118; 20.1 g) and coral (97; 181.2 g) was commonly encountered during shovel test excavations at CG-2 and was collected whenever possible. These materials were far more apparent here than in the domestic contexts investigated at CG-1, which is no doubt connected to the more substantial stone foundations used for barrack structures in the Outer Cabrits than for laborer housing.

Along with these materials, nails and other metal objects were among the most common type of architectural evidence collected. A total of 384 nails (1,259.2 g) were recovered. 317 (1,071.2 g) of these are wrought nails and the remaining 67 (188 g) are of indeterminate type. Nails were found throughout the study area, which no doubt reflects their use in framing these largely wooden barrack structures. Other types of architectural hardware are for the most part absent from the collected archaeological assemblage. Metal scraps and waste was collected in association with other architectural evidence (n=15; 268.2 g). This collection included both lead (n=13; 259.5 g) and iron (n=2; 8.7 g) waste. As discussed earlier in this chapter, scrap material, especially the lead, may have been used for various architectural applications, especially as an all-purpose sealant. In addition, two metal fasteners were collected, including an iron

washer of indeterminate manufacturing type (n=1; 11.1) and a cast lead washer (n=1; 8.4) seen elsewhere at excavations in CG-1. These objects potentially served to attach different architectural components together, such as shingles to wooden substructures.

Unlike the large amount of earthenware materials used in the construction of dwellings in Cabrits laborer village (CG-1), far less of this architectural evidence was collected during the shovel test survey of CG-2. In comparison to CG-1, a small amount of earthenware brick fragments was recovered throughout the study area (n=47; 1,687.7 g). These handmade red and orange bricks would have undoubtedly been used to accent the foundations and other architectural features, including entryways, characterizing these barrack structures.

No evidence for earthenware roofing or flooring tile was recovered in shovel test pits. The complete absence of this architectural type is interesting. It confirms that while tiles were frequently used throughout the Cabrits Garrison, especially at the Fort Shirley battery and apparently within the laborer village (CG-1), they were not used in the residences of soldiers stationed in this elevated portion of the fort. Practically speaking, this absence, especially in regards to the roofing tile, may be related to the higher elevation of this settlement and the likelihood of these materials being blown away from high winds. On the other hand, it seems apparent that the visual aspect granted by the brilliant red and orange color of these tiles would not have been as relevant in this settlement as it was in more visually accessible settlements in the valley between the Cabrits hills and in areas viewable from Portsmouth, such as the Fort Shirley battery. It is conceivable to think that certain areas were more heavily invested in because of their power in the overall perception of the Cabrits Garrison and control over its associated socially segmented community, while other, less visually apparent, settlements made due with cheaper and more readily accessible materials, such as the reliance on wood in framing soldiers' barracks in the Outer Cabrits. While it seems clear from the archival and archaeological evidence that most of the Outer Cabrits barrack structures were made from wood, unfortunately this material type did not survive. Only a few fragments of wood (n=2; 0.8 g) were

collected in archaeological contexts, which is by no means a representative sample indicating the scope of material use and diversity in practice.

Window glass was found in a few contexts throughout the study area (n=17; 5.8 g). It is believed that barrack structures under investigation would have had several large square windows, which were often figured into the ventilation schemes and health concerns of military administrators, but it is assumed that wooden shutters were utilized in most of these openings as opposed to more expensive alternatives, such as imported window glass. Perhaps the collected window glass is associated with other types of lighting fixtures used during the period, including lanterns, but it may also reflect the use of window glass for certain windows in barrack structures and indicate overall variation in construction practices of military buildings.

Other more ambiguous metal objects were collected at CG-2, which may have some type of architectural function. This class of objects primarily includes metal strapping (n=16; 21.3 g) and sheeting (n=90; 96.7 g). Like earlier interpretations of domestic contexts located in the laborer village (CG-1), these materials, especially the iron strapping, may have been used for architectural purposes, such as covering portions of the substructure or for drainage. While worth mentioning here, these materials do not play a significant role in interpreting architectural or other material practices at the domestic contexts investigated throughout the Cabrits Garrison.

## **6.7 Summary: “Dwelling” at the Cabrits Garrison**

The previous discussion described the material types associated with architectural practices at the Cabrits Garrison and situated these findings into the particular domestic contexts that were excavated as part of this broader investigation documenting the material and spatial patterns of military labor. While the recovered assemblage is significantly weighted towards the architecture of the laborer village (CG-1) since most of the excavations were concentrated there, this evidence provides a primary link between artifacts, their associated practices and their respective spaces among domestic contexts associated with laborers and regular infantry. Despite the poor preservation of structural elements made from organic materials,

such as wood, the recovered architectural assemblage encompasses a larger number of artifacts and a more diverse set of material types than any other artifact group considered in this investigation. It is through the combined analysis of all these material types and functions that an accurate sense of dwelling practices at the Cabrits Garrison is achieved.

It is clear from the material evidence that dwelling was a diverse practice at the fort. The materials used for housing construction came from a variety of different sources, including those that were locally procured on the island, such as the natural stone, wood, shell and coral, compared to those that were acquired through regional or international markets, like earthenware tiles, wrought iron nails and window glass. The differing frequencies of imported versus locally acquired materials as well as the labor required in their construction reveal varying levels of investment in the quality and appearance of certain domestic structures by military administrators. Each of the domestic contexts investigated reveal varying degrees of administrative involvement. For example, the well-crafted and ordered arrangement of the cut stone and mortar foundations for the four soldiers' barracks in the Outer Cabrits (CG-2) as well as "structure 1" in the laborer village (CG-1) is significantly different from the floor plan of "structure 2" in CG-1, which substituted this substantial stone and wood foundation with wooden posts placed into holes carved into the volcanic bedrock. While the floor plan of "structure 2" seems to be a product of local imagination, its roof, like other structures in the laborer village, appears to have been constructed using the red and orange earthenware tiles used at other buildings throughout the Cabrits Garrison. This seems to likely indicate a certain level of administrative involvement in the design and appearance of the settlement in the laborer village (CG-1). In addition, the different routes of access for these architectural materials shed light on the role of institutional networks as opposed to more locally situated engagements in the development and maintenance of British military garrisons.

These architectural materials were also utilized in several different ways, resulting in significant variation in the design and appearance of domestic structures. A different type of housing style, in regards



to both form and function, marks each of the study areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. These styles range from the apparent difference exhibited by the two domestic contexts believed to have housed laborers or other lower status military personnel in the valley of the Cabrits (CG-1), including “structure 1”, a higher quality constructed building compared to others in this area characterized by a high frequency of building materials associated with a stone and mortar foundation, wood plank floor and earthenware tile roof, as compared to “structure 2”, a wattle and daub styled barrack structure relying on wood posts placed into holes carved into the natural ground surface that also apparently supported an earthenware tile roof. This diversity clashes with the apparent architectural unity in the form and function of the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2), which are characterized by larger structures with wood walls and roofs set on top of substantial stone and mortar foundations.

Beyond variation in architectural style, other insights are gained through the analysis of architectural evidence from domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. It is important to consider the symbolic role certain architectural elements played in materializing relations of power or transmitting other types of cultural messages. This area of interpretation requires more investigation at the Cabrits Garrison and other settings like it but the uneven distribution of earthenware roofing tile in study areas in the laborer village (CG-1) as opposed to the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) is a potential reminder of how architectural features characterizing certain portions of settlements were used to convey messages of social order and control. These materials would have been introduced into this setting through formal routes of military provisioning. While intended to cover habitation areas, these red and orange roofing tiles would have provided a unified and brilliant color theme that emphasized an organized social landscape within the walls of this imperial-sponsored structure in areas directly perceivable from outside or upon initial entry into this isolated settlement.

Perhaps more specifically, certain domestic contexts investigated at the fort are characterized by a greater amount of distinctive architectural features or activity areas. For instance, the floor plan of “structure

2” includes a series of post-holes and a trench feature possibly associated with wall construction or more likely with drainage. “Structure 2” is also associated to an oven (F009) cut into the natural volcanic ridge forming the western boundary of this locus. This oven feature and surrounding area is possibly associated with a kitchen-related activity area. Similarly, piles of stone documented around “structure 1” in CG-1 may have aided in the drainage of this living area. Additionally, the circular stone feature located in the southwest corner of this study area may have also served as a specialized activity area, perhaps connected to cooking, but this interpretation requires further archaeological testing. While limited to shovel testing, archaeological investigations at the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) did not reveal the same level of specialized architectural features or activity areas within these shared living spaces. Some of the differences between these settlements intended for laborers and soldiers may correspond with their particular environmental setting. For example, the possible drainage features identified in and around “structure 1” and “structure 2” in CG-1 are undoubtedly a result of the tendency for this lower lying habitation area to flood during wetter periods of the year. It is also possible that differences in the frequency of architectural features and degree of activity area specialization may allude to the greater diversity of people and activities within the laborer village (CG-1) of the fort.

This diversity in domestic architecture at the Cabrits Garrison demonstrates that a clear dichotomy does not exist in the dwelling practices of lower status military personnel, including laborers and soldiers. Certain patterns of daily life were idealized and required by the administrators who conceived of the location and function of these structures. The recovered architectural evidence also suggests varying levels of input and uses by the creative and agent-centered behavior of inhabitants who had to regularly cope with the intricacies and harshness of colonial life on the British military frontier. This formative dynamic between conceived and lived aspects of domestic spaces on patterns of daily life are more fully explored in the next chapters in relation to other material practices at the Cabrits Garrison.

## Chapter 7

### Eating and Drinking at the Cabrits Garrison

#### 7.1 Kitchen Group: Eating and Drinking

What people eat and drink and the technologies they use are central aspects of daily life with varying levels of social and cultural significance. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, during the peak of activity at the Cabrits Garrison, the material culture for eating and drinking was fundamental in communicating a variety of styles, tastes and routines. Like patterns of dwelling, kitchen-related artifacts reflect different types of knowledge and systems of labor, but unlike architecture, this artifact group is less visible due to its typical use inside the home, thus making this group a particularly sensitive indicator of forces impacting domestic contexts. Historical archaeologists have used these materials to determine particular ethnicities interacting in households (see Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Hauser 2004; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Deagan 1988, 1996 for examples in the Caribbean) and, more recently, to account for the political forces and economic structures influencing the formation of these domestic contexts (Voss 2008). This investigation focuses on kitchen-related artifacts in terms of their institutional and household level entanglements and their role in the formation of common as well as distinct living spaces. Like the preceding chapter, I begin by examining the site-wide kitchen-related assemblage from the Cabrits Garrison and then turn to the specific domestic contexts from the laborer village (CG-1) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Ceramic vessels	1857	4998.8
Glass vessels	2840	10225.3
Faunal remains	353	224.7
	<b>5050</b>	<b>15448.8</b>

**Table 7.01:** The three primary types of kitchen-related artifacts considered in this analysis.

Material culture associated with eating and drinking comprises one of the most common artifacts recovered at the Cabrits Garrison (see Table 5.01). A total of 5,050 kitchen-related artifacts are considered in this analysis (15,448.8 g). Three primary classes of data characterize this assemblage, including varying forms of ceramic (n=1,857; 4,998.8 g) and glass (n=2,840; 10,225.3 g) containers and, to a much lesser extent, animal bone (n=353; 224.7 g) (Table 7.01). In addition to these data, other less commonly encountered artifacts related to kitchen practices, including fire-cracked rock (FCR) (n=6; 111.8 g), charcoal (n=1,276; 263.2 g), seeds (n=1; 0.2 g), certain types of shell (n=172; 163.6 g) and fragments of cast iron vessels (n=41; 353.1 g), were recovered but are not integrated into this analysis due to their fragmentary or ambiguous nature. Other kitchen-related artifacts are noticeably absent from the collected assemblage, including various forms of cutlery. This is by no means a complete material record detailing the full extent of eating and drinking behaviors at the Cabrits Garrison. The available data, which is characterized primarily by ceramics, glass and animal bone, is what has preserved in the relatively wet and acidic soils characterizing this setting. Other objects, including vessels or utensils made from organic materials and metal as well as the remains of vegetable/cereal foods did not survive or were perhaps recycled for other purposes. The following discussion begins with a description of the three primary classes of kitchen-related artifacts: ceramic vessels, glass containers and animal bone. These artifact types along with other relevant data are then related to areas excavated in the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) to illuminate patterns of eating and drinking in these living spaces.

## **7.2 Ceramic Vessels**

The analysis of the recovered ceramic evidence is most important to investigations of eating and drinking behaviors at the Cabrits Garrison. Archaeological investigations at other fortifications in the British Empire have demonstrated the similarities in ceramics between military and civilian sites in the colonial world in addition to identifying the unique institutional forces impacting patterns of taste and access at sites occupied by the British army (Sussman 1978). The ceramics collected during excavations at the Cabrits

Garrison include coarse and refined varieties with British, French and African-Caribbean origins that were manufactured and distributed at varying scales of intensity and scope (Figure 7.01). The significant role played by ceramics in this analysis is not only because they are one of the most commonly recovered artifacts, but also because of their relevance in establishing site chronologies and investigating different levels of socioeconomic and cultural meanings. The recovered ceramic assemblage attests to the local, regional and international spheres of economic and political interaction at play during this period as well as illuminating potential realms of affiliation beyond the institutionalized system of military identification. Other material forms do not provide these important insights.



**Figure 7.01:** An assortment of ceramics recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison, including French cookware, faience, Caribbean coarse earthenware and different types of pearlware (photo by Z. Beier).

Ceramics are the second most commonly kitchen-related artifact collected during excavations at study areas within the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) ( $n=1,857$ ; 4,998.8 g). The recovered assemblage includes a mixture of ceramics typical of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, including varieties of European stoneware ( $n=52$ ; 561.5) and Chinese and English porcelain ( $n=23$ ; 17.7 g), but is largely characterized by coarse and refined earthenware. Mean ceramic dates (MCD) from diagnostic types in this assemblage range between 1701 and 1910 with an average date of 1794.5 for all excavated contexts at the Cabrits Garrison (see Table 5.02 for average dates from ceramics and tobacco pipe stems for each locus as well as Figures 5.19 and 5.39 for graphs plotting the MCD ranges for excavated contexts

at “structure 1” and “structure 2” in CG-1 and in CG-2). Refined earthenware forms 68% of this assemblage (n=1,271; 2,112 g) and provide the most diagnostic chronological information, while coarse earthenware, including sherds local to the Caribbean and imported from Europe, make up 28% (n=511; 2,307.6 g). In total, 22 ceramic ware types are included in the recovered assemblage and these are disproportionately represented at the living spaces investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. It is important to note that the total number of ceramic ware types is likely higher given the documented variation within less commonly understood types, including French cookware and Caribbean coarse earthenware (see sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 for descriptions of the typologies created for these ceramic types) (Table 7.02).

<b>Ceramic Material</b>	<b>Ware</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Coarse EW	Red Agate, coarse	9	14
Coarse EW	Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	396	1702.3
Coarse EW	Redware	9	28.2
Coarse EW	French Coarse Earthenware	97	563.1
Porcelain	Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	1	0.6
Porcelain	Porcelain, Chinese	22	17.1
Refined EW	Astbury Type	1	8.7
Refined EW	Tin-Enameled, unidentified	4	4.8
Refined EW	Unidentifiable	4	3.6
Refined EW	Whiteware	31	36.8
Refined EW	Red Agate, refined	2	1.6
Refined EW	Creamware	398	480.8
Refined EW	Delftware, Dutch/British	4	10.1
Refined EW	Pearlware	785	1512.3
Refined EW	Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	32	27.4
Refined EW	Faience	10	25.9
Stoneware	Nottingham	1	0.4
Stoneware	Black Basalt	11	11.1
Stoneware	Fulham Type	9	147.2
Stoneware	British Stoneware	21	368.3
Stoneware	Stoneware, unidentifiable	7	19.2
Stoneware	White Salt Glaze	3	15.3
		<b>1857</b>	<b>4998.8</b>

**Table 7.02:** Quantity of ceramic ware types recovered from excavations at the Cabrits Garrison organized by ceramic material.

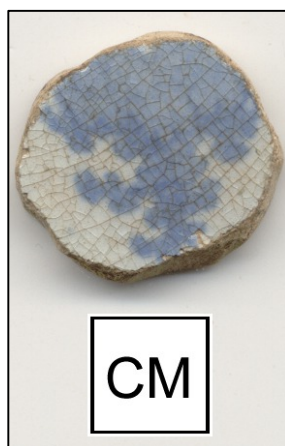
The production of each ware type relied on different levels of technology and scales of distribution. Press molded (n=1,269; 2,086.3 g), wheel-thrown (n=262; 1,532.3 g) and hand-built (n=313; 1,367.4 g) vessels are the three principal manufacturing techniques identified in this collection. Many of the particular ware types, forms and decorations recovered archaeologically in domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison are also present in the extensive artifact assemblage excavated unsystematically in the 1980s from a midden associated with the Fort Shirley officers' quarters. Photographs taken by the author of this assemblage in 2007 include a variety of English white earthenware, Chinese porcelain, British stoneware and French cookware. The apparent similarities between these assemblages alludes to the presence of a shared eating and drinking material culture across socially divided segments of this military community, albeit through different social networks and patterns of access.

<b>Ceramic Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle	1	23.6
Bottle, blacking	1	0.7
Bowl	4	22.5
Chamberpot	5	52.4
Gaming Piece	1	3.6
Jug	1	112.6
Mug/Can	13	109.1
Plate	26	210.2
Saucer	9	8.5
Storage Vessel	6	345.9
Teabowl	1	0.7
Teacup	4	12.2
Unidentifiable	1202	2407.5
Unid: Tableware	383	1031.6
Unid: Teaware	151	100
Unid: Utilitarian	49	557.7
	<b>1857</b>	<b>4998.8</b>

**Table 7.03:** Quantity of ceramic vessel forms from the Cabrits Garrison.

In regards to function, there appears to be a general preference for bowls over plates at the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. Ceramic hollowwares (n=734; 3,355.5 g) constitute

approximately 40% of the entire collection, a much larger portion of the recovered assemblage than flat wares (n=283; 589.7 g). The fragmentary nature of the ceramic evidence prevented the identification of the full range of vessel forms present at the fort. A significant portion of this collection consists of sherds that are unidentifiable beyond basic vessel categories (n=1,196; 2,399.2 g). Sherds with particular diagnostic value, including rims (n=275; 983.5 g), bases (n=243; 836.8 g), spouts (n=5; 121.3 g), handles (n=25; 349.9 g) and lids (n=1; 1.7 g), were essential in assigning vessel form and function. Sixteen forms were identified from the recovered ceramic assemblage (Table 7.03). A significant percentage of this identified portion of the ceramic assemblage is attributed to general functional categories. Unidentifiable tablewares make up 21% of the collected ceramics (n=383; 1031.6 g), with an additional 8% attributed to unidentified teawares (n=151; 100 g) and 3% to unidentified utilitarian wares (n=49; 557.7 g). Specific forms, including mugs (n=13; 109.1 g), plates (n=26; 210.2 g), saucers (n=9; 8.5 g), storage vessels (n=6; 345.9 g), chamber pots (n=5; 52.4 g) and a blacking bottle (n=1; 0.7 g), were identified during excavations but they make up an insignificant portion of the total ceramic assemblage (n=78; 900.7 g). Interestingly, a modified pearlware sherd is represented as a gaming piece (n=1; 3.6 g), demonstrating the creative reuse of an object once used for eating and drinking (Figure 7.02).



**Figure 7.02:** A pearlware sherd modified into a gaming piece from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).



It is important to note that refined earthenware vessel forms were far easier to identify from the available evidence as compared to other ware types. Approximately 90% of the Caribbean and French coarse earthenware sherds are unidentifiable beyond basic vessel categories (n=442; 1,655.5 g). Other studies of domestic contexts in the colonial Caribbean have commonly attributed these wares to different practices associated with the preparation and consumption of food and drink. While exact forms and functions were difficult to identify from this particularly fragmentary ceramic assemblage it is assumed that this evidence represents a variety of utilitarian vessels associated with household cooking and serving at the Cabrits Garrison. These forms will be discussed further in relation to the typologies devised for the different types of coarse earthenware collected during excavations (see sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3).

<b>Ceramic Material</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Coarse EW	12	59.2
Porcelain	18	13.6
Refined EW	550	936.7
Stoneware	10	91.1
	<b>590</b>	<b>1100.6</b>

**Table 7.04:** Quantity of decorated ceramics from the Cabrits Garrison by material type.

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, decoration was the principle way in which ceramics were classified and priced (Miller 1980). Most of the ceramics recovered from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison are from undecorated vessels, but approximately 32% of this assemblage is decorated (n=590; 1,100.6 g) (Table 7.04). Ceramic decoration is almost entirely associated with the large quantity of refined earthenware (n=550; 936.7 g) recovered during excavations, primarily the pearlware (n=465; 798 g) and creamware (n=56; 110.5 g), but also includes decorations on much of the recovered porcelain (n=18; 13.6 g) and, to a much lesser degree, on a variety of stoneware (n=10; 91.1 g). The most common types of decoration in the recovered ceramic assemblage include different varieties of English underglaze transfer-printed wares (n=215; 361.1 g) (see Samford 1997) and factory-made slipware (n=145; 239.2 g) (see Sussman 1997) (Table 7.05). Local or regional ceramic wares, like the Caribbean coarse earthenware and French

cookware, were rarely decorated but evidence of burnishing, incised lines and faint traces of slips were specifically documented (n=5; 42.3 g). Further information on ceramic decoration is provided under the discussion of industrially manufactured import wares recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison (see section 7.2.1)

<b>Ceramic Decorative Type/Genre</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bead and Reel (white salt glaze stoneware)	1	3.8
Feather Edge (creamware)	1	0.1
Hand-painted Blue (pearlware, porcelain)	47	80.7
Molded Edge Decoration, other (creamware, pearlware)	20	26
Overglaze, hand-painted (creamware, pearlware, Chinese porcelain, English hard paste porcelain)	6	4.3
Polychrome, cool (pearlware, whiteware)	5	4.7
Polychrome, warm (pearlware)	31	32
Royal Pattern (creamware, pearlware)	21	46.9
Shell Edge, blue (pearlware, whiteware)	38	88.2
Shell Edge, green (pearlware, whiteware)	16	32
Slipware, factory made (creamware, pearlware)	145	239.2
Sponge/Spatter (pearlware)	2	1.1
Transfer Print Over (creamware)	1	0.1
Transfer Print Under, black (whiteware)	1	0.2
Transfer Print Under, blue (creamware, delftware, pearlware, unid. refined earthenware, whiteware)	196	348.8
Transfer Print Under, brown (pearlware, unid. refined earthenware)	2	0.3
Transfer Print Under, green (pearlware)	1	0.4
Transfer Print Under, light blue (pearlware, Chinese porcelain, whiteware)	11	10.2
Transfer Print Under, pink (whiteware)	2	0.5
Transfer Print Under, purple (whiteware)	1	0.2
Transfer Print Under, red (whiteware)	1	0.5
	<b>549</b>	<b>920.2</b>

**Table 7.05:** Quantity of decorated ceramics from the Cabrits Garrison by decorative genre.

Variation in the ceramic assemblage attests to the long span of occupation of the settlement as well as the different routes of access for various ceramics types that served several functions in daily life.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> My understanding of ceramic interpretation in the colonial Caribbean has been aided by the extensive work on the topic by various historical archaeologists. In particular, discussions by Armstrong (1990: 135) and Hauser and Armstrong (2012: 326-327) have been useful in assessing occupation histories and access networks.

Perhaps most importantly, ceramic variation is disproportionately concentrated in the domestic areas investigated in the laborer village (CG-1) than in the assemblage collected during the shovel test survey of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (see sections 7.5.1 and 7.5.2 for discussion of higher levels of ceramic variation at "structure 1" and "structure 2"). Variation in ceramic assemblages between and within domestic sites at military sites is especially significant because it challenges assumptions regarding the typically homogenous character of military material culture. The lack of matching ceramic sets recovered archaeologically at the Cabrits Garrison is suggestive of the various institutional and localized practices impacting the nature of these vital domestic assemblages. Sherds from press molded refined earthenware are ubiquitous at colonial military sites and provide a primary means to examine the role of institutional forces, such as emerging economic and social norms, in the daily lives of military personnel. The presence of a variety of coarse earthenware cookware as well as high price ceramics like porcelains in domestic areas at colonial military sites in the Caribbean is more indicative of local practices. At the Cabrits Garrison, differences in the ceramic assemblages from the sites investigated is suggestive of a number of important phenomena, such as the stronger relationship between the laborer village (CG-1) and alternative market systems operating in the Caribbean, the more active operation of taste and preference in the daily provisioning of enslaved military laborers, and possibly an increased presence of women in the laborer settlement, although the identification of gender at military sites from material culture alone is problematic (see Starbuck 1994).

The following discussion organizes the recovered ceramic assemblage into three broad ceramic types, each with certain socioeconomic and cultural significance. These include industrially manufactured import wares (n=1,364; 2,526 g), mass-produced French ceramic cookware (n=97; 563.1 g) and coarse earthenware local to the Caribbean and most likely produced in the French Antilles or in Dominica (n=396; 1,702.3 g). This classification scheme is specific to the study of social interaction and cultural practices at a British colonial fortification closely situated between French islands during the highly contested 18<sup>th</sup> and

early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Each category includes some similar forms and functions, like storage, cooking and serving vessels, but they reflect processes of exchange across distinct scales of interaction (local, regional, international). Import wares were linked to international spheres of production and distribution, especially through formal routes of provisioning in the British army. Similarly, characteristic types of French cookware entered Dominica through markets based in France as well as from surrounding French Caribbean islands. Caribbean coarse earthenware vessels likely originated from local clay sources in Dominica or from surrounding islands. The prevalence of French cookware and Caribbean coarse earthenware suggests the integration of informal markets and creole foodways into provisioning strategies among lower status laborers at the Cabrits Garrison. The next sections describe these ceramic types more in depth and, in the case of the French cookware and Caribbean coarse earthenware varieties, outlines the particular typologies used in their analysis.

### 7.2.1 Import wares

Industrially manufactured import wares were collected in all the areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. They make up the largest portion of the total ceramic assemblage (n=1,364; 2,526 g). 19 different ware types are included in this category (see Figure 7.03). These wares are products of the pan-Atlantic trade. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the English dominated the ceramic trade through the wide spread marketing of cream-colored wares at relatively reasonable prices (Noël Hume 2001; Miller 1980; Sussman 1978). Predictably, the ceramic assemblage recovered from the areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison originates primarily from England but also from other sources including French refined earthenware (faïence) and the Asian market for porcelain. Sherds from a variety of refined earthenware (n=1,271; 1,904.6 g), stoneware vessels (n=52; 561.5), Chinese and English hard paste porcelains typically used as teaware (n=23; 17.7 g) and certain types of coarse earthenware (n=18; 42.2 g) characterize this category of ceramics. Production of these wares involved specialized knowledge and industrial forms of manufacture to achieve thin-bodied and durable vessels, such as press molding. It must be noted that certain coarse

earthenware vessels imported into Dominica were intentionally left out of this broader category. Sherds identified as French cookware are considered as a separate category as they likely reflect economic interactions and realms of affiliation outside the standard routes of military provisioning and practice (see section 7.2.2).

Refined earthenware is usually the most common ceramic type collected during excavations of colonial contexts. English white earthenware was the main type of ceramic available by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which included creamware, pearlware, whiteware and stone chinaware (Miller 1980). Historians and historical archaeologists have established several methods of classifying and interpreting the variation in terms of style and form of these popular wares (Beaudry et al. 2000; Gilmore 2014; Noël Hume 2001; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980, 1991; Richards 1999; Samford 1997; Sussman 1978). At colonial period military sites, refined ceramics have been interpreted in relation to their role in the institutionalization of economy and social norms embedded in colonial rule. They were most often associated with the officers' mess and acquired through formal routes of distribution, such as the formation of regimental table services by commanding officers, resulting in a certain degree of homogeneity in ceramic assemblages characterized by intermediate quality and the least expensive design techniques (Sussman 1978). The presence of a variety of industrially manufactured import wares in the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison confirms this institutional influence on the table services of laborers and soldiers while also alluding to potential instances of individual acquisition and situational circumstances.

Refined earthenware is the most apparent type of import ware recovered (n=1,271; 1,904.6 g). Fragments of English creamware (n=398; 480.8 g) pearlware (n=785; 1304.9 g) and whiteware (n=31; 36.8 g) vessels characterize most this collection. A variety of stoneware, primarily from Britain, also contributes a relatively significant portion to this assemblage (n=52; 561.5 g). Certain import wares, including earlier Dutch and British tin-enameled vessels (n=4; 10.1 g), French faïence (n=10; 25.9 g) and higher priced porcelains (n=23; 17.7 g), do not constitute a significant portion of the recovered sample (see Figure 7.03

for table showing ceramic ware types). These types were either nearly absent from the commercial market during the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison, unpopular in formal British markets because of prohibitions under trade embargos ending in 1775 (Noël Hume 2001: 138-142), or were typically associated with higher status contexts. The appearance of some of these imports in study areas investigated at the Cabrits Garrison, such as French faience and porcelains, present interesting alternatives to what is normally imagined as a homogenous table service for laborers or soldiers employed by the British army. Even though these import wares were rarely encountered during excavations of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison, their presence suggests other potential routes of material access at the fort beyond formal networks of military provisioning.

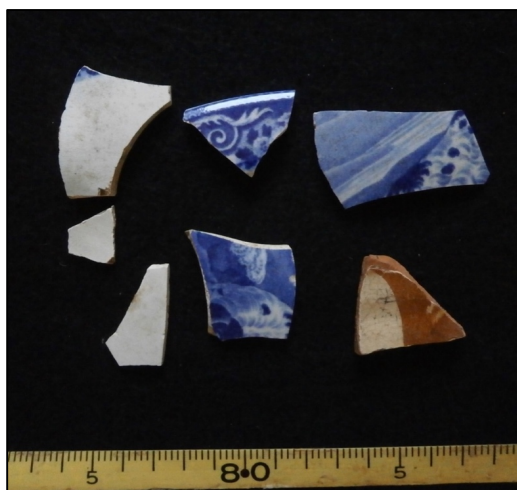
<b>Ceramic Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle	1	23.6
Bottle, blacking	1	0.7
Bowl	4	22.5
Chamberpot	5	52.4
Jug	1	112.6
Mug/Can	13	109.1
Not recorded	7	2.3
Plate	26	210.2
Saucer	9	8.5
Storage vessel	5	306.3
Teabowl	1	0.7
Teacup	4	12.2
Unid Tableware	374	772.4
Unid Teaware	151	100
Unid Utilitarian	15	51.1
Unidentifiable	747	741.4
	<b>1364</b>	<b>2526</b>

**Table 7.06:** Import ware vessel forms from the Cabrits Garrison.

Import wares exhibit more variation than the other ceramic categories considered in this study. In general, the recovered sherds are associated with hollowware vessel forms (n=462; 1,434.2 g). These vessel forms constitute approximately 34% of the import ware assemblage, while imported flatwares make up an additional 21% (n=283; 589.7 g). Approximately 55% of the import sherds recovered during

excavations at the Cabrits Garrison are too fragmented to reveal any information related to specific vessel forms (n=747; 741.4 g) (Table 7.06).

The collected import ceramics are primarily related to unidentifiable tableware (n=374; 772.4 g) and teaware (n=151; 100 g) services. Unidentified utilitarian vessel forms (n=15; 51.1 g) do not comprise a significant portion of the collection of recovered import wares. The identification of specific import ware forms with particular tableware, teaware, or utilitarian functions was difficult as a result of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but documented forms include sherds from mugs (n=13; 109.1 g), plates (n=26; 210.2 g), saucers (n=9; 8.5 g), teacups (n=4; 12.2 g), chamber pots (n=5; 52.4 g) and storage vessels (n=6; 345.9 g). English creamware and pearlware are the primary types of import wares considered in this investigation. They each are most strongly correlated with general tableware functions, with approximately 23% of the recovered creamware (n=93; 214.6 g) and 32% of the pearlware (n=249; 484.5 g) associated with this purpose.



**Figure 7.03:** Pearlware tableware sherds with blue under glaze transfer print along with a redware sherd with an interior slip recovered from a post-hole (F001) at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by S. Lenik).

In addition to this variation in form and function, the recovered import wares exhibit the most variety in terms of decorative types. These wares comprise approximately 98% of the decoration for the total ceramic assemblage recovered from excavations of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison (n=585;

1058.3 g). As mentioned in the earlier discussion, the most extensive record of ceramic decoration is found on the recovered refined earthenware (n=550; 936.7 g), primarily pearlware (n=465; 798 g). Transfer printing is the most common decoration encountered (n=216; 361.2 g) (Figure 7.03). This decorative type is primarily associated with pearlware (n=191; 339.6 g), whiteware (n=19; 17.6 g) and, to a much lesser extent, porcelain (n=1; 0.9 g) and creamware (n=1; 0.2 g). Blue under glaze transfer print designs are most represented in the collection (n=196; 348.8 g), but other colors were documented including light blue (n=11; 7.3 g), brown (n=2; 0.3 g), pink (n=2; 0.5 g), purple (n=1; 0.2 g), green (n=1; 0.4 g), red (n=1; 0.5 g) and black (n=1; 0.2 g). Factory-made slipwares are also a common decoration type documented at the Cabrits Garrison (n=145; 239.2 g). This style, characterized by annular, mocha, banded, cat's eye and other distinctive designs, is only associated with creamware (n=12; 22.8 g) and pearlware (n=133; 216.4 g) at the Cabrits Garrison (Figure 7.04).



**Figure 7.04:** A pearlware pitcher recovered from "structure 1" in CG-1 with decorative worm and banding annular designs typical of factory-made slipware (photo by DAACS).

Both decorative types were popular between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They each would have been more expensive than undecorated cream-colored wares, especially the transfer-printed wares. Their appearance in the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison suggests they were affordable enough for purchase by military officers for their respective



regimental messes or were perhaps acquired by laborers and soldiers through other means. Pattern information on transfer-printed wares also corresponds with an occupation during this period. While the fragmentary nature of the recovered ceramic assemblage limits the identification of significant trends in preference and access of these transfer printed patterns, certain designs were identified that were available during the period, including the famous “Blue Willow” (n=4; 4.7 g) (Noël Hume 2001: 130; Sussman 1979: 100) and “Dogs on the Scent” designs (n=16; 183 g) (Neale 2005: 31). Making its first appearance in England on transfer printed Chinese porcelain and pearlware in 1792, the “willow” pattern would have been quite accessible to purchase during the height of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison since its price was generally fixed below that of other transfer printed patterns by 1814 (Miller 1980: 28). Other significant but less commonly encountered decorative types include green and blue shell edge pearlware (n=52; 116.8 g) and whiteware (n=2; 3.4 g), the royal pattern popular on creamware for regimental dinnerware in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Sussman 1978: 98) (n=21; 46.9 g), and other molded edge designs (n=20; 26 g), in addition to blue, polychrome and other hand-painted designs associated mainly with pearlware and higher priced porcelains (n=89; 121.7 g).

The extensive record of industrially manufactured import wares recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison along with their systematic study by historians and historical archaeologists make this category of ceramics essential in investigations of eating and drinking patterns at this British fortification. These wares have been useful in establishing dates of occupation at the various domestic contexts tested during this investigation (see illustrations featuring mean ceramic dates for individual study areas in Table 5.02, Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.39) . In addition, they demonstrate the pervasiveness of the English ceramic industry in the lives of laborers and soldiers serving at this Caribbean military post and allude to different patterns of material access.

Lower status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison mainly used import wares as table services and not for utilitarian purposes, such as cooking, storage, or washing. Other categories of ceramics

described later in this discussion appear to have served this function. The sheer predominance of import wares in domestic contexts investigated at this fortification, especially English refined earthenware, results in an institutionalized visual appearance that created a sense of a shared eating and drinking material culture. Certain factors characterizing this collection of import wares, like the high frequency of hollowwares, relatively undecorated nature, and appearance of common decoration styles, such as transfer printing and factory made slipware, are apparent materializations of this institutionalized uniformity. While minimal, the presence of other types of import wares in excavated contexts, including French faïence and high status porcelains, deviates from this typically homogenous assemblage and may allude to more personalized table services formed through instances of local acquisition.

Previous research has demonstrated that the wages earned by lower status military personnel, including laborers and soldiers, would not have been enough to acquire even the most accessible import wares. Sussman (1979) argues that refined tableware and teaware were mainly associated with the officers' mess and then distributed to other lower ranked military personnel through various means. Refined earthenware found in association with the households or barracks of regular infantry would have been acquired primarily through their commanding officers and to a lesser degree through individual acquisition. No research currently exists that describes the way import wares were acquired by the various military laborers employed by the British army, but it is assumed these vessels entered domestic contexts at fortifications through similar means. Individual laborers may have purchased these import wares but they were most likely provided by British army officers or perhaps by military engineers responsible for directing labor operations at the fort. In addition, it is likely that enslaved laborers employed at the Cabrits Garrison on an ephemeral basis relied on additional social networks to acquire import ceramics. These individuals may have brought these wares from the plantation they originated from. Further discussion of these material patterns is described in relation to their particular domestic contexts excavated at the fort.

### 7.2.2 French cookware

A small but significant proportion of mass-produced French cookware was recovered during excavations of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison (n=97; 563.1 g). This evidence is almost entirely concentrated in the laborer village (CG-1) (n=96; 559.6 g). Like the industrially manufactured import wares recovered at the Cabrits Garrison, French cookware is also a product of the Pan-Atlantic trade. But in contrast to refined French and British earthenware, relatively little is known about this type of coarse utilitarian ware. Myriam Arcangeli's (2012, 2015) recent work on the domestic cookware from colonial Guadeloupe provides the most useful information for historical archaeologists dealing with this material. From this analysis, along with other descriptions by archaeologists working on French contexts in the Caribbean (Arcangeli 2012, 2015; Gibson 2007; Hauser and Armstrong 2012; Hauser and Kelly 2011; Hauser and Lenik 2014; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008; Lenik 2010), it is apparent that these types of ceramics were especially important in the domestic lives of the enslaved and in the development of creole culture throughout the region. It is also clear that much of this recovered French cookware is Vallauris-type pottery. These vessels were most likely produced in the same area, the Provence region in southeast France, and are like other varieties, including Biot and Huveaune, that tend to have a comparable kind of paste.

Local versions of this cookware along with industrially manufactured forms used in the production of sugar and for roofing and flooring tiles were also produced in the French Caribbean during this period (Arcangeli 2012, 2015; Hauser and Kelly 2011; Hauser and Lenik 2014; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008; Lenik 2010). These local wares exhibit a wide range of variation in manufacturing techniques, colors and surface treatment, including their lack of interior lead glaze. It is likely that varieties of coarse earthenware recovered at the Cabrits Garrison were produced in surrounding French islands (see section 7.2.3 for discussion of Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2). A variety of factors, including composition,

manufacturing technique and morphology, distinguish French cookware from other imported wares or local coarse earthenware forms.

Type	Form	Quantity	Weight (g.)
1	Bowl/Terrine	8	82.9
2	Cooking pot/Canaris	16	80
3	Bowl/Terrine	25	80
4	Bowl	3	130.3
5	Cooking pot/Canaris	34	160.3
6	Undetermined	11	29.6
		<b>97</b>	<b>563.1</b>

**Table 7.07:** Quantity of different types of French cookware recovered from the Cabrits Garrison.

The French cookware considered in this analysis was identified according to particular characteristics, including manufacturing technique, surface treatment and morphology. The collection examined for this study is wheel-made. Pastes vary but for the most part are coarse, range in color from reddish brown to yellowish orange and include a variety of apparent inclusion particles. Vessel interiors are characterized by a distinctive lead glaze or slip ranging from yellow to dark red in color. Three common vessel forms have been documented historically and in archaeological contexts (Archangeli 2012, 2014, 2015). These include the most common earthenware cooking pots that were often glazed (*canaris*), less frequently occurring saucepans (*casseroles*) and multifunctional utilitarian bowls of various shapes and sizes (*terrines*). Archival and archaeological research by Jean Ferdinand Petrucci (1999) has demonstrated that the common Vallauris cooking pot can be organized chronologically according to the way the shape and surface of these vessels changes over time. Early 18<sup>th</sup> century vessels are characterized by an interior yellowish lead glaze and depressed rim form. Over time, the lead glaze was replaced with an orange or a yellow slip and by the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was dark red. Along with changes in color, shapes shifted into teardrop designs by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and into straight-sided pots sometime in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is

important to note that many of the vessels recovered archaeologically are marked with soot, which demonstrates the heavy use and stress placed on these cooking vessels.

The assemblage of French cookware considered in this analysis of domestic life at the Cabrits Garrison likely originated in southeast France and demonstrates some of the variation documented within this ceramic type. Almost all (90%) of this collection is composed of hollowware forms (n=87; 553.7 g) with the remaining portion consisting of unidentified vessel categories (n=10; 563.1 g). Six possible types of French cookware are represented including several so far unidentified sherds grouped under a general category (n=11; 29.6 g) (Table 7.07). The next paragraphs describe these types.



Figure 7.05: Sherds from a Type 1 French cookware vessel recovered from "structure 1" in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 1** (n=8; 82.9 g): The form and distinctive reddish slip on recovered sherds suggests their use as cooking bowls from Vallauris during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 7.05). This type is characterized by wheel-thrown manufacture and open-orifice bowl form. Rim sherds are thick and inverted. Sherds have a similar interior glaze color as French coarse earthenware Type 2 but they are distinguished based on their different

rim form. The interior of sherds is a yellowish red slip (5 yr 5/6). This lead-glazed surface is not as smooth as French Type 2. It has dimpled impressions resulting from air bubbles. The exterior of sherds is a coarse reddish brown (5 yr 5/4). In general, this surface has been smoothed and exhibits residue and discoloration associated with burning or cooking. Sherd paste is like French Type 2. Paste color ranges from reddish brown (5 yr 5/4) to reddish yellow (5yr 6/6) and is characterized by a medium paste density of small, compact inclusion particles, including red stones, white stones and quartz.



**Figure 7.06:** Sherds from a Type 2 French cookware vessel recovered from "structure 1" in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 2** (n=16; 80 g): The form and distinctive reddish slip on recovered sherds suggests their use as straight-sided cooking pot from Vallauris during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 7.06). This type is characterized by wheel- thrown manufacture and an open-orifice pot form. Recovered rim sherds are rounder and less distinctive as French Type 1 sherds. The interior lead glaze is like the yellowish red (5 yr 5/6) documented with Type 1 sherds but the surface is much smoother. The exterior of sherds is coarse and reddish yellow

(5 yr 6/6) in color. The exterior of a few recovered sherds have an incised horizontal line running an inch below the rim. There is less burned residue on the exterior of sherds than other types, including French Type 1. The paste is like French Type 1, with color ranging from reddish brown (5yr 5/4) to reddish yellow (5yr 6/6) and is composed of a medium paste density with small and compact inclusion particles, including red stones, white stones and some quartz.



Figure 7.07: Sherds from a Type 3 French cookware vessel recovered from "structure 1" in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 3** (n=25; 80 g): This type is characterized by wheel-thrown manufacture and a thin-bodied bowl form (Figure 7.07). No diagnostic rim sherds were recovered. There is more variation in the interior glaze color than in other French coarse earthenware types documented in this investigation but most sherds have a brownish yellow (10 yr 6/6) lead glaze, like French Type 5 (described below) and other forms of 18<sup>th</sup> century Vallauris cookware. In general, exterior surfaces are coarse but a few sherds have apparent smoothing marks. Exterior color ranges from pink (7.5 yr 7/4) to light brownish gray (10 yr 6/2). Some

exterior surfaces have evidence of white/gray residue, which may be evidence of a lead glaze. The paste is light reddish brown (5 yr 6/4) and is very compact with fewer but larger inclusions than French Types 1 and 2. The density of inclusions ranges from low to medium, including white stones, red stones and quartz.



**Figure 7.08:** Sherds from Type 4 French cookware vessels recovered from CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 4** (n=3; 130.3 g): This type includes a small number of wheel-thrown sherds that are different in form, surface treatment and firing than other French coarse earthenware considered in this analysis (Figure 7.08). A recovered rim sherd demonstrates a form like a large basin or pan. The interior surface is reddish orange (5 yr 6/8) to red (2.5 yr 5/6) in color. The exterior has a wash surface treatment that is pinkish gray (7.5 yr 7/2) to brown (7.5 yr 5/2) in color. The paste is composed of a compact and uniform paste that is yellowish red (5 yr 5/6) to light red (2.5 yr 6/6) in color. Inclusion density is very low. The sherds in this type are like Huevaune bowls of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but are not a complete match (Figure 7.15). They were most likely manufactured at a pottery located near the Huveaune Valley. Interestingly, Arcangeli



reports that similar sherds were recovered in post-1830 contexts in Guadeloupe, including the site of a middling house in Basse-Terre (Myriam Arcangeli, personal communication, 2014).



**Figure 7.09:** Sherds from Type 5 French cookware vessels recovered primarily from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 5** (n=34; 160.3 g): The rim form and distinctive yellowish interior glaze associated with these sherds is typical of 18<sup>th</sup> century Vallauris cooking pot (Figure 7.09). The wheel-thrown manufacture of this type is apparent from faint horizontal lines on the exterior and interior surfaces of sherds. Sherds are relatively thick-bodied. Rims are squarish and concave on the top. A distinctive handle style was identified from recovered sherds. The interior lead glaze surface has an “sugary/orange peel” texture and ranges in color from yellowish red (5 yr 5/6) to reddish yellow (5 yr 6/6). The exterior surface is coarse/unglazed, appears to have been smoothed and is generally pink (7.5 yr 7/4) in color. The paste is a light reddish

brown (5 yr 6/4) to light red (2.5 yr 7/4) and is compact with a mixture of medium size inclusions, including white rocks, red rocks and quartz.

**Type 6** (n=11; 19.6 g): A general type grouping that is less definitive than Types 1-5. This type includes similar looking coarse earthenware sherds that are undoubtedly of French origin or influence but are not particularly diagnostic. Thus, these sherds do not play a significant role in the current analysis.

Four of these types have been identified as varieties of Vallauris cookware (n=83; 403.2 g) (Myriam Arcangeli, personal communication, 2014). Type 3 (n=25; 80 g) (*terrine*, bowl) and Type 5 (n=34; 160.3 g) (*canaris*, cooking pot) have a similar paste and glaze to models typical of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while Type 1 (n=8; 82.9 g) (*terrine*, bowl) and Type 2 (n=16; 80 g) (*canaris*, cooking pot) are like 19<sup>th</sup> century examples based on their straight-sided forms and distinctive dark red slip. The locations of these chronologically distinct French cookware have implications for the dating of the occupation areas tested at the Cabrits Garrison and will be discussed further in relation to those particular domestic contexts. In addition to cookware from Vallauris, sherds included in Type 4 (n=3; 130.3 g) of this recovered assemblage are like Huveaune bowls of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but are not a complete match. Further analysis of Type 6 sherds as well the unglazed, wheel-thrown coarse earthenware (see section 7.2.3 for description of Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2) recovered at the Cabrits Garrison is required to clearly determine French, regional, or local origins of these ceramics.

Finally, in regards to decoration and surface treatments, beyond the different colored lead glazes and slips documented in the recovered assemblage of French cookware, this evidence exhibits little to no decoration. The only style element documented includes an incised horizontal line on the exterior of a vessel (see description for French cookware Type 2). Evidence of paste reduction and burning and sooting were noted in the recovered collection. Heavy residue and fire clouding on sherds is indicative of their use in cooking (see description for French cookware Type 1). More detailed analysis of this collection is required to accurately document this evidence and relate it to patterns of ceramic production and use.

French cookware was especially abundant in the French Caribbean during the colonial period, especially the different types produced in Vallauris and other areas in southeast France. Free settlers and enslaved laborers would have frequently purchased glazed and unglazed varieties of these wares that were either imported from France or produced in Martinique and Guadeloupe. Unglazed coarse cookware produced in the French Antilles is described in the next section (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2). The presence of this interior glazed cookware likely produced in France in the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison demonstrates the pervasiveness of these vessels in the lives of individuals in colonial domains outside the plantation and beyond the political boundaries of the French Caribbean.

Perhaps even more significantly, the integration of this regional pattern on sites like British fortifications in the Caribbean seems to counteract strategies enforced by military administration of maintaining a homogenous material culture. Despite their almost complete absence from the ceramic assemblage recovered in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), their presence in the laborer village (CG-1) reinforces the persistent character of creole foodways in Caribbean colonial society and the important role of enslaved Africans in perpetuating this pattern. The apparent lack of these wares in settlements associated with regular infantry may allude to more institutional control over patterns of eating and drinking among this segment of the British army. It is important to note that the author photographed French cookware in the ceramic assemblage excavated unsystematically from the Fort Shirley officers' quarters in the 1980s. This presence may suggest enslaved cooks or creole foodways were also active in this high-status military context. Additionally, the British army periodically occupied French Caribbean islands between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, including the capture of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Grenada as part of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) as well as the seizure of Martinique in 1794 and 1809 during the French Revolution and Napoleonic period. These historical movements may have contributed to the presence of these wares in domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison, but further testing is required.

### 7.2.3 Caribbean coarse earthenware

Caribbean coarse earthenware, commonly referred to as Afro-Caribbean earthenware<sup>45</sup>, was recovered in all the domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison (n=396; 1,702.3 g) (Figure 7.10). Like the evidence of mass-produced French cookware described in the last section, these coarse earthenware vessels were typically used for cooking, serving and storage. Additionally, the recovered sherds were almost entirely concentrated in the laborer village (CG-1) (n=386; 1,647.3 g). In this analysis, sherds designated as Caribbean coarse earthenware differ from those identified as French cookware according to important characteristics, including: origin and scale of manufacture, surface treatment and morphology. The production, distribution and use of this ubiquitous type is believed to have been the work of enslaved and free blacks living and working on colonial sites throughout America and the Caribbean (Ahlman et al. 2008, 2009; Armstrong 1990; Ferguson 1992; Gilmore III and Farmer 2014; Hauser 2008; Heath 1999a; Singleton 1996).



**Figure 7.10:** A sample of Caribbean coarse earthenware recovered from “structure 1” in the laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

<sup>45</sup> Considerable debate surrounds the use of this term. It assumes African diaspora populations are responsible for the production and use of this material type without first investigating the social and historical context. Europeans, while not typically associated with coarse earthenware in colonial contexts, were also known to make and use these vessels. Regional scale of analysis of this ware type is encouraged to limit misleading generalizations (see Hauser and DeCorse 2003 for a more thorough discussion of this debate and approach used in this analysis).

This category of ceramics comprises a variety of low-fired forms, including both hand-built and wheel-thrown varieties, which served multiple kitchen-related functions, including cooking, serving and storage. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries these wares were manufactured at sites throughout the Caribbean at both craft and industrial scales of production for use by enslaved laborers and others as well as for the processing and storing of sugar on plantations (Kelly et al. 2008). The assemblage recovered from archaeological contexts at the Cabrits Garrison is dominated by unglazed varieties of utilitarian coarse earthenware common in colonial households throughout the region as opposed to wares suited for the sugar industry and plantation labor. This evidence most likely originated from local sources in Dominica as well as regional sources in neighboring French islands. Further analysis is necessary to accurately source these materials but previous studies of locally- and regionally-produced ceramics in the Caribbean aid interpretations (see Arcangeli 2015; Crane 1993; Ebanks 1984, 2002; Handler 1963a, 1963b, 1964; Hauser 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Hauser et al. 2008; Hauser and DeCorse 2003; Hauser and Handler 2009; Heath 1988, 1999a; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008; Lenik 2010; Mathewson 1972; McKusick 1960; Petersen et al. 1999).

In contrast to other categories of ceramics considered in this study, primarily the range of industrially produced import wares originating in Europe, the integration of these local or regional products into domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison depended less on military systems of provisioning and more on the economic and labor relations shaping this community and the formal and informal relations connecting this settlement to surrounding plantations and islands. The relatively high frequency of Caribbean coarse earthenware as well as their diversity indicates a continued presence during the occupation of the Cabrits Garrison and perhaps more formal integration into the structure of military life than typically imagined in archives and secondary sources.

The collection of Caribbean coarse earthenware recovered during excavations of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison is heavily fragmented, which prevents the thorough documentation of

morphological information necessary for detailed interpretations. Most of the evidence is from hand-built vessels (n=313; 1367.4 g), with a significantly smaller percentage from wheel-thrown varieties (n=71; 324.1 g). Slightly less than half (47%) of the recovered sherds are from hollowwares (n=185; 1,367.6 g), but it is difficult to determine specific forms beyond general vessel categories from the available evidence. Much (89%) of this assemblage is characterized by unidentifiable forms (n=351; 1,100.7 g), while the remaining portion served as unidentifiable utilitarian (n=34; 506.6 g) and tableware (n=10; 55.4 g) vessels or more specifically as storage containers (n=1; 39.6 g).

Type	Description	Quantity	Weight (g.)
1	Hand-built vessels	256	1069.7
2	Wheel-thrown vessels	58	273
3	Undetermined	82	359.6
		<b>396</b>	<b>1702.3</b>

**Table 7.08:** Quantities associated with identified Caribbean coarse earthenware types from the Cabrits Garrison.

Sherds are for the most part undecorated but evidence for incised lines, burnishing, faint traces of slips, hand-painting and basic lead glazes was documented. Many sherd surfaces exhibit faint smoothing lines but the interiors are generally more prepared, which may suggest their use for the preparing, serving and storing of food and drink. The composition of the ceramic paste is highly variable, even within the identified groups characterizing the typology for this evidence. This undoubtedly is a result of the various clay and temper sources and production techniques used in the manufacture of these utilitarian vessels. Pastes range from brown, red and orange in color. They are characterized by coarse to fine particles of quartz, black crystalline structures and a variety of so far unidentified white and red rocks. The recovered assemblage of Caribbean coarse earthenware is believed to be a representative sample of what would have been available to occupants of the Cabrits Garrison during the colonial period. No apparent precolonial Amerindian examples were documented.

Three different types were identified from the recovered Caribbean coarse earthenware (Table 7.08). Specific types were designated primarily according to manufacturing technique but surface

treatment, form and presumed function were also considered. The general nature of this typology is inadequate in revealing detailed levels of variation within particular types but it has proven helpful in organizing the recovered coarse earthenware assemblage and illuminating apparent patterns in access and use. Two groups of recovered sherds are particularly useful in investigating patterns of eating and drinking at the Cabrits Garrison. The next paragraphs describe these types.



**Figure 7.11:** Sherds from Type 1 Caribbean coarse earthenware vessel recovered from “structure 1” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 1** (n=256; 1,069.7 g): Sherds from a variety of thick-bodied, hand-built, reddish brown (5 yr 5/4) vessels characterize much of the recovered assemblage (Figure 7.11). The coarser nature of clay and temper of these Type 1 sherds is an apparent sign of their local production. Faint incised smoothing lines are generally found on both internal and external sherd surfaces running in a variety of directions, but no burnish marks or polish were identified. Interior sherd surfaces are generally smoother than exterior, possibly because of use. Evidence of burning and sooting on sherds indicates their use in cooking near or directly in hot coals. Some sherds appear to have faint red slips. Diagnostic information from extensively mended forms recovered from domestic contexts in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) provides a general picture of rounded cooking pots with flat bottoms (Figure 7.12). Certain handmade vessels had

evidence of handles (n=3; 96.7 g), which has been interpreted as a potential combination of West African and European designs (Gilmore III and Farmer 2014).



**Figure 7.12:** Two Type 1 Caribbean coarse earthenware vessels recovered from “structure 1” (left) and “structure 2” (right) in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 2** (n=58; 273 g): The other principal type of Caribbean coarse earthenware recovered during investigations at the Cabrits Garrison includes wheel-thrown varieties with untreated, reddish orange (5 yr 7/6) surfaces (Figure 7.13). The limited evidence for this type prevents an adequate assessment of vessel form, but diagnostic sherds, including rim, neck and shoulder fragments (n=9; 66.2 g), suggest various types of constricted and open-orifice vessel forms. This manufacture technique along with the relatively uniform color and composition of clay and temper of these sherds is suggestive of a more intensive level of production that most likely occurred outside of Dominica on neighboring French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique (Arcangeli 2012, 2015; Hauser 2011a; Hauser and Lenik 2014; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008). Further testing of this type is required to determine point of origin in either Dominica or the French Antilles.





Figure 7.13: Type 2 Caribbean coarse earthenware sherds recovered from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

**Type 3** (n=82; 359.6 g): The final type included in this typology does not play a significant role in interpretations at the Cabrits Garrison. It includes so far unidentifiable coarse earthenware sherds. Further research is necessary to confidently identify these materials, but certain evidence may be associated with types described earlier. For instance, the color and composition of handles or legs (n=3; 141.4 g) recovered during excavations in CG-1 are like sherds grouped in Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2 (Figure 7.14). They are not glazed and appear to have been wheel-thrown. This evidence may be associated with casserole vessel forms identified by Arcangeli (2012, 2015) that were produced in the French Antilles to mimic forms produced in France.



Figure 7.14: Handle or leg from a Type 3 Caribbean coarse earthenware vessel (photo by Z. Beier).

Caribbean coarse earthenware is a particularly important object of identification in the study of the African diaspora. Investigations at the Cabrits Garrison are less concerned with ethnic identifications than

with the operation of complex social processes at the site (Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Hauser and DeCorse 2003). While culturally tied to West Africa, the integration of this material type demonstrates the pervasiveness of the social and economic networks connecting this fortification to surrounding plantations and islands as well as the impact of these local and regional products on shaping the culture of military life. Further analysis of the recovered Caribbean coarse earthenware, including x-ray fluorescence, neutron activation and petrographic work, would more clearly indicate the different levels of cultural and economic exchange.

The association of these wares with enslaved labor and informal markets is significant when reflecting on the nature of material assemblages in the military. Eating and drinking at British colonial forts during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries has traditionally been imagined as institutionalized and homogenous (Sussman 1978). The presence of Caribbean coarse earthenware demonstrates the role of alternative routes in accessing necessary utilitarian wares. Studies of military life in the region should begin thinking of new possibilities regarding the integration of these local and regional wares at military sites, such as their value in reducing expensive costs associated with provisioning and transporting import wares and the overall reliance of the British military on plantation slavery. Additionally, the unequal distribution of these wares at the Cabrits Garrison, with the clear majority concentrated in domestic contexts within the laborer village (CG-1) as opposed to the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), suggests the operation of different patterns of eating and drinking in these contexts. This potential insight will be further discussed in sections comparing findings from both study areas.

### **7.3 Glass Containers**

Evidence of various types of glass vessels was among the most common artifact type collected during excavations of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison (n=2,840; 10,225.3 g). As noted by Armstrong in his examination of late 18<sup>th</sup> century domestic contexts in the Caribbean, this prevalence of container glass no doubt represented "an increased availability of mass-manufactured bottle glass made

available through innovations such as the advances in lipping tools, the use of molds, and marketing through worldwide trade networks” (1990: 159). A clear majority of the mass-produced glass recovered during excavations is non-lead glass (n=2,672; 9,949.3 g), with a much smaller percent attributed to leaded forms (n=168; 276 g) (Table 7.09), which are described as primarily used for tableware and occasionally for medicine bottles, condiment bottles and lamp chimneys (Jones and Smith 1985: 12). This collection is predominately undecorated and lacks distinctive maker’s marks. Less than 1% of the glass had any type of decoration (n=3; 3.3 g). All the decorative glass styles were documented in the Cabrits laborer village (CG-1). They include either ground, molded, etched or incised shapes such as stars or dots.

Site	Glass Material	Quantity	Weight (g.)
CG-1	Non-Lead	2356	9024.7
CG-2	Non-Lead	316	924.6
CG-1	Lead	158	268.5
CG-2	Lead	10	7.5
		<b>2840</b>	<b>10225.3</b>

**Table 7.09:** Quantity of lead and non-lead glass at the Cabrits Garrison.

Like other British fortifications during this period, this glass assemblage is mainly of British origin. While the British army would have been responsible for providing some of this material to occupants of the Cabrits Garrison, most of these objects would have entered the fort through several sources, including individuals, a regiment, or military department (Jones and Smith 1985: 115). The various forms of glass containers are associated almost exclusively with drinking (Table 7.10). Glass was also used for different food-related objects, such as storage and serving related vessels, but none of these forms were positively identified during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison. Other glass container forms recovered during excavations at the fort are associated with health and personal hygiene. In regards to color, 89% of the glass assemblage is green (n=2,535; 9,836.4 g). An additional 8% of the assemblage is colorless (n=214; 305.2 g). Less than 2% of the total glass container assemblage includes light green bottles (n=43; 17.9 g),

which may indicate the low economic status of these settlements compared to higher status groups (see Otto 1975: 230, cited in Armstrong 1990).

<b>Glass Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle, Beer	2	22.8
Bottle, Case	35	121.1
Bottle, snuff	2	10.5
Bottle, unidentifiable	130	95.8
Bottle, Wine style	2463	9678.4
Container, unidentifiable	3	92.9
Drinking Glass, unidentifiable	9	7.9
Pharmaceutical Bottle/Vial	22	14.9
Stemware	6	45
Tableware, unidentifiable	29	40
Tumbler	1	1.3
Unidentifiable	138	94.7
	<b>2840</b>	<b>10225.3</b>

**Table 7.10:** Glass forms identified at the Cabrits Garrison.

Liquor drinking was a common feature of the military during this period. It formed a part of the daily diet and was used for various social purposes, such as expressing etiquette and as rewards for the completion of labor tasks. Drinking practices at British military sites operated according to social norms inherent to both the military and wider English society. It was an essential socializing mechanism among officers and other military elite, but was far less acceptable among regular infantry as it contributed to poor performance and discipline (Buckley 1998; Jones and Smith 1985). These different expectations and resulting patterns of consumption are materialized in glass assemblages that exhibit similarities to civilian populations but are distinctly military.

Unfortunately, the heavily fragmented nature and heavy patina on most of the pieces recovered at the Cabrits Garrison makes it difficult in many cases to identify particular forms and ascertain important attributes, including shape and specific markings. Unidentified (n=1,212; 753.1 g) and nondiagnostic body

fragments (n=1,134; 2,778.4 g) from various glass containers constitute 83% of the recovered assemblage. In addition, unlike refined European ceramics, diversity in the shape, manufacture and elements of glass vessels, such as bases, lips and rims, makes it difficult to pinpoint diagnostic features useful in establishing precise quantitative chronological dates for archaeological contexts (Armstrong 1990: 160). Certain glass forms are more useful than others in establishing occupation histories. For example, English “wine” bottles can be dated by the differing body proportions to total bottle height and by the changing lip and string rim configurations (Jones and Smith 1985: 14), but these estimations rely on near complete vessels, precise reconstructions, or a large sample of diagnostic bottle glass fragments, none of which was recovered at the Cabrits Garrison. Thus, beyond the identification of particular types of glass containers and their distribution in the living areas under investigation, this class of artifacts plays a significantly smaller role in this analysis of eating and drinking practices than the other two forms of kitchen group artifacts (ceramics and animal bone).

<b>Glass Manu Tech</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight</b>
Machine Made	2	22.8
Mold Blown	248	1755.7
Mouth Blown	2557	8432.6
Unidentifiable	33	14.2
	<b>2840</b>	<b>10225.3</b>

**Table 7.11:** Types of glass container manufacturing techniques identified at the Cabrits Garrison.

Most (90%) of the recovered glass containers are mouth blown (n=2,557; 8,432.6 g) (Table 7.11). A small amount (9%) of this assemblage is identified as mold blown based on clear evidence of mold seams (n=248; 1,755.7 g). This proportion makes sense given the occupation history of the Cabrits Garrison and general trends in the development of glass bottles. Free blown bottles were most common until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when bottles formed by dip molds and then three-part molds predominated. Fragments of wine bottle glass were the most common glass container recovered (n=2,463;

9,678.4 g) (see Figure 7.10). Mouth blown production is by far the most common manufacturing technique identified from the available evidence (n=2,304; 8,110.3 g), but a significant proportion of this evidence may have lacked features displaying the combination of mold and mouth blown techniques, like that required in dip mold bottle production. Typically, these types of bottles are functionally associated with wine and brewed beverages but they were probably reused many times to hold water and possibly other locally produced beverages (Armstrong 1990: 160; Jones and Smith 1985).



**Figure 7.15:** A mouth blown green wine bottle base with a mamelon pontil style from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by S. Lenik).

This assemblage is assumed to consist entirely of English “wine” bottles as no examples of French wine bottles were definitively identified. “Wine” bottles came in a variety of sizes. In general, they measure 275 mm high with base diameters about 85 mm (Jones and Smith 1985: 18). No complete “wine” bottles were recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison but by this period they were taller and narrower than their original squat body design in the 1750s. Also, no corks or wire ties were identified but these materials would have been used to seal the bottles. Information from recovered “wine” bottle bases (n=112; 3,901.7 g) demonstrates that among the identifiable portion of this assemblage pontil marks most

frequently exhibit evidence that they were improved and ground (n=9; 1,536.2 g) as opposed to being left unfinished (n=2; 23.4 g) (Figure 7.15). These base marks appear to be most like the “sand glass-tipped pontil” described by Jones (1971: 69). The generally larger pontil marks left by this production technique are common to English “wine” bottles and occasionally case bottles dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The pontil marks on French bottles from the same period are generally smaller based on their preference to use glass-tipped pontils in production.



**Figure 7.16:** Different styles of wine bottle finishes from “structure 2” in CG-1, including down-sloped and V-shaped string rims (photo by S. Lenik).

From the available bottle finishes (n=73; 2291.2 g), a variety of lip and string rim combinations are present, which is testament to the sheer diversity in similar types of glass drinking vessels during the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison (Figure 7.16). These forms differ according to shape, including rounded, flat-top, down-sloped and irregular examples, as well as manufacture, including techniques involving a finishing tool, added glass, cracking or bursting off glass and other non-specific manipulation.

The most common lip and string ring combination identified on the recovered English “wine” bottles is a down-sloped design manufactured using a finishing tool (n=31; 995.4 g).

Other recovered bottle forms include beer (n=2; 22.8 g), case (n=35; 121.1 g) and snuff (n=2; 10.5 g). Small (weak) beer was formally integrated into military life by laws requiring it as a part of the soldiers’ allowance. It was used to form a part of the daily diet and for health reasons. Spruce beer was a common substitute for a lack of vegetables but this practice was stopped after 1783 (Jones and Smith 1985). Only a few fragments of beer bottles were positively identified during excavation. Beer may not have been a regular issue at the Cabrits Garrison and other Caribbean fortifications, but soldiers and laborers undoubtedly drank it. Square green case bottles were encountered less frequently than wine bottles and are most often associated with gin. Unlike wine bottles, case bottles were rarely used to serve liquor on the table. Gin was commonly thought as a drink of the English lower classes until the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century but was gradually replaced by tea (Jones and Smith 1985). Its relative scarcity from study areas at the Cabrits Garrison may be related to its diminished significance among laborers and regular infantry during this period. Finally, the recovered snuff bottle fragments are no doubt associated with the use of this tobacco product for recreational and medicinal purposes.

The collected glass assemblage also included fragments from pharmaceutical bottles (n=22; 14.9 g). Evidence for bottled medicines have often been recovered in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century contexts. An increasing array of medicinal liquids, powders, pomades and pills were stored in a variety of glass containers (Jones and Smith 1985: 88). Presence of these forms in domestic contexts at military sites is testament to efforts by military administrators to keep troops and other military personnel healthy or provide them with proper treatment. As opposed to other glass vessel forms, such as English “wine bottles”, the British army typically purchased these medicines. Overall, this type of glass container represents an insignificant portion of the total assemblage recovered at the Cabrits Garrison. Bottled pharmaceuticals were no doubt available at the fort but are so far lacking in the archaeology of domestic contexts at this site.



This type of glass bottle may be more strongly correlated with hospital sites throughout the fort. This idea requires further archaeological testing.



**Figure 7.17:** The foot and stem from a stemware drinking glass recovered at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by S. Lenik).

Glassware was also rarely encountered during excavations at domestic contexts associated with laborers and regular infantry (n=7; 46.3 g) (Figure 7.17). This type of clear, leaded glass includes forms such as stemware, tumblers and decanters. They are generally interpreted as an expensive category of drinking glasses and serving bottles, which no doubt explains their relative absence from archaeological investigations at the Cabrits Garrison and other contexts associated with laborers in the Caribbean (Armstrong 1990: 162-163). Recovered forms include stemware (n=6; 45 g) and a tumbler (n=1; 1.3 g). It is important to keep in mind that the provisions and pay provided to regular infantry and laborers would have made the purchase of glass tableware, including various containers, very difficult and, in conjunction with their demanding schedules and meager living conditions, generally incompatible with their daily lives. While individual soldiers or laborers may have purchased glass vessels recovered in domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison, it is also likely these containers entered these study areas through various social practices, perhaps most specifically through work relations.

Further analysis of the recovered glass assemblage is required to more accurately source these materials and determine dates of the structures and activity areas under investigation. In addition, a larger sample of glass from other domestic contexts at the fort would help illuminate any material specific behaviors relating to this artifact type, including differences in the percentage of wine bottle glass in domestic contexts as opposed to other vessel types, such as case bottles, which may be connected to different patterns of consumption in these living spaces.

#### **7.4 Animal Bones**

Shovel testing and open area excavations at study areas throughout the Cabrits Garrison recovered a minimal amount of faunal evidence (n=353; 224.7 g). This limited assemblage undoubtedly indicates the presence of a relatively monotonous diet at the fort (Heath 1999b: 208-210) as well as institutionalized strategies of meat provisioning. The scale of the provisioning of diet at the Cabrits Garrison involved labor relations beyond the practices of acquisition and preparation in the typical colonial kitchen in the Caribbean (see Voss 2008 for discussion of diet in the Spanish Caribbean). It combined a variety of distributive networks, labor regimes and different forms of commerce and barter to provide a diet integrating European butchering and storage practices with different forms of free and enslaved labor throughout the Caribbean, including local provision gardens, fishing and livestock pens. As will be described in later discussions of this material, 80% of this evidence was recovered in the shovel test survey of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (n=283; 143.4 g), while the far more extensive open area excavations used in the investigation of the laborer village (CG-1) recovered a comparatively insignificant assemblage (n=70; 81.3 g). Dr. Thomas Whyte from the Department of Anthropology at Appalachian State University supervised analysis of much of the zooarchaeological collection. The clear majority of the faunal evidence was poorly preserved making the identification of variables typical to zooarchaeological analysis difficult. Information, including species, skeletal element and portion, age, sex and evidence of alterations, burning and fracture type, was documented whenever possible. In addition to this more advanced information,

basic weights, sizes and number of identified species (NISP) was recorded for all the collected faunal evidence.

Taxon	NISP	Weight (g.)
Cattle ( <i>Bos taurus</i> )	4	20.6
Land crab ( <i>Gecarcinus ruricola</i> )	4	3.4
Large mammals	43	69.4
Mammals	258	98
Pig ( <i>Sus scrofa</i> )	7	11.1
Sheep or Goat (Caprine)	20	20.4
Turtle (Testudines)	1	0.3
Unidentifiable vertebrates	16	1.5
	<b>353</b>	<b>224.7</b>

**Table 7.12:** Species identified from faunal remains recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

Much (85%) of the recovered faunal assemblage cannot be assigned a species designation beyond general categories for large mammals (n=43; 69.4 g) and mammals (n=258; 98 g). This evidence, especially the large mammal bones, is most likely the remains from cattle (*Bos taurus*), sheep or goat (Caprine) and pig (*Sus scrofa*). Out of the collection of bones identifiable beyond basic mammal categories, the remains of sheep or goat (n=20; 20.4 g), pig (n=7; 11.1 g) and cow (n=4; 20.6 g) were confidently identified. This identifiable portion of the assemblage could be the remains of common species raised on Dominica and used to supply plantations and military outposts. This seems particularly relevant for the sheep or goat remains, which may have also entered the archaeological record during a period unassociated with the Cabrits Garrison since goats have been observed before and after the military occupation of the peninsula. The pig and cow bones more than likely represent the remains of barreled and salted meat imported from England and North America as was typical at military sites during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but further study, such as the analysis of stable isotopes in bone collagen, is required to clarify the origins of this material (Klippel 2001). Controversy exists over whether marrowbones, typically long bones from large mammals characterized by “high meat utility”, were included in barrels because they caused the

meat to spoil. Klippel (2001: 1193) notes that there is historical evidence supporting their exclusion and archaeological evidence identifying their inclusion in colonial contexts. The presence of long bones in archaeological contexts throughout the Cabrits Garrison (n=24; 75.6 g) and references to “beef, pork per barrel” in primary records dealing with provisioning from the period (see NA CO 71/3) provides convincing evidence that these high yield bones were included in meat barrels to the fort. In addition to these common species, some faunal evidence alludes to the presence of other species at the fort, including unidentifiable vertebrates (n=16; 1.5 g), a possible costal bone from a turtle (Testudines) (n=1; 0.3 g) and gastroliths from black land crabs (*Gecarcinus ruricola*) (n=4; 3.4 g). It is unclear whether these species were used for food, especially the gastroliths, or whether they represent potential sources of disturbance. No other evidence for fish, reptiles, or birds was recovered (Figure 7.12).

Species	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Cow	4	20.6
Large mammal	37	54.6
Pig	7	11.1
Sheep or goat	5	10.3
	<b>53</b>	<b>96.6</b>

**Table 7.13:** High-yield faunal remains recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

While much of the recovered faunal assemblage was undiagnostic because of poor preservation and its fragmentary nature, 21% of the bone could be identified and further analyzed in relation to food utility (n=73; 112.3 g). Out of this identifiable sample, 73% of the fragments (n=53; 96.6 g) were from “high meat utility” bones, including portions from the axial and upper limbs of animals, while a smaller percentage was from “low meat utility” bones (n=20; 15.7 g), including portions from the lower limbs and head (Klippel 2001: 1193). This discrepancy makes sense given the reality that barreled shipments of meat would not likely contain low utility portions due to the high cost of shipping. Low utility skeletal portions have relatively little nutritional value compared to the high utility portions characterized by considerable segments of meat.

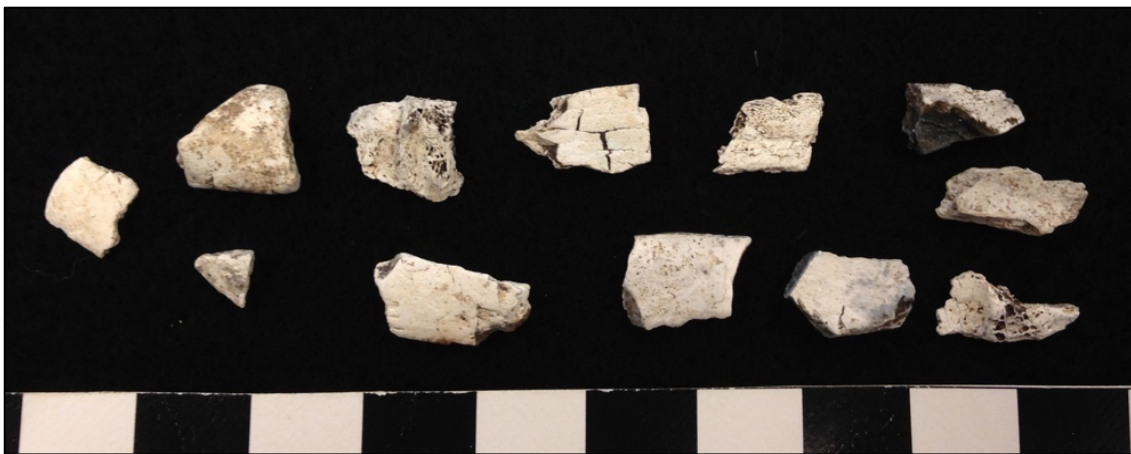
Various teeth from mammal species, primarily sheep or goat, constitute the entire low utility assemblage collected during excavations at the fort. Over half (70%) of the high utility assemblage is characterized by large mammal bones (n=37; 54.6 g), including ribs, long bones and vertebrae, which is not surprising given the assumption that this evidence is most likely the remains of cattle, pig and sheep or goat. The remaining portion of these nutritionally valuable bones is identified as pig (n=7; 11.1 g), cow (n=4; 20.6 g) and sheep or goat (n=5; 10.3 g) (Figure 7.13). All (100%) the pig and cow bones are considered to have high meat utility, which contrast sharply with the bone of caprines that are 75% low utility (n=15; 10.1 g). Among the most common high utility skeletal parts recovered during excavations are long bones (n=24; 75.6 g), which constitute 45% of collection, and ribs (n=22; 10.3 g), which make up 42% of the identifiable assemblage. These skeletal parts would have been most valuable to cooking practices at the Cabrits Garrison and are perhaps most significant in interpreting meat eating practices.



**Figure 7.18:** A cut mark on the centrum portion of the lumbar vertebrae of a pig from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (photo by Z. Beier).

Other evidence documented from the available faunal collection reflects behaviors consistent with intensive processing, cooking and burning. Some of the bones display distinctive markings (n=6; 43.2 g), such as chop or cut marks (n=4; 24.9 g) (Figures 7.18, 7.21) as well as potential carnivore gnawing (n=2;

18.3 g). Most (83%) of these alterations are on high utility bones (n=5; 43.1 g), such as vertebrae and long bones including a tibia, suggesting their use in removing substantial portions of meat. Less than half (43% of the recovered animal bone was burnt until its structure and appearance was altered into a smooth, chalky, white material (n=150; 52.7 g) (Figure 7.19). This is a common result of the calcination of bone. Previous archaeological research has associated calcined bone with extensive boiling, a food procurement strategy used in starvation situations (Ellis et al. 2011). Further study of this calcined assemblage is necessary to determine the extent of pot polish and other strategies used by former occupants of the Cabrits Garrison to enhance nutrition in this relatively isolated military post. Additionally, future excavations throughout areas significant to the interpretation of domestic life of regular infantry and laborers would aid in the overall representation of food acquisition and processing at this site. More extensive analysis could potentially narrow in on the origins of these food remains, primarily whether they were locally acquired in Dominica or a product of institutionalized processing and distribution from England or North America.



**Figure 7.19:** A sample of calcined bone recovered from STP K-003 in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (photo by Z. Beier).

## 7.5 Patterns of “Eating and Drinking” in the Laborer Village (CG-1)

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Ceramic vessels	1617	4418.6
Glass vessels	2514	9293.2
Faunal remains	70	81.3
	<b>4201</b>	<b>13793.1</b>

**Table 7.14:** Kitchen-related artifacts from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

The largest proportion of evidence relating to eating and drinking was recovered during excavations of domestic contexts within the laborer village (CG-1) at the Cabrits Garrison (n=4,201; 13,793.1 g) (Table 7.14). Fragments of ceramic (n=1,617; 4,418.6 g) and glass (n=2,514; 9,293.2 g) vessels dominate this assemblage. Faunal evidence was rarely encountered during excavations in this study area (n=70; 81.3 g). This lack of visibility of animal bones in the archaeological record may be related to the poor preservation conditions characterizing this settlement, including its low elevation and tendency to flood during heavy rains. It could also be associated with different patterns of meat provisioning within this military community, which is a theme explored later in relation to the concentrated presence of faunal evidence in certain test excavations in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (see section 7.6). Other forms of evidence, including shell, seeds, charcoal, fire-cracked rock (FCR) and fragments from cast iron vessels, do not constitute a significant proportion of the materials recovered from this study area and are thus not considered in this analysis. The evidence recovered from the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) was made available through a combination of shovel testing and open area excavations. As emphasized throughout the course of this investigation, excavations in this area were far more substantial than in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Occupation dates calculated from known manufacturing dates of kitchen-related objects, primarily the refined ceramics imported from Britain, correspond with the height of construction activity at the Cabrits Garrison and the Napoleonic period between the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of

the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 5.19 for plot of CG-1 mean ceramic dates). Mean ceramic dates for all contexts excavated in CG-1 average to 1794.4, with “structure 2” dating to that same time (1794.2) and “structure 1” slightly later (1796) (see Table 5.02). Each of the structures excavated in the laborer village (CG-1) provide unique chronological information that suggests they were occupied at different time periods during the operation of the fort. While there appears to be a certain degree of crossover in the occupation of these structures, “structure 1” is believed to have been developed following the construction of “structure 2” and occupied continuously until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see discussion of chronology in section 5.5.1.a of Chapter Five). These kitchen-related materials also reflect the incorporation of status signifiers common in military and civilian spheres of colonial life in addition to revealing patterns of foodways that employed knowledge and tools developed in the Caribbean region, primarily the surrounding French sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. While the laboring community at the Cabrits Garrison was seemingly conceived as a unified settlement on administrative maps of the fort, the two domestic contexts selected within the laborer village demonstrate variations in the frequency and use of materials relating to eating and drinking. These apparent patterns illuminate how individual households in this settlement differed and the process through which daily eating and drinking practices may have changed during the period of occupation by the British army.

### 7.5.1 Eating and Drinking at “Structure 1”

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Ceramic vessels	659	1921.5
Glass vessels	565	1244.9
Faunal remains	56	59.2
	<b>1280</b>	<b>3225.6</b>

**Table 7.15:** Kitchen-related artifacts recovered from “structure 1” in CG-1.

The seven one-meter square units situated in and around the stone foundations of this building recovered a significant amount of the kitchen-related evidence central to this investigation (n=1,280;



3,225.6 g), including glass (n=565; 1,244.9 g) and ceramic (n=659; 1,921.5 g) vessels and animal bones (n=56; 59.2 g) (Table 7.15). This evidence was recovered in all the contexts excavated inside and outside of this structure at a similar frequency. Glass and ceramic vessels constitute the largest percentage of evidence associated with eating and drinking, but there appears to have been a slight preference for ceramics during the occupation of this structure. A total of 18 different ware types are included in the recovered assemblage (Table 7.16). Ceramic data is far more revealing of specific occupation histories and different forms of material use and access than the other artifact types considered.

<b>Ceramic Ware</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Astbury Type	1	8.7
Black Basalt	1	1.4
British Stoneware	4	3.8
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	123	619.1
Creamware	83	105.3
Delftware, Dutch/British	1	1
Faience	7	17.5
French Coarse Earthenware	55	287
Fulham Type	4	24.6
Nottingham	1	0.4
Pearlware	331	775.1
Porcelain, Chinese	10	9
Red Agate, coarse	2	1
Redware	4	17.4
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	4	6.8
Stoneware, unidentifiable	2	0.4
White Salt Glaze	3	15.3
Whiteware	23	27.7
	<b>659</b>	<b>1921.5</b>

**Table 7.16:** Ceramic ware types identified at “structure 1” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

Important insights into the occupation history of “structure 1” are not explicitly reflected in any document or map associated with the Cabrits Garrison, but the different proportions of chronologically significant ceramic types place the occupation of this structure between the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 5.02 for structure’s average mean ceramic date and

Figure 5.19 for comparison of MCDs from all excavated contexts in this locus to “structure 2”). Refined ceramics manufactured earlier in England, such as white salt glaze stoneware (n=3; 15.3 g) and creamware (n=83; 105.3 g), were recovered during excavations of this structure but are outnumbered by ceramic wares developed later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and produced throughout the occupation of the fort until its abandonment in 1854, including pearlware (n=331; 775.1 g) and whiteware (n=23; 24.9 g). Higher priced ceramics produced throughout this period, like Asian porcelains (n=7; 6.2 g), do not constitute a significant portion of the ceramics recovered from this structure, but other higher cost ceramic styles are present, including hand-painted and transfer-printed ceramics (Miller 1980).

<b>Ceramic Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle, blacking	1	0.7
Bowl	2	9.5
Mug/Can	3	13.5
Not Recorded	7	2.3
Plate	16	165.1
Saucer	2	1.3
Teacup	2	1.9
Unidentifiable	385	909
Unid: Tableware	163	588.3
Unid: Teaware	65	36.2
Unid: Utilitarian	13	193.7
	<b>659</b>	<b>1921.5</b>

**Table 7.17:** Ceramic forms identified at “structure 1” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

Like other domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison, there appears to have been a preference for hollowwares (n=270; 1141.5 g) at this structure, but evidence for flatwares (n=114; 306.9 g) is slightly higher here than at any other living space documented in this investigation. This slightly higher proportion of flatwares at “structure 1” may be linked with patterns of eating typically found in higher status contexts that emphasized individual over communal table settings. Most of the identifiable ceramics from this structure are from general tableware vessels (n=163; 380.9), but a few specific forms were documented, including plate (n=16; 165.1 g), mug (3; 13.5 g), bowl (n=2; 9.5 g), teacup (n=2; 1.9 g), saucer

(n=2; 1.3 g) and blacking bottle (n=1; 0.7 g) fragments (Table 7.17). It is important to note that the highest percentage of unidentified teaware sherds was collected during excavations here than at any other domestic context investigated at the Cabrits Garrison (n=65; 36.2 g). This concentration suggests that former occupants were engaged in kitchen-related behaviors of a higher-status than documented at other living spaces associated with military laborers and regular infantry.

<b>Ceramic Decorative Type/ Genre</b>	<b>Ware Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight</b>
Bead and Reel	White Salt Glaze	1	3.8
Handpainted Blue (n=23; 30.6 g)	Pearlware	17	25
	Porcelain, Chinese	6	5.6
Molded Edge Decoration, other (n=6; 6.9 g)	Creamware	5	4.6
	Pearlware	1	2.3
Overglaze, handpainted (n=3; 2 g)	Creamware	1	0.2
	Pearlware	1	1.2
	Porcelain, Chinese	1	0.6
Polychrome, cool	Whiteware	4	3.8
Polychrome, warm	Pearlware	1	2.6
Shell Edge, blue (n=18; 62.7 g)	Pearlware	17	61.2
	Whiteware	1	1.5
Shell Edge, green (n=7; 15 g)	Pearlware	6	13.1
	Whiteware	1	1.9
Slipware, factory made	Pearlware	50	242.3
Transfer Print Under, blue (n=116; 101.6 g)	Pearlware	107	91.1
	Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	1	0.4
	Delftware, Dutch/British	1	1
	Whiteware	7	9.1
Transfer Print Under, brown (n=2; 0.3 g)	Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	1	0.1
	Pearlware	1	0.2
Transfer Print Under, green	Pearlware	1	0.4
Transfer Print Under, light blue (n=10; 8.9 g)	Porcelain, Chinese	1	0.9
	Pearlware	7	4.7
	Whiteware	2	3.3
Transfer Print Under, pink	Whiteware	2	0.5
Transfer Print Under, purple	Whiteware	1	0.2
		<b>245</b>	<b>481.6</b>

**Table 7.18:** Decorative types identified on types of import ware recovered at “structure 1” in CG-1.

The highest concentration of typically higher-priced decorated ceramics was recovered from open area excavations at this structure. Approximately 37% of the recovered assemblage is decorated (n=245; 481.6 g) (Table 7.18). Imported wares contributed the highest frequencies of decorated sherds. The most common decorative types encountered include underglaze transfer printed ware (n=132; 111.9 g) (see Figure 7.09) and factory made slipware (n=50; 140.6 g), including a near complete pitcher recovered from outside of the dwelling at Unit 5 (N985/E986) (see Figure 7.04). A near complete blue shell edge pearlware plate was also recovered from this unit (Figure 7.20) These decorative styles date to around the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The transfer-printed ceramics recovered here exhibit the greatest ranges of colors documented during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison. Examples of blue (n=116; 101.6 g), light blue (n=10; 8.9 g), brown (n=1; 0.2 g), green (n=1; 0.4 g), pink (n=2; 0.5 g) and purple (n=1; 0.2 g) are represented in the assemblage collected at “structure 1.” This concentration of typically higher priced decorated wares suggests the former occupants of this structure had greater degree of access to these objects than other inhabitants of the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (Miller 1980).



**Figure 7.20:** A blue shell edge pearlware plate recovered from “structure 1” in CG-1 (photo by S. Lenik).

A variety of mainly undecorated, mass-produced French cookware (n=55; 287 g) and Caribbean coarse earthenware (n=123; 619.1 g) were also found along with this broader category of import wares.

The group of hand-built coarse earthenware organized under Type 1 is among the most common utilitarian wares encountered at “structure 1” (n=72; 342.4 g) (see discussion of Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 1 in section 7.2.3). These were presumably made in the Caribbean and perhaps locally in Dominica.

Substantial portions of the body and distinctive handle/rim design of one of these open-orifice pots was recovered during excavations inside “structure 1” at Unit 4 (N914/E985) (refer to vessel on the left in Figure 7.12). Evidence of residue and soot on the exterior of recovered body fragments is from close contact to fire during cooking.

The other types of Caribbean coarse earthenware documented elsewhere at the Cabrits Garrison were absent from the excavations of this structure, primarily the undecorated, wheel-thrown variety (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2 in section 7.2.3). Instead, the largest percentage of mass-produced French coarse earthenware excavated is associated with this structure. These wheel-thrown coarse wares with interior slips or glazes are believed to have been used for an array of utilitarian purposes, including food preparation, cooking and storage. Certain types of this French utilitarian cookware were found to be associated primarily with this structure. For example, the highest concentration of Type 1 (n=8; 82.9), Type 2 (n=16; 80 g) and Type 3 (n=25; 80 g) of the mass-produced coarse earthenware was recovered during excavations of this domestic context (see description for these French coarse earthenware types in section 7.2.2). These wares are more than likely from Vallauris or from a similar region in the southeast of France. The red slip apparent on both Type 1, a bowl used for cooking, and Type 2, a straight-sided cooking pot, are typical of 19<sup>th</sup> century cookware produced in Vallauris. The concentration of these red slipped French cookware at “structure 1” is suggestive of its later occupation history than other structures investigated in the Cabrits Garrison. The inclusion of French material culture into this setting was undoubtedly easier following the conclusion of conflict between Britain and France by 1815. In addition, along with the concentration of Caribbean coarse earthenware, the presence of these

wares may allude to the preference of the former occupants of this structure for the tools and tastes characterizing creole foodways throughout the region.

While animal bones were recovered in and around “structure 1” (n=56; 59.2 g), the small size and fragmentary nature of this assemblage limits interpretations of dietary patterns. It is clear from this faunal evidence that high utility cuts of meat were preferred (n=21; 38.7), including long bones, ribs and vertebrae from large mammals like cows, pigs and sheep or goats. Other evidence from the faunal assemblage collected at this structure, such as chop marks on long bones (n=1; 5.3 g), is suggestive of the butchering practices used to efficiently pack and transport these products from Europe or other provisioning stations (Figure 7.21). The lack of faunal evidence at “structure 1” is undoubtedly connected to poor preservation conditions in this low lying, comparatively wet portion of the Cabrits Garrison settlement. It is also possible that individuals living in the laborer village relied on food sources beyond the meat imported into the fort, including other forms of non-meat provisions provided by the British military or perhaps consumables originating from the garden lots of surrounding plantations. No definitive evidence for locally procured animals or plants was recovered in the excavations of this structure.



**Figure 7.21:** A chop mark on the shaft of a long bone from a large mammal recovered from “structure 1” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

The chronology established by ceramics from “structure 1” correlates with the recovered glass assemblage (n=565; 1,244.9 g) (see Table 5.01 and Figure 5.19 for mean ceramic dating results for this locus). This evidence is primarily associated with green wine bottle glass mass-produced in Britain between

the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century (n=440; 1,109.2 g). While ceramic vessels outnumbered glass at this structure, liquor drinking undoubtedly occurred here. This behavior was important to the standard military diet as well as expected forms of socializing. The reduced amount of glass in comparison to ceramics could suggest a more restricted pattern of liquor consumption, which would have been more in line with the norms of control and sobriety expected by the administration of the British army. Most (87%) of the recovered glass is composed of a non-lead material (n=494; 1,166.3 g), but, significantly, approximately 13% is characterized by a high lead content (n=71; 78.6 g). Lead glass is most often associated with colorless tableware as well as bottles for medicinal or recreational purposes. The largest number of pharmaceutical bottles (n=12; 6.4 g) was recovered during excavations of this structure, but this presence is insignificant in relation to the forms used for drinking liquor and other beverages. The higher presence of lead glass fragments documented at this structure as well as identifiable forms of glassware, such as stemware fragments (n=3; 8 g), demonstrate the apparent use, albeit limited, of higher priced glass forms. Former occupants of “structure 1” may have been involved in patterns of liquor consumption and healthcare more typical in the households of officers or other military elite than other domestic contexts within the laborer village (CG-1).

<b>Glass Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle, Case	7	8.3
Bottle, snuff	2	10.5
Bottle, Unidentifiable	32	31.1
Bottle/Vial, Pharmaceutical	12	6.4
Bottle, Wine style	440	1109.2
Drinking Glass, unidentifiable	5	2.9
Stemware	3	8
Tableware, unidentifiable	7	26.5
Unidentifiable	57	42
	<b>565</b>	<b>1244.9</b>

**Table 7.19:** Glass vessel forms identified at “structure 1” in CG-1.

### 7.5.2 Eating and Drinking at “Structure 2”

The largest percentage of evidence associated with eating and drinking was recovered during excavations of this domestic context (n=2,699; 9,516.1 g). Fragments from glass (n=1,836; 7,235.6 g) and ceramic (n=858; 2,273.8 g) vessels constitute the bulk of this evidence, while faunal evidence (n=5; 6.7 g) is almost completely absent from the recovered assemblage. While more excavation units (one-meter x one-meter square) were placed in this area as compared to “structure 1”, it is likely that the concentration of glass and other artifact types documented here is a product of disturbance from the slope forming the western boundary of this locus.

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Ceramic vessels	858	2273.8
Glass vessels	1836	7235.6
Faunal remains	5	6.7
	<b>2699</b>	<b>9516.1</b>

**Table 7.20:** Kitchen-related artifacts recovered from “structure 2” in CG-1.

Like the distribution of architectural-related materials at this structure, much of the kitchen-related evidence was concentrated along the western extent of the excavated zone, primarily in the contexts excavated in the southwestern portion of the locus, including units 8 (N975/E994), 9 (N975/E993), 10 (N974/E993) and the earthen-cut oven feature (F009). Over half (60%) of the ceramic sherds (n=513; 1,273.7 g) and 74% of the glass fragments (n=1,360; 5,054.1 g) were recovered from these excavated contexts. It is also possible that this artifact distribution pattern reflects concentrated activity in a portion of this structure near a large post-hole (F001) and a possible oven (F009). Additional evidence was recovered during excavations of nine post-holes (F001-008, F014) and a trench feature (F021) that were carved into the volcanic bedrock forming the platform for this structure. These contexts are especially significant to the interpretation of “structure 2” as they would have been sealed during the construction or abandonment of this domestic context. These excavated features and the units located in the southwest were deeper than



the shallow layer of soil characterizing units on top of the platform. Comparatively few kitchen-related artifacts were recovered from the units excavated on top of the platform, which may reflect a pattern of refuse disposal where materials were discarded away from the confines of the household. This area is also prone to flooding and artifacts could have shifted from this platform during periodic flows of rainwater.

Fragments of glass vessels constitute 68% of the kitchen-related assemblage recovered from “structure 2” (n=1,836; 7,235.6 g). The heavier concentration of glass in this domestic context differs from the apparent preference for ceramic vessels at “structure 1.” In addition, the glass recovered here includes a smaller percentage of leaded glass (n=81; 185.9 g) in relation to the non-leaded forms that constitute 96% of the total assemblage (n=1,755; 7,049.7 g).

<b>Glass Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle, Case	17	94
Bottle, Unidentifiable	83	47.4
Bottle/Vial, Pharmaceutical	6	5.7
Bottle, Wine style	1632	6897.6
Container, unidentifiable	3	92.9
Drinking Glass, unidentifiable	1	0.4
Stemware	3	37
Tableware, unidentifiable	16	11.3
Unidentifiable	75	49.3
	<b>1836</b>	<b>7235.6</b>

**Table 7.21:** Glass vessel forms identified at “structure 2” in CG-1.

Most (89%) of the collected glass is associated with green wine bottles characteristic of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century (n=1,632; 6,897.6 g) (Table 7.21), which suggests a more exaggerated pattern of liquor consumption at this study area in comparison to others considered in this investigation. It is possible that the former occupants of “structure 2” did not take the expectations and structure of military life as seriously as did individuals residing at “structure 1.” Other documented forms include the highest proportion of case bottles (n=17; 94 g) recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison. While most of the recovered

glass is seemingly typical of lower status domestic contents, the presence of certain leaded forms, including fragments from stemware (n=3; 37 g) attest to the access by occupants to materials associated with higher status liquor consumption. The few fragments from pharmaceutical bottles (n=6; 5.7 g) demonstrates the use of bottled medicines, but their relatively insignificant presence suggests that they were either rarely provided by the British military administration as was typical during the period or were too cost prohibitive for the former occupants of “structure 2” to purchase. As indicated earlier, most of the glass evidence was recovered in contexts excavated in the southwestern portion of this structure, but glass vessel fragments were also collected from the nine excavated post-holes (n=36; 124 g) and contexts associated with the trench (F021) (n=42; 328 g). Green wine bottle glass characterizes the bulk of this evidence recovered from these features (n=69; 431.9 g), which demonstrates the pervasiveness of these objects throughout the occupation of this structure.

<b>Ceramic Ware</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Black Basalt	10	9.7
British Stoneware	13	216.5
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	250	965.9
Creamware	200	229
French Coarse Earthenware	38	263.9
Fulham Type	1	2.7
Pearlware	314	541.5
Porcelain, Chinese	7	6.2
Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	1	0.6
Red Agate, coarse	6	6.4
Red Agate, refined	2	1.6
Redware	4	9.4
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	2	1.3
Stoneware, unidentifiable	3	10.5
Tin-Enameled, unidentified	3	4.3
Whiteware	4	4.3
	<b>858</b>	<b>2273.8</b>

**Table 7.22:** Ceramic ware types identified at “structure 2” in CG-1.

The ceramic vessel sherds (n=858; 2,273.8 g) collected during excavations of “structure 2” make up 32% of the kitchen-related assemblage, but provide the most information pertaining to this structure’s particular occupation history and certain patterns of access and use. A total of 16 different ware types are included in the recovered assemblage, slightly less than documented at “structure 1” (Table 7.22). As described in section 5.5.1.b of Chapter Five, “structure 2” appears in line with the row of “huts for Pioneers and Workshops” illustrated on the 1799 map of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (refer to 4.03). This is an arrangement repeated with slight variation on other maps of the fort dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century (see section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four). Ceramic evidence from this structure suggests a period of occupation a few decades before the production of the available maps detailing this settlement (see Table 5.01 and Figure 5.19 for mean ceramic dating results for this locus). This assemblage includes a higher proportion of ceramics wares developed earlier in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than observed elsewhere in domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison, including sherds from unidentified tin enameled ware (n=3; 4.3), coarse (n=6; 6.4 g) and refined (n=2; 1.6 g) red agate ware and black basalt stoneware (n=10; 9.7 g). Additionally, creamware sherds (n=200; 229 g) constitute 23% of the total ceramic assemblage recovered here, which is a significantly higher proportion than documented at “structure 1” (12.6%). Evidence of wares developed later in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was recovered, including a substantial concentration of pearlware sherds (n=314; 541.5 g), but a comparatively insignificant amount of whiteware (n=4; 4.3 g). According to this evidence, “structure 2” was most likely abandoned following the end of the Napoleonic period (1799-1815) and the drawdown of British forces and military expenditures throughout the Caribbean. It is important to note that ceramic wares most expensive during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, primarily Asian (n=7; 6.2 g) and English (n=1; 0.6 g) porcelains, make up a comparatively insignificant portion of the recovered ceramics.

<b>Ceramic Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bottle	1	23.6
Chamberpot	4	48.9
Gaming Piece	1	3.6
Mug/Can	2	0.6
Plate	5	18.1
Saucer	5	4.6
Storage Vessel	4	204.3
Teacup	2	10.3
Unidentifiable	585	1239.3
Unid: Tableware	162	360.4
Unid: Teaware	58	49
Unid: Utilitarian	29	311.1
	<b>858</b>	<b>2273.8</b>

**Table 7.23:** Ceramic vessel forms identified at “structure 2” in CG-1.

Like “structure 1”, the former occupants of “structure 2” preferred hollowwares (n=372; 1,654.9 g) to flatwares (n=105 g; 186.9 g). This evidence suggests that occupants engaged in a communal or shared pattern of food consumption as opposed to relying on individual servings.<sup>46</sup> Most of the recovered ceramic sherds are not identifiable beyond basic vessel categories (n=585; 1,239.3 g) (Table 7.23). The highest proportion of recovered ceramics are associated with unidentified tableware forms (n=162; 360.4 g), but a few specific forms were identified, including sherds from a saucer (n=5; 4.6 g), chamberpot (n=4; 48.9 g), storage vessel (n=4; 204.3 g), teacup (n=2; 10.3 g), mug (n=2; 0.6 g) and bottle (n=1; 23.6 g). While not

<sup>46</sup> Many African diaspora archaeologists have made this same inference, but it must be used with caution. The method of comparing flatware to hollowware ratios emerged by the 1980s as a valid technique to infer preference and dietary behavior. For example, Otto (1984) used this method to demonstrate that enslaved Africans at Canon’s Point plantation in Georgia preferred bowls and other hollow vessel forms to prepare stew-based meals. The concentration of hollowwares at colonial sites in the Americas have frequently been used as an indicator that the “assemblage was deposited by blacks” (Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 53). In the Caribbean, Armstrong (1985) observed a decrease in bowl forms between pre- and post-emancipation laborer households at Drax Hall plantation in Jamaica. Following Deetz (1973, 1996), Armstrong argued this corresponded with “changes in behavior patterns, with the hollow form (including bowls) representing ‘folk culture’ and communal eating practices, and the plate representing the formation of a rather ubiquitous ‘popular culture’ and individual eating practices” (1985: 278). Subsequent research does not support this inference as a model applicable in all settings. For instance, Heath and Breen (2012: 13) list several case studies that demonstrate how this pattern is not universally applicable at slave sites in Virginia. Additionally, comparisons of plantations and urban settings in the United States have revealed instances where the preference for hollowwares was shared among enslaved laborers and poor free blacks (see Baker 1980: 34) and other cases where it was absent. Joseph argues that differences in the frequency of hollowwares at plantation and urban sites in the American south may have less to do with transplanted African foodways and preferences than they do with the conditions of slave life where the long workdays “made the preparation of minimally supervised slow-cooked meals such as soup and stews a necessity” (2000: 120). Analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the Cabrits Garrison has used this inference for assessing site-specific behavior and not ethnic designations and other generalizations.

necessarily related to patterns of eating and drinking at this structure, a blue underglaze transfer printed pearlware was recovered from Unit 19 (N979/E996) that was modified into a circular disc most likely used as a gaming piece for various games of chance or gambling (n=1; 3.6 g). This secondary use of this once kitchen-related object is evidence of local instances of reuse that seemingly implies the formation of certain types of social relationships at this domestic context.

Decorated ceramics constitute approximately 25% of the total assemblage recovered from excavations at “structure 2” (n=216; 416 g) (Table 7.24). This is smaller proportion than what was documented at “structure 1” (37%), which may suggest this structure was occupied by lower status groups in this hierarchically arranged military community. Import wares dating between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century exhibit the highest level of decoration than other types of ceramics. Factory-made slipware is the most popular type of decorated import ware collected from this domestic context (n=75; 73 g). This decorative type is apparent on both creamware (n=9; 18.9 g) and pearlware (n=66; 54.1 g). Transfer-printed ceramics (n=56; 227 g) constitute a significantly smaller portion of the recovered assemblage than at “structure 1.” This decorative type is primarily found on pearlware (n=50; 221.7), but a few examples were documented on creamware (n=1; 0.2 g), whiteware (n=3; 3.8 g) and unidentifiable refined earthenware sherds (n=2; 1.3 g). A restricted range of transfer print colors are also apparent here. Only blue (n=55; 225.7 g) and light blue (n=1; 1.3 g) varieties are represented as compared to the assortment of transfer printed colors documented at “structure 1.” Even though decorated ceramics are less common in the “structure 2” ceramic assemblage, a variety of decorative types are represented, including popular molded edge designs like blue (n=12; 18.7 g) and green (n=5; 7 g) shell edge and royal pattern (n=13; 30.4 g), as well as a mixture of hand-painted blue (n=13; 12.5 g) and polychrome (n=27; 28.6 g) designs on pearlware and porcelain sherds. This pattern suggests that this structure was occupied during a similar time as “structure 1” but its former inhabitants may have had less access to higher priced decorated ceramics throughout its occupation, such as transfer printed tableware.

Ceramic Decorative Type/ Genre	Ware Type	Quantity	Weight
Feather Edge	Creamware	1	0.1
Handpainted Blue (n=13; 12.5 g)	Pearlware	8	8.1
	Porcelain, Chinese	5	4.4
Molded Edge Decoration, other (n=13; 18.1 g)	Creamware	7	7.3
	Pearlware	6	10.8
Overglaze, handpainted	Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	1	0.6
Polychrome, warm	Pearlware	27	28.6
Royal Pattern (n=13; 30.4 g)	Pearlware	1	1.1
	Creamware	12	29.3
Shell Edge, blue	Pearlware	12	18.7
Shell Edge, green	Pearlware	5	7
Slipware, factory made (n=75; 73 g)	Pearlware	66	54.1
	Creamware	9	18.9
Transfer Print Under, blue (n=55; 225.7 g)	Whiteware	2	2.5
	Creamware	1	0.2
	Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	2	1.3
	Pearlware	50	221.7
Transfer Print Under, light blue	Whiteware	1	1.3
		<b>216</b>	<b>416</b>

**Table 7.24:** Decorative types identified on types of import ware recovered from “structure 2” in CG-1.

A significant portion of the ceramic assemblage documented at “structure 2” is comprised of a variety of primarily undecorated, utilitarian wares, including Caribbean coarse earthenware (n=250; 965.9 g) and mass-produced French cookware (n=38; 263.9 g). Caribbean coarse earthenware comprises 29% of the recovered ceramic assemblage. This is higher than any proportion documented elsewhere in excavations of living spaces at the Cabrits Garrison. Sherds from hand-built coarse earthenware vessels were among the most common type of utilitarian ware recovered at “structure 2” (n=171; 664.7 g) (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 1 in section 7.2.3). As mentioned earlier, similar evidence for hand-built coarse earthenware vessels was also recovered from “structure 1” excavations. A nearly complete vessel was recovered from Unit 13 (N976/E997) and a possible posthole (F014) excavated

within this context that is similar in form and composition to a cooking vessel recovered at “structure 1” (refer to vessel on the right in Figure 7.12). Substantial portions of the rim, body, base and a handle terminal of this open-orifice pot were recovered. A similar pattern of residue and soot on the exterior of this vessel and other hand-built sherds was documented, which no doubt is associated with their use for cooking. These materials were most likely made in the Caribbean and perhaps locally in Dominica. The concentrated presence of this type of coarse earthenware at “structure 2” suggests that these utilitarian wares played a more significant role at this domestic context as compared to other living spaces at the Cabrits Garrison.

Excavations at “structure 2” also recovered sherds from wheel-thrown vessels with untreated, reddish orange surfaces (n=46; 203.9 g) (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 2 in section 7.2.3). Evidence for this type of coarse earthenware was not frequently encountered at the other domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. Unfortunately, the small number of sherds recovered and their fragmentary nature limit the identification of particular vessel forms, but the available evidence alludes to constricted pot and open-orifice bowl forms. The same degree of soot or residue identified on other examples of Caribbean coarse earthenware (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 1 in section 7.2.3) was not apparent on the exterior of these sherds. These vessels may have been more frequently used for serving and storage purposes. It is important to note that the evident wheel-thrown manufacture of these vessels along with their relatively uniform color and paste composition suggest that their production occurred outside the island of Dominica. At this point, no centers for ceramic manufacture have been identified on Dominica, while several kilns are known to have been in operation on the surrounding French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique to produce ceramic wares for plantation work and domestic cooking (Arcangeli 2015; Gibson 2007; Kelly and Hauser 2011; Kelly et al. 2008).

While a larger and more diverse assemblage of Caribbean coarse earthenware was recovered during excavations at “structure 2”, substantially fewer mass-produced French cookware sherds were

collected than at “structure 1.” Considerably more excavation was conducted at “structure 2”, but the collected French cookware make up only 4% of this total assemblage (n=38; 263.9 g). Significantly, the comparatively small amount of French cookware recovered from this structure seems to coincide with the complete absence of French refined earthenware like faïence documented here. This apparent association may suggest that the former occupants of this structure lacked as strong an affiliation with French cultural elements apparent throughout the region than what was maintained in the kitchen assemblage of the former inhabitants at “structure 1.” It is also possible that the comparative lack of French cookware and tableware at this structure was substituted by the increased reliance on other types of utilitarian wares produced in the Caribbean, such as hand-built varieties or wheel-thrown forms that appear to have been concentrated at “structure 2” during its occupation (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware types 1 and 2 in section 7.2.3).

In addition, the French cookware recovered from excavations at “structure 2” is predominately from the same Vallauris-type of vessel (n=31; 131.7 g) (see description for French cookware Type 5 in section 7.2.2). They appear to be from a type of cooking pot (*canaris*) characterized by a distinctive handle and a square, concave rim design. The recovered sherds are like other types of French cookware collected during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison in terms of their form and that they were most likely produced in the Vallauris region of France, but their distinctive yellowish red interior glaze is more like vessels produced during the 18<sup>th</sup> century than the typical reddish interior glaze characterizing 19<sup>th</sup> century forms (Arcangeli 2012, 2015). The concentration of earlier mass-produced French cookware at “structure 2” support the interpretation that this living space was occupied prior to the occupation of “structure 1” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village.

Like much of the glass evidence, 60% of the ceramics was recovered from excavation units in the southwestern portion of the structure (n=513; 1,273.7 g). This pattern of distribution may reflect an area disturbed by erosion from the slope forming the western boundary of this locus or possibly a zone of



heightened activity. A smaller but potentially more diagnostic portion of this ceramic assemblage was found in many of the excavated postholes (n=53; 186.1 g) and contexts associated with the trench feature (F021) (n=25; 27.9 g). The presence of certain ceramic ware types in the soil deposits of these features, like the coarse red agate ware (n=4; 5.6) found in the posthole (F005) excavated at Unit 21 (N980/E997) or the concentration of creamware (n=13; 11.4) in the lower levels of the excavated trench (F021), reveals important information regarding the initial occupation of this structure. Additionally, this evidence alludes to the continued presence of certain forms throughout the period of its settlement, such as the occurrence of sherds from Caribbean coarse earthenware cooking vessels in some of these excavated features (n=19; 105.7 g). In general, the mixture of Caribbean coarse earthenware and mass-produced French cookware at this structure suggests that the former occupants preferred a creolized food pattern like that documented at “structure 1”, albeit with certain alterations to this kitchen toolkit.

A strikingly small amount of faunal evidence (n=5; 6.7 g) was collected in this study area. Much of this evidence is composed of tooth fragments (n=4; 6.6 g), most likely from sheep or goats, which preserved well but would not have contributed to the diet of former occupants. The association of “structure 2” with the only oven feature (F009) identified in this portion of the laborer village suggests a kitchen-related activity area that may have served a centralizing function throughout this laboring community, but no faunal evidence was found in or around this feature. It is possible that former occupants used this oven (F009) to cook food whose remains did not preserve in the moist and acidic soil, including salted meats, flour, rice and vegetables. The lack of dietary evidence may also suggest the use of this oven for non-food related purposes, such as heating materials necessary for military labor, like lead shot and other metals.

## 7.6 Patterns of “Eating and Drinking” in the Outer Cabrits Soldiers’ Barracks (CG-2)

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Ceramic vessels	240	372.8
Glass vessels	326	932.1
Faunal remains	283	143.4
	<b>849</b>	<b>1448.3</b>

**Table 7.25:** Kitchen-related artifacts from the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2).

Significantly less evidence relating to eating and drinking was recovered during the shovel test pit (STP) survey of the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) (n=849; 1,448.3 g) as compared to findings from area excavations in the laborer village (CG-1). As mentioned in section 4.3.1 of Chapter Four, historical records indicate this barracks complex along with other buildings in the Outer Cabrits was developed in the 1790s, later than other settlements at the Cabrits Garrison. Its higher elevation made it healthier in the minds of British administrators due to greater airflow and fewer mosquitoes. Despite the ideal location of this settlement, the ground surface is for the most part devoid of kitchen-related artifacts, which contrasts with the surface deposits recorded throughout the Cabrits laborer village (CG-1). This absence may relate to the reality that the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) was not as continuously and intensively occupied as the laborer village (CG-1). It also may reflect differences in refuse behavior resulting from contrasting settlement patterns and architectural designs whereby soldiers discarded household debris over the sides of steep cliffs. In addition, the living spaces of regular infantry at the Outer Cabrits may have been subject to higher degrees of social control and surveillance by commanding officers.

The evidence collected through the 41 STPs reflects a sample of the four identified structures. Most of the recovered kitchen-related evidence was found in deeper contexts located outside the building complex, especially in the southern portion of this study area. Many of the test pits located inside the barracks structures and on the slopes separating these buildings were too shallow to recover substantial

amounts of evidence. The recovered assemblage includes a limited number of fragments from ceramic (n=240; 372.8 g) and glass (n=326; 932.1 g) vessels, which are the two primary forms for interpreting kitchen-related behavior in this investigation. The greater amount of glass recovered suggests that the former occupants preferred glass containers over ceramics or at least had greater access to these objects throughout their stay in this settlement. Interestingly, shovel testing in this study area recovered the largest amount of animal bones documented at the Cabrits Garrison (n=283; 143.4 g).

Glass Form	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Bottle, Case	6	13.8
Bottle, Unidentifiable	12	15.5
Bottle, Wine style	294	893
Drinking Glass, unid	3	4.6
Pharmaceutical Bottle/Vial	3	2.3
Tableware, unidentifiable	6	2.2
Unidentifiable	2	0.7
	<b>326</b>	<b>932.1</b>

**Table 7.26:** Glass vessel forms recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

The remains of glass containers constitute 38% of the kitchen-related assemblage collected at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (n=326; 932.1 g). The majority (97%) of this collection is composed of non-lead material (n=316; 924.6 g). There appears to have been a preference in this setting for glass containers, especially green wine bottle glass dating between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century (n=294; 893 g) (Table 7.26). The use of these bottles for the consumption of alcohol as well as other liquids was undoubtedly common in this setting. A limited amount of case bottle glass (n=6; 13.8) was recovered at an STP located outside the southeast portion of the wall of "barrack 1" (D-010). Leaded glass forms make up an insignificant portion of the assemblage (n=10; 7.5 g). Specific leaded forms include fragments from pharmaceutical bottles (n=3; 2.3 g) and unidentified drinking glasses (n=3; 4.6 g), but these typically higher priced glass containers apparently served a restricted role in the lives of individuals garrisoned at this

portion of the Cabrits Garrison settlement. This is like the material pattern documented at “structure 2” at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

<b>Ware Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
British Stoneware	1	1.3
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	10	55
Creamware	92	122.5
Delftware, Dutch/British	3	9.1
Faience	3	8.4
French Coarse Earthenware	1	3.5
Fulham Type	1	0.4
Pearlware	92	139.1
Porcelain, Chinese	3	1.6
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	26	19.3
Stoneware, unidentifiable	2	8.3
Tin-Enameled, unidentified	1	0.5
Unidentifiable	4	3.6
Whiteware	1	0.2
	<b>240</b>	<b>372.8</b>

**Table 7.27:** Ceramic ware types identified at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Ceramics comprise 28% of the kitchen-related assemblage recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), with 14 different ware types represented (n=240; 372.8 g) (Table 7.27). Fewer ware types are represented as compared to the other living spaces excavated at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) and this ceramic assemblage is predominately composed of refined wares imported from Europe, specifically Britain. In addition, the lower proportion of this ceramic evidence compared to glass fragments suggests that the former occupants of these structures relied on ceramics less than other groups occupying the fort. It is possible that kitchen-related materials set out for soldiers by the British military administration, including earthenpans for meat or large wooden bowls or platters, reduced the need for the variety of ceramic containers available during the period, but no examples of these objects were definitively identified at the areas excavated at the Cabrits Garrison. Despite the small size of the recovered

ceramic assemblage, like the analysis of other domestic contexts in this investigation, this evidence is central in determining the particular occupation history of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) and in illuminating certain trends of material access and use.

Chronological information obtained from the recovered ceramic evidence places the occupation of the Outer Cabrits settlement by at least the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see discussion in section 5.5.2 in Chapter Five). Mean ceramic dates for excavated contexts average to 1794.6 (see Table 5.01 for MCD and tobacco pipe stem information and Figure 5.39 for range of all mean ceramic dates from this locus). As mentioned in section 4.4.1 of Chapter Four, cartographic evidence of the fort, such as the plan map of 1792 (TNA CO 700/DOMINICA8) (see Figure 4.02), describes this settlement as undeveloped compared to barracks in the Fort Shirley battery and on top of the Inner Cabrits. The most detailed representation of the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) occurs on the 1799 plan map of the fort (TNA MPH 1/18) (See Figure 4.03). Like the chronological assessment of "structure 2" located in the laborer village (CG-1), ceramic evidence from this Outer Cabrits settlement suggests a period of occupation at least a decade before the production of the available maps. This assemblage includes an even distribution of creamware (n=92; 122.5 g) and pearlware (n=92; 139.1 g), but a higher concentration of ceramics manufactured earlier in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, including delftware (n=3; 9.1 g) and unidentified tin enameled (n=1; 0.5 g) sherds, characterizes this collection than wares developed later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as whiteware (n=1; 0.2 g), which constitute a comparatively insignificant portion of the total assemblage. The Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks was most likely abandoned around the same time as "structure 2" with the end of hostilities associated with the Napoleonic period (1799-1815) and the drawdown of British military activity throughout the Caribbean. Its distant location from the core administration at the fort in the Fort Shirley battery also likely contributed to its abandonment. Other diagnostic ceramic wares produced during the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison were recovered, including French faïence (n=3; 8.4 g) and Asian porcelain (n=3; 1.6 g). While comparatively insignificant in relation to the dominance of wares imported from

Britain, the presence of this evidence at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) attest to the inclusion of refined wares from other colonial empires and higher status kitchen-related objects in the toolkits of regular British infantry.

<b>Ceramic Form</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Bowl	2	13
Mug/Can	7	94
Plate	1	13.6
Storage Vessel	1	1.3
Teabowl	1	0.7
Unidentifiable	178	153.6
Unid: Tableware	32	46.6
Unid: Teaware	15	8.6
Unid: Utilitarian	3	41.4
	<b>240</b>	<b>372.8</b>

**Table 7.28:** Ceramic forms identified at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Most ceramic sherds recovered during excavations at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) are too fragmentary to identify either general vessel category or particular form. The former occupants appear to have slightly preferred hollowwares (n=47; 192.8 g) to flatwares (n=36; 58 g), but the percentage of flatwares in this assemblage is significant when compared to other domestic contexts at the fort. This comparatively significant proportion of flatwares is like the pattern documented at "structure 1" in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) and may suggest that British soldiers in this setting integrated materials into a pattern of eating that shifted between communal and individual practices based on social situation and resource availability. The highest proportion of recovered ceramics is associated with unidentified tableware forms (n=32; 46.6 g). Unidentified teaware sherds are also present in the recovered assemblage (n=15; 8.6 g), but make up a smaller percentage of the collection than documented at "structure 1" in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1). Particular forms associated with eating and drinking identified in the recovered assemblage include sherds from mugs (n=7; 94 g), bowls (n=2; 13 g), a plate (n=1; 13.6 g), storage vessel (n=1; 1.3 g) and a tea bowl (n=1; 0.7 g).

Ceramic Decorative Type/Genre	Ware Type	Quantity	Weight
Handpainted Blue (n=7; 35.6 g)	Pearlware	6	35.2
	Porcelain, Chinese	1	0.4
Molded Edge Decoration, other	Creamware	1	1
Overglaze, handpainted (n=2; 1.7 g)	Creamware	1	0.9
	Porcelain, Chinese	1	0.8
Polychrome, cool	Pearlware	1	0.9
Polychrome, warm	Pearlware	3	0.8
Royal Pattern	Creamware	7	14.7
Shell Edge, blue	Pearlware	5	1.4
Shell Edge, green	Pearlware	1	0.3
Slipware, factory made	Pearlware	12	15.6
Sponge/Spatter	Pearlware	1	0.6
Transfer Print Over	Creamware	1	0.1
Transfer Print Under, black	Whiteware	1	0.2
Transfer Print Under, blue	Pearlware	5	2.4
		47	75.3

**Table 7.29:** Decorative types identified on import ware from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

A small proportion (20%) of the ceramic assemblage is decorated (n=47; 75.3 g). This percentage is lower than any of the living spaces excavated in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), especially the concentration of decorated ceramics documented at "structure 1." Decorative types correlate with those documented at the other excavated domestic contexts at the fort dating between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Decoration is limited to refined import wares. Most (72%) of the decorated ceramics are pearlware (n=34; 57.2 g), with the remaining portion divided between creamware (n=10; 16.7 g), Chinese porcelain (n=2; 1.2 g) and whiteware (n=1; 0.2 g). Like other domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison, sherds from factory-made slipware vessels (n=12; 15.6) are among the most common decorative types collected from these soldiers' barracks. Other decorative types were also popular among soldiers garrisoned in the Outer Cabrits, including ceramics with molded edges like the royal pattern (n=7; 14.7 g) and blue (n=5; 1.4 g) and green (n=1; 0.3 g) shell edge as well as hand-painted blue (n=7; 35.6 g) and warm (n=3; 0.8 g) and cool (n=1; 0.9 g) polychrome varieties. Interestingly, transfer-printed ceramics (n=7;

2.7 g) do not contribute as much to the total amount of decorated ceramics collected here as at other loci excavated in the Cabrits Garrison village (CG-1), such as “structure 1.” This evidence suggests that the soldiers who occupied this settlement at a similar time as the other living spaces investigated in the laborer village (CG-1) may have had less access to higher status decorated ceramic wares than the variety of free and enslaved laborers employed by the British army.

The class of undecorated, utilitarian wares including Caribbean coarse earthenware and mass-produced French cookware documented at varying frequencies in the study areas excavated at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) are noticeably absent from the ceramic assemblage collected in the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). The assemblage recovered during small unit testing of this settlement includes a limited number of Caribbean coarse earthenware (n=10; 55 g) and an even smaller amount of mass-produced French cookware (n=1; 3.5 g). The minimal amount of Caribbean coarse earthenware recovered at CG-2 was concentrated in the western portion of the settlement at test units surrounding “barrack 1” and “barrack 2.” This assemblage includes both hand-built (n=5; 12 g) (see description for Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 1 in section 7.2.3) and wheel-thrown (n=5; 43 g) (see descriptions of Caribbean coarse earthenware types 1 and 2 in section 7.2.3) varieties.

It is possible that some of the hand-built sherds are the remains of earthen pans or platters, which have been recovered at other British fortifications. These are described as coarse earthenware vessels with red fabric and a black lead glaze on the interior surface (Sussman 1978). Wooden trenches were also routinely provided to soldiers by the British army. No examples of either of these institutionalized kitchen-related objects have been definitively identified and it is possible that these objects, especially the wooden trenches, did not preserve.

Interestingly, like “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), a significant portion of the assemblage recovered from this settlement is composed of sherds from wheel-thrown coarse earthenware vessels. These sherds appear to have been manufactured with more sophistication than



hand-built varieties and were likely produced outside of Dominica on surrounding French sugar islands. They typically have untreated surfaces, a distinctive reddish orange paste and lack residue or soot characteristic of vessels used for cooking. The presence of this type of Caribbean coarse earthenware suggests that both settlements were occupied at similar times and may have been involved in similar routes of access.

In general, the comparatively small size of this assemblage compared to the evidence recovered from the Cabrits laborer village (CG-1) suggests that different patterns of eating and drinking took place at these settlements. It is likely that soldiers serving in the British army were not as actively engaged in the use of these multifunctional vessels, especially in the preparation of creole foodways, and in their distribution through various methods of exchange, such as what took place at informal markets around the Caribbean.

Animal bones constitute a significant portion of the kitchen-related assemblage recovered from archaeological testing in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). As indicated in earlier sections of this chapter, 80% of all the faunal remains used in this investigation were collected during the shovel test survey of this study area (n=283; 143.4 g). Faunal evidence was encountered at five different test pits throughout the settlement, but over 90% of the recovered bone was concentrated in a context excavated inside the northeast corner of "barrack 3" (K-003) (n=258; 116.9 g). The higher percentage of faunal remains in this study area raises three potential realities: (1) the higher elevation and relatively drier nature of this settlement resulted in better preservation of faunal materials than in the lower situated and comparatively wetter laborer settlement at the Cabrits Garrison; (2) this area was characterized by a denser population resulting in a greater abundance of faunal remains; and (3) the British army was more attentive to the provisioning of regular infantry in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barrack (CG-2) than they were with laborers stationed at the post. This socially prescribed pattern of provisioning may have encouraged

laborers to rely on other forms of non-meat provisions or local consumables, while soldiers at the Cabrits Garrison had greater access to institutionalized routes of meat provisioning.

Taxon	NISP	Weight (g.)
<i>Gecarcinus ruricola</i> (crab)	4	3.4
Goat or sheep (Caprine)	6	3.2
Large mammal, unidentified	27	52.5
Mammal, unidentified	222	71.4
Pig	7	11.1
Testudines (turtle)	1	0.3
Unidentified vertebrae	16	1.5
	<b>283</b>	<b>143.4</b>

**Table 7.30:** Species identified from faunal remains recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

The assemblage recovered at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) is more reflective of the meals consumed by individuals than a sample of dietary patterns over time. It includes a mixture of bones from unidentified large mammals (n=27; 52.5 g), unidentified mammals (n=227; 63.7 g), goats or sheep (Caprine) (n=6; 3.2 g), pig (*Sus scrofa*) (n=7; 11.1 g), unidentified vertebrae (n=16; 1.5 g), black land crabs (*Gecarcinus ruricola*) (n=4; 3.4 g) and a possible turtle (Testudines) (n=1; 0.3 g). It is unclear whether these species were used for food, especially the gastroliths, or whether they represent potential sources of disturbance. The unidentified large mammal bones are most likely the remains from cows (*Bos taurus*), sheep or goat (Caprine) and pig (*Sus scrofa*). A small portion (12%) of the recovered assemblage includes bones from high utility cuts of meat, which typically consists of long bones and ribs from large mammals (Klippel 2001) (n=34; 63.6 g). This class of bones includes the most evidence of cut marks made through various methods of butchering (n=2; 19.5 g), which may relate to their preparation for storage in barrels that were imported into the Cabrits Garrison from Europe and other provisioning stations (see Figure 7.18). This type of alteration was also documented on an unidentified mammal bone (n=1; 0.1 g). In addition, over half of this assemblage is composed of bone described as a smooth, chalky, white material (n=144; 50.3 g) (Figure 7.19). This is a common result of the calcination of bone from extensive boiling. Previous

archaeological research has described the calcination of bone as a procurement strategy used in starvation situations (Ellis et al. 2011). It is likely that individuals stationed in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks developed techniques to enhance nutrition in this relatively isolated military post. This evidence demonstrates the presence of institutionalized forms of meat provisioning in this settlement along with local tactics to enhance nutritional value at the individual level. In addition, it suggests that soldiers had greater access to this type of diet than military laborers at the Cabrits Garrison.

### **7.7 Summary: "Eating and Drinking" at the Cabrits Garrison**

Material culture associated with eating and drinking provides one of the most common classes of artifacts encountered at the Cabrits Garrison as well as the most information in terms of chronological, social and cultural patterning. The previous discussion relied on varying forms of ceramic vessels, glass containers and animal bones as the primary sources of information. They do not, of course, offer a complete record of eating and drinking at the fort. Less commonly encountered kitchen-related evidence was not considered, such as fire-cracked rock (FCR), certain types of shell and cast iron vessels, while other artifact forms, such as organic materials, clearly did not preserve. The existing evidence represents different forms of power and identity. It demonstrates the different kinds of knowledge, routes of access and systems of labor that impacted the way domestic spaces functioned and were experienced by a diverse set of historic occupants. Perhaps most importantly, data reflects both the influence of institutionalized and household level entanglements in the lives of lower status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison. Historic occupants of this site were engaged in material practices with connections to local, regional and international spheres of interaction, which resulted in the incorporation of different realms of affiliation beyond the institutionalized system of military identification.

The evidence presented indicates that there was significant overlap in the occupation histories of the three domestic contexts studied during this investigation, especially at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1). Chronologically, diagnostic evidence, including datable ceramic and glass containers,

suggests that “structure 2” most likely formed an earlier phase of village life marked by the kitchen-related assemblage described above. “Structure 1” seems to have been occupied later than both “structure 2” and the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) and the material assemblage reflects these chronological as well as status distinctions.

Socially, these individual living spaces incorporated certain aspects of a shared eating and drinking material culture. The predominance of hollowwares, British refined earthenware, green “wine” bottle glass and similar decorated ceramic types, are materializations of this apparent institutionalized culture of eating and drinking at the fort. Amidst apparent unity, several variations and unique material practices were documented in association with these separate living spaces. For instance, the predominance of wine bottle glass and Caribbean coarse earthenware at “structure 2”, the concentration of French cookware and costly transfer-printed tableware at “structure 1”, and the prevalence of animal bone in the institutionalized diet of soldiers stationed in the Outer Cabrits, are all notable differences interrogated from the recovered kitchen-related evidence. While alluding to the occurrence of certain patterns of behavior at particular structures, these differences more accurately reflect how the labor relations underlying military rank and economic means influence differential access to material culture and food resources. The comparative poverty of occupants living in these environments stimulated the creative use of formal and informal relations as well as the reuse of materials to improve their daily lives. Findings from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison underline how conceived aspects of military life were often adjusted through various local patterns to establish a lived space sensitive to the needs and desires of individuals. Examples of local action include, the concentration of Caribbean coarse earthenware and the reuse of broken ceramics into game pieces at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), the repeated boiling of animal bone in the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2), and the occurrence of higher priced ceramics like porcelain in all the domestic contexts investigated at the fort. This interplay between conceived and lived aspects of these

domestic spaces are further considered in the next chapter through the interrogation of material patterns related to working at the Cabrits Garrison.

## Chapter 8

### Working at the Cabrits Garrison

#### 8.1 Arms, Tools and Uniforms Group: Working

Work-related activities reflect the organization of daily labor. Most importantly, they have a notable influence on the expression of individual identities and the formation of new groups or organizations (Donham 1994; Silliman 2001). Recent trends in historical archaeological research has demonstrated the importance of considering the social and cultural impacts of work and the labor process beyond the simple analysis of “working” environments like mills, plantations and factories (Silliman 2001, 2006; Mrozowski 1993; Voss 2008). Colonial fortifications across the globe involved indigenous and African groups in various work-related activities. At the Cabrits Garrison, both laborers and regular infantry were engaged in various jobs, including construction tasks, hauling materials, clearing seasonal forests, dredging swamps, as well as serving in fighting and auxiliary roles during combat. They were also responsible for different types of household work to satisfy their personal needs. These tasks required tools, forms of knowledge and certain material markers signifying rank and appropriate skill set. In addition, they involved different levels of administrative control and agent-centered behavior. An archaeology of work exposes not only the tools and techniques central to this productive activity but also the particular social identities and power relations involved, and the manner these forces are materialized. In this analysis of the conceived and lived space of military labor at the Cabrits Garrison, evidence pertaining to work in the domestic contexts investigated reveal the activities of individuals and groups in the production of material and immaterial items for either personal or corporate use. These material and spatial findings allude to the dynamic structure of labor relations that impacted the organization of these households as well as their relationship with one another and other sectors of military and colonial life. Like the two previous chapters, I begin by examining the site-wide work-related assemblage from the Cabrits Garrison and then turn to the specific domestic contexts from the laborer village (CG-1) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2).

Material culture related to military work is not as apparent in the archaeological assemblage recovered from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison than the other artifact categories considered in this investigation (n=72; 11,289.7 g). The work-related materials considered are almost entirely composed of various metals and would have been either cost prohibitive or restricted to lower status military personnel, especially enslaved laborers. They were most likely provided to laborers and soldiers through the permission of higher status military personnel, such as skilled artisans, engineers and officers, at which point they were introduced into these groups' respective living spaces through formal and informal means. Previous archaeological research has demonstrated the presence of tools in the households of plantation laborers (Armstrong 1990; Heath 1999b), while at the same time acknowledging the inherent power in the separation of work and living spaces by various administrators and colonial institutions (Silliman 2006).

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Arms and ammunition	61	8797.9
Tools	9	3189.2
Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts	5	61.2
	75	12048.3

**Table 8.01:** The three primary types of work-related artifacts considered in this analysis.

The primary forms of work-related evidence in this investigation include arms and ammunition (n=61; 8,797.9 g), tools (n=9; 3,189.2 g) and parts of standardized military uniforms (n=5; 61.2 g) (Table 8.01). These materials served a variety of practical functions in military life while also symbolizing different realms of formal and informal power and identity. This is by no means a complete material record detailing the full extent of work-related activities at the Cabrits Garrison. I have applied a conservative approach to material analysis that only considers those materials with undeniable links to military service and work. Certain artifact types did not preserve well, such as metal buttons and a variety of leather and other organic materials, which prevents their affiliation with certain types of military workers. Certain artifact types are included in this analysis of work despite their ambiguous provenance and function, including the

horseshoes recovered at “structure 1” (n=1; 200.2 g) and “structure 2” (n=2; 558.4 g). These objects likely involved the work of individuals residing in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1), such as their repair or their use in the movement of heavy construction or artillery supplies. Furthermore, instances in the archival record reveal the role of these objects in social interactions at the fort, including the previously mentioned exchange of a horseshoe between an enslaved laborer and Dr. Jonathan Troup (see section 4.3.3.c in Chapter Four). Additionally, the production of Caribbean coarse earthenware vessels or the cleaning, preparing and serving on a mixture of ceramics, are not considered in this portion of the analysis. The character of these materials is entirely related to the broader context of colonial labor, but they are used for different interpretive purposes in this investigation (see Chapter Seven). The following discussion begins with a description of the three primary classes of work-related artifacts. These artifact types along with other relevant data are then related to areas excavated in the laborer village (CG-1) and Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) to illuminate shared and distinct patterns of work in these living spaces.

## 8.2 Arms and Ammunition

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Cannon part	2	2948.4
Casting waste	8	450.4
Gunflint	12	73.2
Lead shot	18	445.4
Miscellaneous gun part	14	651
Ordnance	7	4229.5
	<b>61</b>	<b>8797.9</b>

**Table 8.02:** Arms and ammunition artifact types recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

Colonial fortifications are obvious places to find evidence of firearms (DeCorse 2001: 168-173; Orser 2002: 210). This category of artifacts was intrinsically tied to different work routines among the various hierarchically organized groups occupying these domestic contexts. Access to these important tools resulted in new labor roles and contributed to the emergence of distinct social organizations and



identities, but in plantation societies in the Americas, access among enslaved and free African laborers was debated as “self-contradictory, an oxymoron” as these groups were often viewed as the “domestic enemy” (Davis 2006: 1). As to be expected, these materials constitute the largest portion of work-related evidence at the Cabrits Garrison and they were revealed at all the domestic contexts investigated (n=61; 8,797.9 g). In both military and civilian households, firearms were generally well cared for and not commonly discarded, as they were among the most technologically advanced devices available during the period (Hickson and Nolan 2009). The recovered gun-related artifacts reflect a broader pattern of institutionalized war that resulted in the presence of a similar tool kit at other 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century fortifications across the British Empire. This tool kit can be grouped into three general categories: parts of firearms, the projectiles fired by them and the objects associated with them.

The gun-related artifacts recovered from the Cabrits Garrison include miscellaneous gun parts (n=14; 651 g), gunflints (n=12; 73.2 g), lead shot (n=18; 445.4) and casting waste (n=8; 450.4 g), ordnance (n=7; 4229.5 g) and cannon parts (n=2; 2948.4 g). This assemblage is composed entirely of metal (i.e. iron and brass) and stone (i.e. chert) as organic evidence, such as the inlaid wood on musket stocks or leather used to wrap gunflints, was not recovered and presumably did not preserve. Much of the recovered assemblage is heavily corroded and no headstamps or makers’ marks used to identify the type and origin of these products was discernable. This analysis is limited to objects that could be definitively affiliated with arms or ammunition. These materials were imported into the Cabrits Garrison from several locations in various degrees of completion. Traditionally, the presence of these objects in military contexts is associated with military personnel serving in fighting roles, such as regular infantry, militiamen, officers and artillery members. Evidence from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison suggests they were also produced, repaired and used by other individuals occupying fortifications, including enslaved laborers engaged in different auxiliary roles. Prior research at military sites outlines appropriate methods for the comprehensive identification of these materials in relation to standards of military practice during the period, including the

documentation of caliber size (Hickson and Nolan 2009) and the sourcing of gunflints (de Lotbiniere 1984; Durst 2009; Noël Hume 2001: 219-220). Precise identifications of arms and ammunition have been made when possible using a mixture of relevant source material (Bianchi 2015; Bailey 1972, 2002; Durst 2009; Goldstein and Mowbray 2010; Hickson and Nolan 2009; Lenk 2007; Noël Hume 2001: 211-219; Wilkinson 1977) and information from individuals involved in antique gun collection and historical reenacting in the United States (Clifton F. Hicks, Private First-Class, personal communication, 2014). Along with this diagnostic information, I am particularly concerned with examining the relationship of these materials to different work roles and related activities at the Cabrits Garrison to more accurately understand the complexity of this military community.

<b>Gun Part</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Butt plate	1	145.4
Cock	1	151.8
Flash guards	3	3.5
Guide pipe (ferrules)	1	15.1
Lock plates	2	209
Trigger guards	2	34.1
Trigger plates	2	80.3
Unidentified	2	11.8
	<b>14</b>	<b>651</b>

**Table 8.03:** The different types of gun parts recovered from the Cabrits Garrison.

The assemblage of recovered gun parts (n=14; 651 g) is characterized by an assortment of heavily corroded metal objects all corresponding with the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the Cabrits Garrison. This period of warfare is marked by the widespread use of flintlock muskets, which experienced a 200-year period of popularity between the mid-17<sup>th</sup> and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Bailey 2002; Hickson and Nolan 2009; Lenk2007; Noël Hume 2001: 213-214). Despite the poor condition of this collection, a number of components were identified including, a complete iron gun cock (n=1; 151.8 g) and a complete brass butt plate (n=1; 145.4 g) from flintlock muskets, lock plates (n=2; 209 g) where the components of the flintlock

firing system were attached, brass flash guards (n=3; 3.5 g) that would have once been fixed to the side of the flintlock pan to prevent injury from resulting sparks and debris, the guide pipe or ferrules (n=1; 15.1 g) for the ramrod that was used to seat the round lead ball and paper envelope onto the powder charge, and trigger guards (n=2; 34.1 g) and trigger plates (n=2; 80.3 g) from muzzle loading firearms. Some of the identified parts may represent the presence of a complete firearm while others are undoubtedly replacement parts that were lost. No direct evidence for bayonets was recovered, which were a standard feature on 18<sup>th</sup> century flintlock muskets. A variety of metal fasteners were collected during excavations, including a copper alloy bolt (n=1; 3.6 g), wrought iron screw (n=1; 4.8 g), wrought iron rivet (n=1; 1.4 g), copper alloy tack (n=1; 2.4 g) and a tinned copper alloy band (n=1; 2.9 g), which may have been used in association with gun parts, but their function is ambiguous and they are not considered in this portion of the analysis (see section 6.2 in Chapter Six). It is important to note that no evidence demonstrating the presence of weaponry developed later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, specifically the replacement percussion system and the cartridge system, was recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.



**Figure 8.01:** The cock of a "Brown Bess" Land Pattern musket recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (photo by DAACS).

Considerable variation existed among gun parts during this period. This makes the identification of specific types of guns from heavily corroded components recovered archaeologically quite difficult (Hickson and Nolan 2009). Findings from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison are still suggestive of the origin and quality of gun parts. For instance, the gun cock (n=1; 151.8 g) recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) resembles a British "Brown Bess" Land Pattern musket, which was the standard arm for British infantrymen between the 1740s and 1830s (Noël Hume 2001: 214) (Figure 8.01). The complete lock plate (n=1; 201.5 g) and butt plate (n=1; 145.4 g) recovered from different structures in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) are also similar in design to the "Brown Bess" musket. While the presence of this evidence attests to the popularity of certain flintlock muskets, other findings deviate from this standard British military issue. The incomplete brass trigger guard (n=1; 29.7 g) recovered in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks has two holes while most British muskets before the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had only one hole and a tab that was inlet into the wood stock at the tail where the other hole is (Clifton F. Hicks, Private First-Class, personal communication, 2014) (Figure 8.02). During this same period, French manufacturers used two holes in their musket trigger guards along with the Dutch and the Germans. In addition, lower quality trade guns often had two-holed trigger guards. Furthermore, parts from potentially three different guns were recovered from same test pit in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), including: a possible top ramrod ferrule (n=1; 15.1 g) from a regulation Third Model Land Pattern musket ("India" Bess) produced after 1796 and issued to colonial troops in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (Goldstein and Mowbray 2010); a trigger plate (n=1; 32.7 g) from a possible non-regulation firearm; and a potential butt plate (n=1; 11.8 g) from another non-regulation gun (see Figure 8.20). Miscellaneous parts were undoubtedly retained for gun repairs, but the presence of this evidence suggests that the British army administration distributed a mixture of standard issue guns, poorer quality trade guns and captured arms to lower status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison. This was no doubt a different strategy in this frontier setting manned primarily by local militia and provincials than what was implemented with their own

continental forces during the same period. Perhaps most importantly, it demonstrates the wide spread distribution of this evidence even in areas presumed to be occupied by enslaved laborers.



**Figure 8.02:** A trigger guard for a musket of possible French origin recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (photo by DAACS).

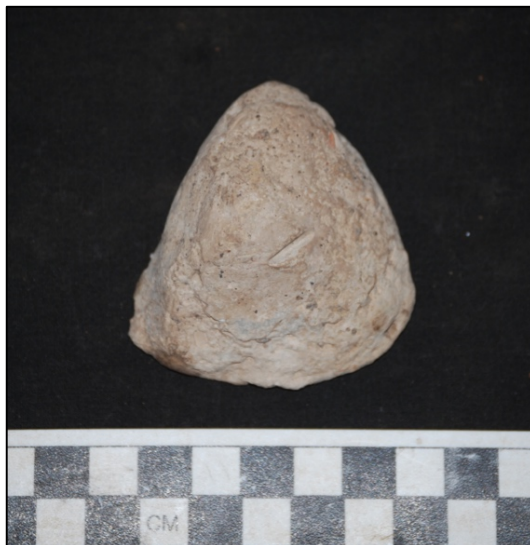
Different forms of lead make up a significant portion of gun-related evidence collected at the Cabrits Garrison, primarily round lead balls (n=18; 445.4 g) used as ammunition in flintlock muskets. This artifact type is one of the most common forms of arms-related evidence found on colonial sites. These raw materials would have been imported into the fort where the manufacture of lead shot required different forms of work carried out by a variety of military personnel, including soldiers and laborers. It entailed melting lead and casting it into a two-part mold. Production no doubt occurred in association with the engineer and other figures supervising work in this setting, but findings suggest it was also accomplished within the households of these historic occupants. While relatively standardized, this system of production resulted in various sizes of lead shot, which were used in numerous calibers of early firearms, including pistols, rifles and muskets. All the lead shot recovered at the Cabrits Garrison is round with a white to lead grey patina caused by natural oxidation processes. No examples of impacted or flattened lead balls were documented among the recovered collection, which presumably means they were unused and dropped as opposed to being fired. Most (72%) of the lead shot assemblage has a caliber range between .60 and .70 inches (n=13; 361.9 g). This larger size is typical of flintlock muskets used at most colonial military sites during the period, while caliber sizes ranging between .30 and .60 inches are more common at civilian sites

(Hickson and Nolan 2009: 36). A few examples of lead shot within the smaller, civilian caliber range were identified (n=2; 29.9 g), along with a large round lead ball (n=1; 24.5 g) with a diameter of .73 inches. This analysis of caliber ranges demonstrates that most of the evidence fits within the institutionalized standard of firearms for regular British troops during the period, but other instances deviate from this standard and suggests the presence of other types of non-regulation guns in this setting.

Round shot size (in.)	Quantity	Weight (g).
.30 - .60	2	29.9
.60 - .70	13	361.9
>.70	1	24.5
Unidentified	2	29.1
	<b>18</b>	<b>445.4</b>

**Table 8.04:** The different sizes of round lead shot recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

Casting waste or lead “sprue” generated during the production of this ammunition was also recovered in domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison (n=8; 450.4 g). Other forms of lead waste were collected but they are not integrated into this analysis because their specific application is ambiguous. Both the casting waste and unidentified lead forms may have been involved in the manufacture of round lead balls, but they could have also been used to produce architectural sealants and other personal objects. For example, some of the “sprue” recovered from a structure in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) appears to have been shaped into a design resembling a crucifix and may have more personal significance than just the byproduct of lead shot production. In addition, the unidentified forms of lead may have served as bars of this workable material that could be continually used and reformed during the production of lead shot or a variety of other purposes (Figure 8.03). The multipurpose use of lead in domestic contexts at this military setting requires further analysis.



**Figure 8.03:** A large core of lead with evidence of modification, including cut mark on top and flat base, recovered from “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

Like lead shot, gunflints are a necessary component to guns and military work during this period and are commonly recovered at fortifications and other colonial sites. Excavations at colonial forts in the Atlantic world have revealed significant variation in gunflints manufactured by different European nations,<sup>47</sup> but the examples (n=12; 73.2 g) recovered at the Cabrits Garrison mainly demonstrate the hard use of standard issue English gunflints dating after 1775 (n=10; 64.8 g). Given Dominica’s contested colonial history, French examples must also be properly considered. Both types involved the individual craftsmanship of skilled artisans. The gunflints found at the Cabrits Garrison resemble those manufactured from English sources, which are characterized by a square form, flat platform on top and a black or dark gray translucent flint. French gunflint manufacturers, on the other hand, were the first to employ a specialized manufacturing technique that allowed multiple flints to be produced from a single blade through the removal and subdivision of blades into smaller sections. This technology was introduced to English manufacturers by around 1775. As compared to earlier English wedges or later blade/platform flint, French gunflints are typically characterized by more retouching to round the heel of the flint for a tighter fit in the

<sup>47</sup> Christopher R. DeCorse’s extensive excavations at Elmina on the African Gold Coast discovered over 100 gunflints from English, French and Belgian manufacturers (2001: 172). His discussion is particularly relevant for the analysis of these objects at Atlantic world fortifications.

gun lock (Christopher DeCorse, personal communication, 2016). In general, French examples are characterized by a rounded form with a straight surface in front and are translucent brown or honey-colored (DeCorse 2001: 172; Durst 2009; Hickson and Nolan 2009: 37; Noël Hume 2001; Orser 2002: 210). Only one example of a possible French gunflint was identified from excavations at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (n=1; 5.9 g). Further research is necessary to more clearly determine wedge versus blade-type forms and English versus French gunflints as the distribution of French types at this British military fort may signify areas occupied earlier or instances where standardized military technology was mixed in the domestic spaces of lower status military personnel.



**Figure 8.04:** An English gunflint wrapped in modified lead recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). The extensive flaking along the firing edge indicates that it is likely a "spent" flint (photo by DAACS).

In addition, the recovered assemblage attests to different levels of use, and not necessarily related to the use of firearms alone. Most of the gunflints appear to have been thoroughly used based on their chipped and fragmentary condition. Gunflints are worn down rapidly by firing, typically allowing 30-40 shots before misfires became more likely (DeCorse 2001: 171). Clearly, many of these objects were intentionally discarded while the few exhibiting less damage may have been misplaced before they were used entirely. Also, the discovery of a lead flint wrap (n=1; 14.3 g) in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) demonstrates how the use of standard military technology required certain types of material alterations. This type of modification was often required to keep the flint from slipping out of the jaws of the gun cock



during operation (Noël Hume 2001: 220-221) (Figure 8.04). Besides lead, leather wraps were also commonly used, but none were recovered during this investigation. These objects may have been issued by the British army administration but were most likely made by soldiers and other laborers from hammered musket balls. This example appears to have been manufactured in the field by an individual occupying this barracks complex. It has a zig-zag edge on it that was most likely cut from a larger sheet of lead with a pair of tin-nippers with this style of cutting edge. Finally, along with the recovery of extensively used gunflints, several flakes (n=16; 16.9 g) were collected during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison. Examples are small and lack any cortex. These may be the remains of gunflints or evidence for the reworking of this stone material into other objects, including cutting blades and strike-a-lights<sup>48</sup>. Due to the ambiguity in their function, these stone flakes are not formally integrated into this analysis of gun-related evidence and investigation of work at the Cabrits Garrison.



**Figure 8.05:** An example of ordnance recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

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<sup>48</sup> No definitive examples of “strike-a-lights” were identified in the artifact assemblage collected from the Cabrits Garrison but other historical archaeologists have described the presence of these tools modified from imported or local flint. For instance, while not identifying any locally produced flints at Elmina, DeCorse (2001: 172) alludes to their potential presence as a local industry incorporating indigenous flint sources from northern Ghana. Local sources for flint in Dominica are unknown and the topic is comparatively “unexplored”. Flint objects are mainly associated with Amerindian populations believed to have exchanging these materials from commonly known sources in Antigua, St. Kitts and the southwestern portion of Puerto Rico (Knippenberg 2007: 35, 103).

The last category of gun-related evidence recovered during excavations relates to cannons and other forms of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century artillery. This assemblage is composed primarily of ammunition of various sizes for the mounted guns at the Cabrits Garrison (n=7; 4,229.5 g) (Table 8.04). Cast iron ordnance was imported into the fort under the supervision of the Board of Ordnance, which was responsible for supplying both the Royal Navy and the British army. Regiments of the Royal Artillery were responsible for operating these large guns. Approximately thirty-five artillery pieces were present during the military occupation of the fort, including mortars, carronades, 12 pound cannons, larger 32 pound cannons and other types of guns. These required a constant supply of various sizes of munitions that needed to be properly maintained and stored. All the recovered ordnance was concentrated in domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1). This collection ranges from smaller balls (n=2; 226.1 g) most likely used as canister shot or grapeshot for anti-personnel ammunition, which measure between 35 and 40 mm (1.38 to 1.57 inches) in diameter, to larger ones (n=4; 3,742.1 g), measuring between 65 and 75 mm (2.56 to 2.95 inches) in diameter, used to dissuade enemy navies and armies from entering this headland and associated bays. No mounted artillery pieces are found within the boundaries of this settlement, but laborers were undoubtedly involved in hauling and maintaining these objects. Various tasks, such as the filing or shaving off coarse or extra iron sections of cannon shot to ensure its round form and effective firing, may have taken place within these domestic contexts. It is also possible that individuals serving in the Royal Artillery visited or inhabited this portion of the site early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Ordnance ball size (in.)	Quantity	Weight (g.)
1.38 - 1.57	2	226.1
2.56 - 2.95	4	3742.1
Unidentified	1	261.3
	<b>7</b>	<b>4229.5</b>

**Table 8.05:** The different sizes of ordnance recovered at the Cabrits Garrison.

Other cannon-related evidence from excavations at the Cabrits Garrison includes a cast iron wheel (n=1; 1,814.4 g) and wrought iron disc (n=1; 1,134 g). Both objects were recovered in separate excavation contexts at “structure 2” in the laborer village (CG-1) of this site. It is believed that the wheel is related to adjusting the elevation of an artillery piece (Figure 8.06). The spokes of the wheel are rounded rather than broken or unfinished. No threading is discernable in the central hole but this wheel likely fitted over an elevating screw fixed to the bottom side of the base of the cannon. The function of the disc is not as clear but it may correspond with the fuse cap assembly for an explosive artillery shell (Figure 8.19). These caps were fitted into the nose of an artillery shell to adjust the timing of the explosion. The presence of this object in laborer housing is quite interesting as the British would have adopted explosive artillery shells at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and this object would have been very technologically advanced compared to other weaponry during the period. It may have been introduced into this domestic context after being used and discarded elsewhere, or its presence may suggest that individuals serving in the Royal Artillery occupied this structure in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. These objects are not typical domestic artifacts, and along with the other recovered gun-related evidence, suggest that military labor enabled access to a variety of different types of weapons and munitions. The knowledge and teamwork necessary in firing 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century guns and artillery pieces has often been recognized, but findings from domestic contexts of laborers at the Cabrits Garrison suggest that various work relationships were established that stretched across different socially distinct areas of this settlement to maintain this technology. These relationships affected the character of these households and the identities of those involved.



**Figure 8.06:** An iron wheel, probably part of the elevation mechanism for a cannon, recovered from "structure 2" in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

### 8.3 Tools

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Axe head	1	596.3
Bodkin needle	1	2.6
Horseshoe	3	758.6
Knife	1	380
Pulley	1	57.1
Unidentified tool	1	1020.6
Whetstone	1	374
	<b>9</b>	<b>3189.2</b>

**Table 8.06:** The different types of hand tools recovered from the Cabrits Garrison.

The work-related assemblage recovered from the Cabrits Garrison includes a small amount of hand tools (n=9; 3,189.2 g). Findings were almost entirely concentrated in the laborer village (CG-1) of the site. While limited in number, this evidence demonstrates that colonial fortifications housed a laboring population involved in a variety of tasks that required an assortment of tools and associated equipment. Many of these objects are common on both civilian and military sites throughout the colonial world, including picks, shovels, spades, axes and billhooks. Like gun parts, these various tools were necessary for

work routines and their access and subsequent use often corresponded with certain groups within hierarchically organized military communities. For instance, individuals and groups engaged in manual labor projects at forts were more likely to have regular access to hand tools than British army officers. Interestingly, a greater amount of gun-related evidence was recovered from the domestic contexts of laborers and soldiers at the Cabrits Garrison than relatively common tools. It is assumed that hand tools were easier to access and were individually owned by military laborers as compared to guns. The small amount of hand tools recovered archaeologically suggests they were well taken care for and generally not thrown away or lost. In addition, the presence of these tools in the living areas of laborers reveals potential work-related functions of these structures.

Findings from the Cabrits Garrison attest to the integration of work and personal space into particular domestic settings at the fort. The typical workday in these settings involved individuals hierarchically bounded to others, such as the clearing of seasonal vegetation around the fort. Other forms of work involved an individual or individuals working together to complete some type of personally related task, including the construction and maintenance of a household and adjoining yard. Regardless of whether work activities were intended for corporate or personal purposes, the presence of tools in laborer housing suggests a certain degree of control by individuals over their productive skills in a setting where activities and identities were actively monitored and repressed. The analysis of hand tools recovered from the investigation of domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison alludes to the different work routines in operation here and the manner these everyday practices impacted the character of these households and the social identities of those who experienced them.



**Figure 8.07:** A knife recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrit Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

The recovered assemblage does not represent the full extent of tool use at the Cabrits Garrison since this class of artifacts did not preserve well. No organic components, such as the handles of certain tools, were recovered and the iron and copper alloy objects that were collected are heavily corroded allowing for only basic identifications to be made. The assemblage includes a knife (n=1; 380 g) and an unidentified tool (n=1; 1020.6 g) recovered from inside the same posthole (F006), an axe head (n=1; 596.3 g), a whetstone (n=1; 374 g), a bodkin needle (n=1; 2.6 g) and what is believed to be a portion of a pulley (n=1; 57.1 g). In general, these objects and their related uses are more akin to a laborer style of work, such as construction tasks, but assessments of function are limited owing to the poor preservation of the assemblage.



**Figure 8.08:** An axe head recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

Certain types of tools recovered from domestic contexts at the Cabrits Garrison are believed to have played essential roles in carrying out tasks relating to the infrastructure at the fort. For instance, the wrought iron knife (n=1; 380 g) recovered from a large post-hole (F006) at “structure 2” in the laborer village (CG-1) is broken but it resembles a cane bill or other type of large hand-wielded cutting tool (Figure 8.07). The object is 249 mm in length, with a width of 30.08 mm for the handle and 7.38 mm for the blade. It was likely used for clearing forest and other vegetation around the fort or for additional tasks required by military administrators and engineers. It very well could have also served other personal functions.

In addition to this cutting hand tool, a wrought iron axe head (n=1; 593.3 g) was also recovered during excavations at “structure 2” (Figure 8.08). This blade measures 202 mm in length and 73 mm in width. Heavy corrosion prevents the thorough assessment of this object, including the style of this axe head and whether it exhibits any signs of wear associated with repair and actual use. It closely resembles pick axes made in three parts that have been recovered at a variety of colonial sites. Excavation at Fort Stanwix have identified similar looking axe heads, including their “type 2” axe head, which is described as an “intermediate form” between the European and American axes with a blade more than one half of the total

length (Hanson and Hsu 1975: 102). Pick axes were used for many construction and maintenance tasks around the fort and were no doubt important tools for other aspects of everyday living.



**Figure 8.09:** A sharpening stone recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (photo by Z. Beier).

Along with these cutting tools, a whetstone or sharpening stone (n=1; 374 g) was collected during excavations at “structure 2” (Figure 8.09). It measures 122 mm in length and is 88.6 mm thick. The material composition of this natural stone tool and its particular quarry location are unknown. It is composed of a relatively soft stone with fine grit. It includes a flat surface on one side ideal for working flat edges and a shaped surface on the opposing side for more complex edges. This handheld tool would have been used to grind and hone the edges of various metal cutting tools in this setting.

Finally, it is important to note that certain evidence was documented during excavations that demonstrate various types of work at the Cabrits Garrison, but which couldn't be figured into the total numbers accounting for the objects comprising this dataset. For instance, as described earlier in the description of the layout of “structure 2” in section 5.5.1.b of Chapter Five, excavations at Unit 28 (N982/E996) identified substantial evidence of use-wear on this volcanic bedrock surface along with a



wrought iron chisel or spike stuck into this modified surface (see Figure 5.23). This object was apparently broken and abandoned perhaps during the initial construction of this structure.



**Figure 8.10:** A possible chisel or door pintle recovered from “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

The recovered assemblage also includes several objects whose function and presence in the housing of lower status military personnel is less clear. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, a few horseshoes were recovered from “structure 1” (n=1; 200.2 g) and “structure 2” (n=2; 558.4 g). Many different styles of horseshoes were available at British colonial sites in the Americas between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Noël Hume 2001: 237-239), but the recovered examples appear relatively standardized with little diagnostic information useful for site analysis beyond their presence in these domestic contexts. Similarly, an unidentified tool (n=1; 1,020.6 g) was recovered in conjunction with the wrought iron knife (n=1; 380 g) from a large post-hole (F006) excavated at “structure 2.” It measures 260 mm in length, with a width of 24.7 mm at the shank and 47.2 mm at the head. The heavily corroded nature of this object prevents its precise identification. It could have perhaps served as a chisel useful in modifying the volcanic bedrock comprising the platform for this structure. It may have also been used for some type of architectural hardware, such as a pintle door hinge, but the head of the object is too corroded to identify the distinguishing pintle eye that would have been attached to the doorframe. In addition to this unidentified tool, a thin, bent copper alloy object (n=1; 2.6 g) was recovered during excavations at “structure 2” (Figure 8.11). It is thin and flat with a hole at one end and a tapered point at the other. It measures 67.9 mm in length, 4.5 mm in width and 1.1 mm in height. It resembles long, thick needles with elongated eyes known

as “Bodkin needles.” These were common items on military sites that were generally used for threading elastic, ribbon or tape through casings and lace openings. Objects like this could have also been used as vent picks to clean out the touchhole or vent of a musket. Interestingly, they may have also been useful in the making and repairing of fishing nets (Clifton F. Hicks, Private First-Class, personal communication, 2014). Finally, a heavily corroded wrought iron object was collected during small unit testing in the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). This circular object measures 44.4 mm in length, 41.9 mm wide and 8.04 mm in height. The poor preservation of this object prevents its precise identification but it resembles a small pulley that may have been used during the construction of this settlement or perhaps was a component for a so far unidentified instrument.



Figure 8.11: A possible bodkin needle recovered at “structure 2” CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

#### 8.4 Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts

A limited number of clothing-related items associated with military service were recovered from the domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison (n=5; 61.2 g). Material analysis only focused on objects with indisputable associations with the British military, which includes buttons (n=4; 9.3 g) and a buckle (n=1; 51.9) with decorative types necessary for identification and display within this hierarchical community. Other clothing items with similar functions were recovered from these contexts (n=14; 35.8 g), but this analysis has attempted to discern between military issue items and those also available to civilians. Many of these recovered clothing articles are poorly preserved and distinctive marks associated with

military service may have faded away. In addition, other items contain non-military style elements. It is likely that this conservative analysis of clothing items recovered from the Cabrits Garrison is not totally sufficient as many components on military uniforms were not decorated or marked with types of military designations. While these clothing items are mentioned, they are not formally considered in this analysis of the distinctive forms of military dress distributed to different classes of workers in the Cabrits Garrison military community.

In general, the textile and metalworking industries in England manufactured the uniforms and other necessary components that were worn by military personnel throughout the British empire of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. A central authority was responsible for distributing standard issue clothing articles according to particular rank, status and skill within the British military. Considerable research into 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century British military uniforms has outlined the standard dress for a multitude of fighting and auxiliary forces, particularly the uniforms of regular infantry, officers, cavalry and artillerymen. In general, British military uniforms were adapted to service in the Caribbean (see Chartrand and Chappel 1996 for comprehensive descriptions and illustrations). The typical uniform is characterized by several components, including a jacket, generally red but other colors were also used, a black shako with colored plume, along with white, blue or gray gaiter-trousers. Metal components, including the various pewter and brass buttons, buckles, pins and other uniform accessories, have preserved the best in the archaeological contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. No examples of accouterments typical to British forces in the Caribbean were identified during excavations of these domestic contexts. This tool kit includes additional items of dress, like cords, belts and other necessary components to the standard uniform.

Far less attention has centered on the uniforms of enslaved laborers employed by the British army throughout the Caribbean. Previous research has demonstrated that groups of French émigré forces referred to as Chasseur pioneers or laborers who served in the British army in Haiti during the revolution of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were provided with distinctive uniforms, entrenching tools and firearms (Chartrand and Chappell 1996: 26). Similar uniforms were used for enslaved Africans serving as regular infantry in certain

West India Regiments beginning in the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, it is unclear whether enslaved laborers employed by the British army who resided in the valley of the Cabrits Garrison were provided with designated uniforms, but it seems unlikely given the description of a laborer employed at the fort in the diary of doctor Jonathan Troup. In his entry on February 13, 1790 Troup describes “a negro going to cut wood on the Cabrits with his sword and bottle covered in wood” and provides a corresponding illustration (ABD MS 2070). This individual lacks shoes and appears to be clothed in simple garments that were undoubtedly locally made from thin and cheap materials. No signs of distinctive military dress are illustrated. It is possible that uniform articles were distributed to laborers to signify their particular role and status within the British army following Troup’s stay at the fort but no corroborating archival or archaeological evidence has been discovered.



**Figure 8.12:** A silver plated button with engraved floral decoration recovered from CG-2 (photo by DAACS).

Because of poor archaeological preservation, this analysis focuses primarily on decorative types of military buttons and buckles generally used to fasten coats, jackets and vests. These items are particularly useful for enhancing the interpretation of archaeological sites. They generally have known dates of manufacture for particular forms and images and symbols associated with groups of military personnel. They have also been used to identify groups serving at military sites and to better understand the lives and conditions of these settlements (White 2002: 74-75). Buttons are commonly recovered archaeologically at military sites and are frequently used in the analysis of these settings. Recent archaeological research has

demonstrated that numbered military buttons were in regular use prior to 1767; the year most military historians believe they were first introduced (Bingeman and Mack 1997). Excavations at the Cabrits Garrison collected a significant sample of buttons (n=12; 15.5 g), but only a few of these examples could be definitively associated with military service (n=4; 9.3), while the remaining portion of this collection has an either ambiguous connection to the British military owing to their undecorated or corroded state (n=7; 4.9 g) or a clear connection to styles of dress more common in civilian spheres of colonial life, such as the small silver plated button with an engraved floral decoration recovered during small unit testing in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (n=1; 1.3 g) (Figure 8.12).



**Figure 8.13:** Two British Royal Regiment of the Artillery buttons recovered from CG-2 (photo by DAACS).

All the recovered buttons were composed of different types of metal, including iron, copper alloy and silver. No examples of buttons made from organic materials, such as bone, horn, wood and shell, as well as types developed later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including glass and Prosser molded ceramic buttons, were encountered. In addition, buttons from other European militaries or local militias are not represented in the recovered assemblage. The military buttons recovered from excavations in the laborer village (CG-1) (n=2; 5.1 g) and the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) (n=2; 4.2 g) are very similar in regards to their size and decoration (Figure 8.13). They measure between 15 mm and 19 mm in diameter and most likely served as buttons on a military issue jacket or coat. They all have the same stamped "ordnance shield" decoration characterized by a shield with a column of three cannons pointing to the left and a row of three cannon balls above them at the top of the button. These buttons would have at one time been a part of the

uniform of the 18<sup>th</sup> century British Royal Regiment of the Artillery (Hughes and Lester 1991). While the War Office was responsible for the administration of the British army, the Royal Artillery was under the control of the Board of Ordnance until it was abolished in 1855. After 1802, the decoration style of these buttons changed to the “garter and crown” design (Wilkinson-Latham 2006: 69). The presence of these buttons suggests that the domestic contexts where they originated were occupied or visited by individuals serving in the Royal Artillery prior to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A few buckles were recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison (n=3; 79.1 g), but like the collected buttons, only a small fraction of this collection can be definitively linked to service in the British military. Certain buckles in this assemblage are very corroded preventing the identification of particular form and any symbols typical of particular military regiments (n=2; 27.1 g). There are two broad categories of buckles used during the colonial period, including dress and harness, but neither is particularly diagnostic (Noël Hume 2001: 84-88). These buckles were most frequently composed of cast iron, copper alloys, gilded brass and tin, although other materials were also used. The most diagnostic buckles on standard issue British military uniforms during the period under investigation are baldric buckles, which were used to fasten to a wide silk sash or leather belt worn over the right shoulder to the left hip for carrying a sword and for ceremonial purposes. Their slightly curved oval form is often indistinguishable from buckles used on ornamental horse harnesses. These buckles often bore designs or symbols linked to a particular department in the British military or a particular regiment. Like military buttons, dates for these buckles can often be obtained by pursuing the regiment’s history and determining the length of its tour of duty in the area the buckle was found (Noël Hume 2001: 86). A complete example of a copper plated iron baldric buckle was recovered during excavations at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) (n=1; 51.9 g). This buckle is stamped with the pineapple insignia of the 6<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment, a regiment originally raised in Jamaica that served in garrisons around Dominica between 1808 and 1809 according to an Inspection Report from October 1809 (Buckley 1979; TNA WO 27/97).



**Figure 8.14:** A baldric buckle stamped with the pineapple insignia of the 6<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment recovered at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

This assemblage is instrumental in demonstrating the styles of dress associated with socially distinct groups of military personnel each responsible for different tasks within the Cabrits Garrison community. In addition, these materials more clearly elucidate the particular occupation histories of the domestic contexts under investigation. While uniform parts specifically associated with the Royal Artillery and the West India Regiments are represented in the recovered collection, no diagnostic evidence for regiments of regular infantry recruited in Britain and throughout Europe was identified in either the laborer village (CG-1) or the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). This could suggest the tendency by the British military administration to emphasize the strategic placement of black regiments believed to be more suitable for labor in the tropics and groups of artillerymen responsible for ballistic operations in this setting. It is important to be cautious of uncritically equating these diagnostic materials with the occupation of certain structures. These distinctive forms of military dress may have entered the households under investigation through other means, including visits from soldiers or artillerymen unaffiliated with these domestic contexts, the informal acquisition of these materials by laborers, or as products of haphazard

natural and cultural disturbance processes. Regardless, their presence suggests at least a relationship between the historic occupants and the designated group. These types of occupations or relationships materialized in the archaeological record documented in domestic contexts of lower status military personnel signify the expansion and blurring of typically rigid military identities into living spaces which were actively shaped and experienced by individuals who were in contact with a variety of social and cultural phenomena at local, regional and global scales of interaction.

### 8.5 Patterns of “Working” in the Laborer Village (CG-1)

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Arms and ammunition	48	8432.8
Tools	8	3132.1
Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts	3	57
	<b>59</b>	<b>11621.9</b>

**Table 8.07:** Work-related artifacts recovered at the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

Most the work-related evidence was identified during excavations within the laborer village of the Cabrits Garrison (CG-1) (n=59; 11,621.9 g) (see Figure 5.02 for survey map of this study area). This concentration is undoubtedly related to the proximity of this settlement to the engineer’s yard and other work areas. The laborer village (CG-1) was also more continuously and intensively occupied than other settlements during the occupation of the Cabrits Garrison. In addition, as mentioned throughout the course of this study, considerably more archaeological materials were collected here because of the reliance on open area excavation units as opposed to the small unit survey completed in the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). The recovered assemblage is comprised of the greatest diversity of work-related artifact types, including a baldric buckle (n=1; 51.9 g) and buttons (n=2; 5.1 g) with military emblems, lead shot (n=15; 367.6 g) and casting waste (n=7; 446.8 g), ordnance (n=7; 4,229.5 g) and other cannon parts (n=2; 2,948.4 g), various gun parts (n=9; 409.9 g) and gunflints (n=8; 30.6 g), and a number of hand tools (n=8; 3,132.1 g). Chronologically, the work-related evidence collected from the laborer village (CG-1) corresponds with relative dates discernable from diagnostic materials dating between the second half of the



18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of these findings also suggests certain similarities and differences between the two structures investigated within this settlement.

In certain respects, these living spaces exhibit characteristics that are suggestive of a shared pattern of work, such as the presence of remains from similar types of standard issue flintlock guns. In other aspects, these domestic contexts were used differently by socially distinct groups of military laborers residing here during the occupation of the fort. The presence of unique patterns of work are represented in the differing frequencies of certain work-related evidence, such as the concentration of hand tools recovered during excavations at “structure 2.” As mentioned in other sections of this dissertation, while the laborer village (CG-1) was conceived as a unified settlement on maps of the fort, this administrative perception is complicated by different forms of evidence that illuminate the way individual households varied in time and how certain changes in labor regimes and corresponding daily practices affected the character of these domestic contexts over time.

### 8.5.1 Working at “Structure 1”

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Arms and ammunition	15	1207.2
Tools	1	200.2
Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts	0	0
	<b>16</b>	<b>1407.4</b>

**Table 8.08:** Work-related artifacts recovered at “structure 1” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

Limited work-related evidence was recovered during excavations of this stone foundation structure (n=16; 1,407.4 g) (see Figure 5.18 for plan map). Much of the assemblage is comprised of gun-related evidence, including gun parts (n=4; 205 g), gunflints (n=4; 17.8 g), lead shot (n=2; 52.1 g) and casting waste (n=4; 25.1 g) and ordnance ammunition for an artillery piece (n=1; 907.2 g). Along with this evidence, a horseshoe (n=1; 202.g) was recovered from Unit 4 (N914/E985) inside the stone foundation of this structure. Sampling bias may be to blame for this small work assemblage as fewer open area excavations

units were situated in this domestic context than at “structure 2.” This comparatively limited assemblage may also signify the occupation of a different class of military laborer unaffiliated with manual labor tasks requiring necessary hand tools or a particular army regiment. As compared to the other domestic contexts considered in this investigation, no examples of tools or uniform parts associated with certain positions in the military labor structure were identified during excavations. It is also believed that this structure was occupied later throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century; a period characterized by limited military and construction activity at the fort. This trend in the occupation history of the Cabrits Garrison may have resulted in a corresponding reduction in the material assemblage relating to work at this domestic context.



**Figure 8.15:** A complete lock plate, flash pan and partial frizzen from a standard British “Brown Bess” musket recovered at “structure 1” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

There does not appear to be any meaningful pattern in the deposition of the recovered work-related evidence at this structure. Findings considered in this analysis were identified inside and outside the stone foundation walls. It is perhaps significant that lead shot (n=2; 52.1 g) was only identified inside the structure at units 1 (N914/E984) and 4 (N914/E985), while the casting waste (n=4; 25.1 g) and ordnance (n=1; 907.2 g) were found outside the walls in units 3 (N913/E983) and 5 (N918/E985). This distribution may be connected to particular human behaviors, such as the misplacing of lead shot inside this structure and the removal of heavy ammunition and scraps from lead shot manufacture away from the confines of

this dwelling. Much of the recovered work-related evidence is related to guns and ammunition that correspond closely with standard-issue offerings by the British military. This assemblage includes black or gray translucent gunflints of apparent English origin (n=3; 15.3 g) and a complete lock plate, flash pan and partial frizzen rusted in the open position from the standard Long Land Pattern flint lock musket issued by the British government, commonly referred to as the “Brown Bess” (n=1; 201.5 g) (Bailey 1972, 2002; Goldstein and Mowbray 2010; Noël Hume 2001: 214) (Figure 8.15). The recovered brass flash guards (n=3; 3.5 g) were presumably once a part of a flint lock pan, but the type of gun is difficult to determine (Figure 8.16). These components were intended to prevent sparks and debris from injuring those next to you when firing a flint lock gun but they were not extensively used in the field by regular infantry. Their presence in this domestic context could reflect their removal and eventual discard or the use of a flintlock gun in a different manner than most individuals in fighting roles during this period.



**Figure 8.16:** Brass flash guard for a flint lock gun recovered at “structure 1” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

### 8.5.2 Working at “Structure 2”

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Arms and ammunition	32	7196.7
Tools	7	2931.9
Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts	3	57
	<b>42</b>	<b>10185.6</b>

**Table 8.09:** Work-related artifacts recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1).

In comparison to other study areas, the highest concentration and most diverse assemblage of work-related evidence characterize this domestic context (n=42; 10,185.6 g) (see Figure 5.20 for plan map of structure). Like “structure 1”, gun-related evidence comprises most of this assemblage, including gun parts (n=5; 204.9 g), gunflints (n=4; 12.8 g), lead shot (n=12; 286.6 g) and casting waste (n=3; 421.7 g), different sizes of ordnance ammunition for artillery pieces (n=6; 3,322.3 g) and other cannon-related evidence (n=2; 2948.4 g). Additionally, horseshoes were tools common to both structures excavated in the laborer village, with slightly more recovered at “structure 2” (n=2; 453.6 g). Unlike the work-related evidence recovered at “structure 1”, other forms of data are also represented, such as buttons (n=2; 5.1 g) and a baldric buckle (n=1; 51.9 g) with military emblems as well as the largest concentration of hand tools (n=5; 2,373.5 g) recovered from any living space investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. Like the other artifact groups considered in this analysis, the recovery of more work-related evidence at this structure may relate to the extensive open area excavations conducted at this study area as compared to others. While acknowledging the bias inherent in this excavation strategy, the recovered work-related findings, along with other evidence already considered in this investigation, suggest that “structure 2” was used for multiple purposes during its occupation. This evidence displays the dual roles of enslaved military labor at the Cabrits Garrison, combining material cultures of both laboring and soldiering.

Evidence pertaining to work routines and the status of individuals occupying “structure 2” within the wider labor organization at the Cabrits Garrison was recovered throughout the entire excavated area. As emphasized during this investigation, many artifacts, the presence of an “earthen camp kitchen” (F009), and potential disturbance processes resulting from erosion from the neighboring slope characterize the southwest portion of this study area. All the gun parts considered in the analysis of this structure were recovered in excavation units in this area. Certain parts in this assemblage appear to correspond with standard-issue firearms, including a complete brass butt plate (n=1; 145.4 g) from a standard-issue “Brown

Bess" flintlock musket. The other parts are too fragmentary or corroded to identify a specific type beyond their use in a flintlock gun, such as the trigger plate and trigger (n=1; 47.6 g) (Figure 8.17), trigger guard (n=1; 4.4 g) and lock plate (n=1; 7.5 g). It is unclear whether these components were once articulated with a complete gun or served as replacement parts, but the proximity of these finds to the oven feature (F009) may signify a specific work zone within this domestic context. In addition, to these disarticulated gun parts, other gun-related evidence was collected in this portion of the structure. For instance, ordnance ammunition (n=2; 1,927.7 g) (Figure 8.05) and a wheel used to adjust the elevation of a cannon (n=1; 1,814.4 g) (Figure 8.11) were recovered in the same archaeological context at Unit 10 (N974/E993). These heavy artifacts may have entered this context through erosion, but their close association with one another and to the neighboring oven feature (F009) suggests that they were involved with some type of work routine, such as the maintenance of these artillery pieces by laborers, or were perhaps left here by an individual serving in the Royal Artillery.



**Figure 8.17:** A complete trigger plate and trigger recovered at "structure 2" in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

Additional cannon-related evidence was collected in other portions of this study area. More ordnance ammunition was recovered during excavations at this structure than any other study area (n=6;

3,322.3 g). As mentioned, some of this heavy ammunition was identified in the southwest portion of the structure (n=2; 1,927.7 g), but most of it was recovered in centrally located units seemingly situated on the inside of this structure (n=4; 1,394.6 g). The different weights and sizes for this ammunition suggests it was used for a variety of artillery pieces around the fort. Their presence in this domestic context suggests they were stored here, discarded while in the process of being repaired, or used for other purposes. A heavily corroded wrought iron disc (n=1; 1,134 g) resembling the fuse cap assembly for an explosive artillery shell was discovered at Unit 13 (N976/E997) along with other work-related evidence. The presence of this comparatively advanced technology further emphasizes the important role of artillery and associated forms of labor in affecting the character of this domestic context.



**Figure 8.18:** A possible fuse cap assembly for an explosive shell recovered at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by Z. Beier).

Other gun-related evidence was recovered during excavations at “structure 2.” Most of the recovered gunflints are of apparent English origin and these examples were recovered during excavations of features. A gunflint fragment was collected inside a large posthole (F006) (n=1; 0.3 g), while the other examples were identified during the excavation of the oven (F009) (n=2; 6.6 g). The only example of a honey colored gunflint of apparent French origin recovered during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison was

found at Unit 31 (N976/E995) (n=1; 5.9 g), which supports the idea that this structure was occupied earlier than others investigated since English gunflints were the standard for the British army by the onset of the War of 1812 (Noël Hume 2001:220).

<b>Artifact Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Weight (g.)</b>
Cannon part	2	2948.4
Casting waste	3	421.7
Gunflint	4	12.8
Lead shot	12	286.6
Miscellaneous gun part	5	204.9
Ordnance	6	3322.3
	<b>32</b>	<b>7196.7</b>

**Table 8.10:** Firearm-related evidence recovered at “structure 2” in the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1)

It is interesting to note that the largest amount of lead shot (n=12; 286.6 g) was found during excavations of this structure. No examples were recovered from the potential work or disturbance zone in the southwest of the structure. All this ammunition was documented in units or features located in the southeast and central portion of the locus, which may relate to contexts situated inside this structure. These findings are like those documented at “structure 1”, suggesting that it was common for individuals to misplace these small objects while inside these structures as opposed to outside. In addition, the quantity and interior positioning of these findings appears to confirm that individuals dwelling here, whether manual laborers or soldiers, either produced or possessed these gun-related objects as a part of their daily work routines. It is reasonable to think that this concentration of lead shot along with ordnance ammunition suggests that “structure 2” may have served as a type of storage place for ammunition and other materials necessary for military labor. While the recovery of gun parts at a military fort seems obvious, their presence at a structure occupied by enslaved laborers during the military operation of the Cabrits Garrison appears to challenge sentiments popular during the period that adamantly argued against arming slaves (see Brown and Morgan 2006 for a detailed discussion of this topic).

Along with this concentration of gun-related evidence, all the hand tools considered in this investigation was discovered during excavations of “structure 2.” The recovered tools were in units or features potentially inside the structure or directly adjacent to it. The assemblage resembles a manual labor style of work routine. It includes a wrought iron knife (n=1; 380 g) (Figure 8.07) and an unidentified wrought iron tool (n=1; 1,020.6 g) (Figure 8.10) recovered from inside the same posthole (F006), a wrought iron axe head (n=1; 596.3 g) (Figure 8.08) found in Unit 20 (N980/E996) in the lower levels of the trench feature (F021), a whetstone (n=1; 374 g) (Figure 8.09) recovered from Unit 14 (N976/E998), and a bodkin pin (n=1; 2.6 g) (Figure 8.11) collected from Unit 13 (N976/E997) along with other work-related objects, including horseshoes (n=2; 453.6 g), a buckle stamped with a military emblem (n=1; 51.9 g) (Figure 8.14) and a wrought iron disc (n=1; 1,134 g) (Figure 8.18) mentioned earlier in relation to cannon-related materials.

It is unclear how these tools were used, whether for corporate style of work where individuals were hierarchically bounded to others in the completion of tasks essential to the maintenance of the fort, such as the clearing of seasonal forests, or for more personal tasks, including the construction of laborer households or repairing personal objects. Certain tools, such as the bodkin pin (n=1; 2.6 g) could have been used to mend clothing items and fishing nets as well as for cleaning out firearms, while the axe (n=1; 596.3 g) was necessary for a variety of manual labor tasks around the Cabrits Garrison. Excavations at Unit 28 (N982/E996) appear to confirm the use of hand tools for the construction of this household. A portion of the underlying volcanic bedrock was revealed to have substantial signs of use-wear apparently from a tool used to modify the contours of this natural surface. A broken chisel or spike was identified in this unit that was apparently abandoned after it became stuck inside the volcanic bedrock during the initial construction of this structure (see Figure 5.23). This style of labor would have been like that utilized in constructing more imposing structures throughout the Cabrits Garrison, including the administrative headquarters at the Fort Shirley battery, which involved the substantial modification of the underlying volcanic bedrock into platforms supporting stone foundations. It appears these same skills were applied to



the initial construction of this wattle and daub style structure. Like other forms of vernacular architecture, this structure was most likely built and maintained by its occupants or other individuals within this laborer community without the aid of formal plans.

It is also unclear whether these tools were personal possessions or were loaned to the occupants of this structure to complete a variety of tasks. It seems reasonable to think that during this time hand tools would have been more appropriate personal possessions for enslaved laborers than gun ownership. At minimum, the presence of hand tools in this domestic context demonstrates a certain degree of control by these individuals over their productive skills in a setting where activities and identities were actively monitored and repressed. In general, tools recovered from this domestic context are essential in determining the nature of work individual laborers living in this structure were engaged in at the Cabrits Garrison as well as illuminating the multipurpose use of “structure 2” as a place for both work and dwelling.

The remaining work-related evidence is associated with various types of uniform parts associated with military service (n=3; 57 g). Several clothing-related objects were recovered during excavations at this structure but only a small percentage of this total assemblage could be confidently attributed to types of military uniforms. For example, buttons of various types and sizes (n=6; 9.5 g) were collected from six different excavation units distributed across this study area, but because of poor preservation and the absence of diagnostic markers, this analysis only considers a small portion of this assemblage (n=2; 5.1 g). This collection includes one-piece buttons documented as either a flat disc (n=1; 1.5 g) or domed (n=1; 3.6 g) and decorated with the same military emblem. Each button is decorated with the “ordnance shield” design characterized by a shield with a column of three cannons pointing to the left and a row of three cannon balls above them at the top of the button (Figure 8.19). This design is typical of buttons on the uniform of the 18<sup>th</sup> century British Royal Regiment of the Artillery, but this style changed to the “garter and crown” design after 1802 (Wilkinson-Latham 2006: 69). Although they are decorated with the same artillery emblem, the diameters of these different types of buttons vary in size between 15.44 mm and 19.45 mm

and they each were manufactured from different materials, including iron and copper alloy. These differences may correspond to their use on different parts of the standard-issue uniform or possibly signify how these buttons changed over time. Of primary importance to this investigation of the lived space of labor at the Cabrits Garrison is that the presence of these buttons suggests that “structure 2” was either occupied or visited by individuals serving in the Royal Artillery prior to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 8.19:** A heavily corroded British Royal Regiment of the Artillery button recovered at “structure 2” in CG-1 (photo by DAACS).

In addition, a few buckles were recovered during excavations at “structure 2” but only one of these clothing-related objects is diagnostic of service in the British military. A single-framed wrought iron buckle was recovered from excavations in the southwest portion of this study area (n=1; 26.1 g). It resembles other buckles used as harnesses or for utilitarian purposes but its association with a particular class of military laborer is unclear. It is not formally considered in this analysis.

Of primary importance to this analysis was the recovery of a complete copper plated iron baldric buckle (n=1; 51.9 g) (Figure 8.14) during excavations at Unit 13 (N976/E997). It was found in close association with the previously described bodkin needle (Figure 8.11), an iron disc related to an artillery piece (Figure 8.18), and a large concentration of sherds from a nearly complete hand-built coarse earthenware cooking vessel (see description of Caribbean coarse earthenware Type 1 in section 7.2.3 in Chapter Seven). This buckle is stamped with a pineapple and the inscription of the “VI West India Regiment.” It is the only direct evidence of the presence of enslaved soldiers found during excavations at the Cabrits Garrison.

The 6<sup>th</sup> WIR was formed in Jamaica following considerable resistance by the island plantocracy over the appropriateness of raising standing regiments of enslaved Africans (Buckley 1979: 43-46). According to an Inspection Report from October 1809, a detachment consisting of five companies was garrisoned in Dominica and doing duty at Morne Bruce and Scots Head, fortifications located in the southern portion of the island, between 1808 and 1809 (TNA WO 27/97). During this time, they were reportedly poorly disciplined (Buckley 1979: 108). The presence of this buckle in the settlement designated for laborers on maps of the period raises interesting possibilities. No solid explanation exists in written records for why this buckle would be where it is. Could British military records not be as thorough as commonly assumed by researchers and a detachment of this regiment was in fact stationed at the Cabrits Garrison during this period? Or was there more movement and exchange of people and materials between these military posts than expected to find archaeologically? Either way, these diagnostic types of uniform parts along with other work-related evidence suggest that various occupations or types of social relations took place in this settlement among different groups of lower status military personnel, including fort laborers, enslaved Africans serving in the West India Regiments and individuals serving in regiments of the Royal Artillery.

#### **8.6 Patterns of Working in the Outer Cabrits Soldiers' Barracks (CG-2)**

Small unit testing in this study area recovered a limited amount of work-related evidence (n=16; 426.4 g) (see Figure 5.03 for CG-2 survey map). As should be expected with this class of armed military laborers, most finds are gun-related, including various gun parts (n=5; 241.1 g), gunflints (n=4; 42.6 g) and lead shot (n=3; 77.8 g) and casting waste (n=1; 3.6 g). A few buttons with military emblems (n=2; 4.2 g) and a possible tool (n=1; 57.1 g) are also included in this analysis of work-related practices in this settlement complex (Table 8.11). Most of this evidence was recovered from the same archaeological contexts, including refuse areas outside the confines of the barracks (F-013 and L-002) and a possible storage area inside "barrack 4" (N-004).

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Arms and ammunition	13	365.1
Tools	1	57.1
Buttons, buckles and other uniform parts	2	4.2
	<b>16</b>	<b>426.4</b>

**Table 8.11:** Work-related artifacts recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

The recovered gun parts are particularly diagnostic, as they appear to suggest the presence of a mixture of standard-issue and non-regulation weapons in this settlement (Table 8.12). The complete iron gun cock (n=1; 151.8 g) (Figure 8.01) recovered from a test unit (F-013) located approximately ten meters south of “barrack 2” along the southern boundary of the study area closely resembles a British “Brown Bess” Land Pattern musket. This would have been the standard weapon for British infantrymen serving at the Cabrits Garrison during this period. The intactness of this component and its recovery along with round lead shot (n=2; 47.7 g) and undecorated clothing-related objects (n=4; 1.6 g) suggests that it was kept as a replacement part until it was discarded or lost rather than it representing the presence of a complete firearm in this context.

Artifact Type	Quantity	Weight (g.)
Casting waste	1	3.6
Gunflint	4	42.6
Lead shot	3	77.8
Miscellaneous gun part	5	241.1
	<b>13</b>	<b>365.1</b>

**Table 8.12:** Firearm-related evidence recovered from the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2).

Other gun-related evidence recovered during the small unit survey of this settlement does not resemble these standard-issue offerings. For example, an incomplete brass trigger guard (n=1; 29.7 g) (Figure 8.02) recovered from a test unit (I-010) located outside the west wall of “barrack 4” has two screw holes while most British muskets before the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only had one hole and a tab that was inlet into the wood stock. French gun manufacturers are known to have used two holes for their

musket trigger guards during this same period, while Dutch and German manufacturers used both designs (see Didier 2015; Lenk 2007 for descriptions of French flintlocks). Lower quality trade guns produced during this period are also reported to have had two-holed trigger guards (Clifton F. Hicks, Private First-Class, personal communication, 2014). The recovery of this broken component does not necessarily indicate the presence of an entire gun, but it does suggest that non-regulation gun parts were retained for repair or for other personal purposes.



**Figure 8.20:** An assemblage of gun parts recovered from the same context in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2), including (from left to right): a trigger plate from possible non-regulation firearm; a top ramrod ferrule from regulation "India" Bess; and a potential butt plate from possible non-regulation firearm (photo by DAACS).

In addition to the discovery of this trigger guard, a test unit (N-004) at a possible storage area located inside the northern portion of "barrack 4" recovered parts from possibly three different guns, including a possible top ramrod ferrule (n=1; 15.1 g) from a regulation Third Model Land Pattern musket ("India" Bess) produced after 1796 and issued to colonial troops in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (Goldstein and Mowbray 2010); a trigger plate (n=1; 32.7 g) from a possible non-regulation firearm; and a potential butt plate (n=1; 11.8 g) from another non-regulation gun (Figure 8.20). The poor preservation of these copper alloy components makes precise identifications of the exact model of gun difficult, but these parts appear to have been recycled or refurbished from different weapons and then used together based on their close association with one another and to other forms of gun-related evidence, such as casting waste (n=1; 3.6 g), recovered from the same test unit. While the evidence is fragmentary, these findings suggest

that the lower status fighting personnel living in this portion of the Cabrits Garrison carried out their duties using a mixture of standard issue materials, poorer quality trade versions and captured arms. This diversity in the recovered gun-related evidence demonstrates a different strategy implemented by the British administration in this frontier setting as compared to their continental forces during the same period. Perhaps most importantly, this documented variation illustrates another way cultural plurality and blurring was introduced into this military setting through the flow of different people, goods and ideas.

In general, the remaining gun-related evidence collected during the small unit survey of the Outer Cabrits resembles other standard-issue materials used and distributed by the British military. A minimal amount of round balls of lead shot (n=3; 77.8 g) was recovered in this settlement as compared to domestic contexts in the laborer village (CG-1). These examples are like others recovered during this investigation. Their measured diameters closely resemble the standard caliber range for British flintlock muskets, which is documented as between .60 and .70 inches in diameter (Hickson and Nolan 2009: 36). Similarly, all the recovered gunflints (n=4; 42.6 g) have a square form and are composed of black or dark gray translucent flint. They match other examples of apparent English origin. The most significant peculiarity identified in this standard assemblage was the discovery of a lead flint wrap (n=1; 14.3 g) at a test unit (G-003) located inside "barrack 2" (Figure 8.04). This handmade object demonstrates how individual users made certain alterations to standard issue military technology. This job was presumably carried out in the field by an individual occupying this barracks complex. The recovery of this object is also suggestive of how individuals may have occupied their free time while stationed at this post.

A limited amount of uniform-related evidence with apparent associations with military labor was identified in small-unit testing of this study area (n=2; 4.2 g). This assemblage is comprised of two identical buttons recovered from the same test unit (O-006) located outside the east wall of "barrack 4" along the eastern boundary of the study area (Figure 8.13). They are the same size and decorated with the same "ordnance shield" military emblem documented on buttons recovered from "structure 2" in the Cabrits

Garrison laborer village (CG-1). This emblem consists of a shield with a column of three cannons pointing to the left and a row of three cannon balls above them at the top of the button, which is typical of buttons on the uniform of the 18<sup>th</sup> century British Royal Regiment of the Artillery. This style changed to the “garter and crown” design after 1802 (Wilkinson-Latham 2006: 69). These findings suggest that this barracks complex, or at least a portion of it, were either occupied or visited by individuals serving in the Royal Artillery prior to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

It is important to note that no buttons designed with a regimental number were recovered from shovel testing in this settlement. Further excavations in this area may have resulted in the recovery of numbered buttons, which have often been used to more clearly elucidate the identity of groups of regular infantry stationed in a particular post. While lacking diagnostic symbols associated with certain types of military service, the clothing-related evidence recovered during archaeological testing of this settlement exhibits the greatest diversity of types with connections to both military and civilian styles of dress. An assemblage of clothing-related objects, including buttons (n=3; 0.5 g); and an unidentifiable buckle (n=1; 1.1 g), was recovered in the same test unit (F-013) as the already mentioned complete “Brown Bess” gun cock (Figure 8.01). These objects are heavily corroded and appear to be undecorated, but their close association with this standard-issue gun component necessary for military service suggests they were once part of a military uniform, but because of this ambiguity, they are not formally considered in this analysis of work. Even if these objects were not part of standard military dress, they were undoubtedly connected to the wider labor market as purchased commodities. For instance, a small button with a floral inscription (n=1; 1.3 g) was recovered along with some gunflints (n=2; 20.1 g) at a test unit (L-002) situated at the bottom of the slope forming the northern boundary of the settlement (Figure 8.12). This item does not fit within the standard dress code for workers employed by the British military, but it was likely purchased with wages and worn by an individual to negotiate between realms of military and civilian affiliation that were active at the Cabrits Garrison.

Finally, no hand tools are represented in the recovered assemblage. A wrought iron object (n=1; 57.1 g) resembling the circular component for a pulley was identified in a test unit (L-009) outside the west wall of "barrack 4." The specific application of this object is unknown but it may have been used during the initial construction of this settlement. The complete absence of hand tools from the recovered collection in comparison to their recovery in the laborer village is suggestive of the type of work regular infantry stationed at the Cabrits Garrison were engaged in and certain types of material access. Hand tools do not appear to have played as visible a role in the households of individuals stationed in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) as they did in domestic contexts investigated in the laborer village (CG-1). This artifact distribution also appears to correspond with the ideal organization of daily labor imagined by the British military administration, which is materialized in the separation of settlements for fighting and auxiliary forces.

### **8.7 Summary: "Working" at the Cabrits Garrison**

Fortifications across the colonial world are the products of tremendous amounts of labor as well as housing a diverse population of laborers engaged in various corporate and personal tasks. Most of these settings never experienced outright conflict, but they all were scenes for different forms of labor. Work-related evidence reflects not only particular activities and the knowledge involved in carrying out these duties, but also the way labor was organized according to specific social identities and power relations. It is apparent from various primary and secondary sources that colonial powers were involved in administering a labor organization that was both economically efficient and socially acceptable. Work-related findings from the Cabrits Garrison reflect elements of this social organization conceived in the minds of administrators while also demonstrating how it was lived by those who carried it out.

Work-related evidence from the Cabrits Garrison illustrates certain features that aided in sharing this institutionalized labor organization, such as the recovery of standard-issue "Brown Bess" musket parts in all the domestic contexts investigated for this study. In addition, work-related findings from the separate



settlements for lower status military personnel considered in this study correspond with certain styles of labor, such as the presence of gun parts and no hand tools at the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) as compared to the concentration of ammunition and hand tools at "structure 2" in the laborer village (CG-1). This ideal separation of settlements for fighting and auxiliary forces as well as their respective identities is complicated by certain material realities.

For instance, the concentration of non-regulation weapons with different social and cultural significance in the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) suggests that these cheaper or captured weapons were distributed to troops stationed here to save money, which more thoroughly materialized the separation of the social and cultural character of this colonial force from their continental counterparts. The presence of hand tools in certain domestic contexts investigated in the laborer village (CG-1) not only reveals the multipurpose use of these structures but also the degree of power in the hands of laborers who actively influenced the character of these households in ways unimagined by administrators. Finally, the recovery of diagnostic parts of military uniforms from domestic contexts investigated in the laborer village (CG-1) suggests that this settlement experienced shifting populations of laborers, while also serving as a central zone for interaction and social diversity among a variety of workers employed by the British military.

These work-related findings suggest that the everyday routines and relations associated with particular classes of lower status military personnel were not localized but were in fact distributed across a variety of settings. While different departments of the British military administration were responsible for managing groups of regular infantry, fort laborers and regiments of the Royal Artillery at the Cabrits Garrison, this organization scheme did not prevent their routines and interrelations from having a formative effect on the households they occupied and the colonial identities they reified.

## Chapter 9

### Lessons from the Cabrits Garrison

#### 9.1 Military-sites Archaeology in the Age of Revolution

Archaeological investigations at the Cabrits Garrison have attempted to understand the social experiences of material life among lower-status military laborers across several scales of theory and analysis. First, it was necessary to consider the history of this military settlement according to more than its defensive functions or strategic qualities fixed along a progressive timeline of European modernity. The technology of the Cabrits Garrison is a meaningful point of cultural contact and social interaction, where a pluralistic military community formed and operated within the walls of institutionalized infrastructure and social order. Next, its position within the Atlantic world requires the connection of formative labor practices and social relations at the Cabrits Garrison to a world-system characterized by European imperialism and various cultural exchanges. By moving outwardly from the social relationships built at this colonial periphery, the shifting role of blacks in the dynamic labor regime at the Cabrits Garrison provides a window into the policies and anxieties characterizing British governance during a period of heightened economic and military activity. At another level of social experience, its status as both colonial institution and community means that a clear sense of both the structure and creativity of everyday life must be articulated. Settings like the Cabrits Garrison bring together a variety of power relations related to the material consequences of war and slavery. In many ways, the British military and Caribbean plantocracy determined the form of this colonial setting through the maintenance of strict codes and practices, but individuals from a variety of backgrounds shaped its content. While sharing similar social identities and experiences, to satisfy needs and desires individuals within the Cabrits Garrison community transformed their material worlds in various ways during the course of everyday life.

Through these multiple scales of inquiry, a clear assessment of the relationship between the changing division of labor in the Atlantic and spatial practices at the Cabrits Garrison can be achieved. Spatial practices at this site involved “conceived” and “lived” aspects of social construction, requiring the integration of both institutional and household level entanglements in the investigation of the everyday lives of military laborers. These contradictory forces are materialized to varying degrees in the archival record as well as in material finds from domestic areas of groups at the Cabrits Garrison. Methodologically, investigations at this narrow scale of analysis have relied on a mixture of archival evidence, secondary historiography, and archaeological survey and excavation techniques. Archival analysis aided in the reconstruction of the Cabrits Garrison’s occupation history as well as illuminating the social logic of the day, which played a formative role in the development and management of residential quarters during the occupation of this colonial settlement. Archaeological investigations at three living areas associated with laborers and soldiers yielded the necessary chronological and descriptive information as well as invaluable insights into everyday practices at the household level. In sum, this evidence provides the appropriate vantage to assess the way domestic areas of lower-status military personnel reflect patterns of social construction and cultural experience.

## **9.2 Spatial Practice of a British Military Community**

The ruins of early modern fortifications in the Caribbean and other locales across the Atlantic world reveal the potent combination of abandoned schemes of colonial modernity and debris left by diverse groups of individuals. Bringing together these distinct and often contradictory narratives results in a synthesis accounting for different strategies comprising the spatial practice at any given place (Lefebvre 1991; see an archaeology of “spatial dialectics” in Singleton 2001). Two distinct forms of spatial production, delineated as “conceived” and “lived space”, continuously inform and counteract during the production, use and experience of human settlements (see discussion of these concepts in section 2.5 of Chapter Two). The interplay of archives, artifacts and domestic areas at the Cabrits Garrison reflects a materialization

process that was socially constructed and actively experienced. A triadic model of spatial practice is the primary interpretative theme echoed in the organization of this dissertation. It is not a mechanical application; rather, this model requires a genuine concern with local contexts and sensitivities of human experience in a setting structured by war and slavery. This style of approach has proven beneficial in providing the methodological and theoretical basis necessary for addressing the research questions underpinning this study, especially the objective of question 5 to highlight under-recognized evidence and people in the contemporary interpretation of the colonial past.

In many ways, the Cabrits Garrison represents a space conceived by various colonial administrators, elites and power brokers. “Conceived space” is the dominant space in any society as it is tied to relations of production and structural order. It imitates the prevailing social logic of the period and is materialized into rigidly structured sociospatial relations. The investigation of “conceived space” at the Cabrits Garrison relies primarily on archival evidence to tell this story, as well as certain artifact types, including formal architectural styles and refined earthenware imported from Europe and distributed through official routes of military provisioning. This evidence forms part of an institutionalized material assemblage with direct links to the prevailing system of colonial knowledge in place during the period. The settlement practices and lifestyles designed according to this scheme replicate conceived notions of governance and labor efficiency at the heart of British colonialism.

In their effort to produce a space valuable for the maintenance of commercial trade and hegemonic rule in the region, colonial administrators and planners of the Cabrits Garrison divided up the settlement into socially segregated parts. These spaces reflect the idealized division of military labor; a design intended to deny appropriation by its inhabitants through institutionalized patterns of knowledge and material access and use. This strategy is apparent in the locations and the orientation of buildings that transformed this place into a stable network of economic and social relations through which labor, capital and discipline could reliably flow. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the conception and structure of labor

relations at this black garrison was reinforced by powerful notions of colonial knowledge, including its perceived harshness for Europeans and the economic relations between the military sector, the surrounding plantocracy and African slave trade. The centralized location of the enslaved laborer village in the lowest portion of the Cabrits Garrison boxed this population within a hierarchically arranged community in ideal vantages for surveillance. These efforts materialized in the historical record of this site were a means through which the authority of the colonial elite could gain ideological significance. But noticeable shifts and anxieties in the “conceived space” of the Cabrits Garrison demonstrate how conflict with the local environment or opposing social groups resulted in realms with transformative potential, perhaps most clearly in domestic contexts at the enslaved laborer village (CG-1).

In other ways, often more subtly expressed, this site can be defined according to the “lived space” of its diverse occupants. While the presence of material evidence tied to “conceived space” is an undeniable aspect of the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison, including examples of formal architecture in the settlements of laborers and soldiers and the abundance of refined tableware imported from Britain, revisions and additions to the material content implied by these institutionalized forms is a primary avenue through which inhabitants appropriated space in line with their daily lives. “Lived space” is the space of the everyday. This seemingly prosaic space is a dynamic zone of practice where different forms of material culture, including those institutionalized from outside or those manifested locally, are used to satisfy daily needs while also redefining conceived social relations and boundaries. This study of “lived space” at the Cabrits Garrison relies almost entirely on the analysis of material and spatial patterns discernable through the excavations of individual households. The dominant signatures of “lived space” in this study are material assemblages related to practices of dwelling, eating and drinking, and working. During the British military occupation of the Cabrits Garrison, changes in conceived spatial practices, such as shifts in labor regimes, materialized in these daily practices within the households of individuals.

The living spaces investigated at the Cabrits Garrison represent the experiences and interactions of diverse groups of individuals. As described earlier, the recovered evidence reflects shared material experiences that extended across various segments of British military society and the full extent of the empire. But a variety of intentional and unintentional consequences resulting from human decisions at different times and scales of authority shaped how these conceived forms would actually be experienced in the daily lives of inhabitants. Several instances demonstrating this formative combination of “decisions and dispositions” (Ashmore 2002) are apparent in the archaeological record of lower-status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison. For example, evidence of vernacular architecture along with modifications and additions to the formal settlement plan of the laborer village (CG-1) reveal instances in which inhabitants adapted dwelling habits outside the supervision of military superiors. Additionally, the inclusion of ceramic wares typically excluded from formal routes of military provisioning, including a mixture of local coarse earthenware pots and French cookware distributed through informal market systems, signify the presence of alternative patterns of foodways among military laborers as well as potent economic relations with spheres outside the immediate control of the British army. Finally, the variation and distribution of work-related findings throughout the domestic contexts investigated at the Cabrits Garrison correspond with certain styles of labor while also demonstrating how the ideal separation of settlements for lower-status fighting and auxiliary forces was complicated through daily activities. Even though the artifact pattern recognition strategy used in this dissertation does not consider all the potential instances for the expression of “lived space”, it does provide striking clarity into how inhabitants actually lived in a setting that in many ways structured how to live.

Spatial practice at the Cabrits Garrison is understood here as establishing the structure of everyday activities within the wider social and economic context of the Atlantic world. Labor relations were a primary mechanism in the organization and categorization of social life at this military post. But this hierarchy, enforced by dominant economic and military systems and materialized in various institutionalized

forms of practice, is not the only part of the story. As demonstrated in the findings and interpretations presented in this dissertation, the parameters of identity articulated in the daily practices of military labors combined rigidity with certain degrees of fluidity. While dominant, the “conceived spaces” of order and efficiency desired by European administrators were met with unexpected environmental circumstances as well as the imaginations of various colonial subjects who actively sought to appropriate and change these conditions. Collectively, the domestic contexts investigated portray a history of colonialism that could not proceed in an orderly manner without the production of realms with transformative social and cultural potential. Perhaps most importantly, the evidence recovered suggests that shifting populations of lower-status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison established the laborer village (CG-1) as a central zone for interaction and social diversity. In the process, these relatively powerless inhabitants created a set of everyday routines and relations that extended across a variety of settings within the walls of this fortification and beyond into “lived spaces” across the colonial Caribbean.

### **9.3 Military Households and Colonial Diversity**

In support of research questions 1 and 2 addressing the roles and lifeways of African and European laborers and soldiers at the Cabrits Garrison and employing the model of spatial practice outlined above, this study reinforces the significance of material culture to refining understandings of Caribbean military life. For this narrative to be complete, objects must be situated into their particular spatial and chronological contexts. Household archaeology provides personalized accounts into the dynamic relationship between the everyday practices of individuals and the social institutions they form. Living spaces at the Cabrits Garrison and other Caribbean fortifications were experiencing a heightened level of dynamism during the period under investigation because of changes in systems of military labor as well as wider ideological and political shifts throughout the Atlantic world. Using the model of spatial practice articulated here in conjunction with an archival and archaeological approach focused on the households of lower-status military personnel, I have shown that the forces of conceived and lived space counteracted

and materialized in varied ways over time and between different segments of the Cabrits Garrison community.

Extensive mapping and excavations in the laborer village (CG-1) revealed a far more complex settlement pattern than what is available in primary documents of the period. This village space is marked by unique settlement features, including terraces, drains and walkways involved in the construction of households, workshops and yards, as well as important activities such as the movement of people between domestic and surrounding work areas and water management. Between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, this community was isolated enough to provide the social distance necessary for a mainly enslaved population to carry out activities like dances, such as the “negroe dance” observed by Dr. Jonathan Troup on January 25, 1790, along with material patterns distinct to the valley, including combinations of vernacular and formal types of architecture and the maintenance of creole foodways outside the supervision of military superiors. But the village was deep within the belly of the engineering and administrative apparatus of the British army, with a central location influenced by notions of labor efficiency, structural racism, corporate surveillance and market capitalism—forces common to other colonial landscapes in the Caribbean. Variation in the evidence recovered from two households excavated in the valley demonstrates the impact of individuals in these living spaces amidst important transitions in the history of the Cabris Garrison. As demonstrated in this study, the character of these households was intimately linked to the surge and then reduction in labor projects at the fort by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the continued occupation of this area by individuals serving in the British army as soldiers, artillerymen and other auxiliary forces who were increasingly of African descent.

Excavations at “structure 2” provided the oldest and highest concentration of artifacts encountered during this study. Located in the northern extent of the CG-1 study area near the still standing forge and other living spaces for enslaved workers that deteriorated long ago, archaeological contexts date to as early as the 1780s—a period marked by a tremendous investment in construction and enslaved labor at the



fort following the French surrender of Dominica to the British in 1782. Maps of the Cabrits Garrison first show structures designated for laborers in this part of the valley in the early 1790s, but requests for the assistance of enslaved workers were common throughout the early construction phase dating to at least the early 1770s. This vernacular household is characterized by a series of features carved into the volcanic bedrock abundant in this portion of the study area, including post-holes and a trench associated with the building's floor plan and possible drainage issues. An oven cut into the adjacent volcanic ridge likely served as a focal point for food preparation in this part of the settlement. Wattle and daub was woven around wooden posts of varying sizes to form walls that enclosed a living area with floors that relied on the rough volcanic bedrock softened by a thin layer of damp soil. The large size of some of the post-holes suggests they were designed to support a heavier and more complex ceramic tile roof than what would be expected for a hut lacking a stone foundation. Rather, this arrangement seems more akin to barracks style living in a space integrating vernacular construction with administrative aesthetics, cultural knowledge and institutional control.

The tendency towards the complication of typically distinct spheres of colonial life in the space of the everyday is revealed by other material practices at "structure 2." Individuals residing or visiting this structure consumed meals and beverages, with a particular preference for glass bottles, potentially linked to the building's specific function as an acceptable space permitting a more frequent pattern of alcohol consumption than conventional elsewhere. Direct evidence of meals in the form of animal bone or botanicals is lacking from the recovered assemblage, but the ceramic collection includes a variety of wares imported into or produced on the island during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The relative lack of dateable wares from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century correspond with the abandonment of this household following the reduction of construction projects at the Cabrits Garrison and the wider drawdown of British forces and military expenditures in the region following the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815). Ceramic evidence demonstrates a pattern of access and use like other domestic contexts investigated in

the valley, characterized by a general preference for hollowware vessels of imported refined earthenware, manufactured primarily in Britain, along with mass-produced French cookware produced in southeast France and Caribbean coarse earthenware made in Dominica or the French Antilles. These wares were acquired through formal provisioning systems tied to the British army together with sanctioned and informal exchanges with surrounding plantations and islands. They were used to facilitate a creolized food pattern, which is particularly evident from the different types of Caribbean coarse earthenware recovered at this structure. It is important to bear in mind that this domestic pattern functioned within a rigid but changing military labor hierarchy. The realities of labor are especially pronounced in the diverse work-related evidence collected at “structure 2”, including hand tools, gun parts and ammunition, and military buttons and buckles from individuals serving in the Royal Artillery and the West India Regiments. Taken together, this domestic and work-related evidence displays the multi-purpose use of “structure 2” as well as the dual roles of laboring and soldiering that were complicated at fortifications throughout the colonial Caribbean.

While occupying a similar place in the Cabrits Garrison community and exhibiting some related material practices, excavations at “structure 1”, located in the southern extent of the laborer village (CG-1), reveal a different style of domestic life into a later time. This formal style of building features a higher quality cut stone foundation that supported a wood frame and floor construction along with the ubiquitous ceramic tile roof documented at “structure 2” and other buildings in the valley and Fort Shirley battery. An entryway was located on the densely built up eastern wall with a small external stone lined building or shed located behind the house in the southwest corner. This structure is not clearly listed on maps until a possible match on an example dated to 1812 (see Figure 4.04). The recovered artifacts date to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including British refined earthenware vessels popular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the abandonment of the fort in 1854, mass-produced French cookware typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and two coins from 1834. Inhabitants at “structure 1” had a slight preference for ceramic vessels over glass bottles. They maintained a creolized food pattern, like evidence at “structure 2”, but with notable

adjustments. A stronger link to surrounding French culture is apparent based on the comparative abundance of mass-produced French cookware. Additionally, occupants incorporated materials into their consumption pattern that were more typical of higher-status contexts than those associated with enslaved laborers during the period, including more decorated ceramics, refined flatware and teaware ceramic vessels, as well as clear glass for tableware or medicinal purposes. Interestingly, comparatively limited work-related evidence was recovered at “structure 1”, beyond gun parts and ammunition. The character of this domestic space established from the available evidence provides an interesting contrast to “structure 2.” A different class of military laborer, unaffiliated with manual labor tasks, likely resided here later into the 19<sup>th</sup> century when limited military and construction activity occurred at the fort.

Evidence from the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) provides a necessary counterpoint to this household level analysis of lower status military personnel. Located in the highest situated area in the Cabrits Garrison, demarcated settlements for soldiers, officers and doctors were developed on top of the Outer Cabrits by the early 1790s to provide extensive accommodation in what was perceived as the healthiest portion of this tropical and sickly garrison. This settlement plan was characterized by four relatively standardized long and skinny rectangular cut stone and brick foundations laid out on a north-south axis. Aesthetically, these buildings are like other barracks in the British imperial world, characterized by evenly spaced, wooden frame structures with timber floors, shingled roofs and wrap around verandahs. Interestingly, the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2) did not incorporate ceramic tile roofs, which is an administrative aesthetic documented at lower situated buildings at the fort, including those investigated in the laborer village (CG-1). Few instances of variation or modifications to this formal design plan were identified, but these include room partitions, location of entryways and drainage features and possible subfloor storage areas.

A limited number of artifacts was recovered compared to investigations in the laborer village (CG-1), but the available evidence strongly correlates with the institutional life of a soldier in the British

Caribbean leading up to the end of hostilities associated with the Napoleonic period. This material world is characterized by a work routine dependent on gun parts and ammunition over hand tools. It exhibits relatively little differentiation and lacks higher status materials documented at households in the laborer village (CG-1). Like “structure 2”, inhabitants had a slight preference or greater access to glass vessels, particularly green wine bottles, over ceramics. Soldiers acquired fewer ceramic wares that were for the most part undecorated. Utilitarian vessels identified at laborer households in the valley are noticeably lacking, including Caribbean coarse earthenware and mass-produced French cookware, but the little evidence recovered is like the Caribbean coarse earthenware wheel thrown variety concentrated at “structure 2”, suggesting a similarity in the occupation history of these domestic spaces. Soldiers were not as actively engaged in the use of these multi-functional vessels and creole foodways in their households, which is reinforced by a comparatively significant high number of flatware vessels. Interestingly, the largest number of faunal remains recovered at this settlement, including an abundance of calcined bone, suggest that regular infantry had greater access to institutionalized routes of meat provisioning and tactically used these resources in situations of scarcity at this frontier military settlement.

Other important examples of individual action in these living spaces are revealed in the creative activities or desires of individuals in respect to different forms of material culture. For instance, a modified lead flint wrap demonstrates the individual reimagining of standard issue technology in this setting. A small silver button with floral inscription offers a glimpse into the desires of an individual to access popular fashion more akin to civilian life in this heavily regimented military community. Additionally, the administration of the British army administration also had to improvise their provisioning strategies in this isolated settlement, as seen in the incorporation of non-regulation gun parts from poorer quality trade versions and captured arms along with standard issue technology. Overall, the limited number of artifacts recovered is suggestive of several insights important to considering differences between the settlements studied and their associated populations. This complex was not as intensively and continuously occupied

as the laborer village (CG-1) and regular infantry stationed here most likely implemented a different pattern of refuse behavior, characterized by disposing garbage over the steep cliffs into the Caribbean Sea. Furthermore, this relative absence of household level material culture reveals greater restrictions in access among soldiers resulting in a lack of personal possessions as compared to lower status military laborers residing in the valley. More than likely, soldiers residing in these residential quarters were subject to higher degrees of social control and surveillance by commanding officers living near their regiments.

#### **9.4 Broader Implications**

In this case study of a colonial fortification in the Caribbean, I examine the measures enacted by the British to establish a formal military presence in the region and the plurality of these colonial encounters in the everyday lives of lower-status military laborers. Arguably, it is dangerous to generalize on military custom from a single and relatively insignificant post, but this research contributes to historical, anthropological and archaeological studies of these settings in relation to other sites of colonialism in the Atlantic world while also deepening and broadening the narrative. These concerns are reflected across multiple research questions guiding this investigation: question 3 on the comparison of the Cabrits Garrison to other sites of colonial labor in the Caribbean and wider Atlantic; question 4 on the way fortifications exemplify patterns of European expansion and colonial contradictions; and, question 5 in which the accessibility and applicability of colonial military history is addressed.

This work is a response to the call by David Brion Davis for further study into the effects of war and slavery during the revolutionary period of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century (Davis 1975). Using various primary sources, historians of colonialism have stressed the influence of military history in patterning broader dynamics of colonial society (see Brown and Morgan 2006; Buckley 1979, 1998; Vinson and King 2004; Voelz 1993). In contrast, comparatively little attention has been paid to this topic by historical archaeologists, especially those working within the African diaspora (for exceptions in the Caribbean, North America and Africa see Ahlman et al. 2008; Ahlman et al. 2009; Beier 2014; Deagan and MacMahon 1995;

DeCorse 2001; Goucher 1999; Lenik and Beier 2016; Reitz 1994; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Watters 2011). In regions most affected by the transatlantic slave trade and associated racialized labor hierarchy, the tendency has been to locate historical archaeological investigations at plantations, without considering the connections of these sites to surrounding military installations and developments in colonial warfare. A principal contribution of this dissertation has been to recast military history as labor history to fit this work into an existing framework where the everyday lives of enslaved laborers are studied in relation to wider trends of African-Caribbean societal formation in the Atlantic world.

Fortifications have been popular sites of historical archaeological investigations since the formal creation of the discipline (Orser 2002), but the studies characterizing military-sites and battlefield archaeology, especially in the United States, rarely go beyond the descriptive goals of “culture-history.” The Western bias and emphasis on military details in archaeologies of early modern conflict stands in contrast to the interests characterizing archaeologies of the African diaspora. These approaches consider the significance of objects of everyday life, whether monumental forms of architecture or small domestic finds, as reflections of the impact that the power, control and exploitation inherent to colonialism had on lower-status groups, as well as bringing to light instances of social and cultural maintenance, negotiation and recombination. Since the widespread integration of the methods and concerns of African diaspora archaeologies into the broader discipline of historical archaeology, this preoccupation in military-sites archaeology with underlining the power, warfare and wealth embedded in these edifices is arguably old fashion. Unfortunately, we are left with the legacy of a “military metaphor”, where the significance of these sites is uncritically linked to technological ingenuity and military engagements, used in the creation of whole-culture narratives of national identity. In academic practice, military sites are most often cast as convenient type comparisons to “civilian” sites seen as more likely to demonstrate the contemporary concern of historical archaeology with studying the modern world and providing “voice to the voiceless.” The potential for studying the complex interactions between the everyday lives of diverse sets of people

and dominant structures of colonial life, like slavery and emergent capitalism, at military sites is under recognized. Historical archaeology at the Cabrits Garrison tempers the traditional narrative of military history by adding a place, population and context useful for integrating the variety of colonial sites in the Caribbean into a perspective accounting for the broader “landscape of slavery” (Degraff-Hanson 2005); a formative and resilient landscape forged by the interconnectedness and contradictions underlying the institution of colonial slavery throughout the Atlantic world.

Specifically, findings from the Cabrits Garrison further the inquiry framed in research question 3 of this dissertation. This study contributes to the extensive research on plantations by outlining important similarities and differences. These comparative contexts illuminate the pervasiveness of the Atlantic division of labor as well as the unique cultural landscapes it shaped. While these settings are increasingly understood as sites of tremendous cultural and social pluralism, British military posts were especially dominated by institutional patterns of life, perhaps making them even more restrictive and regulated for laborers than on plantations (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002: 44). Despite these institutional arrangements of life, the spaces created by military administration at fortifications were actively re-imagined and incorporated into an African-Caribbean pattern of life. This is a common theme articulated by plantation studies in the region (see for example Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Delle 2014; Farnsworth 1999; Gibson 2009; Kelly 2008; Mintz 1974; Reeves 1997; Singleton 2015; Wilkie 1999; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999). At the Cabrits Garrison, processes of transformation appear to have been more active at the laborer village (CG-1) than in the Outer Cabrits soldiers’ barracks (CG-2). There was a larger concentration of enslaved laborers situated in and around the laborer village (CG-1) with a variety of connections to surrounding plantations, providing more opportunity for characteristic African-Caribbean transformations to take place. In contrast, regimental superior officers were expected to closely monitor the activity of soldiers and the physical appearance of their barracks, making adjustments to domestic life difficult and potentially more dangerous for individuals facing punishment for insubordination.

While similar processes of social and cultural transformation occurred at plantations and fortifications around the Caribbean among laborers and other individuals occupying lower echelons of colonial society, these contexts differed. The differences made apparent in this investigation of the Cabrits Garrison impact the way interpretation of material and spatial patterns of domestic contexts at these sites can proceed in relation to others throughout the region.

For instance, the nature and scope of provisioning at plantations, typically described as a two-tiered system of provisioning whereby enslaved laborers were involved in growing their own food and selling surplus foods for profit (Heath and Bennett 2000; McDonald 1993), would have been complicated by the system of rationing standard to the British army as well as the transient nature of enslaved labor at fortifications, which generally corresponded to surges in construction projects. While gardens may have been present at Caribbean fortifications and were cultivated by the enslaved, such as the one maintained by the medical doctor Jonathan Troup during his stay at the Cabrits Garrison between 1789-90 (ABD MS 2070), they would not have been as abundant or have served the same function as those involved in the plantation provisioning system. Provisioning is widely seen as an activity central to the development of African-Caribbean societies (Gibson 2009), but this model cannot be universally applied to settings of enslaved labor. Laborers at the Cabrits Garrison undoubtedly relied on a mixture of military supplies along with alternative individual and group strategies.

Additionally, ceramic assemblages at these sites differ owing to the industrial production of cash crops on plantations and the institutionalized conformity enforced in military settings. Certain ceramic types ubiquitous on Caribbean plantations, including sugar molds, drip jars, water pots and other vessel forms, did not appear in the domestic contexts of military laborers investigated at the Cabrits Garrison. Along with this absence, the diversity of mass produced tableware at military sites represent a certain degree of “the conformity of military taste and custom” (Sussman 1978: 93). Plantations were more strongly affected by the rise of consumerism and spread of refined earthenware throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Investigations of



Caribbean plantations contexts during this period have documented a reduction of local coarse earthenware because of shifting preferences among enslaved laborers and their managers to refined earthenware and glass vessels manufactured in Europe (Delle 2009, 2015). This assumption that cheap mass produced consumer goods led to the decline of local industries in the Caribbean and the increased centralization of factory production may not be appropriate for military settings during the same period. Established wages and the rationing and provisioning responsibility at military sites may have shielded soldiers and laborers from the emerging wage/market relationship on plantations. Thus, markets that distributed local and regional coarse earthenware among other crafts were likely to have continued operating at military sites in the Caribbean during this period. At the Cabrits Garrison, the presence of local and regional coarse earthenware in conjunction with a diverse refined ceramic assemblage is more heavily concentrated in the laborer village (CG-1) as opposed to the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2). Not only were soldiers more closely monitored than the typical fort laborer, but the laborer population at the Cabrits Garrison was also more ephemeral, involving a variety of individuals who came and went between different plantations and the fort.

Finally, these sites are characterized by different demographics and the nature of their labor force. Military sites are typically imagined according to concepts of masculinity, but historical and archaeological research has indicated the presence of women and children at sites across the United States and Caribbean (Buckley 1998; Cripps 2003; Starbuck 1994). Much more is known about white women than black women in the British army, but little historical information is available to determine exact numbers. This silence in the documentary record also involves the exact numbers of children and enslaved laborers at military settings in the Caribbean. In contrast, investigations of Caribbean plantations have been quite fruitful in demonstrating the nature of enslaved communities, including the fact that nuclear family and simple family units were the most common household structure on plantations in the British West Indies (Higman 1975) and that this workforce was gradually feminized following the end of the slave trade in 1807

(Delle 2009: 495). Unlike plantations, no standard existed in the military for keeping records affiliated with women, children, laborers, or slaves. British army records generally do not go into much detail regarding the lower ranks of the military, including regular infantry and laborers. Poor historical documentation may be one of the reasons that military sites are typically interpreted along whole-culture models. While the demography of Caribbean military sites was no doubt very mixed, the structure of households, particularly those of lower-status military personnel, emphasized military rank and order over familial relations and concerns of the master class with reproducing their laborer population. The domestic contexts excavated at the Cabrits Garrison are more like barracks style living, characterized by male residents with no explicit kin relationships, than with the typical nuclear family household structure documented on Caribbean plantations.

Beyond these particular contributions, which aid in understanding the peculiarities of military labor in the colonial Caribbean, this investigation at the Cabrits Garrison illuminates the diversity and dynamics of military communities in their island contexts. I have relied on the concept of space to humanize this setting as opposed to the more communal nature of place. In contemporary historical awareness, there remains a failure to acknowledge the military role played by blacks in the conflicts crucial to the development of the modern world. It is more important than ever to locate these under-recognized human spaces in the places impacted by colonialism. The ruins at the Cabrits Garrison need to be understood as more than a place of intrigue. As imagined by Rose Macaulay (1953: 73), while the “pleasure of ruins” can make “poets and artists of nearly all tourists,” this wonder and license to roam do not encourage forms of remembrance that criticize colonial engagements in the past and their ongoing repercussions in contemporary life.

Archaeology is particularly significant in tempering the traditional narrative of military history and modern conflict. Alfredo González-Ruibal’s archaeological investigation of Italian outposts in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ethiopia reminds us that military infrastructure was built “not out of philanthropic impulse, but to control the country and facilitate its economic exploitation” (2010: 551). The reliance on tangible forms of

remembrance in archaeology is necessary to this deconstruction process for emphasizing different experiences and spaces where the roots of modern inequality reside.

This study also sought to explore avenues through which colonial military history can be made more accessible, inclusive, and meaningful across the many groups occupying this space (research question 5). Archaeology at the Cabrits Garrison enhances the appreciation of black Atlantic military history by providing a route for including a diversity of groups into the historiography of the modern world. The recovered findings demonstrate the material basis for the daily activities of these historically voiceless laborers, which is a prerequisite for considering their visibility and important role in impacting a British imperial model. This is an alternative narrative that suggests new significance to historical events and the lives of people in those histories. These types of approaches offer vital contributions to national heritage and identity in the Caribbean.

## **9.5 Future Directions**

I conclude by defining avenues for future research that advance the ideas about colonial fortifications in the Atlantic world developed in this case study. Possible directions include further research at the Cabrits Garrison, the testing of more British colonial fortifications in the region and beyond, and the comparison of data collected at this site to other nodes of labor and capital in the Atlantic world (i.e. military sites, plantations, and maritime and urban settings).

Further research at the Cabrits Garrison would more fully clarify objectives articulated in research questions 1 and 2 of this dissertation, while also opening the opportunity to explore other segments of this complex community. For instance, this analysis of the living spaces of lower-status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison has relied primarily on artifacts associated with dwelling, eating and drinking, and working. Further insights would be gained from the consideration of a broader range of materials and associated behavior categories in the analysis of household level variability. Thorough discussion of certain artifact classes, including tobacco pipes and small finds like jewelry, is lacking in this analysis, which could help

illuminate other behavior patterns useful in accounting for similarity and difference in the everyday practices of various classes of military laborers. Artifact analysis must continue to integrate insights from sources specializing in material culture identification in contexts prevalent in the Caribbean, but especially at military sites. Certain information, like the caliber of weapons and the ethnic sources of certain gun components, adds important insights into the material practices and social relations in these settings, but these forms of analysis require specialized forms of knowledge or experience.

Furthermore, additional excavations at areas of interest in the Cabrits Garrison would aid in compiling more complete datasets. Excavations in the laborer village (CG-1) in the valley of the Cabrits should be expanded to identify additional structures and reveal yard areas and other settlement features, including pathways, drains, cooking areas and possibly the location of burials. The current extent of this study area should be expanded to portions north and west of the forge and a more thorough shovel test pit survey should be completed (see Figure 5.02). This work will provide a clearer understanding of this settlement by discerning if patterns observed in the investigated study areas are distributed across the entire site. Additionally, further testing may identify activities occurring in between buildings and how individuals and their materials moved through or were confined to living spaces. If evidence for house areas is found, this may illuminate the manner in which different classes of military laborers were integrated in and around this pluralistic community, including enslaved African-Caribbean laborers along with regular infantry, the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and other white artificers.<sup>49</sup> More systematic archaeological testing throughout the valley is bound to better discern the development of this area into an increasingly isolated, self-sufficient and complex zone of military life where different social groups were assigned to a variety of labor-related tasks.

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<sup>49</sup> See discussion of the historical development of the Cabrits Garrison laborer village (CG-1) in section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four. A series of maps of the fort produced between 1792 and 1812 document the presence of detachments of the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and white artificers and troop barracks in the valley.

Moreover, additional archaeological testing in areas associated with regular infantry would increase the amount of the data recovered so far pertaining to soldiers inhabiting this garrison, which is currently much less represented than data collected from households in the laborer village (CG-1). Along with the Outer Cabrits soldiers' barracks (CG-2) included in this dissertation, testing should be completed at other locations in the Fort Shirley battery and the Inner Cabrits soldiers' barracks. These contexts were developed earlier than in the Outer Cabrits, which may provide the opportunity to compare the material lives of regular infantry occupying these settlements to more accurately determine changes in this rank of military laborer during the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison. Perhaps most importantly, excavations did not isolate data unequivocally associated with West India Regiment (WIR) soldiers in barracks contexts. Rather, the only definitive WIR material culture came from excavations at "structure 2" in the laborer village (CG-1) (see discussion of this archaeological context in Chapters Five and Eight). Further testing at soldiers' barracks at the Cabrits Garrison is likely to identify these types of diagnostic artifacts, which are necessary for building site-specific occupation histories for these enslaved regiments.

Other possible projects at the Cabrits Garrison include controlled archaeological excavations of higher-status residences, such as the many officers' quarters, particularly concentrated in the Outer Cabrits, and the original Commandant's house in the valley. The archaeological store room facility located on-site includes a substantial artifact assemblage excavated unsystematically in the 1980s from a midden associated with the Fort Shirley battery officers' quarters. Context-controlled excavations would add provenience and chronological precision to this assemblage as well as provide a clearer idea of the material and spatial practices unique to this higher-status section of the military labor hierarchy or those shared across social and cultural boundaries.

Additionally, archaeological testing at areas of significance in the Douglas Bay battery, located on the opposing side of the Cabrits peninsula from the headquarters at the Fort Shirley battery, would clarify its occupation history. This settlement is frequently illustrated without building labels or described as never

fully occupied in the archival record of the Cabrits Garrison (see section 4.3.1 in Chapter Four), but its strategic location and complex building plan now evident in ruins are grounds for its further study.

Archaeology should be used to record standing structures and determine whether material and spatial patterns observed elsewhere are present.

A final productive research activity at the Cabrits Garrison would be testing the structures identified as hospitals on maps of the fort. These buildings appear at different times in areas in the Inner Cabrits, Outer Cabrits and in the valley. Historical archaeological study of colonial hospitals in the Caribbean has not received adequate attention. Investigations at the Cabrits Garrison may reveal insights pertaining to the European concern for health and disease, including the identification of material distinctions in the strategies and conditions for different classes of military personnel, such as hospitals for Europeans and non-Europeans.

Another avenue of inquiry that would further address concerns articulated in research question 4 of this project is testing more British colonial fortifications in Dominica, the Caribbean region and the wider Atlantic world. In this dissertation, I have argued there is a lack of historical archaeological research into the nature of military communities in the Caribbean (Buckley 1998; Leech 2010; Watters 2001), beyond the tradition of preserving these edifices for use in underscoring the legacies of imperial powers (Armstrong and Hauser 2009). Certain projects have been quite fruitful in exploring the diversity of military communities at forts and early towns, but these have been situated primarily in Spanish contact settings, such as Florida and Hispaniola (Deagan 1978, 1988, 1995, 2010). Further archaeological research in Dominica should test the potential of other British fortifications, including Fort Young, Morne Bruce, Scotts Head and additional sites comprising the network of military posts on the island. This work will contribute to a clearer understanding of Dominican military history by demonstrating similarities and differences between these sites.

Furthermore, other British fortifications in the Caribbean and in the wider British Atlantic should be studied and included in a broad survey addressing patterns and peculiarities in military expansion during the early modern period. This framework is ideal for illustrating the varied contexts, contact settings and complexities apparent in these military communities in drastically different settings across the British Empire (DeCorse and Beier Forthcoming). While my concern is chiefly with fortifications in the British Empire, this style of research should be expanded into other imperial domains active during the period of occupation at the Cabrits Garrison to provide ample grounds for comparisons.

Finally, there is great opportunity to examine British fortifications in the Caribbean following the reduction of the WIR beginning in 1817 and the abandonment of most of these military posts in 1854. During this period of emerging global hostility, these standing armies were replaced with locally recruited forces, including European, Creole and African-Caribbean personnel, which continued the militia tradition established under the power of planter classes. These later-phase colonial military sites are rarely studied (see Buisseret 1971, 2008; Watters 2011 for relevant discussions in the Caribbean), but excavations at these sites will undoubtedly contribute to a clearer understanding of local forces on the Caribbean “home front” during the world wars (see Lenik and Beier 2016).

A third productive avenue for research is the systematic comparison of data collected from the Cabrits Garrison to other nodes of labor and capital in the Caribbean. While archaeological research focusing on community dynamics at British fortifications is not as apparent as other sites in the region, certain projects provide the potential for comparing military posts occupied contemporaneously, including archaeology at Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts (Ahlman et al. 2008; Ahlman et al. 2009; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002), Shirley Heights, Antigua (Cripps 2003), and Fort Charles, Nevis (González-Tennant 2014). These comparisons will broaden perceptions of the sociocultural composition of these settings and the diverse lifestyles of their inhabitants, which enhance the appreciation of the variation involved in European

colonial expansion at similar types of sites. Even more research at Caribbean fortifications is needed to achieve significant comparative results.

Similarly, contrasts to other types of sites, primarily plantations, are particularly significant for achieving a clearer understanding of how systems of labor were shared and differentially impacted these separate colonial institutions. This is a comparative approach that follows research question 3 of this dissertation, but the findings outlined in this study can only offer preliminary insights into the relationships between these common types of sites on the Caribbean landscape. More systematic comparisons are necessary. This work could begin comparing findings at the Cabrits Garrison to the living spaces of laborers on estates in Dominica, including the research projects at Sugar Loaf and Bois Cottle directed by Mark Hauser (Armstrong and Hauser 2012; Hauser 2011a, Hauser 2011b). Additionally, the scope of this research would be aided through on-going comparative work using the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery ([www.daacs.org](http://www.daacs.org)), which includes the largest publically accessible database of slave labor sites available now (see discussion of this database in section 5.4 of Chapter Five). The data available from laborer contexts at these sites reflect material manifestations of a variety of forces in colonial life, including relative poverty, opportunities for access, institutional control and local strategies, all of which relate to the lived space of these household contexts. Collaborative relationships between historical archaeologists dealing with these matters are sure to provide more depth insights into the interconnectedness and uniqueness characterizing these sites.

This dissertation has used findings from archives and archaeological survey and excavation to explore patterns of spatial and material practices in the living spaces of lower-status military personnel at the Cabrits Garrison between 1763 and 1854. Findings demonstrate the way the lived experience of laborers and soldiers was shaped by contradictory notions of social space opposing the world conceived by the ruling power structure to the subtle reality of human action and relations among inhabitants. The operation of alternative practices and identities in a typically rigidly arranged military community is a theme



pertinent to other contexts throughout the Caribbean and Atlantic world. In support of research question 5, the pluralism and fluidity implied by this research is an important lesson for scholars and the public, especially those working to reimagine the role of the British military and black lives in shaping the development of the modern world. While colonial fortifications are often found today awkwardly dominating over many contemporary Caribbean cities and towns, more likely to conjure up wounding historical moments in the minds of some or brief poetic detours for others, these ruins feature alternative narratives characterized by significant sociocultural transformation in a setting structured according to British military policy and the haphazard consequences of colonialism and emergent capitalism. This heterogeneous view of Caribbean history should be presented in relation to these sites throughout the region.

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LH Lennox Honychurch's personal collection of historical documents, Dominica.

Evening Mail June 9-11, June 14-16 1802: A series of newspaper articles recounting the revolt of the 8<sup>th</sup> West India Regiment at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.

TNA The National Archives (Kew, London, Great Britain), Formally the Public Records Office (PRO)

Colonial Office (CO): Records of the Colonial Office, Commonwealth and Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, Empire Marketing Board, and related bodies (The National Archives catalog online, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>).

CO71 Series: This series contains original correspondence relating to Dominica, including Despatches (letters of the governors), Offices (letters of government departments and other organizations) and Individuals (arranged alphabetically). Documents date between 1730 and 1872.

CO71/34: Includes a series of Despatches dating to 1802.

CO71/38: Includes a series of Despatches dating between 1805, January 1 to December 12 as well as others dating until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

CO101 Series: This series contains original correspondence primarily relating to Grenada. Documents date between 1747 and 1873.

CO101/28/95: Lieutenant General Edward Mathew reporting to Lord Sydney, including his arrival in Dominica, examining points of protection on the island, the distribution of the 'Carolina Negroes' [Black Corps]; enslaved labour, and his plans to sail to Antigua next. Date to 1789 April 2.

CO101/29/23: Lieutenant General Edward Mathew acknowledge receipt of letter giving King's approval of Mathew authorizing the Chief Engineer to pay 'Negro artificers' and hire 'Negro labourers', in addition to those 'granted' by the Colonies; refers to building barracks, cisterns, and provision store; encloses the last returns so that Secretary of State can judge 'of the number

of Negroes hired, & the ability of the various works they are employ'd on. Returns describe work in Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, Dominica, St. Christopher, and Antigua. Date to 1789 August 27.

CO101/31/57: Lieutenant General Edward Mathew writing from Dominica. He reports receipt of letters; refers to assembling the 'Flank Companies'; aid of 'Negro's for the fatigue Regimental duties'; augmentation of the Carolina Corps; expenditure accounts; has received much satisfaction in reviewing the garrisons of Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, and Dominica, and will sail in evening for Antigua. Date to 1791 May 7.

CO320 Series: This series contains miscellanea from the West Indies, including memoranda on military matters, the slave trade, etc.

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Maps and plans (MFQ, MPH, MPH): Maps and plans extracted to flat storage from records of various departments held at the Public Record Office, Kew (The National Archives catalog online, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>).

MFQ1/1173: One of five items extracted from ADM 1/308. Windward Islands: Dominica. Map of the island giving place names around the coast, the sites of settlements in 1764. "A Plan of the Island of Dominica" by an anonymous surveyor. Originally accompanying description by Richard Tyrrell of Roseau, Dominica, in correspondence of the Commander in Chief, Leeward Islands.

MPH1/184: Three sheets of drawings produced in 1791 that illustrate a project for the defense of Prince Rupert's Head, Dominica, to accompany reports by the Board of Officers appointed to examine the Works in the West.

MPH1/615: Six maps showing defenses of British colonies in the West Indies and South America. Series includes plans for Roseau, Fort Young, Prince Ruperts, Scotts Head, along with a General Plan of Dominica dating to 1832.

MPHH1/18: Windward Islands: Dominica. One of 4 maps of Prince Rupert Bay dating between 1771-1800. 1799 map of the Cabrits Garrison titled "General Plan of Prince Rupert Head Dominica dec 1<sup>st</sup> 1799."

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- 2000b Culture Bought: Evidence of Creolization in the Consumer Goods of an Enslaved Bahamian Family. *Historical Archaeology* 34(3): 10-26.
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- Wood, Denis  
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### EDUCATION

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Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois  
Honors thesis project in anthropology, "The Artifactual Mind: The Formation of Social Identities in a Bilingual Speech Community"
- 2010 Masters of Arts in Anthropology,  
The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York  
Master's thesis, "The War in Slavery: Testing the Boundaries of Contested Identities at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica, 1763-1854"
- 2017 Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology  
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Doctoral dissertation, "All the King's Men: Slavery and Soldiering at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica (1763-1854)"

### RESEARCH INTERESTS

Historical archaeology/anthropology. Complex societies. African diaspora and Atlantic world studies. War and slavery. British and Caribbean social history. Military labor practices. Colonial identity formation. Materiality and memory. Public policy and community archaeology.

### RESEARCH GRANTS AND AWARDS

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International Center of Jefferson Studies Fellowship for DAACS-related projects, Monticello, VA. 2011.

U.S. Student Fulbright Award, Institute of International Education, United States Department of State. 2010.

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Roscoe Martin Scholarship, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. 2011.

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PLACA Graduate Summer Research Grant, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. 2008.

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## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2014 *Assistant Lecturer*, Department of History & Archaeology, The University of the West Indies Mona
- 2013 *Adjunct Instructor*, Department of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, “Introduction to Archaeology” and “Archaeology and the Human Past”, Spring Semester
- 2012 *Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University “Archaeology at the Movies: The Scientific Study of the Past in Popular Culture”, Professor Christopher DeCorse, Spring Semester
- 2011 *Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University “Global Encounters: Comparing Values and Worldviews Cross-Culturally”, Professor John Burdick, Fall Semester
- 2009 *Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Archaeological Field Methods, Professor Douglas Armstrong, Summer Semester
- Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University “Introduction to Historical Archaeology”, Professor Douglas Armstrong, Spring Semester
- 2008 *Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University “Peoples & Cultures of the World”, Professor Michael Freedman, Fall Semester
- 2008 *Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University “Introduction to Biological Anthropology”, Professor Shannon Novak, Spring Semester
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- 2005 *Undergraduate Teaching Assistant*, Department of Anthropology, Illinois State University, “Paleoanthropology”, Professor Martin Nickels
- Co-leader of Freshman Connection’s Discussion group* (Business Dept.), University College, Illinois State University

## PUBLICATIONS

- 2016 Military and Material Life in the British Caribbean: Historical Archaeology of Fort Rocky, Kingston Harbor, Jamaica (ca. 1880-1945). Co-authored with Steve Lenik. In *Spaces In Between: Archaeologies of Freedom and Slavery in the Caribbean*, edited by Lynsey Bates, John M. Chenoweth and James Delle (eds.), pp.279-306. The University Press of Florida: Gainesville.
- 2014 The Cabrits Garrison. In *The Encyclopedia of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by Basil Reid and R. Grant Gilmore III, pp. 83-84. The University Press of Florida: Gainesville.

- 2013 *Review of Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean. Caribbean Quarterly*, 59(3-4): 189-193.
- 2011 *Initial Feasibility and Reconnaissance at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica*. Paper published in *Proceedings of the XXIII Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology*, June 29-July 3, 2009, edited by Samantha Rebovich, pp. 233-243. Dockyard Museum, English Harbor, Antigua, WI.
- In Progress *British Forts and Their Communities: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*. Christopher DeCorse and Zachary J. M. Beier (eds.). Under contract at the University Press of Florida.
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- In Progress Dwelling Practices at the Cabrits Garrison Laborer Village, Dominica." In *House, Yard, and Ground: Archaeologies of Built Environments of Slavery in the Caribbean*. Contact pending at the University Press of Florida.
- In Progress *Review of The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in the Plantation System. Jamaica Historical Review*.

### **RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

- 2016-present *University Collaborator*, University of the West Indies, Mona  
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- 2016-present *Project Director*, University of the West Indies, Mona  
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Marshall's Pen, Mandeville, Jamaica  
Project Supervisor: James Delle, Shippensburg University
- 2012-2013 *Field Director*, University of the West Indies, Mona  
Fort Rocky, Kingston, Jamaica  
Project Director: Stephen Lenik, University of the West Indies, Mona
- 2009 *Graduate Assistant*, Syracuse University  
The Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, New York  
Project Director: Douglas Armstrong, Syracuse University
- 2007-present *Project Director*, Syracuse University  
The Cabrits Archaeological Research Project, Portsmouth, Dominica  
Project Advisors: Douglas Armstrong, Lennox Honychurch

- 2007      *Student Researcher*, Syracuse University  
The Magens House, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas  
Project Advisor: Douglas Armstrong, Syracuse University
- 2006      *Student Researcher*, Syracuse University  
The Cabrits, Portsmouth, Dominica  
Project Advisor: Douglas Armstrong, Syracuse University
- 2005      *Student Instructor*, Arizona State Museum  
Homol’Ovi Archaeological Research Project, Winslow, AZ  
Project Director: Charles Adams, University of Arizona
- 2004      *Research Assistant*, Illinois State University  
Professor: James Skibo, Illinois State University
- Student Researcher*, Illinois State University Field School  
Centre for the Study of Rural Ireland, Riverstown, Ireland  
Project Director: Charles E. Orser, Illinois State University

## PRESENTATIONS

### **Organized Symposium**

“Built Environments of Enslaved Experience in the Caribbean.” 81<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Orlando, Florida, April 2016. (with Elizabeth Clay).

“Tools of Empire: Historical Archaeologies of British Forts in their Contexts.” 78<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 2013. (with Christopher DeCorse).

### **Papers Presented**

“An Archaeology of Dancehall/Reggae: Garrison Life at Fort Rocky.” 5<sup>th</sup> Biennial Global Reggae Conference. Dancehall, Music and the City. Kingston, Jamaica, February 2017.

“Dwelling Practices at the Cabrits Garrison Laborer Village, Dominica.” 81<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Orlando, Florida, April 2016.

“‘Garrison Culture’: A Living History of the Ruins at Fort Rocky, Kingston Harbor.” 14<sup>th</sup> Symposium of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, March 2016.

“The Archaeology of Caribbean Fortifications: Insights from the Cabrits Garrison and Fort Rocky.” 13<sup>th</sup> Symposium of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, April 2015.

“Military and Material Life in the British Caribbean: Historical Archaeology of Fort Rocky, Kingston Harbor, Jamaica (ca. 1880-1945)”, co-authored with Stephan Lenik. 47<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Québec City, Québec, Canada, January 2014.

“All the King’s Men’: Labor and Diversity at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.” 78<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 2013

“The Materialization of Military and Black Identity at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica (1763-1854).” 77<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Memphis, Tennessee, April 2012.

“Variation in Spatial and Material Practice among Military Laborers at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica

(1763-1854).” 45<sup>th</sup> Conference for the Society for Historical Archaeology, Baltimore, Maryland, January 2012.

“Comparative Approaches to Interpreting Archaeological Data from the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.” DAACS Project Presentation, International Center for Jefferson Studies, Monticello, Virginia, May 2011.

“‘All peaceable and quiet’: Reading the Role of Military Labor at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica (1765-1854).” 76<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Sacramento, California, April 2011.

“Comparative Approaches to Interpreting Archaeological Data from the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.” 44<sup>th</sup> Conference for the Society for Historical Archaeology, Austin, Texas, January 2011.

“Daily Lives at the Cabrits Garrison, Commonwealth of Dominica, West Indies c. 1763-1854.” Fulbright Enrichment Seminar, Port of Spain, Trinidad, March 2010.

“Within the Walls of Fort Shirley, Dominica 1760-1850: Some notes from the field.” Program on Latin America and the Caribbean Brown Bag Lecture Series Seminar, Syracuse, New York, October 2009.

“Initial Feasibility and Reconnaissance at the Cabrits Garrison, Dominica.” 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of The International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, St. Johns, Antigua, June 29-July 3, 2009.

“Within the Walls: Testing the Boundaries of Contested Identities at Fort Shirley, Dominica (c. 1760-1850).” 74<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Atlanta, Georgia, April 2009.

“Within the Walls: Archaeological Investigations at Fort Shirley, Dominica.” 42<sup>nd</sup> Conference for the Society for Historical Archaeology, Toronto, Canada, January 2009.

“The Artifactual Mind: The Formation of Social Identities in a Bilingual Speech Community.” 83<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Association Conference, Omaha, Nebraska, April 2006.

“The General Education System Evaluated.” Ethnography of the University Student Research Conference, Champaign, Illinois, December 2005.

### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

- |              |                                                                |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2014-present | <i>Archaeological Society of Jamaica</i>                       |
| 2011-present | <i>American Anthropological Association</i>                    |
| 2009-present | <i>The International Association for Caribbean Archaeology</i> |
| 2008-present | <i>Society for American Archaeology</i>                        |
| 2006-present | <i>Society for Historical Archaeology</i>                      |