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Historic Archaeology of Jamaican Tenant-Manager Relations: A Case Study from Drax Hall and Seville Estates, St Ann, Jamaica

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HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAMAICAN TENANT-MANAGER RELATIONS

A Case Study From Drax Hall And Seville Estates, St. Ann, Jamaica

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ABSTRACT

This study presents evidence that the effects of post emancipation plantation management strategies on estate tenants can be illuminated by synthesizing historical research and archaeological investigation. Beginning with an overview of Jamaican history that sets the stage for the problems that the sugar industry would have in the post emancipation period, the study makes use of historic information specific to the two properties under investigation, allowing a comparison of management strategies. The estates involved in the present study, Drax Hall and Seville Estate, were characterized by variation in management. Charles Royes, the Seville manager, paid higher wages and provided better living arrangements for his tenants than was typical on other Jamaican plantations, including Drax Hall. Drax Hall instead tried to minimize wage payments and support for the resident tenants to economize the costs of sugar production, resulting in a loss of skilled workers that Seville estate was able to retain. Archaeological investigations at two house sites, one on each estate, revealed that the residents at Seville Estate lived a materially better life as a result of more enlightened management practices than their counterparts at Drax Hall.

HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAMAICAN TENANT-MANAGER RELATIONSHIPS

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INTRODUCTION

Western history has almost by definition been the history of the ruling class. Until recently history has focused on the past shared by its authors and has generally given but passing mention of the history of labor, women, or ethnic minorities. Historical archaeology has followed a parallel course, serving as a tool for reconstructing houses of famous men and historic places (Deetz 1988). However, since the mid-sixties historical archaeology has helped to rectify this situation by focusing increasingly on the history of the social and economic underclasses, including ethnic groups such as blacks, Asians and Hispanics (Deagan 1982:161).

Over a span of almost 400 years the forced importation of Africans brought perhaps 12 million people to the New World (Curtin 1969). These Africans and their descendants have subsequently formed substantial minorities in the United States and the majority population throughout most of the Caribbean islands. As a result of this population the cultures of the West Indies took on "their characteristic forms under the social and physical conditions with which the slaves themselves had to deal" (Mintz 1974:12).

In an effort to illuminate the origins of modern Jamaican society, the Seville Afro-Jamaican Archaeological Project and the earlier Drax Hall Archaeological Project, were conceived. The goal of these projects has been to use archaeological data in conjunction with documentary information to address questions of past living conditions and to study the processes of formation and evolution of Afro-Jamaican cultural systems (Armstrong 1987).

The goal of this paper is to compare two house sites dating from the mid 19th century in an effort to isolate differences and similarities in the material assemblages and attribute them to variations in estate management techniques, such as wages paid and rents extracted, and/or subsistence strategies, including consumer choice in disposal of discretionary income, thus expanding upon our understanding of Jamaican socio-economic organization in the years immediately following the end of slavery. Specifically, I intend to demonstrate that the residents of Seville Estate enjoyed a materially richer lifestyle than their more impoverished counterparts at Drax Hall, and that this difference is due to the less exploitative strategies of the Seville Estate managers.

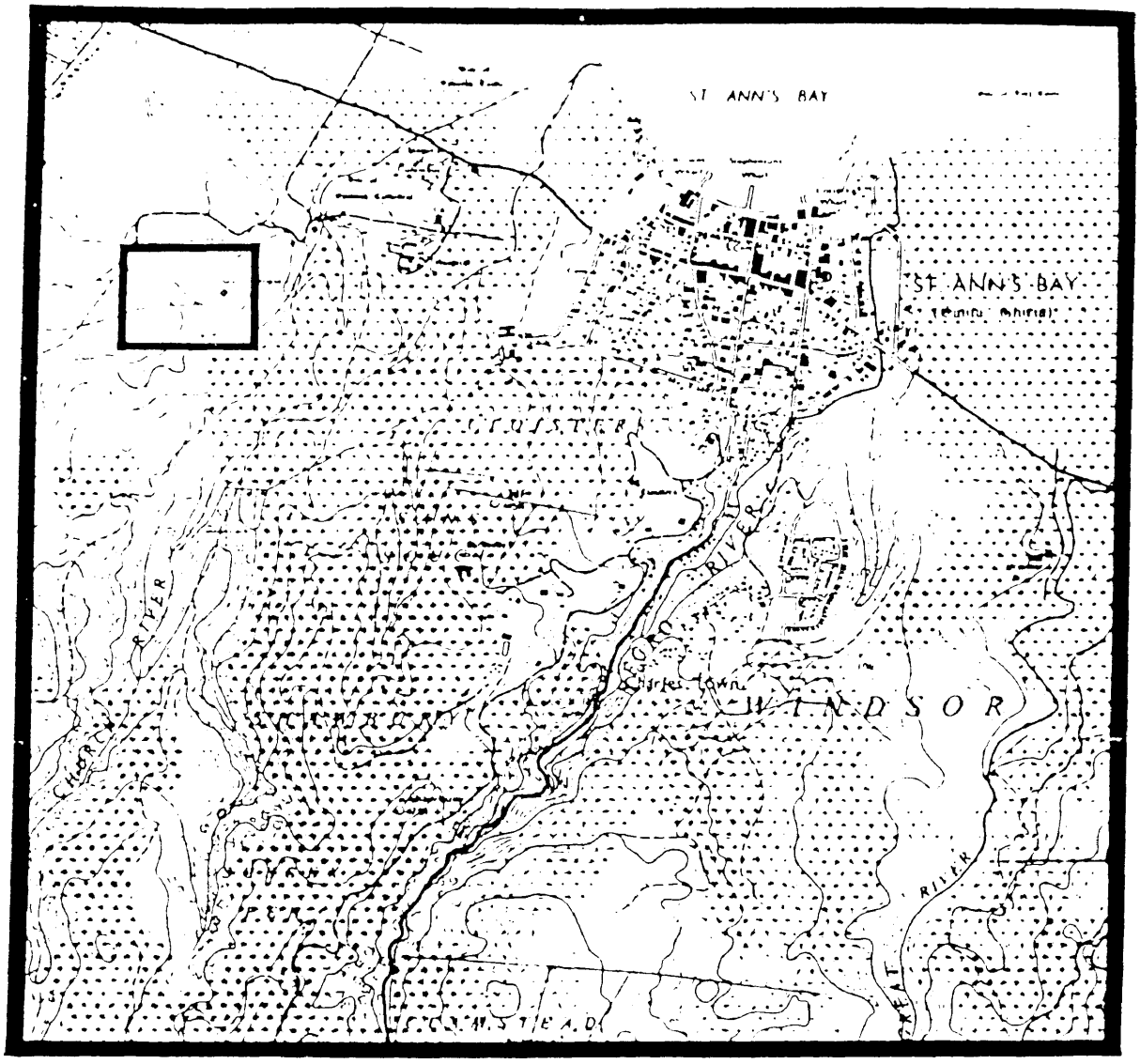
The house sites selected for this study are located on Seville Estate and Drax Hall Estate, both of which are located adjacent to the town of St. Ann's Bay in the parish of St. Ann's, Jamaica. The estates front the Caribbean Sea

and consist of gently sloping coastal plain rising abruptly to limestone hills to the south (Figure 1). In each case the house sites are situated on the first rise of hills south of the coastal plain. At Seville Estate the study site is located about 130 meters south south-west and somewhat higher than the Great House (Figures 2 and 3). The Seville Estate property is owned by the Jamaican National Trust Commission, which is developing plans to establish a museum addressing the history of the estate as well as the island. Seville Estate is unique in Jamaica in because its property encompasses virtually the entire range of Jamaican history from the site of the first Spanish Capitol, through the days of sugar and slaves, to more recent agricultural production such as coconut and pimento.

The slave village site at Drax Hall is located south and east of the remains of the 18th century Great House. The Drax Hall village, like its counterpart at Seville Estate, is sited on a rise above the Great House. The house site at Drax Hall used in this study is located 250-300 meters southeast of the 18th century Great House and directly overlooking the modern A-1 highway from Ocho Rios to Montego Bay. At the time of the archaeological investigations, the Drax Hall property was owned by a subsidiary of Gulf and Western Corporation. Currently there are no plans to preserve any part of the site.

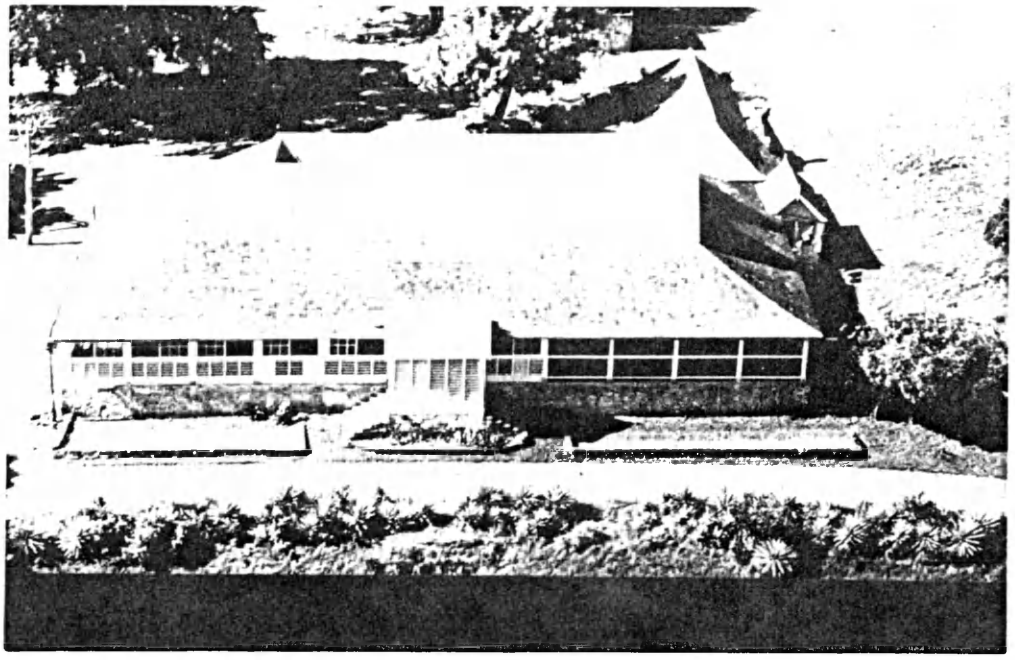
FIGURE 1
Map of Jamaica, with St. Ann's Bay Located Near Center of North Coast.

FIGURE 2



General location of study area at Seville Estate (Sheet 72b).

FIGURE 3



Aerial View to South of Seville Great House, St. Ann, Jamaica (Buisseret 1980:15). Study Site Located 130 Meters Southwest of Great House.

Interestingly, the siting of the villages above and south of their respective Great Houses is not a mere artifact of coincidence: slave villages were typically sited downwind so the residents of the Great House would avoid "the vapors emanating from the village" (Armstrong 1988:4.4).

The content of this paper owes a great debt to Douglas V. Armstrong of Syracuse University, the director of both the Drax Hall Project and the Seville Afro-Jamaican Settlement Project. Through his kindness I have been permitted to be a part of the latter project. Furthermore, he has freely made available all of his records from the Drax Hall Project, as well as manuscript analyses, without which this present study would have been impossible.

CHAPTER I

THE JAMAICAN HISTORICAL SETTING

The aboriginal inhabitants of Jamaica at the time of the islands' "discovery" by Europeans were known as the Arawak. Unlike the Lesser Antilles to the east, the Carib indians had not made significant inroads into Jamaica, although Carib raids were not completely unknown by the Arawak (Black 1973). The Arawak were the first known residents of Jamaica, although uncertainty surrounds the time of the first arrival.

Jamaica entered the European sphere of influence on May 5, 1494, when Columbus brought his ships to anchor off the coast of Santa Gloria, now known as St. Ann's Bay. The Spaniards did not put ashore here, but continued east along the coast to Puerto Bueno, today's Discovery Bay. The Spanish, however, did not establish a strong presence on Jamaica until June of 1503 when Columbus, his ships rotting out from underneath him, was forced to run them aground at St. Ann's Bay. The Spaniards were forced to set up a fortified camp on the shore and to send several of their crew, accompanied by Arawak paddlers, in a dugout canoe to Hispaniola in order to organize a rescue expedition. It

would be a year before Columbus and his men were rescued, but that year proved sufficient to introduce the Arawak to what the Spanish had in store for them.

In 1509, near the site of Columbus' shipwreck and camp on St. Ann's Bay, and on the site of the Arawak village of Maima, the Spanish founded their third Caribbean capitol, Sevilla la Nueva (Wynter 1984:1). The original plans called for New Seville to be quite substantial, including a stone fort, a castle, and a church. However, New Seville proved to be poorly sited and an unhealthy location for its inhabitants so by 1534 the settlers had relocated on the south coast of Jamaica at St. Jago de la Vega, modern Spanish Town (Wynter 1984:13).

Jamaica waned in importance to the Spanish as the potential of their mainland and South American possessions became apparent. Partly as a result of the lack of precious metals and gems, and partly due to the Spanish colonial agenda, Jamaica remained sparsely populated. What little settlement there was remained primarily concerned with cotton growing and cattle ranching (Black 1973:26). The Spanish administration proved ruthless towards the Arawak population, decimating them in short order. Responding to the elimination of a native labor force, the Spaniards began what was to be a long tradition of importation of slaves from Africa to work the crops of Jamaica.

The Spanish hold on Jamaica came to an end in 1655 when Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, in an effort to salvage the failed English attempt on Santo Domingo, redirected their forces to the poorly defended island of Jamaica and sacked Spanish Town. The sack of Spanish Town was nothing new to its residents--pirates had plundered it before--but this time the English did not leave.

Although the Spanish had attempted some cultivation of sugar on Jamaica, their production was limited, and only satisfied local consumption (Black 1973:60). In 1640, prior to the English acquisition of Jamaica, English planters began the cultivation of sugar on Barbados. Sugar production proved so profitable there, that once English control of Jamaica had been consolidated, Governor Sir Thomas Modyford wasted no time in establishing sugar production (Black 1973:60). Jamaica's size, far larger than Barbados or any of the English Leeward possessions, provided an opportunity for many poor whites to emigrate from the Lesser Antilles. Many of these small holders raised crops other than sugar while many of the larger, wealthier planters grew sugar on tracts of land acquired from small holders or from government land grants (Dunn 1972:146-151). By the beginning of the 18th century large scale sugar production based on the forced labor of African slaves had replaced competing agricultural interests. The method of

granting land to immigrants favored the wealthy, by allotting 30 acres for every planter, plus 30 acres for every family member, servant or slave (Dunn 1972:154).

Prior to the start of the 18th century Jamaica was not exclusively an agricultural island. Port Royal, the "wickedest city on earth" (Mayes 1972) at the end of the Palisadoes sandspit protecting Kingston Harbor, was the headquarters for numerous buccaneers, privateers, smugglers and other unsavory characters. The buccaneers held a great deal of power with the Crown, in part due to Henry Morgan's forays against the Spanish and the service the buccaneers supplied in defending the colony (Dunn 1972:156-159). Finally in 1689 the tolerance, if not the encouragement, of the buccaneers came to an end, and the interests of the wealthy planters were heartily taken up by the English government. The powerful influence that the Jamaican planters came to wield in England would influence the future of Jamaica for more than 150 years.

These fortunes of Jamaica were built upon the labor of Africans taken across the Atlantic from their homes and enslaved on sugar plantations. The Spanish had kept slaves of African origin prior to the English conquest of Jamaica, but the bulk of these 1500 slaves had escaped to the interior with the coming of the English (Price 1979:230). Therefore, when the English planters began establishing plantations on Jamaica they brought their own slaves.

According to Dunn (1972:167), there were only 552 slaves on the island in 1662, but the slave population grew rapidly with the addition of approximately 1500 slaves per year throughout the 1670's. Indeed, not long after 1670 Blacks outnumbered whites in Jamaica (Dunn 1972:237). Jamaican planters were always willing to purchase more slaves than were available, especially as sugar became increasingly profitable. In 1671 Jamaica had 57 sugar plantations, and by 1684 that number had increased to 246 (Craton 1978:7). In order to better supply slaves, the monopoly of the slave trade enjoyed by the Royal African Company was dissolved in 1698 with the result of increasing the trade from approximately 2000 slaves per year to over 4500 per year. Between 1689 and 1713 the Jamaican slave population nearly doubled, growing from approximately 30,000 to 55,000 (Dunn 1972:165). Curtin (1969:59) continues the slave population figures for Jamaica through the end of the trade with a population in 1754 of 130,000, 250,000 in 1789, and 324,000 in 1808.

Jamaican slaves were accorded numerous positions in the labor force. As a matter of course all field labor was the domain of slaves, as was most millwork. Slaves also held artisan and craftsman positions, domestic labor, fishing, pen keeping (cattle tending), and other tasks. This reliance on slave labor demonstrates the planters' conviction that in order to return the greatest profits, the

cheapest form of labor was necessary, and they remained convinced that slaves were the lowest cost labor source (Craton 1978:3).

The political and economic history of Jamaica are closely linked--the colony existed to produce sugar, and it was governed keeping the best interests of the producers in mind. The island Assembly, drawing its membership largely from the plantocracy, shamelessly used public funds to finance improvements such as roads and aqueducts that benefited specific estates (Craton 1978:11). Additionally, the capital requirements to establish or improve sugar estates were substantial, which of course led to the development of credit relations with London. London capital was acquired using Jamaican property or agricultural production as collateral, hence the financial partners in London had substantial interest in the affairs of the sugar colonies. The West Indian estates reaped the benefits of this relationship in the form of Imperial concessions to the English sugar industry. The planters controlled the Jamaican Assembly and insured its functioning in their best interests, while their financial partners in London were well placed to influence imperial policy in favor of the West Indian interests. It was through this cooperation that protectionist legislation for sugar was passed, as well as authorization of substantial English expenditures to insure the safety of the Caribbean possessions and the trade lanes

(Craton 1978:12-13). The Jamaican Assembly further arranged to conduct its own business with little Crown influence through the enactment of a revenue act, guaranteeing L 8000 annually in return for Crown approval of all legislation passed by the Jamaican Assembly (Braithwaite 1971:8). This resulted in Jamaica being governed virtually exclusively for the plantocracy.

In 1807, after substantial pressure from religious and moralist groups, the British government finally eliminated British participation in the slave trade. British ships were prohibited from conducting the trade, and British islands could not receive slaves from ships of other nationalities. The supporters of the abolition of the slave trade had predicted that once the trade was abolished and slaves could not be purchased to replace losses, the condition of the slaves would gradually improve, their status becoming akin to that of landless agricultural peasants. This process, called amelioration, was intended to remove the slaves from the rigors of slavery while insuring that the cheap production of sugar would continue (Green 1976:100).

Yet frustration over the seeming lack of progress in tempering the slaves condition came to a head in 1830. Abolitionists were tired of gradualist attempts and decided that it was time to proclaim an end to slavery (Green 1976:111). The abolitionist's fire was stoked in the winter

of 1831-1832 when the excesses used in quelling the Christmas revolt in Jamaica became public (Green 1976:112-114). It was increasingly felt that emancipation must occur immediately in order to forestall any more slave uprisings. There was concern among the planters that freed slaves were expecting a redistribution of estate land, and that once freed, the ex-slaves would have no desire or need to continue working for the sugar industry. Indeed, there was substantial cause for alarm: would a population used to meeting its food requirements with one day's labor per week be interested in long permanent hours of wage labor (Green 1976:115-116)? After all, the provision system had already established the slaves as "part time peasants and petty traders" (Genovese 1976:536). It would only take a small step to become full time peasants.

The final terms agreed upon for emancipation involved an end to slavery on August 1, 1834, but with the provision that all persons over the age of 6 years were to continue to work as apprentices for four to six years, depending on whether they were classified as domestic or agricultural slaves. The planters could extract only 45 hours of unpaid labor per week, permitting apprentices to work for wages to purchase their own freedom prematurely or to accumulate a savings. The planters were to continue providing workers with food, clothing, lodging, and medical care (Green 1976:121-122).

The abolitionists were convinced that the free laborer would produce sugar and other crops at lower costs than slaves, in part because the overhead costs of maintaining unproductive laborers would be eliminated (Green 1976:126). Apprenticeship was embraced on the theory that it would encourage freedmen to remain on the estates as rent paying agricultural labor compelled to provide reliable labor in exchange for wages, just as in Britain. Additionally, the apprenticeship period provided planters with time in which to establish new systems of production and management better suited to an economy based upon free labor (Green 1976:130).

During the years immediately following the imposition of apprenticeship there were numerous reports of abuses perpetrated against the apprentices (Green 1976:155). These reports led to a torrent of protest, demanding that full freedom be granted immediately. To this end the British Government strongly advised the colonies to end the apprenticeship program two years early, on August 1, 1838 (Green 1976:157). The years of apprenticeship, however well intentioned to allow the slave population to adjust to freedom, did not work (Green 1976:160). The bulk of freed individuals preferred not to continue working on the plantations, instead preferring to settle on the large amounts of vacant land where freedmen could establish peasant settlements if planters attempted to subject them to regular labor.

In an effort to forestall the anticipated flight of labor from the plantation and recover some cash, attempts were made to keep the freed slaves resident as agricultural wage laborers by charging high rents for the cottages and provision grounds that the freedmen had lived in and worked as slaves and considered their own. Furthermore the rents were to be deducted from estate wages and not to be paid out of income derived from market gardening. The freed slaves were obviously not happy with this arrangement and overcame any attachment they felt to the land of their birth, resulting in their leaving the estates in droves to settle on land that the financially pressed estates were willing to sell. Clearly the planters' hard line policy had backfired (Hall 1959:20).

Additionally, apprentices who had saved the wages from their extra labor during apprenticeship were able to purchase their own plots on the marginal portions of estates that planters were willing to sell in efforts to maintain some sort of casual labor supply or raise capital for financing mechanization (Green 1976:170). Land could be acquired by several methods. Squatting on government land was certainly an option, as was purchase of portions of ruined estates, or through the free village movement where churches bought entire estates and subdivided the land to create peasant villages (Mintz 1974:159). Paget (in Mintz 1974:160) claims that as many as 100,000 freed persons may

have settled in free villages off the estates in the first six years of full freedom. Green (1976:171) confirms this trend, claiming that by 1846 the population of estate laborers was a third of what it had been in the last year of slavery. One such free village was located adjacent to Seville Estate at Priory. Estate labor for wages was not a necessity for this peasantry; subsistence agriculture and market gardening were generally successful enough to maintain an adequate lifestyle. John Candler's statement regarding the Seville district of St. Ann during the 1840's shows the success of market gardening: "almost all the laborers have provision grounds of almost an acre;... (and) if the produce be all sold, will clear to each of these L 20 per annum, currency...."(Hall 1959:172). Hall (1959:172) also cites E. B. Underhill, who in 1860 was told that "an acre of provisions yielded L 12 to L 17 a year." Wage work was only required to earn extra money for particular purchases and "once their consumer goals were satisfied, they retired from estate work until a new demand for income arose" (Green 1976:194). The capriciousness of labors' willingness to work made economical operation of sugar estates very difficult, as the crop might spoil due to an insufficient number of workers (Green 1976:195).

Efforts to reduce the number of laborers required to make a crop increasingly emphasized mechanization, fertilization, and use of animal power; all techniques the

planters had earlier decried (Green 1976:205-207). Nonetheless, extensive changes in sugar manufacture were generally out of the question in the 25 years following emancipation because of the cost involved (Green 1976:210). Additionally, the passage of the Sugar Duties Acts in 1846 called for the elimination of the protectionist tariffs on colonial sugar, thus requiring that the estates increase economic efficiency at a time when they were already feeling intense economic pressures (Green 1976:210).

The reduction of protectionist duties coupled with a general European economic crisis conspired to ruin numerous Jamaican estates. Estates were sold at as little as 1% of their value during slavery. Banks failed, throwing the wage system into turmoil (Green 1976:235-236). Because Jamaica chose not to alter its labor arrangements through Asian immigration or sharecropping, its sugar industry continued to decline through the 1870's and 1880's (Green 1976:259). Yet despite Jamaica's decline in export crops, domestic agriculture, largely the produce of and for peasants, sufficed to keep the population of the island intact, but the decline in exports did severe damage to government revenue attempts, leading to a decline in public services and greatly reducing peasant cash income, thereby serving to "isolate them from the European culture group" (Green 1976:260).

CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN SITES

Archaeological interest in the development of Afro-Caribbean culture is very recent, and the discipline is still in its infancy. Posnansky (1981) notes that even now, most investigations emphasize "sunken galleons, the first European towns, defensive structures and prominent citizens' houses." A recent bibliography of Caribbean archaeology (Kelly 1988) lists a mere handful of archaeological reports concerned with Afro-Caribbean culture questions. Indeed, only a limited number (100 out of 750) of projects have dealt with the historic period at all. The bulk of Afro-Caribbean archaeological studies are associated with a few individuals; Handler and Lange and their associates on Barbados (1978); Watters (1987), Pulsipher (1977) and Goodwin (Pulsipher and Goodwin 1982, Goodwin 1987) on Montserrat; Barka and Heath (1988) on St. Eustatius, and Higman (1974), Mathewson (1972a,b, 1973) and Armstrong (1983, 1985,1988) on Jamaica.

Archaeological studies of slave and ex-slave sites have been much more widespread in the United States. Among the

earliest archaeological studies of slave dwellings were those undertaken by Fairbanks (1972) and Ascher and Fairbanks (1971). Orser (1984) provides an excellent review of the problem orientations most North American plantation archaeological projects have taken, from searches for continuities with the African origins of the slaves, to the study of plantation social structure, both pre- and post-emancipation. Following his 1984 paper, Orser (1988:748) has suggested that the most productive avenues for plantation research in the American South must consider the control and manifestations of economics and power within the plantation system as vital factors influencing material culture. Orser points out (1984:7) that the great majority of plantation archaeological investigations have been instigated as the result of cultural resource management programs.

The Caribbean nations, largely unable at this time to require archaeological investigations, do not have such a diversity of reported archaeological projects focusing on slave life. Most archaeological projects in the region, whether conducted by Caribbean institutions or outside institutions, have been research oriented academic programs. As a result, the projects have frequently expended considerable amounts of time analyzing data and valuable information has come to light from them. For example, the work of Handler and Lange and others on Barbados has

provided everything from information on African goods imported by slaves (Handler 1981), to weaning information (Handler and Corruccini 1986), to heavy metal poisoning (Handler et al. 1986), to changes in slave society exemplified by changes in burial strategies (Handler, Corruccini and Mutaw 1982, Lange and Handler 1985).

Jamaica has been a fertile ground for historical archaeology beginning in the 1940's with the work at the site of Spanish New Seville (Cotter 1948, 1964, 1970). Port Royal, the sunken "pirate city" on the spit forming Kingston Harbor has also been the focus of extensive archaeological work, beginning in the 1950's with that of Edwin and Marian Link (Link 1960) and continuing to the present Texas A&M underwater excavations (Hamilton, pers. com.).

R. Duncan Mathewson (1972a, 1972b, 1973) has conducted excavations of the British Colonial Governors' Residence in Spanish Town. Mathewson used materials, primarily local earthenwares, to formulate and test some basic assumptions about "sub cultural differentiation" and the formation of Afro-Jamaican cultural traditions (Mathewson 1973:28).

Also working on the identification and investigation of Afro-Jamaican cultural origins, Barry Higman of the University of the West Indies, in association with Johns Hopkins University, has been conducting excavations in St. James Parish at Montpelier and Roehampton estates (Higman 1974). His emphasis on early 19th century slave life was

directed at identifying links between the development of settlements and social organization. Higman was interested in how freedom of house location granted by the managers would manifest itself in a pattern of slave settlement. One of Higman's goals was to note any clustering that may have reflected the origin or precursor of the "yard" or housing cluster of related persons, common to modern Jamaica. Higman was aided in this task by a report listing the inhabitants and number of houses and livestock kept by each apparent nuclear family. Archaeological investigations, although quite brief, seemed to support the idea that on plantations where slaves were permitted to exercise their own choice in the arrangement of their settlement, they were disposed towards living in family groups clustered in yards (Higman 1974:45).

Among the most interesting and informative studies, although in no way archaeological, are those of Sidney Mintz (1974). His concern is the development of a Jamaican peasantry from the ruins of slavery. Mintz notes (1974:180) that throughout most of the Caribbean the plantation structure discouraged, if not prevented the development of a peasantry after emancipation. Yet Jamaica was different. Here, as a direct result of the size and topography of the island, there were large areas not employed in production of sugar. Some of these areas were given over to slaves to cultivate for their subsistence, and any surplus they raised

they were free to dispose of through the internal marketing system that had arisen to supply the non-agricultural segment of the population. Because this market system existed prior to emancipation, and because it provided access to considerable amounts of cash, it was an attractive option available to freed slaves. As a result, the freed Jamaican slaves were uniquely predisposed to adopt a small cultivator peasant lifestyle.

Armstrong began his work at Drax Hall slave village with the goal of illuminating our knowledge of slave life in Jamaica. He was surprised by the lack of clear "Africanisms" excavated by Handler in Barbados and hoped to test for a greater retention of African traits on Jamaica. Additionally, he used form/function studies and artifact pattern analyses to "define and explore distinct Afro-Jamaican cultural patterns within the slave and free laborer community" (Armstrong 1985:264). Armstrong also suggested that Afro-Jamaican society could be characterized by elements of continuity within systems of change. Examples of this continuity were the continued presence of Yabba wares (locally produced earthenwares in a West African tradition) and the very gradual change in foodways reflected by the shape of vessels, similar to that change noted by Otto (1977). Ceramic shape was also used to provide indications of the relative economic standings of slave and planter following the ceramic price scaling developed by

Miller (1980). Armstrong also compared the artifact patterns of his features with the modified slave artifact pattern devised by Garrow (Wheaton and Garrow 1985) with encouraging results.

In an effort to further examine and test his findings from Drax Hall, Armstrong has begun directing archaeological and historical explorations at Seville Estate. The present paper is a product of that ongoing project.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTATE SETTING

HISTORIES OF SEVILLE ESTATE AND DRAX HALL

The estates of Seville and Drax Hall are both large and old, as well as being located in close proximity. Seville Estate consists of over 2000 acres consolidated shortly after the British conquest of the island. The estate, taking its name from the site of the Spanish city of New Seville, was granted to a Captain Samuel Hemmings, an officer in the victorious British forces. This plantation, lying just to the west of the town of St. Ann's Bay, was home to several hundred slaves who toiled in the cane fields and tended the sugar mill.

Seville Estate is mentioned in a few of the existing contemporary accounts of pre-emancipation Jamaica. Long (1774) describes the ruins of the old Spanish capitol on the estate grounds, and also gives Sloane's 1688 description of the ruins of the Spanish town. Lady Nugent, wife of the Governor of Jamaica, mentions Seville Estate in her Journal of her residence in Jamaica from 1801-1805 (Wright 1966). She describes a perfectly dreadful five day stay at the Great House in 1802. At the time of her visit the property

was owned by a General and Mrs. Rose. Hall (1959) provides some additional information about Seville Estate in the apprenticeship and post-emancipation years:

> Soon after the apprenticeship period this estate was yielding about 50 hogsheads of sugar a year and was thought to be a worthless, worn-out property. Then it was taken over by a new manager, Charles Royes.... In 1844 the crop was 135 hogsheads; in 1845 an even greater yield was expected, and Royes said that after meeting all expenses the 1844 crop had brought a profit of nearly L 1700 to the owner (Hall 1959:61).

Seville Estate then remained productive through the 1840's and 1850's. Subsequent to the collapse of the Jamaican sugar industry Seville Estate operated as a pimento processing center, as evinced by the remains of concrete barbecues for pimento drying built adjacent to the remains of the water powered sugar mill. Prior to the acquisition of the estate by the Jamaican National Heritage Trust the property was also used as a coconut and lime plantation as attested to by the remnants of coconut groves on the coastal plain formerly under cane cultivation. Presently there are no organized agricultural efforts underway, although squatters run a few head of cattle and grow a few garden crops in scattered plots.

Drax Hall Estate, situated just to the east of the town of St. Ann's Bay, was founded circa 1690 (Armstrong 1988). It was slightly larger than Seville, incorporating approximately 3000 acres of coastal plain and hilly interior. Drax Hall estate had an average of 320 slaves

throughout the 18th century until just before emancipation. Despite the estate's size, cane was grown on less than 300 acres, yet this is within the range of other large estates (Edwards 1793; Armstrong 1988). Sugar production was by means of a water mill.

Drax Hall Estate was founded by William Drax, a relation of the Barbadian planter Henry Drax. A series of resident planters in the Drax family operated the estate until 1760 when it was obtained by William Beckford, an absentee owner of other Jamaican plantations. It remained in the Beckford family until 1821 when John Pink purchased it. Drax Hall continued to produce sugar after another change of ownership to the Sewell family in 1863, finally ceasing production of sugar in the 1880's, and shifting to bananas, cattle, and finally coconuts. The Sewell family retained ownership of the plantation for more than one hundred years, and now it is owned by a subsidiary of Gulf and Western corporation (Armstrong 1988).

Drax Hall and Seville Estate, as well as numerous other Jamaican estates, were caught without adequate preparation for a post-emancipation economy based on wage labor. Some plantations, of which Drax Hall was one, attempted to recover wage payments by extracting exorbitant rents for houses and provision grounds and requiring that the rents be paid out of the wages earned working on the estate of

residence. This system backfired (Hall 1959) and instead served to drive the laborers off of the estates.

In contrast, the management of Seville Estate was somewhat more foresighted than most and, instead chose to charge low rents amounting to one day's work per week and did not stipulate that the rent be paid from wages earned on Seville Estate. The rental contracts guaranteed security to the residents by requiring six months notice for any changes in the relationship and by assuring that the estate management was responsible for keeping the rented houses in good repair. Additionally, Seville's manager, Charles Royes, established a sliding wage scale, giving preferential wage rates to resident employees (Hall 1959:51-52). This suggests that the Seville attorney was concerned with the establishment and continuation of good relationships between labor/tenants and management. Indeed, the tenants felt secure enough with the agreements on wages and rents that Royes was able to say that they had "unanimously assented" (Hall 1959:51). Through this arrangement Royes was able to retain a resident labor population, despite the potential attractiveness of the adjacent settlement at Priory, one of the first church sponsored free settlements. It is a testimony to Royes' management that the emancipated slaves would rather remain on Seville Estate than take advantage of residence in a free village only a few minutes walk from Seville.

This agreement proved to make good business sense, as it was Royes who turned around a "ruined" estate and made it profitable again. The rents collected certainly were a factor in this profitability; the approximately L 200 collected annually would be helpful in the difficult times during which Royes was in charge (Hall 1959:88; Green 1976:208).

The management of Drax Hall, as well as most other estates, grew to see the error of their tactics. It was clear that the high rents had not served to make the freed slaves more beholden to the estate, but had actually contributed towards driving the much needed labor off of the estate, and helping to push the freed slaves into a peasant agricultural adaptation. Documentary evidence showing substantial decreases in rents received, as well as a change in terms by which the tenants were referred suggest that the Drax Hall management had lowered their rents by the mid 1840's (Armstrong 1988:2.33).

Thus we can suggest that by the early years of the time period under consideration for this study, 1840-1900, the residents were no longer subject to exorbitant rents on Drax Hall, and were probably paying out rents more or less in line with the tenants of Seville. But it is also likely that those residents still on the estates had been subject to very different economic impacts in the few years immediately after emancipation. Freedmen remaining at Drax

Hall may well have been those residents least suited or prepared to leave the estate and establish their own peasant livelihood, whereas the residents of Seville estate were able to take advantage of prosperous times immediately post emancipation, as well as low rents and favorable management/labor relationships on a profitable plantation. Consequently we could expect to find households that had a greater amount of discretionary income and more substantial homes and furnishings as a result of estate maintenance and a higher standard of living.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The Drax Hall and Seville Estate Afro-Jamaican Settlement archaeological projects were undertaken specifically with the goal of contributing to the understanding of the origins and development of modern Jamaican society. In order to do so, investigations of the slave village sites are necessary to provide information on the lifestyle of the poor and oppressed.

The Seville and Drax Hall slave villages were initially recognized for their archaeological potential in 1980 when Douglas Armstrong was able to locate the village sites based on historic map information, and confirm their age and integrity on the basis of "observation of materials which would be expected in living areas" (Armstrong 1988:3.2). The use of the historic maps was crucial in locating the village sites, which typically only covered 5-10 acres on plantations of upwards of 2000-3000 acres (Armstrong 1988:3.3). The surface survey of the two sites adequately demonstrated their integrity: both are on shallow hillside soils unsuited to cane agriculture and both are relatively undisturbed by current land use (Armstrong 1988:3.4).

The Drax Hall village was identified by the presence of flat platforms bordered with linear rock arrangements associated with scatters of 18th and 19th century historic artifacts. An intensive transect survey and test excavations were initiated in early 1981. A crew of five walked the entire area of the site noting all possible features. Of these, 63 were considered probable house locations (Armstrong 1988:3.4-5).

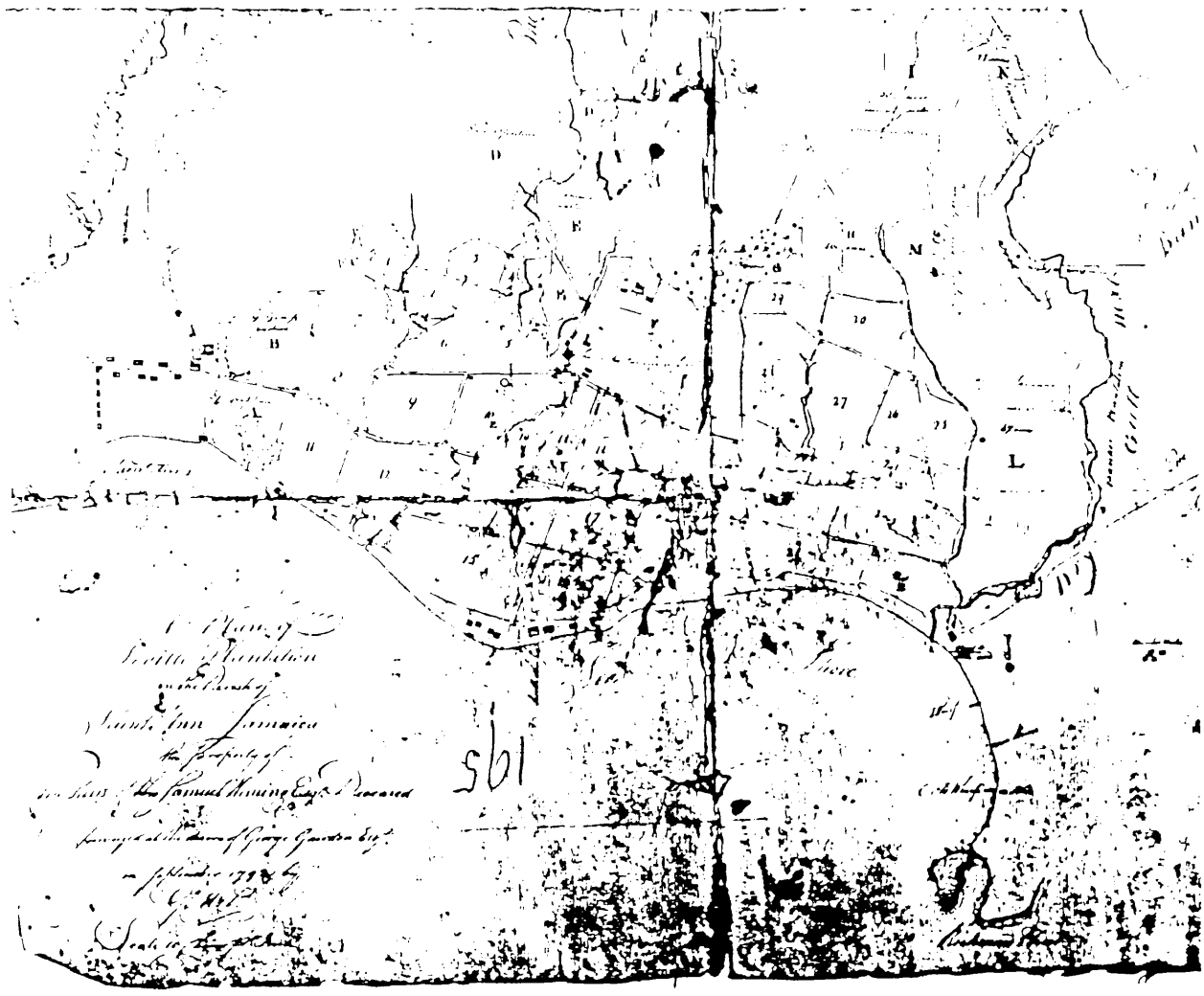
Ten house areas were excavated from three periods, slavery (mid 1700's-1810), transition (1810-1840), and free labor period (1840-1900). Houses were excavated using a grid oriented to the slope of the hill, as house foundations appeared to be topographically oriented across the slope of the hill, and not in any regular fashion. Of these ten house areas excavated, two dated from the free labor period of 1840-1900. Feature 15 was excavated entirely, exposing floor and foundations, and Feature 26 was partially excavated within the bounds of an anomaly registered with a magnetometer. This study will focus on the material recovered from Feature 15 in comparison with material from Seville Estate. Excavation units were 1x2 meters, and all excavated soil was sifted through 1/8 inch screens with all artifacts and faunal materials being collected for analysis (Armstrong 1988:3.8-9). Artifacts are curated at the archaeological museum in Port Royal, and faunal materials

were analyzed by Dr. Elizabeth Reitz at the Zooarchaeological Laboratory of the University of Georgia.

The Seville slave village site, located originally by Armstrong in 1980, was revisited when the field portion of the current Seville Estate project was launched in May and June of 1987. A team of three, including the author, conducted an intensive survey of approximately 20 acres noting the location of artifact scatters and possible house sites. The area surveyed was chosen on the basis of two historic maps dated 1720 and 1792 that showed the locations of the slave village to be south and west of the great house (Figure 4). The survey was conducted by walking north-south transect lines at 10 meter intervals and plotting all features as well as paths and roads. The results of this survey were used to construct a map of the area, and to plot 46 probable house areas (Figure 5). These house areas appeared to be clustered in two distinct loci, corresponding quite well with the locations given for the slave settlements on the 18th century maps. Only one test pit was excavated in 1987, due to time limitations, but the field survey pointed out several areas to be tested the following year.

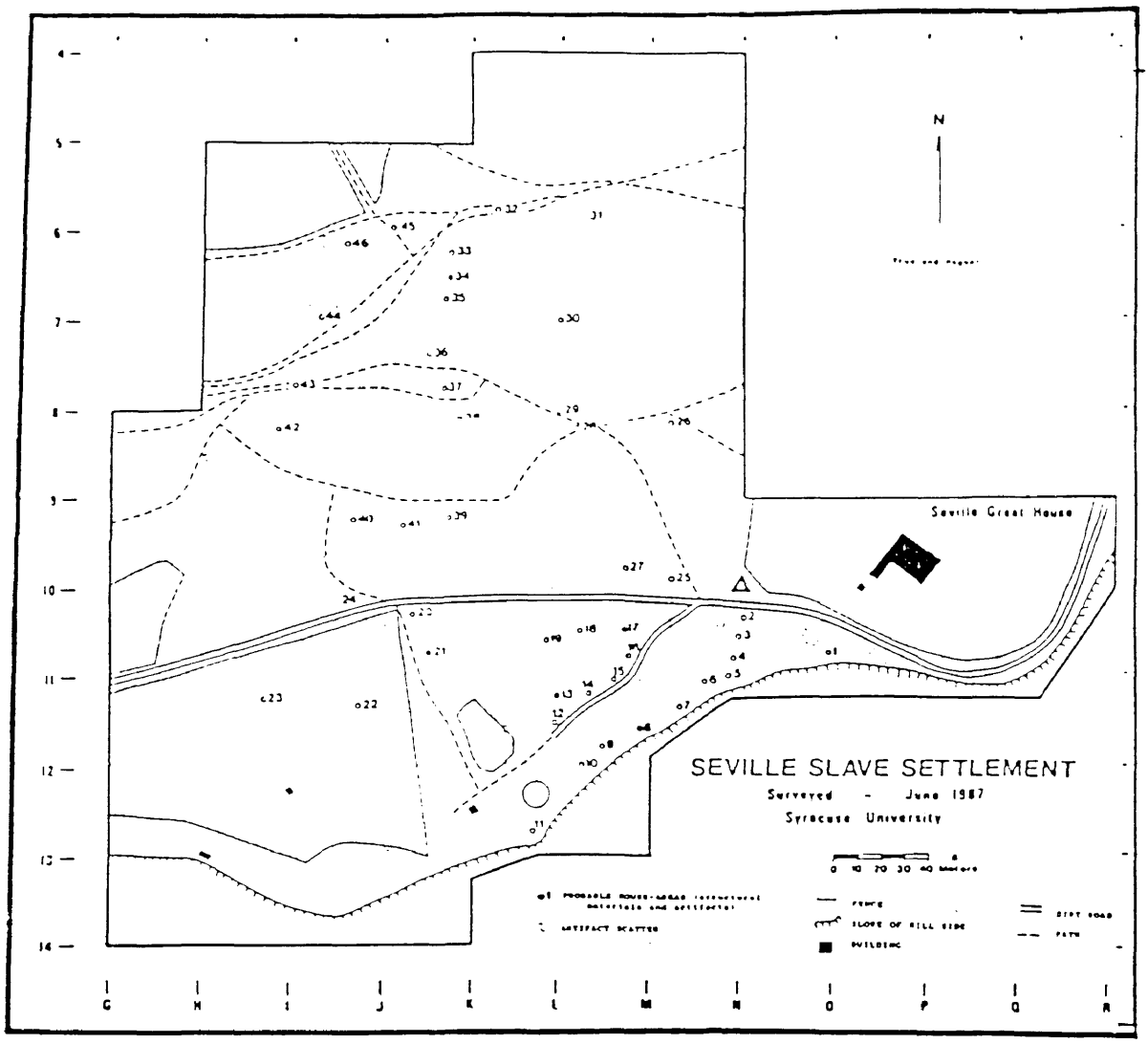
In June of 1988 test excavations were undertaken in House Areas 8, 14, 28, 35, and the newly identified House Area 47. The test at House Area 14, coupled with surface indications of foundations and a dense artifact scatter led

FIGURE 4



Map Dated 1792 Depicting Location of Slave Village at Seville Estate (Center).

FIGURE 5



Map of Archaeological Survey Results,
Seville Estate.

to the concentration of effort on that feature. House Area 14 was completely excavated to reveal the floor and wall footings, as well as a substantial area downslope and adjacent to the structure. Excavated soil, as at Drax Hall, was screened through 1/8 inch screen with all artifactual and faunal materials retained for analysis. Excavation units were 1x1 meter within a larger pattern of a 2x2 meter grid. The soil was shallow, with the average depth being 10 centimeters, permitting large areas to be excavated. Recovered materials are being stored at the archaeological museum at Port Royal.

The chronology of the sites on the two estates was developed using a combination of historical materials dating techniques. Mean Ceramic Dating (South 1977) was used in an effort to establish broad time periods of occupation. This technique uses the midpoint of the known manufacture ranges of each specific ware type to establish a mean date for all ceramics in a certain feature, locus or area. It can be convincingly argued that the Mean Ceramic Date is inadequate in providing an accurate calender date because it does not account for reuse or curation of ceramics which could be among the factors skewing the dates obtained. Another potentially distorting factor, especially for the 19th century wares, is the extremely long periods of production and the relative lack of diagnostic changes. However, I believe that Mean Ceramic Dating can have some usefulness

for establishing chronologies between features or house areas on a site, or between adjacent sites.

The Drax Hall features were also dated relatively on the basis of seriation of the features (Armstrong 1988) and using coins and tobacco pipes. The 19th century context ruled out the use of tobacco pipestem bore dating, as that technique ceases to be valid after about 1780, but makers marks' were present on a number of the recovered pipe fragments. Similarly, the Seville 19th century contexts also yielded numerous fragments of tobacco pipe with makers marks' present.

ARTIFACT PATTERN

In order to facilitate comparison of data between Feature 15 at Drax Hall and House Area 14 at Seville Estate, the excavated materials were organized within the framework of artifact pattern analysis as developed by Stanley South (1977), and modified by Armstrong (1985, 1988) to better reflect the specifics of Afro-Jamaican sites (Tables 1 and 2). Others, such as Wheaton and Garrow (1985) have used the artifact pattern analysis technique in an effort to develop a specific pattern along the lines of South's Carolina Artifact Pattern that would correspond to slave sites. I believe that these efforts to establish an overarching slave pattern are misguided, at least at the present stage of archaeological investigations of slavery. The historical

TABLE 1
ARTIFACT PATTERN ANALYSIS
DRAX HALL FEATURE 15

ARTIFACT GROUP/CLASS	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE
KITCHEN GROUP			
Ceramics (imported)		534	
Coarse Ceramics (imported)	20		
(local)	77	97	
Glass: Bottle (wine, etc.)	55		
Case Bottle	0		
Glassware	0		
Pharmaceutical	0		
Other (unidentified)	45	100	
Tableware (cutlery)		2	
Kitchenware (pots, etc.)		29	
Other (ground stone)		3	
Kitchen group total		765	43.0%
ARCHITECTURAL GROUP			
Window Glass		0	
Nails		606	
Spikes		2	
Construction Hardware		11	
Door Lock Parts		2	
Architecture group total		621	35.9%
FURNITURE GROUP			
Furniture Hardware		0	
Furniture group total		0	0.0%
ARMS GROUP			
Musket Balls, Shot, Sprue		0	
Gunflints		0	
Gun Parts, Bullet Molds		0	
Arms group total		0	0.0%

CLOTHING GROUP		
Buckles	0	
Thimbles	3	
Buttons	24	
Scissors	0	
Glass Beads	4	
Clothing group total	31	1.7%
PERSONAL GROUP		
Coins	6	
Keys	1	
Other (slate writing board)	1	
Personal group total	8	0.4%
TOBACCO GROUP		
All tobacco pipes, including stub stem	176	
Tobacco group total	176	9.9%
ACTIVITIES AND OTHER GROUPS		
Miscellaneous hardware and tools	143	
Miscellaneous flint	33	
Activities and other groups total	176	9.9%
TOTAL ARTIFACTS	1777	99.8%

TABLE 2
ARTIFACT PATTERN ANALYSIS
SEVILLE ESTATE HOUSE AREA 14

ARTIFACT GROUP/CLASS		NUMBER		PERCENTAGE
KITCHEN GROUP				
Ceramics (imported)			3005	
Coarse earthenwares	(imported)	148		
	(local)	200		
	(Arawak)	18		
	(unidentified)	20	386	
Glass: Bottle (wine, etc.)		513		
Case Bottle		35		
Glassware		39		
Pharmaceutical		39		
Other (unidentified)		205	831	
Tableware (cutlery)			20	
Kitchenware (pots, etc.)			15	
Other			0	
Kitchen group total			4257	53.1%
ARCHITECTURAL GROUP				
Window Glass			48	
Nails			2752	
Spikes			2	
Construction Hardware			11	
Door Lock Parts			4	
Architecture group total			2817	35.2%
FURNITURE GROUP TOTAL				
Furniture Hardware			1	
Furniture group total			1	0.01%
ARMS GROUP				
Musket Balls, Shot, Sprue			1	
Gunflints			3	
Gun Parts, Bullet Molds			0	
Arms group total			4	0.05%

CLOTHING GROUP		
Cufflink	1	
Hooks and Eyes	4	
Buckles	1	
Thimbles	1	
Buttons	106	
Scissors	0	
Glass Beads	23	
Carnelian Beads	2	
Clothing group total	139	1.7%
PERSONAL GROUP		
Coins	3	(one mod.)
Keys	1	
Other: Comb	6	
Earring	1	
Lead Writing Instrument	1	
Slate Pencils	5	
Gaming Pieces	6	
Personal group total	23	0.3%
TOBACCO GROUP		
All tobacco pipes, including stub stem	693	
Tobacco group total	693	8.6%
ACTIVITIES AND OTHER GROUPS		
Miscellaneous Tools	7	
Miscellaneous Flints	16	
Lead Weights	3	
Miscellaneous Lead	8	
Toy Marble	1	
Miscellaneous Hardware	43	
Activities and other groups total	78	1.0%
TOTAL ARTIFACTS	8012	99.96%

particulars of slavery on countless different plantations, embracing diverse crops and management strategies, will certainly transmit conflicting data to the archaeological record. Therefore any attempt to condense this varied information into an overarching pattern is bound to eclipse the subtle and unique variations within the experience of slavery. Thus, for these same reasons to resist the temptations to create a "slave pattern," I am also resisting the establishment of a post-emancipation laborer pattern. Instead the artifact pattern approach is being used in this case as a framework within which to present archaeological data in a way to facilitate comparison between sites, through time, and across boundaries.

The artifact categories used in developing the pattern follow directly from South (1977) with modifications Garrow (Wheaton and Garrow 1985) and Armstrong (1985, 1988) made to include "colono-wares" and coarse earthenwares in the Kitchen artifact group and to remove them from South's Activities group. Of course any archaeological investigation is restricted by its very nature to those items recoverable through archaeological methods. In the case of the two sites studied, one can be sure that a substantial number of organic items would not have been preserved and are thus unavailable for our purposes. These would include wooden furnishings and tools, calabashes, basketry, and leather items. Another class of items rarely

found in the archaeological context include heirloom items, both costly items and those curated for other reasons. Thus, the artifacts with which the archaeologist must work are those durable enough to survive burial and excavation, and those with a value low enough to allow their disposal. But fortunately for this (and most) archaeological projects, the surviving materials are comparable, and can be used to arrive at valid conclusions.

CHAPTER V

ARTIFACT DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

The artifacts from Seville Estate House Area 14 and Drax Hall Feature 15 are quite numerous, as a cursory glance at the artifact patterns will show. Therefore the discussion and analysis of the artifacts recovered will be formulated roughly along the lines of the artifact pattern approach, with one major exception; the architectural remains and architecture group artifacts will be discussed first, in order that they may provide a framework within which the reader may place the subsequent artifact discussions.

HOUSING

During the days of slavery, the size and number of rooms in a house reflected the prosperity and status of the slave "owner" (Armstrong 1988). Most slave houses were one or two room dwellings, but there were some that had three or more rooms. Additionally, Higman (1974) has shown that slave lists from Old Montpelier Estate indicate that many of the slaves lived in clustered house arrangements, or yards, and that some of these yards were in much better repair than others. This information seems to suggest a link between

socio-economic standing and durability and quality of the dwellings.

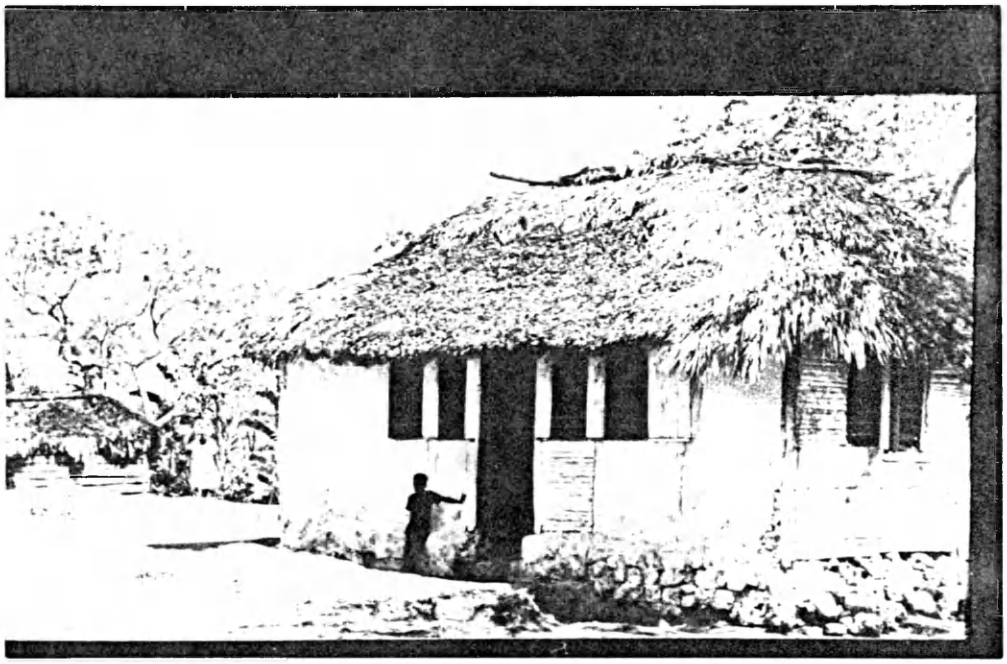
These same dwelling standards carried over into the post-emancipation free labor period. As Livingstone (1899:51; cited by Armstrong 1988) describes it, the bulk of the peasants lived in one room houses. Gardner (1873:180-181) describes houses as being earth-floored and of wattle and daub construction, roofed with thatch (Figures 6,7, and 8). If these descriptions of the housing of the majority are accurate--and there is no reason to believe they are not--then it would be reasonable to expect any departure from these minimum standards to be evidence of increased prosperity or status.

Furnishings also reflect variation in socio-economic status (Armstrong 1988). Lewis (1969:110-112), writing between 1815 and 1817, described slave houses as being constructed of wattles with plastered and whitewashed interiors. He mentions the houses being of two rooms, furnished with chairs, tables, and a four post bed with bedding. Thus it would not be extraordinary to expect that at least these minimal furnishings would be present in houses occupied fifty years later as well. Gardner (1873:181) notes that individuals with greater skills or responsibilities, such as drivers or tradesmen, had a greater variety of furnishings than the other peasants. Excavations at both house sites were to show that the

FIGURE 6

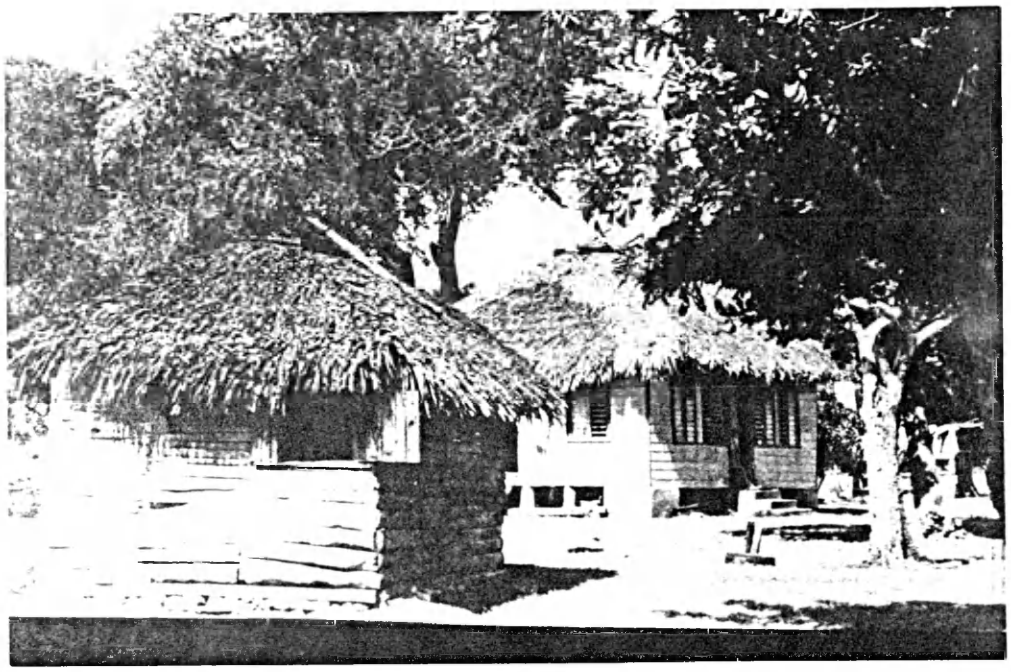
Nineteenth Century Hut in St. Elizabeth Parish, Jamaica (Buisseret 1980:4).

FIGURE 7



Twentieth Century Hut in St. Elizabeth Parish, Jamaica (Buisseret 1980:1)

FIGURE 8



Wooden Hut at Wallywash Pond,
St. Elizabeth Parish, Jamaica (Buisseret 1980:4)

residents of Seville had a more elaborately appointed house indicative of greater discretionary income.

Excavations of Feature 15 at Drax Hall uncovered a 4.5 meter x 9.5 meter rectangular foundation (Figure 9). Two of the three rooms of this house were floored with limestone and marl, and the other was dirt, possibly originally a plank floor over dirt (Figures 10, 11, and 12). The downslope foundation consisted of cut limestone blocks creating a level platform on the slope of the hill, while the upslope foundation was composed of a single row of bricks. Of the three rooms, the two outer rooms are approximately the same size, 2.75 x 4.5 meters, and the center room is somewhat larger at 3.5 x 4.5 meters. One of the partitions creating the rooms is indicated by a row of flat brick and limestone footings, the other being represented by two parallel lines of bricks. The center of the second partition sports a break that may have been an internal doorway. Armstrong's excavation suggested that the "house construction was probably post with marl and mud fill" although post holes were not preserved in the foundations (Armstrong 1988:4.31). External doorways are present at three points along the downslope wall, accessing each of the rooms. Keys found adjacent to one doorway suggest the presence of door locks.

An attached kitchen area was located immediately upslope and behind the house. Materials found in this area included

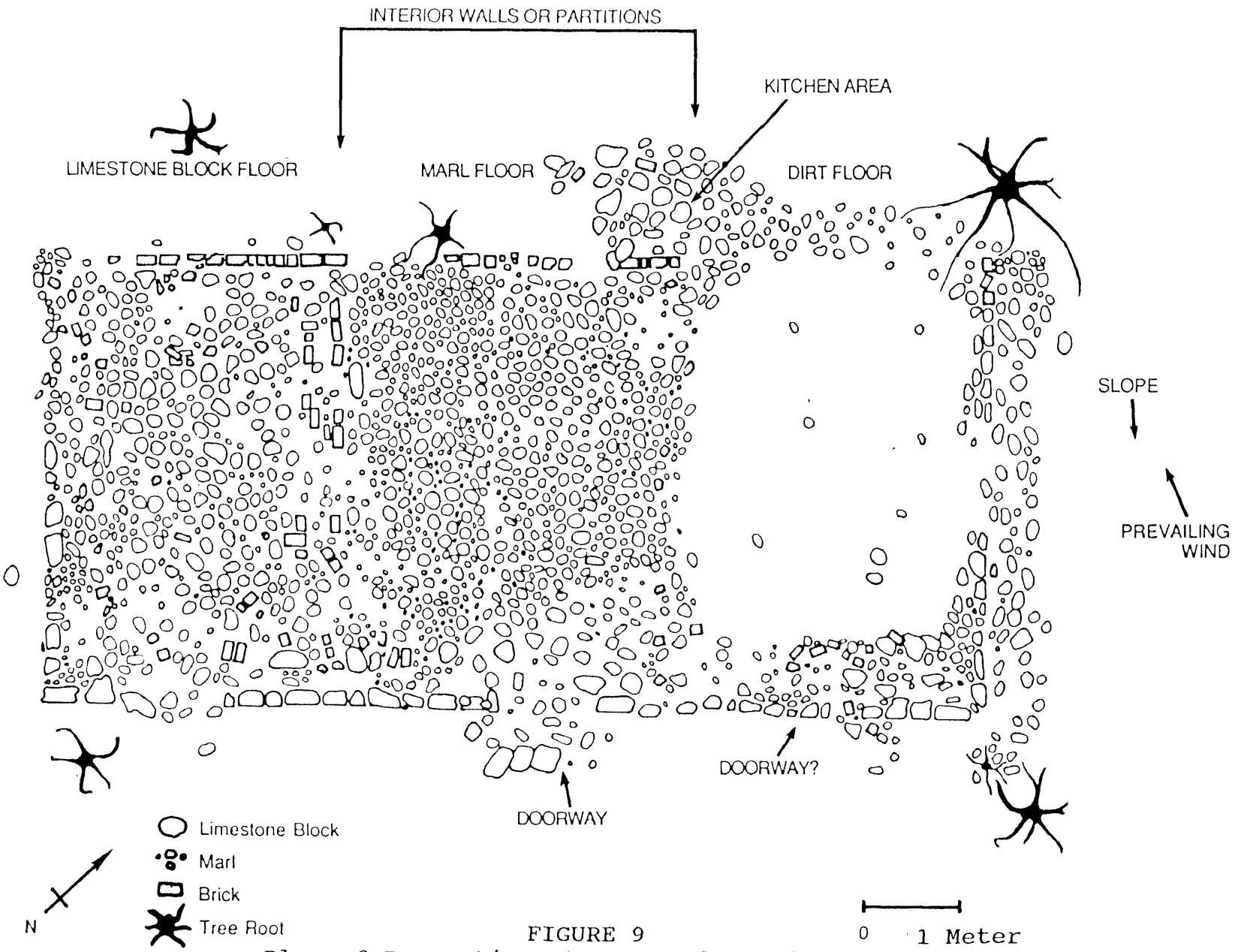


FIGURE 9
Plan of Excavation at Drax Hall Feature 15.

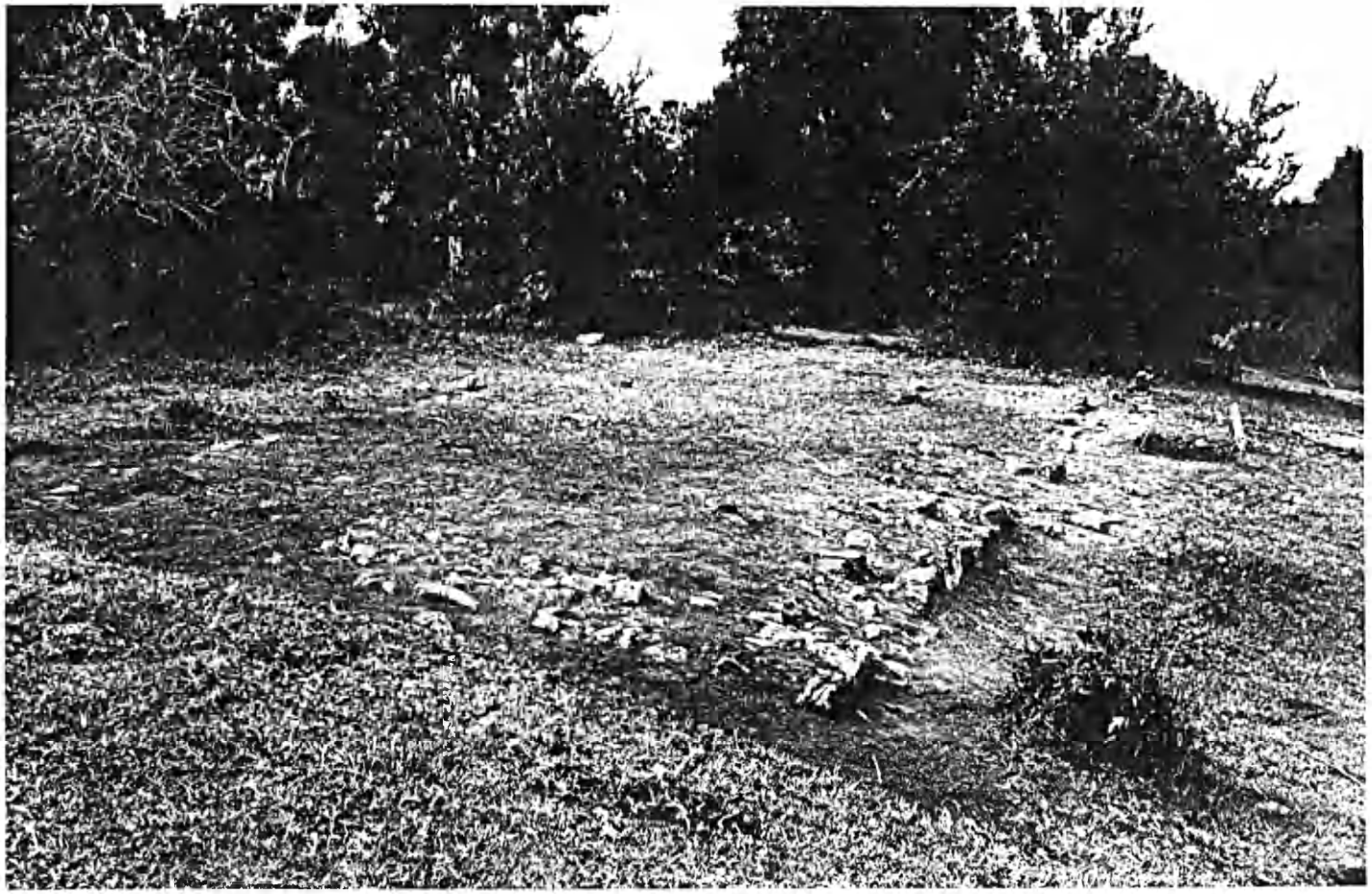


FIGURE 10
View to West of Drax Hall Feature 15 Before Excavation.

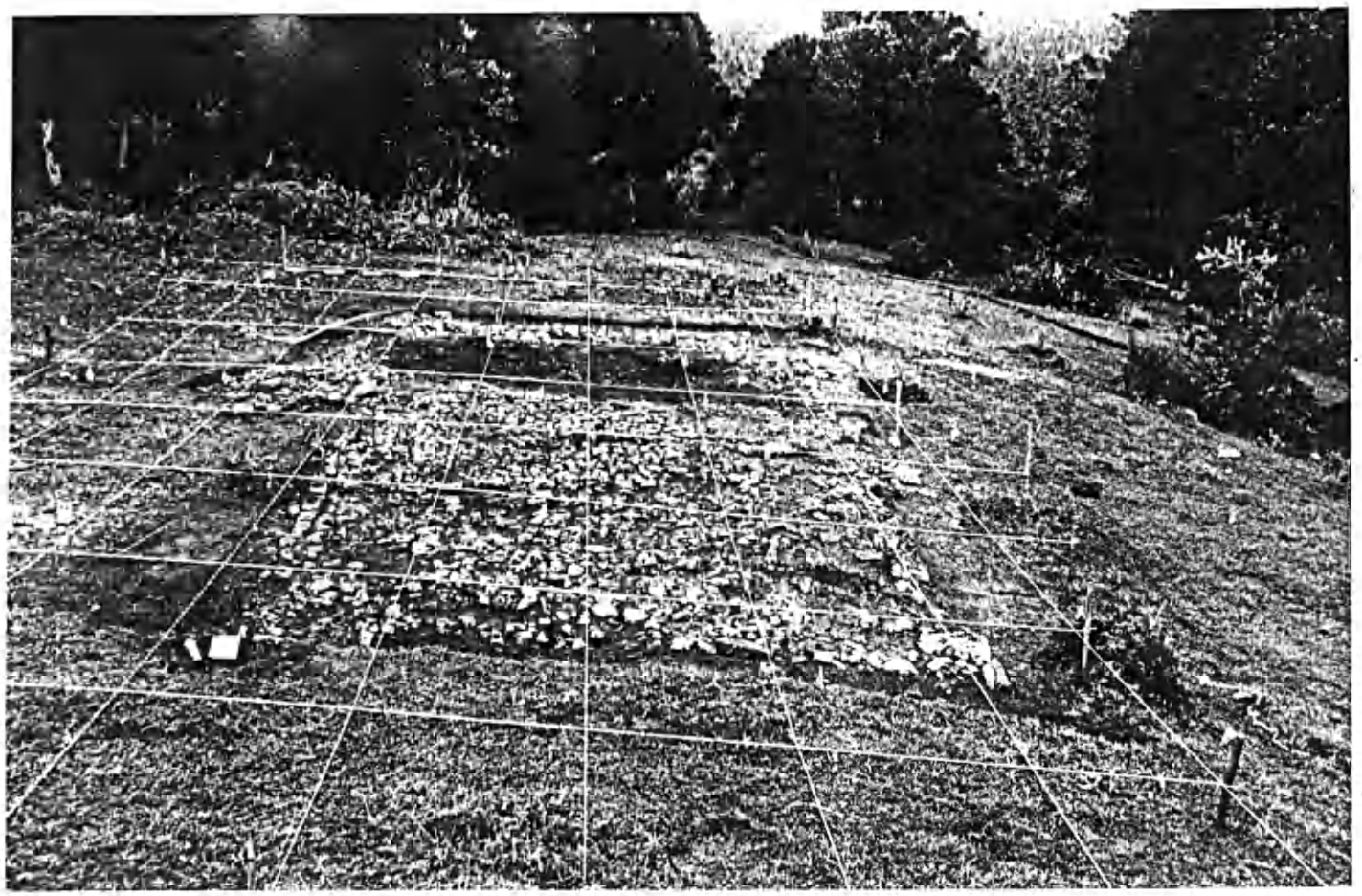


FIGURE 11
View to West of Drax Hall Feature 15 During Excavation.

FIGURE 12
View to West of Drax Hall Feature 15 , Fully Excavated.

ceramics, iron pot fragments and a grinding stone. Additionally, a substantial number of roofing slate fragments were present in the kitchen area while yielding a low density elsewhere in the house. This suggests that the slate was used not for roofing material, but instead as a fireproofing material in the kitchen area. A large number of 6-10d nails suggest that the house may well have had a shingled roof (Armstrong 1988:4.32-33).

The house site excavated at Seville Estate is somewhat smaller than the Drax house. The foundations at House Area 14 measure 7.4 meters x 5 meters, with an approximately 2 meter x 2 meter attached kitchen area (Figure 13). As at Drax Hall, the house is oriented with its long axis across the slope of the hill. The foundation of 10-20 cm cut stones and salvaged bricks averages forty centimeters across on the east and west walls, as well as the south or upslope wall. The north or downslope wall is not as clearly defined, but generally present as one or two rows of stones with a width of 30 to 40 centimeters. All the foundations are visibly more substantial than the foundations of the Drax house (Figure 14). Bricks present on the site are an indication of continual reuse of durable building materials. Red bricks originating from the British period are used along with yellow bricks dating to the Spanish town of New Seville.

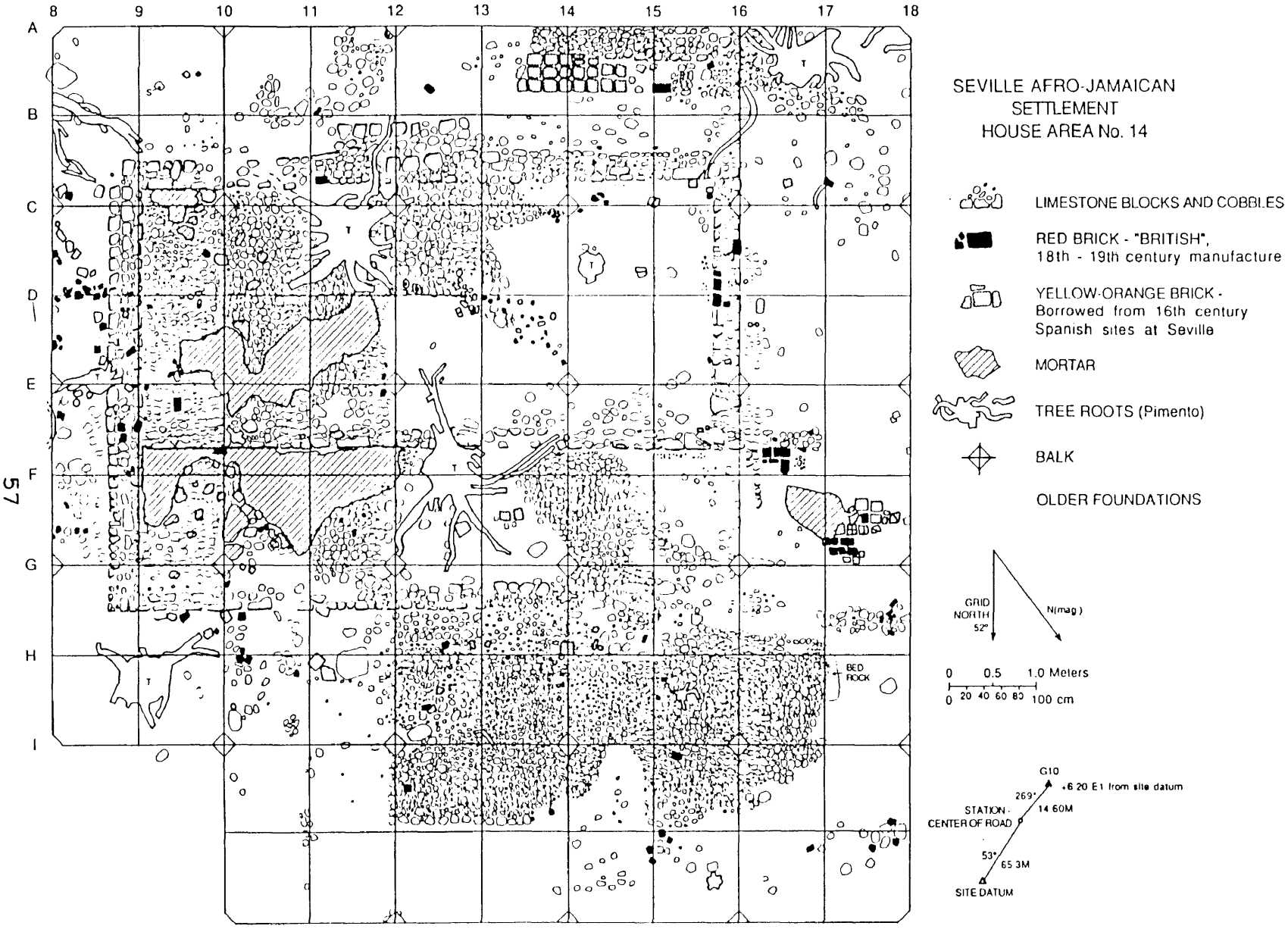


FIGURE 13
Plan of Excavations at Seville Afro-Jamaican Settlement
House Area 14.

FIGURE 14
View to North of Seville House Area 14, Fully Excavated.

The only very clear internal division is a well built and clearly defined foundation running the long axis of the building, dividing it into two long narrow rooms (Figure 15). It is very possible this partition was an original exterior wall and the house was added to, substantially increasing its area by approximately 50%, to 37 square meters, excluding kitchen area. The floor of this downslope addition lies between 10 and 15 centimeters below the floor level of the original, larger room. There are no other divisions of space that are as clear as this foundation, although the marl flooring of the main room only covers the eastern 1/3 of the room, suggesting an impermanent partition or one constructed of non-surviving materials. The western 1/3 of the main room does not exhibit marl flooring, indicating it was probably floored with wood or left earthen. The added downslope room is largely covered with marl flooring except in areas that were not protected by a covering of soil, and where the floor subsequently eroded. The eastern 2/5ths of the floor area of both rooms was apparently covered with a weak, thin cement finish. Interestingly, there were no traces of any such finish in the rest of the house, suggesting that its extent is limited, and thus is a very good clue to internal division of living space (Figure 16).

The south (upslope) wall has a threshold and a small porch or landing in units B-11 and B-12. This is the most

FIGURE 15
View to West of Seville House Area 14 Excavation
Showing Room Division.

FIGURE 16
View to South of Seville House Area 14
Showing Marl and Cement Flooring.

well defined entry, although it is likely that there are entries at G-10 and G-11 as well as G-13 on the north wall, and at D-15 and E-15 on the west wall adjacent to the kitchen area. These doors are apparent in the foundations, and the evidence from artifacts seem to back up these conclusions. Units B-11 near the south door and J-13 near the north doors yielded lock parts suggesting that access to the houses was restricted. Additionally, unit G-14 yielded a strap hinge fragment implying the presence of a door.

The kitchen area on the west wall appears to have been an extension of the added room beyond the line formed by the original west wall. This area, although somewhat eroded before excavation, retained indications of originally being floored with coarse terra-cotta tiles and cement. There was also the remains of a brick feature, perhaps a hearth, in the southeast corner of the cooking shed. In an effort to better attribute the function of the addition to cooking, the distribution of slate was plotted over the house site, resulting in 18 of 25 or 72% of the slate fragments originating in the units adjacent to the cooking area. If slate was indeed used in a fireproofing capacity as Armstrong has suggested, then this finding helps confirm the function of the cooking area (Table 3). Furthermore, when the weight of animal bone per unit was plotted across the site, a concentration of bone in the units adjacent to the kitchen area became evident. However, distributions of

TABLE 3
"ROOFING" SLATE BY HOUSE AREA

House area	Number
Drax Hall Feature 15	289
Seville Estate House Area 14	25

other artifacts, including iron pot fragments, utensils, ceramics and shell, did not indicate any concentrations adjacent to the kitchen area or anywhere else, for that matter.

South of the downslope wall an extensive marl feature was uncovered. It is not immediately clear what purpose this deposit served, although it may have formed a paving of sorts for a dirt "yard" area where numerous activities would have been focused, as in modern rural Jamaica. However, there is also a possibility that this feature could be associated with prior house dating to the early period of slavery on Seville Estate. When the Mean Ceramic Date of each unit was plotted over the site, the units overlying the marl concentration consistently yielded dates ten to twenty years earlier than units elsewhere on the site. Similarly, the wall foundation segment and tiles in units A-13, A-14, and A-15 may well be associated with a house immediately upslope and as yet unexcavated. House Area 14 lies in the midst of the site of the original early 18th century Seville Estate slave village, and numerous 18th century artifacts are to be seen on the surface and in garden plots. Yet it is extremely unlikely that the earlier occupations of the area have any skewing effect upon the data recovered. So few 18th century artifacts were recovered from the Seville excavation that it is clear the intensive 19th century

impacts obliterated virtually all traces of 18th century materials, with the exception of the marl concentrations.

The method of construction employed on this house was probably similar to that used on the Drax house. Although no definite post holes were present, the house was probably constructed of wattles with a marl or daub and plaster infilling. The type of roofing was probably shingle, as attested to by the vast number of nails recovered (2752), although some of those nails may well have been used for wooden siding or wooden flooring in areas where marl and cement were not present. The far greater frequency of nails at the somewhat smaller Seville house makes a strong case for greater financial resources of its residents. The use of nails, an item requiring cash to purchase, indicates the use of other relatively expensive items, including cut lumber or wooden shingles, that are replacements for functionally similar yet less expensive alternatives such as dirt floors or thatch roofs (Table 4).

Another significant difference between the two house sites is the presence of 48 fragments of window glass at Seville House Area 14, while window glass is absent from Drax Hall Feature 15. This indicates that the residents of the Seville house chose to spend a portion of their discretionary income on a relatively expensive non-essential such as window glass instead of relying exclusively on

TABLE 4
Nail Sizes By House Areas

Size	2-3d	4-5d	6-7d	8-10d	12-16d	20+d	Frags.	Total
Drax Hall Feature 15	6	68	242	73	11	2	204	606
Seville Estate House Area 14	387	492	446	168	33	12	1297	2835

shutters or curtains. Shutters were present at both sites, indicated by the presence of hinge pintles.

CERAMICS

Imported European ceramics were the single most common artifact class at Seville, and second only to nails at Drax Hall, numbering 534 at Drax Hall Feature 15 and 3005 at Seville Estate House Area 14. Taken as a percentage of the Kitchen group, European ceramics make up 69.8% of the Drax total, and 70.6% of the Seville kitchen group (Table 5). The following ceramic analysis further confirms the thesis that the Seville house displays a materially improved standard than the Drax Hall house as a result of estate management strategies.

The assemblages from both house sites clearly demonstrate the primacy of the British ceramic industry, for virtually all refined ceramics were of British origin. Of course, this is also a sign of the relative impoverishment of the ceramic assemblages as neither site yielded a single fragment of Chinese import porcelain. Armstrong (1988:5.4) further argues that the impoverishment of Drax Hall Feature 15 is demonstrated by the absence of any "multiple ceramic pieces representing a set, or a partial set, with matching decorative motifs." This finding is in contrast to ceramics of Seville, where at least two instances of ceramic items

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGES OF ARTIFACTS IN KITCHEN GROUP

Artifact Class	Drax Hall Feature 15	Seville Estate House Area 14
Imported Ceramics	69.8%	70.6%
Earthenwares		
Imported	2.6%	3.5%
Local	10.1%	4.7%
Arawak	0.0%	0.4%
Unidentified	0.0%	0.5%
Glass	13.1%	19.5%
Tableware	0.3%	0.5%
Kitchenware	3.8%	0.3%
Other	0.4%	0.0%

with matching decorations were observed to occur. Nonetheless, the diversity of decorative techniques and colors do suggest, as Armstrong states, that ceramic pieces were generally obtained singly and not as sets.

The ceramic decoration among the creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares included plain pieces, minimally decorated wares with shell edge or simple banding, sponged wares, numerous cut-sponge stamped wares, hand painted items, and a tremendous diversity of transfer printed wares. Transfer printing was the most common decorative technique among the refined wares, accounting for 34.9% of Drax Hall creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares, and comprising 41.6% of Seville's refined wares. The transfer printing was present in a wide array of colors, including lavender, brown, red, black, green, and of course the ever-present various shades of blue. The several matched pieces recovered from Seville were transfer printed.

Following transfer printing as a favorite decorative technique was cut sponge stamping. Cut sponge stamped wares, predominately bowls, were found in great numbers at both Drax and Seville decorated with gaudy pinkish-red, light green, purple, and cobalt blue crude floral designs. This design style is not very common on North American sites, primarily being found in economically depressed contexts (Miller, pers. comm. 1989), yet is quite common in the 19th century levels at the site of Elmina, Ghana, a

British trading castle on the West African Coast (DeCorse, pers. comm. 1988). This ware, known to have been introduced in 1845 (DeCorse, pers. comm. 1988), was the cheapest decorated ceramic type, and as such, may well have been found a ready market in the African and Caribbean trade.

When the refined ceramics are examined by shape and function, it becomes clear that the overwhelming majority of ceramic sherds derived from plate and bowl forms, 78.6% of identifiable forms at Drax were bowls and plates, and they made up 85.9% of the identifiable Seville assemblage (Table 6). Continuing in this vein, teawares comprised 2.7% of identifiable forms at Drax, while Seville yielded 6.8%, or more than double the percentage. Feature 15 contributed 6.6% mug fragments, ten times the number at Seville. This is very likely explained by the functional replacement of ceramic mugs with glass drinking vessels at Seville. Last, storage forms at Drax made up 12.2% of that assemblage, but only 7.7% of the Seville assemblage. Seville then outnumbers the Drax assemblage in both the tableware category and the teaware category, while being outnumbered itself in the storage and mug classes. This clearly demonstrates that the residents of the Seville house were willing to spend their discretionary income on non-essential status oriented teawares and matching patterned tablewares, while spending less on storage items and mugs, for which

TABLE 6
CERAMIC CLASSES

		DRAX HALL FEATURE 15	SEVILLE ESTATE HOUSE AREA 14
Tableware			
Bowl	n	79	919
	%	14.8	30.6
Plate	n	243	1531
	%	45.5	50.9
Total	n	322	2450
	%	60.3	81.5
Teaware	n	11	164
	%	2.1	5.4
Mugs	n	27	18
	%	5.1	0.5
Storage	n	50	221
	%	9.4	7.3
Other	n	124	152
	%	23.2	5.1
Total	n	534	3005

there are more expensive and status communicative functional replacements, specifically glasswares.

Two versions of ceramic scaling were applied to the refined earthenware assemblages in order to arrive at a relative comparison between the two house sites (Table 7). The first version is an adaptation of Miller's (1980) ceramic price scaling using his Appendix D, Part 1 (1980:26) CC index for plates, twifflers, and muffins, 1855. The 1855 values were used because they are the most complete, and plate values were used, as the fragmentary nature of so many sherds made the proper differentiation between muffins and tea saucers, or plates and bowls of various sizes virtually impossible. Using one set of values should still allow a valid assignment of comparative values. When the scaling was performed using the 1855 values and creamwares, pearlwares and whitewares, Drax Hall Feature 15 yielded a product of 1.24, and Seville Estate House Area 14 averaged 1.29, a slightly higher price index value.

Similarly, the method Armstrong (1988:5.8) used, derived from Moore's (1985) simplification of Miller (1980), resulted in complementary findings. To perform this analysis, the ceramics are assigned values from one to four based on decoration, one being plain wares, two being minimally decorated, three being hand painted, and four being transfer printed. Then each value is multiplied by the number of sherds in that category. The products are

TABLE 7
COMPARATIVE SCALING OF CERAMIC DECORATION
USING CREAMWARE, PEARLWARE, AND WHITEWARE

AFTER MOORE (1985)

Decorative Class	Drax Hall Feature 15	Seville Estate House Area 14
1 (plain ware)		
n	142	836
%	27.4	32.2
2 (minimal decoration)		
n	166	594
%	32	22.9
3 (hand painted)		
n	13	85
%	2.5	3.3
4 (transfer print)		
n	181	1080
%	34.9	41.6
	1x142=142	1x836=836
	2x166=332	2x594=1188
	3x13=39	3x85=255
	4x181=724	4x1080=4320
Total	1237	6599
Average	2.38	2.54

FOLLOWING MILLER (1980)
USING 1855 PLATE INDEX VALUES

CC	142x1=142	836x1=836
Minimal Decoration	166x1.225=203.35	594x1.225=727.65
Hand Painted	NA	NA
Transfer Print	181x1.55=280.55	1080x1.55=1674.0
Total	625.9	3237.65
Average CC Index Value	1.24	1.29

then added, and divided by the total number of sherds to arrive at an average value for the assemblage. For Drax Hall, that value was 2.38, and the value for the Seville Estate site was 2.54. These figures convey the same message as those arrived at by Miller's (1980) formula; the Seville house has a slightly higher price index for its ceramics than does the Drax house.

Ceramic data were used to develop Mean Ceramic Dates for both house sites. Drax Hall Feature 15 has an MCD of 1854.1, and the MCD for Seville Estate House Area 14 is 1849.7. However, Mean Ceramic Dates, while they can be useful to help assign approximate dates to sites in the absence of other dating material, frequently are skewed by the long ranges of manufacture for certain wares, and the upsetting tendencies of a few intrusive or curated wares. Hence, for the purposes of this study, MCDs were not used to try to assign dates to the sites, but in the case of Seville House Area 14, they were able to help clarify the depositional history of the site. House Area 14 lies in the midst of the early slave village for Seville Estate, and adjacent to the foundations, there was an expanse of marl of indeterminate origin. When MCDs for each unit were plotted across the site plan, it became apparent that the marl feature was probably part of an earlier house that lay under the more recent foundations of House Area 14. The ceramic assemblage from the units in question generally had

incorporated a few sherds of 18th century ceramics from the underlying deposit, and consequently their MCDs registered an average of ten to thirty years earlier than those from other areas of the site.

COARSE EARTHENWARES

Coarse earthenwares, both European and locally manufactured, make up 12.7% of the Drax Hall kitchen group, and 9.1% of the Seville kitchen group (Table 8). Of the imported coarse earthenwares that could be identified as to shape or function, all were found to be storage vessels. This is in marked contrast to the locally made Afro-Jamaican ware, which, of those identifiable, are exclusively cooking pot or bowl forms (Table 9). Clearly, the Afro-Jamaican or "Yabba" wares were made with specific functions in mind as functional replacements for imported European refined ceramic bowls and cast iron cooking pots (Armstrong 1988:5.21-22).

Armstrong goes to some lengths in his 1988 work discussing Afro-Jamaican wares as an "Africanism" reflecting a generalized communal, liquid based set of foodways. When looked at over time, the earthenware pots decrease, being replaced by increasing numbers of imported refined European ceramics and more durable cast iron cooking pots (Armstrong 1988:5.21). After emancipation, he noted an increase in local earthenwares, which he suggested was in response to "a conservative retention and revitalization of a culturally

TABLE 8
COARSE WARES VS REFINED WARES

House Area	Coarse ware n	Coarse ware %	Refined ware n	Refined ware %
Drax Hall Feature 15	97	15.4	534	84.6
Seville Estate House Area 14	346	10.3	3005	89.7

TABLE 9
SHAPE/FUNCTION OF COARSE EARTHENWARES

Site	Cooking Pot	Bowl	Storage	Other	Total
Drax Hall Feature 15					
Afro-Jamaican Wares	50	15	0	12	77
European Wares	0	0	15	5	20
Seville Estate House Area 14					
Afro-Jamaican Wares	39	41	0	120	200
European Wares	0	0	86	62	148

preferred way of eating, and a consequence of poverty reflecting the purchase of less expensive and decidedly subsistence related pottery" (1988:5.22). I believe it is the second factor that is operative in the rediscovery of local pottery. If Yabbas were reincorporated as replacement for imported and prohibitively expensive iron pots, that would explain their much greater frequency at the Drax Hall house.

One other class of coarse earthenware was present at Seville House Area 14. Eighteen sherds of Arawak pottery were recovered from the excavations of the house site. This pottery type is unmistakably different from Afro-Jamaican wares or European wares, as Armstrong notes (1988:5.17-18), because of different shapes, construction techniques and thickness. The presence of the Amerindian pottery derives from an Arawak site located somewhere in the vicinity of the old slave village.

GLASS

Following imported ceramic items, glass was the most numerous class of artifacts within the kitchen group. Glass remains were present in significant numbers at both the Drax Hall Feature 15 site and the Seville Estate House Area 14 site, although the Seville site had more than eight times the number of glass fragments present at the Drax Hall

house. Glass artifacts at Drax numbered 100, of these, 55 were fragments of "wine" bottles and 45 were unidentified forms. Case bottles, pharmaceutical bottles and other glassware were completely absent at Drax Hall. Armstrong (1988:5.23) observed a "marked decrease in the proportion of glass container items in the transitional period; a pattern which continued and was even more pronounced in the free labor period." This contrasts with increased availability and lower cost of glassware through the 19th century. Armstrong has suggested several factors that may have been operating to decrease the number of glass containers present, including increasing poverty of those persons who remained resident upon the estates. This increasingly marginal existence would have facilitated the functional replacement of glass with other types of storage vessels such as calabashes and earthenwares (Armstrong 1988:5.24-25). Other possible explanations Armstrong suggests are the increasing strength of religious teaching during a time when numerous church and mission settlements were springing up, as most bottle glass has its origin as storage for alcoholic beverages. Yet another possible explanation is that with the end of slavery the hardest drinking group of people, i.e. young men, were also potentially the most mobile group and would be the first to leave the estate, leaving behind an aged segment of the population (Armstrong 1988:5.25).

Interestingly, glassware a relatively expensive item, is entirely absent from the Drax house site, again suggesting its replacement by a less expensive functional alternative. Bottle glass found on the site certainly served more than its initial function of storage of purchased beverage. Observations by the author throughout West Africa show liquor bottles to be continually reused for local beverages, food items, and even gasoline and kerosene. There is every reason to believe that reuse was even more common in 19th century Jamaica. Modern ethnographic observation in Jamaica by the author demonstrate that even after breakage, bottle glass serves many purposes, especially as a tool with which to shave wooden handles to shape. The house site at Seville has a much higher frequency of glass, 19.5% of kitchen artifacts compared to 13.1% at Drax, as well as a greater variety of types of glass items. Not only were 513 fragments of "wine" bottle glass present, but case bottles were represented by 35 fragments, and pharmaceutical glass was present with 39 fragments. Most interestingly, however, was the presence of 39 fragments of table glassware, including tumblers and stemware. These items represent a more expensive class of glass, one that can be functionally replaced by calabashes as vessels for liquids, but that cannot be replaced as an expression of discretionary income. This, coupled with the almost ten fold increase in bottle fragments, suggests that whatever was occurring at Drax

Hall, be it increased poverty, expression of religious ideals, or abandonment of the settlement to an aging sector of the population, was not occurring in the same fashion at Seville Estate. The Seville residents still had the capacity and desire to consume bottled beverages and medicines in a status conscious style.

TABLEWARE

The excavations at Drax Hall Feature 15 and Seville House Area 14 recovered kitchen group artifacts other than the ceramics, earthenwares, and glass already discussed, which further confirm the presence of status differences. Tableware or cutlery was present at both sites, although scarcely represented at Drax; only two pieces being recovered (Table 10). Armstrong (1988:5.28) noted that all pieces of tableware from Drax Hall were incomplete, suggesting in his words "continued use and salvage of all but broken and useless fragments." The fragments from Feature 15 were all iron, not pewter or copper, perhaps indicating that iron cutlery was the lowest cost option available in the mid-19th century.

The Seville Estate site yielded ten times the number of utensil fragments found at the Drax site. The bulk of these pieces were made of iron and not the probably higher priced metals, but there were at least two copper alloy pieces, a

TABLE 10
KITCHEN ARTIFACTS BY HOUSE AREA

House Area	Tableware Cutlery	Kitchenware Pots, Etc.	Other Ground Stone
Drax Hall Feature 15	2	29	3
Seville Estate House Area 14	20	15	0

spoon bowl and a handle and a pewter handle end. Additionally, no individual utensil was recovered whole: all were found as fragments or complete but broken. Of these fragments, one spoon handle was reconstructed from seven pieces, and another spoon bowl was in two pieces, and a spoon bowl was found separated from its handle. Several unidentified handle fragments were found as well. There were no identifiable fork fragments found on the site, but at least five separate spoons were present. Since forks were entirely absent, they may reflect choices made in pursuing foodways strategies, or they may merely be more fragile and less likely to be preserved in the archaeological record. Knives were also absent in the recovered materials, but must have been present in the household when it was occupied. It is likely that knives were curated and used until they were completely worn out before being discarded.

Kitchenwares, primarily cast iron pot fragments, were present at each site as well. Feature 15 at Drax Hall yielded 29 such fragments, and in an interesting reversal of the dominant trend, excavations at Seville's House Area 14 recovered 15, or just over one half as many pot fragments as at Drax (Table 11). Perhaps this reversal of the trend can be attributed to the impact of erosion in the presumed location of the kitchen area. One other type of artifact present, but only in the kitchen area of Drax Feature 15,

TABLE 11
CAST IRON COOKING POTS BY HOUSE AREA

House Area	Number
Drax Hall Feature 15	29
Seville Estate House Area 14	15

was three grinding or milling stones shaped from local rock, and probably used to process grains for consumption. The absence of milling stones at Seville could be attributed to their removal at some time by other persons or erosion, or the lack of need to grind foods. If they were not necessary at Seville, that would indicate the purchase of foods in a partially processed state.

FOOD

At Drax Hall Armstrong (1988) found that gathered "wild" shellfish were present in all phases of slave village occupation. Additionally, the number of species and the various environments they represented changed from the earliest period to the later free laborer context. The Drax Hall data indicate strategies shifted from exploitation of a few large and plentiful species such as whelks and conch, to a more generalized approach continuing to utilize the larger species but also supplementing them with smaller, although plentiful species including chitons and nerites, which share the same ecozones (Armstrong 1988:6.B.5).

Armstrong argues that this progressive generalization of shellfish exploitation as exemplified by Feature 15 reflects increased stress and marginality of diet for the inhabitants of the old village. The expanded exploitation to include previously unutilized species is a direct response to the

loss of estate supplied proteins in the form of fresh and salt beef and substantial quantities of salt fish. When the beef and fish were no longer supplied, the freed labor had to find alternate sources of protein and the relatively easily gathered and no cash cost shellfish were part of the response (Armstrong 1988:6.B.5-7). Armstrong (1988), citing Goodwin (1979), notes that diversification to exploit previously unused and therefore presumably less desireable food resources is a characteristic of prehistoric sites during times of marginality. Thus it seems that this compensatory behavior is not without precedent in the Caribbean.

Feature 15 at Drax Hall is one of the free labor period house sites with which Armstrong recognized increased diversification in species collected (Table 12). This site yielded shell from twelve separate species, five of which are present along sandy shorelines and seven of which are found on rocky shores. None of the species are found exclusively in deep water, most can be found in the tidal zones or in shallow (less than two meters) water. Of these twelve, four species, **Cittarium pica**, **Strombus gigas**, **Codakia orbicularis**, and **Chiton spp.** are the most well represented. Together these four compose 92.2% of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI).

House Area 14 at Seville Estate also yielded a diversified range of shellfish species (Table 13). Twelve

TABLE 12

MARINE MOLLUSCAN REMAINS
DRAX HALL FEATURE 15
SPECIES LIST AND COUNT: MINIMUM NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS, WEIGHT AND FREQUENCY

Bio-zone	Species	Count	%	MNI	%	Weight in grams	%
R	Cittarium pica Linne, 1758 (West Indian Top Shell)	159	53.9	120	71.4	1061.7	68
S	Strombus gigas Linne, 1758 (Queen Conch)	14	4.7	4	2.4	287.5	18.4
S	Codakia orbicularis Linne, 1758 (Tiger lucina)	18	6.1	13	7.7	85.6	5.5
S	Charonia variagata Lemark, 1810 (Trumpet triton)	2	0.7	2	1.2	46.5	3.0
R	Chiton Spp. (Chiton)	52	17.6	18	10.7	32.6	2.0
S	Strombus raninas Gmelin 1791 (Hawk wing conch)	2	0.7	1	0.6	20.3	1.3
R	Nerita tessellata Gmelin, 1791 (Tessellated nerite)	2	0.7	2	1.2	2.1	0.1
R	Nerita peloranta Linne, 1758 (Bleeding tooth)	2	0.7	2	1.2	3.5	0.2
R	Tectarius muricatus Linne 1758 (Beaded periwinkle)	1	0.3	1	0.6	1.8	0.1
R	Tegula excavata Lamark, 1822 (Green base tegula)	1	0.3	1	0.6	1.9	0.1
S	Turbo castanea Gmelin, 1791 (Chestnut turban)	1	0.3	1	0.6	3.4	0.2
R	Nerita versicolor Gmelin, 1791 (Four toothed nerite)	3	1.0	3	1.8	3.8	0.2
-	Unidentified	38	12.9	0	0.0	9.8	0.6
TOTAL		295	99.9	168	100.0	1560.5	99.8

Percentage of Marine Mollusca by Biozone

	Count	%	MNI	%	Wt. in grams	%
Rocky	220	85.6	147	87.5	1107.4	71.4
Sandy	37	14.4	21	12.5	443.3	28.6

TABLE 13

MARINE MOLLUSCAN REMAINS
SEVILLE ESTATE HOUSE AREA 14
SPECIES LIST AND COUNT: MINIMUM NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS, WEIGHT AND FREQUENCY

Bio-zone	Species	Count	%	MNI	%	Weight in grams	%
R	Cittarium pica Linne, 1758 (West Indian top shell)	340	33.7	47	24.2	1007.2	42.2
S	Strombus gigas Linne, 1758 (Queen conch)	57	5.6	7	3.6	552.7	23.2
R	Chiton Spp. (Chiton)	125	12.4	46	23.7	162.0	6.8
R	Nerita tessellata or versicolor Gmelin, 1791 (Tessellated nerite or four toothed nerite)	15	1.5	14	7.2	17.7	0.7
S	Codakia orbicularis Linne, 1758 (Tiger lucina)	430	42.6	65	33.5	564.3	23.8
S	Strombus raninas Gmelin, 1791 (Hawk wing conch)	2	0.2	1	0.5	12.0	0.5
R	Diodora Spp. (Limpet)	2	0.2	2	1	3.5	0.1
R	Neritina virginea Linne, 1758 (Virgin nerite)	3	0.3	3	1.5	6.0	0.3
R	Nerita peloranta Linne, 1758 (Bleeding tooth)	2	0.2	-	---	1.5	0.1
S	Turbo castanea Gmelin, 1971 (Chestnut turban)	1	0.1	1	0.5	6	0.3
S	Heliarus infundibafena Gmelin, 1791 (Channeled sundial)	1	0.1	1	0.5	2.5	0.1
R	Purpura patule Linne, 1758 (Widemouthed purpura)	4	0.4	3	1.5	7.5	0.3
-	Unidentified	27	2.7	3	1.5	39.8	1.8
-	Cowry (not food)	(1)	(0.1)	(1)	(0.5)	(1)	(0.1)
TOTAL		1010	100.1	194	99.7	2383.7	100.2

Percentage of Marine Mollusca by Biozone

	Count	%	MNI	%	Wt. in grams	%
Rocky	491	50	115	60.5	1205.4	51.4

species were present here as well, with five from sandy environs and seven from rocky zones. The same four species listed as most numerous at Drax Hall compose 85% of the MNI assemblage at Seville, and when the **Nerita tessellata** are added at 7.2%, coincidentally they total 92.2%.

The data from Seville Estate seem to support Armstrong's conclusion about an increasing diversification of resources being exploited in the post emancipation years. The MNI represented at Feature 15, 168, is quite close to the 194 MNI recovered from Seville's House Area 14. Similarly, the total weight of shell at Drax Hall, 1610.5 grams, is not that far from the 2387.2 grams from Seville. This is in marked contrast to other artifacts, especially ceramics and pipe fragments, of which Seville yielded an overwhelming numerical superiority. Since House Area 14's numerical superiority in molluscan remains does not follow in the same ratios as Feature 15 at Drax Hall, we can say that the residents of both house sites were under sufficient nutritional stress to warrant the gathering of marginal, but low cost, wild seafood species instead of increasing reliance on meat that had to be purchased. Other aquatic resources were doubtless exploited as well, but were not recovered during the excavations.

Terrestrial foods were utilized, as was indicated by a variety of mammal and bird bones recovered from each house site. However, the bone sample from Seville has yet to be

analyzed, so no more can be said, other than land animals were exploited by the residents of the house area. Additionally, salt fish and salt beef were probably eaten, however in their preserved state they frequently lack any parts that would survive archaeologically, thus their presence must only be assumed.

FURNITURE

Artifacts clearly associated with furniture and furnishings were completely absent from Drax Hall Feature 15 and represented by only one copper nail at Seville House Area 14. Nothing so obviously furniture oriented as a drawer pull was recovered at either site. Yet the virtually complete lack of furniture associated hardware is not so surprising when one recalls the descriptions provided by witnesses such as Monk Lewis (1969:70) and others. These accounts typically describe the furnishings of the houses as beds, chairs, and tables, all locally manufactured and thus without telltale archaeological clues to their existence. Additionally, besides wooden pegs, and leather and vine lashings, iron nails may well have been used by the local manufacturers, yet would not be readily recognizable as used in furniture construction.

ARMS

Drax Hall Feature 15 yielded no artifacts classified in the arms group, however the excavations at Seville House Area 14 did contribute four arms related artifacts. These items are three gunflints and a piece of lead casting sprue. Admittedly, these artifacts may not be related to the use of firearms: the gunflints could well have been used exclusively as strike-a-lights for igniting fires, pipes, and so forth, as were other chert flakes from the site. The casting sprue could also be the by-product of casting lead fishing weights, spoons, buttons or other items, instead of casting shot for guns.

CLOTHING

Artifacts of the clothing group were the fourth most numerous class at both sites. Of these artifacts, buttons were the most plentiful with 24 found at Drax Hall and 106 recovered from Seville Estate. The Drax buttons were made of a variety of materials, including bone, shell, metal, glass and metal, and porcelain. The buttons recovered from Seville House Area 14, while substantially more numerous, are manufactured of the same general materials including bone, shell, porcelain, copper alloys, and one of lead. Interestingly, the lead button appears to be locally cast, which may help explain the casting sprue classified with the arms group. Of the Seville buttons, 24 came from within the house, the remainder being scattered in the upslope and

downslope "yard" areas. Several of the copper alloy buttons have lettering on them, but burial has rendered the marking illegible.

Beads were the second most numerous clothing related artifact found at the sites. Four beads were found at Drax Hall Feature 15 and are listed and classified on Table 14 along with the twenty-three glass beads and two carnelian beads that were present at Seville House Area 14. Classifications follow those of Kidd and Kidd (1970) and Karklins (1985). Of the Seville beads, five came from within the house foundations, and nine from the area immediately upslope of the south wall. The varied nature of the beads, as demonstrated by the classification of Table 14 indicates, as Armstrong (1988:5.37) suggests, that beads were "valued items of personal adornment" and that efforts would be made to recover beads that fell to the floor. Technologically speaking, all of the beads, excepting two blown beads and three wire wound beads, were tube drawn beads.

Besides the buttons previously discussed, several other types of clothing fasteners were present on the Seville site, but not at Drax. These items included four bent wire hooks and eyes, one brass cufflink, and an iron buckle. The buckle was probably discarded intentionally, but the hooks and eyes and the cufflink were probably items lost in the course of everyday activities around the house and yard

TABLE 14
GLASS BEAD TYPOLOGY
AFTER KIDD AND KIDD (1970) AND KARKLINS (1985)

Drax Hall Feature 15	Class	Shape	Size	Diaphaneity	Color
A.	IIIa2	T	M	op	Redwood
B.	If	FA	M	tr	Blue (core lt. grey)
C.	IIa4	R	M	op	Redwood
D.	IIa6	R	S	op	Black
Seville Estate House Area 14					
A.	IIa	C	S	op	Yellow
B.	IIa	C	VS	op	Aqua Blue
C.	IIa	C	S	op	White
D.	IIIf	FA	VL	op	Dark Shadow Blue
E.	IIa	R	VL	cl	Clear
F.	WIIf5	"Ridged Tube"	M	op	Turquoise
G.	IIIf	F	M	tr	Ultramarine (core Lt. Aquamarine)
H.	IIa	R	L	cl	Ruby
I.	IIIf	F	L	cl	Clear
J.	IIIf	F	L	cl	Clear
K.	IIa	R	L	cl	Clear
L.	IIIf	F	L	cl	Clear
M.	IIIf	F	M	cl	Clear
N.	IIa38	Me	VL	tr	Aqua
O.	IVa	C	S	tr	Ruby (core white)
P.	IIIf	F	L	tr	Ultramarine (core Lt. Aquamarine)
Q.	IIIf	F	M	tr	Ultramarine (core Lt. Aquamarine)
R.	IIIf	F	M	tr	Bright Navy
S.	IIIf	F	L	tr	Dark Amethyst
T.	WIIf5	"Ridged Tube"	M	op	Turquoise
U.	WIIf5	"Ridged Tube"	M	op	Turquoise
V.	B	R	M	cl	Clear, painted Red
W.	B	R	M	cl	Clear, painted Red

areas. The presence of the cufflink does suggest that at least one garment of better quality was maintained that required cufflinks to secure the cuff. Whether the cufflink was a curated item or had been recently purchased prior to loss, it confirms the accounts by eyewitnesses that describe slaves and freed blacks as having at least one set of fine clothes (Lewis 1969:70,74).

Tailoring activities were represented by thimble fragments at both sites, three from Drax and two from Seville. This indicates that the residents of these houses engaged in at least a certain amount of their own clothing repair and manufacture.

PERSONAL

The personal group at Drax hall was sparsely represented, consisting of six coins, one key, and one piece of a slate writing board. The coins all dated from 1881 to 1902, with the two 1881 coins exhibiting some wear, while the others are scarcely worn at all (Armstrong 1988:5.39). The key, coupled with the lock parts discussed above, are a clue to the ability of the resident of the house to secure their possessions from others, despite being tenants in an ex-slave village.

The Seville House Area 14 excavation yielded twenty three, or almost four times the personal group artifacts.

Coins were also present, but not in as great numbers, and one of them was a Jamaican five-cent piece from 1969. Of the other two coins, one was completely unidentifiable due to extensive corrosion while the other had a portrait of Queen Victoria of England and the words "VICTORIA BRITAN... REGINA.." on the one side and a crown and the date"18.." on the other side. Unfortunately the latter part of the date was obliterated, but as Victoria's reign lasted from 1837-1901, and she is portrayed as a young woman, the coin probably dates to the first half of the 19th century.

Besides coins, there was a key, which allows similar conclusions about security to be made for the Seville house as for the Drax house. Furthermore, there were six fragments of bone combs and an earring, the earring probably indicating the presence, at least occasionally of one or more women. Five slate pencils and one lead writing instrument were also recovered which suggest very strongly that at least one of the house residents was educated to the point of literacy. Missionary schools were set up throughout Jamaica at the end of slavery and access to education was considerably more available than during slavery, but it was by no means a universal standard. In this case, schools were available in St. Ann's Bay just to the east of Seville, and probably as well in Priory, a free settlement adjacent to Seville Estate.

A final artifact type in the personal group gives us clues toward one of the recreational pastimes enjoyed by the residents of Seville House Area 14. The presence of six gaming pieces shows the importance of games, be they gambling or other types of games. The gaming pieces are all excellent examples of recycling of refuse: they are manufactured from broken imported ceramics chipped and ground to form circles. Whitewares and delftwares were used to create these game pieces.

TOBACCO PIPES

Tobacco pipe fragments were the third most numerous class of artifacts at each house site, suggesting that tobacco smoking was a popular pastime shared by a considerable number of freed slaves. Clearly the residents of each house site valued smoking enough to invest a portion of their discretionary income in this pastime. The number of pipe fragments also show that the freed slaves had adapted the Northern European practice of smoking from kaolin pipes, as opposed to the indigenous Arawak and Spanish practice of smoking cigars (Black 197?).

Armstrong's excavations at Drax Hall Feature 15 recovered 176 tobacco pipe fragments, primarily stem pieces. Some of the fragments exhibited markings, ranging from the common "T.D." on pipe bowls, to three specific makers marks.

These marks included "McDOUGALL GLASGOW," which dates 1847-1968, "W. WHITE" of Glasgow, ranging from 1805 to 1955, and "G.C.P.," probably the Glasgow Clay Pipe Company, which produced pipes between 1880 and 1882 (Armstrong 1988, citing Oswald [1975]). Slip coatings were present on several of the mouthpieces. One pipe stem exhibited evidence of reworking to extend its serviceability by carving and narrowing in order to fit to a new bowl.

The house site excavated at Seville Estate yielded 693 kaolin pipe fragments, nearly four times the number at the Drax Hall site. House Area 14 also yielded a greater variety of marked or otherwise distinctive pipes. "McDOUGALL GLASGOW" markings were the most common, followed by "BURNS CUTTY PIPE," "L.FRIEDLANDER." This mark is probably attributable to the works of Lesser Friedlander, Houndsditch, London, and dates from 1887-1888. There were several pipes marked "WHITE," probably the same W. White of Glasgow, 1805-1955 (Oswald 1975). Other markings were present, but were too fragmentary to trace. However, unlike Feature 15 at Drax Hall, there were a substantial number of pipes marked with the names of French pipe manufacturers. One mark, "Gisclon a Lille, P * P" occurred several times, but could not be traced. The other more common mark read "L. Fiolet a St. Omer Depose." This mark has been traced by Peter Hammond (1987) and is known to have made its appearance in 1834. Fiolet was one of the largest French

pipe manufacturers, and is known to have exhibited their wares in 1851 at the Great Expedition in London, and at least by 1852 had commercial agents in based in London. Fiolet continued to deal with London agents through at least the turn of the century.

Other types of markings and decorations were present on pipe fragments. A number of bowl and stem portions were decorated with molded ribs, ridges, geometric patters, floral designs, and representations, the most common being a square rigged sailing vessel of at least two masts on the left side of the bowl with an anchor on the right. One other type of marking was present on three stem fragments. These fragments from near the bowl were marked with incised lines on the stem, two of which bore chevrons, and one bore a single line. It is not certain what purpose these marks served, but it is likely that they helped establish ownership of the pipe.

The pipes recovered from both excavations demonstrated the popularity of smoking among the residents of the freed slave communities. They also demonstrate the acceptance by the slaves of the Northern European convention of smoking with a kaolin pipe instead of cigars. The residents of the villages were willing and able to spend a portion of their discretionary income on tobacco, as well as the instruments required for its consumption. Yet, as demonstrated at Drax Hall Feature 15, efforts were made to extract maximum

serviceability from a luxury good by reworking it to extend its life, and as suggested by the Seville evidence, care was taken to indicate ownership of individual pipes. Pipes, although a common, relatively inexpensive item, were not treated in a profligate manner by the freed slaves. Money did not come that easily.

ACTIVITIES AND OTHER GROUPS

The final category addressed is the activities and other groups. At Drax Hall this group consisted of miscellaneous hardware and tools, including a horseshoe found adjacent to one of Feature 15's doorways. Tools found included machete or cutlass fragments, files, and other agriculturally related items. Miscellaneous hardware included items such as iron sheeting and straps, assorted nuts, bolts and washers, and iron pipe fragments.

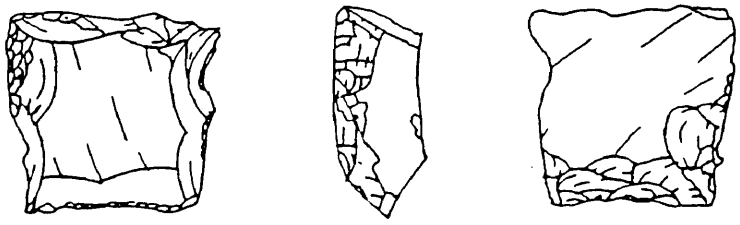
The Seville Estate house site also yielded a number of tools, including a hoe, a machete handle, a wedge, a hammer head, and a file. Miscellaneous hardware as at Drax consisted of iron straps and sheeting, copper sheeting, washers, bolts, and nuts, iron chain links, a copper rivet, and a horseshoe, as well as twenty-six unidentified metal fragments.

Three lead weights were found at Seville House Area 14, each of which weighed 28 grams, or one ounce. Their exact purpose is uncertain, but it is likely that they were used to weigh out some sort of commodity or provision. Eight pieces of miscellaneous lead were found as well, including some segments of lead sheet and strap pierced or bent, perhaps to serve as fishing weights. A lead drip was also recovered which gives further credence to the notion that the residents of this house were melting and casting their own lead items.

The village areas at Drax Hall and at Seville Estate are both situated atop limestone bedrock containing naturally occurring flint nodules. Thus a readily available source of lithic raw materials was available to the residents of both sites, and lithics were present in the artifact assemblages of both excavations. Thirty-three lithics were recovered from Drax Hall Feature 15. The bulk of these flakes were waste flakes, although some did exhibit multiple striking planes, wear characteristic of flakes used as strike-a-lights for fire lighting (Armstrong 1988:5.46-47).

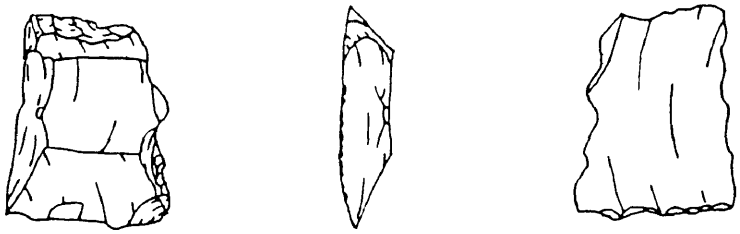
Nineteen lithic artifacts were recovered from the excavations at House Area 14. Of these 19, three well shaped gunflints could unquestionably be assigned to the Afro-Jamaican presence (Figures 17, 18, 19, and 20). The other lithics ranged from clearly utilized flakes of chert and chalcedony, to waste flakes, and one small smoothed

FIGURE 17



House Area 14, Unit J 13, Level 1
Black Gunflint, Wt. 7.7 grams.

FIGURE 18

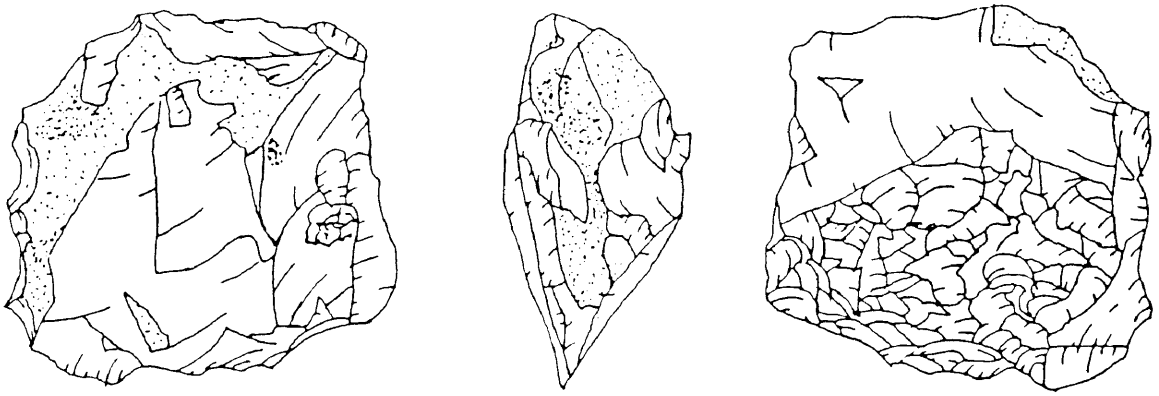


House Area 14, Unit J 12, Level 1
Black Gunflint, Wt. 3.5 grams.

FIGURE 19

House Area 14, Unit H 12, Level 1
Translucent Brown Gunflint, Wt. 3.7 grams.

FIGURE 20



House Area 14, Unit E 8, Level 1
White/Clear Chalcedony Modified Utilized Flake Tool. Underside of Flake Adjacent to Bulb Thinned by Flaking and Battering.
Wt. 32 grams.

pebble. These artifacts, while probably having their origin in the Afro-Jamaican settlement, could be products of Arawak occupation, as Arawak ceramic sherds have been found in the area surrounding the site. Four of these flakes are waste flakes, by-products of tool manufacture, and ten of the flakes exhibited wear characteristic of cutting, scrapping, and battering. Many of the utilized flakes have small flake scars and multiple striking planes, such as characterize lithics used as strike-a-lights. One chalcedony flake tool was recovered, showing extensive battering and flaking to thin and shape it for use as a cutting edge.

Lastly, a single toy marble was found at Seville House Area 14, the only clue to the presence of children on the site. Of course, children's play toys would also have been made of perishable items such as cloth or organic materials like corn husks or wood. Yet as no traces of such perishable toys exist, the marble is our best indication that children were at least occasional visitors to the house at Seville.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this paper I have tried to present evidence suggesting that the effects of post-emancipation plantation management strategies on estate tenants can be illuminated with the proper application of historical research and archaeological investigation. Furthermore, I have tried to show that tenants exposed to one set of managerial practices lived a materially richer life than others. I am not in any way trying to establish a retro-revisionist approach suggesting that life was not really that hard for those who lived it. Any modern student of the past who believes that they are somehow authorized to pass that kind of judgement is sorely mistaken. Life in Jamaica in the post-emancipation period was hard. The economy had been floated along for decades on a cushion of forced labor, protectionist tariffs, and inefficient financial management. When the long overdue emancipation finally came, virtually all the participants in the economy who were so able tried immediately to cash their checks, so to speak, and the people upon whom the remains of the economy fell, were the hapless "newborn" peasants. These newly freed individuals

were the least prepared for this hardship, and as is always the case, the hardship hits those hardest who are least prepared.

The historical record, developed from contemporary accounts describing the peasant adaptations and the managerial practices of the plantations managers, such as those described in Hall (1959) sets the stage with economic background and specifics relating directly to one of the two properties under study. The information Hall gathers specifically relating to the management of the Seville Estate is particularly valuable. He acknowledges that Charles Royes was more or less unique among Jamaican managers in that he was able to take a "ruined" plantation, and turn it around at a time when other estates across the island were collapsing from a shortage of labor. It becomes clear that the reason Royes was able to do so was expressly the result of his equitable relations with his tenants. By extending to the tenants preferential wages and well maintained homes, he was able to keep the better workers on, instead of driving them off in search of a better living.

The hypothesis under which this investigation was conducted--that the tenants on Seville Estate would have a greater degree of discretionary income, and hence more "luxury" goods as a result of more favorable living conditions than would generally be found on post-emancipation estates--seems to be borne out by the

archaeological data. In other words, the residents of Seville Estate were more powerful economically than their counterparts at Drax Hall. A key point to emphasize is that the so called luxury goods cannot be expected to be truly elaborate symbols of wealth. This is a house that is well off, yes, but within a standard of poverty. This point is well made by examining the ceramic assemblage, for example. The Seville house is ranked slightly higher on Miller's (1980) and Moore's (1985) index, but it still is completely without porcelain, a ware that some, such as Miller (1980:3), have equated with a higher status.

Generally, the artifacts and the remains of the houses themselves confirm this hypothesis. The raw numbers of artifacts tell this story quite bluntly: there are 8012 artifacts at Seville House Area 14, compared to 1777 at the slightly larger Drax Hall Feature 15 house. Despite their size differences, the two houses appear to be similarly appointed, with locks on doors, two or three rooms, and an adjacent kitchen area. Yet there the similarities end. Roughly more than 2/5ths of the Seville floor was at one time finished with a coat of cement. This is an improvement that would require some capital outlay, in contrast to more inexpensively obtained flooring alternatives such as wood or marl, materials used to floor the Drax house.

Iron nails, while composing similar percentages of the architecture group, 97.7% at Seville and 97.6% at Drax, are far more numerous at Seville, 2752 compared to 606. This is all the more noticeable when the area of the Seville house, 85% of the Drax house, is taken into account. The sheer number of nails at Seville virtually assure that it was roofed with shingles, a much more expensive alternative than the common thatching, which does not require the purchase of nails. Nails may also have been used to secure a wooden flooring or wooden siding.

Still another example of the use of discretionary income in a non-essential manner is the presence of window glass at Seville House Area 14. Window glass was an expensive item in the 19th century and few descriptions of freed slaves houses mention it at all. Instead, the typical window coverings were curtains or shutters, often with venetian style blinds. The Drax Hall excavation did not recover any window glass.

The three architectural options mentioned above all suggest that more money was spent on the construction and maintenance of the somewhat smaller house at Seville. Whether the costs were borne directly by the residents or by the plantation management, the house was more substantial than its Drax Hall counterpart.

Imported ceramics at Seville Estate followed the same trend as nails; there were 1005 fragments compared to 534 at

Drax Hall Feature 15. Several aspects of the Seville assemblage other than sheer numbers suggest a slightly higher status for the residents of the house. While no porcelains were found at either site, matching transfer print patterns were noted in at least two instances at Seville. This contrasts with the lack of any pattern duplication among the Drax Hall assemblage, suggesting that the Seville residents were able to purchase either sets of dishes or at least several of the same pattern, while the Drax residents were unable to do so.

Using imported teawares as an indicator of status also reflects well upon the Seville House Area 14. The Drax house yielded teawares at 2.7% of the identifiable ceramics, while the excavations at the Seville house recovered more than double that percentage at 6.8%, indicating that the residents of Seville were conscious of participating in the status associated tea ceremony, or at least in its trappings.

There is one class of ceramic wares that comprises a greater percentage of the ceramics at Drax than at Seville. This class, ceramic mugs, composes 6.6% of the Drax assemblage, ten times the percentage at Seville. This reversal of the trend for Seville to dominate the percentages is explained when the glass assemblage is also considered. The Seville house assemblage contained fragments of drinking glasses and tumblers, which in most

cases would serve as functional and status conscious replacements for ceramic drinking vessels.

Ceramic scaling was conducted with the assemblage from the two sites. The results of the two scaling versions supported one another, finding the Seville ceramic assemblage ranked higher, albeit only slightly, than the corresponding assemblage from Drax Hall Feature 15.

Coarse earthenwares were of greater frequency at Drax Hall than at Seville. The bulk of the coarse wares were locally made, in forms that suggested that they served as lower cost functional replacements of imported cooking pots and bowls. This is further confirmation of the hypothesis that the Drax house was under a greater degree of economic stress, requiring the substitution of lower cost alternatives.

Glass artifacts, aside from the raw difference in numbers, 831 at Seville and 100 at Drax, tell the same story as the ceramics. The presence of drinking glassware at Seville and its absence at Drax, discussed above, reiterates the difference in status conscious consumption through the presence of a more expensive class of ware. As noted earlier, glassware can be functionally replaced by calabashes and mugs, but glass is irreplaceable as an expression of status oriented consumption. Additionally, the residents of the Seville house had the need, desire, and ability to purchase manufactured medicines, as indicated

from the presence of pharmaceutical glassware. The remaining group of glass artifacts are the wine and case bottles, of which the house at Drax yielded 55 wine bottle fragments. In contrast, the Seville Estate house had 513 wine bottle fragments, as well as 35 case bottle pieces. Clearly the occupants of this house had a greater number of bottles, and it is quite likely that they were purchased originally for their contents, probably alcoholic beverages. This indicates yet another outlet for discretionary income at Seville House Area 14 that was not being exploited at Drax Hall.

Utensils recovered from the Drax house site were all "broken and useless fragments" of iron flatware. This contrasts with the variety of utensil fabrics found at Seville, including pewter and copper alloys in addition to fragments of iron wares. As at Drax all utensils were found as fragments indicating that flatwares, be they less expensive iron or other more expensive metals, were not discarded while they retained any use life at all.

The food remains that have been identified for both sites are limited to mollusc shells. These remains seem to suggest, as Armstrong (1988) has said, that diversification in species collected is indicative of increased nutritional stress after the discontinuation of food supplements, especially protein, at the end of the apprenticeship period. That this diversification occurred at both Drax Hall Feature

15 and Seville House Area 14 serves to remind us that food resources which could be obtained for low or no cost remained attractive and that these houses must be seen within the context of poverty.

Artifacts from the furniture and arms groups are so equivocal and minimally represented that they do not influence determinations of status one way or another. However the clothing group artifacts do allow some status rank claims. The number of buttons and beads at Seville, 106 and 25 respectively, versus the 24 buttons and four beads at Drax do indicate that some differences were present between the two sites. Again, all things being equal, it would require more cash resources, as well as the desire, to obtain the great numbers of buttons and beads. Beads, and possibly buttons, would be used as items of personal adornment, and could thus have a status value. One other item, the brass cufflink found at Seville House Area 14, has status connotations. Cufflinks were a part of more formal dress and, assuming it was lost by one of the inhabitants of the house, there would have been present in the house at least one good shirt requiring a cufflink.

The great number of tobacco pipe fragments present at both sites, especially Seville, really tell us no more than the relative popularity of tobacco smoking at each site. The only clues to pipe conservation are the reworked stem from Drax and the pipes possibly marked by their owners.

Utilized flakes and other tools made of stone are an excellent indication that even though manufactured knives were available, the opportunity to use naturally occurring and free resources for cutting implements, as well as strike-a-lights, was not allowed to pass. Other tools found at both sites were always broken or worn out, reaffirming the general frugality of the inhabitants of both the houses.

In sum, I believe the specifics of the artifact assemblages from Drax Hall Feature 15 and Seville Estate House Area 14 uphold the hypothesis that archaeological evidence can help to identify variations in material assemblages that are the result of differences in plantation management practices. The differences between the two houses can be explained as resulting from the influences of divergent management strategies upon the individuals who remained resident on the plantations, allowing the residents of Seville a somewhat less trying existence.

Comparisons of this study with efforts such as Orser's (1988) will be natural, but there is one fundamental difference between his work, and the present study: slavery. The economic power indicated by the archaeological remains at Seville and Drax is the differential between earned wages and expenses, and not directly an indication of the estate owner or manager's wealth, buying power, or economic reputation. Of course, for the estate to pay wages, it had

to operate at a profit often enough to offset any losses and expenses paid out.

Admittedly, this study is based on a small sample of only two dwellings. Yet at this stage of archaeological investigations in the Caribbean it is the only such sample, and therefore is a unique, albeit humble beginning point for further investigations of this type. Productive avenues of inquiry that would expand our understanding of post emancipation life in Jamaica should make efforts to expand the data base at hand. Additional excavations of post emancipation house sites at Seville Estate would confirm the adequacy of House Area 14 as a representative sample, as would additional work at Drax Hall. Currently there are no plans to reopen excavations at Drax Hall, but work is ongoing at Seville Estate. Although the Seville Afro-Jamaican Settlement Project intends to concentrate on the early slave contexts at Seville, the possibility remains that more post emancipation house sites will be excavated that can be compared with the houses already analyzed. Any such data would only serve to broaden our understanding of the past of Jamaica and Jamaicans.

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